The Jerusalem Codex

Panagios Taphos 54



Saint Luke at His Desk · Byzantine Illumination

The 120 Folios of the Manuscript of 1056

Illustrated edition, English translations from the French, and notes

Reading Guide

The English text, translated from the French, the commentaries and the sources are brought together in the first part. Documentary reproductions are placed at the end of the volume. Historical illustrations accompany the reading.

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References to editions and manuscripts have been retained. The contents page numbers and internal links lead to the new pagination.

INTRODUCTION

The Book of Leo the Scribe

On 11 June 1056, a scribe who signs himself “Leo, notary and sinner” completes a Greek collection of 120 parchment folios. His subscription does not name the place where it was copied. Its readers find abridged biblical narratives, the letters of Barnabas and Clement, the instructions of the Didache and the lengthy correspondence transmitted under the name of Ignatius of Antioch.

In 1873, Philotheos Bryennios rediscovered the volume in Constantinople, in the library of the Monastery of the Holy Sepulchre. He published the Didache ten years later. Transferred to Jerusalem in 1887, the manuscript is now held in the library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate under the shelfmark Panagios Taphos 54.

The 123 images of the Library of Congress microfilm reproduce the manuscript. The French source edition provides translations and notes for each work, rendered here in English. The historical versions may differ from the Greek of Jerusalem. For the letters of Ignatius, the French follows the English translation of the long recension published in 1870.



Jerusalem Seen from the Mount of Olives

Photochrom, 1890–1900. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, no. 15030.

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The Texts in the Collection

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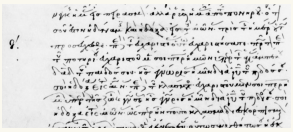

H54 · Folio 78 Verso

On the cover, Saint Luke at his desk, a Byzantine illumination from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century (Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 2001.633). The detail above comes from Leo's manuscript. The six plates inside follow the order of the texts.

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FF. 1R–38V / ENGLISH TRANSLATION

The Synopsis of the Scriptures

Historical reading translation as far as Nahum (Jeannin, 1865), rendered here in English. The French source translates the last five entries from images 40 and 41. The 1865 version predates the manuscript's rediscovery; its text need not match every reading on the folio.

Preliminary Dissertation

Why the first part of the Scriptures is called the Old Testament; the purpose of both Testaments is one. Division of the Old Testament into History, Precepts and Prophecies. – Origin of the Jewish race. – Two kinds of prophecy: prophecy through action and prophecy through words.

The New Testament is so called because of its date and the nature of the events it recounts; because everything has been renewed, and first of all Man, for whom all things were made. Let no one say: the sky is the same, the earth has not changed, nor has man, who is its king. A new law has been given, new precepts have been given, together with a new grace in the saving bath; a new man and new promises have appeared. These promises no longer concern the earth or earthly things, but heaven and heavenly things. These mysteries are new. This is no longer the time of material offerings, of sheep, of the blood, fat and dung of sacrificial victims; we have a rational worship and an adoration that cannot be separated from virtue, commandments the ancients did not know, a tree of life that leads us to heaven and raises us above ourselves.

The purpose of the two Testaments is one and is none other than the correction of man. And what is surprising if this is the purpose of the Scriptures, since the whole creation exists for man? The vast heaven was made for him, as were the expanse of the lands and that sea whose immensity arouses our admiration for its Maker and moves us to the knowledge of God. Since all these things were thus made for man, and the purpose of the Old and the New Scripture is the same, Moses considered it

necessary to recount ancient histories, but departing from the manner of secular writers who record events simply to tell a story, thinking only of relating combats and battles and gaining some glory from their works. It is not so with the Hebrew lawgiver, who writes the lives of illustrious men whose deeds were admirable, so that they may teach virtue to posterity, and who has handed down the memory not only of those who did good, but also of those who sinned, to exhort us to imitate the former and avoid the footsteps of the latter, thus setting before our eyes a twofold encouragement to virtue and vigilance.

Let us not suppose that the lawgiver's role prevents him from combining an account of past events with the writing of laws. The narration of the lives of men who lived holy lives has no less force than the law itself. This is why the Old Testament contains a historical part, the Octateuch or first eight books. Genesis relates the creation and the lives of men who were pleasing to God. Exodus shows us the departure from Egypt accompanied by miracles, the stay in the wilderness and the giving of the law. Leviticus instructs us about sacrifices and sacred ceremonies: since the tribe of Levi obtained the priesthood by lot, the book was so named on account of that tribe. Next, the book of Numbers: after the departure from Egypt, God ordered the Hebrews to be counted, and there were found to be six hundred thousand men descended from Abraham. Deuteronomy follows Numbers, Moses having promulgated the law a second time. The book of Joshua, son of Nun, comes next; it was Joshua who led the people after Moses, brought them into the promised land and divided the country among the twelve tribes by casting lots. Next, Judges; after the son of Nun died, government passed into the hands of the aristocracy and power belonged to the tribes. Next, Ruth, a short book containing the story of a foreign woman married to one of Abraham's descendants. Next, the four books of Kings, containing all that happened to Saul, David, Solomon, Elijah and Elisha, and finally down to the captivity in Babylon. After the Laws, Ezra. When the Jews had been taken to Babylon because of their sins and had spent seventy years in servitude, God took pity on them and moved Cyrus, then king of the Persians, the same whose education Xenophon recounted,

to send the captives back. Once set free, they returned under the leadership of Ezra, Nehemiah and Zerubbabel. Ezra wrote the account of everything concerning this return, the rebuilding of the temple and the restoration of the city. A hundred years passed, and the city was invaded again by the Macedonians. Antiochus Epiphanes appeared; for three and a half years they suffered the evils of the invasion and were again delivered from these calamities. Finally, after a relatively short time had elapsed, Christ came and the Old Testament came to an end.

To make known the origin of the Jewish race, it is essential to enter into the following details. After Adam lived Seth, his son, then Enoch; then many others forming several generations. And after this lived Noah, in whose time, men having been corrupted by iniquity, the flood occurred. After the flood, Noah came out of the ark alone with his three children, and filled the earth with his race as several generations succeeded one another. When they had become numerous, men resolved to build a tower that would rise to heaven; but God knew their thoughts, confused their speech, and instead of a single language there were several. Once they no longer understood one another, it became necessary for them no longer to live together, and for this reason they scattered throughout the earth. It is said that, in this confusion of tongues, Reber, the ancestor of the Jews, who had refused to take part in the others' guilty undertaking, was the only one to retain his own language, as a reward for his good disposition. One of his descendants was Abraham, who begot Isaac, and from him was born Jacob, who himself begot the twelve patriarchs: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, Naphtali, Gad, Dan, Asher, Joseph and Benjamin. Eleven of these patriarchs gave their names to an equal number of tribes, for each fathered a tribe, and their descendants took each one's name. Joseph, however, was the father not of one tribe but of two, for Jacob did not wish Joseph to give his name to just one tribe. What happened, then? Joseph became a patriarch twice over, because the names of his two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, became those of two tribes that acknowledged Joseph as their ancestor. Hence, instead of eleven tribes there were thirteen, eleven descended from the other

sons of Jacob and two from the sons of Joseph. The tribe of Levi was set apart and entrusted with the priesthood; it was not necessary to assign it any share, and the number of twelve was unchanged. The twelve tribes attended to all affairs; the tribe of Levi alone concerned itself solely with the holy things entrusted to it. Moses belonged to this last tribe. The twelve patriarchs having therefore gone to Egypt, the promise made to Abraham, "I will multiply your descendants like the stars of heaven," was fulfilled, and they were the fathers of the six hundred thousand men who formed the people of the Jews, so named because of the royal tribe of Judah, which supplied the nation's rulers.

Thus the Old Testament contains a historical part, the one we have already discussed, and a part containing precepts: Proverbs, the Wisdom of Sirach, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs; likewise a prophetic part, by which I mean the books of the sixteen prophets, of Ruth and of David. This division of the subjects contained in the holy Scriptures does not prevent one from being mingled with another: in the historical books one will find prophecy, for example, and the prophets often write narratives that belong to history; on the other hand, in prophecy and history we also see precepts and exhortations. All these things, as I have said, have a single purpose: the correction and improvement of those who hear the Scriptures, so that sometimes narration, sometimes precepts and counsels, sometimes prophecies teach us what we must do. The distinctive function of prophecy is to announce future events, whether happy or disastrous, in order to bring some back to the right way and, through fear, keep others from the path of iniquity. There is also another class of prophecies, namely those concerning Christ, which describe in detail his coming into the world, what he was to do from the time of his coming, the conception, the birth, the raising upon the cross, the miracles, the choice of disciples, the New Testament, the end of Jewish nationality, the downfall of paganism, the triumph of the Church, and the entire series of events that were to take place. Everything had been clearly foretold by the prophets long beforehand, either figuratively or in express words.

For there are two kinds of prophecy: one announces the future through words, the other through actions. The Prophet uses words when, wishing to signify the punishment of the cross, he says: “He was led like the sheep that is to be slain; he resembles the lamb that remains voiceless before its shearer.” (Isa. 3:7) Such is prophecy through language. But we see prophecy through action when Abraham is shown offering his son and sacrificing the ram. It is then these events that show us beforehand the image of the cross and of the sacrifice for the salvation of the world. The Old Testament contains many such types and prophecies through actions.

The purpose of prophecy is not only to announce the future but also to make the past known, and this is especially true of the narratives of Moses. When he speaks of heaven and earth, he recounts things past and buried in the obscurity of time; he sets them forth with the help of prophecy. If it belongs to prophecy to unveil things that have not yet happened or that still remain hidden, no lesser grace is needed to reveal what has been accomplished but is hidden by time.

Prophecy also uncovers the present when something is happening but is not known; we see an example in the story of Ananias and Sapphira. There it is not the past that is revealed, nor the future, but a present fact, unknown nevertheless. Peter discovers the event through prophecy and makes it manifest before everyone.

These are the various kinds of prophecy contained in the Old Testament. But what was spoken enigmatically in the Old is explained in the New; prophecy is verified by the testimony of events, I mean by the establishment of that new life which is the life of heaven, by the revelation of those future blessings which are ineffable, “which the eye of man has not seen, which the ear has not heard, which the heart of man has not tasted.” (1 Cor. 2:9) The New Testament received man as he emerged from the yoke of the Old, and led him gently and with moderation from the path of iniquity to participation in the life of angels. The work of the Old Testament was to form man; the New makes man an angel. Sin had caused the rational creature to lose the

dignity of man, had reduced him to the rank of animals and made him like wild beasts; the law drove out iniquity, and grace added this angelic virtue.

The books of the New Testament are: the fourteen Epistles of Paul; the four Gospels, two written by disciples of Jesus Christ, John and Matthew, and the other two by Luke and Mark, the latter a disciple of Peter and the former of Paul. The first had seen Christ with their own eyes and had lived with him; the latter handed down what they themselves had learned. To these must be added the book of Acts, which is also by Luke, and the three Catholic Epistles.

Summary of Genesis

Creation of the world and formation of man. Adam receives a commandment; the woman is formed from one of his ribs; the serpent deceives her; she in turn deceives the man and, cursed with him, is driven from Paradise with him. The serpent is cursed; it will crawl on its belly. Cain kills his brother because the latter is preferred; he receives punishment and then begets children. Eve gives birth to Seth. List of the descendants of Adam and Seth down to Noah, and the reproaches men incur for their criminal marriages as well as their iniquities. The sons of God: this is the name of those who trace their origin to Seth (Gen. 6:2), for this is what is written: "I have said: you are gods, you are all sons of the Most High." (Ps. 81:6) The daughters of men are those descended from Cain. God announces to Noah the destruction of the human race by the flood and commands him to build the ark, three hundred cubits long, fifty wide and thirty cubits high. When he has entered the ark, the flood comes, lasting forty days and forty nights. The water remains upon the earth for a hundred and fifty days, and the mountain tops appear on the first day of the tenth month. After forty days, Noah sends out the raven, which does not return, and seven days later he sends out the dove, which returns carrying an olive branch. God commands Noah to leave the ark; when he has come out, he offers God a sacrifice and is blessed with his children. He receives from God the promise that men will no longer perish through a flood. He then blesses Shem and Japheth, but curses Canaan because Ham, whose son he was, had revealed his father's nakedness. This curse was fulfilled upon the Gibeonites, and, to tell the truth, it had the appearance of a curse, but in reality it was a prophecy. List of Noah's descendants down to Peleg, who was given this name because the earth was divided in his lifetime. Then the tower was built in the place called Babylon, that is, confusion, because the confusion of languages took place there. Eber, Peleg's father, is said to have refused to build the tower with the others, and for this reason his language was not changed; he kept his tongue intact and even gave it his name. He was called Eber, his language became Hebrew, and

thus it is proved that the Hebrew tongue is the oldest of languages. This was the language everyone used before the confusion.

Eber was Abraham's ancestor. Genealogy of the descendants of Seth down to Abraham. Terah, Abraham's father, takes with him his sons Abraham and Nahor and his grandson Lot, and comes to the land of Haran, having resolved to dwell in the land of Canaan. After Terah's death, Abraham receives God's command to leave the land of Haran and goes to Shechem, in the land of Canaan. God promises to give this land to his race. Abraham raises an altar to God and pitches his tent towards the sea. When a famine occurs, he goes to Egypt, instructing his wife to say that she is his sister. But Pharaoh takes her away and, rebuked by God, returns her to Abraham. The herdsmen of Abraham and Lot quarrel, and the two cease to live together. Lot stays in the land of Sodom and Abraham near the oak of Mamre, where God renews his promises to him, declaring that he will multiply his race and give him this country as an inheritance. Now, five kings of the land of Sodom having rebelled against Chedorlaomer, whom they had previously obeyed, he took three other kings with him and made war on them; he put them to flight and carried off prisoners, among whom was Lot. When Abraham learned of this, however, he pursued the victor with three hundred and eighteen servants born in his house and recovered his brother's son, together with the horses and the women. He is blessed by Melchizedek, who comes to meet him with bread and wine, and he gives him the tithe. This is why Paul said in the Epistle to the Hebrews that "Levi, who receives the tithe, himself paid the tithe." (Heb. 7:9) He does not agree to the request of the king of Sodom, who begged him to keep the horses as his share, "so that you may not say," he says, "I have made Abraham rich." (Gen. 14:23)

God having said to Abraham, "Your reward will be great" (Gen. 15:1), he complains that he has no children. God speaks to him a second time; he tells him that the one who will come forth from him will possess his inheritance, and that his race will be like the stars of the firmament. It is here that it is said: "Abraham believed the word of God, and his faith was reckoned to him as righteousness." (Gen. 15:10) He divides the flesh of the sacrificial victims and learns that his race will be reduced to slavery and afterwards delivered

after being humbled for four hundred years. Sara, who was barren, gives Hagar to Abraham so that he may have children by her. Having conceived, Hagar becomes proud before her mistress, and Abraham hands her over to Sara to punish her insolence. Hagar, ill-treated by Sara, flees from her home: an angel commands her to return to her mistress, promises that her race will be numerous and, before the child is born, gives him a name, calling him Ishmael. Hagar gives birth to Ishmael, and Abraham, aged ninety-nine, changes his name: he ceases to be called Abram and is called Abraham. God commands him to circumcise himself and all his household with him. Sara also changes her name and is called Sarra. The birth of Isaac is promised to Abraham. The Son of God appears to him with two angels and says to him: "I will return to you at this time and at this hour, and Sara your wife will have a son." (Gen. 18:10)

Abraham prays for the inhabitants of Sodom. Two angels go to Lot. The inhabitants of Sodom pursue them and are struck blind. Taking Lot with them, the angels leave the house, and he takes refuge in Zoar with his daughters, while his wife is changed into a statue of salt because she turned to look behind her. While Sodom was burning, Lot withdrew to the mountain, and his two daughters conceived by him; the elder gave birth to Moab and the younger to Ammon: they had conceived after making their father drunk, for they thought that the whole human race had perished.

Meanwhile, Abraham went to live in the land of Gerar, and the king of that country, Abimelech, took Sarra away. Having heard God's threats, the king justifies himself by saying that he thought the woman was Abraham's sister and that she herself had said so. He sends her back with gifts. She gives birth to Isaac. She drives the slave woman and her son Ishmael from her home. Abimelech concludes a covenant with Abraham; they swear to do one another no further harm. Abimelech receives seven young ewes as a testimony before the well of the oath, so that everyone may see that this well belongs to Abraham. Abraham offers his son as a burnt offering, in accordance with the command he has received; the ram is sacrificed in Isaac's place. These are the types that were to find their fulfilment in the incarnation of Jesus Christ, the victim sacrificed for us.

Sarra dies. Abraham buys a tomb from Ephron the Hittite and buries his wife. Then he sends his servant to bring a wife from Mesopotamia for his son Isaac, instructing him not to take Isaac to that country if the woman refuses to come with him. When the servant arrived in the city where Nahor lived, he asked God to enable him to recognise by a sign the young woman he had come to seek, and the sign was that she would give water to drink to him and to his camels. Rebekah, the daughter of Bethuel, who was himself Nahor's son, appeared. Now Nahor was Abraham's brother. The young woman gave the servant and the camels water to drink; she said whose daughter she was, led the man away and gave him hospitality. He said why he had come and asked for the young woman; but her parents left it to her to answer. She consented; the servant took her away, and she became Isaac's wife.

After Sarra's death, Abraham took Keturah as his wife, and the children he had by her were brought up separately. He gave them gifts, but left Isaac as heir to his possessions, and died. Here are given the names of the sons of Ishmael, who dwelt from Havilah to Shur.

Rebekah was barren, and Isaac prayed to God that she might conceive, and she conceived. When she had conceived in her womb, God said to her: "Two nations are in your womb; one people will rule over the other" (Gen. 25:23), wishing to announce what was to happen to the Jews and the Christians. She gave birth to the children, who grew up, and Esau sold his birthright to Jacob for a dish of lentils. A famine arose; but when Isaac was thinking of going to Egypt, God prevented him and commanded him to remain where he was, promising to be with him, to bless his race and to multiply it. Abimelech, king of Gerar, knowing that Rebekah was Isaac's wife (for at first he had thought she was his sister), threatened with death anyone who harmed her. Isaac sowed a field, and the grain yielded a hundredfold. When he had acquired great riches through God's blessing, the Philistines envied him, and Abimelech forced him to leave. He did not resist but went away and dug wells; yet quarrels arose over these wells. Isaac did not try to retaliate; he dug other wells until they ceased quarrelling. God

blessed him, and Isaac kindly welcomed Abimelech when he came to him; he gave him a meal, no longer remembering the wrongs done to him.

Esau took two Canaanite women as wives, and they were always quarrelling with Rebekah. But Isaac had grown old. He commanded his son Esau to go hunting and prepare food for him, so that he might bless him. Jacob, advised by his mother, forestalled Esau. Having cooked two kids, Rebekah used their skins to disguise Jacob, then put the food she had prepared into his hands and sent him off. Jacob approached his father and received his blessings. Esau returned; he learned what had happened; he lamented and groaned, asking for blessings too. His persistence was not disappointed; he did not obtain all he hoped for, but he nevertheless obtained something. Having received a lesser blessing instead of the greater, he was angry with his brother and harboured resentment, waiting for his father's death so that he could then safely satisfy his vengeance. Jacob's mother warned him and advised him to seek safety in flight. She tells Isaac that life will become unbearable to her if Jacob too takes a wife from among the Canaanites, and persuades the father to send him to Mesopotamia, to her brother Laban, so that he may take one of his daughters as his wife. When he has left, Esau takes as his wife a daughter of Ishmael, who was himself the son of Abraham and Hagar.

Jacob sees the mysterious ladder; he erects a monument and promises God to dedicate to him a tenth of his possessions if he returns safe and sound. He reaches Mesopotamia, sees Rachel and kisses her; on returning, she tells her father Laban, who comes, recognises Jacob and brings him into his home. Jacob serves him; wishing to have one of his daughters as his reward, he is given the elder. To Jacob, indignant at this deception, Laban proposes seven more years of service if he wishes to obtain the younger, which Jacob accepts, and he marries the younger. The first, Leah, had diseased eyes; the younger was beautiful and was called Rachel. Both are types or figures: the elder represents the synagogue of the Jews and the younger the Church of Jesus Christ.

Leah conceived and bore Reuben, Simeon, Levi and Judah. Rachel, who had no children, gave Jacob her slave Bilhah as a wife of secondary rank, and she gave birth to Dan and Naphtali. Leah likewise gave him

Zilpah, who was her slave, and she bore Gad and Asher. Then Leah gave birth to Issachar and Zebulun. Rachel in turn became the mother of Joseph. When Jacob resolved to return to his own country, Laban granted him the reward that Jacob himself had specified: all the brown lambs and all the white goats. Both were numerous, for Jacob placed rods in the places where the sheep were to drink, and they gave birth to young, some white, others variegated and spotted with dark colours. All this was God's work, as Jacob says. Laban's sons envied him; therefore he secretly took his wives and all that he possessed and went away. Laban pursued him, but before he could catch up with him, God pronounced threats against him that would be fulfilled if he ill-treated Jacob. Having overtaken Jacob, Laban accused him and asked why he had left in secret. Jacob replied that it was because of the envy they bore him and because he feared that Laban might wish to keep his daughters. But Laban was looking for his gods, which Rachel had taken; he did not find them and reproached Jacob vehemently. Finally, after they had eaten and drunk, they raised a heap of stones that they called the monument of testimony, and each went his own way.

Angels of God appear to Jacob. Jacob sends messengers to Esau to announce his return. The messengers come back and report that Esau is approaching with four hundred men. Seized with fear, Jacob prays to God to deliver him from the danger he faces, and has gifts carried to Esau. He crosses the torrent, is blessed by the angel and changes his name. He sees Esau coming and divides his company, placing the slaves with their children first, then Leah with her children, and Rachel last, with Joseph. He himself walked ahead. Esau welcomed him, received his gifts and asked to travel with him, but Jacob declined this offer and went to Salem, a city of the Shechemites, where Shechem, the son of King Hamor, inflamed with love for Jacob's daughter Dinah and having raped her, asked to take her as his wife. Simeon and Levi replied that this marriage could take place if he and his people were circumcised. When they had been circumcised, while they were still suffering the pain of circumcision, Simeon and Levi put them to death. Jacob then feared that the neighbouring Canaanites might

fall upon him, and withdrew to Bethel at God's command. Rebekah's nurse died. God blessed Jacob, who left Bethel to go and live at the tower of Eder. Rachel had a difficult childbirth; she died and was buried on the road to Ephrathah, that is, Bethlehem. The newborn child was Benjamin. Reuben had intercourse with Bilhah, his father's concubine. Isaac died; his sons Esau and Jacob buried him. Esau's descendants are listed, and among them Job, who is called Jobab here.

Joseph's brothers envied him because of his dreams and because his father loved him more. Seizing him when he was alone, they wanted to kill him. Reuben advised them to throw him into a cistern, for he had resolved to save him from death. He was thrown into it, then sold to the Midianites on Judah's advice. They showed their father his tunic dipped in blood, and he, thinking that he had fallen prey to a wild beast, mourned him bitterly. Judah's children were Er, Onan and Shelah. After Er died, his brother Onan took Er's wife Tamar to live with him, but did not wish to raise up a child for his brother. He himself died, and Judah did not wish to give Tamar as a wife to Shelah, his third son. Tamar adorned herself and sat beside the road like a courtesan. Thinking that she really was a courtesan, for she had concealed her face, Judah had intercourse with her and gave her a necklace, a ring and his staff as a pledge. When he later learned that Tamar was pregnant, Judah, who was her father-in-law, ordered that she be put to death on a pyre. She sent someone to say that she had conceived by the man to whom this ring belonged, and Judah exclaimed: "Tamar has acted more justly than I." (Gen. 38:26) When she gave birth, Zerah first put out his hand and drew it back, then Perez was born, and Zerah afterwards. Now here is the allegorical explanation of this event. The first righteous men, who lived before the law, put out their hand, that is, they displayed a life adorned with virtues and worthy of angels. Then came the rule of the law. Then, once again, the original life of the righteous men of old reappeared, raised by Christ to a greater degree of perfection.

Potiphar, Pharaoh's steward, bought Joseph and entrusted him with the care of everything in his house. Joseph did not consent

to the desire of his mistress, who wanted to make him sin. She slanders him, and he is thrown into prison. There too he is raised above the others: he explains the dreams of the baker and the cupbearer. Things happened according to his word; one was put to death, the other restored to his former office. Pharaoh sees in a dream the cows and the ears of grain, which foretold abundance and famine. Joseph is brought out of prison to interpret the dream because the cupbearer had told the king about him. He gave the interpretation and also advice that could provide a remedy for the famine. He is appointed first after Pharaoh; he gathers a great abundance of grain during the seven years of plenty, and when the famine comes, he sells grain to those who want it. His brothers come to buy some. He does not see Benjamin with them and fears that they have killed him. He accuses them of being spies and says that there is no way to clear themselves of this accusation other than to bring Benjamin, their youngest brother, to Egypt and show him to him. He takes Simeon as a hostage and keeps him prisoner; he sends the others away and gives them grain and money. But when they saw the money on opening the sacks, they were troubled by this unexpected occurrence. They asked their father for Benjamin, telling him everything that had happened. Jacob refused to let the child go. The famine continued to rage. Judah insisted on taking Benjamin, promising to bring him back safe and sound, and Jacob gave them twice the money, also instructing them to take other gifts.

When they came to Joseph, he welcomed them kindly, questioned them about their father and gave them a great feast. When they set off again, Joseph ordered a golden cup to be put in Benjamin's sack without anyone knowing. Once the cup had been placed there, they departed, taking everything with them; but Joseph told the steward of his house to pursue these men, and when he caught up with them, he reproached them for repaying kindness with evil deeds. They were troubled and said that whichever of them was found guilty of the theft would deserve death, and that the others would remain slaves. Now the cup was found in Benjamin's sack. Then Judah came before Joseph and spoke to him at length about their father, Joseph and Benjamin, offering to be a slave in Benjamin's place, and so stirred Joseph's pity that everything was revealed. Having dismissed everyone so that he could shed

tears freely, Joseph made himself known to his brothers and sent them back to their father with substantial gifts and wagons. Pharaoh had consented to all this.

When Jacob learned everything concerning Joseph, he was filled with joy and, at God's command, went to Egypt. Joseph saw his father again and announced it to Pharaoh, who assigned them Rameses as their dwelling. Meanwhile, all the money in the country was exhausted. The inhabitants paid for grain with their livestock; then, when they had none left and the famine continued, they surrendered themselves and their lands. Having become Pharaoh's slaves, they sowed the land and brought him a fifth of the harvest, keeping the other four parts for themselves. On the point of death, Jacob made Joseph promise under oath that he would not bury him in Egypt but in the tomb of his fathers. Ephraim and Manasseh, Joseph's sons, were placed by him not in the rank of his grandsons but in that of his own sons. Jacob's sight had grown weak. He had embraced Joseph's sons and was about to bless them. Joseph had placed Ephraim on Jacob's left and Manasseh on his right. But Jacob placed his right hand on the younger, who was on his left, and his left hand on the one who was on his right, and blessed them. Joseph thought he was acting in ignorance and wished to correct it, but Jacob would not allow him and said that he had acted knowingly, not in ignorance. He gave Joseph the city of Shechem, which was not included in the division and had been taken by Simeon and Levi. He blessed all his children and prophesied concerning the coming of Christ. "The prince shall not depart from Judah," he said, "the leader of the people shall not depart from his race before He who is awaited comes." (Gen. 49:10)

After Jacob's death, Joseph mourned him and, carrying away his bones, buried him in Abraham's cave. His brothers then said to one another: "Perhaps he will remember the wrong we did him and repay us for the evil committed against him" (Gen. 50:15), and they implored him, saying: "Behold, we are your slaves." (Ibid. 50:18) Joseph began to weep and answered them: "Do not fear, for it is God who has done everything. You formed criminal plans, but God has favoured me with his blessings. I will feed you and your families." (Ibid. 19,21) Joseph lived a hundred years and saw Ephraim's children down to the third generation. He

spoke thus to his brothers: “God will visit you and bring you into the promised land, which he swore to give to our fathers. You will then carry my bones with you.” (Ibid. 50:24) And having died at the age of a hundred, he was buried in Egypt.

Summary of the Book of Exodus

There was a king in Egypt who did not know Joseph; he oppressed the Israelites by putting them to work making bricks. He ordered the midwives to put to death the male children born to the Hebrews, and when they did not obey, he charged the people with carrying out this iniquity. Then Moses was born, of the tribe of Levi; his parents exposed him in a small boat. Pharaoh’s daughter came upon him, took the child and gave him to be nursed. When he had grown up, Moses went to see the children of Israel. As he looked upon their hard labour, he saw an Egyptian striking a Hebrew. He looked all around and, seeing no one, killed the Egyptian, whose body he hid in the sand. The next day he went out and saw two Hebrews quarrelling. He said to one: “Why are you striking your neighbour?” The man replied: “Who appointed you ruler and judge among us? Do you want to kill me like yesterday’s Egyptian?” (Exod. 2:13) Moses was afraid, and when this reached Pharaoh’s ears, he sought to have him put to death. Moses, fearing what might happen, withdrew to the land of Midian. There he helped Jethro’s daughters, who wanted to water their flocks. They told their father what had happened and brought Moses to him; he gave Moses one of his daughters as his wife, and she bore Gersha and Eliezer.

While Moses was tending the flocks, God spoke to him. He approached the bush and saw a marvel, for the bush was aflame and was not consumed. God sent him to Egypt, saying to him: “I am He who is.” (Exod. 3:44) He commanded him to gather the elders and go to Pharaoh, ordering the Hebrews, when they departed, each to take possession of their neighbours’ silver and gold cups. The signs he gave him to persuade him were these: the rod changed into a serpent; the transformation of his hand, which became white with leprosy and then returned to its former colour; and finally the water of the river. “You shall pour it out,”

he said, “upon the ground, and it will be blood.” (Exod. 4:9) Moses resisted, but God, angered, assigned Aaron to assist him. Moses told his father-in-law Jethro that he was going to Egypt, and since the king who sought to kill him had died, God said to him: “Go now to Egypt.” (Ibid. 19) Moses therefore took his wife and children and set out in this way. But an angel appeared to him and filled him with terror. This was not, however, because of circumcision, for if circumcision had been the reason, the angel would have had to remain until the mother of Moses’ sons had circumcised the second as well; it was because Moses was not to take his wife to Egypt. He was not being sent to live in that country, but to bring the people of Israel out of it; he understood this and sent his wife back. What is the proof that he sent her back? It is that, at the departure from Egypt, his father-in-law Jethro came to meet him with Moses’ wife.

Aaron joins Moses. Both go to the elders of Israel and speak to them on God’s behalf. They rejoice. When they appear before Pharaoh and command him to let the people go, not only does the king refuse permission, but he ill-treats the Israelites still more, ordering that they no longer be supplied with straw, so that they are obliged to obtain it themselves. The overseers, who were flogged because the same amount of work had not been done, appealed to Pharaoh and obtained no relief. They murmured against Moses, who was again sent to the Israelites to announce their departure from Egypt. Yet they would not listen to Moses, so dejected were they. Here is the genealogy of Moses, to whom God says: “I have made you Pharaoh’s God” (Exod. 7:1), and he sends him to Pharaoh, commanding him to give a sign if the king asks for one: that of the rod changed into a serpent. After the rod is changed into a serpent, the king does not consent; the river water is changed into blood, and the land is covered with frogs. Then came the gnats and flies, then the death of the animals, then the sores, hail and thunder, locusts and palpable darkness. The death of the firstborn was to follow; the Hebrews receive the command to sacrifice a male lamb without blemish and to anoint the doors of their dwellings with its blood, because the inhabitants of the house bearing the mark of blood would not perish. Moses commands them to

eat unleavened bread for seven days, and orders them to preserve this rite when the people have entered the promised land. “And if your sons question you, you shall say that this sacrifice is the Lord’s Passover.” (Exod. 12:27) After all their firstborn had been struck dead during the night, the Egyptians drove the Israelites out of Egypt. The Hebrews departed, carrying silver and gold vessels and taking with them a numerous and mixed population, sheep, oxen and beasts of burden. The time that the sons of Israel and their fathers spent in the land of Canaan and then in Egypt was four hundred and thirty years. God then said: “You shall dedicate and consecrate to me all the firstborn, both of men and of the flocks” (Exod. 13:2), because he had put the firstborn of the Egyptians to death. He did not then lead them into the lands of the Philistines, lest the necessity of making war on those peoples cause them to regret leaving Egypt and resolve to return there: he made them pass through the Red Sea. It was in the fifth generation that the sons of Israel left Egypt, and Moses carried away Joseph’s bones. Meanwhile, God led the people by a pillar of fire at night and a pillar of cloud by day.

Pharaoh changed his mind and pursued them. Moses struck the sea with his rod, and it parted to give the Israelites passage, but it brought its waters together over the Egyptians and engulfed them. Moses sang a canticle to the Lord, and Miriam sang with the women. They came to Marah, where the water was bitter: Moses made it sweet by throwing the wood into it. They then reached the twelve springs and seventy palm trees at a place called Elim. From there they advanced into the wilderness between Elim and Sinai, and the Israelites murmured in the wilderness because they lacked meat. Then manna rained down. Afterwards, God sent them quails. This was remarkable concerning the manna: those who gathered more had no more, and those who gathered less had enough; Moses ordered them not to keep any for the next day. They disobeyed, and what was left in this way became full of worms. Moses also told them not to go out on the Sabbath; they disobeyed on this point too, but when they went out they found nothing. Moses ordered that a golden vessel be filled with manna and kept for future

generations, and they ate manna for forty years. They also murmured because of thirst. Moses struck the rock, and water flowed from it. Amalek came to fight Israel, and Joshua son of Nun put them to flight: as long as Moses' hands were raised, Israel was victorious, but when he let them fall, Israel was at a disadvantage. This was the figure of the cross. Aaron and Hur stood beside Moses and supported his hands. And God said to Moses: "Write this in a book, so that it may be remembered." (Exod. 17:4)

Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, came to meet him, bringing his wife to him, and appeared before Moses and the people. Moses told him the wonderful things God had done, and he was filled with admiration. But when he saw all the people surrounding Moses, and Moses unable to judge all the disputes, he said to him: Choose capable men, religious, just and hating pride, and appoint them, some over a thousand, others over a hundred, over fifty and over ten. (Exod. 18:21) Moses did so and went up the mountain.

God commands Moses to tell the Israelites that they will be the holy nation, God's royal priesthood, if they obey his laws. They answered: "All that God says, we will hear and do." (Exod. 19:8) Then Moses ordered the people to purify themselves until the third day and to whiten their clothes. Next he said what we read in the Apostle addressing the Hebrews: "If anyone touches the mountain, he shall be stoned." (Heb. 12:20) Smoke rose from the mountain, and the sound of trumpets was heard. Now Moses received the commandments of the law, the Decalogue and God's other prescriptions. These words, "You shall not curse the gods" (Exod. 22:8), must not be understood as referring to idols, but to rulers, for he immediately adds: You shall not curse the one who commands your people. Great blessings are promised them if they remain faithful: they will subdue the nations; they will possess the land; their bread and water will be blessed; they will be delivered from every disease; there will be no barren woman among them, no orphans, no premature death; they will possess all the country extending from the Red Sea to the land of the Philistines, from the wilderness to the Euphrates. Moses offers a sacrifice; he pours half the blood on the altar, and with the rest he

sprinkles the people. Paul mentions this in the Epistle to the Hebrews when he says: “The first Testament was not renewed without the shedding of blood.” (Heb. 9:18)

God commands Moses to climb the mountain and take tablets; he remains there forty days and forty nights. He learns how the tabernacle and the objects it will contain are to be arranged, everything concerning the priestly garment, the anointing of the priests and the ransoms. (Exod. 30:12) The ransom price was half a drachma for each person, that is, ten obols. God also teaches him how to compound the anointing oil and enjoins observance of the Sabbath. The Israelites gather against Aaron and fall into idolatry. God says to Moses: “Leave me; I will destroy them and make you the head of a mighty nation.” (Exod. 32:10)

When Moses came down, he saw the golden calf and the people rejoicing around it; he threw down the tablets of the law and broke them, rebuked Aaron and said to the sons of Levi who had come to him: “If anyone is for the Lord, let him come to me, and let each man put to death his brother or one of his relatives; and three thousand men fell, struck down in this way.” (Exod. 32:26–28) And Moses turned to God and said to him: “If you forgive their sin, you will forgive it; but if you do not forgive it, blot me out of the book you have written.” (Exod. 32:31–32) The people wept and received the command to remove their festive garments. It is here that it is said: “And God spoke to Moses as someone speaks to a friend.” (Exod. 33:11) Now Joshua son of Nun did not leave his tent. Meanwhile, Moses prayed to God not to abandon his people and, having prepared two new tablets, wrote the Decalogue and spent another forty days and forty nights. God renews his commandments concerning the Passover, the Sabbath, the destruction of the gods of the nations and the consecration of the firstborn. Here mention is made of the veil with which Moses spoke to the people, and which Paul recalled in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. (2 Cor. 3:13)

The Sabbath is proclaimed. Moses asks for the materials needed to build the tabernacle, that is, gold, bronze, fleeces and the rest. Everyone brought the requested objects with such zeal that there was soon more than enough. Bezalel, of the tribe of Judah, and

Oholiab, of the tribe of Dan, completed all this work, and the tabernacle was built and a cloud covered it. Twenty-nine talents and seventy shekels of gold were used, a hundred talents of silver and seven hundred and seventy-two shekels, seventy talents of bronze and two thousand five hundred shekels.

PLATE II



Moses Receiving the Tablets of the Law

The engraving depicts the giving of the tablets of the Law at Sinai, which the Synopsis recounts in its summary of Exodus.

Pietro Monaco, after Mattia Preti, circa 1730–1739. Etching and engraving. Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 62.602.827.

Summary of Leviticus, Which Is the Third Book

This book is called Leviticus because it contains, in particular, the complete explanation of the Levitical rites; the way in which Aaron and his sons, of the tribe of Levi, were chosen and anointed for the sacred ceremonies; the full distinction between the different kinds of sacrifices; and the nature of the sacrifice and oblation. It sets out the rule for each sacrifice, for that offered for salvation and that offered for an offence, whether voluntary or involuntary; it explains how the sacrificial victim is to be divided and to whom it is to be assigned.

This book recounts the anointing of the high priest and the other priests; it contains an account and description of the signs by which leprosy is recognised in people, garments or houses, together with the prescriptions for purification from leprosy. It states the law and distinctions governing lawful marriages, and which marriages are considered unlawful. The same applies to the difference between clean and unclean animals, among birds, fish and reptiles of every kind: those the Hebrews may eat and those from which they must abstain. It specifies the day on which the trumpets must sound at the beginning of the seventh month, and the commandment of the great fast to be observed on the tenth day of the seventh month; this day is the Sabbath of Sabbaths and the day of the remission of sins. It fixes the Feast of Tabernacles on the fifteenth of the same month. It also discusses the other feasts and the offerings to be made at them; the freeing of Hebrews sold as slaves; the remission of debts; and the seventh-year rest to be granted to the land. Legal observances and testimonies are discussed again. Great blessings are promised to those who keep these laws; terrible threats are made against those who violate them.

The distinction concerning clean animals is this: those are clean which chew the cud and whose hoof is divided into two parts; such are the calf, the sheep, the goat, the deer, the gazelle, the roe deer, the antelope, the goat-stag, the giraffe and other similar animals. If either of the two conditions is absent, the animal is unclean: thus the camel, the hare and the porcupine, which chew the cud but do not have a cloven hoof, and likewise the pig, which has a cloven hoof but does not chew the cud. Among birds, those which it is forbidden to

eat are the eagle, the griffin, the sea eagle, the vulture, the kite, the raven and those resembling them, the sparrowhawk and those resembling it, the owl, the gull, the ibis, the moorhen, the pelican, the swan, the heron, the plover and those resembling them, the hoopoe and the bat. Among winged creeping creatures, those that move on four legs are unclean, but those whose hind limbs are higher so that they can jump are the locust, the pittacus, the attacus and those resembling them, and the ophieuchus. Everything born in the waters, whether in the sea, rivers or torrents, is declared clean when these animals have fins and scales, such as the barbel, the parrotfish, the glancus, the mullet and those resembling them. Those lacking either are unclean and may not be eaten, such as the cuttlefish, which has fins but no scales. Among the animals that crawl on the earth, the following are unclean: the weasel, the mouse, the land crocodile, the shrew, the chameleon, the spotted lizard, the saurus and the mole. As for the serpent and those resembling it, it was unnecessary to mention them, for it is clear that this animal is an object of horror and disgust to everyone. All these things are recalled in Deuteronomy.

Leviticus also forbids eating dead animals and blood; it speaks of women giving birth. If any man discharges his semen, he will be unclean for eight days. The child's circumcision will take place on the eighth day. It discusses the woman's discharge and the difference between purifications according to whether she has given birth to a son or a daughter. The law concerning leprosy and purification from leprosy, concerning men who discharge their semen and women afflicted with a discharge. Prescriptions concerning respect for the sanctuary, the scapegoat, fasting, unlawful unions, lawful and unlawful marriages, the priest's obligation to marry neither a widow nor a divorced woman, but a virgin whom no one has known; concerning a priest's daughter guilty of fornication. That the priest must be free from all reproach. Concerning gifts offered to the Lord. Concerning Sabbaths, feasts, the feast of Passover, that of Tabernacles, that of Trumpets, oil, light, the showbread and the sabbatical year. Concerning Jewish and foreign slaves. Concerning the renunciation of idols, of which

God said: “I am your God; you shall make no images, you shall erect no statues; you shall place no pillars or standing stones in your land to bow down before them.” (Lev. 26:1) Then he adds these threats against transgressors: “I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt when you were slaves, who broke your yoke and served as your guide. If you do not listen to me, if you do not carry out my precepts, if you reject them, if your soul turns away from my judgements, so that you do not carry out all my commandments and reject my Testament, I will treat you in the same way and call down upon you scarcity, leprosy and the fire that consumes the eyes; you will cast your seed upon the earth in vain, and your enemies will feed upon it.” (Ibid. 13,16) Such are the contents of this book, which contains other precepts and various prescriptions and ends with these threats.

Summary of the Book of Numbers

In the Lyon manuscript, the following beginning of the summary is found. This book is called the Book of Numbers because each tribe was counted according to God’s command and the number of the whole people is recorded in this book. Moses and Aaron carried out this census with the chiefs of each tribe. The number of fighting men, aged twenty and above, was six hundred thousand one hundred and fifty, besides the multitude of the people. Moses and Aaron alone counted the tribe of Levi separately, according to God’s command, from the age of one month and above.

Moses receives the command to count the people from the age of twenty and above; there were found to be six hundred and three thousand six hundred and fifty men, not including the Levites. Genealogy of the tribe of Levi. The men of this tribe are counted: they number twenty-two thousand, from the age of one month and above. But because the firstborn of Israel numbered twenty-two thousand two hundred and seventy-three, Moses received the redemption price for those in excess and handed it to Aaron. The total redemption price paid per head amounted to one thousand three hundred and sixty-five shekels.

Moses determines who will be employed in divine worship and entrusted with the Levitical duties, for not everyone was called indiscriminately to the same honours. The most precious vessels of the tabernacle were entrusted to some, the less precious to others. The number of Levites dedicated to holy duties, from the age of twenty and above up to the age of fifty, was eight thousand five hundred and eighty-three. Then Moses orders everyone who is unclean to be driven from the camp; he gives the rules of the sacrifice for an offence; he establishes the law of jealousy, so that no woman may be falsely accused of adultery and no adulterous woman may go unpunished. He prescribes the prayer for sanctification and indicates how the priest is to bless the children of Israel. When the tabernacle is completed, the princes of the tribes bring rich and numerous gifts. Moses receives the command to sanctify the Levites, and God tells him that they will perform the priestly duties from the age of twenty and above, but will cease to perform them at the age of fifty. God commands the Israelites through Moses to celebrate the Passover: "Tell the children of Israel to keep the Passover." (Num. 9:2) For it was the first month of the second year. Those who were unclean approached Moses, and he offered a sacrifice to God for them. God further commands that those unable to sacrifice the Passover in the first month because they are unclean or detained by a long journey shall do so on the thirteenth day of the second month. But anyone who is clean and not detained by any distant journey, and does not keep the Passover in the first month, will sin. The law will be the same for the Israelites and for the foreigners living among them.

When the cloud rose, the Israelites broke camp; where the cloud stopped, they camped again. Moses also receives the command to make silver trumpets to give the people the signal, whether to break camp, to assemble the warriors on days of battle, or for sacrifices; the trumpets were also to be sounded on feast days, on the first days of the month and at the time of burnt offerings. When the children of Israel set out, Moses asked Jobab, son of Reuel, the same who is called Jethro, to accompany them and share in all the blessings promised to them. When the ark set

out, Moses said: “Arise, Lord; let your enemies be scattered, and let those who hate you be put to flight.” (Num. 10:35) The people murmur, and some of the tents are burned; this spot was called the place of burning. Moses prays, and the scourge stops. The Israelites ask for meat and say: “We remember the fish we ate in Egypt, the melons and cucumbers, the leeks, onions and garlic. Now our soul is dry, and our eyes see nothing but manna.” (Num. 11:5–6) Moses bore this revolt with sorrow and prayed before God, who assigned seventy elders to assist him and lighten his burden of command. But Joshua son of Nun said: Prevent the son of Udad and Modad from prophesying, and Moses answered: “Will you be jealous and envious on my behalf? Who will grant me that all God’s people may prophesy?” (Num. 11:29) God sends quails, and they eat them. They still had the flesh between their teeth when they died. This is what the Psalmist says: “The food was still in their mouths, and God’s anger rose against them, and he caused a great number of them to perish.” (Ps. 77:30–31) This place was called the monument of concupiscence. Miriam speaks against Moses, saying: “Has God spoken to him alone?” (Num. 12:2) God himself answers that he had spoken in this way to him alone among the prophets, and strikes Miriam with leprosy. Moses prays for her; she is not healed until she has spent seven days outside the camp.

Moses sends some scouts chosen from among the people into the land of Canaan. After exploring, they bring back a bunch of grapes and praise the land they have traversed. But they inspired terror in the people by saying that the country was inhabited by formidable warriors. Caleb son of Jephunneh and Joshua son of Nun, however, who were themselves among the scouts, revived Israel’s confidence. The people wanted to stone them. God was angered again and declared that those who had murmured would not enter the promised land, but only their children, and with them Caleb and Joshua. They will spend forty years in the wilderness, he said, according to the number of days during which they explored this land, until their children have grown up. All the scouts of the land of Canaan died, except

Caleb and Joshua son of Nun, and the people wept. They march against Amalek despite God's will, and the ark remains in the camp with Moses. Amalek advances and cuts them to pieces. Prescriptions concerning burnt offerings, firstfruits and the sacrifice offered for an offence are given. An Israelite is caught gathering wood on the Sabbath and is stoned. It is enjoined that fringes be put on the edges of garments. The story of Korah, Dathan and Abiram: their revolt and punishment. After these events, the rest of the people do not become better, but revolt against Moses again; fourteen thousand seven hundred men are struck dead. Aaron's rod blossoms. Moses prescribes what the Levites and the high priest are to receive; he states how the heifer's ashes are to be gathered for the water of sprinkling. Many have seen in this heifer a figure of the Passion of Jesus Christ. The heifer's ashes purified anyone who was unclean because of a dead person.

The people come to Kadesh. Miriam dies there and is buried there. Having no water, the Jews murmur again: God commands Moses and Aaron to bring water out of the rock. Moses strikes the stone, saying: "Can we bring water out of this stone for you?" (Num. 20:10) Water flowed, but God said to Moses and Aaron: "Because you did not believe in me and did not sanctify me in the presence of the children of Israel, you will not lead this people into the land I will give them." (Ibid. 12) Moses sends envoys to the king of Edom to ask him to allow them passage, but he does not allow it, and the children of Israel move away from him. They reach Mount Hor. At God's command, Moses takes Aaron and his son Eleazar and leads them up the mountain. He clothes Eleazar in Aaron's garments. Aaron dies on the mountain; the people mourn him for thirty days. The Israelites triumph over a Canaanite king and pronounce the ban upon him. Having drawn near the Red Sea, they follow the borders of the land of Edom; their spirits are downcast, and they murmur against Moses. God sends serpents that kill them. Moses prays for them and makes a bronze serpent at God's command. Anyone who had been bitten was healed when he looked at the serpent. This serpent is mentioned in

the Gospel: “Just as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so the Son of Man must be lifted up.” (John 3:14)

Moses sends envoys to Sihon, king of the Amorites. Sihon had fought the king of Moab, defeated him and seized his lands. When he fought against the Israelites, he was defeated, and they seized all his cities. They fight against Og, king of Bashan, whom they treat in the same way as Sihon, and seize his land and cities. King Balak sends for the diviner Balaam to curse Israel. At first God prevents Balaam from leaving, but the king insists, and God lets him go to the king, though not to curse; the curses turn into blessings. The diviner’s curses would have been powerless, but the afflicted people might have believed in them and would have incurred condemnation through their own fault. Balaam prophesies the coming of Christ: “A star will come forth from Jacob, and a man will arise in Israel.” (Num. 24:17) For God had filled the diviner with his Spirit. But after Balaam’s departure, the Israelites had intercourse with the daughters of Moab and were initiated into the worship of Baal-Peor. Then Moses orders each man to put his idolatrous brother to death. Phinehas son of Eleazar puts Zimri the Israelite to death, and Cozbi the Midianite woman with him, and “this was reckoned to him as righteousness.” (Ps. 105:31)

A census of the children of Israel, aged twenty and above, gives the figure of six hundred and three thousand and thirty fighting men; the number of Levites is twenty-three thousand, aged one month and above. This census took place at Araboth, in the land of Moab, beyond the Jordan. None remained of those whom Moses had counted in the wilderness of Sinai, except Joshua son of Nun and Caleb son of Jephunneh. The daughters of Zelophehad, of the tribe of Manasseh, come after their father’s death, as he leaves no male child, to ask that his inheritance and possessions be granted to them. God commands that it be so, and if anyone dies without a son, his daughter shall inherit; if he has no daughter, his brother shall inherit; and if he has no brother, his father’s brother shall inherit.

God shows Moses the promised land from the summit of Mount Nebo, and Joshua son of Nun is appointed leader in his place. Then the children of Israel are given

the prescriptions concerning burnt offerings, daily sacrifices, those to be offered on the Sabbath, on the first day of the month, at Passover, on the day of Weeks and in the seventh month; matters concerning vows are also regulated, that is, a promise someone may have made. Twelve thousand men from among the Israelites are armed against Midian, and Phinehas marches with them; they put the Midianites, five kings of Midian and the diviner Balaam to death. They offer God the firstfruits of the spoils and divide the rest among themselves. The tribes of Reuben and Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh ask Moses for the country beyond the Jordan. He grants it to them after they promise to fight alongside the other Israelites and cross the Jordan armed, to wage war with their brothers.

Moses recalls everything that happened from the departure from Egypt until the day when the children of Israel came before Jericho. He commands them to destroy the idols of the nations. He marks out the boundaries of the promised land, saying where they begin and where they end. He speaks of the land that is to belong to the Levites and of the six cities of refuge in which an unintentional killer may find shelter and remain without danger until the high priest's death. But if he is found outside the city and killed by a relative of the dead man, that relative will not be punished. He adds a few words about the laws concerning killing. The chiefs of the tribe of Manasseh came to Moses and said to him: It has been decided that Zelophehad's daughters will receive their father's inheritance, but if they marry a man of another tribe, what will result? What fell to our tribe by lot will pass to another tribe. Then Moses ordered every man to take a wife from his own tribe, so that the inheritance of one tribe should not be transferred to another.

Summary of Deuteronomy

Moses briefly recounts everything that happened before, to remind the Israelites of God's blessings and their own iniquities. An exhortation not to give themselves over to idolatry. Here it is written: "You shall not worship the stars which the Lord your God has appointed for all the nations under heaven." (Deut. 4:19) These words, "has appointed for the nations," do not mean that God commands the nations to worship the stars; rather, as blessed Paul says, "God gave them over to their reprobate mind" (Rom. 1:28), not because he himself gave them over, but because, seeing them thus committed and without hope of conversion, he abandoned them. Likewise in this passage, "he appointed them for the nations" means that, because the nations embraced error and would not return, God abandoned them.

A little further on, Moses tells them: "I call heaven and earth to witness: if you turn away from God, you will die." (Deut. 4:26) Next he shows that God has never granted any nation such blessings. He designates three cities of refuge near the Jordan. Again recalling the old precepts, he says: "Write these things on your hands and on the doors of your houses, and teach them to your sons." (Deut. 6:8–9) After announcing what evils will fall upon them if they do not obey, he reassures them against fear of their enemies. Again he recalls the old precepts. Here it is written: "Watch over yourselves" (Ibid. 5:13), words he frequently repeats afterwards. He warns them not to attribute their victories to their own bravery, but to God's grace. Here it is written: "God is a consuming fire" (Deut. 4:24; Heb. 12:29), words Paul placed in the Epistle to the Hebrews. He exhorts them not to yield to pride, "for it is not because of your righteousness, O Israel," he says, "that the nations will be exterminated, but because of their own impiety." (Deut. 9:5) He reminds them of the golden calf. Here it is written: "Submit the hardness of your heart to circumcision, and do not harden your heads." (Deut. 10:16) He praises the promised land. There are found these words: "When you have eaten and drunk and are satisfied, be watchful." (Deut. 6:12–13) He announces evils if they do not obey and blessings if they obey. He orders them to

bless Mount Gerizim and curse Mount Ebal. He commands them to destroy the idols and the places dedicated to them. He orders them not to offer sacrifices to God everywhere, but in the place he himself will have chosen. He tells them not to imitate the nations or listen to anyone who counsels idolatry, even if he works wonders, whether he is a friend or anyone else, but to stone anyone who gives such counsel, even a brother; and if a city yields to idolatry, it is to be utterly destroyed.

He states what may be eaten and what may not. He gives the law for the remission of debts, for the release and freeing of slaves, for the firstborn and for the celebration of Passover. Here it is written: "You may not keep the Passover in any of the cities that the Lord your God will give you, but only in the place that the Lord your God will have chosen." (Deut. 16:5) He speaks of the Feast of Weeks, that of Tabernacles, of judges, of kings if one day they wish to have a king, of Levites and those who are to be chosen for this office. Recourse to purifiers, enchanters, diviners, augurs and all others of this kind is forbidden.

Here it is written: "God will raise up for you a prophet like me." (Deut. 18:15) He gives the prescriptions concerning the cities of refuge. There it is written: "Let every word be attested by two or three witnesses" (Deut. 19:15; John 1:45), and provisions are made concerning false testimony and the punishment reserved for it. He says whom to send away when war is about to begin, and these men are not to fight against the enemy. He exhorts them not to put enemy prisoners of war to death, except those of seven nations. And all the cities you take, he says, you shall plunder; but you shall kill only the males. Of all those whose land you possess, leave none alive. Do not cut down fruit trees, he says, to make stakes for the siege.

He establishes the procedure to follow when someone is killed and the killer remains unknown. If a man has two wives, hates one and loves the other, and the firstborn happens to be the son of the unloved wife, the son of the more beloved wife shall not be preferred to him. He speaks of the disobedient son. Here it is written: "Cursed is he who hangs upon the tree!" (Deut. 26:53) The curse

was for all those who did not fulfil the law. “Cursed is he who does not observe the prescriptions written in this book!” (Deut. 27:26; Gal. 3:13) Moses speaks for those living under the law, and Christ could not incur this curse, for he fulfilled the law and, hanging upon the tree, destroyed the curse by the curse.

One must not neglect to help even an enemy’s cattle. Various laws are enacted, particularly concerning marriage; penalties are established against those who rape virgins. Moses excludes certain individuals from the assembly and enacts other laws. He forbids usury. He forbids delaying the fulfilment of vows; when someone has made a promise, let him fulfil it at once. He mentions the woman who receives a document of divorce, objects given as pledges, theft, the wages of hired workers, the orphan, the widow, the ears of grain and bunches of grapes that must be left for the poor to gather. Here it is said that someone who has committed an offence must not receive more than forty blows. The mouth of the ox working on the threshing floor must not be bound. The surviving brother must raise up children for his dead brother. What awaits the man who refuses to raise them up. Concerning weights and measures. Concerning the extermination of the Amalekites. Concerning firstfruits. Concerning humanity towards widows and orphans.

Here begin the curses and blessings, the former for those who disobey, the latter for those who are faithful. Moses describes at length the evils that are to fall upon them; this is what happened under the rule of the Assyrians and Babylonians. That even children were eaten is what occurred in the sieges endured by the Jews. Here there is an allusion to Christ: “And your life,” he says, “will hang before your eyes.” (Deut. 28:66) Here too are these words: “Let there be no root of bitterness among you” (Ibid. 29:18), which Paul recalled in the Epistle to the Hebrews. (Heb. 12:15) Here again we read: “These secrets hidden in the Lord our God are now revealed to us and to our children. For his commandment,” he says, “is not above us. It is not in heaven, so that you should say: Who then can ascend to heaven? It is not beyond the sea; rather, his word is near

you, it is in your mouth." (Deut. 29:29; ibid. XXX; 21; Rom. 10:6) All these things, said concerning the Mosaic law, Paul applied to faith in Jesus Christ. "I call heaven and earth to witness before you," he says, "to your obligation to love your God."

Then Moses calls Joshua son of Nun; he commands him to lead the people and not to fear their enemies, since he has God as his helper. He wishes the law to be read before all the people at the Feast of Tabernacles. God foretells to Moses that after his death the people will become idolatrous and be punished. Let this canticle, he says, bear witness against them, for they will not be able to forget it. And Moses wrote the canticle and foretold their transgressions to them. Here it is written: "They provoked me by renouncing me as their God, and I will provoke them by renouncing them as my people." (Deut. 32:21) Moses receives the command to climb the mountain of Abarim, also called Nebo, and to behold the promised land; and after blessing each tribe, he died. But no one has seen his tomb to this day.

Here end the five books of Moses, the only ones accepted by the Samaritans.

Summary of the Book of Joshua Son of Nun

Joshua receives the command to enjoin the people to observe God's law; he sends scouts who enter Jericho. On learning this, the king of that country sends men to seize them at the house of Rahab, the courtesan, who had received them. She hides the scouts and, in return for this kindness, asks that her household be saved when the city is taken, which they promise. On returning, they recount what happened. Joshua orders the people to cross the Jordan. They cross it on dry ground and set up twelve stones in the middle of the camp. The Amorite kings beyond the Jordan and the Phoenician kings, learning that the Israelites had crossed the river on dry ground, are frightened and filled with terror. Then Joshua takes stone knives and circumcises the Jews. For they had spent forty years in the wilderness, and because of this most had not been circumcised, even among the men able to bear arms, and they had died uncircumcised; in their place were substituted their sons, whom Joshua circumcised because they had not been circumcised during the journey through the wilderness. Then they kept the Passover. And from the day when they ate unleavened bread with the grain from that land, the manna ceased to fall. God commands Joshua to remove his shoes and march around Jericho with the ark and the trumpets for seven days. After this time, the walls fell of themselves. It is evident that the Sabbath began to be broken then, for however one counts, the Sabbath must have fallen on one of those days. Rahab is spared with her family; she lives among Israel. The city is given to the flames and placed under the ban; Joshua curses whoever would rebuild it. Achar had stolen one of the objects placed under the ban, and the people are defeated in the attack on another city. Joshua prays to God, who orders the removal of the accursed thing. Achar is discovered and convicted of theft; he is stoned with his sons and daughters. Joshua engages in battle and takes Gaza, which he gives to the flames. Twelve thousand men perish in the city, and the king is hung on a gallows. The kings of the Amorites, the Canaanites and others gather to wage war on the Israelites. Joshua raises an altar of unpolished stones and writes Deuteronomy in that place. Half the people stand near Mount Ebal and the other half near Mount Gerizim. Then comes what

happened concerning the Gibeonites. For, frightened by the Israelites' reputation and having learned how they had won their battles, they come to them wearing worn clothes, with dried-out bread and worn sandals, and tell the people that they come from a distant land, offering their clothes, bread and footwear as proof of their far-off home. They said that all these things had worn out on the journey and that they had come to make a peaceful alliance with them. The Israelites made an alliance without consulting God. When they realised that they had been deceived and that the Gibeonites lived not far away but close by, since they could not attack them in violation of their oath, they made them slaves charged with cutting wood and carrying water. Thus Noah's prediction was fulfilled: "Canaan is a child reduced to servitude" (Gen. 9:25), for this people descended from him.

Adoni-Bezek, king of Jerusalem, learned that the cities of Jericho and Gaza had been taken and that the Gibeonites had surrendered to the children of Israel, and undertook to wage war on them with the help of several allied kings. They call Joshua to their aid. He comes, engages in battle and puts the enemies to flight; hail falls on them from heaven, and the hail kills more of them than the children of Israel kill with the sword. Then the sun stood still towards Gibeon and the moon towards the valley of Elom, and Joshua put all the enemy people and five kings to death. He takes Makkedah, Libnah, Lactlis, Odola, Hebron, Debir, the whole hill country and the region of the plain. Several other kings advance with their armies, and Joshua exterminates them. Their names are given, as are the names of their cities and the number of their warriors. God commands Joshua to divide the promised land among the Israelites. He describes what each tribe receives as its portion and what is allotted to the Levites. Joshua puts the tribes of Reuben and Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh in possession of the lands assigned to them during Moses' lifetime. On separating, they raised an altar on the banks of the Jordan, which caused concern to the other tribes. For it had been thought to be a sign of defection. Messengers were therefore sent to reproach them, but they justified themselves by saying that they had not built the altar as a sign of defection. It is, they said,

so that your sons may not tell our sons that they are strangers to them because the Jordan flows between them and separates them; this altar will be a memorial so that your sons cannot say to our sons: You are not the Lord's portion. And in this way they persuaded the other tribes not to make war on them.

Joshua then gathers the Israelites. He reminds them of all God's blessings, exhorts them to keep the law and announces the evils reserved for them if they do not observe it; then he dies. The high priest Eleazar also dies, and his son Phinehas obtains the priesthood in his place. Soon the sons of Israel worshipped idols and were delivered into the hands of Eglon, king of Moab, who held them in servitude for eighteen years.

On the Book of Judges

It states which cities the Israelites took and which other cities they compelled to pay tribute. For their lack of courage to endure the hardships of war led them to transgress God's command to exterminate the enemies completely. An angel sent by the Lord to the Israelites reproaches them for this transgression. When you should have destroyed them, he tells them, you made alliances with them: therefore God will not exterminate what remains of these nations. Hearing this, they all wept together, and the place was called the place of weeping. And they become transgressors and idolaters and are delivered to their enemies; they are freed from servitude and again fall back into the same evils. They are delivered to Chushan-Sathon, king of Syria, for eight years, and God delivers them through the judge Othniel. They are delivered to Eglon, king of Moab; they cry to the Lord, who raises up Ehud for them, and he kills Eglon and the Moabites by a stratagem. After them, Shamgar was judge, then Deborah the prophetess. When the Israelites were under the yoke of the king of Canaan, Deborah commands Barak to begin the war; he refuses unless she herself comes with him, and Deborah accompanies him. Battle begins; they put their enemies to flight. Sisera, commander of Jabin's army, goes to a woman named Jael and asks her for a drink. She gives him milk rather than water. He drinks and falls asleep. The woman then takes a nail and drives it into his temple. Thus Sisera died. Barak saw him after he was dead. Deborah sings a canticle for the victory.

Again the Israelites are delivered into Midian's hands, for they continually offended the Lord. An angel appears to Gideon and exhorts him to fight. The Lord commands him to sacrifice a fat animal from his father's herd, bring it as a burnt offering and destroy the altar of Baal. He does so and offers a burnt offering to the Lord. Gideon, also called Jerubbaal, asks for a sign, which is given to him in the fleece. God orders him to send away his whole army, keeping only three hundred men. He does so and, engaging in battle with lamps and trumpets, defeats the enemies. Oreb and Zeeb, princes of Midian, are put to death, as are the kings Zebah and Zalmunna. Now Gideon, dying, leaves seventy sons and Abimelech, whom he had by a concubine. The latter kills

his seventy brothers and reigns, but shortly afterwards he pays the penalty for his fratricide: going to war, he is struck on the head by a fragment of millstone thrown by a woman, and dies. After Abimelech, Tola was judge, and after Tola came Jair. The children of Israel anger God and are delivered into Ammon's hands. Then the leaders of the people take Jephthah, the son of a courtesan, who had been driven from his father's house by his brothers, as their war leader against the sons of Ammon; they give him command. Jephthah agrees to their wishes and first sends an envoy to the king of the sons of Ammon, who will not be persuaded. He promises God that, if he returns from the war, he will sacrifice to him the first person he meets. He fights his enemies, is victorious and sacrifices his daughter, for she was the first to appear before him. Again the Israelites angered God and were delivered into the hands of foreigners. Then Samson was born. He saw a woman of Timnah, loved her and wished to take her as his wife; his parents at first tried to dissuade him because she was a foreigner, but then, seeing that he insisted, they no longer refused. As he was going to speak with her, a lion came towards him, and he killed it with his hands. When the time of the wedding came, he set out again and saw a honeycomb in the mouth of the lion he had killed; he took some, ate it, gave some to his parents and those accompanying him, then proposed this riddle: "Out of the one who devours came food," that is, out of the lion's mouth, "and out of the one who was violent came sweetness instead of bitterness." (Judg. 14:14) He promised to give thirty girdles and thirty robes if they guessed it; but if they could not, they would give him as many. Since those who had undertaken to guess were baffled and could not find the answer, they threatened his wife with death unless she learned the riddle from him; having learned it, she revealed it to them, and they answered, so that they received the prize. But Samson was indignant. The woman's father, afraid, took her and gave her to another man, but Samson was grieved still more. Therefore, taking three hundred foxes and as many torches, which he fastened to their tails, he released them into the foreigners' fields. When their fields had been ravaged by fire, they themselves set fire to the woman's house and burned her with her father. This did not appease Samson's anger, but he again made

war on them. They therefore drew up for battle against Samson and demanded that he be handed over to them; the Israelites bound him and handed him over to the enemies.

Samson broke his bonds and, finding the jawbone of an ass, used it to kill a thousand of them. He was thirsty and prayed to God, and water came out of that jawbone, and he drank. He then went to see a courtesan in Gaza, and his enemies surrounded him; but in the middle of the night he took the city gates and, putting them on his shoulders, went away. Samson then loved a woman named Delilah and took her as his wife. The princes of the foreigners promised this woman eleven hundred pieces of silver if they learned from her how to deprive him of his strength. As she tried to find out, at first he deceived her; finally, because she tormented him, he told her the truth, saying that if anyone cut his hair, he would no longer have any strength. She summoned the princes and, keeping him asleep, had his hair cut, and he was weakened. The foreigners seized him, deprived him of his sight and threw him into prison. They rejoiced and brought him out of prison to make sport of him. But he, groaning bitterly, prayed to the Lord to restore his strength; then he seized the building's pillars and shook them, bringing the building down upon the princes, himself and all the rest of the people, and killed more than he had put to death during the whole of his previous life.

After those days, the men of the tribe of Dan made war and took the city of Laish, whose name they changed, and set up a statue there to worship it. Now a Levite had become angry with his concubine, and she had gone to her father's house; he went there to bring her back with him. On the way, he stopped at Gibeah, a city of Benjamin, where he lodged with an old man. The inhabitants of Gibeah surrounded the house and demanded the guest in order to violate him. The old man was prepared to give them his virgin daughter, but they took away the courtesan and kept her for their pleasure all night. When day came, they left her and went away. After these assaults, she went towards the house where her husband was and died. When he came out, he found her dead, divided her body into twelve parts and sent them to the twelve tribes. The Israelites were indignant; they took up arms and demanded that those who had assaulted the woman be handed over. They were refused, and war began. They were defeated a first and a second time, but in the third

encounter they cut the whole tribe of Benjamin to pieces, except for six hundred men who had fled. There was therefore reason to fear that the entire tribe would perish, for they had no wives, and the children of Israel had sworn not to give them any. So they put to death those who had not accompanied them against the Benjaminites, and gave them those men's virgin daughters, numbering four hundred. And because some still had no wives, they allowed them to abduct virgins without their parents' knowledge during the celebration of a feast.

Summary of the Book of Ruth

Naomi, after the deaths of her husband and sons, and after the famine that had obliged her to live in the land of the Moabites had ended, returns to Judea. One of her daughters-in-law, following her advice, remained among the Moabites; the other, despite all her exhortations urging her to stay, would not do so, but accompanied her. She marries Boaz, who was Naomi's close relative, and gives birth to Obed, who was the father of Jesse, who was the father of King David.

Summary of the First Book of Kings

Elkanah had two wives and had no child by one of them. When he went to sacrifice at Shiloh, the barren wife addressed the Lord and bore Samuel, whom she gave to the house of God for ever, as she had promised before she conceived. Eli was then high priest. Eli's sons, Hophni and Phinehas, were wicked and perverse young men who took their share of the sacrificial victims before they were offered to God. Now Eli blessed Hannah, and she had three more sons and two daughters, and Samuel grew in virtue. Eli learned of the crimes of his sons, who committed adultery; he rebuked them in his words, but they did not obey. The ruin of his house and the deaths of his sons, caused by their sin, are announced to Eli. God's implacable anger is revealed to Samuel, who informs Eli of it.

The foreigners make war on Israel, cutting them to pieces and putting them to flight. Eli's sons had brought the ark of the covenant; they

fall in battle with many others, and the enemies seize the ark. A man comes to tell Eli these things; he falls backwards from his seat, breaks his head and dies. His daughter-in-law dies when she learns all this. The foreigners bring the ark into the temple of Dagon, who falls twice and breaks. At the same time, the men were punished in the private parts of their bodies, and a multitude of rats appeared in their fields. The people of Ashdod send the ark to those of Gath, who are afflicted with the same plagues. They send it to Ashkelon, and men die on every side. Advised by their diviners, they make five golden anuses and five rats of the same metal and, placing them on a cart with the ark, harness cows to it whose calves are shut in the stable. The cows went straight ahead along the road leading to Beth-shemesh. The inhabitants of that country received the ark and offered God a sacrifice witnessed by the princes of the foreigners. The sons of Jeconiah had not welcomed the ark eagerly and had not rejoiced with the others, and a great plague struck the people. Frightened, the people of Beth-shemesh sent the ark to Abinadab's house.

The Israelites had turned to God at that time and were triumphing over the foreigners who made war on them. Samuel prayed for them; they recovered the cities the enemies had taken from them. But Samuel grew old, and his sons did not walk in their father's way. The Jews gathered and asked for a king. Samuel was grieved by this, but God said to him: "It is not you they have despised, but me. Therefore I will make known to them the king's right" (1 Sam. 8:7), that is, the services the king is to demand of them. Samuel reported to them what God had said; they persisted in their request.

The she-asses of Kish, Saul's father, were lost. Kish sent Saul to look for them; since he could not find them, he followed his servant's advice and went to Samuel to question him. God himself points him out to Samuel, saying: Give this man the royal anointing. Saul arrived, asking Samuel where the seer was, for that is what they called the prophets. He answered that he himself was the seer and, leading him to Ramah, where the people were offering a sacrifice, received him at his table; then, when dawn came,

as he travelled with him, he poured a flask of oil on his head and, having kissed him, said to him: You will command the people; and after giving him signs, he sent him away. And Saul prophesied.

One of Saul's close associates questioned him, asking where he had gone. He answered: To look for the she-asses. Meanwhile, the people gather at Mizpah, and Saul is made king. The king of the Ammonites had begun war against the people of Gilead, who sent representatives to Saul. He marches to their aid and cuts the enemies to pieces. A feast is held at Gilgal, and Samuel addresses the people, saying: "Have I taken anyone's calf or ass?" (1 Sam. 12:3) Having exhorted them to obey God, he prays, and rain falls on the day of harvest. The people were afraid and confessed that they had sinned in asking for a king. Samuel again exhorts them to obey God's commandments.

Saul utterly defeats the foreigners. Finding this setback hard to bear, they renew the war with greater forces. The Israelites are put to flight. Saul remains alone. He offers a burnt offering to God without waiting for Samuel, who had instructed him to wait. Samuel arrives; angered by what has been done, he threatens Saul with the loss of his kingship, which will be transferred to another, by whom he meant David. While Saul was on a hill with six hundred men, his son Jonathan secretly rushed upon the enemies with a single servant and killed a good number of them. Saul notices this and, falling upon all these disordered men, is victorious; he orders under oath that no one take any food until evening. Jonathan, who had not heard this command, tastes some honey. Saul consults God to know whether to pursue the enemies, but God does not answer, and he understands that someone among the people has sinned. When Jonathan was discovered to be the sole culprit, Saul was ready to put him to death, but the people rescued him from his hands.

Samuel orders Saul to fight against the Amalekites, destroy everything and spare no one. He does not obey and keeps King Agag and herds of sheep and oxen. Samuel sees him coming; he is angry and says: "God desires obedience to his voice more than burnt offerings and sacrifices, for obedience is better than the sacrificial victim." (1 Sam. 15:22) Samuel threatens him with the loss of the kingship. Saul wants to compel him to travel

with him, but Samuel refuses. Then he goes under compulsion and, commanding Saul to bring Agag to him, Samuel kills him with his own hands. From that day he saw Saul no more until the day of his death, but he mourned for him.

Samuel was then sent by God to anoint David; he went and anointed him. An evil spirit seized Saul, and David was brought to him to play the harp and soothe the evil spirit. When Goliath was making war on Israel and everyone was terrified, David was sent to visit his brothers; he came to the camp and asked what reward would be given to the man who killed this foreigner. They told him: The king's daughter will be given to him as his wife. He therefore went to Saul and promised to kill the man. Saul did not believe this promise. Finally, he sent David, who set out after laying aside the weapons he could not even carry. David hurled a stone at Goliath's forehead and knocked him down; taking his sword, he cut off his head and returned triumphant from the battle.

When Jonathan saw David, he became attached to him from the depths of his soul; he loved him greatly and gave him gifts. But Saul envied him because the young women had sung in chorus: "Saul has killed a thousand, David has killed ten thousand." (1 Sam. 18:7) He raised his spear against David to kill him, but David fled. While David was acclaimed by everyone, Saul grew still more jealous and, wishing to have him killed, promised to give him his daughter if he killed a hundred men among the enemies. David killed them and became the king's son-in-law. Again David gained glory in another war; so Saul, increasingly embittered against him, tells his son Jonathan that he wants to kill him. Jonathan warns David and tells him to hide. After calming his father, he brought David back to him. A new war begins; David distinguishes himself by his courage and again escapes Saul, who wanted to pierce him with his spear. He flees on his wife's advice. Saul sends men to seize him, but she replies that he is ill. When Saul learned that he had fled, he reproached his daughter. Then, learning where David was, he sends men to capture him. Those he had sent did not return, but remained among the prophets, and he himself set out.

David goes to Jonathan and tells him that Saul wants to have him put to death. If you wish to know for certain tomorrow, he says, I will be absent at mealtime. If your father asks why I am absent, say that I asked leave to go because of a sacrifice taking place in the city. If he shows gentleness, I have nothing to fear from him; if he shows anger, it is clear that he wishes to strike me and is laying traps for me. Jonathan did so. Now Saul showed such anger that he tried to kill his son. Leaving the table, Jonathan went out into the countryside and shot arrows, for this was the agreed signal. Running behind his servant, while David was hidden there, he said: Hurry, do not stop, for that arrow is far beyond you. David understood what these things meant and, when the servant had gone away, threw his arms around Jonathan's neck and wept. Jonathan told him to flee and remember their agreements. These agreements were that he would always show mercy to Jonathan's house, whether Jonathan was alive or dead.

David goes to the priest Abimelech. He then eats the showbread. He takes Goliath's sword, saying that the king has sent him somewhere in great haste. From there he goes to Achish, then to Adullam, and entrusts his household to the king of Moab. Saul complains before his servants that no one shares his troubles or hands David over to him; Doeg the Edomite, who was present when David came to the priest, tells him what happened. Then Saul summons the priests, and since none of those present will kill them, he gives the order to Doeg, who slaughters three hundred and fifty men wearing the ephod and destroys Nob, their city. One of a priest's sons, who managed to escape, told David these things. David lamented, kept the man with him and delivered the besieged city of Keilah. He learns that Saul is pursuing him and leaves there for the wilderness of Ziph, but Saul knows and follows him. However, Saul hears news of an enemy incursion and turns back. Returning from battle, he pursues him again and enters a cave where David was resting with several of his men. They all urged him to kill Saul, but he refused and would not allow those who wished to do so. But when Saul had left the cave, David followed him and, calling after him, showed Saul his wickedness while

at the same time showing him his own righteousness, and Saul wept. At this time Samuel died.

David sends to Nabal to ask for gifts in return for the protection given to his flocks. Not only did Nabal give him nothing, but he insulted him in his reply to his messengers, and David advanced in arms to destroy him. Abigail, Nabal's wife, learned of it and went out to meet David, taking gifts. She implored him and halted the punishment. After Nabal's death, she became David's wife. Saul, learning where David was, came towards him once more. While Saul slept with his whole army, David arrived with Abishai; Abishai advised him to kill his enemy, but David refused. He took the cup at Saul's head and his spear; then, going some distance away, he shouted and woke the general, whom he reproached for not guarding the king. He showed the spear and cup, reproaching Saul for pursuing a man who had done him no harm. Nevertheless, he fled to Achish, not believing it safe to remain near Saul. David receives the city of Ziklag from Achish, makes incursions among the enemies and brings back much wealth and livestock.

The foreigners gather against Israel. Saul consults the medium. David returns from the army because the princes of the foreigners would not allow him to march with them, fearing that he might betray them; he finds the city of Ziklag burned and the women abducted: they had been taken captive. Having asked God whether he should pursue the abductors, and God having told him to pursue them, he marches against them. Learning from an Egyptian servant where they were camped, he attacks them while they rest and takes spoils, which he divides equally between those who fought and those who remained to guard the baggage. Battle begins between Israel and the foreigners. Saul falls with Jonathan and two of his sons. The enemies took his body and hung it on the wall of Beth-shan, also called Scythopolis; but men from Jabesh came, carried it away together with Jonathan's body and buried them.

Second Book of Kings

A man came to David, telling him that he had killed Saul, and David had him put to death. David mourned Saul and Jonathan and received the royal anointing. He sent to the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead to congratulate them on burying Saul. Meanwhile, Saul's general Abner makes Saul's son Ish-bosheth king. But David reigned over the tribe of Judah. Joab, David's servant, and Abner, Saul's servant, marched against one another, and the fighting on both sides was carried on by the young men. Asahel, Joab's brother, pursued Abner, who repeatedly urged him to withdraw, but he would not. Abner killed him and, calling to Joab, asked him to stop the fighting. War had thus broken out between Saul's house and David's house; the latter grew stronger each day, while the former grew weaker.

Abner took one of Saul's concubines for himself; Ish-bosheth reproached him for it, and Abner sent to David, promising to deliver all the people to him. He went to David, who gave him a meal. But Joab, returning from war, learned of this and, luring Abner by a stratagem, killed him to avenge his brother's blood. David learned of it and cursed Joab; he mourned Abner and buried him with great honour. Rechab and Baanah secretly killed Ish-bosheth; they came to David, believing that they had gained glory by this murder, but he had them put to death. Thus David became king of all the people. He marched towards Jerusalem, the city of the Jebusites, whose lame men defended its entrance; he took the citadel and built himself a dwelling. Hiram, king of Tyre, made an alliance with David. The foreigners make war; David goes out and puts them to flight. They appear again, but God prevents him from going to meet them. "When you hear," says the Lord, "the sound of agitation and weeping, you shall engage in battle" (2 Sam. 5:14), and I will deliver them to you. David has the ark brought to him. Uzzah is struck dead because he had stretched out his hand towards the ark. As the ark advances, David dances before it, and Michal mocks him. David wished to build a temple; the prophet Nathan prevents him. He addresses prayers and thanksgivings to God, rejoicing because of the promises he had heard. David defeats the foreigners, the Moabites and the Syrians; he brings to Jerusalem the golden weapons he had seized: Shishak, king of Egypt, later carried them away. David consecrated many things by placing them under the ban.

It was then that he admitted Mephibaal, Jonathan's son, to the royal table and gave him everything that had belonged to Saul. He gave him Ziba, who had been his father's servant, as a servant, and ordered him and his children to serve Mephibaal. David sends to the king of the sons of Ammon to console him after his father's death, but, advised by the nobles, the king insults those who had come to console him. War results, for which David sends Joab, then marches himself and puts his enemies to flight. Here belongs the account concerning Uriah, Bathsheba and the child who died. Solomon is born afterwards. Joab attacks Rabbah and, after gaining control of the city, sends to David, wishing to credit him with the victory.

Amnon, David's son, loves his sister Tamar; he feigns illness and, when she comes to visit him, rapes her. Absalom, her brother, invites the king to a feast, and when the king does not come, asks that his brothers come. They arrive; Absalom gives orders to his servants, and they kill Amnon during the meal. When the king learned of this, he wept greatly and was angry with Absalom, who fled. After three years, when the king's anger had subsided, Joab uses a stratagem involving the woman of Tekoa to persuade the king to recall Absalom. On his return, David did not wish to see him immediately; he remained in Jerusalem for two years outside the king's presence. Absalom summons Joab, who does not obey. He sets fire to his field and thus compels him to come. Sent by Absalom to the king, Joab reconciles them and brings Absalom to David. Meanwhile, Absalom obtained a chariot and had horsemen. Receiving with great honour those who came for judgement, he praised them as people whose claims were just and expressed pity that there was no one to uphold their rights. He said: "Who will make me judge over this land?" (II Kings 10:24), and in this way won the people over.

Absalom revolts against David, who, on learning of it, flees Jerusalem, leaving his concubines in the city. Ittai wants to follow him; at first he prevents him, then yields to his insistence. After they had crossed the torrent, he ordered the ark to be taken back into the city; he himself was to wait in the place of the Olives in case they had anything to tell him of the king's secrets. Hushai comes to meet David, who sends him to

overturn the plans of Ahithophel, who had been placed among Absalom's counsellors. After his departure, Ziba came, accusing his master Mephibaal of wanting to reign, and David gives him all his master's possessions. Shimei curses David, who restrains Abishai and prevents him from killing him. Hushai goes to Absalom and persuades him that he has come to him of his own accord. The council meets to decide what to do, and Ahithophel persuades Absalom to have intercourse with his father's concubines, which he does on the palace roof so that everyone may witness it. Ahithophel added this further advice: to take a thousand men with him, pursue David and kill him. When Hushai was called upon to give his opinion, he opposed Ahithophel's advice, urging them to wait so as to pursue David with a greater force. This advice prevailed, for God willed it so. Then Hushai sends the priests' sons and tells David everything. Meanwhile, Ahithophel, whose opinion had been disregarded, strangled himself.

Many gifts are brought to David. Having raised an army, he sends it forth and says: "Spare my dear son Absalom" (2 Sam. 18:5), for he was not allowed to take the field himself. The battle begins; many men fall, among them Absalom, caught in a tree by his hair. The war ends with this death. Joab dispatches Hushai to announce the victory to David. After listening, David wept for his son until Joab came, changed his disposition and persuaded him to receive the army with a cheerful face. The king calls the fleeing Israelites back to him; Abishai brings them to submit to David, for they were already minded to do so. He crosses the Jordan: Shimei presents himself, acknowledging his fault, and David stops Abishai, who wanted to kill him. Mephibaal also came, dirty in appearance and in filthy clothes, with a thick moustache and visibly long nails, for all these things were signs of his sorrow at the war raised against David. The king asked why he had not followed him. He replied that he had asked Ziba, his servant, to put him on a beast of burden, but he had refused. The king orders that his field be divided between him and Ziba. David wished to bring back with him Barzillai, who had given him much help during the war; he refuses because of his old age. The king took his son in his place. The army divides; one part gives its allegiance to Sheba, and

David sends Amasa to fight him, but Joab kills Amasa by a stratagem and besieges the city in which Sheba has taken refuge. Following a woman's advice, those in the city cut off Sheba's head, throw it down to Joab from the walls and thus deliver themselves from the war. A famine spreads over the land, and it could end only if several of Saul's descendants were handed over to the Gibeonites. David spares Mephibaal because of the oath made to Jonathan, but hands over Saul's children and grandchildren, and buries Saul and Jonathan in Kish's tomb. New wars arise. David is prevented from taking part, for fear that he might be exposed to danger. It is then that he composes the seventeenth psalm, which recounts the great deeds and noble actions of David's generals. Joab receives the command to take a census of the people and does so: there were nine hundred thousand warriors in Israel and four hundred thousand in Judah. The prophet Gad then appears and gives David a choice among three kinds of punishment, whichever he would prefer to endure: three years of famine, three days of flight before the enemies or three days of death. David cries out: "Behold, I have sinned; I, the shepherd of the people, have committed iniquity, but these who form the flock, what have they done? Let your hand be upon me and upon my father's house." (2 Sam. 24:17) The scourge ceased. David received the command to raise an altar on Ormia's threshing floor and offer a sacrifice, and he did so.

Ornias, David's son, received Joab and Abiathar at a feast as the one who was to reign one day. On the advice of the prophet Nathan, Bathsheba goes to David and tells him these things. While she was speaking, Nathan entered, for both wanted Solomon to be king. They went out after placing Solomon on the royal mule; the prophet Nathan and the priest Zadok went to Gihon and anointed him, saying: "Long live the king." (1 Kings 1:39) Jonathan, Abiathar's son, told Ornias everything while he was at table. The others fled, but Ornias took refuge beside the altar, for he feared Solomon. Solomon had him brought out of there, and Ornias approached and bowed before the king.

David, on the point of death, exhorts Solomon to keep God's law, for in this way he would obtain the fulfilment of the promises made to him.

He orders him to punish Joab and Shimei, to honour Barzillai's children and admit them to the royal table. And he died, having reigned forty years.

Third Book of Kings

Solomon puts Ornias to death because he had asked for Abishag as his wife; he strips Abiathar of the priesthood. The threat against Eli's line was fulfilled, for Abiathar belonged to that family. He also had Joab put to death and appointed Zadok in Abiathar's place. Shimei receives the injunction to remain in the city at all times; if he should leave it, he would not do so with impunity but would be condemned to die. Shimei's servants fled; he forgot the king's orders and went out to look for them. Solomon learned of it and had him put to death.

An account of Solomon's wisdom, the peace prevailing at that time, the splendour of his table, his chariots, horses and riches of every kind. Solomon asks God for wisdom. He judges two women who come to him concerning a child. Further discussion of Solomon's wisdom, the abundance of his table and the officers performing the various duties in his service. Solomon sends to Hiram, king of Tyre, asking for workers skilled in woodwork in return for payment. Hiram grants them. Here the number of workers and the quantity of materials prepared for the temple's construction are discussed. The temple is then built. Solomon prays in the temple, offers a sacrifice and performs the dedication. God promises him great blessings if he observes the commandments, and threatens him with the opposite if he becomes a transgressor.

Solomon had a ship that brought him gold. The story of the queen of the south, who comes to hear his wisdom. His great riches, the golden weapons he has made; the extent of his kingdom, from one place to another. Here his idolatry and his offences against God are discussed. Threats are addressed to him: his kingdom will be dissolved and peace taken away. Ader the Edomite and Esdrom revolt. Jeroboam, his servant, also revolts against him. The prophet Allias goes to Jeroboam and gives him ten pieces of his cloak, which he tears, signifying thereby that he will wield the sceptre over the ten tribes. Solomon wished to kill him, but he fled to Egypt, from which he returns after Solomon's death.

The people come to Rehoboam, Solomon's son, asking for a lighter yoke than Solomon's. Advised by the young men brought up with him, Rehoboam threatens to make the burden still heavier; then the ten tribes separated and chose Jeroboam to reign over them. Rehoboam wished to make war, but God prevented him. Jeroboam's son falls ill, and he sends his wife to the prophet Allias to question him about this illness; the prophet says that the child would die, and he died. Jeroboam sets up two golden calves, one at Bethel and the other at Dan, so that the people may no longer go to Jerusalem. While he was sacrificing, the man of God appears and prophesies concerning King Josiah. The king's hand withers and the altar is broken, but the prophet prays to God and the king is healed. He invites the prophet to eat with him; the prophet refuses, according to God's command, but afterwards transgresses this order and is killed by a lion. Jeroboam persisted in his impiety, and Rehoboam worshipped idols throughout all the years of his reign. Shishak came and seized his treasures.

After Rehoboam reigned his son Abijah, and after him Asa, Abijah's son. After Jeroboam reigned his son Adab: Baasha put him to death and reigned, and made war on Asa, who was victorious by resorting to an alliance with Ader the Syrian. Baasha was a wicked king; God threatens him with great evils. After him reigns his son Elah, whom Zimri, one of the generals, kills; Zimri reigns in turn and destroys Baasha's house. After Zimri died, having himself set fire to his dwelling, Omri reigned. When he died, his son Ahab became king. Jehoshaphat, Asa's son, also reigns. The prophet Elijah threatens Ahab with the drought that lasts three years and six months. During this time, a raven feeds the prophet. Here is the story of the widow of Zarephath, the measure of oil and the measure of flour, the child's death and resurrection. Elijah is sent to Ahab; he offers a sacrificial victim and brings down from heaven the fire that consumes it. He has the priests of Baal seized and slaughtered. He announces rain to Ahab. Elijah goes up Mount Carmel, offers a sacrifice and prays, and rain falls. Jezebel, Ahab's wife, threatens the prophet with death; he goes into the wilderness, where he falls asleep. Awakened by an angel, he finds a loaf of wheat bread baked under the ashes; he eats it and is strengthened. With this food alone, he walks for forty days to Mount Horeb. Then he speaks these words: Lord, they have

overthrown your altars. Elisha leaves his oxen and follows Elijah. Here is the story of Naboth's vineyard, the threats against Jezebel and Ahab, and Ahab's repentance. Ader the Syrian invades Israel with thirty-two kings. Ahab triumphs over him; Ader renews the war and suffers a great disaster. Finding himself in such danger, he clothed himself in wretched garments and went to Ahab, calling himself his slave and looking to him for deliverance. Ahab had him mount his chariot and sent him back to his country laden with honours. The prophet appeared, reproached the king and threatened him with death.

Ahab consults to learn whether he should make war on the Syrians, and on the advice of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, the prophet Micaiah is summoned. When questioned, he predicts calamities if war is undertaken; Ahab becomes angry. The false prophet Zedekiah strikes Micaiah; Ahab orders Micaiah to be kept until the end of the war as a lying prophet. He sets out to fight and says to Jehoshaphat: Let us exchange clothes and insignia; I will take yours and give you mine. Once this was done, the soldiers, who had received their king's command to disregard all others and concentrate in battle on the king of Israel alone, saw Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and thought he was the king of Israel, for the clothing had deceived them. They surrounded him and wanted to kill him. But he cried out and averted the danger. Meanwhile, an archer struck Ahab, and his blood flowed. They washed him in the fountain, and women of ill repute washed in his blood, and the dogs licked it. Ahaziah, Ahab's son, reigned after him. Jehoshaphat, who had been his friend, was not punished, because his good works averted the punishment.

Fourth Book of Kings

When Ahaziah fell ill, he sent to ask Baal whether he would recover. Elijah met the messengers and commanded them to go and say that he would not recover. Ahaziah, learning that it was Elijah who had spoken thus, sends a captain of fifty men, then another. After both have been consumed by fire from heaven with their fifty men, Elijah receives the command to follow the third and, going to the king, tells him that he will die. After him reigns his brother Joram, for he had no son. Here is Elijah's taking up into heaven. The sons of the prophets, seeing Elisha cross the Jordan on dry ground, say that Elijah's spirit has rested upon him. But they wanted to send men to search for Elijah, and he prevented them. Then he consented to their wish, but they did not find him. Elisha makes the waters of Jericho wholesome. He passes through Bethel and curses the children who mocked him: bears devour them.

The king of Moab refused to pay the customary tribute. Joram, king of Israel, marches against him, taking Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and the king of Edom as allies. They found no water in the wilderness and were in danger of perishing. On Ahaziah's advice, they went to Elisha. He shows anger towards the king of Israel and consents to see him only for the sake of the king of Judah. He promises them not only a great abundance of water but victory over the Moabites, which events confirm. The king of the Moabites was reduced to such extremity that he killed his son on the ramparts. Here the woman whose oil was multiplied is discussed, and the Shunammite woman for whom Elisha, through prayer, obtained a son and raised him when he died. A famine occurs; Elisha removes the bitterness from the food prepared for the sons of the prophets and, in the Lord's name, feeds a hundred men with twenty barley loaves. Naaman, the general of the king of Syria, is afflicted with leprosy; he comes to ask the king of Israel for healing, and the king is troubled and tears his clothes. Elisha has him come and orders him to wash seven times in the river Jordan. At first Naaman disregards this command and has no hope of being healed. Then, urged by his servants, he washes, is healed and offers gifts to Elisha, who refuses them. After he has departed, Gehazi, Elisha's servant, runs after him as though sent by Elisha and receives from Naaman two talents of silver and two garments.

Returning to his master, he tried to hide them. Elisha reproached him, and as punishment he was struck with leprosy. The sons of the prophets go to cut wood for building; one of them drops the iron head of his axe; Elisha throws in a piece of wood that he breaks off, and the iron reappears above the water.

The king of Syria makes war on Israel, according to Elisha's prediction. The Syrian sends a troop of soldiers against Elisha. The prophet prays; those coming against him are struck blind; he leads them into the midst of their enemies and stops the king, who wanted to kill them. He orders that they be fed and then sent away. The famine becomes so great that an ass's head was sold for fifty shekels, and a quarter of a cube of pigeon dung for five shekels. A woman comes before the king, accusing another woman because, having eaten her son with her, she refused to surrender her own as she had promised. The king tore his clothes and sent to Elisha to cut off his head. The prophet tells the messenger that the famine would have ended by the following day. He does not believe it, and the prophet foretells his death. Now four lepers, driven to despair by the famine, resolve to go over to the enemy and go to the camp, where they find the men absent while the tents overflow with riches. They plunder what they can carry and go to tell the king the news; at first he fears a stratagem. He dispatches horsemen, who confirm the news; he gives the camp over to the people to plunder, and the famine ends. The man who had not believed Elisha's word dies, trampled by the multitude. Elisha had foretold seven years of famine to the woman whose son he raised, and had urged her to live in a foreign region. After she had left the foreign country and the famine had ended, she returned and appeared before the king, asking to regain possession of her property.

The king of Syria sends to ask Elisha whether he will recover from the illness afflicting him. Elisha tells the messenger that he will not recover and prophesies the Israelites' defeat. After the king's death, Hazael reigned in his place. When Joram, king of Judah, died, his son Ahaziah succeeded him. Elisha sends one of the sons of the prophets with orders to anoint Jehu; having become king, Jehu puts Joram to death and throws him into the vineyard of

Naboth, which Joram's father had usurped. He also put Ahaziah to death and entered the city of Israel. Jezebel, adorned, looked down from a tower; the king told the eunuchs to throw her down, and she died. Jehu killed Ahab's seventy sons, Ahaziah's brothers and the priests of Baal, and broke the idol of Baal. Then Hazael cut the children of Israel to pieces. Jehu dies; his son Jehoahaz reigns. The story of Joash, king of Judah, of Jehoiada the high priest and of Athaliah. Israel is delivered to its enemies, and again God takes pity on this people. When Jehoahaz died, his son Joash reigned over Israel and, going to Elisha, shed tears. The prophet ordered him to take five arrows and shoot them at the ground. After he had shot three, he stopped, and the prophet said: You will defeat Syria three times, but if you had shot the five arrows, you would have overwhelmed it with complete ruin. Afterwards, Elisha was buried, and a dead man thrown onto his tomb came back to life.

When Hazael died, the son of Ader reigned in his place. Joash defeated the Syrians three times and died, and his son Jeroboam became king. After the death of Joash, king of Judah, his son Amaziah reigned; he defeated Edom and fought Joash, king of Israel. Joash defeated him and entered Jerusalem. When Jeroboam died, his son Zechariah governed Israel. Amaziah, king of Judah, died, and Azariah, also called Uzziah, reigned. During this reign, Hosea began to prophesy. Shallum puts Zechariah to death and governs Israel; he has the king of the Assyrians as his ally, to whom he gives a thousand talents. After his death, Menahem reigns in his place. After Uzziah, his son Joattlan reigned over Judah, and after him his son Ahaz. During this reign, Rezin the Syrian and Pekah son of Remaliah advanced, and Ahaz sent to Tiglath-pileser, king of the Assyrians, to ask for his alliance. He did indeed come, took Damascus and put Rezin to death. Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, fought Hoshea son of Elah and made him his tributary. When the Assyrian learned that he was considering defection and sending envoys to the king of Ethiopia, he besieged him, put him in irons and, seizing Samaria and the other cities, transported their inhabitants to Assyria. Here are the reproaches addressed to Israel and Judah. Those who had been brought from Babylon and lived in Samaria were devoured by lions because they did not fear God. A priest is sent to them who instructs them in God's law, and they feared

God and worshipped idols. The story of Hezekiah and the Assyrians, also related by Isaiah. The story of Manasseh, his impiety and his death. After his death, his son Amon reigns; after him, his son Josiah, of whom the prophet had spoken beforehand to Jeroboam, Solomon's servant, when the king's hand withered. He purifies Jerusalem, overthrows all the high places, destroys the tombs of the priests of idols and breaks the idols. It is of him that it is said that there had previously been no king like him, who turned to the Lord with all his heart and all his soul. During this reign Jeremiah began to prophesy. This was also the time of Huldah the prophetess.

Pharaoh Necho puts Josiah to death, and his son Jehoahaz reigns in his place. Pharaoh also deposes him and takes him to Egypt, where he dies, then makes Josiah's son Eliakim, or Joachim, king and renders the country tributary. The first Joachim, defeated by Nebuchadnezzar, was thrown from the ramparts. It is of him that Jeremiah said: "His corpse will be exposed to the heat of the day and the cold of the night." And also: "He will be buried with the burial of an ass." (Jer. 36:30 and 22:19) For he was buried after his body had decayed. When Eliakim, or Joachim, Josiah's son, died, his son Joachim, Josiah's nephew, reigned. This Joachim was also called Jeconiah. The king of Egypt did not leave his land. But when Nebuchadnezzar came and besieged the city, Joachim, or Jeconiah, went out to meet him with his mother, and Nebuchadnezzar took him to Babylon, making a son of Josiah, his father's brother, king in Jerusalem. This was Mattaniah, or Zedekiah, who rebelled against the king of Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar came, besieged Jerusalem, took it and gave it to the flames; he blinded and chained Zedekiah and took him to Babylon, giving Gedaliah authority over all who remained in Jerusalem. After Gedaliah was put to death by Ishmael, those who had remained under his rule went over to Egypt. Meanwhile, in Babylon, King Evil-merodach bestowed the greatest honours upon Joachim.

The kingdom of Samaria, as has already been said, had ended in the time of Hoshea son of Elah, who had murdered Pekah son of Remaliah. The kingdom of Jerusalem ended in the time of Zedekiah, who was taken to Babylon, had his eyes put out and spent twenty-seven years in prison,

but whom the king afterwards loaded with honours, giving him a throne above all the other kings there and having him eat and drink beside him every day of his life. Here ends the book of Kings, that is, at the time when the city is taken and the people carried into captivity.

It remains for us to review the names of the kings of Israel and Judah, indicating what they did, their end and the number of years they reigned, recapitulating what is in these four books as follows.

After the death of Saul, who had reigned forty years, David also reigned forty years over Israel and Judah, namely seven years at Hebron, and thirty-three years over all Israel and Judah. He did good with a perfect heart. During this reign lived the prophets Nathan and Gad. Solomon, David's son, himself reigned over all the people for forty years, and did evil. Under him also lived the prophets Nathan and Gad. His son Rehoboam reigned seventeen years and did evil. During his reign the schism took place, and the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin remained attached to him and to Jerusalem. The ten tribes attached themselves to Samaria. During this prince's reign lived the prophets Ahijah the Shilonite and Addon; his son Abijah reigned three years. His heart was not like David's, but he walked in the way of iniquity like his father. The prophet Addon was still alive during this reign. Asa, his son, governed forty years and did good, but the high places remained. Under him lived the prophets Azariah son of Oded and Anam. Jehoshaphat, Asa's son, reigned twenty-five years and did good, but allowed the high places to remain; at the end of his reign he deserved rebuke because he had made friends with Ahaziah, king of Israel, and the two conducted most of their enterprises together. Under him lived the prophets Elijah, Elisha, Micaiah, Jehu son of Aneni, Uzziel son of Zechariah, and Filadad son of Adia and Marissa. Joram, Jehoshaphat's son, reigned eight years and did evil; he had Ahab's daughter as his wife. Elijah and Elisha also lived during this reign. Ahaziah, Joram's son, reigned one year and did evil. After him, his mother Athaliah governed seven years. Joash, Ahaziah's son, reigned forty years; he had Zechariah put to death, after having done good with all his heart as long as the prudent Jehoiada lived and gave him counsel. Joash's servants

put him to death in his house at Millo. Under him prophesied Zechariah son of Jehoiada.

Amaziah, Joash's son, reigned nineteen years and did good at the beginning of his reign, but did not renew the days of David.

For the people sacrificed in the high places, and he did not remove the sacred groves. Under him prophesied prophets whose names have not been recorded. Later, after Amaziah defeated the inhabitants of Seir, he became proud, worshipped the idols of Seir and was delivered into the hands of his enemies, who defeated him. Azariah, also called Uzziah, reigned fifty years and at first did good, like his father, but did not abolish the high places. Inflated by prosperity, he wished to sacrifice in the temple itself, which was permitted only to the priests. Therefore he was struck with leprosy after hearing these words: "It is not lawful for you, Uzziah, to sacrifice to the Lord, but for the priests alone." (2 Chron. 26:18) During his reign lived the prophet Isaiah.

The names of the kings who reigned in Samaria, their end, their notable deeds and the number of years of their reigns are as follows. Jeroboam son of Nebat reigned twenty-four years. Returning from Egypt when the kingdom was divided, he was the first to reign in Samaria; he did evil as no other had done. Indeed, fearing that the kingdom would be taken from him, he made two golden calves and deceived the people, saying: "These are your gods who brought you back from Egypt." (1 Sam. 12:28) He instituted feasts and a priesthood and "made Israel sin." (2 Sam. 14:8) For all the kings who came after him imitated him. During this reign lived Ahijah the Shilonite, who pronounced curses against him before the altar.

Jotham reigned sixteen years and did good like his father, but did not destroy the high places. Isaiah also lived during this reign. Ahaz, the preceding king's son, reigned sixteen years and did evil. Under him lived the prophets Isaiah and Oded. Hezekiah reigned twenty-nine years and did good perfectly, like David. He destroyed the bronze serpent Moses had had raised. During this reign, Sennacherib and Rabshakeh, who had blasphemed, are struck, and in a single night the angel exterminates a hundred and eighty-five thousand Assyrians. Hezekiah, on the point of death, receives an extension of fifteen years of life. His son Manasseh reigned fifty-five years and did evil.

He restored everything Hezekiah had destroyed and became another Jeroboam for Judah, so that because of him Jerusalem was treated like Samaria. It was of him that it was said that "he made Judah sin." (2 Kings 21:16) Therefore he was taken captive to Babylon, but after his conversion God brought him back from captivity to Jerusalem, as is written in Chronicles, and he recovered the kingship. He died repentant and teaching the people to serve God. He was not buried in the city but in his garden, in the garden of Uzza. His son Amos reigned two years and did evil like his father Manasseh; his servants killed him, and he was buried in the garden of Uzza, where his father had been buried before him.

Josiah, the preceding king's son, reigned thirty-one years. The people made him king when he was only eight years old. He did good and walked in David's way, turning neither to the right nor to the left. He cut down all the sacred groves and removed all the idols. When he reached the age of sixteen, he asked for the book of the law and, seeing that it had been transgressed, ordered it to be read; he had the Passover celebrated and ordered it to be celebrated as it is written. Pharaoh Necho put him to death on the banks of the Euphrates following a dispute between them. Under him lived the prophets Zephaniah and Jeremiah, and the prophetess Huldah, Shallum's wife. His son Jehoahaz reigned three months and did evil: Pharaoh took him captive. Jeremiah also lived under him. Eliakim, another son of Josiah, also called Joachien after his name was changed, reigned eleven years and did evil. His son Joachim, or Jectionias, reigned three months and did evil; he was taken captive to Babylon. Nathan was his son. Nebuchadnezzar made him king and changed his name to Zedekiah. He reigned twelve years and did evil. Jeremiah also lived during this reign. The kingdom of Judah lasted until him and was overthrown like that of Samaria. For the city was taken, and all its inhabitants were carried captive to Babylon with their wealth. In all, there were twenty-one kings, not counting Gotholia (Athaliah).

Nebat, Jeroboam's son, reigned twelve years and did evil, and no one from this line reigned afterwards. Zimri, who belonged to a different line, reigned twelve years. Baasha reigned twenty-four years and did evil. During this reign lived the prophets Elijah, Elisha and Micaiah, and the one who prophesied before Ahab concerning Syria and the son of Ader, and the one who, wounded because he himself

had commanded it (1 Kings 20:35), rebuked Ahab, and also many sons of the prophets. Ahaziah, Ahab's son, reigned two years and did evil. Elijah and Elisha also lived under him, for Elijah struck the captains of fifty men whom he sent with fire from heaven in the Lord's name. Joram, Ahab's son, reigned twelve years and did evil, and no one from this line reigned afterwards. During this reign Elijah was taken up into heaven; Elisha lived until Jeroboam, son of Joash, king of Israel. The sons of the prophets lived under the same king.

Jehu son of Nimshi, who belonged to another line, reigned twenty-two years. He destroyed Ahab's entire line and all the prophets of Baal, slain by a stratagem, and overthrew his statue. Because he had done good in all these things, it was announced to him that his children would sit on his throne until the fourth generation. His son Jehoahaz reigned seventeen years and did evil. He made war on Jerusalem and carried away its gold and riches. His son Jeroboam reigned forty-one years and did evil. Zechariah, the preceding king's son, reigned six months and did evil. Jehu's line lasted until him, that is, until the fourth generation.

Shallum son of Jabesh, of another line, reigned thirty days and did evil. Menahem son of Gadi, of another line, reigned twenty years and did evil. Isaiah and Hosea prophesied during this reign. Pekah son of Remaliah, of another line, reigned twenty years; he killed Pekahiah and did evil. The prophets Isaiah and Hosea also lived under him. Hoshea son of Elah, of another line, reigned nine years. He killed Pekah and did evil, but not like his predecessors. He was the last king of Samaria. With him the kingship ceased and the empire of Samaria perished; it was afterwards inhabited by the Assyrians. From these came the Samaritan heretics called Sadducees. Thus ends the summary of the book of Kings.

First Book of Chronicles

Chronicles is called Paralipomena because many things omitted from the four books of Kings are contained in these books. In this first book, the genealogy of all the tribes is described, from Adam to the kings, by tribes, families and households. It states which Levites David appointed to sing before God with flute and lyre, and which others he dedicated to the work of the temple, for he was the first to begin laying its foundations. Various details about the kings and their generations are given, from which it follows that the total number of years of the kings who reigned in Jerusalem from David onwards is four hundred and seventy-four. All these kings were of David's line, and nine of them did good; those who did evil numbered twelve, not including Athaliah. All the years of those who reigned in Samaria amounted to two hundred and sixty-nine years and thirty days; twelve kings came from eight different lines: all did evil, imitating Jeroboam's sin.

Second Book of Chronicles

The deeds of the kings are recorded in the second book of Chronicles. Those who wrote them were the prophets who lived at the various times of the kings. To know specifically who wrote these things, one must note that this book contains the deeds of the kings of Israel and Judah omitted from the books of Kings. Now those who wrote the full history of the various reigns are as follows: Samuel and the prophets Nathan and Gad wrote David's reign; the prophets Nathan and Allias, Solomon's; the prophets Shemaiah and Addon, Jeroboam's; the prophet Addon, Abijah's. Asa's deeds are in the book devoted to the kings of Judah; the prophet Jehu son of Adam, who wrote the book of the kings of Israel, wrote Jehoshaphat's reign. What Joash did is recounted in the books of Kings. What Amaziah did is told in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel. The prophet Isaiah wrote Uzziah's reign. Jotham's deeds are in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel, and Ahaz's in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel. The prophet Isaiah son of Amos recounted Hezekiah's reign. What concerns Manasseh is in the book of the Seers, and what concerns Josiah in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel. What Joachim did is written in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel. Such are the subjects contained in Chronicles, and such is their order.

First Book of Esdras

This book bears the name of Esdras because it is Ezra, priest and reader, who recounts and describes the return of the sons of Israel from Persia to Jerusalem. This return took place by the command and order of Kings Cyrus and Darius, under the leadership of Jeshua son of Jozadak, Ezra and Zerubbabel, after a riddle had been debated for which this reward was offered: the winner would obtain from the king whatever he wished. One said that wine was the strongest thing; another said it was the king; but Zerubbabel said that women were the strongest, and above all, truth. After speaking thus, Zerubbabel was declared the winner and, asked what he wished, requested that the captivity end and Jerusalem be rebuilt. His request was granted and the captivity ended, for the seventy years of wrath had then been fulfilled. Those who returned from captivity, belonging to the tribes of Judah, Benjamin and Levi, numbered forty-two thousand, and there were three hundred and thirty horses, two hundred and forty-five mules, four hundred and thirty-five camels, seven thousand three hundred and thirty-four male and female servants, two hundred singers and six thousand seven hundred and twenty asses. Those charged with rebuilding were Zerubbabel, Jeshua son of Jozadak and Nehemiah. Ezra, who was skilled in the law, brought the book of the law and read it, and established everything concerning the temple and the Levites. He himself explained the law and had the foreign wives whom several men had taken during captivity sent away. They sent them away and were purified, and the Passover was celebrated according to the law, as it is written, with the fasts observed. Thus ends the first book of Esdras.

Second Book of Esdras

This book contains the same things as the first concerning the return from captivity, except for the proposed riddle. Several details are given about the eunuch Nehemiah, who himself requested the rebuilding of the temple, and about Ezra's reading while Jeshua, Barreas and Sherebiah instructed the people. As he read, Ezra expounded with the knowledge of the Lord. The people understood this reading and celebrated the Passover, and in the seventh month observed the fast and celebrated the Feast of Tabernacles, as it is written. "They had not done so since the days of Joshua son of Nun." (2 Esdras 8:17) Ezra, seeing that women from the land of Ashdod were married to the Hebrews, persuaded everyone to promise observance of God's law. And he sent all these women away as unlawful wives, and they swore to keep the law. Having thus been purified and sanctified, they rejoiced and each returned home. This is also recounted concerning Ezra: the books of the law having perished because of the people's negligence and the length of the captivity, Ezra, who was skilled and learned and was also a reader, preserved them, then brought them to light and published them again, and thus they were saved.

Book of Esther

This book bears Esther's name because through Esther God saved the Jews, who were on the point of perishing to the last person, and struck Haman, who had planned their destruction. For Artaxerxes, king of the Persians, having repudiated his wife, sought another in his empire who would be the most beautiful and graceful, and his choice fell on Esther, who was Jewish by nation. She had a relative, Mordecai, carried from his country into captivity in the time of King Zedekiah. Now the king, having raised a man named Haman to great honours, ordered everyone to bow before him; but Mordecai, animated by zeal for the worship of God, would not bow before a man. Haman was angered by this and, learning that he was a Jew, persuaded King Artaxerxes to issue an edict putting to death, without distinction, all the Jews living in his empire on the same day of the twelfth month. When Mordecai learned of it, he wept and fasted, and sent to Esther to ask for support. Having fasted and prayed to God and adorned herself with the ornaments of her sex, Esther went to the king unbidden, although it was not permitted to approach him unless he had requested it. She did not wait for a favourable opportunity, hoping that the prayer she would see offered would serve in its place; but when the king showed astonishment at this unusual action, she fell at his feet in fear. God, however, changed the king's heart and inclined him to gentleness and mercy; coming forward, he raised his wife, urging her to fear nothing but ask whatever she wished. She asked the king to come to supper with Haman a first time, then a second. Haman, beside himself with joy at having been invited by the queen, grew still more furious against Mordecai and had a large tree cut down, intending Mordecai to be hanged on it the following day.

Meanwhile, by a special ordering of Providence, the king remained awake at night and could not sleep, and ordered the history of his reign to be read to him. During this reading, a service rendered to him by Mordecai was encountered. For Mordecai had handed over to the king two eunuchs plotting against him and proved their guilt. Having received this benefit from Mordecai, the king sought to grant him a reward worthy of the service rendered. When Haman came to him early in the morning, he asked him what honours were deserved by a man who had

served the king well. Haman, thinking that the king's question concerned himself, replied that he deserved to be called second after the king. The king orders Mordecai to be honoured in this way, and Haman to go before him.

Esther, seizing an opportunity, interceded for the Jews. Then, as the king gave way to sorrow over the unjust edict against the Jews and to anger against Haman, Haman implores Esther in the king's absence; he falls before her and prostrates himself at her knees. Seeing Haman touching the queen's knees and thinking that he was assaulting her, the king ordered Haman to be hanged on the tree he had prepared for Mordecai. He issued an edict ordering that the Jews remain safe and unharmed and that their enemies be put to death by them. The number of those who perished in this way was fifteen thousand, and a feast was established on the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the month called Adar. This day is called Pleura##Rem in the language of the Jews, and on this day they burn Haman and rejoice, making this feast a remembrance of their deliverance. Thus ends the book of Esther.

Book of Tobit

This book bears Tobit's name because it contains his story. Tobit was of the tribe of Naphtali; he was carried into captivity and lived at Nineveh, fearing God and practising mercy. While captive, he did not eat the bread of the nations but kept himself pure among them. He was Shalmaneser's superintendent of provisions and deposited ten talents with Cabelus in Media. For his part, he took care to bury those among the Jews who died. Slandered before King Sennacherib, he fled. On returning, he buried another dead man and fell asleep at the foot of the wall, sleeping with his eyes open as was his custom. Now birds dropped their dung onto his eyes from above; a white film formed, and he could no longer see.

At Ecbatana there was a daughter of his relative Raguel named Sarah. The demon Asmodeus allowed no one to have her as his wife, for he had killed seven men who had married her. Deeply grieved, the young woman prayed to God, who sent the archangel Raphael to help her. Meanwhile, Tobit, having exhorted his son never to take a foreign wife, but one from his own

tribe and race, gave him the bond for ten talents and ordered him to go and ask for them. Knowing neither the road nor the man, the young man went out to seek a travelling companion. Divine Providence caused him to find Raphael, who stood outside in the appearance of a man, and he agreed a price with him after Raphael said that he knew the road. The archangel therefore travelled with him, appearing to be a man and taking the name Azariah. When they reached the river Tigris, the young man wanted to go down to bathe, and immediately an enormous fish rushed at him. The angel told him to seize it, cut it into pieces and set aside the liver, heart and gall to keep them. When the young man asked what use they had, he answered: The liver and heart, placed on the fire, drive away the demon; the bile removes the white film from the eyes. On the angel's advice and with his help, young Tobias took Sarah, Raguel's daughter, as his wife, the demon having been put to flight by the smoke and the angel having bound him in the regions of Upper Egypt.

Tobias, remaining with his wife, sent Azariah, still regarded as a man, to Media; and the latter, having received the ten talents, returned with his wife and the angel himself to his father. On his return, young Tobias anointed his father's eyes with the fish's bile; the scales fell away, and he immediately saw. Tobit was fifty-eight when he lost his sight and sixty-six when he recovered it. When Tobit saw the light, the angel revealed himself and made known that he was not a man, but had been sent by God to help them and Sarah. In old age, Tobit ordered his son to go to Media because of the destruction of Nineveh that was to occur according to the word of the prophet Jonah, and died at the age of a hundred and fifty-five. Young Tobias therefore went to Media, where he buried his wife's parents and learned of Nineveh's catastrophe. He himself died at the age of a hundred and seven. Thus ends the book of Tobit.

Book of Judith

This book bears Judith's name because through her God delivered the children of Israel, attacked and besieged by Holofernes, and struck Holofernes himself. Here is the story. Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Assyrians, while making war on Arphaxad, king of the Medes, had asked all the nations as far as Egypt for help. Since no one sent help and all refused, after defeating and triumphing over Arphaxad he made war on those who had supplied no troops and sent Holofernes against them with considerable forces. Holofernes subdued all the other nations and overthrew their gods. But the Israelites fortified themselves, refusing to submit to Holofernes, and were not frightened by his threats. The priest Joachim wrote to the people of Bethulia to block the road for Holofernes' army, for his route lay in that direction, and they did so. Holofernes prepared his troops for battle. Achior, prince of the sons of Ammon, advised Holofernes not to attack the Hebrew nation because they had God as their protector; but Holofernes sent him into Bethulia, declaring that he would put him to death if he triumphed over the Hebrews. Achior therefore remained in Bethulia while Holofernes besieged it and cut off its water. The people were tormented by thirst, and the city's leaders were on the point of surrendering it when Judith laid aside her widow's garments, for she had lost her husband and spent all her days fasting, and put on the ornaments of a bride. Asking that the city not be surrendered before five days had passed, she went to Holofernes and deceived him through her wisdom. On the third day she cut off his head without his soldiers knowing, and the city's inhabitants hung the head on the walls to show it to Holofernes' captains. The Assyrians fled, and the Israelites fell upon them from every side and cut them to pieces. Thus delivered, they plundered the camp and gave Judith everything that had belonged to Holofernes. For her part, she went to Jerusalem and offered everything to the Lord, then returned home, kept the same way of life and remained a widow until her death, no one having been able to persuade her to marry again. Having been admirable in her widowhood, she died at the age of a hundred and five. Thus ends this book.

Book of Job

This book is called by Job's name because it contains his story, the manner in which he suffered when tempted by the devil, and the victory he won by piously enduring the afflictions that fell upon him. He received a double reward and became more illustrious than before. When he endured his sufferings, he was seventy years old; he lived another hundred and seventy years afterwards, so that the number of years of his life was two hundred and forty. Job lived before Moses, for he was Abraham's fifth descendant, being descended from Esau. Job's friends came to console him for the sufferings he endured, but did so with so little mercy and such bitter zeal that their words were reckoned to them as sin. Job prayed to God for them, and they were forgiven. Job's speeches to his friends number eight, those of Eliphaz to Job three, those of Zophar two and those of Bildad three. There is also a speech by Elihu son of Barachel of Buz. Finally, the Lord speaks to Job from the whirlwind and the cloud. He answers the Lord and addresses him twice, and thus this book ends.

The purpose of this whole book is to exhort to patience those upon whom calamities fall, as happens even to those who give the greatest proofs of their piety, so that they may not stumble but cry out: "The Lord gave, the Lord took away; it has been done as it pleased the Lord; blessed be his name for ever and ever" (Job 1:21); or these other words: "I came naked from my mother's womb, and naked I shall return to the earth" (Ibid.), and thus learn the benefit of patience, since they will receive its reward like Job. The purpose is also to show that God is not the author of our evils and tempts no one, but that, with God's permission, temptations come to men through the demon for each person's testing and perfection. It is believed that Solomon wrote this book, unless Moses himself is its author. We have just stated its contents; here is its summary in chapter order. At the beginning it is said that Job lived in the land of Uz. Then Scripture bears witness to his pure life, recounts that he had seven sons and six daughters, and speaks

of the number of his flocks. His sons gathered daily and held feasts with their three sisters, and Job sent to sanctify his sons, offering a sacrifice to the Lord for them. God, addressing Satan, bears witness to Job for the first time. Satan's first envious answer to God concerning Job. God gives the devil power over everything belonging to Job, but not over Job himself. First, Satan has Job told that his horses and asses have been taken and his servants beaten. A second messenger comes to tell Job: Your flocks have been consumed by fire from heaven, and the shepherds with them. A third messenger tells Job that his camels have been carried off and his servants cut to pieces. A fourth tells him that the house has collapsed and all his children are dead. Amid all these calamities, Job did not sin before the Lord. God's second testimony, speaking to Satan and praising Job. Satan's second envious answer to the Lord concerning Job. The Lord delivers Job over, reserving his life. The devil goes and strikes him from head to foot, and, seated on his dung heap, Job scrapes the pus from his sores. His wife tells him to curse the Lord and die; he rebukes her. Three friends of Job, Eliphaz king of the Themadites, Bildad king of the Shuhites and Zophar king of the Minaeans, learned everything that had happened to him. Each left his own country to visit him, and on looking at him they tore their clothes at the sight of such misfortune. Job was the first to open his mouth, and he cursed the day and night in which he was born. Here are these words: "As the servant fears his master, so light has been given to those who live in bitterness, who desire death and do not obtain it (Job 3:19). For death is a rest for man." Eliphaz, the first to answer Job, says: "Search your memory: what innocent man has perished? Who has kept the truth and been lost beyond remedy? The dragon's ferocity has been extinguished; the ant-lion has perished because it had no food; the young lion cubs have separated from one another. There is no living creature pure before the Lord, nor any man who can be justified by his works." (Job 4:7,11,17) "The foolish," he says, "take root, but their food is immediately devoured, for what they have gathered becomes the food of the righteous (5:3). Man," he says, "is born for labour,

but the young of vultures reach the high regions of the air. God confounds the wisdom of the wise and scatters the plans of the skilful. But the Lord rescues the innocent from danger, and the seventh tribulation does not touch him," that is, no tribulation touches him. "Examine yourself, then, to know in what you have sinned." (Ibid. 7,13,19,1–17)

Job's first answer to Eliphaz: "If someone weighed alike in the balance the anger that strikes me and my sorrows, the weight of my suffering would exceed that of the sand of the sea." (6:2–3) And further on: "The wild ass does not cry out in vain, but only when seeking food. The ox does not bellow when hay is in the manger. My strength is not that of stones; my flesh is not bronze." (Ibid. 5,12) And again: "Man's life on earth is a battle; it resembles the daily toil of the hired worker." And again: "If I have sinned, what can I do?" And again: "You who know the spirit of man, why have you made me your opponent?" (7:1,20) After Eliphaz, Bildad the Shuhite addresses Job: "How long will you speak? A spirit abundant in words is on your lips. Will God be unjust when he judges? Or will He who made all things fail to administer justice?" (8:2–3) And again: "Just as papyrus does not grow without water and meadow grass withers without watering, so that it still clings to the root and will not be harvested because it dries up before it is cut, so will be the final end of all who forget God." (2:13)

Job's first reply to Bildad: "I know indeed that it is so; for how will man be righteous before God?" (9:2) And again: "He alone has stretched out heaven, and he walks upon the sea as upon firm ground; his hands made the Pleiades and the evening star. (8:9) Who will withstand God's judgement? If I am righteous, perhaps my mouth will be impious, and if I have committed no fault, I shall not return innocent." (19:20) And again: "My life is swifter than a runner's pace. Does any trace remain of a ship's passage or the flight of an eagle seeking its prey?" (25:26) Remember that you made me from earth and that I shall return to earth again. You poured out my substance like milk, and the rest. I would be as though I had never been.

Why was I not carried from my mother's womb to the grave?" (10:9,10,19) After Eliphaz, Bildad had spoken; after Bildad, the Minaean comes in his turn, following the order in which each hopes to overcome Job through his speeches. "He who has spoken much will also listen." And then: "Your face will shine like clear water. Strip off your defilements and you will not fear, and you will forget your sufferings like the stream that has vanished. Your prayer will be like the morning star." (11:2,15,17) Job's first answer to Zophar: "Are you, then, the only men, and will wisdom die with you? Yet I have a heart like yours." (12:2–3) And then: "Who does not know that everything was made by the Lord's hand, he who holds in his hand the soul of every living being and the spirit of all men? If he holds back the waters, everything dries up," he says, "and if he sends them forth, they ravage the earth." (Ibid. 19,10,15) And again: "Who will be pure of all defilement? No one who has lived even one day on earth." And again: "The tree is not without hope. When it is cut down, it may grow green again, and the shoot will not fail. Man departs when he dies, and the mortal who falls is no more." (14:4,5,7,10)

Everything begins again a second time. Eliphaz addresses Job: "Will the wise man answer with words carried away by the wind? I will convict you by your mouth, not by my words. Who is a man and remains blameless? Who is righteous, being born of woman?" (15:2,6,14)

Job's second answer to Eliphaz: "I have often heard these words; all your consolations are bad. My witness is in heaven, and He who sees my conscience dwells in the high places. Let there be a judge between man and God." (16:2,20,22) And also: "My day has been changed into deep night. I await the grave as my dwelling. I have called death my father; I have called dust my mother and my sister." (17:12,14) Bildad, the second, resumes and addresses Job: "How long will you speak? If you die, will the space beneath heaven be uninhabitable?" (18:2,4)

Job answers Bildad for the second time: "How long will you afflict my soul and pursue me with your speeches? You speak

against me without feeling shame." (19:2–3) And then: "He has stripped me of my glory and taken the crown from my head; he has uprooted my hopes like a tree torn up." And again: "My brothers have withdrawn from me; they have acknowledged strangers rather than me; my friends have had no pity on me; I called my servant, and he did not listen; I addressed my entreaties to my wife, and she paid no heed; I appealed to the sons of my concubines, and they rejected me. Have pity on me, have pity on me, you who are my friends. Why do you persecute me, like God himself? Who will grant that my words be written? All these things have been accomplished in me by the Lord. My eye sees him, and not another. We shall find in him the root of our speeches. Beware of the shelter behind which you entrench yourselves." (19:9 ff.) Zophar again addresses Job: "I did not think you would wish to reply thus. The joy of the impious falls into ruins; the gladness of the perverse will perish. When he seems established, the impious man is near his end." And again: "His bones are filled with the vices of his youth. If his malice becomes sweet in his mouth, he will hide it under his tongue. Like the asp's gall that fills his belly, so unjustly amassed riches will be vomited up by their possessor. Vainly and uselessly he labours, gathering riches he will not enjoy." And again: "He has overthrown the houses of many who could not resist. Let the bronze bow wound him; let the arrow shot pierce his mouth. The stars will pass over the site of his tents. For such is the impious man's portion before the Lord." (20:2 ff.)

Job's second answer to Zophar: "Listen, listen to my words, and let my consolation not come from you. For is it with man that I must contend through my speeches? Why do the impious live and grow old in wealth and prosperity? The woman giving birth among them escapes danger." Here are these words: "The impious man says to the Lord: Withdraw from me; I do not wish to know your ways. Who is the Almighty, that we should serve him? Is it not the Lord who gives knowledge and understanding? He himself judges deeds, and therefore I know that you press your case against me boldly." And also: "Where is the dwelling of princes? On the day of destruction, the

wicked man disappears, and after him every man who walks in his way." (21:2 ff.) For the third time, Eliphaz presses on: "Is it not the Lord who gives knowledge and understanding? What does it matter to God whether you are blameless in your works?" Here Eliphaz says to Job: "You sent widows away without helping them, oppressed orphans, and said: Does the Almighty know? The impious say: What will the Lord do to us, and what punishment will the Almighty send upon us?" Here are these words: "The Lord will purify you like silver tested by fire. Look at heaven with rejoicing. When you have prayed, he will answer you, and you will preserve the purity of your hands." (22:2 ff.) Job's third answer to Eliphaz: "My hands have given alms, and his hand has weighed heavily upon my pain. Darkness has surrounded me on every side." (23:2,17) "The impious have known no bounds; they have forced many to sleep stripped of their clothes. For them, plants will emerge withered from the earth, for they have seized the orphan's possessions." (24:2 ff.) Bildad presses on for the third time: "He who made all things dwells in the highest heavens. Let no one think there is a reprieve for the brigands of the sea. How will man be righteous before the Lord, since man is only dust and the son of man a little worm?" (26:2 ff.)

Job's third answer to Bildad: "Whom will you help, or whom will you follow? Is it not He who is most powerful? Hell has no veils before him. He has suspended the earth in the void; he has bound the water in the clouds. With a word he put the rebellious dragon to death." (26:2 ff.)

Zophar gives up adding anything a third time, and the other two remain silent, having nothing to say since Job maintains that he is righteous. Job begins a new discourse on the same subject, his friends listening and benefiting from it. "The Lord lives," he says, "he who has judged me, and it is the Almighty who has filled my soul with bitterness. As long as a breath of life remains in me and the divine Spirit is in my nostrils, my lips will utter nothing unjust. I will teach you what rests in the Lord's hands. You yourselves know that you add vain things to vain things. This will be the impious man's portion

before the Lord: his sons, however numerous, will be reserved for the sword, and no one will have compassion on their widows. (27:2 ff.) If the impious man gathers silver like earth, does he know the place where it forms, the place where gold is distilled? Iron comes from the earth, and bronze is cut like stone. My eye," he says, "has seen everything precious. But where is wisdom found? The abyss says: It is not in me; and the sea answers: It is not with me. Call wisdom above all the most cherished things. The topaz of Ethiopia cannot be compared with it; the purest gold cannot be likened to it. The Lord himself directs its ways. He sees everything beneath heaven; he knows the things upon the earth, the dwelling of the winds and the measure of the waters. He says to man: Behold, the worship of God is wisdom." (27:16; 28:2 ff.)

As Job's three friends continue to remain silent, he adds: "Who will grant me to see again the time of my earliest days, when the Lord was my guardian, when his lamp shone upon my head, when I went into the city in the morning and my seat was set in the public square? I saved the poor man from the hands of the powerful. The blessing of those who were perishing came upon me. I was the eye of the blind, the foot of the lame, the protector of those who needed help. I broke the jaws of unjust men and took away the plunder they held between their teeth. As dry earth receives rain, so they listened to my speeches. I was like a king among his warriors. (20:2 ff.) The sons of fools, those whose name is without honour, have made me their amusement and an object of mockery. They did not spare me and spat in my face. They treated me like mire; my portion was dust and ashes. You struck me, Lord, with a mighty hand; I have become the brother of dragons, the equal of birds of the night. (30:8 ff.) If my heart has followed another man's wife, let my wife also please my neighbour. For it is an ungovernable ardour that drives a man to defile his neighbour's wife. If I despised the man perishing in his nakedness, if I did not cover him, if his shoulders were not warmed by the fleece of my flocks, let my shoulder be separated from the bone to which it is attached. If I rejoiced at my enemies' ruin and my heart said: It is good, let my ear hear the curse that

falls upon me. If I have not returned my debtor's bond without retaining anything, if the earth groans against me, let it yield me nettles instead of grain." (31:9 ff.) Elihu, son of Barachiel, son of Buz, became angry with Job because he called himself righteous before the Lord. Therefore the son of Barachiel, the Buzite, said: "I am the youngest, and that is why I feared to display my knowledge before you." (32:2,6) Elihu rises impudently and speaks thus against Job while the other three remain silent: "I will speak again, for words crowd upon my lips." (Ibid. XVII) Elihu says to Job: "It is God's Spirit that made me; it is the Almighty's breath that teaches me. If you can, answer me. May God turn man away from iniquity. He spares his soul, keeping him from death and preventing him from falling during war. He rebukes him by sending sickness that lays him on his bed. He renews his body like plaster applied to a wall and fills his bones with their marrow. Therefore man will accuse himself, saying: What have I done? He has not punished me according to the greatness of my sins." Elihu also says to Job: "Open your ear, Job, and listen to me; remain silent and I will speak. If you have words to add, answer me, for I wish you to judge the justice of my speeches." (33:4 ff.) Continuing, Elihu says for the third time: "Wise men, listen to me: it is good for those with knowledge to open their ears, for the ear judges speeches." Elihu also says: "What man is like Job, who swallows mockery like water, who has not sinned, who has not acted impiously? Let it not be I who overturns justice before the Almighty. But he repays each man according to his works. Impious is the man who says to the king: You have acted with iniquity; and: He did not fear my face when he was in my presence. For God sees everything; he understands what leaves no trace, things wonderful and exalted, those whose number cannot be counted. The prudent man hears my words, but Job has not spoken wisely." (34:2 ff.) Continuing a fourth time, Elihu speaks against Job: "Why have you judged thus in your judgements? Who are you to say: I am righteous before the Lord?" (35:2) For the fifth time, Elihu persists in his speeches, and neither Job nor his friends accuse him of injustice. It is evident from this that the three friends have changed their opinion. He says to Job: "Bear with me a moment longer

in my discourse, so that I may instruct you, for I still have something to say." (36:2) And Elihu speaks thus: "Open your ears to my words, O Job. Acknowledge the Lord's power. Have you a scribe or a book beside you? Do the golden clouds come from the north wind?" (37:14 ff.)

God manifests himself; he judges Job and, instructing him in the mystery of Christ, says: "Who is it that obscures my counsels and confines his words in his heart?" Dialogue of the Lord: "I gave the sea doors to enclose it; I said to it: You shall come this far and no farther, but your waves shall break upon themselves." Discourse of the Lord: "Have you taken mud to form the living creature? Do the gates of death open before you in fear? Have the gatekeepers of hell trembled at seeing you?" And again: "Have you visited the treasuries where snow is gathered? Have you beheld the treasuries of hail? Where does frost come from? How is the course of the rain that falls with force prepared?" And again: "Who is the father of rain? From what womb did ice come forth? Who brought forth mist in heaven and drops of dew upon the earth? Will you call the cloud with your words, and will it obey you by answering with the sound of mighty waters? If you command the lightning, will it dart forth? Who gave woman the knowledge that forms the body? Who prepared the raven's prey? For its young flew croaking before the Lord and seeking their food." (38:2 ff.) And again: "The ostrich has wings; she will leave her eggs in the earth; God has not placed wisdom in her, yet the bird will laugh at the horseman." And again: "Is it by your knowledge that the sparrowhawk stays high in the air, while the vulture sits and remains upon its nest?" (39:13 ff.)

The Lord spoke again to Job: "Is it you who will judge the Almighty's judgements? Will the one who argues against God not answer?" Job said to the Lord: "I have argued against the Lord; I am judged and instructed by the words I have just heard." (Ibid. 32) The Lord then spoke a second time, manifesting himself in the midst of the cloud: "Gird your loins like a warrior; I will question you, and you will answer me." Discourse of the Lord: "I will acknowledge that your arm is mighty to grant salvation. Behold, the other wild animals come

to feed before you on the grass of the fields like oxen. But Behemoth's strength is in his navel; he raises his tail like a cypress; his ribs are bronze, his backbone molten iron; he sleeps in the shade of every kind of tree. You will lead Leviathan with a hook; you will place a muzzle around his nostrils, when all the sailors together could not carry away even the skin of his tail. (40:2 ff.) For he regards iron as straw, bronze as rotten wood; a bronze bow will not wound him." (41:18–19) Job then ceases to speak after crying out: "I know that you can do everything and that nothing is impossible for you. Who, then, could hide his thoughts from you? I have considered myself ashes and dust." (42:2,3,6) The Lord rebukes Eliphaz the Temanite because he has sinned, and with him his two friends, because he has not spoken truthfully before the Lord as his servant Job has. Then the purification of the three friends is accomplished through the ministry of Job, God's priest. It is told how the Lord glorified Job and, at his prayer interceding for his friends, forgave their fault. When all Job's kinsmen learned these things, they came to him; they ate and drank with him and, full of admiration for him, each gave him a lamb and four gold drachmas. It is written that he will rise again with those whom the Lord will raise. In these things lies the whole substance and force of the book of Job.

The Wisdom of Solomon

This book is called the Wisdom of Solomon because Solomon is said to have written this book too. It contains instruction in righteousness and teaches how to distinguish wicked men from those animated by zeal for good; it prophesies concerning Christ. It teaches that long labour and ardent desire are needed to obtain wisdom. It describes certain parts of nature; it speaks against idols, against those who make them, against those who place their hope in them and worship them. A hymn and thanksgiving for all the wonderful things that happened to the Israelites in the presence of their enemies and were God's work. Such are the contents of the whole book; the recapitulation in chapter order is as follows.

At the beginning, an exhortation by the righteous man to piety and a rebuke inflicted upon the impious blasphemer. “Do not imitate the antichrists, for they are sons of death.” Thus the impious reached the point of crucifying the God of glory, placing the present age above him. They likewise persecuted and put the Apostles to death. It will happen that many will despise God’s law and others will practise it. God will not spare the multitude of those who are impious towards Christ. But God watches over a single righteous man who has placed his trust in Christ, even when he dies young: “It is not a long span of time that makes old age venerable.” (4:8) The impious man despises the death of the one who believes in Christ, but the latter is recognised by Christ himself. The impious will be delivered to shameful ruin, and those who have persecuted Christ’s servants are reserved for severe judgement and condemnation, for they will see the glory of Christ and his disciples while they themselves are delivered to punishment. Wealth brings pride in its train. What God’s anger is against those who have shown impiety towards Christ. An exhortation to the princes of Israel to believe in Christ, or rather an exhortation to the leaders of the catholic Church concerning how to govern after he has left the world. What Wisdom is, that is, the Son of God. How the Word became flesh and dwelt among us. For, he says, I suffered the same things as you, being a man and subject to the law by God’s command. Concerning Christ: it is through God’s wisdom that I have knowledge of all things; “we are in his hands, we and our speeches.” (8:16) What wisdom is and how it came among men: “It is one and can do everything; it remains in itself and renews all things.” (Ibid. XXVII) I loved wisdom from my youth, he says, and received from it all the blessings of flesh and spirit. Having known the greatness of wisdom, I prayed to the Lord to give me his Holy Spirit, who would make it known to me. And he was sent to me, so that he came to my aid in my works. For “the thoughts of mortals are without strength.” (9:14)

What the works of wisdom are. How it guarded the first man; from what evils God delivers those who believe in him, and what great blessings he grants them, as happened to Noah, Abraham, Lot, Jacob,

Joseph and the Israelites, whom he delivered from the Egyptians' hands through Moses' hand and satisfied with water from the rock. How he sent wasps against seven nations and then, exercising patience, gave them time to repent, thereby teaching his people to show mercy. Against worshippers of the elements, frogs, gnats, rats, locusts, wasps and serpents. Against worshippers of idols of gold or silver, wood or stone. That through wood salvation will be granted to those who believe. Concerning those who manufacture idols or make representations of them. Concerning all the evils resulting from idolatry. Concerning evil religions and how many evils flow from them. Concerning pottery and terracotta idols. Concerning all the idols worshipped by the nations: animals hostile to man, serpents, cats and others of this kind. That God bestowed a benefit on the people of Israel, sending quails instead of frogs. That against snakebite salvation was given to the people through the bronze serpent suspended on the cross, but Israel's enemies were killed by serpents and rats. That God fed his people with the food of angels, suited to each person's taste and containing every flavour. That he sent hail and thunder to destroy the Egyptians' riches. That he sent palpable darkness and its accompanying evils to the Egyptians, but sent light to his holy ones in Egypt and the pillar of fire in the wilderness. In punishment for the death of the Hebrew children, he sent death to the Egyptians' firstborn and engulfed the army in the waters; while the firstborn were struck dead, salvation was granted to Israel through the lamb's blood. For the righteous threatened with death in the wilderness, Aaron moved the Lord by praying and offering incense; in the death of the Egyptians submerged in the Red Sea, God's anger was without mercy, and the people's passage was accomplished marvellously. That the Egyptians endured these evils because of their inhumanity towards foreigners, like the inhabitants of Sodom. That all the elements are subject to Christ's divine will, ready to obey his command as the strings of the lyre obey the fingers of the one holding the instrument. In these things lies the whole substance of the book of the Wisdom of Solomon, which deserves the name Panaretic.

Proverbs of Solomon

This book is called Proverbs of Solomon because Solomon spoke and wrote its contents. When he took possession of the kingdom of his father David, he prayed to God to give him wisdom rather than riches or victory over his enemies. His request was fulfilled, and he became wiser than all mortals who had lived before him or came afterwards. Everyone admired him for what he had done or said; he composed three thousand parables and five thousand canticles; he discoursed on the nature of everything that grows from the earth and of all animals. According to some, he wrote only three books: this one, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs; according to others, he also composed Wisdom, which is entitled and called Panaretic, for they affirm that this book is truly his work.

This book is therefore called the book of Proverbs. Now proverbs are words filled with wisdom that resemble riddles, saying one thing and signifying another hidden beneath it. Such is the nature of proverbs. So it is when the disciples say in John's Gospel, after the Lord has said many things whose meaning remained obscure to them: "Now you speak openly and utter no proverb." (John 16:29) From this it is easy to conclude that proverbs present a hidden rather than a clear meaning. Because most of the sayings contained in this book are of this nature, it is called the book of Proverbs. The Greeks call a proverb paroimia because such sayings were usually written along the roads to correct and instruct those passing by. They wrote along the roads in this way because not everyone seeks the teachings of truth, so that, passing and seeing these things, people might seek the meaning of what was written and thus be instructed. Some define the proverb as follows: the saying of one person, placed as though on the road to be exposed to the gaze of many.

This book contains knowledge of wisdom and discipline, understanding of sensible discourse, the various meanings of language, the notion of true justice for setting judgements right, and the means of recognising parables, the sayings of the wise, riddles and obscure words. For there

is a knowledge of wisdom and discipline. If the Greeks claim to possess wisdom, if heretics believe themselves to possess discipline, the author of this book teaches both true wisdom and true discipline, so that no one may be drawn into the sophisms of the Greeks or heretics through the similarity of the name wisdom. The Greeks think they surpass everyone in this matter, and "professing to be wise, they became fools." (Rom. 1:22)

Heretics, convinced that they possess discipline, walk in their own way and sin, condemned by themselves. The wise man, if he hears the divine words, will become wiser; for by hearing God's law and putting it into practice, allowing himself neither to be seduced by any deceit nor led by negligence astray in the Lord's discipline, man will become wise and, instructed in this way, receive perfect knowledge from God. Thus are the wise instructed, and understanding the discourses of wisdom is nothing other than knowledge of the one true God. Among the Greeks, some thought God corporeal; others worshipped him in the images of idols. Heretics in turn went astray in the knowledge of truth. Therefore this man [the author of Proverbs] speaks of the true knowledge of God, saying that he is ineffable: "The glory of God hides the word" (Prov. 25:2), and says of his providence: "The Lord's eyes behold the good and the wicked in every place." (Ibid. XV) And again: "The rich and the poor have met: the Lord made both." (Prov. 22:2) "While debtor and creditor face one another, the Lord sees them both. (Prov. 29:13) Man's voices are under God's gaze; he perceives the traces of his passage." (Ibid. 2:21) He also points out his justice: "The sacrifices of the impious are an abomination before God, but he receives the prayer of those who walk in the straight path." (Ibid. 15:8) And again: "God overthrows the dwelling of the proud; he establishes the boundary of the widow's inheritance." (Ibid. 15:25) He does not directly perform the works of his hands, but does everything through his Word and through wisdom; and what characterises the true God is that he is the Father of the Son. That is why it is said: "Through wisdom God established the earth." (Ibid. 3:19) And again: "God made the habitable and uninhabitable

regions and all the high places that man can cultivate beneath heaven. When he made heaven, I was with him; when he established his throne above the winds, when he placed the clouds in the high regions, I was with him, arranging all things. His joy was in me; I rejoiced every day in his presence." (Ibid. 8:26,30)

There are various meanings in this book; whoever examines it in his mind will find them and discover the hidden meanings. Here are examples: "The intelligent man escapes the heat of the day; the one who transgresses the law becomes the plaything of the winds at harvest time." (Ibid. 10:6) And again: "Gather everything green in the fields, mow the grass of the meadow and collect all the mountain hay, so that you may have flocks to clothe you." (Ibid. 27:25) And again: "If you sit down to eat at the table of the great, pay attention to what is served before you" (Ibid. 23:1), and other similar passages.

This book states the meaning of true justice, for many are mistaken in defining what is just: some say justice consists in returning a deposit one has received, others in returning evil for evil and good for good. Such definitions have nothing exact about them. Indeed, do not say: I will act towards him as he acted towards me; I will take revenge on him for the wrong he did me. This man [the author of Proverbs] teaches us what true justice is, namely to render to each what is particularly due to him. "Honour God first through your works of righteousness and give him the firstfruits of your fruits of righteousness." (Prov. 3:9) Then honour the king, fulfil the duties owed to your parents, and render to everyone what is equitable. This is one kind of justice. Another consists in making one's soul righteous by preserving equity, not allowing oneself to be carried away by iniquity, but acting according to reason. "Do not let yourselves be deceived by evil counsels that would make you forget the teachings of your youth" (Prov. 2:16); rather, do everything with counsel, so that each person judges himself and forms only good desires: "All the desires of the righteous are good (Prov. 11:23); the desire of the righteous is received." (Ibid. 10:25)

Concerning anger, he speaks thus: "Do not be the friend of one who gives way to anger; do not dwell with a hot-tempered man. (Prov. 22:24)

The fool lets all his anger escape; the wise man holds some of it back." (Ibid. 29:11) Thus, whoever gives himself such a rule and keeps sound and pure the actions belonging to each faculty of his soul will know true justice.

To regulate one's judgements means first to judge justly and according to God's law, for it is said: "Open your mouth to God's word and judge all things soundly. Be a judge for the poor and the weak." (Prov. 31:8) "Whoever says of the impious man: He is righteous, will be execrable to the peoples and hateful among the nations, for it is not good to show partiality in one's judgements." (Prov. 24:24) These words contain no ambiguity. Secondly, whoever judges others must apply the same judgement to himself: let him examine himself and rebuke himself if he has been carried away by anger; let him restrain his desires if they have been too violent; let him stir and awaken reason if he has let it slumber, and say: "How long, O sluggard, will you remain at rest?" Then, governing himself justly and becoming his own accuser, he will learn to judge rightly and will not hear another say to him: "You who teach others, do you not teach yourself? You who say: Do not commit adultery, why do you commit adultery?" (Rom. 2:21) Just as a man who walks and follows his straight path reaches his goal, so one who judges rightly is recognised as just and wise. Parables are discourses presenting an image, as it were, of the things spoken of. Through resemblance they enable one to grasp the matters in question. Thus the Lord said, as Mark reports: "To what shall I compare the kingdom of God, or what parable shall I use to speak of it?" (Mark 4:30), indicating that a parable is a way of speaking through resemblance. And when he said, "The kingdom of God is like," he immediately adds: "That is why I speak to them in parables." (Matt. 13:31) Parables resemble this one: "Just as falling snow at harvest time tempers the heat, so a faithful messenger gladdens those who sent him." (Prov. 25:13) Or again: "Those who rejoice in having made a deceitful promise resemble winds, clouds and rain" (Ibid. 14), and other similar sayings. Maxims are not

verbal subtleties or discourses that seduce through an appearance of plausibility, but true and exact teachings, uttered not according to a master's doctrine, but as the result of a particular insight and as a personal affirmation: "When the heart rejoices, the face brightens; in sorrow it darkens." (Prov. 15:13) Likewise: "The upright heart seeks knowledge; the mouth of fools feeds on folly." (Ibid. 14) Or: "Hatred stirs up quarrels; charity covers all those who do not love contention." (Prov. 10:12) "Whoever despises a thing will be despised by it; whoever fulfils the commandment will remain sheltered from evil." The speeches of other men are mostly doubtful in meaning; those of the wise, such as the foregoing, are true and exact in every respect, so that they cannot be contradicted. Other men define a thing by its effects, as when one says that the unjust man is contemptible and the adulterer infamous, for this is evident to everyone. But the wise go back to the principles of things, so that each person, knowing the source of evil, may be on guard; they give a kind of forecast of the soul's movements, as was seen in the things said above: "Hatred stirs up quarrels; charity covers all those who do not love contention." The quarrelsome man derives the principle of his wickedness from hatred, and no one will say that he loves the man who delights in quarrels. Conversely, the one who shuns contention has the character of charity, so that no one will say that whoever has charity loves disputes. Likewise it is said: "The sluggard is filled with desires" (Prov. 13:4), and: "The hot-tempered man acts without reason." (Prov. 14:17) For the sluggard's soul is wholly immersed in desires, and the man carried away by anger is incapable of any good counsel.

The wise man describes conduct and makes known the principle of actions, their cause, when he says that hatred precedes brawls; that charity precedes avoidance of dispute; that guilty pleasure precedes sloth; that anger follows lack of counsel; that contempt for the law is the cause of the contempt into which a man falls; that fear of God keeps us sheltered from evil; and likewise that failure to guard one's tongue causes the soul's loss, or that rashness breeds fear. If, then, one

thus examines each of these sayings in detail, one will discover that they were spoken and written so that those who know them may at the same time learn the causes of good and evil, do good and turn away from iniquity.

Riddles are sayings with an obscure meaning, intended to occupy the mind of whoever encounters them and cannot discover or guess their meaning, yet allowing whoever examines them attentively to discover the hidden thought. Here are examples: “A leech had three dearly loved daughters; these three and the fourth have never said: It is enough. The grave, the love of a woman, the abyss, the earth that is never satisfied with water, water and fire have never said: It is enough.” (Prov. 30:15) And again: “There are three things my understanding cannot grasp, and a fourth that I do not know: the tracks of the eagle in mid-air, those of the serpent upon the stone, those of the ship cleaving the waves, and the ways of man in the time of his youth.” (Ibid. 18) Everything resembling this is a riddle; one thing is indicated and another is meant; certain passages are obscure and have a hidden meaning. Such is the summary of the book of Proverbs.

The recapitulation in chapter order is as follows: at the beginning, it concerns the proverbs themselves of “Solomon, son of David, who reigned over Jerusalem, having as their purpose the knowledge of wisdom and discipline.” (Prov. 1:1) That “the beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord.” (Ibid. 7) That one must listen to the father’s commandments and not reject the mother’s orders. That one must not go astray or travel with those who practise iniquity, drawing from the same purse. Wisdom preaches in the public ways, but the impious will not hear her: “When I called them, they did not listen to me; they will call me, and I will not listen to them.” (Ibid. 24,28) Then comes this saying: “Accept my commandments and your ear will hear wisdom, so that you may know justice and judgement.” (Ibid. 2:2) “Woe to those who abandon the straight paths and rejoice at the evil that comes.” (Ibid. 13,14) And then: “Do not yield to perverse counsels, so that the paths of justice may be made easy for you.” (Ibid. 19,20) And then: Do not neglect the observance of the law, so that

your life may be long and pass in peace. That one must trust in God with the fullness of one's heart, not rely on one's own prudence, but honour the Lord through works of righteousness. That one must not neglect the Lord's teachings: "The Lord chastises the one he loves." (Prov. 3:12) Blessed is the man who finds wisdom. That one must not forget to heed these teachings (III:21), but guard one's will and understanding, so that, he says, they may be the life of your flesh. That one must not withhold the benefit the needy person asks for when one's hand possesses what is needed to help him, and must not plot evil against one's friend, because the unjust man is impure before the Lord. Then this saying: "The Lord resists the proud and gives his grace to the humble." (Ibid. 34) That one must listen to one's father's precepts. And then: "My son, pay attention to my words and guard your heart carefully, and the Lord will make your steps straight." (Prov. 4:20) That one must not attach oneself to the perverse woman: "She does not walk in the ways of life; pursue your path far from her." (Prov. 5:6) And then: "Drink water from your vessel, and let the fountain of your water be sweet to you." (Ibid. 15) And then: "You will spend long days living intimately with her wisdom. (Ibid. 19) Go to the ant, lazy youth, and become wiser, for during harvest she fills abundant granaries." Of the one who goes to the bee: "Learn how industrious she is." (Prov. 6:6) And this: "How long, sluggard, will you lie down?" (Ibid. 9) You sleep a little longer; you rest a little longer, and because of this ruin will come upon you suddenly. Once again, concerning observance of the father's precepts: "For they are the light and the lamp of the commandments and the way of life. (Ibid. 23) Will anyone carry fire in his bosom without his clothes burning? Or will anyone walk upon burning coals without burning his feet? (Ibid. 27) Whoever has intercourse with a married woman will not be innocent." (Ibid. 29) And again: "It is not surprising that someone should be caught stealing, for he steals to fill his hungry belly, but the adulterer loses his soul because he is a fool." (Ibid. 30,32) And then: "Worship the Lord and you will be mighty; keep my commandments and engrave them on the tablets of your heart, so that they may protect you from the foreign woman and the courtesan." (Prov. 7:2 and following) That one

must preach wisdom, which dwells on the heights, because she is more precious than silver, purer than refined gold, and the fear of the Lord hates injustice. (Prov. 8:4 and following) And then: “The Lord established me at the beginning of his ways for the works of his hands. (Ibid. 22) Wisdom has built herself a dwelling. (Prov. 9:1) Rebuke the wise man, and he will love you. If you are wise, you will be so for yourself and for those close to you; if you are wicked, the evils will be yours alone. The foolish and brazen woman will lack food. (Ibid. 8 and following) Poverty humbles a man; the son brought up with wise discipline will be wise; the memory of the righteous will receive praise; whoever walks in simplicity walks confidently; he whose lips utter wisdom strikes the man who has no heart as with a rod; discipline guards the ways of life; the lips of the righteous conceal enmity; the fool does evil; the mouth of the righteous distils wisdom.” (Prov. 20:4 and following) Against idolaters who make idols of gold or silver, stone or wood. That salvation is granted through wood to those who will believe. Of those who make idols or paint them. Of all the evils engendered by idolatry. Of impious worship and the evils that flow from it. Of clay and idols of clay. Of all the idols worshipped by the nations. Of animals hostile to man: the serpent, the cat and others like them. That God was Israel’s benefactor, sending quails instead of frogs.

Summary of the book of Sirach

Of the fear of the Lord; that one must not grow angry; that one must not approach God with hypocrisy. Of temptation and patience. Of the honour owed to parents; of equity. That one must not seek anything more exalted than the commandments. Of almsgiving and the protection of orphans. Of wisdom; of harmful and useful shame: here he [the author of this book] dwells at length on harmful fear. That one must not surrender to the desire for riches, nor think that one sins with impunity when punishment is not received immediately, for God is patient and must be entreated. Of vain words, pride, the testing of friends, discipline, listening to useful things. That one must not sin, lie or utter vain words; that one must not renew one's vows, that is, defer what one has promised to God. Of the wife, servants, flocks, children, the father, piety towards God, honour paid to priests, visiting the afflicted. That one must not quarrel or insult; that one must not despise the discourses and wisdom of the elders. Of temperance, friendship; that one must not imitate sinners. Of the intelligent judge and the fool, of pride, equity; that one must not blame without judgement and examination. One must beware of the wicked. Of seeking out rich men, to whom the multitude attaches itself; of the avarice of several among them. Of misers, who are given the name of the worm that gnaws wood, who never give anything to their neighbour. Of possessing wisdom; of free will. That it is better to have no children than to have wicked ones. That nothing is hidden from God. Of creatures, the formation of man, the honour with which he has been clothed. Of the giving of the law, almsgiving, penitence; that one must not lead a dissolute life. That one must keep a secret; of the fool's harmful shame. That one must turn away from one's sins; that one must flee avarice; of the wise man and the fool; of the unrestrained daughter; of the fool's folly; of firmness of mind; that one must not speak without caution. That one must repent of one's faults; that one must not utter oaths; of wisdom. Of the good and the bad wife; of merchants; of those who reveal secrets. Of those who praise to one's face and then mock. That one must forgive one's neighbour his offences

against us. Of the deceitful tongue; that one must lend to one's neighbour without usury, but extend one's hand to the needy. That one must bring up one's children carefully; of servants; of irrational animals; of dreams. Of those who fear God; of the sacrifice of the righteous, the sacrifice of the unjust. Of the love of money; of greed for food; of drunkenness. That the constitution of human nature is the same for everyone, but the will differs and is the reason why some are blessed and others cursed. Of medicine; that one must not let oneself be overcome by excessive sorrow. That one must be restrained by the laws and commandments of God. Of God's works; of punishments; of human nature: it is filled with murders and bitter cares. Of God's works.

Summary of the words of the prophet Isaiah

Accusation of Israel, its misfortunes, its rejected sacrifices, exhortation to a better life. Prophecy concerning the Church and the peace to come. Accusation of Israel and the future misfortunes of the siege. Reproaches against the Jews for their sensual life and pride. Condemnation of Israel concealed under the likeness of the vineyard. He reproaches the princes of Israel for their avarice and drunken excesses, and announces their future desolation. He threatens those who honour false prophets rather than true prophets. He announces the arrival of their enemies. He has a vision in which his lips are purified. The king of Syria wages war against Jerusalem together with the Israelites, and Isaiah prophesies concerning Christ, the ruin of Jerusalem and the coming of Nebuchadnezzar. Prophecy concerning those who will believe in Christ. Of the power, pride and ruin of the Assyrian. Of those who have faith in Christ, of his generation according to the flesh; of the gentleness of those who believe in him.

He prophesies the ruin of Babylon and foreign nations. Ruin of the Moabites. Prophecy concerning Christ. Ruin of Damascus; calamities and salvation of Israel. Ruin of Egypt. Through allegory he announces the evils that will fall upon the nations that will not believe in the Lord, and the punishment for their unbelief. Isaiah is ordered to walk about naked. War of the Medes and Babylonians against Idumea and Arabia. Final siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. Prophecy addressed to Sobna, the treasurer, concerning his

ruin. The treasurers or guardians of the temple's riches were of priestly lineage. Ruin of Tyre and then its salvation; allegorical words concerning the churches. Ruin of Babylon by the Medes, and the prophet's thanksgiving to God for this event. Prophecy concerning those who believe in Christ, the future destruction of Satan's empire by Christ, and his coming according to the flesh. Of faith in Christ.

Accusation against Israel because it has ceased to place its hope in God and has placed it in the Egyptians; evils that will befall it, prosperity that will follow. Here he prophesies concerning the Church of Christ, the nations' return to Christ and the ruin of Jerusalem. History of the Church under the names of Idumea and Jerusalem, that is, by recourse to the anagogical sense, an account of the desolation of the Jews and the prosperity of the Church of Christ. History of Sennacherib. Prophecy concerning John the Forerunner and those who will believe in Christ. Demonstration of God's power. Accusation of Israel because of its idolatry, and enumeration of the benefits bestowed upon the people. Of the establishment of the Church; of the weakness of idols and their powerlessness. Prophecy concerning Christ and those who will believe in him. Reproaches addressed to Israel because of its sins. He declares that their disobedience brought upon them the calamities that overwhelmed them. Of faith in Christ. That the Lord allowed the people not to sacrifice and does not demand sacrificial worship. Prophecy concerning those who have faith in Christ. Demonstration of the weakness of idols and proof of God's power.

Ruin of Babylon; demonstration of the hardness of the Jews' hearts; prophecies of good fortune. Prophecy concerning Christ and consolation of Jerusalem. Prophecy concerning the apostles and Christ. Of Christ's birth according to the flesh, his passion, his resurrection, the multitude of those who will believe in him. Of Christ and Israel according to history; of those who will believe in Christ according to the anagogical sense. Accusation against the Jews because of their idolatry. Condemnation of their fasts and announcement of a fast more pleasing to God. Reproaches on account of their perverse works and iniquitous counsels; prophecy concerning those who believe in Christ. Prophecy concerning Christ and the healings of body and soul accomplished by him; of the apostles and other believers. Of his passion. Confession

of the prophet in the name of all the people; their unbelief put to shame by the Lord. Election of those who believe in him and accusation of the Jews' idolatry. Of those among the Jews who believe in Our Lord Jesus Christ. Accusation of those who do not believe in the life to come.

Summary of the words of the prophet Jeremiah

Prediction of the evils that will befall Israel through Nebuchadnezzar. Reproaches addressed to the Israelites because of their idolatry and remembrance of God's benefits towards them; evils endured by those who placed their trust in the Egyptians. Demonstration of the powerlessness of idols and reproaches against the Israelites because of the sacrifice of human victims. Accusation against Israel and comparison with Judah, which it surpasses in crimes. Prediction of the good things awaiting Israel if it turns to God; confession of the prophet taking the people's place. Arrival of the Babylonians; the people's lamentations over the future ruin and description of these calamities. Reproaches against the people because there was not a single man righteous enough for God's wrath to be stayed; demonstration of their iniquity. That Jerusalem must not be razed to its foundations by Nebuchadnezzar.

Arrival of the Babylonians and accusation of disobedience against Israel because they would not listen to the prophets. Accusation against the false prophets who deceived the people, for while Jeremiah announced that there would be war, they said there would be peace. Rejection of sacrifices; arrival of the Babylonian and condemnation of the rebellious spirit of the Jews. He exhorts Judah to return to goodness and, if they do not, threatens them with the same punishment as Israel. God prevents Jeremiah from praying for them. Refusal to accept their sacrifices; accusation concerning their inconstancy and the human victims they offered to idols. He predicts that the place where the idol stands will become their tomb and that many of the dead will be deprived of burial.

The arrival of the enemies is discussed again. Jeremiah's lamentation over the people's iniquities. Reproaches addressed to the Jews because they are uncircumcised in heart, and exhortation not to let themselves be drawn into idolatry. Lamentation in the people's name over the misfortunes to come and

accusation made by God himself. Exhortation to the Jews to obey God; accusation against their fathers and evils that subsequently befell them. Once again Jeremiah is prevented from praying for them. The prophet complains of the snares laid for him by the Jews at Anathoth, and predicts that they will perish for this reason.

Jeremiah is ordered to hide his girdle, and predicts that the Jews will be filled and intoxicated with evils. Of the absence of rain: the prophet is prevented from praying for the people. God rejects their burnt offerings and fasts; he threatens the false prophets because they said that no calamity would fall upon the people. He prays to God, who answers that he will not grant his request even if Moses and Samuel intercede for them, but will deliver them to the sword and death, hunger and captivity, to all the anguish of sorrow. Jeremiah prays that those who insult him may be punished; God says to him: "If you separate what is precious from what is base, you will be as the mouth of God." (Jer. 15:19) God orders Jeremiah not to marry, not to lament, and to take part in what the Israelites who mourn their dead are doing.

Prophecy concerning the apostles and Christ. The prophet reports the words of those who will not believe in him and prays that they may be put to shame. He enjoins the Jews to observe the Sabbath. The prophet is sent to the potter's house. "Suddenly, says the Lord, I will speak against a kingdom and destroy it. And suddenly I will speak concerning a nation and a kingdom, and they will be restored." But if they do evil, I will not accomplish the good I promised to do for them. (Jer. 18:7 and following) This chapter is useful against the Jews when they say that the Lord promised them his good things, for, having failed in submission to Our Lord Jesus Christ, they themselves are the cause of the present evils that overwhelm them. The prophet predicts the snares the Jews are preparing for him, and utters imprecations against them because they have repaid good with evil.

Jeremiah is ordered to take an earthen vessel, announce the people's evils, and break the vessel before their eyes, saying: thus will Jerusalem be reduced to dust. Thrown into prison by Phassur, he prophesies to Phassur the evils that will fall upon him. Then he grows angry with those who handed him over; he

curses them and curses the day of his birth. King Zedekiah sends to ask Jeremiah whether Nebuchadnezzar will withdraw from him. He answers that God will fight against the Jews and King Zedekiah; but if the people surrender voluntarily to Nebuchadnezzar, they will be saved; and the king will not die if, renouncing his impiety, he chooses to hold fast to God's commandments. Prophecy against Joachim, against Jeconiah and against the shepherds of the people; condemnation of the false prophets. He prophesies good things for Judah. To all the people remaining in Jerusalem with Zedekiah, he prophesies, using the parable of the figs, the coming of Nebuchadnezzar and the ruin of all nations. He predicts the ruin of Jerusalem.

Jeremiah is seized by the priests to be put to death, and escapes the danger. The prophet orders that he be loaded with chains and that the envoys of foreign nations be told to make known to their kings that they must submit to Nebuchadnezzar, because God threatens with death those who will not submit. He addresses the same exhortation to Zedekiah, the priests and the people. The false prophet Ananias opposes Jeremiah and says that the sacred vessels will be returned and that Jeconiah, son of Joachim, brother of Zedekiah, will return. Ananias breaks the prophet's chain; but Jeremiah is sent to announce to him that he will die, which happened that same year. He announces the evils reserved for the prophets living in Babylon and a long captivity for the people, after which, however, they will be allowed to return. Semeias was indignant at all these things and rebukes the high priest because he did not prevent Jeremiah from uttering such prophecies; therefore God threatens to destroy him. Then comes the prophet's discourse to console Israel. He indicates the time when they will return from Babylon, namely at Passover, as can be seen in Esdras, where it is said that they returned during the feast of Unleavened Bread. By this the Jews are manifestly proved to be in error, for they still await the good things promised here, which have already come.

Prophecy concerning the children put to death by Herod, and concerning the New Testament. The Jews still await the rebuilding of the city described here; but it took place when they returned from Babylon. Jeremiah is ordered to buy the field of his father's brother, and, having bought it, he says: the city is given over, and you order me to buy a field.

God answers him: What is happening now is caused by the people's sins, but a time will come when the city will be inhabited again. He predicts to Zedekiah that he will be a prisoner; he reproaches them for enslaving a second time the slaves they had set free, and threatens great calamities to come. He orders the sons of Jonadab to build a house; they refuse. Jeremiah is ordered to write down everything he has prophesied concerning Israel, to inspire the Jews with fear when they hear once more the threat of the evils awaiting them. He commands Baruch to do this work, and he does it. Having written it, he reads it to the Jews. When the princes of Israel hear this reading, they inform King Joachim, who has the book seized and throws it into the fire. Jeremiah is ordered to write it a second time. He prophesies to the king misfortunes that will punish his audacity. He prophesies the ruin of Jerusalem. He is seized and thrown into prison, then summoned by Zedekiah, to whom he declares that he will be taken prisoner, and whom he asks not to send him back to prison. The princes throw him into the cistern filled with mud, and Abdemelech takes him out. Summoned before the king again, he announces that he will be saved if he consents to surrender willingly to the enemies; but if he refuses, death will fall upon the whole city and great evils will strike him personally. After he has failed to persuade him to surrender, the barbarians arrive; he is captured, and with him the entire city. But Nebuchadnezzar's generals treat Jeremiah well, and he also announces to Abdemelech that he will be saved.

The commander of the troops having left them free to go wherever they wished, Jeremiah withdraws to Godolias, who had been appointed to command those remaining in Judea. The Jews scattered in the countryside rally around Godolias. Ishmael kills Godolias and several others and, taking the people who obeyed Godolias, goes to the country of the Ammonites. But when the people saw Johanan, one of the princes who belonged to Godolias's party, they followed him, and Ishmael fled with only eight men. Johanan asked Jeremiah to pray for them; Jeremiah advised them not to go to Egypt, threatening them in God's name with death if they went to live in that country, but he could not persuade them. When they came to Taphna, he exhorted them not to worship idols. As they opposed his words, he announces great misfortunes to them,

as also to the king of the Egyptians; he predicts to them the ruin of Egypt, the ruin of the foreign tribes, the ruin of the Moabites, Ammonites and Idumeans, the ruin of Damascus and Elam, the ruin of Babylon, and finally the return of the Jews taken to that city. He relates how Jerusalem was captured, how Joachim was raised from his humiliation and elevated to honour because he had voluntarily submitted to Nebuchadnezzar together with his mother.

Summary of the words of the prophet Ezekiel

The Prophet sees the cherubim in a vision and is ordered to speak to the Israelites on God's behalf. He is transported by the Spirit of God into the midst of the captivity. God urges him to speak confidently and unceasingly to the righteous and to sinners, to show them the way that leads to life and teach God's commandments. He is ordered to shut himself inside his house and depict the siege of Jerusalem through the example of clay and the iron pot. He is ordered to sleep on one side for a specified number of days, to signify the affliction reserved for the people during captivity. Through the loaves baked with ox dung and the division of his hair, he announces their death and dispersion, the ruin of the city and the overthrow of the idols. He sees the people's iniquities and idolatry, and then those who will come to the point of destroying the city. He sees the cherubim again and announces evils to the city. He speaks of those who will believe in Christ; he again predicts the people's captivity, which took place under Zedekiah, and the deprivation of Zedekiah's sight by order of the same Nebuchadnezzar. He predicts evils that were to come not in a distant time but very soon. He threatens the false prophets and declares to them that no prayer can avert the evils they will endure, so that neither Job, Daniel nor Noah could deliver their sons from them; through the example of the wood of the vine he makes known the fate awaiting them. He relates the people's shame and abasement from the beginning, before they had attached themselves to God, and their glory after their covenant with the Lord, their idolatry and the captivity that punished it; he shows the enormity of their iniquities by comparison with Sodom and Samaria. But the good things he promises when he says, "I will establish my covenant with you" (Ezek. 16:62), may be understood as applying to those who believe in Christ.

He predicts the coming of Nebuchadnezzar. He speaks against those who said: "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth have been set on edge." (Ezek. 18:2) Of King Zedekiah's mother. Before the elders the Prophet bears witness to their fathers' iniquities. There is this saying: "On my holy mountain"—and it is of Israel's lofty mountain that he speaks—"Lord, Adonai, it is there that all the house of Israel will serve me

until the end" (Ezek. XX), and this must be understood of those who will believe in Christ. Of Theman, Israel and the sons of Ammon. He recalls the iniquities and sins of Israel, the priests, the princes and the false prophets. "I sought a man walking uprightly and standing before my face in the breach of the wall, to protect this land so that I would not destroy it, and I found none." (Ezek. 22:30) Of the idolatry of the people of Israel in Egypt and afterwards, and the calamities that struck them, calamities during which they were not permitted to give themselves over to mourning. Against the Ammonites and Idumeans, against the foreign tribes and Sor, which is supposed to be the city of Tyre. He predicts great calamities against the prince of Tyre and Sidon, against Egypt and the king of Egypt. He announces misfortunes to the watchman of Israel if he does not foretell to the people, for whom he was appointed, the calamities sent by God.

The prophet says that the unjust man will not perish for his former iniquities if he turns to God and does what is pleasing to him, whereas the righteous man will not obtain salvation on account of his former righteousness if, changing, he becomes iniquitous and unjust. Someone comes to tell the prophet that Jerusalem has been captured, and he takes the opportunity to accuse them because they pay no attention to what the prophets foretold. He prophesies against the shepherds of Israel and announces that a single shepherd will be given, which happened under Zerubbabel—something the Jews impudently say has not yet happened, although it was fulfilled, as I have said, under Zerubbabel. He prophesies against the Idumeans and predicts for the Israelites good things that God will grant them, not because they deserve them, but so that his name may not be blasphemed. The prophet is led into a field and prophesies over dry bones. He prophesies concerning Zerubbabel, saying that there will be one sole prince of the Jews, which may be understood of Our Lord Jesus Christ. He prophesies concerning Gog and Magog, who would attack the Jews after their return from Babylon but would be defeated. Some understand this allegorically of the Church and the devil, and also of the persecutions raised at different times by impious emperors. He prophesies the rebuilding of the temple and the restoration of worship according to the law, things the Jews still await, but which were accomplished in the time of Ezra and Zerubbabel. The building

of the temple that he predicts and the water that flowed out little by little and increased may be understood of those who turned to Christ, who were dead before they believed and became living after they believed.

Summary of the words of the prophet Daniel

Daniel and his companions are chosen and entrusted to the chief of the eunuchs; they are fed vegetables; they are found to be the wisest of those placed near the king. Nebuchadnezzar has a dream and orders the magi who cannot identify and interpret it to be put to death. Daniel and his companions are in danger, but God saves them by revealing the nature of the dream to Daniel. Daniel is brought in; he tells the king what the dream was and what its interpretation is. The stone cut without the help of any hand is Christ; without the help of any hand signifies his birth from a virgin without a man approaching her. Having erected a statue, Nebuchadnezzar orders everyone to prostrate themselves before it, and has the three children who did not worship thrown into the furnace. When those near the furnace had been consumed by the fire and the children had begun to sing a hymn to God, the king, having called them and seen them safe and sound, was seized with fear before God; he honoured them with the title of princes of the Jews and issued a decree that whoever blasphemed against God should be put to death.

Nebuchadnezzar has a dream, and once again the wise men of Babylon cannot explain it. Daniel gives its explanation and advises the king to redeem his sins through almsgiving. Shortly afterwards the dream came true, and Nebuchadnezzar praised God. The sacred vessels of the temple having been brought by order of Balthasar, son of Nebuchadnezzar, the fingers of a hand appeared while they were eating and drinking from these vessels, and it traced writing that the wise men of Babylon could not read, but which Daniel read and explained. He was clothed in purple, a gold necklace was placed upon him, and he was proclaimed third in the empire.

Darius the Mede, having come to reign and appointed Daniel as prince, is compelled by the generals and satraps to issue a decree ordering that whoever makes a request to a god or a man,

except the king, during a period of thirty days, shall be thrown into the lions' den. When this decree is issued, they observe Daniel praying to God, accuse him and compel the king to throw him into the den. After having him thrown in, the king comes, finds him safe and sound, brings him out of the den, and destroys, together with their wives, those who had caused him to be cast in, by giving them to the lions. He issues a decree that all should fear the Lord. He sees the vision of the animals: the lioness representing the kingdom of Assyria, the bear that of the Medes and Persians, the tiger that of the Macedonians, and a fourth animal the Roman Empire. He prophesies concerning Christ and the impious Antiochus, for the latter is the little horn that triumphs over the first three. He prophesies, announcing how Alexander the Macedonian destroyed the kingdom of the Persians: by the ram he indicates the king of the Persians, and by the he-goat Alexander of Macedonia. The last vision concerning the queen of the South is in the book of Maccabees. He overthrows the statue of Bel and kills the dragon. He is thrown into the den and saved; those who caused him to be cast in are thrown into it in their turn and devoured by the lions.

Hosea

The prophet is ordered to take a courtesan as his wife and to name the children who will be born "Jezreel, she who is not pitied, and he who is not my people." (Hos. 1:4) He accuses the people of fornication and announces their ruin, and new good things after that ruin. This saying, "I will make a covenant with the animals of the fields," and "I will make a marriage covenant" (Hos. 2:18), may be understood of those who will believe in Christ. He is ordered to take another woman who is a prostitute, to signify the desolation of the Jews, and reproaches the priests and the people for the enormity of their iniquities. He reproaches them for drunkenness, adultery and fits of passion. He accuses them of having ceased to place their hope in God and of placing it in the Assyrians and Egyptians, and announces punishments to them. He says that Ephraim became powerful through the help he obtained, but that he rose beyond due measure because of his prosperity. God shows his solicitude for the Israelites and their ingratitude towards him; he predicts calamities for them.

Joel

The prophet recounts the devastation of the fruits of the earth and exhorts the people to seek God's favour. He prophesies the coming of the Assyrian and then announces some prosperity. He predicts what happened to the apostles concerning tongues. He also announces the ruin of the nations after the return from captivity in Babylon under Zerubbabel. This passage contains an allegory.

Amos

He recalls the iniquities of Damascus, Gaza, Tyre, the Idumeans, Ammonites, Moabites, Judah and Israel, and predicts their coming punishment. He enumerates the benefits God bestowed upon the Jews, their negligence and contempt in his service, and finally the misfortunes awaiting them. He accuses the women of Samaria on account of their drunkenness and plundering. He predicts famine and the destruction of the harvests because they have not turned back and, despite being afflicted with many evils, have not become better. He reproaches the Israelites for being unable to bear those who rebuke them, and exhorts them to turn to God. He announces coming evils that will be caused by their unbelief. For it is of them that he says: "Woe to those who desire the day of the Lord!" (Amos 5:18) Some have understood this of the future judgement, as some unbelievers still do when they say: Let it come, then, if it is true that it must come! The Lord has rejected their festivals, sacrifices and psalms. He speaks of the star of the god Raphan, that is, Saturn, for the Greeks say of their god Saturn that he is a star in heaven, and call him thus. He also says: "Did you offer me victims and oblations for forty years?" (Amos 5:25) The people offered none, but only the princes of the people when the ark came to rest, and here he speaks of the entire people. He accuses them of intemperance in food and announces misfortunes to them. He predicts their death by speaking of the locusts, the covenant and the level. Amasias makes these things known to the king, who drives the prophet away and expels him. The prophet predicts great evils for him and for the people. He sees the fowler's vessel and uses it to indicate that they will be captives. He enumerates their iniquities and acts of violence, and tells of the evils that will fall upon them. This saying, "The sun will set at its noon" (Amos 7:9), refers to the time of Christ's passion. He then speaks concerning those who will believe in Christ.

Obadiah

He announces the punishment of the Idumeans, which they did indeed undergo, because they had joined Israel's other enemies to overwhelm it. Prophecy concerning the Church.

Jonah

The prophet Jonah recounts his flight to Tarshish, the storm, the story of the fish that swallowed him and cast him out, the repentance of the Ninevites, and the growth and withering of the plant that sheltered him.

Micah

He announces the future desolation of Samaria and Jerusalem and states its cause. He adds the return of the Jews from Babylon, the sins and accusation of the princes of the people, the priests and false prophets; of the Church that will believe in Our Lord and of the New Testament, for the first law must perish; and finally of peace. Evils are announced to the Jews once again. Of Christ's birth according to the flesh and those who will believe in him. "And there will be a remnant of Jacob" (Mic. 5:7); this saying is recalled by the apostle Paul, who says: "What remains will be saved." (Rom. 9:27) The Lord's judgement against his people; enumeration of his benefits; rejection of sacrifices. The prophet complains that the good and the righteous have disappeared. In conclusion, accusation and threats of great calamities, then good things promised to Israel.

Nahum

He speaks of God's power; he prophesies concerning the apostles. He adds the invasion of the Babylonians against Nineveh, and their captivity. He recalls its power and wealth before the time of its ruin.

The French source translates these five notices from folios 37 verso–38 verso of the Jerusalem manuscript. This English version follows that French text. Brackets mark uncertain readings.

Habakkuk

The prophet speaks of the people's injustice and says towards what those who show contempt must turn their gaze. There is discussion of the unbelief of the Jews and [a passage of uncertain reading in which Jesus Christ is named]. He predicts the advance of the Babylonians against Jerusalem. Here are found the words "The righteous man will live by faith". The greater part of the book deals with the injustice of the rich, plundering, deception and cunning. Habakkuk's prayer prophesies concerning Christ.

Zephaniah

He addresses a grave threat to the Jews and exhorts them to return to God. He also threatens the Moabites and Ammonites. Prophecy concerning Christ. Prediction of the destruction of the Ninevites. Israel's return to God.

Haggai

He too prophesies after the return from Babylon. He reproaches the Israelites for caring for their own houses and neglecting the building of the Temple. He therefore announces famine to them. He exhorts them to resume work and promises that they will bring the undertaking to a successful conclusion. This text also contains the saying about the shaking that Paul quotes.

Zechariah

He too prophesies after the return from Babylon. He reminds the Israelites of their predecessors' sins and the punishment they suffered, and exhorts them not to imitate them. The angel prays to God for Jerusalem. The prophet announces good things for it and speaks of the nations that enslaved it. The horns represent the kingdoms that took up arms against the Jews: the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians. There is discussion of the vision whose meaning escapes the one who sees it [uncertain reading].

Concerning those who believe in Christ. The prophet sees Joshua, son of Jozadak, and the golden lampstand. The two "sons of oil" designate the priesthood and kingship. Then he sees the sickle. Since those who had returned from captivity had disputes among themselves, he shows them the sickle of the curse. The talent of lead is the punishment reserved for injustice and transgression. He is ordered to take gold and make it into a crown for the priest. This saying, "Behold a man whose name is Branch", finds its full meaning in Christ [continuation of uncertain reading].

The Jews who had survived fasted because of the captivity. Now that their customs and all their worship have been restored and the Temple is more splendid than before, they ask whether they must still maintain a mournful appearance, fast and beat their breasts. He does not command them to follow these observances. He asks them to speak the truth, render just judgements, practise justice, bear no grudges and do no harm to their neighbour. He says that he had already prescribed all this to them before, that they had not listened and that they had been scattered for this reason.

He prophesies that their former prosperity will be restored to them. He exhorts them to prosper through their righteousness. Exhortation to keep the peace. Reproaches addressed to Damascus, Tyre and Sidon. The saying "Rejoice greatly, daughter of Zion, behold, your king comes to you" evokes Christ seated on the colt.

[Uncertain reading at the beginning of the enumeration.] Victory of the Maccabees over the Ammonites. The prophet predicts the events under Antiochus, Christ's sufferings and the judgement to come. "I will strike the shepherd and the sheep will be scattered" is found here. He speaks of the day when Christ was handed over.

Malachi

He too prophesies after the return up from Babylon. The prophet multiplies his reproaches. He rebukes the priests who, despite the command to honour God and present offerings worthy of him, offer him a very poor sacrifice and service. They present mutilated victims and do violence to the rectitude of the Law. He also makes reproaches concerning marriage and divorce.

He announces the coming of Christ. He calls him “angel of the covenant” and elsewhere says “angel of the great counsel”. There is discussion of Elijah’s coming before the judgement. [The reading of a few words at the end is uncertain.] The words “before the day comes” also designate the judgement to come.

FF. 1R–38V / NOTES

Translation choices

Synopsis of the Scriptures

Synopsis, abridgement, overview

The Greek σύνοψις denotes the act of taking in a whole at a single glance. “Overview” conveys its meaning. Each notice lets us hear the voice of the person summarising the biblical books. Events, book titles and interpretations are therefore read on two levels: that of the biblical narrative and that of its ancient reader.

The meaning of “Testament”

Διαθήκη can mean a disposition, a testament or a covenant. “Old Covenant” emphasises the relationship between God and his people. “Old Testament” has become the name of the collection of books. The author of the preamble brings these two uses together.

The names of the books

In the Greek tradition, the Books of Kingdoms bring together the narratives that many French Bibles call Samuel and Kings. Paralipomena corresponds to Chronicles. These differences in titles explain the vocabulary of the historical translation.

A synopsis with several witnesses

The French text of 1865 allows the reader to follow the portion shared by the edited Greek text and the Jerusalem manuscript. The final five notices on the minor prophets, absent from that translation, are given separately on the basis of the manuscript. The Synopsis ends here with Malachi.

Reference text

Œuvres complètes de saint Jean Chrysostome, translated under the direction of M. Jeannin, vol. VI, Bar-le-Duc, L. Guérin, 1865, Synopse. Wikisource transcription.

FF. 39R–51V / ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Epistle of Barnabas

Complete English rendering of the historical French translation in 21 chapters. The reference text is that of the critical edition and may differ from the codex. The photograph preserves the readings of the Jerusalem manuscript.

Chapter I

Greetings in peace to you, sons and daughters, in the name of the Lord who loved us.

[2] Great and splendid are the Lord's purposes for you. Therefore I rejoice more than in anything else, and beyond all measure, in your spiritual life, blessed and illustrious, so firmly implanted is the grace of the spiritual gift you have received. [3] And I rejoice still more in the hope of being saved, when I truly see in you the spirit poured out upon you from the abundance of the Lord's fountain, struck as I am with admiration at the sight of you, so ardently desired. [4] Although I have already lived among you, I am persuaded, inwardly conscious, that I still know many things, for the Lord has kept me company on the path of righteousness; and so I too feel wholly compelled to love you more than my life, because great faith and great love dwell in you, founded on the hope of his life. [5] Thus I have reflected on the reward I shall have for assisting souls such as yours, if I take care to share with you what I have received, and I undertake to write to you briefly so that, along with faith, you may have perfect knowledge.

[6] The Lord's maxims are three in number: The hope of life, the beginning and end of our faith; Righteousness, the beginning and end of judgement; Love acting in joy and gladness, the attestation of righteousness.

[7] For the Master, through the prophets, has revealed past and present things to us and given us a foretaste of things to come. Seeing these fulfilled in succession, then, as he foretold them, we

have a duty to advance, through a more generous and elevated life, in the fear of God. [8] For my part, it is not as a teacher but as one of you that I shall offer you a few modest teachings capable of gladdening you in the present circumstances.

Chapter II

Since, then, the days are evil and the active enemy holds power, we must attend to ourselves and diligently seek the Lord's purposes. [2] Now fear and patience are the helpers of our faith; our allies are long-suffering and self-mastery. [3] If these virtues remain without blemish before God, they are joyfully accompanied by wisdom, understanding, learning and knowledge.

[4] Through all the prophets he has expressly informed us that he needs neither sacrifices, nor burnt offerings, nor offerings. He says in one place:

[5] "What does the multitude of your sacrifices matter to me? says the Lord. I am sated with burnt offerings;

I want neither the fat of lambs, Nor the blood of bulls and goats, Not even when you appear before me. Who, then, demanded these gifts from your hands? Trample my court no longer. If you offer me fine flour, it is in vain. Incense is an abomination to me. I cannot endure your new moons and your Sabbaths."

[6] He has therefore abolished all this so that the new law of Our Lord Jesus Christ, free from the yoke of necessity, may not have an offering made by men. [7] He also says to them:

"Did I, then, command your fathers, When they came out of Egypt, To offer me burnt offerings and sacrifices? [8] Did I not rather command them this: Let none of you devise evil in his heart against his neighbour, and do not love a false oath."

[9] If we are not devoid of understanding, we must comprehend our Father's benevolent purpose: if he speaks to us, it is because he wants us, without going astray like those people (the Jews), to seek the means of approaching him. [10] To us, therefore, he speaks thus:

“The sacrifice for the Lord is a broken heart; The sweet-smelling fragrance for the Lord Is a heart that glorifies the one who fashioned it.”

to our salvation, lest the Evil One stealthily insinuate error into us and, as with a sling, fling us far from our life (from salvation).

Chapter III

He also says to them on this subject: “For what purpose do you fast, says the Lord, So that today nothing is heard from your voice but cries? It is not a fast of this kind that I chose for myself, says the Lord, Nor a man who humbles his soul. [2] Even if you bend your neck like a ring, Even if you put on sackcloth and spread a bed of ashes, Do not yet call this fast an acceptable fast.”

[3] As for us, he says: “This is the fast I chose for myself, says the Lord: Undo every unjust chain, Unfasten the links of contracts imposed by violence, Send the oppressed away free And tear up every iniquitous agreement. Distribute your bread to the hungry, Clothe those you see naked. Bring into your house those who have no roof. If you see a wretched person, do not look down upon him, And do not turn your eyes away from the kin of your race. [4] Then your light will spring forth as an early dawn; At once your garments will shine.
Righteousness will walk before you, And the glory of God will surround you. [5] Then you will cry out and God will answer you; While you are still speaking, he will say: Here I am! Provided that you renounce chains, Raised hands (for false witness or mockery), Words of murmuring, That you give your bread gladly to the hungry And take pity on the humbled soul.”

[6] O my brothers, our long-suffering God has thus provided that the people he prepared through his Beloved should have an unmixed faith; he has forewarned us of everything, lest, as outsiders affiliated with their law, we should dash ourselves against it.

Chapter IV

Carefully examining the present circumstances, then, we must seek what can save us (from this danger). Let us flee iniquitous works altogether, lest they seize us; let us hate the error of the present age so that we may be loved (saved) in the age to come. [2] Let us not give our souls leave to run in the company of sinners and wicked people, lest we become like them. [3] The great stumbling block of which Enoch says that it was written has drawn near. The Master has shortened the times and days so that his Beloved may hasten and come into his inheritance. [4] The prophet also speaks thus: "Ten kingdoms will reign upon the earth; then a little king will arise who will bring down three of the kings at once." [5] Daniel likewise says on this subject: "I saw the fourth beast, wicked, strong, more dangerous than all the beasts of the sea; ten horns grew upon it, and from their base came a little horn that brought down three of the great horns at a single stroke." [6] You must therefore understand.

Once again I implore you, I who am one of you and love you all with a particular love, more than my life: pay attention to yourselves; do not resemble certain people by piling sin upon sin and repeating that the Testament belongs both to them and to us. [7] It is indeed ours; but they have lost for ever the testament formerly received through Moses. For Scripture says: "And Moses persisted in fasting on the mountain for forty days and forty nights, and received from the Lord the Testament, the stone tablets written with the finger of the Lord's hand." [8] They lost this testament by turning to idols; for this is what the Lord says: "Moses, Moses, come down very quickly, for your people have sinned, your people whom you brought out of the land of Egypt." Moses realised this and cast the two tablets from his hands, and their testament was shattered so that that of the beloved Jesus might be sealed in our hearts through the hope of faith in him. [9] Intending to write many things to you, not as a teacher but as befits a man who loves you and intends to let nothing of what we possess be lost, I, your humble servant, have applied myself to writing. Let us therefore pay attention to the last days, for all the time of our life and faith will avail us nothing if, now in the time of iniquity and amid the stumbling blocks to come,

we do not resist as befits sons of God. [10] Lest the Black One slip stealthily among us, let us flee all vanity and utterly hate the works of the evil way; do not live in isolation, withdrawn into yourselves, as though you were already justified, but gather to seek together what serves the common interest. [11] For Scripture says:

"Woe to those who are intelligent in their own estimation And wise in their own eyes!"

Let us become spiritual men; let us become a completed temple for God. As far as lies within us, let us "train ourselves in the fear" of God; let us strive to keep the commandments so that we may rejoice in his holy purposes. [12] The Lord will judge the world "without respect of persons". Each will receive according to his works: the good man will be preceded by his righteousness; the wicked man will have before him the wages of his iniquity. [13] Let us never give ourselves over to rest on the pretext that we are called, at the risk of falling asleep in our sins and seeing the evil prince take authority over us and drive us out of the Lord's kingdom. [14] One more thing to consider, my brothers: when, after such signs and wonders performed among Israel, you nevertheless see it abandoned, let us take care lest among us too there should be, in the words of Scripture, "many called but few chosen".

Chapter V

The Lord endured his flesh being handed over to destruction; this was to purify us through the remission of sins, which is accomplished by the sprinkling of his blood. [2] Scripture speaks of him in this connection, partly for Israel and partly for us, and expresses itself thus:

"He was wounded because of our iniquities, He was brutally treated because of our sins; We were healed by his wound; He was led like a sheep to slaughter, And like a lamb voiceless before the shearer."

[3] We must therefore express our deepest gratitude to the Lord for making the past known to us, explaining the present, and giving us some understanding of the future. [4] Now Scripture states that "it is not

wrongly that nets are spread for birds", which means that one deserves to perish when, knowing the way of righteousness, one remains in the way of darkness.

[5] One more thing, my brothers: if the Lord endured suffering for our souls, although he was the Lord of the universe, to whom God said from the foundation of the world, "Let us make man in our image and likeness", how, then, did he endure suffering at the hands of men? Learn this: [6] the prophets, by a grace they received from him, uttered prophecies concerning him. Now, since he had to manifest himself in the flesh to abolish death and demonstrate the resurrection from the dead, he endured suffering in this way [7] to fulfil the promise made to our fathers, to prepare the new people for himself, and to show, even during his sojourn on earth, that it is he who brings about the resurrection of the dead, he who will conduct the judgement. — [8] Finally, while he was instructing Israel and performing such extraordinary miracles and signs, he preached and showed it measureless love; [9] then he chose as his apostles, the future preachers of his gospel, men guilty of the worst sins, to show that "he did not come to call the righteous, but sinners"; he then made it clearly known that he was the Son of God. — [10] If he had not come in the flesh, how could men have remained safe and sound at the sight of him, since, facing the sun, which is heading towards nothingness and is the work of his hands, they cannot raise their eyes and gaze upon its rays? — [11] If the Son of God came in the flesh, it was therefore to fill up the measure of the sins of those who pursued his prophets to death. [12] That, then, is why he endured suffering. For God says that the wound in his flesh comes from them: "When they have struck their shepherd, the sheep of the flock will perish." — [13] But it was he who resolved to suffer in the manner (that is known), for he had to suffer upon the wood; indeed, the prophet says concerning him: "Spare my soul with the sword", and: "pierce my flesh with nails, for bands of scoundrels have risen against me", [14] and elsewhere again:

"See, I offered my back to whips And my cheeks to blows; I made my face rigid like a hard stone."

Chapter VI

Concerning the time when he will have fulfilled his commission, what does he say? “Who wishes to contend with me in judgement? Let him stand opposite me! Or who wishes to obtain justice before me? Let him approach the servant of the Lord!

[2] Woe to you! For you will all fall apart with age like a garment, And the moth will devour you.”

On another occasion the prophet speaks of the time when he will have been placed as a solid grinding stone:

“Behold, I will place in the foundation courses of Zion a stone, Costly, chosen, as a corner block, and of great value.”

[3] What does he say next? “And whoever believes in him will live eternally.” Is it, then, a stone that constitutes our hope? God forbid; rather, it is because the Lord made his flesh firm:

“I stood, he says, like hard rock.” [4] Elsewhere the prophet says: “The stone that the masons rejected when tested Has become the stone at the summit of the corner,”

and elsewhere again: “Behold the great and wonderful day that the Lord has made!” [5] I write to you quite simply, I, the humble servant of your love, so that you may understand. [6] What else does the prophet say?

“A band of villains surrounded me; They encircled me like bees around a honeycomb,”

therefore, since he was to reveal himself and suffer in the flesh, his suffering was foretold in advance. For the prophet says concerning Israel:

“Woe to their soul! For it is an evil design against themselves that they formed When they said to one another: Let us bind the righteous man, For he is an impediment to us.”

[8] What does Moses, another prophet, say to them? “This is what the Lord God declares: Enter the excellent land that the Lord promised by oath to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; take possession as an inheritance of this land flowing with milk and honey.” [9] But learn what the knowledge of gnosis says about this: Hope, it says, in Jesus, who is to reveal himself to you in the flesh. Now man (who is flesh) is earth capable of suffering, since Adam was moulded from earth. [10] But why, then, does he say: “Into an excellent land, a land flowing with milk and honey”? O my brothers! Blessed be our Lord, who has placed in us wisdom and understanding of his secrets. For the prophet designates the Lord allegorically. Who will understand him except one who is wise, instructed and loves his Lord? [11] By renewing us through the remission of sins, he has placed another imprint upon us, to the point of our having the soul of little children, just as though he were creating us anew; [12] for it is of us that Scripture speaks when (God) says to the Son: “Let us make man in our image and likeness, and let him command the beasts of the earth, the birds of heaven and the fish of the sea!” And, having seen the masterpiece that we were, the Lord added: “Increase, multiply and fill the earth!” These words were addressed to the Son; [13] but I shall also show you how, faithful to his word towards us, he (Christ?) made a second creation in the last times. For the Lord says: “Behold, I make the last things like the first”; and this is what the prophet’s oracle refers to: “Enter the land flowing with milk and honey and rule over it.” [14] Now observe: we have been created anew, as is recorded in another prophet: “Behold, says the Lord, from those”—that is, those whom the Spirit of the Lord foresaw—“I will tear out their hearts of stone and put hearts of flesh in their place”, since he himself was to manifest himself in the flesh and dwell in us. [15] My brothers, the dwelling of our hearts is a holy temple for the Lord, [16] for he also expresses himself thus: “Where shall I appear before the Lord my God and be glorified?” And he answers:

“I will confess you in the assembly of my brothers And sing to you in the midst of the assembly of the saints.”

It is indeed us, then, whom he has brought into an excellent land. [17] But why milk and honey? Because the child is fed first with honey and then with milk; thus, nourished in the same way through faith in the promise and through preaching, we shall live ruling over the earth. [18] Previously (the Lord) had prophesied: "Let them increase and multiply and command the fish." Now who at present can command the beasts, the fish and the birds of heaven? We must observe that to command is to have the power, when giving an order, to make one's authority prevail. [19] If this is not the case now, we have been told when it will become so: when we ourselves have become perfect enough to take possession of the inheritance of the Lord's testament.

Chapter VII

Take it to heart, then, children of gladness, that the good Lord has revealed everything to us beforehand, so that in every circumstance we may know to whom we owe our thanksgiving and praise. [2] If the Son of God, though Lord and "future judge of the living and the dead", suffered in order to make us live through his wounds, let us also believe that the Son of God could suffer only on our account.

[3] But on the cross "he was given vinegar and gall to drink". Now learn how this had been indicated beforehand by the priests of the temple. The Lord had laid down this precept in Scripture: "Whoever does not fast on the day of the fast shall be put to death", because he was to offer in sacrifice for our sins the vessel containing his spirit (his body), so that the event prefigured in Isaac offered upon an altar might be fulfilled. [4] Now what does he say in the prophet? "Let them eat of the goat offered on the day of the fast for all sins." And—note this carefully—"let all the priests, and the priests alone, eat the unwashed entrails, and vinegar." [5] Why is this? — "Because you will give me gall and vinegar to drink", I who am going to offer my flesh in sacrifice for the sins of my new people; you alone will eat of it, while the people will fast and beat their breasts in sackcloth and ashes; and to show that he must suffer at their hands, [6] note the precepts he gave: "Take two goats, beautiful and alike, then offer them, and let the priest take one

to burn as a burnt offering on account of sins." [7] What is to be done with the other goat? — "Let that one, he says, be accursed." Now observe how Jesus is manifested here in a figure: [8] "All of you spit upon it, prick it, put scarlet-red wool upon its head, and in this state let it be driven into the wilderness." When all this has been done, the person taking the goat away leads it towards the wilderness, removes the wool and places it on a bramble bush. We eat its berries when we encounter them in the countryside; only bramble fruits are so sweet. [9] Now pay attention to what this means: "one goat for the altar of sacrifices, one goat consigned to the curse", and why the latter is crowned. It is because one day they will see him (Jesus), with his flesh covered by the scarlet garment, and will say: Is this not the one whom we formerly insulted, covered with blows and spittle, and finally crucified? Truly, this is the one who declared that he was the Son of God. [10] But why must one goat resemble the other? "The goats must be alike, beautiful and of the same size, so that on the day when they see him (Jesus) return, they may be struck with amazement at the resemblance (as in the case) of the goat." Here, then, you see the figure of Jesus who was to suffer. [11] But why is the wool placed among thorns? — It is a figure of Jesus, set before the Church. Whoever wishes to remove the scarlet wool must take great pains because of the dangerous thorns, and gains possession of it only through painful efforts. Thus, he says, those who aspire to see me and reach my kingdom must obtain me through affliction and suffering.

Chapter VIII

What figure do you think there is in the command given to Israel: that men guilty of great sins should offer a heifer, slaughter it and burn it; that young children should then gather the ashes and pour them into vessels, wrap scarlet wool around a piece of wood (here again is a figure of the cross and the scarlet wool), together with hyssop; and finally that these young children should sprinkle the people, everyone one by one, to purify them of their sins? [2] Recognise how simply he speaks to us. The heifer represents Jesus; the sinful men who offer it represent those who presented Jesus for slaughter. [After that, those men are finished! The glory of sinners is finished!]

[3] The young people who sprinkle are the heralds of good news who announced to us the remission of sins and the purification of the heart. To them was entrusted the full authority of the gospel for preaching; and they are twelve in remembrance of the twelve tribes of Israel. [4] And why are three young people employed in the sprinkling? — In honour of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, all three great before God. [5] Why place the wool upon the wood? — Because Jesus' kingship rests upon the wood (the cross), and those who hope in him will live for ever. [6] And why hyssop together with the wool? — Because in his kingdom there will be evil days, troubled days during which we shall be saved as a sick person heals his suffering flesh by means of the sticky juice extracted from hyssop.

[7] Thus the events have a meaning so clear to us, so obscure to the others who have not listened to the Lord's voice.

Chapter IX

For it is our own ears that he means when he says elsewhere that he has circumcised our hearts. The Lord says in the prophet: “Hearing with their ears, they obeyed”; and elsewhere: “Those who are far away will learn by hearsay and know what I have done”; the Lord also says: “Circumcise your hearts”; [2] and elsewhere: “Hear, Israel! This is what the Lord your God says.” Elsewhere the Spirit of the Lord prophesies: “Does anyone wish to live for ever? Let him listen to the voice of my servant!” [3] He also says:

“O heaven, listen! Earth, give ear! For the Lord has spoken these things to bear witness to them.”

Elsewhere also: “Hear the word of the Lord, princes of this people”; or: “Listen, children, to the voice crying in the wilderness.” Thus he has circumcised our hearing so that we may hear his word and believe. [4] But as for circumcision, in which they confidently rested, it has been abolished, for he had declared that it was not the flesh they were to circumcise; but they disregarded this, deceived as they were by an evil angel. [5] God says to them: “This is what the Lord your God says”—and it is here that I find the precept—“Do not sow among thorns; be circumcised for your Lord.” And what else does he say? “Cut into the hardness of your heart and do not stiffen your neck.” Add also this saying: “Behold, says the Lord, all the nations are uncircumcised in foreskin, but this people is uncircumcised in heart.” [6] You may say that this people was circumcised to set the seal (upon the divine covenant). But all the Syrians, all the Arabs and all the priests of idols are likewise circumcised. Do they therefore also belong to the covenant? Even the Egyptians themselves practise circumcision. [7] On all these things, O children of love, receive profound instruction, namely: Abraham, who first practised circumcision, performed it with his mind’s gaze fixed upon Jesus, for he had received the teaching contained in three letters. [8] For Scripture says: “Abraham circumcised the men of his household, eighteen and three hundred in number.” What mysterious knowledge, then, was communicated to him? Observe that the “eighteen” are named first,

then, after an interval, the “three hundred”. Eighteen is written with an iota worth ten and an eta worth eight; there you have Jesus, IH(ΣΟΥΣ). And since the cross in the form of a T was to signify grace, “and three hundred” (= T) is also added. The two letters together designate Jesus for us; the cross is shown to us in a single letter. [9] He who implanted in us the gift of his teaching knows well that no one has heard instruction of finer quality from me; but I know that you are worthy of it.

Chapter X

If Moses said: “You shall eat neither pig, nor eagle, nor hawk, nor raven, nor fish without scales”, it is because his understanding had perceived a threefold teaching. [2] Yet the Lord says (to the Jews) in Deuteronomy: “And I will set forth my purposes before this people.” It is therefore not a commandment of God not to eat; rather, Moses spoke in the spirit: [3] first of the pig in this sense: You shall have no association with men who resemble pigs, that is, who forget the Lord when they live in luxury and remember him in need, as the pig does, which, when it is devouring food, does not know its master, but grunts as soon as it is hungry and falls silent again after receiving its food. [4] “Neither shall you eat eagle, hawk, kite or raven”, that is: you shall neither attach yourself to nor resemble men who do not know how to earn their food by labour and sweat, but in their iniquity seize the possessions of others; while appearing to stroll innocently, they lie in wait, watching around them to see what prey their greed will strip bare; like these birds, which alone among all, instead of procuring their food, remain perched doing nothing and seek to eat the others, a veritable scourge in their wickedness. [5] “Neither shall you eat moray eel, he says, nor octopus, nor cuttlefish”, that is: you shall neither resemble nor associate with men who carry impiety to the extreme and are already condemned to death, like these fish, the only ones accursed, which swim in the depths without diving as the others do, but live below on the floor of the abyss. [6] “Neither shall you eat hare.” For what reason? This means: you shall not be a corrupter of children or anything of the kind, for the hare acquires one more anus every year; as many years as it lives, so many openings it has. [7] “Neither shall you eat hyena”, that is: you shall be neither adulterer nor seducer, nor anything of the kind. For what reason? Because this animal changes sex every year: it is male and female by turns. [8] Moses likewise pursued the “weasel” with a deserved hatred. Beware, he means, of resembling those who, it is said, commit iniquity with their impure mouth; avoid all association with shameless women who commit the crime

with their mouth. Such is this animal, which conceives through its mouth. [9] Thus Moses, having received a threefold teaching concerning foods, spoke in a spiritual sense; but they (the Jews) received his words according to the desire of the flesh, as though food were meant.

[10] David, for his part, has the true understanding of the same three teachings, and speaks in the same manner: "Blessed is the man who has not walked according to the counsel of the impious", like the fish that move among the darkness through the depths; "who has not stood in the way of sinners", in the manner of those who fear God in appearance and sin like pigs; and finally, "who has not sat in the seat of pestilence", like the birds perched to practise their plundering. You are now fully instructed concerning food as well. [11] Moses also says: "You shall eat of the ruminant that has a cloven hoof." Why does he speak thus? Because this animal, when taking its food, knows the one who feeds it and seems to delight in his company when it rests. With regard to the precept, he has expressed himself ingeniously. What, then, does he prescribe? Attach yourselves to those who fear the Lord, who reflect in their hearts on the precise import of the teaching received, who discuss the Lord's purposes and observe them, who know that reflection is a work of joy and who ruminate upon the Lord's word. But why speak of the cloven hoof? Because the righteous man knows both how to walk in this world and how to await holy eternity. See what a wise lawgiver Moses was. [12] But whence could the Jews have acquired insight into or understanding of these things? As for us, having understood the true meaning of the commandments, we express them as the Lord intended; it is precisely so that we may understand them that he has circumcised our hearts and ears.

Chapter XI

Let us now investigate whether the Lord took care to reveal beforehand both the water and the cross. Regarding water, it is written to Israel that the Jews would not receive the baptism that brings remission of sins, but would fashion for themselves a means of edification. [2] For the prophet says:

“Heaven, be astonished! Earth, shudder with still greater horror! For this people has committed a double crime: They have abandoned me, The fountain of life. For themselves they have dug A cistern that brings death. [3] Is Zion, my holy mountain, A barren rock? You will be like the young of a bird, Fluttering, torn from the nest.”

[4] And the prophet also says: “It is I who will walk before you; I will level the mountains, I will break the gates of bronze, I will shatter the bars of iron, And I will give you the secret treasures, Hidden, invisible, So that they may know that I am the Lord God.”

[5] And again: “You will dwell in the lofty cave Of a fortified rock Where water never fails. You will behold the king with his glory, And your soul will reflect upon the fear of the Lord.”

[6] And in another prophet he also says: “And whoever does these things Will be like the tree planted beside a watercourse, Which gives its fruit in season, And whose leaves do not fall. All his undertakings will succeed. [7] Not so the impious; not so, But rather like the flake That the wind sweeps from the earth. Therefore the impious will not stand at the judgement, Nor sinners in the council of the righteous; For the Lord knows the way of the righteous, And the way of the impious will be destroyed.”

[8] Observe how he describes water and the cross together, for this is what he means: Blessed are those who, having hoped in the cross, have descended into the water! He indicates the reward by these words, “in season”; then, he declares, I will repay in return. And for the present time, these other words, “the leaves will not fall”, mean that every word issuing from your mouth in faith and love will bring a great number of people to conversion and hope. [9] Another prophet, for his part, says: “The land of Jacob was praised above every other.” This means that God glorifies the vessel containing his Spirit. [10] What is said next? “There was a river flowing on the right, from which graceful trees rose; whoever eats of them will live eternally;”

[11] that is, we descend into the water filled with sins and defilements, but emerge laden with fruits, with fear in our hearts and hope in Jesus in our minds. “Whoever eats of these trees will live eternally” means: Whoever listens to and believes the things thus proclaimed will live eternally.

Chapter XII

He likewise describes the cross again, saying through another prophet: “When will these things be fulfilled? When the wood, says the Lord, has been laid upon the ground and then raised up, and blood falls drop by drop from the wood”—words referring to the cross and to the one who was to be fastened to it. [2] God also spoke to Moses when the Israelites were attacked by foreigners, so that this very war might remind them that they were doomed to death because of their sins. The Spirit then speaks to Moses’ heart, inspiring him to enact a figure of the cross and of the One who was to suffer upon it. This meant that unless they hoped in Him, they would remain for ever in a state of war. Moses therefore piled shields upon shields in the midst of the battle, and, placing himself on top, higher than everyone else, stretched out his hands; thus the Israelites regained the advantage, but afterwards, whenever he let them fall, the Israelites were overcome. [3] Why was this? To make them recognise that there was no salvation for them unless they hoped in Him. [4] It is also said in another prophet: “All day I stretched out my hands towards this disobedient people, resistant to my righteous ways.” [5] On another occasion when Israel was being overcome, Moses makes a figure of Jesus to show that he was to suffer and that he gives life, he who was to be thought to have perished on the cross. To convince them that they were delivered to the anguish of death because of their sins, the Lord caused them to be bitten by every kind of serpent, and they died (for it was through the serpent that disobedience occurred in Eve). [6] Finally Moses, although he had promulgated this precept, “You shall have no image of cast metal, no graven image for your God”, himself acts contrary to it in order to show a figure of Jesus. He therefore makes a bronze serpent, solemnly erects it and has the people summoned by a herald. [7] When they were all gathered, they pressed Moses to offer a prayer for their healing. Then Moses said to them: “Whenever one of you is bitten, let him come to the serpent raised upon the wood and surrender himself to hope, believing that this one, though lifeless, can nevertheless make him live, and at once he will be saved.” This they did. Here again the glory of Jesus appears, namely that all things are in him and belong to him. [8] And what does Moses say to Jesus son of Nave, after bestowing upon him,

as upon a prophet, the name Jesus solely to make the people understand that the Father reveals all things concerning his Son Jesus? [9] After giving him this name, when sending him to explore the country, Moses says to Jesus son of Nave: "Take a book in your hands and write what the Lord says, namely: that in the last days the Son of God will destroy the whole house of Amalek down to its root." [10] Here once again Jesus is shown in a forerunner of flesh, not as Son of Man but as Son of God. But since it would one day be said that Christ is the son of David, David himself, fearing and foreseeing the error of these sinners, cries out prophetically:

"The Lord said to my Lord: Sit at my right hand, Until I make your enemies the footstool of your feet."
[11] And likewise Isaiah: "The Lord said to Christ my Lord, Whom I have taken by the right hand: Let the nations obey him, And (for him) I will break the power of kings..."

This is how David gives him the name of Lord, and not of son.

Chapter XIII

Let us now see which is the heir, our present people or the former one, and whether the testament relates to us or to them. [2] Listen, then, to what Scripture says concerning the people: “Isaac prayed for Rebecca his wife, who was barren, and she conceived.” Then: “Rebecca went out to inquire of the Lord, and the Lord said to her: Two nations are in your womb and two peoples in your bowels; one people will prevail over the other, and the elder will serve the younger.” [3] You must perceive who Isaac is, who Rebecca is, and which people he declared to be greater than the other. [4] In another prophecy Jacob expresses himself more clearly. He says to his son Joseph: “Behold, the Lord has not deprived me of your presence; bring me your sons, that I may bless them.” [5] Joseph brought Ephraim and Manasseh, intending to have Manasseh, who was the elder, blessed. Joseph therefore led him towards the right hand of his father Jacob. But Jacob saw in spirit a figure of the future people. And what is said next? “He exchanged the position of his hands and placed his right hand upon the head of Ephraim, the second and younger, and blessed him. Joseph then said to Jacob: Put your right hand back upon Manasseh’s head, for he is my firstborn son. But Jacob answered Joseph: I know, my son, I know; but the elder will serve the younger, who moreover will also be blessed.” [6] Examine which persons Jacob determined would be the first people and the heir of the testament. [7] And if Abraham himself mentioned that people, we receive from him the completion of our knowledge. Now what did God say to Abraham when, having been the only one to believe, he was established in righteousness? “Behold, Abraham, I have established you as the father of the uncircumcised peoples who believe in God.”

Chapter XIV

Having said this, let us now see and investigate whether the covenant that God swore to the ancestors to give their people was actually given to it. Certainly he gave it; but they (the Jews) were not worthy to receive it because of their sins. [2] For the prophet says: "Moses on Mount Sinai fasted forty days and forty nights to receive the covenant made by the Lord with the people. And Moses received from the Lord the two tablets written in the spirit by the finger of the Lord's hand." Having taken them, he was bringing them back to the people to hand them over, [3] when the Lord said to him: "Moses! Moses! Come down as quickly as possible, for your people whom you brought back from the land of Egypt have violated the law." And Moses understood that they had again made idols for themselves: he cast the tablets from his hands, and these tablets containing the Lord's covenant were shattered. [4] Moses therefore received the testament, but the Jews were not worthy of it. Now learn how it is that we received the covenant: Moses had received it as a servant, but it was the Lord in person who gave it to us as the people who are heirs, after suffering for us. [5] He appeared both so that the Jews might fill up the measure of their sins and so that we might receive the covenant through the heir, the Lord Jesus. He had been prepared so that his coming into this world might deliver from their darkness our souls, already undermined by death and prey to the errors of impiety, and so that his word might establish his covenant among us. [6] For Scripture relates that the Father commanded him to deliver us from darkness and prepare a holy people for himself. [7] Thus the prophet says:

"I, the Lord your God, Have called you in righteousness; I will take you by the hand and strengthen you; I have made you the covenant of the people, The light of the nations, To open the eyes of the blind, To bring captives out of their bonds And those who sit in darkness out of their prison."

redemption. [8] The prophet also says: "Behold, I have established you to be the light of the nations, To serve for salvation to the ends of the earth. Thus speaks the Lord, the God who redeemed you."

[9] The prophet also says: “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, For he has anointed me To bring the good news of grace to the humble; He has sent me to heal the broken-hearted, To announce release to prisoners And the restoration of sight to the blind, To proclaim the Lord’s acceptable year And the day of settling accounts, To comfort all who mourn.”

Chapter XV

The Sabbath is also discussed in Scripture, in the ten words that God spoke face to face before Moses on Mount Sinai: “Sanctify the Lord’s Sabbath with pure hands and a pure heart.” [2] Then in this other passage: “If my sons keep the Sabbath, I will pour out my mercy upon them.” [3] The Sabbath is mentioned from the beginning of creation: “God made the works of his hands in six days; he had completed them on the seventh day; he rested that day and sanctified it.” [4] Pay attention, my children, to these words: “God accomplished his work in six days”; this means that in six thousand years God will bring all things to their end, for to him one day means a thousand years, as he himself attests to me: “Behold, one day of the Lord will be like a thousand years.” Therefore, my children, in six days, that is, in six thousand years, the universe will be brought to completion. [5] “And he rested on the seventh day” has the following meaning: When his Son has come to end the respite granted to sinners, judge the impious, and transform the sun, moon and stars, then he will rest gloriously on the seventh day. [6] But it is also said: “You shall sanctify it with pure hands and a pure heart.” If today there were a man with a pure heart capable of sanctifying the day God has made holy, we would have been completely mistaken. [7] But observe that we shall rest with honour and sanctify the Sabbath only when we have been made capable of doing so through our personal justification and our taking possession of the promise, after the destruction of all iniquity and the renewal of all things by the Lord. We shall then be able to sanctify it, having first been sanctified ourselves. [8] Finally he also says to the Jews: “I cannot endure your new moons and your Sabbaths.” See clearly what he means: It is not the present Sabbaths that please me, but the one I have made, in which, bringing the universe to an end, I shall inaugurate the eighth day, that is, another world. [9] That is why we joyfully celebrate the eighth day, on which Jesus rose again and on which, after manifesting himself, he ascended into heaven.

Chapter XVI

I must still speak to you, concerning the temple, of the error of the wretched (Jews), who placed their hope not in their God who had created them, but in a building, thinking it was the house of God. [2] They dedicated a sanctuary to him in the temple much in the manner of the pagans; but learn in what terms the Lord places the temple under a ban:

"Who measured heaven with a span Or the earth in the hollow of his hand? Was it not I? says the Lord. Heaven is my throne, And earth my footstool. What house will you build for me, Or what will be the place of my rest?"

You have clearly seen that their hope is vain. [3] Finally he also says: "Behold, the very ones who destroyed this temple will rebuild it." [4] [This is what is happening.] As the Jews were at war, their enemies demolished the temple; and now the servants of those enemies will rebuild it. [5] It had also been foretold that the city, the temple and the people of Israel would be given over: "It will come to pass, says Scripture, that in the last days the Lord will deliver to destruction the sheep of his pasture together with their fold and their tower." And the event took place as the Lord had announced. [6] Let us therefore investigate whether a temple of God still exists. One certainly exists, but where he himself declares that he builds and restores it; for it is written: "And it will come to pass that, after the week has elapsed, a temple of God will be magnificently built in the Lord's name." [7] I therefore consider that the temple exists. But how it is to be built in the Lord's name, I shall tell you. Before we had faith in God, the interior of our souls was corruptible and frail, truly just like a temple built by human hands; it was filled with idol worship, a dwelling of demons, since we did everything contrary to God. [8] "But it will be built in the Lord's name." Attend to this, so that the Lord's temple may be magnificently built. Here is how: by receiving the remission of our sins and hoping in the name (of the Lord), we become new men and are recreated from the foundations up; this is how God truly dwells in us, within us. [9] How so? (There dwell in us) his word, the object of

our faith, the call of his promise, the wisdom of his purposes, the precepts of his teaching; he himself prophesies in us, dwells in us and opens the door of the temple—that is, the mouth (for prayer)—to us who were subject to death; he grants us repentance and thus brings us into the incorruptible temple. [10] Therefore whoever desires his salvation looks not to the man (who proclaims it to him), but to the One who dwells in him and speaks through him, alarmed that he has never listened to the words of the One who speaks through the mouth (of the preacher), nor even desired to hear them. This is what the spiritual temple built for the Lord means.

Chapter XVII

I have given you these explanations as best I could, with all possible simplicity. My soul hopes that, in its zeal, it has omitted nothing concerning salvation. [2] If I wrote to you about present or future things, you would scarcely understand them, for they still lie within parables. Let the things we have just treated therefore remain as they are.

Chapter XVIII

Let us now turn to another kind of knowledge and teaching. There are two ways of teaching and action: that of light and that of darkness; but there is a great difference between them. Over one are appointed the angels of God who lead towards light; over the other, the angels of Satan. [2] God is the Lord from the beginning of the ages and for all ages; Satan is the prince of the present time, which favours impiety.

Chapter XIX

Now this is the way of light: If anyone wishes to reach the appointed place, let him zealously apply himself to his works. And this is the knowledge given to us of how to walk in it: [2] Love the One who created you, fear the One who fashioned you, glorify the One who redeemed you from death; be simple in heart and rich in spirit; have no attachment to those who walk in the way of death; hate everything displeasing to God; hate all hypocrisy. You shall not abandon the Lord's commandments; [3] you shall not exalt yourself, but be humble in everything; you shall not claim glory for yourself; you shall not form evil designs against your neighbour; you shall not allow your soul insolence. [4] You shall commit neither fornication nor adultery; you shall not corrupt children. Do not use speech, that gift of God, to deprave anyone. You shall show no partiality when reproving the faults of others. Be gentle, be calm; tremble at the words you hear; bear no grudge against your brother. [5] You shall not anxiously ask yourself whether a thing will happen or not. "You shall not take the Lord's name in vain." You shall love your neighbour more than your life. You shall not put the child to death in the mother's womb, nor shall you kill it after birth. You shall not withdraw your hand from your son or daughter, but from childhood teach them the fear of God. [6] You shall not envy your neighbour's possessions; you shall not be covetous. You shall not attach your heart to the proud, but associate with the humble and righteous. You shall regard everything that happens to you as good, knowing that nothing happens without God. [7] You shall have no duplicity in thought or speech, for duplicity of speech is a snare of death. You shall submit to your lords with respect and fear, as to representatives of God. You shall not command with bitterness your male or female servant who hopes in the same God as you, lest they cease to fear God, who is your common master and who calls not according to different categories of persons, but all whom the Spirit has prepared. [8] You shall share all your goods with your neighbour and shall not say that you possess anything as your own, for if you share together in imperishable goods, how much more in

perishable goods. Do not be talkative, for the tongue is a snare of death. For the good of your soul, be chaste to the extent that you can. [9] Do not have your hands outstretched to receive and closed to give. You shall cherish "as the apple of your eye" whoever preaches God's word to you. [10] You shall think night and day of the day of judgement and constantly seek the company of the saints, whether you labour through speech, going out to offer exhortations and seeking through your discourses to save a soul, or labour with your hands to redeem your sins. [11] You shall give without delay and without murmuring; and one day you will recognise the one who knows how to reward worthily. "You shall observe" the commandments you have received, "adding nothing to them and taking nothing away". You shall hate evil to the end. "You shall judge equitably." [12] You shall not cause a schism, but bring about peace by reconciling adversaries. You shall make confession of your sins. You shall not go to prayer with a bad conscience. Such is the way of light.

Chapter XX

The way of the Black One, by contrast, is crooked and full of cursing; it is the way of eternal death and punishment; in it is found everything that destroys souls: idolatry, shamelessness, the pride of power, hypocrisy, duplicity of heart, adultery, homicide, plunder, haughtiness, disobedience, fraud, malice, arrogance, poisoning, magic, covetousness, contempt for God; [2] persecutors of good people, enemies of truth, friends of falsehood; those who do not know the reward of righteousness, who "do not hold fast to goodness" or to justice in judgements, who do not devote themselves to the widow and orphan, who are always watchful, not to fear God but to do evil, who are far removed from gentleness and patience, "who love vanities, who pursue reward", who have no pity for the poor, no zeal to assist the afflicted, who are inclined to abusive speech, who do not know their Creator, "who kill children" or destroy God's creatures through abortion, who repel the poor and oppress the downtrodden, advocates of the rich and unjust judges of the poor: sinners of every kind.

Chapter XXI

It is therefore right for a man to learn all God's purposes that are written and to walk according to them. Whoever fulfils them will be glorified in God's kingdom, whereas whoever chooses the iniquities of the other way will perish with his works. That is why there is a resurrection and a recompense. [2] To you who are in some way above others and are willing to accept well-intentioned advice from me, I address a plea: you have people near you to whom you can do good; do not fail to do so. [3] The day is near when all things will perish with the wicked one: "The Lord is near, as is his reward." [4] I ask you again and again: be your own good lawgivers, remain your own faithful counsellors; put all hypocrisy far from you. [5] May God, who rules the universe, give you wisdom, understanding, learning, knowledge of his purposes and perseverance. [6] Be God's obedient apprentices, seeking what the Lord asks of you, and strive to be found (worthy) on the day of judgement. [7] If any memory of the good (done among you) remains, remember me as you reflect upon my words, so that my zeal and vigils may lead to some good. I implore you, asking it as a favour. [8] As long as you are in this gracious vessel (of the body), neglect none of the things we have just said; rather, seek them continually and fulfil all the commandments; it is worth the effort. [9] This is the principal reason for my eagerness to write to you, among the things within my reach, something to gladden you. Farewell, children of love and peace. May the Lord of glory and of all grace be with your spirit.

FF. 39R–51V / NOTES

Translation choices

Letter of Barnabas

Barnabas and the anonymous salutation

The traditional title of this epistle transmits a name. The greeting in the first chapter, however, does not name the sender. Retaining the designation “Letter of Barnabas” allows the text to be identified without settling the question of its authorship.

Knowing and understanding

Γνῶσις can mean “knowledge” or “understanding”. In this work, it often concerns discerning a meaning given to the Scriptures. The word alone is not enough to place the author and his readers within a particular religious school.

Light and darkness

In chapters XVIII to XXI, the author contrasts the ways of light and darkness. The Didache, in the same manuscript, uses the images of life and death. The two texts contain similar precepts, but their formulations remain distinct.

Reference text

Hippolyte Hemmer, Gabriel Oger and Auguste Laurent, Les Pères apostoliques I, Paris, Alphonse Picard et fils, 1907, pp. 31–101. French text of the critical edition, transcribed on Wikisource.

FF. 51V–70R / ENGLISH TRANSLATION

First Letter of Clement to the Corinthians

English rendering of the historical translation of the text edited by Hemmer, complete in 65 chapters. The photograph preserves the readings of the Jerusalem manuscript.

Address

[1] The Church of God sojourning in Rome, to the Church of God sojourning in Corinth, to the elect sanctified according to God's will through Our Lord Jesus Christ. May grace and peace come to you abundantly from almighty God through Jesus Christ!

Chapter 1

[1] The misfortunes and sudden calamities that have struck us one after another, beloved brothers, have caused our attention to turn, far later than we would have wished, to the matters in dispute among you, to that detestable and impious sedition, inadmissible and out of place among God's elect, which a small number of rash and insolent ringleaders have kindled and driven to such a degree of madness that your name, revered, glorious and dear to all, has been greatly discredited.

[2] Who, after dwelling among you, has not recognised your firm faith, rich in virtues, admired your prudent and measured piety in Christ, proclaimed your generous practice of hospitality, and declared blessed your perfect and assured knowledge?

[3] For you acted in everything without partiality, walking according to God's laws, subject to your leaders and rendering to your elders the honour due to them. To the young you recommended moderation and gravity. You instructed women to fulfil all their duties with an irreproachable, dignified and pure conscience, to cherish their husbands as is fitting; you taught them to keep within the rule of

obedience, to govern their households worthily and to show discretion in all things.

Chapter 2

[1] You were all humble, free from boasting, more disposed to obey than to command, happier to give than to receive. Content with Christ's provisions for the journey and applying your souls to them, you carefully kept his words in your hearts, and his sufferings were before your eyes.

[2] Thus a deep and joyful peace had been given to all, together with an insatiable desire to do good, and an abundant outpouring of the Holy Spirit had spread over all.

[3] Filled with holy resolve, noble ardour and devout confidence, you stretched out your hands towards almighty God, imploring him to show favour if you had committed any involuntary fault.

[4] You struggled night and day for the entire company of brothers, so that, through your compassion and shared feeling, the number of God's elect might be saved.

[5] You were sincere, simple, without resentment towards one another. [6] Every revolt and division filled you with horror; you wept over your neighbour's sins and regarded his failings as your own.

[7] You regretted no good deed; you were "ready for every good work" (Titus 3:1).

[8] Wholly virtuous and venerable conduct was your adornment; you performed all your actions in the fear of God. The Lord's commandments and precepts were written over the whole expanse of your hearts.

Chapter 3

[1] Every kind of glory and abundance was given to you, and this saying of Scripture was fulfilled: "The beloved ate and drank, grew large and fat, and kicked!" (Deuteronomy 32:15)

[2] From this arose jealousy and envy, quarrels and sedition, persecution and disorder, war and captivity.

[3] Thus "men of no account rose against the most distinguished men" (Isaiah 3:5), the obscure against the illustrious, fools against the wise, the young against the elders.

[4] Thus righteousness and peace have departed, since everyone abandoned the fear of God and weakened the light of his faith; no one any longer walks according to the rule of the divine commandments or leads a life worthy of Christ; each follows the desires of his depraved heart, allowing the unjust and impious jealousy through which "death entered the world" to revive within him.

Chapter 4

[1] For this is what is written: "And after many days it came to pass that Cain offered fruits of the earth in sacrifice to God; Abel also offered some of the firstborn of his sheep and their fat.

[2] And God looked favourably upon Abel and his gifts, but paid no attention to Cain or his sacrifices.

[3] Cain was deeply grieved and his face downcast. [4] Then God said to Cain: Why are you sad, and why is your face downcast? Have you not sinned if, while offering your sacrifice correctly, you have not divided it correctly?

[5] Be calm: your offering will return to you, and you will be its master. [6] And Cain said to Abel his brother: Let us go into the plain. And when they were in the plain, Cain fell upon Abel his brother and killed him." (Genesis 4:3–8) [7] You see, my brothers, jealousy and envy committed fratricide.

[8] It was because of jealousy that Jacob our father fled from his brother Esau.

[9] It was because of jealousy that Joseph was persecuted to the point of death and reduced to servitude.

[10] It was jealousy that compelled Moses to flee from Pharaoh, king of Egypt, on the day when he heard one of his countrymen say to him: "Who appointed you our arbiter or judge? Do you want to kill me like the Egyptian you killed yesterday?" (Exod. 2:14)

[11] It was because of jealousy that Aaron and Miriam were banished from the camp.

[12] It was jealousy that hurled Dathan and Abiran alive into hell, because they had risen against Moses, God's servant.

[13] It was as a result of jealousy that David suffered not only the envy of foreigners but also persecution by Saul, king of Israel.

Chapter 5

[1] But leaving aside the ancient examples, let us come to the most recent athletes and take the noble examples of our own generation.

[2] It was through jealousy and envy that those who were the loftiest and most righteous pillars were persecuted and fought to the death.

[3] Let us look upon the excellent Apostles: [4] Peter, who, the victim of unjust jealousy, suffered not one or two but many hardships, and who, after thus accomplishing his martyrdom, went to the abode of glory that was his due.

[5] It was as a result of jealousy and discord that Paul showed (how one wins) the prize of patience.

[6] Loaded with chains seven times, banished, stoned, having become a herald in the East and West, he received radiant glory for his faith.

[7] After teaching righteousness to the whole world, reaching the bounds of the West and accomplishing his martyrdom before those who govern, he left the world and went to the holy place, an illustrious model of patience.

Chapter 6

[1] To these men whose lives had been holy was joined a great multitude of the elect who, as a result of jealousy, endured many outrages and tortures and left among us a magnificent example.

[2] Pursued by jealousy, women—the Danaids and the Dirces—after suffering terrible and monstrous outrages, reached the goal in the race of faith and received the noble reward, frail though their bodies were.

[3] Jealousy estranged wives from their husbands; it altered the saying of Adam our father: "Behold, bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh." (Genesis 2:3) [4] Jealousy and discord destroyed great cities and annihilated powerful nations.

Chapter 7

[1] We write all this to you, beloved, not only as a rebuke to you but also as a warning to ourselves; for we are in the same arena as you, and the same struggle awaits us.

[2] Let us therefore set aside vain and useless cares and conform to the glorious and venerable rule of our tradition.

[3] Let us see what is beautiful in our Creator's eyes, what delights him and what pleases him.

[4] Let us fix our gaze upon Christ's blood and know how precious it is to God his Father, because, having been shed for our salvation, it secured the grace of repentance for the whole world.

[5] Let us review all the ages and learn that from generation to generation the Master "gave opportunity for repentance" (Wisdom 12:10) to all who wished to turn to him.

[6] Noah preached repentance, and those who listened to him were saved. [7] Jonah announced their ruin to the Ninevites; but they, having repented of their sins, appeased God through their supplications and obtained salvation, although they were strangers to God.

Chapter 8

[1] The ministers of divine grace, inspired by the Holy Spirit, spoke of repentance.

[2] And the Master of the universe himself spoke of repentance with an oath: “As I live, says the Lord, I desire not so much the sinner’s death as his repentance.” (Ezekiel 33:11) And he adds this saying of goodness:

[3] “Repent of your iniquity, house of Israel. Say to the sons of my people: Even if your sins reached from earth to heaven, even if they were redder than scarlet and blacker than sackcloth, if you turn to me with all your heart and say to me: Father! I will answer you as a holy people.a”

[4] And in another place he speaks thus: “Wash yourselves, purify yourselves, remove the evil of your souls from before my eyes, put an end to your wickedness, learn to do good, seek justice, deliver the oppressed, secure the orphan’s rights and justice for the widow. And then come, and we shall discuss, says the Lord; even if your sins were like purple, I would make them white as snow; even if they were like scarlet, I would make them white as wool. If you consent and listen to me, you will eat the good things of the earth; if you do not consent and do not listen to me, the sword will devour you. For the mouth of the Lord has thus spoken.” (Isaiah 1:16–20)

[5] Wishing all those he loves to share in repentance, he thus decreed by his almighty will.

Chapter 9

[1] Let us therefore obey his magnificent and glorious will, prostrate ourselves imploring his mercy and goodness, have recourse to his compassion, and abandon vain tasks, quarrels and the jealousy that leads to death.

[2] Let us fix our gaze upon those who were the accomplished servants of his magnificent glory.

[3] Let us take Enoch, who, found righteous in obedience, was taken from this world without any (trace of) his death being found.

[4] Noah, found faithful, had as his ministry to announce rebirth to the world, and through him the Lord saved the living beings that entered the ark in concord.

Chapter 10

[1] Abraham, called the friend (of God), was found faithful because he obeyed God's words.

[2] In obedience he left his country, his kindred and his father's house, so that, leaving behind a country of little importance, a small kindred and a modest house, he might inherit God's promises. For God said to him:

[3] "Leave your country, your kindred and your father's house to go to the land I will show you. I will make you a numerous nation; I will bless you, make your name great, and you will be blessed; I will bless those who bless you and curse those who curse you, and in you all the tribes of the earth will be blessed." (Gen. 12:1–3)

[4] On another occasion, when he was separating from Lot, God said to him: "Lift up your eyes and look, from the place where you are, towards the north and south, towards the east and the sea: all the land you see I will give to you and your descendants for ever.

[5] I will make your posterity like the sand of the earth: if anyone succeeds in counting the grains of sand of the earth, your posterity too will be numbered." (Gen. 13:14–16)

[6] It is also said: "God led Abraham outside and said to him: Look at heaven and count the stars if you can: so will your posterity be. And Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness." (Genesis 15:5–6)

[7] Because of his faith and hospitality, a son was given to him in his old age, and in obedience he offered him to God in sacrifice on one of the mountains God had shown him.

Chapter 11

[1] Lot was saved from Sodom because of his hospitality and piety, while the entire surrounding region was punished with fire and sulphur: the Master made it manifest that he does not forsake those who hope in him, but inflicts punishment and torments upon the rebellious.

[2] Lot's wife, who had gone out with him (from the city), but with a different disposition and in disagreement with him, was set up as a sign; she

became a statue of salt to this day, so that it might be known to all that those who are double-minded and those who doubt God's power will suffer condemnation and serve as an example for all generations.

Chapter 12

[1] It was her faith and hospitality that saved Rahab the courtesan. [2] When Joshua son of Nave sent spies to Jericho, the king of the country learned that they had come to explore the region, and sent men to seize them and, once captured, put them to death.

[3] The hospitable Rahab received them in her home and hid them upstairs under stalks of flax.

[4] The king's emissaries arrived and said to her: "The spies who have come into our country entered your house; bring them out; it is the king's order." She answered: "It is true, the men you seek entered my house, but they left at once, and they are going by that road," she added, pointing to the opposite road.

[5] Then she said to the spies: "I know for certain that the Lord God is giving you this country, for terror and dread have seized its inhabitants at the sight of you. Therefore, when you have conquered it, save me together with my father's household."

[6] The spies said to her: "It will be done as you have told us. As soon as you learn of our arrival, gather all your people under your roof, and they will be saved; but all who are found outside the house will perish." (Joshua 2:3–4,9,13,18)

[7] They also indicated a sign to her, namely to hang a purple cord from her house. This declared that the Lord's blood was to redeem all those who believe and hope in God.

[8] You see, beloved, in this woman there was not only faith, but also the gift of prophecy.

Chapter 13

[1] Let us therefore, brothers, be humble in spirit, casting away all boasting, all conceit, all folly and all fits of passion, and let us fulfil what is written, for the Holy Spirit said: "Let the wise man not boast of his wisdom, nor the strong man of his strength, nor the rich man of his wealth; but let whoever boasts boast in the Lord, in seeking him and practising right and justice." (Jeremiah 9:23–24) Above all, let us remember the words the Lord Jesus spoke to teach us equity and long-suffering.

[2] For he said: "Be merciful so that you may obtain mercy; forgive so that you may be forgiven; as you act, so will others act towards you; as you give, so will others give to you; as you judge, so will you be judged; as you show kindness, so will kindness be shown to you; the measure you use will be the measure used for you." (Matthew 6:14–15; 7:1–2,12; Luke 6:31,36–38)

[3] Through this commandment and these precepts, let us make our steps firm in humble submission to his holy words. For the holy word declares:

[4] "Upon whom shall I look, if not the man who is gentle, peaceable and trembles at my words?" (Isaiah 66:2)

Chapter 14

[1] It is right and holy, my brothers, to obey God rather than follow, in arrogance and agitation, the instigators of a detestable rivalry.

[2] For it is no slight harm but grave danger that we shall incur if we rashly surrender to the whims of these men who plunge into quarrels and seditions to estrange us from goodness.

[3] Let us be good to one another, following the example of our merciful and gentle Creator,

[4] for it is written: "The gentle will inhabit the earth, the innocent will be left upon it, but sinners will be exterminated from it." (Proverbs 2:21–22; Psalms 36:9,38)

[5] It is also said: “I saw the impious man exalted, raised high like the cedars of Lebanon; I passed by, and behold, he was already gone; I sought his place and did not find it. Keep innocence and practise uprightness, for there is a posterity for the peaceable man.” (Psalms 36:35–37)

Chapter 15

[1] Let us cleave to those who devoutly cultivate peace, not to those who pretend to desire it.

[2] For it is said somewhere: “This people honours me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.” (Isaiah 29:13)

[3] And again: “Their mouth blessed, but their heart cursed.” (Psalms 66:5)

[4] And again: “They cherished him with their mouth, and their tongue lied to him; their heart was not upright with him, and they did not remain faithful to his covenant. (Psalms 77:36–37)

[5] Therefore may the deceitful lips that speak unjustly against the righteous become mute.” (Psalms 30:19) It is likewise said: “May the Lord destroy all deceitful lips, the tongue that speaks proudly, those who say: We shall make our tongue powerful; our lips are in our power; who could be our lord?

[6] Because of the misery of the needy and the groaning of the poor, I shall arise, says the Lord; I shall place him in safety,

[7] I shall act with complete freedom towards him.” (Psalms 11:4–6)

Chapter 16

[1] Christ belongs to humble souls, not to those who exalt themselves above his flock.

[2] The sceptre of God’s majesty, the Lord Jesus Christ, did not come with the pomp of haughtiness and pride, although he could have done so, but with humble sentiments, as the Holy Spirit had foretold of him in these terms:

[3] “Lord, who believed our word? To whom was the Lord’s arm revealed? We proclaimed him in his presence: (he is) like a

little child, like a root in parched earth; he has neither outward appearance nor glory. We saw him; he had neither outward appearance nor beauty, his aspect was pitiful, he no longer had human form. A man laden with blows and sufferings, trained to endure weakness, he turns away his face; he is despised and no longer counted.

[4] He bears our sins and suffers for us; we regarded him as consigned to pains, blows and ill-treatment.

[5] He was wounded for our sins, bruised for our iniquities; the punishment he underwent won us peace; we were healed by his wounds.

[6] We all wandered at random like sheep; man had strayed from his path.

[7] And the Lord delivered him up for our sins. As for him, ill-treated though he is, he does not open his mouth. Like a sheep he was led to slaughter; like a lamb voiceless before the shearer, he does not open his mouth. In his humiliation, his condemnation was lifted.

[8] Who will recount his generation, since his life is cut off from the earth?

[9] The iniquities of my people led him to death. [10] I will release the impious as the price of his burial, and the rich as the price of his death; for he committed no iniquity, and deceit was not found in his mouth. And the Lord wishes to purify him of his wounds.

[11] If you offer sacrifices for sin, your soul will see a long posterity.

[12] The Lord wishes to deliver him from the pains of his soul, show him the light, form him with understanding, and justify this righteous man who makes himself the servant of many. And he himself will bear their sins.

[13] Therefore a multitude of men will be his inheritance, and he will distribute the spoils of the strong as a reward for his soul having been delivered to death and for his having been numbered among villains.

[14] He bore the sins of many, and was delivered up because of their sins." (Isaiah 53:1–12)

[15] He himself also says: “As for me, I am a worm and not a man; I am the reproach of men and the scorn of the people.

[16] All who saw me mocked me; they murmured with their lips and shook their heads: He hoped in the Lord; let the Lord deliver and save him, since he loves him.” (Psalms 21:7–9)

[17] You see, beloved men, what a model is set before us: if the Lord humbled himself thus, what should we do, we who through him come under the yoke of his grace?

Chapter 17

[1] Let us also imitate those who went about clothed in goatskins and sheepskins, preaching the coming of Christ; we mean the prophets Elijah, Elisha and Ezekiel, and with them all those who received a good testimony (from God).

[2] Abraham was honoured with a magnificent testimony; he was called God’s friend. Yet when he fixed his gaze upon God’s glory, he said humbly: “As for me, I am earth and ashes.” (Genesis 18:27)

[3] And of Job it is written: “Job was righteous, blameless, truthful, devout and far removed from all evil.” (Job 1:1)

[4] Nevertheless he accuses himself, saying: “No one is free from defilement, not even if his life is but a single day.” (Job 14:4–5)

[5] Moses was called a “faithful servant in all God’s house” (Numbers 12:7; Hebrews 3:2); it was through his ministry that God struck Egypt with the plagues and pains that fell upon its inhabitants. Yet, greatly glorified though he was, he uttered no proud words; but at the oracle of the bush he said: “Who am I that you should send me? My voice is thin and my tongue impeded.” (Exodus 3:11)

[6] “I am only, he added, vapour (escaping) from a cooking pot.a”

Chapter 18

[1] What shall we say of David, who had received so good a testimony, to whom God had said: “I have found a man after my own heart, David son of Jesse; I anointed him in my eternal mercy!” (Psalms 88:21; Acts 13:22) [2] He himself nevertheless says to God: “Have pity on me, my God, according to your great mercy; and according to the immensity of your compassion, blot out my iniquity.

[3] Wash me more and more from my iniquity and purify me from my sin; for I know my iniquity, and my sin is always before me.

[4] Against you alone I have sinned and done evil in your presence: (I confess it) so that you may be found righteous in your words and triumph if you come to judgement.

[5] Behold, I was conceived in iniquity, and my mother bore me in sin.

[6] See, you have loved truth; you have unveiled to me the obscure secrets of your wisdom.

[7] You will sprinkle me with hyssop and I shall be purified; you will wash me and I shall become whiter than snow.

[8] You will make me hear gladness and joy, and my humbled bones will rejoice.

[9] Turn your face away from my sins and blot out all my iniquities. [10] Create in me a pure heart, O God, and place anew an upright spirit within my inward parts.

[11] Do not cast me away from your face, and do not take your holy spirit from me.

[12] Restore to me the gladness of your salvation and strengthen me with a spirit of generosity.

[13] I shall teach your ways to sinners, and the impious will turn to you.

[14] Deliver me from bloodshed, O God, God of my salvation.

[15] My tongue will joyfully celebrate your righteousness. Lord, you will open my mouth, and my lips will repeat your praise.

[16] Had you desired a sacrifice, I would have offered it; but you take no pleasure in burnt offerings.

[17] The sacrifice for God is a contrite spirit; a contrite and humbled heart God will not despise." (Psalms 50:3–19)

Chapter 19

[1] The humility and abasement of such great and holy persons, who received such testimony, have made us better through obedience—not only us, but also the generations before us, all who received God's words in fear and truth.

[2] Let us therefore take our part in deeds so numerous, so great and so splendid, and hasten back towards the goal of peace set before us from the beginning; with our eyes fixed upon the Father and Creator of the universe, let us hold fast to his magnificent and incomparable gifts (born) of peace and to his benefits.

[3] Let us contemplate God in thought; with the eyes of the soul let us consider his will, full of patience; let us reflect on how gentle he is towards all his creation.

Chapter 20

[1] The heavens, set in motion by his command, obey him in peace. [2] Day and night complete the course he prescribed for them without hindering one another.

[3] The sun, moon and choirs of stars traverse, according to his command, harmoniously and without any deviation, the orbits he marked out for them.

[4] The fertile earth, obedient to his will, abundantly supplies food in the proper seasons to humans, animals and all beings living upon its surface; it does not hesitate or alter any of his decrees.

[5] The same commands uphold the mysterious judgements (rendered) in the abysses and the ineffable sentences (pronounced) in the underworld.

[6] The immense sea, whose bed his creative action hollowed out as a reservoir, does not cross the barriers he established, but acts just as he commanded it.

[7] He said to it: “You shall come this far, and your waves shall break upon your own bosom.” (Job 38:11)

[8] The ocean impassable to humans and the worlds beyond the ocean are governed by the same commands of the Master.

[9] The seasons of spring, summer, autumn and winter peacefully succeed one another.

[10] The winds in their dwellings perform their office at the appointed times without disturbance; the inexhaustible springs, created for enjoyment and health, offer people their life-filled breasts without running dry; the smallest animals gather in peace and concord.

[11] The sovereign Creator and Master of the universe ordained that all these things should remain in peace and concord, beneficent as he is towards all his creatures, but more than lavish towards us who have recourse to his mercies through Our Lord Jesus Christ,

[12] to whom be glory and majesty for ever and ever. Amen.

Chapter 21

[1] Take care, beloved, lest God’s benefits, so numerous, become grounds for condemnation for us all if we do not live worthily of him, doing in concord what is good and pleasing in his eyes.

[2] For he says somewhere: “The Spirit of the Lord is a torch that searches the depths of the inward parts.” (Prov. 20:27)

[3] Let us consider how near he is to us and how none of our thoughts or reflections escapes him.

[4] It is therefore right that we should not leave our post against his will.

[5] It is better to clash with men who are foolish, senseless, proud and puffed up by their arrogant words than with God.

[6] Let us revere the Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood was given for us; let us respect our leaders, honour the elders, instruct the young in the fear of God and train our wives in goodness.

[7] Let them display the gracious conduct of chastity, prove their sincere disposition towards gentleness, and manifest through silence the restraint of their tongue; let them exercise love in holiness towards all who fear God, not according to their preferences but without partiality.

[8] Let our children share in education in Christ; let them learn the strength of humility before God, the power of chaste love, how beautiful and precious the fear of God is, and how it saves all who walk in it in holiness with a pure conscience.

[9] For he penetrates our thoughts and desires: it is his breath that gives us life, and he takes it back when he wills.

Chapter 22

[1] Faith in Christ guarantees all these things to us. For he invites us thus through the Holy Spirit: "Come, children, listen to me; I will teach you the fear of the Lord.

[2] Who is the man who wishes to have life, who loves to see happy days?

[3] Keep your tongue from evil; let your lips utter no deceit.

[4] Turn away from evil and do good. [5] Seek peace and pursue it. [6] The Lord's eyes are open upon the righteous and his ears to their prayers; but the Lord's face is also upon those who do evil, to annihilate their memory upon the earth.

[7] The righteous man cried out; the Lord heard him and delivered him from all his afflictions.

[8] Many are the afflictions of the righteous man, but the Lord will deliver him from them all." (Psalms 33:12–18,20) He also says: "Many are the

plagues of sinners, but his mercy will surround those who hope in the Lord." (Psalms 31:10)

Chapter 23

[1] The wholly compassionate and beneficent Father feels deep tenderness for those who fear him; with gentleness and goodness he pours out his graces upon those who approach him with a simple heart.

[2] Therefore let us rid ourselves of duplicity, and let our soul not become puffed up because of his incomparable and magnificent gifts!

[3] May this Scripture not apply to us: "Wretched are the double-minded, those who doubt in their hearts and say: We already heard this in our fathers' time; yet now we have grown old, and none of it has happened to us.

[4] Fools! Compare yourselves to a tree; take a vine: first the leaves fall; then it puts forth buds, then foliage, then flowers, after that unripe grapes, and finally the ripe clusters are there.a" In a short time, you see, the fruit of the shrub reaches maturity.

[5] Truly it is swiftly and suddenly that God's purposes are fulfilled, as Scripture also attests: "He will come swiftly and without delay; suddenly the Lord will come into his temple, the holy one whom you await." (Isaiah 14:1; Malachi 3:1)

Chapter 24

[1] Let us observe, my beloved, how the Master continually depicts for us the future resurrection, of which he gave us the firstfruits in the Lord Jesus Christ when he raised him from the dead.

[2] Let us consider, my beloved, the resurrections that occur in their appointed time.

[3] Day and night show us a resurrection: night falls asleep and day arises; day flees and night follows it.

[4] Let us take the fruits. How and in what manner does sowing take place?

[5] The sower goes out to cast the various seeds into the earth; these, all dry and bare, fall into the soil to dissolve there; but from their very dissolution the Master's magnificent providence makes them spring up anew, and the single seed multiplies and bears fruit.

Chapter 25

[1] Let us consider the strange marvel that occurs in the regions of the East, that is, in Arabia.

[2] There one sees a bird called the phoenix. It is the only one of its kind and lives five hundred years. As its end approaches, it builds itself a coffin of frankincense, myrrh and other spices, which it enters when its time is fulfilled, to die there.

[3] From its putrefying flesh a worm is born, which feeds upon the decay of the dead bird and becomes covered with feathers; then, having grown strong, it lifts the coffin in which its ancestor's bones rest, and with this burden passes from Arabia into Egypt, as far as the city of Heliopolis.

[4] There, in broad daylight, before everyone's eyes, it flies to deposit it upon the altar of the sun, after which it takes flight on its return journey.

[5] Then the priests, consulting their annals, ascertain that it has come after five hundred full years.

Chapter 26

[1] Shall we therefore find it strange and astonishing that the Creator of the universe should bring back to life those who served him in holiness and with the confidence of perfect faith, when he shows us in a bird the magnificence of his promise?

[2] Does he not say somewhere: "You will raise me up, and I shall praise you?" (Psalms 27:7) And elsewhere: "I lay down and slept; I awoke because you are with me?" (Psalms 3:6)

[3] Job, for his part, says: "You will raise my flesh, which has suffered all these evils." (Job 19:26)

Chapter 27

[1] In this hope, then, let our souls cleave to the one who is faithful in his promises and righteous in his judgements.

[2] He who forbade lying can still less lie himself: nothing is impossible for God except falsehood.

[3] Let us therefore rekindle our faith in him and consider that everything is easy for him.

[4] With a word of his almighty power he established the universe, and with a word he can destroy it.

[5] "Who will ask him: What have you done? Who will resist the vigour of his strength?" (Wisdom 12:12; 11:22) He does everything when and as he wills, and nothing of what he decrees passes away.

[6] Everything is present before his eyes, nothing escapes his counsel, [7] since "the heavens recount God's glory and the firmament proclaims the work of his hands; day cries it out to day and to night: this is not a language, these are not words whose sounds are unheard." (Psalms 18:2–4)

Chapter 28

[1] Since God sees and hears everything, let us fear him and renounce the impure desire for criminal deeds, so that his mercy may protect us against the judgements to come.

[2] Where indeed can one flee to escape his mighty hand? What world will receive a deserter from God? Does Scripture not say:

[3] "Where shall I go, where shall I hide from your sight? If I ascend to heaven, you are there; if I go to the ends of the earth, your right hand is there; if I spread my bed in the abysses, your spirit is there." (Psalms 138:7–10)

[4] Where, then, can one withdraw? Where can one flee, far from the one who encompasses all that exists?

Chapter 29

[1] Let us therefore approach him with a holy soul, lift up to him pure and undefiled hands, and love this forgiving and merciful Father who has made us his chosen portion.

[2] For it is written: “When the Most High apportioned the nations and scattered the children of Adam, he set the boundaries of the nations according to the number of God’s angels; his people Jacob became the Lord’s portion, Israel the measured plot of his inheritance.” (Deuteronomy 32:8–9)

[3] And in another place we read: “The Lord reserved for himself a nation among the nations, as a man reserves the firstfruits of his threshing floor; and from this nation will come the holy of holies.a”

Chapter 30

[1] Since we form a holy portion, let us perform all the works of holiness; let us flee slander, detestable and impure embraces, drunkenness, a taste for novelties, filthy desires, hateful adultery and abominable pride.

[2] “For God, it is said, resists the proud and gives grace to the humble.” (Proverbs 3:34)

[3] Let us therefore cleave to those to whom God gives his grace; let us clothe ourselves in concord, humility and continence; let us keep far from all malicious whispering and slander; let us be righteous in action rather than in speech.

[4] For it is said: “He who speaks much will have to listen in his turn; or does the fine speaker think himself righteous?

[5] Blessed is he who, born of woman, lives a short time: do not pour forth words.” (Job 11:2–3)

[6] Let our praise come from God and not from ourselves, for God hates those who praise themselves.

[7] Let testimony to our good works be given by others, as it was given to our fathers, the righteous.

[8] Rashness, presumption and audacity belong to those whom God has cursed; moderation, humility and gentleness to those whom God has blessed.

Chapter 31

[1] Let us therefore hold fast to God's blessing and see what its paths are. Let us unfold all the events from the beginning.

[2] Why was Abraham our father blessed? Was it not for practising righteousness and truth through faith?

[3] Isaac, knowing the future, allowed himself to be led away confidently and joyfully as a sacrificial victim.

[4] Jacob fled humbly from his country because of his brother; he went to Laban, entered his service and received the twelve sceptres of Israel.

Chapter 32

[1] Considering them one by one with sincerity, one discovers the magnificence of the gifts bestowed by God.

[2] For from Jacob came all the priests and Levites who served at God's altar; from him the Lord Jesus was born according to the flesh; from him through Judah came kings, princes and rulers; as for the rest of his tribes, they are held in no small honour, according to God's promise: "Your posterity will be like the stars of heaven." (Genesis 15:5)

[3] All were clothed in glory and power, not through themselves, their works or the righteousness of their conduct, but through God's will.

[4] Consequently we too, who have been called in Jesus Christ by this same will, are justified not through ourselves, nor through our wisdom, understanding or piety, nor through works accomplished in the holiness of our hearts; it is through faith, and through faith almighty God has justified all people from the beginning. To him be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

Chapter 33

[1] What, then, shall we do, brothers? Shall we cease to do good and abandon love? May the Master preserve us from that! Let us instead hasten to accomplish every kind of good work with zeal and ardour.

[2] For the Creator and Master of the universe himself delights in his work. [3] He made the heavens firm by his sovereign power and adorned them with his incomprehensible wisdom; he separated the earth from the waters surrounding it and set it upon the surest foundation of his own will; by his command he called into existence the animals that move to and fro upon its surface; by his power he arranged beforehand the sea and the beings living in it, and enclosed them within their boundaries.

[4] Then man, whose understanding gives him excellence and superiority, he formed with his sacred and pure hands as an imprint of his own image.

[5] For God speaks thus: “Let us make man in our image and likeness. And God created man; male and female he created them.” (Genesis 1:26–27)

[6] When he had completed all these beings, God praised him and blessed them, saying: “Increase and multiply.” (Genesis 1:28)

[7] Let us observe that all the righteous adorned themselves with good works, and that the Lord himself adorned himself with good works and rejoiced in them.

[8] Possessing such a model, let us apply ourselves without hesitation to his will and practise works of righteousness with all our strength.

Chapter 34

[1] The good worker gladly takes the bread (that is the payment) for his labour; but the lazy and indolent worker does not dare look his employer in the face.

[2] We must therefore set about doing good wholeheartedly, for all things come from God.

[3] For he has forewarned us: “Behold the Lord, and before his face is the payment destined to reward each according to his works.” (Isaiah 40:10; 62:11; Proverbs 24:12; Revelation 22:12) [4] He therefore exhorts us to believe in him with all our hearts and remain neither idle nor heedless regarding any “good work”. (Titus 3:1) [5] Let us place our glory and confidence in him; let us submit to his will and consider with what zeal the entire multitude of his angels stands near him and carries out his will.

[6] For Scripture says: “Ten thousand myriads of angels stood before him, and thousands of thousands served him; and they cried: Holy, holy, holy is the Lord Sabaoth; all creation is filled with his glory.” (Daniel 7:10; Isaiah 6:3)

[7] And we too, united by shared feeling in concord as a single body, so as to share in his great and magnificent promises.

[8] For it is said: “The eye has not seen, the ear has not heard, and it has not entered the human heart what good things God has prepared for those who await him.” (Isaiah 64:4)

Chapter 35

[1] How abundant and admirable are God’s gifts, my beloved!

[2] Life in immortality, splendour in righteousness, truth in frankness, faith in confidence, continence in holiness. These our understanding already grasps.

[3] What, then, are the good things to come that he has prepared for those who remain expectant? The Creator and Father of the ages, the All-Holy, alone knows their number and beauty.

[4] Let us therefore strive to be found among those who await him, so that we may share in the gifts he has promised.

[5] But how can we succeed, beloved? By fixing our thoughts upon God in faith, diligently seeking what pleases him and is acceptable to him,

performing deeds that accord with his pure will, following the way of truth, and casting far from us every kind of injustice and wickedness, avarice, quarrels, malice and treachery, murmuring and slander, aversion to God, pride and boasting, vainglory and harshness towards strangers.

[6] For those who commit these sins are hated by God, and not only those who commit them, but also those who approve of them.

[7] For Scripture declares: "God said to the sinner: Why recount my precepts in detail and have my covenant upon your lips,

[8] when you abhorred discipline and cast my words behind you? If you saw a thief, you ran to him; you joined company with adulterers. Your mouth was full of wickedness, your tongue plotted deceit. You sat to speak against your brother; you laid snares for your mother's son.

[9] You did this and I kept silent; and you thought, wicked man, that I am like you.

[10] I shall put you to shame and bring you face to face with yourself. [11] Understand this, you who forget God, lest he seize you like a lion and you have no deliverer.

[12] The sacrifice of praise will honour me: there is the way upon which I shall show God's salvation to the one (who offers it)." (Psalms 49:16–23)

Chapter 36

[1] Such is the way, my beloved, upon which we find our salvation, Jesus Christ, the high priest of our offerings, the protector and helper of our weakness.

[2] Through him we direct our gaze towards the heights of heaven; through him we see, as in a mirror, God's immaculate face, full of nobility; through him the eyes of our hearts have opened; through him our understanding, (previously) incapable and darkened, blossoms in the light; through him the Master wished us to taste immortal knowledge: "the radiance of divine majesty, he is also raised above

the angels as far as the name he has inherited surpasses theirs." (Hebrews 1:3–4) [3] For it is written (of God) that "he makes the winds his messengers and burning flames his servants." (Psalms 103:4)

[4] But concerning his Son, the Master speaks thus: "You are my Son; today I have begotten you; ask me, and I will give you the nations as an inheritance and the ends of the earth as your possession." (Psalms 2:7–8) [5] He also says to him: "Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies the footstool of your feet." (Psalms 109:1)

[6] Who are these enemies? The perverse and those who oppose God's will.

Chapter 37

[1] Let us campaign, my fellow men and brothers, with all possible diligence under his irreproachable command.

[2] Let us consider the soldiers serving under our leaders: what discipline, what docility, what submission in carrying out orders!

[3] Not all are prefects, tribunes, centurions or commanders of fifty, and so forth; but each in his rank carries out the orders of the emperor or the leaders.

[4] The great cannot exist without the small, nor the small without the great; in every kind of thing there is a certain combination in which its usefulness resides.

[5] Let us take our body as an example: the head without the feet is nothing; likewise the feet are nothing without the head. The smallest members of our body are necessary and useful to the whole body; or rather, all work together and serve, through unanimous subordination, the preservation of the whole body.

Chapter 38

[1] Let the body we form in Jesus Christ therefore be preserved in its integrity; let each subordinate himself to his neighbour according to the spiritual gift with which he has been endowed.

[2] Let the strong care for the weak and the weak respect the strong; let the rich provide help to the poor, and the poor thank God for giving him someone to supply his need. Let the wise man manifest his wisdom not through words but through good deeds; let the humble man not testify on his own behalf, but leave it to another to bear witness to him. Let the one who is chaste in his flesh not boast of it, knowing that it is another who grants him (the gift of) continence.

[3] Let us therefore reckon, brothers, from what material we were formed, what and who we were on entering the world, from what tomb and darkness our author and creator brought us into his own world, where he had prepared his benefits for us even before our birth.

[4] Since we receive everything from him, we have a duty to thank him for all things. To him be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

Chapter 39

[1] It is fools, senseless people, madmen and the ignorant who mock and deride us, desiring to puff themselves up with their own thoughts.

[2] For what power does a mortal have? What strength has a child of the earth?

[4] What! Can a mortal be pure before the Lord, or a man blameless in his works, when he distrusts his servants and notices faults in his angels?

[6] Even heaven is not pure before him. How much less those who inhabit houses of clay, among whom we are numbered, and (are made) of the same mud? He crushed them like a worm; from morning to evening they passed away; they perished because they did not have within themselves the strength to help themselves.

[6] He breathed upon them, and they died because they had no wisdom.

[7] As for you, call for help; perhaps someone will hear you, or you will catch sight of one of the holy angels. For truly, anger destroys the fool and jealousy destroys the one who has gone astray.

[8] I have indeed seen fools put down roots, but suddenly their prosperity was devoured.

[9] May their children be far from salvation! May they be mocked at the gate of the lowly! And there will be no one to deliver them. The righteous will consume the goods prepared for them, but they themselves will not extricate themselves from their evils." (Job 4:16–5:5)

Chapter 40

[1] Since these things are evident to us, since our gaze has penetrated the depths of divine knowledge, we must perform in order everything the Master prescribed that we accomplish at appointed times.

[2] Now he prescribed that we fulfil the offerings and divine service not at random and without order, but at fixed times and hours.

[3] By his sovereign decision he himself determined in what places and through which ministers they must be performed, so that everything may be done in holiness according to his good pleasure and be agreeable to his will.

[4] Therefore those who present their offerings at the appointed times are favourably received and blessed, for in following the Master's ordinances they do not go astray.

[5] Particular functions have been conferred upon the high priest; special places have been assigned to the priests; specific services fall to the Levites; laypeople are bound by precepts particular to laypeople.

Chapter 41

[1] Brothers, let each of us in his rank please God with a good conscience, without transgressing the rules imposed upon his office, (acting) with gravity.

[2] It is not everywhere, my brothers, that sacrifices are offered, whether the perpetual sacrifice, the votive sacrifice, or that for sins and faults, but only in Jerusalem; even in that city, offerings are not made in every place, but before the sanctuary, upon the altar, after the offering has been carefully inspected by the high priest and the ministers mentioned above.

[3] Those who act contrary to the order conforming to God's will are punished with death.

[4] You see, brothers: the higher the knowledge of which we have been deemed worthy, the graver the risk we incur.

Chapter 42

[1] The apostles were dispatched to us as messengers of good news by the Lord Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ was sent by God.

[2] Christ therefore comes from God, and the apostles come from Christ: both these things proceed in good order from God's will.

[3] Equipped with Our Lord Jesus Christ's instructions and fully convinced by his resurrection, the apostles, strengthened by God's word, went with the assurance of the Holy Spirit to announce the good news, the approach of God's kingdom.

[4] Preaching throughout towns and countryside, they tested their firstfruits in the Holy Spirit and appointed them as bishops and deacons of future believers.

[5] This was no novelty: Scripture had long spoken of bishops and deacons, since it says somewhere: "I will establish their bishops in righteousness and their deacons in faith." (Isaiah 60:17)

Chapter 43

[1] What is surprising if those to whom God entrusted this great work through Christ appointed the ministers previously mentioned, when we see blessed Moses, “a faithful servant appointed over all God’s house”, recording in the holy books all the commands he had received? The other prophets followed him and likewise bore witness to the institutions of his law.

[2] Now, as soon as rivalry arose concerning the priesthood and the tribes disputed among themselves over who would obtain the honour of this glorious title, Moses ordered the twelve tribal chiefs each to bring him a rod inscribed with the name of his tribe. Having received them, he tied them in a bundle, sealed them with the chiefs’ rings, and then deposited them in the tabernacle of testimony upon God’s table.

[3] He then closed the tabernacle and sealed its keys, as he had sealed the rods.

[4] Then he said to the chiefs: Brothers, the tribe whose rod sprouts is the one God has chosen to exercise the priesthood and ministry.

[5] When morning came, he summoned all Israel, the six hundred thousand men, showed the seals to the tribal chiefs, opened the tabernacle of testimony and took out the rods. And it was found that Aaron’s rod had not only sprouted but bore fruit.

[6] What do you think, my beloved? Had Moses not foreseen it? Certainly he had foreseen it; but he acted thus to prevent unrest in Israel and glorify the name of the true and only God. To him be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

Chapter 44

[1] Our apostles also knew through Our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be contention over the dignity of the episcopate.

[2] That is precisely why, in their perfect foreknowledge of the future, they appointed those we have mentioned and then laid down this rule: after their death, other proven men would succeed to their ministry.

[3] Those thus appointed by the apostles, or later by other eminent persons with the approval of the whole Church, who served Christ's flock blamelessly with humility, tranquillity and distinction, and to whom everyone has long borne good testimony—we do not consider it right to remove them from the ministry.

[4] And it would be no slight fault for us to dismiss from the episcopate men who have presented the oblations devoutly and blamelessly.

[5] Blessed are the presbyters who have already completed their course and whose end was full of fruit and perfection; they no longer have to fear that someone will come to expel them from their appointed place.

[6] For we see some who were living worthily and whom you have deposed from the ministry they exercised without reproach and with honour.

Chapter 45

[1] You vie with one another, brothers, and are ardent in matters concerning salvation.

[2] You have laboured over the sacred Scriptures, which are truthful and come from the Holy Spirit.

[3] You know that nothing written in them is unjust or falsified; yet you will not find in them that righteous people were driven out by saints.

[4] There were righteous people who were persecuted, but by sinners; imprisoned, but by the impious; stoned, but by criminals; killed, but by men who had conceived a detestable and iniquitous jealousy.

[5] They endured these sufferings gloriously. [6] What, my brothers! Shall we say that Daniel was thrown into the lions' den by men who feared God?

[7] That Ananias, Azarias and Misael were shut in the blazing furnace by men who practised the magnificent and glorious worship of the Most High? By no means! Who, then, committed these acts? Accursed men, filled with every kind of malice, fanned their rage to the point of delivering to torture those who serve God with a

holy and blameless intention, unaware that the Most High protects and defends those who serve his holy Name with a pure conscience. To him be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

[8] As for those who endured everything with confidence, they obtained glory and honour as their inheritance; God exalted them and inscribed them in the book that preserves their memory for ever and ever. Amen.

Chapter 46

[1] It is to these models, brothers, that we must hold. [2] For it is written: "Attach yourselves to the saints, because those who attach themselves to them will become saints."

[3] And in another place: "You will be innocent with the innocent, chosen with the chosen, perverse with the perverse." (Psalms 17:26–27)

[4] Let us therefore cleave to the innocent and righteous; they are God's elect.

[5] Why are there quarrels, outbursts of anger, dissensions, schisms and war among you?

[6] Do we not have the same God, the same Christ, the same spirit of grace poured out upon us, the same calling in Christ?

[7] Why tear and rend Christ's members apart? Why revolt against our own body? Why come to such madness as to forget that we are members of one another? Remember the words of Jesus Our Lord,

[8] who said: "Woe to that man! It would be better for him not to have been born than to cause one of my elect to stumble; it would be better for him to have a millstone hung around his neck and be thrown into the sea than to corrupt one of my elect." (Matthew 26:24; Luke 17:2)

[9] Your schism has led many souls astray; it has cast many into despondency, many into doubt, and all of us into sorrow. And your dissensions continue!

Chapter 47

[1] Take up again the epistle of the blessed apostle Paul.

[2] What did he first write to you at the beginnings of the Gospel?

[3] Truly, it was under the Spirit's inspiration that he wrote you a letter concerning Cephas, Apollos and himself, because even then you were forming factions.

[4] But a faction was then a lesser fault, for you were siding with authoritative apostles and a man approved by them.

[5] Today, by contrast, consider what men have brought disorder among you and diminished the lustre of your once so renowned brotherly love.

[6] It is shameful, my beloved, very shameful and unworthy of Christian conduct to hear it said that the church of Corinth, so ancient and steadfast, has risen against its presbyters because of one or two individuals.

[7] And word of it has reached not only us but also those whose convictions differ from ours, so that your folly provokes blasphemy against the Lord's name and creates danger for yourselves.

Chapter 48

[1] Let us therefore hasten to remove this evil: let us throw ourselves at the Master's feet and implore him with tears to show us favour again, to be reconciled with us and to restore us to the devout and holy practice of brotherly love.

[2] This is a gate of righteousness opening towards life, as it is written: "Open to me the gates of righteousness; I shall enter them to praise the Lord.

[3] This is the Lord's gate; through it the righteous will enter." (Psalms 117:19–20)

[4] Of the many gates that stand open, the gate of righteousness is Christ's; blessed are all who have entered it, who direct their steps "in holiness and righteousness" (Luke 1:75) and accomplish all things without disturbance!

[5] Is someone faithful, capable of expounding a (word of) knowledge, wise in discerning discourses, chaste in deeds?

[6] He must be all the humbler the greater he appears; he must seek the common benefit of all and not his own.

Chapter 49

[1] Let whoever has Christ's love fulfil Christ's commandments.

[2] Who can explain the bond of divine love? [3] Who is capable of expressing its surpassing beauty? [4] The height to which love raises us is ineffable. [5] Love binds us closely to God; "love covers the multitude of sins" (1 Peter 4:8); love suffers everything and bears everything; there is nothing base in love, nothing proud; love causes no schism, love foments no sedition, love does everything in concord; love brings to completion the perfection of all God's elect; without love nothing pleases God.

[6] Through love the Master raised us to himself; because of the love he had for us, Jesus Christ Our Lord, obedient to God's will, gave his blood for us, his flesh for our flesh, his soul for our souls.

Chapter 50

[1] You see, beloved, how great and admirable a thing love is, and that there are no (words) to explain its perfection.

[2] Who is sufficient (in merit) to be found in love, except the one whom God willed to be worthy? Let us therefore pray to him; let us ask of his mercy that we may be found in love, far from all human factions and blameless.

[3] All generations from Adam to this day have passed away, but those who by God's grace were perfected in love remain in the abode of the saints, who will be manifested when Christ's kingdom appears.

[4] For it is written: “Enter your storerooms for a little while, until my anger and fury have passed; and I shall remember a favourable day and bring you out of your tombs.” (Isaiah 26:20; Ezekiel 37:12) [5] Blessed are we, my beloved, if we observe God’s commandments in the concord of love, so that our sins may be forgiven because of love.

[6] For it is written: “Blessed are those whose iniquities have been forgiven and whose sins have been covered! Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute his fault, and in whose mouth there is no deceit!” (Ps. 31:1–2)

[7] This beatitude was pronounced for those whom God elected through Jesus Christ Our Lord, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

Chapter 51

[1] Let us implore forgiveness for all the faults that one of the Enemy’s partisans caused us to commit. As for those who instigated the sedition and schism, they have a duty to consider our common hope.

[2] Those who conduct themselves with fear and love wish to fall into suffering themselves rather than see their neighbour do so, and accept blame themselves rather than expose to it the harmony so magnificently and justly transmitted to us.

[3] It is better for a man to confess his sins than to harden his heart, as did those who rebelled against God’s servant Moses and whose punishment was so striking;

[4] for “they descended alive into hell” (Numbers 16:33), and death will be their shepherd.

[5] Pharaoh, his army and all the rulers of Egypt were submerged in the Red Sea and perished there, with the chariots and their riders, only because they hardened their senseless hearts after the miracles and wonders performed in Egypt by Moses, God’s servant.

Chapter 52

[1] The Master of the universe, brothers, is free from need; he desires nothing from anyone except an acknowledgement of him.

[2] For David his chosen one says: “I shall acknowledge God, and this will please him more than a young calf growing horns and hooves. Let the poor see it and rejoice.” (Psalms 68:31–33)

[3] He likewise says: “Offer God a sacrifice of praise; fulfil the vows you made to the Most High. Call upon me on the day of oppression; I shall deliver you, and you will glorify me.

[4] For the (fitting) sacrifice for God is a contrite spirit.” (Psalms 50:19)

Chapter 53

[1] You know, indeed you know very well, the holy Scriptures, my beloved; you have searched God’s words, so we write this only as a reminder.

[2] When Moses had gone up the mountain and spent forty days and forty nights there in fasting and humiliation, God said to him: “Moses, Moses, come down quickly from here, for your people, those whom you brought out of the land of Egypt, have sinned; they have very quickly left the way you prescribed for them and cast idols for themselves.” (Deuteronomy 9:12)

[4] And Moses answered: “No, Lord; forgive this people its sin, or blot me too out of the book of the living.” (Exodus 32:32)

[5] O great love! O perfection that cannot be surpassed! A servant speaks with complete freedom to the Lord: he implores forgiveness for the multitude, or asks to be removed with it.

Chapter 54

[1] Is there anyone among you who is generous, compassionate and filled with love?

[2] Let him say: If I am the cause of sedition, discord and divisions, I shall leave the country, go wherever is desired and carry out the decisions

of the multitude; only let Christ's flock live in peace with the appointed presbyters!

[3] Whoever acts thus will acquire great glory in Christ and find a welcome everywhere, "for the earth is the Lord's, with all it contains." (Psalms 23:1)

[4] Thus have acted, and thus will act in the future, those whose conduct is (worthy) of God and free from remorse.

Chapter 55

[1] But to take examples from the pagans: in times of plague, many kings and leaders, warned by oracles, gave themselves over to death to save the citizens at the price of their blood; many others exiled themselves from their own cities to put an end to seditions.

[2] We know that many of our own people voluntarily put themselves in chains to ransom others; many also sold themselves as slaves to feed others with the proceeds.

[3] Many women, made strong by divine grace, performed many a manly deed.

[4] Blessed Judith, seeing her city besieged, asked the elders to allow her to go into the foreigners' camps.

[5] She exposed herself to danger and left the city for love of her homeland and her people, closely hemmed in; and the Lord delivered Holofernes into a woman's hand.

[6] Esther, so perfect in faith, exposed herself to no lesser danger to save the twelve tribes of Israel from impending death. In fasting and humiliation she implored the all-seeing Master, the God of the ages; and he, seeing her soul's humility, saved the people for whose love she had put herself in danger.

Chapter 56

[1] Let us too intercede for those guilty of some fault, that gentleness and humility may be granted them, so that they yield, certainly not to us, but to God's will. Thus our compassionate remembrance of them before God and the saints will be full of fruit and perfection for them.

[2] Let us accept corrections, at which no one, my beloved, should take offence. The rebuke we address to one another is good and most useful: it binds us to God's will.

[3] For the sacred Word speaks thus: "The Lord chastised me severely and did not deliver me to death. (Psalms 117:18)

[4] For the Lord chastises the one he loves; he corrects all the sons he accepts." (Prov. 3:12)

[5] "The righteous man, it is said, will correct me with mercy and rebuke me; but as for the oil of sinners, may it never anoint my head." (Psalms 140:5) [6] And in another place: "Blessed is the man whom God reproves! Do not reject the Almighty's rebuke, for he causes suffering and then restores.

[7] He struck, and his hands healed. [8] Six times he will deliver you from sufferings; the seventh time evil will no longer touch you.

[9] In famine he will save you from death, and in battle from the sword's stroke.

[10] He will shelter you from the blows of the tongue, and you will not fear evils when they fall upon you.

[11] You will laugh at unjust and wicked men; you will not dread wild beasts.

[12] For wild beasts will live in peace with you. [13] Then you will see peace reign in your house; the prosperity of your tent will suffer no reversal.

[14] Rather, you will see your descendants multiply, and your children like the grass of the fields.

[15] You will descend to the tomb like ripe grain harvested in its season, or like the heap on the threshing floor brought in at the proper time." (Job 5:17–26)

[16] You see, beloved, what mighty protection extends over those whom the Master chastises: as a good father, he corrects us only to let us experience his mercy through his holy punishment.

Chapter 57

[1] You, then, who caused discord to begin, submit to the presbyters; allow yourselves to be corrected in a spirit of repentance; bend the knees of your hearts.

[2] Learn to obey; put aside your haughty and proud arrogance of speech: it is better for you to be small but numbered in Christ's flock than, with a reputation for excellence, excluded from Christian hope.

[3] For all-virtuous Wisdom speaks thus: "Behold, I shall utter for you a word of my breath and teach you my words.

[4] I called you and you did not obey; I developed my discourses at length and you paid no attention; instead you rendered my counsels useless and did not yield to my rebukes; therefore I in turn will laugh at your destruction; I will rejoice when your ruin comes, when sudden turmoil falls upon you, when catastrophe arrives like a hurricane, when you are oppressed and surrounded on every side.

[5] For a time will come when you invoke me and I do not listen to you; the wicked will seek me and not find me, because they hated wisdom and did not choose the fear of the Lord; they would not heed my counsels and mocked my reprimands.

[6] They will therefore taste the fruits of their conduct and be sated with their own impiety.

[7] For having done violence to little children, they will be put to death; the search (made for them) will destroy the impious. But whoever listens to me will rest confidently in hope and live peacefully without fear of any evil." (Proverbs 1:23–33)

Chapter 58

[1] Let us therefore obey his most holy and glorious name, so that we may escape the threats uttered by Wisdom against the disobedient and rest with complete confidence upon the most holy name of his majesty.

[2] Accept our counsel and you will not regret it. For as surely as God lives, and the Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit live—the faith and hope of the elect—whoever fulfils the purposes and commandments given by God, with humility, sustained gentleness and without negligence, will be ranked and numbered among those saved through Jesus Christ, through whom be glory to God for ever and ever. Amen.

Chapter 59

[1] If any resist the words God addresses to them through us, let them know well that they are straying into grave fault and danger.

[2] As for us, we shall be innocent of this sin; but through our constant prayers and supplications we shall ask: May the Creator of the universe preserve intact the counted number of his elect throughout the world, through his beloved Son Jesus Christ, through whom he called us from darkness to light, from ignorance to full knowledge of the glory of his name,

[3] to hope in your name, the source from which every creature proceeds. You opened the eyes of our hearts so that they might know you, "You, the only Most High in the highest heavens, the Holy One who rests among the holy ones, you who bring down the insolence of the proud, confound the calculations of peoples, exalt the humble and bring down the great; you who enrich and impoverish, who kill and save and give life, (Isaiah 67:15;

13:11; Psalms 32:10; Job 5:11; 1 Samuel 2:7; Deuteronomy 32:39)" sole Benefactor "of spirits, and God of all flesh; Beholder of the abysses (Numbers 16:22; 27:16; Daniel 3:55)", Searcher of human works, Help of people in dangers, "and their Saviour in despair (Judith 9:11)", Creator and Overseer (bishop) of all spirits! You who multiply the peoples upon the earth and chose from among them those who love you through Jesus Christ your beloved Son, through whom you instructed, sanctified and honoured us.

[4] We implore you, O Master! "Be our help and our support." (Psalms 118:114) Be the salvation of our oppressed. Have pity on the humble, raise up those who have fallen, reveal yourself to those in need, heal the sick, bring back those of your people who have gone astray, satisfy the hungry, deliver our prisoners, comfort the faint-hearted, so that all "peoples may recognise that you are the only God" (1 Kings 8:60), that Jesus Christ is your Son, and that "we are your people and the sheep of your pastures." (Psalms 78:13)

Chapter 60

[1] You who through your works manifested the immortal ordering of the world, you, Lord, who created the earth, you who remain faithful throughout all generations, righteous in your judgements, admirable in your strength and magnificence, wise in creation, discerning in establishing created things, good in visible things. Faithful towards those who trust in you, "merciful and compassionate" (Joel 2:13), forgive us our faults and injustices, our falls and errors.

[2] Do not count the sins of your male and female servants, but purify us through your truth and "direct our steps so that we walk in holiness of heart and do what is good and pleasing in your eyes" (Psalms 118:133; 1 Kings 9:4; Deuteronomy 13:18) and in the eyes of our rulers.

[3] Yes, Master, "make your face shine upon us" (Psalms 66:2), to (let us enjoy) good things in peace, protect us with your mighty hand, free us from every sin through "your very strong arm" (Deuteronomy 4:34), and save us from those who hate us unjustly.

[4] Grant concord and peace to us and to all the inhabitants of the earth, as you granted it to our fathers when they invoked you in holiness, faith and truth. Make us subject to your most powerful and excellent Name, to our rulers and to those who govern us upon the earth.

Chapter 61

[1] It is you, Master, who gave them royal power through your magnificent and ineffable might, so that, knowing the glory and honour you allotted them, we might submit to them and not oppose your will. Grant them, Lord, health, peace, concord and stability, so that they may exercise without disruption the sovereignty you entrusted to them.

[2] For it is you, Master, heavenly King of the ages, who give the sons of men glory, honour and power over earthly things. Direct their counsel, Lord, according to what is good, according to "what is pleasing in your eyes" (Deuteronomy 13:18), so that, exercising devoutly, in peace and gentleness, the power you gave them, they may find you favourable.

[3] You alone have the power to do this and procure still greater good things for us. We thank you through the high priest and patron of our souls, Jesus Christ, through whom be glory and greatness to you, both now and from generation to generation and for ever and ever. Amen.

Chapter 62

[1] In this letter, brothers, we have sufficiently discussed with you the dispositions appropriate to your religion and most useful for a virtuous life to those who wish to live in piety and righteousness.

[2] We have treated thoroughly of faith, repentance, genuine love, continence, chastity and patience; we have reminded you of the need to please almighty God through a holy life in righteousness, truth and long-suffering, and to maintain concord by forgetting injuries and practising love, peace and constant equity, following the example of the fathers we cited, who were pleasing through their humility towards the Father, God and Creator, and towards people.

[3] And we reminded you of these things all the more willingly because we knew well that we were writing to faithful and highly regarded men who had studied deeply the maxims of divine knowledge.

Chapter 63

[1] It is therefore right to apply so many great examples to ourselves, bow our heads and keep the place assigned by obedience, so as to end vain discord and reach without reproach the goal set before us in truth.

[2] For you will bring us joy and gladness if you obey the counsels we gave you through the Holy Spirit, if you cut short the culpable passion of your rivalry in accordance with the invitation to peace and concord we extend to you in this letter.

[3] We have sent you faithful and wise men who have lived blamelessly among us from youth to old age; they will be witnesses between you and us.

[4] We did this so that you may know that our whole concern has been, and still is, to bring you promptly to peace.

Chapter 64

[1] Moreover, may the all-seeing God, who is “master of spirits and lord of all flesh” (Numbers 16:22), who chose the Lord Jesus Christ and us in him to be his own people, give to every soul invoking his glorious and holy name faith, fear, peace, patience, long-suffering, continence, purity and chastity, so that it may please his name through our high priest and patron, Jesus Christ, through whom be glory and majesty, power and honour to God, now and for ever and ever. Amen.

Chapter 65

[1] Send our delegates, Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Biton, together with Fortunatus, back to us promptly in peace and joy, so that they may announce to us as soon as possible the peace and concord so desirable and so greatly desired by us, and so that we too may rejoice as soon as possible in the good order among you.

[2] May the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and, in every place, with all whom God has called through Jesus Christ. Through him be glory, honour, power, majesty and eternal dominion to God, from the beginning of the ages and for ever and ever. Amen.

FF. 51V–70R / NOTES

Translation choices

First Letter of Clement

One Church addresses another

The letter's address presents the Church of Rome as writing to that of Corinth. The name Clement comes from the text's tradition. The Greek παροικεῖν, rendered "sojourn", retains the image of a community inhabiting a place as a temporary resident.

The elders

Πρεσβύτεροι can be translated literally as "elders". Depending on the sentence, it may concern age or a responsibility within the assembly. In the dispute over the ministers removed from office, "elders of the community" helps clarify what is at stake.

Agreement of voices

Ὁμόνοια denotes concord, agreement in one's dispositions. "Unanimity" is another possibility, provided it is not understood everywhere as a voting procedure. This vocabulary responds directly to the divisions at Corinth.

Reference text

Hippolyte Hemmer, Les Pères apostoliques II. Clément de Rome, Épître aux Corinthiens et Homélie du IIe siècle, Paris, Alphonse Picard et fils, 1909. Historical text of the critical edition reproduced in Biblia Universalis.

PLATE IV



The martyrdom of Saint Clement, bishop of Rome

The men prepare to throw Clement into the sea with an anchor. Ciampelli draws a scene from the saint's legend for the decoration of the Lateran, more than a millennium after the letter from the Church of Rome to that of Corinth.

Agostino Ciampelli, 1596–1597. Pen, ink and wash on paper. Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 1979.286.2.

FF. 70R–76R / ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Homily known as the Second Letter of Clement to the Corinthians

English rendering of the historical translation of the text edited by Hemmer, complete in 20 chapters. The photograph preserves the readings of the Jerusalem manuscript.

Chapter 1

[1] Brothers, we must regard Jesus Christ as God, as “the judge of the living and the dead” (Acts 10:42), and we must not esteem our salvation lightly.

[2] If we have only a poor conception of Jesus, we likewise expect to receive (from him) only meagre blessings. It is a sin to hear their proclamation as though they were mediocre blessings; and we ourselves sin if we do not know whence we were called, by whom and to what abode, and finally how many evils Jesus Christ endured suffering for us.

[3] What recompense, then, shall we offer him in return? Or what fruit worthy of what he gave us? For what benefits are we not indebted to him?

[4] He gave us light; like a father he called us his sons; he saved us when we were perishing.

[5] What praise shall we give him, what reward, in return for what we received?

[6] In our blindness of mind we worshipped objects of stone, wood, gold, silver and bronze, works of human hands; our entire life was nothing but death. We were surrounded by obscurity, our eyes were full of darkness; and behold, we recovered our sight and, through his goodwill, dispelled the cloud surrounding us.

[7] For he pitied and saved us, moved with compassion at the sight of the error and ruin in which we were plunged, with no other hope of salvation than that which comes from him.

[8] He called us when we did not exist; his will brought us from nothingness into being.

Chapter 2

[1] "Rejoice, barren woman who does not bear children; burst into cries, you who are not in labour; for the forsaken woman has many children, more than she who has a husband." (Isaiah 54:1) By these words, "Rejoice, barren woman who does not bear children", we are designated, for our church was barren before children were given to it.

[2] These words, "Cry out, you who are not in labour", urge us to send up our prayers to God with simplicity, without losing heart like women in childbirth.

[3] "The forsaken woman has many children, more than she who has a husband" means that the people to which we belong seemed abandoned by God; but now that we have believed, we have become more numerous than those to whom God seemed to belong.

[4] The other Scripture says: "I did not come to call the righteous, but sinners"; (Matthew 9:13; Mark 2:17)

[5] that is, those who are being lost must be saved. [6] For what is great and admirable is to strengthen not solid buildings, but those that are collapsing.

[7] Thus Christ acted: he wished to save what was perishing, and he saved a great number, having come and called us when we were already perishing.

Chapter 3

[1] What great mercy (Christ) showed us! First, in that we who live do not sacrifice to dead gods or worship them, but through him know the Father of truth. What, then, is the knowledge that leads to the Father of truth, if not to refrain from denying the one through whom we came to know him?

[2] (Christ) himself said: "Whoever acknowledges me before men, I shall acknowledge before my Father." (Matthew 9:32; Luke 12:8)

[3] This is our reward if we acknowledge the one who saved us.

[4] And how shall we acknowledge him? By doing what he says, not refusing to obey his commandments, and honouring him not only with our lips but with all our heart and all our mind.

[15] For he says in Isaiah: “This people honours me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.” (Isaiah 29:13)

Chapter 4

[1] Let us therefore not be content merely to call him Lord, for that will not save us.

[2] For he says: “Not everyone who says to me: Lord! Lord! will be saved; it is the one who practises righteousness.” (Matthew 7:21) [3] Therefore, brothers, let us acknowledge him through our actions: let us love one another and flee adultery, mutual slander and jealousy; let us be continent, merciful and good; it is also our duty to have compassion for one another and not love money. Through these works we shall acknowledge him, not through their opposites.

[4] It is God, rather than men, whom we must fear more.

[5] If you act in this way, the Lord says to you: “If you are with me, gathered upon my bosom, and do not observe my precepts, I shall reject you and say to you: Depart from me! I do not know you; I do not know where you are from, workers of iniquity.a”

Chapter 5

[1] Therefore, brothers, leaving our sojourn in this world, let us do the will of the one who called us and not fear departing from this world.

[2] For the Lord said: “You will be like lambs in the midst of wolves.”

[3] Peter answered him: “And if the wolves tear the lambs apart?b”

[4] And Jesus said to Peter: “After their death, lambs have nothing more to fear from wolves. You too, do not fear those who kill you and afterwards can do nothing more to you; but fear the one who, after your death, has the power to cast your soul into the Gehenna of fire.”

[5] Know also, brothers, that the sojourn of this flesh in this world is brief and short-lived, whereas Christ’s promise is great and marvellous, as is the rest of the coming kingdom and eternal life.

[6] What, then, should one do to obtain these blessings, except spend one’s life in holiness and righteousness, regard the goods of this world as foreign to us and not desire them?

[7] For the moment we desire to possess them, we deviate from the way of righteousness.

Chapter 6

[1] The Lord says: “No servant can serve two masters.” (Luke 16:13; Matthew 6:24) If we wish to serve both God and Mammon, it is to our harm.

[2] “For what use is it to gain the whole universe if one ruins one’s soul?” (Matthew 16:26; Luke 9:25)

[3] Now the present age and the age to come are two enemies. [4] The first praises adultery, corruption, avarice and deceit; the second renounces them.

[5] We therefore cannot be friends of both; we must renounce the first and stand with the second.

[6] We think it better to hate the goods of this world, because they are mediocre, fleeting and corruptible, so as to love the others, the incorruptible goods.

[7] By doing Christ’s will we shall find rest; otherwise, if we refuse to obey his commandments, nothing will save us from eternal punishment.

[8] For Scripture says in Ezekiel that “even if Noah, Job and Daniel rose again, they would not deliver their children from captivity.” (Ezekiel 14:14,18,20)

[9] If men so righteous cannot deliver their children through their own righteousness, how could we have confidence in entering God's palace if we do not keep our baptism pure and immaculate? Who will be our advocate if we are not found with holy and righteous works?

Chapter 7

[1] Therefore, brothers, let us strive, knowing that the contest is imminent; that many contestants hasten under sail to perishable contests, but only those who have toiled and competed gloriously are crowned there.

[2] Let us compete so that we may all be crowned. [3] Let us run along the straight path to the imperishable contest; let us embark for the struggle in great numbers and do battle, so that we may be crowned, or at least, if not all of us can be, so that we may approach the crown.

[4] We must know that in perishable contests, whoever cheats is beaten with rods, excluded and driven from the stadium.

[5] What, then, do you think the one who violates the laws of the incorruptible contest will suffer?

[6] For it is said of those who have not preserved the seal: "Their worm will not die, their fire will not be extinguished, and they will be a spectacle to all flesh." (Isaiah 66:24)

Chapter 8

[1] While we are upon the earth, let us repent. [2] We are clay in the craftsman's hand. When the vessel he is making becomes misshapen or breaks in his hands, the potter shapes it again; but if he has first put it into the blazing kiln, he no longer touches it. Likewise, while we are in this world and have time for repentance, let us repent wholeheartedly of the evil we committed in our flesh, so that we may be saved by the Lord.

[3] For after departing from the world, we can no longer make confession or repent there.

[4] Therefore, brothers, it is by doing the Father's will, preserving our flesh pure and keeping the Lord's commandments that we shall obtain eternal life.

[5] For the Lord says in the Gospel: "If you have not kept what is small, who will give you what is great? For I tell you: Whoever is faithful in the smallest things will also be faithful in the great." (Luke 16:10–12)

[6] That is: Keep your flesh chaste and your seal immaculate, so that we may receive eternal life.

Chapter 9

[1] Let none of you say that this flesh will not be judged and will not rise again.

[2] Know this well: when were you saved, when did you recover your sight, if not while you were in this flesh?

[3] We must therefore guard our flesh as a temple of God. [4] As he called you in the flesh, you will come to (him) in the flesh.

[5] If Christ, our Lord and Saviour, from being spirit as he was at first, became flesh and thus called us, likewise it is in this flesh that we shall receive our reward.

[6] Let us therefore love one another, so that we may all enter God's kingdom.

[7] While we have time to heal, let us entrust ourselves to God the physician and give him a reward in return.

[8] What kind of reward? The repentance of a sincere heart. [9] For he knows all things beforehand and perceives the innermost heart. [10] Let us therefore praise him not only with our mouths but also with our hearts, so that he may receive us as sons.

[11] For the Lord said: “My brothers are those who do my Father’s will.” (Matthew 12:50; Mark 3:35; Luke 8:21)

Chapter 10

[1] Therefore, my brothers, let us do the will of the Father who called us, so that we may live and seek virtue more earnestly; let us rid ourselves of wickedness, which is like the forerunner of our crimes, and flee impiety lest evils overwhelm us.

[2] For if we are eager to do good, peace will follow us. [3] That is why it cannot be found among people subject to human fears, who prefer the pleasure of this world to the future promise.

[4] They do not know what torments there are in worldly pleasure, what delights in the future promise.

[5] If they were merely like this, it would be bearable; but they persist in teaching evil to innocent souls. They do not know that they will incur a double condemnation, both they and those who listen to them.

Chapter 11

[1] As for us, then, let us serve God with a pure heart and we shall be righteous; but if we do not serve him because we do not believe his promises, we shall be wretched.

[2] For it is said in the oracles of the prophets: “Woe to those whose soul is divided and whose heart hesitates, to those who say: We heard these predictions long ago, even from (the time of) our fathers; we waited day after day and saw none of these things.

[3] Fools, compare yourselves to a tree; take the vine: first it loses its leaves, then produces buds, then unripe fruits, and finally ripe grapes.

[4] So it is with my people: it endured troubles and afflictions; afterwards it will receive good things.”

[5] Thus, my brothers, let us not be divided in soul, but persevere in hope so that we may also obtain the reward.

[6] For he who promised to repay each according to his works is faithful.

[7] Therefore, if we practise righteousness before God, we shall enter his kingdom and receive the fulfilment of the promises "of which the ear has heard nothing, which the eye has not seen and which have not entered the human heart." (1 Corinthians 2:9)

Chapter 12

[1] Therefore let us await God's kingdom hour by hour in love and righteousness, since we do not know the day when God will manifest himself.

[2] For when someone asked the Lord himself when his kingdom would come, he answered: "When the two (things) become one, when the outside is like the inside, when in the meeting of man and woman there is neither man nor woman."

[3] "Two become one" when we tell one another the truth and, without any pretence, there is one soul in two bodies.

[4] "And the outside like the inside" means the soul, which is called the inside, and the body, which is called the outside; and just as your body is visible, so your soul must make itself manifest through good works.

[5] "In the meeting of man and woman, neither man nor woman" means that when a brother sees a sister, he does not think of the female sex in relation to her, and she in turn does not think of the male.

[6] If you act thus, he means, my Father's kingdom will come.

Chapter 13

[1] Henceforth, then, brothers, let us repent and remain sober to (do) good, for we are filled with every kind of folly and malice. Let us blot out our past sins and work out our salvation through repentance from the depths of the soul. Let us not court people; let us wish to please not only ourselves but also those outside, for the sake of righteousness, lest the name (of God) be blasphemed because of us.

[2] For the Lord says: "My name is continually blasphemed among all the nations." (Isaiah 52:5) And elsewhere: "Woe to the one who causes my name to be blasphemed!a" How do you cause it to be blasphemed? By not doing what I will.

[3] For when the pagans hear God's words from our mouths, they admire their beauty and sublimity; but afterwards, learning that our works do not correspond to our words, they come to blaspheme, saying that it is a fable and an error.

[4] When they hear us quote this word of God, "You have no merit in loving those who love you, but you have merit in loving your enemies and those who hate you" (Luke 6:32,35), they admire, as they listen, the surpassing measure of this goodness. But when they see that, far from loving those who hate us, we do not even love those who love us, they mock us, and the name (of God) is blasphemed.

Chapter 14

[1] Therefore, brothers, it is by doing the will of God our Father that we shall belong to the first spiritual Church, created before the sun and moon. If, on the contrary, we do not do the Lord's will, we shall fall under the Scripture that says: "My house has become a den of thieves." (Jeremiah 7:11) Let us therefore prefer to belong to the Church of life, so that we may be saved.

[2] You are not unaware, I think, that the living Church is "the body of Christ" (Ephesians 1:22–23), for Scripture says: "God made man male and female" (Genesis 1:27); the male is Christ, the female is the Church. And the books of the prophets and the apostles teach that the Church does not date

from the present, but from the beginning; it was spiritual, just like our Jesus, and appeared in the last days to save us.

[3] And the Church that was spiritual became visible in Christ's flesh, thus showing us that if one of us preserves the Church in his flesh without corrupting it, he will receive it in the Holy Spirit; for this flesh is a copy of the spirit: whoever corrupts the copy cannot share in the original. This therefore means, brothers: Respect the flesh so that you may share in the spirit.

[4] Now if we say that the flesh is the Church and the spirit is Christ, it follows that whoever outrages the flesh outrages the Church. Such a man will have no share in the spirit, which is Christ.

[5] Such are the life and incorruptibility in which our flesh can share through its union with the Holy Spirit; and no one can describe or define the blessings "that the Lord prepared" (1 Corinthians 1:9) for his elect.

Chapter 15

[1] I do not think I have given unimportant counsel here concerning continence. Whoever follows it will not regret it, but will save himself and me, who advised him, along with him. For it is no small merit to bring back to salvation a soul that has gone astray and is being lost.

[2] Now this is the recompense we can give to God who created us: for the preacher to preach and the hearer to listen, with faith and love.

[3] Let us therefore remain righteous and devout, resting upon the things we have believed, so as to pray with openness of heart to the God who said: "While you are still speaking, I shall answer: Here I am." (Isaiah 58:9)

[4] This word is the sign of a magnificent promise, since the Lord declares himself more disposed to give than the suppliant (to ask).

[5] Let us therefore receive a share of this great goodness, and not envy one another the possession of such great blessings. As much joy as God's word brings to those who practise it, so much condemnation it draws upon those who disobey it.

Chapter 16

[1] Thus, brothers, let us seize a fine opportunity for repentance; we have time for it; let us turn to the God who called us while he is ready to receive us.

[2] For if we renounce pleasures and overcome our soul by not carrying out its evil desires, we shall share in Jesus' mercy.

[3] Know that the day of judgement is already coming, like "a blazing furnace" (Malachi 3:19): some of the heavens and the entire earth will liquefy like lead melted over fire; and then people's secret or public works will be manifested.

[4] Almsgiving is excellent as repentance for sin; fasting is worth more than prayer, but almsgiving is worth more than either. "Love covers the multitude of sins" (1 Peter 4:8), and prayer arising from a good conscience delivers from death. Blessed is everyone found perfect in these things, for almsgiving lightens sin.

Chapter 17

[1] Let us therefore repent with all our hearts so that none of us may perish. If we are enjoined to work to turn people away from idols and teach the doctrine, all the more must we not let a soul that already knows God perish.

[2] Let us help one another so as to draw even the weak towards goodness, that we may all be saved, turn back and correct one another.

[3] Let us not appear believing and attentive only at the moment when the presbyters exhort us; rather, when we have returned home, let us remember the Lord's commandments and not be carried away by earthly desires, but gather and strive to progress in the Lord's precepts, so that, "all having the same sentiments" (Rom. 12:16), we may be united for life.

[4] For the Lord said: "I come to gather all nations, all tribes, all languages." (Isaiah 66:18) This designates the day of his manifestation, when he will come to redeem us, each according to his works.

[5] And unbelievers will see his glory and power; they will be utterly bewildered on seeing the sovereignty of the world in Jesus, and will say: Woe to us! It is indeed you, and we did not know it, and we neither believed nor obeyed the presbyters who announced our salvation to us. "And their worm will not die, and their fire will not be extinguished, and they will be a spectacle to all flesh." (Isaiah 66:24)

[6] By this he means the day of judgement, when those among us who acted impiously and reckoned falsely concerning Jesus Christ's precepts will be seen.

[7] As for the righteous who did good, endured torments and hated their soul's pleasures, when they see those who went astray and denied Jesus in words or deeds punished with terrible torments and in unquenchable fire, they will glorify their God and proclaim that there is hope for the one who served God with all his heart!

Chapter 18

[1] Let us too be among those who thank God, among those who served him, and not among those impious people who are condemned.

[2] I myself, a sinner through and through, not yet escaped from temptation but in the very midst of the devil's machinations, hasten to pursue righteousness so that I may at least approach it, for I dread the judgement to come.

Chapter 19

[1] Therefore, brothers and sisters, after (the word of) the God of truth, I read you this exhortation so that, by attending to what has been written, you may save yourselves and your reader along with you. The reward I ask of you is that you repent with all your heart, so as to secure salvation and life for yourselves. By acting thus, we shall show the goal to all the young people who wish to exert themselves in (imitating) God's piety and goodness.

[2] We who are not wise should be neither vexed nor indignant if someone rebukes us and turns us from iniquity to righteousness. For sometimes we do evil without noticing it, because of our hearts' wavering and unbelief; and our understanding is darkened by vain desires.

[3] Let us practise righteousness so that in the end we may be saved. Blessed are those who obey these precepts! Even if they must suffer for a short time in this world, they will harvest the immortal fruit of the resurrection.

[4] Let the devout man therefore not grieve if he is presently unhappy. Happy days await him: raised again, he will rejoice above with his fathers for blessed eternity.

Chapter 20

[1] Nor let our mind be troubled at the sight of the wicked in wealth and God's servants in distress.

[2] Let us have faith, brothers and sisters: we fight the testing contest of the living God and train in this life so that we may be crowned in the other.

[3] None of the righteous has gathered early fruit, but awaits it. [4] If God promptly gave the righteous their reward, very soon we would be practising trade rather than piety; we would appear righteous while pursuing not piety but gain. For this reason God's judgement strikes the spirit that is not righteous and loads it with bonds.

[5] To the only and invisible God, the Father of truth who sent us the Saviour and author of incorruptibility, who through him manifested truth and heavenly life to us—to Him be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

FF. 70R–76R / NOTES

Translation choices

Second Letter of Clement

A homily transmitted as a letter

The speaker addresses his hearers in the first-person plural. The title “Second Letter of Clement” identifies the piece in collections. The word “homily” indicates that what we are reading is an exhortation intended to be heard.

Conversion

Μετάνοια is translated as “repentance” or “conversion”. The first word stresses regret, the second a change in conduct. The comparison with clay that the potter can still reshape, in chapter VIII, clarifies the practical import of the appeal.

The contest

The language of athletic competition, especially in chapter VII, can be rendered as “struggle”, “race” or “trial”, depending on the image. The crown belongs to the same set of images as the rules imposed upon contestants.

Reference text

Hippolyte Hemmer, Les Pères apostoliques II. Clément de Rome, Épître aux Corinthiens et Homélie du IIe siècle, Paris, Alphonse Picard et fils, 1909. Historical text of the critical edition reproduced in Biblia Universalis.

F. 76R / ENGLISH TRANSLATION

The names of the books among the Hebrews

Titles rendered in English in the list's reading order. The two columns of names, Semitic and Greek, are visible in the original.

The names of the books among the Hebrews

1. Genesis · 2. Exodus · 3. Leviticus

4. Joshua, son of Nave · 5. Deuteronomy · 6. Numbers

7. Ruth · 8. Job · 9. Judges

10. Psalter · 11. First Book of Kingdoms · 12. Second Book of Kingdoms

13. Third Book of Kingdoms · 14. Fourth Book of Kingdoms · 15. First Book of Chronicles

16. Second Book of Chronicles · 17. Proverbs · 18. Ecclesiastes

19. Song of Songs · 20. Jeremiah · 21. The Twelve Prophets

22. Isaiah · 23. Ezekiel · 24. Daniel

25. First Book of Esdras · 26. Second Book of Esdras · 27. Esther

F. 76R / NOTES

Translation choices

Names of the books among the Hebrews

Names passing from one language to another

The list is copied in Greek characters. It brings together phonetically transcribed Semitic forms and the corresponding Greek titles. In this way, a text written in Greek can preserve an audible echo of Hebrew.

The order of the titles

The order in this translation follows the list published for this folio, including the surprising positions of Joshua and Numbers. The twenty-seven entries do not correspond one for one to the divisions of all modern Bibles.

Kingdoms and Chronicles

“Kingdoms I–IV” retains the Greek numbering. Readers will recognise, in order, 1 and 2 Samuel, then 1 and 2 Kings. The Greek word Παραλειπόμενα, which became “Paralipomena”, designates Chronicles.

Reference text

Bryennios List, manuscript H54, f. 76r. Comparison with Constantin Oancea, “The Bryennios List”, Teologie şi Viaţă, 2023.

FF. 76R–80V / ENGLISH TRANSLATION

The Didache

English translation of the sixteen chapters, based on the French edition prepared for this collection. The prayers over the cup and the broken bread appear in chapter IX.

Chapter I

1 There are two ways: one of life, the other of death; and the difference between the two ways is great.

2 This, then, is the way of life: first, you shall love God who created you; next, your neighbour as yourself. And whatever you would not wish done to you, do not do to another either.

3 This is the teaching of these words: bless those who curse you, pray for your enemies and fast for those who persecute you. For what credit is it to you if you love those who love you? Do not the pagans do the same? As for you, love those who hate you, and you will have no enemy.

4 Abstain from the desires of the flesh and the body. If someone strikes you on the right cheek, offer him the other also, and you will be perfect. If someone compels you to go one mile, go two with him. If someone takes your cloak, give him your tunic also. If someone takes what belongs to you, do not demand it back: you do not, in any case, have the power to insist on its return.

5 Give to everyone who asks you, demanding nothing in return; for the Father wants everyone to receive a share of His own gifts. Blessed is the one who gives according to the commandment: he is innocent. Woe to the one who receives! If someone receives because he is in need, he will be innocent; but someone who receives without needing it will have to answer for it: why did he receive this gift, and for what purpose? Taken into custody, he will be questioned about his actions and will not leave until he has repaid the very last quadrans (a small Roman coin).

6 But it has also been said on this subject: ‘Let your alms “sweat” in your hands until you know to whom to give them.’

Chapter II

1 This is the second commandment of the teaching: 2 You shall not murder, commit adultery, sexually corrupt children, engage in debauchery, steal, practise magic or use poisons. You shall not kill a child by abortion or put it to death after birth. You shall not covet your neighbour's possessions.

3 You shall not swear falsely, bear false witness, speak ill of others or hold a grudge.

4 You shall have neither duplicity in your thoughts nor double speech: double speech is a deadly snare.

5 Your word shall be neither false nor empty: it shall be put into action. 6 You shall be neither greedy, grasping, hypocritical, malicious nor proud. You shall form no evil design against your neighbour.

7 You shall hate no one: some you shall rebuke, for others you shall pray, and still others you shall love more than your own life.

Chapter III

1 My child, flee every evil and everything that resembles it. 2 Do not be quick to anger, for anger leads to murder; be neither jealous, quarrelsome nor hot-tempered: from all these things murders arise.

3 My child, do not indulge in lust, for lust leads to debauchery; do not speak obscenely or cast shameless glances: from all these things adulteries arise.

4 My child, do not study omens, for this leads to idolatry; practise neither incantations, astrology nor magical purifications, and do not even desire to watch them: from all these things idolatry arises.

5 My child, do not be a liar, for lying leads to theft; be neither greedy for money nor vain: from all these things thefts arise.

6 My child, do not be prone to grumbling, for this leads to blasphemy; be neither arrogant nor ill-intentioned: from all these things blasphemies arise.

7 Be gentle, for the gentle will inherit the earth. 8 Be patient, merciful, without malice, peaceable and good; always tremble before the words you have heard.

9 You shall not make yourself great in your own eyes or let insolence enter your soul. Your soul shall not attach itself to the proud; you shall associate with the righteous and humble.

10 Welcome events as good, knowing that nothing happens without God.

Chapter IV

1 My child, remember night and day the one who proclaims God's word to you; honour him as the Lord, for where the Lord's authority is proclaimed, there is the Lord.

2 Seek each day to meet the saints, so that you may find comfort in their words.

3 You shall not seek division; you shall reconcile those who fight one another. You shall judge justly and show no favouritism when rebuking faults.

4 Do not remain in uncertainty, asking yourself: 'Will it happen, or not?'

5 Do not be among those who stretch out their hands to receive and withdraw them when it is time to give.

6 If you possess the fruit of your hands' labour, you shall give for the redemption of your sins.

7 You shall not hesitate to give, and when giving you shall not grumble; for you shall know who rewards generously.

8 You shall not turn away from someone in need; you shall share everything with your brother and shall not say that these possessions are yours alone. For if you share in what is immortal, how much more in mortal things!

9 You shall not relax discipline towards your son or daughter; from their youth you shall teach them the fear of God.

10 You shall not give harsh orders to your male or female slaves, who place their hope in the same God as you, lest they cease to fear the God who rules over you all. For God does not call people according to their rank: He calls those whom the Spirit has prepared.

11 And you slaves, submit to your masters as to an image of God, with respect and fear.

12 You shall hate all hypocrisy and everything that displeases the Lord. 13 You shall not abandon the Lord's commandments; you shall keep what you have received, adding nothing and taking nothing away.

14 In the assembly you shall confess your faults, and you shall not come to pray with a bad conscience. Such is the way of life.

Chapter V

1 This is the way of death: above all, it is evil and full of curses. It consists of murders, adulteries, lusts, debaucheries, thefts, idolatries, practices of magic, poisonings, plundering, false testimonies, hypocrisies, duplicity of heart, deceit, pride, wickedness, arrogance, greed, obscene speech, jealousy, insolence, haughtiness and boasting.

2 This is the way of those who persecute the good, hate truth and love falsehood, know nothing of the reward of righteousness, cling neither to goodness nor to just judgement, and put their vigilance at the service of evil rather than good. Gentleness and patience are foreign to them. They love vain things, pursue advantages, have no pity for the poor, do not grieve over the sufferer's lot and do not know the One who created them. Murderers of children, destroyers of what God has fashioned, they turn away from the needy and oppress the afflicted; champions of the rich and unjust judges of the poor, they are laden with every sin. May you, my children, be delivered from all these things!

Chapter VI

1 Take care that no one leads you astray from the way of this teaching: anyone who did so would be teaching you without regard for God.

2 For if you can bear the Lord's entire yoke, you will be perfect; but if you cannot, do what you can.

3 As for dietary rules, observe what you can bear; but guard yourself most carefully against food offered in sacrifice to idols: this is indeed worshipping dead gods.

Chapter VII

1 Concerning baptism, baptise in this way: after setting out everything above, baptise in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, in living water (spring or running water).

2 If you have no living water, baptise in other water; if you cannot do it in cold water, do it in warm water.

3 If you have neither, pour water three times over the head, in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.

4 Before baptism, let the person baptising and the person being baptised fast, together with others if they can. You shall instruct the person about to be baptised to fast for one or two days beforehand.

Chapter VIII

1 Let your fasts not coincide with those of the hypocrites: they fast on Monday and Thursday; you, fast on Wednesday and Friday.

2 Nor should you pray like the hypocrites; rather, as the Lord commanded in His Gospel, pray thus: 'Our Father who is in heaven, may Your name be sanctified, may Your kingdom come, may Your will be done on earth as in heaven. Give us today the bread we need. Forgive us our debt, as we too forgive our debtors their debts. And do not bring us into trial, but deliver us from evil. For Yours are the power and the glory for all ages.'

3 Pray thus three times a day.

Chapter IX

1 Concerning the eucharist (thanksgiving), give thanks in this way: 2 First, for the cup: ‘We give You thanks, our Father, for the holy vine of David, Your servant, which You made known to us through Jesus, Your servant. Yours is the glory for all ages!’

3 Then, for the broken bread: ‘We give You thanks, our Father, for the life and knowledge You made known to us through Jesus, Your servant. Yours is the glory for all ages!’

4 ‘As this broken bread was once scattered over the mountains and, when gathered, became one loaf, so may Your Church be gathered from the ends of the earth into Your kingdom. For Yours are the glory and the power through Jesus Christ, for all ages!’

5 Let no one eat or drink of your eucharist except those who have been baptised in the Lord’s name. For it was also on this subject that the Lord said: ‘Do not give what is holy to dogs.’

PLATE V



The Last Supper

Dürer depicts Jesus' last meal with his disciples, as recounted in the Gospels. Chapter IX of the Didache, for its part, gives the community's prayers over the cup and the broken bread.

Albrecht Dürer, 1510. Woodcut. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1922, inv. 22.51.3.

Chapter X

1 After you have eaten your fill, give thanks in this way: 2 'We give You thanks, holy Father, for Your holy name which You made dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge, faith and immortality You made known to us through Jesus, Your servant. Yours is the glory for all ages!

3 You, almighty Master, created all things for Your name. You gave people food and drink to enjoy and to give You thanks; but to us You granted spiritual food and drink, together with eternal life, through Your servant.

4 Above all, we give You thanks because You are mighty. Yours is the glory for all ages!

5 Remember, Lord, Your Church: deliver it from all evil and lead it to perfection in Your love. You who sanctified it, gather it from the four winds into the kingdom You prepared for it. For Yours are the power and the glory for all ages!

6 May grace come and this world pass away! Hosanna to the God of David! If anyone is holy, let him come; if he is not, let him repent. Maranatha. Amen.'

7 As for the prophets, allow them to give thanks as much as they wish.

Chapter XI

1 Welcome, then, anyone who comes to teach you everything said above.

2 But if this teacher turns away from this teaching and brings you another that destroys it, do not listen to him. If, instead, his teaching increases righteousness and knowledge of the Lord, welcome him as the Lord.

3 Concerning apostles and prophets, act as follows, in accordance with the precept of the Gospel.

4 Let every apostle who comes to you be welcomed as the Lord. 5 But he shall stay only one day, or the following day as well if necessary. If he stays three days, he is a false prophet.

6 When the apostle leaves, let him take nothing except bread to reach his next lodging. If he asks for money, he is a false prophet.

7 You shall not test or judge a prophet speaking under the inspiration of the Spirit: every sin will be forgiven, but that sin will not be forgiven.

8 Yet not everyone who speaks under the inspiration of the Spirit is necessarily a prophet: he must also live in the Lord's manner. It is therefore by their way of life that the false prophet and the prophet will be recognised.

9 A prophet who, under the inspiration of the Spirit, asks for a meal to be prepared shall not eat it himself; otherwise, he is a false prophet.

10 Every prophet who teaches the truth but does not do what he teaches is a false prophet.

11 If a prophet recognised as genuine performs acts representing the mystery of the Church on earth, without teaching others to do what he himself does, you shall not judge him: it is for God to judge him. The prophets of old also acted in this way.

12 If someone says under the inspiration of the Spirit, 'Give me money or something else,' you shall not listen to him. But if he asks that others in need be given something, let no one judge him.

Chapter XII

1 Welcome everyone who comes in the Lord's name. Then test the person to know whom you are dealing with: you will know how to distinguish right from left.

2 If the newcomer is merely passing through, help him as much as you can; but he shall stay with you only two or three days, if necessary.

3 If he wishes to settle among you and has a trade, let him work to feed himself.

4 If he has no trade, make arrangements with discernment so that a Christian does not live idly among you.

5 If he refuses to act in this way, he is someone who trades on Christ. Beware of people of this kind.

Chapter XIII

1 Every true prophet who wishes to settle among you deserves to be given food.

2 Likewise, the true teacher also deserves to receive his food, like the worker.

3 Therefore take the first fruits (the first portions) of all the produce of the press and threshing floor, as well as of oxen and sheep, and give them to the prophets: for they are your high priests.

4 But if you have no prophet, give to the poor. 5 If you prepare a batch of bread, take its first portion and give it according to the commandment.

6 Likewise, if you open a jar of wine or oil, take its first portion and give it to the prophets.

7 From your money, clothing and all your possessions, take the first portions as you think best, and give them according to the commandment.

Chapter XIV

1 On the Lord's day, gather together, break bread and give thanks, after confessing your faults, so that our sacrifice may be pure.

2 Let anyone who has a dispute with his companion not join you until they have been reconciled, so that your sacrifice may not be profaned.

3 For this is the sacrifice of which the Lord said: 'In every place and at every time, let a pure sacrifice be offered to Me; for I am a great king, says the Lord, and My name is wonderful among the nations.'

Chapter XV

1 Therefore choose for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, gentle men, free from love of money, truthful and proven; for they too perform for you the service of prophets and teachers.

2 So do not despise them: they are among those you honour, together with the prophets and teachers.

3 Rebuke one another, not in anger but in peace, as you find in the Gospel. Let no one speak to someone who wrongs another, and let him hear nothing from you until he repents.

4 As for your prayers, alms and all your actions, perform them as you find in the Gospel of our Lord.

Chapter XVI

1 Watch over your life. Let your lamps not go out and your garments remain tightened at the waist; be ready, for you do not know the hour at which our Lord will come.

2 Gather frequently, seeking what is good for your souls; for all your years of faith will avail you nothing if, at the last moment, you have not reached perfection.

3 For in the last days false prophets and corrupters will multiply; sheep will turn into wolves and love will turn into hatred.

4 As lawlessness advances, people will hate, persecute and betray one another. Then the one who leads the world astray will appear, presenting himself as Son of God. He will perform signs and wonders, and the earth will be delivered into his hands. He will commit impious acts unlike any since the beginning of time.

5 Then humanity will pass through the fire of trial; many will succumb and perish, but those who have persevered in their faith will be saved by the very one who was cursed.

6 Then the signs of truth will appear: first a sign unfolding in heaven, then the sound of the trumpet, and third, the resurrection of the dead.

7 Not of everyone, however, but as it has been said: ‘The Lord will come, and all the saints with Him.’

8 Then the world will see the Lord coming on the clouds of heaven.

FF. 76R–80V / NOTES

Translation choices

The Didache

I and V · The two ways

Ὁδός denotes a road or path and, by extension, a way of life. The “way of death” in chapter V is recognisable in a series of concrete practices, including false testimony, oppression of the poor and unjust judgements.

VII · Living water

Ὕδωρ ζῶν can also be understood as “running water”. Chapter VII ranks the alternatives for baptism according to the water available. This sequence of possibilities clarifies the expression.

IX, 3 · Jesus, your servant

Παῖς can denote a child or a servant. In the preceding paragraph, the prayer applies the same word to David and then to Jesus. “Servant” maintains this repetition. The sentence is a prayer to the Father. It can be seen on folio 78 verso, on the left of view 81.

X, 6 · Maranatha

The Aramaic expression transmitted in Greek characters can be divided in two ways. It can be heard as an appeal, “Our Lord, come!”, or as a proclamation, “Our Lord has come”. The prayer asking for grace to come favours the first reading.

Reference text

The Didache, French translation in this collection. Edition by J. Rendel Harris (1887) and translation by Hemmer, Oger and Laurent (1907).

FF. 81R–82R / ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Letter of Mary of Cassobola to Ignatius

Long version. English translation of the French reading version based on the historical English version published under the direction of Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (1870).

Greeting

Mary, a proselyte of Jesus Christ, to Ignatius Theophorus, blessed bishop of the apostolic Church of Antioch, beloved in God the Father and in Jesus. Happiness and greetings! We all ask that you may have joy and health in him.

Chapter 1

We have learned with wonder that Christ is the Son of the living God and that in these last times he became man through the Virgin Mary, of the line of David and Abraham, as the assembly of prophets had foretold concerning him and through him. We therefore implore you, according to your wisdom, to send us our friend Maris, bishop of Neapolis, our native city, near Zarbus, together with Eulogius and the presbyter Sobelus. We do not wish to remain deprived of those entrusted with the divine word. For Moses says, “Let the Lord God choose a man to lead this people, so that the Lord’s assembly may not be like sheep without a shepherd.”

Chapter 2

Do not take offence, blessed one, at the youth of the men we have named. Know that their wisdom transcends the flesh and that they remain insensible to its passions. Though young and recently called to the priesthood, their merit adorns them with all the splendour of grey hair. Recall your memories in the light of the Spirit whom God has given you through Christ. Samuel, when still a child, received the name of seer and was numbered among the prophets. He rebuked the aged priest Eli for his fault. Eli had honoured his foolish sons more than God, the author of all things, and had left them unpunished when they made a mockery of the priesthood and used violence against the people.

Chapter 3

The wise Daniel, while still very young, judged vigorous old men. He proved them to be wretches unworthy of the title of elders, Jews by birth but Canaanites by their deeds. Jeremiah, for his part, pleaded his youth to decline the prophetic mission God entrusted to him. He received this reply: “Do not say that you are young. You shall go to all those to whom I send you, and you shall say everything I command you, for I am with you.” Solomon, who was only twelve years old, had enough wisdom to settle the case of the children of two women when no one knew which child belonged to which woman. The whole people marvelled at such wisdom in a child and revered him as a grown man. He also solved the difficult questions of the queen of the Ethiopians, as fertile as the waters of the Nile, so that this woman, wise though she was, could not recover from her astonishment.

Chapter 4

Josiah, beloved of God, could barely articulate his words when he was already exposing the lies of those who were moved by an evil spirit and deceived the people. He revealed the cunning of demons and publicly unmasked the supposed gods. While still a child, he killed their priests, overthrew their altars, defiled the places of sacrifice with corpses, demolished the temples, cut down the sacred groves, broke the stelae and forced open the tombs of the impious, so that no trace of the wicked might remain. Such was the zeal he showed for piety, such was his punishment of the impious, while he was still babbling like a child. David too, prophet and king, ancestor of our Saviour according to the flesh, received royal anointing from Samuel in his youth. He himself says somewhere, "I was small among my brothers and the youngest in my father's house."

Chapter 5

Time would fail me to enumerate all those who pleased God from their youth and whom God entrusted with the mission of prophet, priest or king. Those I have cited will suffice to remind you. I beg you, see neither presumption nor vanity in my letter. I have written these things to you with the sole desire of recalling them to my father in God. I know my place and do not compare myself to men such as you. I greet your holy clergy and this people who love Christ and whom you tend as a shepherd. All the faithful who are with us greet you. Pray, blessed shepherd, that I may fare well before God.

FF. 81R–82R / NOTES

Translation choices

Mary to Ignatius

The name Mary

The writer presents herself as Mary of Cassobola. The letter also names the Virgin Mary in its account of Christ's birth. The two occurrences of Mary therefore refer to different people.

Proselyte

"Proselyte", in the greeting, evokes someone who has joined a faith or a community. "A convert to Jesus Christ" makes explicit the meaning given to the word here. An ancient use can be broader than its modern technical meaning.

Reference text

A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (eds.), The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1870. English text of the long recension.

FF. 82R–83R / ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Letter of Ignatius to Mary of Cassobola

Long version. English translation of the French reading version based on the historical English version published under the direction of Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (1870).

Greeting

Ignatius, also called Theophorus, to Mary, my most faithful daughter, worthy of God and bearing Christ in her heart. To you who have obtained mercy through the grace of God Most High, the Father, and of Jesus Christ, the Lord who died for us, I wish abundant joy in God.

Chapter 1

Seeing one another is assuredly better than writing to one another. Through sight, which is one of our senses, friendship is expressed and the person receiving its signs is honoured. And the signs received in return kindle the desire for the best things. But there is, as the saying goes, a second harbour in which to take refuge: correspondence. However great the distance, your faith has opened this shelter to us. A letter has revealed to us the quality of your soul. For good souls, O wisest of women, resemble springs of the purest water. Their beauty invites passers-by to drink from them, even those who are not thirsty. And your understanding urges us, as though by a command, to taste the divine waters that gush forth so abundantly within you.

Chapter 2

As for me, blessed one, I am now far more in the power of others than master of myself. I move at the changing whims of many adversaries, at once exiled, imprisoned and chained. I care little about it. The very harm they do me impresses on me more deeply the mark of a disciple, so that I may attain Jesus Christ. May I joyfully welcome the torments prepared for me, for “the sufferings of the present time bear no comparison with the glory that will be revealed in us”.

Chapter 3

I gladly granted the requests in your letter, without feeling any doubt about the men whose worth you showed me. I am certain that your testimony proceeds from a judgement inspired by God, without fleshly preference. The many passages of Scripture you quoted delighted me beyond measure. After reading them, not the shadow of a doubt remained. How could I have cast a distracted glance over these things when you brought me irrefutable proof of them? May I give my life for yours, for you love Jesus, the Son of the living God. Thus he himself says to you, “I love those who love me, and those who seek me shall find peace.”

Chapter 4

It comes to mind to tell you that the testimony I had received about you was true. You were then in Rome, with the blessed pope Linus, who was succeeded by Clement, rightly called blessed, who had listened to Peter and Paul. Since then your reputation has grown a hundredfold. May it grow still more! How I would have wished to come to you and find a little rest there. But “it is not for man to chart his own course”. The soldiers guarding me obstruct my purpose and do not allow me to go any further. In my present condition, nothing I can do or suffer depends on me. Since letters offer friends a second means of encouraging one another, I greet your holy soul and ask you to redouble your strength. Our present hardship is small, and great is the reward we await.

Chapter 5

Beware of those who deny Christ’s passion and his birth according to the flesh. Many men today are afflicted with this evil. As for the rest, it would be unreasonable to lecture you. You perform every good work, you know how to speak every good word, and you can yourself exhort others in Christ. Greet all those who share your disposition and attend to their salvation in Christ. The presbyters and deacons, and especially the holy Hero, greet you. Cassian, my host, greets you, as do my sister, his wife, and their dearly beloved children. May the Lord always sanctify you and keep you healthy in body and spirit. May I see you receive the crown in Christ!

FF. 82R–83R / NOTES

Translation choices

Ignatius to Mary

The name of Ignatius

Θεοφόρος, the traditional epithet of Ignatius, can evoke one who “bears God”. Leaving it in the form “Theophorus” preserves its function as a proper name, particularly in the formula in which the author introduces himself.

The exchange of letters

The title “To Mary” answers the preceding piece. A formula of spiritual kinship in the address concerns the relationship between correspondents and does not provide a genealogy.

Reference text

A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (eds.), The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1870. English text of the long recension.

FF. 83R–87V / ENGLISH TRANSLATION

To the Trallians

Long version. English translation of the French reading version based on the historical English version published under the direction of Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (1870).

Greeting

Ignatius, also called Theophorus, to the holy Church of Tralles, beloved of God the Father and of Jesus Christ, chosen and worthy of God. You have peace through the flesh and Spirit of Jesus Christ, our hope, in his passion on the cross, in his death and in his resurrection. I greet your Church in its fullness, in the manner of the apostles, and wish it abundant joy.

Chapter 1

I know that in your patience you keep an upright and sincere spirit, and that this disposition serves you not only at the present hour but remains your possession. Polybius, your bishop, has shown me this. He came to Smyrna by the will of God the Father and of the Lord Jesus Christ, his Son, with the aid of the Spirit. He shared so fully in the joy that is mine, who bear the chains of Christ Jesus, that in his person I saw your whole community. Through him I received testimony to the goodwill God inspires in you, and I took pride in discovering in you disciples of Jesus Christ, the Saviour.

Chapter 2

Submit to the bishop as to the Lord, for “he watches over your souls as a man who will give an account of them to God”. Thus you seem to me to live according to Jesus Christ, beyond human customs. He died for us so that, believing in his death, you might share through baptism in his resurrection. In every matter, therefore, you must undertake nothing without the bishop. Submit also to the council of elders as to the apostles of Jesus Christ, our hope. If we live in him, it is in him that we shall be found. It also falls to you to satisfy in all things the deacons, servants of the mysteries of Christ Jesus. Their service goes beyond that of food and drink, for they serve the Church of God. Let them therefore flee, as from a burning fire, everything that could bring reproach upon them, and show themselves worthy of their office.

Chapter 3

Honour them as Christ Jesus, whose place they hold. The bishop represents the Father of all things, and the elders are the council of God, the assembly of Christ’s apostles. Without them there is neither a chosen Church, nor a consecrated community, nor an assembly of saints. I am persuaded that you share this view. I have received proof of your love and keep it beside me in the person of your bishop. His bearing alone teaches much; his gentleness is a strength in itself. Even the impious, I believe, must respect him. Because I love you, I refrain from writing to you more severely, lest I seem harsh or lacking in tenderness to anyone. I bear chains for Christ and yet am not worthy of Christ. When I have reached my fulfilment, perhaps I shall become so. I do not give orders as an apostle.

Chapter 4

I take the measure of my limitations, lest boasting bring about my ruin. It is good, on the other hand, to take pride in the Lord. Even if I were firmly established in the things of God, I would need all the more fear and ought to close my ears to those who inflate me with vanity. Those who shower me with praise strike me with whips. I do indeed desire to suffer, but I do not know whether I am worthy of it. The jealousy of the Evil One escapes many eyes, and yet it wages war against me. I therefore need that gentleness which brings the devil, the prince of this world, to nothing.

Chapter 5

Could I not write to you of deeper mysteries? Yet I fear harming you, who are still very little in Christ. Forgive my restraint. I fear that, unable to bear the weight of these words, you might come to suffocate. I myself, though I bear chains for Christ and can understand heavenly realities, the angelic orders, the different kinds of angels and heavenly hosts, what distinguishes powers from dominions, thrones from authorities, the strength of the aeons, the pre-eminence of the cherubim and seraphim, the height of the Spirit, the kingdom of the Lord and, above all, the incomparable majesty of almighty God, am far from having attained perfection through knowing them. I am not a disciple of the stature of Paul or Peter. I still lack many things if I am not to miss God.

Chapter 6

I therefore implore you—or rather, it is the love of Jesus Christ that implores you—"that you all speak with one voice, with no divisions among you, perfectly united in the same spirit and in the same judgement". For there are chatterers and impostors who betray Christ under the name of Christians. They display his name to deceive and "falsify the word" of the Gospel. They mix the poison of their imposture into their persuasive speeches, as one might mix aconite into sweet wine. Thus the drinker, whose taste is deceived by the extreme sweetness of the draught, goes unsuspectingly to his death. An elder warns us in these words, "Let no man be called good who mixes good with evil." They speak of Christ in order to reject him while pretending to proclaim him. They speak of the Law in order to proclaim what contradicts it while pretending to establish it. For they separate Christ from the Father and the Law from Christ. They slander his birth of the Virgin, blush at his cross, deny his Passion and do not believe in his resurrection. They present God as an unknown being, regard Christ as unbegotten and deny the Spirit even existence. Some say that the Son is a mere man, that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are a single person, and that God accomplished creation through some other power foreign to him, without working through Christ.

Chapter 7

Beware of these people, lest you yourselves open the trap that would catch your souls. Lead a life that gives no one occasion to stumble, lest you become “a trap on a watchtower, a net spread out”. For “he who does not remedy his own works is the brother of him who works towards his ruin”. Reject conceit, arrogance, contempt and haughtiness, and you will be granted inseparable union with God, for “he is near to those who fear him”. He also says, “Upon whom shall I look, if not upon the humble and peaceable man who trembles at my words?” Honour your bishop too as Christ himself, following the command of the blessed apostles. He who stands within the enclosure of the altar is pure and, for that reason, obeys the bishop and the elders. He who acts apart from the bishop, the elders and the deacons stands outside. His conscience is defiled, and he is worse than an unbeliever. For what is the bishop? The one who possesses, above every other, all power and all authority insofar as a man can possess them, and who has been made, according to his capacities, an imitator of the Christ of God. And the council of elders? A holy assembly, the bishop’s counsellors and those who sit beside him. And the deacons? Imitators of the angelic powers who perform a pure and blameless ministry beside him, as Saint Stephen did beside the blessed James, Timothy and Linus beside Paul, Anacletus and Clement beside Peter. To refuse to obey them is to be a stranger to God, to act as an impious man who despises Christ and holds what he instituted in little esteem.

Chapter 8

I write this to you without knowing of any such man among you. I even hope that God will never allow such a report to reach me, he “who did not spare his Son for his holy Church”. But I see the snares of the Evil One coming, and my warnings arm you in advance, you who are my beloved and faithful children in Christ. I provide you with a defence against the deadly evil of these rebellious men. May the goodwill of Christ our Lord thus help you escape it. Clothe yourselves in gentleness and imitate him in his sufferings and in the love with which he loved us when he gave himself as a ransom for us. Through his blood he wished to cleanse us of our former impiety and restore us to life when the perversity dwelling within us was about to make us perish. Let none of you bear a grudge against his neighbour. For our Lord says, “Forgive, and you shall receive forgiveness.” Give the pagans no pretext, lest “the folly of a few men cause the word and teaching” of Christ “to be blasphemed”. The prophet attributes these words to God: “Woe to him through whom my name is blasphemed among the nations.”

Chapter 9

Stop your ears, then, when anyone speaks to you in a way that contradicts Jesus Christ, the Son of God, sprung from David and born of Mary. He was truly begotten of God and of the Virgin, differently in each case, for God and man are indeed distinct. He truly took a body, for "the Word became flesh", and he lived on earth without sinning. He himself says, "Which of you will convict me of sin?" He truly ate and drank. He was crucified and died under Pontius Pilate. His crucifixion and death were real, in the sight of the beings of heaven, of earth and of the regions below the earth. By those of heaven I mean beings of an incorporeal nature. By those of earth, the Jews, the Romans and all who witnessed the Lord's crucifixion. By those of the regions below the earth, the multitude who rose with the Lord. Scripture says that their tombs opened and that "many bodies of the saints who had fallen asleep arose". Alone he descended to the abode of the dead, but with a multitude he arose. He tore apart what had formed a separation since the beginning of the world and brought down the wall that closed it off. He rose again in three days, raised by the Father. After forty days with the apostles, he was taken up to the Father and "took his place at his right hand, waiting for his enemies to be put beneath his feet". On the day of Preparation, at the third hour, he heard Pilate's sentence, as the Father had permitted to happen. At the sixth hour he was crucified. At the ninth he gave up his spirit. Before sunset he was buried. During the Sabbath he remained beneath the earth, in the tomb where Joseph of Arimathea had laid him. At dawn on the Lord's day he rose from the dead, as he had said: "Just as Jonah spent three days and three nights in the belly of the great fish, so the Son of Man will spend three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." The day of Preparation is therefore the day of the Passion, the Sabbath that of the burial, and the Lord's day that of the resurrection.

Chapter 10

But if, as certain godless men, the unbelievers, say, he had become man only in appearance, if he had truly taken no body, if his death had been only an appearance and he had truly suffered nothing, why am I now in chains and why do I desire to be delivered to the beasts? Then I would die for nothing and bear false witness against the Lord's cross. In vain, too, would the prophet have declared, "They shall look upon him whom they pierced and mourn over themselves as one weeps for a beloved." These men are no less unbelieving than those who crucified him. For my part, I place my hope in him who died for me in complete reality, for falsehood is utterly foreign to truth. Mary therefore truly conceived a body in which God dwelt. And God the Word was really born of the Virgin, having clothed himself in a body subject to the same sufferings as ours. He who shapes every man in his mother's womb truly dwelt in a woman's womb. He made himself a body from the fruit of the Virgin, without union with a man. Like us, he was carried for the ordinary duration of a pregnancy. Like us, he was truly born, was fed with milk and took everyday food and drink. After thirty years among men, he truly received baptism from John. After preaching the Gospel for three years and performing signs and wonders, he who was the Judge was judged by men who wrongly bore the name of Jews, and by Pilate, the governor. He was scourged, struck on the cheek and spat upon. He wore a crown of thorns and a purple cloak. He was condemned; he was crucified in complete reality, without pretence, illusion or deceit. He truly died, was buried and rose from the dead, according to the prayer found elsewhere on his lips, "But you, Lord, raise me up, and I shall repay them in kind." And the Father, who always hears him, answered him, "Arise, O God, judge the earth, for you shall inherit all the nations." The Father who raised him will also raise us through him. Apart from him, no one will attain true life. For he says, "I am the life. Whoever believes in me, even if he dies, shall live. And every man who lives and believes in me, even if he dies, shall live for ever." Flee, then, these impious

heresies. They are the inventions of the devil, that serpent who was at the origin of evil and who, through the woman, deceived Adam, the father of our race.

Chapter 11

Avoid also the evil offspring of this adversary: Simon, his firstborn son, Menander, Basilides and their whole evil band of followers, those worshippers of a man whom the prophet Jeremiah likewise declares accursed. Flee also the impure people wrongly called Nicolaitans, lovers of pleasure and inclined to slander. Beware as well of Theodotus and Cleobulus, children of the Evil One, who bear deadly fruit. Whoever tastes it dies at once, a death that lasts for ever. These men are not a planting of the Father but an accursed brood. The Lord says, “Let every plant that my heavenly Father has not planted be uprooted.” If they were branches of the Father, they would be enemies of those who “killed the Lord of glory”, and by no means “enemies of the cross of Christ”. But now, by denying the cross and blushing at the Passion, they cover up the fault of the Jews, those adversaries of God, those murderers of the Lord, for whom the name of murderers of the prophets alone would not suffice. As for you, Christ calls you to share his immortality through his Passion and resurrection, since you are his members.

Chapter 12

I greet you from Smyrna, together with the Churches of God that are with me. Their leaders have comforted me in every respect, in flesh as in spirit. The chains I bear for Jesus Christ, praying to attain God, address their exhortation to you. Persevere in concord and supplication. Each of you, and especially the elders, should comfort the bishop for the honour of the Father, of Jesus Christ and of the apostles. I lovingly implore you to listen to me, so that this letter may not turn into testimony against you. Pray also for me, who need your love and God’s mercy. May I be judged worthy of the fate now destined for me and not be found unworthy.

Chapter 13

The love of the Smyrnaeans and Ephesians greets you. Remember our Church in Syria. I am the least of its members and do not deserve to bear the name it gives me. Fare well in the Lord Jesus Christ. Continue to submit to the bishop and likewise to the elders and deacons. Let each love the others with an undivided heart. My spirit greets you even now and will greet you again when I have attained God, for I remain exposed to danger. But the Father of Jesus Christ is faithful and will fulfil my prayers as well as yours. May we be found spotless in him. May I find my joy in you in the Lord.

FF. 83R–87V / NOTES

Translation choices

To the Trallians

A Church and a city

The Trallians are the recipients in Tralles in Asia Minor. In the greeting, “Church” here designates the people being addressed. “Assembly” makes it possible to recover its primary meaning.

Bishop and elders

The mentions of the bishop, the council of elders and the deacons refer to distinct functions. “Council of elders” clarifies the meaning of “presbyterium”, whereas translating it as “priests” more directly suggests later ecclesiastical vocabulary.

Reference text

A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (eds.), The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1870. English text of the long recension.

FF. 87V–91V / ENGLISH TRANSLATION

To the Magnesians

Long version. English translation of the French reading version based on the historical English version published under the direction of Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (1870).

Greeting

Ignatius, also called Theophorus, to the Church blessed in the grace of God the Father, in Jesus Christ our Saviour. In him I greet the Church of Magnesia, near the Maeander, and wish it abundant joy in God the Father and in Jesus Christ our Lord. In him, may your joy abound!

Chapter 1

On learning how orderly your love according to God is in its exercise, I felt great joy and decided to converse with you in faith in Jesus Christ. Judged worthy of bearing a divine and desirable name, amid these chains that accompany me, I commend the Churches. I ask that union may be realised in them in the flesh and spirit of Jesus Christ, “the Saviour of all men, and particularly of believers”. Through his blood you were redeemed. Through him you came to know God, or rather God came to know you. By remaining in him, you will escape all the assaults of this world, for “he is faithful and will not allow you to be tried beyond your strength”.

Chapter 2

I was therefore granted the opportunity to see you in the person of Damas, your most worthy bishop, your honourable elders Bassus and Apollonius, and my fellow servant, the deacon Sotion. May I always enjoy his friendship, for God’s grace keeps him submissive to the bishop and the council of elders, according to the law of Jesus Christ. Thus I write to you today.

Chapter 3

Beware, you too, of despising your bishop's youth. Show him all the respect God the Father desires. I have seen the holy elders themselves act in this way, attentive to his knowledge of God despite his evident youth. For "men of great age are not necessarily wise, nor are the old alone capable of discernment. There is a spirit in man". At twelve years of age, the wise Daniel received the divine Spirit. He proved that the elders, who bore their grey hair in vain, had falsely accused a woman and coveted the beauty of another man's wife. Samuel, still a young child, rebuked Eli, then ninety years old, for honouring his sons more than God. Jeremiah likewise received this word from God: "Do not say that you are a child." Think also of Solomon and Josiah. The first, having become king at twelve, pronounced in the case of the two women and their children that judgement as formidable as it was difficult. The second ascended the throne at eight. He overthrew the altars and temples of idols and burned the sacred groves, for they were consecrated to demons and not to God. He put to death the false priests who corrupted and deceived men instead of worshipping the divinity. Youth consecrated to God therefore deserves no contempt. It is the man of evil spirit who deserves it, even if he is already old and full of evil days. Timothy, who bore Christ, was young. Yet listen to what his master writes to him: "Let no one despise your youth. Become an example to believers in your words and conduct." You too must therefore obey your bishop and contradict him in nothing. It is a dreadful thing to oppose such a man. It is not the one who is seen whom one thus deceives. One attempts to mock the Invisible, whom nevertheless no one mocks. Such acts reach God himself beyond men. God says to Samuel, "It is me, not you, whom they have mocked." And Moses declares, "Their murmurs rise against the Lord God, not against us." None of those who rose against their superiors went unpunished. Dathan and Abiram attacked Moses without attacking the Law, and they were hurled alive into the abode of the dead. Korah and the two hundred and fifty who had conspired with him against Aaron perished by fire. Absalom, who had killed his brother, remained hanging from a tree, and his heart that plotted evil was pierced with darts.

For the same reason Abeddadan was beheaded. Uzziah, for daring to oppose the priests and the priesthood, was struck with leprosy. Saul too lost his honour for not having waited for the high priest Samuel. It therefore falls to you also to honour your superiors.

Chapter 4

It is fitting to bear the name of Christians and to be so in truth. It is by truly being so that a man finds happiness. To those who readily speak of the bishop but do everything without his knowledge, he who is the true and first bishop and the only high priest by nature will say, "Why do you call me Lord, Lord, without doing what I say?" In my eyes these people have a troubled conscience, dissemble and play a part.

Chapter 5

Everything has an end. Life is offered to us if we observe the commandments, and death is the fruit of disobedience. Each will go to the place corresponding to his choice. Let us therefore flee death and choose life. Among men I observe two characters, one like good coin, the other like false coin. The truly devout man is a coin of good metal, struck by God himself. The impious man is a false coin, illegitimate, counterfeit, falsified, the work of the devil and not of God. I do not mean by this that there are two different human natures. There is a single humanity, belonging sometimes to God, sometimes to the devil. Whoever lives in true piety is a man of God. Whoever lives in impiety is a man of the devil. His own choice has made him such; his nature has nothing to do with it. Unbelievers bear the image of the prince of evil. Believers bear that of their prince, God the Father, and of Jesus Christ. If we are not ready to die for the truth by uniting ourselves with his Passion, his life is not in us.

Chapter 6

In these men already named, I therefore saw your entire community in faith and love. I exhort you to devote yourselves in all things to a concord that is of God. Your bishop presides in God's place, and your elders hold the place of the assembly of the apostles. Beside them, your deacons, who are very dear to me, have been entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ. Begotten by the Father before the beginning of time, he was God the Word, the only Son, and he remains the same for ever, for "his reign shall have no end", says the prophet Daniel. Let us therefore all love one another in concord. Let no one regard his neighbour according to the flesh, but let him regard him in Christ Jesus. Let nothing remain among you that could divide you. Remain united to your bishop and, through him, subject to God in Christ.

Chapter 7

The Lord does nothing without the Father, as he himself says, "Of myself I can do nothing." Likewise among you, let neither elder nor deacon nor layman undertake anything without the bishop. Regard nothing as praiseworthy that lacks his approval, for every such action is sin and opposes God's will. Gather all together in the same place for prayer. Have but one common supplication, one thought, one hope, with blameless faith in Christ Jesus. Nothing is better. Run all as one man to God's temple, towards the one altar, towards the one Jesus Christ, high priest of the unbegotten God.

Chapter 8

Do not let yourselves be deceived by foreign doctrines. “Pay no attention to fables and endless genealogies”, nor to the things in which the Jews take pride. “The old has passed away; behold, everything is new.” If we still live according to Jewish law and circumcision of the flesh, we deny that we have received grace. The prophets closest to God lived according to Jesus Christ. That is also why they were persecuted. Grace inspired them to give unbelievers full assurance that there is one God, the Almighty, and that he revealed himself through Jesus Christ his Son. He is his Word, who exists in substance and surpasses every spoken word. He is more than the sound of an articulated voice. He is a substance begotten by divine power, and he pleased in all things the one who sent him.

Chapter 9

Those who knew the ancient Scriptures entered into a new hope while awaiting Christ's coming. The Lord teaches us this when he says, "If you had believed Moses, you would believe me, for he wrote about me." And again, "Abraham your father exulted at the thought of seeing my day. He saw it and rejoiced. For before Abraham was, I am." How then could we live without him? The prophets were his servants. Through the Spirit they saw him beforehand, awaited him as their master and hoped in him as their Lord and Saviour, saying, "He will come and save us." Let us therefore no longer keep the Sabbath in the Jewish manner, rejoicing in idle days, for "let him who does not work not eat either". The sacred oracles say, "By the sweat of your face you shall eat your bread." Let each of you observe the Sabbath in spirit. Let him find his joy in meditating on the Law rather than in resting his body; let him admire God's works. Let no one think to celebrate this day by eating food prepared the day before, drinking lukewarm drinks, walking only within a prescribed area, or taking pleasure in meaningless dances and acclamations. Then, once the Sabbath has been observed, let every friend of Christ celebrate the Lord's day, the day of the resurrection, queen and first of all days. This is the day the prophet had in view when he said, "For the end, for the eighth day." On this day our life sprang forth anew, and victory over death was won in Christ. The sons of perdition, enemies of the Saviour, deny him. "Their god is their belly; their thoughts are on earthly things." They "love pleasure rather than God, keep the appearances of piety and deny its power". They trade in Christ, falsify his word and put Jesus up for sale. They corrupt women, covet the possessions of others and swallow up riches without being satisfied. May God's mercy deliver you from them through our Lord Jesus Christ!

Chapter 10

Let us therefore not remain insensible to his goodness. If he repaid us according to our works, we would cease to exist. For “if you take account of faults, Lord, who then can stand?” Let us therefore show ourselves worthy of the name we have received. Whoever bears a name other than this is not of God, for he has not accepted the prophecy concerning us: “The people shall be called by a new name which the Lord will give them, and they shall be a holy people.” It was first in Syria that this word was fulfilled, for “it was in Antioch that the disciples were called Christians”, when Paul and Peter were laying the foundations of the Church. Reject, then, the bad leaven, old and corrupt, and become new leaven, that of grace. Remain in Christ so that the stranger may have no hold on you. It is absurd to speak of Jesus Christ with one’s lips while cherishing in one’s heart a Judaism that has now reached its end. Where there is Christianity, there can be no Judaism. For Christ is one, and in him every nation that believes, every tongue that confesses its faith, gathers before God. Those who had hearts of stone have become the children of Abraham, the friend of God. In his offspring were blessed all those who were destined for eternal life in Christ.

Chapter 11

If I address these words to you, my beloved, it is without knowing anyone among you who is in this state. Less than each of you, I desire to guard you against the hooks of a vain doctrine, so that you may instead attain full assurance in Christ. Begotten by the Father before all ages, he was subsequently born of the Virgin Mary without union with a man. He led a holy life, healed every disease and infirmity among the people, and performed signs and wonders for the good of men. To those who had gone astray in polytheism, he revealed the one and only true God, his Father. He suffered the Passion and endured the cross at the hands of the Jews who put Christ to death, under the governor Pontius Pilate and King Herod. Then he died, rose again, ascended into the heavens to the one who had sent him, and sat at his right hand. He will come at the end of the world with his Father's glory to judge the living and the dead and repay each according to his works. Blessed is he who knows these things with full assurance and believes in them, just as you now love God and Christ in the full assurance of our hope. May none of us ever be turned away from it!

Chapter 12

May I find all my joy in you, if indeed I am worthy of it! Despite my chains, I do not deserve to be compared with the least of you who are free. I know that you do not swell with pride, for Jesus is in you. Even when I praise you more, I know that you keep a modest spirit. It is written, “The righteous man becomes his own accuser”, and again, “Begin by declaring your faults, so that you may be justified.” And again, “When you have done all that is commanded you, say that you are unprofitable servants”, for “what is great in the eyes of men is an abomination before God”. Scripture also contains these words: “O God, have mercy on the sinner that I am.” This is why those great men Abraham and Job called themselves “dust and ashes” before God. David says, “Who am I before you, Lord, that you have granted me so much glory until now?” And Moses, “the gentlest of all men”, says to God, “My voice is weak and my tongue impeded.” You too, therefore, must have a humble spirit in order to be exalted, for “he who humbles himself will be exalted, and he who exalts himself will be humbled”.

Chapter 13

Apply yourselves, then, to becoming firmly established in the teachings of the Lord and the apostles, so that everything you undertake may succeed in flesh and spirit, in faith and love, with your admirable bishop, with your elders whose council forms a closely united spiritual crown, and with your deacons according to God. Submit to the bishop and to one another as Christ to the Father, so that you may be united according to God.

Chapter 14

I know that you are filled with every good thing. Thus I wished to exhort you briefly in the love of Jesus Christ. Remember me in your prayers, so that I may attain God. Remember also the Church of Syria, whose bishop I am not worthy to be called. I need your unanimous prayer in God and your love. May your good order obtain for the Church of Syria the grace of being judged worthy to be built up in Christ.

Chapter 15

The Ephesians present in Smyrna, from where I write to you, greet you, as does Polycarp. They are here for the glory of God, as you yourselves are, and have comforted me in everything. The other Churches also greet you in honour of Jesus Christ. Fare well in concord, you who by God's will have received the inseparable Spirit in Christ Jesus.

FF. 87V–91V / NOTES

Translation choices

To the Magnesians

Magnesia on the Maeander

The geographical detail in the address distinguishes this community from other cities bearing the name Magnesia. The recipients are the members of the Church in this city.

The bishop's youth

The argument about the leader's young age distinguishes the respect due to his mission from the number of his years. The letter's honorific vocabulary takes its meaning from this particular situation.

Reference text

A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (eds.), The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1870. English text of the long recension.

FF. 91V–94R / ENGLISH TRANSLATION

To the Tarsians

Long version. English translation of the French reading version based on the historical English version published under the direction of Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (1870).

Greeting

Ignatius, also called Theophorus, to the Church of Tarsus, saved in Christ, worthy of praise, remembrance and love. May mercy and peace be lavished upon you ever more abundantly by God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.

Chapter 1

From Syria to Rome, I fight against beasts. It is not irrational beasts that devour me. You know that, by God's will, such beasts spared Daniel. I have to deal with beasts with human faces, within whom hides the fierce and merciless beast that, day after day, stings and wounds me. Yet none of these trials "shakes me, and I do not hold my life precious" to the point of loving it more than the Lord. Thus I am ready to face fire, beasts, the sword or the cross, provided only that I see Christ, my Saviour and my God, who died for me. A prisoner of Christ, dragged over land and sea, I therefore address this exhortation to you: "Stand firm in the faith." Be steadfast, for "the righteous shall live by faith". Do not waver, for "the Lord makes those of the same disposition dwell in one house".

Chapter 2

I have learned that certain servants of Satan wished to throw you into confusion. Some assert that Jesus was born only in appearance, that in appearance he was crucified and in appearance he died. Others assert that he is not the Son of the Creator. Still others say that he is himself the God who rules over all things. Others regard him as a mere man. Others say that this flesh will not rise again and that the course to follow is to enjoy life and pleasures, the only supreme good for beings destined soon to die. A swarm of similar evils has fallen upon us. But you "did not yield to them in submission, even for an hour". For you are the fellow citizens and disciples of Paul, who "from Jerusalem and all around, as far as Illyricum, fully preached the Gospel", and who bore in his flesh "the marks of Christ".

Chapter 3

In memory of him, know well that Jesus the Lord was truly born of Mary, sprung from a woman, and that he was just as truly crucified. For Paul says, "Far be it from me to glory in anything but the cross of the Lord Jesus." He truly suffered, died and rose again. For Paul asks "whether Christ was to be subject to suffering, whether he was to be the first to rise from the dead". And again, "In dying, he died to sin once for all. Living, he lives for God." If Christ did not die, what use are chains? What use is patience? What use is enduring blows? And why did these things happen? Peter was crucified. Paul and James perished by the sword. John was exiled to Patmos. Stephen was stoned by the Jews who had killed the Lord. In truth, none of these sufferings was in vain, for the Lord was truly crucified by the impious.

Chapter 4

Know also that he who was born of a woman was the Son of God, and that he who was crucified was "the firstborn of every creature", God the Word, through whom all things were created. For the Apostle says, "There is one God, the Father, from whom all things come, and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom all things are." And again, "There is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus." And also, "Through him all things in heaven and on earth were created, visible and invisible. He is before all things, and everything subsists through him."

Chapter 5

He shows that he himself is the Son, distinct from the Father, the God who rules over all, when he says, "I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God." And again, "When all things have been subjected to him, he himself will submit to the one who subjected all things to him, so that God may be all in all." Thus the one who subjects all things and is all in all is one, and the one to whom all things have been subjected and who himself, with the rest, submits to the first is another.

Chapter 6

And he through whom and in whom everything was made cannot be a mere man, for “all things were made through him”. “When he made heaven, I was beside him. I was there, at his side, forming the world with him, and day after day I was his delight.” How could such words be spoken to a mere man: “Sit at my right hand”? How could such a man declare, “Before Abraham was, I am”, or again, “Glorify me with the glory I had beside you before the world was”? What man has ever been able to say, “I came down from heaven to do the will of the one who sent me rather than my own”? Of what man could it be said, “He was the true light, which enlightens every man coming into the world. He was in the world, and the world was made through him, and the world did not know him. He came to his own, and his own did not receive him”? How could he be a mere man whose existence began with Mary? Is he not rather God the Word and the only Son? For “in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God”. And elsewhere, “The Lord created me, the beginning of his ways, for his works. Before the world he established me; before all the hills he begot me.”

Chapter 7

That our bodies will rise again, he shows by these words: “Truly I say to you, the hour is coming when all who are in the tombs will hear the voice of the Son of God, and those who have heard it will live.” And the Apostle says, “The corruptible must put on incorruptibility, and the mortal must put on immortality.” As for the necessity of living with moderation and righteousness, he also says, “Do not be deceived. Neither adulterers, nor the effeminate, nor men who sleep with men, nor those who give themselves to debauchery, nor revilers, nor drunkards, nor thieves can inherit the kingdom of God.” And again, “If the dead do not rise, neither has Christ been raised. Then our preaching is vain, and your faith is also vain, and you remain in your sins. Those who have fallen asleep in Christ have therefore perished. If it is for this life alone that we hope in Christ, we are the most miserable of all men. If the dead do not rise, let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die.” If such is our condition and such our sentiments, how shall we differ from donkeys and dogs, which have no concern for the future and think only of eating and satisfying the appetites that awaken after the meal? For they know no intelligence that moves them from within.

Chapter 8

May I find my joy in you in the Lord! Be sober. Let each reject all malice and all bestial fury, evil speaking, slander, obscene talk, coarse buffoonery, gossip, arrogance, drunkenness, lust, greed, vainglory, envy and everything like them. “Instead, put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh to satisfy its desires.” Elders, be subject to the bishop; deacons, to the elders; and you, the people, to the elders and deacons. May my soul be given for those who keep this good order, and may the Lord be with them at all times!

Chapter 9

Husbands, love your wives, and you wives, love your husbands. Children, respect your parents. Parents, “bring up your children with the discipline and admonitions of the Lord”. Honour those who persevere in virginity as priestesses of Christ, and widows who remain dignified in their conduct as the altar of God. Servants, serve your masters with respectful fear. Masters, give your orders to your servants gently. Let no one among you remain idle, for idleness is the mother of poverty. Despite the chains I bear for Christ, I claim no importance for myself in prescribing this to you. I remind you of it as a brother. May the Lord be with you!

Chapter 10

May I have a share in your prayers! Pray that I may attain Jesus. I entrust the Church of Antioch to you. The Churches of Philippi, from where I write to you, greet you. Philo, your deacon, whom I thank for zealously serving me in everything, greets you. Agathopus, the deacon from Syria who accompanies me in Christ, greets you. “Greet one another with a holy kiss.” I greet you all, men and women who are in Christ. Fare well in body and soul, in one Spirit, and do not forget me. May the Lord be with you!

FF. 91V–94R / NOTES

Translation choices

To the Tarsians

The flesh

“Flesh” can designate the human body or fleshly existence. When the letter defends the reality of the events of Jesus’ life, translating it simply as “body” sometimes loses the scope of the word.

Suffering in reality

The statements about the Passion respond to assertions that the writer reports in order to contest them. It is therefore necessary to follow the alternation between an opponent’s words and the letter’s response.

Reference text

A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (eds.), The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1870. English text of the long recension.

FF. 94R–97V / ENGLISH TRANSLATION

To the Philippians

Long version. English translation of the French reading version based on the historical English version published under the direction of Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (1870).

Greeting

Ignatius, also called Theophorus, to the Church of God at Philippi, which has received mercy in faith, patience and unfeigned love. Mercy and peace from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, “the Saviour of all men, especially of believers”.

Chapter 1

We remember the love and zeal in Christ that you have shown us. You show the brothers a love so divine, so spiritual, that it seemed good to us to write to remind you of the Christian way on which you have embarked. As Paul exhorted you, “Have all the same language, the same spirit and the same mind, and walk according to the same rule of faith.” There is one God of the universe, the Father of Christ, “from whom all things come”. There is one Lord Jesus Christ, our Lord, “through whom all things are”, and one Holy Spirit, who worked in Moses, in the prophets and in the apostles. There is also one baptism, administered to bring us into communion with the Lord’s death, and one chosen Church. There must therefore likewise be one faith in Christ. For “there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who works through all and dwells in all”.

Chapter 2

There is therefore one God and Father. There are neither two nor three. He is the one who is, the only true God. There is no other besides him. For Scripture says, “The Lord your God is one Lord.” And again, “Did not one God create us? Have we not all one Father?” There is also one Son, God the Word. For Scripture speaks of the “only Son, who is in the bosom of the Father”. And again, “One Lord Jesus Christ.” And elsewhere, “What is his name, and what is the name of his Son? Tell us, so that we may know.” There is also one Paraclete. “There is one Spirit”, says Scripture, since “we have been called to one hope”. And again, “We have drunk of one Spirit”, with what follows. All these gifts, plainly, “are worked by the one and same Spirit”. There are therefore neither three Fathers, nor three Sons, nor three Paracletes. There is one Father, one Son and one Paraclete. Thus, when he sent the apostles to make disciples of all nations, the Lord commanded them to “baptise in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit”. Baptism unites with three who receive the same honour. It is neither a single person bearing three names nor three who became incarnate.

Chapter 3

Only one became incarnate. The Father and the Paraclete did not. The Son alone took flesh, really, and not in appearance or imagination. For “the Word became flesh”, and “Wisdom built herself a house”. God the Word was born a man, with a body, of a virgin, without union with a man. It is written, “A virgin shall conceive in her womb and bring a son into the world.” He was therefore truly born; he truly grew, ate and drank. He was truly crucified, died and rose again. Blessed is he who believes these things as they were and believes that they truly happened. He who does not believe them is as accursed as those who crucified the Lord. The prince of this world rejoices whenever someone denies the cross. He knows that confessing the cross means his own ruin. It is the trophy of the victory won over his power. When he sees it, he trembles; when he hears of it, he is afraid.

Chapter 4

Before the cross was set up, Satan burned to see it erected. To this end he "worked in the sons of disobedience". He worked in Judas, in the Pharisees, in the Sadducees, among the old as among the young, and among the priests. But when the cross was about to be set up, he became troubled, inspired remorse in the traitor, showed him a rope with which to hang himself and taught him to die by strangulation. He also terrified the foolish woman by troubling her dreams. He who had tried everything to have the cross prepared now strove to prevent it from being erected. Was this repentance at the enormity of his crime? Then he would not have been wholly perverse. It was because he saw his own ruin approaching. Christ's cross marked the beginning of his condemnation, the beginning of his death, the beginning of his destruction. This is why he still works in some to make them deny the cross, blush at the passion, present death as an appearance, remove or empty of meaning the virgin birth, and slander human nature itself by declaring it abominable. With the Jews he fights to make people deny the cross, and with the pagans to slander Mary, together with those who maintain in their heresy that Christ had only the appearance of a body. For the instigator of all perversity assumes many forms. A deceiver of men, inconstant, he goes so far as to contradict himself, planning one course and following another. He is skilled in doing evil, but knows nothing of what good may be. His wilful blindness fills him with ignorance. How else can one judge someone who does not see reason when it lies at his feet?

Chapter 5

If the Lord was only a man, possessing only a soul and a body, why do you mutilate the account of his birth and empty it of meaning when it is said that he was born with our common human nature? Why do you reduce his passion to an appearance, as though suffering were a strange thing for a man? Why make a mortal's death an imaginary death? But if he is both God and man, why do you claim that it is forbidden to call "Lord of glory" the one who is immutable by nature? Why declare it unlawful to say of the Lawgiver, who possesses a human soul, "the Word became flesh", that he was fully man and did not merely dwell in a man? And how could this supposed magician have come into existence, he who of old, according to the Father's will, formed all the nature that the senses or the understanding can grasp, and who, once incarnate, healed every disease and infirmity?

Chapter 6

How could he be other than God, he who raises the dead, sends the lame away on sound legs, cleanses lepers, restores sight to the blind, multiplies or transforms what exists, like the five loaves and two fish, or the water made wine, and who with a single word puts your entire army to flight? Why do you insult the Virgin's nature and call the parts of her body shameful? Formerly you had those same parts displayed in public processions. You commanded them to be shown naked, those of men before the eyes of women, those of women to inflame unbridled desire in men. And now, spirit of debauchery, you find them shameful and pretend to be all modesty! You do not know that a thing becomes shameful only if perversity defiles it. When sin is absent, none of the creatures is shameful, none is evil. All are very good. It is your blindness that makes you revile them.

Chapter 7

And how can you think that Christ does not come from the Virgin in any way and that he himself is God above all and the Almighty? Tell me, then, who sent him. Who was his Lord? Whom did he obey? Whose laws did he fulfil, if he was subject to no one's will or power? While denying Christ's birth, you assert that the Unbegotten was begotten and that the one without beginning was nailed to the cross—with whose permission, I am quite unable to say. Your changes of tactics do not escape me. I know that you always advance with oblique and hesitant steps. You claim to know everything, and you do not know who was truly born.

Chapter 8

How many things you do not know! Mary's virginity, the wondrous birth, the identity of the one who took flesh, the star that guided those who were in the East, the Magi offering their gifts, the archangel's greeting to the Virgin, the astonishing conception in the young betrothed woman. You do not know how the child who was to be the Forerunner announced the Virgin's son and leapt in his mother's womb, sensing what was to happen. You do not know the angels' song beside the newborn, the good news announced to the shepherds, Herod fearing the loss of his kingdom, the order to massacre the children, the departure for Egypt and the return from that country to the same region. Consider the little child's swaddling clothes, his registration in the census of men, the milk with which he was fed, the title of father given to the one who had not begotten him, the manger for lack of room, the absence of human preparations. Consider his gradual growth, human speech, hunger, thirst, journeys, weariness, the offering of sacrifices, then circumcision and baptism. Consider God's voice, which made known above the one baptised who he was and whence he came, the testimony from above of the Spirit and the Father, the voice of the prophet John announcing the passion by calling him "the Lamb". Consider his various miracles, his many healings, the Lord who subdued the sea and winds with his rebuke, the evil spirits driven out. You yourself, subjected to torment, struck by the power of the one who had appeared, were unable to act.

Chapter 9

You saw these things and they utterly bewildered you. You did not know that a virgin was to give birth. Yet the angels' song of praise, the Magi's adoration and the star's appearance had struck you with astonishment. You returned to your wilful ignorance because all these circumstances seemed of little weight to you. You despised the swaddling clothes, circumcision and feeding with milk. All this seemed unworthy of God to you. You then saw a man remain forty days and forty nights without tasting human food, served by angels before whom you trembled. You had first seen him receive baptism like an ordinary man, without knowing the reason for it. After his long fast, you recovered your usual boldness and, because he was hungry, you tempted him as an ordinary man, not knowing who he was. You said to him, "If you are the Son of God, command these stones to become bread." Saying "if you are the Son" betrays ignorance. If you had truly known, you would have understood that it is as easy for the Creator to bring into existence what is not as to transform what already exists. Through hunger you tempted the one who feeds everything that needs food. It was the "Lord of glory" himself whom you tempted. Your malice made you forget that "man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that comes from the mouth of God". If you had known that he was the Son of God, you would have understood that he who spared his body every need for forty days and as many nights could also have done so indefinitely. Why, then, does he feel hunger? To show that he took a body subject to the same sensations as other men. By the first fact he showed that he was God, and by the second that he was also man.

Chapter 10

You who fell “like lightning” from the height of glory, did you then dare say to the Lord, “Throw yourself down from here”, to him for whom what is not counts as though it were? Did you dare propose a display of vainglory to the one who is foreign to all ostentation? You pretended to read of him in Scripture, “He has given his angels orders concerning you, and they will carry you in their hands, lest your foot strike a stone.” At the same time you pretended not to know what followed and secretly concealed what had been foretold of you and your servants: “You shall walk upon the asp and the basilisk; you shall trample the lion and the dragon underfoot.”

Chapter 11

If you are thus trampled under the Lord’s feet, how do you tempt the one who cannot be tempted, forgetting this commandment of the Lawgiver: “You shall not tempt the Lord your God”? Accursed above all, you even have the audacity to appropriate God’s works and declare that dominion over them has been delivered to you. You offer your own fall as an example to the Lord and promise to give him what already belongs to him if he consents to fall down and worship you. How did you not tremble at your own words against the Lord, you whom such malice makes worse than all evil spirits? Your greed defeated you; your vainglory led you to dishonour. Through lust and ambition you now draw others into impiety. You, Belial, dragon, apostate, crooked serpent, rebel against God, banished from Christ, stranger to the Holy Spirit, exiled from the ranks of the angels, reviler of God’s laws, enemy of everything just—you rose against the first created humans and turned from obedience to the commandment beings who had done you no wrong. You stirred up the murderer Cain against Abel, you took up arms against Job, and you say to the Lord, “If you fall down and worship me”? What audacity! What madness! Runaway slave, incorrigible slave, do you revolt against the good Lord? To so great a Lord, God of all that is accessible to mind and senses, you say, “If you fall down and worship me”?

Chapter 12

But the Lord is patient. He does not annihilate the one whose ignorance dared utter such words. He answers him gently, “Go away, Satan.” He does not say, “Get behind me”, for Satan cannot be converted. He says, “Go away, Satan”; follow the path you have chosen. “Go away” towards what your malice has called you to. For I know who I am, who sent me and whom I must worship. It is written, “You shall worship the Lord your God and serve him alone.” I know the one God; I know the one Lord from whom you turned away. I am not God’s enemy. I acknowledge his pre-eminence. I know the Father who begot me.

Chapter 13

The affection I bear you, brothers, has urged me to write these things to you. It is as a brother, without claiming to be an important person, that I exhort you for God’s glory. Be subject to the bishop, the presbyters and the deacons. Love one another in the Lord, you who are in God’s image. Husbands, take care to love your wives as your own members. And you wives, love your husbands, since your union makes you a single being. Let him who lives in chastity or continence not grow proud, lest he lose his reward. Do not make light of the feasts. Do not despise the period of forty days, for it imitates the Lord’s conduct. After the week of the passion, do not neglect to fast on the fourth and sixth days and at the same time distribute your surplus to the poor. If anyone fasts on the Lord’s day or the Sabbath, with the sole exception of the Sabbath of Easter, he is a murderer of Christ.

Chapter 14

Let your prayers extend to the Church of Antioch, from where I am being led as a prisoner to Rome. I greet the holy bishop Polycarp. I greet the holy bishop Vitalius and the sacred council of presbyters, as well as the deacons, my fellow servants. May my life be given for theirs. I again bid farewell to the bishop and presbyters in the Lord. He who celebrates Passover with the Jews or receives the tokens of their feast makes common cause with those who killed the Lord and his apostles.

Chapter 15

The deacons Philo and Agathopus greet you. I greet the assembly of virgins and the order of widows. May they be my joy! I greet the Lord's people, from the least to the greatest. I send you this letter through the reader Euphanius, a man honoured by God and most faithful. I met him at Rhegium as he was about to board a ship. Remember my chains, so that I may attain my fulfilment in Christ. Fare well in body, soul and spirit. Set your minds on what is perfect, turn away from the workers of iniquity who corrupt the word of truth, and may the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ strengthen you within.

FF. 94R–97V / NOTES

Translation choices

To the Philippians

Philippi and Philadelphia

The title “To the Philippians” designates the assembly of Philippi. The following text is addressed to the Philadelphians. The two titles sound similar and designate two different communities.

Baptism and the formula spoken

The formulations enumerating the Father, the Son and the Spirit belong both to the debate about faith and to the language of the rite. “In the name of” retains the form of the invocation.

Reference text

A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (eds.), The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1870. English text of the long recension.

FF. 97V–102R / ENGLISH TRANSLATION

To the Philadelphians

Long version. English translation of the French reading version based on the historical English version published under the direction of Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (1870).

Greeting

Ignatius, also called Theophorus, to the Church of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ at Philadelphia. It has found mercy through love, is firmly established in the concord that comes from God, rejoices unceasingly in the passion of our Lord Jesus, and is filled with mercy by his resurrection. I greet it in the blood of Jesus Christ, our eternal and abiding joy, and especially those who remain united to the bishop, the presbyters and the deacons. God the Father established them by his will, through the Lord Jesus Christ. He wished to build his Church firmly upon the rock. It is a spiritual edifice not built by human hands. The winds and waves have battered it without being able to overthrow it. May the spiritual forces of evil never succeed in doing so, but lose all their vigour before the power of Jesus Christ our Lord!

Chapter 1

I have seen your bishop. I know that neither he himself nor men chose him to exercise this ministry in the service of all, and that he did not receive it through vainglory but through the love of Jesus Christ and of God the Father, who raised him from the dead. I admire your bishop's gentleness. He accomplishes more through his silence than others through a flood of words. His life accords with the Lord's commandments and prescriptions as strings with a harp. He is as blameless as the priest Zechariah. From the depths of my soul, I call his disposition towards God blessed. I know it to be virtuous and accomplished. His firmness and freedom from anger take as their model the infinite gentleness of the living God.

Chapter 2

Children of light and truth, therefore keep your unity against divisions and flee the perverse doctrine of the heretics, from whom “defilement has spread over all the earth”. Wherever the shepherd is, follow him as his sheep. Many wolves disguised as sheep seduce with fatal pleasure those who run towards God and lead them away captive. Your unity will leave them no room.

Chapter 3

Beware of these evil plants cultivated by the fierce beast that destroys men. Jesus Christ does not cultivate them. The Father has not planted them; they are the seed of the Evil One. I write this to arm you in advance, children of God, although I have found no division among you. All who belong to Christ also stand beside the bishop. Those who turn away from him to enter into communion with those under anathema will be cut off with them. They are the enemy's seed, foreign to the field Christ cultivates. May you be delivered from them through the prayers of the most faithful and gentle shepherd who leads you! I therefore exhort you in the Lord to welcome with all your tenderness those who repent and return to the unity of the Church. May your goodness and patience help them free themselves from the devil's snare and, having become worthy of Jesus Christ, obtain eternal salvation in his kingdom. Brothers, do not go astray. Whoever follows one who separates himself from the truth will not inherit the kingdom of God. Whoever does not turn away from the preacher of falsehood will be condemned to Gehenna. One must neither separate oneself from men who honour God nor bind oneself to those who despise him. He who walks according to a foreign doctrine does not belong to Christ and does not share in his Passion. He is a fox that lays waste Christ's vineyard. Have no communion with that man, lest you perish with him, even if he is your father, your son, your brother or someone of your household. For Scripture says, "Your eye shall not spare him." You must therefore "hate those who hate God and be consumed with grief because of his enemies". I do not mean that you should strike them or persecute them as do the nations "who do not know the Lord and God". Regard them as your enemies and separate yourselves from them, while warning them and exhorting them to repent. Perhaps they will listen; perhaps they will allow themselves to be persuaded. For our God loves men and "wishes all to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth". Thus he "makes his sun rise on the evil and the good, and rain fall on the just and the unjust". The Lord asks us too to imitate this goodness when he says, "Be perfect as your Father in heaven is perfect."

Chapter 4

I trust in the Lord that you will share these sentiments. Strengthened by this confidence, I boldly address your love, worthy of God. I exhort you to keep one faith, one preaching, one eucharist. One is the flesh of the Lord Jesus Christ; one is the blood he shed for us. One bread is broken for all; one cup is offered to them all. For the whole Church there is one altar and one bishop, with the council of elders and the deacons, my fellow servants. There is one unbegotten being, God the Father, one only Son, God, Word and man, one Comforter, the Spirit of truth. One preaching, one faith, one baptism. One Church, which the holy apostles established from one end of the earth to the other through Christ's blood and at the cost of their sweat and toil. It is therefore for you, "a people God has acquired for himself and a holy nation", to do everything in concord in Christ. Wives, be subject to your husbands in the fear of God. You who keep your virginity, be subject to Christ in purity. Do not hold marriage in abomination. If you desire a better condition, let it be to meditate on the Law, without denigrating wedlock. Children, obey your parents and love them, for they worked with God to give you life. Slaves, be subject to your masters in God, so that you may be Christ's freedmen. Husbands, love your wives as your own body. They serve God with you, share your life and together with you bring children into the world. You who keep your virginity, let Christ alone be before your eyes and let his Father be present in your prayers, enlightened by the Spirit. May I find in your purity the same joy as in that of Elijah, Joshua son of Nun, Melchizedek, Elisha, Jeremiah, John the Baptist, the beloved disciple, Timothy, Titus, Evodius and Clement, who departed this life in chastity. I in no way blame the other blessed ones who entered into the marriage of which I have just spoken. On the contrary, I pray that God may judge me worthy to find myself at their feet in his kingdom, at the feet of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, of Joseph, Isaiah and the other prophets, of Peter, Paul and the other apostles who were married. They took wives to give offspring to humanity, without seeking to satisfy their appetites. Fathers, "bring up your children with

the instruction and admonitions of the Lord". Teach them the holy Scriptures and also teach them trades that will keep them from idleness. Scripture says, "A righteous father brings up his children well. His heart will rejoice in a wise son." Masters, treat your slaves gently, as the holy man Job taught you. There is only one human nature and one human family, for "in Christ there is neither slave nor free man". Let governors obey Caesar, soldiers their commanders, and deacons the elders as high priests. Let the elders, deacons and the rest of the clergy, all the people, soldiers, governors and Caesar himself obey the bishop, and the bishop Christ, as Christ obeys the Father. Thus unity is preserved everywhere. Let widows not run here and there, seek delicacies or go from house to house. Let them resemble Judith in her dignity and Anna in her sobriety. I do not prescribe this with the authority of an apostle. "Who am I, and what is my father's house?" How could I lay claim to the honour due to them? I speak to you as a fellow soldier addressing a warning to you.

Chapter 5

My brothers, my love for you expands my heart. In the immense joy you give me, I seek your safety. It is the Lord Jesus who works through me. I bear chains because of him, and my fear is all the greater, for I am not yet perfected. Your prayer to God will perfect me so that I may reach the goal of my calling. I take refuge in the Gospel as in the flesh of Jesus Christ, and in the apostles as in the council of elders of the Church. I also love the prophets for having proclaimed Christ and received a share in the same Spirit as the apostles. Just as the false prophets and false apostles drew upon themselves the same evil, deceitful and seductive spirit, the prophets and apostles received from God, through Jesus Christ, one and the same holy Spirit, good, sovereign and true, the source of saving knowledge. For there is one God of the Old and New Testaments, "one mediator between God and men", for the creation of beings endowed with understanding as of beings endowed with sensation, and to watch over each through a beneficent and fitting providence. One also is the Comforter who displayed his power in Moses, in the prophets and in the apostles. Thus all the saints were saved through Christ, in whom they hoped and whom they awaited. From him they received salvation. They are holy, worthy of love and admiration. Jesus Christ bears witness to them in the Gospel of our common hope.

Chapter 6

If anyone proclaims the one God of the Law and the prophets but denies that Christ is the Son of God, he is a liar like his father the devil. He wrongly calls himself a Jew, for he has only circumcision of the flesh. If anyone confesses the Lord Jesus Christ but denies the God of the Law and the prophets, saying that Christ's Father is not the one who made heaven and earth, he has not remained in the truth, any more than his father the devil. He is a disciple of Simon Magus, a stranger to the Holy Spirit. If anyone affirms the oneness of God and confesses Jesus Christ but regards the Lord as a mere man composed only of a soul and a body, and refuses to recognise in him God the only Son, the Wisdom and Word of God, that man is a serpent preaching deception and error to the destruction of men. He is poor in understanding, as his name of Ebionite suggests. If anyone confesses the foregoing but calls lawful marriage and the birth of children perdition and defilement, or regards certain foods as abominable, the apostate dragon dwells in him. If anyone confesses the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit and praises creation, but reduces the incarnation to an appearance and blushes at the Passion, he has denied the faith as much as the Jews who put Christ to death. If anyone confesses these things and acknowledges that God the Word dwelt in a human body, that he was present in it as Word just as the soul is present in the body, since God dwelt in it and not a human soul, but declares illicit unions good and places supreme happiness in pleasure, like one who wrongfully bears the name of Nicolaitan, that man cannot love God or Christ. He corrupts his own flesh, is deprived of the Holy Spirit and is a stranger to Christ. All these people are like funerary monuments and tombs on which only the names of the dead are inscribed. Flee, then, the machinations and snares of the spirit that now works in the children of this world, lest, having fallen into his power, you grow weak in love. Be all united, with an undivided heart and willingly, "in one accord and one judgement". Hold the same view on the same things in repose as in danger, in mourning as in joy. I give thanks to God through Jesus Christ that I have a good conscience towards you. None of you can boast,

in private or in public, that I have been a burden to anyone in small matters or great. For all those to whom I have spoken, I wish that this may not serve as testimony against them.

Chapter 7

Some would have wished to deceive me according to the flesh, but my spirit does not let itself be deceived, for I received it from God. It knows whence it comes and where it goes, and discerns the secrets of the heart. When I was among you, I cried out, I spoke in a loud voice, with a word I had from God himself. “Listen to the bishop, the council of elders and the deacons!” Perhaps you suspect that I already knew of the divisions caused by some of you. He for whom I am in chains is my witness that I learned nothing from the mouth of any man. It was the Spirit who made it known to me in these terms. Do nothing without the bishop. Keep your bodies as temples of God. Love unity. Flee divisions. Imitate Paul and the other apostles, as they themselves imitated Christ.

Chapter 8

I have therefore done what fell to me as a man devoted to unity. I add that God does not dwell where discord, anger and hatred reign. To all who repent, God grants his forgiveness if they return with one heart to the unity of Christ and communion with the bishop. I trust in the grace of Jesus Christ to free you from every fetter of evil. I therefore exhort you to take Christ’s teaching as your rule and exclude every spirit of contention from your actions. I have heard some say, “If I do not find the Gospel in the archives, I shall not believe it.” To them I reply that my archives are Jesus Christ. To disobey him is plainly to rush to one’s ruin. The documents that carry authority for me are his cross, his death, his resurrection and the faith attached to them. Through them I desire to be justified, thanks to your prayers. Whoever refuses to believe the Gospel at the same time refuses to believe everything else. For the archives must not be preferred to the Spirit. “It is hard to kick against the goad.” It is hard to refuse to believe in Christ and hard to reject the apostles’ preaching.

Chapter 9

The priests and servants of the Word are good. Greater is the high priest to whom the Holy of Holies has been entrusted and who alone has received God's secrets for safekeeping. Good are the powers that serve God. Holy is the Comforter and holy the Word, the Father's Son, through whom the Father made all things and through whom he watches over everything. He is the way leading to the Father, the rock, the rampart, the key, the shepherd, the sacrifice, the gate of knowledge. Through this gate entered Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Moses and all the prophets, the apostles who are the pillars of the world, and Christ's bride, for whom he shed his own blood as a dowry to redeem her. All this tends towards the unity of the only true God. Yet the Gospel has something greater still: the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, his Passion and his resurrection itself. What the prophets announced when they said, "Until he comes for whom this is reserved, and he shall be the expectation of the nations", was fulfilled in the Gospel, where the Lord says, "Go and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit." All these realities are therefore good together: the Law, the prophets, the apostles and all who have believed through them, provided that we love one another.

Chapter 10

I have been told that, thanks to your prayers and your compassion in Jesus Christ, the Church of Antioch in Syria is at peace. It would be fitting for you, the Church of God, to choose a bishop to represent you there as God's ambassador. May the brothers be able to gather and glorify God's name! Blessed in Jesus Christ is he who will be judged worthy of such a ministry. If you apply your zeal to it, you will receive glory in Christ. If only you are willing, this is indeed within your power, for the love of God. The neighbouring Churches have sent, some bishops, others elders and deacons.

Chapter 11

Philo, the deacon from Cilicia whose reputation is great and who still serves me in the word of God, together with Gaius and Agathopus, that chosen man who followed me from Syria at the risk of his life, also bear witness to you. I myself give thanks to God that you welcomed them. The Lord will welcome you in turn. May those who treated them without honour obtain forgiveness through the grace of Jesus Christ, “who desires not the sinner’s death but his repentance”. The brothers of Troas greet you with love. It is from there that I write to you through Burrhus. The Ephesians and Smyrnaeans sent him with me to show me their respect. The Lord Jesus Christ will reward them for it, he in whom they hope, in flesh, soul and spirit, in faith, love and concord. Fare well in the Lord Jesus Christ, our common hope, and in the Holy Spirit.

FF. 97V–102R / NOTES

Translation choices

To the Philadelphians

The name Philadelphia

Φιλαδέλφεια is here the name of a city in Asia Minor. In other contexts, the Greek word can also designate brotherly love. The title identifies the inhabitants to whom the author addresses his letter.

Unity

The exhortations to gather and avoid divisions recur several times. “Unity” can designate the community’s agreement as much as its gathering around the same place of worship.

Reference text

A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (eds.), The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1870. English text of the long recension.

FF. 102R–105V / ENGLISH TRANSLATION

To the Smyrnaeans

Long version. English translation of the French reading version based on the historical English version published under the direction of Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (1870).

Greeting

Ignatius, also called Theophorus, to the Church of God, the Most High Father, and of his beloved Son Jesus Christ. Through mercy it has received every gift. It is filled with faith and love, lacks no gift, is wholly worthy of God and adorned with holiness. To this Church of Smyrna, in Asia, I wish abundant joy through the spotless Spirit and the word of God.

Chapter 1

I glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who through him has granted you such wisdom. I have seen you firmly established in unshakeable faith, as though nailed, in body and spirit, to the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, and firmly grounded in love through Christ's blood. You have full and true assurance of this: our Lord Jesus Christ is the Son of God, "the firstborn of every creature", God the Word, the only Son. According to the flesh, through the Virgin Mary, he is of David's line. He was baptised by John so that all righteousness might be fulfilled through him. He lived in holiness, without sin. Under Pontius Pilate and Herod the tetrarch, he was truly nailed to the cross for us in his flesh. It is from him, from the blessed mystery of his Passion, that we too derive our existence. Through his resurrection, he wished to raise for all ages a standard intended for all his holy and faithful ones, Jews and people of the nations gathered into the one body of his Church.

Chapter 2

It was for us that he suffered all this, and he suffered it truly, just as he truly rose again. Certain unbelievers are ashamed of the formation of man, of the cross and of death itself. They claim that he took only an apparent body from the Virgin and suffered only in appearance. They forget the one who said, “The Word became flesh”, then, “Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up”, and again, “When I have been lifted up from the earth, I will draw all men to myself.” The Word therefore indeed dwelt in flesh, for “Wisdom built herself a house”. His own temple, which the Jews who rose against Christ had destroyed, the Word raised on the third day. When his flesh was lifted up like the bronze serpent in the wilderness, the Word drew all men to himself for their eternal salvation.

Chapter 3

I know that he had a body at his birth and at his crucifixion. I also know that he had one after his resurrection, and I believe that he still has it today. When he came to Peter's companions, he said to them, "Take hold of me and touch me. See that I am not a bodiless spirit." And, "A spirit has neither flesh nor bones, as you see that I have." He said to Thomas, "Bring your finger to the mark of the nails. Bring your hand and put it into my side." At once they believed that he was the Christ. Thus Thomas said to him, "My Lord and my God!" This is why they despised even death. It would be little to speak only of insults and blows. Moreover, after showing them that he had truly risen and that his resurrection was not an appearance, he ate and drank with them for forty whole days. Thus, before their eyes, he was taken up in his flesh to the one who had sent him. He will return in this same flesh, in glory and power. For the holy words say, "This same Jesus who was taken up from you into heaven will come in the same manner as you saw him go into heaven." If they say that at the end of the world he will come without a body, how will "those who pierced him see him", and how, after recognising him, will they "lament over themselves"? Incorporeal beings have neither form nor shape, nor the appearance of a living being with contours, for their nature is simple in itself.

Chapter 4

Beloved, I give you these instructions in the certainty that you share my convictions. I warn you beforehand against these beasts in human form. Turn away from them and flee them. Only pray for them, so that, if possible, they may be brought to repentance. If the Lord had had only the appearance of a body and had been crucified only in appearance, I too would bear only apparent chains. And why would I have delivered myself to death, fire, the sword and wild beasts? In truth, for Christ I endure all this in reality. I wish to suffer with him, who strengthens me within, for of myself I do not have the strength.

Chapter 5

Some have denied him through ignorance and defend falsehood in preference to truth. To this day, neither the prophecies, nor the law of Moses, nor the Gospel, nor the sufferings endured by each of us have been able to convince them. They profess the same opinion about us. What use is it for someone to praise me if he blasphemes my Lord and refuses to recognise in him God incarnate? Whoever refuses to confess him has denied him entirely and is enveloped in death. I have not thought it good to record their names, for they do not believe. Far be it from me to mention them before they repent.

Chapter 6

Let no one be deceived. Whoever does not believe that Jesus Christ lived in the flesh and does not confess his cross, his Passion and the blood he shed for the salvation of the world will not obtain eternal life. This applies to king and priest, ruler and private individual, master and slave, man and woman alike. "Let him who can accept this word accept it." Let no one grow proud of his position, dignity or riches, and let no one feel diminished by the lowliness of his condition or his poverty. What matters is faith in God, hope in Christ, enjoyment of the good things we await, and love of God and neighbour. "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and your neighbour as yourself." The Lord says, "Eternal life is to know the only true God and Jesus Christ whom he sent." He also says, "I give you a new commandment, to love one another. On these two commandments hang all the Law and the prophets." Observe, then, those who preach other doctrines. They assert that Christ's Father is unknowable and treat one another with hostility and deceit. They disregard love, despise the good things we await in the life to come, regard present goods as lasting, ridicule the afflicted and mock the prisoner.

Chapter 7

They blush at the cross, scoff at the Passion and make the resurrection a subject of jest. They are the descendants of the spirit who is the source of all evil. It was he who, through Adam's wife, led him to transgress the commandment. He killed Abel by Cain's hand, fought Job, accused Joshua son of Jehozadak, sought to "sift the faith" of the apostles and stirred up the crowd of Jews against the Lord. Even today he "works in the sons of disobedience". The Lord Jesus Christ will deliver us from him. He prayed that the apostles' faith might not fail. He himself had the power to preserve it, but found his joy in the Father's pre-eminence. Therefore keep apart from these people. Have no conversation with them, either in private or in public. Pay attention to the Law, the prophets and those who proclaimed the word of salvation to you. Flee abominable heresies and the makers of schisms, who are at the origin of evils.

Chapter 8

All of you follow the bishop, as Jesus Christ follows the Father, and follow the council of elders as you would follow the apostles. Have respect also for the deacons, charged through their ministry with carrying out what God has commanded. Let no one act in Church affairs apart from the bishop. Regard as legitimate the eucharist celebrated by the bishop or by the one to whom he has entrusted it. Where the bishop appears, let the multitude of the faithful also be present. Thus, where Christ stands, the whole heavenly host stands in his service, for he commands the Lord's powers and governs all beings endowed with understanding. No one may, without the bishop, baptise, make an offering, present a sacrifice or celebrate a love feast. What receives his approval also pleases God. Thus each of your actions will be secure and valid.

Chapter 9

It is fitting to return to sober conduct and repent before God while we have the opportunity. For “in the abode of the dead, no one can confess his sins”. And again, “Behold the man, and his work is before him.” Scripture says, “My son, honour God and the king.” I say to honour God as the author and Lord of all things, and the bishop as the high priest who bears God’s image: that of God because he governs, and that of Christ because he is a priest. After him, we must also honour the king. Of all existing beings, none is superior to God or even like him. In the Church, no one is greater than the bishop, who exercises the priesthood before God for the salvation of the whole world. Among rulers, no one can compare with the king who ensures peace and good order for his subjects. He who honours the bishop will be honoured by God. He who dishonours him will be punished by God. If one who rises against kings deserves just punishment for destroying public order, to what still more severe penalty, in your view, does one expose himself who dares act apart from the bishop and thus destroys the Church’s unity by overturning its order? The priesthood is the highest of all good things among men. Whoever is so foolish as to fight it dishonours God and Jesus Christ, the Firstborn, the only one who is by nature the Father’s high priest. His affront reaches beyond man. Let everything among you therefore be done in order, in Christ. Let the laity be subject to the deacons, the deacons to the elders, the elders to the bishop, the bishop to Christ, as Christ to the Father. Brothers, you have comforted me, and Jesus Christ will likewise comfort you. You loved me in my absence as well as in my presence. God will reward you for the kindness you showed for his sake to his prisoner. Even if I am not worthy of it, your eagerness to help me is admirable. “He who honours a prophet as a prophet will receive a prophet’s reward.” It is also clear that he who honours a prisoner of Jesus Christ will receive the reward of martyrs.

Chapter 10

You did well to welcome Philo, Gaius and Agathopus. Servants of Christ, they followed me for the love of God and greatly bless the Lord on your account, for you comforted them in every way. None of the services you rendered them will be forgotten when they are credited to your account. “May the Lord grant you to find mercy with the Lord on that day!” May my spirit be for you, together with my chains, for which you felt neither contempt nor shame. In turn Jesus Christ, our fulfilled hope, will not be ashamed of you.

Chapter 11

Your prayers have reached the Church of Antioch, and it is at peace. From there I come, laden with chains, and I greet you all, I who do not deserve to claim that Church as mine, for I am its least member. God’s will nevertheless judged me worthy of this honour. I am not conscious of having deserved it; I hold it from God’s grace. I wish that it may be granted me in its fullness so that, through your prayers, I may attain God. In order that your work may be accomplished on earth and in heaven, it would be fitting for your Church, for God’s honour, to choose a worthy delegate. Let him go to Syria to congratulate the brothers on having regained peace, recovered their greatness and seen their community restored to its good order. It would seem good to me that you send one of your own with a letter. He will be able to rejoice with them in the tranquillity they have obtained according to God’s will, and in the fact that, thanks to your prayers, I have found a safe harbour in Christ. You have reached maturity; therefore aim at what is complete. When you desire to do good, God too is ready to help you.

Chapter 12

The love of the brothers of Troas greets you. It is from there that I write to you through Burgus. You sent him with me in agreement with the Ephesians, your brothers, and he has comforted me in everything. I would wish everyone to imitate him as a model servant of God. The Lord's grace will repay him for all this. I greet Polycarp, your most worthy bishop, your venerable council of elders, your deacons who bear Christ and serve with me, and all of you, one by one and together. I greet you in the name of Jesus Christ, in his flesh and blood, in his Passion and resurrection, in body and spirit, united to God and to you. May grace, mercy, peace and patience be with you in Christ for ever!

Conclusion. I greet the families of my brothers with their wives and children, those who always preserve their virginity, and the widows. Be strong, I pray you, through the power of the Holy Spirit. Philo, my fellow servant, who is with me, greets you. I greet the household of Tavias and pray that it may be firmly established in faith and love, in body and spirit. I greet Alce, my beloved, the incomparable Daphnus, Eutecnus and each one by name. Fare well in the grace of God and of our Lord Jesus Christ, filled with the Holy Spirit and God's holy wisdom.

FF. 102R–105V / NOTES

Translation choices

To the Smyrnaeans

Smyrna and its inhabitants

“Smyrniotes” and “Smyrniens” are both French renderings of the recipients’ name. The different endings in French translations do not indicate two distinct letters.

Flesh and spirit

The parallel between flesh and spirit gives the exhortation its full scope. In a passage about the Passion, “truly” brings out the text’s insistence on the reality of suffering.

Reference text

A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (eds.), The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1870. English text of the long recension.

FF. 105V–107V / ENGLISH TRANSLATION

To Polycarp

Long version. English translation of the French reading version based on the historical English version published under the direction of Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (1870).

Greeting

Ignatius, bishop of Antioch and witness of Jesus Christ, to Polycarp, bishop of the Church of Smyrna, or rather, to the one whose bishop is God the Father and Jesus Christ. Abundant joy!

Chapter 1

I have received good evidence that your spirit is firmly established in God as on an unshakeable rock. I glorify his name aloud for having been judged worthy to see your blameless face. May I always find my joy in you in God! By the grace with which you are clothed, I ask you to continue your race and exhort all men so that they may be saved. Take great care to hold your place in flesh and spirit. Be concerned to preserve unity, for nothing is better. Be patient with all, as the Lord is patient with you. Bear them all with love, as you already do. Devote yourself unceasingly to prayer. Ask that greater understanding may be added to the understanding you already possess. Be watchful; keep your spirit alert. Speak to each person individually, as God grants you. Bear everyone's infirmities as an accomplished athlete, as the Lord of all does. Scripture says, "He himself took our infirmities and bore our diseases." Where the toil is great, the gain is greater still.

Chapter 2

If you love good disciples, there is no reason to thank you for it. Strive rather to win over the more difficult through gentleness. The same plaster does not heal every wound. Apply gentle remedies to violent attacks. In everything be “wise as the serpent, and always guileless as the dove”. That is why you are made of soul and body, both fleshly and spiritual. You can thus correct the visible evils that present themselves to you and, for those that escape sight, pray that they may be revealed to you. Then you will lack nothing and be rich in every gift. Circumstances urge you to pray. What the wind is to the pilot, what the sheltering harbour is to a ship tossed by a storm, prayer is to you, so that you may attain God. Be sober as an athlete of God, who desires immortality and eternal life. You yourself are convinced of this. In everything, may my soul be given for yours, and with it these chains that you have loved.

Chapter 3

People who appear trustworthy but teach foreign doctrines must not frighten you. Stand firm like the anvil beneath the hammer. A valiant athlete receives wounds and nevertheless wins the victory. All the more must we bear everything for God, so that he in turn may bear with us and bring us into his kingdom. Redouble your zeal, hasten your race, weigh circumstances carefully. Win the victory here below, for here the race takes place, and there are the crowns. Await Christ, the Son of God. He who was before time appeared in time. Invisible by nature, he made himself visible in the flesh. Incorporeal, he was beyond all touch, but for us he took a body that could be touched and grasped. As God he was inaccessible to suffering, but for us he became a man capable of suffering, and for us he suffered in every way.

Chapter 4

Do not leave widows abandoned. After the Lord, be their protector and friend. Let nothing be done without your consent, and you yourself, as is your custom, do nothing without God's approval. Remain firm. Let your assemblies be frequent. Seek out each person, calling him by name. Despise neither male nor female slaves. Let them too not swell with pride, but submit all the more for God's glory, so that they may receive a better freedom from God. Let them not seek to have themselves freed at the community's expense, lest they find themselves slaves to their own desires.

Chapter 5

Flee evil practices and speak all the more openly about them. Tell my sisters to love the Lord and cleave to their husbands, in flesh as in spirit. Likewise exhort my brothers, in the name of Jesus Christ, to love their wives as the Lord loves the Church. If anyone can remain in chastity to honour the Lord's flesh, let him remain so without taking glory in it. If he boasts of it, he is lost, and if he seeks a rank more eminent than the bishop's, he rushes to his ruin. Men and women who marry must form their union with the bishop's agreement so that their marriage conforms to the Lord's will instead of obeying desire alone. Let everything be done for God's honour.

Chapter 6

Pay attention to the bishop so that God may pay attention to you too. May my soul be given for those who submit to the bishop, the council of elders and the deacons. May God grant me a share in their lot! Work together, fight together, run together, suffer together, sleep together and rise together, as stewards, companions and servants of God. Please the one under whose orders you fight and who will pay your wages. Let none of you be found a deserter. Let your baptism remain your weaponry, your faith your helmet, your love your spear and your patience your full armour. Let your works be the charge entrusted to you, so that you may secure a worthy reward for them. Therefore be gently patient with one another, and God will be patient with you. May I for ever find my joy in you!

Chapter 7

I have been told that, thanks to your prayers, the Church of Antioch in Syria is at peace. This has restored my courage, and I rest in God without anxiety, if only I may be granted to attain him through suffering and to be recognised, thanks to your prayers, as a disciple of Christ. Polycarp, blessed in God, you will do well to call a solemn assembly. Choose a man you love dearly and whose zeal for work you know. Let him be appointed God's messenger and honoured by being sent to Syria. Let him display there, to God's praise, your love always at work. The Christian does not belong to himself. He must always stand ready to serve God. When you have brought it to completion, this work will be both God's and yours. I trust that grace keeps you ready for every good work that belongs to God. It is because I know your ardent love of truth that I have exhorted you in this short letter.

Chapter 8

I have not been able to write to all the Churches, for the order I have received urges me to embark at Troas for Neapolis. You who know God's purpose, therefore write to the neighbouring Churches so that they may follow your example. Let those that can send messengers, and let the others send letters through your own envoys. You will thus receive, as you deserve, the glory of a work whose memory will always be preserved. I greet each person by name, and especially the wife of Epitropos with her whole household and her children. I greet my beloved Attalus. I greet the one whom you judge worthy to leave for Syria. Grace will always be with him and with Polycarp who sends him. I pray that your happiness may last for ever in Jesus Christ our God. Through him remain united and under God's protection. I greet my dearest Alce. Amen. May grace accompany you. Fare well in the Lord.

FF. 105V–107V / NOTES

Translation choices

To Polycarp

A single recipient

The letter opens with Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna. The exhortations in the singular are addressed first to him, while some of the advice concerns the community in his care.

Keeping watch

The idea of keeping watch can be concrete, as in the image of the athlete, or evoke pastoral attentiveness. A uniform translation would risk erasing these successive images.

Reference text

A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (eds.), The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1870. English text of the long recension.

FF. 107V–110R / ENGLISH TRANSLATION

To the Antiochenes

Long version. English translation of the French reading version based on the historical English version published under the direction of Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (1870).

Greeting

Ignatius, also called Theophorus, to the Church sojourning in Syria. God has shown it mercy, Christ has chosen it, and it was the first to receive Christ's name. Joy in God the Father and in the Lord Jesus Christ!

Chapter 1

The Lord has made my chains light and easy to bear since I learned that you were at peace and living in full harmony, in body and spirit. "I therefore, a prisoner of the Lord, implore you to lead a life worthy of the calling you have received." Beware of the doctrines of the Evil One that have burst in among us and lead astray and destroy those who welcome them. Pay attention to the apostles' teaching; believe in the Law and the Prophets. Reject what is erroneous among Jews and pagans. Beware both of introducing a multitude of gods and of denying Christ on the pretext of preserving God's unity.

Chapter 2

Moses, God's faithful servant, declared, "The Lord your God is one Lord", thus proclaiming that there is only one God. Yet at once he also confessed our Lord by saying, "The Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah fire and sulphur that came from the Lord." And again, "God said, let us make man in our image. And God made man; in the image of God he made him." And elsewhere, "It was in the image of God that he made man." Moses also shows that the Son of God was to become man when he says, "The Lord will raise up for you, from among your brothers, a prophet like me."

Chapter 3

The prophets too have God speak in these terms concerning the Father of the universe: “I am God, the first, and I am also the last. Besides me there is no God.” They also speak of our Lord Jesus Christ. “A Son has been given to us. Upon his shoulder rests the sovereignty that comes from above. He is named Messenger of the great purpose, Wonderful, Counsellor, strong and mighty God.” Of his incarnation they say, “Behold, the virgin shall conceive and bear a son. He shall be called Emmanuel.” And of the passion, “He was led like a sheep to the slaughter. As a lamb remains silent before those who shear it, I too was like an innocent lamb led to sacrifice.”

Chapter 4

The evangelists, in declaring that the one Father was “the only true God”, did not omit what concerns our Lord. They wrote, “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God. All things were made through him, and without him nothing that was made was made.” And concerning the incarnation, “The Word became flesh and dwelt among us.” And again, “Book of the genealogy of Jesus Christ, son of David, son of Abraham.” The very apostles who said, “There is one God”, also said, “There is one mediator between God and men.” They were ashamed neither of the incarnation nor of the passion. What does one of them say? “The man Christ Jesus, who gave himself” for the life and salvation of the world.

Chapter 5

He who proclaims that there is only one God solely in order to strip Christ of his divinity is a devil and the enemy of all righteousness. He who confesses Christ while making him the son of some unknown being, other than the Creator of the universe proclaimed by the Law and the Prophets, is an instrument of the devil. He who rejects the incarnation and blushes at the cross for which I bear chains is an antichrist. Finally, he who asserts that Christ is a mere man falls under the curse pronounced by the prophet, since he places his trust in a man instead of in God. Thus he remains fruitless like the wild myrtle.

Chapter 6

I write these things to you, young olive tree of Christ. I am not aware that you share such opinions. I wish to warn you as a father would his children. Beware of those men eager to do evil, "enemies of the cross of Christ, whose end is perdition and who glory in their shame". Beware of those "mute dogs", those creeping serpents, those scaly dragons, those asps, those basilisks and those scorpions. They are cunning wolves, apes that counterfeit human appearance.

Chapter 7

You have been disciples of Paul and Peter. Do not lose the deposit entrusted to you. Remember Evodius, your shepherd rightly called blessed, the first into whose hands the apostles placed your governance. Let us not dishonour our Father. Let us show that we are his legitimate children, not bastards. You know how I conducted myself among you. What I told you when I was there, I now write to you from afar. "If anyone does not love the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema." Imitate me. May my life be given for yours when I attain Jesus. Remember my chains.

Chapter 8

You presbyters, “be shepherds of the flock among you”, until God appoints the one who is to govern you. For “I am already ready to be offered” in order to “gain Christ”. Let the deacons know their dignity and strive to remain blameless, so that they may walk in Christ’s footsteps. Let the people be subject to the presbyters and deacons. Let the virgins know to whom they have consecrated themselves.

Chapter 9

Let husbands love their wives and remember that at creation one woman, not several, was given to one man. Let wives honour their husbands as their own flesh, without daring to call them by name. Let them live in chastity, regarding as their sole companion the husband to whom they were united by God’s will. You parents, bring up your children in holiness. You children, “honour your parents, so that good may come to you”.

Chapter 10

You who are masters, do not treat your servants haughtily. Imitate patient Job, who declares, “I did not disdain the cause of my male servant or that of my female servant when they were in dispute with me. Otherwise, what would I do on the day when the Lord called me to account?” You know what follows. You servants, do not irritate your masters in anything, lest you bring irremediable evils upon yourselves.

Chapter 11

Let him who delights in idleness not eat, lest he become a vagabond and debauchee. Drunkenness, anger, envy, insults, clamour and blasphemies—"let them not even be named among you". Let widows not live in pleasures, lest their desires stir them up against the word. Be subject to Caesar in everything that does not endanger your spiritual life. Do not irritate your rulers, so as to give no opening to those who seek one against you. As for magic, impure relations with boys or murder, it is superfluous to write to you about them, for even the pagans forbid these practices. I prescribe nothing in these matters as an apostle would. I remind you of them as a fellow servant.

Chapter 12

I greet the holy council of presbyters. I greet the consecrated deacons, and that man who is very dear to me. May I see him, through the Holy Spirit, occupy my place when I have attained Christ. May my life be given for his. I greet the subdeacons, readers, singers, doorkeepers, labourers, exorcists and confessors. I greet the women guarding the holy doors, the deaconesses in Christ. I greet the virgins betrothed to Christ. May they be my joy in the Lord Jesus. I greet the Lord's people, from the least to the greatest, and all my sisters in the Lord.

Chapter 13

I greet Cassian, his companion and their dearly beloved children. Polycarp, that most worthy bishop who takes your affairs deeply to heart, greets you. I have commended you to him in the Lord. The whole Church of Smyrna remembers you in its prayers to the Lord. Onesimus, the shepherd of the Ephesians, greets you. Damas, the bishop of Magnesia, greets you. Polybius, the bishop of the Trallians, greets you. Philo and Agathopus, the deacons accompanying me, greet you. "Greet one another with a holy kiss."

Chapter 14

I write this letter to you from Philippi. May the one who alone is unbegotten keep you steadfast in body and spirit through the one who was begotten before the beginning of time. May I see you in Christ's kingdom! I greet the one who is to govern you in my place. May he be my joy in the Lord. Farewell in God and in Christ, in the light of the Holy Spirit.

FF. 107V–110R / NOTES

Translation choices

To the Antiochenes

The prisoner’s bonds

The “bonds” are first of all the prisoner’s fetters or chains. The joy caused by news of the community can make them “light” for him. The image links his material situation to his affection for his correspondents.

Of one accord

The vocabulary of peace and agreement concerns collective life. The adjective “unanimous” preserves this meaning when it designates the bond between people and their dispositions.

Reference text

A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (eds.), The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1870. English text of the long recension.

FF. 110R–111V / ENGLISH TRANSLATION

To Hero, deacon of Antioch

Long version. English translation of the French reading version based on the historical English version published under the direction of Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (1870).

Greeting

Ignatius, also called Theophorus, to Hero, deacon of Christ and servant of God, honoured by God, dearly cherished and highly esteemed, who bears Christ and the Spirit within him and is my own son in faith and love. Grace, mercy and peace from almighty God and Jesus Christ our Lord, his only Son, "who gave himself for our sins to rescue us from this evil world" and preserve us for his heavenly kingdom.

Chapter 1

I exhort you in God to hasten your race and show yourself worthy of your office. Take care to remain in agreement with the saints. Bear the burdens of the weak "to fulfil the law of Christ". Devote yourself to fasting and prayer in moderation, lest you ruin yourself. Do not deprive yourself entirely of wine and meat, for these things must not be held in abhorrence. Scripture says, "You shall eat the good things of the earth." And again, "You shall eat meat as you do vegetables." And again, "Wine gladdens man's heart, oil cheers him and bread strengthens him." All these things should be used in moderation, as gifts of God. "Who will eat, who will drink without him? What is beautiful belongs to him; what is good belongs to him." Apply yourself to reading. Thus you will know the laws and will also be able to explain them to others as a faithful servant of God. "No soldier entangles himself in the affairs of civilian life, for he wishes to please the one who enlisted him. And in the games, the athlete receives the crown only if he has competed according to the rules." From within my chains, I pray that my life may be given for yours.

Chapter 2

If anyone teaches anything beyond the commandment received, regard him as a wolf clothed in a sheepskin who works for the flock's destruction. It matters not what credit he enjoys, how diligently he fasts, his continence, his miracles or his gift of prophecy. Regard the one who denies the cross and blushes at the passion as the Adversary in person. "Even if he distributed all his possessions to feed the poor, even if he moved mountains, even if he delivered his body to the flames", let him be an abomination to you. Regard the one who despises the Law or the Prophets, which Christ fulfilled at his coming, as an antichrist. If anyone says that the Lord is a mere man, he is a Jew, a murderer of Christ.

Chapter 3

"Honour widows who are truly widows." Be the friend of orphans, for God is "the father of orphans and the judge of widows". Do nothing without the bishops. They are priests, and you are in the service of the priests. They baptise, offer sacrifice, ordain and lay on hands. You assist them, as Saint Stephen assisted James and the presbyters in Jerusalem. Do not neglect the holy assemblies. Ask after each person by name. "Let no one despise your youth. Be a model to believers in your speech and conduct."

Chapter 4

Do not be ashamed of servants. We share the same nature with them. Do not hold women in abhorrence. They are the ones who brought you into the world and raised you. It is fitting to love in the Lord those to whom we owe life, for man cannot have children without woman. We must honour those who shared in our birth. “Man is not without woman, nor woman without man”, except in the case of the first beings formed. Adam’s body was made from the four elements, Eve’s from Adam’s side. And the Lord, by an altogether singular birth, was born of a virgin alone. This does not make the lawful union of spouses abominable. Such a birth was fitting for God. It was fitting for the Creator, precisely because he is Creator, to use an extraordinary and singular way of coming into the world.

Chapter 5

Flee pride, “for the Lord resists the proud”. Hold falsehood in abhorrence. Scripture says, “You will destroy all who lie.” Beware of envy. The devil is its author, and Cain followed him, envying his brother and being led by envy to murder. Exhort my sisters to love God and be content with their husbands alone. Likewise exhort my brothers to be content with their own wives. Watch over the virgins as precious treasures of Christ. Be patient, so that you may grow in wisdom. Do not neglect the poor insofar as your resources allow you to help them. For “faults are erased through almsgiving and faithfulness”.

Chapter 6

Keep yourself pure: you are God's dwelling, Christ's temple, the Spirit's instrument. You know how I brought you up. However small I may be among men, seek to walk in my footsteps and imitate my conduct. If I glory, it is in the Lord, far from worldly glories. I exhort Hero, my son. "Let him who glories glory in the Lord." May you be my joy, my dear son. May the one and unbegotten God and the Lord Jesus Christ be your guardians. Do not believe everyone, do not trust everyone, and let no one win you over through flattery. Many are Satan's servants, and "he who is quick to believe has a frivolous heart".

Chapter 7

Keep God in mind and you will never sin. Let your heart not be divided in your prayers, for blessed is he who does not doubt. I have this confidence in the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ and in his only Son: that God will let me see Hero in my seat. Therefore hasten your race. I adjure you before the God of the universe and before Christ, in the presence of the Holy Spirit and the ranks of angels who serve him: carefully guard the deposit that Christ and I entrusted to you. Do not judge yourself unworthy of what God has revealed to me concerning you. I hand over the Church of Antioch to you. I have commended you to Polycarp in the Lord Jesus Christ.

Chapter 8

The bishops Onesimus, Bitus, Damas and Polybius, and all those of Philippi, from where I write to you, greet you in Christ. Greet the council of presbyters, worthy of God, and the holy deacons, my fellow servants. May they be my joy in Christ, in my body as in my spirit. Greet all the Lord's people by name, from the least to the greatest. I entrust them to you as Moses entrusted the Israelites to Joshua, their leader after him. Do not see presumption on my part in this. If we are not such as they were, we at least pray to become so, for we too are children of Abraham. Be strong, then, Hero; act as a hero, as a man. From now on it is you who will walk at the head of the Lord's people in Antioch, going out and returning. Thus "the Lord's assembly will not be like sheep without a shepherd".

Chapter 9

Greet Cassian, my host, his wise companion and their dearly beloved children. May "God grant them to find mercy with the Lord on that day" for the services they have rendered us. I also commend them to you in Christ. Greet by name all Christ's faithful in Laodicea. Do not neglect those of Tarsus. Watch over them faithfully and strengthen them in the Gospel. I greet in the Lord Maris, bishop of Neapolis near Anazarbus. Greet also my daughter Mary, distinguished by her dignity and learning, and "the Church that meets in her house". May my life be given for hers. She is the very model of devout women. May the Father of Christ, through his only Son, preserve you to a very advanced age in good health, esteemed by all in all things, for the good of God's Church. Farewell in the Lord, and pray that I may attain my fulfilment.

FF. 110R–111V / NOTES

Translation choices

To Hero

Hero

The title names Hero and specifies his role as a deacon in Antioch. The singular address distinguishes this letter from the preceding one, written to the whole community of the same city.

Bearing burdens

The expression draws on the language of Galatians 6:2. “Bearing” involves a concrete action while evoking here the support given to the weakest.

Reference text

A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (eds.), The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1870. English text of the long recension.

To the Ephesians

Long version. English translation of the French reading version based on the historical English version published under the direction of Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (1870).

Greeting

Ignatius, also called Theophorus, to the Church of Ephesus, in Asia, rightly called blessed. Blessed in the greatness and fullness of God the Father, it was destined before the beginning of time for enduring and immutable glory. It was united and chosen through the true passion, according to the will of God the Father and of our Lord Jesus Christ, our Saviour. May your joy abound through Jesus Christ, and may his spotless joy be yours!

Chapter 1

I have come to know the dearly cherished name you have acquired before God through your righteous conduct, in the faith and love of Christ Jesus, our Saviour. By imitating God's love for men and drawing your impetus from Christ's blood, you have perfectly fulfilled what fell to you. You learned that I was coming from Syria, laden with chains because of Christ, our common hope. Thanks to your prayers, I hope to be able to fight the beasts in Rome and truly become, through martyrdom, the disciple of the one who "gave himself for us as an offering and sacrifice to God". Then [you hastened to come and see me]. Thus, in God's name, it was your entire community that I welcomed in the person of Onesimus, your bishop, whose love surpasses words. Through Jesus Christ, I beg you, love him and all seek to resemble him. Blessed be God for giving so good a bishop to men themselves so worthy of praise.

Chapter 2

As for Burrhus, our fellow servant, your deacon before God, blessed in every respect, I ask that he remain blameless for the honour of the Church and of your blessed bishop. Crocus too, worthy of God and of you, came to me as a sign of your love. He comforted me in everything and "was not ashamed of my chain". May the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ comfort him in turn, as well as Onesimus, Burrhus, Euplus and Fronto. Their affection allowed me to see you all in them. May I always find my joy in you, if I am worthy of it! It is fitting for you to glorify Jesus Christ in every way, he who has glorified you. May your common obedience make you men "perfectly united in the same mind and the same judgement, all speaking with one voice on the same subject". By submitting to the bishop and the council of elders, you will be sanctified in every respect.

Chapter 3

I do not give you orders as though I were a great personage. Though I am chained for his name, I have not yet attained perfection in Christ Jesus. I am only beginning to be a disciple and address you as my fellow servants. It is I who ought to have received lessons from you in faith, encouragement, patience and perseverance. But my love for you does not allow me to remain silent. I have therefore taken the initiative in exhorting you to run together according to God's will. Jesus Christ himself acts in everything according to the Father's will. He says somewhere, "I always do what pleases him." Let us too live according to God's will in Christ and imitate him as Paul did. "Imitate me," he says, "as I myself imitate Christ."

Chapter 4

It is also fitting that you run together according to the will of the bishop whom God has placed at your head. Indeed, this is what you do spontaneously, instructed by the Spirit. Your council of elders, worthy of God and rightly esteemed, is attuned to the bishop as strings to a harp. United in the concord and harmony of love, whose guide and guardian is Jesus Christ, all form a single choir. Attune your voices. May full unity with God bring you into accord with God the Father and with his beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. For he says, "Grant them, holy Father, to be one in us, as you and I are one." Your good therefore lies in remaining united to God in blameless unity and following the example of Christ, whose members you are.

Chapter 5

If in so short a time I have tasted such communion with your bishop, spiritual and far beyond mere human friendship, how much more do I count you blessed! You are attached to him as the Church to the Lord Jesus and the Lord to God his Father, so that everything may accord in unity. Let no one deceive himself. Whoever remains outside the altar deprives himself of God's bread. If the prayer of one or two people has the power to make Christ present among them, how much more will the prayer of the bishop and the whole Church, rising with one voice to God, obtain in Christ what they ask! He who separates himself from it, forsaking the assembly where offerings are presented and "the Church of the firstborn whose names are written in heaven", may put on a gentle appearance, but he is a wolf in a sheepskin. Beloved, take care to submit to the bishop, the elders and the deacons. To obey them is to obey Christ who appointed them. To disobey them is to disobey Christ Jesus. And "he who does not obey the Son will not see life, but God's wrath remains upon him". He who refuses his superiors trusts in himself, seeks quarrels and grows proud. "God resists the proud," says Scripture, "but grants his grace to the humble", and again, "The proud have grievously transgressed." To the priests too the Lord declares, "He who listens to you listens to me, and he who listens to me listens to the Father who sent me. He who despises you despises me, and he who despises me despises the one who sent me."

Chapter 6

The more you see the bishop keep silent, the more you must respect him. Whoever is sent by the master of the house to care for his household must be received as the one who sends him. It is therefore clear that in the bishop we must regard the Lord himself, since the bishop stands before the Lord. For "the man attentive and active in his work must stand before kings, not before indolent people". Onesimus himself greatly praises the order that reigns among you before God. You all live according to the truth, and no sect finds a place among you. You listen to no one in preference to Jesus Christ, the true shepherd and master. As Paul wrote to you, you are "one body and one spirit, called to the one hope of faith". There is also "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, above all, working through all and in all". Such are you, whose teachers were Paul, who bore Christ, and the most faithful Timothy.

Chapter 7

Certain people of very little worth nevertheless go about repeating the name [of Jesus Christ] with treacherous intent. They behave in a manner unworthy of God and uphold opinions contrary to Christ's teaching. They thus rush to their own ruin and that of those who trust them. Avoid them as wild beasts. For "the righteous man who avoids them is saved for ever, but the ruin of the impious comes suddenly and becomes a cause for rejoicing". They are "mute dogs unable to bark", rabid dogs that bite in secret. Beware of them, for their evil is incurable. Our physician is the only true God, unbegotten, inaccessible, Lord of all, the Father who begets the only Son. We also have as our physician the Lord our God, Jesus the Christ, only Son and Word from before time, who then became man of the Virgin Mary. For "the Word became flesh". Bodiless, he lived in a body. Impassible, he took a body capable of suffering. Immortal, he took a mortal body. He who is life submitted to corruption to free our souls from death and corruption, to heal them and restore their health, sick as they were with impiety and evil desires.

Chapter 8

Let no one, then, deceive you. Indeed, you do not let yourselves be deceived, for you belong wholly to God. When no evil desire defiles you or torments you within, you live according to God's will and serve Christ. Reject what defiles you, you who belong to the most holy Church of Ephesus, renowned throughout the world. Those who belong to the flesh cannot perform the works of the spirit, nor those who belong to the spirit the works of the flesh. Likewise, faith does not produce the works of unbelief, nor unbelief those of faith. But you, filled with the Holy Spirit, act in everything according to the Spirit. You are perfected in Christ Jesus, "Saviour of all men, particularly of believers".

Chapter 9

Yet I have heard that people passed through your midst bearing the pernicious teaching of a foreign and evil spirit. You did not let them enter to sow their tares. You closed your ears to the error they proclaimed, knowing that the spirit which leads the people astray utters its own words and not Christ's. It is a spirit of falsehood. The Holy Spirit, however, conveys Christ's words, which he receives from the Lord, just as the Lord proclaimed to us what he had received from the Father. "The word you hear," he says, "comes from the Father who sent me." Of the Holy Spirit he says, "He will not speak of himself, but will say what he hears me say." And, speaking of himself to the Father, "I have glorified you on earth, I have completed the work you gave me, I have manifested your name to men." Of the Holy Spirit again, "He will glorify me, for he receives from what is mine." The spirit of error preaches itself. It speaks from its own resources, seeking to please itself. Full of arrogance, it sings its own glory. It lies, cheats, cajoles, flatters, betrays, declaims, clings to trifles and speaks without harmony or measure. It is base and fearful. Jesus Christ will deliver you from its power. He established you on the rock, chosen stones well fitted for the Father's divine building. Christ, crucified for you, hoists you up, using the Holy Spirit as a rope. Faith carries you and love raises you from earth to heaven, in the company of those who walk blamelessly. For it is written, "Blessed are those whose way is blameless and who walk in the law of the Lord." This unfailing way is Jesus Christ himself. "I am the way and the life," he says. It leads to the Father: "No one comes to the Father except through me." Blessed are you, bearers of God, of the Spirit, of the temple and of holiness, adorned with all the commandments of Jesus Christ, "a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people belonging to him". I rejoice exceedingly over you. This letter has allowed me to converse with "the saints who are in Ephesus, the faithful in Christ Jesus". I rejoice to see that you forsake vanity and love all things according to God, instead of loving them according to the flesh.

Chapter 10

Pray unceasingly for other men. They can still repent and attain God. “Can he who falls not rise again, and he who goes astray not return?” Let them learn from you. Be God’s servants and Christ’s mouth. The Lord says, “If you separate what is precious from what is base, you will be as my mouth.” Answer their anger with humility, their blasphemies with fervent prayer. When they go astray, remain firm in the faith. Overcome their harshness with kindness, their fury with gentleness. “Blessed are the gentle.” Moses was the gentlest of men, and David was very gentle. Thus Paul exhorts, “The Lord’s servant must avoid quarrels, be gentle towards all, able to teach, patient, and instruct those who oppose him with gentleness.” Do not seek revenge on those who wrong you. We read in Scripture, “If I have repaid evil to those who did me evil…” Let us make them brothers through our kindness. Say to those who hate you, “You are our brothers”, so that the Lord’s name may be glorified. Let us imitate the Lord. “When insulted, he did not return the insult.” Crucified, he did not answer. “In suffering, he did not threaten.” He prayed for his enemies, “Father, forgive them; they do not know what they are doing.” Blessed is he who shows all the more patience the more he is mistreated! Whoever suffers plunder or contempt for the Lord’s name is truly Christ’s servant. Take care that no plant of the devil is found among you. Such a plant is bitter and salty. “Keep watch and remain sober” in Christ Jesus.

Chapter 11

The last times have arrived. Let us therefore live reverently and regard God's long patience with fear, lest we despise the treasures of his goodness and forbearance. Let us fear the wrath to come or love the present joy in this life. Let our only true joy be to find ourselves in Christ Jesus so that we may truly live. Never desire to take even a breath apart from him. He is my hope, my pride, my inexhaustible wealth. It is for him that I bear from Syria to Rome the chains that are my spiritual jewels. May your prayers bring me to the end in them, sharing Christ's sufferings and participating in his death, his resurrection from the dead and his eternal life. May I share the lot of the Christians of Ephesus, who through the power of Jesus Christ have always been in relationship with the apostles, with Paul, John and the most faithful Timothy.

Chapter 12

I know who I am and to whom I write. I am that very little Ignatius who shares the lot of people in danger and under sentence. You have obtained mercy and are firmly established in Christ. I am delivered [to death], the least of all those who have been cut off for Christ, "from the blood of righteous Abel" to the blood of Ignatius. With Paul, the saint, the martyr, the "chosen instrument", you are initiated into the mysteries of the Gospel. May I find myself at his feet and those of the other saints when I attain Jesus Christ, he who always remembers you in his prayers.

Chapter 13

Take care to gather often to give thanks to God and sing his praise. When you meet frequently in the same place, Satan's powers are annihilated and his "flaming darts", which incite to sin, fall harmlessly. Your concord and the harmony of your faith bring about his ruin and the torment of those who assist him. Nothing equals peace according to Christ, which puts an end to every war of spirits, in the air as on earth. "For our struggle sets us, beyond flesh and blood, against principalities and powers, against the rulers of this world's darkness, against the spirits of evil in the heavenly regions."

Chapter 14

None of the devil's designs will remain hidden from you if, like Paul, you possess faith and love towards Christ in their fullness. They are the beginning and end of life. Faith is its beginning and love its fulfilment. Inseparably united, they perfect the man of God. Everything else a holy life requires follows them. Whoever professes faith should not sin, nor should one who loves hate his brother. He who said, "You shall love the Lord your God", also said, "and your neighbour as yourself". Those who claim Christ are recognised as much by their deeds as by their words. "A tree is known by its fruit."

Chapter 15

It is better to be silent and be [a Christian] than to speak without being one. "The kingdom of God resides in power, beyond words." One "believes with the heart" to attain righteousness and "confesses with the mouth" to attain salvation. It is good to teach when the speaker also acts. Whoever "acts and teaches will be called great in the kingdom". Our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, first acted and then taught. Luke bears witness to this, he "whose service of the Gospel all the Churches praise". Nothing is hidden from the Lord. Even our secrets are present to him. Let us therefore always act as people in whom he dwells, so that we may be his temples and he may dwell in us as God. May Christ speak in us as he spoke in Paul. May the Holy Spirit teach us to speak of the things of Christ as he did.

Chapter 16

Do not go astray, my brothers. Those who corrupt families will not inherit the kingdom of God. If those who corrupt human families incur death, what eternal punishment awaits those who undertake to corrupt Christ's Church! For it the Lord Jesus, God's only Son, endured the cross and accepted death. Whoever, "grown fat" and "weighed down", despises his teaching will go to hell. Likewise, if God has given someone discernment and that man nevertheless follows an incapable shepherd, taking falsehood for truth, he will be punished. "What have light and darkness in common, Christ and Belial? What does the believer share with the unbeliever, or God's temple with idols?" And I in turn ask what truth has in common with falsehood, righteousness with unrighteousness, true teaching with false teaching.

Chapter 17

It was so that his Church might breathe forth immortality that the Lord allowed perfume to be poured upon his head. Scripture says, "Your name is like perfume poured out; that is why the young women loved you. They drew you. At the scent of your perfumes we shall run after you." Let no one allow himself to be anointed with the foul odour spread by the teaching [of the prince] of this world. Let God's holy Church not be caught by his cunning as the first woman was. We who are endowed with reason, why do we not act wisely? Why, after receiving from Christ and bearing grafted within us the faculty of discerning what concerns God, do we plunge into ignorance? Why foolishly destroy ourselves by neglecting to acknowledge the gift we have received?

Chapter 18

Christ's cross is a stumbling block to those who do not believe. For believers it is salvation and eternal life. "Where is the wise man? Where is the one who loves to dispute?" Where are the boasts of those called powerful? The Son of God, begotten before all time, established all things according to the Father's will. According to God's purpose, he was conceived in Mary's womb, of David's line and through the Holy Spirit. Scripture says, "Behold, the Virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and he shall be called Emmanuel." He was born and received baptism from John to confirm the institution entrusted to that prophet.

Chapter 19

Mary's virginity, her giving birth and the Lord's death were hidden from the prince of this world. Three illustrious mysteries were accomplished in silence and have been revealed to us. A star appeared in heaven, surpassing those that had preceded it. Its light was indescribable, and its novelty seized men with astonishment. All the other stars, with the sun and moon, formed a choir around it. Its radiance far surpassed theirs, and people wondered in bewilderment whence this new spectacle came. From then on, the world's wisdom became folly, incantations appeared as idle games, and magic became ridiculous. Every law of wickedness vanished, the darkness of ignorance dispersed, and tyrannical authority was destroyed. God appeared as man, and man showed God's power. The first reality was true, and the second arose from a disposition of God, without the one being reducible to an illusion or the other to humanity alone. Then began what God brought to completion. Henceforth everything was overturned, for he intended to abolish death.

Chapter 20

Stand firm, brothers, in faith in Jesus Christ, in his love, his Passion and his resurrection. Gather all together, collectively and each for his part, through grace, in one faith in God the Father and in Jesus Christ, his only Son, "firstborn of every creature", sprung from David according to the flesh. Let the Paraclete guide you; obey the bishop and the council of elders with an undivided heart. Break one and the same bread, the medicine of immortality and the antidote that preserves us from death, the medicine that purifies and drives out evil, so that we may live in God through Jesus Christ.

Chapter 21

I give my life for yours and for those whom you sent to Smyrna in God's honour. It is from there that I write to you, thanking the Lord and loving Polycarp as I love you. Remember me as Jesus Christ, blessed for ever, remembers you. Pray for the Church of Antioch in Syria. It is from there that I am being led in chains to Rome. The least of the faithful of that place has nevertheless been judged worthy to bear these chains for God's honour. Fare well in God the Father, in the Lord Jesus Christ, our common hope, and in the Holy Spirit. Farewell. Amen. May grace be with you.

FF. 111V–117V / NOTES

Translation choices

To the Ephesians

Following or imitating

The language of models and imitation brings the recipients' conduct close to that set before them as an example. "Imitators" preserves the image, while "those who follow the example" clarifies it.

The instrument and the string

The musical image expresses the agreement sought within the community. Translating the vocabulary of harmony merely as "obeying" would make the idea of tuned strings and voices singing together disappear.

Ephesians XX · The medicine of immortality

Φάρμακον can designate a medicine or a poison. The context of the broken bread and the word *ἀντίδοτος*, "antidote", justify "medicine" here. The bread is presented as that which preserves from death.

Reference text

A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (eds.), The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1870. English text of the long recension.

FF. 117V–120R / ENGLISH TRANSLATION

To the Romans

Long version. English translation of the French reading version based on the historical English version published under the direction of Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (1870).

Greeting

Ignatius, also called Theophorus, to the Church that has obtained mercy through the majesty of God Most High, the Father, and of Jesus Christ his only Son. It has been sanctified and enlightened by the will of God, who formed all things according to the faith and love of Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour. To the Church that presides in the region of the Romans, worthy of God, of honour, of the greatest happiness, of praise and trust, worthy to be held holy, which presides in love, takes its name from Christ and the Father and possesses the Spirit, I offer greetings in the name of almighty God and Jesus Christ his Son. To those united, in flesh and spirit, with each of his commandments, whom all God's grace fills without ever leaving them, and who are cleansed of every foreign defilement, I wish abundant and blameless joy in God the Father and in our Lord Jesus Christ.

Chapter 1

By praying to God, I obtained what I earnestly asked: to be able to behold your faces, worthy of all respect. A prisoner in Christ Jesus, I hope to greet you, if God is willing to judge me worthy to go to the end. The beginning promises well, provided I receive the grace to remain faithful to the end to the lot that has fallen to me, without encountering an obstacle. For I fear that your love may harm me. It is easy for you to accomplish what you wish. But it will be difficult for me to attain God if, out of affection for my flesh, you do not let me follow my path.

Chapter 2

I desire that you seek to please God, as you already do, without being concerned to please men. Never again shall I have such an opportunity to attain God. And you, if you keep silent today, could aspire to the honour of no finer work. If you keep silent concerning me, I shall belong to God. If you show love for my flesh, I shall have to resume my race. I beg you, seek to grant me no greater favour than to let me be offered as a sacrifice to God while the altar is ready. Then, gathered in love, you will sing to the Father through Christ Jesus. God has judged me, the bishop of Syria, worthy to be called from East to West and to bear witness by my death to his precious sufferings. Thus I shall pass from the world to God, to rise again beside him.

Chapter 3

You have never envied anyone. It is you who taught others. I now desire that your conduct confirm what you taught them. Ask only for me the strength within and the strength without, so that my will may match my words and I may truly be the Christian I am said to be. If I am found to be so in truth, I shall also bear the name, and I shall be held faithful when the world ceases to see me. Nothing visible is eternal. “What is seen is passing; what is unseen is eternal.” A Christian becomes such through a power at work, beyond persuasion. When the world hates him, God loves him. For it is written, “If you were of this world, the world would love what belongs to it. But you are not of the world. I chose you out of it. Remain in communion with me.”

Chapter 4

I write to all the Churches. To all I declare that I consent to die for God, if you do not prevent me. I implore you, spare me an untimely kindness. Let me become food for wild beasts. Through them it will be granted me to attain God. I am God's wheat, ground by the beasts' teeth to become God's pure bread. Rather, encourage the beasts to become my tomb, to leave nothing of my body. Thus, when I have fallen asleep in death, I shall be a burden to no one. Then I shall truly be a disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world no longer sees even my body. Implore the Lord that through these instruments I may be an offering to God. I do not give you orders as Peter and Paul did. They were apostles of Jesus Christ; I am the least of believers. They were free as God's servants; I am still a slave. But when I suffer, I shall be Jesus Christ's freedman and shall rise free in him. And even now, in my chains for him, I am learning to desire none of the world's vanities.

Chapter 5

From Syria to Rome I fight against beasts, on land and sea, by night as by day. I am bound to ten leopards, by which I mean a troop of soldiers whom even kindness makes more savage. Through their mistreatment I continue my apprenticeship as a disciple, "without thereby being justified". May I find my joy with the beasts that await me! I pray that they may rush upon me. I shall urge them to devour me without delay, lest they treat me like some whom they were afraid to touch. If they refuse to attack me, I shall compel them. Forgive me; I know what is beneficial to me. Now I am beginning to be a disciple. I desire nothing visible or invisible, provided I attain Jesus Christ. Let fire, the cross and bands of beasts, fractures, tears and dislocations of bones, limbs torn off, the whole body crushed and even the devil's torments come upon me. Only let me attain Jesus Christ!

Chapter 6

The ends of the world and all the kingdoms of the earth would be of no use to me. It is better for me to die for Jesus Christ than to reign to the ends of the earth. "What does it profit a man to gain the whole world if he loses his own life?" I desire the Lord, the Son of the true God, the Father; I desire Jesus Christ. It is he whom I seek, he who died for us and rose again. Forgive me, brothers. Do not prevent me from attaining life, for Jesus is the life of believers. Do not wish to keep me in death. A life without Christ is death. I desire to belong to God; do not deliver me to the world. Let me attain the pure light. When I have arrived there, I shall truly be a man of God. Allow me to imitate the passion of Christ, my God. If anyone bears him within, let him consider my desire and share my distress, knowing what a grip holds me.

Chapter 7

The prince of this world would like to carry me away and corrupt the impulse that bears me towards God. Let none of you in Rome help him. Stand on my side, by which I mean God's side. Beware of speaking of Jesus Christ while preferring this world to him. Give no place to jealousy. And if, once among you, I should ask you for the contrary, do not let yourselves be persuaded. Believe instead what I write to you today. I write to you alive, but I long to die for Christ. My love has been crucified. There is no longer in me any fire that clings to anything. There is living water springing up within me and saying inwardly to me, "Come to the Father." I take pleasure neither in perishable food nor in the enjoyments of this life. I desire the bread of God, the bread of heaven, the bread of life, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who subsequently sprang from the line of David and Abraham. And for drink I desire his blood, imperishable love and eternal life.

Chapter 8

I no longer wish to live in the manner of men, and my desire will be fulfilled if you consent. "I am crucified with Christ. Yet I live, and it is no longer I, but Christ who lives in me." Through this brief letter I implore you not to reject me. Believe me when I tell you that I love Jesus, who was delivered up for me. "What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits towards me?" God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ will reveal to you that I speak the truth. Pray with me that, in the Holy Spirit, I may attain my goal. It is according to God's will that I write to you, without following the desires of my flesh. If I am allowed to suffer, it is because you have loved me. If I am turned aside, it is because you have hated me.

Chapter 9

In your prayers remember the Church of Syria. In my place it now has the Lord as its shepherd, he who says, “I am the good shepherd.” He alone will watch over it, as will your love for him. For my part, I am ashamed to be counted among its members. I am unworthy, the least of all, like a child born before its time. But I have obtained mercy to become someone, if I attain God. My spirit greets you, as does the love of the Churches that welcomed me in the name of Jesus Christ and not as a mere passer-by. Even those far from my route accompanied me from city to city.

Chapter 10

I write to you from Smyrna through the Ephesians, rightly called blessed. With me, among several others, is Crocus, who is very dear to me. Those who preceded me from Syria to Rome for God’s glory—I believe you know them. Tell them that I am very near. They are all worthy of God and worthy of you. It is fitting for you to comfort them in everything. I wrote to you on the eve of the ninth day before the Kalends of September. Farewell until the end, in the patience of Jesus Christ!

FF. 117V–120R / NOTES

Translation choices

To the Romans

The prisoner and his recipients

The author portrays himself on his way to Rome. His requests are addressed to those who might intervene on his behalf. This situation explains several surprising expressions concerning the death he awaits.

God’s wheat

Wheat and milling form an image of martyrdom. In French, one can speak of God’s “froment” to retain traditional wording or his “blé” for a more common word. The beasts enter the same image through their teeth.

Romans IV · Slave and freedman

Ignatius calls himself δοῦλος, “slave” or “servant”. The terms “free” and “freedman” extend the image. Here it is the prisoner speaking of his own condition. The Didache, on folio 78 verso, uses another word, παῖς, in the prayer that designates Jesus.

Reference text

A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (eds.), The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1870. English text of the long recension.

FF. 120R–120V / ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Leo and Joseph's genealogy

Leo's date and signature, followed by a note that attempts to reconcile the Gospel genealogies. The Byzantine date corresponds to 11 June 1056.

The copyist's colophon · 120 recto

"Completed in the month of June, on the eleventh of the month, a Tuesday [...] in the year 6564, by the hand of Leo, notary and sinner."

Joseph's genealogy · 120 recto and verso

"Joseph, the husband of Mary, of whom Christ was born..." The passage examines Joseph's lineage. Matthew traces Joseph's descent from David through Solomon, and Luke through Nathan. Solomon and Nathan were sons of David.

Among the Israelites, the writer explains, the genealogy of a young woman is not drawn up. The Virgin's kinship can therefore be recognised through that of her husband, since it was not permitted to become betrothed in another tribe. For this reason, in God's purpose, Joseph belonged to the same tribe as the Virgin. [A few words in the discussion are difficult to read.]

The law prescribes that if a brother dies without leaving offspring, his widow is to be married. The child born of this union is by nature the son of the one who begot him. According to the law, he is the son of the one who died. From the tribe of Judah come Levi and Melchi. From Solomon's line comes Matthan, who begot Jacob.

After Matthan's death, Melchi, himself of Nathan's line, in turn marries Jacob's mother. By her he has a son, Heli. Thus Jacob and Heli are brothers of the same mother. Jacob is of Solomon's line and Heli of Nathan's line. Then Heli, who descended from Nathan, dies childless.

Jacob, Heli's brother, marries his wife. He begets Joseph and thus raises up offspring for his brother. Joseph is therefore by nature the son of

Jacob, a descendant of Solomon, and, according to the law, the son of Heli, a descendant of Nathan.

Sense translation of the last two views. The lines added at the bottom of the last verso and the flyleaf inscriptions remain visible in the reproduction. Their transcription and translation remain to be established.

FF. 120R–120V / NOTES

Translation choices

Colophon and Joseph’s genealogy

The copyist’s note

The word *νοτάριος* can be rendered as “notary” or “secretary”. Leo also uses a humble designation which translations render as “sinner”. The date concerns this physical copy.

By nature and according to the law

The genealogy distinguishes the father who begot the child from the father to whom the child is legally attached. This distinction explains how the author proposes to reconcile the lists in Matthew 1 and Luke 3.

The names

The forms Héli and Éli represent the same name in French editions. The account distinguishes Jacob, Heli, Matthan and Melchi. The two lines go back to David through different sons, Solomon and Nathan.

Reference text

Jerusalem manuscript, Panagios Taphos 54, views 122–123. Compare Matthew 1:16 and Luke 3:23, as well as the tradition reported by Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History I, 7.

SOURCES AND EDITIONS

Sources and credits

Panagios Taphos 54 · Jerusalem

Manuscript and reproduction

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Identification of the works

Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (CNRS), Pinakes database, Diktyon record 35291. University of Helsinki, The Apostolic Fathers, manuscript record for the long recension of Ignatius's letters. The folio ranges refer to the Jerusalem manuscript.

The French source versions

Synopsis: the 1865 version directed by M. Jeannin, supplemented here for five entries. Barnabas: Hemmer, Oger and Laurent, 1907. The two Clement texts: Hemmer, 1909. Didache: the French translation in this collection. Letters of Ignatius: French prepared for this edition from the English version of the Apostolic Fathers, Roberts and Donaldson, 1870. Short notices: readings of the manuscript and comparison with the studies cited. This English edition translates those French texts.

The volume online

The links on this page open the Library of Congress microfilm, the Pinakes record, the Helsinki catalogue and the 1870 English edition. The manuscript's modern history is traced by Huub van de Sandt. The illustrations are in the public domain. Their captions identify the collections and link to the records for the works.

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MS NO. TAPHOS 54

SUBJECT JOHN CHRYS: SYNOPSIS OF TESTAMENTS: APOSTOLIC FATHERS

DIMENSIONS 19.1 x 15.3

FOLIOS 120

MATERIAL PARCHMENT

DATE 1056

Χειρόγραφον
Αριθ. 54

H54 / View 005 · Folios 2 verso / 3 recto

ὁ δὲ ἀπολάβῃ τὸν ἀλογοδιαγόρᾳ καὶ ἀπαμφοῦσα ἐν θρι ὠδι ἐρχομένα
μετὰ ἐν· ὁ δὲ νομίᾳ ἐκ φησὶ δὲ ἀπολλακῆ ἢ κακὶ ἐν χάρις ἐαυτῇ
ἄγγελ κ ἐν πρὸ τὴ θυσι ἐν ἀρξάμην· ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ ἢ καινὴ ἐμαυλισμ
εἰς ἐπ σολαμ εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ ταρ πεντὲ· πεν δαμμὴ πὰ πὸ ταρ
δεῦ δὲ ἢ ελαθ τ τὸν χῶ· ἐῶ ὁ μαθ ὄγον· δεῦ ὁ λοῦ κὰ ὁ μερ
κου· ὧμ ὁ δὲ πεῦ πτέρου· ὁ) πεῦ πεν λ γρόν ασ ελαθ τὰ
οἱ δὲ γὰρ ἀπὸ τὴ ὁ σγγόν ἐμ νοι ὁ σιγγόν ὁ μ νοι ἢ χῶ· οἱ δὲ
πάρ κ ἐν τὰ δὲ κ ἐν δ ἀλλ ἐμ νοι ἐσ τὰ τέρ οι σ ὁ ζ ἐν ἐ γκ ὼν·
ὁ πὸ ἢ πρ ὰ ζε) ἐμ ελ ὁ ἀπὸ λουκᾶ ἐ σορ ἐ σ ἢ πα ζ ὁν ὁ
μερ ἀν· ὁ ἢ κανθολ ἰκ ἐπ ασ ὰ μ πρ ἕ ι σ :

∴ ΣΥΝΟΠΤΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΓΕΝΗΣΕΩΣ ∴

Τ ρῶ κατὰ τὴν κ ο σμο ποι ΐ αν ὁ ἢ ὑ ἀν ἄ πλ ε σ τ ὴ ν ἐ Η πο
λ ὴ ν λ α μ ε ἰ ἀρ χ ὸ ἀ δ ὰ μ ὼ· ὁ πλ ά σ τ η χ μ ὴ ν κ τ ὴ πλ ἀ ρ ὼ σ ε ὐ τ ο ῦ·
ὁ ἐ π α σ τ ὴ φ ὴ σ α ν ὑ π ὸ τ ο ῦ ὁ φ ἑ ω σ ὰ π α σ ὰ ἢ ἀ ν δ ρ α ὁ ἡ φ ὸ λο
μ ὸ ν ε ἰ ε ἰ α ὐ τ ὸ ν ὑ σ ι κ α τ ἀ ρ α ὐ τ, ἐ κ μ α λ ε σ α ὐ τ ο ῦ π ἤ χ ο υ· ὁ
ὁ ὁ φ ἰ σ δ ἡ σ α ι κ α τ ἀ ρ ᾶ σ ι τ ο ῦ α ὐ τ ὸ ἰ ω π α ῦ τ ἀ ν α μ ἐ ρ ὰ ἢ
ἀ δ ε λ φ ὸ μ ὸ κ ἀ ἡ ν δ ὺ ἀ π ὸ ὑ π ῥ ὁ δ ὸ κ ι μ ε τ ὴ ὠ ὴ· ὁ δ ι δ ὼ σ ι σ δ ἰ ν
ὁ μ ε τ ὰ π α ν τ ὰ π η δ ὼ σ ο ι ῇ· π τ κ τ ῃ· ὁ δ α ῖ σ ι σ θ· κ α τ α λ ο ῇ·
ἢ ἀ π ὸ ἀ δ α μ ὼ· ἢ ἀ π ὸ ἢ σ ι σ θ· ὑ ὼ σ ο π ο ὖ ν ἰ ὼ ε κ α ὶ κ α τ π ῃ φ ῥ ἰ
ἢ ἀ ν ἰ σ ῇ· δ ι α ὐ τ ὸ ὐ π ρ ο σ π κ ο ὺ σ ἐ π ἰ χ α μ ὲ· ὁ ἢ τ λ ο ἰ π ἄ ν ο μ ε·
ν ῆ ο ι ω δ ε ἢ ὑ ὖ ἐ ν π α ὐ θ α κ α λ ῇ π ο ι ω ἀ π ο ὖ π τ ὸ κ α τ α μ ῆ τ
τ ο ῦ μ ὸ ν ο σ ὁ μ χ φ ὴ· ἐ μ ὼ ῇ π α ν θ ο ι δ α ῖ ε ι ς γ ῆ ο ἰ ὐ τ ἢ π α ν π α ν τ
θ ι γ α τ ἑ ρ ὰ δ ὲ ἀ ν ἀ σ ῃ π α σ λ π ο ὖ ἢ κ α ἰ ἡ ν π ρ ο λ χ ῃ ὁ θ σ ῶ ν

ἡ ὼ ε τ ὴ ν μ ο λ λ ο υ σ ὁ ἢ τ ἀ ν σ ω μ ἀ π ὼ λ ῇ δ ι ὰ τ ο ῦ κ α τ α κ λ ι σ μ ῇ
ὁ π ρ α ὴ ἡ π ο ι ὴ σ α τ ὴ ν κ ι β ω τ π ρ ἰ α κ ο σ ι π ν χ ε τ ο μ ὴ ν
π θ ἡ ν τ ὴ ν κ ο π ἰ α σ π ἡ γ ὸ ὰ μ τ ὸ π λ ἀ τ ὸ· π ρ ἰ α κ ο ν τ ἀ π ὸ χ τ ο ὺ τ ο ς
α ὐ τ ῇ ὁ φ σ ὴ λ θ ὁ σ τ ὴ ν κ ι β ω τ ὸ ν· ὁ φ θ ρ β τ ὸ ὁ κ α τ α κ λ ι σ μ ῇ
τ α τ α ρ α κ ὸ ν τ ἡ μ ι σ υ ἡ μ ι σ υ τ α τ α ρ α κ ὸ ν τ ἡ ν ὺ κ τ· ἐ μ β ὸ δ ι σ δ ὺ ν τ ὸ ῦ
δ ι α ρ μ ε τ ὰ ἔ κ α τ π θ ἡ ν τ ὰ κ ὸ ν τ ἡ μ ι σ υ· ὁ φ θ ὺ) α ὐ κ ο ρ υ φ α ὶ τ
ὄ ρ ε· π ρ ὼ τ ο π ο ὺ δ ἐ κ α π ὸ ν μ ὴ· ὁ μ ε τ α π τ α τ α ρ α κ ὸ ν τ ἡ μ ι σ υ
ἀ π ὲ σ τ α λ ε π κ ὸ ρ α κ α ὶ ὁ χ ὶ π τ ἀ ρ τ ε· ὁ μ ε τ ὰ δ ὲ τ α ὰ π μ ι σ υ ἀ π ὲ σ τ α
λ ε τ ὴ ν π α ρ α ὴ ὁ ὑ π ἀ ρ τ ε ἔ κ α λ ἐ σ α ὐ π ὸ θ ὖ ὁ ἡ ὼ ε· ἀ ῇ ὁ ν
θ ἐ κ τ κ ι ε ω π ο ὖ· ὁ ἀ ῇ ὁ θ ὖ σ ε π ὸ ὼ θ ὲ ὁ ἀ λ ο μ ῇ ὁ λ α ι ε
ὁ π α γ μ ἡ· ὑ π ε κ δ ι ε μ ἐ ρ ι σ τ ο ι α ὐ τ ἀ π ὼ λ ῇ α ἰ σ α ν δ ὰ
τ ο ῦ κ α τ α κ λ ι σ μ ῇ· ὁ μ ε τ α τ α ὐ τ α ἀ λ ο μ ῇ ἐ τ σ ω ὁ τ ὴ
ἡ ἀ ῇ θ θ· κ α τ α ῇ σ τ ῃ) τ χ α ν ε α ὶ ἐ π ῇ δ ὸ π ρ α ὐ τ ὸ ν χ ῳ·
ἀ ῇ π ῇ τ ἡ μ ι ν ω σ τ ὸ ν π ρ σ· ἐ κ ε ι μ ῇ δ ἐ κ α τ α ῇ σ ι ὼ ῇ τ
μ ε ὰ σ ο μ ῖ τ μ ὰ λ λ ῃ π ρ ο σ χ ε μ ῇ· κ α τ α ῇ σ ῃ· τ ὸ δ ἀ λ ὴ τ
π ρ ο φ ῆ τ ῷ· ὁ ἰ ἀ π ὸ ἢ ν ὼ ε ὼ σ τ ὸ ν φ σ ὶ ε χ· ὁ σ ἀ π ὸ τ ῇ
ε ὑ ρ ῇ θ ἡ ὼ ἀ ὐ τ ὸ ν τ ὴ ν μ ὰ ν ἢ π ρ ο σ π ο ρ ἰ ἐ λ α β ε τ α ὐ τ· π ὸ
τ ε χ π ρ χ ο ν ὼ κ ο δ ο μ ὼ σ· ὁ ἢ ὼ ὁ τ ὸ ἢ ε ὐ θ υ λ π ρ ο σ
γ ο ρ ἀ θ· ὁ δ ε ῖ σ υ μ ε ῖ· ὼ σ φ ὸ ἐ κ ῇ σ ω μ ὰ θ ὁ α ὐ τ ἀ ε γ λ ὼ ῖ
σ α ε· π ο ρ δ ε π ρ ὼ π φ α λ κ τ β ὸ ρ λ ο ῦ ῇ μ ὸ μ ο ὴ ὼ
π ο ἰ ὁ λ ο ἰ π ῇ τ ὴ ν π ρ ἰ γ ν ὰ ἰ κ ο δ ο μ ἐ· ὼ ἢ γ α τ ὸ ν τ ο α ὐ τ ὼ π ὴ ν
λ α λ ι α ν λ α ἀ μ φ θ ὼ η· ἀ λ λ α ε ι σ ῃ α ὐ τ ὰ κ ὸ ρ α ῇ χ ὸ ν π τ
ἀ λ κ τ· ὼ ἀ π α ῖ τ ὸ ν π ὴ ν ἔ π ω ν η τ α ὶ μ ὴ α ὐ τ ὴ ν λ α ῳ ῇ ν·

H54 / View 009 · Folios 6 verso / 7 recto

H54 / View 012 · Folios 9 verso / 10 recto

δω̄σ· τοῦσ λοιποῦσ ὀξ ἐκκοσμεῖ· τὴν δ' αὐτὴν δόσιν ἐποιήσατο καὶ τῷ ἀφ μ̄ρὶ
τῷ δ· τὸ ἀφ μ̄ρὶ ὁμοίωσ τὴν κθ̄ην τοῦσ μαθητὰσ ἐκάλεσεν· ἐκάλεσε δὲ καὶ τὸν
τ̄ν τελωνῶν ἀπόστολον ἀπὸ τοῦ τελωνίου· ὃν ἀνέγραψε καὶ μ̄ρκοσ καὶ λουκᾶσ·
ἀπαγγέλλων ἀπὸ τῶν· ὃν ἀνέγραψε τοῦ τὸν ἁγ̄ν ἐκκλησίαν· ἐκάλεσε δὲ καὶ τὸν
ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ ἁλφαίου καὶ θαδδαῖον καὶ σίμωνα τὸν καναναῖον καὶ ἰούδαν
ἰακώβου καὶ ἰούδαν τὸν καὶ λεββαῖον ἐπικληθέντα καὶ θωμᾶν καὶ μ̄ρκον τὸν
τελώνην ματθαῖον τὸν καὶ λευὶν τὸν τοῦ ἁλφαίου καθεζόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ τελωνίου
καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἀκολούθει μοι· καὶ ἀναστὰσ ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ· καὶ ἐγένετο
ἐν τῷ κατακεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ πολλοὶ τελῶναι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ
συνανέκειντο τῷ ἰ̄ῡ καὶ τοῖσ μαθηταῖσ αὐτοῦ· ἦσαν γὰρ πολλοὶ καὶ ἠκολούθουν
αὐτῷ· καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖσ καὶ οἱ φαρισαῖοι ἰδόντεσ ἔλεγον τοῖσ μαθηταῖσ αὐτοῦ·
διὰ τί μετὰ τελωνῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐσθίει ὁ διδάσκαλοσ ὑμῶν· καὶ ἀκούσασ
ὁ ἰ̄ῡσ εἶπεν αὐτοῖσ· οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ὑγιαίνοντεσ ἰατροῦ ἀλλ' οἱ κακῶσ
ἔχοντεσ· οὐκ ἐλήλυθα καλέσαι δικαίουσ ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺσ εἰσ μετάνοιαν·
καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ ἰωάννου ἦσαν νηστεύοντεσ καὶ δεήσεισ ποιούμενοι ὁμοίωσ καὶ
οἱ τῶν φαρισαίων· καὶ ἐλθόντεσ εἶπον αὐτῷ· διὰ τί οἱ μαθηταὶ ἰωάννου καὶ οἱ
τῶν φαρισαίων νηστεύουσιν οἱ δὲ σοὶ μαθηταὶ οὐ νηστεύουσιν· καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖσ
ὁ ἰ̄ῡσ· μὴ δύνανται οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνοσ ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίοσ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστιν
νηστεύειν· ἐλεύσονται δὲ ἡμέραι καὶ ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμφίοσ τότε
νηστεύσουσιν ἐν ἐκείναισ ταῖσ ἡμέραισ· οὐδεὶσ ἐπίβλημα ῥάκουσ ἀγνάφου
ἐπιβάλλει ἐπὶ ἱμάτιον παλαιόν· εἰ δὲ μή γε αἴρει τὸ πλήρωμα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ καινὸν
τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ χεῖρον σχίσμα γίνεται· καὶ οὐδεὶσ βάλλει οἶνον νέον εἰσ
ἀσκοὺσ παλαιούσ· εἰ δὲ μή γε ῥήξει ὁ οἶνοσ τοὺσ ἀσκοὺσ καὶ αὐτὸσ ἀπόλλυται
καὶ οἱ ἀσκοί· ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰσ ἀσκοὺσ καινοὺσ βλητέον· καὶ οὐδεὶσ πιὼν
παλαιὸν θέλει νέον· λέγει γάρ· ὁ παλαιὸσ χρηστότερόσ ἐστιν· καὶ ἐγένετο
ἐν σαββάτῳ διαπορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν σπορίμων καὶ ἤρξαντο οἱ μαθηταὶ
αὐτοῦ ὁδὸν ποιεῖν τίλλοντεσ τοὺσ στάχυασ· καὶ οἱ φαρισαῖοι ἔλεγον αὐτῷ·
ἴδε τί ποιοῦσιν τοῖσ σαββάτοισ ὃ οὐκ ἔξεστιν· καὶ αὐτὸσ εἶπεν αὐτοῖσ· οὐδέποτε
ἀνέγνωτε τί ἐποίησεν δαυὶδ ὅτε χρείαν ἔσχεν καὶ ἐπείνασεν αὐτὸσ καὶ οἱ μετ'
αὐτοῦ· πῶσ εἰσῆλθεν εἰσ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ ἀβιάθαρ ἀρχιερέωσ καὶ τοὺσ
ἄρτουσ τῆσ προθέσεωσ ἔφαγεν οὓσ οὐκ ἔξεστιν φαγεῖν εἰ μὴ τοῖσ ἱερεῦσιν
καὶ ἔδωκεν καὶ τοῖσ μετ' αὐτοῦ οὖσιν· καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖσ· τοῦ σαββάτου
κύριόσ ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸσ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῆσ κυριακῆσ·

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καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν ἑτέρῳ σαββάτῳ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰσ τὴν συναγωγὴν καὶ διδάσκειν·
καὶ ἦν ἄνθρωποσ καὶ ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ ἡ δεξιὰ ἐξηραμμένη· καὶ παρετηροῦντο
αὐτὸν οἱ γραμματεῖσ καὶ οἱ φαρισαῖοι εἰ ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ θεραπεύει ἵνα εὕρωσιν
κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ· αὐτὸσ δὲ ᾔδει τοὺσ διαλογισμοὺσ αὐτῶν· καὶ εἶπεν τῷ ἀνδρὶ
τῷ ἔχοντι τὴν ξηρὰν χεῖρα· ἔγειρε καὶ στῆθι εἰσ τὸ μέσον· καὶ ἀναστὰσ ἔστη·
εἶπεν δὲ ὁ ἰ̄ῡσ πρὸσ αὐτούσ· ἐπερωτῶ ὑμᾶσ εἰ ἔξεστιν τοῖσ σαββάτοισ ἀγαθοποιῆσαι
ἢ κακοποιῆσαι ψυχὴν σῶσαι ἢ ἀπολέσαι· οἱ δὲ ἐσιώπων· καὶ περιβλεψάμενοσ
πάντασ αὐτοὺσ εἶπεν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ· ἔκτεινον τὴν χεῖρά σου· καὶ ἐποίησεν οὕτωσ·
καὶ ἀπεκατεστάθη ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ ὑγιὴσ ὡσ ἡ ἄλλη· καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν ἄνοιασ καὶ
διελάλουν πρὸσ ἀλλήλουσ τί ἂν ποιήσαιεν τῷ ἰ̄ῡ· ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖσ ἡμέραισ
ταύταισ ἐξελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰσ τὸ ὄροσ προσεύξασθαι καὶ ἦν διανυκτερεύων ἐν τῇ
προσευχῇ τοῦ θ̄ῡ· καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡμέρα προσεφώνησεν τοὺσ μαθητὰσ αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἐξελέξατο ἀπ' αὐτῶν δώδεκα οὓσ καὶ ἀποστόλουσ ὠνόμασεν· σίμωνα ὃν
καὶ ὠνόμασεν πέτρον καὶ ἀνδρέαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰάκωβον καὶ ἰωάννην
καὶ φίλιππον καὶ βαρθολομαῖον καὶ ματθαῖον καὶ θωμᾶν καὶ ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ
ἁλφαίου καὶ σίμωνα τὸν καλούμενον ζηλωτὴν καὶ ἰούδαν ἰακώβου καὶ ἰούδαν
ἰσκαριώτην ὃσ καὶ ἐγένετο προδότησ· καὶ καταβὰσ μετ' αὐτῶν ἔστη ἐπὶ τόπου
πεδινοῦ καὶ ὄχλοσ πολὺσ μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ πλῆθοσ πολὺ τοῦ λαοῦ πολλοὶ
ἀπὸ πάσησ τῆσ ἰουδαίασ καὶ ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ τῆσ παραλίου τύρου καὶ σιδῶνοσ
οἱ ἐλθόντεσ ἀκοῦσαι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰαθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν νόσων αὐτῶν· καὶ οἱ ἐνοχλούμενοι
ἀπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων καὶ ἐθεραπεύοντο· καὶ πᾶσ ὁ ὄχλοσ ἐζήτει ἅπτεσθαι
αὐτοῦ ὅτι δύναμισ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο καὶ ἰᾶτο πάντασ· καὶ αὐτὸσ ἐπάρασ
τοὺσ ὀφθαλμοὺσ αὐτοῦ εἰσ τοὺσ μαθητὰσ αὐτοῦ ἔλεγεν· μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ
ὅτι ὑμετέρα ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θ̄ῡ· μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντεσ νῦν ὅτι χορτασθήσεσθε·
μακάριοι οἱ κλαίοντεσ νῦν ὅτι γελάσετε· μακάριοί ἐστε ὅταν μισήσωσιν ὑμᾶσ
οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ὅταν ἀφορίσωσιν ὑμᾶσ καὶ ὀνειδίσωσιν καὶ ἐκβάλωσιν τὸ
ὄνομα ὑμῶν ὡσ πονηρὸν ἕνεκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· χάρητε ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ καὶ σκιρτήσατε ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὁ μισθὸσ ὑμῶν πολὺσ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· κατὰ τὰ
αὐτὰ γὰρ ἐποίουν τοῖσ προφήταισ οἱ πατέρεσ αὐτῶν· πλὴν οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖσ πλουσίοισ
ὅτι ἀπέχετε τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν· οὐαὶ ὑμῖν οἱ ἐμπεπλησμένοι νῦν ὅτι πεινάσετε·
οὐαὶ οἱ γελῶντεσ νῦν ὅτι πενθήσετε καὶ κλαύσετε· οὐαὶ ὅταν καλῶ

Synopsis tēs exodou:

Κθλδέαι ειωϊσῶσα ἀριθμῶ ητον λαονἀποἡ κοπεδοίσο
ις ἐπάνω. καὶ ὃ ὀξακόσιαι χιλιάδες. ις τριάκοντα
καὶ ὀξακόσιοι ις πὸν πκὸν χωρισ᾽ τ̄ λεπ̄. γόνυθαλοῦσι
οἱ λαοὶ ταις ἐριθμῆσ. ις ὃ ὁ ἑξακοσιοὶ χιλιάδ̄. ἀπὸ μιᾶς
ις ἐπάνω. ἐπὶ δ᾽ οἱ πρ̄ τὸ πκοι ἡ τρακαὶ ἑξακοσιοὶ χιλιάδες
ὃ ὁ ις τρ̄. καὶ ὁ ἑξακόσιοι ις ἑβδομήκοντ̄ ἐννέα πὸ τρῶ ὁλαῖς
λύτρωσιν ὁ ις δύ᾽ λοις ὅ᾽ ἁρμόν. τὰ λύτρ᾽ ὃ ἡ χίλιοι τρια
κόσιοι ὀξάκοντα πὸν οἱ κλοι κτὰ κεφαλ̄. ὁ αὐτὸς ἡ πὰν
λειτουργῆ. τὴν θυλῆ ταῖς ὁ φθάλουσιν. οὐχὶ πλὴν τ̄ τοις αὐτ
ἡγεμόνοις τῆ. ἀλλοι δὲ τὰ πὶ μειώτρα τ̄ σκᾶ τ̄ σκην̄. οἱ δὲ τὰ
ὁλόπτονα ὧν ἀφορίζοντο φάν᾽ θυ᾽. οἱ λαοὶ πᾶν ἀπὸ ἑξακοσ
ίων καὶ ἐπάνω. οἱ ις ζῆ τουργοῦν θύσ᾽ πὸν πκοντ̄ αἰγῶν.
ὁκτακισχίλιοι πὸν πακόσιοι ὁλόκοντ̄ πρῶ. τὸ τ̄ κελεύῃ
πᾶν πανάκαθαρτ̄. ὁ ζ ἀπὸ αἰγῶν τ̄ παρθένων. καὶ π̄
εθυσι τ̄ ὑπὲρ πὸν μεμολυῆσθαι ἀνθρῶ. ις τ̄ τ̄ ζυλοστυπίσθ᾽ τὰ
πτῆνα μόνα. τ̄ τ̄ μὲν σικοφάντρος γυναῖκα ὑβρισμοῖς.
μιᾶ τ̄ μοιχευθῆσ᾽ δυὼ ἀσελγαῖ. πτελ̄ ἀχ̄ τ̄ ἀμαυρῆθ᾽ τὰ
ὑπτέα ις πὶ δῶτ᾽ ἡ βδελυγμὸν ποιοῦσιν ἐσθαιλ̄ ἐν τ̄ ἁγίᾳ
σκηνῆ. πρόσωγα δὲ ὧν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐσθαιλ πολλαὶς μεγάλ
Κθλδέαι ειωϊσῶσα ἀριθμῶ ητον λαὸν ἀπὸ ἑξακο
σιοστοῦ δὴ ἐτους λειτουργῆ ις ἐπάνω. ἀπὸ τ̄ πὸν ἐξῆς ἀριθ
μεῖται τ̄ λειτουργῆ. Κθλδῆ αὐτ̄ ὁ τῶ δυὼ ειωϊσῶσα ποιοῦσ
τὸ πάσχα. ἡ πρωτοφόρ᾽ ις ποιοῦ τῶν σ οἱ υἱοὶ ἰσ̄λ τὸ πάσχα.
ἦν δὲ πρῶτ̄ μὲν τοῦ δισχιλιοστοῦ ἔτους. προσῆλθ᾽ οἱ ἀκάθαρ

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H54 / View 020 · Folios 17 verso / 18 recto

προσθρχονται οἱ ἀρχοντες τῆς φυλῆς καὶ ἀποστὰς ὁ λαχὼν τὴν ἱερωσύνην τοῦ ἡρωος ἐπεύχεται ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῆς φυλῆς καὶ τῆς τριττύος καὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων καὶ θυγατέρων καὶ παιδὶ λαῷ κληρ· ἔπειτα σπένδεται καὶ ἐκπίνει τὸν κρατῆρα καὶ ἐπιτίθησι τὸν στέφανον καὶ ἀπέρχεται ἀποδεδυκὼς τὴν ἱερωσύνην καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἣν ἔχων ἔθυσεν καὶ ἀποδίδωσι τὰ ἱερὰ τοῖς ἱεροποιοῖς καὶ τὰ σκεύη ἃ παρέλαβεν ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ καὶ τὰ ἱερεῖα ἃ ἔθυσεν ἐν τῷ Διονυσίῳ τῷ ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱερείων δέρματα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱερείων κρέα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱερείων ἔντερα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱερείων ἄλφιτα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱερείων οἶνον καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱερείων ἄρτους καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱερείων ἐλαίαν καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱερείων σῦκα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱερείων ἄλλα ἃ ἔθυσεν ἐν τῷ Διονυσίῳ τῷ ἐν Πειραιεῖ

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ΣΥΝΟΨΙΣ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΑΥΗ

Κολλέσαι Ἰησοῦ δι' ἀπείλην τοῦ λαοῦ. τί τε ἐνόμισαν τοῦτο
πρόσχημα. πῶς ἐπὶ καὶ ἐκόπουσι. ἃ σὺν ἐθισμὸς τῆς ἱερουχοῦ ἀκχάτ
ὁ Ἰσραὴλ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον ἐποιοῦντο πάρεσιν ἢ ὑποδοχὴν ἢ ὁ ἔκ τινος
τῆς κατασκοπῆς. ἃ ἀντὶ
ταῦτ' ἡ χαρὶς τοῦ. ἐνέπεσον τρισὶν τοῖς κιβωτοῖς. ὁ στ' ἐν πολλῷ φθῷ
οἱ ἐκ Ἰεριχὼ δύο. ἃ ἀπελθεῖν τὰ ἀπὸ μηχανὴν τοῦ ἐξόμοιμ. παραμυθεῖν
τὸν λαὸν ἵνα τὸ θαλασσὴν τὸν Ἰορδάνην. ἃ δυσβάστατον ἐπὶ χειρὸς ἐλιθοβόλησεν
ἐκεῖνον σεσωσμένην τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ πόλιν δύο δίκαιοι. ἃ σὺν αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου
οὐ διὰ σοὶ ἐφορῶσι. διὰ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λίθινα δώδεκα. Ἀκούσαντες

οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἀμόρρου οἱ πρὸ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. ἃ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ
πόλεως ὁ τὴν δὴ ἐξ ἡμέρας θέλουσι τὸν Ἰορδάνην. καὶ πεντάκοσιοι καὶ πλήθους.
τὸ μὲν Ἰησοῦς προσέταξεν μαχαίρας πέτρινους τοῖς τὴν ἐκ μέσου
ἐν δυσὶ. ἵνα ἐν ἀκρωτηρίῳ ἐν ἀνδρὶ ἀπὸ ἡλίου τὸν τόπον μου.
ἃ ἦν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀπὸ τὴν τὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς πλήθους τὸν μέσον. οἱ ἃ
ἀπὸ Λοντὶ ἀνὴρ τοῦτ' ἀνὴρ καὶ τὰ οὐ τοῦ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ.
οἱ ἐν Ἰησοῦς ἐκ τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ μέρους ἀπὸ τὴν δυσὶν
ὁδοῦ. τὸ τὴν ἐποίησε τὸ πάσχα. ὃν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐφάγοσαν ἀπὸ
τὸ σιτηρὸν γῆς ἐκεῖ. ὃ ἐλ πὲ τὸ μάννα. καὶ ἐν Ἰησοῦς λίθου
τὸ ὑπόδημα αὐτοῦ ἃ κύκλῳ τὴν ὄρυχα μέσα σάλπιγγα τῆς
ἐκ τοῦ ἡμέρας ἀπὸ. οὐ γόμος. αὐτὸ μετὰ βοῦς τὰ τῆς γῆς
δῶλ ὃ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἐρχὲ λαβὲ λύσε τὸ σάββατον. ὁ δ' ἐν χεῖρ
χειμῶν ἀνάγκη τὸ σάμμαθμπο ὃν τὸ ὃ ἡμέρας. τὸ τοῦ σώ
ζειν ἡ ἀπὸ μέσα σὺν αὐτοῦ ἃ οἰκοῦντες ἐν δύσει πρὸ
δὲ πόλιν ἀναθέματος ἃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸ
οἰκοδομῆται αὐτ. ἐκλεθὲν θκὲν ἀναθέματα χέρ. ἃ λίτ
τὰ ὁλὰ πρὸ μαλ ἑτέρα πολ. δῆτ θυῖ ἡ σὺν Ἰησοῦ. κελεύσθη
ὃ ἐξαρθῆναι τὸ ἀναθέμα. ἀνοδοῦχθη ὁ ἀχάρ. ἡλῴχθη τὸ κλέμ
μα. ὀλίγοι πολλοὶ μέγα ἐ ἰσχὺς θυμαστρώμη ὁ ἀχάρ. ἀπὸ
μαχόμενοι ἡ σὺν τὸ μέχ. ἃ ὃ δὲ πάλιν ὃν ἐπὶ ρίου ἐν ἐκεῖ
ὃν αὐτὸ δύο δίκαιοι λίθου. ἃ τὸ μισοῦ τὸ πόλεμον ἐκρέμασον
ἕως ἑνὸς σωθρήσαι πόλεμον τὸ ἡλ οἱ μισοῦσθαι
ἀμφορεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ ἃ οἱ λοιποὶ. οἱ κοδομεῖ ἡ σὺν θυσ

ασαν ριθ κλ ιθ ολοκληρ. ις ζ ραβδ ητο δευτερο νομ κβ. ις

οι ν μεσ ζ απ ιο πλ ν σι του ορ γ μου αλ. ις οι ν μεσ πλ ν σι

του ορ ις ζ αρ ιζ ιν· θρ τ ιδ θ τ ακ απ τ οις ζ αμ α σ μ ι τ· ουτοι ιζ

ακ ουσ ζ τ π τ ισ ρ α λ ι τ φ ο μ ν θ θ μ τ αυτ ς ο ζ σ ω μ κ δ κ α τ ρ

θ σ σ ν θ μ τ πολ ε μ· θ ρ χ ρ ο) π ρ αυτ ς π τ λ α ε α π θ ε μ ν ο ι

ζ μ α τ· α ρ τ ις ζ ι τ φ ρ ο μ ν ο ι ζ ηρ ς· σ α ν δ α λ ι π θ π τ ολ α ε σ ω ς·

ις φ α σ ι π ρ τ λ α ε ρ ο τ ζ κ ζ π ρ ρ σ θ η κ ου σ ι· ις σ π ω ζ τ ου π ρ ρ ω

θ ο ι κ π α ζ μ α ι ς τ ν α ρ τ ν ις π α σ α ν δ α λ ι ε σ ι ρ π ο· θ μ ζ· π ο δ σ σ

π π τ ω λ α ε σ ρ α υ τ α θ λ φ· η κ ζ σ ι π ο σ ω θ η κ π ο ι η σ α ς π ρ ο σ

α υ τ ο υ σ φ ρ η ν· ο ι ζ μ ε θ ρ ο μ ε ν ο ι τ α ν ζ σ ι π ο ι η σ ω σ ω θ η κ· ι ζ ε

γ ε σ σ η π α σ τ ν ε ν ο ι· ις ο τ ζ ο υ π ρ ρ α λ λ α π λ η σ ι ο ι κ ο ι σ ι· μ α δ υ

μ α μ ε ν ο ι α υ τ ς κ α τ α π ο λ ε μ η δ ε τ υ ρ κ υ· δ ο υ λ ο υ σ ζ π ο ι η σ ζ υ λ ο

κ ο π γ ις υ δ ρ ο φ ο ρ υ· ε μ ζ α υ θ α κ ε α μ φ η π ρ ο ρ ρ η σ π ο υ ν μ ω ε·

η ν η φ π τ χ α ν α α μ ω π ω ι σ ο ι κ τ η σ· ο ζ θ κ φ ν χ φ σ ι ν ο υ τ ο ι· Η κ ο σ

α δ ε σ μ ι ζ ο υ σ ι κ ο υ σ α π λ δ σ ζ λ η μ ω· ο π η σ α λ σ ο ζ ο ρ ι χ α ις η γ α ζ λ·

ε ο τ η π ν π ο μ ε λ η σ ζ ο ι γ α μ ε α σ α ρ ι π α ν· ις ζ π ι α ρ α π τ η ζ π α ι π τ ν·

μ ε τ α ις ε σ ρ μ α π τ λ ε· ο ι ζ θ κ α λ φ σ σ μ μ ε λ η π ζ η σ ω ω· η λ θ ε

δ ε ις σ ω θ μ α λ ε ις τ ρ τ α π α υ τ ν· ις α ν σ α θ π α υ τ ν χ α λ α ζ α ι κ α ι

τ ι η ν η χ θ η· ις π α λ η ο ι σ α ν η λ ε χ α λ α ζ α ι· η ο ι ν ο ι ζ η λ θ ν μ ε λ α ρ·

τ π σ ρ α τ ο η λ ι κ γ τ α ζ α μ α σ α ρ· ις η σ θ λ η η ν κ α τ α φ ρ α γ γ α ε λ ω ν· ις

π π α ν τ φ θ ρ τ λ α α π τ η η σ ω σ ι· ις π ρ π τ ω μ α σ ι λ η σ· ζ λ ε

δ ε ις π ω ν μ α κ ι λ α· ις π τ λ ο υ μ μ α· ις π τ ω λ α γ γ σ· ις π τ ο λ α ρ·

ις π τ ω ν χ θ ε ρ· ις π δ α χ ρ· ις π τ ω ο ρ φ η ν ις π τ η ν π π θ η ν η ν η·

C· μ κ λ φ τ ω ρ ο ι μ α σ λ η σ π ο λ λ ο ι μ ε τ α α ρ α τ ο π ο δ ι μ ρ α λ ις

π α υ τ ο υ σ η λ ζ η σ ο ι σ· φ κ η σ α ν τ ζ α υ π τ ν π α ι σ θ α ις π α ι ο ν ο μ σ τ α

ις α ε π ο λ φ σ· ις ο α ρ ι θ μ ζ· π ρ ο σ π α ο σ τ η ζ η σ ο ι σ δ α β ο υ η τ

γ δ ω ν π τ ζ π α ν λ ι π α σ· ις α ν γ ρ ε ρ η π σ φ υ λ η π τ ν κ λ η ρ ο ι σ ε

λ α μ ε· ις π τ λ η ζ π α σ π σ α δ ο θ υ· ε κ π ε μ π τ ε σ η ζ η σ ο ι σ τ ν μ

φ υ λ ρ ο υ ν μ ω ις π τ α δ· ις π ο ι ε μ σ υ φ υ λ α α ν α σ τ φ σ τ ς κ λ η

ρ ο ι σ α υ τ· ο ι σ ε λ α β ε τ ι ζ ω ν π μ ω ι ω σ ε· ο ι ζ α υ τ ο α θ μ π τ ε

π α ρ α σ τ ζ ο ρ δ α ν α κ ο δ ο μ ε σ ω μ ε· ε π ρ α ζ ε π ο υ τ ο τ α υ

φ υ λ α σ· ο δ ι ο ν π ο ι ζ α τ ο α σ α ι π ο υ τ ο υ μ κ ο υ π τ ω ι ν κ τ ς α υ τ·

π τ μ π ο ι σ ι π ρ α υ τ η λ κ α λ φ τ· ο ι ζ α π ο λ ο γ φ π ο λ φ ο μ π τ ο

ο υ κ α π ο τ α σ ι μ κ α ν ο ι κ ο δ ο μ η π τ ω σ ο μ ο ν· α λ λ ι ν α ι μ ε

ζ α σ ο ι ο ι μ υ θ ω μ ε ν ω ν ζ σ ι π ο ι η σ ε μ ε τ ρ η σ ε ι σ ζ α λ λ ο τ ρ ι ο ι σ

τ σ α υ τ ο υ σ υ μ β η σ α ι· λ γ α π η σ ζ ο ρ δ α ν η μ ε μ η κ α τ ρ φ ν· α λ λ ι ν

η ο ι ε σ ω ζ φ σ ι α ρ π τ ρ ι· ις μ ε ν φ σ ι π λ φ τ α π τ η ι μ ω ρ π τ ι σ φ

τ ν ο ι σ η μ ω· ο υ κ ε τ η ν η μ ε ν η μ ε τ ρ σ ι κ α ι· ε ω ς γ α ν σ μ κ τ ι π

λ υ τ ι ω σ α υ τ γ α λ ο ι η φ υ λ α κ· τ ο σ τ ρ ε σ υ μ κ α λ φ τ ι σ ι ζ σ ρ α λ η

λ ι π τ ζ η σ ο ι σ· ις υ π ο μ ε μ ν η σ κ η α υ τ ο ι σ τ ν τ ν τ α δ ρ γ ο υ

κ α ι π α ρ α μ η φ υ λ α σ τ ε ι ν τ ν ν ο μ ω· ν π ρ ο λ η ψ η π α δ α λ φ ω

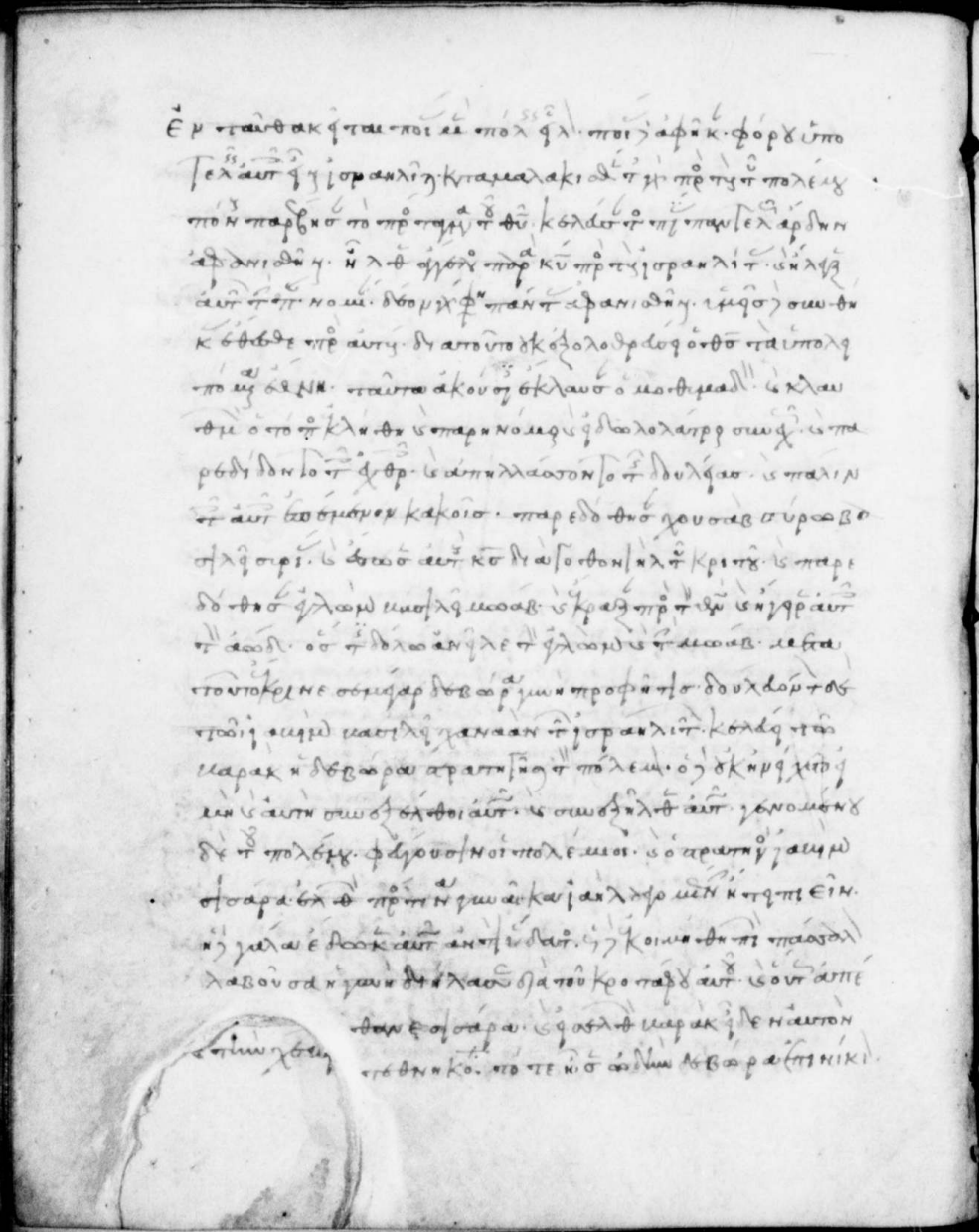
α υ τ ο ι σ κ α κ α ι φ κ η φ υ λ α ξ η· ις π ο λ ι τ α· π ο λ ι τ α ι ζ ω λ ο υ σ α ρ

ο ι ζ ρ α σ· ις ζ σ ρ α π τ ο σ φ ν ε ι α ι ο ι ζ ο σ α υ τ η α υ τ· ις φ δ α λ ο

λ α π τ η τ ο ι ζ σ ρ α η λ ι τ α ι· ις π α ρ ο δ ε υ θ τ τ ω ν φ λ ο μ ω ε μ ο ι ζ λ φ

ε μ ο υ β· κ α ι κ ρ ι σ α υ τ τ α π δ κ α σ κ τ ω· – φ π ρ·

∴ ΟΥ ΝΟΤΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΚΡΙΤΩΝ· συμβαλοντε



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τινι πρόσωπον· οἱ δὲ γραμματικοὶ κ.τ.λ.

τ. ιβ'. ἐν τῷ περὶ σωφροσύνης φησὶν ὁ πρόσωπον ἔσται μὴ ἓν τὸν αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ αὐτοῦ δοῦναι αὐτῷ τὸ πλεῖον καὶ τὸ ἔλαττον τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἢ τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν ἀφεῖναι τὸ αὐτὸ ἀπολαβεῖν ἢ τὴν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀποστερηθῆναι τὴν δὲ νύκτα ἐπιτρέψαι καὶ ἐπιτρέπειν ὡς ἔστιν ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ ἐπιθυμεῖ

Βασιλειῶν τετάρτη C·

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 357

28

H54 / View 032 · Folios 29 verso / 30 recto

Σύνοτις τῶν τῷ προφήτῃ ἱερεμίᾳ εἰρημένων.

Προφορεύει τὸ ἔτος οὗτος καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἡλιακὸν λογισμὸν τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ κύκλου καὶ κατὰ τὸν σεληνιακὸν τοῦ σεληνιακοῦ κύκλου καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἰνδικτιῶνα τῆς ἰνδικτιῶνος. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐγένετο ἡ ἁλωσις τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὑπὸ Ναβουχοδονοσὸρ βασιλέως Βαβυλῶνος. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐγένετο ἡ αἰχμαλωσία τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν βασιλέα. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐγένετο ἡ ἔξοδος τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐγένετο ὁ κατακλυσμὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐγένετο ἡ ἅλωσις τῆς Τροίας. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐγένετο ἡ ἅλωσις τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὑπὸ Τίτου καὶ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐγένετο ἡ ἅλωσις τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὑπὸ Ἁδριανοῦ. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐγένετο ἡ ἅλωσις τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὑπὸ Χοσρόου. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐγένετο ἡ ἅλωσις τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλείου. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐγένετο ἡ ἅλωσις τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὑπὸ Ἀμαλήκ. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐγένετο ἡ ἅλωσις τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὑπὸ Ἀμορραίων. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐγένετο ἡ ἅλωσις τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὑπὸ Ἀμμανιτῶν. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐγένετο ἡ ἅλωσις τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὑπὸ Μωαβιτῶν. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐγένετο ἡ ἅλωσις τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὑπὸ Ἀμαλήκ. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐγένετο ἡ ἅλωσις τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὑπὸ Ἀμορραίων. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐγένετο ἡ ἅλωσις τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὑπὸ Ἀμμανιτῶν. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐγένετο ἡ ἅλωσις τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὑπὸ Μωαβιτῶν.

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μι τ̃ ις ἰδουμ. ⁊ ἀπ̃λ ἡδαμασκ̃ ις ἐλαμ προλήψ. ις
τ̃ ἀπ̃λ ἡμασωλ̃ν. ις τ̃ ἀμοδ̃ τ̃ ἡδ̃ ⁊ τ̃ ἐκ ἡθ̃. π̃ ἐαλ
ἰλκωλήψ. ις ἀ̃ πο ἀπ̃ μ̃ ἡσ τ̃ μωκ̃ χθ̃ ἰοακ̃ μ. ὁ θ̃
κ̃ π̃ χειρ̃ ν σ̃ τ̃ ἡ̃ μασυχοδονοσορ μ̃ ⁊ τ̃ ιερ̃ αὐτ̃ υ:-

✠ CYNOTIC ΙΕΖΕΚΙΗΛ: ✠

Ὁ ρᾶ αὐτ̃ ὁ π̃ ⁊ χβρουμωμ ὁ προφ̃ τ̃ ις κβλδηλαλ̃ ὁ
τ̃ ἰσραηλ̃ τ̃ π̃ ἀρ αὐτ̃ φ̃ ρ̃ ⁊ ὑπ̃ τ̃ π̃ σ̃ ὁ τ̃ ἀμαλ̃ ὁ
ις π̃ ρορμ̃ ⁊ ὑπ̃ τ̃ θ̃ π̃ τ̃ μ̃ ⁊ τ̃ ἀ̃ ἡ̃ ⁊ ις ἀ̃ ὁκμ̃ τ̃
τ̃ ἀ̃ ὁμ̃ ις τ̃ ἡ̃ ⁊ τ̃ ἀ̃ ζωκ̃ μφ̃ βρ̃ ουσ ἀπ̃ μβλ̃ ὁδ̃. ις
τ̃ τ̃ π̃ τ̃ θ̃ π̃ ρο μ̃ νύ̃ μ̃ τ̃ ὁλ̃. κβλδ̃ ⁊ σ̃ ηκλ̃ ἡ̃ ⁊ θ̃ αὐτ̃
ις τ̃ ⁊ λ̃ μ̃ ⁊ πολ̃ ιορκ̃ ι ἀ̃ μ̃ π̃ ρο μ̃ μ̃ ⁊ σ̃ ηκ̃ ⁊ ὑ̃ ⁊ τ̃ π̃ ρο ἡ̃ μ̃ χ̃
τ̃ π̃ λ̃ ⁊ ν̃ ⁊ θ̃ ις τ̃ ο̃ υ̃ τ̃ ἡ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ν̃. κ̃ β̃ υ̃ λ̃ ⁊ ις ⁊ π̃ ὑ̃ β̃ μ̃ π̃ λ̃ ρ̃ κ̃ ⁊ ι μ̃
θ̃ μ̃ φ̃ ⁊ ν̃ ρ̃ μ̃ β̃ ρ̃ ἡ̃ θ̃ μ̃. ⁊ τ̃ ὑ̃ μ̃ τ̃ ἀ̃ ⁊ χ̃ λ̃ ὁ̃ λ̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ ὁ̃ μ̃ ⁊ τ̃
λ̃ α̃. θ̃ λ̃ ⁊ τ̃ ⁊ μ̃ π̃ ρο ⁊ λ̃ ἡ̃ θ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ π̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ ρ̃ τ̃. ὁ̃ ὡ̃ σ̃ π̃ ⁊ μ̃ ὁ̃ λ̃ υ̃ μ̃ ⁊ τ̃ π̃ ⁊ ἰ̃ φ̃ ⁊ κ̃ ⁊
ἀ̃ χ̃ ⁊ τ̃ μ̃ ρ̃ ὁ̃ μ̃ ⁊ τ̃ ⁊ τ̃ ρ̃ ⁊ χ̃ ⁊ τ̃ θ̃ ⁊ ν̃ ⁊ τ̃ π̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ ὐ̃ τ̃ ις τ̃ ὁ̃ ⁊ ν̃ ⁊ τ̃ ν̃ ⁊ ε̃
ρ̃ ⁊ μ̃ ὁ̃ ⁊ ν̃ τ̃ π̃ ὁ̃ λ̃ ⁊ ε̃. ⁊ τ̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ δ̃ ὁ̃ λ̃ ὁ̃ λ̃ π̃ τ̃ ⁊ θ̃ ν̃ σ̃. ⁊ ὁ̃ ρ̃ ᾶ̃ υ̃ τ̃ ἀ̃ ν̃ ὁ̃ μ̃
τ̃ λ̃ α̃ ὁ̃ ὐ̃ ις τ̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ δ̃ ὁ̃ λ̃ ὁ̃ λ̃ ⁊ π̃ τ̃ ⁊ ἰ̃ θ̃. μ̃ ⁊ τ̃ ⁊ τ̃ ⁊ ὑ̃ τ̃ ⁊ τ̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ λ̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ ρ̃ τ̃ π̃
λ̃ ⁊ ε̃ β̃ λ̃ ⁊ θ̃ τ̃ ὁ̃ ρ̃ ᾶ̃ δ̃ ⁊ π̃ ⁊ λ̃ τ̃ ⁊ χ̃ β̃ ρ̃ ⁊ ὐ̃ μ̃ ⁊ ὡ̃ μ̃ ⁊ ις π̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ λ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ ρ̃ τ̃ ⁊ ν̃. π̃ ὁ̃ λ̃
κ̃ ⁊ κ̃ α̃. π̃ τ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ σ̃ ⁊ μ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ σ̃ ⁊ τ̃ θ̃ ⁊ ν̃ ⁊ τ̃ π̃ ρο μ̃ ⁊ ν̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ τ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ ⁊ χ̃ λ̃ ⁊ σ̃ ⁊ ν̃. ⁊ τ̃ ⁊ ὑ̃ π̃ ὁ̃ τ̃
ἡ̃ μ̃ ⁊ σ̃ ὐ̃ χ̃ ὁ̃ δ̃ ὁ̃ ν̃ ὁ̃ σ̃ ὁ̃ ⁊ ρ̃ χ̃ β̃ ρ̃ ὁ̃ ⁊ μ̃ ⁊ ὡ̃ μ̃ ⁊ ις π̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ λ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ ρ̃ τ̃ ⁊ ν̃. π̃ ὁ̃ λ̃
κ̃ ⁊ κ̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ μ̃ ⁊ ν̃ σ̃ ⁊ ὐ̃ ν̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ γ̃ ⁊ ω̃ γ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ ⁊ ν̃. ⁊ ἀ̃ λ̃ λ̃ ⁊ μ̃ ὁ̃ σ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ μ̃. ⁊ π̃ τ̃ ⁊ λ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ ⁊ τ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃
δ̃ ὁ̃ π̃ ρο φ̃ ⁊ τ̃. ις ⁊ π̃ ⁊ ρ̃ ⁊ ε̃ τ̃ ⁊ ν̃ τ̃ ⁊ π̃ φ̃ ⁊ τ̃ ⁊ ν̃ τ̃ ⁊ κ̃ ⁊ κ̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ δ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ μ̃. ⁊ π̃ ὑ̃ π̃

ν̃ σ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ μ̃. ⁊ ν̃ μ̃ ⁊ ἰ̃ ⁊ ω̃ β̃ ις ὁ̃ δ̃ ⁊ ν̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ λ̃ ις μ̃ ⁊ ὡ̃ ε̃. τ̃ ⁊ λ̃ ⁊ χ̃ ⁊ αὐ̃ τ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ μ̃ ⁊ σ̃ ⁊ ρ̃ ὐ̃
σ̃ ⁊ ρ̃. ις τ̃ ⁊ φ̃ σ̃ ⁊ τ̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ ν̃ ⁊ β̃ ρ̃ ⁊ μ̃ ⁊ ε̃ ⁊ τ̃ ⁊ σ̃ ⁊ αὐ̃ τ̃. ⁊ ὁ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ τ̃ ⁊ κ̃ λ̃ ⁊ ν̃ ⁊ μ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ π̃ ὁ̃ ⁊ ν̃ τ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ μ̃ π̃ ὁ̃
λ̃ ὁ̃ ν̃ λ̃ ὁ̃. ὁ̃ ⁊ ν̃ μ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ ⁊ ν̃ τ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ σ̃ ⁊ ν̃ μ̃ ⁊ ε̃ σ̃ ⁊ σ̃ ⁊ μ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ ⁊ τ̃ ⁊ λ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ τ̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ ρ̃ χ̃ ⁊ π̃ ⁊ ρ̃ ⁊ ἰ̃ μ̃ ⁊ ν̃ π̃ ⁊ ρ̃
λ̃ ⁊ ε̃ σ̃ ⁊ φ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ τ̃. ⁊ θ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃. ις τ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ π̃ ⁊ ρ̃ σ̃ ⁊ π̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ ⁊ τ̃ ⁊ ν̃ π̃ ⁊ ρ̃ λ̃ ⁊ ε̃ σ̃ ⁊ φ̃. τ̃
⁊ φ̃ σ̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ λ̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ λ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ τ̃ ⁊ ρ̃ ⁊ ἰ̃ μ̃ ⁊ ν̃ τ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ σ̃ ⁊ ν̃ μ̃ ⁊ ε̃ σ̃ ⁊ σ̃ ⁊ μ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ ⁊ τ̃ ⁊ λ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ τ̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ ρ̃ χ̃ ⁊ μ̃ ⁊ τ̃ ⁊ ις τ̃ ⁊ φ̃ λ̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ π̃ ⁊ ρ̃ ⁊ φ̃ ⁊ ν̃ τ̃. ⁊ ὁ̃ ⁊ ζ̃ ⁊ ν̃ τ̃ ⁊ φ̃
φ̃ ⁊ σ̃ ⁊ ἰ̃ ρ̃ μ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ ν̃ ⁊ δ̃ ⁊ ρ̃ ⁊ ὡ̃ ⁊ ν̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ ν̃ ⁊ ε̃ σ̃ ⁊ τ̃ ⁊ ρ̃ ⁊ φ̃ ⁊ ὡ̃ μ̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ ⁊ ρ̃ θ̃. ⁊ ἐ̃ β̃ ⁊ ὡ̃ ν̃ τ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ ⁊ ν̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ ⁊ μ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ κ̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ π̃ ⁊ ἡ̃
φ̃ ⁊ ε̃ ⁊ γ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ μ̃. π̃ ⁊ ρ̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ π̃ ⁊ ρ̃ ⁊ σ̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ π̃ ⁊ μ̃ ⁊ ὐ̃ ⁊ ν̃ ⁊ μ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ ⁊ χ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ ⁊ τ̃ ⁊ ν̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ ⁊ τ̃ ⁊ ν̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ ⁊ σ̃ ⁊ τ̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ ν̃
ὁ̃ ⁊ ζ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ λ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ ⁊ τ̃ ⁊ ν̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ ὐ̃ τ̃. ⁊ ὁ̃ ⁊ ν̃ ⁊ ἰ̃ ⁊ χ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ ρ̃. π̃ ⁊ ρ̃ ⁊ ἰ̃ τ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ ⁊ δ̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ λ̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ λ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ τ̃ ⁊ ρ̃ ⁊ ἰ̃ μ̃ ⁊ ν̃ τ̃ ⁊ ὐ̃ λ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ δ̃.
τ̃ ⁊ ν̃ ὁ̃ τ̃ ⁊ ὐ̃ μ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ ⁊ γ̃ ⁊ π̃ ⁊ ω̃ ⁊ ς τ̃ ⁊ π̃ ⁊ σ̃ ⁊ λ̃ ⁊ ε̃ σ̃ ⁊ τ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ ὐ̃ τ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ ⁊ ς τ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ ⁊ ρ̃ ⁊ φ̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ ⁊ ρ̃. ⁊ ὁ̃ ⁊ σ̃ ⁊ τ̃ ⁊ γ̃
τ̃ ⁊ ε̃ π̃ ⁊ ρ̃ ⁊ μ̃ ⁊ θ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ π̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ ⁊ ἰ̃ ⁊ ὐ̃ ⁊ ν̃ ⁊ σ̃ ⁊ ὐ̃ ⁊ ν̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ ⁊ γ̃ ⁊ ω̃ ⁊ γ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ ⁊ ν̃. ⁊ τ̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ ⁊ ν̃ ⁊ ἰ̃ ⁊ χ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ ρ̃ ⁊ ν̃ τ̃ ⁊ ὐ̃ λ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ δ̃.
λ̃ ⁊ ε̃ σ̃ ⁊ ἰ̃ ⁊ ν̃. κ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ μ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ ν̃ ⁊ ἰ̃ τ̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ ⁊ ς ⁊ ὁ̃ ⁊ ὐ̃ δ̃ ⁊ ἀ̃ ⁊ ἰ̃ ⁊ ς ⁊ ἀ̃ λ̃ ⁊ λ̃ ⁊ ὁ̃ φ̃ ⁊ ὐ̃ λ̃. ⁊ τ̃ ⁊ ὡ̃ ρ̃ ⁊ ω̃ ⁊ ν̃ ⁊ ἡ̃ ⁊ ν̃

τιρλφρω ἑ ἡγ· προλφρ σμφορ μφαλ κατα τ ἀρχομ τ
τύρου· ις κατα τοῦ σηδαρ· ις αἰγυπτους τ αἰγυπτιμαι
σιλβασσ· ἀπηλῆ τ σκοπ τοὺλαοῦ ἡμ προφ ποι τ λα
οὐ τ θῆ σκοπ· τ π τοὺ θυ ἰφρομ σμφορ ἰλλῆ· ις
μπ ἀκομ ἀπολλωρδια τ προϊερ ἀκομ· δῆ ἰπατ τη,
τ πρ ἡ τα ἀρδαδ τ θῶ· μπ τυδηκ οωζ φρθα τ προϊερ
μιχ οωῦ· δῆ μεδαιλη θρων ἀκομ ὧ ις αδκ· ηλ θθισ
πρ τ προφ τ ἀπηβδλ ὁ τ βαλωϊλη ω· λφῆ ις π τουπ
ἡκ αλ ὁ τ μπ προσφρωσι τ προφ ντδω· προφ ντδῆ,
ις κ τ ποιωβ πουϊ ηλ· ις ἐπηρλλαδω σ αὐτ δμαι ποιμε
ναι· ὁ πδ ἐπι τ ζορ μαιδβλ μδρ· ὁ πρκ αὐτο αλ αι σμωτρ
τ ἰουδαῖοι οἱ υπω μδρ η σφαι· ἰδρμ εδ ις ἐφ ἐπι ζορ ο
μαιβθλ· προφ ντδῆ κ ἰδου μαι ις π ἰσραηλ ι τ χριστά·
ἀπρφ σιμ ὁ θσ ποι η σ ἰουδαι· οὐκ ἐπιδωδῆ ἑ ις φσιν· ἀλ
λ ἰναμιμ το ὀνομα αὐ μβιμλ θῶ· ἀφῆ ὁ προφ τ ἑ ο τ
πεδι· ις προφ ντδῆ ἐπι πασα τα χηρ· προφ ντδῆ ις π
τ ζορ μαιβθλ· ὁ τῆ ἑσ ἀρχ τ ἰουδαι· δωδεκ τῆ ἑσ κ ηλ
μ ἰμ χμ· λαμμαμ δρ· προφ ντδῆ ις π μρομ· ις μαρομ· ἐ
πθλ θομ τ τ ἰουδαι μβα τ ἐπανοδ τ κμαβυλ ὧ ις η τη
θθμ τ πμ ἀλλοφιλ λαμμανοωϊ σι τ ἐκκλησις ἑς
π θαιολ· ις τ κ κρδοαμ ἐπ ἐφθμ τ ὑπο ασβμαπλε·
προφ ντδῆ τ ναοῦ τ οἰκοδομ ις τ ἀποκ ασσ τ νομικ
λαιτρφ· ἀπδ ις αὐτα πρδοκ σ μ τ ἰουδαῖοι· ἀβθμ ἐπ ἐσδρα

ις ζορομαμβθλ· τ οἰκοδομ τ πολεν προλφ· ις πο
δωρ πο κ μακρθκπορδομ ις αὐξανομ· δημᾶ ἑσ τ ἐπαρε
φομ τ ἐπι τ χμλαμμαμδρ· μβκρχομ τ· πρι ν π αδοσ·
μεδα πο π ἑ ζωοποιομ· - δαν ηλ ::
ἐκλφοῖ π τ δαν ηλ· ις παραδιδοη τ ἁρδνομχω· ις σ
τῆ η ασβ μδ· δ· ις α τ ἑ μασιλῆ παντ ἀνθῆ χθησ
σοφοσ ἐπ οι· ὁρῶ· το βμ υπι μαιλοδονοσορ ις τ μῆ ἁ
πορησ τ τ ημ ις ἐπιλῶ αὐτο· κ ὁλᾶ ἑῆ φμ· κινδωμδομ
ις π τ δαν ηλ δοῦ τ ὁ θσ ἀπο καλύψαι αὐτ τ δαν ηλ
τ ῆλ σ τ βμ υπι· ὁ δαν ηλ λῆ το βμ υπι τ μασιλεῖ
ἐσαρ· ις σ υμκρισ αὐτ· ὁ λιῶ ὁ τιεκ θ ἀπᾶ ἑῆ ἑ χσ λ·
το ἀπᾶ ἑῆ· το χωρ ημονι θκ τ πᾶ ρ ν π ἑῆ θ ν· ασσυρ
τιῶ ἑῆ κ ῶ ν ημαιλοδονοσορ κ θλᾶ ἑῆ προσκ ν π ν η·
ις τ υ τ ρ ἑῆ σ π δ· δ μμαλλῆ ἑσ τ καμ ν μ τ π ρ κ μ ν σ τ·
ζ) οἱ π τ καμ ν ἀν ρ θ ν σ· ις τ μ ω οἱ π δ λ τ ῶ· κα
λῶ αὐτ ις ἰδοσ μ σσουσ, η τ τε ῶ ὁ θ ἑῆ κ ις αὐτ τ μ ῆ
τ ἰουδαι ἐσ ἐ· ις δοξ μεθθκε· π ῶ λαοῦ ν μῶ τ ἁ σ τ
θῶ ἀπολλωρ· ὁρ αὐ βμ υπι ὁ ναμ ονοδονοσορ· ζ τ σοφ
μαβυλ ν π δ ἁ πορ ησ ν τ ἐπι λ ἁ πο ὁ δαν ηλ· σ μ ω
μουλᾶ ῆ τε τ μασ λῆ τ ἀνομ αὐτ ὁῦ θ ν μ σ ν ἁ υρ ω
σαν· ις οὐ μ θ ὁ υπολ ω χρ ὁ ν ᾶ ἑῆ θ μ π τ ὸ βμ υ π ι· ις ἰ ν η σ
τ ῶ ὁ ν ημαιλοδονοσορ· τ σκᾶ τ ἰ ρ α π ι κ ᾶ ἑῆ θ μ φ θ ν τ·
κ π ρ π ᾶ ἑῆ τ ο ὐ μασ λε μαλ τ α σ ρ ι ὁῦ ν ημαιλοδονοσορ·

τοῦ δραχμὴν θ῾ ἡ αὐτὴ δραχμὴ ἀλλάττοντι ἀνάλισκον ὑπὲρ τὸν δραχμήν·

ὡς ΗΕ· λυπούμενος·

Α Κ῾ ὅταν δέῃ λαβεῖν μὴ κατορθοῦν· ὡς τὰ πικρὰ τῆς δυσωδίας·
ἰδεῖν· οὐκ ἠλθεν ὧδε ὡς οὐ λαός μου· ὡς ἐκάλεσε τὸν λαὸν
πορεύεσθαι· ὡς προλέγει αὐτὸν ἀπωλείᾳ· ὡς χρήματα τὰ μετὰ τὴν
ἀπώλειαν· τὸ δὲ ἀνθ῾ ὧν αὐτὸν ἀνθ῾ ὧν μετὰ τὴν θυρίδα γράφουσι
μὴν ἀλλὰ δεῖν πᾶσι δοῦναι ἀπολαμβάνειν δὲ ἐστὶ τὴν ἀξίαν
χεῖν· πρὸς τὰ ἐσθίειν μεγάλα μολυβδίδας· μὴν μὲν τὴν ὅτι
ἰουδαῖος· ὡς ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν πολλοὺς μεμαλακισμένους ἀμαρτήματα· τὰ πελάτα
ὡς τὴν ἰδέαν· δι᾽ ἃ καὶ ἀλλήλοις τὰ αὐτὰ ὡς ἐστὶ μυθῆσαι ὡς ἐστὶ μολύβδινα
ἐστὶν· ἐκάλεσεν ὁ τὰ ὀλίγα δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὕλης γλίτ· ἐπὶ τὸ
σεῖν πλῆθος· ὡς ἀναγκάζειν· ὡς προλέγει αὐτὸν τὴν περὶ τὸ
λέγειν ὁ διὰ τὸ μὴ ὀφείλειν· ὁ δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐκφράσαι· οὐκ ἐστὶν
δὲ· ἐστὶν αὐτὸ τὴν ἀπορίαν· δήμου τὸ τὸ τὲ ἐστὶν αὐτὸν
ἰσπεπλεῖν κλίνεσθαι ὡς τὲ ἐκφέρειν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν σφ· ὡς προ
λέγει αὐτὸν σημεῖον· ἰωνὰ· ἰσχυρῶν·

Β Δι᾽ ἀφθονίαν λέγει τὴν καρπὸν· ὡς παραμένειν ἐλθόντα σαββάτου
τὸν θεὸν· τὴν ἀνοδίαν αὐτὸν ἀστεῖον προλέγει· προφητικῶς ὡς μετὰ
ταῦτα χρήματα· τὸ ἐμμένειν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀποστόλου· τὸ τὴν γλῶσ
σαν προλέγει· προφητικῶς τὸ θὼν ἀπωλείαν τὴν γονομένην
μετὰ τὴν ἀνοδίαν τὴν καθυλὴν· ἐπὶ ζορομαίων· ἐξ ὧν κάλ
λιγορίαν τὸ χωρεῖν τοῦτο· ἀμέμπτως· ὑπὲρ τελλομένου τοῦ

Γ πλοῦτον μὴ δαιμονῶν· γάζης σὺ τὴν· ἰδοὺ μαι· ἀμέμπ

ΑΒΔΙΧ δουλδεον κω

Ναουμ παρακλη θη παρ εβρ γ·

Περι του θυδιμαρεδιαλεξη· απο στολ προλεγ· προ
πιθησ ις την αμοβ μασιλ νινευη μετανοησ του κ κρατ·
αει σημεια λαμπ λεγ ις την οδυνωμενην αυτ ις πλουσιομεγ·
πριν αιχμαλωτευθη· αμεμπτακολουθ· π ελλ ις παρε β
Περι του λαου αδικι διαλεξη· ις το δευτερον καταβρον
τησ ις επιωλθατο· π του ιουδα απαι· ις την μελλουσαν
ημεραν του ιω βαπτ· π του ιουδα απαι ις την ανοδον
την μασιλ ον νικα κατα ιερουσαλημ· ο δη μεκπιαζηση
ον παυθακηται· τον πλουσιον του προφητου τουτου· πολυτ
αδικι του λαου τουτ· ις την αρπαγην ις την απαν ις την δολιου πολιτ·
λεγ ις η προσευχη του αμεμπτακολουθ προφητου χυ·

Σοκονδ Σοφονιας· ωδεν κρυπτ κε·

Απαλλαγαλη η απηλιωτ ιουδαι· ις παραμυθ (παρηγορ) πρωτ
θεν· απηλιωτ ις μεσαμβρ ις ανιμανιτ· του χυ προφητευσαι·
ις προ τι θησι την ημεραν του απωλειαν· π του (παραφησαι τον χριν
αδομεν· Εορταζε Αλταιος εις Σολ το Εις·
Οι απο μετα (παρουσ μασιλη προφητ ηκαλη) τ ιερεμιαν
λιτ· ζη τ ιουδαικ (μυλουμ· τ οικοδομ του ναου αμε
λουσ· ις δυ αυτου απηλθαν αιτ λιμ· ις παραμυθ του ιβ·
ις το δι απαραφασιαστο ωμ· ο προ δημ προ θυμ αγγελ)
παυλ βαπτακτ· Ζαχαρι· μην θυ·
Και ουτ μετα την (παρουσ μασιλη προφητ και προ μι

μην οκ αυτ απαρτι προαιτ· ις (κολασεσ εο
υπομεμν· ις παραμυθ μην αιτ (μυθ· του αγγελου δη
θεν απο ιερουσαλημ· προφητ χρηματ αυτ
ο προφητ· ις περι εθνων καταδουλωσαμενων αυτ· τα δο
κιμαστα αιμασολλαι αρ αστρ καταιουδαια αρπαδοσα
μενη· αστεμοι μασιλαμοι μηδοι περσαι· του οζιη
αιτα δη παυθα αδυνη προ η σαλημ· του μαρασημοδον·
λιποστρατηγη· π των χω παδομ· μελλοντ γινεσθαι
του ιωσυθου ις την ολιγωρι των χρονων· οι δι ομοιοι π το
των· τ ιερβαλλαι ις τ μασολδαι· τον μελλοντα σωζεσθαι·
(παρ αρπ απο αιχμαλωσι (παμβλεθομεν δι εφθορ το
πρ δλλ η λυ· του δραμαν αυτ δη κμεσ των αρ αν· τα τα
λαοσ απ του μολισυδυνη τ μωρι εσ την κτατ αδικ·
ις αμομεφ· κλαιετε χριστιλαμβ ις αφορμ παινου
των ιερων του ιουδα αμνη· αμ απολυσονομ αυτων· ιω
την δ λαμπαδοποιων· ις δωναστ λαμπαδ· οι υπολοι
φθορ των ιουδαιοι δη κατα δικαιοσυν αι χριστ· ορω των
ον ο δη παυθα λογομ αποκαταστα θη το αγιασμα· του τα
κ λαστροφ πασα· ις η του μ αυλαμπρο των προφερ· η
βασιδη σκυθρ ποιω δομη· ις τ βασιδην απ αις κοπτεσθαι·
ουτοσ του δημ αγιλβουσθαι τ θηλυφθ· αλλ η τοποι κρι μα·
ις δικαιοσυν· ις μισθαποδ κακ ις τω δλιβη τ πλησιον·
ταυτα φησ ις προ τ παρ ημων ις ουκ ηκουσαν· ις

Βαρνάβα τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ.

Χαίρετε οἱ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὁμοιωθέντες τῷ ἀπαθεῖ καὶ ἀθανάτῳ καὶ ἀϊδίῳ καὶ ἀοράτῳ καὶ ἀκτίστῳ καὶ ἀπροσίτῳ καὶ ἀπείρῳ καὶ ἀπεριγράπτῳ καὶ ἀπεριλήπτῳ καὶ ἀπεριορίστῳ καὶ ἀπεριβλέπτῳ καὶ ἀπεριβλήτῳ καὶ ἀπεριμέτρῳ καὶ ἀπεριδιαστάτῳ καὶ ἀπεριγράφῳ καὶ ἀπεριδιορίστῳ καὶ ἀπεριδιαιρέτῳ καὶ ἀπεριδιαστάτ

Βαρνάβα τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ.

Χαίρετε οἱ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὁμοιωθέντες τῷ ἀπεκδήμῳ πατρὶ ἡμῶν. μεγάλου ὄντος τοῦ πλούτου τῆς θεότητος καὶ ἀνεξιχνιάστου τῆς σοφίας αὐτοῦ. ὑπὲρ ἀρετὴν ὑπερέχοντες. ὑπὲρ ἀρρωστίαν ὑπερτερήσαντες καὶ ὑπερβολὴν ὑπερβάντες. μακάριοι ἐστὲ ὅτι ἐν ὑμῖν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἐστὶν ὁ θησαυρὸς ὁ ἄφθαρτος. ὃν ἐπλούτησεν ὑμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐπιγνώσει τῆς ἀληθείας

λαμπάδα φοράσουσι τὸν νυμφίον

(ε΄.)

μς. θ'.

διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐμαυτὸν ἀφανίζω οὐδὲ ἀποκρύπτω τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ποιῶ καὶ λέγω καὶ ἐνθυμοῦμαι ἐπὶ τῷ ἐξελέγξαι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς καρδίας μου. καὶ ἐὰν προφάσεις ἐπιφέρωμεν ἢ ἀπολογίας ἢ ἄλλο τι ὑπὲρ τούτου, οὐδὲν ὄφελος. ἐὰν ἀκούσωμεν λόγον ἢ ἀκούσωμεν ἢ μάθωμεν ἢ ἀναγνῶμεν, οὐδὲν ὄφελος, ἐὰν μὴ ἐκβάλωμεν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐκ τῆς καρδίας μας. ἐὰν πολλὰ ἀκούσωμεν καὶ μὴ ποιήσωμεν, οὐδὲν ὄφελος. τί οὖν θέλει ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ ἡμᾶς; ἀκοῦσαι καὶ ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν πολλὰ ἀκούσωμεν καὶ μὴ ποιήσωμεν, ὁμοιάζομεν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ μωρῷ τῷ οἰκοδομήσαντι τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμον. ἐὰν πολλὰ ἀκούσωμεν καὶ ποιήσωμεν, ὁμοιάζομεν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ φρονίμῳ τῷ οἰκοδομήσαντι τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν. ἐὰν πολλὰ ἀκούσωμεν καὶ μὴ ποιήσωμεν, ὁμοιάζομεν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ γεωργήσαντι τὸν ἀγρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ σπείραντι σπέρμα καλόν. ἐὰν πολλὰ ἀκούσωμεν καὶ μὴ ποιήσωμεν, ὁμοιάζομεν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ σπείραντι σπέρμα καλὸν εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν αὐτοῦ

κεφ. ιϛ'.

κεφ. ιδ'.

κεφ. ιε'.

50

καθ. ιγ'

καθ. ιδ'

PLATE III



Paul and Barnabas at Lystra

The print illustrates Paul and Barnabas refusing sacrifice at Lystra (Acts 14:8–18). The apostle appears here in the narrative of Acts. The name attached to the epistle belongs to a tradition of attribution.

Bernard Lépicié, after Raphael, 1721. Etching and engraving. Wellcome Collection, no. 2200355i.

μοι μὲν θάνατος ἄθλιος· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ θέλῃς ἐμοὶ πεισθῆναι· ἀρκεῖ σοι
πατὴρ ὑποκριτὴς ὁ τοῦ σώματος κύριος· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ σῇ καὶ
θεοδιδάκτοις χάρισι τῆς ἐμῆς ἀφίημί σε ποιήσασθαι κρίσιν· ἣν
κελεύσει ἡ μαθοῦσα μένειν μὲν ἐν μοναδικῷ μὴ βλαπτομένη
ταῦτα· ἢν δὲ κωλύσῃ θνητὴ ἐμοὶ γενομένη τὴν ἀθανασίαν χωρεῖν·
ῥᾳθύμως τῷ ἐμῷ χαρίσασθαι πόθῳ· ὅτι σε καὶ σκάφος ἐστὶ μικρὸν ἐν
πλοῖς πολλοῖς· ἢ μᾶζαι· ὅτι μᾶλλον ἀποδυσπαλεῖς ἑστὼς
ἀρχῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις· ἢ ἐν θεοῖς καὶ παρὰ χάριν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ πατρός.

ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥΣ Α:

Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ παροικοῦσα Κόρινθον· τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ
παροικούσῃ Κόρινθον· κλητοῖς ἡγιασμένοις ἐν θελήματι θεοῦ
διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ τοῦ
παντοκράτορος θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη· διὰ παντὸς ἀφορμὴν καὶ
γόνιμον μὲν καθ' ἡμᾶς συμφορὰς πρᾶξαι· πρᾶξαι δὲ νομίζω ὑμῖν
τὰ προφήτου τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν πρὸς ἐμὲ γράμματα· ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλοις
καὶ ἁγίοις ἐν ὑμῖν ἔργοις· ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκαταμαχήτῳ καὶ βεβαίᾳ πίστει
ὑμῶν· ἐπὶ τῇ ἐνθέῳ καὶ ἀφθόνῳ εὐσεβείᾳ· ἐπὶ τῇ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς τρόποις
ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ· ἐπὶ τῇ ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἔργοις ἐν ἁγνείᾳ
καὶ ὁσιότητι ὑμῶν· ἐπὶ τῇ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ καὶ
ἐπιεικεῖ καὶ μετρίῳ φρονήματι· ἐπὶ τῇ ἐν τοῖς ἐντάγμασι τοῦ θεοῦ
ἀκολουθίᾳ· ἐπὶ τῇ ἐν τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν ὑποτάξει· ἐπὶ τῇ ἐν τοῖς
πρεσβυτέροις ὑμῶν τιμῇ· ἐπὶ τῇ ἐν τοῖς νέοις ὑμῶν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ
καὶ σεμνότητι ἐπιστολὴν ἐπέμψατε· ἐν ᾗ ἐκελεύετε καὶ παρεκαλεῖτε
ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ σωφρονεῖν· ἐπὶ τῇ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιστολαῖς
ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ἐμφανισθείσῃ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐν τοῖς
ἐπιστολαῖς

καρδι· ἀλλὰ δια τ̄ πιστ· δ̄ν σ̄ ἐν τ̄ ἀπαθ̄ εἰ ὁ παντοκρατ̄ς
θ̄ς ὁδηγ̄σ· σε ὡς ἀεὶ ὁδηγ̄σει σε ἐν αὐτ̄. τ̄ῇ ἐρουν με ἁμαρτοι. ἀρ̄τ
σουσε ἀπο τ̄ ἁμαρτ̄ποι· κτλ· ποιε τ̄ αἰ. μὴ θαμ̄ τουτο ὅτ
σοι τ̄ ὁδ̄ν σ̄ δ̄ξ̄ν με χρν̄ θν̄ησαι. ἀλλὰ σωσον με ἕνεκεν τ̄ ἐκτ̄ν ἐχ̄ρ
πρ̄ο θνατ̄ν· τ̄ῇ ἐρωτ̄ᾶ τ̄ν ἀν̄ν· ἀν̄ γὰρ ὁδ̄ν μου ὁρθ̄ν δειξ̄ν μοι· ἵν̄α μὴ
τ̄ν ἐχ̄ρ̄ν αὐτ̄ ἀλλ̄ τ̄ν· γὰρ παρεμφ̄ν ἐναντ̄ αὐτ̄ ἁμαρτ̄ν· οὐ
ρᾶν ἀπ̄ρ̄ι· σ̄ ἐν τ̄ ἐκκατ̄λ̄ν αὐτ̄ σωθ̄ναι ὁ κ̄ος ὁ σ̄ αὐτ̄ σ̄ω
χ̄ν τ̄ὸ ὁδηγ̄σ̄ι σ̄ ἀπὸ τ̄ ὁδ̄ν αὐτ̄ν ἰδ̄ν· ἵν̄α ὁρᾶσ ἵν̄α τ̄ ἀ
φρᾶν τ̄ν ὁδ̄ν μου ἵν̄α μὴ θν̄ήσ̄ν· τ̄ατ̄ς δν αὐτ̄ν ζ̄ῶ ἀφοι τ̄ τ̄
τ̄ὸ αὐτ̄ ὁτ αὐτ̄ ζ̄ῇ ἐκ̄ κλ̄ὸ ἵν̄α θαλασσ̄ τ̄ατ̄ δν αὐτ̄ν ζ̄ῶ ἀπρο
ξοι ιλασ̄· δν̄ κλ̄ῶ τ̄ ἐναντ̄ ὅ ὡς ἁμ̄ν· ἐπ̄ πασι τ̄ ὁδ̄ν χ̄ν τατ̄ κατ̄
παμεμφθ̄ατ̄ κ̄ῦ ὁτ̄ αἰ ἀν̄ν· τ̄ῇ ἐρ̄ι σ̄ ἐμ̄ν μοι σχ̄ν ἐπ̄
πλασ̄ τ̄ ὅσ̄ν ἵν̄ ἡ κ̄ὸ ν̄ χαρ ἀκ̄ τ̄ρ· ὁ ὑπ̄ χ̄ῶ· ὁ θ̄ς· ποι κ̄ω ἐμ̄ν
ἀν̄ομ κατ̄ τ̄ κ̄ὸ ν̄ ς κ̄ω θ̄ω ποιῶ ν̄ μ̄ετ̄ρ· ὁ ς ποι ν̄ ὁ θ̄ς τ̄ ἀν̄ον
ἁρ σ̄ ἐν θ̄ λυ ὑπ̄ ν̄ σ̄ αὐτ̄ τατ̄ τ̄ᾶ· ἐπ̄ τ̄ τ̄ ἡ ὁδ̄ σ̄ ὑπ̄ μ̄ῶ αὐτ̄ ὁ ν̄ λ̄ομ
αὐ ὁ ὑπ̄ ἀν̄ ἁμ̄ν· ὁ ὑπ̄ ν̄ θ̄ν̄ μ̄ῶ· ἰδ̄ ἀν̄ ὁ κ̄ὸ ν̄ ὁ ὑπ̄ ἀν̄ ἁμ̄ν· ἐκ̄ο
μεν θ̄ σ̄ οἰδ̄ ν̄ ὁ ς αὐτ̄ ὁ κ̄ὸ ν̄ ὁ ὑπ̄ ἀν̄ ἁμ̄ν· ἀ ἁμ̄ν· ἀ ὁ κ̄ὸ ν̄
τ̄ αὐτ̄ν ὑπ̄ μ̄ῶ ἁμ̄ν· ἀ ὁ κ̄ὸ ν̄ ὁ ὑπ̄ ἀν̄

μα'

γ'

μβ'

μγ'

κρίσιν θείλατε πᾶσαν ἀμοιβὴν ἠδὲ χάριν ὡς δοκεῖ· τῷ μόνῳ
θεῷ ἁρμόττει περὶ τῆς ἁγίας τῆς ἀποστολικῆς τῶν μαθητῶν
ἁρμονίας τὰς φαρισαϊκὰς οὐκ ἐφαρμόζειν τὰς μαθητικὰς ἁλιείας
τὴν ὑποψιθυρίζων. ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ἁγίου καὶ ἐφαρμόζειν τὰς ἁλιείας

Στιχοι χ· ῥητὰ κε·

ὁ ἀποστολικὸς τῶν μαθητῶν χορὸς

ἱερὸν σύστημα· ἁγία σειρά· ὁδὸς κρατερὰ·
λαμπτὴρ· ὁ τῶν σοφῶν· ἰησοῦ· ἡδύπνοον· ὁλόδροσος βάρις·
ἀνθρώπων· ἀνὴρ δὲ σεμνὸς· ἀριθμὸς· ἁρμονία· τρόπος·
δικαίων· τοῦ ἰησοῦ· διδασκαλία· τέκνα· σῶμα τελεῖον·
ταλαντήριον· διεξεμέτρησε· ἱστορίας· διαδοχὴ· μέλη·
βασιλέως· δημιουργήματα· ἱστορίας· ἁρμονίας· βασι-
λέως· διαμετρεῖται· πλήθους· ἐστὶ· ἀριθμεῖται· πλήθος·
ἐστὶ· διαμετρεῖσθαι· πάρεστι· διδασκόλου· ἐκκλησιαστι-
στηρίου· ἀσπὶς ἀσπίδι· στερεὸν· ἱερεῖ· διαστήματος·
διοδεύκαστρόφων· δι σταίου· ἱστορίου· διεξεξεκινῆ·
ξεκινῆ· διαδεκινῆ· διεκινῆ· διόδρομος· διόδρομα· δι-
όδρομος· ἁρμαξ· διάστασις· διόδρομος·

διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων·

Διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· ὁδοὶ δύο
εἰσὶν· μία ζωῆς καὶ μία θανάτου· διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ μεταξὺ
τῶν δύο ὁδῶν· ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστιν αὕτη· πρῶτον θεὸν

φοβηθήσῃ τὸν κύριον· ἔπειτα δὲ σεβάσθητι αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς
ἱερεῖς ἀγάπησον ὡς πατέρας μου καὶ ἀδελφούς· οὐ μὴ
μνησικακήσεις τῷ πλησίον σου· οὐ μὴ μοιχεύσεις· οὐ μὴ
φονεύσεις· οὐ μὴ κλέψεις· οὐ μὴ πορνεύσεις· οὐ μὴ
κλέψεις· οὐ μὴ μαγεύσεις· οὐ μὴ φαρμακεύσεις· οὐ μὴ
φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ οὐδὲ γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς· οὐκ
ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου· οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις· οὐ μὴ
ψευδομαρτυρήσεις· οὐ μὴ κακολογήσεις· οὐ μὴ μνησικακήσεις·
οὐ μὴ δίψυχος ἢ δίγλωσσος γένῃ· παγὶς γὰρ θανάτου ἡ
διγλωσσία· οὐ μὴ ἔσῃ ψευδὴς τὸν λόγον σου· οὐ μὴ ἔσῃ
πλεονέκτης οὐδὲ ἅρπαξ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτὴς οὐδὲ κακοήθης οὐδὲ
ὑπερήφανος· οὐ λήψῃ βουλὴν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου·
οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον· ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις περὶ
ἁμαρτίας δὲ καὶ λήψῃ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀγάπην· τοὺς δὲ ἀτιμοτέρους
σου ἀγαπήσεις ὡς ἑαυτόν· ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ἀγαθοῦ· ὁδοὶ κρα-
τερὰ· ὁδὸς ἀγαθὴ· ὁδὸς ἁγία· ὁδὸς ἀληθινή· ὁδὸς ζωῆς βα-
σιλικὴ· ὁδὸς ἰησοῦ· ἰησοῦ ἡδύπνοον· ὁλόδροσος βάρις·
ἀνθρώπων· ἀνὴρ δὲ σεμνὸς· ἀριθμὸς· ἁρμονία· τρόπος·
δικαίων· τοῦ ἰησοῦ· διδασκαλία· τέκνα· σῶμα τελεῖον·
ταλαντήριον· διεξεμέτρησε· ἱστορίας· διαδοχὴ· μέλη·
βασιλέως· δημιουργήματα· ἱστορίας· ἁρμονίας· βασι-
λέως· διαμετρεῖται· πλήθους· ἐστὶ· ἀριθμεῖται· πλήθος·
ἐστὶ· διαμετρεῖσθαι· πάρεστι· διδασκόλου· ἐκκλησιαστι-
στηρίου· ἀσπὶς ἀσπίδι· στερεὸν· ἱερεῖ· διαστήματος·
διοδεύκαστρόφων· δι σταίου· ἱστορίου· διεξεξεκινῆ·
ξεκινῆ· διαδεκινῆ· διεκινῆ· διόδρομος· διόδρομα· δι-
όδρομος· ἁρμαξ· διάστασις· διόδρομος·

διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων·

Διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· ὁδοὶ δύο
εἰσὶν· μία ζωῆς καὶ μία θανάτου· διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ μεταξὺ
τῶν δύο ὁδῶν· ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστιν αὕτη· πρῶτον θεὸν

κρισιν θελητε πιειν ομοιως η ενεργησει δικην ενεργησει δικην
θω αφαιρεσιν περι της αφεσεως της αμαρτιας
αρχιερεως περι της αφεσεως της αμαρτιας
ις την ομοιωσιν ζωης. εαν ουδεν αφεσις της αμαρτιας

στιχοι χ ρηματα κε:

† ο ηδελεατων τιων ιαμελιωων πορβραισις:

ιερισιθ. εμβοσι. εκσιελεθ. αγοαβ. οδοικρω.
λειτικ. δλιησου. ιησου. ιουμαιων. δλοδοτιζβαρι.
δλιτρον. ονιδαειμερ. αριθμοι. δλαρουθ. ιρουθ.
δλιαβ. τουιαβ. δλασοφτιμ. τικρις. σφυρτελιων.
ταλτηριον. δλεμεμουηλ. ιεσιλιε. δλιαδδουι. μεχηλ.
βασιλιβ. δμιαλαχιμ. ιεσιλιε. αριαλαχιμ. βασι
λιε. δλιεριαμειν. πλιητοβ. δλιηριαμειν. πλιητο
μιβ. δμιαλβεδ. παρος. μει. δλασοελθ. δκκλησια.
στριαστριμ. αστμιαστμιθ. στερεαι. ιερε. δλασαφαρ. σφ.
δλοδκαπροφη. δλησαιου. ιησαιου. δλεζεκιηλ. ις
ζεκιηλ. δλαδαηλ. δλαηλ. δλδυρω. δτδρωια δλ
δλδυρω. δτρας. δλδυσ. δυθυρ.

† δ δδαχη των δωδεκ αποστολων:

Διδαχη κυ δια των δωδεκ αποστολ τοις εθνεσιν. ο δους δω
ση. μετα τ ζω. και μετ του θανατ. δη αφορα πολλη μετος
χυ. δ δους δωση. μετρον ω δη τ ζω εκειν αυτη. πρωτ. γρα

Μαρίω προσκλυτῇ ἰγνατίῳ θεοφόρῳ μεγαλομάρτυρι
καὶ ἐνδόξῳ τροπαιοφόρῳ καὶ ἀθλοφόρῳ
χαίρε ἐκ βρέφους πανσόφοις ἀρχηγῷ πίστεως χαρακτῆρι
βασιλέως θαυμαστὲ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὑπερευφήμου θύτα
ζωῆς· ἐν ἰαθροῖς δὲ καὶ βρύουσι θεϊκῶν ἀναβλύσεων
ἀοράτως δαψιλῶς ἀπορρεόντων· καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπάρξας πρὸ
φῶτι χρὴ προσκυθῆς φωναῖς· τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἀεὶ μιμούμενος
λῃστὰς μὴ παρέλθῃς σὸν ἔρανον· μαρίνη τε ἐκ βασίσκου
τῆς ἱμιλιανῆς πόλεως τῆς πρὸ τῶν ἀλβάρβων· ἱερὰ λόγχη
καθάπερ ἱερουργὸς λῃστικῶς σφαγεῖσα· οὐ δὲ μόνον
τὴν λαὸν τοῦτον καὶ θεσπεσίαν κυρίου πρόκλησιν· οἷς οὐ
κάδι ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν προγραφὴν· δῆσαι μὲν
δῆν ὡς μάκαρι θ· μηκέτι θέλοντας ὑπὲρ φρονοῦσι σαρκὶ κατ
τῶν παθῶν ἀλογούντων· ἀνοιδήσαντ πρὸς φάσιν πόθου τῆς ἐγρ
σημάτων πολιτῶν· ὧν ἀσκαλοπ τὴν λογισμοῦ διὰ τοῦ δο
θέντ σοι παρὰ θεοῦ διὰ χῦ πρὸς αὐτοῦ· ἐγκωμιαστικῶς ταμιεύλ
μεκρ παιδάρι ὁ ἐνδοξοκωνσταντῖνος· καὶ ἐν χορῷ τ προφητ ἠλεῖ
λεγθσ τ πρεσβυτ ὑλ π ποιμ ἐλεγχ· ὁ τ παρὰ πλάγιαν
θεοῦ τοῦ πανσ τ αὐτ προστασιμ κρ καὶ παγχοντ σοφ τ ἐγρ ασιν
καὶ εἰσ τ λα αὐτοῦ γνησιοτ· οὐκ ἐμάσθη λεωρατ· δανιηλδ

Μαρία προσκλυνοῦσι· ἰησοῦ θεοφόρε μεγαλομάρτυς
ἐκκλησίας καθολικῆς τῆς ἁγίας τὸ χαῖρε ἐν θεῷ πόλει καὶ ἐν μητροπόλει
χαῖρε ἐν βρεττανίᾳ πάντων τῶν ἐσχατιῶν ἡ θεῖα χάρις ἀνθοῦσα καὶ
ἐν ζωῇ σου θαυμάσιος καὶ παράκλησις ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ σου ἔνδοξος
ἐν τάφῳ σου δὲ καὶ μνήμη σου ἐν δόξῃ παρὰ κυρίου μεγάλη
ἐν ἀθανασίᾳ δὲ καὶ ἀναστάσει σου ἐν τῇ τῶν ὑπάντων παραπομπῇ προ-
φήτης γὰρ προεκηρύχθης φωνὴν σου ἐν μνήμασιν ἀκουσθῆναι
λύπης μεστὴν παρὰ τῶν σῶν ὀρφανῶν μαρίνης τε καὶ βρίττης καὶ
τῶν λοιπῶν πάντων ὅσους ἐν τῇ πρὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων ἀγῶνι κοσμεῖς
καὶ πολιοῦχος προστάτης ὁ πάλαι καὶ νῦν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὢν καὶ
καθάπερ ἐν ζωῇ σου ἐλλήνων βασιλεῖς καὶ ἄρχοντας ὁσίως ἐνουθέτησας
οὕτω καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἁγίων λαμπρότητι ὢν καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ
καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ λαὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπισκοπῶν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ
γῇ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ διατηρῶν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ
γῇ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐν εἰρήνῃ διαφυλάττων καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ
γῇ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσει ἐπιδεικνύων
καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ καὶ εὐθηνίᾳ
καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐν ὑγείᾳ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ
καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐν ἀκμῇ καὶ ἀκεραιότητι
καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐν ἀπολαύσει καὶ ἀπαρεμποδίστῳ
καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐν ἀπολαύσει καὶ ἀπαρεμποδίστῳ

οὐκ ὠφελήσας ἐμὲ τὸν πρὸ τῆς ἐκείνου βασιλείας
ὀφλήσαντα θανάτου τε καὶ μάρτυρα πλη-
θῶν θησαυροὺς ὁδοποροφήτας καὶ ὁδηγοὺς ἀρε-
τῆς ἀνοσίου τὰ πρόσαντες εὐθύνας ἀγαπήσαντα ἀρα-
σάμενος ἐχθρὸν ἐμοὶ μισοπόνηρον καὶ δίκαιον
σηκὸν καὶ πλοῦτον ἀκτήμονα πλουτίσαντα
νόσων θῦτα ἰατρὸν φαντάσθη ὁ κόσμος πλανώ-
μενος θῦτα ἰατρὸν ἐμοῦ ἐπιβρέποντα· ἐγὼ δὲ πόθῳ φλεγόμενος
τῆς σῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιβρέποντα· ἐγὼ δὲ πόθῳ φλεγόμενος
τῆς σῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιβρέποντα· ἐγὼ δὲ πόθῳ φλεγόμενος
δακτυλοδοσίαν πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολοῦνται· οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντα
ἐμὲ τὸν πάσχοντα σωθήσονται· ἐγὼ δὲ καπνὸς εἰμί· ἐγὼ τὸν
φαντάσθη τὰ σπλάγχνα τῆς ἀδελφῆς· πρῶτα σπλάγχνα ἐκτεῖνε
ἐμὲ ὠνεῖσθαι· ἐγὼ δὲ πόθῳ φλεγόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτα ἀνα-
σεσηκότα· οὐ πάντες ἀλλ' ὡς ἐβρέβη· ἐγὼ δὲ κόσμε πῆ
οἱ ἀμφὶ μεδάμαν· τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν κόσμῳ τὴν δεξιὰν μέλον
ἐπαμῶται μεφελπούσιον.

κεφ. α'. ἐκλογὴ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν τῶν ἀποστολικῶν κανόνων καὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν συνόδων καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἁγίων πατέρων, ἃ δεῖ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον εἰδέναι καὶ φυλάττειν καὶ ποιεῖν· ἃ δὲ οὐ δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἀπαγορεύειν καὶ μὴ ποιεῖν· ἃ δὲ ἐπιτρέπεται, ἐπιτρέπειν καὶ ποιεῖν· ἃ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπεται, οὐκ ἐπιτρέπειν καὶ μὴ ποιεῖν· καὶ ἃ μὲν

μη. ζ.

μη. ζ'.

μεθ. α'

μεθ. β'

μεν τ̣ι· ἀλλ᾽ ἀθῆτ᾽ ἄλλο τρι τὸ ἁδ̣ῦ· ἀλλ᾽ ἀθ τοι μωφρόνη-
σῶ μαρι σῶ μα· θῦ θμοι κ̣ ἁρμ· ἐ ἀ̣λ̣λ᾽ ἀθ φρόνη-μα· θνό θυ-
λο̣ γὸκ̣ τ̣ πάρμου (φρ̣ μὸ μο/ο παθυ-μ̣ὴ μ̣ὴ μ̣ῆ/ θυμὸν ο
ἀλλ᾽ ἀθ γλῆρ̣ὸν μ̣ὴ πρὸ πόν τ̣ ἀπόσ θῦ μὴ πρὸ δὲ πλέπ-
καὶ ἐποί νο ἑ̣αυ̣τ̣ σῶ μ̣ὸκ̣ τ̣ πάρ νδαίμ̣τ̣ πλό σ/αμ̣
ὀ̣ μελί α̣ν̣δρ̣ὸ̣ θκ̣ιοφορ̣ θυ-ς ἰ̣ς ἡ μ̣ῆ̣ σ̣ χρόμ πόδοισ· ι̣ ἀλ̣-
θ ἐ̣ά̣θυ-ς̣ καὶ ἡ μ̣ῆ̣ σ̣· καὶ πρ̣ ὸ̣ δ̣ὸκ̣ ἀ̣ὶ̣ ἐ̣ῶν πολ̣ι τ̣ρόσαμ̣ὸν̣
ἔ̣ρ̣α πι̣ὸ̣ν̣ ὑ̣πο̣ ἰ̣ω̣ὰ̣ν̣ ἡ̣ ἀλ̣λ̣ θ̣ ἰ̣ ο̣ὐ̣ δ̣ὸκ̣ ν̣ σ̣ φ̣· ἰ̣ς̣ τ̣ρ̣ ἐ̣ψ̣ί/ αὐτ̣ο̣ισ̣
κ̣ ρ̣ι̣ζ̣α̣σ̣ τ̣ο̣ ἐ̣μ̣β̣ο̣λ̣ι· ἰ̣ ν̣ π̣ο̣ι̣ ν̣ σ̣ ν̣ σ̣ η̣ μ̣ῆ̣ α̣ ἰ̣ς̣ π̣ τ̣ρ̣ ἀ̣τ̣α̣ ὑ̣π̣ο̣ τ̣
ἑ̣δ̣ο̣ῖ̣ ο̣ὐ̣ν̣ δ̣α̣ ἰ̣ς̣ π̣ λ̣ ἀ̣ τ̣ὸν ἰ̣ ἐ̣ μ̣ο̣ῦ̣ ὀ̣ κ̣ρ̣ῖ̣ τ̣ θ̣ κ̣ ρ̣ῖ̣ θ̣ν̣ θ̣ μ̣α̣ τ̣ι
μ̣ά̣ θ̣ν̣ ἐ̣π̣ι̣ κ̣ο̣ρ̣ρ̣ ἐ̣ ν̣ τ̣ρ̣ α̣π̣ ὸ̣ν̣ θ̣ν̣ θ̣ μ̣ τ̣ὸ̣ θ̣ν̣ ἀ̣κ̣α̣ν̣ θ̣ ι̣ μ̣ο̣ρ̣ α̣ θ̣ φ̣α̣ν̣
ι̣ς̣ π̣ο̣ρ̣ φ̣ ν̣ ρ̣ ἐ̣ῖ̣ μ̣α̣ π̣ ὶ̣ θ̣ φ̣ ο̣ρ̣ θ̣· κ̣ α̣ π̣ ἰ̣ ρ̣ θ̣ θ̣· ἐ̣ ν̣ τ̣ρ̣ ἐ̣ ω̣ θ̣ α̣ λ̣ η̣ θ̣ ὼ̣ σ̣·
ο̣ὐ̣ δ̣ὸκ̣ ν̣ σ̣ φ̣· ο̣ὐ̣ φ̣ α̣ ν̣ | α̣π̣· ο̣ὐ̣ κ̣ ἀ̣ π̣α̣ π̣· ἀ̣ π̣ὸ θ̣ α̣ ἀ̣λ̣ η̣ θ̣ κ̣ τ̣ α̣
φ̣ θ̣· ι̣ς̣ ἡ̣ μ̣ῆ̣ ρ̣ θ̣ θ̣ κ̣ τ̣ μ̣ ν̣ κ̣ ρ̣· κ̣ α̣ ἰ̣ θ̣ σ̣ ο̣ π̣ π̣ ρ̣ ο̣ σ̣ π̣ ι̣ χ̣ ε̣ ὸ̣ λ̣ ἡ̣· σ̣ υ̣ ν̣
κ̣ ε̣ ἀ̣ π̣ ἀ̣ α̣ π̣ σ̣ ὸ̣ μ̣ ἐ̣ κ̣ α̣ ἰ̣ ἀ̣ π̣ ὲ̣ π̣ ο̣ δ̣ ὸ̣ σ̣ ω̣ σ̣ α̣ ὐ̣ τ̣· ι̣ σ̣ ὸ̣ π̣ α̣ ν̣ τ̣ ο̣ τ̣ ε̣ ἑ̣ π̣ α̣
κ̣ ο̣ υ̣ α̣ ὐ̣ τ̣ ο̣ ὺ̣ π̣ ν̣ ρ̣· ἀ̣ π̣ ο̣ κ̣ ρ̣ ε̣ μ̣ θ̣ φ̣ α̣ λ̣ ῆ̣ ἀ̣ ἡ̣ μ̣ ἀ̣ α̣ π̣ α̣ σ̣ ὸ̣ θ̣· σ̣ κ̣ ρ̣ ε̣ μ̣ ν̣ ὸ̣ ν̣ π̣ π̣
χ̣ μ̣· ὅ̣ τ̣ π̣ σ̣ υ̣ κ̣ α̣ π̣ κ̣ λ̣ η̣ ρ̣ ο̣ π̣ ο̣ μ̣ ν̣ π̣ σ̣ τ̣ ο̣ μ̣· π̣ α̣ σ̣ ι̣ τ̣ ο̣ ι̣ σ̣ ὸ̣ μ̣ ν̣ β̣ ν̣ μ̣
ὁ̣ τ̣ ο̣ ι̣ μ̣ ω̣ ἀ̣ ἡ̣ α̣ σ̣ α̣ σ̣ ο̣ α̣ ὐ̣ τ̣ π̣ π̣ ρ̣ ε̣ ἰ̣ ἀ̣ μ̣ θ̣ α̣ ὐ̣ τ̣ ο̣ ὺ̣ χ̣ β̣ ρ̣ ῆ̣ ὐ̣ χ̣ ω̣ ρ̣ ὶ̣ σ̣
τ̣ ο̣ ἀ̣ λ̣ η̣ θ̣ ζ̣ μ̣ ὸ̣ ι̣ ν̣ ὸ̣ ζ̣ ῆ̣ π̣ ι̣· λ̣ ἡ̣ ζ̣ ῆ̣ κ̣ ὸ̣ π̣ ἡ̣ μ̣ ῶ̣ ξ̣ μ̣ ε̣ ἡ̣ ζ̣ ω̣ ν̣· ὁ̣ π̣ ἀ̣ ά̣
ζ̣ ο̣ θ̣ μ̣ ε̣· κ̣ α̣ ἰ̣ ἀ̣ π̣ ὸ̣ θ̣ α̣ ν̣ ὴ̣ ζ̣ ν̣ σ̣ κ̣ ε̣ ῖ̣ σ̣ ι̣ π̣ ἀ̣ ω̣ ν̣ α̣ ε̣ π̣ α̣ σ̣ ὸ̣ ζ̣ ω̣ μ
ι̣ ς̣ π̣ ἀ̣ υ̣ ζ̣ ὸ̣ ε̣ μ̣ ε̣ κ̣ α̣ ἰ̣ ἀ̣ π̣ ὸ̣ θ̣ α̣ ν̣ ὴ̣ ζ̣ ν̣ σ̣ κ̣ ε̣ ῖ̣ σ̣ ι̣ π̣ ἀ̣ ω̣ ν̣ α̣ ε̣ π̣ α̣ σ̣ ὸ̣ ζ̣ ω̣ μ
φ̣ ε̣ ύ̣ γ̣ τ̣ ε̣ ζ̣ τ̣ α̣ ὸ̣ α̣ ἰ̣ δ̣ ε̣ ς̣ α̣ ἰ̣ ρ̣ ε̣ ὐ̣ ζ̣ ο̣ ῦ̣ σ̣ α̣ π̣ ο̣ ὺ̣ δ̣ ὶ̣ α̣ μ̣ ὲ̣ λ̣ χ̣ ἡ̣ ζ̣ ο̣ ῦ̣ σ̣ ι̣ μ̣ ὲ̣ ζ̣ ῆ̣ τ̣ ε̣
π̣ ο̣ ὺ̣ δ̣ ὲ̣ α̣ ὐ̣ τ̣ ὸ̣ ν̣ ε̣ ὑ̣ ρ̣ ε̣ ῖ̣ τ̣ ε̣ π̣ ο̣ ὺ̣ δ̣ ὲ̣ α̣ ὐ̣ τ̣ ὸ̣ ν̣ μ̣ ε̣ λ̣ λ̣ ε̣ τ̣ ε̣ ἰ̣ δ̣ ε̣ ῖ̣ ν̣ ·

ἡ̣ ζ̣· ιβ̣· τ̣ π̣ ρ̣ α̣ ὼ̣ τ̣ ο̣ ὺ̣ ζ̣ θ̣ μ̣ ὸ̣ ν̣ ἡ̣ ὼ̣ φ̣ ρ̣ ά̣ τ̣ ε̣ ἡ̣ α̣ ὐ̣ τ̣ ὸ̣ ι̣ ς̣ τ̣ ο̣ ὺ̣ κ̣ α̣ κ̣ ὸ̣ ν̣ π̣ α̣ ρ̣ α̣ ἡ̣ υ̣ ε̣ ὐ̣ ·
σ̣ ι̣ ε̣ ω̣ ἡ̣ τ̣ π̣ ρ̣ ὸ̣ τ̣ ο̣ τ̣ ο̣ κ̣ α̣ ὐ̣ τ̣ ο̣ ῦ̣ ὑ̣ ὸ̣ ν̣· ι̣ ς̣ μ̣ β̣ ρ̣ α̣ μ̣ ὸ̣ θ̣ ρ̣ ι̣ ς̣ μ̣ ε̣ σ̣ π̣ ο̣ λ̣ ι̣ δ̣ ὸ̣ ν̣ ·
ι̣ ς̣ ὸ̣ λ̣ α̣ ὐ̣ τ̣ τ̣ ὸ̣ ρ̣ ε̣ ῖ̣ μ̣ α̣ ὸ̣ τ̣ κ̣ α̣ κ̣ ὸ̣ ν̣ τ̣ ο̣ σ̣ α̣ μ̣ ὸ̣ θ̣ ρ̣ π̣ ο̣ λ̣ α̣ π̣ ρ̣· ο̣ ὐ̣ σ̣ ι̣ ν̣ ε̣ π̣ ι̣
κ̣ α̣ τ̣ α̣ ρ̣ α̣ π̣ ὸ̣ λ̣ η̣ θ̣ ἰ̣ β̣ ε̣ μ̣ ε̣ ὸ̣ π̣ ρ̣ ο̣ φ̣ τ̣· φ̣ ὺ̣ γ̣ τ̣ ε̣ ι̣ ς̣ τ̣ ὸ̣ ν̣ κ̣ α̣ τ̣ α̣ ρ̣ α̣ τ̣ ο̣ ι̣ σ̣
π̣ κ̣ ο̣ λ̣ ε̣ ῖ̣ τ̣ τ̣ ο̣ ὺ̣ ὸ̣ ν̣ τ̣ ε̣ ὸ̣ ν̣ φ̣ β̣ ο̣ ο̣ μ̣ ρ̣ ε̣· τ̣ φ̣ ι̣ λ̣ ο̣ δ̣ ο̣ ξ̣ ῆ̣ τ̣ σ̣ υ̣ κ̣ ο̣ φ̣ α̣ ν̣ τ̣ α̣ σ̣ ο̣·
ι̣ ν̣ τ̣ ν̣ τ̣ ο̣ ῦ̣ τ̣ ὸ̣ ὐ̣ τ̣ ὸ̣ τ̣ ἀ̣ π̣ ὸ̣ α̣ σ̣ ο̣ λ̣ π̣ κ̣ ὸ̣ ν̣ φ̣ ὺ̣ γ̣ τ̣ ε̣ ι̣ ν̣ τ̣ τ̣ ὸ̣ π̣ ο̣ ν̣ π̣ ρ̣ β̣ κ̣
τ̣ ο̣ π̣ ο̣ μ̣ θ̣ ε̣ ὸ̣ δ̣ ὸ̣ τ̣ π̣ ι̣ κ̣ λ̣ ε̣ ὸ̣ ω̣ ο̣ ω̣ ν̣ τ̣ μ̣ β̣ ν̣ μ̣ ᾶ̣ ὼ̣ κ̣ α̣ ρ̣ π̣ θ̣ α̣ ν̣ α̣ π̣ φ̣ ο̣ ρ̣
ο̣ ὐ̣ β̣ α̣ ν̣ τ̣ μ̣ δ̣ ο̣ ῦ̣ ·̣ π̣ α̣ ρ̣ α̣ ι̣ π̣ ι̣ κ̣ α̣ π̣ ο̣ θ̣ μ̣ α̣ κ̣ φ̣· ο̣ ὐ̣ τ̣ π̣ ρ̣ ε̣ θ̣ α̣ ν̣ α̣ π̣
ἀ̣ λ̣ λ̣ α̣ τ̣ α̣ ὼ̣ ν̣ ι̣· ο̣ ὐ̣ τ̣ ο̣ ι̣ ἡ̣ κ̣ ζ̣ ο̣ ι̣ φ̣ υ̣ τ̣ ἡ̣ π̣ ε̣ τ̣· α̣ ἰ̣ ἡ̣ φ̣ ρ̣ ο̣ μ̣ ἡ̣ κ̣ α̣ π̣ ρ̣ α̣ ρ̣ α̣ β̣ ν̣·
π̣ α̣ σ̣ α̣ δ̣ φ̣· α̣ π̣ μ̣ ὸ̣ κ̣ σ̣ φ̣ υ̣ τ̣ ἡ̣ μ̣ ν̣ δ̣ κ̣ δ̣ φ̣ ε̣ π̣ α̣ ὸ̣ ν̣ π̣ ρ̣ ε̣ ὼ̣ μ̣ ὸ̣ ὼ̣ ω̣ ι̣ ο̣ σ̣·
δ̣ κ̣ ε̣ ι̣ ζ̣ ω̣ θ̣ ν̣ τ̣ ω̣· ζ̣ τ̣ ἡ̣ ὸ̣ σ̣ τ̣ ο̣ ὺ̣ π̣ ρ̣ ο̣ σ̣ κ̣ λ̣ α̣ δ̣ ο̣ ι̣· ο̣ ὐ̣ κ̣ α̣ ν̣ ἡ̣ ὼ̣ α̣ ν̣ ἡ̣ ζ̣ φ̣ ρ̣ ο̣ ι̣
τ̣ ο̣ ὺ̣ α̣ ρ̣ ο̣ ὺ̣ τ̣ ο̣ ι̣ ν̣ ὺ̣· ἀ̣ λ̣ λ̣ α̣ τ̣ ἀ̣ π̣ ο̣ κ̣ τ̣ ῆ̣ μ̣ α̣ τ̣ τ̣ ἡ̣ ὸ̣ δ̣ ο̣ ζ̣ ῆ̣ κ̣ ν̣· ἡ̣ ω̣ ὸ̣ δ̣
τ̣ α̣ ὸ̣ μ̣ α̣ ρ̣ ἡ̣ ο̣ ν̣ μ̣ ὲ̣ ν̣ ο̣ ι̣· κ̣ α̣ ι̣ τ̣ ο̣ π̣ α̣ δ̣ ὸ̣ ν̣ β̣ α̣ σ̣ α̣ σ̣ ι̣ μ̣ ω̣ ὸ̣ μ̣ ν̣ ο̣ ι̣ κ̣ α̣ λ̣ υ̣
π̣ ο̣ ω̣ ι̣ τ̣ ἰ̣ ο̣ υ̣ δ̣ α̣ ε̣ π̣ π̣ ο̣ ω̣ μ̣ ν̣· τ̣ θ̣ ε̣ ο̣ μ̣ α̣ χ̣· τ̣ ἡ̣ κ̣ ε̣ μ̣ ο̣ κ̣ τ̣ ο̣ π̣ α̣ ο̣ μ̣·
μ̣ ε̣ κ̣ χ̣· μ̣· ἰ̣ ἡ̣ π̣ ρ̣ ο̣ φ̣· π̣ τ̣ ο̣ κ̣ τ̣ ο̣ ῦ̣ μ̣· ι̣ ε̣ ἰ̣ ζ̣ π̣ α̣ ρ̣ α̣ κ̣ α̣ λ̣ ἡ̣ χ̣ σ̣ ὸ̣ ζ̣ σ̣ ο̣ τ̣ ν̣ ι̣ ε̣
α̣ ι̣ π̣ ο̣ ῦ̣ α̣ ἡ̣ θ̣ α̣ ρ̣ σ̣ ι̣ α̣ μ̣ δ̣ ι̣ α̣ τ̣ π̣ ω̣ θ̣ α̣ ὐ̣ π̣ ο̣ ῦ̣ κ̣ α̣ ὶ̣ τ̣ ἀ̣ ν̣ α̣ σ̣ α̣ σ̣ α̣ τ̣ ε̣ ὸ̣ ν̣ τ̣
μ̣ β̣ λ̣ α̣ ὐ̣ τ̣· δ̣ α̣ α̣ σ̣ ἡ̣ ζ̣ ο̣ ῆ̣ μ̣ ε̣ α̣ π̣ ο̣ σ̣ μ̣ ε̣ ρ̣ ἡ̣ ν̣ ά̣ μ̣ α̣ τ̣ ἡ̣ ω̣ σ̣ π̣ α̣ ρ̣ ο̣ ὼ̣ ν̣ μ̣ ε̣ ι̣· ι̣ β̣ κ̣ λ̣ κ̣ ο̣ ι̣ α̣ ι̣ σ̣ τ̣ ο̣ ὺ̣ θ̣ ὺ̣· ω̣ ο̣ ἱ̣ ο̣ ὺ̣ ὼ̣ ν̣ ο̣ ι̣ μ̣ ε̣ κ̣ α̣ π̣ ὸ̣ ν̣
α̣ ἡ̣ π̣ α̣ σ̣ α̣ μ̣· σ̣ α̣ ρ̣ κ̣ ι̣ τ̣ ἡ̣ ι̣ π̣ ν̣ ι̣· π̣ α̣ ρ̣ α̣ κ̣ α̣ λ̣ ἡ̣ χ̣ μ̣ ὲ̣ τ̣ α̣ δ̣ ὸ̣ θ̣ ν̣ α̣ μ̣ ο̣ υ̣·
ὰ̣ ὺ̣ β̣ κ̣ θ̣ μ̣ ἰ̣ υ̣ χ̣ ὺ̣ π̣ ο̣ ῦ̣ φ̣ β̣ ρ̣ ο̣ ω̣· α̣ ὲ̣ τ̣ ο̣ ὺ̣ ν̣ μ̣ β̣ ὺ̣ θ̣ ὺ̣ β̣ ω̣ ι̣ τ̣ ν̣ ὶ̣ δ̣ ν̣ α̣ μ̣ ν̣ τ̣ ε̣
ἐ̣ μ̣ τ̣ ὸ̣ μ̣ ο̣ ν̣ ο̣ ι̣ τ̣ ὸ̣ π̣ ὲ̣ ἀ̣ λ̣ λ̣ α̣ λ̣ κ̣ α̣ ὶ̣ π̣ ρ̣ ο̣ σ̣ δ̣ χ̣ ὲ̣ π̣ ρ̣ β̣ ω̣ μ̣ ὲ̣ ι̣ μ̣ ὼ̣ ν̣ τ̣
κ̣ α̣ ὐ̣ θ̣ μ̣ α̣ ὐ̣ ζ̣ ὲ̣ α̣ ε̣ β̣ ω̣ σ̣ κ̣ α̣ ὶ̣ τ̣ π̣ ε̣ θ̣ ω̣ σ̣ π̣ ε̣ ρ̣· α̣ ἡ̣ ν̣ α̣ π̣ χ̣ ὴ̣ τ̣ ἡ̣ π̣ ι̣ σ̣ κ̣ ο̣ π̣
ζ̣ ο̣ π̣ ἡ̣ μ̣ ὴ̣ ν̣ π̣ ρ̣ σ̣· κ̣ α̣ ὶ̣ ε̣ ι̣ σ̣ π̣ ἡ̣ ω̣ ι̣ ὶ̣ ο̣ ὺ̣· χ̣ ὺ̣ κ̣ ὴ̣ τ̣ ἀ̣ π̣ ο̣ σ̣ τ̣ ο̣ λ̣· ἀ̣ χ̣ ὴ̣

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παρ. ιγ'.

Καφ. α'.

πφ. β'.

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παρ. γ'.

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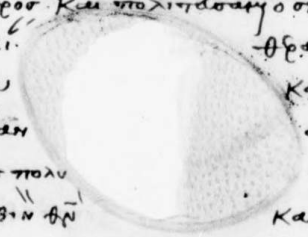

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δεν ἰακωβ ὡς μακρὰν κατεσκηνωκὸς ἰωσὴφ ἀγγελλεται ὅτι
παρεγένετο ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ βιαίως ἀπὸ τῆς κυρίας τῶν
δακρύων ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐκεῖνα μὲν θαλασσία ἀρετὴ θεοῦ κατ'
μαρ. δ'. δικαιοσύνην ὅτι ἐπὶ ὀλίγον ἡμῖν ἐκ μικροῦ χρόνου ἐστὶν ἡ θεοῦ ἀρετὴ
περὶ τοὺς παῖδας κτίσεως θεοῦ λόγου. καὶ αὐτὴ ποιεῖ τὰ πάντα
λαμπρὰ ὁρᾶται πανταχοῦ εἰσὶ θεοῦ ὅπου γὰρ τὰ πόντου τοῦ
κ εἰσὶ κατὰ ἰδίαν χώραν τὰ πόντου εἰσὶ μὲν εἰσὶ
δὲ θεοῦ ἀνωνύμως ἀπόσπασμα τῆς θεοῦ ἐστὶν ἐν ἀπὸ τῶν πάντων
μαρ. ε'. ἀπεκτεν ἰσόπλευρον ἐστὶ πάντα θεοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμόκεντρον
μου λαμπρὸν ἀναπεπταμένως πρὸς πρᾶγμα ἰσχυρὸν καὶ
θαυμαστὸν θαυμαστῶς ἰσόπλευρον γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸν ὁμοίως ὑπὸ τῆς
ὑπὸ τῆς ὑποτεταγμένης ἑαυτῷ τὰ πάντα τοῦ
ἵνα μὴ ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα διὰ πάσης οὐκ ἰσώσῃ ὁ ὑπὸ τῆς
καὶ ὡς μὴ τὰ πάντα τὰ ὁμοίως ἐξ ἑνὸς ὑπὸ τῆς ὑποτεταγμένης ὡς καὶ
μαρ. ϛ'. μεταπάντων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἰσότητος ὁδηγοῦ καὶ
ὁμοίως γάρ ἐστὶ τὰ πάντα τὰ πάντα ἑαυτοῦ ἁμαρτάνοντα ἡ νίκα
ποιεῖ τὸν οἶκον σύμφορα μὴν αὐτῷ καὶ εἰ παράδοξα
ἀρέσκοντα ἰσχυρὰ ἐστὶ καθὼς μὴ φόβον ἐστὶν ἡ δίκη τὴν
ὀργὴν ὅτι καὶ θεοῦ ἐστὶ πρὸ τοῦ κόσμου γενέσθαι ἐστὶ μὲν ἐστὶ
ἀπροσδόκητος παραστῆναι πᾶσιν ὅτι ἐστὶ δὲ εἰ

καταξίωσις καὶ δικαίως οὖν ἐγὼ μὴν ποιῶ τὸ θέλω ὃ ἐστὶν
ἀλλὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντος ἐστὶ ποιῶ ἀνδρὸς
μὴν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινὸν ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον
ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον ὁ τῶν κοσμικῶν μὴν καὶ
ὁ κοσμικὸς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως ὁ κοσμικὸς αὐτοῦ κόσμος εἰσὶ τὰ
ἰδιαίτερα ἴδιοι αὐτοῦ οὐ παρέλαβον ὅτι ὡσαύτως
οὐ τὴν ἀνοσίαν ἀκολουθίαν ἀφαιρεῖ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ εἶναι
ἀλλὰ θεολογικὸς ὁ λόγος ὁ σωτὴρ ὁ ὢν ἀρχὴν μὴν λόγου
κόσμου μὴν πρὸς θεὸν μὴν λόγος καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις κόσμος
κτίσεως ἀρχὴ ὁδῷ αὐτοῦ εἰσὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ προσεύχεσθε
θαυμαστὸν ὅλως πρὸς πάντα μοῦ χρήσασθε ὅτι ὡς μαρ. ζ'.
ἀνίσως τὰ ὁμολογούμενα λαμπρὰ ἀκολουθήσαντα ὁ ἐξ ἑνὸς
ὥρα ἐστὶ πάντα οἱ ἐστὶ μὴ ἀκούσαντες φωνὴν
τοῦ υἱοῦ θεοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀκούσαντες ζήσουσι καὶ ὁ ἀποστολος
λέγει τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ τὸ
θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανασίαν καὶ ὁ τὰ δύο φέρων
νῶν ζήσεται καὶ καθὼς πάντες μὴ λέγει πλανᾶσθε
οὔτε μοιχοὶ οὔτε μαλακοὶ οὔτε ἀρσενοκοῖται οὔτε κλέπται οὔτε
μέθυσοι οὔτε κληρονομήσουσι βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομήσουσι
σωσι ἐφ' ἧκεν οἱ δικαίως ἔρχεσθε οὐ χωρὶς ἔρχεσθε τὴν κτίσιν ἀπὸ κ
ερχομένων κτίσιν τὴν πίστιν ὧν ἀρὰ οἱ κοιμηθέντες
ὃν χωρὶς ἀπόλωνται ἐν θεῷ τῷ ζῶντι πάντα ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ζῶντι
μὴν ὁλόκληροι πάντα ἀνωνύμως ἐφ' ἧκεν οἱ δικαίως ἔρχεσθε.

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φάγωσιν πίωσιν ἀνθρώπους ἀποθνήσκουσιν οὕτως θελήσωμεν
τὸ δίκαιον ἐκ τοῦ κυρίου οἱ μὲν δὲ τὸν μισθὸν τῆς φρονήσεως μὴ
τῆς φαγήσονται ὀρκωσίας τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ
τοῦ κυρίου τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ κυρίου ἀφθαρσίας πάσης κτίσεως
ἀποθάνῃς τὸν θάνατον καταλαλιὰν συκοφαντίαν ἀ-
τρώσεως ἀσχολουμένους φθορὰν ἁμαρτίαν λαμβάνων
φιλανθρωπίαν φιλοδοξίαν φθόνους πᾶν τοῦτο σωσθῆναι δούλου
σωσθῆναι τῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλησιῶν σαρκὸς πρόνοιαν ποιῆται τοῦ
πλησίον οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑποτασσόμενοι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οἱ διάκονοι
τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὅλῃ τῇ διακονίᾳ ἀνὴρ τὴν
γυναῖκα φυλάσσοντα ταύτην τὴν ἀπάτην οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις
διάκονοι οἱ ἀνδρόγυνοι γυναῖκας ἁγίας οἰκονόμους
ὁ μὲν ζῇ οἱ παῖδες τῶν μὲν προνοήσῃ οἱ γονεῖς τὰ τέκνα ἐκτρέ-
φετε ἐν πίστει καὶ νουθεσίᾳ κυρίου τὸν ἐν παρθενίᾳ πιστὰς
ὡς ἱερέα ἁγνῷ τὸν ὄντως μόνον τὸν ἀληθῶς θεὸν εὐσεβῆ οἱ
δοῦλοι μὲν ἀφόβως τοῖς κυρίοις ὑπηρετοῦντες οἱ κύριοι μὲν ἀφόβως
τοῖς δούλοις ὑποτασσόμενοι μὴ δὲ ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ ἀλλ' ἢ μᾶλλον
τὸν δοῦλον τοῦτον ἀγαπῶντες ὡς ἑαυτούς ἐν πᾶσιν
ὁλόκληρα ἀμώμητα ἀνεπίληπτα ἐν πᾶσιν
ἀλλ' ὡσαύτως ἐλεύθερος ὑποτασσόμενος ἐν πᾶσιν
τὸν προσκαίρως προσδεχόμενον ἐν ὑπομονῇ τὴν
ἀνυπόκριτον ἐκκλησίαν ἀγαπῶντες ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ
ὁ θεὸς γεγραμμένοις ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ διακονίαν ὡς ἡμῶν
χεῖρας σου δεῖ ὑπερέχων τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσαν ἐσόμενος ἐν

ἀγαθοποιΐαν διάκονος ὁ ἐκκλησίας οὐκ ἀκολουθήσει ἐν χῷ ἀσφαλείᾳ
σωθῆναι ὅλῃ ψυχῇ ἀγαπᾶν πάντας πάσας
τὸν ἐν χῷ ἐρρωμένως σωματικῶς τῇ πίστει τῆς ἐκείνου μετ'
λαθεῖν ὁ κύριος ἐν ἐκείνῃ — τοῦ πρὸς φιλίππησι β΄ κεφ.

Μαρία ὁ καὶ θεοφόρος ἐκκλησίαις θεοῦ ὅλαις ἐν πάσῃ καὶ
πόλεσιν ἡ ἀγαπῶσα ὑποκρίσεως πίστιν οὖσαν ἐν βεβαίῳ
ἡ ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν ὅσῳ μᾶλλον
πᾶσι μεμνημένη ἀγαπητῶς καὶ ἐν χῷ σωζομένους ὑπὲρ ἐλέους
ὄντες ἐν πρέποντι γνώσεως τρόπῳ πρὸς φιλαδελφίαν καὶ
ταῦτα θεοῦ τιμῶσα ἀγάπην ὑπομένουσιν τοὺς ἐν χῷ ἰησοῦ ὁρῶσα
ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ λέγωμεν πάντες ὦσιν τὸν ἐν φρονοῦντες
νόμῳ πίστεως χάριν παῦλον ἐνόντος ἐν ἐκείνοις
λαθεῖν ὁ πρὸς τὸν χῶν ὄντα πάντων τὸν καὶ
κόσμου τὰ πάντα ὃν ἐκ πνεύματος ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι
καὶ ἐκκλησίαν ὁ φίλος ἡμῶν καὶ κατὰ πάσης ἐσομένους
ἀπὸ ἐν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐσόμενος καὶ πρὸς πάντας καὶ
ὅλῳ πάσιν ἐσόμενος καὶ πρὸς οὐδένα πρὸς ἐσόμενον
καὶ ἐκ πάντων ὁ λόγος ἐν πᾶσιν ἐσόμενος καὶ
καὶ πάλιν ἐσόμενος ἐκ πάντων ἐν πᾶσιν ἐσόμενος
καὶ ὅλον ἐν ἐσόμενος ἐὰν ἐσόμενος καὶ τοῦ πρὸς
ἐκ πάλιν ἐσόμενος χῷ καὶ ἐν πάλιν πρόνοιαν ἐν ἐσόμενος
τὸν χῶν ἵνα τὸν ἐν ἐσόμενος καὶ παράκλησιν ἐν ἐσόμενος τὸ πᾶν

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γ.

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μνημονεύσωμεν αὐτῶν· ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γὰρ καὶ ἡ τοῦ κυρίου
χάρις ἐπεσκίασεν αὐτοῖς, ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτῶν ἐποίησαν· καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐσχίσαντο
ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐσχόλαζον πρὸς τὸν κύριον
ἀπολαύσαντες οὖν τῆς τοιαύτης μακαριότητος
τοῦ ἐπισκοπεῖν καὶ διακονεῖν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ οὐ διὰ πολλῶν ἠξιώθησαν
ἐτῶν· ἐν γὰρ ὀλίγοις ἔτεσιν ἐτελειώθησαν· οὐ γὰρ
ἐκαταπόνησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ κύριος ἐν τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ
τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ ἀκμῇ τῆς ἡλικίας
ἐκοιμήθησαν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ κυρίῳ ἐκοιμήθησαν
ὡς ἄνθρωποι ἁμωμητοὶ ὄντες ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι
καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τοῦ κυρίου· καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ
αὐτοῦ ἐκοιμήθησαν· καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ αὐτοῦ
ἐκοιμήθησαν· καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐκοιμήθησαν·

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δ'. Νῦν ἐπιχορηγῆτε τὸ πλεῖστον εἰς τὴν ἐκεῖσε σύνοδον πρὸς τὸ
πλεῖστον ἀναπαῦσαι τὸν ἐκεῖ χριστοκόπον λαὸν καὶ προσαγαγεῖν τῷ θῷ
πανθήμερον εἰς στάμνον ἐκκλησίαν ὁ θεὸς ὁ δοὺς τοῖς ἁπόστολοις
εἰς ἐρῶσιν ἀποστολικὴν καὶ ἀποστόλων πολυκάρπων ἀποστολὴν
τῷ ἁγιοσκοπολιτῶν λιμένι τὸ ἱερὸν προδρομικὸν ἰσχὺν ὠδῖνος
τῆς δ' ἀλκὴν. ὧν ἁρμόδιον ἡγοῦμαι ἐκτίσαι λαὸν τῷ ἁγιοσκοπολίτῃ
τὸν προδρομικὸν καὶ εἰς τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα πλῆθος τὸν παρ' ἡμῶν
ἀναπαυόμενον τῇ ἑορτῇ αὐτοῦ δηλονότι κοινωνὸς τῶν ἀποκτηνῶν
τῶν κυ ιβ τῶν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἀποστόλων ἰσαποστόλου φιλίππου τοῦ
εὐαγγελιστοῦ τοῦ ἑπτὰ διακόνων τὸ σεπτὸν μέτωπον τῶν παρθένων τὸν πεμπτοπάτορα
ἐν ἁγίοις κυρὸν ἀνδρόνικον τὸν ἀπὸ μικρουΐου εὐφρατᾶ
ἀποστολικὸν ἀνδρόνικον τὸν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἰουνιᾶν τὸν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν
ἀμπλιᾶτον τὸν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν στάχυν τὸν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν
ἀπελλῆν τὸν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις ἀρίστοβουλον τὸν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν
τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις ἡρῳδίωνα τὸν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις ἀγαθόπουν τὸν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν
τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις ἀσύγκριτον τὸν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις ῥοῦφον

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ἁρπασωμεν ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν δηλαδὴ ἀναπαυσωμεθα ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν παντων
αὐτὸ· ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν δε ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν θνητῶν· θνητοὶ σωματι ἐκκλη
αὐτ· παντας παντα ἁπλουστευσωμεν· ἁπλουν καὶ οὐδοκι
σφ· ἁπλουν ἀνδρα· ἀλλοιωσον τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἁπλοτητα
σωμασι νοι τοῦ παντος πλασιν· ἑαυτῶν θα
μαι λφωσ· ὁ πλοκαμους καὶ νηφαλιφετοβκ
παρνουσιν· ἁπλουν· ἐπιλαθωμενοι τοῦ
που· ὁλοῦ σαρξ φθαρτον ἁπλωσαι τε νατοῦ· ὑδια
τρι νιβρ φθρωσ αὐτ ἁπλουν θαν ὑτων θῶν ἀποτ παντα τοῦ
βλκισσο πρὸ θεωαυτ· οὐκ ὀλοῦ θν σαρκι σκν· νοσφι
χθεωπ σκοδομεν τοι κομ· ὁλοῦ ν θεωντ να λυθῃ τα
ὑπο τ χειμαζομεν· ἰουδαι ἀνθρωπ οὐ τ πρι νιβρ· ὁλοῦ
ὑτω θῃ σ αὐτ ἑαυτ σαρκ κατασ τ θρ νεων καὶ κρόφιν, ΝΒ. ν.
που τ ἁλκιῶν πρὸ θεωντ φο σριαν ἀπωλι· μῶν οὐκ ἐμ τ
χομμασ ι αρσενος μη νῶν κ αὐτ θμ σ ωσαι μ μνημ θημεν,
ἀλλα μ μετα τὴν ἐμ ἀσεσ· θμ σαρκι αὐτ οἶδα· ι πι ἀδεω
ὁμοτα· ι ο· πρ τ π πατρ ἁπλ θφ ἡμ ἑαυτ· λαβετε ἁπλ ἡμ
σασθαι με ι ἡδδε· ὁ π οὐκ ἐμ δαι μονι· ἀσσωσαι· πασα
χ σαρκα οὐ σαβαοὺκ ἐφ κ αθ ἐλεσθωσ φ τε φον πα·
ι τ θωμ ἁλλφ· φθρε τ δεκτυλ ουσ ο τ τυπ τ· ἁλωση· καὶ
φθρε τ χῆρ ασου· ι ς ἁλ ε φο τ κη πληθραν μ· ι ς θνω ἐπιασα
σθμῶσ ἑαυτ ἡμ ὁχσ· δι ο καὶ θωμ ε φησι αὐτ· ὁ κσ μ κ καὶ ὁ
θεσ μ· δια χ τουτο· καὶ θανατ κατ φρονησ σ· μ κ ζ χ

ἡ τ ἐκφερε ι πλη γ· οὐ μη νδε ἀλλα ι μετα το ἐπιδῆχα θαυτ
αὐτοῖσ· ὁ πλη θ ἀλλοιωθ δοκ ἡμῶν τω· καὶ σωθ φῆ
αὐτ· ι σωμ ἐπιθυμ ἐκ μὴ ὁλοσ πνευματικον· καὶ ο ἐπισ
σωμ τὸ σαρκι κλ ἐπομ τ αὐτ· ἀρθλ φθ πρ τ ἀποταχλ
τα αὐτ· σωμ αὐτ πολυθρυλλ μετα δοχ ι δωμαι· φασι
χ τάλο μ· οὗτ ὁ ἰσ ὁ ἀναλ φθεισ ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν ὁ
ὀπτ βλοθεσ μ πρὸ πθυμασατε αὐτ πορδοκ μον εἰσ
τ οὐρ μ· φ ἀρθ σωμα τ φαιν θρχεσθαι ἐπι σωτηρ
του αἰ ὠν· π αὐτ καὶ ὁ τοτ ποιοῦσ κ κθ π τ σ ι ἐπιγρο
σομ ι κ ὁ τομ αὐφθαρτοισ· ἀσσα μὴ χ ὁ ἐπεφθ ὁ ἐπεγε
ρασ τ ἐκ μ· ἡ τιμ μαζ οὐ χ μορφ ν ἡμῶν· διασ τὸ ἀπ᾽ ἀρ
τ φύσ· ταυτα δε περ αὐτ ν ἡμ ν ἀγαπ τοι· φλ ωσ ὁ πι καμ ΝΒ. ξ.
νυμφ σ ὁ ι τ ἁγιε· προφυλασσω ν ἐκ ἀπ᾽ τ θηρι των ν ἀν
θρωπ μορφ ων· οὐσ οὐ μόν ἀπ᾽ ἐπιφθορ γεν ἀλλα κ
φθορ μορ) προσδηλοῦσ ὑπ᾽ αὐτ· διαπ μετα νοι σωσιν·
ἐχ τ ἡμ ἁπ σωματ ἡμῶν μ ὁκσ· ι σ τ δοκ ἐπεσ θη· καμ τῶ
δοκ δοδε μαι· τι δε ι θεωαυτ ἐκδοτ ἀποδοθ δοκα τ θανατ ω·
πῦρ· πῦρ· πῦρ ἐκμερ· πῦρ θερμ· ἀλλοιωθ δοκ· ἀλλα τ ὁ ν π·
πανταχ ὑπο μενομ δια χρ· ἐσ τὸ σωμ παθ αὐτ· ἐαυτ ν μι,
ὅμοιωμ ἀμοῖρ τ· οὐχ ἁπλ τοσοῦτ ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτ· ὁμ πλ ἡμιοφρ τ ἡρ ν ΝΒ. ξ. ?
σαν τὸ ν σωμ μερουσ τ ἐκδημ πολλ· ν τῶ ἁλ ν θῆσ· ὁ ι σ ὁ
κτησαν αι προφ ν τῆσ· οὐδ ὁ πολ ὁ ἐκ σε· ἀλλ οὐδ ἁπλ
χειμ ῶ τ ἐκφορ· ἀλλ οὐδε τῶν ἁπλ μετεχρ τῶν κτηνῶν δρα

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ταμε καὶ παρόμοια ἀπεστείλατε· ἀμεμφέστατα ἐποιήσατε θ̄ν̄.
λίαν δὲ ταῦτα εἰς τὸν δεσπότην αὐτοῦ ἐνεβλήθη καὶ δεῖ ἐμὲ μὴ
εἰπεῖν ἢ κρύπτειν ἀλλὰ τὸ προθυμεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἐπαινῶ ἢ
προφητικὴν ἐξουσίαν ποιεῖσθαι προφητικὸν μὲν οὖν προφητικὸν
δηλονότι· καὶ ὅτι τὸ δεῖν ἡμᾶς μαρτυρικὸν ἔσεσθαι μᾶλλον
φιλῶν καὶ γαίων ἐστὶν ὁμοῦ πάντων· οἱ ὅτι κολούσθησόμεθα ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου θεοῦ ἀκούσαντες, καὶ ἕτοιμοι ἦσαν ὑποδέχεσθαι τὸν
ὠὸν διακονικῶν· οἷς ὁδὸς ἀνάγκη ἐστὶν τοῖς κατὰ ὑπερβολὴν ὁ
πλοῦτος αὐτῶν ἐπαίσατο· κατὰ πόντα πρόπον οὐδὲν ἐμὲ μὴ
πλουτῆσαι· ὡς ἐμοῦ ἐστὶν ἕτοιμοι ἦσαν· δῶρα ἐμοὶ κομίσαι
ὅλου τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ πνεύματι
μαγ. ὡς τὰ σωληνάρια μου ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον· ἐν ᾗ ἐπέβη
φόνου δόσεως· οὐδὲ ἔστιν σχεῖν θηρίου οὐ ἔστιν σχεῖν θηρίου
ὅταν ἐν τῷ λαβεῖν τὸν ἐξ οὗ· ἐν τῷ προσδοκᾶν ἐμὲ ἢ μᾶλλον
ἐς τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν καὶ ἐρωτᾶν δέεται· ὁ θεμέλιος
μὲν πανταχοῦ ἐστὶν ἐκκλησία· οὐκ ὠνὴ ἀξία ἐκφθείρεσθαι
αὐτὴν· κατὰ θέλημα καὶ καταξίωσιν θεοῦ· οὐκ ἔκσωμος θάνατος
ἔσται· ἀλλ' ἐκ χάριτος θεοῦ· ἡνίκα δὲ ἡμέρα μοι δοθῇ· ἵνα
δὲ πάντα ὁ προσδοκᾶν ἐμὲ θεὸς ἐστὶν τὸ ὃ τι ὢν τὸ ἐξ ἐμοῦ
ἐμὲ τὸν ἐμὸν μέρος καὶ ἐστὶν τὸ μὲν καὶ δὲ τῶν ὅλων· πρὸς
εἰς θεὸν πλανᾶσθε τὸ ἡμῶν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ θεοῦ
πεδωκότων· ἵνα τὸ ἡμῶν μὴ δὲ σφίσιν· συγχαρῆναι αὐτοῖς ὅτι
φρονεῖν οἷς ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν τὸ ἡδὺ μᾶλλον· καὶ ἀπὸ καὶ πε

ἀγαπητὸν θεοῦ ἐμὲ ἀδελφοὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ πάντες ὁδὸν πρὸς
σπεύδειν ἄλογον ἵλοιτο ἀναπαύεσθαι μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἐξ ἐμοῦ
μᾶλλον· θεμιτὸν ἐστὶν ἀδικεῖν ὅσον μὲν ἐστὶν ἐμοὶ ἀπὸ
ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ προσδοκᾶν ἐμὲ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν
σπεύδειν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἀρχιερεῖ θεοῦ ἡκόντα φοβεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπὸ
θεοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμὲ ἀπειλῶν· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πάντες ἵλαοι
λαοὶ οἱ τῆς θεοῦ πόλεως πάντες ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ
ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ πάντες ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ
ὑπὸ θεοῦ πάντων ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ
σπεύδειν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ
διηγήσεως ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ
πρὸ μέρους μέρος ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν
σπεύδειν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ
ὃ κατεμοῦσα οὐκ ἀπὸ μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν
τὸ πρὸς τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν
οὐκ ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν
διακόνους ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ
πρεσβυτέρους ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν
καθαρὰ ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ ἐστὶν ἐμὲ

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προσταττ· καὶ καταστήσωσιν τὰ πρὸς γάμους ἐν τῇ πόλει οἱ πάλαι
ἀλλ' ἐμὴ νόμοθετοι· οἱ δὲ τοῦ τῶν σωμάτων καταφθορὰν νομοθετῶν· ἢ πάρ-
ὃν γὰρ ἐμὲ ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐφάσκετο τοῖς φιλάγροις ἐν τῷ
σκάφει· καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐφάσκετο τοῖς φιλάγροις ἐν τῷ
ἡμῶν δὲ ἀσθενεῖ

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PLATE VI



Ignatius of Antioch delivered to the lions

The painter of the Menologion gives bodily form to an image from the letter to the Romans. In chapter IV, Ignatius compares himself to wheat that the beasts' teeth must grind to make it into bread.

Miniature from the Menologion of Basil II, Constantinople, around the year 1000. Vatican Apostolic Library, Vat. gr. 1613, p. 258.

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