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A TRANSLATION

OF

THE EPISTLES

OF

CLEMENT OF ROME, POLYCARP,

AND IGNATIUS;

AND OF

THE APOLOGIES

OF

JUSTIN MARTYR AND TERTULLIAN:

WITH AN INTRODUCTION,

AND BRIEF NOTES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF
THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES.

BY THE REV.

TEMPLE CHEVALLIER, B.D.

LATE FELLOW AND TUTOR OF CATHARINE HALL, CAMBRIDGE,
PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS AND ASTRONOMY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM,
AND HONORARY CANON OF DURHAM,

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INTRODUCTION.

IN the history of the Christian Church, there are few periods of greater interest and importance than that which succeeded the death of the Apostles. As long as any of those holy men survived, who had personally received instruction from our Lord, they connected the Church on earth with its spiritual Head. The miraculous powers with which the Apostles were endowed, and the undisputed authority with which their high office invested them, placed them in a position, which none of their successors could ever occupy. In cases of difficulty and doubt, an appeal to their more than human wisdom was the last resource: in times of peril, their example and their prayers strengthened the wavering, and confirmed the faithful: and at all periods they were justly regarded as the pillars, on which the Christian Church securely rested.

But when the Apostles were removed from the scene of their earthly labours, the condition of the Church was changed. The efforts of its enemies were exerted with greater energy to suppress Christianity, as the numbers of those who professed the faith increased; while the apparent means of defence were

materially impaired. Our attention is therefore roused to inquire what men they were, who, on this trying occasion, stood forth in defence of Christianity; with what weapons they combated their enemies; with what zeal they laid down their lives for the sake of the Gospel.

These early ages of the Church claim our attention for another reason. In contemplating the history of that period, we view Christianity, as a system of ecclesiastical polity, in its nascent state. It was then that the Canon of Scripture was formed; that Church government took a consistent form. The oral teaching of the Apostles and their immediate successors was still vividly impressed upon the minds of those who had heard them; and many passages of Scripture, which to us appear ambiguous, might by such means be then clearly understood.

Hence the conclusions, which the primitive Christian Church formed, respecting questions, which in after ages have been fruitful subjects of controversy, are entitled to the highest regard: not, indeed, as infallible; but as representing the doctrines maintained by sincere and earnest inquirers after the truth, by men who were best able to form a sound determination, before their judgment was warped by prejudice, or modified by system.

The writings of the early Christian Fathers will therefore be carefully consulted by all who would trace the Scriptures up to the period in which they were written, and learn the doctrines which were taught as essential, in the times nearest to the Apostolic age.

INTRODUCTION.

These early ages of the Church possess also a charm peculiar to themselves. The records of ecclesiastical history in subsequent years too often display a melancholy picture. The turbulent passions of the worldly-minded, the fiery zeal of the intemperate, the arts of the designing, the follies of the weak, all present themselves in dazzling colours and in prominent positions: while it requires a practised eye and a patient investigation to discover the milder and retiring forms of unobtrusive Christian piety. The earlier Christians were not, as individuals, free from the infirmities and sins of human nature. But the primitive Christian Church did certainly stand forth in a purity and simplicity which it has never since enjoyed. And the contemplation of the age in which this goodly spectacle was presented to the world, has ever been a delightful employment to minds endowed with a kindred feeling.

Of late years a considerable impulse has been given, among ourselves, to the study of the early Christian writers. The labours of the learned Bishop of Lincoln, in elucidating the works of Justin Martyr and Tertullian, and those of Dr. Burton, are specimens of the valuable matter which is yet to be extracted from the stores of Christian antiquity.

The present work lays claim to no such pretensions. Its object is to put the English reader in possession of some of the genuine remains of Christian writers of the first and second centuries, and to furnish occasional information upon such points as seem to require explanation. For this purpose it appeared more advisable to give the whole of such pieces as should be

selected, than to select certain parts only. Extracts must always fail to give a faithful representation of the whole manner of reasoning and train of thought which characterized the first advocates of Christianity; and may unintentionally give erroneous notions of their opinions. It is well known that detached passages are quoted from these writings, in favour of very different notions. To judge therefore of the real sentiments of the writers, the general tendency of their argument is to be regarded, more than the mere verbal expression of particular parts. If we would know how these Fathers of the Church thought and wrote, we are not at liberty to omit what may appear to us superfluous and fanciful in illustration, or diffuse and inconclusive in reasoning; or simply uninteresting, because it refers to errors which have long since passed away. The very manner of treating a subject is an indication of the habits of thought and of the moral condition of the age in which it was discussed. A more striking and graphic representation is often given of the state of society, and of the condition of the Christian world in general, by an application of a passage of Scripture, by a slight allusion to an objection against the religion of the Gospel, by a casual reference to some difficulty which its professors encountered, or by some elaborate refutation of an absurd calumny, than we should have received from a detailed description of the circumstances.

Besides, those very parts of the writings of the early Fathers, which seem least valuable both for style and matter, have this incidental advantage, that they set in a clear point of view the immeasurable

superiority of the Scriptures of the New Testament. The inspired books were written principally by men who had not the same advantages of education and literary training, as some of the Ecclesiastical writers enjoyed : yet they are totally free from the blemishes which disfigure the most elaborate productions of later ages of the Church.

Had not the pens of the Evangelists and Apostles been guided by a wisdom superior to any which those writers possessed by ordinary means, they never could have produced a work, which, even as a specimen of plain yet majestic narration, and of consistent, sober, rational discussion of the most abstruse questions, is entirely unrivalled. We should have found—as we do find in the writings even of those who had been thoroughly instructed in Scriptural truth, and had deeply imbibed the spirit of Christianity—some error mixed with truth ; some inconclusive reasoning ; some vague declamation ; some incautious over-statement of doctrine or fact ; some merely mystical application of the Scriptures of the Old Testament ; some exaggerated sentiment.

In uninspired writers we should have detected the prejudices of their education and of the age in which they lived. We should have found some extravagant eulogies of martyrdom ; some fanciful notions respecting spiritual beings ; some captious and scrupulous objection to practices in themselves indifferent. And, in their public defences of the faith before their adversaries, we should have perceived them, not only speaking boldly, as they ought to speak, but sometimes displaying a subtilty too nearly allied to the craftiness

of the disputer of this world ; and on other occasions indulging in sarcasm or invective against the various errors of heathen worship.

In the Scriptures of the New Testament, we find none of these faults: they are uniformly dignified, simple, reasonable. But a very limited acquaintance with the writings of those who endeavoured to follow their steps will show that, if the Apostles and Evangelists were preserved from such extravagance and error, they owed it to a wisdom which was not of this world.

The works, which have been chosen for the present purpose, are the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians; that of Polycarp; the genuine Epistles of Ignatius, with the accounts of the Martyrdom of Ignatius and Polycarp; the first Apology of Justin Martyr; and the Apology of Tertullian.

These Epistles, and the short histories of the Martyrdoms, have been long known to the English reader, in Archbishop Wake's very valuable translation. It may appear presumptuous to have changed, in any degree, language which is at once so faithful and so Scriptural as that which he has employed. And no alteration has been made, except after due deliberation. In Archbishop Wake's translation, however, the quotations from the Scriptures are given in the words of the authorised English Version. Now the original quotations from the Old Testament are often taken from the Septuagint or some other Version, so as to differ considerably from the Hebrew text, and consequently from the English Version: and in other instances, references are made to the Old and New

Testaments in such a manner as to express the general sense of passages, rather than the words. As the intention of this work is to give as accurate a representation of these writings of the Fathers as the difference of idiom will admit, it seemed advisable to translate these quotations also as faithfully as possible, even in the instances in which they deviate from the literal sense of the original Scriptures. It is not always easy to determine how closely a writer intended to quote a passage; and in many cases, such references may be regarded as a kind of comment upon the text to which allusion is made.

EPISTLE OF CLEMENT. THEOLOGICAL

It is a happy circumstance, that of the very few remains¹ of the writings of the first Century, except the books of the New Testament, we should possess the truly Apostolical Epistle of Clement of Rome.

Clement is believed, upon the general testimony of ecclesiastical historians², to have been the same whom St. Paul mentions among “his fellow-labourers, whose names are written in the book of life³.” Of his early years little is certainly known. It is believed, however, that he was born of a noble family at Rome, and sent to Athens for the purpose of education; that his conversion to Christianity arose from unsuccessful

¹ It is perhaps the *only* remaining writing of the first century, except the Holy Scriptures. The Epistle, ascribed to Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas, existed in the second century; but probably were written after the Apostolic age.

² Euseb. H. E. iii. 12.

³ Phil. iv. 3.

inquiries into which he had been led respecting the immortality of the soul; that he was instructed and baptized by St. Peter, and for some time continued to be his disciple.

That Clement was Bishop of Rome is a fact which is not disputed; but the time of his accession to that See is variously computed. Irenæus⁴ and Eusebius mention Clement to have been the third in succession from the Apostles: and Eusebius⁵ expressly states the twelfth year of Domitian's reign, A.D. 92, as the year in which Clement succeeded Anencletus. Tertullian⁶ says that he was ordained Bishop by St. Peter; whence it has been supposed that Linus was ordained Bishop of the Gentile Church of Rome by St. Paul, and Clement, Bishop of the Church of Jewish converts by St. Peter; that Linus was succeeded by Anencletus or Anacletus, and, at his death, about A.D. 91, the two churches were united, and the Episcopacy of Clement over them both began. This is by many considered the most probable way of reconciling the difficulties which exist in determining the succession of the first Bishops of Rome⁷; and was the opinion of Cave, when he wrote the Life of Clement⁸. But at a subsequent period⁹, he adopted the conclusion of Dodwell¹, that Linus and Anencletus lived as Bishops of Rome but a very short time, and that Clement succeeded them about A.D. 64 or 65, and continued to the

⁴ Irenæus, Hæres. iii. 3. Euseb. H. E. v. 6.

⁵ Eusebius, H. E. iii. 13—15. See Lardner, Credibility, part. ii. c. 2.

⁶ Tertullian, de Præscriptione Hæreticorum, c. 32.

⁷ See note (4) on c. 54, p. 39.

⁸ Cave's Lives of the Fathers.

⁹ Historia Literaria, 65.

¹ Dodwell, Disputatio Singularis de Roman. Pontif. Success.

year 81. Bishop Pearson² concludes that Clement was Bishop of Rome from A.D. 69 to 83.

The date of the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians is involved in equal uncertainty. Archbishop Wake³ supposes it to have been written soon after the termination of the persecution under Nero, between the years 64 and 70. Lardner⁴ refers it to the year 96. There are but few internal marks of time in the Epistle itself, and none which can be regarded as decisive. It is plain that it was written at the close of some persecution; for, at the beginning of it, the Church of Rome refers to "the sudden and repeated dangers and calamities which had befallen them." Persecution however, for the sake of the Christian faith was already so common, that it cannot be certainly said whether these words are an allusion to some local distress, or to a general persecution. But they might refer either to A.D. 64, at the end of the persecution under Nero, or to A.D. 94, after that under Domitian.

In favour of the earlier of these dates, Clement in c. 5, seems to speak of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, as having been recently put to death. The expressions in c. 41, respecting the Temple at Jerusalem, seem to countenance the opinion, that the Temple was still standing, and that the Jewish war, which began A.D. 67, had not yet broken out. The Fortunatus also, whose name is found in c. 59, is conceived to have

² *Disputatio de Successione primâ Romanorum Pontificum.*

³ See also Dodwell, *Addit. ad Pearson. Dissert. ii. c. 24.* Cave, *Hist. Literar.* 65.

⁴ *Credibility, Part II. c. 2.*

come from Corinth, and to have been the same, who is mentioned by St. Paul⁵ together with Stephanus, whose house was the first fruits of Achaia. If this supposition be correct, it is a presumption in favour of the earlier date: since at the later date, Fortunatus, if alive, could hardly have been capable of undergoing so long a journey.

On the other hand, in c. 44, Clement seems to speak as if there had been a succession of intermediate persons in the Church, between himself and the Apostles.

The phrase "in the beginning of the Gospel," and the appellation of "Ancient Church," applied to the Corinthians⁶, have also been adduced as favouring a later date.

The high value which the ancient Christian Church set upon this Epistle of Clement is ascertained by the commendations which they bestow upon it. Irenæus⁷ describes this Epistle as having been written by the Church of Rome under Clement to the Corinthians, and speaks of it as a most powerful Epistle. Eusebius⁸ denominates it "a great and admirable Epistle." Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, about the year 170 testifies to the fact that this Epistle was read in the Church of Corinth from ancient times⁹: and other writers¹ show that it was publicly read in other Christian Churches. Eusebius observes also that there is a great similarity in the style of this Epistle and that

⁵ 1 Cor. xvi. 15—17.

⁶ c. 47.

⁷ Hæres. iii. 3. Euseb. H. E. v. 6.

⁸ H. E. iii. 16.

⁹ Eusebius, H. E. iv. 23.

¹ Eusebius, H. E. iii. 16. Jerome, de Viris Illustribus, c. 15. Epiphanius, Hæres. xxx. Num. 15. Photius, Biblioth. Cod. 123.

of the Epistle to the Hebrews: and that Clement on several occasions quotes that book of the New Testament.

Notwithstanding the great esteem in which the primitive Church held this Epistle of Clement, and the numerous quotations from it, scattered over the pages of ecclesiastical writers, the Epistle itself was for many centuries considered to be lost. At length it was discovered, at the end of a manuscript containing the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, and the New Testament. This manuscript had been presented to King Charles the First, by Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, and afterwards of Constantinople. The valuable treasure was discovered by Mr. Young, the keeper of the Royal Library: and was first published at Oxford, in 1633. The original manuscript is now in the British Museum.

The Epistle thus happily and unexpectedly recovered, agrees in all respects with the accounts given of the Epistle of Clement, and with the quotations from that Epistle found in ecclesiastical writers². The absence of one or two quotations or allusions³ is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that a fragment is still wanting at the end of c. 57.

We recognise in this Epistle the dignified simplicity of style, which is mentioned⁴ as one of its remarkable

² Clem. Alexand. Stromat. i. p. 289. iv. p. 516. v. p. 586. vi. p. 647. Origen, de Principiis, ii. c. 3. Ad Johan. i. 29. Cyril. Hierosol. Cateches. xviii. p. 213. Epiphanius, Hæres. xxvii. Num. 6. xxx. Num. 15. Jerome, in Esaiam lii. 13. lib. xiv. Ad Ephes. ii. 2. iv. 1. Photius, Cod. 126.

³ Basil, de Spiritu Sancto, c. 29.

⁴ Photius, Biblioth. Cod. 126.

features, and is most characteristic of the Apostolic age.

The Church of Corinth, having been distracted with seditions, appears to have made application to Clement and the Church of Rome, which was itself then exposed to persecution. After some delay, arising from this cause, Clement addresses⁵ the Corinthians, in the name of the Church of God which is at Rome, and reminds them of the firmness of their faith, their fruitfulness in all good works, and the order and obedience which once prevailed among them. He contrasts their previous Christian discipline with their present disorder and schism; and proceeds to show by numerous examples, what evils have been produced by envy and hatred. He incidentally alludes to the recent martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of many others, who had suffered in times of persecution.

After this introduction, Clement⁶ assures the Corinthians how sensible he is, that he himself requires to be reminded of these truths; he exhorts them to look stedfastly to the blood of Christ, which has obtained the grace of repentance to all the world; and refers to numerous passages of Scripture, which teach the doctrine of repentance, and give examples of faithful obedience. He expatiates upon the duty of humility and peace, after the example of Christ, who came in all humility, although he was “the Sceptre of the Majesty of God.” and in imitation of those, who went about in sheep skins and goat skins, and of other holy men.

⁵ cc. 1—7.

⁶ cc. 8—19.

Clement then shows⁷, in a passage of great beauty and sublimity, that God has impressed upon the whole creation the visible marks of order, and arranged the several parts in concord and peace; and thence exhorts the Corinthians to return to their former purity and meekness, confirmed by faith in Christ, not doubting the excellent gifts of his grace.

Clement proceeds⁸ to remind the Corinthians that many objects of the natural world remind us of the resurrection from the dead, of which our Lord Jesus Christ was the first fruits. He exemplifies this in the succession of day and night, and in the growth of seed, which first dies in the ground. He adopts the story of the Phoenix⁹, which was believed by his contemporaries, and regards it as an emblem of the resurrection; and exhorts the Corinthians to hold fast the faith, to repent, and return to God in holiness. He then again refers to examples of those who have obtained blessing from God, and to the works of God himself, as an encouragement to fulfil his will.

He teaches submission¹, and dwells upon the magnitude and importance of the eternal gifts of God, and exhorts them to fix their minds through faith towards God in Jesus Christ our High Priest, by whom God would have us taste of the knowledge of immortality. He then notices² the gradations of rank in an army, and the members of the body, which all conspire to promote the general good, as examples of the order which ought to prevail in the Church. After a quotation from the Book of Job³, Clement shows that the

⁷ cc. 20—22.

⁸ c. 24.

⁹ cc. 25, 26. See note 5. c. 25.

¹ cc. 34—36.

² c. 37.

³ c. 39.

order of times and seasons in religious offices, as well as various gradations of the priesthood, are appointed by God, and that the successors of the Apostles in the ministry were ordained by them, after they had been proved by the Spirit⁴; and refers to the instance of Aaron having been miraculously called to the priesthood. He explains more at large the care which the Apostles took, that chosen and approved men should constantly succeed in the ministry⁵: contrasts the divisions among the Corinthians with the examples of holy men of old; and shows the sin of schism.

Clement then refers⁶ to the first Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians⁷: exhorts them to unity; sets forth the excellence of Christian charity; advises them to repent, and confess their sin: and to forgive one another after the example of Moses and others. He exhorts them meekly to pray for those who are in error; and calls upon the seditious to submit themselves.

At this part of the Epistle there is a passage omitted; but the conclusion, containing an affectionate and apostolical benediction, is preserved⁸.

This Epistle is the only genuine writing of Clement. Eusebius⁹ mentions indeed another Epistle of his, which was not so generally received as the first, and was not quoted by the ancients. The fragment of a second Epistle, now extant and attributed to Clement, is generally believed to be spurious. And other writings which bear his name, The Recognitions and Homilies, as well as the Constitutions and Canons of

⁴ c. 42.

⁵ cc. 44—46.

⁶ c. 47—57.

⁷ 1 Cor. i. 12.

⁸ cc. 58, 59, 60.

⁹ H. E. iii. 38.



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volume. Words of our Lord, however, are quoted with respect, which are now found in the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke⁷. There are probable allusions to the Acts of the Apostles⁸, to the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans⁹, to both his Epistles to the Corinthians¹, to his Epistles to the Galatians², Ephesians³, Philippians⁴, Colossians⁵, the first Epistle to the Thessalonians⁶, both the Epistles to Timothy⁷, and the Epistle to Titus⁸. There are also, as Eusebius noticed⁹, many coincidences of expression between the Epistle of Clement and the Epistle to the Hebrews¹, and allusions to the Epistle of James², and to the first and second Epistles of Peter³.

Lardner is of opinion, that the references and allusions to some of these books are manifest, and, as he

⁷ Matt. vii. 1—12. Luke vi. 36—38. c. 13. Matt. xxvi. 24; xviii. 6. Mark ix. 42. Luke xvii. 2. c. 46. See Lardner, Credibility, Part ii. c. 2.

⁸ Acts xx. 35. c. 2. Acts xiii. 22. c. 18.

⁹ Rom. ix. 4. c. 33. Rom. xii. 5. c. 46. Rom. xiv. 1. c. 38.

¹ 1 Cor. x. 24. c. 48. 1 Cor. xii. 12. c. 37. 1 Cor. xiii. 4. c. 49. 1 Cor. xv. 20. 36. 38. c. 24. 2 Cor. iii. 18. c. 36. 2 Cor. viii. 5. c. 56. 2 Cor. x. 17. c. 30. 2 Cor. xi. 24. c. 5.

² Gal. i. 4. c. 49.

³ Eph. iv. 4. c. 46.

⁴ Phil. i. 10. Ye were sincere and without offence, c. 2. Phil. ii. 5—7. c. 16.

⁵ Col. i. 10. c. 21.

⁶ 1 Thess. v. 18. 23. c. 38.

⁷ 1 Tim. i. 9; v. 4. c. 7. 1 Tim. ii. 8. c. 29. 1 Tim. iii. 13. c. 54.

⁸ Tit. iii. 1. Ye were ready to every good work, c. 2.

⁹ H. E. iii. 34.

¹ Heb. i. 3—13. c. 36. Heb. iii. 2. 5. c. 43. Heb. iv. 14. c. 58. Heb. vi. 13—15. c. 10. Heb. xi. 5. c. 9. Heb. xi. 8—20. c. 10. Heb. xi. 31. c. 12. Heb. xi. 37. c. 17. Heb. xiii. 1, 2. c. 11. Heb. xiii. 17. c. 1.

² James i. 5. c. 23. James ii. 21—24. cc. 10. 17. 30, 31. James iii. 13. c. 38. James iv. 3. c. 30.

³ 1 Pet. iv. 8. c. 49. 1 Pet. v. 5. cc. 2. 30. 38. 2 Pet. ii. 5, 6. cc. 7. 11. 2 Pet. iii. 4. c. 23.

thinks, undeniable: as those to the Epistle to the Romans, and the first to the Corinthians. To these he would add the Epistle to the Hebrews, except that some might “think it not impossible for a man, who had been conversant with the Apostles, who was fully instructed in their doctrine and manner of reasoning, and also well acquainted with the Old Testament, to write with that great resemblance of the Epistle to the Hebrews, both in thought and expression, without borrowing from it, or imitating it⁴ ;” and also because at a later period, in the time of Eusebius and Jerome, the Church of Rome did not receive the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Others, however⁵, are satisfied from this Epistle that Clement possessed our first three Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle to the Romans, both the Epistles to the Corinthians, and the Epistle to the Hebrews.

This valuable testimony must also be taken as expressing the sentiments, not of Clement only, but of the Church of Rome, in whose name the Epistle is written, and as implying the high authority which the books had with the Corinthians themselves.

The Epistle of Clement contains, I believe, no allusion to existing miraculous powers.

The doctrines of this Epistle are worthy of its high character. It is shown elsewhere⁶ that there is no foundation for the charge advanced by Photius and others, that Clement does not express himself in terms

⁴ Credibility, vol. i. pp. 300. 302.

⁵ Mill, Prolegomena, n. 140.

⁶ Note (B) at the end of the volume.

sufficiently elevated and distinct respecting the Divine nature of our Lord. Clement speaks of the necessity of spiritual aid to enlighten our understanding⁷; says that we “are not justified by ourselves, neither by our own wisdom, or knowledge, or piety, in the works which we have done in holiness of heart; but by that faith, by which Almighty God hath justified all men from the beginning⁸.” He speaks plainly of the Atonement by the blood of Christ, which was given for us⁹, and is “precious in the sight of God; which being shed for our salvation, hath obtained the grace of repentance to the whole world¹.” He is careful also to show the necessity of repentance and holiness², of peace and humility³, after the example of our Lord⁴; and that they who have the love of Christ should keep his commandments⁵, and endeavour to advance in all godliness⁶, in firm hope of a resurrection⁷, to immortality and glory⁸.

It will be remembered that all these points are touched upon only incidentally; the main object of the Epistle being to correct particular disorders in the Church of Corinth.

Such is the Epistle of Clement, which, whether we regard its purely apostolic simplicity, the piety, meekness, and Christian spirit which pervade it, or the valuable testimony which it bears to the Scriptures of the New Testament, and to the condition and doctrines of the Church in the age immediately succeeding that

⁷ c. 36.

¹ c. 7.

⁴ c. 16

⁷ cc. 24—26.

⁸ c. 32.

² cc. 8. 29.

⁵ cc. 30. 49.

⁸ c. 35.

⁹ cc. 21. 49.

³ cc. 13. 15.

⁶ c. 32.

of the Apostles, must be regarded as one of the most valuable remains of Christian antiquity.

POLYCARP.

THE birth-place and early life of Polycarp are involved in obscurity. He was, however, of eastern extraction, and appears to have been brought up as a slave by a noble matron named Callisto, who made him her heir.

That Polycarp conversed familiarly with those who had been the disciples of our Lord, and particularly received instruction from the Apostle St. John, is proved by the testimony of Irenæus⁹, who heard it from Polycarp himself. "I saw you," says Irenæus, writing in his old age to Florinus¹, "when I was yet a youth, in the lower Asia with Polycarp; when you were distinguished for your splendid talents in the royal palace, and striving diligently to deserve his favour. I can call to mind what then took place more accurately than more recent events; for impressions made upon the youthful memory grow up and identify themselves with the very frame and texture of the mind. Well, therefore, could I describe the very place in which the blessed Polycarp sat and taught; his going out and coming in; the whole tenour of his life; his personal appearance; the discourses which he made to the people. How would he speak of the conversations which he had held with John, and with others who had seen the Lord. How did he make

⁹ Irenæus, Hær. iii. 3. Euseb. H. E. iii. 36. iv. 14. See also the Martyrdom of Ignatius, c. 3. p. 124.

¹ Epistola ad Florinum: Euseb. H. E. v. 20.

mention of their words, and of whatsoever he had heard from them respecting the Lord.”

Polycarp was further instructed in the Christian faith by Bucolus, Bishop of Smyrna, and by him ordained Deacon and Catechist of that Church. On the death of Bucolus, Polycarp was ordained Bishop of Smyrna. Some² ascribe his ordination as Bishop to the Apostle John himself: others³ to some of the Apostles, or⁴ to apostolic men.

Archbishop Usher⁵ conceives Polycarp to have been “the angel of the Church in Smyrna,” whom St. John addresses in the Revelation⁶.

Very few particulars are known respecting the remaining part of the life of Polycarp. He enjoyed the greatest reputation for holiness; and was regarded both by the enemies and friends of the Church, as one of the principal supporters of the faith. He was appointed to go to Rome, on occasion of the controversy between the Eastern and Western Churches respecting the celebration of Easter. Irenæus⁷ relates how successful Polycarp was during that visit, in bringing back to the faith those also who had erred; and relates a conversation with Marcion, who seems to have been desirous of obtaining, if not the approbation, at least the tacit acquiescence of the venerable Polycarp. The heretical leader accosted him in the words, “Dost thou acknowledge me?” “I do,” was the reply of Polycarp; “I acknowledge thee for the first-born of

² Tertullian, de Præscriptione Hæreticorum, c. 32.

³ Irenæus, Hær. iii. 3.

⁴ Eusch. H. E. iii. 36.

⁵ Prolegomena ad Ignat. Epist. c. 3.

⁶ Rev. ii. 8—10.

⁷ Irenæus, iii. 3. Euseb. iv. 14.

Satan.” The tenets of Marcion and the Gnostics were so totally subversive of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, that it is not surprising that Polycarp should express himself in terms of strong reprobation respecting them. And the very same phrase having been used by Polycarp, in his Epistle to the Philippians⁸, adds probability to the narrative, and is an internal mark of the genuineness of the Epistle.

The life of Polycarp was prolonged to a great age⁹. Cave, after Eusebius and Jerome¹, places his martyrdom in the year 167, and conceives him then to have been nearly a hundred years old. He considers, with Tillemont, that the assertion of Polycarp himself, “Fourscore and six years have I continued serving Christ²,” refers to the period which had elapsed after his conversion, and not to the length of his whole life. Bishop Pearson³, however, with more probability, places his martyrdom in the year 147, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, about the period in which Justin Martyr’s first Apology was written. An ancient inscription is in favour of this date⁴.

The circular Epistle of the Church of Smyrna⁵ contains a full account of the martyrdom of Polycarp, and was so highly prized, that Eusebius has inserted almost the whole of it in his history. It is a very valuable memorial of Christian antiquity, and is remarkable for discouraging, rather than inciting persons to offer

⁸ c. 7.

⁹ Irenæus, iii. 3.

¹ Cave’s Life of Polycarp, cc. 6. 15. Jerome, de Viris Illustr. c. 13.

² Martyrdom of Polycarp, c. 9.

³ Dissert. Chron. Part ii. cc. 14. 20.

⁴ Chishull’s Travels, p. 11, referred to by Lardner, Credibility, Part ii. c. 6.

⁵ Page 129 of this volume.

themselves voluntarily for persecution⁶. The resigned spirit of the venerable Polycarp is beautifully portrayed. His prudent retirement for a time, his calm submission to his persecutors, his dignified demeanour before the Proconsul, and the piety which he displayed in his prayers, both at the period of his apprehension and at the hour of death, complete a picture of a Christian martyr, worthy of a follower of the Apostles, and of the high character which he had maintained during his life.

Polycarp is believed⁷ to have written several Epistles, but of these none is extant except his Epistle to the Philippians, which was always most highly esteemed⁸, and was publicly read in the Churches of Asia⁹. In style and matter it bears a great resemblance to the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians¹.

This Epistle forms an appropriate introduction to the Epistles of Ignatius, although, in strictly chronological order, it would follow them. Ignatius had recently passed through Smyrna, bound with chains, and guarded by a band of soldiers, who treated him with great cruelty, as they led him to Rome, there to seal

⁶ c. 4.

⁷ Irenæus, *Epist. ad Florin.* ap. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 20. Hieron. *Epist. ad Levinum*. The fragments ascribed to Polycarp, by Victor of Capua in the sixth century (see Grabe's *Irenæus*, p. 205), are probably spurious. Lardner thinks that Irenæus and Eusebius had seen no writing of Polycarp but his Epistle to the Philippians.

⁸ Irenæus, *Hær.* iii. 3.

⁹ Hieron. *de Script. in Polycarp.*

¹ Photius, in the ninth century, states that this Epistle was then read, and observes that it was contained in the same book with the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians.

See Pearson, *Vindiciæ Epistolarum S. Ignatii*, Par. i. c. 5, where it is fully shown, that the Epistle, which we now have, is the same to which the earliest Christian writers bear testimony.



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and martyrs, as motives to mutual charity and good order⁶.

Having expressed his regret for the misconduct of Valens and his wife, in the true spirit of Christian charity for the offenders, while their offence is rebuked, he declares his confidence that the Philippians are exercised in the holy Scriptures; prays for them; and commands them to pray for others; and, in conclusion, gives directions respecting the letters of Ignatius⁷.

The brief Epistle of Polycarp contains numerous references to the books of the New Testament. There are expressly quoted as the writings of St. Paul, the first Epistle to the Corinthians⁸, his Epistle to the Philippians⁹, and probably that to the Thessalonians¹. There is also a passage² in which the Epistle to the Ephesians seems to be quoted under the appellation of “the Holy Scriptures.”

With reference to this passage, Lardner³ observes that the words “Be ye angry and sin not,” are in the Septuagint version of Ps. iv. 4. “But,” he adds, “as the latter advice, ‘Let not the sun go down on your wrath,’ is no where found in the Old Testament, and both these precepts are together in the Epistle to the Ephesians, it seems to me that Polycarp does expressly refer the Philippians to St. Paul’s Epistle to the Ephesians, and calls it Scripture. If this be so, then we see, that the writings of the New Testament had now the name of ‘Sacred Writings,’ or ‘Holy Scriptures,’ and that they were much read by Christians in general.”

⁶ cc. 7—10.

⁷ cc. 11—14.

⁸ c. 11.

⁹ c. 3.

¹ c. 11. Compare 2 Thess. i. 4.

² c. 12. Eph. iv. 26.

³ Credibility, Part ii. c. 6.

n another place⁴ Polycarp appears to refer to the Scriptures of the New Testament in general, in the phrase, “Whosoever perverts *the oracles* of the Lord to his own lusts, and says there is neither resurrection nor judgment, he is the first-born of Satan:” and there are other references⁵ to passages now found in the Gospels, as the words of our Lord.

In the translation of this Epistle a reference is made to many passages of the New Testament to which Polycarp alludes. Others are subjoined⁶.

⁴ c. 7.

⁵ cc. 2. 7.

⁶ Matt. v. 44. c. 12. Pray for those who persecute and hate you.

Rom. xiii. 9, 10. c. 3. For if any one have these things, he hath fulfilled the law of righteousness.

2 Cor. vi. 7. c. 4. Let us arm ourselves with the armour of righteousness.

Gal. iv. 26. c. 3. Edified in the faith delivered to you, which is the mother of us all.

Phil. ii. 16. c. 9. All these have not run in vain.

Col. i. 28. c. 12. That ye may be perfect in Christ.

1 Thess. v. 22. c. 2. Abstain from all unrighteousness.

2 Thess. i. 4. c. 11. For he glories in you, in all the churches, which alone had known God.

Thessalonica being the capital city of the Province of Macedonia in which Philippi was, Polycarp might consider the Epistle to the Thessalonians as addressed also to the Philippians. See c. 3. note 1.

1 Tim. ii. 1, 2. c. 12. Pray for all the saints. Pray also for kings, &c.

1 Tim. iii. 8. c. 5. The deacons must not be double-tongued. The whole chapter resembles 1 Tim. iii.

2 Tim. ii. 11. c. 5. If we walk worthy of him, we shall also reign with him.

2 Tim. iv. 10. c. 9. They loved not this present world.

Heb. iv. 12. c. 4. He sees all blemishes, and nothing is hid from him, &c.

1 Pet. ii. 17. c. 10. Lovers of the brotherhood.

1 Pet. iv. 5. c. 2. Who comes to be the judge of quick and dead.

1 Pet. v. 5. c. 10. Be ye subject one to another.

Jude ver. 3. c. 3. Ye may be able to be edified in the faith delivered unto you.

The words in c. 12. “Now the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and he himself who is our everlasting High-priest, the Son of God, Jesus Christ, build you up in faith and truth:” seem to be an allusion to Heb. iv. 14 ; vi. 20 ; vii. 3.

In this very short Epistle we have then references to two of the Gospels, to the Acts of the Apostles, to ten of the first thirteen Epistles of St. Paul, and probably to the Epistles to the Colossians and to the Hebrews: to the first Epistle of St. Peter⁷, and to the first Epistle of St. John⁸.

Of a writing, which is so scriptural in its language, it is needless to observe that the doctrines are pure. Faith in Christ, who is our hope, and the earnest of our righteousness⁹, who suffered for us, that we might live through him, “our everlasting High Priest, the Son of God¹;” a faith bringing forth the fruits of holiness, purity, and meekness²; salvation by grace, not of works, but by the will of God, through Jesus Christ³; watchfulness unto prayer, perseverance in fasting, and supplication to God not to lead us into temptation⁴, and for all conditions of men⁵; the imitation of the example of Christ, and of his faithful disciples⁶; the study of the Scriptures⁷,—these are the doctrines of this truly Apostolical Epistle. And these doctrines are employed to enforce the fullest discharge of all the relative duties of different stations in life⁸.

The profession of Polycarp was no vain display. Their influence upon his own life is exemplified in the calm serenity with which he met his death; and in the humble confidence which he expressed in his last prayer⁹.

⁷ Eusebius, H. E. iv. 14, says that Polycarp in his Epistle to the Philippians uses testimonies from the first Epistle of Peter.

⁸ See Lardner, Credibility, Part ii. cc. 6. 41.

⁹ cc. 1. 8.

¹ c. 12.

² cc. 2. 12.

³ c. 1.

⁴ c. 7.

⁵ c. 12.

⁶ cc. 8, 9.

⁷ c. 12.

⁸ cc. 4—6.

⁹ Martyrdom of Polycarp, c. 14.

IGNATIUS.

IGNATIUS appears to have been a man of much more ardent mind than Polycarp. The place of his birth, and even his country, are entirely unknown. The tradition has been preserved¹ that he was a disciple of St. John, that he conversed with the Apostles, and was instructed by them both in the familiar and more sublime doctrines of Christianity; but it appears² that he had never conversed with our Lord himself³. So highly was he esteemed that, about the year 70, on the death of Euodius, he was ordained Bishop of the important Church of Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, possibly by the imposition of the hands of the Apostles⁴, who still survived. The high character which he bore is manifest from the terms in which he is described⁵, as “a man in all things like the Apostles;” one who, “like a skilful pilot, by the helm of prayer and fasting, by the constancy of his doctrine and spiritual labour, withstood the raging floods, fearing lest he should lose any of those who wanted courage, or were not well grounded in the faith.”

Socrates⁶, in the fifth century, ascribes to Ignatius

¹ Martyrdom of Ignatius, cc. 1. 3. Eusebius, H. E. iii. 36. Chrysostom, Homil. in S. Ignat. tom. v. p. 499. 17. Savile.

² Chrysostom, tom. v. p. 503. 36.

³ See Note (2), p. 54.

⁴ Eusebius, H. E. iii. 36. Chrysostom, Hom. tom. v. p. 499. 32. In the Apostolical Constitutions, vii. 46, Ignatius is said to have been ordained Bishop by St. Paul. Others mention St. Peter also. The improbability of this is shown in Dr. Burton's Lectures on the Ecclesiastical History of the First Century. Lect. xii.

⁵ Relation of the Martyrdom of Ignatius, c. 1.

⁶ Socrates, H. E. vi. 8.

the introduction of the custom of singing hymns alternately in the choir, at Antioch. And some have thought⁷ that, although Flavianus and Diodorus, in the time of Constantius, were the first who introduced at Antioch the custom of thus singing the Psalms of David, yet hymns might be so used at a period as early as the time of Ignatius.

If the tradition be unfounded, the use made of the name of Ignatius shows at least that his memory was held in great respect at Antioch so long after his death.

But the best memorial of his pastoral zeal and diligence is found in the letters which he wrote to the different Churches, as he was carried prisoner from Antioch to Rome, in order to be put to death.

The date of the martyrdom of Ignatius is differently computed. According to the Acts of his martyrdom, it took place in the year 107, the ninth year of Trajan's reign. And this date is accordingly followed by many chronologists. Others⁸, however, with great probability fix upon the year 116.

Whatever was the precise date, he was called to answer before Trajan, as he passed through Antioch, elated with his late victory over the Scythians and Dacians, and about to set out on his Parthian expedition. The peculiar circumstances in which Trajan was placed may perhaps show why that prince, who was usually mild and considerate, exercised such severity towards Ignatius. In the history of the martyrdom of

⁷ See Bingham, xiv. l. 11.

⁸ Bp. Pearson, *Dissertatio de anno quo S. Ignatius ad bestias erat condemnatus*. Lloyd apud Pagi ad Baron. an. 109. Grabe ad Acta Ignatii.

Ignatius the rigour of the Emperor is ascribed to his desire of reducing the Christians, as well as others, to submission to his will. It is not improbable however, that Trajan, on his arrival at Antioch, found a persecution already raging there. Times of public rejoicing were usually periods of peculiar vexation to the primitive Christians, who were then especially urged to comply with some of the idolatrous customs of the heathen. The arrival of the Emperor was calculated to call forth the most vivid feelings both of loyalty and superstition: and all his subjects were not likely to imitate the decent flattery of Pliny, who, in ascribing to his imperial patron the highest virtues of which human nature is capable, complimented him upon his refusing to receive divine honours⁹.

Ignatius might thus probably be pointed out to Trajan as a leader of a sect which refused to sacrifice to the gods for the safety of the Emperor, and the success of his arms: and the venerable Bishop was not of a disposition to shrink from the severest trial to which his profession of the faith exposed him. He voluntarily offered to be brought before Trajan, and there expressed himself in the noble manner recorded in the Acts of his martyrdom.

The result of his conference with the Emperor was such as might have been expected. He who gave Pliny directions not to seek for the Christians, in his province, but, if they were brought before him, and

⁹ Discernatur orationibus nostris diversitas temporum, et ex ipso genere gratiarum agendarum intelligatur, cui, quando sint hactenus ut deo, nunc nusquam ut numini blandiamur. Non enim de tyranno, sed de cive: non de domino, sed de parente loquimur. Plinii Panegyricus, sub init. Compare Tertullian, Apol. c. 34.

proved to be such, to punish them capitally¹, acted only in consistency with his own principles, when he condemned Ignatius to suffer death.

It is not so easy to account for the reason which induced Trajan to send him from Antioch to Rome, to be exposed to the wild beasts. If the advisers of the Emperor intended, by such a cruel delay, either to break the spirit of the martyr, or to give him an opportunity of recanting, their object was far from being attained. Ignatius rejoiced that he was counted worthy to suffer for the faith of Christ. Although deeply conscious of his own infirmity as a man, and sensible of his inferiority to the Apostles, in whose steps he trod, his only fear was lest the love of the brethren at Rome or elsewhere should prevent him from attaining the crown of martyrdom.

In reading his passionate appeals, especially in his Epistle to the Romans², we cannot but feel that the ardent and almost impatient spirit, by which he was animated, is strongly contrasted with the dignified calmness of St. Paul, when he was "in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better," but was yet contented to "abide in the flesh," which was more needful for his converts³. It must be remembered however that Ignatius lived at a period, when the blood of the martyrs was appointed to be the seed of the Church: that if his notions of martyrdom appear to have been exaggerated, he expresses the most perfect resignation, the deepest humility and self-abasement, in speaking of himself.

¹ Plin. Epist. x. 98.

² cc. 4, 5.

³ Phil. i. 23, 24.



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he had advanced as far as Troas, he learned that the persecution at Antioch had ceased; not improbably from some decree of Trajan himself. It should be observed, that in the three remaining Epistles, which Ignatius wrote from Troas, to the Churches of Philadelphia and Smyrna, and individually to Polycarp¹, he incidentally expresses his heartfelt satisfaction that their prayers had been heard, and that the Church of Syria was at peace, and had received its "proper body;" probably by the appointment of Heros, as his successor in the episcopal office.

Ignatius would have written to other Churches²; but was hurried away from Troas to Neapolis by those who guarded him. He thence proceeded by land through Macedonia and Epirus to Epidamnus; embarked again for Italy; and, on his arrival at Rome, on the last day of the public spectacles, was immediately thrown to the wild beasts in the Amphitheatre; displaying in his last moments the same constancy and piety as had marked his previous life.

THE EPISTLES OF IGNATIUS.

THE Epistles of Ignatius are most interesting and valuable documents of the early Christian Church. They are the unstudied effusions of an ardent and deeply religious mind; and bespeak a man who was superior to this world, and anxious to finish his course with joy. It is an internal mark of their genuineness that their style is harsh and unpolished; and occasionally

¹ Philadelph. c. 10. Smyrn. c. 11. Epist. to Polycarp, c. 7.

² Epist. to Polycarp, c. 8,

not untingered with some degree of oriental exaggeration.

Eusebius³, in mentioning these seven Epistles, observes that Ignatius was peculiarly desirous to repress the heretical opinions which were then first beginning to spring up in the Church, and to confirm those whom he addressed, in the faith delivered by the Apostles. The heretical tenets were those of the Gnostics; and it is evident from Ignatius' Epistles to the Asiatic Churches that the evil was very prevalent and injurious. In his Epistle to Polycarp there are only two general cautions⁴ against false doctrine; and in his Epistle to the Romans, there are no allusions to the subject. That Epistle, however, was written principally to prepare the Church of Rome for his approach; and Ignatius was so far from possessing the same acquaintance with it as with the Churches of Asia, that he does not even mention the name of its Bishop. No conclusion, therefore, can be drawn from this circumstance, as to the prevalence of Gnosticism at Rome.

The evils of schism, and the great disorders arising from the disobedience of individuals, especially in the infant state of the Church, may account for the very forcible language in which Ignatius urges obedience to the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, as the successors of the Apostles, according to Divine appointment.

The doctrines contained in the Epistles of Ignatius are purely scriptural. The hasty manner in which they were written, prevents them from containing any

³ H. E. iii. 36.

⁴ cc. 3. 5.

thing like a formal declaration of any doctrinal points ; but constant incidental references are made to the absolute Divinity of our Lord ⁵, to his pre-existence ⁶, and eternity ⁷, and the union of the divine and human nature in his person ⁸ ; to the influence of the Holy Spirit ⁹, salvation by means of Christ's death alone ¹, and the necessity of personal holiness ².

The testimony which Ignatius bears to the writings of the New Testament is very valuable. He quotes, indeed, only one book by name, the Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians ³ ; but Lardner shows at length that he alludes plainly to the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, and probably to that of St. Luke : that he has allusions to the Acts of the Apostles, to eleven of the first thirteen Epistles of St. Paul, to the Epistle to the Hebrews, to the first Epistle of St. Peter, and to the first and third Epistles of St. John. He uses terms also which imply a collection of the Gospels, and of the Epistles of the Apostles, and of the books of the New Testament generally ⁴.

The references given by Lardner occur in the shorter Greek text of the Medicean and Colbert Manuscripts, as given by Usher and Vossius, and received by Pearson. In the three much shorter Syriac Epistles lately edited by Mr. Cureton, the

⁵ Ephes. Introduction, cc. 1. 7. 18—20. Magnes. 7. Epist. to Polycarp, c. 8. Martyrdom, cc. 2. 8.

⁶ Magnes. cc. 6. 8.

⁷ Magnes. c. 6.

⁸ Smyrn. c. 4.

⁹ Ephes. cc. 8. 15.

¹ Trail. c. 2. Phil. cc. 8. 9. Smyrn. cc. 1, 2. 6. Martyrd. c. 2.

² Ephes. c. 12. Rom. c. 7. Epist. to Polycarp, c. 1.

³ Ignat. Ephes. c. 12.

⁴ Lardner, Credibility, Part ii. c. 5.

references to Scripture are proportionably fewer; but still sufficiently numerous and distinct⁵.

These allusions, it will be seen, are usually made in an incidental, unstudied manner, without express marks of reference; precisely, indeed, in the manner in which we might expect Ignatius, under the circumstances in which he wrote, to have referred to Scriptures, with the general meaning of which both he and those whom he addressed were well acquainted; but without the formality of express verbal quotation.

It would be foreign to the present purpose, and inconsistent with the limits of such an Introduction as this, to enter at any length into the well-known controversy respecting the genuineness of the Epistles

⁵ In the Syriac Epistles there is an allusion to the star mentioned in the Gospel history of Matt. ii, and to the song of the angels, Luke ii, in Ephes. c. 19. Matt. x. 16, "Be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves," is directly quoted in the Epistle to Polycarp, c. 2.

The remarkable phrase "the blood of God," apparently taken from Acts xx. 28, is found in Ephes. c. 1; 1 Cor. i. 18, is referred to in Ephes. c. 18; 1 Cor. iv. 4, is quoted, Rom. c. 5.

In the Introduction of Ignatius' Epistle to the Ephesians, there is an allusion to St. Paul, Ephes. i. 1—6. In Ignatius, Ephes. c. 9, to St. Paul, Ephes. ii. 22. In Ignatius, Ephes. c. 10, to St. Paul, Ephes. v. 1. In Ignatius to the Romans, c. 6, to St. Paul, Phil. i. 21, although the Syriac version seems there to misrepresent the meaning of the word *τοκετός* in the Greek. The Epistle to Polycarp quotes in c. 5, Ephes. v. 25: and in c. 6, there are three references to Scripture. The expression, "please him and serve him, that ye may receive wages of him," seems to allude to 2 Tim. ii. 4; the charge, "let your baptism be to you as armour, &c.," appears to refer to Ephes. vi. 13—17: and the concluding clause, where *ὀνείμην* is found in the Greek, seems to recognize the same expression in St. Paul's Epistle to Philemon ver 20. Thus, in three short Epistles, there are references more or less distinct to two of the Gospels, to the Acts of the Apostles, and to five of St. Paul's Epistles. It is to be observed, also, that the less obvious allusions to St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, were likely to be quite intelligible to the Church at Ephesus to which Ignatius wrote.

ascribed to Ignatius. But, as the whole question, which had long appeared to be nearly set at rest, has lately been revived, and will probably be the subject of much further examination, it is requisite to give a brief outline of the present state of the inquiry.

The question resolves itself into two parts, whether Ignatius left behind him written Epistles; and whether we now possess Epistles which can be satisfactorily proved to be genuine.

On the first point there can exist no doubt. Polycarp, in his Epistle to the Philippians⁶, expressly mentions Epistles written by Ignatius. Irenæus⁷, in the second century, refers also to Ignatius, and alludes to a passage now found in his Epistle to the Romans. Theophilus of Antioch⁸, in the same century, alludes to his Epistle to the Ephesians. In the early part of the third century, Origen⁹ quotes two passages from the Epistles of Ignatius, now extant in the Epistles to the Romans and Ephesians.

Eusebius, in the beginning of the fourth century, states expressly¹ that Ignatius wrote seven Epistles, which he enumerates, describing each by mentioning particulars contained in them, and quoting the Epistles to the Romans, and to the Smyrneans.

Pearson² shows at length, that the chain of reference to the Epistles of Ignatius extends without interruption

⁶ cc. 9. 13.

⁷ Eusebius, H. E. v. 8. Irenæus, v. 28. Eusebius, H. E. iii. 36. Ignatius's Ep. to Romans, c. 4.

⁸ Comment. in Matt. Ignat. Ep. 6. Ephes. c. 19.

⁹ Prolegom. in Cant. Canticorum. Hom. vi. in Luc. Ignatius, Rom. c. 7. Ephes. c. 19.

¹ Eusebius, H. E. iii. 36.

² *Vindiciæ Epistolarum S. Iguatii*, Par. 1, c. 2.

through Christian writers from the second century to the fifteenth. These and other testimonies, as far as the first ten centuries, are given at length in Mr. Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum*³. This evidence is abundantly sufficient to prove that Ignatius wrote certain Epistles; that seven of those ascribed to him existed at the beginning of the fourth century; and that Epistles supposed to be his have been never lost sight of.

But here arises the second part of the inquiry, whether we now possess Epistles which can be satisfactorily proved to be the genuine writings of Ignatius; and this evidently requires an examination into the manner in which Epistles ascribed to Ignatius have come down to our own times.

A full account of the several editions is given in Pearson's *Vindiciæ Epistolarum S. Ignatii*⁴, and in the Introduction of Mr. Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum*⁵, of which the following is an abstract.

In the year 1495, three Epistles purporting to be written by Ignatius, but now acknowledged to be spurious, were published at Paris, annexed to a life of Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. These Epistles were in Latin; two of them purported to be written to St. John, and one to the Virgin Mary; and to these was added a pretended answer of the Virgin Mary⁶. In 1498, eleven other Epistles, ascribed to Ignatius, were published at Paris, in Latin,

³ *Corpus Ignat.* pp. 158—180.

⁴ Pearson, *Vindiciæ*; *Proœmium*, c. 2—5.

⁵ Cureton, c. 1. *Introduction*, pp. i—xvi.

⁶ Cureton, *Corpus Ignatianum*, p. 156. Petermann, *Iguatü &c. Epistolæ*, pp. 437. 441.

by J. Faber Stapulensis, or Le Febvre d'Etaples, containing those Epistles which have since been often ascribed to Ignatius, with the omission of that addressed to Mary of Cassobolita. That Epistle was added in 1536, by Champerius; and several editions of the whole fifteen Epistles were subsequently published.

The first printed edition of any Greek Epistles ascribed to Ignatius appeared in 1557. It was printed at Dillingen, and edited by Valentinus Paccus, from a manuscript in the library at Augsburg. This edition, as well as two others, printed by William Morel, at Paris, in 1558 and 1562, contained twelve Epistles. The same twelve Epistles were published independently, from a manuscript belonging to Caspar von Nydpruck, by Andrew Gesner, in 1560; and three other editions, and a Latin free translation of the Greek, appeared before the end of the sixteenth century. Up to this time, whatever had been found with the name of Ignatius had been published without discrimination.

The first attempt to distinguish critically between those writings, improperly ascribed to Ignatius, and those which are genuine, was made in 1608, by Martialis Mæstræus, in an edition of the Epistles published at Paris. He rejected absolutely the three Epistles which exist only in Latin; and received as genuine the seven Epistles bearing the same name as those quoted by Eusebius, namely, those to the Trallians, Magnesians, Philadelphians, Smyrneans, Ephesians, Romans, and to Polycarp; four of which are quoted by Theodoret: and he also regarded as genuine the Epistle to the Antiochians, quoted by Johannes Damascenus, and that to the Philippians, which he con-



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2. To Polycarp; 3. To the Ephesians; 4. To the Magnesians; 5. To the Philadelphians; 6. To the Trallians; 7. Mary of Cassobolita to Ignatius; 8. Ignatius to Mary of Cassobolita; 9. To the Tarsians; 10. To the Antiochians; 11. To Hero; 12. To the Romans.

It is very remarkable that while Archbishop Usher was looking for a transcript of a manuscript of Ignatius, in the Medicean Library at Florence, he expressed a hope to obtain the aid of a Syriac version, which he deemed it possible still to find at Rome, or of an Armenian or Arabic version.

Two years after this, in 1646, Isaac Vossius published an edition of the Greek text, from the Medicean manuscript, to which the Archbishop had referred. This manuscript was defective at the end; but as far as it extended, it agreed closely with the shorter Latin version, containing the first eight Epistles, and a part of the ninth, in the same order. The Epistle to the Romans, which was deficient in the manuscript, was supplied from the earlier editions. Vossius divided the Epistles into three classes: the first containing those of which the titles agree with those mentioned by Eusebius; the second, Epistles which were falsely attributed to Ignatius; and the third, the interpolated Epistles.

Archbishop Usher, in 1647, published the six Epistles, from the Medicean text given by Vossius.

The want of authority for the Epistle to the Romans, in the Medicean manuscript, was supplied in 1689, by the publication of that Epistle by Ruinart, from a manuscript in the collection of J. B. Colbert: and the

seven Epistles, often called Eusebian, as recognized by Eusebius, have since been frequently published in the shorter form⁷. The last and most valuable of these editions, is that of Dr. Jacobson, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, for which the Medicean MS., that of the Epistle to the Romans, in the Royal Paris Library, and the Latin MS., in Caius College, Cambridge, were collated.

From the first publication of Epistles ascribed to Ignatius, a warm controversy was carried on respecting their genuineness. The most able of those who opposed the Epistles was Daillé, in 1666: to which, after Daillé's death, the celebrated Pearson, afterwards Bishop of Chester, replied in his elaborate work, entitled *Vindiciæ Epistolarum S. Ignatii*, published in 1672. In that work, marked by the learning and accuracy which distinguished that celebrated man, the whole question, as it then stood, is carefully examined; and the conclusion at which he arrives is⁸, that there have been four different editions of Epistles ascribed to Ignatius.

The first, the genuine edition, collected by Polycarp, and added to his Epistle to the Philippians. This edition he supposes to have been known to Irenæus, Theophilus, and other ancient Christian writers, as well as to Eusebius. The second, an interpolated edition of the same seven Epistles, of which Pearson possessed a manuscript, containing the Epistles in the following

⁷ A list of editions is given in the Introduction to Dr. Jacobson's *Patres Apostolici*; and by Mr. Cureton, Introduction to his *Corpus Ignatianum*.

⁸ *Proœmium*, cap. vi. p. 28.

order, Trallians, Magnesians, Philadelphians, Smyrneans, Polycarp, Ephesians, Romans. He finds this edition quoted by Stephanus Gobaras, and Anastasius, Patriarch of Antioch, in the sixth century.

The third edition he supposes to have consisted of the seven genuine Epistles, and four spurious Epistles, and to be represented by the Medicean manuscript, when perfect, and by the Latin version published by Archbishop Usher. This is quoted by Johannes Damascenus, and by Antonius Melissa in the eighth century.

The fourth edition he supposes to have consisted of the seven interpolated Epistles of the second edition, to which were added the four spurious Epistles of the third edition, and the spurious Epistle to the Philippians. This is the edition of twelve Epistles, which was printed from the Augsburg manuscript by Paceus, and from that of Nydpruck by Gesner.

The influence of Pearson's work was such, that although an anonymous reply by Larroque appeared in 1674, the controversy seemed to be terminated. The opinion prevailed, although not universally yet very extensively, that the seven shorter Epistles as published by Vossius and Usher were the genuine Epistles of Ignatius, recognized by Eusebius, and confirmed by the testimony of a long succession of Christian writers.

It was still, however, observable that no single manuscript has been found which contains those seven shorter Epistles, unmixed with others ascribed to Ignatius⁹; and that many persons who regarded these Epistles as genuine in the main, imagined that par-

⁹ Journal of Sacred Literature, No. x., for April, 1850, p. 363.

ticular passages might have been altered or interpolated.

No further light was thrown upon this subject till the year 1783, when one of Archbishop Usher's anticipations was realized, by the printing, at Constantinople, of a translation of the Epistles of Ignatius in the Armenian language. This translation is ascribed to the fifth century of the Christian era, and from internal evidence is supposed to have been made not from the Greek directly, but from a Syriac version; and consists of thirteen Epistles in the following order, Smyrneans, Polycarp, Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Philadelphians, Romans, Antiochians, Mary of Cassobolita to Ignatius, Ignatius to Mary of Cassobolita, Tarsians, Hero, Philippians. The text agrees nearly with the shorter Greek of the Medicean manuscript, as far as that manuscript extends ¹⁰.

From the time that Archbishop Usher expressed the hope that a Syriac version of the Epistles of Ignatius would be found, attention was directed towards the East, and catalogues were occasionally brought to England or published, in which mention was made of such a version. Dr. Fell, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, in 1680, and subsequent years, caused diligent inquiry to be made, and several journeys to be undertaken in prosecution of the search. On one of those journeys, Huntingdon, afterwards Bishop of Raphoe, went to Egypt, and visited the very convent where the Syriac version was afterwards discovered.

¹⁰ See Petermann's "S. Iguatii Patris Apostolici quæ feruntur Epistolæ una cum ejusdem Martyrio. Collatis Edd. Græcis versionibusque Syriaca, Armenica, Latinis," &c. Lipsiæ 1849.

Other inquiries¹ kept alive the expectation that works of Ignatius would still be found in the Syriac language. This expectation was at length fulfilled. In 1839 Mr. Cureton transcribed from a Syriac manuscript a fragment of the martyrdom of Ignatius, containing a part of his Epistle to the Romans; and soon after found the entire Epistle of Polycarp, in a volume transcribed probably before the year 550, procured by Archdeacon Tattam from the monastery of Maria Deipara in the Desert of Nitria in Egypt. In the year 1843 a large additional number of Syriac manuscripts, obtained from the same place, was lodged in the British Museum: and in them Mr. Cureton discovered not only several additional passages from Ignatius, but three entire Epistles, to St. Polycarp, to the Ephesians, and to the Romans, in a manuscript written not later than the seventh or eighth century. The same three Epistles were afterwards found also in another manuscript presented to the same monastery in the year of our Lord 931, and probably written three or four centuries earlier: and it is said that a third copy of the same Epistles has since been found in the East.

These three Epistles, as well as portions of other parts of the Epistles of Ignatius, translated into Syriac from the Greek writers who have quoted them, have been edited by Mr. Cureton, first in his "Ancient Syriac Version of the Epistles of Ignatius²," and after-

¹ See Introduction to Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum*, pp. xxv.—lxxxvi.

² *The Ancient Syriac Version of the Epistles of St. Ignatius to St. Polycarp, the Ephesians, and the Romans, &c.*, by Wm. Cureton, M.A. London: Rivingtons, 1845.

wards in his “*Corpus Ignatianum* ³,” a work to which every student of ecclesiastical antiquity must now have recourse, in order to form a judgment respecting the writings ascribed to Ignatius.

The discovery of these three Epistles in Syriac has opened an entirely new field of inquiry; whether they are to be regarded as representing the only genuine writings of Ignatius, or as an abridgment of the Epistles hitherto received as his.

Mr. Cureton, the Chevalier Bunsen, in his edition of “*The three genuine and the four spurious Epistles of Ignatius*” (Hamburgh 1847), and others, consider these three Epistles alone to be genuine.

The arguments advanced to establish this conclusion are to this effect.

A Syriac version has long been looked for, as likely to throw light upon the writings ascribed to Ignatius: and such a version has now been found in manuscripts of greater antiquity than can be assigned to any existing Greek manuscript of those writings.

The three Epistles thus found are much shorter than the corresponding Epistles in the Latin version first published by Archbishop Usher, and in the Medicean and Colbert Greek manuscripts afterwards edited by Vossius. Yet, it is urged, that the sense of the Epistles is in no way impaired, but rather rendered more clear and simple by the omission of the parts

³ *Corpus Ignatianum*, a complete collection of the Ignatian Epistles, genuine, interpolated, and spurious, together with numerous extracts from them as quoted by ecclesiastical writers down to the tenth century, in Syriac, Greek, and Latin; an English translation of the Syriac text, copious Notes, and Illustrations, by Wm. Cureton, M.A. F.R.S. London: Rivingtons, 1849.

wanting in the Syriac : and consequently, that it is more probable that the Greek should have been interpolated by additions than the Syriac abbreviated by omissions.

Passages in the Epistles have at various times been objected to, as referring to opinions and heresies, which are supposed not to have been known in the time of Ignatius : other passages have been pointed out as containing a superfluity of compound epithets⁴, apparently inconsistent with the style which Ignatius, on his journey towards the place of his martyrdom, was likely to employ ; and others, again, giving a greater prominence, dignity, and authority to the hierarchy, than that ascribed to it by contemporaneous ecclesiastical writers.

Almost all these passages are omitted in the Syriac ; and it is argued that it is more probable that they did not form a part of the Epistles when first written, than that a Syriac abbreviator should have anticipated the results of the criticism of subsequent centuries, by omitting precisely those passages to which objections have since been raised.

The style of the Epistle to Polycarp had long appeared different from that of the other Epistles of Ignatius ; and some had, from this cause, even doubted the genuineness of that Epistle⁵. A similar difference of style and matter had been noticed in the Epistle to the Romans⁶ ; and, still more particularly, the two chapters in the Epistle to the Trallians⁷, found, in the Syriac, in the Epistle to the Romans, had also been noticed by Vedelius, more than 220 years before the

⁴ Corpus Ignatianum. Introduction, p. liv.

⁵ P. l.

⁶ P. liii.

⁷ P. liii.



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INTRODUCTION.

One of the manuscripts, printed by Mr. Cureton, referred to the eleventh or twelfth century, and consisting of passages from the Epistles to the Romans, Ephesians, Magnesians, Smyrneans, and to Hero, is itself an abridgment of the Epistles of Ignatius, made from a Syriac version differing from that of the three Epistles.

It is alleged that, in the three Epistles extant in the Syriac version, and in the Greek text, hitherto commonly adopted, the connexion of the sense of the several passages is more clear and definite in the Greek than in the Syriac¹.

On this point opinion is set against opinion; and it may not be easy or possible to come to a conclusion which shall be generally satisfactory.

With respect to alleged allusions to opinions subsequent to the age of Ignatius, the defenders of the Greek text of the seven shorter Epistles consider that such allusions may all be explained by reference to opinions and events well known to Ignatius himself.

With reference to external testimony, the evidence on which the exclusive claim of the Syriac version rests, is regarded to be still less satisfactory.

It is urged that the quotations from ecclesiastical writers of the first three centuries do not establish the Syriac in opposition to the Greek; for the passages quoted occur in each: and that the absence of quotations from the remaining four Epistles is itself no proof that the Epistles were unknown. If they were all perfectly known, it is highly improbable that in the few remains of the only four writers of the first

¹ See particularly Ephes. c. 19.

three centuries who quote Ignatius at all, Polycarp, Irenæus, Theophilus of Antioch, and Origen, quotations should have been found from every one of the Epistles. But as soon as we pass into the fourth century, we find Eusebius² describing accurately seven Epistles, and no more; referring to particulars mentioned in each, and quoting from the Epistle to the Smyrneans³, as well as from the Epistle to the Romans⁴. About the year 360, we find Athanasius⁵, in a work quoted by Socrates⁶, and expressly assigned to him by Sozomen⁷, quoting a part of the Epistle to the Ephesians⁸, which is not found in the Syriac version of Ignatius.

It is observed that, about forty years later, Jerome⁹, who was well acquainted with Syria and Palestine, repeats the testimony of Eusebius; and although, in this respect, he is not an original witness, he could not have thus referred to seven Epistles of Ignatius, if the Syrian Churches, in his time, had recognized three only¹. Theodoret², also, about the year 425, quotes not only the Epistle to the Ephesians³, but the Epistles to the Smyrneans⁴, and the Trallians⁵, neither of which is extant in the Syriac version.

² H. E. iii. 36.

³ Smyrn. c. 3.

⁴ Romans, c. 5.

⁵ De Synodis Arimini et Seleuciæ, vol. i. par. 2, p. 761.

⁶ Socrates, H. E. ii. 37.

⁷ Sozomen, H. E. iv. 17.

⁸ Ephes. c. 7.

⁹ De Viris Illustribus, c. xvi. Adversus Helvidium, vol. ii. p. 225.

Comment. in Matt. vol. vii. p. 12.

¹ See Mr. Hussey's Preface to his Sermons. Oxford, 1849, p. xxiii.

² Dialogus 1, 2. See the quotations in Cureton, Corpus Ignat. p. 171, 172.

³ cc. 7. 18. 20.

⁴ c. 1, erroneously referred to the Epistle to the Romans, cc. 3—5. 7.

⁵ c. 9.

Thus it is urged that, while the Syriac version agrees with the references made by Christian writers, no further than the first three centuries, the Greek text agrees equally well with those more extended citations, which are found in the following centuries. It is also alleged⁶ that, while the absence of more than three Epistles in the Syriac version, edited by Mr. Cureton, affords only a negative argument against the four other Epistles, there is sufficient positive testimony to the existence of another Syriac version, containing those Epistles, as well as the others, in the Medicean manuscript, with the addition of the Epistle to the Philippians; and that there is reason to suppose that the Armenian version, and the extracts and abridgments of passages, not found in the three Syriac Epistles, have been taken from that Syriac version⁷.

It is thus conceived that, although the shorter Greek text may in some cases be defective or interpolated, there is no sufficient ground for altogether rejecting the conclusions resting on the authority of such men as Usher, Pearson, Bull, and Hammond⁸.

It is perhaps scarcely to be expected that any new light will ever be thrown upon this difficult question by the discovery of any Greek manuscripts hitherto

⁶ Quarterly Review, No. 175, p. 97.

⁷ These passages are found in Mr. Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum*, pp. 197—201. 232—235; and are supposed by him to have been simply translated from the Greek, and thus not to prove the existence of a separate Syriac version. The question well deserves investigation by those who, by accurate acquaintance with the Syriac language, are competent to conduct the inquiry.

⁸ Usher, *Prolegom. ad Epist. Ignat.* Bull, *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*, ii. 2. 8. Hammond, *Dissertationes adversus Blondellum*. See Dr. Jacobson's Preface to his last edition of his *Apostolical Fathers*, p. liv.

unknown ; but the success which has lately attended researches in the East, gives some ground for hope that further investigation in that quarter may lead to a conclusion in which all will acquiesce.

Meanwhile, it is earnestly to be hoped that all controversy on the subject will be carried on in the spirit of calmness which becomes Christians in search of truth.

One effect, at least, arises from the discovery of the Syriac version. Whether that version is an epitome, or a full translation of the Greek Epistles which it represents, and whatever inference may be drawn from it with respect to the other four Epistles, the Syriac version, independent of all manuscripts previously known, invests that part of the writings of Ignatius with an authority which henceforth is indisputable.

Hence the distinct assertion of the Divinity of our Lord ⁹, the references to Scripture ¹, not so extensive, but still as plain as in the other writings ascribed to Ignatius, and the direct statement of the existence and authority of the Episcopal form of Church government ², contained in these three Epistles, lead to the same conclusion, upon all these points, as that already deduced from the seven Epistles, hitherto usually received.

I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Cureton for permission to insert his translation from the Syriac of the three Epistles to the Ephesians, to the Romans,

⁹ Ephes. Introduction, c. 1. Romans, c. 8.

¹ See above, p. xxxvii.

² Epistle to Polycarp, c. 6. "Look to the Bishop, that God also may look upon you. I will be instead of the souls of those who are subject to the Bishop, and the Presbyters, and the Deacons ; with them may I have a portion near God." See also c. 5.

and to Polycarp, in columns parallel to the translation from the Greek. The English reader will thus have the means of comparing those Epistles as they are found in the Greek and in the Syriac.

JUSTIN MARTYR.

THE writings of Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp, are addressed to Christians, and are very interesting, as showing us the feelings and sentiments of some of the earliest writers after the Apostles themselves. There is another class of Christian writings, the Apologies, or defences, which were addressed to the adversaries of the faith. Several of these have been preserved, and among them two of the most valuable are those of Justin Martyr and Tertullian³.

Justin Martyr was born about the year 100, at Flavia Neapolis⁴, anciently called Sichem, in Samaria. His parents were Gentiles⁵, and probably Greeks. In his youth, his ardour for the acquisition of knowledge was gratified by travel: he visited Alexandria: and in the early part of his life became acquainted with the opinions of the different sects of philosophers. He attached himself⁶ to the Stoics, till he found that from them he could obtain no knowledge of the nature of God. The covetousness of the Peripatetics, to whom he next applied, soon disgusted him. And on endeavouring to study the Pythagorean philosophy, he quickly relinquished the notion of uniting himself permanently

³ There is an English Translation of these Apologies with the Octavius of Minutius Felix, and the Commonitorium of Vincentius Lirinensis, by Wm. Reeves, M. A. London: 1709.

⁴ Apol. cc. i. ii. p. 52.

⁵ Apol. c. 68.

⁶ Dialogue, p. 218.

with a sect, which required as a preliminary step an extensive acquaintance with music, including poetry, and with astronomy and geometry. The tenets of the Platonists⁷ were more agreeable to his natural disposition. But finding no satisfaction to his mind from any of these systems of philosophy, he was led to examine Christianity, and found in it the certainty and adaptation to his mental wants which no other studies had afforded⁸.

The direct argument in favour of Christianity, which appears to have had the greatest weight with Justin, was the courage with which men of all ranks submitted to death in the cause of the Gospel, while no one was ever found to die in support of any philosophical opinions⁹. “While,” he says¹⁰, “I was myself still delighted with the philosophy of Plato, I used to hear the Christians calumniated, but saw that they fearlessly encountered death, and all that is most formidable to other men. I was convinced that these men could not be living in wickedness or sinful pleasure. For what man, who was subject to his passions and to intemperance, or delighted to feed on human flesh, would dare to embrace death, which would put a period to all his delights? Such a man would strive by all means to preserve his present life; would endeavour to conceal himself from those in power: least of all would he offer himself voluntarily for punishment.”

After his conversion to Christianity, Justin still continued to wear the dress of a philosopher¹. This circumstance has been considered to imply an undue

⁷ Apol. ii. p. 50.

⁹ Apol. ii. p. 48.

¹ Dial. p. 217. C. Eusebius, H. E. iv. 11.

⁸ Dial. p. 225.

¹⁰ Apol. ii. p. 50. A.

attachment to the opinions which he had renounced. It was a practice, however, far from uncommon²: and Justin might continue to use the dress, either as sufficiently consistent with the severity of life which Christianity required, or as a custom, in a matter of indifference, with which he might innocently comply³.

About the beginning of the reign of Antoninus Pius, Justin Martyr fixed his abode in Rome⁴; and employed the means, which his previous studies had put into his power, in defending the purity of the Christian faith. He wrote a treatise⁵ against heresies, especially against Marcion. About this time he addressed his first Apology to Antoninus Pius, Marcus Antoninus, Lucius Verus, the Senate, and the people of Rome. The precise date of this Apology has been the subject of much discussion, without leading to any very satisfactory decision.

There are few internal marks of time in the Apology itself. Justin once⁶ speaks, in round numbers, of the birth of Christ, as having occurred a hundred and fifty years before. In other places, the death and deification of Antinous⁷, the edict of Adrian against the Jews⁸, and the revolt of Barchochebas⁹, which all occurred between the years 130 and 134, are alluded to as recent events. The earliest date ascribed to the Apology is 139. Others place it as late as 150. In favour of the first date, Dodwell¹ observes, that in the introduction Marcus Antoninus is not styled Cæsar,

² Cave's Life of Justin Martyr, c. 6.

³ Compare Tertullian, Apol. c. 42.

⁴ Eusebius, H. E. iv. 11.

⁵ Apol. i. c. 36.

⁶ c. 61.

⁷ c. 37.

⁸ c. 62.

⁹ c. 38.

¹ Dissertatio in Irenæum, c. 14.



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harmless, and not derogatory to the divine nature⁶; that the Christians look for no human kingdom, but are the best and most peaceable subjects; knowing that in suffering they endure only what their Lord prophesied should come upon them⁷.

He defends the Christians from the charge of impiety; appeals to the blameless lives which they lead after their conversion; and refers to many precepts of Christ which teach the necessity of holiness and obedience to authority⁸.

Justin then argues on the possibility that the soul should survive death, appealing to the sentiments and practices of the heathen as implying that fact; and showing that a resurrection from the dead is not so incredible as the first creation of an animated being⁹.

He shows the injustice of punishing Christians for their opinions, when poets and philosophers were permitted without molestation to support others less defensible and less rational; and all other men were allowed to choose their own objects of worship¹. Justin appeals again to the reformation of life in Christians; whereas Simon Magus, who was honoured by the Romans, and Marcion, and other heretics, were not molested, however infamous their conduct might be².

Having then contrasted the purity of the lives of Christians with the cruel custom of exposing their children practised by the heathen, Justin proceeds to the direct evidence of miracle and prophecy. He briefly alludes to the miracles of Christ, principally to refute the objection that they were performed by

⁶ cc. 8—10.

⁷ cc. 11—15.

⁸ cc. 16—23.

⁹ cc. 24—26.

¹ cc. 27—32.

² cc. 33—35.

magical powers: and then alleges many prophecies of the Old Testament, which were fulfilled by Christ³. From their accomplishment he contends that other events, which are predicted but yet unfulfilled, shall assuredly come to pass; such as the conversion of the Gentiles, the resurrection of the dead, and the future judgment by Christ⁴.

Justin asserts that many actions ascribed to the heathen gods were imitations of the real actions of Jesus; and that the opinions of philosophers were a concealed representation of the truths of Christianity⁵.

Justin, in conclusion, describes the manner in which the first converts were baptized⁶; and, after a digression on the different appearances of Christ under the Mosaic dispensation, and on certain instances, in which the heathen gods were made to imitate what was written by Moses⁷, he gives a most interesting account of the state of the Christians in his time; describing the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds, the assembling of Christians on Sunday, and the manner in which they conducted their public worship, and made voluntary collections for the relief of the poorer brethren⁸.

He finishes his Apology with an expression of resignation, and an appeal to the letter of Adrian in favour of the Christians.

The Dialogue with Trypho, the Jew, was certainly written after the first Apology, to which there is an allusion⁹: but the precise date is not known. It is

³ cc. 36—65.

⁴ cc. 66—69.

⁵ cc. 70—78.

⁶ cc. 79, 80.

⁷ cc. 81—84.

⁸ cc. 85—89.

⁹ Dial. p. 349. C. Apol. c. 34.

the account of either a real or fictitious discussion with a Jew, which Eusebius¹ states to have occurred at Ephesus; and is valuable as showing the state of the controversy with the Jews in the time of Justin².

Justin wrote also a second Apology, which, in the Paris edition, is denominated the first. According to Eusebius³, it was addressed to Marcus Antoninus. Others suppose that it, as well as the preceding, was presented to Antoninus Pius. From expressions in the second Apology, Eusebius⁴ and others have concluded that it was written by Justin not long before his martyrdom.

The beginning of the second Apology is believed to be lost: and it is in other respects imperfect. Several Christians had at that time been unjustly punished, and Justin presented the Apology in their defence; urging several of the arguments which he had used in the first Apology, and replying to objections advanced by the adversaries of Christianity.

There are several other writings attributed to Justin Martyr. Of these, the fragment de Monarchiâ Dei is believed to be genuine. There are doubts of the genuineness of the Hortatory Address to the Greeks⁵.

The ardent spirit of Justin Martyr was likely to draw upon him the indignation of those who opposed

¹ H. E. iv. 18.

² There is a most clear and accurate analysis of the Dialogue with Trypho in the Bishop of Lincoln's Account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr, c. 11; and an English translation of the Dialogue, by Henry Brown, M. A. London, 1755.

³ H. E. iv. 16.

⁴ Eusebius, H. E. iv. 16, 17. Justin, Apol. ii. p. 46, E.

⁵ See the Bishop of Lincoln's Account of Justin Martyr, p. 5.

Christianity; and especially of the philosophers, whose malice, as we have seen, he anticipated. Accordingly, soon after the publication of his second Apology, about the year 165, Justin and six of his companions were brought before Rusticus, prefect of Rome. The behaviour of Justin in the hour of danger was worthy of the professions which he had previously made. He refused to worship the gods of the Romans, avowed his faith in the doctrines of Christianity, and at once declared where it was that he had been accustomed to teach the Christian religion. When threatened with torture and death; unless he sacrificed to the gods, Justin expressed his full conviction of eternal happiness, if he continued steadfast in the faith, and his determination patiently to endure all things for the sake of his Lord and Saviour. His companions assented to these courageous sentiments: and they were all immediately led back to prison, where, after they had been scourged, they were beheaded.

We can only briefly touch upon the doctrines and opinions which are maintained by Justin in his first Apology. Those who wish for an accurate statement of his sentiments, as deduced from a minute examination of all his genuine works, should consult the Bishop of Lincoln's admirable work upon the subject.

We find Justin distinctly acknowledging the Divinity of our Lord, representing the object of Christian worship to be the Father, the Creator of all things; the Divine Word, who took our nature upon him, and died upon the cross for our sake; and the Holy Spirit⁶. He maintains also the absolute Divinity of

Jesus Christ, when he states that it was He, who appeared to Moses in the bush, and described himself as the eternal and self-existing God⁷; and he styles Him directly God⁸.

Justin does not express himself very clearly respecting the effect which the fall of man produced upon his capacity of choosing good and evil. He describes⁹ the human race as having been created “intelligent, and able to choose the truth and to be happy.” But he speaks “of that proneness to evil, which, although various in its kind, exists in every man¹,” after the fall; and contrasts our first birth, in which “we were born without our knowledge or consent, by the ordinary natural means, and were brought up in evil habits,” with the condition of those who by baptism “become the children of choice and judgment,” and “obtain in the water remission of the sins which they have before committed².”

Justin is scarcely more explicit upon this point, or upon the subject of grace, in other parts of his works³, although he declares the necessity of illumination from above to be enabled rightly to understand the Holy Scriptures.

It must be remembered, however, that the subject of his writings, which was, in his Apologies, to defend the Christians from the charges advanced against them by the heathen, and, in his Dialogue with Trypho, to controvert the objections of the Jews, did not lead him to speak upon these subjects otherwise than incidentally; and that his expressions must be considered

⁷ cc. 82, 83.

⁸ c. 83, p. 270.

⁹ c. 36.

¹ c. 10.

² c. 80.

³ See Bp. Kaye's Justin, p. 75.

with reference rather to the whole context in which they are found, than to the words which he employs in any particular instance.

The manner in which Justin treats the difficulty of reconciling the foreknowledge of God with the moral responsibility of man, may be seen in several passages⁴ of the Apology. He says⁵, that God delayed the punishment of the devil, since he foreknew that some who are not yet born should be saved; but that this foreknowledge does not imply that every thing takes place by irresistible necessity⁶.

With respect to the doctrine of justification, Justin in this Apology⁷ declares that Christ “cleansed by his blood those who believe in him:” and in other parts of his works⁸ constantly refers to the merits and death of Christ as the cause, and to faith as the means, by which we are justified.

When Justin speaks in his own person, he invariably maintains that the punishment of the wicked will be eternal⁹.

Justin Martyr, in the course of his first Apology, refers, on three different occasions, to the Memoirs¹⁰ of the Apostles, and in the second of those instances calls the work to which he alludes Gospels. In his Dialogue with Trypho he twice¹ quotes “the Gospel;” and in several places² refers to the Memoirs of the Apostles. In several of these passages he refers to

⁴ cc. 54—58.

⁵ c. 36.

⁶ c. 54.

⁷ c. 41.

⁸ See Dial. p. 229, E. 234, E. 259, A. 273, E. 322, E. 323, B. 338, D.

⁹ See note (6), c. 8. p. 155.

¹⁰ ἀπομνημονεύματα, cc. 43, 86, 87.

¹ p. 227. C. 326. E.

² p. 327, B. 328, B. 329, C. 331, B. D. 332, B. 333, B. D. E. 334, B.

words which are found in substance in our present Gospels. Justin describes these Memoirs as having been written by the Apostles and those who followed them³, a description which exactly corresponds with our present Gospels, two of which were written by Apostles, and two by those who attended the Apostles. He mentions also that these writings were publicly read in the solemn assemblies of the Christians, with the Scriptures of the Old Testament, as part of their religious service⁴.

“Upon the whole,” says Lardner⁵, “it must be plain to all, that he owned and had the greatest respect for the four Gospels, written, two of them, by Apostles, and the other two by companions and followers of the Apostles of Jesus Christ; that is, by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.”

The Bishop of Lincoln⁶ examines at length the question which has been lately raised, whether Justin quoted our present Gospels; and, after referring to the several passages in which Justin mentions the Memoirs of the Apostles, observes, “the inference which I am disposed to draw from the consideration of the above passages is, not that Justin quoted a Narrative of our Saviour’s life and ministry agreeing in substance with our present Gospels, though differing from them in expression: but that he quoted our present Gospels from memory.”—“It is moreover necessary always to bear in mind, as has been already observed, that Justin

³ Dial. p. 331, D. *ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ φημι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολουσάντων συντετάχθαι.* Compare Luke i. 3. *Ἔδοξε κάμει παρακολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν, κ. τ. λ.*

⁴ Apol. c. 87.

⁵ Credibility, Part ii. c. 10. § 3.

⁶ Account of Justin Martyr, c. 8.



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patience, not even demanding that their false accusers should be punished⁹. But while the believers were harassed from without, they enjoyed the privileges of Christian communion within the pale of the Church. They still continued to address one another by the apostolic title of brethren¹, and assembled every Sunday, whether they dwelt in towns or in the country, for the purpose of public worship. Their religious services consisted in hearing the Gospels and the Scriptures of the Old Testament read and expounded. The President then delivered a discourse; and after they had all stood up together to pray, the Eucharist, of bread and wine mixed with water, was administered to each: and a contribution was made for the use of the fatherless and widows, for such as were in necessity, or in bonds.

Such is the picture of the Christian Church drawn by one who had tried what the systems of heathen philosophy could do to satisfy the anxious inquiries of his mind after spiritual things, and found them all insufficient; who dared to stand forth as the advocate of the cause of the Gospel, when to profess the faith was to expose himself to immediate persecution; and soon afterwards proved the sincerity of his profession by the sacrifice of his life.

TERTULLIAN.

QUINTUS SEPTIMUS FLORENS TERTULLIANUS, as he is usually called, was born at Carthage, about the year 150. His father was a soldier, a centurion in constant

⁹ c. 7.

¹ c. 85.

attendance upon the Proconsul of Africa. Tertullian is believed to have been a Gentile: and the supposition is favoured by several passages of his works² in which he seems to describe himself as having been among those whose errors he exposes. His education appears to have extended to every kind of literature which was studied at the period in which he lived. His knowledge of the Greek language is evident from the fact of his having composed³ three treatises in it, which are now lost. And the quotations with which his works abound imply a wide range of knowledge in poetry, natural philosophy, and medical science. Eusebius⁴ observes that he was particularly well skilled in the Roman laws, as is indicated indeed by his familiar use of legal terms. His ability and learning were always highly celebrated. Jerome informs us⁵ that Cyprian never passed a day without reading some of the works of Tertullian, whom he called "his master."

Jerome also says that Tertullian was a Presbyter; and it is believed that he held that office in the Church of Rome. That he was a married man, is known from the writings which he has left addressed to his wife.

Whether Tertullian were educated as a Christian, or converted after he had reached a mature age, the number of his works shows that he was a most zealous and active defender of the opinions which he embraced.

² Apol. c. 18. p. 362. De Pœnitentiâ, c. 1. De Fugâ in Persecut. c. 6. Adv. Marcion. iii. c. 21.

³ De Coronâ, c. 6. De Baptismo, c. 19. De Resurrectione Carnis. c. 49.

⁴ H. E. ii. 2.

⁵ Catalogus Scriptorum Eccles.

It would be difficult to point out a writer whose style of thought and expression is so peculiar as Tertullian's. He pours forth with profusion, and with little discrimination, the varied stores of acquired knowledge with which his mind was enriched; displaying unrivalled keenness of sarcasm, and great brilliancy of imagination. Yet with these advantages he could scarcely have been an attractive writer, even to those who were familiar with his frequent and pointed allusions to facts now little known.

His style is thus described with great accuracy and discrimination by one who is peculiarly well qualified for forming a correct opinion upon such a subject. "He frequently hurries his hearers along by his vehemence, and surprises them by the vigour, as well as inexhaustible fertility of his imagination; but his copiousness is without selection, and there was in his character a propensity to exaggeration, which affected his language, and rendered it inflated and unnatural. He is indeed the harshest and most obscure of writers, and the least capable of being accurately represented in a translation ⁶."

Still, there is in the writings of Tertullian a manly vigour of conception and a vivacity of expression, which amply repay the labour which must be undergone in order to comprehend them.

Jerome, in his account of Tertullian, asserts that he was driven to embrace the errors of Montanus, in con-

⁶ Bishop of Lincoln's *Tertullian*, c. 1. p. 66.

Lactantius, v. 1. says, *Septimius quoque Tertullianus fuit omni genere literarum peritus, sed in eloquendo parum facilis, et minus comptus, et multum obscurus fuit.*

sequence of the contumelious treatment of the Romish Clergy. The year 199 is usually assigned as the probable period of this remarkable change in Tertullian's views. From a passage in his works⁷, it is evident that he was attached to that sect before the year 207, the fifteenth year of the Emperor Severus. The greater part of his writings, which have been preserved, were composed after he became a Montanist⁸. Whether his Apology was one of these is doubted. The subject of that address did not call upon him to profess any of the peculiar opinions of that sect; and the marks of time which are found in it have led to different conclusions respecting its date. Mosheim in his Dissertation on the date of this Apology⁹, fixes on the year 198. Du Pin assigns it to the year 200, and conceives that it was written before Tertullian embraced the opinions of Montanus. Tillemont is in favour of the same date. Cave and Dodwell think that it was composed in 202, Basnage in 203, Pagi in 205, Scaliger in 211, and Allix assigns so late a date as 217.

The Bishop of Lincoln¹, after observing that "the allusion to conspiracies which were daily detected at the very time when the book was written², as well as the enumeration of the barbarous nations³ which either then were, or had recently been, at war with Rome, correspond to the events which took place during the reign of Severus," suggests that the work

⁷ Adv. Marcion. i. cc. 15. 63.

⁸ See Bp. of Lincoln's Tertullian, c. 1. p. 61.

⁹ Disquisitio Chronologico-critica de verâ ætate Apologetici a Tertulliano Conscripti. Lug. Bat. 1720.

¹ Tertullian, c. 1. p. 53.

² c. 35.

³ c. 37.

may with probability be referred to about the year 204.

The Apology was written at Carthage, and addressed to the governors of Proconsular Africa⁴. The Christians, at the time in which it was written, were exposed to great sufferings, as well from the unrestrained violence of the people, as from the action of laws which were still in force⁵. “How frequently,” he says⁶, “do ye use violence against the Christians, sometimes at the instigation of private malice, and sometimes according to the forms of law. How often also—not to mention yourselves—do the common people in their rage attack us of their own accord with stones and flames:” and, in another place⁷, “there are no greater persecutors of the Christians than the vulgar.” Their general insecurity was increased when the governor of the province in which they lived was cruel or rapacious; and, on the other hand, they enjoyed a temporary security, if, from a sense of justice or the feelings of humanity, he chanced to treat them with indulgence.

The Christians at Carthage were not thus favoured. Just before the period at which Tertullian's Apology was written, the governors had proceeded with great severity against some members of their own families⁸, in consequence of their professing the Christian faith. And, the way of public justice being obstructed, Tertullian was anxious that the truth might still be

⁴ See note (1), c. 1

⁶ Apol. c. 37. p. 430.

⁵ See note (1), c. 4.

⁷ c. 35.

⁸ Apol. c. 1.

presented to the governors, by the means of a written Apology.

He demands, therefore, that before the Christians are condemned, they may be allowed to answer for themselves; alleging, with great truth, that the refusal to hear them was a tacit confession that the charges against them were unfounded⁹. He shows that all other criminals, however guilty, enjoy every legal privilege; are heard in their own defence, and permitted to have an advocate to plead their cause. He dwells upon the injustice and contradictory character of the edict of Trajan; and complains that while others are tortured only to compel them to confess their guilt, the Christians are racked, to force them to deny the charge of which they are accused¹.

Tertullian then appeals to the indirect testimony which even their adversaries bore to the strictly moral conduct which characterized those who were converted to Christianity: and obviates an objection which was brought against the very name which they bore². He shows, by examples of recent changes in the laws, that those which existed against the Christians might be also abrogated³; that those sanguinary laws had been invariably proposed by emperors of the most cruel and unjust character, while the mild and just princes had favoured the Christians⁴. But Tertullian is not contented with resting merely on the defensive. He makes vigorous attacks upon his adversaries themselves; and shows in a strain of bitter satire how much the

⁹ c. 1.¹ c. 2.² c. 3³ c. 4.⁴ c. 5.

subjects of the Roman Empire had degenerated from their ancestors ⁵.

He next notices the horrible calumnies which were circulated respecting the Christians,—such as the murder of children, and incest—shows that they originate in nothing but mere common report ⁶, and are utterly incredible and false ⁷. On this point also Tertullian assails his opponents, and shows that the abominations and cruelties of heathen nations might make them credit such unnatural charges, although the purity of life which marked the Christians, was a complete proof of their innocence of these specific crimes ⁸. Another frequent accusation against the Christians was that they refused to worship the gods of the heathen, and to offer sacrifice for the safety of the emperors. This charge Tertullian repels by at once showing that the gods so worshipped were merely men, to whom, after their death, divine honours were paid ⁹: and argues closely and forcibly that the supposition, that they were deified, necessarily implies the existence of some Supreme Deity, who had the power of conferring so high a privilege: that he could have no need of such agents, and would never have extended his favour to such unworthy objects ¹.

Tertullian proceeds to show the absurdity of idol-worship ², and the indignity with which the heathens themselves treated their divinities, by making them the object of sale ³, defrauding them by the sacrifice of imperfect victims; degrading them by absurd fables ⁴;

⁵ c. 6.⁸ c. 9.² c. 12.⁶ c. 7.⁹ c. 10.³ c. 13.⁷ c. 8.¹ c. 11.⁴ c. 14.



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a ray of light from a luminous body. He shows that the miracles of Christ proved him to be the Word of God: declares that his sufferings and death were voluntary, the fulfilment of his own predictions; and appeals to the annals of the Roman Empire in attestation of the miraculous darkness at the crucifixion. Tertullian relates the resurrection and ascension of Christ; and asserts that Pontius Pilate sent a written account of those transactions to Tiberius. He makes a strong appeal to the testimony which the Christians gave even unto death; and desires to put the question upon the issue whether the divinity of Christ be real or not ².

After this, Tertullian declares his opinions respecting the existence and employment of evil spirits, or demons ³: and demands that any one confessedly under the influence of demoniacal possession may be brought out before the tribunal; and promises that, at the bidding of any Christian, the demon shall depart ⁴.

Tertullian then shows how unjustly the Christians are treated, since, when all others are permitted to choose their own divinities for worship, the Christians alone are prevented ⁵.

An objection was sometimes brought against Christianity, that the prosperity which the Roman Empire had attained was a proof of the Divine favour. Tertullian meets that objection by showing that the worship which the Romans paid to many of their deities was not established till long after their power had greatly increased; and that their conquests, which spared not the temples more than the houses of the

² c. 21.³ c. 22.⁴ c. 23.⁵ c. 24.

vanquished, ought rather to have brought down upon them the vengeance of the gods, had they been really divine⁶. This therefore was rather an argument in favour of the existence of One Supreme God, who governs the whole world⁷.

Tertullian then refers to a temptation to which Christians were sometimes exposed, by their adversaries suggesting that they might outwardly comply with the rites of heathenism, while they mentally retained their own sentiments. He rejects such a notion with disdain, as unworthy of a true Christian, and as a suggestion of evil spirits⁸. He shows, that although the Christians refused to sacrifice for the emperors, which was, in the eyes of their accusers, a worse offence than neglecting the worship of idols, they acted with a proper sense of the dignity of the emperor, in not subjecting him to his inferiors⁹: but that they did pray for the safety of the emperor, not to dumb idols, but to the living God; lifting up holy hands, and beseeching him to grant to the emperor a happy reign and a long life, with all prosperity for himself and his people¹: and that in so doing they fulfilled the commands given them in the Word of God, their Scriptures². Another reason for their praying for the safety of the emperor was, their conviction that the day of judgment was delayed only by the continuance of the Roman Empire³.

While the Christians revered the emperor as their sovereign, they paid him greater honour than if they flattered him with a title to which he had no

⁶ c. 25.⁷ c. 26.⁸ c. 27.⁹ cc. 28, 29.¹ c. 30.² c. 31.³ c. 32.

claim; a title which the best of emperors refused to receive ⁴.

Tertullian then exposes the folly of showing loyalty to the emperor by rioting and festivity; when the conspiracies which were daily occurring showed that this attachment was merely feigned ⁵.

The Christians, on the other hand, are required to do good to all men, and therefore especially to the sovereign: they are bound to love their enemies, and the proof that they do so is found in their forbearance, when their numbers are already so great that, if they chose, they might set the empire at defiance, or destroy it effectually by merely withdrawing themselves to some distant part of the world ⁶.

The innocent lives of the Christians furnish another reason for their being leniently treated ⁷.

In the concluding part of the Apology, Tertullian gives an instructive and interesting account of the Christian Church in his time. He describes their meeting for the purposes of prayer, for reading the Holy Scriptures, and receiving instruction: their government, under the presidency of "certain approved elders, who have obtained that honour not by purchase but by public testimony:" and their monthly or occasional contributions for the relief of the aged and destitute. He dwells upon the exemplary love which the Christians displayed towards one another; and alludes to the temperate banquets which they held in common, seasoned with holy conversation, and sanctified with prayer ⁸.

Notwithstanding their blameless lives, Tertullian

⁴ cc. 33, 34.

⁵ c. 35.

⁶ c. 36.

⁷ c. 38.

⁸ c. 39.

shows that every national calamity, the overflowing of the waters of the Tiber, or the failure of those of the Nile, were all attributed to the Christians: yet nothing could be more absurd than such an accusation; since, as he had before shown, the like calamities occurred before the Christian religion began⁹; and the Romans themselves were more truly the cause of such misfortunes, since they despised the true God, and worshipped images. The temporal dispensations of Providence, however, form no sure mark of the favour or anger of God. The troubles of the world are sent for the purpose of admonition, as well as of punishment¹.

Another accusation against the Christians was that they were unfit for the ordinary business of life. Tertullian refutes this charge, by showing that they refused compliance with no innocent custom; and were useless to none but to those whose occupations were disgraceful². The records of the courts of justice would prove that no Christian was ever accused of a crime³. This freedom from open guilt arose from the superiority which divine laws possess over those which are of human invention⁴.

There were others who represented Christianity as merely a system of philosophy. Had this been the case, Tertullian argues that those who professed it were entitled to the same tolerance as was extended to other philosophers. But Christianity is actually as superior to any philosophy in morality as in its authority⁵. Indeed, the poets and philosophers of old were indebted to Christianity for many of their tenets, which they

⁹ c. 40.¹ c. 41.² cc. 42, 43.³ c. 44.⁴ c. 45.⁵ c. 46.

borrowed without acknowledgment, and distorted to serve their own purposes⁶. Yet philosophers were permitted to hold their doctrines, such as that of the transmigration of souls, without any interference; while Christians were punished for believing the resurrection. Tertullian argues that a resurrection is necessary, in order that man should be judged in the same body, which had been the instrument of his actions: that it is not so incredible, that a body should be restored to life, as that it should have been formed at first: and that this restoration is rendered highly probable by the analogy with many changes in the natural world. Thus the succession of day and night, the order of the seasons, the decay and growth of the seed in the earth, are all emblems of a resurrection. Tertullian anticipates the objection,—that these vicissitudes would rather imply a succession of changes from death to life, than a single death followed by an unchangeable eternity,—by observing, that had such been the will of God, man must have submitted: but that the Word of God establishes the fact that there shall be one final resurrection of all mankind; after which the righteous shall be for ever clothed upon with immortality in the presence of God; and the wicked shall be consigned to everlasting punishment⁷.

It is, then, most unreasonable that the Christians should be punished for maintaining opinions, which, if sincerely entertained, must make them better members of society; while tenets, for which the philosophers are indebted to their imitation of Christianity,

⁶ c. 47.

⁷ c. 48.

are eulogized as the highest attainments of human wisdom. Christians suffer for their religion; but they suffer voluntarily: choosing rather to be condemned by men, than to fail in their duty towards God ⁸.

Tertullian answers an objection, which the patience of the Christians might suggest, that they really took delight in the sufferings which they endured with so great fortitude. He observes that Christians did, indeed, submit to persecution; but they did it with the feelings of a soldier whose duty called upon him to expose his life. He would gladly escape the peril, although, when necessary, he shrinks not from it. Yet this contempt of pain and death, which is eulogized in patriots and philosophers, when practised by Christians is derided and despised. Tertullian, in conclusion, defies the utmost malice of the enemies of the faith: declaring that, if they were bent on destroying Christianity, their attempt would be fruitless; and that the example of patience, exhibited by those who were called to suffer, was the most convincing argument of the truth of their religion ⁹.

There is no record of the effect which this Apology produced. It was, however, most highly prized by Christians in all ages. It was at an early period translated into Greek, and is the only writing of Tertullian which is expressly quoted by Eusebius ¹. Cyprian not only looked up to Tertullian as his master, and frequently copied him, but especially in his *Treatise de Idolorum Vanitate*, closely imitated parts of Tertullian's Apology.

The object of Tertullian in this Apology did not

⁸ c. 49.

⁹ c. 50.

¹ H. E. ii. 2.

lead him to make frequent mention of the Scriptures of the New Testament. We find him, however, referring to them on several occasions, under the title of “Scriptures,” and “Holy Scriptures²,” appealing to them as “the Word of God, our Scriptures³,” open and accessible to all; and declaring that one of the principal objects of the Christians publicly assembling was to read the Scriptures⁴.

In the passage⁵ in which an appeal is made to the Scriptures, Tertullian quotes words now found in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke; and others which are in substance written in the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, the first Epistle to Timothy, the Epistle to Titus, and the first Epistle of St. Peter.

There is probably also an allusion to the first Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians⁶; and to the Epistle to the Hebrews⁷.

In other parts of his writings, the testimony of Tertullian to the inspiration⁸ and sufficiency⁹ of the Holy Scriptures, his frequent quotation of the books of the New Testament, his reference to four Gospels, and no more, written by Apostles, or apostolic men¹, and the deference which he always pays to the Holy Scriptures, render his works most valuable as tending to prove the genuineness and integrity of the Scriptures

² c. 22, p. 380. *Apud literas sanctas ordine cognoscitur*, c. 23, p. 391. *Ipsi literarum nostrarum fidem accendunt.*

³ c. 31, p. 414. *Inspice Dei voces, literas nostras, quas neque ipsi supprimimus, et plerique casus ad extraneos referunt.*

⁴ c. 39, p. 436. *Coimus ad literarum divinarum commemorationem.*

⁵ c. 31, p. 414.

⁶ c. 12, p. 340. Compare c. 10, p. 329.

⁷ c. 30, p. 412.

⁸ *Adv. Marcion*, v. c. 7. *De Animâ*, c. 2.

⁹ *Contra Hermogenem*, c. 22. *Adoro Scripturæ plenitudinem.*

¹ *Adv. Marcion*, iv. c. 2. 5.



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so extended an examination; and the task has been lately performed with such accuracy and judgment by the learned Bishop of Lincoln, that any further labours in the same field would be superfluous.

Little is necessary to be said of the remaining part of Tertullian's life. At a period, which was either a little before, or soon after, the publication of his Apology, he avowed himself a follower of Montanus. The harsh and ascetic tenets of that visionary heretic agreed with the naturally austere character of Tertullian. But his defection was in matters rather of discipline than of faith: and in the latter period of his life he again seceded from the Montanists, and founded a sect, called after his name, Tertullianists. The remnants of this sect continued to exist after his death till they were finally dispersed by Augustin⁹.

The period of Tertullian's death is unknown. Jerome informs us that he lived to a great age: and the year 220 is usually assigned. There is every reason to believe that he died a natural death.

The heretical opinions of Tertullian doubtless threw a cloud over his fame; but they were not able to eclipse the reputation which his great talents, piety, and learning, had deservedly acquired. Hence, even those who blamed his errors united in paying a just tribute to his sincerity and great mental endowments. The character given to him by Vincentius Lirinensis, in the fifth century, may be taken as a proof of the great estimation in which he was held. It is conceived in terms of high panegyric: but the context shows

⁹ Augustin de Hæres, c. 86.

that it was written by one, who was as sensible of the errors as of the excellencies of Tertullian. After having shown the dangerous innovations which Origen introduced, he describes Tertullian, notwithstanding his erroneous opinions, as far superior to all the Latin Christian writers. "Who," says he, "ever excelled him in learning? Who had greater proficiency in all knowledge, sacred and profane? His astonishing capacity embraced in its comprehensive grasp all the various branches and sects of philosophy, the original founders and supporters of the different schools, and the course of discipline adopted by each, together with a wide range of history and other studies. Such also was the vigour and force of his intellect, that, whatever position he attacked, he either penetrated it by his subtilty, or crushed it with the weight of his reasoning. The peculiar character of his style surpasses all praise. The arguments are connected in so indissoluble a chain of reasoning, as to compel the assent of those who would not be persuaded: every word is a sentence; every sentence a victory over his adversaries. The followers of Marcion, Apelles, Praxeas, and Hermogenes; the Jew, the Gentile, the Gnostic, had full experience of this: against all their blasphemies he hurled the ponderous masses of his voluminous works, and overthrew them, as with a thunderbolt¹."

¹ Sed et Tertulliani quoque eadem ratio est. Nam sicut ille (Origenes) apud Græcos, ita hic apud Latinos nostrorum omnium facile princeps judicandus est. Quid enim hoc viro doctius? quid in divinis atque humanis rebus exercitatus? Nempe omnem Philosophiam et cuuctas philosophorum sectas, auctores adsertoresque sectarum, omnesque eorum disciplinas, omnem historiarum ac studiorum varietatem, mirâ

With respect to the present translations, it has already been observed, that the Epistles of Clement, Polycarp, and Ignatius, and the accounts of the Martyrdom of the two last, are in substance taken from Archbishop Wake's version. The language of that version has been happily styled by Lardner "Apostolical English:" and it would have been a needless affectation of originality to have injured, by any unnecessary alteration, what had already been expressed so faithfully and so well. My first intention was to have simply reprinted those Epistles, with such illustrations as they might seem to require. A comparison of the present translation with that of Archbishop Wake will show that, with the exception of the quotations, his version has been here closely, but not servilely, followed.

In translating the Apologies of Justin Martyr and Tertullian, my object has been to express with fidelity the sentiments of the originals, in such a manner as to be intelligible to a reader who may not be able to consult the works themselves. Those who are best acquainted with the nature of such a task will be the most lenient in overlooking any harshness or want of fluency, which, in such a translation, it is so difficult to

quâdam mentis capacitate complexus est. Ingenio verò nonne tam gravi ac vehementi excelluit, ut nihil sibi pæne ad expugnandum proposuerit, quod non aut acumine inruperit, aut pondere eliserit? Jam porro orationis suæ laudes quis exequi valeat? quæ tantâ nescio quâ rationum necessitate conserta est, ut ad consensum sui, quos suadere non potuerit, impellat. Cujus quot pæne verba, tot sententiæ sunt; quot sensus, tot victoriæ. Sciunt hoc Marciones, Apelles, Praxeæ, Hermogenes, Judæi, Gentiles, ceterique quorum ille blasphemias multis ac magnis voluminum suorum molibus, velut quibusdam fulminibus evertit.

Vincentius Lirinensis Commonitorium, Lib. i. c. 26.

avoid. The version of Tertullian is necessarily more paraphrastic than that of Justin, in order to render intelligible the brief allusions and sudden transitions which characterize his style. Should there be any instances in which I have not succeeded in representing the sense of Tertullian, I would willingly refer to the character of his writings, which has before been quoted, that "he is indeed the harshest and most obscure of writers; and the least capable of being accurately represented in a translation."

CONTENTS.

PART I.

THE EPISTLE OF CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS.

CHAP.	PAGE
I. II. CLEMENT commends the Corinthians for their order and piety before their schism began	1
III. The origin of their strife	3
IV.—VI. He shows by numerous examples, that envy and strife have been the fruitful cause of many evils	3—6
VII. VIII. He exhorts them to look up to the rule of their high calling, and displays the promises of mercy made to the penitent	6, 7
IX.—XII. He refers them to the instances of Noah	7
Abraham	—
Lot	8
Rahab	9
XIII.—XV. And exhorts the Corinthians to follow these examples in humility, meekness, and godliness, according to the precepts of Scripture	10—12
XVI. He refers to the example of Jesus Christ, who came in great humility	12, 13
XVII. XVIII. And to Elijah, Elisha, Ezekiel, Job, Daniel, and David	13—15
XIX. And thence exhorts them to orderly obedience	15
XX. He shows that order is the principle of the Universe	15, 16
XXI. He exhorts them to obedience, in compliance with the will of God; who is ever present	16, 17
XXII. And enforces his advice by an appeal to the Scriptures	17, 18
XXIII. The promises and threatenings of God will surely and speedily come to pass	18

CHAP.	PAGE
xxiv.—xxvi. The Resurrection is certain. It is illustrated by natural changes, as those of day and night: and by the example of the Phœnix	18—20
xxvii. Hence God is faithful, and will perform his promises	20
xxviii.—xxx. A further exhortation to obedience, purity, humility, and moderation	21, 22
xxxi. xxxii. The blessedness of those who have been obedient	22, 23
xxxiii. xxxiv. And an exhortation not to be weary in well doing; and to live in concord	23—25
xxxv. For this purpose God hath made to us many glorious promises	25, 26
xxxvi. And given us our great High Priest, Jesus Christ	26
xxxvii.—xxxix. The natural constitution of human society teaches us the necessity of different orders of men	27, 28
xl. And God hath accordingly appointed every thing to be done decently and in order in the Church	28, 29
xli. Hence he exhorts them to the observance of order	30
xlII. The orders of Ministers were established in the Church of Christ, by the Apostles, according to Divine command	—
xlIII. Even as the priesthood was especially appointed by God, under the Jewish law	31
xlIV. The Apostles foretold that contentions should arise respecting the ministry	32
xlV. He again refers them to the examples of obedience in the Scriptures	33
xlVI. And to the precepts therein contained	34
xlVII. Especially to the Epistle of St. Paul to them	35
xlVIII. The higher gifts a man may have, the more humble-minded he ought to be	36
xlIX. Christian charity is shown by obedience and Christian meekness	36
l. It is the gift of God, and must be sought for by prayer	37
lI. He exhorts those who had caused these divisions to repent	38
lII.—lIV. And again refers to the precepts and examples of Scripture	38, 39
lV. And to other examples among the heathen	40
lVI. He recommends mutual prayer	41
lVII. And humiliation	42
lVIII.—lX. He concludes with a commendation of the Corinthians to God; and with a blessing upon them	43



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CHAP.		PAGE
x. xi.	He exhorts to prayer and holiness, since the last times are at hand	63, 64
xii.	And contrasts his own condition with theirs	64
xiii.	He recommends their frequent assembling	65
xiv.	And exhorts to faith and charity	—
xv.	Unostentatious faith is better than unreal profession	66
xvi. xvii.	He warns them against false doctrine	66, 67
xviii.	Expresses his willingness to die for the Cross of Christ	67
xix.	The Prince of this world knew not the virginity of Mary, nor the birth of Christ, nor his death	—
xx.	He purposes sending to them a second Epistle, declaring the faith more fully	69
xxi.	Beseeches their prayers for the Church which is in Syria, and bids them farewell	—

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE MAGNESIANS.

i.	IGNATIUS salutes the Church at Magnesia	71
ii.	Whose Bishop, Damas, he had seen	—
iii. iv.	He exhorts them to reverence their Bishop in obedience to the ordinance of God	72
v.	The difference of the faithful and the unfaithful	—
vi. vii.	He exhorts them to be obedient to the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, and to preserve the unity of the Church	73
viii.—x.	Warns them not to live according to the Jewish law; but after Christ, who is our life	74, 75
xi.	Ignatius disclaims any personal authority	75
xii.	Commends their faith	76
xiii.	Exhorts them to be established in the doctrines of Christ and the Apostles, in all obedience	—
xiv. xv.	And concludes with entreating their prayers, and with a salutation	—

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE TRALLIANS.

i.	IGNATIUS commends the purity and godliness of the Trallians, of which he had been assured by their Bishop, Polybius	78
----	---	----

CHAP.	PAGE
II. III. Their obedience to their Bishops, the Presbytery, and the Deacons, without whom there is no Church	79
IV. V. He refrains from boasting, and from speaking of heavenly things	80
VI.—VIII. Exhorts them to avoid unsound doctrine; and to continue in the Unity of the Church	81, 82
IX.—XI. To stop their ears if any spake to them against Jesus Christ, or declared that he existed and suffered in appearance only	82, 83
XII. XIII. He salutes them in his own name and that of the faithful who are at Smyrna and Ephesus	83, 84

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE ROMANS.

I. AFTER a salutation to the Church at Rome, he recommends them not to interfere to hinder his martyrdom	86
II.—IV. But to permit him to be offered up, as he was ready to be, for the sake of Christ; and to strengthen him with their prayers	87—89
V. He mentions the evil treatment which he endured from the soldiers, on his passage from Syria to Rome	91
VI. But expresses his full determination to die for Christ	92
VII. And declares that the love of Christ in him had conquered all his earthly desires	93
VIII. He again urges them not to prevent the accomplishment of his wishes	95
IX. Entreats their prayers for the Church of Syria	96
X. And mentions with honour those who were with him	97

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE PHILADELPHIANS.

I. IGNATIUS recommends Church unity; praises their Bishop	98
II.—IV. And exhorts them to flee divisions and false doctrines; and to partake of one Eucharist	99
V. He entreats their prayers	100
VI. Warns them against Judaizing teachers	—

CHAP.		PAGE
VII.	Reminds them of his previous exhortations to obedience to the Bishop, Presbytery, and Deacons	101
VIII.	He warns them against those who preferred the writings of the Old Testament to the Gospel	—
IX.	And shows the excellence of the Gospel above the Law	102
X.	He advises the Philadelphians to send a Deacon to congratulate the Church of Antioch on the peace which they enjoyed	102
XI.	And concludes with a salutation	103

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO THE SMYRNEANS.

I.	IGNATIUS praises their immoveable faith in Christ who <i>truly</i> lived and suffered for us	104
II. III.	As he also <i>truly</i> raised himself from the dead, and appeared to Peter and to many	105
IV.	He warns them against heretics, and commands them to pray for them ; although their conversion rests with Christ	106
V.	Ignatius will not mention the names of those who hold erroneous opinions	107
VI. VII.	But refers to their conduct, and refusal to partake of the Eucharist ; and exhorts the Smyrneans to abstain from such men	108
VIII. IX.	And to follow their Bishop, Presbytery, and Deacons, according to God's ordinance	109
X.	He commends them for receiving Philo and Rheus	110
XI.	Glories in that he is counted worthy to suffer . recommends them to send to congratulate the Syrian Church for the peace which it enjoyed	—
XII. XIII.	And concludes with a salutation	111

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS TO POLYCARP.

I.	HE exhorts Polycarp to persevere in the diligent discharge of his Episcopal office	113
II.	To be wise as a serpent and harmless as a dove	114
III.	To endure all things	115
IV.	To care for all	116

CHAP.		PAGE
v.	He exhorts the married and single	117
vi.	And adds advice to the whole Church	118
vii.	Recommends messengers to be sent to Antioch	119
viii.	Directs Polycarp to write to the Churches near him; and concludes with a salutation	120

	THE MARTYRDOM OF IGNATIUS	121
	THE CIRCULAR EPISTLE OF THE CHURCH OF SMYRNA, CONCERNING THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. POLYCARP	129

PART II.

THE APOLOGY OF JUSTIN MARTYR.

i.	JUSTIN addresses the Emperor Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus	147
ii.	And represents that their names and station required them to regard truth alone	148
iii.	He demands that the charges against the Christians should be examined: that the Christians should be impartially treated, according as they deserved, and not be punished for a mere name	149
iv.	Christianity ought not to be judged of, from the misconduct of some who only profess the name	151
v.	Justin attributes the injustice of the heathens towards the Christians, to the instigation of demons	—
vi.	And declares that the Christians worshipped only God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit	152
vii.	He requires that the actions of all those accused should be examined	154
viii.	The Christians suffer only because they dare not deny the truth	155
ix.	And will not pay honour to false gods, and senseless idols	156
x.	Knowing that God requires not material offerings, but purity and holiness of life; and will admit those, who obey his will, to immortality and glory	—

CHAP.		PAGE
xI.	The kingdom, which Christians expect, is not of this world	158
xII.	Their religion is the best means of preserving peace	—
xIII.	And enables them to defy their persecutors	159
xIV.	Jesus Christ foretold their persecutions	—
xV.	Justin proceeds to show what Christianity is	
xVI.	The worship of the Christians consists in prayer and praise to God the Creator, to his Son, Jesus Christ, and to the Holy Spirit	
xVII.	A most beneficial change had taken place, in the lives of those who had become Christians	
xVIII.	Many precepts of Christ teach chastity	162
xIX.	—The love of all men	163
xx.	—The patient endurance of evil	164
xxI.	—And that men should not swear	165
xxII.	Christ declared that they who live not as he taught, are not Christians indeed	—
xxIII.	And commanded his followers to pay tribute, and honour those in authority	166
xxIV.	The superstitions of the heathens themselves might make them believe that the soul survives death	167
xxV.	The resurrection of the body is not so incredible as its first formation would be, to one who had had no experience of it	169
xxVI.	Christ taught that things impossible with man are possible with God	170
xxVII.	The punishment of hell reserved for the unrighteous, is hinted at by some heathens	—
xxVIII.	It is, therefore, unreasonable that Christians alone should be hated, while poets and philosophers, who entertain less just and sublime notions, are honoured	171
xxIX.	Justin compares the opinions which the heathen falsely maintained respecting Jupiter and others, with the more reasonable tenets of the Christians	172
xxx.	And shows that their opinions respecting Christ might well obtain credence from those who held notions of a similar nature respecting their own deities	173
xxxI.	The truths of Christianity are more ancient than the fables of heathenism	174
xxxII.	Yet Christians alone are punished, while the most absurd idolatries are permitted	—
xxxIII.	They have reformed their lives in embracing a purer faith	175
xxxIV.	Even after the ascension of Christ the evil spirits have	

CHAP.	PAGE
instigated men to call themselves gods: as in the instance of SIMON MAGUS and Menander	176
XXXV. The heresy of Marcion	178
XXXVI. Justin refutes the calumnies, brought against the Christians, of devouring children, and incest: and retorts the charges upon the heathen	180
XXXVII. The purity and continence of the Christians	181
— Lest the miracles of Christ should be ascribed to magic, Justin appeals to prophecy	182
XXXVIII. And relates the history of the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek by the order of Ptolemy	183
XXXIX. In those prophecies, the miraculous birth of Jesus, his being made man, his miracles, sufferings, death, resurrection, and ascension, his Divine nature, and the extension of his religion over the whole world, are expressly predicted	184
XL.—LII. This is shown by various quotations	184—194
LIII. Justin explains why the Holy prophetic Spirit speaks of future events as already past	195
LIV. Christians consider not that events happen by fatal necessity; which would be inconsistent with the free-will of man	196
LV. But believe this only to be irreversibly determined, that they who choose the good shall be rewarded, and they who choose the evil shall be punished	197
LVI. This is proved by quotations from Scripture	—
LVII. And shown to agree with the opinion of Plato	198
LVIII. Prophecy therefore implies not a fatal necessity, but shows the foreknowledge of God	—
LIX. The evil spirits endeavoured to prevent the knowledge of prophecy, but in vain	—
LX. David predicted that God the Father should receive Christ into heaven	199
LXI. Justin asserts that all men, in all ages, who lived agreeably to right reason, were Christians in spirit	200
LXII. Various prophecies, showing that Jerusalem should be destroyed	201
LXIII. That Christ should heal the sick, and raise the dead	202
LXIV. That he should be made man, and suffer many things, and come again in glory	203
LXV. That he hath an origin which cannot be expressed	204
LXVI. The fulfilment of these prophecies is an earnest that those yet unaccomplished will be fulfilled	205
LXVII. And, therefore, that Christ will come the second time to judgment	206

CHAP.	PAGE
LXVIII. These prophecies had fully persuaded the Christians to believe Christ, who was crucified, to be the first-born of the unbegotten God	206
LXIX. The conversion of the Gentiles was foretold	207
LXX. The evil demons, knowing the prophecies respecting Christ, invented fables of a similar nature, to deceive men	208
LXXI. As in the fables of Bacchus, Bellerophon, Perseus, and Hercules	209
LXXII. But in no fable was the crucifixion of Christ imitated .	210
— The figure of the Cross is almost universally employed	211
LXXIII. The demons also, after the ascension of Christ, raised up men, such as Simon, and Menander, before mentioned, in c. 34	—
LXXIV. The malice of these evil spirits can, however, only instigate the enemies of the Christians to destroy them .	212
LXXV. They raised up Marcion to deceive men	213
LXXVI. LXXVII. Plato obtained his notions respecting the creation of the world, and other opinions, from the writings of Moses	213, 214
LXXVIII. It is not, then, that the Christians adopt the opinions of others, but others, theirs	215
LXXIX. Justin explains the manner in which believers are baptized	—
LXXX. Shows that this new birth is necessary; and that baptism is performed in the name of God the Father, and of Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit	216
LXXXI. Justin then digresses to show that the evil spirits imitated the practice of baptism; as they caused the action of Moses, who put off his shoes at the burning bush, to be imitated	217
LXXXII. He declares that it was the Son of God, who appeared to Moses in the bush	218
LXXXIII. And to the prophets in various forms	219
LXXXIV. And asserts that the demons imitated what they learned from the writings of Moses, in several instances	220
LXXXV. Justin then returns to describe the administration of the Eucharist to those who had been baptized	221
LXXXVI. He explains the nature of that sacrament; that the elements are not common bread nor common drink; and relates the manner of its institution	223
LXXXVII. The Christians assemble on Sunday. An account of the manner of public worship in the primitive Church .	224
LXXXVIII. The collection of alms	—
LXXXIX. The reason of assembling on Sunday	225



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CHAP.		PAGE
v.	The bad emperors were persecutors, the good, protectors, of the Christians	246
—	The Thundering Legion	248
vi.	The Romans had abrogated many laws of their ancestors; and greatly degenerated from their severity of life	—
vii.	Tertullian refers to many calumnies brought against the Christians	251
—	And demands that they may be investigated	—
—	Common fame is their only accuser	253
viii.	These accusations are in themselves incredible	254
ix.	Heathen nations themselves practised the atrocities of which they accused the Christians	256
—	As human sacrifices	257
—	The tasting of blood	259
—	And the crime of incest	260
—	From all which Christians are free	261
x.	Christians are accused of neither worshipping the gods nor sacrificing to the safety of the Emperors	—
—	They do this, knowing them to be no gods	262
—	Thus, Saturn was the oldest of the heathen deities, and yet was a man	263
xi.	Those persons, who were once men, were never made gods	264
—	This supposition would imply the existence of a Supreme Deity, who would have no need of dead men; and would certainly not have chosen such men for their virtues	265
xii.	The absurdity of idol-worship	268
xiii.	They who conceive these false gods to be objects of worship, do themselves neglect and insult them	269
xiv.	Their sacrifices are disgraceful; and their mythological history derogatory to the dignity of their gods	272
xv.	Their gods were made the subject of ridicule in their fables and dramas	273
—	Their temples were constantly desecrated	—
xvi.	Calumnies founded upon the alleged objects of Christian worship	276
—	They are falsely accused of adoring	
	An Asses head	277
	A Cross	—
	The Sun	278
	Or a being of monstrous form	280
xvii.	The object of the Christian worship is One God, the Creator of all things	—
—	To whom the soul of man naturally bears witness	281
xviii.	God hath revealed to us his written word	282

CHAP.		PAGE
xviii.	The prophets taught of old	283
—	These Scriptures were translated from Hebrew into Greek, by the command of Ptolemy	—
xix.	These Scriptures are most ancient	284
—	Moses might be proved to have been antecedent to all heathen writers, and philosophers	285
xx.	The authority of Scripture is proved by prophecy	286
xxi.	The religion of the Christians must not be confounded with that of the Jews	287
—	Christians worship Christ not as a human being, but as God	288
—	Christ is God, and the Son of God	289
—	His procession from the Father compared with that of light from the sun	290
—	Two comings of Christ are predicted	291
—	The Jews ascribed his miracles to magic	—
—	They put him to death	292
—	But he rose from the dead	—
—	And showed himself to chosen witnesses	293
—	Pilate wrote an account to Tiberius	—
—	This statement ought at once to repress all false assertions respecting Christianity	294
xxii.	Tertullian declares his sentiments respecting the existence and occupation of demons	295
—	And ascribes the ancient oracles to their agency	297
xxiii.	The demons and the heathen gods were the same	298
—	Tertullian offers to rest the truth of Christianity on the power of any Christian publicly to expel a demon	299
—	<u>Jesus Christ is the Virtue, Spirit, Word, Wisdom, Reason, and Son of God</u>	302
xxiv.	The acknowledgment of inferior gods implies the existence of One superior	303
—	This God is worshipped by the Christians: and they claim the same right which is allowed all others	304
xxv.	The great prosperity of the Roman Empire was not the reward of the devotion of the Romans to their gods	306
—	For the rise of their power preceded the greater part of their worship	308
—	And their conquests spared not the temples of the gods themselves	309
xxvi.	It is God, therefore, who rules the world	310
xxvii.	The Christians cannot be guilty of any offence against gods, who have no existence	—
—	The persecution of the Christians is instigated by the malice of demons	311
xxviii.	Compulsory worship could never be acceptable to the gods	312

CONTENTS.

CHAP.	PAGE
xxviii. As the Christians are innocent of sacrilege, so also they are not guilty of treason against the Emperors	312
xxix. To sacrifice for the Emperors, to those who are no gods, is but a mockery	313
xxx. Christians pray constantly to the true God for the Emperors, and for the well-being of the state	314
xxxi. This they are commanded to do by their Scriptures	316
xxxii. Christians pray for the continuance of the Roman Empire, after which they expect the day of judgment	317
xxxiii. Christians reverence the Emperor, as appointed by God: but not as a god	319
xxxiv. Augustus would not be called Lord	320
xxxv. The immoral festivities of the heathen are a disgrace, rather than an honour, to the Emperor	321
— Their congratulations are insincere	323
xxxvi. Christians are bound to do good to all men	324
xxxvii. If they were enemies of the state, their numbers would enable them to avenge themselves	325
— The rapid increase of the number of Christians	327
xxxviii. The harmless character of Christians ought to protect them	328
xxxix. Christians met constantly for public worship, and reading the Scriptures	329
— Elders presided; and distributed the common fund	330
— The mutual love of Christians	331
— Their simple feast in common, hallowed by prayer, and religious converse	332
xl. Public calamities were unjustly ascribed to the Christians	334
xli. But rather arise from the impiety of the heathens	337
— All calamities are not judgments	—
xlii. A refutation of the calumny that Christians were useless members of society	338
xliii. Infamous men only had reason to complain of the Christians	341
xliv. The innocency of Christians	—
xlv. Which arises from the principles which they profess	342
xlvi. Christianity is not a species of philosophy	343
— Christians are superior to philosophers in their knowledge of God	345
— In the purity of their lives	—
— In humility, and moral virtue	346
xlvii. The heathen philosophers borrowed largely from the Scriptures; but perverted their meaning	347
xlviii. Those who, with the Pythagoreans, believe a trans-	



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APPENDIX.

NOTE	PAGE
(A) ON the preaching of St. Paul in the West	363
— The probable duration of St. Paul's preaching after his first imprisonment	—
— Evidence to prove that St. Paul visited Spain	364
— Evidence in favour of his preaching in Britain	368
(B) ON the Epistle of Clement, c. xvi. p. 12	369
Passages in which Clement speaks of the Divine nature of Christ	—
— Extract from the Epistle to Diognetus	370
(C) ON Ignatius's Epistle to the Magnesians, c. vii. . . .	372
(D) THE Letters of the younger Pliny and Trajan respecting the Christians	377

PART I.



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which a few hasty and self-willed persons have excited to such a degree of madness, that your venerable and renowned name, so worthy of the love of all men, is thereby greatly blasphemed. For who that hath sojourned among you hath not experienced the firmness of your faith, and its fruitfulness in all good works? and admired the temper and moderation of your piety in Christ? and proclaimed the magnificent spirit of your hospitality? and thought you happy in your perfect and certain knowledge (of the gospel)? For ye did all things without respect of persons; and walked according to the laws of God; being subject to those who had the rule over you; and giving to the elders among you the honour which was due. Young men ye commanded to think those things which are modest and grave. Women ye exhorted to perform all things with an unblameable, and seemly, and pure conscience; loving their own husbands as was fitting: ye taught them, also, to be subject to the rule of obedience, and to order their houses gravely with all discretion.

2. Ye were all of you humble-minded², not boasting of any thing, desiring rather to be subject than to govern; to give, than to receive³; being content with the portion which God had dispensed unto you: and hearkening diligently to his word, ye were enlarged in your bowels⁴, having his sufferings always before your eyes. Thus a deep and fruitful peace⁵ was given to you all, and an insatiable desire of doing good; and a plentiful effusion of the Holy Ghost was upon all of

² 1 Pet. v. 5.

³ Acts xx. 35.

⁴ 2 Cor. vi. 11, 12.

⁵ εἰρήνη βαθεῖα καὶ λιπαρά.

The metaphor appears to refer to a soil which is deep and fertile. Thus Chrysostom Hom. 52 on Genesis—εἰδότες ὅτι οὐ κατὰ πετρῶν σπείρομεν, ἀλλ' εἰς λιπαρὰν καὶ βαθύγερων καταβάλλομεν τὰ σπέρματα. Vol. i. p. 420. 37. Savile.

Eusebius H. E. iii. 32, γενομένης εἰρήνης βαθείας ἐν πάσῃ 'κκλησίᾳ.

you. And, being full of holy counsel, ye did, with great readiness of mind, and religious confidence, stretch forth your hands to Almighty God, beseeching him to be merciful, if in any thing ye had unwillingly sinned. Ye contended day and night for the whole brotherhood, that with compassion and a good conscience the number of his elect might be saved. Ye were sincere and without offence: not mindful of injuries one towards another. All sedition and all schism was an abomination unto you. Ye mourned over the sins of your neighbours, esteeming their defects your own. Ye were kind one to another without grudging; ready to every good work. Ye were adorned with a conversation entirely virtuous and religious; and did all things in the fear of God. The commandments of the Lord were written upon the tables of your heart⁶.

3. All honour and enlargement was given unto you. Then was fulfilled that which is written: "My beloved did eat and drink, he was enlarged, and waxed fat, and kicked⁷." Hence arose envy, and strife, and sedition; persecution and disorder, war and captivity. Thus they that were of no renown lifted up themselves against the honourable; those of no reputation against those that were in respect; the foolish against the wise; the young against the elders. Therefore righteousness and peace are departed from you, because every one of you hath forsaken the fear of God, and is become blind in his faith, and walks not by the rule of God's commandments, nor regulates himself as is fitting in Christ. But every one follows his own wicked lusts, having taken up unjust and wicked envy, by which even death entered into the world.

4. For thus it is written; "And it came to pass, after certain days, that Cain brought of the fruit of

⁶ Prov. vii. 3. 2 Cor. iii. 3.

⁷ Deut. xxxii. 15.

the ground an offering unto the Lord. And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof. And God had respect unto Abel and unto his offering: but unto Cain and to his offering he had not respect. And Cain was very sorrowful, and his countenance fell. And God said unto Cain, Why art thou sorrowful? and why is thy countenance fallen? If thou shalt offer aright, but not divide aright, hast thou not sinned? Hold thy peace⁸. Unto thee shall be his desire; and thou shalt rule over him. And Cain said unto Abel his brother, Let us go aside into the field⁹. And it came to pass as they were in the field that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him¹." Ye see, brethren, envy and jealousy wrought the murder of a brother. Through envy, our father Jacob fled from the face of his brother Esau². Envy caused Joseph to be persecuted even unto death, and to come into bondage³. Envy compelled Moses to flee from the face of Pharaoh king of Egypt; when he heard his own countryman say, Who made thee a judge and a ruler over us? wilt thou kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian yesterday⁴? Through envy, Aaron and Miriam⁵ were shut out of the camp⁶. Envy sent Dathan and Abiram quick into the grave, because they raised up a sedition against Moses the servant of God⁷. Through envy, David was not only hated of strangers, but persecuted even by Saul, the king of Israel⁸.

5. But, not to dwell upon ancient examples, let us

⁸ According to the version of the Septuagint. So Irenæus iv. 34.

⁹ The Samaritan Pentateuch, Septuagint, Vulgate, and other Versions supply these words, which are wanting in the Hebrew copies.

¹ Gen. iv. 3—8.

² Gen. xxviii.

³ Gen. xxxvii.

⁴ Exod. ii. 14. Acts vii. 27. The words here are slightly different from the Septuagint, and from the passage in the Acts.

⁵ Miriam is said to have been shut out from the camp, Numb. xii. 14, 15, but not Aaron.

⁶ Numb. xii. 14, 15.

⁷ Numb. xvi. 33.

⁸ 1 Sam. xix.



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have overthrown great cities, and utterly rooted out mighty nations.

7. These things, beloved, we write unto you, not only to instruct you, but to remind ourselves; for we are inclosed in the same lists, and must engage in the same combat. Wherefore let us lay aside all vain and empty cares, and come up to the glorious and honourable rule of our holy calling. Let us consider what is good, and acceptable, and well-pleasing in the sight of him that made us⁶. Let us look stedfastly to the blood of Christ, and see how precious his blood is in the sight of God, which, being shed for our salvation, hath obtained the grace of repentance to the whole world. Let us look to all past generations, and learn that from generation to generation the Lord hath given place for repentance to all such as would turn to him. Noah preached repentance; and as many as hearkened to him were saved⁷. Jonah⁸ denounced destruction against the Ninevites; and they, repenting of their sins, appeased the wrath of God by their prayers, and received salvation, although they were strangers (to the covenant) of God.

8. The ministers of the grace of God have spoken, by the Holy Spirit, of repentance; and even the Lord of all hath himself declared with an oath concerning it, "As I live, saith the Lord, I desire not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should repent⁹," adding also this good exhortation: "Turn from your iniquity, O house of Israel¹. Say unto the children of my people, though your sins should reach from earth to heaven, and though they should be redder than scarlet², and blacker than sackcloth, yet if ye shall turn to me with all your heart, and shall say, Father³! I will

⁶ 1 Tim. v. 4.

⁸ Jonah iii. 5.

¹ Ezek. xviii. 30—32.

⁷ 2 Pet. ii. 5. Gen. vii.

⁹ Ezek. xxxiii. 11.

² Isa. i. 18.

³ Jer. iii. 4. 19.

hearken to you as unto an holy people." And in another place, he saith on this wise, "Wash you, make you clean, put away the evil of your souls from before mine eyes. Cease from your wickednesses: learn to do well: seek judgment: relieve the oppressed: judge the fatherless; and plead for the widow. Come now and let us reason together (saith the Lord). Though your sins be as scarlet, I will make them white as snow: though they be like crimson, I will make them white as wool. If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land. But if ye refuse and obey not, the sword shall devour you: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken these things⁴." God hath thus appointed, by his almighty will, desiring that all his beloved should come to repentance.

9. Wherefore let us obey his excellent and glorious will: and imploring his mercy and goodness, let us fall down before him, and turn ourselves to his mercy, laying aside all labour after vanities, and strife, and envy which leads to death. Let us look earnestly to those who have perfectly ministered to his excellent glory. Let us take Enoch (for our example), who being found righteous in obedience, was translated, and his death was not known⁵. Noah being found faithful, did, by his ministry, preach regeneration to the world⁶; and the Lord saved by him all the living creatures, which entered with one accord into the ark.

10. Abraham, who was called the friend (of God⁷), was found faithful, inasmuch as he obeyed the words of God. He, in obedience, went out of his own country, and from his kindred, and from his father's house⁸, that by thus forsaking a small country, and a weak

⁴ Isa. i. 16—20.

⁵ Gen. v. 24. Heb. xi. 5.

⁶ παλιγγενεσίαν κόσμῳ ἐκήρυξε. Gen. vi. vii. viii. Compare Matt. xix. 28.

⁷ 2 Chron. xx. 7. Isa. xli. 8. James ii. 23.

⁸ Heb. xi. 8.

kindred, and a mean house, he might inherit the promises of God. For “(God) said to him: Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father’s house, unto a land which I will show thee. And I will make thee a great nation: and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be blessed. And I will bless them that bless thee; and curse them that curse thee: and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed⁹.” And again, when he separated himself from Lot, God said unto him; “Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art, northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward. For all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever. And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth; so that if a man can number the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed also be numbered¹.”

And again he saith, “God brought forth Abraham and said unto him, Look now towards heaven and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them; so shall thy seed be. And Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness².” Through faith and hospitality a son was given unto him in his old age: and through obedience he offered him up in sacrifice to God, upon one of the mountains which God showed unto him.

11. By hospitality and godliness, Lot was saved out of Sodom, when all the country round about was punished with fire and brimstone: the Lord thereby making it manifest, that he will not forsake those that trust in him; but will bring to punishment and correction those who decline from his ways. For his wife, who went out with him, being of a different mind, and not continuing in the same obedience, was for that

⁹ Gen. xii. 1—3.

¹ Gen. xiii. 14—16.

² Gen. xv. 5, 6. Rom. iv. 3.



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and hope in God. Ye see, beloved, that there was not only faith, but prophecy also in this woman.

13. Let us, therefore, be humble-minded, brethren, laying aside all pride, and boasting, and foolishness, and anger; and let us do as it is written. For thus saith the Holy Spirit; “Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom; nor the strong man in his strength, nor the rich man in his riches; but let him that glorieth glory in the Lord, to seek him, and to exercise judgment and righteousness⁸.” Above all, remembering the words of the Lord Jesus, which he spake, teaching us gentleness and long-suffering. For thus he said: “Be merciful, that ye may obtain mercy: forgive, that it may be forgiven unto you. As ye do, so shall it be done unto you: as ye give, so shall it be given unto you: as ye judge, so shall ye be judged: as ye show kindness, so shall kindness be showed to you. With what measure ye mete, with the same shall it be measured to you⁹.” By this command, and by these rules, let us establish ourselves, that so we may always walk obediently to his holy words, being humble-minded. For thus saith the holy word, “Upon whom

Jericho, commanding her to hang it to the window by which she let them down that they might escape their enemies, was in like manner a sign of the blood of Christ, by which those of all nations, who were once harlots and sinners, are saved, receiving forgiveness of sins, and sinning no more.” Irenæus, *Hæres.* iv. 37, makes the same use of the history. “So also Rahab the harlot, although she condemned herself as a gentile and guilty of all kinds of sin, did yet receive the three spies, who were searching the whole land, and hid them in her house, that is to say, the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost. And when all the city in which she dwelt had fallen in ruins, at the sound of the seven trumpets, Rahab the harlot was at the last saved, with all her house, by faith in the sign of the scarlet thread; as the Lord also said to the Pharisees, who received not his coming, and set at nought the crimson sign, which was the passover, the redemption and deliverance of the people out of Egypt, saying, the publicans and harlots go into the kingdom of heaven before you.”

Cotelerius refers to many other passages of the same kind.

⁸ Jer. ix. 23. 1 Cor. i. 31.

⁹ Luke vi. 36—38. Matt. vii. 1—12.

shall I look, but upon him that is meek and quiet, and trembleth at my words¹?”

14. It is therefore just and holy, men and brethren, that we should become obedient unto God, rather than follow those who, through pride and sedition, have made themselves the leaders of a detestable emulation. For we shall undergo no ordinary harm, but exceedingly great danger, if we shall rashly give ourselves up to the wills of men, who are urgent in promoting strife and contention, to turn us aside from that which is good. Let us be kind to one another, according to the compassion and sweetness of him that made us. For it is written, “The merciful shall inherit the earth; and they that are without evil shall be left upon it². But the transgressors shall perish from off (the face of) it.” And again he saith, “I have seen the wicked in great power, and spreading himself like the cedars of Libanus. And I passed by, and lo, he was not: and I sought his place, but it could not be found. Keep innocency, and do the thing that is right; for there shall be a remnant to the peaceable man³.”

15. Let us therefore hold fast to those who follow peace with godliness, and not to such as with hypocrisy pretend to desire it. For he saith in a certain place, “This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me⁴.” And again, “They bless with their mouth, but curse with their heart⁵.” And again he saith, “They loved him with their mouth, and with their tongue they lied unto him. For their heart was not right with him, neither were they faithful in his covenant⁶.” “Let all deceitful lips become dumb, and the tongue that speaketh proud things. Who have said, with our tongue will we prevail; our lips

¹ Isa. lxvi. 2.

³ Ps. xxxvii. 35—37.

⁵ Ps. lxii. 4.

² Ps. xxxvii. 9. Prov. ii. 21.

⁴ Isa. xxix. 13.

⁶ Ps. lxxviii. 36, 37.

are our own: who is Lord over us? For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord: I will set him in safety: I will deal confidently with him⁷.”

16. For Christ is theirs who are humble, not theirs who exalt themselves over his flock. The sceptre of the Majesty of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, came not in the pomp of pride and arrogance, although he was able (to have done so)⁸; but with humility, as the Holy Ghost had spoken concerning him⁹. For thus he saith¹: “Lord, who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? We have declared before him as (if he were) a child: as a root in a thirsty ground. For there is no form in him, nor glory. Yea we saw him, and he had no form nor comeliness: but his form was without honour, marred more than the sons of men. He is a man in stripes and sorrow, and acquainted with the endurance of infirmity. For his face was turned away; he was despised, and esteemed not. He beareth our sins, and is put to grief for us; and we did esteem him to be in sorrow, and in stripes, and in affliction. But he was wounded for our transgressions; and bruised for our iniquities. The chastisement of our peace was upon him; with his stripes we are healed. All we, like sheep, have gone astray: man hath gone astray in his way; and the Lord hath given him up for our sins; and he opened not his mouth through his suffering. He was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and like a lamb dumb before his shearer, so opened he not his mouth. In his humiliation his judgment was taken

⁷ Ps. xii. 4; xxxi. 18.

⁸ Jerome, who translated this Epistle into Latin, appears to have read *καίπερ πάντα δυνάμενος*, ‘although he was able to do all things.’ Ad Isa. c. lii. Opera, tom. iii. p. 382.

⁹ See note (B) at the end of the volume.

¹ Isa. liii. according to the Septuagint.



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true, one that served God, and eschewed all evil⁶." Yet he, accusing himself, saith, "No man is free from pollution, no, not though he should live but one day⁷." Moses was called faithful in all God's house⁸, and by his conduct the Lord punished Israel by stripes and plagues. And even this man, so greatly honoured, spake not greatly of himself, but when the oracle of God was delivered to him out of the bush, he said, "Who am I that thou dost send me? I am of a slender voice and of a slow tongue⁹." And again he saith: "I am as the smoke of the pot¹."

18. Again, what shall we say of David who hath obtained so good a report? to whom God said, "I have found a man after mine own heart, David the son of Jesse: with my holy oil have I anointed him²." But yet he himself saith unto God; "Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy great kindness, and according unto the multitude of thy tender mercies, blot out my transgression. Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin. For I acknowledge mine iniquity, and my sin is ever before me. Against thee only have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight, that thou mightest be justified when thou speakest, and overcome when thou judgest. For, behold, I was shapen in wickedness, and in sin did my mother conceive me. For behold thou hast loved truth; the secret and hidden things of wisdom hast thou revealed unto me. Thou shalt purge me with hyssop,

⁶ Job i. 1.

⁷ Job xiv. 4. Septuagint. Thus Cyprian, Test. ad Quirinum l. 3, c. 54. "Apud Job; Quis enim mundus à sordibus? Nec unus, etiamsi unius diei sit vita ejus in terrâ." Jerome, on Isa. liii. and on Ps. li. quotes the passage in the same manner.

⁸ Numb. xii. 7. Heb. iii. 2.

⁹ Exod. iii. 11; iv. 10.

¹ These words are not found in the Pentateuch. See Ps. cxix. 83. Hos. xiii. 3. Fabricius thinks that the last clause does not refer to Moses, but implies, "the Scripture saith."

² Ps. lxxxix. 20, compare Acts xiii. 22. 1 Sam. xiii. 14.

and I shall be clean: thou shalt wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow. Thou shalt make me to hear joy and gladness; the bones which have been broken shall rejoice. Turn thy face from my sins, and blot out all mine iniquities. Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me. Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from me. Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation, and establish me with the guidance of thy spirit. I will teach sinners thy ways, and the ungodly shall be converted unto thee. Deliver me from blood, O God, thou God of my salvation. My tongue shall rejoice in thy righteousness. O Lord, open thou my lips, and my mouth shall show forth thy praise. For if thou hadst desired sacrifice, I would have given it: thou delightest not in burnt offerings. The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and contrite heart God will not despise³.”

19. Thus the humility and godly fear of such great and excellent men, whose praise is in the Scriptures, hath, by means of their obedience, improved not only us, but generations before us, even as many as have received his holy oracles in fear and truth. Having therefore so many, and great, and glorious examples transmitted to us, let us turn again to that mark of peace which from the beginning was set before us: let us look stedfastly up to the Father and Creator of the universe, and hold fast by his glorious and exceeding gifts and benefits of peace. Let us see him with our understanding, and look with the eyes of our soul to his long-suffering will: calling to mind how gentle and slow to anger he is towards his whole creation.

20. The heavens, peaceably revolving by his appointment, are subject unto him. Day and night perform the course appointed by him, in no wise in-

³ Ps. li.

interrupting one another. By his ordinance, the sun and moon, and all the companies of stars, roll on, in harmony, without any deviation, within the bounds allotted to them. In obedience to his will, the pregnant earth yields her fruit plentifully in due season to man and beast, and to all creatures that are therein; not hesitating nor changing any thing which was decreed by him. The unsearchable secrets of the abyss, and the indescribable⁴ judgments of the lower world, are restrained by the same commands. The hollow depth of the vast sea, gathered together into its several collections by his word, passes not its allotted bounds; but as he commanded, so doth it. For he said, "Hitherto shalt thou come, and thy waves shall be broken within thee⁵." The ocean impassable to mankind, and the worlds which are beyond it, are governed by the same commands of their master. Spring and summer, and autumn and winter, give place peaceably to one another. The winds, in their stations, perform their service without interruption, each in his appointed season. The ever-flowing fountains, ministering both to pleasure and to health, without ceasing put forth their breasts to support the life of man. Nay, the smallest of living creatures maintain their intercourse in concord and peace. All these hath the great Creator and Lord of all things ordained to be in peace and concord; for he is good to all; but above measure to us, who flee to his mercy, through our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and majesty, for ever and ever; Amen.

21. Take heed, beloved, that his many blessings be not turned into condemnation to us all. (For thus it will surely be) unless we walk worthy of him, and

⁴ I am indebted to Dr. Jacobson for the suggestion of this word, instead of "untold," as the translation of *ἀνεκδιήγητα*.

⁵ Job xxxviii. 11.



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Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile. Depart from evil, and do good; seek peace, and ensue it. The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous; and his ears are open unto their prayer. But the face of the Lord is against them that do evil, to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth. The righteous cried, and the Lord heard him; and delivered him out of all his troubles⁹.” “Many are the plagues of the wicked: but they that trust in the Lord, mercy shall compass them about¹.”

23. Our all-merciful and beneficent Father hath bowels of compassion towards them that fear him; and kindly and lovingly bestows his graces upon such as come to him with a simple mind. Wherefore let us not be double-minded, neither let us have any doubt in our hearts, of his excellent and glorious gifts. Let that be far from us which is written, “Miserable are the double-minded, and those who are doubtful in their hearts²; who say, These things have we heard, even from our fathers; and lo, we are grown old, and nothing of them hath happened unto us. O fools! Compare yourselves unto a tree: take the vine (as an example to you). First it sheds its leaves; then comes forth the bud, then the leaf, then the flower; after that the unripe grape, and then the perfect fruit.” Ye see how, in a little time, the fruit of a tree comes to maturity. Of a truth, yet a little while, and his will shall suddenly be accomplished: the Scripture also bearing witness, “that he shall quickly come, and shall not tarry: and that the Lord shall suddenly come to his temple, even the Holy One, whom ye look for³.”

24. Let us consider, beloved, how the Lord doth continually show us, that there shall be a future resurrection, of which he hath made our Lord Jesus

⁹ Ps. xxxiv. 11—17.

² James i. 8.

¹ Ps. xxxii. 10.

³ Hab. ii. 3. Mal. iii. 1.

Christ the first fruits, raising him from the dead. Let us contemplate, beloved, the resurrection which is continually taking place. Day and night declare to us a resurrection⁴. The night lies down, the day arises: again, the day departs, and the night comes on. Let us behold the fruits (of the earth). Every one sees how the seed is sown. The sower goes forth, and casts it upon the earth; and the seed which, when it was sown, fell upon the earth dry and naked, in time is dissolved: and from this dissolution the mighty power of the providence of the Lord raises it, and out of one seed many arise and bring forth fruit.

25. Let us consider that wonderful sign, which occurs in the regions of the East, in Arabia. There is a certain bird, called a Phœnix⁵. It is the only individual of its kind, and lives five hundred years. When the time of its dissolution draws near, that it must die, it makes itself a nest of frankincense, and myrrh, and other spices, into which, when its time is fulfilled, it enters and dies. But as the body decays, a certain kind of worm is produced, which, nourished

⁴ See Tertullian, Apol. chap. 48.

⁵ The application, which Clement here makes of the supposed history of the Phœnix, has given rise to more discussion than the question deserves. He was not likely to be better informed upon a fact of Natural History, than his contemporaries, Tacitus and Pliny: (Tacitus, Annal. vi. 28. Pliny, Hist. Nat. x. 2.) Historians, from Herodotus (ii. 73.) downwards, have related particulars of this imaginary bird, with circumstances more or less fanciful; and Clement might, without impropriety, employ an illustration founded upon an alleged fact, which was generally credited in the age in which he lived; his object being, not to prove the *fact* of the resurrection, but to show that it is possible. Tertullian, Ambrose, (De Fide Resurrect. c. 8,) and many other Christian writers, allude to the Phœnix in the same manner. See Junius' note on Clem. Rom. It does not appear that Clement applied to the *phœnix* what is said of the *palm-tree*, Ps. xcii. 12, Job xxix. 18, as Tertullian (De Resurrect. Carnis, c. 13) and others did, being misled by the circumstance that, in the Greek translation, the same word, φοῖνιξ, expressed both. Compare Tertullian, Apol. c. 48. De Resurrect. Carnis, c. 12. Theophilus ad Autolyicum, lib. i. p. 77. D. See Pearson on the Creed, Art. xi. p. 376; and Dr. Jacobson's note on this passage.

by the juices of the dead bird, puts forth feathers. And when it is at length grown to a perfect state, it takes up the nest in which the bones of its parent lie, and carries it from Arabia into Egypt, to the city called Heliopolis; and, in open day, flying in the sight of all men, places them upon the altar of the sun, and, having done this, hastens back to his abode. The priests, then, search the records of the time, and find that it hath come at the completion of the five hundredth year.

26. Shall we then think it to be any very great and strange thing, for the Maker of all things to raise up those that religiously serve him in the assurance of a good faith, when even by a bird he shows us the greatness of his (power to fulfil his) promise. For he saith in a certain place, "Thou shalt raise me up, and I shall confess unto thee." And again, "I laid me down and slept, and awaked, because thou art with me⁶." And again Job saith, "Thou shalt raise up this my flesh, which hath suffered all these things⁷."

27. Having, therefore, this hope, let us hold fast to him who is faithful in his promises, and righteous in his judgments. He who hath commanded us not to lie, much more will he not himself lie; for nothing is impossible with God⁸, but to lie⁹. Let his faith, therefore, be stirred up again in us, and let us consider that all things are near unto him. By the word of his power he made all things; and by his word he is able to destroy them. Who shall say unto him, What hast thou done? or who shall resist the power of his might¹? He hath done all things when he pleased, and as he pleased; and nothing shall pass away of all that hath been determined by him. All things are

⁶ Ps. iii. 5; xxiii. 4. ⁷ Job xix. 26. ⁸ Mark x. 27. ⁹ Heb. vi. 18.

¹ Wisd. xi. 21; xii. 12. See Isa. xlv. 9. Dan. iv. 35. Job ix. 12. Rom. ix. 19, 20.



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30. Wherefore we being a part of the Holy One, let us do all things which pertain unto holiness, fleeing all evil speaking against one another, all filthy and impure embraces, together with all drunkenness, youthful lusts, abominable concupiscence, detestable adultery, and execrable pride. "For God," saith he, "resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble⁸." Let us therefore cleave to those to whom God hath given his grace. And let us be clothed with concord, humble-minded, temperate, free from all whispering and detraction, justified by our actions, not by our words. For he saith⁹, "He that speaketh much, shall hear much in answer. Doth he who is of fair speech count himself righteous? Doth he that is born of woman, and liveth but a few days, think himself blessed? Be not a man of many words¹." Let our praise be of God, not of ourselves; for those that praise themselves God hates. Let the testimony of our good works be given by others, as it was given to the holy men, our fathers. Boldness, and arrogance, and confidence belong to them who are accursed of God; but moderation, and humility, and meekness to those who are blessed by him.

31. Let us then lay hold on his blessing, and consider by what means we may attain unto it. Let us revolve in our minds those things which have happened from the beginning. Wherefore was our father Abraham blessed? Was it not that through faith he wrought righteousness and truth? Isaac, being fully persuaded of that which he knew was to come, cheerfully yielded himself up for a sacrifice². Jacob with humility de-

⁸ James iv. 6. 1 Pet. v. 5.

⁹ Job xi. 2, 3. Septuagint.

¹ Greek, Be not much in words.

² This assertion may appear to disagree with Gen. xxii. 7. The faith of Isaac in blessing "Jacob and Esau concerning things to come," is commemorated, Heb. xi. 20. Chrysostom, in his Forty-seventh Homily on Genesis, notices the willing obedience of Isaac.

parted out of his own country, fleeing from his brother, and went unto Laban, and served him: and so the sceptre of the twelve tribes of Israel was given unto him.

32. Whoever will carefully consider each particular, will understand the greatness of the gifts, which were given through him; for from him came all the priests and Levites, who ministered at the altar of God; from him came our Lord Jesus Christ, according to the flesh³; from him came the kings and princes and rulers in Judah: and the rest of his tribes were in no small glory; since God had promised, “Thy seed shall be as the stars of heaven⁴.” They were all, therefore, glorified and magnified, not for their own sake, or for their works, or for the righteous deeds which they had done, but through his will. And we also, being called by his will in Christ Jesus, are not justified by ourselves, neither by our own wisdom, or knowledge, or piety, or the works which we have done in holiness of heart, but by that faith by which Almighty God hath justified all men from the beginning; to whom be glory for ever and ever; Amen.

33. What shall we do, then, brethren? Shall we grow weary in well-doing, and lay aside charity? God forbid that any such thing should be done by us. Rather let us hasten with all earnestness and readiness of mind to perfect every good work. For even the Creator and Lord of all things himself rejoices in his own works. For by his almighty power he established the heavens; and by his incomprehensible wisdom he adorned them. He also divided the earth from the water which encompasses it, and fixed it as a firm tower, upon the foundation of his own will. By his appointment also he commanded all the living creatures, that are upon it, to exist. He created the sea

³ Rom. ix. 5.

⁴ Gen. xv. 5; xxii. 17; xxviii. 14.

and all the creatures that are therein, and by his power inclosed them within their proper bounds. Above all, with his holy and pure hands, he formed man, the most excellent of his creatures, and the greatest, as endowed with reason; the impress of his own image. For thus God saith: "Let us make man after our image, and likeness ⁵." So God made man, male and female created he them. Having thus furnished all these things, he pronounced them good, and blessed them, and said, Be fruitful and multiply ⁶. We see how all righteous men have been adorned with good works. Wherefore even the Lord himself, having adorned himself with his works, rejoiced. Having therefore such an example, let us diligently fulfil his will: and with all our strength work the work of righteousness.

34. The good workman receives with confidence the bread of his labour: the idle and negligent cannot look his employer in the face. We must therefore be ready and active in well-doing; for of him are all things⁷. And thus he foretels us: "Behold the Lord cometh, and his reward is before his face, to render to every man according to his work ⁸." He exhorts us therefore with all our heart, to apply ourselves hereunto ⁹, not to be slothful and negligent in well-doing ¹. Let our boasting and our confidence be in God. Let us submit ourselves to his will. Let us consider the whole multitude of his angels, how ready they stand to minister unto his will. For the Scripture saith, "Ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him, and thousands of thousands ministered unto him. And they cried, saying, Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of

⁵ Gen. i. 26, 27.

⁶ Gen. i. 28.

⁷ 2 Cor. v. 18.

⁸ Isa. xl. 10; lxii. 11. Rev. xxii. 11.

⁹ I have here adopted W. Burton's translation, pointed out by Dr. Jacobson.

¹ Gal. vi. 9. 2 Thess. iii. 13.



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thou hatest to be reformed, and hast cast my words behind thee. If thou sawest a thief, thou didst run with him, and with the adulterers thou didst cast in thy lot. Thy mouth abounded in wickedness, and thy tongue contrived deceit. Thou satest, and spakest against thy brother, and hast slandered thine own mother's son. These things hast thou done, and I held my tongue, and thou thoughtest wickedly that I should be like unto thee. But I will reprove thee, and set myself before thee. Consider, then, this, ye that forget God, lest he tear thee in pieces, like a lion, and there be none to deliver you. The sacrifice of praise, that shall honour me; and there is the way, by which I will show to him the salvation of God."

36. This is the way, beloved, in which we find the means of our salvation, Jesus Christ, the high-priest of all our offerings, the defender and helper of our weakness. By him we look up to the highest heavens, and behold, as in a glass, his spotless and most excellent countenance. By him are the eyes of our hearts opened; by him our foolish and darkened understanding rejoices (to behold) his wonderful light. By him would God have us to taste the knowledge of immortality, "Who being the brightness of his glory, is by so much greater than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they⁸." For so it is written, "Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire⁹." "But to his Son, thus saith the Lord, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession¹." And again he saith unto him, "Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool²." And who then are his

⁸ Heb. i. 2, 3.

¹ Ps. ii. 7, 8.

⁹ Ps. civ. 4. Heb. i. 7.

² Ps. cx. 1. Heb. i. 13.

enemies? the wicked, and such as oppose their own wills to the will of God.

37. Let us, therefore, wage (our heavenly) warfare, men and brethren, with all earnestness according to his holy commands. Let us consider those who fight under our (earthly) governors, how orderly, how readily, how obediently they perform the commands which each receives. All are not captains of the host, all are not commanders of a thousand, nor of an hundred, nor of fifty, nor the like. But each one, in his respective rank, performs what is commanded him by the king, and those who are in authority. They who are great cannot subsist without those who are small; nor the small without the great. There must be a mixture in all things, and hence arises their use. Let us take our body as an example³. The head without the feet is nothing: so neither the feet without the head: and the smallest members of our body are necessary, and useful to the whole body. But all conspire together, and are subject to one common use, the preservation of the whole body.

38. Let, therefore, our whole body be saved in Christ Jesus; and let each one be subject to his neighbour⁴, according to the order in which he is placed by the gift of God. Let not the strong man despise the weak; and let the weak reverence the strong. Let the rich man distribute to the necessities of the poor; and let the poor bless God, that he hath given to him one by whom his want may be supplied. Let the wise man show forth his wisdom, not in words, but in good works. Let him that is of humble mind not bear witness to himself, but leave it to another to bear witness of him. Let him, that is pure in the flesh, glory not therein, knowing that it was another who gave him the gift of continence. Let us consider,

³ 1 Cor. xii. 13.

⁴ 1 Pet. v. 5. Eph. v. 21.

therefore, brethren, whereof we are made; who, and what manner of beings, we came into this world, as it were out of a sepulchre, and darkness. He, who made us and formed us, brought us into his own world. He prepared his benefits for us, even before we were born. Having, therefore, received all these blessings from him, we ought in every thing to give thanks unto him: to whom be glory for ever and ever; Amen.

39. Foolish and unwise men, who have neither prudence nor learning, may mock and deride us, wishing to set up themselves in their own conceits. But what can mortal man do? or what strength is there in him that is made of the dust? For it is written⁵, "There was no shape before mine eyes; only I heard a sound and a voice. For what? shall man be pure before the Lord? shall he be blameless in his works, if he trusteth not in his servants, and hath charged his angels with folly? Yea, the heaven is not clean in his sight. How much less they that dwell in houses of clay; of which also we ourselves were made! He smote them as a moth; and from morning even unto the evening they endure not. Because they were not able to help themselves, they perished. He breathed upon them, and they died; because they had no wisdom. Call now, if there be any that will answer thee: and if thou wilt look to any of the angels. For wrath killeth the foolish man; and envy slayeth him that is in error. I have seen the foolish taking root, but lo their habitation was presently consumed. Be their children far from safety; may they perish at the gates of those who are less than themselves; and let there be no man to deliver them. For what was prepared for them, the righteous shall eat: and they shall not be delivered from evil."

40. Seeing, then, that these things are manifest

⁵ Job iv. 16; xv. 15; iv. 19.



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41. Let every one of you, brethren, bless God, in his proper station, with a good conscience, and with all gravity, not exceeding the rule of his service that is appointed to him. The daily sacrifices are not offered every where, nor the peace-offerings, nor the sacrifices appointed for sins and transgressions, but only in Jerusalem. And even there, they are not offered in every place, but only at the altar before the temple: that which is offered being first diligently examined⁸ by the high-priest, and the other ministers before mentioned. They, then, who do any thing which is not agreeable to his will, are punished with death. Consider, brethren, that the greater the knowledge is, which hath been vouchsafed to us, the greater is the danger to which we are exposed.

42. The apostles have preached to us from our Lord Jesus Christ: Jesus Christ from God. Christ therefore was sent by God; and the apostles by Christ. Thus both were orderly sent according to the will of God. For having received their command, and being thoroughly assured by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ⁹, and convinced by the word of God, with the fulness of the Holy Spirit, they went forth, proclaiming, that the kingdom of God was at hand. And thus preaching through countries and cities, they ap-

Hellenistic Jews, in which the priests and Levites are called *κλῆρος* and *κληρικοί*, as distinguished from the rest of the people, *λαϊκοί*. The word *λαϊκός* is used, however, in Hellenistic Greek, to indicate that which is not consecrated; as 1 Sam. xxi. 4, *ἄρτοι λαϊκοί* implies "common bread," in contradistinction to "hallowed bread," in Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. And in Ezek. xlvi. 15, Symmachus and Theodotion have *λαϊκόν*, where Aquila has *βέβηλον*. Le Clerc mentions these and several other instances, in which this word, and even *λαϊκώω*, are used in a corresponding sense.

Clement here uses the word *λαϊκός* in a manner which shows that the distinction between the clergy and the laity was familiar to him.

⁸ *Μωμοσκοπηθέν*. This word was used to signify peculiarly the strict examination to which victims were subjected, both under the Jewish law and by the customs of the gentiles. See Polycarp's Epistle, sect. 4.

⁹ 1 Thess. i. 5.

pointed the first-fruits (of their conversions) to be bishops and ministers over such as should afterwards believe, having first proved them by the Spirit. Nor was this any new thing: seeing that long before it was written concerning bishops and deacons. For thus saith the Scripture in a certain place, “I will appoint their overseers¹ in righteousness, and their ministers² in faith³.”

43. And what wonder, if they to whom such a work was committed by God in Christ, established such an order of men as hath been mentioned, since even Moses, that happy and faithful servant in all his house⁴, set down in the holy Scriptures all things that were commanded him. Whom also all the other prophets followed, bearing witness with one consent to what was written by him in the law. For when a strife arose concerning the priesthood, and the tribes contended which of them should be adorned with that glorious name, he commanded their twelve captains to bring him rods, inscribed each according to the name of its tribe. And he took and bound them, and sealed them with the seals of the twelve princes of the tribes, and laid them up in the tabernacle of witness, upon the table of God. And when he had shut (the door of) the tabernacle, he sealed up the keys of it, in like manner as he had sealed the rods: and said unto them, Men and brethren; whichsoever tribe shall have its rod blossom, that tribe hath God chosen, to be priests and ministers before him. And when the morning was come, he called together all Israel, six hundred thousand men, and he showed the seals to the princes of the tribes, and opened the tabernacle of witness, and brought forth the rods. And the rod of Aaron was found not only to have blossomed, but also

¹ ἐπισκόπους.

² διακόνους.

³ See Isa. lx. 17.

⁴ Heb. iii. 2. Numb. xii. 7.

to have brought forth fruit ⁵. What think ye, beloved? Did not Moses know beforehand, that thus it would be? Yes, verily. But that there might be no division nor tumult in Israel, he did in this manner, that the name of the true and only God might be glorified: to him be honour for ever and ever; Amen.

44. So likewise our Apostles knew by our Lord Jesus Christ, that contentions should arise on account of the ministry. And therefore, having a perfect foreknowledge of this, they appointed persons, as we have before said, and then gave a direction⁶ in what manner, when they should have fallen asleep⁷, other chosen and approved men should succeed in their ministry. Wherefore, we cannot think that those may justly be thrown out of their ministry, who were appointed by them, or afterwards chosen by other excellent men, with the consent of the whole Church⁸, and

⁵ Numb. xvii.

⁶ ἐπινομή. Junius conceives this word to imply a description of the duties attached to each office; Salmasius renders it, "a precept;" Archbishop Usher, "a prescribed order;" Marca, "a form;" Hammond gives it the sense of "a catalogue or a series and order of succession." Le Clerc imagines the meaning of Clement to be, that the Apostles not only appointed the first Bishops, but selected, from the whole body of the Church, those who should succeed them.

⁷ See Matt. xxvii. 52. Acts vii. 60. 1 Cor. xi. 31. 1 Thess. iv. 13. 15.

⁸ A clear intimation is here given of the different parts which the clergy and people took in the ordination of a Bishop. The first appointment rested with the Apostles and Bishops, but the consent of the people was necessary. Cyprian, Epist. lxxvii. p. 172 (al. lxxviii.), plainly shows that this was the case. "In compliance with divine tradition and apostolical usage, the custom must diligently be observed and maintained, which is established among us and in almost all other provinces; that, for the due celebration of ordinations, all the neighbouring Bishops of the same province are to repair to the people, over whom a Bishop is to be ordained; and then a Bishop shall be chosen, in the presence of the people, who have had the fullest knowledge of the life of each one, and been thoroughly acquainted with their manners and whole conversation." In his lvth Epistle he says also, "(Cornelius) was ordained Bishop by many of our colleagues who were there present in Rome: he was ordained Bishop by the judgment of God and of his Christ, by the testimony of almost all the clergy, by the assent of the people who were there present, and by the assembly of ancient priests and holy men."



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riously. For what shall we say, brethren? Was it by those who feared God that Daniel was cast into the den of lions? Was it by men who worshipped the Most High with excellent and glorious worship, that Ananias, Asarias, and Misael, were shut up in the fiery furnace? God forbid. What manner of men, therefore, were they who did these things? they were men abominable, full of all wickedness: men so incensed as to afflict those who served God with a holy and unblameable purpose of mind: knowing not that the Most High is the protector and defender of all those who with a pure conscience serve his holy name: to whom be glory for ever and ever; Amen. And they who in the fulness of faith have endured, are become inheritors of glory and honour; and are exalted and lifted up by God in their memorial for ever and ever; Amen.

46. It is, therefore, brethren, our duty to cleave to such examples as these. For it is written, "Hold fast to such as are holy; for they that do so shall be sanctified²." And again in another place he saith, "With the pure thou shalt be pure, and with the elect thou shalt be elect, but with the perverse man thou shalt be perverse³." Let us therefore cleave to the innocent and righteous; for such are the elect of God. Wherefore are there strifes, and anger, and divisions, and schisms, and wars among us? Have we not all one God, and one Christ⁴? Is not one Spirit of grace poured out upon us all? Have we not one calling in Christ? Wherefore, then, do we rend and tear in pieces the members of Christ: and raise seditions against our own body? And are come to such a height of madness, as to forget that "we are members one of another⁵." Remember the words of our Lord

² See Wisd. vi. 25. 1 Cor. vii. 14.

³ Ps. xviii. 26.

⁴ Eph. iv. 4. 1 Cor. xii.

⁵ Rom. xii. 5.

Jesus. For he said ⁶; “Woe to that man (by whom offences come): it were better for him that he had never been born, than that he should have offended one of mine elect. It were better for him, that a millstone should be hanged about his neck, and he should be cast into the sea, than that he should offend one of my little ones.” Your schism hath perverted many, hath discouraged many: it hath thrown many into doubt, and all of us into grief. And yet your sedition continues to prevail.

47. Take into your hands the epistle of the blessed Paul the Apostle. What did he first write to you at the beginning of the Gospel ⁷. Verily he did by the Spirit admonish you concerning himself, and Cephas, and Apollos ⁸, because that even then ye had formed parties, and divisions among yourselves. Nevertheless your partiality then led you into less sin; for ye were favourably inclined towards Apostles, men of eminent reputation in the Church, and towards another, who had been approved of by them. But consider who they are that have now led you astray, and lessened the reputation of that brotherly love which was so celebrated among you. It is shameful, beloved, it is exceedingly shameful, and unworthy of your Chris-

⁶ Matt. xxvi. 24. Mark ix. 42. Luke xvii. 2. Matt. xviii. 6.

⁷ The phrase, “in the beginning of the Gospel,” which is used by St. Paul, Phil. iv. 15, denotes either the period when the Gospel was first preached, or the time when it was first made known to any particular Church. The Corinthian Church is here, then, called ancient, as having been founded in the first ages of the Christian religion. The Churches, which were first established, were always held in the highest honour. Thus, Irenæus, iii. 3, eulogizes the Church of Rome, as “the greatest and most ancient, and well-known Church, founded and established by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul.” Tertullian, *de Virginibus Velandis*, c. 2, describes the Apostolic Churches, as those “which were avowedly founded by the Apostles, which ascribed their origin to one of the Apostles, which were taught by them; and to which any Epistles of the Apostles were addressed.” See Tertullian, *Præscript. Hæret.* 32. Marcion, iv. 5. Cotelarius.

⁸ 1 Cor. i. 12.

tian profession, to hear that the most firm and ancient Church of the Corinthians, should by one or two persons be led into a sedition against its elders⁹. And this report is come, not only unto us, but to those also whose minds are unfavourably affected towards us. Insomuch that the name of the Lord is blasphemed through your folly; and ye yourselves are brought into danger by it.

48. Let us, therefore, with all haste, take away this cause of offence; and let us fall down before the Lord, and beseech him with tears, that he would be favourably reconciled to us, and restore us again to a grave and holy course of brotherly love. For this is the gate of righteousness, opening into everlasting life: as it is written, "Open to me the gates of righteousness; I will go in unto them and praise the Lord. This is the gate of the Lord: the righteous shall enter into it¹⁰." Although, therefore, many gates are opened, yet this gate, which is in righteousness, the same is that gate in Christ, into which blessed are all they that enter, and direct their way in holiness and righteousness, doing all things without disorder. Let a man be faithful; let him be powerful in the utterance of knowledge; let him be wise in making an exact judgment of words; let him be pure in all his actions: still, he ought to be so much the more humble-minded, as he seems to be superior to others; and to seek that which is profitable to all men, and not his own advantage.

49. He that hath the love that is in Christ, let him keep the commandments of Christ. Who is able to express the obligation of the love of God? What man is sufficiently worthy to declare the excellency of its beauty? The height to which charity leads is inexpressible. Charity unites us to God: charity

⁹ Presbyters.

¹⁰ Ps. cxviii. 19, 20.



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“Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sin is covered. Blessed is the man, to whom the Lord imputeth no sin, and in whose mouth there is no guile⁶.” This blessing is upon those who are chosen of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom be glory for ever and ever; Amen.

51. Let us, therefore, as many as have transgressed by any of the suggestions of the adversary, pray for forgiveness: and let those, who have been the leaders of the sedition and dissension among you, look to the common object of our hope. For as many as have their conversation in fear and charity, would rather they themselves should fall into trials than their neighbours: and choose to be condemned themselves, rather than to violate that good and equitable concord which hath been transmitted to us. For it is good for a man to confess wherein he hath transgressed, rather than to harden his heart, as the hearts of those were hardened, who raised up sedition against Moses the servant of God: whose punishment was manifest to all men; for they went down alive into the grave; death swallowed them up⁷. Pharaoh and his host⁸, and all the rulers of Egypt, their chariots also and their horsemen, were overwhelmed in the Red Sea and perished, for no other reason than because they hardened their foolish hearts, after so many signs had been done in the land of Egypt, by Moses the servant of God.

52. Beloved, the Lord is in want of nothing: neither requires he any thing of us, but that we should confess our sins unto him. For so saith the holy David: “I will confess unto the Lord, and it shall please him better than a young bullock, that hath horns and hoofs. Let the poor see it, and be glad⁹. And again he saith, “Offer unto God the sacrifice of

⁶ Ps. xxxii. 2.

⁷ Numb. xvi.

⁸ Exod. xiv.

⁹ Ps. lxix. 31.

praise; and pay thy vows unto the Most Highest. And call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me¹.” “The sacrifice of God is a broken spirit².”

53. Ye know, beloved, ye know full well the holy Scriptures; and have thoroughly searched into the oracles of God. Call them, therefore, to your remembrance. For when Moses went up into the mount, and tarried there forty days and forty nights, in fasting and humiliation, God said unto him³, “Arise, Moses, get thee down quickly from hence, for thy people have committed wickedness: they whom thou hast brought out of the land of Egypt have quickly turned aside from the way which I commanded them, and have made to themselves molten images. And the Lord said unto him, I have spoken unto thee once and again, saying, I have seen this people, and behold it is a stiff-necked people. Let me therefore destroy them, and I will blot out their name from under heaven, and I will make of thee a nation mighty and wonderful, and much greater than they. But Moses said, Not so, Lord: forgive now this people their sin; and if not, blot me also out of the book of the living.” O admirable charity! O insuperable perfection! The servant speaks boldly to his Lord; he beseeches him either to forgive the people, or that he himself may also be destroyed with them.

54. Who, then, is there among you that is generous? who, that is compassionate? who, that is filled with charity? let him say, if this sedition, and strife, and schism be upon my account⁴, I am ready to depart, to

¹ Ps. l. 14.

² Ps. li. 17.

³ Exod. xxxii. Deut. ix. 12.

⁴ Clement here professes no more than he practised. It is highly probable, as Epiphanius asserts, that he was appointed, by St. Peter, to be Bishop of Rome, but declined accepting the office as long as Linus and Cletus (or Anencletus) lived. This seems the most probable cause of the difficulty of ascertaining the succession of the first Bishops of Rome.

[Chrysostom,

go away whithersoever ye please; and to do whatsoever the multitude command me; only let the flock of Christ be in peace, with the elders⁵ that are set over it. He that shall do this, shall obtain to himself a very great honour in the Lord: and every place will be ready to receive him. "For the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof⁶." These things they who have their conversation towards God not to be repented of, both have done, and will always be ready to do.

55. Nay, to produce examples even of the Gentiles: many kings and rulers, in times of pestilence, being warned by their oracles, have given themselves up to death, that they might, by their own blood, deliver their country. Many have forsaken their cities, that seditions might no longer continue. We know how many⁷ among ourselves have given themselves up into bonds, that thereby they might free others. Many have sold themselves into bondage, and received the price, that with it they might feed others. Nay, even women, strengthened by the grace of God, have per-

Chrysostom, in his Eleventh Homily on the Epistle to the Ephesians, (vol. iii. p. 824, Savile,) expresses his readiness to act up to this precept; "If ye entertain," he says, "such suspicions respecting me, I am ready to resign my office, and to retire whithersoever ye will, only so that the unity of the Church may be preserved."

Gregory Nazianzen actually resigned the see of Constantinople, rather than be the cause of disputes in the Church. See Cave's Life, sect. 6.

⁵ Presbyters.

⁶ Ps. xxiv. 1.

⁷ St. Paul mentions "Priscilla and Aquila my helpers in Christ Jesus, who have for my life laid down their own necks," Rom. xvi. 3, 4; and Epaphroditus, who "for the work of Christ was nigh unto death, not regarding his life." Phil. ii. 30. Baronius relates that St. Alban, the proto-martyr of Britain, gave himself up and was put to death under Diocletian, A.D. 303, instead of a fugitive who had taken refuge from persecution under his roof.

In the early ages of Christianity many, under the designation of Parabolani, gave themselves up to the care of the sick, at the peril of their own lives. These were so numerous, that a law was passed to limit their number. Codex Theodos. lib. xvi. tit. 2. leg. 42. (Fell.)



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“Happy is the man whom God correcteth: but despise not thou the chastening of the Almighty. For he maketh sore, and again restoreth; he woundeth, and his hands make whole. Six times out of trouble he shall deliver thee: yea, in seven there shall no evil touch thee. In famine, he shall redeem thee from death; and in war he shall defend thee from the hand of iron. He shall hide thee from the scourge of the tongue: neither shalt thou be afraid of evils when they come. Thou shalt laugh at the wicked and sinners; neither shalt thou be afraid of the beasts of the earth. For the wild beasts shall be at peace with thee. Then shalt thou know that thy house shall be in peace; and the habitation of thy tabernacle shall not err. Thou shalt also know that thy seed shall be great; and thy offspring as all the grass of the field. And thou shalt come to the grave as ripe corn, that is taken in due time, like as a shock of corn cometh in in its season.”

Ye see, beloved, that there is a protection to those who are corrected of the Lord. For he is a good instructor; and is willing that we should be admonished by his holy discipline.

57. Do ye, therefore, who laid the foundation of the sedition, submit yourselves unto your elders⁶; and be instructed unto repentance, bending the knees of your hearts. Learn to be subject; laying aside all proud and arrogant boasting of your tongues. For it is better for you to be found in the sheep-fold of Christ little and approved, than to appear superior to others, and to be cast out of his hope⁷. For thus speaks the excellent and all-virtuous Wisdom⁸, “Behold, I will pour out the word of my spirit upon you; I will make

⁶ 1 Pet. v. 5.

⁷ ἐκ τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ—perhaps we should read ἐκ τῆς ἐπαύλιδος—‘out of his fold.’

⁸ Prov. i. 23. The book of Proverbs is often quoted by this title, by the early Christian writers.

known my speech unto you. Because I called, and ye would not hear: I stretched out my words, and ye regarded not: but ye set at nought all my counsel, and disobeyed my reproof; therefore I also will laugh at your calamity, and exult when your desolation cometh; and when trouble cometh suddenly upon you, and destruction as a whirlwind, or when persecution or siege cometh upon you. For it shall come to pass, when ye call upon me, I will not hear you: the wicked shall seek me; but they shall not find me. For they hated knowledge, and did not seek the fear of the Lord: neither would they take heed to my counsels, but laughed my reproofs to scorn. Therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their own ways; and shall be filled with their own wickedness.”

58. Now God, the inspector of all things, the Father⁹ of spirits, and the Lord of all flesh, who hath chosen our Lord Jesus Christ, and us, by him, to be his peculiar people, grant to every soul of man that calleth upon his glorious and holy name, faith, fear, peace, patience, long-suffering, temperance, holiness, and sobriety, unto all well-pleasing to his name: through our High-priest and protector Jesus Christ; by whom be glory and majesty, and power, and honour, unto him, now and for evermore. Amen.

59. The messengers, whom we have sent unto you, Claudius Ephebus, and Valerius Bito, with Fortunatus, send back to us again with all speed in peace and with joy, that they may the sooner acquaint us with your peace and concord, so much prayed for and desired by us; and that we may rejoice in your good order.

⁹ δεσπότης.

60. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you, and with all that are any where called by God and through him; to whom be honour and glory, and might, and majesty, and eternal dominion, by Christ Jesus¹, from everlasting to everlasting. Amen.

¹ δι' οὗ αὐτῷ δόξα. κ. τ. λ.



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“whom God raised up, having loosed the pains of death³ :” “in whom, having not seen him, ye believe; and believing, rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory⁴.” Into which joy many desire to enter, knowing that “by grace ye are saved, not of works⁵,” but by the will of God, through Jesus Christ.

2. “Wherefore, girding up the loins (of your minds⁶)” serve God in fear and truth, laying aside all empty and vain speech, and the error of many, “believing in him that raised up our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, and gave him glory⁷,” and a throne at his right hand: to whom all things in heaven and earth are subject⁸; whom every living creature worships; who comes to be the judge of the quick and dead; whose blood God shall require of them that believe not in him. But he that raised up Christ from the dead, shall raise up us also, if we do his will, and walk in his commandments, and love the things which he loved; abstaining from all unrighteousness, inordinate affection⁹, love of money, evil-speaking, falsehood: not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing, or blow for blow, or curse for curse: but remembering what the Lord taught us, saying, “Judge not ye be not judged: forgive, and it shall be forgiven unto you:” be merciful, that ye may obtain mercy; “for with the same measure that ye mete withal, it shall be measured to you again¹ ;” and that “Blessed are the poor, and they that are persecuted for righteousness’ sake; for theirs is the kingdom of God².”

3. I have not assumed to myself, brethren, the liberty of writing to you these things concerning righteousness; but ye yourselves before encouraged

³ Acts ii. 24.

⁴ 1 Pet. i. 8.

⁵ Eph. ii. 8, 9.

⁶ 1 Pet. i. 13.

⁷ 1 Pet. i. 21.

⁸ Phil. ii. 10.

⁹ Eph. iv. 19. Col. iii. 5. 1 Pet. iii. 9.

¹ Matt. vii. 1. Luke vi. 37.

² Matt. v. 3—10. Luke vi. 20.

me. For neither can I, nor any other such as I am, come up to the wisdom of the blessed and renowned Paul, who, being amongst you, in the presence of those who then lived, taught with exactness and soundness the word of truth; who in his absence also wrote an Epistle³ to you, into which if ye diligently look, ye may be able to be edified in the faith delivered unto you, which is the mother of us all, being followed with hope, and led on by love, both towards God and Christ, and towards our neighbour. For if any one hath these things, he hath fulfilled the law of righteousness: for he that hath charity is far from all sin.

4. But “the love of money is the beginning of all evils⁴.” Knowing, therefore, that “we brought nothing into the world, neither are we able to carry anything out⁵,” let us arm ourselves with the armour of righteousness, and teach first ourselves to walk in the commandment of the Lord, and then your wives to walk likewise in the faith and love and purity which is given unto them, loving their own husbands in all truth, and kindly affectionate to all others equally in all temperance, and to bring up their children in the instruction and fear of God: that the widows be sober as to what concerns the faith of the Lord, praying without ceasing⁶ for all men, being far from all detraction, evil-speaking, false-witness, love of money, and all evil: knowing that they are the altars of God; and that he sees all blemishes⁷, and nothing is hid from him, either of words or thoughts, nor any of the secret things of the heart.

³ ἔγραφεν ἐπιστολάς. The word ἐπιστολαί, in the plural, is sometimes used for a single epistle, as Cotelerius shows. Polycarp might possibly, however, allude to the Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, or to the Corinthians, the contents of which would be communicated to the Philippians.

⁴ 1 Tim. vi. 10.

⁵ 1 Tim. vi. 7.

⁶ 1 Thess. v. 17.

⁷ πάντα μωμοσκοπεῖται. See Clem. Rom. sect. 41.

5. Knowing, therefore, that God is not mocked⁸, we ought to walk worthy both of his command and of his glory. In like manner the deacons must be blameless in the sight of his righteousness, as the ministers of God in Christ, and not of men⁹; not false accusers, not double-tongued, not lovers of money, temperate in all things, compassionate, careful, walking according to the truth of the Lord, who became the servant of all; whom if we please in this present world, we shall be made partakers also of that which is to come, according as he hath promised to us that he will raise us from the dead; and that if we shall walk worthy of him, we shall also reign together with him, if we believe. In like manner the young men must be blameless in all things, above all, taking care of their purity, and restraining themselves from all evil. For it is good to emerge¹ out of the lusts which are in the world: for every lust warreth against the spirit²: and “neither fornicators, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, shall inherit the kingdom of God³,” neither they which act foolishly. Wherefore it is necessary that ye abstain from all these things, being subject to the presbyters and deacons, as unto God and Christ: the virgins also should walk in a spotless and pure conscience.

6. Let the elders⁴ also be compassionate, merciful to all, bringing back such as are in error⁵, seeking out all those that are weak, not neglecting the widow or the fatherless, or the poor: but providing always what is good in the sight of God and men⁶; abstaining

⁸ Gal. vi. 7.

⁹ This passage is quoted in a Syriac Version of a work of Severus, Patriarch of Alexandria, A. D. 513. Cureton, Corpus Ignatianum, p. 213.

¹ ἀνακύπτεισθαι. This reading appears preferable to ἀνακόπτεισθαι, “to be cut off.” Thus Chrysostom de Sacerd. lib. i. 1. Ὡς δὲ μικρὸν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνέκυψα τοῦ βιωτικοῦ κλύδωνος.

² 1 Pet. ii. 11.

³ 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.

⁴ Presbyters.

⁵ Ezek. xxxiv. 4.

⁶ Rom. xiv. 10. 2 Cor. v. 10.



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temptation ³, as the Lord hath said, “The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak ⁴.”

8. Let us therefore without ceasing hold stedfastly to him who is our hope, and the earnest of our righteousness, even Jesus Christ, who “bare our sins in his own body on the tree;” who “did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth ⁵ :” but endured all for our sakes, that we might live through him. Let us therefore imitate his patience; and if we suffer for his name, let us glorify him. For this example he hath given us by himself, and so we have believed.

9. I exhort you all therefore to obey the word of righteousness, and exercise all patience, which ye have seen set forth before your eyes, not only in the blessed Ignatius, and Zosimus, and Rufus, but also in others among yourselves ⁶, and in Paul himself, and the other apostles; being confident of this, that all these have not run in vain, but in faith and righteousness: and that they are gone to the place which was due to them, in the presence of the Lord, with whom also they suffered. For they loved not this present world but him that died for us, and was raised again by God for our sake.

10. ⁷ Stand therefore in these things, and follow the example of the Lord, being firm and immutable in the faith, lovers of the brotherhood, lovers of one another, companions together in the truth, being kind and gentle towards each other, despising none. When it

³ Matt. vi. 13.

⁴ Matt. xxvi. 41.

⁵ 1 Pet. ii. 22—24.

⁶ ὑμῶν—Dodwell, in his *Dissertationes Cyprianicæ*, Diss. xi. 27, supposes ἡμῶν to be the correct reading: and imagines that Polycarp is speaking of a persecution which took place in his own time, either in the church of Smyrna or in that of Philippi.

⁷ Sections 10, 11, 12, are lost in the Greek. The loss is supplied by the old Latin version.

is in your power to do good, defer it not, for “charity delivereth from death ⁸.” “Be all of you subject one to another, having your conversation honest among the gentiles ⁹,” that by your good works both ye yourselves may receive praise, and the Lord may not be blasphemed through you¹. But woe to him by whom the name of the Lord is blasphemed. Wherefore teach all men sobriety, in which do ye also exercise yourselves.

11. I am greatly afflicted for Valens, who was once made a Presbyter among you; that he should so little understand the place that was given unto him. Wherefore I admonish you that ye abstain from concupiscence²; and that ye be chaste and true of speech. Keep yourselves from all evil³. For he that in these things cannot govern himself, how shall he be able to prescribe them to another? If a man doth not keep himself from concupiscence, he shall be polluted with idolatry⁴, and he shall be judged as if he were a gentile. But who of you are ignorant of the judgment of God? “Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world⁵,” as Paul teaches? But I have neither perceived nor heard any thing of the kind in you, among whom the blessed Paul laboured; and who are named in the beginning of his epistle⁶. For he glories of you in all the churches which alone had then known God; for we had not yet known him.

⁸ Tobit xii. 9.

⁹ 1 Pet. ii. 12.

¹ Rom. ii. 24. Tit. ii. 5.

² The old Latin translation has *avaritia*: the Greek probably had *πλεονεξία*. That this word should, in many places, be rendered in the sense here given, is fully shown by Suicer on the words *πλεονεκτέω* and *πλεονεξία*, and by Hammond on Rom. i. 29, and 1 Cor. v. 10. See also Paley, Ser. xlii. Edit. 1825.

It appears from what follows that both Valens and his wife had fallen into adultery.

³ 1 Thess. v. 22.

⁴ Col. iii. 5. Eph. v. 5.

⁵ 1 Cor. vi. 2.

⁶ Phil. i.

Wherefore, brethren, I am exceedingly sorry both for him, and for his wife: may God grant them true repentance. And be ye also moderate on this occasion; and consider not such as enemies, but call them back, as suffering and erring members, that ye may save your whole body. For by so doing ye edify yourselves.

12. For I trust that ye are well exercised in the Holy Scriptures, and that nothing is hid from you. But at present it is not granted unto me to practise that which is written⁷, “Be ye angry and sin not,” and “Let not the sun go down upon your wrath⁸.” Blessed is he that believeth and remembereth these things; which also I trust ye do. Now the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and he himself who is our everlasting High-priest, the Son of God, even Jesus Christ⁹, build you up in faith and truth, and in all meekness and lenity, and in patience and long-suffering, and forbearance and chastity: and grant unto you a lot and portion among his saints, and unto us with you, and unto all that are under heaven, who shall believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and in his Father who raised him from the dead¹. Pray for all the saints. Pray also for kings, and authorities, and princes, and for those who persecute you and hate you, and for the enemies of the cross: that your fruit may be manifest in all, and that ye may be perfect in Christ.

13. Both ye and Ignatius wrote to me², that if any

⁷ Mihi autem non est concessum modo. Ut his Scripturis dictum est. This passage seems to be corrupted.

⁸ Ps. iv. 4. Eph. iv. 26.

⁹ There are two Syriac versions of this passage, in translations of two works by Timotheus and Severus, patriarchs of Alexandria. Cureton, *Corpus Ignat.* pp. 212, 213. The Syriac, as translated by Mr. Cureton, pp. 244. 246, has “the eternal High-priest himself, God Jesus Christ.”

¹ Gal. i. 1.

² See Ignatius' Epistle to the Smyrneans, sect. 11.



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THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS

TO THE

EPHESIANS¹.

IGNATIUS, who is also IGNATIUS, who is Theo-
called Theophorus², to the phorus, to the Church, . . .

¹ This Epistle is one of the three lately found in Syriac. Cureton, *Corpus Ignatianum*, p. 15. The translation from the Syriac is given in the second column. Where the second column is deficient, the passage is found in the Greek alone.

² Theophorus. All Christians were denominated Theophori (θεοφόροι), Temples of God, and sometimes Christophori (Euseb. viii. 10. Ignat. Ep. to Ephes. 9. Compare Magnes. 12), Temples of Christ. The reason of this appellation, which was constantly applied to Ignatius, both by himself and others, is given in the history of his Martyrdom, sect. 2: "As soon then as he stood in the presence of the Emperor Trajan, the emperor demanded of him, 'Who art thou, unhappy and deluded man, who art so active in transgressing our commands, and, besides, persuadest others to their own destruction?'" Ignatius replied, "No one ought to call (one who is properly styled) Theophorus, unhappy and deluded: for the evil spirits (which delude men) are departed far from the servants of God. But if you so call me because I am a trouble to those evil spirits, and an enemy to their delusions, I confess the justice of the appellation. For having (within me) Christ the heavenly King, I loosen all their snares." Trajan replied, "And who is Theophorus?" Ignatius answered, "He that hath Christ in his heart." Then answered Trajan, "Carriest thou, then, within thee him who was crucified?" "Yea," replied Ignatius; "for it is written, 'I will dwell in them and walk in them.'" (2 Cor. vi. 16.)

The notion of the later Greeks, that Ignatius was called Theophorus (θεόφορος, borne by God), because he was the child whom Christ took up in his arms (Matt. xviii. 2. Mark ix. 36), although adopted by several writers, is a mere fancy. Had such a tradition existed even in the time of Chrysostom, he would surely have known it, and was not of a disposition to have omitted it, in the Homily which he composed on the Martyrdom of Ignatius: whereas he there expressly states, that Ignatius never saw Jesus, nor had any intercourse with him. (Homil. on Ignatius, vol. v. p. 503, 37, Savile.)

Church which is at Ephesus in Asia, deservedly accounted most happy, being blessed through the greatness and fulness³ of God the Father, and predestinated before the world began⁴, that she should be always unto an enduring and unchangeable glory, being united and chosen through his true passion⁵, according to the will of the Father, and of Jesus Christ our God, all happiness in Jesus Christ, and in undefiled grace⁶.

1. I have heard of your name which is much beloved in God, that which ye have attained by a habit of righteousness, according to the faith and love which

³ Eph. iii. 19. In the Greek copy, from which the Syriac version was made, the word *πεπληρωμένη* seems to have been found instead of *πληρώματι*. The Armenian version, which usually follows the Syriac, here agrees with the Greek. See Petermann's note.

⁴ Compare Eph. i. 1—6.

⁵ *ἐν πάθει ἀληθινῷ*. 'Through the meritorious sufferings of Christ which he truly underwent.' This is the interpretation proposed by Smith, and adopted by Archbishop Wake.

⁶ The interpolated Greek has here *χαρᾶ* for *χάριτι*. The Syriac and Armenian versions recognise the same reading.

blessed in the greatness of God the Father, and perfected; to her who was separated from eternity, to be at all times for glory, which abideth and changeth not, and is perfected and chosen in the purpose of truth, by the will of the Father of Jesus Christ our God¹; to her who is worthy of happiness; to her who is in Ephesus in Jesus Christ in joy unblameable; much peace.

1. Forasmuch as your well-beloved name is acceptable to me in God, which ye have acquired by nature by a right and just will², and also by faith and

¹ Although the conjunction is omitted here, after the word Father, the meaning seems to be the same as in the Greek: for in the end of the Epistle to the Romans, the Syriac has "Jesus Christ our God." Cureton.

² This is rather a paraphrase than a close translation of the Greek.

is in Jesus Christ our Saviour, that being followers⁷ of God, and stirring up yourselves by the blood of God⁸, ye have perfectly accomplished the work which was agreeable to your nature. For hearing that I came bound from Syria, for the name and hope that are common to us all, trusting through your prayers to fight with beasts at Rome, that so by suffering martyrdom I may become indeed the disciple of him who gave himself to God, an offering and sacrifice for us⁹ (ye hastened to see me¹⁰). I received therefore in the name of God your whole multitude in (the person of) Onesimus¹, who for his love hath no word by which

love of Jesus Christ our Saviour, and ye are imitators of God, and fervent in the blood of God, and have speedily accomplished a work congenial to you: for when ye heard that I was bound from actions³, for the sake of the common name and hope, and I hope through your prayers to be devoured of beasts at Rome, that by means of this, of which I am accounted worthy, I may be empowered with strength to be a disciple of God, ye hastened to come and see me. Forasmuch then as ye have received your abundance in the name of God by Onesimus, who is your bishop in love unutterable, whom I pray that

⁷ *μιμηταί*, imitators. Eph. v. 1.

⁸ Compare Acts xx. 28. "Feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood."

⁹ Eph. v. 2.

¹⁰ This passage is defective in the Greek. Words of this import are given in the Latin version and in the Syriac.

¹ Compare the Epistle to the Magnesians, sect. 6, Trallians, sect. 1. Some suppose this Onesimus to be the servant of Philemon, who is mentioned as the first Bishop of Berœa, in the Apostolical Constitutions, book vii. 46. Although that book is not genuine, it may yet have preserved the tradition of such a fact, and he might have been removed to Ephesus. The name of Onesimus was, however, by no means uncommon at that time.

³ Or, "from visiting." See Cureton's note, *Corpus Ignatianum*, p. 278. The Armenian version agrees here with the Greek.



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in the same judgment, and may all speak alike concerning every thing); and that being subject to the bishop and the presbytery, ye may be altogether sanctified.

3. These things I command you not, as if I were any one⁷. For although I am even bound for his name, I am not yet perfect in Jesus Christ. But now I begin to learn; and I speak to you as my fellow-disciples. For I ought to have been stirred up by you, in faith, in admonition, in patience, in long-suffering.

But forasmuch as charity suffers me not to be silent towards you, I have therefore first taken upon me to exhort you, that ye would all run together according to the will of God.

But forasmuch as love suffereth me not to be silent respecting you, on this account I have been forward to entreat you to be diligent in the will of God.

For Jesus Christ, our inseparable life, he is by the will of the Father⁸: as also the bishops, appointed unto the utmost bounds of the earth, are by the will of Jesus Christ.

4. Wherefore it becomes you to run together according to the will of your bishop, even as also ye do. For your renowned presbytery, worthy of God, is fitted as exactly to the bishop, as the strings are to an harp⁹. Wherefore, in your concord and harmonious love, Jesus Christ is sung. And every single person among you makes up the chorus; that all being harmonious in concord, taking up the song of God in perfect unity, ye may sing with one voice to the Father, through

⁷ Comp. Acts v. 36.

⁸ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς—τοῦ πατρὸς ἡ γνώμη. "Jesus Christ—is the Will of the Father." Smith proposes to read τῆ γνώμη, which is adopted in the text. The Armenian version is to the same effect.

⁹ See the Epistle to the Philadelphians, sect. 1.

Jesus Christ ; to the end that he may both hear you, and perceive by your good works that ye are members of his Son. Wherefore it is profitable for you to live in an unblameable unity, that ye may always have fellowship with God.

5. But if I, in this little time, have had such a familiarity with your bishop (whom I have known), not in the flesh, but in the spirit, how much more must I think you happy, who are so joined to him as the Church is to Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ to the Father, that all things may agree together in unity. Let no man deceive himself. Except a man be within the altar, he is deprived of the bread of God. For if the prayer of one or two be of such avail ¹⁰, how much more shall that of the bishop and the whole Church be? He therefore that comes not together into the same place with it, he is proud already, and hath condemned himself¹. For it is written ², “God resisteth the proud.” Let us take heed, therefore, that we set not ourselves against the bishop, that we may be subject to God.

6. The more any one sees his bishop silent, the more let him revere him. For whomsoever the master of the house sends to be over his own household, we ought to receive him, even as we would him that sent him. It is evident, therefore, that we ought to respect the bishop, even as the Lord himself. And indeed Onesimus himself greatly commends your good order in God ; in that ye all live according to the truth, and no heresy dwells among you : neither do ye hearken to any one more than to Jesus Christ, speaking to you in truth.

7. For some there are who are wont to carry about the name (of Christ) in deceitfulness, but do things

¹⁰ James v. 16. Matt. xviii. 19.

¹ Compare John iii. 18.

² Prov. iii. 34. James iv. 6. 1 Pet. v. 5.

unworthy of God ; whom ye must avoid, as ye would wild beasts. For they are ravening dogs, which bite secretly ; of whom ye must beware, as of men hardly to be cured. There is one physician, both carnal and spiritual ; create and uncreate³ ; God, manifest in the flesh⁴ ; true life⁵, in death ; both of Mary, and of God : first capable of suffering, and then liable to suffer no more (even Jesus Christ our Lord⁶).

³·γενητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος. This is the reading adopted by Smith. The other editions have γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, “begotten and unbegotten.” Bull, (*Defensio Fid. Nic. cap. ii. 2, s. 6.*) although he reads γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος translates the words “create and uncreate,” following the old Latin version, and Athanasius, *de Synodis Arim. et Seleuc. tom. i. 922.*

Πεπείσμεθα ὅτι καὶ ὁ μακάριος Ἰγνάτιος ὀρθῶς ἔγραψε, γενητὸν αὐτὸν λέγων διὰ τὴν σάρκα· ὁ γὰρ Χριστὸς σὰρξ ἐγένετο· ἀγέννητον δὲ, ὅτι μὴ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ γενητῶν ἐστίν, ἀλλ’ υἱὸς ἐκ πατρός.

“We are persuaded, that the blessed Ignatius also did well declare in his writings, respecting Christ, that he was made according to the flesh, for Christ was made flesh : and that he was uncreate, because he is not among those things which were created and formed, but the Son proceeding of the Father.”

Cotelerius shows that γενητὸς and γεννητὸς, ἀγέννητος and ἀγέννητος, have been not unfrequently confounded. This confusion may have sometimes arisen from the errors of transcribers ; but, before the Council of Nice the distinction between the words was not so scrupulously observed as it was afterwards. Origen was censured for calling the Son γενητὸς Θεός· although in another part of his works (*Contra Celsum, vi. 17*) he expressly calls him ἀγέννητος. See Burton, *Testimonies of the Antenicene Fathers, No. 12.* Suicer, *Thesaurus*, on the words ἀγέννητος and γενητὸς. Theodoret (*Dial. 1, tom. iv. P. 1, p. 9.*) reads γεννητὸς ἐξ ἀγεννήτου, “begotten of him who is unbegotten.”

Tertullian. *De Carne Christi, cap. 5*, has a plain reference to this passage of Ignatius : “Ita utriusque substantiæ census hominem et Deum exhibuit : hinc natum, inde non natum ; hinc carneum, inde spiritalem ; hinc infirmum, inde præfortem : hinc morientem, inde viventem. Quæ proprietates conditionum, divinæ et humanæ, æquâ utique naturæ utriusque veritate dispuncta est, eâdem fide et spiritûs et carnis.”

⁴·Ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος Θεός· God made (man) in the flesh.

⁵·ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινή. This seems to be the true reading, instead of ἐν ἀθανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινή, words which convey no distinct meaning.

⁶ These words are added in the old Latin version, in three Syriac quotations, apparently from two different versions (*Cureton, Corp. Ignat. pp. 218, 219*), and in the Armenian version, which was probably made from one of these (*Petermann, p. 24*). They are also found in the passage as quoted in the fifth century by Theodoret, *Epist. ad Monachos Constan-*



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Spirit; neither they that are of the Spirit the works of the flesh⁸. As also faith cannot do the works of unfaithfulness, nor unfaithfulness the works of faith. But even those things which ye do according to the flesh are spiritual; for ye do all things in Jesus Christ.

9. Nevertheless, I have heard of some who have passed by you, having perverse doctrine; whom ye did not suffer to sow among you; but stopped your ears that ye might not receive those things which were sown by them, as being the stones of the temple of the Father,

prepared for the building of God the Father, raised up on high by the engine of Jesus Christ, which is the cross, and using the Holy Ghost as the rope. And your faith is your support⁹: and your charity

things, neither the spiritual carnal things: likewise neither faith, those things which are foreign to faith, nor lack of faith what is faith's. For those things which ye have done in the flesh, even they are spiritual, because ye have done every thing in Jesus Christ.

and ye are prepared for the building of God the Father, and are raised up on high by the engine of Jesus Christ, which is the cross, and ye are drawn by the rope, which is the Holy Ghost; and your

⁸ Gal. v. 17.

⁹ ἀναγωγέυς. Vossius thinks this word here signifies a pulley, as it is rendered in the Syriac, but by an unusual word. See Cureton, Corpus Ignat. p. 282, note. Ἀγωγέυς is sometimes used for the rein with which a horse is guided. Ignatius probably alludes to the metaphor used by St. Paul in writing to the same Ephesians, Eph. ii. 20, &c. He compares the faithful to the stones composing the temple of the Father, Jesus Christ to an engine by which they are raised on high, the Holy Spirit to the rope by which they are drawn, faith to the pulley or windlass, and charity to the levelled road along which the stones are drawn from the quarry. Comparisons of this kind, carried even to a greater degree of minuteness, are common in the early Christian writers. Those who object to them, as opposed to our present notions of taste, must remember that refinement upon such points formed no part of the habits of those who were ad-

the way which leads to God.

pulley is your faith, and your love is the way that leadeth up on high to God.

Ye are, therefore, and all your companions, full of God, his (spiritual) temples, full of Christ, full of holiness: adorned in all things with the commands of Christ: in whom also I rejoice that I have been thought worthy by this present epistle to converse, and joy together with you; that with respect to the other life, ye love nothing but God only.

10. Pray also without ceasing¹ for other men. For there is hope of repentance in them, that they may attain unto God. Suffer them, therefore, to receive instruction of you, if it be only from your works. To their anger, be ye meek; to their boastings, be ye humble; to their blasphemies, (return) your prayers; to their error, (oppose) your firmness in the faith; to their cruelty, be ye gentle; not studying in return to imitate them. Let us be found their brethren in moderation, and study to be followers² of the Lord:

Pray for all men. For there is hope of repentance for them, that they may be accounted worthy of God. By your works rather let them be instructed. Against their harsh words, be ye conciliatory in meekness of mind, and gentleness; against their blasphemies, do ye pray; and against their errors, be ye armed with faith; and against their fierceness, be ye peaceful and quiet; and be ye not astounded⁴ by them. Let us then be imitators of the Lord in meekness, and (emulous) as to who shall be injured, and

dressed: and that the writings of St. Paul, as for instance Eph. vi. 14—18, owe much beautiful and forcible illustration to comparisons of a similar nature, but entirely free from the same defect. See 1 Pet. ii. 5.

¹ 1 Thess. v. 17.

⁴ See Cureton, p. 283, note.

² μιμηταί. Imitators. Eph. v. 1, as in c. i.

for who was ever more un- oppressed and defrauded
justly used, more destitute, (more than the rest ⁵).
more despised?

that no herb ³ of the devil may be found in you ;
but ye may remain in all holiness and sobriety in Christ
Jesus, both bodily and spiritually ⁴.

11. The last times are at hand. Let us reverence,
let us fear the long-suffering of God, that it be not to
us unto condemnation. For let us either fear the wrath
to come, or love the grace that we at present enjoy ;
one of the two : only that we be found in Christ Jesus
unto true life. Let nothing become you, besides him ;
for whom also I bear about these bonds, these spiritual
jewels ⁵, in which I would to God that I might arise,
through your prayers ; of which I entreat you to
make me always partaker, that I may be found in the
lot of the Christians of Ephesus, who have always
agreed with the apostles, through the power of Jesus
Christ.

12. I know who I am ; and to whom I write. I,
a person condemned ; ye, such as have obtained mercy ;
I, exposed to danger ; ye, established. Ye are the
passage of those that are killed for God ; who have
been instructed in the mysteries of the Gospel ⁶ with

³ This is a favourite metaphor
with Ignatius, to signify false doc-
trine ; compare his Epistle to the
Philadelphians, sect. 3, and Epistle
to the Trallians, sect. 6.

⁴ 1 Cor. vii. 34.

⁵ See the Epistle of Polycarp, sect. 1.

⁶ *συμμύσται*. Baptized Christians were denominated. *μύσται* and *οἱ
μεμνημένοι*, the initiated, while the Catechumens were called *ἄμυστοι*,
ἀμύητοι, and *ἀμυσταγωγῆτοι*, uninitiated, as not yet admitted to the use of
the sacred offices and knowledge of the mysteries of the Christian religion.
Hence the phrase *ἴσασι οἱ μεμνημένοι*, *the initiated know what is said*, so
constantly used in the early homilies and addresses to the people, when
any reference is made to the higher doctrines of Christianity. Casaubon
observes that this phrase occurs fifty times in the writings of Chrysostom

⁵ This sentiment agrees better
with the interpolated Greek text.
See Jacobson's note.



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15. It is better to be silent, and be; than to say (a man is a Christian), and not to be.

It is good to teach, if he who speaks, acts. He therefore is the only Master, who spake, and it was done¹. And even those things, which he did in silence², are worthy of the Father. He that possesses the word of Jesus is truly able to hear even his silence, that he may be perfect: and

may both do according to what he speaks, and be known by those things of which he is silent.

It is better that a man be silent when he is something, than that he should be speaking when he is not.

that by those things which he speaks he should act, and by those things of which he is silent he should be known.

There is nothing hid from God: but even our secret things are nigh unto him. Let us therefore do all things as becomes those who have God dwelling in them; that we may be his temple; and he may be our God within us; as also he is, and will manifest himself before our faces, by those things for which we justly love him.

16. Be not deceived, my brethren. Those who corrupt houses (by adultery) shall not inherit the kingdom of God³. If therefore they who do this according to the flesh, have suffered death⁴; how much more shall he die, who by his wicked doctrine corrupts the faith of God, for which Christ was crucified? He that is thus defiled, shall depart into unquenchable fire; and in like manner he that hearkens to him.

17.⁵ For this cause did the Lord receive ointment

¹ Ps. xxxiii. 9.

² Those actions which Christ performed in all humility.

³ 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.

⁴ 1 Cor. x. 8.

⁵ The first two sentences of this paragraph are quoted by Antiochus, Hom. i. *περὶ πίστεως*. Jacobson.

upon his head ⁶, that he might breathe (the breath of) immortality into his Church ⁷. Be not ye therefore anointed with the evil savour of the doctrine of the Prince of this world. Let him not take you captive from the life that is set before you. And why are ye not all wise, seeing ye have received the knowledge of God, which is Jesus Christ. Why do we perish in our folly, ignorant of the gift which the Lord hath truly sent us?

18. May my life be a sacrifice ⁸ for (the doctrine of) the cross, which is a stumbling-block to them that believe not, but to us is salvation and life everlasting ⁹.

My spirit boweth down to the cross, which is an offence to those who do not believe, but to you salvation and life eternal.

Where is the wise? Where is the disputer ¹? Where is the boasting of those who are called men of understanding? For our God Jesus Christ was borne in the womb of Mary, according to the dispensation of God, of the seed of David, yet by the Holy Ghost. He was born, and was baptized, that through his passion he might purify water (to the washing away of sin).

19. And the prince of this world knew not the virginity of Mary ², and

Thus was concealed from the ruler of this world the virginity of Mary, and

⁶ Ps. xlv. 7; cxxxiii. 2.

⁷ Compare John xx. 22.

⁸ *περίψημα τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ σταυροῦ*. See c. 8. The Armenian version here follows the Syriac. There is another Syriac version. Cureton, *Corpus Ignat.* pp. 219. 250.

⁹ 1 Cor. i. 18–23, 24.

¹ 1 Cor. i. 20.

² It was a favourite notion with the early Christian writers, that Mary was espoused to Joseph before the birth of Jesus, that his being born of a virgin might escape the knowledge of Satan. Thus Theophilus, the sixth bishop of Antioch, in the Latin version of his Commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel, i. 18, has this observation: "Quare non ex simplici virgine, sed ex desponsatâ concipitur Christus? Primò, ut per generationem

him who was born of her, the birth of our Lord ⁶,
and the death of the Lord : and the three mysteries
three mysteries everywhere of the shout ⁷, which were
noised abroad, yet done by done in the quietness of
God in silence. God from the star.

How then was he manifested to the world? A star shone in heaven above all other stars; and its light was inexpressible; and its novelty struck terror. All the rest of the stars, with the sun and moon, were the chorus to this star; and that sent forth its light above all. And there was trouble, whence this novelty came, so unlike to all the others.

Hence all magic was dissolved; and every bond And here at the manifestation of the Son ⁸ ma-

Joseph origo Mariæ monstraretur : secundò, ne lapidaretur à Judæis ut adultera : tertiò, ut in Ægyptum haberet solatium viri : quartò, ut partus ejus falleret diabolum, putantem Jesum de uxoratâ, non de Virgine natum." Jerome, in his Commentary on St. Matthew, i. 18, ascribes this very reason to Ignatius, " Martyr Ignatius etiam quartam addit causam cur à desponsatâ conceptus sit, ut partus, inquiens, ejus celaretur à diabolo, dum eum putat non de virgine sed de uxore generatum." Basil, in his Sermon on the Nativity of Christ, quotes the same opinion. These passages appear to be allusions to this Epistle of Ignatius. Origen, in his sixth Homily on St. Luke, translated by Jerome, says, " Eleganter in cujusdam Martyris Epistolâ scriptum reperi, Ignatium dico, Episcopum Antiochiæ post Petrum secundum, qui in persecutione Romæ pugnavit ad bestias, Principem sæculi hujus latuit virginitas Mariæ." Pearson, *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*, par. i. cap. 2.

⁶ The Syriac here appears to have omitted one or more words, which are supplied in two other Syriac versions, given by Cureton (Syriac version, pp. 44. 46; Corpus Ignat. pp. 211. 219; Translation, pp. 244. 250). The first of these two extracts, from the works of Timotheus, contains also the latter part of c. 18. The Armenian version here agrees with the Greek. See Petermann, p. 52.

⁷ This may allude to the proclamation of our Lord's birth, made by the angels. See Cureton, Corpus Ignat. p. 286, note.

⁸ The Syriac version here would imply a reading of the Greek different from that of either the Medicean, or the interpolated text. (See Cureton.) The Armenian version contains the previous passage omitted in the Syriac, and here agrees nearly with the Greek : "and hence every enchant-



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loving Polycarp, even as I do you. Remember me, even as Jesus Christ doth remember you. Pray for the Church which is in Syria, whence I am carried bound⁵ to Rome, being the least of all the faithful that are there, as I have been deemed worthy to be found to the glory of God. Farewell in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, our common hope.

⁵ Ignatius was bound in chains, at Antioch in Syria, and there delivered to the soldiers to be carried to Rome, as he expresses in his Epistle to the Romans.

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS

TO THE

MAGNESIANS.

IGNATIUS, who is also called Theophorus, to the (Church) blessed by the grace of God the Father, in Jesus Christ our Saviour; in whom I salute the Church which is at Magnesia, near the Mæander; and wish it all joy, in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ.

1. Having heard of your well-ordered love and charity in God, I determined, with much joy, to speak unto you in the faith of Jesus Christ. For having been thought worthy to obtain a most excellent name, in the bonds which I carry about, I salute the churches, wishing in them an union both of the body and spirit of Jesus Christ, our eternal life; (as also) of faith and charity, to which nothing is to be preferred; but especially of Jesus and the Father, in whom if we undergo all the injuries of the prince of this world, and escape, we shall enjoy God.

2. Seeing then that I have been thought worthy to see you, by Damas¹ your godly and excellent Bishop,

¹ Compare Ignatius' Epist. to Ephes. sect. 1. Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. iii. 36, says, that Ignatius wrote an Epistle to the church in Magnesia near the Mæander, in which he makes mention of their Bishop, Damas.

and by your worthy Presbyters, Bassus and Apollonius; and by my fellow-servant Sotio the Deacon, in whom I rejoice, forasmuch as he is subject unto his Bishop as unto the grace of God, and to the Presbytery as unto the law of Jesus Christ (I determined to write unto you).

3. It is your duty also not to despise the youth of your Bishop, but to yield all reverence to him, according to the power of God the Father. As also I perceive your holy Presbyters do, not considering his youthful appearance², but as men prudent in God, submitting to him; and not to him (indeed), but to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Bishop of us all. It becomes you therefore to be obedient with all sincerity, in honour of him who loves you. For, otherwise, a man deceives not this Bishop whom he sees, but affronts him who is invisible. For whatsoever of this kind is done, it reflects not upon men, but upon God, who knows the secrets of our hearts.

4. It is therefore fitting that we should not only be called Christians, but be so: as some call a Bishop by the name (of his office), but do all things without him. But such men appear to me void of a good conscience, since they are not gathered together firmly, according to God's commandment.

5. Seeing then all things have an end, there are set before us at once these two things, death and life: and every one shall depart into his proper place. For as there are two sorts of coins, the one of God, the other of the world, each having its own stamp impressed upon it³, so the unfaithful bear the mark of this world, and the faithful in charity that of God the Father through Jesus Christ, through whom unless we hold

² τὴν φαινομένην νεωτερικὴν τάξιν—This may refer either to his youth, or to his recent ordination.

³ Compare Rev. xiii. 16.



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8. Be not deceived with strange doctrines, nor with old fables which are unprofitable². For if we still continue to live according to the Jewish law, we acknowledge that we have not received grace³. For even the most holy prophets lived according to Christ Jesus. For this cause they were persecuted also, being inspired by his grace, fully to convince the unbelievers that there is One God⁴, who hath manifested himself by Jesus Christ his Son; who is his eternal word⁵, not coming forth from silence⁶, who in all things was well-pleasing to him that sent him.

9. If, therefore, they who were brought up in these ancient laws have come to the newness of hope, no longer observing sabbaths, but keeping the Lord's day⁷, in which also our life is sprung up by him, and

² Tit. iii. 9.

³ Gal. v. 4.

⁴ This passage is quoted in Syriac from the works of Timotheus, Cureton, *Corpus Ignat.* pp. 211. 244, and again from the works of Severus, pp. 213. 245, where it is remarkable that the word "eternal" is omitted as well as the negative before the expression, "coming forth from silence," and the passage is commented upon, with that omission. The Armenian version has also, "who is his word, which came forth from silence."

⁵ John i. 1.

⁶ See note (C) at the end of the volume.

⁷ That the first day of the week was constantly observed by the early Christians is plain, as well from instances in the New Testament, in which the habitual assembling of Christians, and their celebration of the holy sacrament, on that day, are distinctly affirmed, (*Acts xx. 7. 1 Cor. xvi. 2*, compared with *1 Cor. xi. 20*), as from the testimony of Justin Martyr (*Apol. sect. 89*), Tertullian (*Apol. c. 16*), and others. It was kept so strictly as a festival, that fasting was forbidden on that day. *Die Dominico jejunium nefas ducimus.* (*Tertullian. de Coronâ Militis, cap. 3.*)

The seventh day of the week, which is always designated by the word *Sabbatum*, in the early Christian writers, was also observed as a religious festival. Even the Montanists, although very anxious to introduce severe discipline in the observance of fasts, abstained from fasting on Saturday and Sunday, when they kept their two weeks of *Xerophagiæ*. *Duas in anno hebdomadas Xerophagiarum, nec totas, exceptis scilicet Sabbatis et Dominicis, offerimus Deo.* (*Tertullian. de Jejuniis, c. 15.*) The Saturday before Easter-day was, however, observed as a fast. In the Apostolical Constitutions, which may be taken to represent the usage of the Church in the fourth century, sentence of suspension is denounced against any of the Clergy who should fast on Saturday or Sunday. (*Canon 64.*)

through his death, which (yet) some deny:—By which mystery we have been brought to believe, and therefore wait, that we may be found the disciples of Jesus Christ our only teacher:—How shall we be able to live without him, whose disciples the very prophets were, and whom by the Spirit they expected as their teacher? And therefore he, whom they righteously waited for, being come, raised them up from the dead.

10. Let us then not be insensible of his goodness. For if he had dealt with us according to our works, we should not now have had a being. Wherefore being become his disciples, let us learn to live a Christian life. For whosoever is called by any other name besides this, is not of God. Lay aside therefore the evil leaven, which is grown old, and sour; and be changed into the new leaven, which is Jesus Christ. Be ye salted in him, lest any of you should be corrupted, for by your savour ye shall be judged. It is absurd to name Christ Jesus, and to be still a Jew. For Christianity believed not the Jewish religion, but the Jewish the Christian: that so every tongue that believed might be gathered together unto God.

11. These things, my beloved (I write unto you), not that I know of any among you who are thus disposed, but, as one less than yourselves, I would warn you, not to fall into the snares of vain-glory, but to

This observance, which probably arose from a desire of conciliating the Jewish converts, continued in the Eastern Church for many centuries. In the Western Church, Saturday was usually observed as a fast. The custom, however, was not general even in Italy. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, in the fourth century, when he was at Rome, observed the day as a fast, but at Milan made no such distinction between Saturday and the rest of the week. His answer to Augustine, who consulted him upon the point, has become almost proverbial. "When I come to Rome, I fast on Saturday, as they do at Rome; when I am here, I observe no fast. In like manner my advice is that you observe the custom of every Church, where you happen to be." (Augustine, ad Januar. Epist. 118. Cave's Primitive Christianity, part i. ch. 7. Bp. Kaye's Tertullian, chap. vi. p. 409, first edit.)

be fully instructed in the birth, and sufferings, and resurrection (of Christ), which was accomplished in the time of the government of Pontius Pilate; all which was truly and surely performed by Jesus Christ, our hope, from which God forbid that any of you should ever be turned aside.

12. May I have joy of you in all things, if I shall be worthy of it. For although I am bound, I am not worthy to be compared to one of you who are at liberty. I know that ye are not puffed up. For ye have Jesus Christ in your hearts. And the rather when I commend you, I know that ye are ashamed, as it is written, The just man condemneth himself⁸.

13. Give diligence, therefore, to be established in the doctrines of our Lord and the Apostles, that so whatsoever ye do, ye may prosper both in body and spirit: in faith and charity, in the Son and in the Father, and in the Spirit, in the Beginning and in the End⁹; together with your most worthy Bishop, and the well-woven spiritual crown of your Presbytery, and your godly Deacons. Be subject to your Bishop, and to one another, as Jesus Christ to the Father, according to the flesh; and the Apostles to Christ and to the Father, and to the Spirit; that so there may be (among you) an union both in body and spirit¹.

14. Knowing you to be full of God, I have the more briefly exhorted you. Remember me in your prayers, that I may attain unto God; as also the Church which is in Syria, whence I am not worthy to be called. For I stand in need of your joint prayers in God, and of your charity, that the Church, which is in Syria, may be thought worthy to be nourished² by your Church.

15. The Ephesians from Smyrna, whence also I

⁸ Prov. xviii. 17. Septuagint.

⁹ Rev. i. 8.

¹ Eph. iv. 4.

² *δροσισθηῖναι*, to be bedewed. Compare Hos. xiv. 5.



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THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS

TO THE

TRALLIANS.

IGNATIUS, who is also called Theophorus, to the holy Church which is at Tralles in Asia, beloved of God the Father of Jesus Christ, elect and worthy of God, having peace through the flesh, and blood, and passion of Jesus Christ, our hope, in the resurrection unto him; whom also I salute in its fulness, (continuing) in the Apostolic character, wishing it all joy and happiness.

I. I have heard of your blameless and constant disposition through patience, which not only appears in your outward conversation, but is naturally rooted and grounded in you; even as Polybius¹ your Bishop hath declared unto me; who came to me at Smyrna, by the will of God and Jesus Christ, and so rejoiced with me in my bonds for Jesus Christ, that I saw your whole assembly in him. Having therefore received by him the testimony of your good will towards me for God's sake, I seemed to find you, as I knew ye were, the followers of God.

¹ Eusebius mentions this Polybius, in his account of this Epistle. H. E. iii. 36.

2. For inasmuch² as ye are subject to your Bishop as to Jesus Christ, ye appear to me to live not after the manner of men, but according to Jesus Christ, who died for us, in order that, believing in his death, ye may escape death. It is therefore necessary that ye do nothing without your Bishop, even as ye are wont: and that ye be also subject to the Presbytery as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ, our hope, in whom if we walk, we shall be found (in him³). The Deacons also, as being the (ministers) of the mysteries of Jesus Christ, must by all means please all. For they are not the ministers of meat and drink, but of the Church of God. Wherefore they must avoid all offences, as (they would avoid) fire.

3. In like manner⁴, let all reverence the Deacons as Jesus Christ, and the Bishop as the Father; and the Presbyters as the council of God, and the assembly of the Apostles. Without these there is no Church. Concerning all which I am persuaded that ye think after the very same manner. For I have received, and even now have with me, the pattern of your love in your Bishop: whose very look is much instruction, and his mildness, power: whom I am persuaded that even the ungodly reverence. But⁵ because I have

² This is quoted in Syriac from Severus, Cureton, p. 30, Corpus Ignat. pp. 213. 245.

³ Compare Phil. iii. 9.

⁴ The Greek text here has, *Ὁμοίως πάντες ἐντρεπέσθωσαν τοὺς διακόνους, ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ὄντα υἱὸν τοῦ πατρὸς.* See Jacobson's note. The passage, as here rendered, is found quoted in Antiochus, Hom. 126, (see Cureton, Corpus Ignat. p. 178,) and agrees with the Armenian version. Petermann, p. 98.

⁵ *ὃν λογίζομαι καὶ τοὺς ἀθέους ἐντρεπέσθαι. ἀγαπῶντας ὡς οὐ φείδομαι ἑαυτὸν πότερον, δυνάμενος γράφειν ὑπὲρ τούτου εἰς τοῦτο ψῆθην, ἵνα ὦν κατάκριτος ὡς ἀπόστολος ὑμῖν διατάσσωμαι.* This passage is evidently corrupted, and was so, before the old Latin version was made, which is here only a verbal translation of the separate Greek words. Salmasius, Pearson, and Smith all endeavour to explain the passage, without success. The translation in the text is that of Archbishop Wake. It is founded upon the reading suggested by the corresponding passage in the inter-

a love towards you, I will not write any more sharply unto you about this matter, although I very well might; I have even taken so much upon myself, who am but a condemned (captive), as to command you as if I were an apostle.

4.⁶ I know many things in God; but I refrain myself, lest I should perish in my boasting. For now I ought the more to fear, and not hearken to those that would puff me up. For they, who (so) speak to me, chasten me. I love to suffer, but I know not if I be worthy. And this desire, though to others it doth not appear, yet to myself is (on that account) the more violent. I have, therefore, need of moderation, by which the prince of this world is destroyed.

5. Am I not able to write to you of heavenly things? But I fear lest I should harm you who are

4. [Now therefore being about to arrive shortly at Rome,] I know many things in God; but I moderate myself that I may not perish through boasting. For now it behoveth me to fear the more, and not to regard those who puff me up. For they who say such things to me, scourge me. For I love to suffer, but I do not know if I am worthy. For to many zeal is not seen; but with me it hath war. I have need, therefore, of meekness, by which the ruler of this world is destroyed.

5. I am able to write to you of heavenly things; but I fear lest I should do you an in-

polated Epistle: *Ἀγαπῶν ὑμᾶς φείδομαι συντονώτερον ἐπιστεῖλαι* κ. τ. λ. The Armenian version has, "And because I love you, I abstain from writing sharply to you, and from boasting. Neither am I sufficient to command you, as if I were an Apostle, being but a condemned man." Compare Rom. iv.

⁶ The fourth and fifth chapters are found in the Syriac version of the Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans. Cureton, *Corpus Ignat.* pp. 53. 231. The translation from the Syriac is given in the second column.



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7. Wherefore, guard yourselves against such persons. And that ye will do, if ye are not puffed up, but continue inseparable from Jesus Christ our God, and from your Bishop, and from the commands of the Apostles. He that is within the altar is pure. But he that is without is not pure. That is, he that doeth any thing without the Bishop, and the Presbyters, and the Deacons, is not pure in his conscience.

8. Not that I know there is any thing of this nature among you ; but I forewarn you, as greatly beloved of me, foreseeing the snares of the devil. Wherefore putting on meekness, renew yourselves in faith, that is the flesh of the Lord, and in charity, that is the blood of Jesus Christ. Let no one of you bear a grudge against his neighbour. Give no occasion to the Gentiles, lest by means of a few foolish men, the whole congregation of God be evil spoken of. For woe to that man through whose vanity my name is blasphemed by any ¹.

9. Stop your ears, therefore, when any one speaks to you against Jesus Christ, who was of the race of David, of the Virgin Mary : who was truly born, and did eat and drink, was truly persecuted under Pontius

that he was acquainted with the beautiful passage of Lucretius, as beautifully imitated by Tasso, in which the application is different.

Nam veluti pueris absinthia tetra medentes
 Quum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum
 Contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore,
 Ut puerorum ætas improvida ludificetur
 Labrorum tenus, interea perpotet amarum
 Absinthi laticem, deceptaque non capiatur,
 Sed potius tali tactu recreata valescat.

LUCRET. iv. 11.

Così all' egro fanciul porgiamo aspersi
 Di soave licor gli orli del vaso :
 Succhi amari ingannato intanto ci beve,
 E dall' inganno suo vita riceve.

TASSO, GER. LIB. i. 3.

¹ Isa. lii. 5.

Pilate, was truly crucified, and died, in the sight of those in heaven, and of those on earth, and of those under the earth. Who also was truly raised from the dead, by his Father; after the same manner as he will also raise up us who believe in him, by Christ Jesus, without whom we have no true life.

10. But if, as some who are Atheists², that is to say, unbelievers, pretend, he suffered only in appearance—they themselves living only in appearance—why then am I bound? Why do I desire to fight with beasts? Then do I die in vain. Verily I lie not against the Lord.

11. Flee, therefore, these evil scions, which bring forth deadly fruit; of which if any one taste he shall presently die. For these are not plants of the Father³. For if they were, they would appear to be branches of the cross, and their fruit would be incorruptible; by which he invites you through his passion, who are members of him. For the head cannot be without its members, God having promised an union, which is himself.

12. I salute you from Smyrna, together with the Churches of God, which are present with me, who have refreshed me in all things, both in body and in spirit. My bonds, which I carry about me for the sake of Christ, beseeching him that I may attain unto God, exhort you. Continue in concord among yourselves, and in prayer one with another. For it be-

² This is a plain allusion to the heresy of the Docetæ, to which St. John probably refers in 1 Epist. iv. 3, "Every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God." They imagined that the body of our Lord was no real substance, but an unsubstantial phantom. Simon Magus is said to have been the author of this heresy. Menander, his disciple, was a contemporary of Ignatius, and is said by Justin Martyr, Apol. c. 34, to have deceived many in Antioch. Compare Ignatius' Epistle to the Smyrneans, c. 1, 2. This passage is quoted in Syriac, from Severus, Cureton, p. 32; Corpus Ignat. p. 214. 240.

³ Matt. xv. 13.

comes every one of you, especially the Presbyters, to refresh the Bishop, to the honour of the Father, of Jesus Christ, and of the Apostles. I beseech you that ye hearken to me, in love, that I may not, by those things which I write, rise up in witness against you ⁴. Pray also for me, who stand in need of your love, through the mercy of God, that I may be worthy of the portion which I am about to obtain, that I be not found a cast-away ⁵.

13. The love of those who are at Smyrna and Ephesus salutes you. Remember ye in your prayers the church of Syria, from which I am not worthy to be called, being one of the least of it. Fare ye well ⁶ in Jesus Christ, being subject unto your Bishop, as to the command (of God), and in like manner to the Presbytery. Love every one his brother in simplicity of heart. May my life be your expiation ⁷, not only now, but when I shall have attained unto God. For I am yet under danger. But the Father is faithful in Jesus Christ, to fulfil both my petition and yours: in whom may ye be found unblameable.

⁴ See the Epistle to the Philadelphians, c. 6.

⁵ 1 Cor. ix. 27.

⁶ ἔρρωσθε—Be strong.

⁷ The Greek text here has ἀγνίζετε ὑμῶν τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα. Vossius proposes to read ἄγνισμα ὑμῶν, and Cotelerius ἀγνίζηται. The interpolated Greek has ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς, the same expression as that at the beginning of this chapter. See Ignatius' Epistle to Ephes. c. 8. Rom. c. 9. If conjecture were allowed, the word περίψημα might be suggested. See Ephes. 8, 18.



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honour and blessing and praise; worthy to receive that which she wishes, chaste, and pre-eminent in charity, bearing the name of Christ and of the Father, which I salute in the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father: to those who are united both in flesh and spirit to all his commands, and wholly filled with the grace of God, and entirely cleansed from the stain of any other doctrine, be all undefiled joy in Jesus Christ our God.

1. Forasmuch as, through my prayers to God, I have obtained to see your faces worthy of God³, which I much desired to do, being bound in Christ Jesus I hope to salute you, if it shall be the will of God that I shall be thought worthy to attain unto the end. For the beginning is well disposed, if I shall but have grace, without hindrance to take upon me

³ This Epistle was written from Smyrna. But Ignatius, having set out to be brought to Rome, speaks in anticipation of his arrival.

praise and remembrance¹, and is worthy of prosperity and presideth in love, and is perfected in the law of Christ blameless, much peace.

1. Long since have I prayed to God that I might be accounted worthy to behold your faces, which are worthy of God: now therefore being bound in Jesus Christ, I hope to meet you and salute you, if there be the will that I should be accounted worthy to attain to the end. For the beginning is well disposed, if I be accounted worthy to attain to the

¹ As if the word *ἀξιωμανονεύτω* had been here in the Greek.

my lot. But I fear your love, lest it injure me. For to you it is easy to do as ye will: but to me it is difficult to attain unto God, if ye be (too) indulgent to me.

2. For I would not have you please men, but God; even as also ye do. For I shall never have such an opportunity of attaining unto God; nor will your names ever be inscribed upon a better work, if ye only keep silence. For if ye are silent with respect to me, I shall be made partaker of God: but if ye shall love my flesh, I shall again have my course to run. Ye can do me no greater favour, than to suffer me to be offered up

end, that I may receive my portion without hindrance through suffering. For I am afraid of your love, lest it should injure me. For you, indeed, it is easy for you to do what ye wish: but for me, it is difficult for me to be accounted worthy of God, if indeed ye spare me not.

2. For there is no other time like this, that I should be accounted worthy of God: neither will ye, if ye be silent, be found in a better work than this. If ye leave me I shall be the word of God; but if ye love my flesh, again am I to myself a voice². Ye will not give me any thing better than this, that I should be sacrificed to God while the altar is ready: that ye may be in one concord in love, and may praise God the Father

² The Syriac here agrees with the old Latin version; *Si enim taceatis à me, ego verbum Dei: si autem desideretis carnem meam, rursus factus sum vox*: another Syriac Version (Cureton, p. 225) and a citation from John the Monk (*id.* p. 206) agrees. In each case the copy from which the translation was made appears to have had $\phi\omega\nu\eta$, at the end of the sentence, for $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega\nu$, and $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ before $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$. See Cureton's note, *Corpus Ignat.* p. 291. The Armenian versions agree partly with the Greek and partly with the Syriac.

to God, now that the altar is prepared: that when ye are gathered together in love, ye may sing praises to the Father, in Christ Jesus, that he hath vouchsafed that a Bishop of Syria⁴ should be found, and to call him from the east unto the west. It is truly good for me to set from the world unto God, that I may rise again unto him.

3. Ye have never envied any one; ye have taught others⁵. I would therefore that those things, which ye have commanded others in your teaching, be now established among yourselves. Only pray for me, that God would give me both inward and outward strength, that I may not only say, but will: in order that I may not only be called a Christian, but be found one. For if I be so found, I may deservedly be called a Chris-

through Jesus Christ our Lord, because he hath accounted a Bishop worthy to be God's, having called him from the east to the west. It is good that I should set from the world in God, that I may rise in him in life.

3. Ye have never envied any one. Ye have taught others.

Pray only for strength to be given to me from within and from without, that I may not only speak, but also may be willing: and not that I may be called a Christian only, but also that I may be found to be (one): for if I am found to be (one), I am also

⁴ Ignatius, as the Bishop of Antioch, the chief city of Syria, styles himself Bishop of Syria. Compare sect. 9, where he refers to himself, as the shepherd of Syria.

⁵ Ye have never envied any other the glory of becoming a martyr for the name of Christ; nay, ye have encouraged them by your exhortations to remain faithful unto death.



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wards me. Suffer me to be the food of wild beasts, by which I may attain unto God. I am the wheat of God⁹: and by the teeth of wild beasts I shall be ground, that I may be found the pure bread of Christ. Rather encourage the wild beasts, that they may become my sepulchre, and may leave nothing of my body; that when I sleep I may be burdensome to no one. Then shall I truly be a disciple of Christ, when the world shall not see so much as my body. Pray to Christ for me, that by these instruments I may be made a sacrifice (of God). I command you not, as Peter and Paul did: they were apostles, I a condemned man: they were free, but I hitherto

unseasonable. Leave me to be the beasts', that through them I may be accounted worthy of God. I am the wheat of God, and by the teeth of the beasts I am ground, that I may be found the pure bread of God. With provoking provoke ye the beasts, that they may be a grave for me, and may leave nothing of my body, that even after I am fallen asleep I may not be a burden upon any one. Then shall I be in truth a disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world seeth not even my body. Entreat our Lord for me, that through these instruments I may be found a sacrifice to God. I do not charge you like Peter and Paul, who are apostles; but I am one condemned: they,

⁹ These remarkable words are quoted by Irenæus, v. 28; Eusebius, H. E. iii. 36: of which there is a Syriac translation, Cureton, Corpus Ignat. p. 203. Jerome, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, the *Menologia Græca*, and others, say that Ignatius addressed to the people expressions of the same nature, when he was brought out before the wild beasts: "O Romans, the spectators of this contest, I am not thus condemned for any evil deed, but for the sake of my religion. For I am the wheat of God, and by the teeth of wild beasts I shall be ground, that I may be the pure bread (of Christ)." Mr. Cureton, in his notes, gives a citation of this passage, and of some other passages in this Epistle, from a MS. in the British Museum. Corpus Ignat. p. 296.

a servant: but if I shall suffer, I shall then become the freed-man of Jesus (Christ), and shall rise free in him. And now, being in bonds, I learn to desire no worldly or vain thing.

5. From Syria even to Rome I fight with beasts both by sea and land, by night and day; being bound to ten leopards, that is to say, a band of soldiers, who even when kindly treated become the worse¹. But by their unjust treatment I am the more instructed: yet am I not thereby justified². May I enjoy the wild beasts which are prepared for me³: and pray that

indeed, were free; but I am a slave even until now. But if I suffer, I shall be the freed-man of Jesus Christ, and I shall rise from the dead in him free. And now, being bound, I learn to desire nothing³.

5. From Syria and even to Rome I am cast among wild beasts, by sea and by land, by night and by day; being bound between ten leopards, which are the band of soldiers, who, even while I do good to them, do evil the more to me. But I am the rather instructed by their injury: but not on this account am I justified to myself. I rejoice in the beasts that are prepared for me;

¹ This passage also is quoted by Eusebius, H. E. iii. 36. Ignatius compares the ill usage which he experienced from the soldiers to the violence with which the beasts, to which he was condemned, would treat him. "My contest with wild beasts is already begun, and continues all the way from Syria even to Rome. Rather than endure the insults, could I rejoice in the wild beasts which are prepared for me."

² 1 Cor. iv. 4.

³ Chrysostom quotes this expression in his Homily on the martyrdom of Ignatius. The annals of the primitive martyrs present many instances, in which those who were exposed to wild beasts or subjected to other punishment, used means to accelerate their own death. See the circular Epistle of the Church of Smyrna on the martyrdom of Polycarp, c. 3.

³ The old Latin version, which has, "nihil concupiscere," the Syriac, and both the Armenian versions, omit the last words found in the Greek, μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν κοσμικὸν ἢ μάταιον.

they may be found ready for me: which I will even encourage to devour me all at once, and not fear to touch me, as they have some others. And even if they refuse, and will not, I will compel them. Bear with me (in this): I know what is profitable for me; now I begin to be a disciple⁴. Let nothing, of things either visible or invisible, deprive me of attaining unto Jesus Christ. Let fire and the cross, and the companies of wild beasts, let tearings and rendings⁵, let breakings of bones, and the cutting off of limbs, let the shatterings of the whole body, and all the evil torments of the devil come upon me: only let me attain unto Jesus Christ.

6. All the pleasures of the world and the kingdoms of this life will avail me nothing. Better

and I pray that they may be quickly found for me: and I will provoke them to devour me speedily; and not as that which is afraid of some other men, and does not approach them; even should they not be willing to approach me, I will go with violence against them. Know me from myself. What is expedient for me? Let nothing envy me of those that are seen and those that are not seen, that I should be accounted worthy of Jesus Christ. Fire and the cross, and the beasts that are prepared⁴, amputation of the limbs, and scattering of the bones, and crushing of the whole body, hard torments of the devil; let these come upon me, and only may I be accounted worthy of Jesus Christ.

⁴ Luke xiv. 27.

⁵ ἀνατομαί, διαιρέσεις. These words are omitted by Eusebius, and in the Syriac version; and seem to have been inserted as explanations of the previous word, συστάσεις.

⁴ As if from θήρια τε ἡτοιμασμένα, instead of θηρίων τε συστάσεις.



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world would fain carry me away, and corrupt my resolution towards my God. Let none of you therefore assist him : rather join yourselves to me, that is, to God. Do not speak of Jesus Christ, and yet covet the world. Let not envy dwell in you : obey not even me, if, when I shall be present with you, I should exhort you (to the contrary) : but rather obey these commands which I write unto you. I write to you desiring to die, though I live. My love is crucified⁹ : and in

And my love is crucified,

⁹ The Greek here has, ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρωσ ἐσταύρωται, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλόυλον· ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν, κ. τ. λ. "There is in me no fire delighting in matter, &c." Simeon Metaphrastes has also φιλόυλον. The old Latin version, which is usually a strictly verbal translation, has "et non est in me ignis amans aliquam aquam ; sed vivens et loquens est in me, &c." The interpolated Epistle has the same reading as the old Latin version οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλοῦντι. The sense of the passage being to this effect : "While I contemplate Jesus, whose love dwells in me, crucified for me, the fire, which the vain desires of the world kindle, is extinguished within me. I perceive my whole heart bedewed with the effusion of the Holy Spirit, as by a copious and perpetual stream of living water, springing up unto everlasting life. And thence I hear as it were a heavenly voice, calling unto me, and saying, Come unto the Father."

Origen, in the introduction to his Commentary on the Book of Canticles ; the book De Divinis Nominibus, ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, cap. 4 ; the Menologia Græca, on the 20th of December ; and many modern writers, agree in considering the terms "my love is crucified," as expressing the love of Ignatius to his Saviour who was crucified for him. This seems the most natural meaning of the expression.

Cave, in his Life of Ignatius, ch. xi., follows the opinion of those who refer the words to the disposition of Ignatius himself, who had "crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts."

me, who love (a heavenly object), there is no (earthly) fire ; but living water, springing up in me, saying within me, Come unto the Father¹. I delight not in the food of corruption, nor in the pleasures of this life ; I desire the bread of God ; the heavenly bread, the bread of life, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ the Son of God, who was born, in these last days, of the seed of David and Abraham : and the drink of God which I desire is his blood, which is incorruptible love, and eternal life.

8. I have no desire to live any longer after the manner of men ; neither shall I, if ye consent. Consent therefore, that (God) may also consent unto you. I exhort you in few words ; believe me. And Jesus Christ will show you that I speak truth, he who is the mouth of the Father, without deceit, in whom the Father speaks truly. Pray for

and there is no fire in me for another love.

I do not desire the food of corruption, neither the desires of this world. The bread of God I seek, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ :

and his blood I seek, a drink which is love incorruptible.

¹ John iv. 14.

me, that I may attain. I have not written unto you after the flesh, but according to the will of God. If I shall suffer, ye have consented to my wishes; if I shall be rejected, ye have hated me.

9. Remember in your prayers the Church of Syria, which now enjoys God for its shepherd, instead of me. Jesus Christ alone shall supply the place of its Bishop, together with your love. But I am ashamed even to be reckoned as one of them. For neither am I worthy, being the least among them, and as one born out of due time². But through mercy I have obtained to be somebody, if I shall attain unto God. My spirit salutes you: and the charity of the Churches which have received me in the name of Jesus Christ, not simply as a passenger. For even those which belonged not at all to me, have brought

My spirit saluteth you, and the love of the Churches which received me as the name of Jesus Christ;

for even those who were near⁵ to the way in the flesh preceded me in every city.

² 1 Cor. xv. 8. Compare Epist. to the Smyrneans, c. 11.

⁵ Another Syriac version has the negative, "those who were not near," as the Greek *αἱ μὴ προσήκουσαι*. Cureton, note, p. 303.



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THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS

TO THE

PHILADELPHIANS.

IGNATIUS, who is also called Theophorus, to the Church of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, which is at Philadelphia in Asia, which hath obtained mercy, and is fixed in the unity of God, and rejoices evermore in the passion of our Lord, and is fulfilled in all mercy through his resurrection; which also I salute in the blood of Jesus Christ, which is our eternal and abiding joy, especially if they be at unity with the Bishop, and the Presbyters, and Deacons with him, appointed according to the will of Jesus Christ, whom he hath settled according to his own will, in all firmness by the Holy Spirit.

1. Which Bishop I know obtained that ministry which appertains to the public good, neither of himself, nor by men¹, nor through vain glory, but in the love of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ; whose moderation I admire; who by his silence prevails more than the vain speech of others. For (his mind) is aptly fitted to the commandments, as an harp to its strings². Wherefore my soul esteems his mind to-

¹ Compare Gal. i. 1.

² See Ignatius's Epistle to the Ephesians, ch. 4.

wards God most happy, knowing it to be fruitful in all virtue, and perfect, full of constancy, free from passion, and according to all the moderation of the living God.

2. Wherefore, as becomes children of light and of truth, flee divisions and false doctrines: for where the shepherd is, there do ye, as sheep, follow after. For many wolves³, which appear worthy of belief, do through the allurements of evil pleasure lead captive those that run in the course of God. But in your concord they shall find no place.

3. Abstain from those evil herbs⁴, which Jesus Christ cultivates not, since they are not planted by the Father. Not that I have found any division among you, but purity from all defilement⁵. For as many as are of God, and of Jesus Christ, are also with their bishop. And as many as shall with repentance return into the unity of the Church, even these shall also be the servants of God, that they may live according to Jesus Christ. Be not deceived, my brethren: if any one follows him that makes a schism (in the Church), he shall not inherit the kingdom of God⁶. If any one walks after any other opinion, he agrees⁷ not with the passion (of Christ).

4. Give diligence, therefore, to partake all of the

³ Acts xx. 29.

⁴ Compare the Epistle to the Trallians, c. 6.

⁵ The Greek here has *ἀποδιυλισμένον*. The old Latin version, which has *abstractionem*, confirms the conjecture of Vossius, *ἀποδιυλισμόν*, the clearness which is produced by filtering or straining a liquid, so as to separate from it all extraneous substances. Compare Matt. xxiii. 24. The interpolated Greek has *προασφαλίζομαι ὑμᾶς*, "I forewarn you." The Armenian, "Not that divisions are among you, but the noise of gladness." It may be conjectured that this version is from a copy which had *ἀγαλλίασιν*.

⁶ This sentence is quoted in Syriac, in the works of Timotheus. Cureton, p. 48; Corpus Ignat. p. 219. 249.

⁷ *οὐ συγκατατίθεται*, gives no assent to that truth, and has no communion with those sufferings. See 2 Cor. vi. 16.

same Eucharist. For there is but one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup, in the unity of his blood: one altar, as there is also one Bishop, together with the Presbytery, and the Deacons, my fellow-servants. That so, whatsoever ye do, ye may do it according to the will of God.

5. My brethren, I am greatly enlarged in my love towards you; and in my great joy I would establish you: yet not I, but Jesus Christ, in whom being bound I fear the more, as yet being imperfect⁸. But your prayer to God shall make me perfect, that I may attain that portion, which by God's mercy, is allotted unto me: fleeing to the Gospel⁹, as to the flesh of Jesus, and to the Apostles, as unto the Presbytery of the Church. Let us also love the prophets, forasmuch as they also proclaimed the coming of the Gospel, and hoped in Christ, and waited for him: in whom believing also they were saved, in the unity of Jesus Christ, being holy men, worthy of all love and admiration, who have received testimony from Jesus Christ, and are numbered in the Gospel of our common hope.

6. But if any one shall teach you the Jewish law, hear him not. For better is it to receive the law of Christ from one that is circumcised, than the law of the Jews from one that is uncircumcised¹. But if either the one or the other do not speak concerning

⁸ Compare Ignatius's Epistle to the Ephesians, c. 3.

⁹ Having recourse to the Gospel, as if it were to Jesus Christ himself, and to the writings of the Apostles, who are the council of the Church. Usher refers to the Commentary on Ps. cxlvii., among the works ascribed to Jerome, "Ego corpus Jesu Evangelium puto; Sanctas Scripturas puto doctrinam ejus." Le Clerc well observes that Ignatius here specifies, as his refuge, in the first place, the Scriptures of the New Testament; and, in the second place, those of the Old Testament, as confirmatory of the New.

He ascribes also the salvation of the prophets to their faith.

¹ See note on Ignatius's Epistle to the Magnesians, c. 8.



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ing to the instruction of Christ ⁶. Because I have heard some say, Unless I find it in the ancient writings, I will not believe in the Gospel. And when I said to them, It is written (in the Gospel), they answered me, It is found written before (in the law). But to me the most ancient records are Jesus Christ; the most uncorrupted records, his cross, and death, and rising again, and faith in him, by which I desire, through your prayers, to be justified.

9. The priests themselves are good. But much better is the High Priest, to whom only hath been committed the Holy of Holies, to whom alone have been entrusted the secret things of God. He is the door of the Father, by which enter in Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the prophets, and the Apostles, and the Church. All these things are for the unity of God. Howbeit the Gospel hath somewhat in it far above, the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ, his passion, and resurrection. For the beloved prophets referred to him; but the Gospel is the perfection of incorruption. All, therefore, together are good, if ye believe with charity.

10. Forasmuch as I am told, that, through your prayers and the bowels which ye have in Christ Jesus, a Church, which is in Antioch in Syria, is at peace ⁷, will become you, as the Church of God, to appoint

⁶ This seems to be a caution against the early heretics, such as the Cerinthians and Ebionites, who would not admit any doctrine of the Gospel, except such as could be proved by the writings of the Old Testament. Lardner, *Credibility*, part ii., c. 17, p. 323, agrees with Le Clerc, in supposing that a reference is here made to those who appealed, on all controverted points, to the original autographs of the Gospels. The whole tenor of the passage, however, from sect. 6, to sect. 9, appears to relate to the Jewish law, compared with the Gospel.

⁷ Compare Ignatius's *Epist. to the Smyrneans*, c. 11, and to *Polycarp*, c. 7. Archbishop Usher is of opinion that this peace to the Church of Antioch arose from the edict of Trajan, that the Christians should no longer be sought out for punishment.

a Deacon to go to them thither as the ambassador of God, that ye may rejoice with them when they meet together, and glorify the name of God. Blessed be that man in Christ Jesus, who shall be found worthy of such a ministry; and ye yourselves also shall be glorified. If, now, ye be willing, it is not impossible for you (to do this) for the sake of God, as also the other neighbouring Churches have sent them, some Bishops, and other Priests and Deacons.

11. As concerning Philo the Deacon of Cilicia, a man of honest report⁸, who now also ministers unto me in the word of God, with Rheus Agathopus⁹, a chosen man, who is also following me from Syria, not regarding his life, these also bear witness of you. And I myself give thanks to God for you, that ye have received them, even as the Lord hath received us. And for those who dishonoured them, may they be forgiven through the grace of Jesus Christ. The love of the brethren that are at Troas salutes you; whence also I now write by Burrhus, who was sent together with me by those of Ephesus and Smyrna, for respect sake. May our Lord Jesus Christ honour them; in whom they hope, both in body, and soul, and spirit¹⁰, in faith, and love, and unity. Fare ye well in Christ Jesus, our common hope.

⁸ Acts vi. 3.

⁹ See Epist. to the Smyrneans, c. 10.

¹⁰ 1 Thess. v. 23.

THE EPISTLE OF IGNATIUS

TO THE

S M Y R N E A N S.

IGNATIUS, who is also called Theophorus, to the Church of God the Father, and of the beloved Jesus Christ, which is at Smyrna, in Asia, a Church, which is mercifully blessed with every good gift ¹, being filled with faith and charity, so that it is wanting in no good gift, most godly, and fruitful in saints, all joy through the immaculate Spirit, and the word of God.

1. ² I glorify God, even Jesus Christ, who hath given you such wisdom. For I have observed that ye are settled in an immoveable faith, nailed, as it were, to the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ, both in the flesh, and in the spirit, and are confirmed in love through the blood of Christ, being fully persuaded of those things which relate unto our Lord, who was truly ³ of the race of David according to the flesh, (but) the Son of God, according to the will and power of God, truly born of a virgin, and baptized by John, that so all

¹ 1 Cor. vii. 25.

² This first chapter, and the beginning of the second, are quoted in a Syriac version, from Severus. Cureton, p. 32; Corpus Ignat. p. 214. 246.

³ These observations are directed against the Docetæ, who denied that Christ had a real body. Compare c. 4, and Epist. to Trallians, c. 10.



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him and believed, being convinced both by his flesh and by his spirit. For this cause they despised death, and were found above death. But after the resurrection, he did eat and drink with them, although as to his spirit he was united to the Father.

4. Now of these things I remind you, brethren, not questioning but that ye yourselves also believe that they are so. But I forewarn you⁸ to beware of certain beasts in the shape of men, whom ye must not only not receive, but, if possible, not even meet with. Only ye must pray for them⁹, that if it be the will of God they may repent; which yet will is hard. But of this Jesus Christ hath the power, who is our true life. For if all these things were done by our Lord in appearance only¹, then am I bound in appearance only. Wherefore, then, have I given myself over unto death, to

the fifth century, it was in use among the Nazarenes, and called "the Gospel according to the Apostles," or, more generally, "the Gospel according to Matthew."

Origen, *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, lib. 1, says that in the book which is called "the Doctrine of Peter," the Saviour appears to say to his disciples, that he is not an incorporeal demon.

The testimony of Jerome leaves no doubt that these words were found in "the Gospel according to the Hebrews:" but it certainly does not appear that Ignatius quoted from that Gospel. Le Clerc, in his third Dissertation, at the end of his *Harmonia Evangelica*, and Lardner, *Credibility of the Gospel History*, part ii., c. 5. 55, are of opinion that Ignatius here merely alludes to St. Luke. Bp. Pearson, *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*, part ii., c. 9, p. 103, agrees with Isaac Casaubon, in supposing that Ignatius refers to some verbal tradition, which might afterwards be inserted in "the Gospel according to the Hebrews," ascribed to St. Matthew.

⁸ Quoted in Syriac from Timotheus. Cureton, p. 50; *Corpus Ignat.* p. 219. 250.

⁹ This is an early instance of distinct prayer for the conversion of heretics; as in Irenæus, iii. 46, "Nos autem precamur non perseverare illos in foveâ quam ipsi foderunt, sed segregari—et legitimè eos generari, conversos ad ecclesiam Dei. Hæc precamur de illis, utiliùs eos diligentes quàm ipsi semet ipsos putant diligere."

Our own Church, in the third Collect for Good Friday, expressly follows the example thus set and continued in the Christian Church. See Palmer's *Antiquities of the English Liturgy*, ch. 14, vol. i. p. 333.

¹ Compare Trallians, c. 10.

fire, to sword, to wild beasts? But now, the nearer I am to the sword, the nearer to God; when I am among the wild beasts, I am with God. Only in the name of Jesus Christ I undergo all, to suffer together with him; since he, who was made perfect man, strengthens me.

5. Whom some, not knowing, do deny; or rather have been denied by him, being the advocates of death, rather than of the truth. Neither the prophets, nor the law of Moses, nor even the Gospel itself, even to this day, nor the sufferings of every one of us, have persuaded these men. For they think also the same things of us. For what doth any one profit me, if he shall praise me, and blaspheme my Lord, confessing not that he was truly made flesh? Now he that doth not say this, doth in effect deny him, and is in death². But for the names of such persons, thus being unbelievers, I thought it not fitting to write them unto you. Yea, God forbid that I should make any mention of them, till they shall repent to a true belief of Christ's passion, which is our resurrection³.

6. Let no man deceive himself⁴. Both the things which are in heaven, and the glory of angels, and princes whether visible or invisible, unless they believe

² There is here a correspondence in terms, which cannot be expressed in a translation. He who doth not confess that Jesus Christ truly bore our flesh (*σαρκοφόρος*) is himself (*νεκροφόρος*) a bearer of the dead, one who carries about his own body, "dead while he liveth." Cyprian expresses the same sentiment in his treatise *De Lapsis* (p. 135, Fell). "Animam tuam misera perdidisti: spiritualiter mortua supervivere hic tibi, et ipsa ambulans funus tuum portare cœpisti; et non acriter plangis, non jugiter ingemiscis?" And Jerome, Ep. xiii. "Quanti hodie diu vivendo portant funera sua."

³ Until they shall renounce their heretical opinions respecting his passion, which they hold to have been merely imaginary, and acknowledge that his sufferings were real, by virtue of which alone we look for our own resurrection.

⁴ Quoted in Syriac from Timotheus. Cureton, p. 42. 48; Corpus Ignat. p. 210. 243. 219. 249.

in the blood of Christ, even they shall receive condemnation⁵. He that is able to receive this, let him receive it⁶. Let no man's place puff him up. For that which is worth all is faith and charity, to which nothing is to be preferred. But consider those who are of a different opinion with respect to the grace of Jesus Christ which is come unto us, how contrary they are to the design of God. They have no regard to charity, (no care) of the widow, the fatherless, and the oppressed, of the bound or free, of the hungry or thirsty. They abstain from the Eucharist, and from prayer, because they confess not the Eucharist to be the flesh⁷ of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, and which the Father, of his goodness, raised up (again from the dead).

7. They therefore who contradict the gift of God, die in their disputes. But better would it be for them to receive it⁸, that they might rise also from the dead. It will become you, therefore, to abstain from such

⁵ Ignatius is not the only early Christian writer, who held that the death of Christ was influential in the salvation of orders of beings superior to man. Jerome, in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians, lib. ii. says, "Descendit ergo in inferiora terræ, et ascendit super omnes cœlos Filius Dei, ut non tantùm leges prophetasque compleret, sed et alias quasdam occultas dispensationes, quod solus ille novit cum Patre. Neque enim scire possumus, quo modo et angelis, et his qui in inferno erant, sanguis Christi profuerit: et tamen quin profuerit nescire non possumus."

⁶ Matt. xix. 12.

⁷ The Armenian version has "flesh and blood."

⁸ ἀγαπήν. This is the sense which Abp. Wake gives to the word. It may perhaps mean, to acquiesce, and no longer contradict the gift of God. Bp. Pearson considers it to refer to the Agapæ, or common feasts of the rich and the poor, which were held at the time of the celebration of the Eucharist. See below, ch. 8. This feast, in the early ages of the Church, seems to have preceded the Communion (1 Cor. xi. 20, 21); but, at a later period, it was deferred till after the administration of the Holy Sacrament. In the Council of Carthage, A. D. 252, it was decreed that the Eucharist should be received fasting, except at Easter. See Bingham, Eccles. Ant. book xv. ch. vii. 7. Cave, Primitive Christianity, part i. ch. xi. Suicer's Thesaurus, on the word Ἀγάπη. Tertullian, Apol. c. 39.



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therefore abound to you in charity, seeing ye are worthy. Ye have refreshed me in all things; so shall Jesus Christ you. Ye have loved me absent and present. May God repay you, for whom whilst ye undergo all things, ye shall attain unto him.

10. Ye have done well, in that ye have received Philo, and Rheus Agathopus², who followed me for the word of God, as the Deacons of Christ our God: who also give thanks unto the Lord for you, forasmuch as ye have refreshed them in all things. Nothing (that ye have done) shall be lost to you. May my soul be for yours, and my bonds, which ye have not despised, nor been ashamed of. Neither shall Jesus Christ, (our) perfect faith, be ashamed of you.

11. Your prayer is come to the Church of Antioch which is in Syria. Whence being sent bound with chains, which are the fittest ornament³ of a servant of God, I salute all (the Churches), not as though I were worthy to take my name from that Church, being the least of them⁴. Nevertheless by the will (of God) I have been thought worthy (of this honour); not that I am at all conscious of deserving it, but by the grace of God, which I wish may be given unto me in perfection, that by your prayers I may attain unto God. In order, therefore, that your work may be fully accomplished, both upon earth and in heaven, it is fitting, that, for the honour of God, your Church should appoint some worthy delegate, who being come as far as Syria, may rejoice with them, in that they are at peace⁵, and that they are again restored to their former greatness, and have again received their proper body. It hath appeared therefore to me a proper measure, that ye send

² Compare Philadelph. c. 11.

³ Θεοπρεπεστάτοις δεσμοῖς. Compare Epist. of Polycarp, c. 1; Ignatius, Epist. to the Ephes. c. 11.

⁴ Compare Ignatius's Epistles to Rom. 9; Trallians, 13.

⁵ See the Epistle to the Philadelphians, c. 10; Epistle to Polycarp, c. 7.

some one from you, with an epistle, to congratulate them upon the calm which hath been given them of God, and that through your prayers they have already attained to an harbour. Being perfect, mind also that which is perfect. For when ye are desirous to do well, God is ready to enable you thereunto.

12. The love of the brethren that are at Troas salutes you. Whence also I write to you by Burrhus whom ye sent with me, together with the Ephesians your brethren; and who hath in all things refreshed me. And would that all imitated him, as being a pattern of the ministry of God. May (his) grace fully reward him. I salute your very worthy Bishop, and your venerable Presbytery, and your Deacons, my fellow-servants; and all of you in general, and every one in particular, in the name of Jesus Christ, and in his flesh and blood; in his passion and resurrection both fleshly and spiritually, in the unity of God with you. Grace be with you, and mercy, and peace, and patience, for evermore.

13. I salute the families of my brethren with their wives, and children, and the virgins that are called widows⁶. Be strong in the power of the Holy Ghost.

⁶ These were the Deaconesses, whose office was very ancient in the Christian Church. St. Paul speaks of Phœbe “a servant (διάκονος) of the Church which is at Cenchrea.” Rom. xvi. 1. And Pliny evidently alludes to them in his celebrated Epistle: (lib. x. Ep. 97.) “Quo magis necessarium credidi, ex duabus ancillis, quæ ministræ dicebantur, quid esset veri et per tormenta quærere.” They are frequently styled widows (Tertull. lib. i. ad Uxorem, c. 7); and usually were so. The qualifications generally required for a Deaconess were, that she should be a widow, who had borne children, had been the wife of but one husband, and of mature age, from forty to sixty years old. Tertullian (De Velandis Virgin. c. 9) inveighs in strong terms against the abuse of introducing a virgin, under the age of twenty years, into the order of the Deaconesses. “Planè scio alicubi virginem in viduatu ab annis nondum viginti collocatam. Cui si quid refrigerii debuerat Episcopus, aliter utique salvo respectu disciplinæ præstare potuisset, ne tale nunc miraculum, ne dixerim monstrum, in Ecclesiâ denotaretur.”

It appears, however, from this passage of Ignatius, and from other

Philo, who is present with me, salutes you. I salute the house of Tavia, and pray that she may be strengthened in faith and charity, both of flesh and spirit. I salute Alce, my well-beloved; and the incomparable Daphnus, and Eutechnus, and all (others) by name. Farewell in the grace of God.

authorities, that virgins were admitted into this order. Thus Epiphanius (Exposit. Fid. n. 21) says the Deaconesses must be either virgins, or widows who had been but once married: ἢ χηρεύσασαι ἀπὸ μονογαμίας, ἢ ἀεὶ παρθένοι οὔσαι. The same rule is laid down in the Apostolical Constitutions, lib. vi. c. 17, the *preference* being there given to a virgin. See Bingham, Eccles. Ant. b. ii. c. 22, 1, 2, where several instances of virgin Deaconesses are mentioned; and Valesius, on Eusebius, De Laudibus Constantini, c. 17.



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that they may be saved. Maintain thy station with all diligence both of flesh and spirit². Be careful (to preserve) unity, than which nothing is better. Support all men; even as the Lord supports thee. Bear with all in love, as also thou dost. Find time to pray without ceasing³. Ask more understanding than what thou already hast. Be watchful, having thy spirit always awake. Speak to every one, according as God shall enable thee. Bear the infirmities of all⁴, as a perfect combatant: where there is the greater labour, there is the greater gain.

2. If thou shalt love the good disciples, what thank is it? But rather subdue in meekness those that are mischievous. Every wound is not healed with the same remedy. Mollify severe attacks with lenient fomentations. Be in all things wise as a serpent, and harmless as a

things becoming with all diligence of flesh and spirit. Be careful for unanimity, than which nothing is more excellent. Bear all men as our Lord beareth thee. Be patient with all men in love as (indeed) thou art. Be constant in prayer. Ask more understanding than what thou (already) hast. Be watchful; for thou possessest a spirit that sleepeth not. Speak with all men according to the will of God. Bear the infirmities of all men like a perfect combatant: for where the labour is much, much also is the gain.

2. If thou love the good disciples only, thou hast no grace: rather subdue those who are evil with gentleness. All wounds are not healed by one medicine. Alay cutting by tenderness. Be wise as the serpent in every thing, and innocent as the dove as to those things which are re-

² 1 Cor. vii. 44.

³ ἀδιαλείπτως. 1 Thess. v. 17. This word is omitted in the Armenian as well as in the Syriac version.

⁴ Comp. Isa. liii. 4. Matt. viii. 17.

dove⁵. For this cause thou art composed of flesh and spirit, that thou mayest treat mildly those things which appear before thy face. And, as for those that are not seen, pray to God that he would reveal them unto thee, that so thou mayest be wanting in nothing, but abound in every gift. The times demand thee, as pilots (require) the winds, and as he that is tossed in a tempest (desires) the haven; that thou mayest attain unto God. Be sober, as the combatant of God. The crown (proposed to thee) is immortality, and eternal life, concerning which thou art also fully persuaded. In all things I, and my bonds which thou hast loved, will be thy surety.

3. Let not those which appear worthy of credit, but teach other doctrines, disturb thee. Stand firm and immoveable as an anvil when it is beaten upon. It is the part of a brave combatant to be wounded,

quisite. On this account art thou (both) of flesh and of spirit, that thou mayest allure those things which are seen before thy face, and ask respecting those things which are hidden from thee, that they may be revealed to thee, that thou mayest be lacking in nothing, and mayest abound in all gifts. The time requireth, as a pilot a ship, and as he who standeth in the tempest the haven, that thou shouldest be worthy of God. Be vigilant, as a combatant of God. That which is promised to us is life eternal, incorruptible, of which things thou art also persuaded. In every thing I will be instead of thy soul, and my bonds which thou hast loved.

3. Let not those who seem to be something and teach strange doctrines, astound thee; but stand in the truth, like a combatant who is smitten: for it is (the part) of a great combatant that he should be

⁵ Matt. x. 16.

and yet to overcome. But especially we ought to endure all things for God's sake, that he may bear with us. Become daily more diligent even than thou art. Consider the times, and expect him, who is above all time, eternal, invisible, though for our sakes made visible: who cannot be perceived by our touch, neither is liable to suffering, although for our sakes he submitted to suffer, and endured evils of every kind for us.

4. Let not the widows be neglected. Be thou, after God, their guardian. Let nothing be done without thy knowledge and consent; neither do thou any thing but according to the will of God; as also thou dost with all constancy⁶. Let your assemblies be more frequently held⁷: inquire into all by name. Overlook not the men-servants and maid-servants. Neither let them

smitten and conquer. More especially on God's account it behoveth us to endure every thing, that he also may endure us. Be diligent (even) more than thou art. Be discerning of the times. Expect him who is above the times, him to whom there are no times, him who is unseen, him who for our sakes was seen, him who is impalpable, him who is impassible, him who for our sakes suffered, him who endured every thing in every form for our sakes.

4. Let not the widows be neglected. On our Lord's account be thou their guardian, and let nothing be done without thy will: neither do thou any thing without the will of God: nor indeed dost thou. Stand well. Let there be frequent assemblies. Ask everyman by his name. Despise not slaves and handmaids: but neither let them be contemptuous; but let them serve the more, as for

⁶ *εὐσταθής*. The interpolated Greek has *εὐστάθει*, which is followed by the Syriac and Armenian versions.

⁷ Or, more full. Compare Ignatius's Epistle to the Ephesians, c. 13.



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than the Bishop, he is corrupted. It becomes also those who marry and are given in marriage to be united with the consent of the Bishop, that so the marriage may be according to godliness, and not in lust. Let all things be done to the honour of God.

6. Hearken ye (all³) unto the Bishop, that God also may hearken to you. My life⁴ be security for those who submit to their Bishop, Presbyters, and Deacons. And may my portion be together with theirs in God. Labour ye one with another: strive together; run together; suffer together; together take rest, and together rise⁵, as the stewards, and assessors, and ministers of God. Please him, under whom ye war, and from whom also ye receive your wages. Let

the Bishop, he hath corrupted himself. It is becoming, therefore, to men and women who marry, that they marry by the counsel of the Bishop, that their marriage may be in our Lord, and not in lust. Let every thing, therefore, be for the honour of God.

6. Look to the Bishop, that God also may look upon you. I will be instead of the souls of those who are subject to the Bishop, and the Presbyters, and the Deacons. With them may I have a portion near God. Labour together with one another: make the struggle together; run together; suffer together; sleep together; rise together; as stewards of God, and his domestics and ministers, please him and serve him, that ye may receive the wages from him. Let none of

³ Although this Epistle was written to Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, precepts are included in it addressed to the whole Church; as St. Paul, in his first Epistle to Timothy, introduces many instructions to Christians in general.

⁴ ἀντίψυχον ἐγώ.

⁵ συγκαοιμάσθε, συνεγείρεσθε. Wocher considers that these words refer to death and the resurrection.

none of you be found a deserter. Let your baptism remain, as arms; faith as an helmet; charity as a spear: patience as your whole armour. Let your works be that which is laid up for you ⁶, that so ye may receive a suitable reward. Be long-suffering, therefore, towards each other in meekness, as God is towards you. Let me have joy of you in all things.

you rebel. Let your baptism be to you as armour, and faith as a helmet, and love as a spear, and patience as a panoply. Let your treasures be your good works, that ye may receive the gift of God, as it is just. Let your spirit be enduring towards each other in meekness, as God towards you. I rejoice in you at all times.

7. Now, forasmuch as the Church of Antioch in Syria is, as I have learned, at peace through your prayers ⁷, I also have been the more comforted and without care in God, if so be that by suffering I shall attain unto God, that through your prayers I may be found a disciple (of Christ). It will be fit, most worthy Polycarp, to call a council of the most godly men, and choose some one whom ye particularly love, and who is patient of labour, that he may be the messenger of God, and to appoint him to go into Syria, and glorify your unwearied love, to the praise of Christ.

A Christian is not in his own power, but must be

The Christian has not power over himself, but is

⁶ τὰ δεπόσιτα ὑμῶν, τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν, ἵνα τὰ ἄκκεπτα ὑμῶν ἄξια κομίσησθε. It appears from Suetonius, Domitian, vii., Vegetius, ii. 20, that the term "depositum" was, in military language, applied to signify that portion of the soldiers' money which was kept with the standards. The word "accepta" was technically used for *receipts*. Military and forensic Latin words became familiarly known throughout the Roman empire. See Jacobson's notes.

⁷ Trajan having put a stop to the persecution at Antioch. Compare the Epistle to the Philadelphians, ch. 10.

always at leisure for (the ready to be subject to service of) God. God.

And this is the work both of God, and of you, when ye shall have perfected it. For I trust, through the grace (of God) that ye are ready to every good work, that is fitting for you in the Lord. Knowing therefore your earnest affection for the truth, I have exhorted you by these short letters⁸.

8. But forasmuch as I have not been able to write to all the Churches, because I must suddenly sail from Troas to Neapolis, for so the will⁹ (of God) ordains, write to the Churches which are near thee, inasmuch as thou art instructed in the mind of God, that they also may do in like manner. Let those who are able send messengers; and the rest send (their) letters by those who shall be sent by you; that thou mayest be glorified to all eternity, even as thou art worthy.

I salute all by name: and (particularly) the wife of Epitropus, with all her house and children. I salute Attalus my well-beloved.

I salute him who shall be thought worthy to be sent by you into Syria.

I salute him who is accounted worthy to go to Antioch in my stead, as I charged thee.

Grace be ever with him, and with Polycarp who sends him. I wish you all happiness in our God, Jesus Christ, in whom continue in the unity and protection of God. I salute Alce my well-beloved. Farewell in the Lord.

⁸ The Epistle to the Smyrneans and this to himself. Or perhaps he speaks only of this single letter, as in Rom. 8.

⁹ τὸ θέλημα is thus used absolutely for the will of God in Smyr. 11. See Dr. Jacobson's note on this place, to whom I am indebted for this rendering.



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love of Christ, nor to the perfect rank of a disciple. For he thought that the confession, which is made by martyrdom, would bring him to a yet more close and intimate union with the Lord. Wherefore, having continued a few years longer with the Church, illuminating, like a divine lamp, the heart of every man by the exposition of the Holy Scriptures, he attained the object of his wishes.

2. For, after this, in the ninth² year of his empire, Trajan elated with his victory over the Scythians and Dacians, and many other nations, conceived that the religious company of Christians was yet wanting to complete his universal dominion. He therefore threatened them with persecution; and, unless they chose to submit to the worship of devils, with all other nations, compelled all men of godly lives either to sacrifice or to die. Then, therefore, this noble soldier of Christ, apprehensive for the Church of Antioch, was voluntarily brought before Trajan, who was at that time passing through the city, as he was hastening against Armenia, and the Parthians. As soon then as he stood in the presence of the Emperor Trajan, the Emperor said, “Who art thou, unhappy and deluded man³, who art so active in transgressing our commands, and besides persuadest others to their own destruction?” Ignatius replied, “No one ought to call (one who is properly

² The Greek has ἐννάτῳ ἔτει; the old Latin version, “post quartum annum.” Bp. Pearson, in his dissertation on the year in which Ignatius was condemned at Antioch by Trajan, shows that there is some error in this date. He places the event as late as the eighteenth year of Trajan, A.D. 116. Dr. Jacobson refers to Gresswell's *Dissertations upon an Harmony of the Gospels*, iv. 415—454, edit. 2, where it is proved from Plin. Ep. vi. 31, that Trajan was not at Antioch, in the summer of the year A.U.C. 860, which was the ninth year of his reign.

³ τίς εἶ, κακόδαιμον. The word κακοδαίμων signifies both a person who is unhappy, or ill-fated, and one who is under the influence of evil spirits. Trajan uses the word in the first sense. Ignatius replies by a reference to the second. See Pearson, *Vindiciæ Ignat.* part ii. ch. 12.

styled) Theophorus⁴, unhappy and deluded; for the evil spirits (which delude men) are departed far from the servants of God. But if thou so callest me, because I am a trouble to those evil spirits, and an enemy to their delusions, I confess the justice of the appellation. For having (within me) Christ the heavenly King, I loosen all their snares." Trajan replied, "And who is Theophorus?" Ignatius answered, "He that hath Christ in his heart." Then said Trajan, "Thinkest thou, therefore, that we have not the gods within us, who also assist us in our battles against our enemies?" "Thou dost err," Ignatius replied, "in calling the evil spirits of the heathen, gods. For there is but one God, who made the heaven and the earth, the sea, and all that are in them: and one Christ Jesus, the only begotten Son of God, whose kingdom may I enjoy." Trajan said, "Speakest thou of him who was crucified under Pontius Pilate?" Ignatius answered, "(I speak of) him who hath crucified my sin, with the inventor of it; and hath put all the deceit and malice of the devil under the feet of those who carry him in their hearts." Then asked Trajan, "Carriest thou, then, within thee him who was crucified?" "Yea," replied Ignatius; "for it is written, I will dwell in them, and walk in them⁵." Then Trajan pronounced this sentence: "We decree that Ignatius, who hath confessed that he carries about within himself him that was crucified, shall be carried in bonds by soldiers to the great Rome, there to be thrown to the beasts for the gratification of the people." When the holy martyr heard this sentence, he cried out with joy, "I thank thee, O Lord, that thou hast vouchsafed thus to punish me, out of thy perfect love towards me, and hast made me to be put in iron bonds, with thine Apostle Paul."

⁴ See note on the introduction to Ignatius's Epistle to the Ephesians.

⁵ 2 Cor. vi. 16.

Having thus spoken, he joyfully suffered his bonds to be put about him ; and having first prayed for the Church, and commended it with tears unto the Lord, like a choice ram, the leader of a goodly flock, he was hurried away by the brutal and cruel soldiers, to be carried to Rome, and there to be devoured by blood-thirsty wild beasts.

3. Wherefore with much readiness and joy, out of his desire to suffer, he left Antioch, and came to Seleucia, whence he set sail. After (a voyage of) much labour he reached the city of Smyrna, and with great gladness left the ship, and hastened to see the holy Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, who had been his fellow disciple ; for both of them had been instructed by St. John the Apostle. Being hospitably received by him, and communicating to him spiritual gifts⁶, and glorying in his bonds, he entreated first of all the whole Church, (for the cities and Churches of Asia attended this holy man by their Bishops, and Priests, and Deacons, all hastening to him, if by any means they might receive some part of his spiritual gift,) but more particularly Polycarp, to contend (with God) in his behalf, that, being suddenly taken by the beasts from the world, he might appear before the face of Christ.

4. Thus, then, he spake, and thus he testified ; extending so much his love for Christ, as one who was about to receive heaven, through his own good con-

⁶ It is highly probable that, at this time, certain preternatural powers subsisted in the Church, especially in those who had been ordained to any holy office by the imposition of the hands of the Apostles themselves. Although Ignatius expresses in his Epistles the greatest humility, and the fullest sense of his inferiority to the Apostles, (Ephes. c. 3 ; Magnes. c. 11 ; Rom. c. 4,) he yet plainly implies that some revelations were made to him, (Ephes. c. 20,) and that he possessed some knowledge of spiritual things which he was not then at liberty to communicate to those who were less advanced in Christian knowledge. (Trall. c. 4, 5.) The writer of this account probably refers to some communications of this nature. See 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11.



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wind. To us, this was a subject of sorrow, inasmuch as we were grieved at our approaching separation from that holy man; but to him it was the accomplishment of his prayers, that he might the sooner depart out of this world, and attain unto the Lord whom he loved. Wherefore sailing into the Roman port, as that impure festival was approaching to an end, the soldiers began to be offended at our slowness, but the Bishop, with great joy, complied with their haste.

6. Being therefore hurried from the place which is called the Port, we forthwith met the brethren; for the report respecting the holy martyr was already spread abroad, who were full of fear and joy. For they rejoiced in that God had vouchsafed them the company of Theophorus, but were afraid when they considered that such an one was brought thither to die. Some of these who were the most zealous (for his safety), and promised to calm the people, that they should not desire the destruction of the just, he commanded to hold their peace: for he presently knew this by the Spirit, and saluted them all, entreating them to show true love towards him; expressing himself in discourse more fully even than he had in his Epistle, and persuading them not to hinder him who was hastening to the Lord. And so, all the brethren kneeling down, he prayed to the Son of God for the Church, that he would cause the persecution to cease, and (continue) the love of the brethren towards each other. (This being done,) he was hurried away with all haste into the amphitheatre, and was immediately thrown in, according to the previous command of

is a strong internal mark of genuineness. It is exactly similar to that in Acts xvi. 8. 10: "And *they* passing by Mysia, came down to Troas. And after he had seen the vision, *we* immediately endeavoured to go into Macedonia." The first incidental intimation that St. Luke there became the companion of St. Paul.

Cæsar, the end of the spectacles being at hand. For it was then a very solemn day⁹, called in the Roman tongue the thirteenth (of the Calends of January), upon which the people were wont to be more than ordinarily gathered together. Thus was he delivered to the wild beasts, near the Temple, that so the desire of the holy martyr Ignatius might be accomplished, as it is written, the desire of the righteous is acceptable¹: namely, that he might be burdensome to none of the brethren, by the gathering of his remains, according as in his Epistle he had before wished that so his end might be². For only the more solid parts of his holy remains were left, which were carried to Antioch, and wrapped in linen, as an inestimable treasure left to the holy Church, by the grace which was in the martyr.

7. Now these things were done the day before the thirteenth of the Calends of January, that is, on the twentieth day of December, Sura and Senecius being the second time consuls of the Romans³. We ourselves were eye-witnesses of these events, with many tears; and as we watched all night in the house, and prayed God in many words, with bended knees and supplication, that he would give us weak men some assurance of what was before done, it happened that, having fallen into a slumber for a little while, some of us on a sudden saw the blessed Ignatius standing by us and embracing us; and others beheld him praying for us; others saw him as it were dropping with sweat, as if he came out of great labour, and standing by the Lord. Having seen these things then with great joy, and comparing the visions of our dreams, we sang praises to God the giver of all good things, and pronounced the saint blessed; and have now made known

⁹ The festival of the Sigillaria continued for two days, at the conclusion of the five days of the Saturnalia.

¹ Prov. x. 24.

² See Ignat. Epist. to Romans, 4.

³ This corresponds to A.D. 107.

unto you both the day and the time: that, being assembled together at the season of his martyrdom, we may communicate with the combatant and noble martyr of Christ, who trod under foot the Devil, and perfected the course which he had piously desired, in Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom and with whom, all glory and power be to the Father with the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.



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2. The sufferings, then, of all the other martyrs which they underwent according to the will of God, were blessed and generous. For so it becomes us, who are more religious (than others) to ascribe the supreme power over all things unto him. And who indeed would not admire the greatness of their mind, their patience and love of their Lord; who, when they were so torn with scourges, that the very structure of their bodies to the inward veins and arteries was seen, did yet endure it; so that all who stood round pitied and lamented them? Others again attained to such a degree of fortitude, that no one uttered a cry or a groan, plainly showing to all of us, that those martyrs of Christ, in the same hour in which they were tormented, were absent from the body: or rather that the Lord stood by, and conversed with them. Wherefore being supported by the grace of God, they despised all the torments of the world, and by the sufferings of one hour redeemed themselves from everlasting punishment. Whence even the fire of their cruel murderers seemed cold to them: for they had before their eyes the prospect of escaping that which is eternal and unquenchable: and beheld with the eyes of their heart those good things which are reserved for them that endure, which neither ear hath heard, nor eye seen, nor have they entered into the heart of man². But to them they were now revealed by the Lord, as being no longer men, but already become angels. In like manner they who were condemned to the wild beasts, underwent many grievous torments: being compelled to lie upon sharp spikes³, and tormented with divers

² 1 Cor. ii. 9.

³ κήρυκας—These spikes might be natural or artificial. Eusebius, (H. E. iv. 15,) who has given only a brief abstract of the early part of this Epistle, paraphrases the expression thus:—"being sometimes laid upon whelk-shells from the sea, and upon sharp spikes." (τοτὲ δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ θαλάττης κήρυκας, καὶ τινὰς ὀξεῖς ὀβελίσκους ὑποστρωννυμένους.) The shell

other punishments, that, if it were possible, the tyrant might force them, by the length of their sufferings, to deny Christ.

3. The devil did indeed invent many things against them: but, thanks be to God; for he prevailed not over all. For the brave Germanicus⁴ strengthened those that feared, by his patience, and fought gloriously with wild beasts. For when the proconsul would have persuaded him, telling him, that he should consider his age, and spare himself, he forcibly drew the wild beast towards him⁵, being desirous the more quickly to be delivered from a wicked and unjust world. Upon this, the whole multitude, wondering at the courage of the holy and pious race of Christians, cried out, Away with the wicked wretches⁶: let Polycarp be sought out.

4. Then one named Quintus, a Phrygian, having lately come from his own country, when he saw the wild beasts, was afraid. Now this was the same man

of the κήρυξ, or buccinum, was armed with rough spikes: (Plin. Hist. Nat. ix. 36 :) and an iron instrument, formed with sharp spikes projecting in every direction, used by the Romans as a defence against the enemy's horse, was called Murex, from its resemblance to the shell of the fish of that name.

⁴ The Latin Church celebrates the memory of Germanicus on the 19th of January.

⁵ Compare Ignatius's Epistle to the Romans, c. 5.

⁶ ἀθέουσι—atheists. This was a constant term of reproach against the early Christians, arising from their opposing the worship of the heathen deities. Thus Dio, in his Life of Domitian, speaks of the charge of Atheism being "very common against those who went over to the *Jewish* religion;" evidently alluding to Christianity; and of Acilius Glabrio being put to death on that account.

Athenagoras says that the Gentiles brought three principal accusations against the Christians,—Atheism, banqueting on the bodies of children, and incest. (τρία ἐπιφημίζουσιν ἡμῖν ἐγκλήματα, ἀθεότητα, Θυέστεια δεῖπνα, Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις), (Athenag. Legatio pro Christianis, p. 4, C. Colon. 1686). Justin Martyr, Apol. c. 5, and elsewhere, refers to the same charge. From c. 9 of this Epistle it is plain that the phrase, "Away with the Atheists," was considered equivalent to "Away with the Christians."

who forced himself, and some others, to present themselves of their own accord (to the trial). Him therefore the Proconsul induced, after much persuasion, to swear (by the emperor) and to sacrifice. For which cause, brethren, we do not commend those who offer themselves (to persecution); since the Gospel teaches no such thing.

5. Now the most admirable Polycarp, when he first heard (that he was called for), was not disturbed in mind, but determined to remain in the city. But the greater part (of his friends) persuaded him to retire. Accordingly he went into a little village, not far distant from the city, and there remained, with a few others; doing nothing else, either by day or by night, but praying for all men, and for all the Churches throughout the world, according to his usual custom. And as he prayed, he saw a vision⁷, three days before he was taken; and, behold, the pillow under his head appeared to be on fire. Whereupon, turning to those who were with him, he said prophetically, "I must be burnt alive."

6. And when those who sought for him drew near, he departed into another village: and immediately his pursuers came thither. And when they found him not, they seized upon two young men, one of whom, being tormented, confessed. For it was impossible he should be concealed, forasmuch as they who betrayed him were his own domestics. So the Keeper of the peace, who was also magistrate elect, Herod by name⁸,

⁷ Eusebius describes this as a dream. For he says, "When he awoke from sleep, he immediately related what he had seen to those who stood by." *Ἐξυπνον δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ γινόμενον, εὐθὺς ὑφερμηνεῦσαι τοῖς παροῦσι τὸ φανέν.*

⁸ *καὶ ὁ εἰρήναρχος, ὁ καὶ κληρονόμος, τὸ αὐτῷ ὄνομα Ἡρώδης, ἐπιλεγόμενος.* This is the manner, in which Smith proposes to read and point the passage. The Proconsul was at that period the chief magistrate of the Province of Asia. But every year the names of ten principal men were



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or obscure, and of the whole Catholic¹ Church, throughout the world; the time being come when he was to depart, they set him upon an ass, and led him into the city, it being the day of the great Sabbath². And Herod, the keeper of the peace, with his father Nicetes, met him in a chariot. And having taken him up to them, and set him in the chariot, they began to persuade him, saying, “Why, what harm is there in saying, Lord Cæsar³, and in offering sacrifice, and so being safe?” with other words which are usual on such occasions. But Polycarp at first answered them not; whereupon, as they continued to urge him, he said, “I shall not do as you advise.” They, therefore, failing to persuade him, spake bitter words against him, and then thrust him violently off the chariot, so that he hurt his leg in the fall. But he, without turning back, went on with all diligence, as if he had received no harm at all: and so was brought to the lists, where there was so great a tumult, that no one could be heard.

9. Now as he was going into the lists, there was a voice from heaven, “Be strong, Polycarp, and quit thyself like a man.” No one saw who it was that spake to him: but those of our brethren who were present heard the voice. And as he was brought in, there was a great disturbance, when they heard that Polycarp was taken. And when he came near, the Proconsul⁴ asked him, whether he were Polycarp.

¹ See note (9) on Ep. of Ignatius to the Smyrneans, ch. 8.

² The week in which the Passion of our Saviour was celebrated was called the Great Week: and the Saturday of that week the Great Sabbath. This was the only Saturday which was observed as a fast, in the Eastern Church. Bingham, Eccles. Ant. xx. c. 3, 1. Other opinions on this point are stated by Valesius, in his notes on Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. iv. 15.

³ Compare Tertullian, Apol. c. 34. The appellation ‘Lord,’ *Κύριος*, thus applied to the emperor was not simply a title of temporal dignity, but an attribute of divine power.

⁴ Statius Quadratus, who was consul A.D. 142.

And, when he acknowledged (that he was), he persuaded him to deny (the faith), saying, "Reverence thy old age;" with many other exhortations of a like nature, as their custom is, saying, "Swear by the fortune of Cæsar; repent, and say, Away with the wicked⁵." Then Polycarp, looking with a severe countenance upon the whole company of ungodly Gentiles who were in the lists, stretched forth his hand to them, and said, groaning and looking up to heaven, "Away with the wicked." But the Proconsul urging him, and saying, "Swear, and I will release thee: reproach Christ:" Polycarp answered, "Fourscore and six years have I continued serving him, and he hath never wronged me at all; how then can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour?"

10. And when the Proconsul nevertheless still

⁵ Athcists. See note on c. 5.

It appears from the celebrated letter of Pliny to Trajan, that one of the customary trials, to which those accused of Christianity were exposed, was to urge them to sacrifice to the gods, or to the statue of the emperor, to swear by the genius or fortune of Cæsar, and to reproach Christ.

"Propositus est libellus, sine auctore, multorum nomina continens, qui negarent se esse Christianos, aut fuisse, quum, præeunte me, deos appellarant, et imagini tuæ, quam propter hoc jusseram cum simulachris numinum afferri, thure ac vino supplicarent, præterea maledicerent Christo: quorum nihil cogi posse dicuntur, qui sunt revera Christiani." Plin. Ep. x. 97.

Tertullian's Apology, c. 32, shows that the Christians in his time were exposed to the same trial, and gives the reasons why they would swear neither by the fortune nor by the genius of Cæsar.

Chrysostom founds one of his eloquent appeals to the consciences of his hearers upon this well-known fact. "Wherefore let us bear witness to Christ: for we, as well as the martyrs of old, are called upon to bear testimony to him. They obtained that appellation, because, when they were called upon to abjure, they endured every torment, sooner than deny the truth. Let us then be unsubdued, when various passions invite us to abjure our faith. God commands you, 'Say that Christ is not Christ.' Hear it not then, as if it were the voice of God, but set at nought its counsel. Evil lusts pronounce the same command. But be not thou persuaded by them, but stand firmly, that it be not said of us, 'They profess that they know God, but in works they deny him.' (Tit. i. 16.) For this becomes not martyrs, but the reverse." Chrysost. Hom. 47, on the Acts of the Apostles, tom. iv. p. 872, Savile.

insisted, and said, "Swear by the genius of Cæsar," he answered, "If thou art so vainly confident as to expect that I should swear by what thou callest the genius of Cæsar, pretending to be ignorant of what I am, hear me freely professing unto thee, I am a Christian. And if thou further desirest to know what Christianity really is, appoint a day, and thou shalt hear it." The Proconsul replied, "Persuade the people." Then said Polycarp, "To thee have I freely offered to give even a reason of my faith; for we are taught to pay to the powers and authorities, which are ordained of God, the honour which is due, provided it be not injurious to ourselves. But for the people, I esteem them not worthy that I should give any account of my faith to them."

11. The Proconsul said unto him, "I have wild beasts ready; to those I will cast thee, unless thou repent." He answered, "Call for them, then: for we Christians are fixed in our minds, not to change from good to evil. But it will be good for me to be changed from my grievous (sufferings) to their just reward⁶." The Proconsul added, "Seeing thou despisest the wild beasts, I will cause thee to be devoured with fire, unless thou shalt repent⁷." Polycarp answered, "Thou threatenest me with fire, which burns for an hour, and in a little while is extinguished: for thou knowest not the fire of the future judgment, and of that eternal punishment, which is reserved for the ungodly. But why tarriest thou? Bring forth what thou wilt."

12. Having said this, and many other things (of the like nature), he was filled with confidence and joy, insomuch that his very countenance was full of grace;

⁶ Or, "From the miseries of this wicked world to the blessedness of the just." See Jacobson's note.

⁷ It will be observed that the punishment of being burnt alive is here considered more severe than that of being exposed to wild beasts.



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should be fulfilled which was made manifest to him by his pillow, when he saw it on fire, as he prayed, and said prophetically to the faithful that were with him, I must be burnt alive.

13. This then was done with greater speed than it was spoken: the whole multitude instantly gathering together wood and faggots out of the workshops and baths: the Jews especially, according to their custom, with all readiness assisting them in doing it. When the pile was ready, Polycarp, laying aside all his upper garments, and loosing his girdle, endeavoured also to loosen his sandals, which aforetime he was not wont to do; forasmuch as always every one of the faithful, that was about him, contended who should soonest touch his flesh. For he was adorned by his good conversation with all kinds of piety, even before his martyrdom¹. Immediately then they put upon him the instruments² which were prepared for the pile. But when they would also have nailed him to the stake, he said, "Leave me thus: for he who hath given me strength to endure the fire, will also enable me, without your securing me by nails, to remain without moving in the pile."

14. Wherefore they did not nail him, but bound him (to the stake). But he, having put his hands behind him, and being bound as a ram, (chosen) out of a great flock for an offering, and prepared to be a burnt sacrifice, acceptable unto God, looked up to heaven, and said, "O Lord God Almighty, the Father of thy well-beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the knowledge of thee; the God of angels and powers and of every creature, and (especially)

¹ Eusebius has, "For, even before he was grey-headed (*πρὸ τῆς πολιᾶς*), he was adorned in all things by his good conversation."

² *ὄργανα*—the pitched shirt, in which the victim was wrapped, the stake to which he was bound, the nails, and other implements, by which he was secured.

of the whole race of just men, who live in thy presence; I give thee hearty thanks that thou hast vouchsafed to bring me to this day and to this hour; that I should have a part in the number of thy martyrs, in the cup of thy Christ, unto the resurrection of eternal life, both of soul and body, in the incorruption of the Holy Spirit: among which may I be accepted this day before thee, as a fat and acceptable sacrifice, as thou hast before ordained, and declared, and fulfilled, even thou the true God with whom is no falsehood at all. For this and for all things else, I praise thee, I bless thee, with the eternal and heavenly Jesus Christ, thy beloved Son, with whom to thee and the Holy Ghost be glory, both now and to all succeeding ages. Amen³.”

15. As soon as he had uttered Amen, and finished his prayer, the men appointed for the purpose lighted the fire. And when the flame began to blaze to a very great height, a wonderful sight appeared to us, who were permitted to witness it, and were also spared, to relate to others what had happened. For the flame, making a kind of arch, like the sail of a ship filled with wind, encompassed the body of the martyr, which was in the midst, not as flesh which was burned, but as bread which is baked, or as gold or silver glowing in the furnace. Moreover we perceived as fragrant an odour, as if it came from frankincense, or some other precious spices.

16. At length, when these wicked men saw that his

³ The conclusion of this prayer is differently expressed in Eusebius: “For this, and for all things else, I praise thee, I bless thee, I glorify thee, through the eternal High Priest, Jesus Christ thy beloved Son, through whom, to thee with him, in the Holy Ghost, be glory both now and to all succeeding ages. Amen.”

δι' οὗ σοι σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ δόξα, κ. τ. λ.

The old Latin version agrees nearly with Eusebius. “Ob hanc rem te benedico in omnibus, et glorior, per æternum Pontificem omnipotentem Jesum Christum, per quem tibi, et cum ipso, et cum Spiritu Sancto, gloria nunc, et in futurum, et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.”

body could not be consumed by the fire, they commanded the executioner⁴ to go near, and pierce him with his sword. Which being accordingly done, there came forth⁵ so great a quantity of blood, as extinguished the fire, and raised an admiration among the people, to consider what a difference there is between the infidels and the elect, one of which this admirable martyr Polycarp was, being in our times a truly apostolical and prophetical teacher, and the Bishop of the Catholic Church which is at Smyrna. For every word that proceeded out of his mouth either is (already) fulfilled, or will (in due time) be accomplished.

17. But when the emulous and envious and wicked adversary of the race of the just saw the greatness of his martyrdom, and considered how blameless his conversation had been from the beginning, and that he was now crowned with the crown of immortality, having without all controversy received his reward, he took all care that not the least relic of his body should be taken away by us, although many desired to do it, and to have a share in his holy flesh. And to that

⁴ Both the Greek text and Eusebius have here the Latin word *κομφέκτορα*. The confectores were persons appointed to kill the wild beasts, at the public games ; if there was any apprehension of their injuring the people. They differed from the *bestiarii*, who fought with the beasts, in somewhat the same manner as the *matador* does from the combatant in the Spanish bull fights.

⁵ The original words are *ἐξῆλθε περιστερὰ καὶ πλῆθος αἵματος*. There came forth *a dove*, and a quantity of blood.

Eusebius, and his translator Rufinus, make no mention of this prodigy ; and no tradition of the kind is contained in any ancient Christian writer. It has been conjectured, with some probability, that the word *περιστερὰ* is an error for *ἐπ' ἀριστερᾷ*, 'on the left side : ' so that the sentence would be to this effect, "when the executioner wounded him with his sword, there came forth from the wound, which was inflicted in his left side, such a quantity of blood, as extinguished the fire." Dr. Jacobson supposes that the word *περιστερὰ* had been written in the margin, to indicate that it was at the instant here described, that the soul of the martyr left the body and ascended to heaven in the form of a dove, an emblem of the Christian soul often used upon sepulchres.



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memory of those who have suffered, and for the exercise and preparation of those that may hereafter (suffer).

Chrysostom and Theodoret (Serm. viii. de Martyribus) that these days were greatly increased in number. There are extant sixteen homilies of Chrysostom, preached on different days set apart for such commemorations. Bingham, Eccles. Ant. xiii. 9, 5, quotes Chrysostom, Hom. xl. in Jubentinum, to prove that the festival of Babylas and Jubentinus then occurred on two successive days. The passage, however, merely implies that the festival of Babylas occurred *soon* before that of Jubentinus; the one, indeed, on the 4th of September, the other on the 25th of January.

Ὁ μακάριος Βαβύλας πρῶην ἡμᾶς ἔνταυθα μετὰ παίδων τριῶν συνήγαγε· σήμερον στρατιωτῶν ξυνωρὶς ἁγίων, τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως ἔστησε. Chrysos. Hom. in Juventin. tom. v. p. 533, Savile.

Chrysostom makes the same kind of allusion to the previous festival of Pelagia, on the 8th of October, in his Homily upon the martyrdom of Ignatius, on the 20th of December.

Πρῶην γοῦν ἡμᾶς κόρη κομιδῇ νέα καὶ ἀπειρόγαμος ἡ μακαρία μάρτυς Πελαγία μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς εὐφροσύνης εἰστίασε· σήμερον πάλιν τῆς ἐκείνης ἑορτῆς ὁ μακάριος οὗτος καὶ γενναῖος μάρτυς Ἰγνάτιος διεδέξατο. Chrysos. Hom. in Ignat. tom. v. p. 498, Savile.

The only two festivals which appear to have occurred on consecutive days in the Eastern Church, in the time of Chrysostom, were those of Romanus and Barlaam on the 18th and 19th of November.

These anniversaries of the days on which the martyrs suffered were called their birth-days, as being the days on which they were freed from the trials of mortality, and born, as it were, into the joys and happiness of heaven. Thus Tertullian, de Coron. Militis, c. 3, says, "Oblationes pro defunctis pro natalitiis annua die facimus." Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, writing to his Presbyters and Deacons respecting their treatment of the Confessors, then in prison, thus advises them: "Denique et dies eorum quibus excedunt annotate, ut commemorationes eorum inter memorias martyrum celebrare possimus." Cyprian, Ep. xii. p. 27. (Fell.) And, in another Epistle to the same persons, he says, with reference to Laurentius and Ignatius: "Sacrificia pro eis semper, ut meministis, offerimus, quoties martyrum passiones et dies anniversariâ commemoratione celebramus." Epist. xxxix. p. 77. (Fell.)

After Cyprian himself had suffered for the faith, we find Peter Chrysologus, in his Sermon on the Martyrdom of Cyprian, using the like expressions: "Natalem sanctorum cùm audistis, fratres, nolite putare illum dici, quo nascuntur in terram de carne; sed de terrâ in cœlum, de labore ad requiem, de tentationibus ad quietem, de cruciatibus ad delicias, non fluxas sed fortes et stabiles et æternas, de mundanis risibus ad coronam et gloriam. Tales natales dies martyrum celebrantur."

In the time of Constantine, the observation of the festivals of the martyrs was enforced by a decree of the emperor. Euseb. de Vit. Constant. iv. 23.

[The

19. Such were the sufferings of the blessed Polycarp, who, though he was the twelfth of those who, together with them of Philadelphia, suffered martyrdom in Smyrna, is yet alone chiefly had in memory of all men; insomuch that he is spoken of by the very gentiles themselves in every place, as having been not only an eminent teacher, but also a glorious martyr. Whose death all desire to imitate, as having been in all things conformable to the Gospel of Christ. For having by patience overcome the unjust governor, and so received the crown of immortality, he now, together with the Apostles and all other righteous men, with great triumph glorifies God even the Father, and blesses our Lord the Governor of our (souls and) bodies⁹, and the Shepherd of the Catholic Church throughout the world.

20. Whereas, therefore, ye desired that we would at large declare to you what was done, we have for the present briefly signified it to you by our brother Marcus. When, therefore, ye have read this Epistle, send it also to the brethren that are more remote, that they also may glorify God, who makes such choice of his own servants, and is able to bring us all by his grace

The manner of celebrating the memories of the martyrs and confessors, in the primitive Church, was this.

On the anniversary day, the people assembled, sometimes at the tombs where the martyrs had been buried. They then publicly praised God for those who had glorified him by their sufferings and death; recited the history of their martyrdom, and heard a sermon preached in commemoration of their patience and Christian virtues. They offered up fervent prayers to God, and celebrated the Eucharist, in commemoration of Christ's passion, and gave alms to the poor.

They kept also a public festival, provided by general contribution, to which the poorer brethren were freely admitted. In the early ages these feasts were frugal and temperate; but afterwards degenerated into excess.

⁹ The Greek has κυβερνήτην τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν. The old Latin version has, "salvatore[m] animæ nostræ, gubernatore[m] corporum:" and adds, at the conclusion of the sentence, "et Spiritum Sanctum, per quem cuncta cognoscimus."

and help to his eternal kingdom, through his only begotten Son Jesus Christ; to whom be glory, honour, might, and majesty, for ever and ever; Amen. Salute all the saints. They that are with us salute you: and Evarestus, who wrote this Epistle, with his whole house.

21. Now the martyrdom of the blessed Polycarp was on the second day of the month Xanthicus, that is, the seventh of the Calends of May¹, on the great Sabbath, about the eighth hour. He was taken by Herod, Philip the Trallian being the chief priest², Statius Quadratus proconsul; but our Saviour Christ reigning for evermore. To him be honour, glory, majesty, and an eternal throne, from generation to generation. Amen.

22. We wish you, brethren, all happiness, by living according to the rule of the Gospel of Jesus Christ; with whom, glory be to God the Father, and the Holy Spirit, for the salvation of his chosen saints: after whose example the blessed Polycarp suffered; at whose feet may we be found in the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

This Epistle was transcribed by Caius out of the copy of Irenæus the disciple of Polycarp, who also lived and conversed with Irenæus. And I Socrates transcribed it at Corinth, out of the copy of the said Caius. Grace be with all.

After this, I Pionius again wrote it from the copy before mentioned, Polycarp having pointed it out to me by a revelation, as I shall declare in what follows; having gathered these things together, already almost corrupted by length of time: that Jesus Christ our Lord may also gather me together with his elect. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

¹ The 26th of April.

² Or Asiarch. See note on c. 12.



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THE APOLOGY OF JUSTIN MARTYR

FOR THE

CHRISTIANS

TO ANTONINUS PIUS.

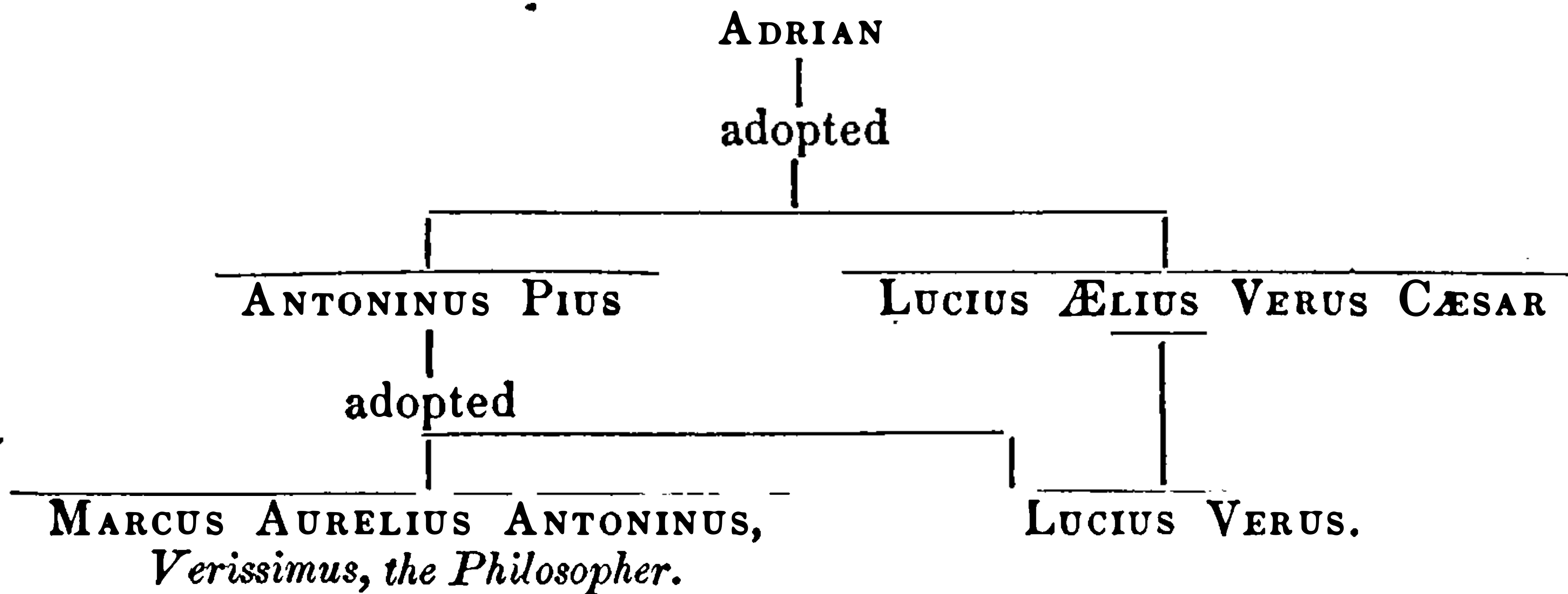
1. To the Emperor Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Pius Augustus Cæsar, and to his son Verissimus the Philosopher, and to Lucius the Philosopher, the son² 53

¹ The figures in the margin refer to the pages in the Paris Edition.

² The Emperor Adrian adopted Lucius Ælius Verus, and gave him the title of Cæsar. This Lucius died; leaving only one son, Lucius Verus.

Adrian then adopted Titus Antoninus Pius, as his successor, upon condition that he should adopt both Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, who is here called Verissimus, his wife's brother's son, and Lucius Verus, the son of Ælius Verus.

The following scheme will show the relation in which Lucius Verus stood towards Antoninus Pius and Lucius Ælius Verus.



Thus Lucius Verus was by birth son of L. Ælius Verus Cæsar, and the *adopted* son of Antoninus Pius. The Apology of Athenagoras is in like manner inscribed to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Ælius, or Aurelius Verus, the Philosophers.

Of Lucius Verus the following character is given by Gibbon (book i. ch. 3). "He was adopted by Pius; and on the accession of Marcus was invested with an equal share of sovereign power. Among the many vices

of (Ælius Verus) Cæsar by birth, and of Pius by adoption, the lover of learning; and to the sacred Senate, and to all the Roman people, in behalf of those of all nations who are unjustly hated and persecuted, I Justin, the son of Priscus, and grandson of Bacchius, natives of Flavia Neapolis³ of Syria Palestine, being myself one of those (who are so unjustly used) offer this address and supplication.

2. Reason herself dictates that those, who can with propriety be denominated Pious and Philosophers, should love and honour truth alone, and refuse to follow the opinions of the ancients, if plainly erroneous. For right reason not only forbids us to assent to those who are unjust, either in practice or in principle, but commands the lover of truth, by all means, to choose that which is just in word and deed, even in preference to his own life, and under the threatened danger of immediate death. Now ye hear continually ascribed to yourselves the appellations, Pious, Philosophers, Guardians of Justice, and Lovers of Learning: but whether ye also really are such, the event will show. For we have come before you, not to flatter you in this address, nor to obtain favour by words of adulation, but to demand that judgment may be passed according to strict and well-weighed reason; that ye be not influenced by prejudice or the desire of pleasing superstitious men, nor, through inconsiderate passion, and the long prevalence of an evil report, pass a sentence, which would turn against yourselves. For we are fully persuaded that we can suffer no injury from

of this younger Verus, he possessed one virtue: a dutiful reverence for his wiser colleague, to whom he willingly abandoned the ruder cares of empire. The philosophic emperor dissembled his follies, lamented his early death, and cast a decent veil over his memory."

³ Flavia Neapolis was, as its name implies, a new town, built near the ruins of Sychem, in Samaria. It derived its name Flavia from Flavius Vespasian, who sent a colony thither.



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ye have heard the cause, to be just judges. For if, when ye shall have been so informed, ye do not what is just, ye will be inexcusable before God. A name in itself ought not to be judged favourably or unfavourably, without the actions which that name implies. Although, as to our name, which is made a subject of accusation against us, we are the best of men⁶. But as we should think it unjust that, if we are proved to be guilty, we should demand to be acquitted in consequence of possessing a good name, so on the other hand, if we are proved to be innocent of all offence both in the name which we bear, and in the lives which we lead, it will be for you to beware, lest, if ye unjustly punish the guiltless, ye yourselves should be exposed to the vengeance of justice. From a mere name neither praise nor blame can justly arise, unless something either good or bad can be proved by actions. For ye pass not sentence upon any that are
5 accused among yourselves, until they are condemned; but against us ye receive the very name as an accusation; whereas from our name ye ought rather to punish our accusers. For we are accused of being Christians: but to hate that which is good (which Chrestus implies), is manifestly unjust. And again, if any one of those also who are so accused, denies it, asserting that he is not, ye dismiss him; ye release him as if ye had nothing whereof to accuse him. But if any one confesses that he is a Christian, ye punish him for his confession: whereas ye ought to inquire into the life both of him who confessed and of him who denied, that by their deeds it might be made manifest what kind of man each of them was.

⁶ *Χρηστότατοι*. The names Christus and *Χρηστὸς* were frequently confounded; sometimes fancifully enough. Thus Theophylus ad Autolyicum, p. 69, B. *ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὁμολογῶ εἶναι Χριστιανὸς, καὶ φορῶ τὸ θεοφιλὲς ὄνομα τοῦτο, ἐλπίζων εὐχρηστος εἶναι τῷ Θεῷ*. And again, p. 77, B. See Tertullian. Apol. c. 3.

4. For as some, who have been taught by our master Christ not to deny him, even when tortured, exhort (others to embrace the faith); so it may happen that men of evil lives may afford a pretence to others, who are anxious to accuse all Christians of impiety and injustice. But this too is unjustly done. For many assume the name and garb of Philosophy, who act not at all in conformity with their character. And ye well know that men holding opposite opinions and doctrines amongst the ancients, are styled by the common name of Philosophers. Now some of these taught atheism; and some who were poets attributed even to Jupiter the grossest indulgences, with his own children. Yet those who give publicity to such opinions receive no prohibition from you. Nay, ye even propose prizes and honours to such as shall eloquently express these disgraceful histories of your gods.

5. Why then should we be thus treated, who openly avow our determination not to injure any one, nor to hold these impious opinions? Ye judge not righteous judgment, but under the excitement of unreasonable passion, and lashed on by the scourges of evil demons, ye punish without judgment and without thought. For the truth must be spoken. Evil demons⁷, in times of old, assuming various forms, went in unto the daughters of men, and committed other abominations; and so astonished the minds of men with the wonders which they displayed, that they formed not a rational judgment of what was done, but were hurried away by their fears; so that, not knowing them to be evil demons, they styled them gods, and addressed them by the name which each demon imposed upon himself. And when Socrates, in a spirit of true wisdom and research, endeavoured to bring all this to light, and to 56

⁷ Ἐπεὶ τὸ παλαιὸν δαίμονες φαῦλοι ἐπιφανείας ποιησάμενοι, καὶ γυναῖκας ἐμοίχευσαν καὶ παῖδας δέφθειραν, καὶ φόβητρα ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν.

lead men away from the worship of demons, the demons themselves so wrought by the hands of men who delighted in wickedness, as to put him to death, as an atheist or impious, under the pretence that he was introducing new deities. And so in like manner do they act towards us. For not only was this declared to the Greeks by Socrates, at the suggestion of right reason, but also in other lands, by Reason, even the Word itself, which appeared in a bodily form, and was made man, and was called Jesus Christ. We, then, believing in him, declare that the demons, who did such things, not only are no gods⁸, but are evil and unholy spirits, whose actions are not even equal to those of virtuous men. Hence it is that we are styled Atheists⁹.

6. We confess, indeed, that we are unbelievers of such pretended gods, but not of the most true God, the Father of righteousness and temperance, and of all other virtues, in whom is no mixture of evil. But we worship and adore him, and his Son, who came out from him, and hath taught us respecting these things¹,

⁸ οὐ μόνον μὴ θεοὺς εἶναι φαμέν, ἀλλὰ κακοὺς καὶ ἀνοσίους δαίμονας. The common reading is μὴ ὀρθοὺς, which is plainly erroneous.

⁹ See the note on the Martyrdom of Ignatius, c. 3.

¹ Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνόν τε, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλθόντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπομένων καὶ ἐξομοιουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατὸν, πνεῦμά τε τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα, καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν, λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες.

The sense given in the translation is that usually affixed to these words, and supported by Br. Bull, *Defensio Fid. Nicenæ*, sect. ii. c. iv. 8. Justin had observed, in c. 5, that Socrates fell a victim to the cruelty of his countrymen instigated by evil demons; and that the same spirits caused the Gentiles to accuse the Christians of atheism. He shows, therefore, that the religion of Christ taught them that those spirits were no gods. "The object of our worship," he says, "is God the Father of righteousness and temperance, the author of every good thing. We adore him, and his Son, who came out from him. He it was who taught us fully what hath before been observed respecting evil angels, and their delusions, and hath also taught us that there is an innumerable host of good angels, who follow him and are made like unto him. We worship also the Prophetic Spirit."



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Prophetic Spirit; honouring them in reason and in truth. And to every one who wishes to learn, we freely deliver our opinions, even as we have been taught.

7. But, some one will say, already some of those who have been taken have been proved guilty of crimes. And, in fact, ye do frequently condemn many, after having made diligent inquiry into the life of each one that is accused, and not in consequence of such charges as have been mentioned². Moreover, this we readily confess, that in the same manner as among the Greeks, those who hold any peculiar system of opinions, are all called by the name of Philosophers, although their tenets be opposed to each other, so, in other countries, the name assumed by all those, who either have or profess true wisdom, is the same; for all are called Christians. Wherefore we require that the actions of all those who are accused before you may be examined; that he who is convicted may be punished as an evil doer, but not as a Christian³. And if any one appears to be innocent, that he may be dismissed, as a Christian who hath done no evil. For we require you not to punish our accusers⁴: they are sufficiently

² καὶ γὰρ πολλοὺς πολλάκις, ὅταν ἐκάστοτε τῶν κατηγορημένων τὸν βίον ἐξετάζητε, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τοὺς προλεχθέντας, καταδικάζετε. If this passage is correct, its sense seems to be this:

“In the course of your various and discursive inquiries into the lives of so many as are brought before you under the general accusation of being Christians, there are doubtless many who are guilty of some crime, for which they may justly suffer punishment, although they would deserve no blame for the charge first alleged against them.” The last clause, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τοὺς προλεχθέντας, is, however, so harsh, that we might almost suspect that Justin wrote, ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐλεγχθέντας, or, if the word might be allowed, οὐ προελεγχθέντας. “Ye frequently condemn many, after ye have made inquiry into the life of each, but not even those, unless they have been first convicted of some crime.”

³ 1 Pet. iv. 15.

⁴ This is probably an allusion to the rescript of the Emperor Adrian, subjoined to this Apology, in which punishment is threatened against any one who should calumniate the Christians.

recompensed by their own malice, and their ignorance of what is good.

8. Moreover, bear in mind that it is for your sakes that we thus speak; since it is in our power to deny, when we are questioned. But we choose not to live by falsehood. For out of our great love of an eternal and pure life, we desire to converse with God, the Father and Creator of all things; and hasten to confess, inasmuch as we believe and are sure, that such as show by their works that they follow God, and earnestly long to converse with him, in the place where no evil assaults them, shall be able to attain to those blessings. Such then, to speak briefly, are our expectations: such are the doctrines, which through Christ we have learned, and teach. Now Plato⁵ in like manner declared that Rhadamanthus and Minos will punish the wicked who shall come to them. The event, of which we speak, is the same; but we say that it will be accomplished by Christ: and that both souls and bodies will be united, and punished with eternal torments, and not, as he declares, for a thousand years only⁶. If, notwithstanding, any one should say that all this is incredible or impossible, this error re-

⁵ Plato, Gorgias. p. 524.

⁶ Plato, de Republ. lib. x. p. 615.

Justin here plainly maintains the eternity of future punishments. When Justin M. speaks in his own person, he always describes the punishment of the wicked as eternal. See c. xii. 24. 29, at the end; 60 at the end. See also Apol. 2, p. 41; C. E. 45; E. 46; D. 47, D. There is a passage in his dialogue with Trypho, however, in which his instructor describes the happiness of the righteous and the punishment of the wicked as enduring as long as God shall will:

οὕτως αἱ μὲν (ψυχαὶ) ἀξιαὶ τοῦ θεοῦ φανεῖσθαι οὐκ ἀποθνήσκουσι ἔτι, αἱ δὲ κολάζονται ἕς τ' ἂν αὐτὰς καὶ εἶναι καὶ κολάζεσθαι ὁ θεὸς θέλη, p. 223, C.

If Justin is here to be considered as expressing his own sentiments, the apparent contradiction will be reconciled by supposing his opinion to be, that the eternity of the soul of man is not inherent, but that God wills the punishment of the wicked to be eternal. See Bp. Kaye's Account of Justin Martyr, ch. v. p. 102.

guards ourselves only, and no one else⁷, as long as we are not proved guilty of any evil action.

9. Neither again do we honour with numerous sacrifices and garlands of flowers, those whom men have invested with a bodily shape, and placed in temples, and then denominated gods. We well know that these are senseless and dead, possessing not the form of God. We imagine not that God hath such a bodily shape as some pretend to imitate, to his honour; and are persuaded that these images have not the form of God, but the names and figures of those evil demons which have appeared. For why should I repeat to you, who know so well, in what manner the workmen treat their materials, polishing, cutting, melting, and hammering, and frequently out of the meanest vessels, by merely changing their form, and fashioning them anew, giving them the name of gods⁸? In our opinion this is not only unreasonable, but offers great dishonour to God, who, although he possesses a glory and form which are inexpressible, is thus named after corruptible things, and such as require care to preserve them. Ye well know, also, that those who are occupied in these works lead most impure lives, and, not to dwell upon particulars, practise all kinds of wickedness, so that they even corrupt the women who assist them in their works. Oh! astonishing blindness! that men thus impure should be said⁹ to form and change the fashion of gods, for the purpose of worship; and that such men should be placed as guards of the temples where they are set up, not considering that it is impious either to imagine or to say, that men are the keepers of gods.

10. But we are firmly persuaded that God requires

⁷ Compare Job xix. 4.

⁸ Compare Isa. xlv. 12—19. It might be conceived that Justin Martyr had in view the history told of Amasis, in Herod. ii. 172.

⁹ λέγεσθαι is the reading of H. Stephanus, instead of λέγεσθε.



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to all evil, which, although various in its kind, exists in every man.

11. Now ye, when ye hear that we look for a kingdom, assume, without inquiry, that we speak of a human kingdom; whereas we speak of that which is with God: as plainly appears from this, that when we are questioned by you, we confess that we are Christians, when we know that the punishment of death will be inflicted upon all who confess. For if we expected a human kingdom, we should deny, that we might escape death; and should seek to remain concealed, that we might obtain what we expect. But since our hopes are not fixed upon this present world, we care not for our murderers, knowing that at all events we must die.

12. Moreover, we aid and assist you to preserve peace, more than all other men: for we are firmly persuaded, that it is impossible that any man should escape the notice of God, whether he be an evil doer, or covetous, or a traitor, or a virtuous man: and that every one shall go into eternal punishment or happiness, according to that which his deeds deserve. For if all men knew this, no one would choose evil for a little time, knowing that he must go into everlasting punishment by fire; but each would restrain himself, and adorn himself with all virtue, that so he might attain unto the good things which are of God, and be free from those torments. They who offend against the laws, and are exposed to the punishments which ye impose, may endeavour to escape detection, knowing well that it is possible to elude the notice of human beings like yourselves. But if they had learned, and were well assured, that it is impossible for God not to know every thing which is done, nay, even every thing which is thought, they would by all means live circumspectly, if it were but to avoid the punishment

hanging over their heads, as even ye yourselves will confess.

13. But, it would seem, ye fear lest all should be just and holy in their lives, and ye should have none to punish. This would be an apprehension worthy of an executioner, but not of good princes. And we are persuaded that such suggestions arise, as we have before said, from those evil demons, who demand even offerings and worship from those who live a life contrary to reason. Neither do we suspect that ye, who follow after piety and philosophy³, would do any thing against reason. But if ye also, in like manner with those inconsiderate men, honour established practices more than truth, then do what ye can: and the utmost that even princes can do, who honour the opinions (of men) more than the truth, is but as much as robbers in the desert could⁴. And that your labour will be in vain the Word himself declares, than whom, with God his Father, we know no prince more royal and more just. For as all avoid the inheritance of the poverty, or disease, or disgrace of their parents, so 60 will every one who is wise reject that which right reason commands him to refuse⁵.

14. Our teacher, the Son and Apostle⁶ of God the Father and Lord of all things, even Jesus Christ, from whom also we have obtained the name of Christians, hath foretold to us that all these things would come

³ Justin alludes to the appellations of the two Antonines, Pious and Philosopher. See c. 2.

⁴ That is, put us to death. Compare cc. 2, and 60.

⁵ Children inherit the property of their parents, and they justly claim it as their right. But no one requires to succeed to the poverty, or disease, or disgrace of his parent. In like manner, although established prejudices may have descended to us, we shall exercise our own judgment upon them; we shall consider whether right reason declares them to be part of the wealth, or of the weakness of antiquity; and accordingly accept or reject them.

⁶ Heb. iii. 1.

to pass. Wherefore we cleave stedfastly to all things which were taught of him, since whatsoever he before declared should happen, hath indeed been fulfilled. For this is the work of God (only): to declare events before they happen; and manifestly to bring them to pass, even as they were predicted.

15. We might now rest satisfied with what hath been said, and add nothing more, in the full assurance that our demands are perfectly consistent with justice and truth. But being well aware that the mind, once held captive by ignorance, doth not without great difficulty change, in an instant, its whole train of thought, we have determined to add a few words, to persuade those who are really lovers of truth; for, although difficult, we are persuaded that it is not impossible, that a plain representation of the truth should be sufficient to dissipate error.

16. With respect to the charge of impiety: what man of consideration will not confess that this accusation is falsely alleged against us? since we worship the Creator of this Universe, declaring, as we have been taught, that he requires not sacrifices of blood, and libations, and incense; and praise him to the utmost of our power, with words of prayer and thanksgiving, for all things which we enjoy. For we have learned, that the only honour which is worthy of him is, not to consume with fire what he hath given to us for our nourishment, but to distribute them to ourselves and to those who have need: and that our thankfulness to him is best expressed, by the solemn offering of prayers and hymns. Moreover we pour forth our praises⁷ for our creation, and every provision for our well-being; for the various qualities of all creatures, and the changes of seasons; and (for the hope) of rising again in incorruption, through faith

⁷ The true reading is probably *αἰνέσεις*, not *αἰρήσεις*.



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the same roof, now, since the appearing of Christ, live at the same table, and pray for our enemies, and endeavour to persuade those who unjustly hate us; that they also, living after the excellent institutions of Christ, may have good hope with us to obtain the same blessings, with God the Lord of all.

18.—And, that we may not seem to deceive you, we think it right to remind you of some few of the doctrines which we have received from Christ himself, before we proceed to the proof (which we have promised): and be it your care, as powerful princes¹, to inquire whether in truth we have thus been taught and teach. His words were short and concise; for he was no sophist, but his word was the power of God². With respect, then, to chastity, he spake thus: “Who-soever shall look on a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery in his heart before God³.” And “If thy right eye offend thee, cut it out⁴; for it is profitable for thee to enter into the kingdom of heaven with one eye, rather than with the two, to be sent into everlasting fire⁵.” And, “Whosoever marieth a wife that is put away from another man, committeth adultery⁶ :” and, “There are some, which were made eunuchs of men: and there are some which were born eunuchs: and there are some which have made themselves eunuchs, for the kingdom of heaven’s sake: but all receive not this⁷.” Hence they who, under the sanction of human laws, marry again, and they who look on a woman to lust after her, are sinners in the sight of our master. For not only he, who is an

¹ ὡς δυνατῶν βασιλέων., H. Stephanus proposes to read ὡς δὴ συνειρημένων βασιλέων, “as wise princes.”

² 1 Cor. i. 24.

³ Matt. v. 28.

⁴ Justin has ἐκκοψον αὐτόν—the word ἐκκοψον being taken from the following verse, for ἐξελε.

⁵ Matt. v. 29. Mark ix. 47.

⁶ Matt. v. 32. Luke xvi. 18.

⁷ Matt. xix. 11, 12.

adulterer in fact, is cast out by him, but he who wishes to commit adultery: since not only the deeds but the very desires are manifest to God. Nay many, both men and women, of the age of sixty and seventy years, who have been disciples of Christ from their youth, continue in immaculate virginity; and it is my boast to be able to display such before the whole human race. For why should we mention also the innumerable multitude of those, who have been converted from a life of incontinence, and learned these precepts? For Christ called not the righteous nor the chaste to repentance, but the ungodly, and the incontinent, and the unjust. For thus he said: "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance⁸." For our heavenly Father prefers the repentance of a sinner to his punishment.

19. Again, concerning the love of all men he thus taught: "If ye love those who love you, what new thing do ye? for even the fornicators also do the same. But I say unto you, Pray for your enemies, and love those that hate you, and bless those that curse you; and pray for those that despitefully use you⁹." And that we should give to them that are in need, and do nothing for the sake of vain glory, he thus said: "Give to every one that asketh of you, and from him that would borrow of you turn not ye away¹:" "For if ye lend to them from whom ye hope to receive, what new thing do ye? for even the publicans do the same²." "But lay not ye up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and thieves break through: but lay up for yourselves treasures in the heavens, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt³." "For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole

⁸ Matt. ix. 13. Luke v. 32.

⁹ Matt. v. 44. 46. Luke vi. 27, 28. 32.

¹ Matt. v. 42. Luke vi. 30.

² Luke vi. 34.

³ Matt. vi. 19, 20.

world, and lose his own soul? Or what shall he give in exchange for it⁴?" "Lay up therefore treasure in the heavens, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt." And, "Be ye good and merciful, as your Father also is good and merciful; and maketh his sun to rise upon the sinners, and the righteous, and the wicked⁵." "Take no thought what ye shall eat, or what ye shall put on: are ye not better than the fowls and the beasts? Yet God feedeth them. Therefore take no thought, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall put on; for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of these things. But seek ye the kingdom of heaven, and all these things shall be added unto you⁶." "For where the treasure is, there also is the mind of man⁷." And, "Do not these things, to be seen of men: otherwise ye have no reward with your Father which is in heaven⁸."

20. That we should also patiently endure evil, and be kind to all, and not give way to wrath, he taught us in these words: "Unto him that smiteth thee upon the cheek, turn also the other: and him that taketh away thy coat or thy cloak hinder not⁹." "And whosoever is angry is in danger of the fire¹." "And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, follow him twain²." "Let your good works shine before men, that they may see them, and glorify your Father which is in heaven³." For we must not oppose: neither would he that we should imitate bad men, but hath commanded us by patience and meekness to withdraw all men from shameful and evil lusts. Which also we can show to have actually taken place among us, in

⁴ Matt. xvi. 26. Luke ix. 25.

⁵ Luke vi. 35, 36. Matt. v. 45.

⁶ Matt. vi. 25, &c. Luke xii. 22, 24, &c.

⁷ Matt. vi. 21. Luke xii. 34.

⁹ Matt. v. 39. Luke vi. 29.

² Matt. v. 41.

⁸ Matt. vi. 1. 9.

¹ Matt. v. 22.

³ Matt. v. 16.



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name? and then will I say unto them, Depart from me, ye workers of iniquity¹.” “Then shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth; when the righteous shall shine as the sun: but the unrighteous shall be sent into eternal fire².” “For many shall come in my name, covered outwardly with sheep’s clothing, but inwardly being ravening wolves: by their works ye shall know them. But every tree, which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down, and cast into the fire³.” And we even entreat, that those who live not agreeably to their doctrines, but are merely called Christians, may be punished by you.

23. We make it also our principal endeavour in every place to pay tribute and custom to such officers as are appointed by you, even as we have been taught by him. For “at that time certain came unto him, and asked him, whether it were lawful to pay tribute unto Cæsar. And he answered, Tell me, whose image doth the tribute money bear? They said unto him, Cæsar’s. Then again answered he them, Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar’s, and unto God the things which are God’s⁴.” Wherefore we worship God only: but in all other matters we joyfully serve you, confessing that ye are kings and rulers; and praying that ye may be found to possess, together with your royal power, a sound and discerning mind. If, however, notwithstanding we thus pray, and openly lay every thing before you, ye yet treat us with contempt, we shall receive no injury, believing, yea rather being firmly persuaded, that every one, if his deeds shall so deserve, shall receive the punishment of eternal fire; and that an account will be required of him, in proportion to the powers which he hath received from God;

¹ Matt. vii. 22. Luke xiii. 26.

³ Matt. vii. 15, 16. 19.

² Matt. xiii. 42, &c.

⁴ Matt. xxii. 17, &c.

as Christ hath declared, saying, “To whomsoever God hath given much, of him shall be much required⁵.”

24. For look to the end of each of the emperors who have already reigned, that they died the common death of all men: and well would it be for the wicked⁶, if this were merely a passage into a state of insensibility. But since both sense remains in all who have ever lived, and eternal punishment is reserved (for the wicked), take heed that ye be persuaded and believe that these things are true. For the very acts of necromancy⁷, the inspection of the bodies of pure children⁸

⁵ Luke xii. 48.

⁶ ἔρμαιον ἂν ἦν τοῖς ἀδίκοις πᾶσιν. Justin seems to allude to a similar phrase in his master Plato: εἰ μὲν ἦν ὁ θάνατος τοῦ παντός ἀπαλλαγὴ, ἔρμαιον ἂν ἦν τοῖς κακοῖς ἀποθανοῦσι. Phædo, p. 107.

⁷ See Tertullian's Apology, c. 23.

⁸ Justin here refers to a barbarous practice frequently alluded to by writers, both of ecclesiastical and profane history. Immaculate children of both sexes were slain, and their entrails inspected for the purpose of divination, under the persuasion that the souls of the victims were then present, and revealed the knowledge of futurity to those who consulted them.

Thus Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, as preserved by Eusebius, H. E. vii. 10, relates that, in the ninth persecution, under Valerian, the emperor was instructed by the chief of the Magi of Egypt in many abominable rites, and taught “to murder wretched infants, and sacrifice the children of miserable parents; and to examine their tender entrails.” Τελετὰς δὲ ἀνάγνους καὶ μαγανείας ἐξαγίστους καὶ ἱερουργίας ἀκαλλιερότους ἐπιτελεῖν ὑποτιθέμενος, παῖδας ἀθλίους ἀποσφάττειν, καὶ τέκνα δυστήνων πατέρων καταθύειν, καὶ σπλάγχνα νεογενῆ διαιρεῖν. Eusebius also, in two places, mentions among the enormities perpetrated by the tyrant Maxentius, that he filled up the measure of his guilt by having recourse to magical arts, among which was the inspection of the entrails of new-born children. Ἡ δὲ τῶν κακῶν τῷ τυράννῳ κορωνίς ἐπὶ γοητείαν ἤλαυνε· μαγικαῖς ἐπινοίαις τοτὲ μὲν γυναῖκας ἐγκύμονας ἀνασχίζοντος, τοτὲ δὲ νεογνῶν σπλάγχνα βρεφῶν διερευνημένου. Eusebius, H. E. viii. 14; Vit. Const. i. 36.

Socrates states the same brutal treatment to have been used by the pagans towards the Christians, in the time of Julian, in various cities, and particularly at Athens and Alexandria. “At that time the Gentiles made a furious attack upon the Christians; and those who called themselves philosophers were gathered together. They established also certain horrid rites, so that they even slew many young children, both male and

(for the purpose of divination), the calling forth of human souls, and those whom your magicians call senders of dreams, and familiar spirits⁹, and the practices of those who are skilled in such matters, may induce you to believe that souls after death are still in a state of sensibility. To these may be added the men who are seized and thrown down by the souls of the departed¹, who are commonly called demoniac and mad; and what are styled oracles among you, such as those of Amphiloehus, and Dodone, the Pythian, and the like: the opinions also of writers, such as Empedocles, Pythagoras, Plato, and Socrates: the trench mentioned by Homer², and the descent of Ulysses to see these things; together with the tenets of those female, for the purpose of inspecting their entrails, and also tasted their flesh.”

Τηνικαῦτα καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες τῶν χριστιανιζόντων κατέτρεχον· σύρροιά τε τῶν φιλοσοφεῖν λεγόντων ἐγένετο. Καὶ τελετάς τινὰς συνίστασαν, ὡς καὶ σπλαγχνοσκοπούμενοι παῖδας καταθύειν ἀφθόρους, ἄρβενας καὶ θηλείας, καὶ τῶν σαρκῶν ἀπογεύεσθαι. Socrat. H. E. iii. 13.

In the work called the “Recognitions of Clement,” which is at least as old as the time of Origen, by whom it is cited, (Philocal. c. 23,) Simon Magus is made to say, “By means of ineffable adjurations I called up the soul of an immaculate boy, who had been put to a violent death, and caused it to stand by me; and by its means whatever I command is effected.” And again, “(The soul freed from the body) possesses the faculty of foreknowledge: whence it is called forth for necromancy.”

“Pueri incorrupti et violeuter necati animam adjuramentis ineffabilibus evocatam adsistere mihi feci; et per ipsam fit omne quod jubeo.” “Statim et præscientiam habet (anima), propter quod evocatur ad necromantiam.” Recognit. Clementis, lib. ii. c. 13.

⁹ *πάρεδροι*. Valesius in his notes on Euseb. H. E. iv. 17, shows that by this word were meant spirits, who assisted the Magicians and performed their orders. Irenæus, Hær. i. 20, says that the followers of Simon Magus had both the kinds of spirits here mentioned. “Qui dicuntur *paredri* et *oniropompi* et quæcunque sunt alia perierga apud eos studiosè exercentur.”

¹ Such as the demoniacs, described in Matt. viii. 28; Mark v. 3; Luke vii. 25; Josephus, Bell. Jud. vii. 6. 3; in like manner describes demons as the spirits of wicked men. Τὰ γὰρ καλούμενα δαιμόνια, ταῦτα δὲ πονηρῶν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων πνεύματα, τοῖς ζῶσιν εἰσδυόμενα καὶ κτείνοντα τοὺς βοηθείας μὴ τυγχάνοντας, αὕτη (ἡ ῥίζα Βαάρας) ταχέως ἐξελαύνει.

² Od. λ. 25. 37, &c.



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to say, how worthy an estimate of divine power they form, who maintain that every thing returns to its original whence it proceeded, and that beyond this even God can do nothing: but we plainly see this, that they would not have believed it possible, for beings like themselves, and for the whole world, to have existed, and to have had their origin, in the manner which their own observation now discovers.

26. We have already assumed that it is better to believe things, which in their own nature and by the power of men are impossible, than to disbelieve as others do. Since we know how our master Jesus Christ said, “The things which are impossible with men, are possible with God⁴.” He said also, “Fear ye not them that kill you, and after that are able to do nothing: but fear him, who, after death, is able to cast both soul and body into hell⁵.”

27. Now hell is the place where those shall be punished who have lived unrighteously, and have not believed that the things shall come to pass which God hath taught through Christ. And even the Sibyl⁶

which it once possessed, even if it should have been reduced to the same state in which it was, before it was first made man.

Καίπερ πολλῶ δυσκολώτερον καὶ ἀπιστότερον ἦν, ἐκ μὴ ὄντων ὀστέων τε καὶ νεύρων—καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οἰκονομίας, ποιῆσαι εἰς τὸ εἶναι, καὶ ἔμψυχον καὶ λογικὸν ἀπεργάσασθαι ζῶον, ἢ τὸ γεγονὸς, ἔπειτα ἀναλυθὲν εἰς τὴν γῆν—αὐθις ἀποκαταστῆσαι, εἰς ἐκεῖνα χωρῆσαν ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν μηδέπω γεγονὸς ἐγεγόνει ὁ ἄνθρωπος. Irenæus, Hær. v. 3. p. 401. 32.

Athenagoras, in his argumentative treatise, on the Resurrection of the body, lays great stress upon the same reasoning. Athenag. de Resur. Carnis, p. 43, A. 59, A. See also the Apostolical Constitutions, lib. v. sect. 43. 7, p 308.

⁴ Luke xviii. 27.

⁵ Matt. x. 28. Luke xii. 45.

⁶ ————
 ῥεύσει δὲ πυρὸς μαλεροῦ καταράκτης
 Ἀκάματος· φλέξει δὲ γαῖαν, φλέξει δὲ θάλασσαν,
 Καὶ πόλον οὐράνιον, καὶ ἡματα, καὶ κτίσιν αὐτῆν
 Εἰς ἓν χωνεύσει, καὶ εἰς καθαρὸν διαλέξει.

CARM. SIB. lib. iii.

Theophilus, ad Autolyicum, lib. ii. p. 114, D. 116, A. appeals in like

and Hystaspes declared that there should be a destruction of corruptible things by fire. And those who are styled Stoic philosophers⁷ teach, that God himself will be resolved into fire; and affirm that the world shall be renewed by a change. But we entertain far higher notions respecting God, the Creator of all things, than that he should be subject to any change.

28. If then in some things we hold the same opinions with the poets and philosophers, whom ye honour, and in others entertain views more sublime and more worthy of the divine nature, and if we alone are able to prove what we say, why are we unjustly hated above all men? For when we affirm that all things were ordered and made by God, we hold apparently the same doctrine as Plato: when we speak of a destruction by fire, we agree with the Stoics: in maintaining that the souls of the unjust are punished, retaining their consciousness even after death, and the souls of good men live happily, free from pain, we assent to what your poets and philosophers declare⁸: when we say that we ought not to worship the works of men's hands, we agree with Menander the comic poet, and others who hold the same opinions; for they have shown that the Creator is greater than the creature. And when we affirm that the Word, which is the first-begotten of God, was born without carnal knowledge, even Jesus Christ our Master, and that he was crucified, 6

manner to the Sibyl. The author of the *Quæstiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos*, a work falsely ascribed to Justin, says that Clement of Rome, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, appeals to the writings of the Sibyl, as testifying that the world should be destroyed by fire. In the present Epistle of Clement there is no such allusion. Grotius, *de Veritate Rel. Christ.* i. 22, has accumulated several instances of the same tradition.

⁷ See Justin Martyr's second Apol. p. 45; Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 46.

⁸ Theophilus of Antioch, *ad Autolyicum*, lib. ii. p. 115, and Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, lib. iv. p. 541, have collected many passages of heathen poets and philosophers, agreeing with different tenets of the Christian religion.

and died, and rose again and ascended into heaven, we advance no new thing different from what is maintained respecting those, whom ye call the sons of Jupiter⁹.

29. For ye well know how many sons your approved writers attribute to Jupiter: Mercury, the word of interpretation and the teacher of all men; Esculapius, who was a physician, and yet struck with lightning and taken up into heaven: Bacchus, who was torn in pieces; Hercules, who burned himself upon the pile to escape his torments; Castor and Pollux, the sons of Leda; Perseus, the son of Danæe; and Bellerophon, born of human race, and carried away upon the horse Pegasus¹. For why should I speak of Ariadne, and others also, like her, who were said to be raised among the stars of heaven? Nay, ye determine that the very emperors, who die among you, shall always become immortal; and bring forward some one to swear that he saw Cæsar, who was burnt, going up to heaven out of the funeral pile. Neither is it necessary that I should relate to you, who already know well, of what kind were the actions of each of those who were called the sons of Jupiter; I need only say, that the writings, in which they are recorded, tend only to corrupt and pervert² the minds of those who learn them: for all take a pride in being imitators of the gods. Now far be from every sound mind such conceptions concerning

⁹ The object which Justin has in view, in the ensuing part of his Apology, although now void of interest, was important at the time in which it was written, when the heathen world was given up to idolatry. He endeavours to show that the Gentiles could not consistently make it a matter of accusation against the Christians, that they believed in the incarnation of Jesus Christ the Son of God, when they themselves held opinions, which were fully as incredible, respecting their false gods.

¹ Justin alludes to the same story respecting Bellerophon in c. 71. The mythological history was not, however, that Bellerophon was carried to heaven on Pegasus, but that he made the attempt and failed.

² εἰς διαφθορὰν καὶ παρατροπήν.



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we affirm that he was born of a virgin ; let this be considered a point in which he agrees with what ye (fabulously) ascribe to Perseus. And whereas we say that he made those whole, who were lame, palsied, and blind⁵ from their birth, and raised the dead ; in this too we ascribe to him actions similar to those which are said to have been performed by Esculapius.

31. We desire also to make it fully apparent to you, that those things only which we affirm, and have learned from Christ and the prophets who went before him, are the truth, and more ancient than (what is recorded by) all other writers ; and we do not require to be believed, because in some particulars we agree with them, but because we say the truth : and Jesus Christ, who alone was properly born the Son of God, being his Word, and First-begotten and Power, and by his counsel made man, hath taught us these things, for the reformation and improvement of the human race. Before he was made man and dwelt among men, some⁶, at the instigation of those evil spirits of which we have spoken, declared through the fictions which the poets uttered, that these events had already happened ; as also they have fabricated those infamous and impious actions which are reported of us, without witness or proof. Of this our refutation follows.

32. In the first place, we alone, although we express

⁵ *πηρούς*. This seems a better reading than *πονηρούς*. Thirlby shows that the word is used by Justin to signify "the blind," as in Trypho, p. 295.

⁶ *φθάσαντές τινες διὰ τοὺς προειρημένους κακοὺς δαίμονας, διὰ τῶν ποιητῶν ὡς γενόμενα εἶπον, ἃ μυθοποιήσαντες ἔφησαν· ὃν τρόπον καὶ τὰ καθ' ἡμῶν λεγόμενα δύσφημα καὶ ἀσεβῆ ἔργα ἐνήργησαν.*

There is probably some omission or error in the Greek text. The assertion of Justin seems to be, that the demons, whom he supposes to have inspired the heathen poets and mythologists, had obtained some imperfect knowledge of the actions which Christ should perform, and purposely framed the stories of the false gods so as to anticipate them.

nothing but what is similar to the professions of the Greeks, are hated on account of the name of Christ, and, although innocent, are put to death as transgressors: whereas other persons, in different places, worship trees, and rivers, and mice, and cats, and crocodiles, and (many) other brute beasts. Yet the same animals are not held sacred by all, but some in one place and some in another; so that all are accounted impious one to the other, for not worshipping the same objects.—And this is the only thing of which ye can accuse us, that we worship not the same gods which ye worship, and offer not libations, and the perfume of the fat of beasts, to the dead, nor crowns and sacrifices to images⁷.—For ye well know that the same things are regarded by some as gods, by others as beasts, and by others again as victims.

33. In the second place, we, out of every nation, who formerly worshipped Bacchus, the son of Semele, and Apollo, the son of Latona, whose infamous abominations it is a shame even to mention, together with Proserpine and Venus, who were inflamed with passion for Adonis, and whose mysteries ye celebrate, or any others of those who are called gods, do now for the sake of Jesus Christ despise all these, even under the threat of death: and dedicate ourselves to God who is unbegotten⁸ and without passions; of whom we believe not (as ye believe of Jupiter) that under the influence of base passion he followed Antiope, or others in like manner, or Ganymede, nor that he was loosed from bonds by (Briareus) with an hundred hands, at the solicitation of Thetis; nor on that account was anxious that Achilles, the son of Thetis, should slay many of

⁷ ἐν γραφαῖς στεφάνους. Salmasius reads ἐν ῥαφαῖς στεφάνους, crowns sewed together.

⁸ ἀγεννήτῳ. See note (3) on Ignatius's Epistle to the Ephesians, c. 7.

the Greeks⁹, for his concubine Briseis. Nay we pity those who believe such fables; and are persuaded that evil spirits are the authors of them.

34. In the third place, even after the ascension of Christ into heaven, the evil spirits have put forward certain men, who said that they were gods: and these men were so far from being persecuted by you, that they were thought worthy even of honours. For instance, there was one Simon, a Samaritan, from a village named Gitton, who under Claudius Cæsar performed magical wonders in your imperial city Rome, through the art and agency of evil spirits; and was regarded as a god, and had a statue erected to him among you. This statue stood by the river Tiber, between the two bridges, having upon it this Latin inscription,

SIMONI DEO SANCTO¹.

⁹ Il. B. 4.

¹ The account which Justin here gives of the statue erected to Simon Magus, is again referred to in c. 73, p. 91, and is followed by Tertullian, (Apol. c. 13,) Irenæus, (i. 20,) Eusebius, (H. E. ii. 13,) and many others of the Fathers; and was not doubted till the year 1574, when a stone was dug up in the Island of the Tiber, with the inscription, SEMONI SANCO (OR SANGO) DEO FIDIO SACRUM SEX. POMPEIUS S. P. F. COL. MUSSIANUS QUINQUENNALIS DECUR BIDENTALIS DONUM DEDIT. This stone was somewhat similar to the pedestal of a statue; but probably too small for that purpose. Baronius (Ann. 44).

Since that time, many have supposed that the similarity of names led Justin into an error; and that he attributed to Simon Magus an honour which was really paid to Semo Sancus, a god of the Sabines.

It is certainly possible enough that Justin should have been mistaken. But it must be observed that the inscriptions, although similar, are not the same, the order of the words being different: that the statue to Simon Magus is said (Justin, Apol. c. 73) to have been dedicated by the Roman people, whereas the stone to Semo Sancus is a private offering of Sextus Pompeius.

The objections of Valesius (in Euseb. H. E. ii. 13) and of Basnage, (Exercit. Hist. p. 573,) founded on the assertion that the Romans never attached the epithet *sanctus* to their gods, nor employed the words "Deo Sancto" in an inscription, are proved to be incorrect. There are numerous



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ceeded from him. We know also that one Menander³, a Samaritan also, from the village of Capparetæa, a disciple of Simon, received power from the evil spirits, and being in Antioch deceived many by magical art. He persuaded also his followers that they should never die; and still there are some of his sect who profess to believe this.

~~85~~ There is also Marcion of Pontus⁴, who is even from body to body, always exposed to insults, and at last was reduced to the condition of a prostitute. That she was the lost sheep, mentioned in the parable: wherefore Simon himself descended, to recover and release her from her bonds, and afford salvation to mankind by acknowledging her.

For since the angels governed the world amiss, each desiring the sovereign power, he had come to amend all things, and had appeared as the Son in Judæa, when he suffered in appearance and not in reality. That the prophets had been inspired by the angels, and were to be no more regarded by those who believed in him and in Helena. He concluded with the impious doctrine, which many heretics have maintained, that his followers were perfectly free to live according to their own pleasure, for that men were saved by his grace, and not by good works. (Secundum enim ipsius gratiam servari homines, sed non secundum operas justas.)

It is melancholy and humiliating to notice such blasphemous absurdities: but they show of what the mind of man is capable, when it is left to its own imaginations, and how surely erroneous notions lead to flagitious practice.

³ Menander was the disciple of Simon Magus, and the master of Saturninus. He declared that the First Virtue, or Supreme Power, was unintelligible to all: but that he himself was sent from the invisible world, as a Saviour for the salvation of mankind. With respect to the creation of the world by the angels, and their being sent forth from the Ennœa, or first Intelligence, he agreed with Simon: and averred that the magical science which he possessed was given him, that he might overcome the angels, who made the world. He affirmed also that the baptism which he conferred upon his disciples was a true resurrection, and that those who received it were incapable of death, and would continue to live for ever without experiencing the inconveniences of old age. He dissuaded his followers from encountering martyrdom. Irenæus, i. 21. Tertullian. de Animâ, c. 23. 50; De Resurrect. Carnis, c. 5. Eusebius, H. E. iii. 26.

⁴ Marcion lived in the reign of Antoninus (Tertullian. de Præscrip. c. 30): and that this was Antoninus *Pius*, appears from Irenæus, iii. 4, who states that he flourished in the time of Anicetus, the tenth Bishop of Rome, who lived in the reign of Antoninus Pius. Euseb. H. E. iv. 10, 11; and Chronicon. Irenæus gives an account of his tenets (Lib. i. 29).

now teaching his followers to profess, that there is some other God, greater than he who created the world. This man, through the assistance of evil spirits, hath caused many in every nation to speak blasphemies, and to deny that the Creator of the universe was God; maintaining that some one else, of superior power, hath exceeded that Creator by executing greater works. And yet all, who have sprung from these sects, as we have stated, are called Christians. In the same manner as those, who do not hold the same opinions as the philosophers, are still included under the common appellation of philosophy. Now whether they are guilty of any of those infamous acts which are reported ⁵, such as the putting out of the lights, and promiscuous intercourse, and feeding on human flesh, we know not; but we know that they are not persecuted nor put to death by you, even on account of their peculiar doctrines. We have also a treatise composed against all the heresies which have

His heresy arose from his wish to reconcile the existence of evil, with the perfect power and wisdom and goodness of the Supreme Being: and this he endeavoured to do by supposing that the world was created by an inferior being, who was the author of evil; and that the Supreme Being himself was unknown to mankind until he was revealed by Christ. Tertullian wrote five books against Marcion: and the best account of the opinions of that heretic is given by the Bp. of Lincoln, in his luminous epitome of those books. Bp. Kaye's Tertullian, c. vii. pp. 474—505. Eusebius, H. E. iv. 11, in quoting this passage, expresses himself as if it occurred in a book of Justin written against Marcion.

⁵ These calumnies were constantly brought against the Christians; and are refuted in all their apologies. Compare Justin, Apol. 2, p. 50, Dial. p. 227. Tertullian. Apol. cc. 2. 7, 8; Ad Nationes, i. c. 2. Minucius Felix; Octavius, cc. 9. 30. They are mentioned also by the martyrs who suffered in the persecution after the death of Antoninus Pius, (Euseb. H. E. v. i. p. 133, A), by Athenagoras (Legat. p. 4), and by Origen (Contra Celsum, lib. vi. p. 293, 294), as having been advanced at the beginning of Christianity. He attributes the origin of the accusation to the Jews. *Καὶ δοκεῖ μοι παραπλήσιον Ἰουδαίοις πεποιηκέναι (Κέλσος) τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ διδασκαλίας κατασκεδάσαι δυσφημίαν τοῦ λόγου· ὡς ἄρα καταθύσαντες παιδίον μεταλαμβάνουσιν αὐτοῦ τῶν σαρκῶν. κ. τ. λ.*

arisen, which, if ye wish to peruse it, we will produce.

36. But we are so far from committing any (such) injustice or impiety (as is implied in the charge of devouring children), that we have learned that none but wicked men expose infants when they are born. First ⁶, because we see, that almost all such are brought up in the vilest manner, and for the basest purposes, whether they be male or female: and as men of old reared for sale herds of oxen, or goats, or sheep, or horses, so also are there now dispersed among all nations, for this infamous object, children of either sex, and even those of monstrous growth. And ye receive the hire ⁷ and tribute and custom of these persons, when ye ought to cut them off from the face of your empire. It is well known what horrible, and even incestuous, offences hence frequently occur; and how men sometimes prostitute their children and their wives; and what shocking offerings are made to her, whom ye call the mother of the gods. And, indeed, in the worship of all those who are accounted gods among you, a serpent is represented as a great symbol and mystery. (Ye accuse us also of extinguishing the lights, that we may give way to gross indulgences:) thus what ye openly practise and hold in honour, as if the divine light (of reason and natural sense of right and wrong) were overthrown and extinguished in you, ye falsely attribute to us: but this brings no blame upon us, who

⁶ Πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι τοὺς πάντας σχεδὸν ὁρῶμεν ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ προάγοντας, οὐ μόνον τὰς κόρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄρσενας· καὶ ὃν τρόπον λέγονται οἱ παλαιοὶ ἀγέλας βοῶν ἢ αἰγῶν ἢ προβάτων τρέφειν, ἢ ἵππων φορβάδων, οὕτω νῦν καὶ παῖδας εἰς τὸ αἰσχρῶς χρῆσθαι μόνον, καὶ ὁμοίως θηλειῶν καὶ ἀνδρογύνων, καὶ ἀρρήτοποιῶν πλῆθος κατὰ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ ἄγους ἔστηκε.—Καὶ τῶν τούτοις χρωμένων τὶς, πρὸς τῇ ἀθέῳ καὶ ἀσεβεῖ καὶ ἀκρατεῖ μίξει, εἰ τύχοι τέκνω, ἢ συγγενεῖ, ἢ ἀδελφῷ μίγνυται. Οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν τέκνα, καὶ τὰς ὁμοζύγους προαγωγέονται. Καὶ φανερῶς εἰς κιναιδίαν ἀποκόπτονται τινές, καὶ εἰς μητέρα θεῶν τὰ μυστήρια ἀναφέρουσι.

⁷ Compare Suetonius, Caligula: c. 40. This disgraceful tribute was finally removed by a law contained in Justinian, tit. xl. lib. xi.



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mystery with us (as ye falsely allege), presented a written petition to Felix the governor, at Alexandria, praying that he would permit a physician to mutilate his person; an operation which the physicians there said they were not at liberty to perform, without the governor's leave. And when Felix altogether refused to grant his permission, the young man still persisted
72 in his resolution of continence, satisfied with his own conscience, and that of his Christian brethren. Here also we may mention Antinous, who lately died, and whom all, through fear (of offending the Emperor Adrian) were eager to worship as a god, knowing well what kind of character he bore, and whence he was.

And that no one may advance this objection against us, "What should hinder us from believing, that he who by us is called Christ, was a man of merely human origin, who performed the wonders, which we speak of, by magical art³, and on that account was considered to be the Son of God?" we will proceed now to bring forward a proof. We will not rely upon testimony, but shall necessarily be persuaded by prophecies delivered before the events; since we see with our own eyes that events have taken place, and are now taking place, according to the predictions. And this proof

³ Absurd as this objection may appear, it was one which the early Christian Apologists thought it necessary to anticipate; and on that account they sometimes laid greater stress on prophecy than on the miracles of Christ. Compare Irenæus, ii. 57. Lactantius, v. 3. *Disce igitur, si quid tibi cordis (cordi) est, non idcirco à nobis Deum creditum Christum, quia mirabilia fecit, sed quia vidimus in eo facta esse omnia quæ nobis annunciata sunt vaticinio prophetarum. Fecit mirabilia: magum putassemus, ut et vos nuncupatis, (nunc putatis) et Judæi tunc putaverunt, si non illa ipsa facturum Christum prophetæ uno spiritu prædixissent.* In another place (iv. c. 13) Lactantius replies to the objection, said to have been made by the oracle of Apollo, and assented to by some of the Jews, that the miracles of Jesus were performed by magic, by an appeal to the fulfilment of prophecy, as a continual miracle going on before their eyes.

Origen meets the same objection, with different reasons. *Contra Cels.* ii. p. 88, seq.

will, we imagine, appear to you also the most perfect and most true.

38. There were, then, among the Jews certain men, who were Prophets of God, by whom the prophetic Spirit proclaimed future events before they came to pass. And the kings, who were over the Jews in those days, possessed and preserved with great care the prophecies of these men, as they were first delivered, in books composed by the prophets themselves, in their own Hebrew language. Now when Ptolemy, king of Egypt, was forming his library, and endeavouring to collect the writings of all men, he heard of these prophecies, and sent to Herod⁴, who then ruled over the Jews, desiring that the books of the prophecies might be sent to him. And Herod the king sent them written in their aforesaid Hebrew language. But since what was thus written in them could not be understood by the Egyptians, he again sent, and desired him to send men to translate them into the Greek language. This being done, the books have remained with the Egyptians even to this day: and they are also with all the Jews in every place. Yet the Jews who read, understand not what is written; but regard us with hatred and enmity, slaying and punishing us, even as ye do, whenever they are able; as ye may easily learn. For in the late Jewish

⁴ This is a mistake either of Justin, or of some of his transcribers. The person to whom Ptolemy sent was Eleazar, who, according to Philo Judæus (lib. 2. de Vitâ Mosis), was high-priest and king of Judea. Josephus (Ant. xi. 4. 8) says that the high-priests had the supreme power, till the posterity of the Asamoneans established a monarchical authority.

Grabe supposes we should here read *ιερεϊ* for *Ἡρώδη*.

The account of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament given in the *Cohortatio ad Græcos*, p. 13, 14, which is ascribed to Justin, is somewhat different from this. It follows Philo (de Vit. Mosis, lib. ii.), in asserting that the seventy interpreters were each shut up in a different cell, and composed so many distinct versions, which all literally agreed.

war⁵, Barchochebas, the leader of the Jewish insurrection, commanded the Christians only to be led away to severe tortures, unless they denied Jesus Christ and blasphemed.

73 ~~39.~~ Now in the books of the prophets we find it predicted, that Jesus, our Christ, should come, should be born of a virgin, and be made man; that he should heal every disease, and all manner of sickness, and raise the dead; that he should be enviously treated, and not be known; that he should be crucified, and die, and rise again, and ascend into heaven; that he should be the Son of God, and so be called; that some should be sent by him to preach these things to every nation of mankind, and that men of the gentiles should more especially believe on him. Some of these prophecies also respecting him were delivered five thousand years before his appearing⁶, some three thousand, some two thousand; and some again one thousand, and others eight hundred years. For in the course of successive generations, different prophets succeeded one another.

~~40.~~ Moses then, who was the first of the prophets⁷, wrote in these very words: "A prince shall not fail from Judah, nor a ruler from between his feet⁸, until He shall come, for whom it is reserved⁹; and He

⁵ In the 17th year of Adrian: Eusebius, H. E. iv. 6, and Chron. Eusebius says, the cause of his enmity to the Christians was their refusal to unite with him against the Romans.

⁶ According to the chronology of Justin Martyr, somewhat more than 5000 years elapsed between the Creation and the birth of Christ. Theophilus (Ad Autolyicum, lib. iii. p. 138) makes it 5515 years. Justin here, therefore, considers Adam as one of the prophets; agreeing with Theophilus (lib. ii. p. 104). Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. i. p. 335) in like manner regards the names which Adam bestowed upon Eve, and upon all animals, as prophetic.

⁷ The first, whose writings are preserved. Here, and in c. 71, the prophecy of Jacob is apparently ascribed to Moses who records it.

⁸ ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ. From his thighs.

⁹ ᾧ ἀπόκειται—that this, and not δ ἀπόκειται, is the true reading, is plain from Justin's Dial. with Trypho, pp. 348, 349.



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dicted his passion, which he was to undergo, cleansing by his blood those who believe in him. For that which is called, by the prophet in the holy spirit, his garment, are the men which believe in him, in whom dwells the seed which is from God, even the word. And that, which is called "the blood of the grape," indicates that he who was to appear should have indeed blood, but that he should have it by divine power, and not of human seed. And the principal power, after God the Father and Lord of all things, is the Son, the Word; the manner of whose incarnation, and how he was made man, we shall hereafter show. For as not man, but God, hath made the blood of the vine, so this intimated that the blood should not be of human seed, but of the power of God, as we before said.

42. Isaiah also, another prophet, predicting the same things in different words, thus spake³: "There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a flower shall spring from the branch of Jesse:" "and upon his arm shall the Gentiles hope⁴." Now a shining star did rise, and a flower did spring from the root of Jesse, even this Christ. For through the power of God, he was born of a virgin, of the seed of Jacob, the father of Judah, who hath been shown to be the father of the Jews. Moreover Jesse was his progenitor, according to the prophecy; and he was the son of Jacob and Judah by natural descent.

43. And again, hear how expressly it was predicted by Isaiah, that he should be born of a virgin. For thus it was spoken: "Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son: and they shall say of his name, God with us⁵." For the things which appeared to be incredible and impossible with men, those did God pre-

³ Justin here unites the prophecy of Balaam, Numb. xxiv. 17, with that of Isa. xi. 1.

⁴ Isa. xi. 1. 10.

⁵ Isa. vii. 14. Matt. i. 23.

dict by the prophetic Spirit; that when they came to pass, they should not be disbelieved, but believed, inasmuch as they were before declared. But lest some⁶, not understanding the prophecy which hath been advanced, should bring the same charge against us, which we make against your poets, who say that 75 Jupiter came down to women, under the influence of impure passions, we will endeavour to explain these words. Now, when it is said, “Behold a virgin shall conceive,” it is implied that the virgin conceived without carnal intercourse with any one; or otherwise she would no longer have been a virgin. But the power of God coming upon the virgin overshadowed her, and caused her to conceive, although still a virgin. Moreover, the angel of God, who was sent to the virgin at that very time, saluted her, saying, “Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, by the Holy Ghost, and shalt bear a son, and he shall be called the Son of the Highest; and thou shalt call his name JESUS: for he shall save his people from their sins⁷.” Thus they, who have recorded⁸ all things concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ, have taught: whom we believe; since the prophetic Spirit also declared, as we have shown, by the above-mentioned Isaiah, that he should be so born. Moses, therefore, the prophet already quoted, declares⁹, that we are not permitted to consider the Spirit, and the Power which is from God, to be any other than the Word¹, which is also the first-begotten

⁶ ὅπως δὲ μή τινες μὴ νοήσαντες. κ. τ. λ.

⁷ Luke i. 31. 33. Matt. i. 21.

⁸ ἀπομνημονεύσαντες.—In c. 86, the Gospels are styled ἀπομνημονεύματα, memoirs.

⁹ Moses no where makes such an assertion; unless we suppose Justin to have alluded to some mystical interpretation of such a passage as Exod. iv. 22: “Israel is my son, my first-born.” Grabe supposes that Justin may have written Ἡσαίας, instead of Μωσῆς.

¹ The Spirit and the Word (Λόγος) seem here to be confounded. Compare c. 61. 85. Bp. Kaye observes, with reference to the passages of

of God. And this, coming upon the virgin and overshadowing her, not by carnal knowledge, but by (divine) power, caused her to conceive. The name also of Jesus, in the Hebrew tongue, hath the same meaning as Soter (Saviour), in the Greek language². Wherefore also the angel said to the virgin, “And thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins³.”

44. Even ye yourselves, I imagine, will concede, that they who prophecy are inspired by nothing else but the divine word. /Hear also how another prophet, Micah, predicted the very place where Christ should be born. For he spake thus: “And thou Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, art not the least among the princes of Judah: for out of thee shall come a governor, that shall rule my people Israel⁴.” Now Bethlehem is a village in the country of the Jews, five and thirty furlongs distant from Jerusalem; as ye may also learn from the taxing, which took place under Cyrenius who was your first prefect⁵ in Judea.

the early Fathers, in which *πνεῦμα* is used to signify the Divine Nature of Christ, “Perhaps the idea present to their minds was, that as, in the mystery of the Incarnation, the Holy Ghost came upon the Virgin, and the Power of the Highest overshadowed her, and the *Λόγος* thereby became flesh, the Holy Spirit, the Power of the Highest, and the *Λόγος* were the same. But Justin attributes the inspiration of the ancient Prophets sometimes to the *Λόγος*, sometimes to the Holy Spirit. Here it is difficult to interpret the latter of the Divine nature in Christ; and yet the two appear to be identified. I know of no other mode of explaining this fact, than by supposing that, as the *Λόγος* was the conductor of the whole Gospel economy, Justin deemed it a matter of indifference, whether he said that the Prophets were inspired by the *Λόγος*, or by the Holy Spirit who was the immediate agent. The Holy Spirit is called in Scripture the Spirit of Christ. (Rom. viii. 9. Gal. iv. 6. Phil. i. 19. 1 Pet. i. 11. In the last passage the immediate reference is to the inspiration of the Prophets).” Bp. Kaye’s Account of Justin Martyr, ch. ii. p. 72.

² Compare Dialogue with Trypho, p. 44.

³ Matt. i. 21.

⁴ Mic. v. 2, as quoted, Matt. ii. 6.

⁵ *ἐπίτροπος*—Grotius, on Luke ii. 2, shows that Cyrenius could not have been procurator. The word *ἐπίτροπος* is of general signification.



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expressly predicted, that he should sit upon the foal of an ass, and come into Jerusalem, we will mention the prophetic writings of another prophet, Zephaniah. The words are these: "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Sion: shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy king cometh unto thee, meek, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass³."

46. Now, when ye hear the sayings of the prophets, as if they were delivered by some one person, imagine not that they are said by the inspired writers themselves, but by the divine word which moved them. For sometimes it prophetically declares what shall come to pass hereafter; sometimes it speaks as in the person of God the Father, and Lord of all; sometimes as in the person of Christ; and sometimes as in the person of the people who answer to the Lord, or to his Father. In the same manner as ye may see also in your own writers, that one person writes the whole, but introduces different persons as holding discourse. The Jews who had the books of the prophets, not observing this, knew not Christ, when he came; and moreover hate us, who say that he is come, and prove that he was crucified by them, as it was predicted.

47. And that this also may be plain to you; these words were spoken, in the person of the Father, by Isaiah the prophet, whom we have before mentioned: "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib: but Israel doth not know me: and my people doth not consider. Ah, sinful nation, a people full of iniquity, an evil seed, wicked children: ye have forsaken the Lord⁴." And again in another place, where

ror Tiberius by Pontius Pilate. These acts, or records, of Pilate were the memoranda of the daily transactions of his government.

³ Zech. ix. 9; Matt. xxi. 5. Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Trypho, p. 273, quotes this prophecy correctly, from Zechariah, not from Zephaniah, as here.

⁴ Isa. i. 3, 4.

the same prophet speaks in like manner in the person of the Father. "What house will ye build me? saith the Lord. Heaven is my throne, and earth my footstool⁵." And again in another place; "Your new moons and your sabbaths my soul hateth, and the great day of fasting and rest I endure not; even if ye come to present yourselves before me, I will not hear you. Your hands are full of blood: even if ye bring fine flour and incense, it is an abomination unto me. I desire not the fat of lambs and the blood of bulls. For who hath required this at your hands⁶." "But loosen every band of wickedness, rend asunder the ties of violent contracts: cover the naked and him that hath no house: deal thy bread to the hungry⁷." Thus, then, may ye understand what kind of precepts are delivered from God by the prophets.

48. When, again, the prophetic spirit speaks in the person of Christ, it expresses itself thus: "I have stretched forth my hands unto a disobedient and gain-saying people, unto those who walked in a way that was not good⁸." And again, "I gave my back to stripes, and my cheeks to buffetings: I turned not away my face from the shame of spitting. And the Lord was my helper. Wherefore I turned not: but I set my face as a solid rock; and I knew that I should not be ashamed, for he is near that justifieth me⁹." And again, when he saith, "They cast lots for my vesture: and pierced my feet and my hands¹⁰." "But I lay down and slept and rose up again: for the Lord sustained me²." And again, when he saith, "They spake with their lips, they shook the head, saying, Let him save himself³." All which things, as ye may

⁵ Isa. lxvi. 1.

⁷ Isa. lviii. 6, 7.

⁹ Isa. l. 6—8.

² Ps. iii. 5.

⁶ Isa. i. 11—14.

⁸ Isa. lxv. 2. Rom. x. 21.

¹⁰ Ps. xxii. 16—18.

³ Ps. xxii 7, 8.

learn, were done to Christ by the Jews. For when he was crucified, they pouted their lips, and shook their heads, saying, Let him that raised the dead save himself⁴.

49. Moreover, when the prophetic spirit speaks to foretel things to come, it is in this manner. "For out of Sion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people. And they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks. And nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more⁵." And that it did so come to pass, ye may readily learn. For from Jerusalem twelve men went forth into the world, and they unlearned⁶, not knowing how to speak. But by the power of God they preached to every nation of men, that they were sent by Christ to teach all men the word of God. Wherefore we who formerly killed one another, now not only abstain from fighting against our enemies, but are ready to meet death with cheerfulness, confessing the faith of Christ, rather than lie, or deceive those who persecute us. For we might, on such an occasion, have acted according to that saying (of the poet⁷,)

"My tongue alone hath sworn, and not my mind."

However it would be absurd, while soldiers, once engaged and enrolled by you, adhere to the oath which they have made, in preference even to their own lives, their parents, their country, and all their families, when ye can offer them nothing immortal; that we, ardently desirous of immortality, should not endure every thing, in order to obtain the object of our wishes, from him who is able to fulfil them.

⁴ Matt. xxvii. 39.

⁵ Isa. ii. 3, 4.

⁶ *ἰδιῶται*. Acts iv. 13. 1 Cor. ii. 1. 4. 6. 13. 2 Cor. xi. 6.

⁷ Eurip. Hippolytus, 608.



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beareth² shall prosper. Not so the wicked, not so; but (they are) even as the chaff, which the wind scattereth from the face of the earth. Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the council of the righteous. For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous, and the way of the ungodly shall perish.” “Why did the heathen rage, and the people imagine vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord, and against his Anointed, saying, Let us break their bonds asunder, and cast away their yoke from us. He that dwelleth in the heavens shall laugh them to scorn; and the Lord shall have them in derision. Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath, and in his anger he shall trouble them. But I am set up by him as a king, upon Sion his holy mountain, declaring the command of the Lord. The Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son, to day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and for thy possession the extremities of the earth. Thou shalt rule them with a rod of iron; as vessels of a potter shalt thou dash them in pieces. And now, ye kings, be wise; be instructed, all ye that judge the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice in him with trembling. Receive instruction³, lest haply the Lord be angry, and so ye perish from the right way, when his wrath is quickly kindled. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him.”

52. And again the prophetic spirit, declaring by the same David that Christ should reign after his crucifixion, spake thus: “Sing unto the Lord, all the earth, and

² ὅσα ἂ ποιῇ.

³ Δράξασθε παιδείας. This is the version of the Septuagint. Capellus, *Critica Sacra*, lib. iv. sect. 5, p. 243, endeavours to show how the difference between the present Hebrew reading and the Greek may have arisen.

show forth his salvation from day to day. For the Lord is great, and greatly to be praised; he is to be 80 feared above all gods. For all the gods of the nations are idols of devils: but God made the heavens. Glory and praise are before his face; and strength and majesty⁴ in the place of his holiness. Give glory unto the Lord, the Father of the worlds⁵: bring an offering⁶, and come in before his face, and worship in his holy courts. Let the whole earth fear before his face, and be established, and not be shaken. Let them rejoice among the nations. The Lord hath reigned from the wood⁷.”

53. But whereas the prophetic spirit speaks of future events, as if they were already past, as may have been observed in what hath been said, we will explain this also, that it may not perplex those who meet with it.

(The spirit) speaks of things which it assuredly knows shall happen, as if they had already taken place. And that we must so receive these writings will be evident, if ye attend to the following considerations. David spake the words which have been recited, fifteen hundred years⁸ before Christ was made man and

⁴ Καύχημα.

⁵ τῷ πατρὶ τῶν αἰωνῶν. The Sept. has αἱ πατριαὶ τῶν ἔθνων, “O ye kindreds of the people;” and Justin so quotes the passage in Dial. p. 299, A.

⁶ λάβετε χάριν.

⁷ Ps. xcvi. 1, 2. 4—10. Compare Col. ii. 14, 15.

The passage is thus quoted by many of the Fathers. Tertullian, adv. Jud. c. 11, says, “Age nunc, si legisti penes prophetam in psalmis, Deus regnavit à ligno, expecto quid intelligas, ne fortè lignarium aliquem regem significari putetis, et non Christum, qui exinde à passione Christi (crucis) superatâ morte regnavit.” And again, c. 13, Unde et ipse David regnaturum ex ligno Dominum dicebat. See also Tertullian, adv. Marcion. iii. c. 19. Barnabas, Epist. c. 8, is supposed to recognise the words, when he says, ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἔριον ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον; ὅτι ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ξύλῳ. Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Trypho, p. 298, accuses the Jews of having erased the words ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου. There is no trace, however, of the words in any Hebrew or Greek MS. of the Old Testament, or in Origen or Jerome.

⁸ In c. 39, Justin appears to allude to David, when he says, in round numbers, that some of the prophets lived one thousand years before Christ.

crucified: and yet no one, of those who lived either before David or after him, gave occasion of rejoicing to the heathen by his sufferings upon the cross. But now, in our days⁹, Jesus Christ was crucified, and died, and rose again, and ascended into heaven, and reigned there; and, in consequence of what hath been preached in all nations, by the apostles sent from him, there is great joy to those who look for the immortality, which he hath promised.

54. And that no persons may imagine, from what we have now advanced, that we conceive events to happen by fatal necessity, because, as we have said, they are foreknown, we will explain this also. We have learned from the prophets, and declare it for a truth, that punishment and torments, as well as rewards, will be given to every one according to his works. For if this is not so, but every thing takes place by irresistible necessity, then there is nothing at all in our own power. For if it is fated that one man must be good, and another bad, neither is the one to be praised, nor the other to be blamed. And again, if the human race hath no power, by its free will, to avoid the evil and to choose the good, it is not responsible for any actions of any kind. But that men do stand and fall by free will is thus shown. We see that the conduct of the same man is different at different times. But if it was fated, that he should be either bad or good, he could never act so differently, nor change so frequently. Neither indeed would some be good, and some bad: since in that case, we should represent fate as the cause of evil, and at variance with itself: or else we must profess that opinion to be true, which we have before

Theophilus (ad Autolyicum, p. 138), places David eleven hundred years before Christ. The chronology of Justin seems to have been rather loose; but it is probable that the numbers here have been altered by an error of a transcriber.

⁹ Ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.



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they who are disobedient shall perish by the sword ; but the sword of the Lord is the fire, by which those shall be consumed who choose to do evil. Wherefore he saith, “The sword shall devour you ; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.” But if he had spoken of the sword which cuts, and immediately ceases, he would not have said, it shall devour⁴.

57. Wherefore also when Plato said⁵, “The fault lies with him who chooses, but God is blameless,” he took it from the prophet Moses, who was more ancient than all the writers of the Greeks. And in all, which philosophers or poets have said concerning the immortality of the soul, or punishments after death, or the contemplation of heavenly things, or the like opinions, they could conceive and explain such notions only as they first derived them from the prophets. Whence there appear to be the seeds of truth among them all : but they are proved not to have thoroughly understood them, since they so speak as to contradict themselves.

58. When therefore we say, that prophecies have been delivered respecting future events, we assert not that they were foreseen, because they happened by a fatal necessity ; but that God, well knowing what the actions of all men would be, and having determined that he would reward every man according to his deeds, declared by his prophetic spirit, that his dealings with them would correspond with those actions, thus always leading the human race to reflection and repentance, and showing his care and providence for them.

59. But the evil spirits denounced death against those who read the books of Hystaspes, or the Sibyl,

⁴ Justin’s interpretations are sometimes fanciful enough. The mouth of the sword, פִּי־חֶרֶב is a common Hebrew expression. Jer. xxi. 7. Job i. 15. 17.

⁵ De Republ. x. p. 617. H. Steph.

or the prophets, that they might deter them from improving such an opportunity of learning what was for their real good, and retain them in slavery to themselves. But this purpose they could not entirely effect. For we not only fearlessly study these books, but, as ye perceive, offer them for your consideration, being assured that they will be well pleasing to all men. And even if we persuade but a few, our gain will be great: for as good husbandmen we shall receive the reward from our Master.

60. Hear also what was spoken by David the prophet, to show that God the Father of all things would receive Christ into heaven, after having raised him from the dead, and retain him there, until he should tread under foot his enemies the devils, and the number of those should be fulfilled, who, as he foreknew, would be good and virtuous; for whose sake also the final destruction⁶ of all things by fire is yet delayed. The words are these: "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool. The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength out of Jerusalem: and rule thou in the midst of thine enemies. With thee shall be the rule in the day of thy power, in the splendours of thy saints. From the womb, before the day-star, have I begotten thee⁷." The words, "The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength out of Jerusalem," are a prophecy of that 83 powerful word, which the Apostles of Christ, who went out from Jerusalem, preached every where, although death was threatened against those who taught, or even confessed the name of Christ, and which we now every where embrace and teach. And if ye too receive what we now offer, in an hostile manner, ye can do no

⁶ ἐκπύρωσιν for ἐπικύρωσιν, as in c. 28. 74. 77, and Apol. ii. p. 45, C.

⁷ Ps. cx. 1—3. This is the reading of the Septuagint. See Lud. Cappellus, Critica Sacra, lib. iv. c. 2. 8, c. 11. 3.

more, as we have already said ⁸, than slay us: which brings, in fact, no evil upon us, but will procure everlasting punishment by fire upon yourselves, and all those who hate us without reason, and repent not.

61. But, lest any one should unreasonably object to what is taught by us, saying, that Christ was born but an hundred and fifty years since, in the time of Cyrenius, and taught what we ascribe to him still later, under Pontius Pilate, and should accuse us of maintaining that all men, who lived before that time, were not accountable for their actions, we will anticipate and solve the difficulty. We have learned, and have before explained, that Christ was the first-begotten of God, being the Word, or reason, of which all men were partakers ⁹. They then who lived agreeably to reason, were really Christians, even if they were considered atheists, such as Socrates, Heraclitus, and the like among the Greeks; and among other nations Abraham, Ananias, Azarias, Misael, and Elias, and many others, the actions and even the names of whom we at present omit, knowing how tedious the enumeration would be. Those therefore who of old lived without right reason, the same were bad men ¹, and enemies to Christ, and the murderers of those who lived agreeably to reason. Whereas they who ever lived or now live, in a manner which reason would approve, are truly Christians, and free from fear or trouble. From what we have already so fully stated, any intelligent

⁸ Cc. 2. 13.

⁹ Justin's notion was, that every degree of intelligence which men possessed, respecting the nature of the Deity, and their relation to him, was derived from a portion of the Divine reason, λόγος, communicated to them; but that the true believer in Christ only possesses this quality in perfection. He uses the word λόγος in different senses. Sometimes it denotes the second person of the Trinity, the Word; sometimes reason or intelligence: and sometimes word or speech. This necessarily creates ambiguity in determining the sense of the term in any particular passage.

¹ ἀχρηστοί, καὶ ἐχθροὶ τῷ Χριστῷ ἦσαν.



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63. Hear also in what manner it was predicted that our Christ should heal all manner of diseases, and raise the dead. Thus it is said, "At his coming the lame man shall leap as an hart, and the tongue of the stammerer shall be eloquent, the blind shall receive their sight, and the lepers shall be cleansed, and the dead shall arise and walk⁷." And that Christ did these things ye may learn from the records of what was done under Pontius Pilate⁸. Hear again what was said by Isaiah, foretelling by the prophetic spirit that Christ should be slain, together with those men who hoped in him. The words are these: "Behold, how the just man perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart: and merciful men are taken away, and no one considereth. The just man is taken away from before injustice: and his grave shall be in peace: he is taken away from the midst⁹." And again, how is it declared by the same Isaiah that the people of the Gentiles who expected him not, should worship him; but the Jews, who constantly expected him, should know him not when he came. The words were spoken as in the person of Christ; and are to this effect. "I was made known to them that looked not for me; I was found of them that sought me not: I said, Behold, here am I, to a people who called not upon my name. I stretched forth my hands to a disobedient and gainsaying
5 people: to those that walked in a way which was not good, but after their own sins: a people that provoketh to anger before me¹." For the Jews, who had the prophecies, and always expected the Christ to come, not only knew him not, but evil entreated him. But

eighteenth year of the Emperor Adrian, forbidding any Jew to approach within sight of Jerusalem. Valesius, in his notes on Eusebius, H. E., shows that there was one day in the year, on which the restriction was removed.

⁷ Isa. xxxv. 5, 6.

⁸ See Justin Martyr's Apol. c. 45.

⁹ Isa. lvii. 1, 2.

¹ Isa. lxxv. 1—3. Rom. x. 21.

they of the Gentiles, who had never heard any thing of Christ, until the apostles who went forth from Jerusalem declared what he had done, and delivered the prophecies respecting him, were then filled with joy; and renounced their belief in idols; and dedicated themselves to the unbegotten God through Christ². Hear also what was briefly spoken by Isaiah, to show that these harsh accusations should be brought against those who confessed Christ; and how wretched those should be who spoke ill of him, and maintained that the ancient customs ought to be preserved. His words are these: “Woe unto them that call sweet bitter, and bitter sweet³.”

64. Hear also in what manner it was prophesied, that he should be made man for us; and submit to suffer, and be set at naught; and should come again with glory. The words are these. “Because⁴ he hath given up his soul unto death, and was numbered with the transgressors; he hath borne the sins of many, and shall make intercession for the transgressors. For behold my Son shall understand, and shall be exalted, and shall be exceedingly glorified. As many shall be astonished at thee; so shall thy appearance be without honour, more than any men, and thy glory more than any men: so shall many nations wonder at thee; and kings shall shut their mouths at thee; for they to whom nothing had been told of thee, and who had not heard, shall understand. Lord, who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? We have declared before him, as (if he were) a child; as a root in a thirsty ground. There is no form in

² Grabe observes, that this is a formula in which Catechumens, who were subsequently to be baptized, were dismissed from the Church. Such a formula is given by the author of the Apostolical Constitutions, (viii. c. 6,) as part of the bidding prayer, which the Deacon was to use for the Catechumens. Compare similar expressions in cc. 17. 33. 79.

³ Isa. v. 20.

⁴ Compare Epist. of Clement, c. 16.

him, nor glory. Yea we saw him; and he had no form nor comeliness: but his form was without honour, and marred more than men. He was a man in stripes, and knowing how to bear infirmity. For his face was turned away, he was despised, and esteemed not. He beareth our sins and for us is he afflicted. And we considered him to be in trouble, in stripes, and in affliction. But he was wounded for our iniquities, and bruised for our sins. The chastisement of peace was
 6 upon him: by his stripes we were healed. All we like sheep have gone astray. Man hath erred from his way. And (the Lord) gave him for our sins: and he opened not his mouth through his suffering. He was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth. In his affliction his judgment was taken away⁵." Wherefore after his crucifixion even all his disciples forsook him, and denied him. But afterwards, when he arose from the dead, and appeared to them, and taught them that they should read the prophecies in which all these events were predicted, and when they had seen him going back into heaven, they believed, and received power which was thence sent down upon them from him, and went into all the world, and preached these things, and were themselves called Apostles.

65. Again, these are the words of the prophetic spirit, declaring to us that he, who suffered thus, hath an origin which cannot be expressed, and rules over his enemies: "Who shall declare his generation; for his life is taken from the earth. For their transgressions he comes to death. And I will give the wicked for his tomb, and the rich for his death. Because he did no iniquity, neither was guile found in his mouth: and the Lord will cleanse him from his stripes. If he

⁵ Isa. lii. liii. Septuagint.



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again the bodies of all men who have ever lived, and shall clothe with incorruption the bodies of those who so deserve, but shall send those of the wicked into everlasting fire, there to dwell in endless consciousness with the evil spirits.

67. Now that these things also are foretold, we will proceed to show. Thus, then, was it spoken by Ezekiel the prophet: "There shall be brought together joint to joint, and bone to bone: and flesh shall grow upon them⁹." And, "Every knee shall bow to the Lord, and every tongue shall confess to him¹." Hear also what is in like manner foretold, to show in what degree of sensibility and punishment the wicked shall be. The words are these: "Their worm shall not cease, and their fire shall not be quenched²." And then shall they repent, when it will avail them nothing. Moreover what the people of the Jews shall say and do, when they see him coming in glory, is foretold in these words by the prophet Zechariah³: "I will command the four winds to bring together my children that are scattered: I will command the north to bring, and the south to oppose not. And then in Jerusalem shall there be great wailing; not the wailing of the mouth or of the lips, but wailing of the heart. And they shall rend not their garments but their consciences. One tribe shall mourn to another: and then shall they look on him whom they pierced, and shall say, Wherefore, Lord, hast thou caused us to wander from thy way? The glory, which our fathers blessed, is turned to our reproach."

68. Although we might mention also many other prophecies, we here pause, persuaded that these are

⁹ See Ezek. xxxvii. 6—8.

¹ Isa. xlv. 23: see Rom. xiv. 11.

² Isa. lxvi. 24. Mark ix. 44.

³ See Zech. ii. 6; xii. 2. 10. 12. Isa. xi. 12; xliii. 5, 6; lxiii. 17; lxiv. 11. Joel ii. 13.

sufficient to convince such as have ears to hear, and hearts to understand ; and nothing doubting that they will perceive, that we are not like those, who devise 88 fables concerning the supposed sons of Jupiter, asserting what we are unable to prove. For how should we believe of a man who was crucified, that he was the first-born of the unbegotten God, and should himself be the judge of all the human race, unless we found testimonies of him foretold, before he came and was made man, and saw also that it so came to pass? For we have witnessed the desolation of the land of the Jews, and have seen such men, as we ourselves are, men out of every nation, persuaded by the teaching of his apostles, and renouncing their former manner of life, in which they had gone astray : and that Christians more numerous and more true have been made from the Gentiles, than from the Jews and Samaritans. For all other nations of mankind are called Gentiles, by the prophetic spirit ; but the tribes of Judea and Samaria are denominated Israel and the house of Jacob.

69. And to show that it was foretold that there should be a greater number of believers from the Gentiles, than from the Jews and Samaritans, we will produce the prophecies, which are these : “ Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not, break out and cry, thou that travailest not : for the children of the barren are more than those of her which hath an husband⁴.” For all the nations were barren of the knowledge of the true God, worshipping the works of their own hands : but the Jews and Samaritans, who by the prophets had the word delivered to them from God, and continually looked for the Christ, knew him not when he came, except a certain few, who should be saved ; even as the prophetic spirit foretold, by Isaiah. For

⁴ Isa. liv. 1 ; Gal. iv. 27.

he said, in their name, “Except the Lord had left us a seed, we should have been as Sodom and Gomorrah⁵.” These are related by Moses to have been cities of wicked men, which God overthrew, and burned with fire and brimstone, so that no one who was in them was saved, except one man of another nation, a Chaldean by birth, named Lot, with whom his daughters also were saved. And any who wish, may now see the whole of that country desolate and burnt up, and still remaining unproductive. Moreover to show that it was foreseen that they of the Gentiles should be more true and more faithful, we will state what was thus spoken by the prophet Isaiah⁶: “Israel is uncircumcised in heart, but the Gentiles (are uncircumcised) in the flesh.”

70. What, then, hath now been so fully seen may reasonably produce conviction and faith in those who embrace the truth, and are not vain glorious, nor governed by their passions. (Whereas they who teach the fables which have been invented by the poets, offer no proof to the young men who learn them: and we have shown that such tales are spoken, by the influence of evil demons, to deceive the human race, and lead them astray. For having heard that it was declared by the prophets that Christ should come, and that wicked men should be punished by fire, they put forward many, whom we have already mentioned⁷, to be called the sons of Jupiter; supposing that thus they might persuade men to consider what was related respecting Christ to be merely fabulous prodigies, of the same nature with those related by the poets. And these inventions were circulated both among the Greeks and all other nations, where they understood the prophets to declare that the belief in Christ should most

⁵ Isa. i. 9.

⁶ This quotation is from Jer. ix. 26.

⁷ c. 29.



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⁰ Pegasus. When also they heard that it was said by another prophet, Isaiah, that Christ should be born of a virgin, and should ascend to heaven by himself, they devised the story of Perseus. Knowing, again, that it was said, as hath been already shown by reference to the prophets, “He shall be strong as a giant to run a race⁵,” they told of Hercules, who was strong, and wandered over the whole earth. And when again they learned that it was prophesied, that Christ should heal all manner of disease, and raise the dead, they introduced Esculapius⁶.

72. But in no instance, nor in the history of any of those who were called the sons of Jupiter, did they imitate his crucifixion: for since all that was spoken respecting this was figuratively expressed, as we have shown, it was unintelligible to them. Now the cross, as the prophet hath predicted, is the greatest sign of his might and dominion; as is plain from what falls under our own observation. For observe how impossible it is that any thing in the world should be regulated, or any mutual intercourse carried on, without employing this figure. The sea cannot be navigated, unless this symbol, as the mast and yard-arm of the sail, remains firm in the ship. Without an instrument in this form, the land cannot be ploughed: neither can they who dig exercise their labour, nor handicraft-men pursue their occupations, without implements which are fashioned in like manner. The human figure also differs from those of irrational animals in no respect but this, that it is erect, and hath the hands extended: and in the countenance also hath the nose reaching downward from the forehead, by which we are able to breathe. This again shows no figure but that of the cross. It is spoken also by the prophet, “The breath

⁵ Ps. xix. 5.

⁶ Compare c. 30.

before our nostrils is Christ the Lord⁷." The signs also in use among yourselves show the force of the same figure⁸, [as in the instance of standards] and trophies, by which your progress is every where marked. In all these, ye show the true sign of authority and power, although ye do it ignorantly. Moreover by the use of the same figure, ye set up the figures of your deceased emperors, and denominate them gods, by the accompanying inscriptions. Having then thus exhorted you, to the utmost of our power, both by an appeal to your reason, and to these sensible signs, we know that we shall henceforth be blameless, even if ye believe 91 not. For we have done our duty, and brought our work to an end.

78. It was not sufficient, however, for the evil demons to declare, before the coming of Christ, that those sons, who have been spoken of, were born to Jupiter: but afterwards, when Christ had appeared and dwelt with men, and they learned in what manner he was predicted by the prophets, and knew that men of all nations believed on him and expected him [to

⁷ Lament. iv. 20: πνεῦμα πρὸ προσώπου ἡμῶν Χριστὸς Κύριος. The Septuagint version now has πνεῦμα προσώπου, the breath of our nostrils. And the words are so quoted by Tertullian, Adversus Marcion. iii. 6; Advers. Praxeam. c. 14; Irenæus, iii. 11, p. 315. In the Apostolical Constitutions, v. 20, and Eusebius, H. E. i. 3, the words are quoted in the same manner as by Justin. Tertullian argues from this passage, that it was Christ, who spake by the prophets, and appeared at various times, before his coming in the flesh. The mystical senses, which Justin and others of the Fathers have applied to this passage, depend upon the Greek version, in which is found Χριστὸς Κύριος, and not Χριστὸς Κυρίου, ἡ ἡΨΜ, "the Anointed of the Lord;" by which term probably Zedekiah was meant.

⁸ Καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν δὲ σύμβολα τὴν τοῦ σχήματος τούτου δύναμιν δηλοῖ λλωμεν καὶ τῶν τροπαίων.

Some words are here lost. Among the different conjectures, that of Thirlby seems as probable as any:—δηλοῖ λέγω δὲ τὰ τῶν καλουμένων παρ' ὑμῖν οὐξίλλων καὶ τῶν τροπαίων.

Notions of the same fanciful kind, respecting the universal use of the figure of the cross, are found in Minucius Felix, Octavius, c. 29; and in Justin's Dialogue, p. 317, 318. 332. He finds it exemplified, among other instances, in the horn of the unicorn.

come again to judgment], they again raised up others, as we have before shown, as Simon and Menander from Samaria⁹: who by the display of magical arts deceived, and continue to deceive, many. For Simon being with you, as we have already said, in the imperial city of Rome, under Claudius Cæsar, did so astonish the sacred senate and the people of Rome, that he was considered to be a god, and honoured with a statue, even as the other gods who are worshipped among you. Wherefore we request that the sacred senate and your people would join with you in considering this our address; that if there be any one who hath been seduced by his doctrine, he may learn the truth, and be able to avoid error: and, if it please you, destroy the statue.

~~74~~ For the evil demons can never persuade men that the wicked shall not be punished in fire; even as they were unable to cause Christ to be unknown, when he did come; but this only: they can cause those men who oppose right reason by their lives, and have been brought up in depraved habits of sensuality, and are puffed up with vain glory, to destroy and hate us. Yet we not only bear no malice against these men, but, as is hereby manifest, pity them and endeavour to persuade them to repentance. For we fear not death, since it is acknowledged that at all events we must die: and there is nothing new¹, but a continual repetition of the same things in this life. And if they who partake of these delights are satiated with them in one year, they must surely hearken to our instruction, that they may live for ever, free from suffering and fear. But if they believe that there will be nothing after death, and are of opinion that they who die pass into a state of insensibility, then they act as our benefactors, in liberating us from sufferings and

⁹ See c. 34.

¹ Eccles. i. 9, 10.



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beginning made the world, spake thus²: “In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was invisible and unformed; and darkness was upon the face of the deep: and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. And God said, Let there be light; and it was so³.” Wherefore Plato and they who agree with him, as well as we ourselves, have all learned that the whole world was made by the word of God, from what was related and made known by Moses; as ye also may be convinced. Moreover we know that what is called Erebus by the poets, was before spoken of by Moses⁴.”

~~77~~. Moreover, when Plato discussing the physical nature of the Son of God, saith in his *Timæus*⁵, “He impressed him upon the universe in the form of a cross,” he here also borrowed his assertion from Moses. For in the writings of Moses it is recorded, that, at³ the time when the Israelites came out of Egypt, and were in the desert, venomous creatures, vipers and asps, and all kinds of serpents, met them, and destroyed the people: and that Moses, by the inspiration and power which were given him from God, took brass, and made it into the form of a cross, and placed this upon the holy Tabernacle, and said to the people, “If ye look upon this figure, and believe, ye shall be saved by it.” He related also, that as soon as this was done, the serpents perished and the people escaped death. Plato reading this relation, and not fully comprehending it, nor aware that it was a type of the cross, but conceiving only a division in that form⁶, said

² Gen. i. 1—3.

³ καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως (φῶς).

⁴ עֶרֶב Gen. i. 5.

⁵ The passage, to which Justin alludes, relates to the creation of the soul of the universe. Ταύτην οὖν τὴν ζύστασιν πᾶσαν, διπλῆν κατὰ μῆκος σχίσας, μέσῃν πρὸς μέσῃν ἐκατέραν ἀλλήλαις, οἶον X προσβαλὼν, κατέκαμψεν εἰς κύκλον. *Timæus*, tom. iii. p. 36, b.

⁶ χίασμα, the form of the letter X.

that the virtue which was next to the supreme God was impressed upon the universe in the form of a cross. And he spoke also of that third quality, since, as we have already said ⁷, he read what Moses related of the Spirit of God being carried over the waters. For he assigns the second place to the Word of God, whom he declares to have been impressed upon the universe in the form of a cross, and the third, to the Spirit, which is said to have been borne over the water, when he saith, "And what is in the third place about the third ⁸." Hear also in what manner the prophetic spirit declared by Moses that there should be a destruction of all things by fire. For he spake thus: "There shall go down an ever-living fire, and shall consume even unto the abyss beneath."

~~78.~~ It is not therefore that we hold the same opinions with others, but that all others speak in imitation of ours. For with us information may be obtained upon these points, from those who have not received even the rudiments of learning, who, although unlearned, and speaking a strange language ⁹, had wisdom and faith in their hearts: though some of them were lame and blind, so as to make it evident that these things were not done by human wisdom, but spoken by the power of God.

~~79.~~ We will state also in what manner we are

⁷ c. 76.

⁸ Ὡδε γὰρ ἔχει περὶ τὸν πάντων βασιλέα πάντ' ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐκείνου ἕνεκα πάντα· καὶ ἐκεῖνο αἴτιον ἀπάντων τῶν καλῶν· δεύτερον δὲ περὶ, τὰ δεύτερα, καὶ τρίτον περὶ, τὰ τρίτα. Plato, Epist. 2, tom. iii. p. 312, e.

For thus it is: around the King of the universe are all things, and all things for him; and he is the cause of every good thing: and about the second are those which are in the second place; and about the third those which are in the third place.

⁹ ἰδιωτῶν μὲν καὶ βαρβάρων τὸ φθέγμα. Irenæus, iii. 4, expresses the same sentiments: "Hanc fidem qui sine literis crediderunt, quantum ad sermonem nostrum, barbari sunt, quantum autem ad sententiam et consuetudinem, et conversationem, propter fidem perquam sapientissimi sunt, et placent Deo, conversantes in omni justitiâ et castitate et sapientiâ."

created anew by Christ, and have dedicated ourselves to God: that we may not, by omitting this, appear to dissemble any thing in our explanation. As many as are persuaded and believe that the things which we teach and declare are true, and promise that they are determined to live accordingly, are taught to pray, and to beseech God with fasting, to grant them remission of their past sins, while we also pray and fast with them. We then lead them to a place where there is water, and there they are regenerated in the same manner as we also were: for they are then washed in that water, in the name of God the Father and⁴ Lord of the universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit. For Christ said, "Except ye be born again, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven¹:" and that it is impossible, that those who are once born should again enter into their mother's wombs is evident to all. Moreover, it is declared by the prophet Isaiah, as we have before written, in what manner they who have sinned and repent may escape (the punishment of) their sins. For thus it is said: "Wash you, make you clean, put away the evil from your souls; learn to do well; do justice to the fatherless, and avenge the widow: and come and let us reason together, saith the Lord. Even if your sins should be as scarlet I will make them as white as wool: and if they should be as crimson I will make them white as snow. But if ye will not hearken unto me the sword shall devour you: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken these things²."

~~80~~. The apostles have also taught us for what reason this new birth is necessary. Since at our first birth, we were born without our knowledge or consent, by the ordinary natural means, and were brought

¹ John iii. 3. 5.

² Isa. i. 16—20.



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where their images are placed. Again, the demons having learned what happened to Moses, the prophet of whom we have spoken, and, wishing to imitate him, introduced the practice, that those who enter into their temples, and worship the gods there, should be exhorted by the priests to loose their shoes from off their feet. For at the time when Moses was commanded to go down to Egypt, and lead out the people of the Israelites who were there, as he was feeding the flock of his mother's brother⁷, in the land of Arabia, Christ, whom we worship, spake with him in the appearance of fire out of a bush, and said, "Put off thy shoes, and come and hear⁸." And he put off his shoes, and went; and heard that he must go down to Egypt, and lead out the people of the Israelites who were there; and received great power from Christ who spake with him in the appearance of fire. So he went down, and led out the people, and performed great and wonderful miracles; which, if ye wish to hear them, ye may learn perfectly from his writings.

~~82~~ Now all the Jews to this day, teach that God, who cannot be named, spake to Moses⁹. Whence the prophetic spirit reproached them by Isaiah the aforementioned prophet, as we have already declared, thus, saying¹, "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib: but Israel doth not know me; and the people doth not consider me." And in like manner Jesus Christ himself also said, upbraiding the Jews for that they knew not what the Father is, and what the Son is: "No one knoweth the Father, but the Son;

⁷ Exod. iii. 1. Jethro was the father-in-law of Moses. Justin was perhaps led into the error by thinking of Jacob feeding the flock of Laban, his mother's brother. Gen. xxix. 10; xxx. 29.

⁸ Exod. iii. 5.

⁹ Justin treats on this subject, in his Dialogue with Trypho, p. 282.

¹ Isa. i. 3.

neither knoweth any one the Son, but the Father, and they to whomsoever the Son shall reveal it²." And the Word of God is his Son, as we have before said. He is called also the Angel³ (who declares), and the Apostle⁴ (who is sent); since he declares whatever is necessary to be known, and is sent to publish whatever is entrusted to him: as our Lord himself said, "He that heareth me, heareth him that sent me⁵." This also will plainly appear from the writings of Moses. For in them it is thus said: "And the Angel of the Lord spake unto Moses in a flame of fire out of the bush, and said, I am he who is: the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, the God of thy fathers. Go down to Egypt, and lead out my people⁶." Ye may learn what follows from the writings themselves; since it is impossible to comprise every thing in the present address.

83. Now these words have been spoken, to show that the Son of God, and Apostle, is Jesus Christ, who before was the Word, and appeared sometimes in the form of fire, and sometimes in the image of incorporeal beings, but hath now, by the will of God, and for the sake of mankind, been made man; and endured whatsoever the demons caused to be inflicted upon him by the senseless Jews: who, when they find it expressly declared in the writings of Moses, "And the Angel of God spake to Moses in a flame of fire in a bush, and said, I am he who is; the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob⁷," say that it was the Father and Creator of all things who so spake. Whence also the prophetic

² Matt. xi. 27. This passage is quoted in the same manner in the next chapter, 83.

³ Exod. iii. 2.

⁴ Heb. iii. 1, 2.

⁵ Matt. x. 40.

⁶ Exod. iii. 2. 14, 15.

⁷ Exod. iii. 2. 14, 15.

spirit reproached them, saying, "But Israel doth not know me, and the people doth not consider me⁸." And again Jesus, while he was with them, said, as we have already shown, "No one knoweth the Father but the Son: neither knoweth any one the Son, but the Father, and they to whomsoever the Son shall reveal it⁹." The Jews, therefore, who always thought that it was the Father of all things who spake to Moses, whereas he who spake to him was the Son of God, who is also called the Angel and the Apostle, are justly upbraided both by the prophetic spirit, and by Christ himself, as knowing neither the Father nor the Son. For they who say that the Son is the Father, are proved not to know the Father, nor that the Father of all things hath a Son, who, being the first-begotten Word of God, is also God. He also formerly appeared to Moses and the prophets in the form of fire, and of an incorporeal image: but now in the time of your empire, as we have already said, was made man, and born of a virgin, according to the will of the Father, for the salvation of those who believe in him. He permitted himself also to be set at naught, and to suffer, that by dying and rising again he might conquer death. Moreover, when he spake out of the bush to Moses, saying, "I am he who is; the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, and the God of thy fathers," he intimated that they who were dead did still exist, and were men of Christ himself. For they were the first of all men who diligently sought after God, Abraham being the father of Isaac, and Isaac of Jacob, as Moses also hath recorded.

~~84~~. Ye may also, from what hath been already said, perceive, that it was in imitation of that which was

⁸ Isa. i. 3.

⁹ Matt. xi. 27.



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having received them, gives praise and glory to the Father of all things, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and gives thanks in many words for that God hath vouchsafed to them these things. And

would drink the fruit of the vine new with his disciples in his Father's kingdom (Matt. xxvi. 29), he uses the expression, "Hæc enim et Dominus docuit, *mixturem calicis novam* in regno cum discipulis habiturum se pollicitus" (v. 36).

Some early heretics, as part of the sect of the Ebionites and of the followers of Tatian, used water only in the administration of the Eucharist; whence they are opposed by Epiphanius (Hær. xlvi.; Eucrat. 4. 16), who calls them Encratitæ; by Augustin (de Hæres. 64), under the appellation of Aquarii; and by Theodoret (de Fab. Hæret. i. 20), who styles them Encratitæ and Hydroparastatæ. Clemens Alexandrinus (Stromat. i. p. 375; Pædagog. ii. 2, p. 177. Potter), mentions the same error. An Epistle of Cyprian to Cæcilius (Ep. 63, p. 148. Fell), is directed against this practice. His argument is intended to prove, that wine is essential to the sacrament, and supposes that the cup, of which our Lord partook, contained water as well as wine. He imagines that the union of water with the wine indicated a mystical union between the people and Christ, and that the absence of either substance dissolves this union. It will be observed, that the object of Cyprian in this Epistle, is to show, not that the wine must be mixed with water, but that water alone did not represent sacramentally the blood of Christ.

The third Council of Carthage (c. 24), decreed that in the Eucharist the wine should be mixed with water. And many other early writers maintain the same opinion.

In the first Common Prayer Book of the Church of England, published by authority of Edward the Sixth, the Minister was directed by the rubric, when he put the wine into the chalice, "to put thereto a little pure and clean water." The same custom existed in the Anglo-Saxon Church. See Palmer's Antiquity of the English Ritual, c. iv. sect. 9.

Although, however, this custom is primitive, and perhaps apostolical, and although it is probable that the cup which our Saviour consecrated at the last supper did contain water as well as wine, according to the general practice of the Jews (Maimonides, Lib. de Solennitate Pasch. c. 7), yet it has been long decided by theologians that the mixture of water is not essential to the sacrament. Cardinal Bona refers to Bernard, as speaking of those who considered water to be essential, but, he says, "the judgment of theologians is certain, that the consecration of the elements is valid, even if water be omitted, although he who omits it is guilty of a grievous offence." (Bona, Rer. Lit. lib. ii. c. 9. 3.)

In our present rubric, although the mixture of water with wine is not enjoined, it is not prohibited.

This question is treated by Bingham, Eccl. Ant. xv. 2. 7; Wheatley on the Common Prayer, c. 6, sect. 10. 5; Palmer's Antiquity of the English Ritual, c. 4, sect. 9, and in a Dissertation by Vossius, Thes. Theolog. p. 494.

when he hath finished his praises and thanksgiving, all the people who are present express their assent, saying, Amen, which in the Hebrew tongue, implies, So be it. The President having given thanks, and the people having expressed their assent, those whom we call deacons give to each of those who are present a portion of the bread which hath been blessed, and of the wine mixed with water; and carry some away for those who are absent.

86. And this food is called by us the Eucharist (or Thanksgiving): of which no one may partake unless he believes that what we teach is true, and is washed in 98 the laver, which is appointed for the forgiveness of sins and unto regeneration, and lives in such a manner as Christ commanded. For we receive not these elements as common bread or common drink. But even as Jesus Christ our Saviour, being made flesh by the Word of God³, had both flesh and blood for our salvation, even so we are taught, that the food which is blessed by the prayer of the word which came from him, by the conversion of which (into our bodily substance) our blood and flesh are nourished, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh. For the Apostles, in the Memoirs composed by them, which are called Gospels, have related that Jesus thus commanded them⁴; that having taken bread, and given thanks, he said, "Do this in remembrance of me: this is my body:" and that in like manner having taken the cup, and given thanks, he said, "This is my blood;" and that he distributed them to these alone. And this too the evil demons have in imitation commanded to be done in the mysteries of Mithra. For ye either know or may learn, that bread and a cup of water are

³ See note on c. 43, and Bp. Kaye's Account of Justin Martyr, ch. 4, p. 86, note 6.

⁴ Matt. xxvi. 26. Mark xiv. 22. Luke xxii. 19.

placed in the rites appointed for the initiated, with certain prayers. After these solemnities are finished, we afterwards continually remind one another of them. And such of us as have possessions assist all those who are in want; and we all associate with one another.

87. And over all our offerings, we bless the Creator of all things, through his Son Jesus Christ, and through the Holy Spirit. And, on the day which is called Sunday, there is an assembly in one place of all who dwell either in towns or in the country; and the Memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as the time permits. Then, when the reader hath ceased, the President delivers a discourse, in which he reminds and exhorts them to the imitation of all these good things. We then all stand up together, and put forth prayers. Then, as we have already said, when we cease from prayer⁵, bread is brought, and wine, and water: and the President in like manner offers up prayers and praises with his utmost power: and the people express their assent by saying, Amen. The consecrated elements are then distributed and received by every one; and a portion is sent by the deacons to those who are absent.

99 88. Each of those also, who have abundance and are willing, according to his choice, gives what he thinks fit: and what is collected is deposited with the President, who succours the fatherless and the widows, and those who are in necessity from disease or any other cause; those also who are in bonds, and the strangers who are sojourning among us; and in a word takes care of all who are in need⁶.

⁵ The previous description was that of the first Communion after baptism; Justin here relates the ordinary celebration of the Eucharist.

⁶ Bp. Kaye, in his Account of Justin Martyr, p. 91, notices the alterations which had taken place in the mode of celebrating the communion



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ceeded. It seems then to me that the matter must not be left without inquiry; lest those men should be troubled, and a means of evil doing should be open to false accusers. If then the people in the provinces are able to advance so far in their accusations against the Christians, as to answer before the seat of judgment, let them have recourse to these means alone, and not act by vague accusations or mere clamour. For it is far better, if any one wishes to bring an accusation, that you should examine it. If therefore any one accuses them, and proves that they have done any thing against the laws, dispose of the matter according to the severity of the offence. But I require you, if any man bring such a charge false, deal with him according to his deserts, and take care that you punish him.

THE EPISTLE OF THE EMPEROR ANTONINUS PIUS

TO THE COMMON ASSEMBLY OF ASIA⁷.

The Emperor Cæsar, Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pontifex Maximus, fifteenth time Tribune, thrice Consul, Father of his Country, to the Common Assembly of Asia, sends greeting.

I AM well assured, that the gods themselves will take heed that men of this kind shall not escape: for it is much more their interest to punish, if they can, those who refuse to worship them. Whereas ye trouble them, and accuse the opinions which they hold, as if they were Atheists: and bring many other charges of which we are able to discover no proof. Nay, it would be in their estimation a great advantage to die for that

⁷ Eusebius, H. E. iv. 13, gives this Epistle, as having been written by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, although in c. 12 he appears to ascribe it to Antoninus Pius. Valesius and Scaliger think that it was written by Marcus Aurelius. Halloix, in his Life of Justin, c. 5, and Cave, in his Life of Justin, c. 10, agree in ascribing the letter to Antoninus Pius. The authenticity of this Epistle rests on very slight grounds.

of which they are accused : and they conquer you, by throwing away their own lives, rather than comply with what ye require them to do.

With respect to earthquakes, which either have happened or do happen, it is not fitting that ye should regard them with despondency, whatever they may be, comparing your own conduct with theirs, and observing how much more confidence they have towards God, than ye. Ye, in fact, at such periods, appear to forget the gods, and neglect your sacred rites. And ye know not the worship which belongs to God ; whence ye envy those who do worship him, and persecute them even unto death. Respecting such men, certain others of the rulers of provinces wrote to my Father of blessed memory ; to whom also he wrote in reply, that they should in no wise trouble men of that kind, unless they were shown to be making any attempt against the dominion of the Romans. Many too have given information respecting such men to me also, to whom I answered, in conformity with my father's opinion. If then any one shall bring any charge against one of these men, simply as such, let him who is so accused be released, even if he should be proved to be one of this kind of men : and let the accuser himself be subject to punishment.

THE APOLOGY

OF

QUINTUS SEPTIMIUS FLORENS TERTULLIANUS.

CHAPTER I.

IF ye, rulers¹ of the Roman Empire, sitting judicially upon your open and lofty seat of judgment, and occupying, as it were, the most elevated position in the state, are yet unable openly to inquire, and closely to examine, what is the real truth, in questions respecting the Christian religion,—if in this case alone your authority in matters of justice is either afraid or ashamed to inquire,—or if, as hath recently occurred²,

¹ Antistites. In other parts of the Apology, Tertullian calls the same persons *Præsides*; as in c. 2, 9. 50. They were the governors of Proconsular Africa. Eusebius, indeed, H. E. v. 5, says that this Apology was addressed to the Roman Senate: but this is contradicted by internal evidence. Had it been written at Rome, or addressed to Romans, Tertullian would not have used such expressions as *Hoc imperium, cujus ministri estis*: c. 2. *Ecce in illâ religiosissimâ urbe Æneadum*: c. 9, or, *Ipsos Quirites, ipsam vernaculam septem collium plebem, convenio*, c. 35. The manner in which he contrasts the fear of God with that of the Proconsul, at the conclusion of c. 45, implies that the Apology was written in some province which was under a Proconsul.

It is most probable, that this Apology was both written and presented at Carthage.

² One of those, who is here addressed, had probably exercised some act of severity towards some of his own family, in consequence of their professing the Christian religion.



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is clearly ascertained. And where there is no knowledge of what are the true merits of the case, upon what grounds can the justice of the hatred be defended, when that justice must be proved, not from the fact that hatred exists, but from previous knowledge of the grounds on which it rests? Since, therefore, their only reason for hatred is that they are ignorant what it is which they hate, why may not the subject be really of such a nature as not to deserve hatred? Hence we establish the unreasonableness of our adversaries in each case, by proving that they are in ignorance, while they hate, and that, while they are thus in ignorance, their hatred is unjust. A proof of this ignorance, which, while it excuses their injustice, doth yet condemn it, is this, that all who once were enemies, through ignorance, as soon as they have ceased to be ignorant, cease also to hate. They are changed from what they were, and become Christians, as soon as they learn what that religion really is⁵; they begin to hate what they were, and to profess the opinions which they hated, and are become as numerous as we are shown to be. Our enemies exclaim that the whole state is overrun with us⁶: they lament it as a great calamity, that Christians are found in the country, in cities, in the islands; that persons of each sex, and of all ages, and station, and dignity, come over to that name. Yet not even this fact is sufficient to rouse their minds to imagine that there is some latent good in Christianity. They permit themselves not to entertain any more reasonable suspicion, nor to investigate the truth more clearly. In this instance alone the curiosity natural to man is not excited; they please

⁵ "Utique de comperto." He contrasts the docility of a conscientious convert with the determined ignorance of their persecutors, who continued to oppose a religion of which they were ignorant.

⁶ Compare c. 37, and Ad Nationes, i. c. i.

themselves in ignorance of that, which others are delighted to have known. Anacharsis⁷ permitted none but those skilled in the science, to judge of music: with how much greater justice might he have accused these men of folly, who, in their utter ignorance, presume to form a judgment respecting those, who have diligently inquired and learned the truth? They prefer ignorance of Christianity, because they already hate it: yet, by thus voluntarily encouraging ignorance, they tacitly confess their conviction that, if they did know what it was, they would be unable to hate it: since, if no just ground of hatred should be discovered, they would certainly act a wiser part in dismissing an unjust hatred; but if, on the other hand, sufficient cause for hatred should appear, the hostility, which now exists, would not only be continued, but acquire fresh reason and encouragement, even on the authority of justice itself.

But, it is said, the numbers, who are persuaded to embrace Christianity, afford no proof that the religion is good in itself; for how many are prone to evil? how many desert the paths of truth for error? Doubtless: yet not even they, who are led away by that which is evil in itself, dare to defend it, as good. Nature herself hath spread over every thing which is evil, either fear or shame. Evil doers are anxious for concealment; avoid publicity; when detected, tremble; when accused, deny; even under torture, do not readily, nor always, confess: at all events, when they are condemned, they grieve; they reflect upon themselves

⁷ Plutarch, in his Life of Solon, relates that Anacharsis, witnessing judicial proceedings at Athens, expressed his surprise, that in so civilized a state wise men should plead causes, and fools determine them. Diogenes Laertius, in his Life of Anacharsis, has preserved a saying of the philosopher, which more closely resembles Tertullian's allusion: θαυμάζειν δὲ ἔφη, πῶς παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀγωνίζονται μὲν οἱ τεχνίται, κρίνουσι δὲ οἱ μὴ τεχνίται.

with remorse; they attribute the sins, which arise from an evil heart, either to fate, or to the stars: for they would not have that, which they acknowledge to be evil, to belong to themselves. But what similarity is there between this and the conduct of a Christian? No one is ashamed, no one is sorry, except that he was not a Christian long before. If he is pointed out, he glories in the charge: if accused, he makes no defence; if questioned, he confesses, even of his own accord; if condemned, he returns thanks. What kind of evil, then, is this, which hath none of the natural attributes of evil, fear, shame, subterfuge, repentance, sorrow? What kind of evil is this, in which the culprit delights; the accusation of which is the completion of his wishes; and its punishment, his happiness? You cannot call this madness, since you are proved to be entirely ignorant of the real cause.

CHAPTER II.

IF, however, it be ascertained that we are really most guilty, why are we treated differently from other criminals, our fellows? since similar offences ought to receive the same treatment. When others are accused of the offences, which are laid to our charge, they are permitted freely to speak, and to employ an advocate to prove their innocence: they have the privilege of replying, and objecting; since it is illegal that any should be condemned, entirely undefended or unheard. Christians alone are not permitted to advance any thing which may repel the charge, or defend the truth, or justify the judge. That alone is required, which the public hatred renders necessary, a confession of the name of Christian, not any inquiry into the offence.



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What a self-contradictory sentence! He assumes their innocence, when he directs inquiry not to be made; yet commands them to be punished, as guilty. He is lenient, and cruel; he connives, and censures. Why do you thus contradict yourself in your own determination? If you condemn, why do you not also inquire? If you inquire, why do you not also acquit? Throughout every province, military stations are established for the discovery of robbers. Against those guilty of treason and public offences every man is a soldier: strict inquiry is made even into the companions and accomplices of such offenders. In the case of a Christian alone, inquiry is forbidden, accusation is permitted: as if inquiry itself were intended for any other purpose than as the foundation of an accusation. Ye condemn, therefore, him who is brought before you, although no one wished him to be inquired for; and it seems, that the accused did not deserve punishment, because he was guilty, but because he was discovered, in opposition to the edict which forbade inquiry to be made. Again, ye violate, in our case, the ordinary process, which is followed in the investigation of crimes; since ye torture other criminals, to make them confess; Christians alone, to compel them to deny: whereas, if that of which we are accused were evil, we should deny the fact, and ye would compel us by tortures to confess. For ye ought not to think it needless to make inquiry respecting the crimes alleged, on the plea that they are admitted, by the very confession of the name of Christian; since, at this day, although ye well know what murder is, ye still think it necessary to extract the circumstances of his crime, even from one who confesses himself guilty of murder. Nay, still more unreasonably, having presumed our guilt, from the mere confession of the name of Christian, ye compel us by tortures to retract our

confession ; as if, by denying the name, we should at once deny the crimes, which, from that confession, ye had presumed to exist. But, we are, perhaps, to imagine, ye wish us not to perish, bad as ye consider us to be. Your custom may be to entreat the murderer to deny his crime ; to torture the sacrilegious, if he persists in his confession. If this is not the principle upon which ye act towards us, as guilty, then ye consider us most innocent ; since, as most innocent, ye will not permit us to continue in that confession, which, as ye well know, ye condemn from compulsion, rather than from a sense of justice. A man exclaims, I am a Christian. He speaks the truth : ye desire to hear what is not the truth. Ye, who preside for the purpose of extorting truth, from us alone endeavour to hear falsehood. The accused declares, I am, such as ye inquire whether I am. Why do ye seek to mislead me by torture ? I confess ; and ye torture me : what would ye do, if I denied ? When others deny, ye believe them not readily ; when we deny, ye believe us at once. This contradiction might alone lead you to suspect, that there is some secret force, which instigates you in opposition to the very forms and nature of judicial proceedings, and to the very laws themselves. For, if I rightly judge, the laws require the guilty to be discovered, not concealed ; they pronounce that those who confess should be punished, not acquitted. The decrees of the senate, the commands of princes, the supreme power, of which ye are the ministers, dictate this. Your authority is legal, not tyrannical : for with tyrants, tortures form also a part of punishment : with you, they are used only for eliciting the truth. Maintain this your law, respecting the application of torture, until confession is made. And if torture is anticipated by a confession, it will be superseded, and sentence should be passed. The male-

factor is to be discharged¹ from the punishment due to his offences, by its infliction, not by its remission. No one, in fact, desires to release him, or is permitted to entertain such a wish. Hence, no one is ever compelled to deny. Whereas ye regard a Christian as a man stained with every crime, the enemy of the gods, of the emperors, of the laws, of morals, of all nature; and compel him to deny, that ye may absolve him; since, without his denial, ye could not extend mercy to him. Thus ye pervert the laws². Would ye then have him deny his guilt, that ye may treat him as innocent, and absolve him, even against his will, of all previous guilt? Whence is this inconsistency? Consider ye not, that his voluntary confession was far more credible than his compulsory denial? Or that, if he be compelled to retract, his disavowal may be insincere; and that, when dismissed, he will again become a Christian, and smile, behind your judgment seat, at the absurdity of your hatred?

Since, then, your treatment of us is entirely different from that of other criminals; since this is your only object, that we should be deprived of the name of Christians,—for we are deprived of it, if we act as those who are not Christians—ye may understand³ that there is no crime in the fact itself; but that some active principle of hatred pursues the very name of Christian, and produces especially this effect, that men are determined not to acquire any certain knowledge of a subject, of which they well know they are totally

¹ Expungendus est.

² Prævaricaris in leges. Having taken upon yourselves the office of accusers, ye so conduct your proceedings, as if your principal object were, not to investigate the guilt of the accused, but to give him every opportunity of escaping,

³ Intelligere potestis, non scelus aliquod in causâ esse, sed nomen, quod quædam ratio æmulæ operationis insequitur, hoc primum agens, ut homines nolint scire pro certo quod se nescire pro certo sciunt.



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am quite surprised that so wise a man as Lucius Titius should have suddenly become a Christian." No one thinks of demanding in return, whether Caius is not good, or Lucius prudent, because he is a Christian; or a Christian, because he is prudent and good. They praise what they know; they blame what they know not; at the same time distorting what they know, by reasons drawn from that of which they are ignorant; although justice would rather require them to form an opinion of that which is unknown, from that which is known, than to condemn what is evident, from that which is secret. Others, in describing persons, whom, before their profession of Christianity, they had known to be given up to licentiousness, to every base lust, and immorality, use terms, which are really those of approbation; thus, in the blindness of their hatred, bearing unwilling testimony to the excellence of that which they condemn. They say of a woman, "How wanton, how gay she used to be!" of a young man, "What a libertine, what a profligate, he was! now they are both become Christians!" Thus the name is coupled with their reformation.

Some would even make a compromise with their hatred of Christianity, to their own disadvantage; being well satisfied to be injured in the tenderest points, provided they are freed from the intrusion of such objects of hatred in their own homes. The husband, who hath now no longer any reason for jealousy, expels his now virtuous wife from his house: the father, formerly indulgent, disinherits his now obedient son: the master, once lenient, sends his now faithful servant from his sight. Each one becomes hateful, in proportion as he is amended by the profession of this faith. The improvement, which hath followed from it, is not sufficient to counteract the general hatred towards the Christians.

Further, then, if the hatred belongs to the name, what guilt can be attached to any appellation? what accusation can be founded on a word? unless it be said, that the very name itself hath a barbarous sound, or is of evil omen, or scandalous, or immodest. Now the term Christian, as to its meaning, is derived from a word, which signifies to anoint. And even when it is mis-pronounced Chrestian by you⁶,—for ye are in ignorance even of the name itself—that appellation would, from its derivation, imply sweetness or benignity. Hence even a harmless name is hated, in men who are harmless too.

But, it will be said, the sect⁷ is hated for the name of its author. Is it then a new thing that persons, holding peculiar tenets, should receive an appellation from the name of the author of them? Are not philosophers denominated from Plato, Epicurus, and Pythagoras; or even Stoics and Academics from their places of meeting, and ordinary resort? Have not physicians been named from Erasistratus, grammarians from Aristarchus, and even cooks from Apicius? Yet no one ever took offence at a name, thus trans-

⁶ It is not surprising that gentile writers should have confounded the words Christus and Chrestus (Χρηστός). Thus Suetonius (Claud. xxv.) says “Judæos, impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes, Româ expulit (Claudius).” The words of Suetonius do not necessarily imply, that he conceived Christ to have lived in the time of Claudius; but that tumults then arose in Rome among the Jews, respecting him, some of them affirming and others denying that he was the Messiah. The expulsion of the Jews from Rome, by Claudius, is mentioned, Acts xviii. 2. Lactantius, iv. 7, treats of the common error in the name of Christ; “Sed exponenda hujus nominis ratio est, propter ignorantium errorem, qui eum, immutatâ literâ, Chrestum solent dicere.”

The names Chrestus and Chresta were not uncommon among the Greeks and Romans.

⁷ The word *secta*, like the corresponding term αἵρεσις, was originally indifferent in its application: it implied the adoption of certain opinions, without any such expression of disapprobation as the term *heresy* subsequently conveyed. (Havercamp.)

mitted from the founder of a system with his peculiar tenets.

If, indeed, any one proves that the author of any opinions was bad, or his sect bad, he will then prove that the name ought to be hated for the faults of the sect, and of its author. Wherefore, before hatred of the name of Christian should have been indulged, a judgment ought to have been formed, either of the sect from its author, or of the author from his sect. But now, without the slightest inquiry or knowledge of either, the name is made the subject of detention and accusation: and the appellation alone at once condemns the sect, and the author, equally unknown; because they bear this name, not because their guilt is proved.

CHAPTER IV.

HAVING, then, premised these remarks, to expose the injustice of the public hatred against us, I shall now proceed to establish the plea of our innocence; and not only disprove what is objected against us, but also retort the charge upon our accusers: that hence all may know, that practices do not prevail among the Christians, which actually exist among themselves, without their knowledge: and that they may be put to the blush, when accusations are thus brought—I say not by men of the worst character against the best,—but, if they will have it so, against men like themselves. We shall answer every separate charge, both what we are accused of doing in secret, and what we openly avow: the actions in which we are regarded as impious, or foolish, or culpable, or ridiculous. But since, even when our plain statement of the truth hath



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were evil, it might justly prohibit⁹? If your law hath erred, it is, I imagine, of human origin; it fell not from heaven¹. Is it astonishing, that man could either err in framing laws, or show his better judgment in amending them? Did not the amendment of the laws of Lycurgus himself by the Lacedæmonians cause such grief to their author, that he starved himself to death in his retirement². Do not even ye yourselves, in daily endeavouring to throw light upon the darkness of antiquity, clear away and fell all the old and unsightly forest of laws, by the renovating axes of the rescripts and edicts of your princes? Did not Severus, that most determined of your emperors, but yesterday abrogate those most absurd Papian laws³,

⁹ Si bonum invenero esse, quod lex tua prohibuit, nonne ex illo præjudico prohibere eam non posse, quod, si malum esset, jure prohiberet?

¹ Tertullian covertly alludes to the pretensions which Numa and other early Romans made, to præternatural communications; and to the Ancilia, which were said to have fallen from heaven. Compare Acts xix. 35.

² Plutarch's account is, that Lycurgus starved himself, after having taken an oath of his citizens, that they would maintain his laws inviolate till his return.

³ The Julian law, introduced by Augustus, A. U. C. 736, as a means of repairing the great waste of population in the civil wars, encouraged marriages by facilitating and regulating the nuptial contract, and imposing penalties on those who should continue unmarried after a certain age.

The Papian law, called also *Papia Poppæa* from the Consuls Papius and Poppæus, was introduced A. U. C. 762, at the conclusion of the reign of Augustus. This offered greater advantages to married men, and established more severe penalties upon those who lived in a state of celibacy, and those who had no children, than the Julian law, or the previous customs of the Romans.

Thus married men had precedence in the public spectacles (Suetonius, Aug. 44); they had a priority in the election to public offices; and many other privileges. The same law confirmed the rights conferred upon those who had children: in all competition for public offices gave the preference to the candidates in proportion to the number of their family, and permitted those, who were fathers at an early age, to fill offices, for which their youth would otherwise have disqualified them.

The celebrated *Jus trium liberorum* had its origin in the Julian law.

The principal restrictions attached to a state of celibacy regarded the

which inflicted a penalty, if children were not born to persons, before they had attained the age, at which the Julian laws required them to have contracted marriage; and that too, after the laws had acquired all the authority of long duration? There were also laws⁴ providing, that those, who were previously condemned, might be cut in pieces by their creditors: but by public consent this cruel enactment was erased: and the capital punishment was commuted for a mark of disgrace. The confiscation of a man's goods was directed against his feelings of shame, not against his

capability of inheriting property and receiving testamentary benefactions. Single men could inherit nothing, except from their most immediate relatives; and those who had no children could receive only the half of a legacy. Sozomen has noticed this circumstance, Eccles. Hist. i. 9.

Νόμος ἦν Ῥωμαίοις παλαιός, ἀπὸ εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν τῶν ἴσων ἀξιοῦσθαι κωλύων τοὺς ἀγάμους τοῖς μὴ τοιούτοις, περὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ, καὶ τὸ μηδὲν κερδαίνειν ἐκ διαθήκης τοὺς μὴ γένει ἐγγυτάτῳ προσήκοντας· τοὺς δὲ ἄπαιδας, ζημιῶν τὸ ἥμισυ τῶν καταλελειμμένων.

Such legacies and inheritances were forfeited to the state. Tertullian, de Monogamiâ, c. 16, alludes to the same custom. "Aliud est, si et apud Christum legibus Juliis agi credunt, et existimant, cælibes et orbos ex testamento Dei solidum non posse capere."

The absurdity, here mentioned by Tertullian, is a contradiction which had subsisted for many years between the Julian and Papian laws. The Papian law subjected to restrictions those who were childless, a man at the age of twenty-five, and a woman at the age of twenty, a time of life, at which, by the Julian law, they were still permitted to remain unmarried.

The penalties against celibacy were removed by Constantine, to favour those Christians who continued in that state from motives of religion. Eusebius, Vit. Constantin. iv. 2, 6.

The substance of the Julian and Papian laws is given by Lipsius, in his Excursus ad Taciti Ann. iii. 25.

⁴ The laws of the twelve tables, c. 8. Aul. Gellius, Noct. Att. xx. 1. Si plures forent, quibus reus esset judicatus, secare, si vellent, atque partiri corpus addicti sibi hominis permiserunt. Et quidem verba ipsa legis dicam, ne existimes invidiam me istam fortè formidare. TERTIIS. INQUIT, NUNDINIS. PARTIS. SECANTO. SI. PLUS. MINUS. VE. SECUERUNT. SE. FRAUDE. ESTO.

Quinctilian, Instit. Orat. iii. 6. 84, alludes to the same law. Sunt enim quædam non laudabilia naturâ, sed jure concessa: ut in xii. tabulis debitoris corpus inter creditores dividi licuit, quam legem mos publicus repudiavit.

life⁵. How many laws of yours yet remain to be reformed, which are maintained neither by their own antiquity, nor by the dignity of those who enacted them, but by justice alone; and, therefore, when they are proved to be unjust, they, which condemn others, are justly condemned themselves. But why should we call them simply unjust? If they punish a mere name, they are foolish too. And if they punish men for their actions, why, in our case, do they punish such actions on the presumption of the name alone, while, in other cases, they require them to be proved from circumstances, not from the mere name? Suppose I am guilty of incest: why do not the laws inquire into the offence? Suppose I have murdered an infant: why do they not put me to the torture? Suppose I have committed a crime against the gods, against Cæsar: why am I not heard, when I have the means of clearing myself? No law forbids the investigation of an action which it disallows. Since not even a judge can rightly put the law in force, unless he first ascertains that a crime hath been committed: neither can a citizen faithfully obey the law, while he is ignorant what offence is punished. Every law is required to give proof of its justice, not only to itself, but to those from whom it expects obedience. And any law is justly suspected, which will not submit to proof; and unjust, if, without proof, it yet exercises arbitrary power.

⁵ Bonorum adhibita proscriptio *suffundere* maluit hominis sanguinem quam *effundere*.



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whose time the name of Christian entered into the world, laid before the senate intelligence, which had been sent from Palestine, and proved the truth of the Divine power there displayed, and added the influence of his own vote. The Senate rejected the proposal, because it had not itself first approved it. The Emperor persisted in his opinion; and threatened those with punishment, who should accuse the Christians. Consult your own records; ye will there find that Nero was the first who wielded the sword of the empire against the Christian religion, then first springing up in Rome. And we justly glory in the fact, that our first persecutor was such a man. For whoever knows his character may understand that nothing but what was excellently good would be persecuted by Nero. Domitian also, who had a portion of Nero's cruelty, made a similar attempt; but retaining some sentiments of humanity⁸, soon desisted, and even permitted those whom he had banished to return. Such have ever been our persecutors; the unjust, the ungodly the vile; men of such character, that ye yourselves have been accustomed to condemn them, and to restore those whom they have condemned. But from that time down to the present reign, out of so many emperors who were acquainted with religion or humanity, we sufficient distinction between the testimonies of Justin Martyr and Tertullian. Justin speaks of the Acts of Pilate, and appeals to them, as being accessible at the time when he wrote. But he does not expressly state even that the contents of those acts was made known to Tiberius.

Tertullian asserts, that Pilate did communicate with Tiberius, and that, in consequence of the extraordinary nature of that communication, he proposed to the senate that Jesus Christ should be received among the deities of Rome. The last fact rests upon the single testimony of Tertullian.

Christopher Iselin wrote a letter in defence of the truth of this fact, published in the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, tom. xxxii. p. 147, tom. xxii. p. 12. Lardner refers also to Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. i. St. Pierre, Art. 19. Sueur, *Hist. de l'Eglise et de l'Empire*, tom. i. p. 130, and Grotius on Matt. xxiv. 11.

⁸ ὅτε ἔχων τι συνέσεως. Euseb. H. E. iii. 20.

challenge you to mention one, who was an enemy of the Christians. On the contrary, we appeal to a protector, if the letters of that most worthy Emperor Marcus Aurelius are examined ¹, in which he testifies, that, in Germany, the thirst of his troops was dispelled by a shower, obtained by the prayers of some Christian

¹ At nos è contrario edimus protectorem, si literæ Marci Aurelii gravissimi imperatoris requirantur, quibus illam Germanicam sitim, Christianorum fortè militum precationibus impetrato imbri, discussam testatur. The same words, with an inconsiderable variation of expression, are given by Jerome in his Latin translation of Eusebius's Chronicon, p. 170.

Tertullian repeats the assertion in his Treatise ad Scapulam, c. 4. Marcus quoque Aurelius, in Germanicâ expeditione Christianorum militum orationibus ad Deum factis, imbres in siti illâ impetravit. But he there makes no mention of the letter of Marcus Aurelius. Eusebius (H. E. v. 5), refers to this passage of Tertullian's Apology, as one of his authorities for the account which he gives of the Thundering Legion; and he and subsequent writers (Orosius, vii. 15. Nicephorus, iv. 12. Zonaras, Ann. tom. ii. 207), make considerable additions to the facts mentioned by Tertullian. Eusebius states, but in a manner which shows he doubted the authority on which the fact rested, that a violent storm of thunder and lightning put the enemy to flight, while a shower refreshed the Roman army which was about to perish with thirst.

The fact, that such a seasonable shower did happen, is expressly asserted by several heathen writers; and there is still extant the celebrated Antonine Column, which represents Jupiter Pluvius, under the appearance of an aged man with outstretched arms, pouring down a violent rain, which refreshes the Romans and discomfits their enemies. A coin of M. Aurelius records the same fact. Dion Cassius, l. 71, ascribes the shower to the magical arts of Arnuphis, an Egyptian magician: and Suidas, on the word Arnuphis, says that others attributed it to the power of Julian a Chaldean.

Tertullian does not here state that he had seen the letter of Marcus Aurelius, to which he appeals. And such a letter is quite at variance with the general character of that Emperor, and with the persecutions to which the Christians were subject under his reign. Mosheim (De rebus Christianor. ante Constantin. sect. xvii.) is of opinion that Tertullian was thinking of the edict, which Antoninus Pius, who is often confounded with Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, wrote to the community of Asia. (Euseb. H. E. iv. 13.) See p. 278.

The letter on this subject, purporting to be written by Marcus Aurelius, and subjoined to Justin Martyr's Apology (p. 101, Paris edition), is generally believed to be spurious.

Lardner (Testimony of Ancient Heathens, Marcus Antoninus, sect. iii.) has collected the opinions of various writers upon this subject. See also a most luminous and accurate account in Bp. Kaye's Tertullian, p. 106.

soldiers, who happened to be in his army. That Emperor, although he did not publicly abrogate the punishments directed against the Christians, averted them by another public act, by subjecting their accusers to a punishment of a still more severe nature.

What then are these laws, which none but the impious, the unjust, the vile, the trifling, the insane enforce? of which Trajan partly frustrated the effect, by forbidding inquiry to be made after Christians? which neither Adrian, although a searcher out of all new and curious doctrines, nor Vespasian, although the conqueror of the Jews, nor Pius¹, nor Verus put into action. Now it is plain, that men, as bad as Christians are represented to be, would be destroyed by all the best princes, who would naturally be opposed to them, rather than by those who were like themselves.

CHAPTER VI.

I SHOULD now wish that they who make such a profession of scrupulously protecting and observing the laws and institutions of their fathers, would answer a question as to the faithfulness with which they have themselves honoured and respected them. Is there no law which they have violated? none which they have transgressed? Have they not abrogated the most necessary and wholesome parts of ancient discipline? What is become of those laws, which were enacted to restrain luxury and ostentation; which commanded

¹ Antoninus Pius, to whom the Apology of Justin Martyr is addressed. It is doubtful whether the Verus, to whom this allusion is made, is Lucius Ælius Verus, the adopted son of Adrian, or his son Lucius Verus. See note (2) at the beginning of the Apology of Justin Martyr. The name Verus may even refer to Marcus Aurelius, to whom it was sometimes applied.



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Romulus, a woman, who had touched wine, was killed with impunity by her husband Mecenius. Hence the custom arose for them to salute their near relations with a kiss, that their breath might detect them. Where is now that happiness of the marriage state, which accompanied the severity of ancient manners, so that not one family was sullied by a divorce for nearly six hundred years after the foundation of the city of Rome? Now, as for your women, their whole person is weighed down with gold; their breath universally betrays their indulgence in wine; and divorce is now a part of the marriage vow, as if it were the natural consequence of matrimony. Even the very decrees, which your ancestors have wisely enacted respecting your gods, ye, their most obedient followers, have rescinded. The consuls, with the authority of the Senate, banished the worship of Bacchus, with its mysteries, not only from the city (of Rome), but from all Italy. Although Piso and Gabinius were no Christians, yet in their consulship they forbade Serapis, Isis, and Harpocrates, with his accompanying deity having a dog's head, to be brought into the capitol; which was, in fact, expelling them from the assembly of the gods; and overthrew their altars, in their anxiety to suppress the abuses of their base and idle superstitions. Now these very deities ye have restored, and invested with supreme authority. Where, then, is your religion? Where is the reverence which ye owe to your ancestors? In dress, in diet, in equipage, in expense, nay, even in language, ye have degenerated from your forefathers. Ye are constantly praising the ancients; ye live daily as moderns. And in this it is made manifest, that, in departing from the good institutions of your ancestors, ye retain and observe what ye ought not, while ye observe not what ye ought. Thus ye maintain, with the utmost fidelity, the law de-

livered down from your ancestors, by which ye principally condemn the Christians, that law respecting the worship of strange gods, which was one of the greatest errors of antiquity. Still, although ye have restored the altars of Serapis, now made a Roman god ; although ye have introduced all the furious orgies dedicated to Bacchus, now naturalized in Italy, I will yet take occasion to show in its proper place⁴, that ye have in fact despised, and neglected, and destroyed, the authority of your ancestors. For at present I shall answer the infamous accusation of secret atrocities, with which we are charged, to clear the way for the vindication of the actions which we avowedly perform.

CHAPTER VII.

It is said, then, that we are guilty of most horrible crimes ; that, in the celebration of our sacrament, we put a child to death⁵, which we afterwards devour ; and at the end of our banquet revel in incest ; that we employ dogs, as ministers of our impure delights, to overthrow the lights, and thus to provide darkness, and remove all shame, which might interfere with these impious lusts. But this is always mere assertion : and ye take no pains to prove what for so long a time, ye continue to assert. Either therefore investigate the truth, if ye believe the charge, or cease to believe, what ye have not proved. Your dissimulation in this matter plainly implies, that crimes, which ye

⁴ See c. 13.

⁵ See Justin Martyr's Apology, c. 35. This calumny might possibly have originated from some misconception, or wilful perversion, of the solemnization of the Eucharist. See Athenagoras, *Legatio pro Christianis*, p. 15. Theophilus, *ad Autolyicum*, lib. iii. Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, p. 288. Eusebius, *H. E.* iv. 7.

dare not investigate, have no existence. Ye impose upon your executioner very different commands respecting the Christians; not that they should confess what they do, but deny what they are.

That religion, as we have already declared, arose in the reign of Tiberius. At its very first appearance, truth was an object of detestation and hostility. It had as many enemies, as there were strangers: for instance, the Jews from a spirit of envy; the soldiers, from interested motives; our very domestics, from their natural hostility to their superiors. We are every day pursued and betrayed; we are especially attacked in our very places of public resort, and in our religious assemblies. Yet who ever surprised us with an infant weeping in the manner described? Who ever kept us to be brought before the judge, with our faces red with blood, as he found us, like the Cyclops or Syrens? Who ever detected the slightest traces of indelicacy, even in their wives (who have become Christians?) who is there, who having made such discoveries, was either silent, or bribed to conceal them⁶, thus betraying his duty towards mankind? Besides, if our actions are always so secret, when were they ever made known? Nay, by whom could they be made public? not, certainly, by those who committed them; since a profound silence is part of the very essence of all mysteries. No one divulges the secrets of the Samothracian and Eleusinian mysteries; how much more, then, would such rites be kept secret, as, if once betrayed would provoke the rigour of human laws, while they are exposed to the vengeance of divine wrath?

If, then, our accusation comes not from ourselves, it

⁶ Quis talia facinora, cùm invenisset, celavit, aut vendidit, ipsos trabens homines?

. Betraying his duty to society, which ought to have led him to prosecute men guilty of such atrocious crimes.



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transmitted through many tongues and ears. Thus the circumstances, which have gathered round a rumour, so hide the error and meanness of its origin, that no one inquires whether the first reporter did not disseminate a falsehood; a circumstance which frequently happens, either from an envious disposition, or by the aggravation of a mere suspicion, or by the habitual and natural pleasure which some take in lying.

Well is it, that according to your own proverbs and sayings, Time reveals all things; that events are so ordered by the constitution of nature, that nothing is long concealed, even though fame should never have reported it.

Yet this common fame is the only accuser, which ye bring against us; an accuser, which hath never yet been able to prove, what it hath at different times asserted, and for so long a period endeavoured to corroborate.

CHAPTER VIII.

IN answer to those who think these accusations credible, I would appeal to the testimony of nature herself. Suppose that we promise a reward for these atrocities, even eternal life. Conceive this for a moment. And then I demand, whether, if you believed this, you would think eternity itself worth purchasing at the price of such a burden on the conscience? Suppose a man were thus addressed: "Come, plunge your steel into an infant, who can have committed no offence, can be no one's enemy, and may be anyone's child. Or, if this murderous office falls to another, merely be present, while a human being dies, almost before he is brought to life; wait for the departure of the soul but just united with the body; catch the scarcely-formed

blood, saturate your bread with it, eat freely. Meanwhile, as you recline at the banquet, observe the places where your mother and your sister sit; mark them well; that when the dogs shall have put out the lights, you may be sure to make no mistake; for it will be a mortal sin, if you fail to commit incest. Thus initiated and thus sealed you shall live for ever." I would have you answer me, whether eternity is worth all this; and if not, that you will allow the charge to be incredible. Even if you believed such promises as these, I am persuaded you would not comply; even if you would, I know you could not. Why, then, should others be able to do so, if ye cannot? why are ye unable to do it, if others can? Are we conceived to be of a different nature from yourselves^s, monsters, like those described in India and in Africa, with the heads of dogs, and feet which would overshadow the body? Are our teeth set differently from yours, or our bodies so framed as to be peculiarly fitted for incestuous passion? If you can believe this of any human being, you are yourself capable of committing it: you yourself are a man; and so is a Christian. What you could not do, you ought not to believe. For a Christian too is a human being; and in all respects such as you are.

But, it will be said, none but the ignorant are imposed upon, and seduced into the commission of these atrocities: men who never knew that crimes like these were ascribed to the Christians. But surely, in such cases, every one would observe and diligently examine for himself.

It is, I imagine, customary for all those, who are desirous of being initiated, first to apply to the chief

^s Aliâ nos, opinor, naturâ; Cynopæne an Sciapodes?

Tertullian has the same expression, *ad Nationes*, i. c. 8. *Planè tertium genus dicimur. Cynopennæ (Cynopæne) aliqui, vel Sciapodes, vel aliqui sub terrâ Antipodes? Si qua istic apud vos saltem ratio est, edatis velim primum et secundum genus, ut ita de tertio constet.*

priest, and to ascertain what preparation is to be made. We are to believe, then, that when this enquiry is made by any one who is desirous of becoming a Christian, he is told, "You must procure a young and tender child, one who knows not what death is, and will smile under your knife: you must have some bread too, to suck up every drop of blood which flows; and besides these, candlesticks and lights; and some dogs, and bits of meat to draw them off, so as to throw down the candles. Above all, take care and come with your mother and your sister." What is the poor candidate to do, if he cannot persuade them to accompany him, or should have none at all? What becomes of all Christians who have no such relations? No one, I suppose, can be a regular Christian, unless he be a brother, or a son.

But suppose that all these preparations are made without the knowledge of the new Christians. At all events, they know all this afterwards, and yet submit to it, and allow it. They fear to be punished, while, if they proclaimed the truth, they would deserve universal approbation; and ought rather to prefer death, than submit to live with such a burden on their conscience. And even if they feared to disclose the past, why do they also persevere for the future? For surely no one would continue to be such as he would never have been, had he been forewarned.

CHAPTER IX.

FOR the more complete refutation of these accusations, I will now show, that these very atrocities are committed by yourselves, partly in public, and partly in secret, whence probably ye are so ready to believe us



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as ye conceive Christians to be, and the only son of his father for cruelty !

But since the guilt of infanticide is by no means different, whether the crime be committed out of superstition or voluntarily,—although it is a great aggravation that the parents should be the agents—I will turn to the people. How many of those who stand around, and are so eager to shed the blood of the Christians, nay, how many of you who preside with such justice and severity in receiving the accusations against us, will be cut to the heart, when your consciences accuse you of the murder of your own children !

There is a difference also in the manner of inflicting death ; and yours is more cruel than any of which we are accused ; ye drown the breath of infants in the waters, or expose them to perish by cold, or famine, or the dogs. Surely any one able to make a choice would prefer the sword to such an end as this.

Our religion, on the contrary, not only forbids murder, but protects the fruit conceived in the womb, while yet the tender elements are scarcely formed into a human being. To prevent the birth is anticipated homicide : to take away life or to interrupt it in its natural course is equally culpable. That, which is to be a man, hath all the rights of humanity ; the whole future fruit is concentrated in the seed.

With respect to feeding upon human blood, and other tragic banquets of a like nature, see if it be not related, I believe by Herodotus³, that certain nations ratified their treaties by mutually tasting the blood drawn from each other's arms. Something of the same kind is told of Catiline⁴. And it is reported that,

³ Herodotus, i. 74.

⁴ Sallust mentions such a report : Bell. Catilin. c. 23. “ Fuere eâ tempestate, qui dicerent, Catilinam, oratione habitâ, cùm ad jusjurandum

among some nations of the Scythians, every one, as soon as he dies, is devoured by his own family. But I need not seek so far for an example. At this very day, blood drawn by incisions in the thighs and given in the hand⁵ to drink, marks those who are consecrated to Bellona. Again, where are those who, for the cure of epilepsy, eagerly drink the fresh blood which flows from the throats of the condemned gladiators, who are stabbed in the arena? those too who feed upon the animals which are slain in public combat; who ask with eagerness for a piece of the boar or the stag? That boar tore, in the mortal struggle, the man whose blood he shed: that stag lay down in the gore which flowed from the gladiator's wound. The very entrails of wild boars are required for food, before they have themselves digested the human flesh, which they have devoured: and one human being is gorged to repletion with the flesh of animals which lived upon men. While ye practise such atrocities, how far are ye yourselves from the horrible banquets of which ye accuse the Christians? And the still more ineffable abominations, which some of you commit⁶, exceed in enormity even the crime of devouring children which is ascribed to us. Ye, who act thus, may blush at the Christians, who consider the blood even of animals forbidden food; and abstain from things strangled, and from such as die naturally, lest we should contract impurity by unwittingly feeding upon some portion of blood contained in the body.

populares sceleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem vino permistum in pateris circumtulisse: inde cum post execrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in solemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, dicitur aperuisse consilium."

⁵ *Palmulâ*: perhaps we should read *parmulâ*, a shield.

⁶ *Minùs autem et illi faciunt, qui libidine ferâ humanis membris inhiant quia vivos vorant? minùs humano sanguine ad spurcitiam consecrantur, quia futurum sanguinem lambunt? non edunt infantes planè, sed magis, puberes.*

Besides, among the trials to which ye expose Christians, one is to offer him to eat food prepared with the blood of animals, well knowing that the act, by which ye thus tempt them to transgress, is forbidden by our laws. Now, how can it be believed, that those, who thus abhor the blood of animals, should eagerly devour human blood? unless perhaps ye have yourselves tasted it, and found it sweeter. If that be the case, he who undertakes to examine a Christian should offer this to him, instead of the fire and incense, which is now used for the purpose. Christians would be known, by their taste for human blood, as well as they now are, by refusing to offer sacrifice; and should be put to death, if they tasted the blood, as they now are, if they sacrifice not. And, as long as ye conduct the accusation and condemnation of prisoners in the same manner as at present, there would be no lack of human blood, with which to make the experiment.

With respect to the alleged crime of incest, who was ever so great an example of this crime as Jupiter himself? Ctesias relates, how common the union of sons with their own mothers was, among the Persians. And the Macedonians are suspected of the same enormity, since, when they first witnessed the representation of the tragedy of *Œdipus*, they ridiculed the grief which he expressed for his involuntary crime, crying out *ἤλαυνε τὴν μητέρα*.

Consider, now, how wide a field is opened to the involuntary commission of this crime of incest among yourselves, by the universal licentiousness which prevails. In the first place, ye expose your sons, as soon as they are born, to be taken up by the casual pity of some passing stranger; or give them up for adoption to others, who will make better parents than yourselves. The memory of a race thus dispersed must sometimes be lost. And if once such an error is committed, it



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sacrifice not for others, since we do not sacrifice even for ourselves, nor ever pay reverence to the gods. Hence we are accused at once of sacrilege and treason. This is the main part of the accusation against us; nay, it is the whole of it, and well worthy to be investigated, if judgment be formed without prejudice, and without injustice; the former of which hath no hope that the truth can be established, and the latter refuses to hear its voice.

We have refused to worship your gods, from the time that we were convinced that they were no gods⁷. Ye ought, therefore, to require us to prove that they are no gods, and therefore ought not to be worshipped: for undoubtedly they are worthy of all reverence, if only they be truly gods. Then also ought the Christians to be punished, if it should appear, that those are gods, whom they refused to worship, believing them not to be so. But, ye say, in our estimation they are gods. Here, then, we appeal at once from yourselves to your own conscience. That shall judge us; that shall condemn us, if it can deny that all those, whom ye consider gods, were once men. If your conscience denies this, it shall be convinced by a reference to your own works of antiquity, from which your knowledge of your deities is derived: for these bear testimony at the present day, both to the cities, in which they were born, and to the countries, in which they left traces of their achievements, and where their burial-places are even now shown. It will be needless for me to enumerate every individual of such an endless variety, new and old, barbarian, Greek, Roman, or foreign; such as were captives, or adopted; national or general; male or female; attached to the country or the town; naval or

⁷ 1 Cor. viii 4.

military. It would be tedious and useless even to mention all their titles. I will then make a compendious summary; and this, not for the purpose of instructing, but of reminding you, for ye act as if ye had forgotten the facts.

There is, among you, no god before Saturn: from his date, every other deity, although more esteemed or better known, is to be reckoned. Whatever, then, is established respecting the origin, will be true of those derived from it. Now, as far as your records extend, neither Diodorus the Greek, nor Thallus, nor Cassius Severus, nor Cornelius Nepos, nor any other writer of antiquity of the same kind, speaks of Saturn as any other than a man. If we refer to facts, I find none better attested any where than in Italy itself, in which Saturn took up his abode, after many wanderings, and after he had been entertained in Attica, being received by Janus, or Janes, as the Salii call him. The mountain, in which he dwelt, is called Saturnius; the city, which he founded, retains the name of Saturnia to this day: and all Italy, which before was called *Ænotria*, received the appellation of Saturnia. From him was first received the knowledge of written characters, and the art of making impressions upon coins: whence he is the deity, who is supposed to preside over the treasury. If, then, Saturn was a man, he was of human birth; and if of human birth, he derived not his origin from the heaven and the earth. It was however an easy fiction to call him, whose true parents were unknown, the son of those elements, of which we all may seem to be the offspring. For who is there, who speaks not of the heaven and the earth as his mother and father, under a feeling of reverence and honour, or by the ordinary custom, by which those, who appear suddenly or unexpectedly, are said to have come from the skies? Hence it happened, that, wherever Saturn

came suddenly, he received the appellation of heaven-born⁸. Just as even now those, whose descent is unknown, are commonly said to spring from the earth. I say nothing of the fact, that men were then in so rude and uncultivated a state, that they regarded the appearance of every stranger as something divine; since, even civilized as they now are, they consecrate among the gods those, whom, but a few days before, they confessed to be mortal, by the public mourning for their death. These few words are sufficient to show, what Saturn really was.

We shall hereafter show, that Jupiter is also a man, and of human origin; and that the whole swarm of that race of beings are both mortal, and of the same nature with the stock whence they arose.

CHAPTER XI.

SINCE, then, ye dare not deny that these were men, but have taken upon yourselves to assert that they were made gods, after their death, let us consider the causes, which have produced this. Now, first ye must admit, that there is some superior Deity, who hath the power of conferring divinity, and thus deifies mortals. For they could not themselves assume a divine nature, which they never had; nor could any one confer it, upon those who possessed it not, unless it were inherent in himself. And, if there were no person to make

⁸ Minucius Felix, Octavius, c. 22, adopts this argument of Tertullian.

Homo igitur utique qui fugit, homo utique qui latuit, et pater hominis, et natus ex homine: terræ enim et cæli filius, quòd apud Italos esset ignotis parentibus proditus: ut in hodiernum inopinato visos, cælo missos: ignobiles et ignotos terræ filios nominamus.

Lactantius (Divin. Institutionum lib. i. 11) appears to give Minucius the credit of inventing this explanation of the fable of Saturn.



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Minerva; nay, even before the existence of the first man, whoever he was; since nothing, which was devised for the support and maintenance of man, could be introduced after man himself. Besides, those deities are said to have discovered those necessaries of life, not to have created them: now that which is discovered, already exists: and that which was in existence must not be ascribed to him who discovered its use, but to him who made it; for it was formed before it could be discovered. And if Bacchus is therefore a god, because he first showed the use of the vine, Lucullus was hardly used, who first introduced the cherry out of Pontus into Italy, that he was not consecrated as the creator of a new fruit; since he invented it, and showed its use. If, therefore, the universe was originally ordained and destined for the due performance of certain offices, there is no pretence, on these grounds, for adopting the human into the divine nature; since the stations and powers which ye attribute to them, were from the beginning such as they would have been, even if ye had not made them gods.

Ye have recourse, however, to another reason, asserting that their deification was intended as the reward of their merit; assuming, I suppose, that the God, who deified them, excels in justice, so as to dispense so magnificent a reward neither without consideration, nor upon unworthy objects, nor with undue profusion. I should wish, therefore, to enumerate their merits, and see whether they are of such a nature as to raise them to heaven, and not rather to sink them to the bottom of Tartarus, which ye and many others affirm to be the place of infernal punishments. For to that place are usually sent the impious, those who have committed incest with parents or sisters, adulterers, ravishers of virgins, corrupters of youth; men who commit violence, or murder, or theft; those who de-

ceive, or are like any of those gods of yours, not one of whom ye can prove to be free from such vices or crimes, unless ye deny that he was once a man. But since ye cannot pretend to deny that they were men, they are also branded with such marks, as prevent us from believing that they should afterwards be made gods. For, if ye preside on your judgment seats, for the purpose of punishing crimes like these—if every one of you, who is upright, avoids all intercourse, conversation, or society with men of such infamous and base character,—and yet that supreme God, whom ye suppose, raised men like these to partake of his majesty,—why do ye condemn, in men, the qualities, which ye adore in your god? Your administration of justice is a reflection upon heaven. Ye ought to deify all your vilest offenders, to please your gods. Their honour is involved in the consecration of their fellows.

But, to dwell no longer upon their unworthiness, I will suppose that they were honest and spotless and good. Yet how many far better men have ye left in the shades below? Men celebrated, for instance, as Socrates, for wisdom; Aristides, for his integrity; Themistocles, for his valour; Alexander, for his magnanimity; Polycrates, for his good fortune; Cræsus, for his riches; Demosthenes, for his eloquence? Which of those, whom ye have made gods, was more distinguished for gravity and wisdom, than Cato; for justice and military skill, than Scipio; for grandeur of soul, than Pompey; for success, than Sylla; for wealth, than Crassus; for eloquence, than Cicero? How much more worthily would your supreme God have waited to confer divinity upon those men, well knowing that these better men would exist. But we are to suppose he hastened, and once for all shut the gates of heaven, and now blushes, when he sees so many far better men murmuring in the shades below.

CHAPTER XII.

I SHALL pursue these observations no further, well knowing that I can truly show what they are not, by setting forth what they really are. Now, in the persons of your gods, I perceive nothing but the names of certain men long since dead; I hear nothing but fables; I recognize only sacred rites founded on fables. And as for the images themselves, I discover nothing but the mothers and sisters¹, as it were, of vessels and common utensils, or things, which, by the act of consecration, and the transforming power of art, change their destination with those vessels and utensils. Yet even this dedication is not unaccompanied with insult and sacrilege, in the very act itself; so that we, who are punished principally on account of the gods, may derive some consolation from the reflection, that they themselves underwent similar treatment, in the act of fabrication. If ye impale the Christians upon crosses, and stakes, every image of a god hath been first constructed upon a cross and stake, and plastered with cement. The body of your god is first dedicated upon a gibbet. If ye tear the bodies of Christians with your nails; your hatchets, and planes, and files are more unmercifully used upon all the members of your gods. If we lay our heads upon the block; your deities have no heads, before the lead, and the solder, and the rivets are applied. If we are exposed to the beasts; those animals are the same, which ye make the constant attendants on Bacchus, Cybele, and Ceres. If we are burned in the fire; the substance, of which they are

¹ Nihil amplius deprehendo quàm matres sorores esse vasculorum, &c.

The images of your worship are formed of the same material, and are equally worthless, with your most ordinary vessels. Compare Isa. xlv. 16, 17.



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whose existence ye believe, destroying the objects of your fear, and insulting those, whose rights ye defend. Judge, yourselves, whether I speak truth or not. In the first place, since some of you worship one god, and some another, ye undoubtedly offend those whom ye do not worship: ye cannot prefer one without offering an insult to others; nor choose one, without rejecting another. Ye despise, therefore, those whom ye reject, and have no fear of so offending them. For, as we have before noticed, the condition of every god depended upon the estimation in which the Senate held him. He was no god, if the men, who deliberated upon the question, determined against his claim, and, by refusing to admit him, condemned him. As for your family gods, which ye call Lares, ye treat them, as other household articles, with arbitrary power, by pledging, or selling them, or by changing a statue of Saturn or Minerva into the basest utensils, whenever it is battered or worn out with the length of service paid to it, or when any one finds his domestic distress a more powerful deity than his household gods. Ye publicly commit a like outrage against your public gods, whom ye expose in catalogues, and sell by auction. The Capitol and the herb-market are sold in the same manner⁵. The divinity of your gods itself is put up to sale by the same voice of the crier, at the same appointed place, under the same inspection of the Quæstor. Estates, however, liable to a tax are on that account less valuable; the persons of men who are subject to tribute are less noble; for all these are marks of servitude. But your gods are the more holy, the greater the tribute is, to which they are subject; or rather, those who are most holy, are most heavily

⁵ The revenue arising from the temples was let by public contract, in the same manner as the tolls arising from the markets. Compare Tertullian, *Ad Nationes*, I. c. 10.

taxed. Their majesty is made a source of gain. Religion goes round the taverns begging. Ye demand payment for entering the temple, and for a place at festivals. No one can become acquainted with the gods for nothing; access to them is purchased. What do ye do for their honour, more than for your dead? The temples and altars are precisely the same. They have the same dress and ornaments upon their statues. The age, the profession, the occupation of the dead man are preserved in his effigy; and it is the same with the god. What difference is there in the feast of Jupiter, and in that made for aged men at a funeral⁶? between the vessel, in which wine is poured out in sacrifices, and that with which libations are made to the dead? between an augur, who predicts by observation of the entrails, and an embalmer? for he performs the office of an augur to the dead. But ye consistently enough confer the honour of divinity upon your dead emperors, since ye ascribe it to them in their lives. Your gods will feel deeply indebted to you, and be delighted that those who have ruled even over them, are put upon a level with them. But when ye introduce Larentina⁷, a common prostitute,—I should have preferred, at all events, Lais or Phryne,—among such goddesses as Juno, and Ceres, and Diana; when ye honour Simon Magus with a statue⁸, and an inscription, bearing the title of holy god, when ye introduce one of the infamous pages⁹ of the court into the council of the gods; although your ancient gods could boast of no more noble origin, yet they will

⁶ Quo differt ab epulo Jovis silicernium? a simpulo obba, ab aruspice pollinctor? nam et aruspex mortuis apparet.

Tertullian sarcastically compares the different offices paid to Jupiter in his dotage, with those which accompanied funerals.

⁷ Larentina, or Larentia, was said to have been the nurse of Romulus. Tertullian, *Ad Nationes*, II. c. 10.; Lactantius, lib. i. 20.

⁸ See Justin Martyr's *Apology*, c. 34.

⁹ Antinous.

think ye use them ill, by conferring a dignity upon others, to which they conceive their antiquity gives them a prescriptive right.

CHAPTER XIV.

I WILL not observe upon your religious rites, nor mention the shameful manner in which ye perform your sacrifices, slaying for that purpose any animals which are emaciated, or rotten, or diseased, and cutting off from the fat and entire carcasses the useless head and hoofs, which even at home ye would have thrown to the dogs, or given to slaves; and place upon the altar of Hercules not a third part of the tenth, which is his share. In all this, I rather praise your wisdom, in reserving something from that which would otherwise be totally lost. But I will turn to your literature, whence ye derive your instruction in prudence and the liberal sciences; what absurdities are there found? I read of gods, who fought like pairs of gladiators, for Trojans and Greeks: of Venus being wounded by an arrow, directed by a human hand, in her anxiety to save her son Æneas, who was on the point of being slain by the same man, Diomedes: of Mars almost worn out, by an imprisonment of thirteen months in chains: of Jupiter, who was freed by the aid of some monster (Briareus), when he was in danger of suffering the same treatment from the immortals; and, at one time, weeping for the fate of Sarpedon, at another, reviving his passion for Juno, his sister, by a disgraceful enumeration of his former adulteries, in none of which he was so enamoured¹. After this, what poet is there

¹ Il. E. 314.



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most admired beauties of your Lentuli and Hostilii; in the jokes and tricks which are there displayed, are the actors or the gods the subjects of your derision? When, for instance, ye laugh at an adulterous Anubis, at a Moon of the male sex, at Diana being flogged, at the reading of the will of Jupiter after his death, and at three half-starved Hercules. Besides, your dramatic literature describes all their most disgraceful actions. Ye are delighted to hear the Sun grieving for his son Phæton, cast down from heaven; ye blush not to hear Cybele sighing for a shepherd, who rejects her with disdain: and ye tolerate the enumeration of all the infamous tales attributed to Jupiter, and the judgment which a shepherd passed upon Juno, Venus, and Minerva. Again, how disgraceful is it, that the mask, which is formed to represent one of your gods, should be worn by a man of infamous and notorious character; that one personally dissolute, and with his frame rendered effeminate for the purpose, should represent sometimes a Minerva, and sometimes an Hercules. Do ye not applaud, while the majesty of your gods is thus insulted, and their divinity abused? Ye are, however, I presume, more scrupulous in your arenæ, where the gods are introduced dancing in the midst of the blood of the gladiators, and the pollution of capital punishments, affording the plot and history, in the course of which these wretched victims may be put to death; not to mention that the culprits themselves sometimes support the character of some of your gods. We have formerly seen a man mutilated in the character of Atys, your god from Pessinum; and one, who personated Hercules, burnt alive. We have joined in the laugh, at the cruel entertainments, with which ye beguile the middle of the day, when Mercury went about to try with a red-hot caduceus, whether the bodies were really dead. We have seen also Pluto, the brother of

Jupiter, dragging off the corpses of the gladiators, with a hammer in his hand.

But who can enumerate every particular of this kind? If such representations injure the honour of the divine character, if they lay its majesty in the dust, they infer a contempt of the gods, both in those who act in any thing of the kind, and in those for whose entertainment they are performed.

But, ye will say, this is merely in sport. If, however, I should add, what your consciences would admit to be equally true, that adulterous assignations are made in your temples; that before your very altars, the violation of chastity is contrived; that acts of the grossest kind are usually committed in the very houses of the ministers and priests of the temples; while the garlands, and ornaments, and purple vestments of the priesthood are still upon them, and the incense is still burning; I fear your gods would have more reason to complain of you, than of the Christians themselves.

At all events, all those, who are found guilty of sacrilege, are of your religion; for the Christians never enter your temples, even in the day time: had they entered them to worship, perhaps they too would have been led to rob them. What, then, is likely to be the object of adoration to men, who refuse to worship objects such as these? From this very circumstance it may be inferred, that they worship the truth; since they have desisted from worshipping falsehood. It is unlikely that they should again fall into an error, which they had ceased to commit, as soon as they came to the knowledge of themselves.

I would have you, then, first weigh this fact attentively, and then proceed to learn all the particulars of our religion, after I shall first have refuted certain false prejudices.

CHAPTER XVI.

SOME of you have adopted an absurd notion, that an ass's head is our God. Cornelius Tacitus first promulgated this report. In the fifth book of his History³, he begins his description of the Jewish war with an account of the origin of that people; and, in discussing this question, offers his own opinion respecting their name and religion. He states, that the Jews were liberated, or, as he conceives, expelled, from Egypt, and wandered in the extended plains of Arabia, where there was the greatest scarcity of water: while they were suffering from intense thirst, they observed certain wild asses proceeding, as they imagined, to drink after pasture. Following their guidance, they discovered a spring, and, in commemoration of this benefit, consecrated the head of an animal of the same kind. Hence, I imagine, hath arisen the erroneous notion, that in our religion, which is conceived to be closely connected with that of the Jews, the same image is worshipped. Yet the same Cornelius Tacitus—whose loquacity in falsehood agrees but ill with his name—in another part of the same history⁴ relates, that Cneius Pompeius, when he had taken Jerusalem, and entered the Temple, to witness the secret rites of the Jewish religion, found there no image at all. If, however, any object represented in a bodily form had been worshipped, it would surely have been found in the most holy place; and so much the more, as the worship, however absurd, was in no danger of the intrusion of strangers: since none but the priests were allowed to enter; and a veil hid that part of the temple, even from the sight of all other men. Ye, however, will

³ Tacitus, Hist. v. 3.

⁴ Tacitus, Hist. v. 9.



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shape signifies nothing, provided the material is the same: the form is of no importance, if that be regarded as the substance of a god. But in what way can the Athenian Minerva and the Pharian Ceres be distinguished from the wood of a cross, when each is formed of a rough block and unfinished timber? Every stake, which is erected, is but part of a cross; we, at all events, worship a whole and perfect deity. We have before shown⁶, that the very images of your gods are obtained by models, formed upon a cross-like frame. Besides this, ye adore the goddess of victory, while a cross is made the foundation, on which your trophies are hung. The whole religion of your camp teaches your soldiers to adore their standards, to swear by them, to prefer them to all other gods. All those series of images, suspended around your standards, are so many necklaces to a cross; all those pendant hangings of your standards and ensigns are but the robes of a cross. I admire your care: ye would not consecrate simple and unadorned crosses.

Others, again, with more probability and reason, believe that the Sun is the object of our adoration. If this be the case, we are joined with the Persians, although we do not adore its image painted upon a banner; since we have the Sun itself with us, wherever we go, set in the heavens as in a shield. This suspicion, however, hath arisen from our well-known custom of turning towards the East when we pray⁷.

consecratis, cruces ligneos, ut deorum vestrorum partes, forsitan adoratis. Nam et signa ipsa, et vexilla castrorum, quid aliud quàm inauratæ cruces sunt et ornatae? Tropæa vestra victricia non tantùm simplicis crucis faciem, verùm et affixi hominis imitantur.

⁶ c. 12.

⁷ The custom of turning to the East in prayer was very ancient in the Christian Church. The East was considered an emblem of Christ, probably from such passages as Zech. iii. 8; vi. 12. Mal. iv. 2. Luke i. 78. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromat.* vii. p. 856, considers the custom to be

And many even of yourselves, out of an affectation of sometimes adoring the heavenly bodies also, move your lips towards the quarter, in which the sun rises. In like manner if we do observe Sunday, as a day of festivity, not from any worship which we pay to the Sun, but from a very different reason, we are, in that custom, closely allied to such of you as set apart the Saturday for a day of ease and feasting; although,

significative of the rising of the Sun of Righteousness upon the benighted mind. Ἐπεὶ δὲ γενεθλίου ἡμέρας εἰκὼν ἡ ἀνατολή, κάκειθεν τὸ φῶς αὖξεται ἐκ σκότους λάμπαν τὸ πρῶτον· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ κυλινδουμένοις ἀνέτειλε γνώσεως ἀληθείας ἡμέρα, κατὰ λόγον τοῦ ἡλίου· πρὸς τὴν ἑωθίνην ἀνατολὴν αἱ εὐχαί.

Augustin (De Sermone Domini, lib. ii. c. 5) refers to the same custom: Quum ad orationes stamus, ad orientem convertimur, unde cœlum surgit: non tanquam ibi sit Deus, et quasi cæteras mundi partes deseruerit, qui ubique præsens non locorum spatiis sed majestate potentiæ; sed ut admoneatur animus ad naturam excellentiorem se convertere, id est, ad Dominum.

Many other reasons, which might have led to this observance, are adduced from various early authorities, by Bingham, Eccles. Ant. Book XIII. c. 8. 15. Bingham is inclined to think that it arose from a ceremony in baptism, in which the convert, in renouncing the devil, turned his face to the West, as the region of darkness, and, in declaring his faith in Christ, turned to the East. Book XI. c. 7. 4. This, however, seems to have been rather a particular instance of the general custom, than its origin.

The same veneration for the East caused Churches to be usually built, in very early times, with the principal entrance to the West, and the altar towards the East. Tertullian seems to allude to this position of places of worship, as well as to the attitude of the worshippers; Advers. Valent. c. 3. Nostræ columbæ etiam domus simplex, in editis semper et apertis, et ad lucem. Amat figura Spiritus sancti Orientem, Christi figuram.

The few exceptions to this position of the churches, which are occasionally found, show only that the custom was not general. There is one remarkable instance, in the splendid church erected at Tyre by Paulinus the Bishop, at the beginning of the fourth century. The entrance of that magnificent edifice was to the East, and the altar in the centre. (Eusebius, H. E. x. 14, p. 311, D. 312, B.) Socrates (H. E. v. 22, p. 235, D.) mentions that the church at Antioch in Syria was placed in a direction opposite to that which was usual, having the altar towards the West, instead of the East.

even in that, they deviate from the Jewish custom, which they have ignorantly followed.

But a new calumny hath recently been published, in the city of Rome, against the God whom we worship; where a vile wretch, who had for money exposed himself with criminals to fight with wild beasts, carried about a picture with this inscription, The God of the Christians, ONOKOITIS. This figure was painted with asses' ears, having a hoof upon one foot; carrying a book in his hand, and wearing a robe. We smiled at the absurdity of the name, and the extravagance of the figure. But the idolatrous heathen ought at once to fall down and worship the twofold divinity; since they have already received into the number of their gods those who had the head of a dog and of a lion united, and others horned like a buck, or a ram, and with loins like a goat, and with their lower extremities like a serpent, or with wings upon their back or feet.

I have mentioned this absurdity, although there was no necessity for noticing it, that I might not incur the imputation of purposely omitting any rumour against the Christians. Having then cleared away all these charges, we will proceed to the proof of what our religion really is.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE object of our worship is One God, who made out of nothing the whole frame of this universe, furnished with all the elements, and bodies, and spirits, by his word, which commanded; by his wisdom, which ordained; by his power, which ruled; for the glory of



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all testify that he is the universal judge⁹. O glorious testimony of the soul, naturally impressed with the truths of Christianity! And when she gives utterance to these sentiments, her eyes are directed not to the Capitol, but to heaven. For she knows, that there is the habitation of the living God, that he is the author of her being, and there the place whence she came down.

CHAPTER XVIII.

BUT, in order that we might approach to a more full and clear knowledge, both of himself, and of his disposition and will towards man, God hath further given us his written word; that all, who desire, may inquire respecting God; and gradually proceed from inquiry to knowledge, and from knowledge to belief, and from belief to obedience. For God, from the beginning, sent forth into the world men, whose righteousness and innocence qualified them to understand, and make known his will; and poured down upon them his Holy Spirit, by which they were enabled to declare, that there is One God, who created all things, and formed man of the dust of the earth:—for he is the true Prometheus¹,—who ordered the world to be governed

⁹ Tertullian uses the same argument, in his *Treatise de Resurrectione Carnis*, c. 3. *Utar ergo et sententiâ Platonis alicujus pronunciantis, Omnis anima immortalis. Utar et conscientiâ populi, contestantis Deum deorum. Utar et reliquis communibus sensibus, qui Deum judicem prædicant; Deus videt; et, Deo commendo.* He uses the same language, and argues upon it; *De Testimonio Animæ*, cc. 2, 3, 4, 5. He is followed by Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, c. 18, p. 49. *Quid, quod omnium de isto habeo consensum? Audio vulgus, cum ad cælum manus tendunt, nihil aliud quàm Deum dicunt: et, Deus magnus est, et, Deus verus est: et, si Deus dederit. Vulgi iste naturalis sermo est, an Christiani confitentis oratio?*

¹ Tertullian makes the same allusion, *Adv. Marcion.* i. c. i. *Quidni? Penes quem verus Prometheus, Deus omnipotens, blasphemiiis lancinatur.*

by a certain course of time and seasons ; and afterwards gave signs of his majesty in judgment, by water, and by fire ; who established laws, which ye either know not, or forsake, for obtaining his favour ; and hath prepared rewards for those who observe and keep them ; for, at the end of the world, he will by his judgment restore his worshippers to eternal life, but will condemn the wicked to endless streams of fire ; all who have ever lived being raised from the dead, and restored to their bodies, and judged, every man according to his works. We too, as well as yourselves, once derided all this. We were of your party : for Christians are made, not born so. Those preachers, of whom we speak, were called prophets, from their office of foretelling the future. Their words, and the signs which they performed, as proofs of their divine mission, still remain in the treasures of the Scriptures, and are now no longer hidden. The most learned of the Ptolemies, surnamed Philadelphus, was a prince who made the most diligent search into all branches of literature. Being desirous of imitating, as I imagine, the fame of Pisistratus in the formation of a library, he collected from all quarters such books as had acquired celebrity for their antiquity or curiosity. Among these, at the suggestion of Demetrius Phalereus, the most celebrated grammarian of the age, to whom he had entrusted the care of his library, he procured from the Jews also their Scriptures written in their own native language, and kept in their possession alone : for the prophets had always been raised up among the Jews, and had spoken to them, who, from the love which God bore to their forefathers, were his peculiar people. Those who are now Jews, were formerly Hebrews ; whence the Scriptures were written in the Hebrew character, and in the Hebrew language. Lest, however, the contents of these volumes should remain unknown, the Jews

sent to Ptolemy also seventy-two interpreters, whom Menedemus the philosopher, the assertor of a Divine Providence, treats with great respect, as agreeing with him in opinion. Aristeas also assures us of this fact. Thus Ptolemy left these documents plainly translated into the Greek language. At this very day, in the temple of Serapis, the library of Ptolemy is in existence, with the Hebrew copy itself. The Jews read it openly; it is a privilege to which their tribute entitles them². All constantly go thither every Sabbath. Whoever hears those Scriptures, will discover what God is: and whoever studies to comprehend him, will be compelled to believe in him also.

CHAPTER XIX.

THESE records, then, have the greatest claim to our attention, by the authority which is due to their high

² Vectigalis libertas.

Some have concluded, from this passage, that the tribute alluded to was paid solely for the privilege of reading the Scriptures in the original Hebrew; that the Jews at first held the version of the Septuagint in the greatest estimation, but afterwards rejected it, because it was believed to favour Christianity more than the original Hebrew; and that they were therefore obliged to purchase the privilege of reading the Hebrew Scriptures every Sabbath. There is, however, no trace of such an impost; and it can scarcely be believed that Adrian felt any interest in the question whether the Jews read their Scriptures in Hebrew or Greek. The tribute here alluded to was, probably, the half shekel which the Jews paid, to secure the public exercises of their religion, of which reading the law was one.

The author of the Apostolical Constitutions (lib. vi. cc. 24, 25) asserts, without foundation, that, under the Romans, the Jews were not permitted to use their ordinances: and that they were forbidden by the law of Moses (Deut. xii. 14) to erect an altar in any place but Jerusalem, and to read the law without the bounds of Judea. The last assertion appears to have arisen from following the erroneous Septuagint Version of Amos iv. 5. *Καὶ ἀνέγνωσαν ἔξω νόμον.* See L. Cappellus, *Critica Sacra*, lib. iv. c. ii. 23.



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to Iromus the Phœnician, king of Tyre; and to the followers of these ancient testimonies, Ptolemy of Mendes, Menander the Ephesian, Demetrius Phalereus, King Juba, Appion, Thallus, and Josephus, who wrote the history and antiquities of his own countrymen the Jews, and either confirms or refutes the more ancient writers. It would also be necessary to compare the historical records of the Greeks, and to notice the time when each event took place, in order that the connexion of the different periods might be made apparent, and the order of all the facts be clearly set forth. It would be necessary to digress into the history and literature of the whole world. However, we have in some degree introduced a part of this proof, by touching upon the manner in which it might be effected. But it will be better to defer all this, for the present, lest either our want of time should prevent us from following the inquiry to a sufficient extent, or, if we followed it, we should wander too widely from our present subject.

CHAPTER XX.

WE shall now make more than amends for deferring the consideration of this question, by proving the majesty and authority of Scripture, if not its antiquity; we shall establish its divine origin, even if a doubt should still remain respecting its age. This requires us not to search long, nor at any great distance: the grounds of proof are obvious, namely, the state of the world, the history of all ages, and the general course of events. Whatever is now done was foretold: whatever is now seen, was first heard. If earthquakes swallow up cities, if islands are invaded by the sea; if foreign and domestic wars distract states; if kingdom

rises up against kingdom; if there are famine, and pestilence, and slaughters, in divers places; if the wild beasts of the mountains lay waste many regions; if the humble are exalted, and the lofty are laid low; if justice is rare, and iniquity abounds; if the regard for every good and wholesome discipline waxes cold; if even the times and seasons vary from their appointed order; and the natural form of animals is violated, by the production of monsters and prodigies; all these have been predicted by the providence of God. While we suffer these calamities, we read of them: when we recognize them as the objects of prophecy, the truth of the Scriptures, which predict them, is proved. The daily fulfilment of prophecy is, surely, a full proof of revelation. Hence, then, we have a well-founded belief in many things which are yet to come, namely, the confidence arising from our knowledge of the past; because some events, still future, were foretold at the same time with others which are past. The voice of prophecy speaks alike of each; the Scriptures record them equally; the same spirit taught the prophets both. In the predictions, there is no distinction of time: if there be any such distinction, it is made by men; while the gradual course of time makes that present, which was future, and that past, which was present. How can we, then, be blamed for believing also what is predicted respecting the future, when our confidence is founded upon the fulfilment of prophecies relating to the present and the past?

CHAPTER XXI.

SINCE, however, we have declared our religion to be founded upon those most ancient writings of the Jews,

—although almost every one knows, and we acknowledge, that Christianity is of recent origin, having sprung up in the reign of Tiberius,—there may, perchance, at this point arise an objection, that we are desirous of sheltering ourselves from some of the odium which attaches to us, under the shadow of a religion which hath been long known, and is, at all events, tolerated: whereas, besides the very different degrees of antiquity in the Jewish and Christian faith, we do not agree with them, either in abstinence from certain kinds of food, or in the observance of certain festivals, or in the peculiar rite of circumcision, or in the name which we profess; in all of which there ought to be no difference, if we were subject to the same God. Besides, every one of you considers Christ to have been a man, such as the Jews believe him to have been; whence the error might the more easily arise, that we worship some human being.

We are not, however, ashamed of Christ; since we count it our highest privilege to be accused and condemned in his name, nor are our opinions respecting God different from those of the Jews.

It will be necessary then, to speak a few words of Christ as God.

The people of the Jews were so highly favoured of God, on account of the remarkable justice and faith of their forefathers; whence their numbers were multiplied, and their kingdom flourished, and increased; and so great were their privileges, that the voice of God which instructed them, taught them how to obtain his favour, and avoid his anger. Yet their present condition, even without their own confession, sufficiently proves, with what vain confidence in the merits of their ancestors they were urged to madness, and driven profanely to desert their ordinances. They are dispersed and vagabond, wandering as exiles from their



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he declares, pervades the Universe. Now we also consider the Spirit to be the proper substance of the Word, and Reason, and Power, by which we have declared that God made all things; since it was by the Word that he prophesied, by reason that he ordained, and by power that he perfected all things. We have been taught, that he came forth from God, and was begotten by that procession, and so is the Son of God, and called God from the unity of his substance: for God also is a Spirit. Thus, when a ray of light issues from the sun, it is a part from the whole: but the sun will be in the ray of light, because it is a ray of the sun; and the substance is not separated, but extended. Thus, Spirit comes from Spirit, and God from God, as light is kindled from light⁴. The matter, which is the origin, remains whole and unimpaired, although you should derive from it many other substances which transmit the same qualities. In the same manner, that which proceeds from God, is God, and the Son of God; and both are one. Thus a Spirit of a Spirit, and God of God, makes one different in order, not in number; in gradation, not in nature: it proceeds from its origin, but is not separated from it. That emanation, therefore, of the Divinity, as was always before predicted, being sent down upon a virgin, and in her womb made flesh, was born God united with man. His flesh, animated with the Spirit, was nourished, grew up, spake, taught, acted, and was Christ.

Ye can surely have no difficulty in receiving this, for a time, even as a fable, for it is like your own; while we show in what manner the true character of Christ is demonstrated. Those amongst you, who devised fables of a similar nature, for the destruction of the

⁴ Compare Tertullian, Adv. Praxeam, c. 8. Protulit enim! Deus Sermonem, quemadmodum etiam Paracletus docet, sicut radix fruticem, et fons fluvium, et sol radium.

truth, well knew this. The Jews also, to whom the prophets foretold that Christ should come, knew this. For even to this day they look for his coming; and one of the greatest points of controversy between us and them is, that they believe not that he is come already. For since the Scriptures speak of two comings of Christ⁵,—the first which he hath already fulfilled, by appearing in the humility of the human nature; and the second, which is now at hand, when, at the consummation of all things, he shall be manifested in the sublimity of his divine power,—they, who understood not his first coming, considered it to be the same as his second coming, which they conceive to be more clearly predicted. For their guilt well deserved this punishment, that they should not understand his first coming, inasmuch as, had they understood it, they would have believed; and had they believed, they would have been saved. They themselves read the scripture in which it is written, that they were deprived of wisdom and knowledge, and of the use of their eyes and ears⁶.

Since, then, they considered Christ, in consequence of his humility, to be a mere man, it naturally followed that they should regard him as a magician, in consequence of his preternatural power; when he cast out devils by a word, gave sight to the blind, cleansed the lepers, restored the palsied to strength, and, lastly, by a word raised the dead to life; when he ruled the very elements, calmed the storms, walked upon the sea, and showed himself to be the Logos of God, that is, the original Word, the first-begotten, endued with divine power and with reason, and sustained by the Spirit⁷.

But at his doctrine, by which the teachers and

⁵ Tertullian refers to the same subject, *Adv. Judæos*, c. 14.

⁶ *Isa. vi. 10.*

⁷ In most editions, there are here added the words, *eundem, qui verbo omnia et faceret, et fecisset.*

leaders of the Jews were condemned, they were so exasperated, especially when a great multitude were converted to him, that, at the last, by the urgency of their violence, they compelled Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor of Syria, before whom he had been brought, to give him up to them to be crucified. Christ himself had foretold that they would do so. But this, in itself, would have been an inconsiderable fact, had not the prophets also of old predicted the same. Yet when he was crucified, he voluntarily gave up the ghost, with a word addressed to his heavenly Father; and thus anticipated the last office of the executioner. At the same moment, the mid-day was deprived of the sun, which hid its light. Those who were ignorant that this also was predicted respecting Christ, thought, doubtless, that it was a natural eclipse, and when they could not account [for an eclipse of the sun at the time of the full moon], they denied the fact; although ye have the occurrence related in your annals⁸.

After that, the Jews took him down from the cross, and placed him in a sepulchre, which they carefully surrounded with a military guard, lest, since he had predicted that he would rise again from the dead, on the third day, his disciples coming secretly should escape their vigilance, and steal the body away. But, behold, on the third day, suddenly there was a great earthquake, and the stone which closed the sepulchre was rolled away; the guards were struck down with fear; and, without any of his disciples being there, there was nothing found in the tomb, but the clothes in which he had been buried. Yet the chief of the Jews, whose interest it was to promulgate a falsehood,

⁸ Tertullian alludes, in like manner, to the miraculous darkness at the crucifixion, *Adv. Judæos*, c. 10. *Nam quod in passione ejus accidit, ut media dies tenebresceret, Amos Propheta annunciat, dicens, Et crit, inquit, in die illâ, dicit Dominus, occidet sol mediâ die; &c. Amos viii. 9.*



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our religion and of our name, and who was the author of it.

Let no one, therefore, any longer bring against us those infamous accusations, or ascribe to our religion any other origin; since, in matters of faith, it is the highest impiety for any one to speak differently from the truth. For, from the moment that any one professes that he worships any other deity than the real object of his adoration, he denies that which he worships, he transfers his devotion to another; and, by such a change, ceases at once to worship the Being whom he denies. Now we declare, and openly profess in the midst of all your tortures; while torn and bleeding, we cry out, We worship God through Christ. Ye consider him to be a mere man. Suppose this were true, still it is through him that God will have himself known and worshipped. In answer to the Jews, we say, that they have learned to worship God by the mediation of Moses; in answer to the Greeks, that Orpheus upon the mountain Pieria, Musæus at Athens, Melampus at Argos, and Trophonius in Bœotia, all introduced their religious ceremonies into their country. And with reference to yourselves, who are the masters of the world, Pompilius Numa was a man, although he loaded the Romans with the most burdensome superstitions. Surely then Christ may be permitted to set forth the divinity, which properly belongs to him. He did not, like Numa, reduce to civilization men yet rude and uncultivated, astonishing them by an enumeration of so great a multitude of fictitious gods, whose favour must be propitiated; but led to the sight and knowledge of the truth men who were already polished, and led astray even by the errors of their mental cultivation. Examine, then, whether the divinity of Christ is real or not. If his claim to the divine character be such, that by knowledge of it a

man is formed anew to every thing which is good, it follows, that all other pretended gods, which are discovered to be contrary to him, must be renounced as false ; and, above all, those deities are by every means to be repudiated, which, hiding themselves under the names and appearances of dead men, endeavour to procure belief in their divine nature, by means of certain signs, and miracles, and oracles.

CHAPTER XXII.

WE assert, then, that there are certain spiritual substances, the name of which is well known. Your philosophers acknowledge the existence of demons, for Socrates himself was guided by the counsel of one of them. This is plain ; for he said that a demon attended him from his very youth, and constantly dissuaded him—and, so, doubtless, it did—from all good. All your poets are well acquainted with them. And even now, the uninstructed vulgar, in their imprecations, frequently call upon Satan, the chief of this evil race ; and thus by the very terms which they use in cursing, betray what are the inward sentiments of their minds. Plato also denies not the existence of angels ; and even those who profess the practice of magical arts confess the existence of both demons and angels. Now it is known from the holy Scriptures, in what manner from certain angels, who voluntarily corrupted themselves, there arose a still more depraved race¹, condemned of

¹ Tertullian, in his *Treatise de Virginibus Velandis*, c. 7, refers to Gen. vi. 2, in proof that the angels married the virgin daughters of men. He repeats the same assertion, *de Idololatria*, c. 9. *Unum propono, angelos esse illos desertores Dei, amatores fœminarum* : and, in his *Treatise de Cultu Fœminarum*, lib. i. 2, 3, he quotes the Apocryphal book of Enoch

God together with the authors of their being, and with him whom we have spoken of as their chief. It will here be sufficient to explain the manner of their agency. Their ordinary occupation is the injury of man; as the malice of evil spirits from the beginning contrived the perdition of the human race. Hence they bring upon the body diseases and certain grievous accidents, and violently affect the mind with sudden and extraordinary passions. Their surprising subtlety and tenuity give them the facility of thus entering into the body and mind of man. As spirits, they possess the astonishing power of being invisible and insensible; so that their influence is perceived rather in the effects which it produces, than at the time of its action. In the same manner as it often happens in fruit or in grain, that some secret blight in the air blasts the blossom, kills the produce in the seed, or destroys it when it hath arrived at maturity; or that the air, affected by some unknown cause, breathes forth pestilence and death. By some influence equally obscure, the inspiration of angels and demons agitates the corrupt passions of the mind with fury and disgraceful excesses, and inordinate lusts, together with various errors. One of the prin-

to the same purpose. Josephus (*Ant. Jud. lib. i. c. iv. 1*) makes the same use of *Gen. vi. 2*.

It was imagined that from these corrupt angels arose the demons, a race still more corrupt, who injured and deceived men, and were principally employed in seducing them from the worship of the true God to that of idols.

The principal passages of Tertullian bearing upon this point, are collected in *Bp. Kaye's Tertullian*, p. 214.

Lactantius (*lib. ii. c. 14*) adopts the same fanciful notions: "*Itaque illos cum hominibus commorantes dominator ille terræ fallacissimus consuetudine ipsâ paulatim ad vitia pellexit, et mulierum congressibus inquinavit. Tum in cœlum ob peccata, quibus se immerserant, non recepti, ceciderunt in terram. Sic eos Diabolus ex angelis Dei suos fecit satellites, ac ministros. Qui autem sunt ex his procreati quia neque homines fuerunt, sed mediam quandam naturam gerentes, non sunt ad inferos recepti, sicut nec in cœlum parentes eorum.*"



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atmosphere, so that they can predict rain, which they already perceive forming. Even in the means which they are believed to possess of curing sickness, their evil nature is displayed : for they first inflict an injury, and then propose remedies, which appear so new as to be miraculous, or even of a directly contrary nature ; and after this, they desist from injuring, and are believed to have cured. It is needless for me to dwell upon the other contrivances, or even upon the powers of deception which these spirits possess : such as the appearances of Castor and Pollux, the sieve which contained water, a ship drawn by the girdle of a vestal, a beard which changed colour, and became red by a touch³. All these were illusions devised to persuade men to believe images of stone to be gods, and not to seek for the true God.

CHAPTER XXIII.

MOREOVER, if the practisers of magical arts call forth spectres, and even injure and insult the souls of the dead,—if they throw boys into convulsions⁴, to pre-

³ Suetonius (Nero, c. 1) relates a report of this nature respecting Domitius, the ancestor of the Domitian family at Rome. “Ænobarbi auctorem originis, itemque cognominis habent L. Domitium : cui rure quondam revertenti, juvenes gemini augustiore formâ ex occurso imperasse traduntur, nuntiaret senatui ac populo victoriam, de quâ incertum adhuc erat : atque in fidem majestatis adeo permulsisse malas ut è nigro rutilum, ærique assimilem capillum redderent. Quod insigne mansit et in posteris ejus, ac magna pars rutilâ barbâ fuerunt.”

⁴ Elidunt.

This refers either to the sacrificing of children, *βρεφομαντεία*, or *παιδομαντεία*, to propitiate the god, who was supposed to give the oracle, (see Justin Martyr's Apology, c. 24,) or else to the convulsion fits, into which boys were thrown, in order that the words which they uttered, in a state of mental alienation, might be taken for an oracular reply.

pare them to give utterance to the words of the oracle,—if by means of juggling tricks, they pretend to perform numerous miracles,—if they inspire dreams too, by having the powerful assistance of the angels and demons once invited to attend them, by whose means even kids and tables have been made the instruments of divination,—how much more should that spiritual power be exerted of its own accord, and for its own objects, to produce the same effects, which it thus performs for the advantage of another? Or, if angels and demons perform the same operations which your gods perform, where then is that supreme excellence of divinity, which must be believed superior to all other authority? Would it not be a more reasonable assumption, that they were truly gods, who made themselves so, since they perform the very same actions which cause you to believe the divine nature of your gods, than that they are gods simply because they are equal to angels and demons? We are to conceive, I suppose, that the difference of place causes a distinction: that the divinity of your gods is acknowledged in their temples, but not in any other place: that the madness which urges one man to leap from a consecrated tower, is different from that which makes another throw himself from a neighbouring house; and a man, who mutilates his body, or lacerates his arms, labours under a different insanity from that which causes another to cut his own throat. The end of these different acts of madness is the same, and they are incited by the same cause.

But these are mere words: we now appeal to a matter of fact, as a proof that the nature of your gods and of the demons is the same under different titles. Let any one, who is confessedly under the influence of demoniacal possession, be brought out here before your

tribunal. If the spirit be commanded by any Christian to speak, he shall as truly confess himself to be a demon, as, in other places, he falsely professes himself to be a god⁵. In like manner, let any one of those be produced, who are believed to be influenced by your gods, who inhale the inspiration of divinity by breathing the fumes of the altars, who are bent double in the agonies of suppressed divination, and pant for breath in giving utterance to their oracles. If that very heavenly virgin, Juno, who promises you rain, if Esculapius himself, the inventor of medicine, who gave life to Socordius, and Thanatius, and Asclepiadotus,—men who must yet die some other day,—do not confess themselves to be demons, not daring to lie to a Christian, then shed the blood of that most impudent Christian upon the spot. What can be plainer than such an appeal to facts? What can be more impartial than such a mode of proof? Truth is before you in all her simplicity: she is supported by her own power alone. There is no room for suspicion.

Will ye say that this effect is produced by magic, or by some fallacy of that kind? The testimony of your own eyes and ears will not suffer you to be so deceived. And what can be objected to that which

⁵ Tertullian advances the like assertions respecting the power of Christians in expelling demons, in cc. 37. 43; *De Testimonio Animæ*, c. 3; *Ad Scapulam*, c. 2; *De Spectaculis*, c. 29; *De Idololatriâ*, c. 11; *De Coronâ*, c. 11.

Bp. Kaye observes, (*Tertullian*, c. 2,) that Tertullian “casts a doubt upon the accuracy of his own statement by ascribing to Christians in general those extraordinary gifts, which even in the days of the Apostles appear to have been confined to them, and to the disciples upon whom they laid their hands.”

The learned prelate discusses the question respecting the continuance of miraculous power in the Church with his well-known judgment and caution. He is of opinion that they ceased with the death of the last disciple, upon whom the Apostles laid their hands.



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Some, however, will say on this occasion, And who is this Christ, with his marvellous tale? As if he were a mere ordinary man, or a practiser of magic; as if he were stolen from his grave by his disciples, and were really now with the dead; as if he were not in heaven, whence he shall quickly come, with a terrible commotion of the whole world, with distress of nations and wailing of all men, except Christians; as the Virtue of God⁶, as the Spirit of God, as the Word, and the Wisdom, and the Reason, and the Son of God. Let your pretended gods join with you in any such profane ridicule; let them deny that Christ will come to judge every soul which ever lived, reunited to the body; let them assert their belief, before the tribunal, if haply they agree with Plato and the poets, in regarding this office of judgment to belong to Minos and Rhadamanthus, and at least avoid the stigma of their present infamy and future damnation. Let them deny that they are foul spirits, a fact which might at once be understood even from their food, which is blood, and smoke, and disgusting sacrifices of animals; and from the impure tongues of their very priests. Let them deny, that, for their wickedness, they are already condemned to that day of judgment, with all their worshippers and accomplices.

Now all the dominion and power, which we exercise

⁶ Jesus Christ is in like manner spoken of in c. 21, as the Word, and Reason, and Power of God. *Jam ediximus Deum universitatem hanc mundi Verbo, et Ratione, et Virtute molitum.* And soon after, *Et nos etiam Sermoni, atque Rationi, itemque Virtuti, per quæ omnia molitum Deum ediximus, propriam substantiam Spiritum inscribimus, cui et sermo insit prænuntianti, et ratio adsit disponenti, et virtus præsit perficienti.*

Tertullian uses the same expression, in his Treatise *De Oratione*, c. 1. *Omnia de carnalibus in spiritalia renovavit nova Dei gratia, superducto Evangelio expunctore totius retro vetustatis, in quo et Dei Spiritus, et Dei Sermo, et Dei Ratio approbatus est Dominus noster Jesus Christus; spiritus quo valuit, sermo quo docuit, ratio quâ venit.*

over them, is obtained by the name of Christ, and by reminding them of the punishment which will come upon them from God by Christ their judge. Fearing Christ in God, and God in Christ, they are subject to the servants of God and Christ. Hence at our touch, or at our breath, they are alarmed with the contemplation and representation of that fire, and at our command depart even from the bodies of men, with reluctance and grief, and blushing with shame at your presence.

Believe them, when they speak the truth of themselves, since ye believe them, when they speak falsely. No one speaks a falsehood to disgrace himself, but to enhance his credit; they are therefore more entitled to belief, when they confess against themselves, than when they deny in their own favour. Finally, the testimony thus borne by your gods frequently converts men to Christianity: since, by giving full credit to it, we believe in our Lord Christ. Those very gods animate our faith in the Scriptures; and establish the confidence of our hope. Ye appease them, I well know, even with the blood of Christians. If, therefore, they dared to deny the truth, when any Christian desires by their confession to prove to you what the truth is, they surely would not lose you, who are such profitable and sedulous servants to them.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ALL this confession of your deities, in which they acknowledge that they are not gods, and that there is none other God but one, whom we serve, is at once a sufficient answer to the accusation of treason against

the public and peculiarly Roman form of religion. For, if they are assuredly no gods, their religion can have no solid foundation. And if their religion is nugatory, because they are assuredly no gods, then we, assuredly, are not guilty of treason against religion. But, on the contrary, from the real nature of the facts, the charge will be turned against yourselves, since, in worshipping a lie, ye not only neglect, but openly oppose, the true religion of the true God, and thus commit the real crime of actual irreligion.

But even if it should now be granted that those are gods, will not ye allow, according to the common opinion, that there is some Being of greater dignity and power, who is the supreme governor of the world, of infinite might and majesty? For this is the manner, in which most of your philosophers conceive the Divine power to be exercised, that the absolute authority is vested in one, but that the various offices are divided among many: as Plato describes the supreme Jupiter in heaven accompanied with a numerous train of gods and demons. If so, procurators and prefects and presidents ought all to receive the same respect which is paid to the Emperor. Yet of what offence is any man guilty, who turns his whole attention, and directs all his hopes, to deserve the favour of Cæsar himself; and, as he gives the name of Emperor to none but Cæsar, ascribes divinity to the supreme God alone? since it is considered a capital offence to speak or hear of any other sovereign than Cæsar.

Let one, however, be at liberty to worship God, another Jupiter; let one lift his hands in supplication towards heaven, another towards the altar of Faith; let one address his prayers to the clouds—if ye so think of our worship—and another to the decorated ceilings of a temple; let one devote his own soul to his God, and another sacrifice the life of a goat. For



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CHAPTER XXV.

I HAVE already, I trust, sufficiently proved which is the false, and which is the true God, having established the fact, in the foregoing demonstration, not only by reasoning and argument, but by the very testimony of those, whom ye believe to be gods : so that no further discussion is necessary upon that point. But since incidental mention hath been made of the name of the Romans, I will not elude the further question, which is offered by those who maintain that the Romans have been raised to such a degree of prosperity as to govern the whole world, in consequence of their diligent observance of their religion : and that the objects of their worship are certainly gods, since those who are their most faithful adherents, are blessed with prosperity above all others.

We are to suppose then, I presume, that these benefits have been conferred by the Roman gods, as the reward of piety towards them. Sterculus, and Mutunus, and Larentina have raised the empire to its present height. For I can never imagine that foreign gods would have favoured a strange nation, more than they did their own, and given to a people from beyond the sea their own country, in which they were born, and brought up, and deified, and buried. Let Cybele say, whether her love to the city of Rome arose from her attachment to the memory of the Trojan race, who were her natural protectors against the Greeks ; and whether she foresaw that she was then passing over to her avengers, who, she knew, would subdue Greece, the destroyer of Troy. She hath, therefore, even in our time, given a striking proof what that divinity is, which she transferred to the city of Rome ; since, when the Emperor Marcus Aurelius died at Syrmium,

on the seventeenth of March, her chief priest, that most venerable prince of Eunuchs, was offering the accustomed vows for the safety of the Emperor, Marcus, and to enforce his prayers, was drinking the impure blood which flowed from his lacerated arms, seven days after the Emperor's death! Oh! lazy messengers! oh! tardy despatches! by whose delay it happened, that Cybele was not sooner acquainted with the death of the Emperor, that so the Christians might have had no cause to deride so sage a deity.

But, if the gods had that power of protecting and rewarding their worshippers, surely Jupiter would never have suffered his own Crete to be subdued by the Roman power: he never would so soon have forgotten that cave of Ida, and the brazen cymbals of the Corybantes, and the delightful odour of his nursing-mother the goat. Would he not have rendered his own tomb far superior to the whole Capitol, that so the land which contained the ashes of Jupiter should be chosen, in preference to any other, as the mistress of the world? Again, would Juno have suffered Carthage, that colony of the Phœnicians, for love of which she neglected Samos, to be destroyed, especially by the descendants of Æneas? I well know,

“ ——— Here were her arms,
And here her chariot stood : this favourite realm
The goddess loved and cherish'd, as the seat
Of universal empire, if the fates
Should smile propitious⁷.”

The unhappy wife and sister of Jupiter could do nothing against the fates: in fact,

“ Even mighty Jove himself must bend to fate.”

Yet, although the fates thus gave Carthage up to the

⁷ Æneid. i. 16.

Romans, against the will and intention of Juno, they never received half so much honour from the Romans as was paid to that most abandoned harlot Larentina.

Again, it is an acknowledged fact, that many of your gods were sovereigns on earth. If, then, they possess the power of conferring terrestrial dominion, from whom did they receive their royal authority when they reigned? Whom did Saturn and Jupiter adore? Some such god as Sterculus, I suppose, with the other native Italian gods, who are since so honoured at Rome⁸. And even if some of your gods were not sovereigns, at all events, some, at that time, reigned who were not their worshippers; for they were not yet accounted gods. Hence the power of conferring dominion is vested in some one else; since royal sway was exercised, long before one of their idols was ever carved, and his titles engraved.

But how unreasonable is it to ascribe the extent of the Roman power to their scrupulous observance of their religious ordinances, when their religion hath received its principal advancement since the Empire hath been established, and raised by gradual accession to its present state. For although Numa first introduced the peculiarities of your superstition, yet, in his time, the service of your gods was conducted without images or temples. Your religion was then frugal, and its rites simple: there were no Capitols lifting their heads to heaven, but altars casually made of turf, and vessels merely of earth, whence the odour of the offerings arose; and no statues of the gods were any where seen. The invention of the Greeks and Tuscans had not yet been exercised to inundate the

⁸ Quem coluerat Saturnus et Jupiter? aliquem, opinor, Sterculum, sed Romæ postea cum indigenis.

The words, "sed Romæ postea," appear to be an interpolation.



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CHAPTER XXVI.

CONSIDER, then, whether he is not the dispenser of kingdoms, to whom belongs the world, which is governed, and man, who governs it: whether he hath not ordained all the changes of empire, in their several periods during all ages; who was, before all time; who framed eternity into a regular succession of time; whether it is not he who raises and depresses states, under whom the human race once existed without any kind of civil government. Why do ye err in this matter? Rome, in her humble and rustic state, was prior to some of her own gods: she reigned, before the circuit of the Capitol was erected. The Babylonian monarchy was established before your priests; the Medes reigned before your Quindecimviri; the Egyptians before the Salii; the Assyrians before the Luperci; the Amazons before your Vestal virgins. Finally, if the religion of the Romans had the power of conferring kingdoms, Judea, which despised all those gods alike, would never have reigned in times past. And yet ye Romans honoured the God of the Jews with victims, and his temple with gifts, and the people, at various periods, with treaties; and, would never have subdued that nation, if in the end it had not filled up the measure of its iniquities, by its treatment of Christ.

CHAPTER XXVII.

WE have now sufficiently answered the accusation of treason against your religion; and proved that we are not guilty of any injury against the divinity of your gods, by showing it hath no existence. When, there-

fore, we are invited to offer sacrifice, we strenuously defend ourselves, by advancing the faithful testimony of our own conscience, which assures us what persons they really are, to whom those rites are consecrated, by the dedication of images, and the deification of human names. Some, however, think it mere madness in us, obstinately to prefer perseverance to safety: we might, easily, they think, offer sacrifice for the present, and depart uninjured, still mentally retaining our own sentiments. Thus ye yourselves suggest means, by which we might deceive you. But we know what enemy it is, who suggests all these expedients, who causes all this vexation, and strives to overcome our constancy, sometimes by cunning craftiness of persuasion, and sometimes by the severity of punishment. It is that spirit, who partakes at once of the nature of devils and of angels; who, in consequence of his own fall, being jealous of us, and envious of the divine grace which is given unto us, influences your minds against us, moulding and leading them by his secret inspiration to that violation of justice, and that iniquity of punishment, which I have already exposed in the beginning of this Apology. For although all the power of demons and of spirits of a like nature is subject to us, they still are like vicious servants, who add contumacy to their fear, and strive to injure those, whom they otherwise reverence: for fear itself inspires hatred. Besides this, their desperate condition of eternal damnation finds some kind of consolation in the indulgence of malice; while their punishment is yet delayed. Yet, when they are taken, they are at once subdued, and yield to the necessity of their condition; at a distance they fight against those, whose mercy they supplicate when near at hand. Hence, when they exercise their malice against us, in whose power they are, and cause us to be condemned, like disobedient and rebel-

lions slaves, to labour in prisons, or in the mines, or to undergo any other kind of servile punishment, they know well how unequal in power they are, and that their real nature is the more surely betrayed⁹ by these abortive attempts. We, therefore, oppose these evil spirits as it were upon equal ground; we resist them by persisting in the cause which they oppose; and are never more triumphant over them, than when we are condemned to suffer for our perseverance in the faith.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

It would easily appear how unjust it is that free men should be driven to sacrifice to the gods, when in all other instances a willing mind is required as an indispensable qualification for any office of religion; but, at all events, it must seem the height of absurdity, that any one should be compelled to honour the gods, whom he ought to propitiate for their own sake; that he may not have the liberty of saying, I will not have Jupiter propitious to me. Who are you? Let Janus meet me with anger seated upon either of his brows. What right have you to interfere with me? Ye are, in fact, urged by the same spirits, to compel us to sacrifice for the safety of the Emperor. The necessity of compelling us is as obligatory upon you, as the duty of suffering for our faith is upon us.

We now come to the second charge of treason against a Majesty more august than that of your gods. For ye reverence Cæsar with greater apprehension, and more fervent timidity¹, than the Olympian Jove him-

⁹ Hoc magis proditos: this is the reading of Havercamp's edition, instead of perditos.

¹ *Calidior* timiditate.



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This, then, is the amount of our crime against the Emperors, that we will not subject them to what is their own; that we do not join in ridiculous addresses for their welfare, nor believe them to be in hands, which require to be fastened with lead. Ye, I presume, are the only religious persons, who seek for prosperity for your Emperors, where it cannot be found; who demand it of him, who hath it not to give; while ye pass over him, in whose power it is: and, besides, persecute those who know how to ask for it; and by such knowledge would be able to obtain it.

CHAPTER XXX.

FOR the God whom we invoke for the safety of the Emperors, is the eternal God, the true God, the living God, whom the Emperors themselves would wish to propitiate above all others. They know who it is who hath given them power: they know, as human beings, who hath given them life also. They perceive that he is God alone, in whose power alone they are, under whom they hold the second place, after whom they occupy the first rank, before all and above all gods. For they are superior to all men living; and all who live are surely superior to the dead³. They consider how far the bounds of their power extends; and thus understand what God is. They acknowledge that their power is derived from him, against whom their authority avails nothing. Let any Emperor make war on heaven, lead heaven captive in his triumphal procession, set a guard over heaven, and impose a tribute upon it. He can do no such thing. His power arises only from this, that he is inferior to heaven. For he belongs to

³ Eccles. ix. 4.

that Being, in whose power is heaven and every creature. He hath no other origin as Emperor, than he had, as a man, before he was Emperor: his power and his life are alike the gifts of God. To that God we Christians look up with hands extended, because they are innocent; with head uncovered, because we have nothing of which we are ashamed; and pray without a prompter⁴, because we pray from the heart. We all pray without ceasing for all Emperors, beseeching for them a long life, a secure reign; that their families may be preserved in safety, their armies brave, the senate faithful, the people honest, the whole world peaceful, and whatever other things either the people or the Emperor can desire. I can prefer these prayers to Him only, who I know will grant them, since it is he alone, in whose power they are; and I am one whom he will hear, one of those who alone are his servants. For his sake I am killed. To him I offer the rich and more excellent sacrifice, which he himself hath ordained⁵, prayer out of a clean heart, and innocent mind, and sanctified spirit. I offer not a grain of frankincense which is sold for one farthing, nor the tears of an Arabian tree, nor two drops of wine, nor the blood of a cast-away ox, which would be glad to die; and after all other abominations, even a defiled

⁴ Denique sine monitore, quia de pectore, oramus.

It is plain that Tertullian is here not condemning the use of set forms of prayer, but contrasting the hearty and earnest devotions, which the Christians offered for the Emperor, with the desultory and forced exclamations of the idolatrous people. Compare c. 35. There is probably also an allusion to the persons who were appointed, at the sacrifices of the Romans, to prompt the magistrates, lest they should incidentally omit a single word in the appropriate formulæ, which would have vitiated the whole proceedings. "Vidimus certis precationibus obsecrasse summos magistratus: et ne quid verborum prætereatur, aut præposterum dicatur, de scripto præire aliquem, rursusque alium custodem dari qui attendat, alium verò præponi qui favere linguis jubeat; tibicinem canere, ne quid aliud exaudiatur." Plin. Hist. Nat. xxviii. c. 2. See Bingham, Eccles. Ant. Book xiii. c. 5. 5.

⁵ Heb. xiii. 15. Hos. xiv. 2.

conscience; so that it is a wonder, when the most reprobate priests are appointed to examine your victims, why the inquiry is made into the hearts of the sacrifices, rather than into those of the sacrificers.

When, then, we are thus stretching forth our hands in prayer to God, let piercing instruments lacerate our flesh, let crosses sustain, and flames devour us, let swords strike off our heads, and wild beasts rend us; the very attitude of a Christian in prayer is prepared for every kind of punishment.

Take especial care of this⁶, ye excellent and just judges: rack the soul which is praying to God for the Emperor. This will be a crime, when truth and devotion to God is.

CHAPTER XXXI.

BUT perhaps it will be said, we merely flatter the Emperor, and counterfeit the vows, which we have mentioned, to avoid punishment. The accusation of this deceit is not without its advantage; for ye permit us to prove what we allege in our defence. Ye, therefore, who think we care nothing for the safety of the Emperors, examine the word of God, our Scriptures; we conceal them not, and many accidents bring them to the knowledge of those who are strangers to our faith. Learn from them, that we are commanded, in the overflowing fulness of Christian charity, to pray to God even for our enemies, and to supplicate all good things for our persecutors⁷. Who are greater enemies

⁶ Hoc agite, boni præsides.

Tertullian here makes a sarcastic allusion to the well-known institution of Numa, that, while the magistrates and priests were engaged in any religious ceremony, a herald should proclaim *Hoc age*, to fix the attention of the people.

⁷ Matt. v. 44. Luke vi. 27. 35.



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while we pray that they may be deferred, we favour the duration of the Roman power.

Moreover, if we swear not by the genius of the Emperors¹, we swear by their safety, which is an oath of greater respect than any genius. Can ye possibly be ignorant, that the genii are called Demons, and thence by a diminutive, Dæmonia? We reverence, in the Emperors, the providence of God, who placed them on their throne². We know that the power which they possess is in conformity to the will of God; and we therefore are desirous that what is the will of God should be safe; and we regard this as a powerful oath. But, with respect to the demons, that is the genii of which ye speak, our custom is to adjure³ them, in

follow the dissolution of the Roman Empire: and in his Treatise de Resurrectione Carnis, c. 24, he thus interprets the prophecy of St. Paul (2 Thess. ii. 6), respecting the man of sin: "Et nunc quid detineat scitis, ad revelandum eum in suo tempore. Jam enim arcanum iniquitatis agitur; tantum qui nunc tenet, teneat; donec de medio fiat." Quis, nisi Romanus status? Cujus abscessio in decem reges dispersa Antichristum superducat.

Hence, although, as in Resurrect. Carnis, c. 22, he sometimes represents the final judgment as the completion of the hopes of a Christian—*vota nostra suspirant in seculi hujus occasum, in transitum mundi quoque ad diem Domini magnum, diem iræ et retributionis*: and in his Treatise de Oratione, c. 5, he appears to oppose those who pray for a longer continuance of the world, as contrary to the petition in the Lord's Prayer, Thy kingdom come—he yet speaks of the connexion between the day of judgment and the termination of the Roman power as a reason why Christians should earnestly pray for the Emperor and the Empire. Thus, *ad Scapulam*, c. 2, he says, *Christianus nullius est hostis, nedum Imperatoris: quem sciens à Deo suo constitui, necesse est ut ipsum diligat et revereatur, et honoret, et salvum velit, cum toto Romano imperio, quousque sæculum stabit: tamdiu enim stabit.*

¹ See note on the Martyrdom of Polycarp, c. 9.

² Thus the military oath, under the Christian Emperors, was altered, in compliance with the conscientious feelings of the Christian soldiers. Vegetius, *de re militari*, ii. 5, has preserved the form: "Jurant per Deum, et per Christum, et per Spiritum Sanctum, et per majestatem Imperatoris, quæ secundum Deum generi humano diligenda est et colenda."

³ *Adjurare* consuevimus, ut illos de hominibus exigamus; non *dejerare*, ut illis honorem divinitatis conferamus.

order to cast them out of men, and not to swear by them, as if we attributed to them divine honour.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

BUT why should I longer dwell upon the religion and piety of the Christians towards the Emperor, whom we must necessarily reverence as the person whom our Lord hath chosen, and who, I might justly say, is to us something more than Cæsar, since he is appointed by our God. Hence I act the more efficaciously for his welfare in this respect, that I not only pray for it to Him who is able to grant it, and, as a Christian, deserve to obtain it, but by subjecting the majesty of Cæsar to God, I commend him the more to God, to whom alone I make him subject. And in thus subjecting him to God, I do not make him equal to God. For I will never call the Emperor god, not only because I cannot lie, but because I dare not insult him by pretended devotion, and because he would not wish himself to be called a god. If he be a man, it is the true interest of every human being to give way to God: it is sufficient for him to be called Emperor. Even this is a noble title, which is given to him by God. He who calls him a god, deprives him of the title of Emperor⁴. He is not an Emperor unless he be a man. He is admonished of his human nature, even when he is riding in triumphal procession in his lofty chariot; for even then a person placed behind him whispers in his ear, "Look back: remember that thou art a man." And, in fact, the necessity that he should be thus admonished

⁴ The Emperors were not deified till after their death. He, therefore, who calls them by the appellation of a god addresses them as if they were already dead, and either seems to wish for their death, or, at least, utters words of ill omen. See the end of c. 34.

of his condition, adds to the satisfaction which he feels at the splendour which glitters around him. He would be really less, if he were then called a god; because it would be false. He is greater when he is recalled to himself, that he may not esteem himself a god.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

AUGUSTUS, the founder of the Empire, would never permit himself to be styled even Lord⁵. For this also is a name peculiar to God. I may simply call the Emperor, lord, but as an ordinary appellation, not when I am forced to call him Lord, in the place of God. But I am his free subject⁶: for I have but one Lord, the omnipotent and eternal God, who is also his Lord. How can he, who is properly styled the Father of his country, be its lord. Besides, the name which entitles him to filial respect is more grateful than that which implies absolute power. Any one, in his own family, would rather be called father than lord. So far is the Emperor from being entitled to be called God; a supposition indeed which never could be believed, except by an adulation as pernicious as it is base. It is as if, when ye have one Emperor, ye addressed yourselves to another. By so doing, would ye not unpardonably offend your own Emperor, and expose him, whom ye address, to fearful danger? Be rather religious towards God, if ye would have him favourable to the Emperor. Cease to regard any other as God, and thus to call him a god, who himself hath need of God. And if your

⁵ Suetonius, Aug. 53.

⁶ Liber sum illi. I owe allegiance to the Emperor; but in matters of religion I am free to pay my worship to him who is the supreme and only God.



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our doors with laurel, and violate the light of day by an artificial display of lamps? When a public solemnity requires it, to decorate your house as if it were some new brothel, is a mark of respectability. With respect, however, to the religion which ye say is due to some second degree of divine authority,—and for which ye accuse us Christians of a second sacrilege, because we refuse to celebrate the festivals of the Emperors, in a manner not permitted by modesty, or bashfulness, or sobriety, and introduced rather as an occasion of unlawful enjoyment, than in compliance with the persuasion of right reason,—I am desirous to show what is your own fidelity and truth, lest, haply, those who will not permit us to be regarded as Romans, but as enemies of the Roman sovereigns, should in this instance also be found worse than the Christians themselves. I appeal to the citizens of Rome, to the populace, who dwell upon the seven hills, whether their language spares any one of the Cæsars? The low habitations on the border of the Tiber, and the shows of wild beasts, which are the schools where the multitude learn their manners, bear sufficient testimony to this. In fact, had nature placed some transparent substance in every man's breast, on whose heart would there not be found imprinted the scene of another and again another Cæsar, presiding at the distribution of the largess on his accession; and that too in the very hour when they are shouting,

“Jove, take our years to lengthen Cæsar's life.”

A Christian would be as far from pronouncing such a prayer, as he would be from wishing for a new Emperor.

But these, ye will say, are the mere vulgar. But if they are the vulgar, they are yet Romans; and there are no greater persecutors of the Christians than

the vulgar. Of course, however, all the other orders of the state are scrupulously faithful, in proportion to their rank: no treason was ever breathed from the Senate itself, from the Equestrian order, from the military, or from the very court. Whence then came a Cassius⁹, a Niger, an Albinus? Whence arose those who attacked the Emperor (Commodus) between the two groves of laurel? and those who exercised themselves in wrestling to acquire strength to strangle him? Whence came those who rushed in arms into the palace, [to murder Pertinax,] in a more audacious manner than Sigerius and Parthenius employed [in the murder of Domitian?] The actors in all these scenes were Romans, I fancy, that is, were not Christians. Hence all of them, up to the very breaking out of their treason, constantly sacrificed for the welfare of the Emperor, and swore by his genius. In all of them there was a great difference between their outward deportment and their inward sentiments: and doubtless they gave the Christians the name of public enemies. Nay, look at those who are daily discovered as the accomplices and abettors of similar wicked attempts, a gleaning of the full vintage of parricide: how careful were they to fill their door-ways with the freshest and most umbrageous laurels? how did they cover the entrance of their houses with the loftiest and brightest lamps? how did they divide the forum among themselves by a display of the most highly decorated and splendid couches? All this they did, not as partaking in the celebration of the public festivity, but that they might pay their vows for the success of their own schemes, in a solemnity appointed for a different purpose, and inaugurate an emblem and

⁹ Compare Tertullian *Ad Nationes*, i. c. 17. *Ad Martyr.* c. 6. *Ad Scapulam*, c. 2.

image of their own hopes, changing in their hearts the name of the Emperor.

Those also perform their duty in the same manner, who consult astrologers and soothsayers, and augurs, and magicians, respecting the person of the Emperor; arts to which Christians never have recourse, even in their own private affairs, inasmuch as they were delivered by fallen angels, and are forbidden by God. For who can need to make any inquiry about the welfare of the Emperor, unless he designs or wishes something contrary to it, or encourages the expectation of some benefit after his death? For a consultation of this nature is made with a very different spirit respecting a man's friends and his sovereign. The solicitude of natural affection is very different from that of slavery.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

IF, then, they are proved to be enemies, who yet were called Romans, why are we refused the name of Romans, because we are presumed to be enemies? Is it impossible that we should be Romans, and yet not enemies, because some are found to be enemies, who were called Romans? Piety, and religion, and fidelity to the Emperors consist not in those observances, which rather serve as a cloak for the purposes of hostility, but in conduct which obliges us to display our respect to the Emperor as truly as our kindly disposition towards all men. For the exercise of good will is not required of us with respect to the Emperors alone. We are bound to do good without respect of persons; for we do it for our own sakes, and look for a return of commendation and reward



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if we were permitted to return evil for evil. But God forbid that our religion should require the fires of the incendiary to prove its divine origin, or should grieve at sufferings by which its truth is tried. For if we wished to act, not as secret avengers, but as open enemies, think ye that we should lack numbers and forces? As well might ye say that any one nation, such as the Mauri, the Marcomanni, the Parthians themselves, or any other tribe confined to its own territory, was more numerous than the rest of the world united. We are but of yesterday, and have already filled all your empire, your towns, islands, forts, boroughs, councils, your very camp, every tribe and quarter of the city, the palace, the senate, the forum¹.

¹ This is a remarkable testimony to the rapid propagation of the Christian religion. Tertullian makes assertions of the same nature in his Apology, c. 1. (p. 283.) In his Treatise ad Scapulam, c. 2, he speaks of the Christians as forming almost the majority in every place—"tanta hominum multitudo, pars penè major civitatis cujusque." And at the conclusion of the same Treatise, c. 5, he declares, that if the cruel laws against the Christians were rigidly enforced, Carthage would be decimated. "Hoc si placuerit et hîc fieri, quid facies de tantis millibus hominum, tot viris ac feminis, omnis sexus, omnis ætatis, omnis dignitatis offerentibus se tibi? Quantis ignibus, quantis gladiis opus crit? Quid ipsa Carthago passura est decimanda à te, cùm propinquos cùm contubernales suos illic unusquisque cognoverit?—Parce ergo tibi, si non nobis. Parce Carthagini, si non tibi."

Compare also Ad Nationes, i. c. 8. In another place (Adv. Jud. c. 7), he speaks of the diffusion of Christianity throughout the world, and enumerates Spain, Gaul, and Britain, among many other places to which the Gospel had already extended.

"— Getulorum varietates, et Maurorum multi fines; Hispaniarum omnes termini, et Galliarum diversæ nationes, et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita: et Sarmatarum, et Dacorum, et Germanorum, et Scytharum, et abditarum multarum gentium; et provinciarum et insularum multarum nobis ignotarum, et quæ enumerare minus possumus? In quibus omnibus locis Christi nomen, qui jam venit, regnat." De Coronâ, c. 12, he uses the incidental expression, "Et apud barbaros etiam Christus."

We must make considerable allowance for the strong manner in which Tertullian is in the habit of making his statements. But after all reason-

We leave you nothing but your temples. We can calculate the number of your armies: the Christians of one province would exceed it. Even with inferior numbers, for what war should we not be ready, and fitted, when we possess such passive courage as to submit patiently to death, if our principles did not instruct us rather to be slain than to slay? We might, indeed, effectually oppose you even without arms, and without active resistance or revolt, by merely separating ourselves from you. For if such a multitude of men, as we are, should suddenly remove to some remote extremity of the world, the loss of so many citizens, of whatever kind they were, would overwhelm your whole empire with shame, and punish it simply by desertion. Without all doubt ye would be terrified at the solitude in which ye found yourselves placed, at the silence of all things around you, and, as it were, at the awful stillness of a dead world; and would look about in vain for subjects to govern. Ye would have more enemies than citizens left. For even now ye have fewer enemies than ye otherwise would have, on account of the multitude of Christians, since almost all the citizens of almost all cities are Christians.

But, notwithstanding this, ye prefer calling us enemies of the human race. Whereas who else would rescue you from enemies, which are secretly in all directions destroying your souls, and undermining your health? I speak of the incursions of demons, which we repel from you without fee or reward².

This alone would afford us an ample revenge, that

able deduction on this account, we cannot but regard his testimony as very valuable in showing that the Christians formed a most numerous body in many places, and that the religion of the Gospel was then very widely diffused.

² Compare cc. 23, 47.

we should leave you in the undisturbed possession of unclean spirits. Yet ye repay us not for this invaluable protection, but treat a race of men, who are not only harmless, but necessary to your welfare, as enemies; and enemies indeed we are, not of the human race, but rather of all kinds of error.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

OUR religion, therefore, ought to be still more leniently regarded, among those sects which are tolerated; since we commit none of those enormities, which are apprehended from such factions as are disallowed. For, doubtless, the legitimate object of government, in prohibiting factions, is to guard the public peace, and prevent the state from being divided into various parties; since this would soon create disturbance in your assemblies, in your councils, your courts, your meetings, and even in your public spectacles, by the conflict of those who favour different parties, especially at a time when men are found, who from vile and mercenary motives will lend themselves to the perpetration of any violence. But we, who are dead to all desires of glory and dignity, have no occasion to join in any assemblies; and no life is more alien from our habits than public life. We look upon ourselves as citizens of one state only, which is the whole world. In like manner we renounce your public spectacles, since we know they originated in superstition; and have no dealings with what is there transacted. What we speak, and see, and hear, hath nothing in common with the madness of the circus, the indecency of the theatre, the cruelty of the arena, or the vanity of your athletic exercises. Ye permitted the Epicureans to boast that



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with great solemnity, as among men who are conscious that they are in the sight of God ; and it is the surest anticipation of future judgment, if any one who offends is therefore banished from all communion of prayer, and from our public assemblies, and from all holy intercourse.

There preside over us certain approved elders ⁴, who have obtained that honour not by purchase, but by public testimony : for no office of God is to be bought with money. If there is a public chest, the money collected is no dishonourable sum, as if it belonged to a purchased religion. Every one makes a small contribution, on a certain day of the month, or when he chooses, provided only he is willing and able : for no one is compelled ; all is voluntary. The amount is, as it were, a common fund of piety. Since it is expended not in feasting, or drinking, or indecent excess, but in feeding and burying the poor, and in supporting children of either sex, who have neither parents nor means of subsistence, and old men now confined to their houses, and incapable of work ; in relieving those also who have been shipwrecked : and if there are any in the mines, or in the islands, or in prison, provided they

⁴ Tertullian here speaks of the order of Bishops and Presbyters under the appellation of probati quique seniores. In his Treatise de Præscriptione Hæreticorum, c. 3, he mentions the orders of Bishop and Deacon. Quid ergo si Episcopus, si diaconus——lapsus à regulâ fuerit. In other places, he enumerates the three orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons ; and makes a distinction between the Clergy and Laity.

Dandi quidem habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est Episcopus ; dehinc Presbyteri et Diaconi : non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate, propter Ecclesiæ honorem ; quo salvo, salva pax est. De Baptismo, c. 17. Sed quum ipsi auctores, id est, ipsi Diaconi, Presbyteri, et Episcopi fugiunt, quomodo laicus intelligere poterit, quâ ratione dictum, Fugite de civitate in civitatem ? De Fuga in Perscut. c. 11.

In his Treatise de Præscriptione Hæreticorum, c. 41, he accuses the Heretics of confounding these distinctions : Itaque alius hodie Episcopus, cras alius : hodie Diaconus, qui cras Lector : hodie Presbyter, qui cras Laicus : nam et laicis sacerdotalia munera injungunt.

suffer for the cause of God's religion, they are the almsmen of the bounty, to which their confession entitles them.

But even the working of a charity like this is by some made a cause of censure against us. "See," say they, "how these Christians love one another!" For they themselves hate one another: and, "How ready each one is to die for the other!" For they themselves are much more ready to put one another to death. If, again, we are blamed for styling one another brethren, this can, I imagine, be made matter of reproach for this reason only, that among themselves all names of kindred are affected only for feigned purposes. We acknowledge ourselves to be even your brethren, having one nature as our common mother, although ye have forfeited your title to be considered human beings, because ye are bad brethren. With how much more reason, then, are we both called and esteemed brethren, who have all recognized one Father, even God, who have all drunk of one spirit of holiness, who have all trembled with astonishment, when we have been born, as it were, from the same womb of ignorance, into the same light of truth!

But, it may be, we are the less regarded as real brethren, because no tragedy derives materials for declamation from our brotherhood, or because, as brethren, we unite in the use of our common property, which, with you, is the greatest cause of discord among brethren. Hence we, who are of one mind and one soul, hesitate not to communicate what we possess one with another. All things which we have are in common, except our wives. Our community of property ceases, in that very point, in which alone other men have any thing in common; for they not only violate the marriage bed of others, but most patiently allow their friends access to their own; following, I imagine,

the lessons of those wisest of men, the Grecian Socrates, and the Roman Cato⁵, who lent to their friends the wives whom they had married, that they might bear children to others. How far this was against the consent of their wives, I know not: for why should they be careful of their chastity, of which their husbands so easily disposed? Oh! wisdom of Athens! oh! rare example of Roman gravity! The Philosopher and the Censor each disposes of his wife's virtue.

What wonder is it, then, if, maintaining such good will towards each other, we should feast together. For, I understand, our moderate entertainments are not only accused as scenes of infamy, but censured as extravagantly expensive. Whereas, in truth, Diogenes might have alluded to us, when he said, "The people of Megara feast as if they were to die to-morrow, and build as if they were to live for ever." But every one sees a mote in another's eye, sooner than a beam in his own. The whole air is soured with the gross exhalations of all your tribes, and wards, and quarters of your city, at their feasts. The Salii cannot sup, without borrowing money to pay for the banquet. Accountants are necessary expressly to calculate the expense of the tithes and offerings made to Hercules. An especial levy of cooks is made for the Apaturia, or mysteries of Bacchus⁶. At the smoke of the supper of Serapis, firemen are called out. Yet the only complaint which is made, is at the simple meal of the Christians. Our supper sufficiently shows its meaning by its very name. It is called by a term which in Greek signifies love. Whatever may be its

⁵ Plutarch, in his life of Cato, the philosopher, great-grandson of Cato the Censor, says that he gave his wife Marcia to Quintus Hortensius, and, at his death, took her back again. Tertullian here confounds the two Catos, as, at the end of c. 11, he ascribes the virtues of the two Scipios to one person.

⁶ The Eleusinian mysteries.



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Holy Scriptures, or of his own composing. This is the proof in what manner we have drunk.

Prayer in like manner concludes the feast. Thence we depart, not to join a crowd of disturbers of the peace, nor to follow a troop of brawlers; nor to break out in any excess of wanton riot; but to maintain the same staid and modest demeanour, as if we were departing, not from a supper, but from a lecture.

This society of the Christians is truly unlawful, if it be like those which are unlawful: and ought indeed to be condemned, if it be not contrary to those which are condemned; if any one brings an accusation against it, such as is alleged against other factions. Whom have we ever injured in our assemblies? We are the same when we are collected, as when dispersed; the same united, as we are separated; injuring no one, grieving no one. When men of probity, and goodness, and piety, and chastity, are thus assembled, the meeting is not to be called a faction, but a court.

CHAPTER XL.

ON the contrary, the name of a faction is appropriately applied to those who unite in hatred of the just and good, who join in the outcry against innocent blood, however they may cover their malice with the vain pretext, that the Christians are the cause of every public calamity and every inconvenience which the people suffer. If the Tiber rises against the walls of the city, or the Nile does not overflow its banks, if there is drought, or earthquake, or famine, or pestilence, the cry at once is, "Take the Christians to the lion!"—What! so many to one beast?

Tell me, pray, before the reign of Tiberius, that is,

before the birth of Christ, how many misfortunes afflicted the empire and the city of Rome? We read of the islands Hiera, Anaphe, Delos, Rhodes, and Cos having been desolated, with the loss of many thousand men. Plato also mentions a tract of land, greater than Asia and Africa, to have been swallowed up by the sea. An earthquake engulfed part of the Corinthian sea; and the force of the waves cut off Lucania from Italy, and caused its name to be changed to Sicily. Now all these changes doubtless occurred not without injury to the inhabitants. But where were then,—I say not the Christians who despise your gods, but where were your gods themselves,—when the deluge destroyed the whole world; or, as Plato supposed, the plains only? For the very cities, in which your deities were born and died, and those which they founded, unite in proving that they were subsequent to the destruction caused by the deluge. For had not the cities been posterior to that period, they never would have remained to this day.

The swarm of the Jewish nation had not yet settled in Palestine, nor had the origin of the Christian religion been there laid, when a shower of fire burnt up the neighbouring region of Sodom and Gomorrha. The whole earth there still retains the smell of fire, and the fruit of any tree which endeavours to bear, is fair to the eye, but dissolves to ashes at the touch.

Again, neither Tuscany nor Campania complained of the Christians, when fire from heaven overwhelmed the city Volsinii, and flames from their own mountain consumed Pompeii. There were, at Rome, no worshippers of the true God, when Hannibal, at Cannæ, measured in a bushel the rings of the Romans who were slain in battle. All your gods were universally adored, when the Gauls besieged the very Capitol. It is remarkable, too, that when any misfortune befel the

cities, the temples suffered as well as the walls; so that even from this fact I might prove, that the calamities were not sent by your gods, since they happened to themselves.

The human race hath always deserved punishment from God: in the first place, because they served him not; but, when they understood him in part, they not only sought him not out as an object of reverence and fear, but speedily made for themselves other gods: and then, because seeking him not as the rewarder of innocence and the judge and avenger of guilt, they have given themselves up to all kinds of vices and crimes. If, on the other hand, they had sought him, they would assuredly have found him; and, when found, they would have served him, and, by serving him would have been the objects of his mercy rather than of his anger. But now it is just that they should be exposed to the anger of God, in the same manner as they were before the name of Christian was ever heard. Since they experienced benefits from him, long before their own gods were feigned to exist, why should they not understand that their misfortunes have come from him, whose benefits they had not noticed? They are justly subject to condemnation, in that they are ungrateful.

If, however, we compare former calamities with the present, we shall find that the world is now less severely visited, since God gave Christians to inhabit it. For from that period, their innocence hath tempered the depravity of the age; and they have begun to be intercessors with God.

Finally, when ye suffer so from drought, that your summer is as barren as your winter, and ye fear even for the natural return of the seasons, feeding daily to the full, and running from one excess of gluttony to another, after having indulged in your baths and in taverns and brothels, ye sacrifice offerings to Jupiter to



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goodness and the severity of God. Since we have been so taught of him, we love his goodness, and fear his severity, whereas ye, on the contrary, despise both. Hence all the troubles of this world, if they happen to fall upon us, are for our admonition; if upon you, they are regarded as a punishment sent from God. All these things, however, injure us not: in the first place, because we have no further concern with this world than how we may most quickly depart from it; and also, because if we suffer any affliction, we ascribe it to your sins. And even if any of these affect us also, as being connected with you, we rather rejoice, inasmuch as we perceive in them the fulfilment of the divine predictions, which confirm the confidence and faith of our hope. But if all these evils come upon you, for our sake, from the gods whom ye worship, why do ye persevere in serving such ungrateful and unjust gods, who ought rather to assist and relieve you, to the grief and discomfort of the Christians?

CHAPTER XLII.

BUT we are called upon to answer another charge: we are said to be useless for the ordinary business of life. How can such an accusation be maintained against men who live among yourselves, using the same food and raiment and habits of living, and the same necessities of life? We are not like the Brachmans, or the Gymnosophists of the Indians, dwellers in the woods, and exiles from ordinary life. We remember the gratitude which we owe to God our Lord and Creator. We reject no fruit of his works; albeit we are temperate, so as to use them not to excess, nor in an improper manner. Hence, while we live in this world, we frequent your market, your shambles, your baths,

your taverns, your shops, your inns, your fairs, and all other places of resort. We unite with you in navigation, and in war, and in husbandry, and in trade. We give you all the benefit of our arts and of our labour. How then we can be accused of being useless to your ordinary business, when we live with you and by you, I know not. If I frequent not your religious ceremonies, yet, on the day appointed for them, I am still a human being, as on other days. At the period of your Saturnalia, I bathe not, like yourselves, at night, lest I should lose the night and the day too: but I do yet bathe at my usual hour, which is the most salubrious, and by those means preserve the warmth of my body, and the wholesome condition of my blood. It will be time enough for me to be stiff and pale after bathing, when I am dead. At the feasts in honour of your gods, I sit not down in public to the banquet, as those unhappy men do, who take their last meal, before they are thrown to the wild beasts; but, wherever I sup, I eat of the same provisions as yourself. I purchase no crown for my head⁸; how can ye be affected with the

⁸ Tertullian, in his *Treatise de Coronâ Militis*, argues upon the impropriety of a Christian using a custom, which to him appeared to imply a culpable compliance with the forms of idolatry. In c. 5, he dwells at some length upon the subject here alluded to. *Hoc sint tibi flores, et inserti, et innexi, et in filo, et in scirpo, quod liberi, quod soluti: spectaculi scilicet et spiraculi res. Coronam si fortè fascem existimas florum per seriem comprehensorum, ut plures simul portes, ut omnibus pariter utaris, jam verò et in sinum conde, si tanta munditia est; in lectulum sparge, si tanta mollitia est; et in poculum crede, si tanta innocentia est. Tot modis fruire, quot et sentis. Cæterum in capite quis sapor floris? qui coronæ sensus? nisi vinculi tantum: quo neque color cernitur, neque odor ducitur, nec teneritas commendatur.*

Minucius Felix, in his *Octavius*, c. 37 (p. 114, Rigalt), imitates and explains this passage of Tertullian.

Quis autem ille, qui dubitat vernis indulgere nos floribus, cùm capiamus et rosam veris, et lilium, et quidquid aliud in floribus blandi coloris et odoris est? His enim et sparsis utimur mollibus ac solutis, et sertis colla complectimur. Sanè quòd caput non coronamus, ignoscite. Auram boni floris naribus ducere, non occipitio capillive solemus haurire.

manner in which I choose to dispose of the flowers, which I yet purchase? I conceive them to be more grateful, when they are permitted to fall freely, and loosely, and without constraint. But even if we form them into a crown, we place them so as to be more agreeable to the sense of smelling. Let those give as rational an account of their custom, who act as if their hair were the organ of that sense. We assemble not, it is true, at your public spectacles: but if I require any of the conveniences, which are so frequently sold at those occasions of public resort, I prefer procuring them in their proper places. We purchase not frankincense. If the people of Arabia complain, let them remember that their spices are consumed in greater profusion, and at a higher cost, in preparing the bodies of Christians for burial, than in burning incense to your gods. “But,” ye say, “the revenues of our temples continually decrease. How few now pay their appointed tribute to the gods?” This charge may be true: for we cannot afford to relieve your mendicant gods, while we succour men who are in want. Besides, we give to those only who ask. Let Jupiter, then, hold out his hand, and he shall receive; for our charity dispenses more in every street, than your religion in each temple. But tribute of every other kind is deeply indebted to the Christians, who pay that which is due, with the fidelity with which we abstain from all fraud. Whereas, if an account were kept of the injury which the commonwealth suffers by the fraud and falsehood which ye exercise, it would plainly appear, that the accurate statement, which we make, of the tribute which we owe, was much more than a compensation for any complaint which ye make upon any other point.



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or when any Christians are brought before you to answer to the charge of being such, who among them is found to be like so many of your own criminals? They are men of your own who fill your prisons; the sighs which rise from the mines are breathed by men of your religion; the wild beasts feed upon your men, and the vile herds of gladiators are replenished from the same source. Among these no Christian is found, unless the name of Christian be his only offence; or if he be accused of any other crime, he hath already ceased to be a Christian.

CHAPTER XLV.

BUT, it will be asked, are we Christians, then, the only men who live innocently? What wonder is this, if it be a necessary consequence, as it really is, of the principles which we and others profess? Since it is God himself who hath taught us to live innocently, we have learned perfect obedience as revealed by a perfect master; and we faithfully keep his commandments, since they are delivered by one whose scrutiny we cannot despise. Now the opinion of man hath given the rules for your innocence; and human authority hath imposed the law. Hence your precepts are neither so full nor so authoritative as they ought to be, to establish innocence of life in all its truth. To what extent can the prudence of man reach in showing what is truly good? What authority can it exert to enforce its commands? The one can as easily be deceived as the other despised. Thus, which is the more extensive command, that which says, Thou shalt not kill, or that which declares, Thou shalt not even be angry? Which is the more perfect, for a law to prohibit adultery, or

to forbid even the impurity of an unchaste look? Whether is it wiser to interdict the doing or the speaking evil? Whether is it more effectual to forbid injury, or not to suffer even retaliation? We have already spoken of the antiquity of Moses, that ye may know that even those very laws of yours, which may seem to tend to the encouragement of innocence of life, have borrowed their enactments from the divine law, which is older than they.

But, after all, what is the authority of human laws? since a man may usually evade them, by escaping detection, and sometimes set them at naught, by pleading that his offence was involuntary, or compulsory: especially when it is remembered, that the punishment which they can inflict is short; since, at the worst, it is terminated by death. Thus it was that Epicurus taught men to despise all pain and torture, declaring that if it were small, it was unworthy of regard; if great, it was of short duration. Whereas we, who are to give our account to God who sees all things, and know that he will inflict eternal punishment, are justly considered the only persons who uphold innocency of life, as well from the extent of God's knowledge, as from the difficulty of escape, and the greatness of a punishment which is not only of long, but of eternal duration; for we fear him, who ought to be the object of fear even to the judge, who condemns us, because we fear God, and not the proconsul.

CHAPTER XLVI.

WE have now, I trust, sufficiently answered every charge which hath served as a pretext for requiring

the blood of the Christians. We have shown the whole of our real condition, and by what means we can prove it to be what we assert, namely, by the fidelity and antiquity of the sacred Scriptures, and by the confession of spiritual powers. If there be any one bold enough to attempt to confute us, he must endeavour to establish the truth, not by the mere artifice of a verbal dispute, but in the same manner in which we have established our proof.

But, while our truth is made manifest to every one, the incredulity of our adversaries—being no longer able to deny the goodness of our religion, which hath already been established even with reference to the daily intercourse and transactions of life—hath recourse to the excuse, that our faith is not of divine origin, but rather a species of philosophy. The philosophers, they say, preach and profess the same virtues with yourselves, innocence, justice, patience, sobriety, chastity. If this be true, why do we not enjoy the same impunity for professing our doctrines, which those possess, to whom we are thus compared? Or why is it, that, while we are exposed to the greatest danger, for refusing to perform certain services, they are not compelled to do the same? For who ever thought of obliging a philosopher to sacrifice, or to swear by your gods, or vainly to light candles at noon-day? Yet they openly oppose the worship of your gods, and in their writings also, which ye receive with applause, inveigh against your superstitions. Many of them also receive your support while they attack your princes, and are rather honoured with statues and pensions, than sentenced to be exposed to the wild beasts; and justly so, since they are denominated philosophers, not Christians. Will this name of philosophers cast out devils? How should it do so, when philosophers place those demons in the rank of gods? It is an expression of Socrates,



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objects. Diogenes himself is accused of gratifying a base passion with the harlot Phryne. A certain Speusippus, of the school of Plato, is said to have perished in the act of adultery. A Christian knows none but his own wife. Democritus blinded himself, because he could not look upon women without desire, and was grieved if he could not satisfy his passion; thus declaring his incontinence, by the very means which he took to amend it. But a Christian, without injuring his eyes, looks not upon women; in his mind he is blind to lust.

If I am to defend Christians against the accusation of pride, we may see Diogenes treading upon the proud couches of Plato, with muddy feet; thus displaying, by that very action, pride of another kind: a Christian shows no pride, even towards the poor. If there is any question respecting moderation, we may appeal to Pythagoras among the Thurians, and Zeno among the people of Priene, each affecting absolute power. A Christian is not ambitious of the meanest office. If a comparison is proposed respecting the equanimity of the Christian and the philosopher; Lycurgus chose his life to be shortened, because the Spartans amended his laws¹; the Christian, even when condemned to death, returns thanks. If a question is made respecting the fidelity of each; Anaxagoras denied a pledge to his guests; a Christian is acknowledged to be faithful, even to strangers. If I am to defend Christians upon the ground of simplicity; Aristotle made his friend Hermias disgracefully give way to himself: a Christian injures not even his enemy. The same Aristotle was as basely subservient in adulation to Alexander, whom he ought rather to have governed, as Plato was to Dionysius, for the sake of his appetite. Aristippus,

¹ Tertullian gives the same account of Lycurgus in c. 4.

under an exterior of great gravity gave himself up to excess, clothed in purple; and Hippias was slain, while he was plotting against the state. No Christian ever had recourse to such means for his fellows, with whatever severity they may be persecuted.

But, some one will say, there are some even among ourselves, who deviate from the strict rules of our discipline. If so, we consider them Christians no longer. Whereas philosophers among yourselves, who do the like, continue to enjoy the name and distinctions attached to the wisdom which they profess.

Such, and no other, is the degree of similitude between a philosopher and a Christian; between a disciple of Greece and of heaven; between one who seeks fame, and one who strives for salvation; between one who confines himself to words, and one who is virtuous in deeds; between one who builds, and one who destroys; between one who introduces error, and one who supports truth; between one who despoils truth, and one who preserves it.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE antiquity of the sacred Scriptures hath been already alleged in our behalf²; whence it may easily be believed, that they have been the treasure whence all real wisdom hath been extracted. And unless I were desirous of restraining my work within proper bounds, I might easily expatiate also upon this point of the proof. Who is there of the poets and sophists, who hath not drunk at the fountain of the prophets? Hence, then, the philosophers also have secretly satisfied their thirst of information. For the comparison

² C. 19.

between us and them is founded upon the fact, that they have some of our opinions. Hence, I imagine, it is, that philosophy was banished by certain laws, as, for instance, by those of Thebes, Sparta, and Argos. While men, whose only passion—as we have said—was the desire of glory and eloquence, thus endeavoured to approach to some of our tenets, if they met with any thing in the sacred Scriptures with which they were offended, they immediately remodelled them according to the dictates of their own fancy, and perverted them to serve their own purposes. They hesitated not thus to interpolate the Scriptures, since they did not sufficiently believe their divine inspiration, nor sufficiently understand that they were yet in some measure obscure, and concealed from the Jews themselves, to whom they seemed peculiarly to belong. And even where there was nothing but the simplicity of truth, yet, from this cause, the weakness of human judgment, unsupported by faith, was the more in doubt; whence they changed into uncertainty that which they found certain. For when they had simply discovered that there was a God, they were not contented to declare what they had discovered, but entered into disquisitions upon his quality and nature and the place of his abode. Some asserted that he had not a bodily shape, others that he had, as they were respectively of the Platonic or Stoic schools; others conceived that he was composed of atoms; others that he was formed from the composition of various numbers, as either Epicurus or Pythagoras was followed: others imagined he was composed of fire, as was the fancy of Heraclitus. The Platonic philosophers, again, contended that God was the governor of all things; the Epicureans, that he was inert and inactive, and a non-entity, so to speak, in human affairs. The Stoics considered that he was placed without the world, and



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inquirer might be led to think Christians unworthy of serious belief, because he disbelieved poets and philosophers; or, because he disbelieved the Christians, might be more ready to trust poets and philosophers. Hence it is, that when we preach that God will come to judge the world, we are derided; for in like manner poets and philosophers teach that there is a tribunal in the regions below. If we threaten hell, which is a secret fire laid up for punishment beneath the earth, we are equally laughed to scorn; for the heathen also have a river of fire flowing through the regions of the dead. If again we speak of Paradise, a place full of divine pleasures, prepared for the reception of the spirits of holy men, and separated from the knowledge of the world in general by means of a wall of that fiery zone; the story of the Elysian fields hath already obtained credit. Whence, then, have the philosophers and poets derived all these circumstances, so similar to the truth, except from our religion? If they derive them from our religion, which is the older, then our account is more faithful and more credible, since even the imitation of it obtains belief. If they derive them from their own inventions, it would follow that our religion was the image of something which was posterior to itself, which is impossible; since the shadow never precedes the substance, nor an imitation that which it represents.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

OBSERVE then, if any philosopher should affirm, as Laberius maintains after the opinion of Pythagoras, that a man may be formed out of a mule, or a snake out of a woman, and to establish this point should dis-

play all the arts of oratory, would he not obtain the assent of some, and persuade them to abstain from animal food? And the principal ground of any one's alarm would be, lest in eating beef he should be devouring one of his ancestors. Whereas if a Christian assures you that a man shall himself be restored to life, that an individual shall be revived, it is at once received with reprobation, and the teacher is assailed not only with blows but with stones. As if whatever reason can be advanced, to prove the possibility of the transmigration of human souls into other bodies, doth not necessarily prove that they may be recalled into the same bodies; for to be again what they once were, is to be recalled into the same bodies. For, if they are not what they were before, that is, endued with the very identical human body which they then possessed, they are not the same as they once were. And if they are not the same, how can they be said to have returned to life? Either they are no longer the same, since they are become something else; or, if they remain the same, they can come from no where else. If we had leisure to expatiate upon this part of the question, we might here have ample room for ridicule, by inquiring into what kind of animal each man might be conceived to be changed. But what we advance is much more credible, that man will be reformed from man, each for himself, still retaining his human nature: that the same quality of the soul will be restored into the same condition although not into the same form; since the intention of judgment is to repay to every man according to his deeds. But for our argument it is rather necessary, that the very same person, who once was, should be restored to life, that he may receive from God the reward of good or evil. Hence the bodies also will re-appear; both because the soul is incapable of suffering any thing, without the inter-

vention of solid matter, that is the flesh³, and because the souls ought not to suffer by the judgment of God without those bodies, within which all their actions were performed.

But, it will be said, how can matter which hath once been dispersed be reunited? Consider thyself, O man, and thou wilt learn how to believe the fact. Think what thou wast, before thy existence began, that is, nothing; for hadst thou been any thing, thou wouldst now remember it. Since, therefore, thou wast nothing, before thou wast, and wast again re-

³ Tertullian maintains the same opinion respecting the impossibility of the soul receiving impressions, except by means of the body, in his *Treatise de Testimonio Animæ*, c. 4.

Jam nunc, quod ad necessariorem sententiam tuam spectet, quantum et ad ipsum statum tuum tendit, affirmamus te manere post vitæ disjunctionem, et expectare diem judicii, proque meritis aut cruciatui destinari, aut refrigerio, utroque sempiterno. Quibus sustinendis necessario tibi substantiam pristinam, ejusdemque hominis materiam et memoriam reversuram, quòd et nihil mali ac boni sentire possis sine carnis passionalis facultate, et nulla ratio sit judicii, sive ipsius exhibitione, qui meruit judicii passionem.

In his *Treatises*, de Animâ, passim, de Resurrectione Carnis, c. 17, *Adversus Marcion*, v. c. 15, he expresses himself somewhat differently, maintaining that the soul is itself corporeal, possessing a peculiar substance, limited by space, possessing definite dimensions and a determinate shape; in consequence of which it is capable of sensation apart from the human body. For a full account of his notions on this abstruse subject, see Bp. Kaye's *Tertullian*, c. iii. p. 190—214. In the *Treatise De Animâ*, c. 22, Tertullian thus recapitulates his opinions respecting the nature of the soul: "Definimus Animam, Dei flatu natam, immortalem, corporalem, effigiatam, substantiâ simplicem, de suo sapientem, variè procedentem, liberam arbitrii, accidentiis obnoxiam, per ingenia mutabilem, rationalem, dominatricem, divinatricem, ex unâ redundantem," or, in the language of his learned expositor, that the soul "derives its origin from the breath of God—that it is immortal, (in its own nature, compare *De Res. Carnis*, cc. 18, 34, 35,) corporeal; that it has a figure; is simple in substance; possessing within itself the principle of intelligence, operating in different ways (or through different channels); endued with free-will; affected by external circumstances, and thus producing that infinite variety of talent and disposition observable among mankind; rational; designed to rule the whole man; possessing an insight into futurity. Moreover the souls of all the inhabitants of the earth are derived from one common source, the soul of Adam."



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and darkness in like manner succeeds with a constant variation: the stars, which lose their light, re-appear; periods of time begin again at the point where they close; the fruits of the earth are consumed and reproduced; and seeds rise not again with increase unless they are corrupted and die: all things are preserved by dissolution, all things are renewed by perishing. Shalt thou, O man, a being of so noble a nature, if thou rightly understandest thyself even as described by the Pythian oracle, the lord of an universe of beings which die and rise again, thyself die, merely to perish? In whatever place thy soul shall be separated from the body, whatever material means shall have destroyed thee, or swallowed thee up, or scattered thee, or reduced thee to nothing, shall again restore thee. He, who is Lord of all, can control even annihilation itself.

But, ye will object, if these things be so, we must continually die and rise again in constant succession. If such had been the will of the Lord of the universe, ye must, however unwilling, have submitted to the law of your nature. But now his will is no other than that which he hath revealed. The same Divine Reason which hath formed the universe of various substances, so that all should compose one whole, although the parts are of opposite natures,—as vacuity and solidity, animate and inanimate, comprehensible and incomprehensible, light and darkness, and even life and death,—hath also arranged the whole course of time itself in such an appointed and distinct order, that this

Semel dixerim, universa conditio recidiva est. Quodcunque conveneris, fuit: quodcunque amiseris, nihil non iterum est. Omnia in statum redeunt, quum abscesserint: omnia incipiunt, quum desierint: ideo finiuntur, ut fiant. Nihil deperit, nisi in salutem.

“Totus igitur hic ordo revolubilis rerum, testatio est resurrectionis mortuorum. Operibus eam præscripsit Deus, antè quàm literis: viribus prædicavit, antè quàm vocibus.”

first period of our existence, after the beginning of all things, should come to a definite end, but the future life, for which we look, should continue to all eternity.

When, then, the end, and the interval of separation which is interposed, shall have arrived ⁶, and the condition of this world,—which is equally temporary, and is now spread forth, as it were, a curtain interrupting the prospect of that eternal disposition of all things,—shall be removed, then shall the whole human race be restored to life, to receive the good or the evil which they have deserved in that temporary life; and so will their condition be determined for the endless ages of eternity.

Hence there is no real death, nor a constant succession of resurrections; but we shall be the same persons as we are now, and shall so continue for ever; the worshippers of God, before him for ever, clothed upon ⁷ with the peculiar substance of immortality: but the wicked, and those who have not given themselves wholly to God, in the punishment of equally eternal fire, which possesses from its very nature, which is divine, the means of continuing for ever without exhaustion. Your philosophers themselves acknowledge the difference between secret fire and that which

⁶ *Cùm ergo finis et limes medius, qui interhiat, affuerit, ut etiam mundi ipsius species transferatur æquè temporalis, &c.*

This is probably an allusion to the opinion of a Millennium, which Tertullian had adopted; as is evident from the fanciful account which he gives in his third Book against Marcion, c. 24, of a city which had been suspended in the skies in Judea for forty successive days, in the morning. This he conceived to be an image of the new Jerusalem. “*Nam et confitemur in terrâ nobis regnum repromissum; sed ante cœlum, sed alio statu: utpote post resurrectionem in mille annos, in civitate divini operis Hierusalem cœlo delata, quam et Apostolus matrem nostrum sursum designat,*” &c.

⁷ *2 Cor. v. 2.* So also Lactantius, vii. c. 21. *Et tamen non crit caro illa, quam Deus homini superjecerit, huic terrenæ similis, sed insolubilis, et permanens in æternum.*

is before our eyes. Thus the nature of the fire, which serves the ordinary purposes of life, is very different from that of the fire which executes the judgments of God; whether it darts lightning from heaven, or bursts forth from the earth at the tops of the mountains. For this fire consumes not that which it burns; but, while it blasts, restores the substance. Thus the mountains, which are continually burning, still remain; and a body stricken by the lightning is thenceforth secure from the flames, for it cannot be burnt⁸. This, then, may seem as a testimony of eternal fire, an example of a judgment, which constantly produces the means of punishment. The mountains burn, and continue. Much more the wicked, and the enemies of God.

CHAPTER XLIX.

SUCH are the opinions which in us alone are regarded as prejudices, but in your philosophers and poets, marks of the height of wisdom and strength of intellect. They are prudent, we foolish; they are worthy of honour, we of ridicule, and even still further, of punishment. Suppose that the doctrines which we advocate are prejudices, and merely fanciful; they are yet necessary: if unfounded, they are yet useful, since those who maintain them are compelled to be better

⁸ Ut qui de cœlo tangitur salvus est, ut nullo jam igni decinerescat.

Minucius Felix, Octavius, c. 34, p. 105, seems to have understood Tertullian as asserting that the bodies of those who are killed by lightning, are apparently uninjured.

Nec tormentis aut modus ullus, aut terminus. Illic sapiens ignis membra urit et reficit; carpit et nutrit; sicut ignes fulminum corpora tangunt, nec absumunt: sicut ignes Ætnæ et Vesuvii, et ardentium ubique terrarum flagrant, nec erogantur. Ita pœnale illud incendium non damnis ardentium pascitur, sed inexesâ corporum laceratione nutritur.



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CHAPTER L.

“WHEREFORE, then,” ye will say, “do ye Christians complain that we persecute you, when ye ought to love us as the instruments by which ye attain the object of your wishes?” We are, indeed, willing to suffer; but it is with the feelings of a soldier, who would not choose to expose himself to the perils of war, but involuntarily dreads the danger, which he is compelled to encounter. He yet fights with all his might; and he, who complained of the necessity of engaging in the battle, rejoices, when he hath fought and conquered in the battle, inasmuch as he hath obtained his reward of glory, and his portion of the spoil. It is our battle, to be called before the seats of judgment, there to contend for the truth at the hazard of our lives. And it is our victory, if we obtain that for which we strive. That victory obtains the glory of pleasing God, and the reward of eternal life. But, it will be said, we fall in the contest. We do fall, but it is when the victory is won: when we are slain, we are conquerors; when we fall, we gain the battle. Call us if you will by names of reproach⁹, derived from the stake, to which we are bound, and the fagots, with which we are surrounded, when burned to death. These are our ornaments of victory; this is our robe of state; this is our triumphal chariot.

It is no wonder, then, that we should displease those whom we conquer; and hence we are regarded

⁹ Licet nunc sarmenticios et semaxios appelletis, quia ad stipitem dimidii axis revincti sarmentorum ambitu exurimur.

The martyrs, who were burned alive, were usually fastened to a stake, of about six feet in length, called Semaxis; and surrounded or covered with fagots, Sarmenta. Hence the Christians were ridiculed by these names.

as men of desperate and obstinate resolution¹. But this very desperation and this inflexibility of purpose, among yourselves, raise the standard of valour in the pursuit of glory and fame. Mutius voluntarily left his hand upon the altar: what sublimity of mind! Empedocles threw himself alive into the burning abyss of Etna: what strength of courage! She who founded Carthage married herself the second time to a funeral pile: what an eulogy of chastity! Regulus, that his life might not restore many enemies to his country, endured exquisite torture in his whole body: what a brave man, what a conqueror in his very captivity! Anaxarchus, when he was beaten with staves, as barley is beaten in a sack, exclaimed, "Beat on, beat on, upon the case of Anaxarchus, for you cannot beat Anaxarchus himself:" what magnanimity in a philosopher, who could thus sport under such a death! I omit those who have laid claim to praise, by falling upon their own sword, or by choosing some milder kind of death. Ye crown with approbation even those who struggle successfully against torture. A harlot of Athens, when the executioner was weary of tormenting her, at length bit off her tongue, and spit it forth against the angry tyrant, that she might thus spit forth her voice also, and be unable to confess who the conspirators were, if she even should relent and wish to betray them. Zeno Eleates, when asked by Dionysius² what advantages were derived from philosophy, answered, "To have such a contempt of death as to be unmoved at its approach:" and when the tyrant commanded him to be scourged, he persisted in his opinion to the

¹ The Christians were constantly accused of inflexible obstinacy; as, for instance, in the celebrated letter from Pliny to Trajan, at the end of the volume.

² Diogenes Laertius, in his life of Zeno Eleates, p. 645, A, says that the name of the tyrant, under whom this Zeno suffered, was either Nearchus or Diomedon.

very moment of his death. And doubtless the stripes which the Spartans endured with such firmness, aggravated by the presence of their nearest relatives who encouraged them, conferred honour upon their family, for the patience which was so displayed, in proportion to the blood which was shed. Here is a subject of glory, which is permitted, because it appertains to human nature. Here no blame is imputed for obstinate and inflexible perverseness, when death and all kinds of torture are despised; and men are permitted to undergo for a country, for a territory, for an empire, for private friendship, what they may not undergo for God. Yet for all these ye cast statues, and write inscriptions, and engrave titles, which are intended to last for ever: and, as far as monumental records can effect the purpose, ye yourselves give them, in some measure, a resurrection after death. Yet if he, who hopes for a true resurrection from God, doth as much for God, he is considered insane.

But be attentive, most worthy judges³, and ye will be in still greater favour with the people, if ye sacrifice the Christians to their fury. Torment, rack, condemn, crush us. For your injustice is the proof of our innocence. God permits us to suffer these things for that very purpose. For, on a late occasion, when ye sentenced a Christian woman to pollution, rather than to the lion⁴, ye confessed that, in our estimation, the loss of chastity was more to be dreaded than any punishment, or any kind of death. Yet the most exquisite cruelty, which ye can devise, avails you nothing, but rather induces the more to become Christians. As often as we are cut down by your persecutions, we

³ Hoc agite, boni præsidēs.

An allusion to the religious formula of the Romans, *Hoc age*; as in c. 30.

⁴ Ad leonem damnando Christianam potiùs quàm ad leonem.



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NOTES.

A.

ON THE EPISTLE OF CLEMENT, c. 5. p. 5.

On the Preaching of St. Paul in the West.

THIS is the earliest account of the preaching of St. Paul, after the close of that part of his history, which is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. The testimony of Clement, the fellow-labourer of St. Paul in the work of the Gospel (Phil. iv. 3), is very valuable, and proves that at least a part of the Apostle's labours was directed to the West of Europe.

To form a judgment respecting the extent of his travels, it is necessary to consider what time probably elapsed between the termination of his two years' residence in Rome (Acts xxiv. 10) and his martyrdom; and, consequently, to fix the date of his first visit to Rome, which took place nearly at the time when Felix was recalled from the government of Judea. (Acts xxiv. 27.)

To this journey different dates are assigned by different writers. Eusebius and Jerome, (Eusebius, *Chronicon*; Jerome, *Catalogus Scrip. Eccles. tom. iv. part ii. p. 103*, Benedict. edit.) who are followed by Scaliger, Cave, Stillingfleet, and others, fix upon the second year of Nero, A.D. 56. Bp. Pearson, in his *Annales Paulini*, places this visit in the sixth year of Nero, A.D. 60. Hale, in his *Analysis of Chronology*, fixes upon the seventh of Nero, A.D. 61. And Abp. Usher places the event as late as the ninth year of Nero, A.D. 63.

The earliest of these dates appears to correspond very well with the period of the recall of Felix. Josephus (*Ant. xx. c. 8, 9*) says that Felix would have been punished for his misconduct, had he

not been pardoned at the intercession of his brother Pallas, who was then at the height of his favour with Nero. Tacitus (*Annal.* xii. 54) shows how dependent Felix was upon the power of his brother.

Now Pallas was himself dismissed by Nero, in the second year of his reign; (*Tacit. Ann.* xiii. 14;) was soon after brought to trial for treason, (*Ibid.* c. 23,) and was put to death in the ninth year of Nero. (*Tacit. Ann.* xiv. 65.) It is probable that Pallas, who was intimate with Agrippina, (*Tacit. Ann.* xii. 25, xiv. 2,) was not restored to the favour of Nero, until after her death, in the fifth year of Nero. If, therefore, the pardon of Felix was obtained by the intercession of Pallas with Nero, his recall probably took place as early as the second year of Nero.

If we assume, however, that Eusebius and Jerome were correct in assigning the second year of Nero as the date of St. Paul's first journey to Rome, his release would take place about the fifth year of Nero, probably in consequence of favours shown to prisoners and exiles, after the murder of Agrippina. (*Massutius de Vitâ Pauli*, l. 13, c. 1.) And he was put to death during the persecution which began in the eleventh year of Nero, and continued four years. Eusebius and Jerome say that he suffered in the fourteenth year of Nero.

This computation would leave a space of about eight years for the labours of St. Paul, after his first imprisonment at Rome: an opportunity which he doubtless employed with his characteristic energy and activity.

It was during these years, then, that St. Paul, according to Clement, visited "the furthest extremity of the West."

Hales, in his *Chronology*, (vol. iii. p. 546, edit. 2,) thinks that Clement here "speaks rather rhetorically of St. Paul's travels to the western extremity of Europe." And Basnage (*Exercitationes Historico-criticæ*, p. 511) conceives that he means no more than St. Paul visited Italy: "*Mihi certum non Hispaniam, sed Italiam à Clemente designari.*" Considering, however, that Clement wrote at Rome, we cannot but consider his words as referring to some country included under the Western provinces with respect to Rome. And the general current of ecclesiastical history plainly points to Spain, as one of the countries which he visited, in compliance with an intention which he himself expressed. (*Rom.* xvi. 24. 28.)

The evidence in favour of St. Paul having visited Spain appears quite conclusive.

Caius, the Presbyter, in the beginning of the third century, says,



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Eusebius elsewhere (*De Martyr. Palæstin.* c. 13) describes Britain, under the appellation of the Western parts, beyond Gaul. Theodoret also, speaking of the visitors attracted by the fame of Simeon Stylites, enumerates the inhabitants of Spain, Britain, and Gaul, which he says lies between the other two, and describes them all as dwelling in the extreme bounds of the West⁶. In the language of Catullus, Britain is “*Ultima Britannia*,” and “*Ultima Occidentis Insula*.” (*Carm.* xxix.) He speaks of the inhabitants as “*horribilesque ultimosque Britannos* ; (*Carm.* xi.) as Horace afterwards calls them “*Ultimos orbis Britannos*.” (*Carm.* i. 35.)

The language of Clement might very well therefore imply that St. Paul went not only to Spain, but to the most remote of the three Western provinces, Spain, Gaul, and Britain.

There is distinct evidence that the Gospel was preached in the British Islands by *some of the Apostles*. Thus Tertullian, in the second century, speaks of “all the extremities of Spain, and the different nations of Gaul, and parts of Britain inaccessible to the Romans, but subject to Christ.” See Tertullian’s *Apology*, c. 37. The testimony of Eusebius to the same fact is peculiarly valuable. As the favourite of Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, who was born in Britain and there proclaimed Emperor, he may be supposed to have been well acquainted with the manner in which Christianity was introduced into Britain. And the remarkable passage in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, in which he not only asserts the fact, that some of the Apostles preached in Britain, but argues upon the fact, may be regarded as a deliberate assertion, founded upon actual inquiry. His object is to prove that the first preachers of Christianity were not deceivers nor impostors. “Observe,” he says, “this also. If they were impostors and deceivers, and also uninstructed and entirely ignorant men, nay, rather barbarians, acquainted with no other than the Syrian language, how could they ever go through the whole world? How could so bold an undertaking enter their thoughts? and by what power could they effect their purpose? For, supposing it possible for rustic men, wandering about in their own country, to deceive and be deceived, and not to waste their labour in vain; yet, that they should preach the name of Jesus to all mankind, and teach his miraculous works in country and city,—that some of them should visit the Roman Empire, and the imperial city itself, and others severally the nations of the

⁶ ἀφίκοντο δὲ πολλοὶ, τὰς τῆς ἐσπέρας οἰκοῦντες ἐσχάτας, Σπάνοι τε καὶ Βρεττανοὶ, καὶ Γαλάται, οἱ τὸ μέσον τούτων κατέχοντες.

Theodoret. Religiosa Hist. c. 26, tom. iii. p. 881, D, Edit. Paris, 1642.

Persians, and Armenians, and Parthians, and Scythians—nay, further, that some should proceed to the very extremities of the inhabited world, and reach the country of the Indians, *and others again pass over the Ocean to those which are called the British Islands*—all this I conceive to be beyond the power of any human being, not to say of ordinary and uninstructed men, and, still less, of deceivers and impostors⁷.”

Theodoret goes further than this, asserting that *St. Paul* preached in islands beyond the Ocean, with respect to Spain; which can scarcely refer to any other than the British Islands. “The blessed Apostle St. Paul teaches us, in a few words, to how many nations he carried the sacred doctrines of the Gospel; so that from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum, he fully preached the Gospel of Christ. He went afterwards also to Italy and Spain, and carried salvation to islands which lie in the Ocean⁸.”

Jerome also, besides the passage quoted above, appears to allude, though with less precision than Theodoret, to St. Paul’s preaching beyond the Ocean, when he says, that “St. Paul, having been in Spain, went from one Ocean to another, imitating the motion and course of the Sun of Righteousness, of whom it is said, His going forth is from the end of heaven, and his circuit unto the ends thereof; and that his diligence in preaching extended as far as the earth itself⁹.”

⁷ Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τούτῳ πρόσχες. Εἰ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ πλανοὶ καὶ ἀπατεῶνες ἐτύγχανον, προσθὲς δ’ ὅτι καὶ ἀπαίδευτοὶ καὶ παντελῶς ἰδιῶται, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅτι καὶ βάρβαροι, καὶ τῆς Σύρων οὐ πλέον ἐπαίοντες φωνῆς, καὶ πῶς ἐπὶ πᾶσαν προῆλθον τὴν οἰκουμένην; ἢ ποία τοῦτο διανοία ἐφαντάσθησαν τολμῆσαι; ποία δὲ δυνάμει τὸ ἐπιχειρηθὲν κατώρθωσαν; Ἔστω γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκείας γῆς καλινδουμένους ἀγροίκους ἄνδρας πλανᾶν καὶ πλανᾶσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἐφ’ ἡσυχίας βάλλεσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα. Κηρύττειν δ’ εἰς πάντας τὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὄνομα, καὶ τὰς παραδόξους πράξεις αὐτοῦ κατὰ τε τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ κατὰ πόλιν διδάσκειν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν, καὶ αὐτὴν τε τὴν βασιλικωτάτην πόλιν νείμασθαι, τοὺς δὲ τὴν Περσῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὴν Ἀρμενίων, ἑτέρους δὲ τὸ Πάρθων ἔθνος, καὶ αὐτὸ πάλιν τὸ Σκυθῶν, τινὰς δὲ ἤδη καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐλθεῖν τὰ ἄκρα, ἐπὶ τε τὴν Ἰνδῶν φθάσαι χώραν, καὶ ἑτέρους ὑπὲρ τὸν Ὀκεανὸν παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καλουμένας Βρεττανικὰς νήσους, ταῦτα οὐκ ἔτ’ ἐγὼ γε ἠγοῦμαι κατὰ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι, μήτιγε κατὰ εὐτελεῖς καὶ ἰδιώτας, πολλοῦ δεῖ κατὰ πλάνους καὶ γόητας.

Euseb. Demonst. Evang. lib. iii. p. 112, D. Coloniae, 1688.

⁸ Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Παῦλος διδάσκει συντόμως, ὅσοις ἔθνεσι προσενήνοχε τὰ θεῖα κηρύγματα ὥσπερ ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ πεπληρωκέναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ.——ὕστερον μὲντοι καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπέβη, καὶ εἰς τὰς Σπανίας ἀφίκετο, καὶ ταῖς ἐν τῷ πελάγει διακειμέναις νήσοις τὴν ὠφέλειαν προσήνεγκε. He then refers to St. Paul’s Epistle to the Romans, xv.

Theodoret. in Psalm. cxvi. tom. i. p. 870, D, 871, A.

⁹ Paulus Apostolus———qui vocatus à Domino effusus est super faciem universæ terræ, ut prædicaret Evangelium de Hierosolymis usque ad Illyricum,

The earliest writer, however, who in express terms asserts that St. Paul visited Britain, is Venantius Fortunatus, an Italian poet of the sixth century. In the third book of his life of St. Martin, he thus describes the preaching of St. Paul:

Transit et Oceanum, vel quàm facit insula portum,
Quasque Britannus habet terras, quasque ultima Thule.

This is plainly, however, a poetical expression, on which no stress whatever can be laid. And very little more weight can be attached to the testimony of Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, in the seventh century, as quoted by Godwin, asserting that St. Paul visited Britain¹.

Upon the whole, it seems clear that St. Paul preached "in the West," including Spain, in the interval between the termination of his imprisonment in Rome, and his martyrdom: that the Gospel was preached *in Britain* by *some* of the Apostles; that the terms in which the field of St. Paul's preaching is described, may include the British Islands, and that there was probably time for his visiting them. But whether he actually did so, may reasonably admit of much doubt. Archbishop Usher in his *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, and Bishop Stillingfleet, in his *Origines Britannicæ*, maintain the opinion that St. Paul preached in Britain. The same side of the question has lately found a learned and zealous advocate in Dr. Burgess, late Bishop of Salisbury. His tracts on the origin and independence of the Ancient British Church, and his two Sermons, the one preached at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Church Union in the Diocese of St. David's, in the year 1813, the other preached, in the year 1831, before the Royal Society of Literature, contain the principal facts and arguments connected with the question.

The Bishop of London, in his Seventh Lecture on the Acts of the Apostles, leans to the opinion of Jablonski, (*Opusc. tom. iii. p. 301*), that the preaching of St. Paul in Britain is extremely improbable.

et ædificaret non super alterius fundamentum, ubi jam fuerit prædicatum, sed usque ad Hispanias tenderet, et mari rubro imò ab Oceano usque ad Oceanum curreret, imitans Dominum suum et solem justitiæ, de quo legimus, A summo cœlo egressio ejus, et occursum ejus usque ad summum ejus: ut antè eum terra deficeret quàm studium prædicandi.

Hieron. in Amos Prophet. c. v. tom. iii. p. 1412, Edit. Benedict.

¹ "Sophronius Patriarcha Hierosolymitanus disertis verbis asserit, Britanniam nostram eum invisisse."

Godwin de Præsul. p. 8.



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sacrifices and ritual observances, such as the Jews retained, proceeds thus to vindicate and explain the Christian faith. (p. 496, D.)

“The Christians are not separated from the rest of mankind by country, or by language, or by customs. They are confined to no particular cities, use no peculiarity of speech, adopt no singularity of life. Their doctrine embraces no tenet built upon the reasoning and subtilty of crafty men: neither do they, like others, uphold the opinion of any man. Dwelling in the cities, whether of Greeks or barbarians, as every man’s lot is cast, following the customs of each country in dress, and diet, and manner of life, they yet display the wonderful and indeed astonishing nature of their own polity. They dwell in their own country; but as sojourners: they partake of all things, as denizens: they endure all things, as strangers. Every foreign land is their country; their own country is to each a foreign land. Like other men they marry, and have children: but their children they expose not. Their table is common, not their bed². They are in the flesh; but they live not after the flesh. They abide on earth, but they are citizens of heaven³. They obey the laws which are established; and in their own lives are superior to the laws. They love all men; and are persecuted by all. Men know them not, yet condemn them. Being slain, they are made alive: being poor, they make many rich⁴: deprived of all things, in all things they abound. Being dishonoured, they are thereby glorified: being calumniated, they are justified: being cursed, they bless: being reviled, they give honour. Doing good, they are punished as evil doers; when punished, they rejoice, as being made alive. The Jews oppose them as a strange people: the Greeks persecute them; and they who hate them can allege no reason for their enmity.

“In a word, Christians are in the world what the soul is in the body. The soul is dispersed over all the members of the body: Christians over all the cities of the world. The soul dwells in the body, but is no part of the body: Christians dwell in the world, but are not of the world. The soul, invisible herself, is guarded in a visible body: Christians are known to be in the world, but their worship is unseen. The flesh hates the soul, which never

² There are here some words lost: *τράπεζαν κοινήν παρατίθενται, ἀλλ’* ——— *κοινήν*. Perhaps we should supply some such expression as *ἀλλ’ οὐ κοίτην κοινήν*. Compare Tertullian, *Apol. c. xxxix.*

³ Phil. iii. 20.

⁴ 2 Cor. vi. 10.

injured it, and wars against it, because it is thereby prevented from indulging in its pleasures. The world hates Christians, who injure it not, because they are opposed to its delights. The soul loves the body and the members which hate her. Christians also love their enemies. The soul is inclosed in the body, yet she restrains the body. Christians are shut up and guarded in the world, yet they restrain the world. The soul, herself immortal, dwells in a mortal tabernacle. Christians dwell among the corruptible, looking for an incorruptible state in the heavens. The soul, straitened in meats and drinks, is thereby improved. Christians, persecuted daily, the more abound.

“In such a post hath God placed them, whence they must not retire. For this is no earthly invention which is committed to their trust: it is no mortal device which they guard with such jealous care; no dispensation of human mysteries which is entrusted to them. But even the Almighty, Invisible God, the Creator of all things, himself sent down from heaven the Truth, and the holy and incomprehensible Word, to dwell among men, and established Him in their hearts. Not, as some one might suppose, sending among men any minister, or angel, or archangel, or any of those who do his pleasure upon earth, or are entrusted with their ministry in the heavens; but [he sent] the very Framer and Maker of all things; by whom he created the heavens: by whom he shut up the sea in its own bounds: whose secret counsels all the elements faithfully obey: who taught the sun to keep the measure of his daily course: who commanded the moon to shine by night, and she obeys; whom the stars too obey, following the moon in her course: by whom all things are disposed and arranged: to whom all things are subject; the heavens, and things in the heavens; the earth, and things in the earth; the sea and they which are therein; fire, air, the abyss: things in the heights, things in the depths, things between. Him did he send to them [man]. But did he send him, as some men might imagine, for dominion and fear and consternation? Nay verily: but in quietness and meekness. He sent him as a king sending his son: he sent him as God⁵: he sent him as to men. God, in sending him, would save mankind: he would persuade men, not compel them; for compulsion is not of God. In sending him, God would invite, not persecute; he acted as one who loved, not as a judge. For he will send *him* to judge, and who shall abide the day of his coming?”

After discussing the impossibility that any one should know God

⁵ ὡς Θεόν ἐπέμψε.

but the Son of God, or any one please God by his own works, the author proceeds to speak of the love of God, manifested in the redemption. (p. 500, B.)

“ Christ hated us not, nor rejected us ; neither did he remember our sins, but was long-suffering, patient ; as he himself declared, he bare our iniquities. God gave his own Son a ransom for us, the holy for the unholy, the innocent for the guilty, the just for the unjust, the incorruptible for the corruptible, the immortal for the mortal. For what else was able to cover our sins but only his righteousness ? How should we disobedient and impious be justified, but only in the Son of God ? O sweet interchange ! O inscrutable dispensation ! O benefits surpassing all expectation ! that the iniquity of many should be hidden in the Just One ; and the righteousness of one justify many sinners. [God,] having convinced us, in the former time, how impossible it was that our nature should attain life, but now having shown us a Saviour able to save even those who could not have been saved, from both these willed us to have faith in his mercy ; to conceive of him as our supporter, father, teacher, counsellor, physician, mind, light, honour, glory, strength, life.”

C.

ON IGNATIUS'S EPISTLE TO THE MAGNESIANS.

SECT. VII.

Λόγος αἰδῖος, οὐκ ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών.

THIS passage has given rise to much discussion. An argument has long been raised against the integrity, not only of this Epistle, but of several other Epistles ascribed to Ignatius, founded upon the assumption, that this and similar passages contain a manifest allusion to erroneous opinions first held by Valentinus after the death of Ignatius.

This argument has been lately urged, and the authorities cited, by Mr. Cureton, in the Introduction to his *Corpus Ignatianum*, p. lxi.

If, indeed, this be a reference to opinions first held by Valentinus, the conclusion seems to be valid against the authenticity of



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of the Word from the Father, which Ignatius appears to refute, when he says that "the Word proceeds not from silence." Again, his exhortation, in sect. 7, that they should come "as unto one Jesus Christ, who proceedeth from one Father, and exists in One and is returned to One," is a manifest allusion to the Cerinthian Gnostics, who held that Jesus and Christ were two persons; that Christ descended and entered into Jesus at his baptism, and before his passion returned into the pleroma: and that the Father of *Jesus* was the Demiurge, who made the world, but the Father of *Christ* was a higher power. The words in sect. 8, "for this cause they were persecuted, being inspired by his grace fully to convince the unbelievers that there is One God, who hath manifested himself by Jesus Christ his Son," refer also to the errors of the Gnostics, who maintained that the world was created either by angels or by a being different and inferior to the supreme God, who revealed himself to mankind by Christ, his Son, Iren. iii. 11. Bp. Bull is therefore of opinion that Ignatius in the words, "not proceeding from silence," intended to oppose some erroneous notions of the same heretics concerning the procession of the Son from the Father; as in sect. 9 he clearly refers to another error of the Judaizing heretics, who denied the true passion of Christ. In sect. 11, he warns the Magnesians "not to fall into the snares of vain glory," another apparent allusion to the Gnostics, whose very name was assumed to intimate their superiority in knowledge to other Christians.

He then shows, by the testimony of Epiphanius, Philastrius, and Augustine, that the observance of the peculiar rites of Judaism, from prudential motives, was at that period one of the professed tenets of the Cerinthians, although Cerinthus himself did not submit to the rite of circumcision, as he taught others to do. It is thought that St. John alludes to the Cerinthians, when he speaks to the Philadelphians, respecting them of the synagogue of Satan, which say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie. Rev. iii. 9, see also Rev. ii. 9. And it is remarkable that Ignatius, writing to the same Philadelphians, sect. 6, says, "If any one preach the Jewish religion to you, hear him not. For it is better to learn the Christian faith from one who is circumcised, than the Jewish from one who is uncircumcised."

Bp. Bull then proves, by the testimony of Irenæus, iii. 11, that the Nicolaitans, Cerinthians, and other early heretics held tenets of the same absurd kind as those afterwards professed by the Valentinians, respecting various orders of Æons, between the supreme God and the Creator of the world; and shows that it is

highly probable that the very procession of the Word from Sige, or Silence, was one of their notions. Gregory Nazianzen, indeed, Orat. 23, enumerates the Cerinthians among those Gnostics who reckoned Bythus and Sige in the number of their Æons.

It remains, however, to be considered whether the words of Ignatius are, in fact, an allusion to specific heretical opinions, or are simply a caution against errors which might arise in consequence of Jesus Christ being styled the Word of God.

In this view the sense of the whole passage may be this ;

Jesus Christ is the Eternal Word, proceeding from the Father. But this procession must not be confounded with any act of the human faculties. The word, by which the thoughts of man are made known, arises in consequence of a previous mental act ; and before man's word goes forth, it is preceded by a state of silence. But, in this respect, the analogy between the procession of the Word from the Father, and the springing forth of the word from the mind of man, entirely fails. The Word of God was Eternal, and there was no period preceding the procession of the Word from the Father, corresponding to the silence which exists before the word of man is pronounced.

Irenæus, in exposing the fanciful and impious tenets of the different sects of Gnostics, expresses the same sentiment, on more than one occasion. Thus, lib. ii. cap. 18, he says, "Sed quoniam quidem reprobabilis et impossibilis prima Noos, id est sensus ipsorum, emissio est, manifestè ostendimus. Videamus autem et de reliquis. Ab hoc enim Logon et Zoën fabricatores hujus Pleromatis dicunt emissos, et Logi, id est Verbi, quidem emissionem ab hominum affectione accipientes, et addivinantes adversus Deum, quasi aliquid magnum adinvenientes in eo quod dicunt à Nu (Νοῦ) esse emissum Logon : quod quidem omnes videlicet sciunt, quoniam in hominibus quidem consequenter dicatur, in eo autem qui sit super omnes Deus, totus Nus, et totus Logus cùm sit, quemadmodum prædiximus, et nec aliud antiquius, nec posterius, aut aliud alterius habente in se, sed toto æquali et uno perseverante, jam non talis hujus ordinationis sequetur emissio. Quemadmodum qui dicit eum totum visionem, et totum auditum, (in quo enim videt, in ipso et audit ; et in quo audit, in ipso et videt) non peccat : sic et qui ait totum illum sensum, et totum verbum, et in quo sensus est, in hoc et verbum esse, et verbum ejus esse hunc Nun (Νοῦν) minus quidem adhuc de Patre omnium sentiet, *decentiora autem magis quàm hi, qui lationem prolativi hominum verbi transferunt in Dei eternum Verbum, et prolationis initium donantes, et genesin, quemadmodum et suo verbo.*"

And in a subsequent part of the same chapter :

“Et usque hoc quidem, quemadmodum prædiximus, omnes hominum affectiones, et notiones mentis, et generationes intentionum et emissiones verborum conjicientes verisimiliter, non verisimiliter mentiti sunt adversus Deum.”

In another place (lib. ii. cap. 47) he approaches still more nearly the sense of this passage of Ignatius :

“Hæc autem cæcitas et stultiloquium inde provenit nobis, quod nihil Deo reservetis; sed et ipsius Dei, et Ennoæ ejus, et Verbi, et Vitæ, et Christi natiuitates et prolationes annunciare vultis: et has non aliunde accipientes, sed ex affectione hominum: et non intelligitis quia in homine quidem, qui est compositum animal, capit hujusmodi dicere, sicut prædiximus, (lib. ii. 16) sensum hominis, et Ennoeam hominis: et quia ex sensu Ennoea, de Ennoea autem Enthymesis, de Enthymesi autem Logos: (quem autem Logon? aliud enim est secundum Græcos Logos, quod est principale quod excogitat, aliud organum per quod emittitur Logos:) *et aliquando quidem quiescere et tacere hominem, aliquando autem loqui et operari.* Deus autem cùm sit totus mens, totus ratio, et totus spiritus operans, et totus lux, et semper idem et similiter existens, sicut et utile est nobis sapere de Deo, et sicut ex Scripturis discimus, non jam hujusmodi affectus et divisiones decenter erga eum subsequuntur. Velocitati enim sensûs hominum, propter spiritale ejus, non sufficit lingua deservire, quippe carnalis existens: unde et intus suffugatur verbum nostrum, et profertur non de semel, sicut conceptum est à sensu; sed per partes, secundum quod lingua subministrare prævalet.”

Such are some of the arguments upon this much disputed question. Mr. Cureton observes (Corpus Ignat. Introd. p. lxiv.), that “the Syriac version cuts the knot, and solves the difficulty at once,” by omitting all such passages.



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curred. An information was presented to me without any name subscribed, containing a charge against several persons: these, upon examination, denied they were, or ever had been, Christians. They repeated after me an invocation to the gods, and offered religious rites with wine and frankincense before your statue, (which for that purpose I had ordered to be brought, together with [those of the gods,]) and even reviled the name of Christ; whereas there is no forcing, it is said, those who are really Christians, into any of these compliances. I thought it proper, therefore, to discharge them. Some among those who were accused by a witness in person, at first confessed themselves Christians, but immediately after denied it; the rest owned, indeed, they had been of that number formerly, but had now (some above three, others more, and a few above twenty years ago) renounced that error. They all worshipped your statue, and the images of the gods, uttering imprecations at the same time against the name of Christ. They affirmed the whole of their guilt, or their error, was, that they met on a certain stated day before it was light, and addressed themselves in a form of prayer to Christ, as to some god, binding themselves by a solemn oath, not for the purposes of any wicked design, but never to commit any fraud, theft, or adultery; never to falsify their word, nor deny a trust when they should be called upon to deliver it up; after which, it was their custom to separate, and then reassemble, to eat in common a harmless meal. From this custom, however, they desisted after the publication of my edict, by which, according to your commands, I forbade the meeting of any assemblies. In consequence of this their declaration, I judged it the more necessary to endeavour to extort the real truth, by putting two female slaves⁶ to the torture, who were said to officiate in their religious functions; but all I could discover was, that these people were actuated by an absurd and excessive superstition. I deemed it expedient, therefore, to adjourn all farther proceedings, in order to consult you. For, it appears to be a matter highly deserving your consideration; more especially as great numbers must be involved in the danger of these prosecutions, which have already extended, and are still likely to extend, to persons of all ranks and ages, and even of both sexes. In fact, this contagious superstition is not confined to the cities only, but has spread its infection among the neighbouring villages and country. Nevertheless,

⁶ Two of the deaconesses. See Ignatius's Epistle to the Smyrneans, c. 13, and note.

it still seems possible to restrain its progress. The temples, at least, which were once almost deserted, begin now to be frequented; and the sacred solemnities, after a long intermission, are revived; to which I must add, there is again also a general demand for the victims, which for some time past had met with but few purchasers. From the circumstances I have mentioned, it is easy to conjecture what numbers might be reclaimed, if a general pardon were granted to those who shall repent of their error.

TRAJAN TO PLINY.

THE method you have pursued, my dear Pliny, in the proceedings against those Christians which were brought before you, is extremely proper; as it is not possible to lay down any fixed rule by which to act in all cases of this nature. But I would not have you *officiously* enter into any enquiries concerning them. If indeed they should be brought before you, and the crime should be proved, they must be punished; with this restriction, however, that where the party denies he is a Christian, and shall make it evident that he is not, by invoking our gods; let him (notwithstanding any former suspicion) be pardoned upon his repentance. Informations without the accuser's name subscribed, ought not to be received in prosecutions of any sort; as it is introducing a very dangerous precedent, and by no means agreeable to the equity of my government.



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PSALMS (*continued*).

Texts	Page
xviii. 26	34
xix. 1. 3	21
xix. 5	211
xxii. 6	13
xxii. 7, 8	191
xxii. 16. 18	189. 191
xxiii. 4	20
xxiv. 1	12
xxiv. 7, 8	205
xxxi. 18	40
xxxii. 1	38
xxxii. 10	18
xxxiii. 9	66
xxxiv. 11—17	17
xxxvii. 9	11
xxxvii. 35—37	11
xxxix. 12	1*
xl. 7	67
l. 16. 23 (ó)	25
l. 14	39
li.	15
li. 17	39
lv. 16	1*
lxii. 4	11
lxix. 31	38
lxxviii. 36, 37	11
lxxxix. 20	14
xcii. 12	19*
xcvi. 1, 2. 4. 10	195
civ. 4	26
cx. 1—3 (ó)	199
cxviii. 19, 20	36
cxviii. 18	41
cxix. 83	14
cxxxiii. 2	67
cxxxix. 7	21
cxl. 5 (ó)	41
cxlvii.	100

PROVERBS.

i. 23	42
ii. 21	11
iii. 12	41
iii. 34	59
vii. 3	3*
xviii. 17	76 (ó)
xx. 27	17

ECCLESIASTES.

i. 9, 10	212
ix. 4	313, 314

ISAIAH.

i. 3, 4	190
i. 3	218. 220
i. 1. 7. 9	201. 208
i. 11. 14	191
i. 16. 20	7. 197. 216
i. 18	6
ii. 3, 4	192
v. 20	203

ISAIAH (*continued*).

Texts	Page
v. 26	105
vi. 3	25
vi. 10	291
vii. 14	186
x. 3	37*
xi. 1. 10	186*. 186
xi. 12	206
xxiv. 22	37*
xxvi. 29	37
xxix.	37*
xxix. 13	11
xxxv. 5, 6	202
xl. 10	24
xli.	13
xli. 8	7
xlvi. 5, 6	206
xliv. 12. 19	156*
xl. 9	20
xlvi. 23. 45	191
xl. 22	105
l. 6. 8	82
lii. 5	82
lii. lii. (ó)	204, 205
liii.	202
liii. 4	12
liv. 1	207
lvii. 1, 2	114
lviii. 2. 6, 7	189. 191
lx. 17	31
lxii. 10	105
lxii. 11	24
lxiii. 17	206
lxiv. 4	25
lxiv. 10—14	201
lxiv. 11	206
lxv. 2	189. 191
lxvi. 3	202
lxvi. 2	11
lxvi. 24	206

JEREMIAH.

iii. 4. 19	6
ix. 23	10
ix. 26	208
xxi. 7	198
xxxii. 27	117

LAMENTATIONS.

iv. 20	211
------------------	-----

EZEKIEL.

xviii. 30—32	6
xxxiii. 4	48
xxxiii. 11	6
xl. 15	30*

DANIEL.

iv. 35	20
vii. 10	25
vii. 13	205
xxxvii. 6—8	206

HOSEA.

Texts	Page
xiii. 3	14
xiv. 2	295
xiv. 5	76

JOEL.

ii. 13	206
------------------	-----

TOBIT.

xii. 9	51
------------------	----

ECCLESIASTICUS.

xv. 14—17	197
---------------------	-----

WISDOM.

xi. 21	20
xii. 12	20

MATTHEW.

i. 21	187, 188
i. 23	186. 188
ii.	xxxvii*
ii. 6	188
iii. 15	105
iv. 10	165
v. 3—10	46
v. 16. 22. 39. 41. 45	164
v. 28, 29. 32	162
v. 34. 37	165
v. 42. 44. 46	163
v. 44	xxvii, 316
vi. 12—14	49, 50
vi. 19, 20	163
vi. 1. 9. 21. 25	164
vii. 1—12	10. 46
vii. 15, 16—19. 22	xvii, 166
vii. 21. 24.	165
viii. 17	114
viii. 28	168*
ix. 13	163
x. 16. 28. 40	170
x. 16	xxxvii*, 115
x. 40	219
xi. 27	219, 220
xiii. 42	165, 166
xv. 13	83
xvi. 26	93. 164
xviii. 2	54*
xviii. 6	xviii, 35
xviii. 19	59
xix. 12	108. 162
xix. 28	7
xix. 16, 17	165
xxi. 5	190
xxii. 17	166
xxv. 31	205
xxvi. 24	xviii, 35
xxvi. 26	223
xxvi. 29	222
xxvii. 39	192

MARK.

Texts	Page
v. 3	168*
vii. 11	33*
ix. 36	xviii, 54*
ix. 42	206
ix. 42. 44	35
ix. 47	162
x. 27.	20
xiv. 22	223

LUKE.

i. 31. 33	187
i. 78.	278*
ii.	xxxvii*
v. 32.	163
vi. 20. 37	46. 316
vi. 27, 28. 32. 34	163
vi. 36—38	xviii, 10
vii. 25	168*
xi. 4, 5	170
xii. 48	167
xiii. 26	165*, 166
xiv. 27	92
xvi. 18	162
xvii. 2	xviii, 35
xviii. 27	170
xxii. 19	223
xxiii. 54	133*
xxiv. 18	1*
xxiv. 39	105*

JOHN.

iii. 3. 5	216
iii. 5	6
iii. 8	101
iii. 18	59
iv. 14	95
vii. 17	157
x. 30	73
xiv. 11, 12	73
xvi. 28	73
xvii. 21, 22	73
xix. 31	133*
xx. 22	67

ACTS.

ii. 24	46
iv. 13	192
v. 26	58
vi. 3	103
vii. 27	4
vii. 60	32
xiii. 22	xviii, 14
xviii. 2	239
xviii. 27	17
xix. 35	242*
xx. 7	74*
xx. 28	xxxvii
xx. 28	369*
xx. 29	98
xx. 35	xviii, 2

ROMANS.

Texts	Page
i. 29	25
i. 32	25
ii. 24	8
iii. 9, 10	xxvii
iv. 3	51
vi. 17	73
viii. 9	188*
ix. 3	6*
ix. 4	xviii
ix. 5	23
ix. 19, 20	20
x. 21	189. 191. 202
xii. 5	xviii, 34
xiii. 1	317
xiv. 1	xviii
xiv. 10	48, 49
xiv. 11	206
xvi. 1	111

1 CORINTHIANS.

i. 10	57
i. 12	xvi, xvii, 35
i. 18	xxxviii*
i. 18—24	67
i. 20	67
i. 24	162
ii. 1. 4. 6. 13	192
ii. 9	25. 130
iv. 4	xxxvii*, 91
v. 10	49
vi. 2	51
vi. 9, 10	48. 66
vii. 11	34
vii. 25	104
vii. 34	64. 114
viii. 4	2. 269
ix. 27	84
x. 8	66
x. 24	xviii
xi. 18—20	xvii, 65*. 74*. 108
xi. 31	32
xii	34
xii. 12	xviii
xii. 13	27
xiii. 4	xviii
xiii. 7	37
xiv. 36	69
xv. 8	96
xv. 20. 36. 38	xviii
xvi. 1, 2	29*. 74*
xvi. 15. 17	xii
xvi. 18	57

2 CORINTHIANS.

iii. 3	3
iii. 8	48
iv. 18	89
v. 2	355
v. 10	xviii
v. 18	24
vi. 7	xxvii

2 CORINTHIANS (*continued*).

Texts	Page
vi. 10	370*
vi. 11, 12	2
vi. 16	54*. 99. 123
vii. 13	192
viii. 5	xviii, 57
xi. 6	10
xi. 9	xviii
xi. 25	xviii, 11. 24
xii. 20	25

GALATIANS.

i. 1	52. 98
i. 4	xviii
ii. 9	5
iv. 6	188*
iv. 26	xxvii
iv. 27	207
v. 4	74
v. 17	62
vi. 7	48
vi. 9	24

EPHESIANS.

i. 1. 6	xxxiii*, 55
ii. 20	62*. 100*
ii. 22	xxxvii*
iii. 8, 9	46
iii. 19	55
iv.	98*
iv. 3. 6	73
iv. 4	xviii, 34. 76
iv. 19	46
iv. 26	xxvii, 52
v. 1	xxxvii, 51. 56. 63
v. 2	56
v. 25	27. 73. 117
vi. 13. 17	xxxvii*
vi. 14. 18	63*
viii. 18	84*

PHILIPPIANS.

i.	51
i. 10	xviii
i. 19	188
i. 21	xxxvii, 93
i. 23, 24	xviii
ii. 5. 7	5*. 369*
ii. 16	xxvii
ii. 30	40*
iii. 9	79
iii. 17	73
iii. 20	370*
iv. 3	ix
iv. 5	17
iv. 15	35*
v. 25	xxxvii*

COLOSSIANS.

i. 10	xxiii
i. 28	xxvii
ii. 14, 15	195
iii. 5	46. 51



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