

PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

No. CCCV

THEOLOGICAL SERIES

No. VII

THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS

By the Same Author

LIGHT FROM ANCIENT LETTERS

George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

THE OLDEST VERSION OF THE BIBLE

The Epworth Press

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS

The Manchester University Press

THE
EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS

THE GREEK TEXT WITH INTRODUCTION
TRANSLATION AND NOTES

BY

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MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY PRESS

1949

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complete conformity with the
authorized economy standards*

Published by the University of Manchester at
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS (H. M. McKECHNIE, M.A., Secretary)
8-10 WRIGHT STREET, MANCHESTER, 15

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN AT
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
ABERDEEN

TO
A. G. M.
AND
P. H. M.

PREFACE

IN this book an attempt is made to present a comprehensive study of the *Epistle to Diognetus*. I have sought to discuss its aim, authorship, date, and integrity; to estimate its literary character in form, language, and style; to explore the content of its thought; to determine its relation to the Greek Bible and early Christian writings; finally to provide a translation and a commentary. The whole rests on a detailed examination of the Greek text.

The *Epistle to Diognetus* is of limited scope. Its value, however, is not commensurate with its size. This tractate with its stress on the divine initiative in the redemption of impotent man, its picture of the Christians as 'the soul of the world', and its plea for the imitation of God in love and beneficence, makes its own timely appeal. Moreover, the investigation of the *Epistle* may assist in some degree a wider inquiry, namely, how far the teaching of early Christian writers adequately interprets and restates New Testament thought.

Here and there the text of the *Epistle* is corrupt and its Greek obscure. It is hoped that the *apparatus criticus* may furnish a sufficient guide to the meaning. An effort has been made to mark in the NOTES every important variant and conjectural emendation. In the English translation words in italics are added where necessary as an aid to clarity; a series of dots denotes lacunae in the text.

This book, along with subsidiary work, was approved as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Divinity in the University of Manchester. I have taken advantage of the interval before publication to make some rearrangements in the INTRODUCTION and to bring in a small amount of additional matter.

To the Rev. Professor T. W. Manson I am deeply indebted for his kindly interest and expert counsel. The Rev. Dr. W. F.

Howard and the Rev. Dr. H. McLachlan have laid me under further obligation. Both read the original typescript and made valuable suggestions. I record with gratitude the generous help I have received from the Rev. A. Raymond George, who carefully read the proofs. To the editors and publishers of the *Expository Times* I am grateful for their kindness in permitting me to incorporate the substance of an article on the theology of the *Epistle to Diognetus* which appeared in that Journal.¹ Lastly, my thanks are due to Mr. H. M. McKechnie for his unfailing consideration and his skill in seeing the book through the press.

H. G. MEECHAM

MANCHESTER,
December, 1947.

¹ *Expository Times* LIV, January, 1943, pp. 97-101.

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ABBREVIATIONS

It has not been deemed necessary to give here the customary abbreviations for the books of Scripture, nor those commonly used in a grammatical apparatus. For the designation of works frequently cited see Select Bibliography, p. 69. Titles of books are italicized ; articles are named in inverted commas.

<i>al.</i>	<i>alibi.</i>
Apol.	Apology.
art.	article.
Att.	Attic.
A.V.	Authorized Version.
 <i>B.G.U.</i>	 <i>Ägyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin : Griechische Urkunden, I-VIII (1895-1933).</i>
 <i>c.</i>	 <i>cum, and circa.</i>
<i>C.G.T.</i>	<i>Cambridge Greek Testament.</i>
Clem.	Clement.
cod(d).	codex (codices).
<i>Con. Cels.</i>	<i>Contra Celsum (Origen).</i>
 <i>Dial.</i>	 <i>Dialogue with Trypho (Justin Martyr).</i>
<i>Diognetus.</i>	<i>the Epistle ; Diognetus—the addressee.</i>
 <i>E.R.E.</i>	 <i>Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics.</i>
E.T.	English translation.
ed(d).	editor(s), edition(s).
Epict.	Epictetus.
Eus.	Eusebius.
<i>Exp. T.</i>	<i>Expository Times.</i>
 <i>H.D.B.</i>	 <i>Hastings, Dictionary of the Bible.</i>
<i>H.E.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical History (Eusebius).</i>
<i>H.Gk.</i>	<i>Hellenistic Greek.</i>
 <i>I.C.C.</i>	 <i>International Critical Commentary.</i>
Ign.	Ignatius.
inscr.	inscriptions.
Ion.	Ionic.
 <i>J.T.S.</i>	 <i>Journal of Theological Studies.</i>
Just. Mart.	Justin Martyr.
 <i>l.</i>	 <i>lege ; also ' line '.</i>
<i>L.S.</i>	<i>Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon (revised ed., 1925-40).</i>

n.	note.
N.T.	New Testament.
O.T.	Old Testament.
pap.	papyri.
<i>Philos.</i>	<i>Philosophumena</i> (Hippolytus).
Plut.	Plutarch.
Polyb.	Polybius.
Prol.	Prologue.
<i>Protrept.</i>	<i>Protrepticus</i> (Clement of Alexandria).
Prud. M.	Prudent Maran (1683-1762).
R.V.	Revised Version.
rdg(s).	reading(s).
<i>Sim.</i>	<i>Similitudes</i> (Hermas).
<i>Strom.</i>	<i>Stromateis</i> (Clement of Alexandria).
Syr.	Syriac.
<i>Test. XII Patr.</i>	<i>Testaments of the XII Patriarchs</i> (<i>Test. Jos.</i> = <i>Testament of Joseph</i> , etc.).
Thuc.	Thucydides.
trans.	translation, translator.
<i>v.l.</i>	<i>varia lectio.</i>
W.H.	Westcott and Hort, <i>The New Testament in the Original Greek.</i>
Xen.	Xenophon.
Z.N.T.W.	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.</i>

I. INTRODUCTION

I. APOLOGETIC CLASS AND AIM

It has become an axiom that no religious movement can be adequately interpreted apart from its historic setting. Hence Biblical research tends more and more to stress the contact of Christianity with the age in which it arose. This emphasis does not imply that Christianity was a product of its own time. But it does recognize that what environment fails to account for it may serve to illuminate. The New Testament writings, therefore, as the classical documents of the faith, cannot stand in isolation. Their whole context is significant. As earlier and contemporary Jewish literature is indispensable for the interpretation of the New Testament, so too some at least of the second century Christian writings have considerable value in this regard. The works of the Apostolic Fathers (c. A.D. 96-150) and the Apologists (c. A.D. 150-200) ¹ form a vital link in the continuity of New Testament teaching. It is not without significance that of the former writings four were included as supplements to the Canon in the Codices Sinaiticus and Alexandrinus of the fourth and early fifth centuries respectively.²

In the age of the apologists literary activity was both considerable and varied.³ It is no part of our purpose to discuss the genesis and development of early Christian apologetic. It must suffice here to point out its historic precedents. The Hellenistic age provides a convenient starting-point. The first vital contact of Jew and Greek (about the time of Alexander the Great) set in motion incalculable forces. The Jew of the Dispersion now found himself in a new intellectual world, and a measure of accommodation to Hellenistic life and thought became inevitable. The Alexandrian Jew in particular was faced with the problem of harmonizing his traditional faith with what was for him a new and pervasive culture. There must be shown to exist an affinity between Greek philosophy and Jewish wisdom.

¹ These dates are approximate. The apologists Quadratus and Aristides were somewhat earlier, whilst apologetic writings appeared during the early fourth century.

² The *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Shepherd of Hermas* in the Cod. Sin.; 1 and 2 Clem. in the Cod. Alex.

³ A list of Christian apologetic writings is conveniently given in C. J. Cadoux, *The Early Church and the World*, pp. 202 ff. See also Krüger, *Early Christian Literature*, pp. 100 ff.

Moreover, attacks by anti-Semitic Greek writers like Posidonius and Apollonius Molon made some kind of literary defence imperative.¹ The heathen world must be impressed by the story of Israel's sacred past, by the greatness of her religious life and institutions. The type and method of such apologetic are clearly seen, for example, in the *Letter of Aristeas* with its appeal to reason, its combination of religious liberalism with loyalty to fundamental Jewish beliefs, and its subtle plea for the political toleration of the Jews.² How far a conscious apologetic purpose lies behind the Septuagint itself is still a matter in debate. That it not only attests Jewish reaction to a changed cultural environment but also actually furthered apologetic and missionary ends is plain. While made principally to meet the religious needs of Greek-speaking Jews, it served also as the chief instrument to bring the Greek world into the Jewish faith. Philo³ early in the first century A.D. and Josephus⁴ towards its close show the apologetic aim on a far wider scale. The main purpose of all such literary activity was to magnify Judaism in the eyes of the pagan world and to win the outsider to the Jewish faith.

During the first century A.D., while Christianity was rapidly spreading, Christian missionaries were largely occupied with the instruction of converts. Christians themselves lived in the glow of a new religious experience and were thrilled by the fervent hope of the second coming of Christ. Hence relatively little attention was paid to countering pagan attacks upon the new religion. But towards the end of the century, when the "first fine careless rapture" was apt to die down,⁵ and heresies began to wean some from the faith, and to the hostility of the Jew was added incipient persecution by the State, the need for explicit apologetic plainly arose.⁶ This was the more necessary in that

¹ Some earlier Greek writers had given a favourable view of the Jews. For example, Hecataeus of Abdera (*floruit*, c. 332 B.C.) appreciated the wise principles of Jewish theocracy (see Josephus, *Con. Apion.* i, 183-205, ii, 43). Manetho, however, an Egyptian historian of the third century B.C., gave new currency to a scurrilous story of Jewish origins (see *Con. Apion.* i, 73 ff., 227 ff.). The worst outbursts of Greek contempt for the Jews occurred after the Maccabean revolt. For a review of the early stages of anti-Semitism see art. "The outlook of Greek culture upon Judaism", by Rabbi I. Herzog (*Hibbert Journal*, xxix, 49-60). See Schürer, *Hist. of the Jewish People*, II, iii, 302 ff., 249 ff.

² The writings of Demetrius, Eupolemus, and Artapanus (preserved by Alexander Polyhistor c. 50 B.C.) represent a feeble type of Jewish literary propaganda.

³ See especially *Against Flaccus* and *On the Legation to Gaius*.

⁴ Cf. *Con. Apion.* i, 1.

⁵ Cf. the seer's lament: "thou didst leave thy first love" (Rev. ii, 4).

⁶ It is clear that a more general apologetic interest pervades the N.T. itself. See E. F. Scott, *The Apologetic of the New Testament*.

there was widespread ignorance of the new faith. Many apologists plead that Christians should not be condemned unheard.¹ The case for Christians had now to be stated before the wider cultural world.

For such a role Christian writers had ready to hand in the Hellenistic-Jewish apologies a precedent and to some extent material for their task. Not infrequently similar calumnies confronted both defenders of their respective faiths. Jews and Christians alike were charged with 'atheism', hatred of the human race, and immorality. Hence the literary defence of the one prepared the way for that of the other. The influence of Philo especially is traceable in the Alexandrian Christian apologists.²

Among the comparatively few surviving works of the apologetic age the *Epistle to Diognetus* holds an honourable place. The interest and charm of the Epistle are undeniable. Its rare elevation of thought is clothed in language at once simple and stately and warmed by "intensity of conviction". Many older scholars disregarded the Epistle as an addendum to the works of Justin Martyr. But nearly all who have given it attention accord it high praise. Neander³ ranks the Epistle "among the finest remains of Christian antiquity". Bunsen⁴ says that it "is indisputably, after Scripture, the finest monument we know of sound Christian feeling, noble courage, and manly eloquence", whilst Lightfoot⁵ characterizes it as "the noblest of early Christian writings".

There is, however, an air of mystery about this little document. Not only is it of unknown authorship and provenance, uncertain in date and composite in character, but, strangely enough, it is known neither to Eusebius nor to Photius nor indeed to any ancient or mediæval writer.⁶ Moreover, its sole textual source is a single mediæval manuscript, which has itself perished.

¹ Cf. Athenagoras, *Suppl.* 2 (*sub fin.*), and see note on v, 12, below.

² Reagan, *The Preaching of Peter*, 54, suggests that the picture of the Christian life in Aristides, Athenagoras, and *Diognetus* is modelled on Philo's portrayal of the Therapeutæ (*On the Contemplative Life*).

³ *General History of the Christian Religion and Church* (E.T. 1851), ii, 425.

⁴ *Christianity and Mankind* (1854), i, 170 f.

⁵ *Commentary on Colossians* ⁸, pp. 154 f.

⁶ It is certainly a striking fact that no ancient writer quotes or even alludes to the Epistle. How may we account for this unbroken silence? By the generation more or less contemporary with the Epistle it may have been viewed with disfavour as remote from the facts of Christ's life and ministry, a piece of mere moralizing on the virtues of the Christian life. Writers of a later period may well have discarded it on the ground that it was too vague in doctrine and lacked dogmatic fullness and precision. The fact too that the N.T. Canon was then closed would tend to the relative neglect of those writings of the first and

Often classed with the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, the *Epistle to Diognetus* belongs rather to those of the Apologists. Or perhaps we may say that it forms a literary nexus between the practical exhortations of the Fathers and the more formal apologies of Justin and his successors. The relation of the Epistle to the apologetic class may be more closely defined. Its theology, inchoate as it is, anticipates the Eastern rather than the Western type of Christian thought.¹ That aspect of thought, primarily Christological, which was to appear clearly in Athanasius, is here foreshadowed. Further, the Epistle ranks itself with those didactic and apologetic tracts which sought especially to commend Christianity to educated readers of the time.² A twofold aim underlies the apologetic literature: first, to emphasize the truth and excellence of Christian teaching, to show its rational basis and relate it to the philosophic thought of the age; secondly, to justify, by affirming the blameless conduct of Christians, the place of the faith in society and thus secure its toleration in the Empire. Included in this twofold purpose was a polemic of varying intensity directed against both pagan idolatry and Jewish superstition. This served more or less as an offset to the apologetic appeal. The author of the Epistle is not indifferent to the second aim,³ but it is not his primary concern, and, whilst his polemic against pagan and Jewish worship is vigorous (if flat and unoriginal), it is ancillary to his main object, namely, to show the reasonableness of the Christian faith and its appeal as a way of life.⁴ He does not specifically refute the gross calumnies current about Christians. He is content to allow his picture of the Christian manner of life to give them the lie. Moreover, our author is to be classed with Tatian and Theophilus in making a strong contrast between Christianity and antecedent faiths, heathen and Jewish alike. Some apologists, for example Athenagoras, recognize that there had been a progressive revelation of God in human history; hence Christianity was the fulfilment of good already present in

second centuries which found no place therein. Bunsen (*Hippolytus and his Age*, i, 170-3) thought that the silence respecting the Epistle might be explained on the supposition that it was regarded with suspicion as the work of a heretical writer (Marcion). But the Marcionite authorship of *Diognetus* is quite improbable. See pp. 16 f.

¹ See Scullard, *Early Christian Ethics in the West* (1907), pp. 8 ff., A. V. G. Allen, *Continuity of Christian Thought* (1897), p. 103.

² *Diognetus* and the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix are the two best examples of this type. Each, addressed to a private person, has in view a wider circle.

³ See below, p. 39.

⁴ Harnack's strictures (*Gesch. der altchristl. Lit.* II, i, 515) on the feeble apologetic of the early chapters may be admitted. But the strength of the Epistle lies in its positive account of the Christian way of life.

the pre-Christian world, a view well marked in Clement of Alexandria. It is not so in this Epistle. Here the Christian religion is conceived as a wholly new moral power rescuing men darkened in mind and doomed under sin.¹ Again, the author puts the apologetic emphasis in the surest place. He has nothing to say of miracles or even of the argument from prophecy. For him the Christian life itself is the unanswerable proof. True, other apologists make much of this plea ;² but for him it seems almost the whole of his positive case. Theologically, the most striking differentia of the Epistle from the apologists generally is the insistence upon the redemptive function of the Son.³

2. TITLE AND PLAN

Codex Argentoratensis Graec. ix contained five treatises ascribed to Justin Martyr (τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰουστίνου φιλοσόφου καὶ μάρτυρος).⁴ Of these our Epistle was the last, though it was followed in the MS. by several other writings, some by a later hand. It bore the heading: τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Διόγνητον. It is printed variously by editors as *ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΓΝΗΤΟΝ, ΠΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΓΝΗΤΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ, ΠΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΓΝΗΤΟΝ*, and *Epistola (Epistula) ad Diognetum*.

The contents and plan may be briefly indicated. Ostensibly the Epistle is written to answer an inquiry made by a certain Diognetus⁵ about the character of the Christian faith. Diognetus puts three pointed questions :

- (1) Who is the God the Christians trust in, and what is the nature of the worship they offer Him, that they are all led to disregard the world and despise death, to deny those to be gods whom the Greeks consider as such, and to refrain from the superstition of the Jews ?
- (2) What kind of affection is this that the Christians have for one another ?
- (3) Why has this new race or practice entered the world now and not formerly ?

The body of the Epistle enlarges upon these questions. First, it discourses on the variety and material nature of heathen gods and the folly of worshipping them. Then follows a severe condemnation of Jewish sacrifices, rites, and customs. This leads to a

¹ See below, pp. 22 ff. Note the contrasted ὁ τῆς ἀδικίας καιρὸς and ὁ νῦν τῆς δικαιοσύνης (καιρὸς), ix, 1.

² See Aristides, *Apol.* xv-xvii (Syr.), Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 14.

³ See below, pp. 23 ff., 27 f.

⁴ See below, p. 68.

⁵ See note on κράτιστε Διόγνητε (i).

delightful picture of early Christian life and a quasi-theological interpretation of the Son of God as Revealer of the true knowledge of the Father and Agent of man's salvation. After the manner of an epilogue the closing chapter commends the character and fruits of the faith as an *imitatio Dei*. Chapters xi and xii form an appendix by a later hand,¹ the one chapter being a short summary of Apostolic teaching and practice, the other a little homily enforcing on the basis of the Garden of Eden story the union of knowledge and life.

The plan of the Epistle is not explicitly stated. But the author follows the historical and logical order (cf. ἐξῆς, iii, 1). Heathen and Jewish worship having been satirized, the main part of the Epistle is devoted to an exposition of Christian faith and conduct. In these chapters (v-x) the sequence is significant: first the picture of the Christian life in the world, then a theological disquisition on the Son of God, and finally a return to the appeal of the Christian life. It is interesting to see how skilfully the author rearranges the order of Diognetus's questions.² Twice he touches briefly on a point (iv, 6; v, 3) which he elaborates later (vii, 1 ff.), but in the main the progress of thought is clearly marked. The transition (iv, 6) to the chief theme is especially neat.

The outline of the contents is as follows:

I. Prologue.	The questions of Diognetus.
II. The Heathen.	The variety and nature of their gods and the folly of worshipping them.
III-IV. The Jews.	(a) Their foolish sacrifices. (b) Their absurd rites and customs.
V-VII. The Christians.	(a) The distinctive manner and conditions of their life. (b) They are the soul of the world. (c) Their religion not discovered but revealed; the mode of the revelation.
VIII-IX. The Son of God.	(a) Revealer of the true knowledge of God. (b) Agent of salvation.
X. Epilogue.	The Christian faith as an <i>imitatio Dei</i> —its character and fruits.
XI-XII. Appendix.	The ministry of the Word in the Church and the individual (XI). The indissoluble union of knowledge and life (XII).

¹ See below, pp. 64 ff.

² See below, p. 92.

3. LITERARY FORM

It is a necessary preliminary in appraising an ancient piece of writing to set it in its proper literary class. As regards *Diognetus* the general category is clear. It is an epistle, a term which, as we have seen,¹ editors generally add to its original title. We need not here trace the origin and development of the epistolary form.² It is more to the point to state the character of an epistle. The term may be interpreted in the light of Deissmann's³ fundamental distinction between a 'letter' and an 'epistle', a distinction which, while calling for caution in its application to the letters of the New Testament, remains valid in the main. A letter is a written communication destined for one definite person or group of persons. It is, therefore, private in content and aim and instinct with personal feeling. Anything in the nature of elaboration or artifice is foreign to its purpose, namely, the maintenance of intimate intercourse.⁴ The aim of an epistle, on the other hand, is avowedly general. The wider its circulation, the more fully is its purpose met. Hence an epistle is usually restrained and impersonal. It casts little, if any, direct light upon the personality of its author. Written with an eye upon a public circle, it has necessarily something of a studied character. It is, in Deissmann's words, "a product of literary art".

Certainly *Diognetus* is not a true letter after the Pauline type (Romans and Ephesians excepted) or even in the manner of the writings of Ignatius and Polycarp.⁵ These were called forth for the most part by a specific occasion and need and aspire to little or no literary merit. This is not to deny high literary quality, especially in Paul's writings,⁶ but to affirm that literary excellence was not their conscious aim. On the other hand, our author, whether answering a genuine inquirer or penning an open letter to an imaginary one,⁷ is quite alive to literary effect and states his case with obvious care. He furnishes his 'epistle' with an individual address and sets forth in the Prologue his purpose and

¹ See above, p. 5.

² See Meecham, *The Oldest Version of the Bible*, pp. 206 ff.

³ *Bible Studies*,² pp. 3-59.

⁴ "The more faithfully it catches the tone of the private conversation, the more of a letter, that is, the better a letter, it is" (Deissmann, *op. cit.*, p. 3).

⁵ Note the absence from our Epistle of the familiar formulae of greeting, *χαίρειν* or *χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι*, and of valediction, *ἐρρωσο* (*ἐρρωσθε*).

⁶ See U. von Wilamowitz' tribute to Paul as "one of the classicists of Hellenism" (cited in J. Weiss, *Primitive Christianity*, E.T. i, 399). For an adverse view of Paul's Greek, see W. G. Rutherford, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*, p. xvii.

⁷ "Un personnage sans doute fictif du nom de Diognétos", Batiffol, *Anciennes Littératures Chrésiennes*, I (*La Littérature grecque*), 93. But see Molland, p. 303.

function.¹ It may well be that, had the Epilogue been complete (x, 8),² some reference would have appeared to the fulfilment of his task.³ Despite its individual address, the document is obviously intended to reach a wider constituency.⁴ Under cover of answering the inquiries of an individual the author seeks to offer to the cultured world a reasoned exposition of the Christian faith. He makes no attempt to maintain the illusion of an 'epistle' by the repeated mention of the name of the addressee or by the inclusion of any homely personal touches. The didactic aim and content of our Epistle mark it out as an apologetic treatise in epistolary dress.⁵ Ewald⁶ thinks that it is a studied answer to a *book* written by Diognetus about his failure to understand Christianity. But this is mere surmise.

The question may be raised whether this so-called Epistle is not more in the nature of a written discourse. Some phrases favour that view: *καὶ τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ ἀκούειν* (*i sub fin.*), *εἰπεῖν οὕτως . . . οὕτως ἀκοῦσαι* (*ibid.*), *λόγου καινοῦ . . . ἀκροατῆς* (ii, 1), *πολλὰ . . . εἰπεῖν ἔχοιμι . . . τὸ πλείω λέγειν* (ii, 10). Cf. 2 Clem. xv, 2, *ὁ λέγων καὶ ἀκούων*, i, 2, *οἱ ἀκούοντες*. The rhetorical passages in *Diognetus* (ii; vii, 1 f.; ix, 3 *al.*), the frequent interrogative form (ii; iv), and the brief partial arguments, may also point in this direction. On the other hand may be set epistolary features in the individual address⁷ and the Prologue. Birks⁸ thinks that *Diognetus* "seems rather to be a discourse delivered in a Christian assembly into which the eminent inquirer had found his way". This hypothesis may, as Dr. W. Telfer points out,⁹ absolve our author from the charge of inadequacy in statement (e.g. in his discussion of idolatry, ii), since spoken

¹ Cf. Prol. of Sirach; 2 Macc. ii, 19-32; Polyb. iv, 1-2; Lk. i, 1-4; Acts i, 1.

² See below, p. 64.

³ Cf. *Aristeas*, 322: "thou art now, O Philocrates, in receipt of the full story, as I promised".

⁴ The dedication to an individual is quite in keeping with an ancient practice that first prevailed in the Hellenistic age. See Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts*, p. 201. Cf. the dedication of the Third Gospel and Acts to Theophilus and that of the writings of Josephus to "most excellent Epaphroditus". Several Christian apologies were addressed to Roman emperors. In all such instances the individual is but the single representative of the class to whom the writer wishes to appeal.

⁵ In this regard *Diognetus* is akin to Theophilus's *ad Autol.* and Cyprian's *ad Donatum*. So also 2 *Clement* and the *Epistle of Barnabas* are 'epistles' in form only.

⁶ *Hist. of Israel*, viii, 175.

⁷ This, however, is not infrequent in *treatises*. Cf. Hippolytus, *de Antichristo*, addressed to "my beloved brother, Theophilus".

⁸ In Wace and Piercy, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, pp. 257 ff.

⁹ In *J.T.S.* xlv (1944), 224 f.

arguments are necessarily short and self-contained. But there is no decisive evidence on the point.¹ We can hardly go farther than to describe *Diognetus* as a tract in epistolary form.

4. VOCABULARY, GRAMMAR, AND STYLE

(i) *Vocabulary*

(1) *Size.*

The Epistle contains 698 words, excluding proper names, pronouns, and the article. Ninety-three of those which occur in chs. xi-xii are not found in chs. i-x.

(2) *Analysis.*

A careful analysis of the vocabulary yields the following results. The classical words² number 664, the post-classical³ thirty-four. This predominance of the classical strain (95 per cent.) holds good of the Epistle proper (i-x); in the two appended chapters the proportion of post-classical words is higher (11 per cent.). There appear occasionally a word of Ionic origin⁴ and a predilection for semi-poetical forms.⁵

In relation to the Greek Bible, 580 words of the Epistle are found in both LXX and N.T., sixty-four in LXX only, and ten in N.T. only. Forty-four words do not appear in the Greek Bible. To the influence of the language of the Greek Bible we may trace some forms or words which are rare in Attic prose (e.g. *λαός*, *ἄγιος*) or used there in a different sense (e.g. *δόξα*). Some terms derive directly from their use in the Greek Bible: *πάσχα*, *ἀνεξιχνίαστος*, *μακρόθυμος* (-έω), *ὀλοκαύτωμα*, *περιτομή*, *ἄμην*.

(3) *Rare words.*

ἀνταλλαγή, *ἀπερινόητος*, *ἐγκαταστηρίζω*, *εἰκαιότης*, *λιθοξόος*, *παντοκτίστης*, *προαγαπάω*, *συγχρωτίζομαι*, *συνετίζω*, *τεκνογονέω*, *ὑπερσπουδάζω*.

(4) *Favourite words* (the figures indicate the number of occurrences).

ἐπιγνώσκω (5), *θεοσέβεια* (5), *ἴδιος* (8), *κολάζω* (7), *λοιπός* (5), *παρέχω* (7).

¹ Moffatt, *Introd. to the Literature of the New Testament*,³ p. 47, points out that the epistle and the oral address were of kindred origin. "It is often a real problem to determine whether a given writing is a *λόγος* or an *ἐπιστολή*. In many cases the epistolary form is little more than a literary device . . . the epistolary form of composition as the nearest to that of the oration."

² Words found before 322 B.C.

³ Words first found after 322 B.C. Most of these terms are specified in the notes.

⁴ e.g. *καλύπτω* (ix, 3. See note).

⁵ *ἀθέμιστος* (iv, 2 *v.l.*), *ἄφραστος* (viii, 9).

(5) *Other features.*

Religious and ethical terms naturally predominate. A noticeable feature is the use of apparent synonyms :

προσκυνέω (of the worship of idols, ii, 4, 5), θεοσεβέω (of the worship of God, iii, 1). σέβω (ii, 7 ; iii, 2) and θρησκευέω (i, 1 ; ii, 8) are used of both idols and God.

θεοσέβεια, λατρεία, θρησκεία (iii, 2, 3).

νομίζω, οίομαι, δοκέω, ἡγέομαι, λογίζομαι, φρονέω (iv, 1, 5 *al.*).

ὑπομένω, ἀνέχομαι (ii, 9).

προσάγω, προσφέρω (iii, 2-3).

ἄφροσύνη, μωρία (iii, 3).

χορηγέω, παρέχω (iii, 4).

καταφρονέω, ὑπεροράω (i).

ὑπόστασις, ὕλη (ii, 1, 3).

εἶδος, μορφή (ii, 1, 3).

ἐπιδείκνυμι, ἀποκαλύπτω, φανερόω (viii, 5, 6, 11).

Some terms suggest Philonic influence on our author¹: ἀπερινόητος (vii, 2). Cf. Philo, *de mut. nom.* 15 (ὁ λόγος). For εἰκαιότης (iv, 6) cf. *quod det. pot.* 10 (see p. 105), while βελτιοῦσθαι (vi, 9) is frequently used of the soul in Philo. See also note on χλεύης ἄξιον (iv, 4).

Terms of a Pauline flavour are frequent: χρηστότης, οἰκονομία, παρεδρεύω, συνήθεια, ἀφθαρσία, ἐκλογή, etc.

The author makes liberal use of compound formations in both verbs² (μεταμορφόω, τεκνογονέω, etc.) and nouns (ἀργυροκόπος, etc.). Words in ἀ-privative abound. For other points of vocabulary, see pp. 65 f.

(ii) *Grammar*(1) *Orthography.*

We note πλέον (ii, 7 ; iv, 5 ; x, 5), not πλείον. Att. Gk. often dropped the ι in ει before vowels. H.Gk. almost always shows the diphthong, though the ι is occasionally omitted in Ptolemaic papyri. For the preponderance of πλείον in LXX and N.T. see Thackeray, *Gram.* i, 81, W. H., *The New Testament in the Original Greek*,² Appendix, p. 158, respectively. See also Moulton-Howard, *Gram.*, p. 82, and for the Ptolemaic papyri Mayser, *Gram.*, i, 68 f. Instances of vowel contraction appear in χρυσσοῦς, ii, 7 (but ἀργυρέους, *ibid.* where, however, Otto prints the con-

¹ The author of *Supernatural Religion*³ (ii, 358) thinks that the writer of the Epistle was "evidently well acquainted" with the works of Philo.

² Compound verbs number 96 in all, among which the formative prepositions διά (11 times), παρά (10), πρό (9), ἀπό (9) predominate.

tracted form), ἀρκούντως (iv, 6), νουμηνία (iv, 1, the correct Att. form). The *Koinē* shows νεομηνία and νουμηνία), οἶμαι (iii, 1), πρᾶύτης (vii, 4) for classical πρᾶότης.

Elision takes place usually before pronouns, particles, negatives, and prepositions. For example, ἀλλ' αὐτός (vii, 2), ἀλλ' ὡς (v, 5), ἀλλ' οὐ (v, 6 *al.*), ἀλλ' ἐν (vii, 4). But no elision occurs before a distinctive or emphatic word. So ἀλλὰ ἄνθρωπος (ii, 9, cf. ix, 2; xi, 1), παρὰ ἀνθρώπου (iv, 6. Contrast παρ' ἐμοῦ, iv, 1). We find διὰ (xi, 3 *al.*), but δι' (xi, 5). ἀπό (vii, 2), ἐπί (xii, 6), κατά (ix, 1) are elided. We have ὑφ' ὑμῶν (ii, 4), ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων (*ibid.*). Cf. xi, 2, ὑπὸ ἀπίστων . . . ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. δ' occurs six times (ii, 2 *al.*), but δέ sixteen times (ii, 2 *al.*). τε is not elided (xii, 5), nor are οὔτε (v, 1) and οὐδέ (vii, 1). But we find ποτ' (viii, 1), γένοιτ' ἄν (ii, 3), δύναιτ' ἄν (ii, 4; viii, 3), ἡγοῦντ' ἄν (iii, 3), ταῦθ' ὑμῶν (ii, 9. Cf. iii, 3), τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς (v, 3), πάντ' (ix, 1), πάνθ' (v, 5). Only one instance of crasis appears, κᾶν (ii, 10).

As to consonants the spelling σσ is predominant over ττ. Note ἀντιτάσσω (vi, 5), θάλασσα (vii, 2), περισσός (ii, 10), πλάσσω (ii, 3), φυλάσσω (vii, 1), κρείσσω (ii, 2; x, 6), but ἐλάττων (x, 6). The Att. ττ (shared only with some two or three other dialects) makes but sporadic appearances in the *Koinē*, which has generally adopted σσ. But exceptions are ἐλάττων, ἦττων, κρείττων (and derivations of the first two), both forms of which appear, e.g. in the books of Maccabees (cf. 2 Macc. v, 5; iv, 40; 1 Macc. iii, 59; xiii, 5). For the Att. ἀρμόττω we have the Hellenistic ἀρμόζω (xii, 9), as in *Aristeas*, 43; Polyb. iii, 16; 2 Macc. xiv, 22; 2 Cor. xi, 2.

The author writes οὔτως before both vowels (vii, 1) and consonants (x, 3), as also in LXX, N.T., and papyri. "Final -ς in οὔτως is practically fixed" (Moulton-Howard, *Gram.* ii, 112). μέχρι occurs twice, each time before a consonant (ix, 1; x, 7). Final -ν is invariably appended to the third person verbal-ending before a vowel or diphthong (εἰσῆλθεν εἰς, i).

(2) *Inflexion.*

Here we note the present forms θέλω, ἐθέλω (x, 4, 6), and the augmented forms of δύναμαι and βούλομαι: ἡδυνήθη (ix, 3), as commonly in later Attic, but ἐβουλόμεθα (ix, 1), ἐβουλήθη (ix, 6). So also in the N.T. the ἐβουλ- form always appears, and prevails in the LXX. The syllabic augment is dropped from the pluperfects πεπλήρωτο and πεφανέρωτο (ix, 2), as usually in the N.T. (Mark xiv, 44 *al.*). In εἶπεν (ix, 1) we have the Att. augment in εἰ, which the *Koinē* generally retains. The author prefers the classical form of the infin. χρῆσθαι (vii, 5. Cf. 2 Macc. iv, 19; xi, 31), not the later Attic and Hellenistic χρᾶσθαι.

(3) *Syntax.*

The future ἐρέετε (ii, 1) is used for the present tense. See note *ad loc.* A verb of perception is idiomatically followed by acc. and participle (ὄρω . . . ὑπερεσπουδακότα σε . . . πυνθανόμενον, i). The articular infin. is in frequent use as equivalent to a noun (eleven examples, iv, 2 *al.*), and following a preposition (εἰς, ix, 6; ἐπί, x, 7; περί, ii, 10; iii, 1). The simple infin. expresses purpose (φανερῶσαι, ix, 2), and is frequently epexegetic after verbs (μαθεῖν, i. Cf. iv, 6; καλύψαι, ix, 3) and adjs. (εἰσελθεῖν, ix, 1; σώζειν, ix, 6). It follows κωλύω (iv, 3; vi, 5), πρὶν ἢ (ii, 3, see note), πρὶν (viii, 1), and is used absolutely in ἀπλῶς δ' εἰπεῖν (vi, 1). The future infin. follows μέλλω (viii, 2), as often in class. Gk. The pres. participle (κρίνοντα, vii, 6) inclines to express purpose (see note). For the imperatival force of ἴδε (accented as in later Gk.; Att. ἰδέ) see on ii, 1. We note the periphrastic perf. in v, 1, 3, and a fondness for the opt. with ἄν (ii, 3, 4 *al.*). The mid. voice occurs fifteen times and is appropriately used; cf. the force of ἐνδείκνυται (v, 4) and ἀπέδοτο (ix, 2), etc.

Under Cases we note the dat. of agent (ἐκάστω) after the perf. participle pass. (ii, 3). The Prepositions call for little notice. ὑπό, *c. genit.*, is used of an inanimate agent (ii, 2 *al.*), καθ' ἑαυτοῦς (ix, 1) as a periphrasis for the simple genit. We note the practical equivalence of κατά, *c. genit.* and κατά, *c. acc.* (vi, 2). The conjunction ἵνα is found five times in its class. use denoting purpose (ii, 2 *al.*) and once in the extended sense indicating content (ix, 5).

Particles, etc., are plentiful and representative. We remark οὕτως . . . ὥς (i); ἄν, *c. infin.* (i), aorist indic. (viii, 11), and potential opt. (ii, 3, 4 *al.*). ὥς ἄν occurs with fut. participle (ii, 1); οὖν appears always in the second place (ii, 9; ix, 1, 6). ὥς is very frequent (iv, 2, 3 *al.*); διό (xii, 4), ἄρα (vii, 3), καίτοι (viii, 3), τῶνν (iii, 2) occur but once each.

Under the Article we mark its omission with proper names ('Ιουδαῖοι. See below, p. 94) and with definite natural phenomena (σελήνη, iv, 5, γῆ, θάλασσα, vii, 2). The principle seems to be observed that where a genit. is dependent on another noun the art. is used with both or neither; cf. τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ θεοῦ (ix, 1), ἀνομία πολλῶν (ix, 5), μυστήρια θεοῦ (x, 7). The presence or absence of the art. with θεός is instructive. It is mostly used with θεός in the nom. (vi, 10; vii, 2 *al.*), except in subordinate clauses (viii, 1; ix, 2; x, 7; xii, 3). In the oblique cases it is occasionally inserted (iv, 2 *al.*), sometimes to effect correlation (ix, 1, 2, 4) and once (viii, 2) to distinguish the subject of εἶναι; but more frequently it is omitted (iv, 3; viii, 3 *al.*). In some instances the absence of the art. serves to bring out the characteristic quality

of the noun, 'one who is God'. So vii, 9; x, 4, 5, 6 (*bis*); xii, 8. After prepositions the usage varies. Cf. *ὑπὸ θεοῦ* (iv, 2), *ὑπὸ θεοῦ* (iv, 4), *παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ* (x, 6), *παρὰ θεῶν* (xii, 8). See p. 21, n. 3. The relative pron. has the demonstrative force of the art. in *ὅς μὲν . . . ὅς δέ* (= *ὁ μὲν . . . ὁ δέ*), ii, 3, *al.*

In general, the author's syntax is correct and careful. Some laxity, however, is seen in iii, 5, where the sentence *τῶν μὲν κτλ.* is isolated, being either an irregular genit. abs. or a clause loosely attached to the preceding genit. *τῶν . . . ἐνδεικνυμένων*. See note *ad loc.*

(iii) Style

The style throughout is elegant and graceful.¹ It is clear that the author did not share the indifference of some apologists to charm of diction and style.² Fitting word and phrase, an abundance of striking contrast, an arrangement orderly and concise, and a tone instinct with vigour and life—all stamp the unknown author as a man of high literary skill. Some grandiose phrases create a semi-rhetorical effect,³ which is enhanced by the frequent use of the rhetorical question (ii, 2 ff.; iv, 2 ff.) and exclamation (ix, 2, 5). The epigrammatic element is marked ('they share all things as citizens, and suffer all things as strangers', v, 5, etc.). We find pleonasm (ii, 9; note *ὑπομένω* and *ἀνέχομαι*), paronomasia (*κοιῆν . . . κοίτην*, v, 7),⁴ alliteration (v, 13; vii, 12 (*imit.*); viii, 8), and the use of negative opposites formed by *ἀ-*privative (*ὄρατός . . . ἀόρατος*, vi, 4, etc.). The following figures of speech appear (see Notes): zeugma (ii, 1), chiasmus (iv, 5), epanastrophe (v, 16 *κολάζω*, viii, 5-6 *ἐπιδείκνυμι*), and litotes (xii, 3 *οὐδὲ ἄσημα*). Apart from the elaborate opening period the sentences are mainly short (vii, 2; ix, 6 are exceptions), while sometimes pregnant with meaning; how striking, for example, is the terse statement 'free board they provide—but no carnal bed' (v, 7). The sentences are often idiomatic and well-balanced (iv, 2; v, 12), and occasionally take the form of a neat antithesis (ix, 5; cf. also vii, 4-5). It is especially noticeable that in v, 5—vi, 9 short sentences of almost similar length are of

¹ Th. Keim (*Rom und das Christenthum*, 461) eulogizes "die reine, klassische Sprache, der schöne, korrekte Satzbau, die rhetorische Frische, die schlagenden Antithesen, der geistreiche Ausdruck, die logische Abrundung" of the Letter, while E. Norden (*Die antike Kunstprosa*, II² (1909), p. 513, n. 2) sums up the style as "brilliant" ("Der brief an Diognet . . . zu dem Glänzendsten gehört").

² There is nothing in the Epistle to match, for example, the tedious digressions and cumbersome clauses which appear in Just. Mart.

³ For example, *ἡ κατάστασις τῆς ἐαυτῶν πολιτείας* (v, 4).

⁴ Cf. Wisd. xiii, 11 (*εὐμαθῶς . . . εὐπρεπῶς*), Lk. xxi, 11 (*λοιμοὶ καὶ λιμοὶ*).

the antithetic type and marked by a kind of rhyme (cf. *πᾶσα ξένη πατρίς ἐστὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶσα πατρίς ξένη*, v, 5).¹ Note especially the succession of brief clauses ending in *-ται* (v, 11-12, 14-16).

A certain rhythmical force in three passages suggests that they are excerpts from Christian hymns (see on vii, 4; ix, 2; xi, 3). We note the series of co-ordinate clauses strung together by *καὶ* (v, 10-15; vi, 2-9. Cf. xi, 6; xii, 9), though asyndeton is not uncommon (ii, 9; v, 6 *γαμοῦσιν . . . τεκνογονοῦσιν*, ix, 2b, 6). The word order is careful in the main; not infrequently the verb stands at the beginning of the sentence (vi, 2 f.).

The author is especially prone to reiterate the same root words and constructions as a kind of link in the immediate context. The following instances show this marked feature of the style:

Repetition of *προειρημένος* (iii, 2), *ζωοποιοῦμαι* (v, 12, 16), *ὧ πειθαρχεῖ* (vii, 2). Cf. also *κολάζω* (v, 16), *ἐπιδείκνυμι* (viii, 5-6) noted above. *παρέχει αὐτός* follows up *πᾶσιν ἡμῖν χορηγῶν* (iii, 4), *βία* resumes *βιαζόμενος* (vii, 4), *ἀποδεκτός* answers to *ἀποδέχῃ* (viii, 2-3), and *κρίνοντα* follows *κρίνων* (vii, 5, 6).² In this connexion note vii, 4-6 (*πέμπων—ἐπεμψεν* (six times)—*πέμψει*), ix, 1 (*τὸ ἀδύνατον—τῇ δυνάμει—δυνατοί*), ix, 5 (*ἀνομία—δικαίω—ἀνόμους—δικαιώση*), ix, 6 (*τὸ ἀδύνατον—δυνατὸν—τὰ ἀδύνατα*). *ὧ τῶν ἀπροσδοκῆτων εὐεργεσιῶν* (ix, 5) repeats the closing part of viii, 11. Repetition frequently serves for emphasis. Cf. the reiterated *ταῦτα* (ii, 5, 9; vii, 9), *ὡς* (vii, 4), *αὐτός* (vii, 2; ix, 2). The projection of words has the same effect (cf. *τὴν αἰτίαν*, v, 17).

Nevertheless, the author can effectively vary his expressions (cf. *τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους*, x, 5; *τοῖς ἐπιδομομένοις*, x, 6; *ἐπίγειος . . . θνητός . . . ἀνθρώπινος*, vii, 1). He plays skilfully with prepositional variations on the same root verb (*συνέχω* and *κατέχω*, vi, 7, *κατοικέω* and *παροικέω*, vi, 8, *διατάσσω* and *ὑποτάσσω*, vii, 2, *παρέχω* and *μετέχω*, viii, 11, *καταγινώσκω* and *ἐπιγινώσκω*, x, 7). We note the habit of repeating the same thought in different

¹ Puech (*Les apol. grecs*, 256) thinks that this is part of the technique which the author owed to the rhetorical schools, and points out that this form matches the author's view of the paradoxical character of the Christian faith (v, 4): "l'antithèse est ici exigée par la pensée". Similar Greek stylistic influence is apparent in Melito (see the *Homily on the Passion*). But it is not improbable that we may detect also Semitic influence of the LXX (especially the Psalms and the Wisdom books) on both authors.

² Cf. Rom. xii, 13 ff. (repeated *διώκω, εὐλογέω, φρονέω*), 2 Pet. ii, 1-3 (triple occurrence of *ἀπάλεια*). This stylistic artifice is patent in Melito's *Homily on the Passion* (ed. C. Bonner). See §§ 59, 91 (*δι' αὐτόν* repeated 5 times), 93 (*πικρός* repeated 12 times).

terms (e.g. *διδόναι*—*γεραίρειν*—*παρέχειν*, of man's offering to God, iii, 4-6) or varying form ('the soul has been confined within the body', vi, 7; 'the soul, though immortal, dwells in a mortal tabernacle', vi, 8). Note also 'the flesh hates the soul' (vi, 5), 'the flesh which hates it (the soul)' (vi, 6). The same feature is observable in the rhetorical questions in ch. ii; cf. 'another silver, which needs a man to guard it lest it be stolen' (2) with 'those of silver and gold . . . lest they be stolen' (7). Note also *σεσηπός* (ii, 2) and *σηπόμενα* (ii, 4), *φθαρτῆς ὕλης* (ii, 3) and *φθειρόμενα* (ii, 4). Now and again the author anticipates possible objections—a rhetorical device. Cf. 'as one might suppose' (vii, 2, 3); 'not at all . . . sins' (ix, 1), 'He did not hate', etc. (ix, 2). He has one or two vivid metaphors (the Christian in the world is like the soul in the body, vi, 1 ff., deceptive custom must be 'unloaded' like luggage, ii, 1). He shows an ironical vein (cf. the epithet *ἀξιόπιστος* and the parenthesis in viii, 2),¹ not to mention a refreshing candour.² He can also strike a moralizing note (vi, 10).

Among particular stylistic features we may name the careful use of tenses: note the discrimination between the pres. and aor. infin. (*τὸ λέγειν . . . εἰπεῖν*, *τὸ ἀκούειν . . . ἀκούσαι*, i), the perf. and aor. infin. (*μεμαθηκέναι . . . μαθεῖν*, iv, 6), the perf. and pres. tenses (vi, 2, 7; vii, 2; viii, 2, 6, 11), and the full force of the perf. indic. (*ἐγκέκλεισται*, vi, 7, etc.). There is an abundance of adjectives in *ἀ-*privative (thirty-three instances in the Epistle), which Aristotle³ accounts a mark of elevated style. We observe the frequency of *μὲν . . . δέ* (twenty-two times), of particles (see p. 65), and of resumptive *οὗτος* (vi, 1; vii, 2; x, 6). Compound verbs abound (ninety-six in all, four being double compounds). Sometimes a compound verb is resumed by its simplex form with no appreciable difference of meaning (cf. *κατοικέω . . . οἰκέω*, v, 4, 5).⁴ In vi, 5 hiatus is avoided by the use of *διότι* (note causal *ὅτι* in the same section). Once (ii, 9) *γάρ* ends a sentence. Diminutives are entirely lacking.⁵

¹ Speaking of 'those specious philosophers' who say that God is fire, he adds: 'they call that God whereunto they themselves are destined to go'. See also ii, 9, n. (*ταύτης τῆς κολάσεως*).

² See note on *κράτιστε Διόγγητε* (i).

³ *Rhet.* iii, 6, 7.

⁴ A class. idiom surviving in N.T. Greek (Moulton, *Proleg.* 115).

⁵ *αιτίον* (vi, 9), *δριον* (xi, 5), and *χωρίον* (xii, 2) are diminutives in form only. A frequent use of diminutives is a sign of colloquialism. Their absence from our Epistle is in keeping with its literary quality.

5. AUTHORSHIP AND DATE

As so often in early literature, the authorship is veiled. External evidence is entirely lacking. The Epistle itself is curiously impersonal. It is clear that the author is a man of furnished mind, who handles his theme with considerable skill but gives no clue to his identity. He never even allies himself explicitly with the Christians, though his personal faith is unmistakable.¹ The phrases 'a disciple of apostles'² and 'a teacher of the Gentiles' are vague in meaning and relate only to the writer of the appended chapters. One negative finding may be taken as assured. Few scholars would now accept the traditional ascription to Justin Martyr.³ Language and style, apart from other features, are decisive on this point. The door of speculation thus stands open, and many have not hesitated to enter boldly in. Bunsen's view⁴ that the Epistle (chs. i-x) came from Marcion before his secession from the Church is very improbable. Buonaiuti has revived this theory.⁵ It is true that there are general features common to Marcion and *Diognetus*: the emphasis on the practical aspects of religion, the marked soteriological interest, the anti-Judaic temper, and the insistence on the uniqueness and newness of Christianity. But the differences are fundamental. The Epistle shows no sign of Marcion's dualism, the hard, just Demiurge of the Old Testament, the loving Father-God of the New. *Diognetus* indeed credits the Jews with the worship of 'the one God of the universe' (iii, 2). For Marcion the supreme God can have no contact with matter; the creator of the visible world is the Demiurge. *Diognetus*, on the other hand, speaks of 'the all-creating God' (ὁ παντοκτίστης, vii, 1), Creator of the universe (viii, 7), the world (x, 2), the elements (viii, 2), and things (iv, 2). It uses similar language about the Son: 'the very Artificer and Maker of the universe' (vii, 2). Man, according to Marcion, is the offspring of the creator of the world; he has no kinship with the God of love. *Diognetus* (x, 2) affirms that God made man in His own image. Marcion takes the Pauline view of faith as trust in the unmerited grace of God revealed in Christ; in the Epistle 'faith' seems to have a more intellectual content.⁶ The Docetism of Marcion is hardly consistent with *Diognetus*, vii, 4: 'He sent him as Man to men'. Finally, *Diognetus*, v, 6, regards marriage as the normal state, whereas the

¹ "C'est un croyant qui parle" (G. Bardy, *La Vie spirituelle d'après les Pères des trois premiers siècles*, 90).

² See note on xi, 1.

⁴ *Christianity and Mankind*, i, 170 ff.

⁵ See Molland, pp. 301 ff.

³ See below, pp. 61 f.

⁶ See below, p. 40.

strict asceticism of Marcion leads him to condemn wedlock and parentage.¹

Even less probable are the views which ascribe the Epistle to Clement of Rome (Baratier) and Apollos (Gallandi). Dorner² would assign it to Quadratus, the earliest apologist, a fragment of whose work is preserved in Eusebius.³ Doucet⁴ and Kihn⁵ assign it to the author of the *Apology of Aristides*.⁶ Other names suggested are Apelles (Dräseke),⁷ Lucian the martyr (Chapman),⁸ Ambrosius (Birks),⁹ Hippolytus (R. H. Connolly).¹⁰ Donaldson¹¹ indeed was put to such straits in this matter that he was disposed to make its first editor (H. Stephanus, 1592) its author! But he states, "I am inclined to think it more likely that some of the Greeks who came over to Italy when threatened by the Turks may have written the treatise, not so much from the wish to counterfeit a work of Justin's as to write a good declamation in the old style". "But", he went on to add, "there is no sound basis for any theory with regard to this remarkable production".

¹ See Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* i, 29, iv, 34.

² *Person of Christ* (E.T., 1861), I, i, 374 f.

³ *H.E.* iv, 3. See below, pp. 148 ff.

⁴ *Revue des Questions historiques*, xxviii (1880), 601-12.

⁵ *Der Ursprung des Briefes an Diognet* (1882), pp. 95-154.

⁶ See below, pp. 59 ff.

⁷ In *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie* (1881), p. 466.

⁸ *Catholic Encyclopædia*, v, 8 f.

⁹ Birks (*Dict. of Christian Biography*, II, 162 ff. See also his revised art. in Wace and Piercy, *Dict. of Christian Biography* (1911), pp. 257 ff.) holds that the heading 'of the same' does not directly attribute the Epistle to Justin but relates it to the author of the treatise *To the Greeks* which immediately preceded it in the MS. (see below, p. 68). In support he points out features of style and diction common to both documents. Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum* (1855), had given from a sixth- or seventh-century MS. a Syriac version of a discourse almost identical with *To the Greeks*, ascribed to "Ambrosius, a chief man of Greece, who became a Christian, and all his fellow-councillors raised a clamour against him". Birks, therefore, thinks that both *To the Greeks* and *To Diognetus* came from the hand of Ambrosius. He suggests that probably an old copy exhibited three works of Ambrosius—an avowal of Christianity and answers *To the Greeks* and *To Diognetus*. The first document is lost; the second is a sample of numerous controversial works; the third, the *Epistle to Diognetus*, though fragmentary, is unique, apologetic but also catechetical in character, chs. xi-xii forming, as he is disposed to think, part of the same discourse as chs. i-x (see below, p. 64).

Birks's hypothesis, which rests partly on the kinship between *To the Greeks* and *To Diognetus*, has not won any general favour, though Cruttwell, *A Literary History of Early Christianity*, i, 301 f., is favourably inclined to it.

¹⁰ *J.T.S.* xxxvi (1935), 347 ff. Connolly argues that the similarity between *Diognetus*, vii, 1-5 and Hippolytus, *Philos.* x, 33 points to common authorship. These two passages are alike not only in theme and argument, but also in structure, and in two places they show such close resemblances in thought and language that "accidental coincidence seems out of the question".

¹¹ *A Critical History of Christian Literature and Doctrine* (1866), ii, 141 f.

Similarly, Overbeck¹ called in question the literary honesty of the writer of the Epistle. "There are no adequate means of determining its authorship", says Westcott.² "But", he continues, "it is enough that we can regard it as the natural outpouring of a Greek heart holding converse with a Greek mind in the language of old philosophers".

The question of the date is only to a less degree indeterminate. The internal evidence is far from conclusive. The references to persecution are general in character and allow no sure deduction.³ No chronological significance attaches to the description of Christianity as 'this new race or practice' (i), since Tertullian and Eusebius can both speak of Christianity in their times in similar terms. Nor again does the fact that the author writes of Jewish sacrifices and ritual in the present tense necessarily imply that the Temple was still standing. For not only does it appear that sacrifices continued to be offered after A.D. 70 in various places,⁴ but a Christian writer might naturally speak of the Jewish ritual as still obligatory, as indeed the pious Jew firmly held it to be.⁵ On the other hand, it is precarious to infer a late date from the use of the term *οικονομικῶς* (ix, i. *Cod. Argent.*), which fourth- and fifth-century writers employ to denote the inner relations of the Godhead. This theological nicety is foreign to the thought of the Epistle, and it is safer to adopt Lachmann's emendation *οικονομηκῶς* ('planned').

The very universality of thought and tone makes it hard to fix the period of the Epistle.⁶ Westcott would place it as early as A.D. 117. If that is too early, Overbeck's post-Constantinian

¹ *Ueber den pseudojustinischen Brief an Diognet* (1872); *Studien zur Gesch. der alten Kirche*, i (1875). R. B. Drummond in the *Academy*, iv (1873), 27 ff. favourably reviews Overbeck's case for a late origin of the Epistle. More recently P. Thomsen (*Philologische Wochenschrift* (1930), 561-3) hazards a Byzantine authorship of the twelfth century.

² *The Canon of the New Testament*,⁶ pp. 86 f. Aubé (*Saint Justin, Philosophe et Martyr*, p. 94), impressed by the philosophic temper of the writer, essays no name; but, "cet auteur inconnu a sans doute passé sa jeunesse à Athènes, au milieu des sophistes".

³ Renan (*Marc-Aurèle*, p. 424), however, thinks that they fit the last years of Marcus Aurelius. See below, pp. 38 ff.

⁴ See the evidence given in Donaldson, *op. cit.*, ii, 135 f.

⁵ The use of the present tense is often a mere literary convention. Cf. Heb. vii, 8; Josephus, *Antiq.* iii, 6-12. See Harnack's note on 1 Clem. xli, 2 (in *Patrum Apost. Opera*, fasc. I, pt. i) and Lightfoot (*Apost. Fathers*, I, ii) on the same passage.

⁶ "It breathes an air of eternity; it is marked by inner harmony and clearness; and precisely because it was so direct an expression of the eternal element in Christianity, does it bear so few traces of any particular period" (Dorner, *Person of Christ*, I, i, 377).

date and J. M. Cotterill's fantastic theory¹ of an eighth- or ninth-century composition are patently far too late. Otto and Bunsen place it about A.D. 135; Ewald between A.D. 120-30. Keim² and Cruttwell suggest the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Geffcken assign it to A.D. 250, Zahn 250-310. Harnack prefers still wider limits (170-310). The prevailing view is that the Epistle derives from the middle or latter half of the century. Puech (p. 263) puts it soon after Justin Martyr; R. H. Connolly³ leans "to the close of the second century, and to the age of Hippolytus, *at the earliest*". Lightfoot,⁴ Bardenhewer,⁵ and Krüger favour about A.D. 150. Some general considerations point to this relatively early date: the condemnation in common of paganism and Judaism; freedom in handling the N.T. writings; the lack of the tendency to identify the ideal of Christian excellence with the ascetic life, and the absence of traces of sacerdotalism; the relatively simple Christology less elaborate than that of Origen; the dominance of the doctrine of the Logos with no doctrine of the Holy Spirit; ⁶ the problem why the Son had come late in time, which appears in Justin but finds little place in later apologists; the apparent unawareness of formulated heresies, apart from possible hints of the Gnostic emphasis; the traditional assignment of the Epistle to Justin and its place in the Codex with other writings ascribed to him.

Nothing is known of the place of origin of the Epistle. Bunsen, Dräseke, and others would assign it to Rome, Doucet to Athens.

For the authorship and origin of the appended chapters (xi-xii) see below, pp. 66 ff.

6. TEACHING

(i) *Of chs. i-x.*

The theological content of the Epistle lies mainly in chs. vii-ix. It indicates a simple form of belief. There is no elaboration, for example, in the author's doctrine of the Logos, nor does he seem aware of the philosophic difficulties involved in the idea of the incarnation of the Son of God.⁷ Moreover, there are

¹ *Church Quarterly Review* (April, 1877); *Peregrinus Proteus* (1879). The theory is usefully summarized in Radford, 13-15.

² See note on vii, 4 (below).

³ *J.T.S.* xxxvi (1935), p. 351. See note on vii, 5 (below).

⁴ *Apostolic Fathers*, I, ii, 533 (ed. 2); *Biblical Essays*, p. 94.

⁵ *Gesch. d. altkirchl. Lit.* I², 322.

⁶ See below, p. 51.

⁷ Celsus (Origen, *Con. Cels.* iv, 2; ii, 31), writing c. A.D. 177, argues that incarnation involves limitation and change, and that such is unthinkable in an immortal and immutable God. It would mean a "change from good to bad" (iv, 14).

noticeable omissions. No explicit mention is made of the Old Testament.¹ This is the more strange in that some Christian apologists made great play with Old Testament prophecies as supposed predictions of the coming of Christ,² and generally correlated the old revelation in the Law and the Prophets with the new revelation in Christ. The silence of the Epistle in this regard is due not to Gnostic contempt for the Old Testament so much as to the author's polemic against Jewish tenets and customs as a foil to the Christian religion. Moreover, the Epistle was addressed to a heathen and intended primarily for Gentiles to whom the Old Testament would make little or no appeal.³ But, above all, the proof of the truth of Christian claims lies elsewhere, viz. in the purity and nobility of Christian lives. More striking is the fact that the author has only a general reference to the historic life of the Son, and none to his miracles, suffering, death, and resurrection.⁴ He comes nearest to this in the passage: 'Himself gave up His own Son as a ransom for us', etc. (ix, 2). Nor are forgiveness and the need of a new birth brought clearly into view. There is no indication of Church order or sacraments or indeed of any credal form such as is adumbrated in the *Apol. of Aristides* (c. A.D. 140).⁵ Too much must not be made of these omissions, since the discussion is limited by the supposed queries of Diognetus. But the simplicity of the theological contents is not without significance for the question of the date of the Epistle. In temper the author of *Diognetus* is to be classed among the sub-apostolic writers, of whom Sanday⁶ says: "there is no conscious speculation or systematizing; and yet thought is at work; language and usage are in process of becoming more fixed; the foundations of more developed doctrine are really being laid, but laid, as it were, underground". The *Preaching of Peter*, with which *Diognetus* shows kinship,⁷ belongs also to this transitional type.

The teaching of the Epistle may be considered under the following heads:

¹ The reference to 'the fear of the law' and 'the grace of the prophets' is found in the Appendix (xi, 6). Cf. also τὰ γεγραμμένα (xii, 3) of a passage in Genesis (ii, 8-9). For echoes of O.T. passages see below, pp. 53 f.

² Cf. Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 30 (cited below, p. 62). See also Athenagoras, *Suppl.* 9; Theophilus, *ad Autol.* ii, 9 *al.*

³ This is not to deny that some cultured pagans had studied the Jewish Scriptures. Justin, Tatian, and Theophilus attribute their conversion to that source.

⁴ Suppression of the distinctive Christian elements is noticeable in other apologists, e.g. Tatian, Athenagoras, Minucius Felix. Justin is an exception. For reasons for this suppression, see below, p. 47.

⁵ See J. R. Harris, *Aristides* (*Camb. Texts and Stud.* I, i, 13 ff., 24 f.).

⁶ *Christologies, Ancient and Modern*, p. 12.

⁷ See below, pp. 58 f.

(a) *God*

Before the coming of the Son man was ignorant of the knowledge of God (viii, 1. See note). It is in the conception of God that both pagan idolatry and Jewish superstition stand condemned. The worship of stocks and stones is offered to senseless images and is therefore utterly foolish. The Jews, it is true, recognize the one God and Master of the universe. But they too are foolish and even impious; for by their sacrifices they suppose that God is in need of such offerings, and by their ridiculous ritual observances they misconceive His character and wisdom. The theories of the 'plausible philosophers' who identified God with fire or water or some other created element are obviously absurd, since any one identification has equal claim with the rest. All such strivings after God are discredited. Our author makes no recognition of the revelation of God through nature¹ or through the O.T. witness² or through the soul "naturally Christian". Man's knowledge of the Deity came from God Himself. God 'manifested Himself through faith, by which alone it is given to see God' (viii, 6).

The God³ thus self-revealed is primarily 'the one God of the universe' and 'Master' (iii, 2), 'the all-sovereign, all-creating, and invisible God' (vii, 2), 'Master and Maker of the universe, who created all things and disposed them in their *due* order' (viii, 7. Cf. iii, 4; viii, 2). The Logos is the agent of creation,⁴ but God its primal source (vii, 2). The providence of God ordains the seasons (iv, 5) and bestows on all men what they lack, while He Himself is beyond all need (iii, 3 ff.). As to His character God is 'not only a lover of men' (*φιλόανθρωπος*) but also 'long-suffering' (*μακρόθυμος*). And this He is unchangingly, 'kind and good and free from anger and true, and He alone is good' (viii, 8). The author insists that 'force' (*βία*) is no attribute of God' (vii, 4. See note and p. 42, below). The power (*δύναμις*) that He wields is moral (ix, 1-2).

¹ He affirms, of course, that God creates and controls all natural phenomena (iii, 4, iv, 5 *al.*).

² If this is implied in the bald statement that the Jews worship the one God of the universe (iii, 2), it is offset by their *δεισιδαιμονία* (see below, p. 94).

³ The author seems to use *θεός* with and without the article sometimes indifferently (16 times with and 20 without), both usages being found occasionally in the same context (viii, 2; ix, 2, etc.). Cf. *ὁ λόγος* and *λόγος* (xi, 2, 3). The title *πατήρ* occurs rarely (x, 1; xi, 2; xii, 9), perhaps because he is writing for Gentile readers, for whom the concept of God as 'Father' would have less meaning than that of 'God' or 'King' (cf. *Wisd.* xi, 10). For the significance of the term 'Father' in Greek thought, see T. W. Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus*, 90 f.

⁴ See below, p. 27.

But the dominant conception is the 'goodness' and 'love' of God. The author's mind moves within the circle of God's moral qualities denoted by *χρηστότης* (ix, 1 *al.* Cf. *χρηστός καὶ ἀγαθός*, viii, 8), *ἀγάπη*, *ἀγαπάω* (iv, 4; vii, 5), *φιλόανθρωπος*, *φιλανθρωπία* (viii, 7; ix, 2). These qualities are reflected in all the divine dealings with men. His majesty (*μεγαλειότης*) is a majesty of beneficent love (x, 5. See note). It was love of mankind that moved God to make the world (x, 2), to subject all earthly things to man, to endow men with reason and mind,¹ to grant them the power to aspire to Himself whose image they bear, to promise the kingdom in heaven to those who loved Him. The gifts of God attest His love and care, and it is not possible to discriminate among these gifts; all are necessary and useful to men (iv, 2). It is, however, in the fact of redemption that the author sees most clearly the manifestation of the goodness of God. Chapters vii-ix set forth the divine plan of salvation. Here we have a clearer exposition of the Atonement from one point of view than any before Irenaeus, who gives a careful analysis of the work of redemption. We shall indeed look in vain for any developed theory of Atonement in Christian writings of the early period. The time for a formal statement of the doctrine had not yet come. But certain features of our author's view may be plainly discerned and are of interest as indicating in a personal utterance of faith one trend of Christian thought.²

The need for redemption lay in man's sin, which entailed the inevitable reward of spiritual incapacity and death. See below, pp. 28 f. Nothing, we note, is said of the view held generally by the apologists (cf. Just. Mart., *Dial.* 30) that deliverance is from the power of the demons. Belief in demons, i.e. intermediary spirits who operate in all departments of human life as agents of the gods,³ was widely prevalent in ancient pagan thought.⁴ Most of the apologists shared this belief in a modified form⁵ and addressed themselves to the task of proving the reality and extent of the malign influence of the demons. The author of *Diognetus* gives no hint that he held the general view, though we may not, *e silentio*, conclude the contrary.

¹ God 'bestows on us *the power* both of speaking and of hearing' (i).

² "By far the most complete statement at this period of the work of Christ is contained in that very attractive little work, the *Epistle to Diognetus*—a work which may be dated about the year A.D. 160" (The Bishop of Gloucester, in the *Church Quarterly Review*, cxxxii (1940), p. 5).

³ Cf. Origen, *Con. Cels.* viii, 35.

⁴ Cf. Plato, *Symp.* 202E; Plutarch, *De Defect. Orac.* 13.

⁵ Whereas the pagans made a distinction between the classes of demons, some being of a morally lower order, others good (cf. Origen, *Con. Cels.* viii, 60), for the Christians all demons were wholly bad.

Redemption springs from God Himself, but is effected in the Son. He indeed shares the counsel of the Father and is the appointed agent of salvation. But the initiative lies with God, who 'first loved' men (x, 3) and who in the beginning (cf. viii, 11) purposed to save: 'having conceived a great and unutterable design He communicated it to His Child alone' (viii, 9): 'He planned everything already in His own mind with His Child' (ix, 1). It was God Himself who 'established among men and fixed firmly in their hearts the truth and the holy and incomprehensible word' (vii, 2). The primacy of God comes out clearly throughout the Epistle. The role of the Father in the redemptive plan is differentiated from that of the Son as Sender is from Sent. The Son was 'sent'¹ in gentleness and meekness to save and persuade and to call men in love, not to compel nor to judge (vii, 4). In this commission of the Son it was God Himself moving towards men in redeeming love: 'He did not hate us or repel us or remember our misdeeds, but was long-suffering, bore with us, remember our mercy took on Him our sins, Himself gave up His own Son as a ransom for us' (ix, 2. See note). That some phrases point also to the Son's activity in redemption only illustrates the author's view of the perfect accord of will between Father and Son.

Redemption is rooted in God's love and goodness. The execution of the plan determined in the heavenly counsels from the beginning (viii, 11; ix, 1) was deferred until the appointed time. God waits till man, self-convicted by his own deeds, has learned his moral impotence. And this, not because God is neglectful of man (viii, 10) or takes pleasure in sins, but out of His long-suffering (viii, 7) and forbearance (ix, 2). Then He shows forth the Saviour.² Here is the answer to Diognetus's third question, namely, why Christianity had not appeared at an earlier time.³ God wanted to show that man could not save himself. The picture is not that of an offended or implacable Deity, but of a patient God who yearns to save (is He not free from wrath and hatred? ix, 2). "The entire conception and process of Redemption is, from first to last, a revelation of unimaginable love; a love which can only elicit, from men who have eyes to see it, the profoundest emotions of amazement and of adoration; and this love is, at least, not less emphatically the

¹ This note is frequent in the Gospels (Mk. ix, 37; Luke iv, 18; John v, 38 *al.*), especially the Fourth, where it is "a divine title" (W. F. Howard).

² See note on viii, 10-11, and cf. the purport of Wisd. xi, 23; Acts xvii, 30; Rom. ii, 4; iii, 25 f.

³ On this theme see Origen, *Con. Cels.* vi, 78; Arnobius, ii, 75. See below, p. 127.

love of the Father, than the love of the Son who died" (Moberly).¹ Hence our author shares the Pauline wonder at the saving purpose of God as being wholly contrary to all human expectation. Cf. vii, 3; viii, 11; ix, 5.

The immediate result of redemption is that man is enabled 'to enter into the kingdom of God' (ix, 1), a new experience and status which lead to holy and joyous living. Redemption and sanctification are linked together. After describing the redemption through the Son and the faith and knowledge by which it is apprehended, the author continues, 'with what joy, think you, will you be filled? . . . loving Him you will imitate His goodness' (x, 3-4). Thus the redeemed man, 'justified' (*δικαιωθῆναι*. See note on ix, 4) by the Son, brings forth ethical fruits. Henceforth God is in him as 'mind, light, honour, glory, strength, life'. So also the writer finds evidence of God's 'presence' (*παρουσία*) in the endurance and triumph of the Christian martyrs (vii, 9).

It is clear that in the main the author conceives the Atonement from the point of view of 'moral influence'. Redemption is achieved by the love of God awakening its response of love in man. 'How *greatly* will you love Him who so first loved you?' (x, 3).² But that is not all. There is a strain in the Epistle which suggests that atonement is more than the expression of God's love. God 'gave up His own Son as a ransom for us' (*λύτρον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν*, ix, 2). The term *λύτρον* in current Greek usage has the nuance of transaction, and the notion of equivalent price for deliverance³ is dominant in both the Greek word and its common Hebrew correlative (*kopher*). Further, the words 'for what else could cover our sins but his righteousness?' (ix, 3) seem to approach the idea of satisfaction, and possibly there is a hint of the substitution of the Son for sinners in the exclamation, 'O the sweet exchange' (*ἀνταλλαγῆ*, ix, 5).⁴ J. Scott Lidgett,⁵ referring to crucial parts of *Diognetus*, vii, ix, says: "these passages will show that this epistle might stand with equal propriety at the head of the so-called moral doctrines of the Atonement, and of those which look upon it as a satisfaction for sin". It is clear that, while the moral theory of the Atonement predominates in our author's thought, it is not exclusive of other

¹ *Atonement and Personality*, p. 331.

² A Johannine thought (1 John iv, 19).

³ The root idea of both verb and noun seems to be 'deliverance'. See *Exp. T.* xlv (1933), 142 (B. Blake). See also V. Taylor, *Jesus and His Sacrifice*, pp. 102 ff.

⁴ The phrase, however, is ambiguous. The 'exchange' is probably that of man's wickedness for righteousness, an internal change not an external transfer.

⁵ *The Spiritual Principle of the Atonement*, p. 424.

elements which later developed into the substitutionary and penal theories.¹

In this regard it is important to observe that it is in virtue of his righteousness (*δικαιοσύνη*) that the Son redeems. In an eloquent passage the Epistle names the moral qualities of the Saviour: he is holy, innocent, just, incorruptible, immortal. It then singles out *δίκαιος* as apparently the crucial term. By the *righteousness* of the Son man's sins are 'covered' (see note on ix, 3). "In that righteousness we are justified. The Pauline term is used, but the meaning has become much less forensic. The thought is not that of an externally imputed righteousness, but of a real change in the sinful heart of man, and the writer seems to feel that the righteousness of Christ becomes actually ours" (Grensted).² The death of Christ is obviously in mind, though not expressly named. But the necessity of the death is not considered, nor does the author show how it actually effects redemption, apart from the response of love evoked from men. His language trembles on the verge of the substitutionary principle. But the decisive step is not taken. It is sufficient for our author to declare that the source of redemption is in God and that it is as the Righteous One that the Son saves, without particularizing the method by which atonement is made. The broad lines of the author's view are clear, but it is neither developed nor complete. He is, however, thoroughly evangelical in conviction; none can enter into the kingdom of God except through the Son, who is able to save even creatures devoid of *moral* power (ix, 2-6).³ Lightfoot⁴ says of the central part of the Epistle (v-vii) that "it seems to embody the very spirit of the Gospel". It is to be noted that the author gives small place to man's part in the Atonement. Man must 'believe on God's goodness' (ix, 6), a faith which he must first 'desire' (x, 1).⁵ But redemption is solely the work of divine grace.

(b) *The Son*

Specific titles are 'His Child' (*παῖς*, viii, 9; ix, 1),⁶ 'His beloved Child' (viii, 11), 'the Son (*υἱός*) of God' (ix, 4), 'His

¹ Rashdall (*The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology*, p. 206, n. 1) entirely minimizes the passage (ix, 2-5) as "after all only a rhetorical paraphrase of the ransom passage in the Gospel, read in the light of Isaiah liii and of St. Paul".

² *A Short History of the Doctrine of the Atonement*, p. 15.

³ Cf. *Hermas*, *Sim.* ix, 12, 5-8.

⁴ *Historical Essays*, p. 7.

⁵ This is not the Pauline conception of faith whereby man is 'justified'. See below, p. 40.

⁶ For *παῖς* and *υἱός* see on viii, 9.

own Son' (ix, 2), 'His only-begotten (*μονογενής*) Son' (x, 2), 'the Saviour' (ix, 6), 'the Lord' (vii, 7. Cf. xii, 9), and in the Appendix 'Son' (xi, 5) and 'Word' (xi, 2, 3, 7; xii, 9). To these we may add the terms descriptive of Christ's moral qualities named above (p. 25). One phrase describes the Son's cosmic function: 'the very Artificer and Maker of the universe' (vii, 2).¹ In vii, 4 ff. he is viewed under the categories of 'King', 'God', 'Man', 'Judge'. Two expressions of uncertain reference remain: 'the truth', and 'the holy and incomprehensible word'.²

We note the absence of the Jewish titles 'Messiah' and 'Son of Man', naturally of no interest to a Gentile reader. The name 'Jesus' is not found, and his earthly life is practically ignored,³ although the explicit statement 'He sent him as Man to men' (vii, 4. Cf. also xi, 3) excludes any suggestion of Docetism (*ἀνθρωπον*, however, in vii, 4 is Lachmann's insertion).

The Christology is simple and unscholastic.⁴ It is plainly of the 'pneumatic' type. The Son is a heavenly being who descended, being 'sent' to appear to men. No precise definition of the relation of the Son to the Father is attempted. It is clear, however, from the use of the various titles, and from the whole idea of the 'Child' sharing God's heavenly counsel, being 'sent' to men, given as 'ransom' and shown as 'Saviour', that the author thinks of the Son as not only pre-existent, but subordinate to the Father. The frequency of the term 'Son' bears this out.⁵ The filial life as such implies subordination. But the passage describing the sending of the Son (vii, 2) emphasizes his majestic nature and office. The 'Sent' was no minister to men, or angel, or ruler, or one of those who direct earthly things, or of those entrusted with the dispensations in heaven. He was 'the very Artificer and Maker of the universe Himself' (substantially the same title is applied to God, viii, 7), whom the author exalts in a lengthy description of his universal dominion over nature. So also the plan of salvation was dis-

¹ See below, p. 119.

² Allen (*Continuity of Christian Thought*, p. 26) thinks that the latter phrase denotes "Christ in His spiritual being". But see below on vii, 2.

³ A "blanched Christology" (Moffatt, *Introd. to the Literature of the N.T.*³, p. 471).

⁴ See V. A. Spence Little, *The Christology of the Apologists*, pp. 68-75.

⁵ "There is an intractable element of subordination in the functions which he (St. Paul) assigns to the Son" (cf. 1 Cor. xv, 27 f.), (Vincent Taylor, *The Atonement in New Testament Teaching*, p. 129). Cf. also 1 Cor. xi, 3; Gal. iv, 4; Phil. ii, 9. See Beyschlag, *New Testament Theology*², ii, 74 ff. A similar strain appears in *Hebrews* (i, 2, 6; v, 5; xiii, 20), the Fourth Gospel (v, 19, 30; vi, 38; vii, 16; x, 36), and it is well marked in Just. Mart. (*Apol.* i, 12, 13; ii, 13).

closed ' to His Child alone ' (viii, 9 ; ix, 1), and revealed ' through His beloved Child ' (viii, 11). Donaldson¹ holds in reference to viii, 1 that the author did not identify the Son with the Father but thought that he was possessed of a divine nature (*θεός*), " and therefore was capable of exhibiting to man the properties of a divine nature ". Cf. ' He sent him as God ' (*θεός*), vii, 4. But we may go farther and say that the author shared the view held by the apologists that in essence the Son is one with the Father whilst distinct in person and subordinate in function. " He is God so truly that His coming can be described as the coming of God, His Atonement as God's taking upon Him our sins, His revelation as God's revelation of Himself " (Radford).² All this suggests a dignity inherent in the Son comparable with that of the Father Himself.

The function of the pre-incarnate Son is conceived particularly in relation to the world. He was its creative principle, agent rather than author of creation.³ But the writer's interest is more religious than philosophical.⁴ He looks upon the Son as essentially Revealer and Redeemer. *Diognetus*, like Justin Martyr,⁵ recognizes a didactic purpose in the Incarnation. God

¹ *Critical History of Christian Literature*, ii, 129.

² *The Epistle to Diognetus*, p. 39. See also above, p. 23.

³ Here, as elsewhere, the author's mind is dominated by Johannine teaching. Later Jewish thought expressed the idea of the divine activity in creation and revelation by the personification of Wisdom. See Prov. viii, 22 ff. In the Book of Wisdom, ix, 1-2, Wisdom is aligned with the Word of the O.T. (Gen. i, 1 ; Ps. xxxiii, 6 *al.*) and each credited with a share in the work of creation. To convey this idea of mediatorial agency in creation Philo adopted a term long current in Hellenic philosophical circles, viz., ' Logos ', which for him corresponded to both the creative Word of the O.T. and the immanent Reason of Stoicism. Cf. *Leg. Alleg.* iii, 96 : *σκιά θεοῦ δὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, ᾧ καθάπερ ὄργανῳ προσχρησάμενος ἐκοσμοποιεῖ.* So also *de Migr. Abr.* 6, *de Sacerdot.* 81. The thought is echoed in Paul (Col. 1, 16 ; 1 Cor. viii, 6) and the *auctor ad Hebraeos* (Heb. i, 2), but the term itself is lacking (for possible reasons of this omission, see W. F. Howard, *Christianity according to St. John*, pp. 42 ff.). The word ' Logos ' comes into Christian use first in the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel (John i, 1 ff., 14). There the Logos, the agent of creation (i, 3, 10), is conceived as personal and incarnate, a marked advance upon Philonic thought. Moreover, in the Fourth Gospel the term ' Logos ' as a personal title is confined to the Prologue. In the body of that Gospel ὁ υἱὸς (τοῦ θεοῦ) becomes the characteristic title. It is to the N.T., and especially to John, that the author of *Diognetus*, i-x, owes his general conception and particularly his preference for the terms ' Son ', ' Child '. The title ' Logos ' occurs only in the appended chapters, with the doubtful exception of vii, 2. See below, p. 137, and Additional Note C.

For the locutions used to describe the various mediatorial functions of the Word, see note on vii, 2 (ᾧ . . . ἐκτίσεν).

⁴ In both the Fourth Gospel (i, 3) and our Epistle (vii, 2) there is but a single clear reference to the cosmic creativeness of the Word or Son. In *Diognetus* (viii, 7 ; x, 2) creation is attributed directly to God.

⁵ *Apol.* i, 23 ; *Dial.* 83.

by sending the Son 'established among men the truth and the holy and incomprehensible word and fixed it firmly in their hearts' (vii, 2). But the revelation is not so much of the mind of the Father as of His will to save. This further redemptive function He effects in the Son, who is given as 'ransom' for men. Justin Martyr excepted, the apologists generally tend to stress the work of Christ in creation rather than in redemption. But not so with our author. The soteriological aspect is set in the forefront. The Son not only reveals the true knowledge of the Father (viii, 1), but also fulfils the plan of salvation in his mission of love to men (see above, p. 23).¹ When he returns it will be as Judge (vii, 6). See p. 42.

(c) *Man and the Christian Community*

Man is a moral being and the object of God's love. God made him in His own image and for his sake created the world.² To man He gave dominion over all things in the earth, endowed him with reason and mind,³ and empowered him for heavenly aspirations.⁴ God's love was shown in part in His forbearance with man's sins (viii, 7; ix, 1), but still more by His implanting in man 'the truth and the holy and incomprehensible word', by sending His Son as Man to men, and by the promise of the kingdom in heaven 'to those who loved Him'.

The author will have no truce with natural religion, not even with the Platonic view that man's reason can apprehend God, since God and man are kin.⁵ It is the revelation through faith that enables man to see God (viii, 6) and to share in His blessings (viii, 11). He repeatedly insists that Christianity is supernatural in character. As it is beyond all human thought and devising (v, 3; vii, 1), so its 'mystery' cannot be learned from man (iv, 6). Man too is not naturally immortal. His iniquity may bring 'its

¹ It was reserved for Athanasius to develop this *religious* meaning of the Incarnation. It is, however, noticeable how *Diognetus* makes the Incarnation of the Word pivotal. It is in the coming of the Son, not in any moral precepts or philosophical doctrine of the faith as such, that our author finds the source of the new and vigorous life of Christians in the world. Similarly, this new quality of life manifested in the heroic endurance of persecution and in its power to propagate itself is the best attestation of the Incarnation.

² A familiar thought in the apologists. See note on x, 2. Celsus (Origen, *Con. Cels.* iv, 24) controverts this idea. God cares for the whole, for irrational creatures no less than for man. See also *op. cit.* iv, 99.

³ Cf. Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 10: "the rational faculties (*λογικῶν δυνάμεων*) He has Himself endowed us with".

⁴ See note on x, 2 (*οἷς . . . ἐπέτρεψεν*).

⁵ See the discussion in Just. Mart., *Dial.* 4.

reward of punishment and death' (ix, 2).¹ Free-will is implied in his capacity to become 'a new man' (ii, 1), and in God's attitude of appeal rather than compulsion (vii, 4). It was by his own consent (*ὡς ἐβουλόμεθα*, ix, 1) that man was in 'the former time' 'borne along by unruly impulses', the prey of 'pleasures and lusts'; hence he was self-convicted as 'unworthy of life' and unable of himself 'to enter into the kingdom of God'. The author's doctrine of sin is baldly stated, but the terms he uses suffice to show its heinousness in his eyes. He speaks of 'inordinate impulses', 'iniquity', 'misdeeds', 'wickedness and impiety', and finds sin's crowning effect in man's moral impotence to attain life (*ζωή*). He stresses the latter point. Man of himself and in 'the former time' lacks moral power. There is no hint of the idea that man has an innate bias towards evil,² though the *σάρξ* is in one passage (v, 8. See note), after the Pauline usage, predominantly ethical, the seat of sin. Nor, unlike Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, and other apologists, does the author attribute sin to the malice of demons—a point in which our Epistle is akin to the *Apol. of Aristides*. In general, the ultimate source of evil lies in man's ignorance of God (see on viii, 1; x, 3). Hence God's 'forbearance' during the former time and the implication that 'complete knowledge of the Father' is given in the Christian faith (x, 1). But the author's concern is less with the cause of sin than with its tragic results.

The remedy lies wholly in the redemption made in Christ. No place is given to Judaism as a *praeparatio evangelica*. The scheme of salvation was disclosed 'to His Child alone'. Our author is to be classed with those apologists who recognize no progressive moral approach to the Incarnation. The pre-Christian world, pagan and Jewish alike, stands under condemnation, an attitude first taken in the *Epistle of Barnabas* and discernible in Tatian and Irenaeus. Here there is no question of an embryonic goodness in mankind, maturing in the course of time. The redemption is that of an evil world, a wholly new and unforeseen manifestation of God's grace. 'O the inscrutable working, O the unexpected blessings!' (ix, 5).

Of the Christians as a *καινὸν γένος* (i)³ and the 'soul' of the

¹ See note on vi, 8.

² For the *yezer hara* cf. Sirach xv, 14 (Heb.); xxi, 11 *al.*; *Aristeas*, 108, 277; and for rabbinic citations, see Strack and Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, iv, 466-83.

³ See note on pp. 94 f. Jewish apologists had to rebut the imputation that their nation was of recent origin. Cf. Josephus, *Con. Apion.* i, 1 ff. Christian defenders laid great stress on the point. See Tatian, *ad Graec.* 31, Theophilus, *ad Autol.* iii, 20 ff.

world (vi) the author paints a glowing picture. See chs. v-vi, which culminate in the thought that Christians are divinely appointed to their high rank. Granted that this section¹ portrays an ideal of character and life,² yet the ideal cannot have been entirely remote from the actual.³ The writer suggests rather than states how the moral transformation was effected. In the Son God has manifested His love for men. This love begets in men a corresponding love towards God,⁴ and this in turn leads to the *imitatio Dei*. Then love shown by man to man naturally follows. The wheel comes full circle in the striking affirmation that whoever imitates the goodness of God in helping others becomes a god to his fellows.⁵ Stress is laid on love as the cardinal virtue of the Christian life, but it is love universalized. Diognetus had asked 'what is the love which they (the Christians) have for one another?'⁶ Significantly, when the author takes up this point, he widens the reference. 'Christians', he says, 'love all men' (v, 11. See note), even 'those who hate them' (vi, 6). Here he sounds a prominent note in the apologies. Love to enemies was a principle which had marked apologetic value. Christians were accused of 'hatred of the human race'.⁷ Their answer was to point to the centrality of love in Christianity as embodied in their own attitude towards their enemies.

Christians are conceived as forming a spiritual organism. Chapter vi elaborates the thesis that 'what the soul is in the body, that Christians are in the world'. In the Epistle proper (i-x) there is no hint of the Church,⁸ ministry, or sacraments. Too

¹ No summary can do justice to this famous passage in which both language and style accord with the theme. For a close paraphrase rather than a translation (in French), see Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, pp. 425-7. See below on v (*ad imit.*).

² Harnack, *Expansion*, i, 253, n. 1, takes an adverse view of its historical worth, dismissing *Diognetus*, v, 6 as "a fine piece of rhetoric, but not much more than that". So also Workman, *Persecution in the Early Church*, pp. 168 f., n. 1. For a juster view see Gwatkin, *Early Church History*, i, 213.

³ See some balanced remarks in von Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, pp. xxxiv f.

⁴ 'How greatly will you love Him who so first loved you?' (x, 3).

⁵ See Additional Note B.

⁶ Cf. the familiar heathen gibe: "Behold how these Christians love one another!" (Tertullian, *Apol.* 39).

⁷ '*Odiūm humani generis*' (Tacitus, *Annals*, xv, 44). The genitive is probably objective. A partial analogy is found in the familiar charge against the Jews of 'misanthropy'. For an exposition of the phrase in Tacitus, see Édouard Cuq in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, vi, 115 ff. (1886). He concludes that "*l'odiuū generis humani* était donc le résultat de certains actes qui pour les Romains avaient le caractère de maléfices" (p. 128). See also W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 236 f.

⁸ *τάξις* (vi, 10) is used in a general sense rather than of the Church as the '*militia Dei*'. See note *ad loc.*

much should not be made of this silence, but it suggests that the author did not regard Church order as of primary importance. Cruttwell¹ says that the author of *Diognetus* is perhaps the only writer of the early period who presents, "pure and unadulterated", the idea of the Church as essentially a spiritual society.² It is difficult to see on what grounds Puech³ feels in the Epistle "une onction ecclésiastique".

(d) *Pagan Idolatry and Philosophy*

The treatment of heathen idol-worship (ii) follows the conventional lines.⁴ All images are of perishable material and mutable in form (do they not vary according to the skill or caprice of the artificer who carves or moulds or forges them into their several shapes?). They are dumb and blind; they lack soul, feeling, and power of motion, and are subject to decay.⁵ To discriminate among such 'gods', leaving those of stone and earthenware unguarded whilst protecting with great care those of silver and gold, what is this but mockery of the gods? The author stresses the senselessness of idolatry rather than its evil character and accompaniments (he does not touch on the shameless immoralities of pagan worship). Yet the latter are not lacking. Idolatry deceives (*ἀπατῶσάν σε συνήθειαν*, ii, 1. See note),⁶ and—the most fatal count in the indictment—the worshipper ultimately becomes like the idol that he worships (see notes on ii, 5). In general, heathen idolatry was for our author merely blind worship of stocks and stones.

Edwyn Bevan,⁷ in a penetrating study of image-worship, shows that in respect of pagan gods the general view of the O.T. is that the image has behind it no reality.⁸ Hence pagan idolatry, since it treats mere inanimate matter as though it were a living

¹ *A Literary History of Early Christianity*, ii, 539 f.

² But see *Barn.* xvi, 7 ff., where the Pauline description of the Church as a spiritual temple is unfolded. Cf. also *Ign., Eph.* xv, 3. The thought may derive from *Mark* xiv, 58.

³ *Les apol. grecs*, p. 252; *Histoire*, ii, 219.

⁴ Cf. *Isaiah* xl, 18-20; xlv, 9-20; *Jer.* x, 1-16; *Jubilees* i, 9-11; *Philo, de Decal.* 7 ff.; *Rom.* i, 18 f.; *Just. Mart., Apol.* i, 9.

⁵ Common characteristics. Cf. *Ps.* cxv, 5 ff.; *Wisd.* xiii, 16; *Aristeas*, 135; *Sib. Or.* v, 77 ff.

⁶ Cf. *Isaiah* xlv, 20; *Wisd.* xii, 24; *Test. XII Patr., T. Naph.* iii, 3: *ἐθνη πλανηθέντα . . . ὑπήκουσαν ξύλοις καὶ λίθοις, πνεύμασι πλάνης.*

⁷ *Holy Images* (1940), pp. 17 ff.

⁸ We may point out that some scholars hold that the terms used by the eighth-century prophets ('no gods', etc.) denote not the absolute non-existence of foreign deities but their "utter powerlessness and insufficiency" in comparison with the supreme might of Yahweh. See O. C. Whitehouse in *H.D.B.* i, 591.

being, is judged to be utterly absurd. He illustrates this view by citations of Ps. cxxxv, 15 f.; Isaiah, xliv; Wisd. xiii, 10-19; Epistle of Jeremy (Baruch vi, 4-22). The wickedness of idolatry appears when it seeks to make in Israel a similitude of Jehovah, the one true God to whom alone worship should be offered. As for Christian writers, while they shared in some degree this view that an idol was a nonentity, generally they accepted the pagan claim that the images were animated by spirits, which, however, they deemed to be wholly evil. The images were tenanted by devils.¹ Bevan further affirms that educated pagans would not actually identify the image with the god which it represents. "It is hardly possible that anyone thought of the deity worshipped as simply the image he saw and nothing more . . . The deity was certainly conceived of as a person active in the world apart from the image" (*op. cit.* p. 20).² In a recent review³ the same scholar adversely criticizes our Epistle on the ground that it rests on the supposition that the heathen did identify the images with the gods they worshipped, a view which, he thinks, would appear contemptible in the eyes of Diognetus, presumably an enlightened pagan.

Now it is clear that the writer of the Epistle takes the general O.T. point of view in this regard. He is concerned with pagan idolatry, not with that apostasy in Israel which sought to make a likeness of Yahweh in some visible symbol. Hence he dwells on the irrationality of image-worship rather than its wickedness. To call lifeless images 'gods' and to serve and worship them is a ridiculous delusion. Further, it is true that the Epistle makes no explicit distinction between the images and the beings they visibly represent,⁴ such as some pagan writers imply.⁵ This may betray a lack of clarity of thought and perhaps, in view of Diognetus' presumed reaction, bad tactics on the part of the author. Probably it can be explained, if not excused, by the author's earnestness and passion, qualities which do not always permit a fair statement of a case! In any event, his treatment is at least in

¹ Cf. Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, xxvii: "now these unclean spirits, the demons, as the magi and philosophers have shown, conceal themselves in statues and consecrated images".

² See also on this point Geffcken, *Zwei griech. Apol.*, 77-8, 241.

³ See *The Hibbert Journal*, July, 1943, p. 378. Cf. also J. Donaldson, *A Critical History*, ii, 136 f.

⁴ Is there a hint of this distinction in the words 'these you worship and in the end you become like them!' (ii, 5)? Obviously, the worshipper could not become like the god in its form. But probably what is meant is likeness in the qualities of the god (dumbness, blindness, etc.).

⁵ Edwyn Bevan (*Holy Images*, p. 22) cites Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, 71, and other sources. See also his art. in *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1926, p. 261.

line with the conventional Jewish and Christian protest, which did not commonly distinguish between the image and that which it symbolizes.¹

Again, unlike the majority of the apologists, the writer of the Epistle does not advance the view that the idol-gods were the abode of demons. He seems rather to share the concurrent opinion that images were, in Justin's phrase,² *ἄψυχα καὶ νεκρά*. That both views could be held in the mind without a sense of conflict may be seen in Paul, who assures his Corinthian readers that, while "we know that no idol is *anything* in the world, and that there is no God but one" (1 Cor. viii, 4),³ to sacrifice to idols is to sacrifice to demons and thereby to have fellowship with demons.⁴

There is no reference to edible sacrifices such as are mentioned in the *Preaching of Peter* (Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vi, 5, 39 ff.), unless these are implied in the phrase 'by worshipping them with blood and steaming fat' (ii, 8).

The treatment of idolatry is slight compared with that in the Book of Wisdom. Our author implies (ii, 2) but does not elaborate the argument of Wisd. (xiv, 1-11) that the idol-maker is perverting created things from their divinely-intended use.⁵ Perhaps this is one of the points which, as he naïvely remarks, he had in reserve (ii, 10)!

The contemptuous dismissal of the Greek philosophers is briefer still (viii, 2-4). It was but natural that some of the apologists who had come from the philosophic schools should seek to commend Christianity as a kind of philosophy.⁶ Justin Martyr, who as a Christian teacher continued to wear the philosopher's

¹ But cf. Enoch xcix, 7; Rev. ix, 20, where *εἰδωλα* and *δαιμόνια* are differentiated.

² *Apol.* i, 9.

³ Even if this is part of a statement of belief sent by the Corinthians in a letter to Paul which he here quotes (see W. Lock in *Expositor*, V, vi, 65 ff.), it probably reflects the standpoint of his previous preaching to the Corinthians.

⁴ "What say I then? that a thing sacrificed to idols is anything, or that an idol is anything? But I say, that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God; and I would not that ye should have communion with devils" (1 Cor. x, 19-20). Cf. Deut. xxxii, 17; Baruch iv, 7. There is probably no fundamental inconsistency here. For Paul the gods *as such* are nonentities. Yet behind the material representations of the gods lurk demoniacal powers which can corrupt the worshippers.

⁵ Cf. also the *Preaching of Peter* (Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vi, 5, 39): "(forgetting) their (i.e. wood, stones, etc.) material and *proper* use" (*τῆς ὑλῆς αὐτῶν καὶ χρήσεως*).

⁶ See Friedländer (*Roman Life and Manners*, iii, 227). Harnack (*Hist. of Dogma*, ii, 177) speaks of "the marvellous attempt to present Christianity to the world as the religion which is the true philosophy, and as the philosophy which is the true religion".

cloak, has his condemnation of philosophy, but on the whole takes a just and sympathetic view. Indeed he explicitly recognizes some affinity of ideas between Christianity and Greek philosophic thought (see *Apol.* i, 20). But while he reveres the great names he holds that Plato and the Stoics were only partially inspired by the spermatic Logos (*Apol.* ii, 13). Christian teaching is "above all human philosophy" (*Apol.* ii, 15).¹ Athenagoras too inclines to a charitable judgement. He affirms (*Suppl.* 7) that poets and philosophers are moved by "their affinity with the afflatus from God" (though their conclusions are uncertain and contradictory, being drawn "each one from himself"), and he makes free use of philosophic material and form. Platonic influence on Athenagoras is marked. It was generally argued that philosophy with its self-contradictions could not rival Christianity, which is a divine revelation. At the same time apologists recognize in the philosophic systems certain elements of universal truth, which they explain as either seed sown by the Logos in the heathen world or borrowings from the Scriptures.² The author of *Diognetus*, however, will have none of this. He is to be classed with Theophilus (ii, 4), Tertullian (*Apol.* 46-7), and Arnobius (ii, 9-10) in his adverse view of the Greek sages, though his tone is hardly as bitter as that of Tatian, who more than any other apologist repudiates Greek religion and culture (see *ad Graec.* 2, 3). Our author roundly rejects 'the vain and trumpery statements of those specious philosophers' who identify God with one or other of the elements as 'mere miracle-mongering and deceit of the magicians', and adds parenthetically a tart reminder of their final destination!³

This censure of the philosophers, however, is less drastic than it seems. The author's own mind moves in Platonic grooves,⁴ and his language and style alike attest the influence of the rhetorical

¹ "I found this philosophy (Christianity) alone to be safe and profitable" (*Dial.* 8).

² "What poet", cries Tertullian (*Apol.* 47), "what sophist is there who has not drunk from the fountain of the prophets?" See Harnack, *Expansion*, i, 365, n. 1.

³ Probably he has in mind Heraclitus, though he does not name him. See on viii, 2. We remark a milder note in Aristides, *Apol.* iii: heathen philosophers have "erred" in deifying images made in honour of the elements. So also the author of *Cohort. ad Gent.* (iii-iv), though his tone hardens later (xi).

⁴ Platonic parallels or reminiscences and affinities with Stoic thought are pointed out in the Notes (see especially ch. vi), though Geffcken (p. 26) overrates them as "unendlich häufig". In particular, the figure of the dispersal of the soul in the body and the idea of the soul sustaining the body may be traced to Stoic sources. Platonic influence appears in the idea of the soul as imprisoned in the body (vi, 4, 7. See notes *ad loc.*).

schools.¹ But even so, his preconceptions are always Christianized.² He shares 'the idea (held by Plato and others³) of the imitation of God by man, but deepens it by his insistence that such imitation is made possible only by divine grace (see note on x, 4). The overwhelming sense of the uniqueness of the Christian religion dominates his thought.⁴ The Christian 'mystery' is revealed by God, not discovered by man. It was left to Clement of Alexandria⁵ to see in idolatry and philosophy preparatory stages in the religious training of the nations.

(e) *Jewish Worship*

The condemnation of Judaism is downright but superficial and warped. Most Christian apologists take the view that the Mosaic Law was merely a temporary dispensation, being superseded by the new Law written in the hearts of Christians; that the Old Testament itself foretells the coming of Christ; and that the Jews cannot rightly claim the exclusive favour of God, the Gentiles being now incorporated in the new spiritual Israel, the Church. The author of the Epistle does not avail himself of these contentions. He makes first a general indictment of Jewish *δεισιδαιμονία*.⁶ The Jews offer God worship in the same fashion⁷ as the Greeks; Jewish sacrifices are as foolish as pagan offerings, the latter because they are made to senseless and deaf images, the former because they rest on the view that God, the Provider of all, is in need of these things. Then he fastens upon particular matters such as Jewish food taboos, the rite of circumcision, Sabbath punctiliousness, observance of feasts according to lunar periods. These he assails with great severity.⁸

It is important to see how radical is the author's attitude towards the Jewish Law. It was the ethical and spiritual meaning

¹ See above, p. 14, n. 1.

² "In der Tat ist der Brief überraschend wenig platonisierend und stoisierend. Die konstituierenden Gedanken des Verfassers haben ein ganz anderes Gepräge, und bei einer näheren Analyse des Inhaltes zeigt es sich, dass die hellenistisch-philosophischen Züge oberflächlich sind und nicht die Christentumsauffassung des Briefes geprägt haben" (Molland, p. 306).

³ See Additional Note A.

⁴ "Partout et toujours, il est un chrétien conscient, s'il en fut" (Puech, *Les apol. grecs*, p. 260).

⁵ See especially *Strom.* i, 2, 4 f., 13, 17, 19; v, 13; vi, 8. Cf. vi, 17: "there is no absurdity in philosophy having been given by divine Providence as a preparatory discipline for the perfection which is by Christ".

⁶ See note on the term (i).

⁷ *ὁμοιοτρόπως* (iii, 2). Cf. *Apol. of Aristides*, xiv (*sub fin.*): εἰσὶ παρόμοιοι τῶν ἐθνῶν.

⁸ It may be observed that Aristides (*Apol.* xiv), whilst condemning these specific ceremonial observances, says nothing about Jewish sacrificial offerings.

of the Law that was stressed by many Hellenistic-Jewish writers such as Aristeeas and Philo, and is reflected in the *Epistle of Barnabas*.¹ The Mosaic requirements are symbols of moral demands upon God's people. All regulations of the Law "have been framed with a view to righteousness" (*Aristeeas*, 168. Cf. 151, 161). Similarly, *Barn.* x brings out the spiritual or mystical significance of the Mosaic injunctions. They are symbolic of moral prohibitions. It is apparent that this allegorical interpretation of the Jewish Law prepared the way for the Christian position that the Law, whilst of divine origin and authority, was, as regards its external ordinances, abrogated in Christ. The obligation to observe them held no longer in the new Israel (so Paul);² what was merely symbolic and shadowy was done away in Christ (so the *auctor ad Hebraeos*). But it was recognized that the Jewish ceremonial Law, though now superseded, was valid for pre-Christian times.

Our author, however, sharply diverges here from the main Christian view. He neither admits the divine origin or ordering of the ceremonial observances, nor suggests that they were formulated to convey a moral lesson or serve as an aid to righteousness. It is not even conceded that they were "an educational necessity, to meet the stubbornness and idolatrous tendencies of the nation (being, in fact, a safeguard of monotheism)".³ These rites are absurd and even impious, an exhibition of Jewish 'meddlesomeness and pride' (iv, 6). In denouncing Jewish sacrifices the author might well have enlisted the authority of the Hebrew prophets, who condemned them unsparingly (Amos v, 21 f.; Isaiah i, 11, etc.). But, unlike Justin (*Dial.* 22) and Tertullian (*Against the Jews*, 5), he disdains even this reinforcement of his plea. Judaism is anathema. The only relief in the picture is that he does not, after the manner of the *Preaching of Peter* (Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vi, 5, 41),⁴ charge the Jews with contaminating their monotheistic worship with homage to angels. He admits that 'they worship the one God of the universe and think of Him as Master' (iii, 2).

¹ Aristeeas, whilst allegorizing the Law, makes no suggestion that its ceremonial observance need not be literally practised. Philo, indeed, carefully insists that the allegorical elucidation does not destroy the literal force of the enactments of the Law nor dispense with the necessity of its external observance (*de Migr. Abr.* 89 ff.). See J. Drummond, *Philo Judaeus*, i, 20. *Barn.* (ix, 4), however, is unequivocal: the literal observance of the Law is a seduction of the Evil One.

² Cf. Rom. x, 4; Gal. iii, 23 ff.

³ Harnack, *Expansion*, i, 68.

⁴ "They (the Jews) know him not, serving angels and archangels, the month and the moon." Cf. also *Apol. of Aristides*, xiv (Syr.).

Edwyn Bevan¹ sees in the wholesale condemnation of Jewish ritual practices an evidence of the author's intellectual inability to think out its implications. It is inconsistent with the Scriptures, accepted as infallible and authoritative by the Church. In particular, it conflicts with the New Testament view that the Jewish ritual Law had been really given by God to Israel and had been of obligation before the death of the Messiah. Moreover, it is difficult to harmonize this severe treatment of material rites and observance of sacred days with the practices of the Church in regard to Baptism, the Eucharist, and Easter, of which the author, though he makes no mention of them, must have been fully aware.

But does not the cogency of the former argument posit a relatively late date for the Epistle? The fact that the author takes a view of the Jewish Law inconsistent with that of the N.T. does not necessarily point to his intellectual immaturity; rather it may indicate that he writes at a time when the N.T. books had not gained special sanctity or authority. We have already seen (p. 19) that the Epistle probably derives from about the middle of the second century A.D., at which time the idea of a sacred Canon of N.T. writings was not established (see below, pp. 57 f.). As to the latter point, it is true that in view of the denunciation of Jewish ceremonial as vain the mere observance of Christian Baptism and the Eucharist could not logically claim to be efficacious. The author's inconsistency (if such it is) in this regard is shared by Justin and other apologists.

It may be that the author's strictures are made not so much of historical Judaism as of the Jewish practice of his own day in its conflict with Christianity. He has perhaps in mind the religion of the rabbis rather than that of the prophets. Be that as it may, he is in the succession of earlier writers; ² the apologists as a whole take a more lenient view.³ Our author's temper is

¹ In *The Hibbert Journal*, July, 1943, pp. 377 ff. See also his *Christianity*, pp. 39 f.

² For severe criticism of the Jews see the Fourth Gospel (*passim*); James v, 6 ('ye murdered the just'); Rev. ii, 9 ('a synagogue of Satan'); *Didache*, viii ('hypocrites'); *Gospel of Peter*. The *Epistle of Barnabas* is still more drastic in denouncing historical Judaism and all its works. Aristides, *Apol.* xiv (Syr.) has a much milder tone. In their monotheism the Jews are "much nearer to the truth than all the peoples", as also in their imitation of God in works of compassion. Nevertheless, their observance of Sabbaths and new moons and the Passover and the great feasts, etc., is really service to angels, not to God. Moreover, Jesus "was pierced by the Jews" (ii Syr.). Just. Mart. (*Apol.* i, 63) adds that this was at the instigation of the devils. Cf. *Dial.* 16.

³ For example, Justin's tone, though occasionally severe (*Apol.* i, 37), is conciliatory on the whole. He even addresses the Jews as "my brothers" (*Dial.* 137).

Marcionite in its ignoring of the historical link between Judaism and Christianity.¹ His overwhelming sense of the incomparable worth of the new faith left little room for a just valuation of pre-Christian as of non-Christian systems. Hence it cannot be said that on these two matters the author really answered Diognetus or the educated constituency that he represents. For in addressing cultured circles it was inept to treat both pagan idolatry and Jewish sacrifices so superficially. The one he seriously misrepresented as mere worship of stocks and stones, showing no appreciation of its higher aspects; upon the other he poured such unqualified contempt as would alienate or antagonize one who, like Diognetus, was especially concerned (*μάλιστα ποθεῖν*, iii, 1) to know the difference between Jewish and Christian worship. The author's *apologia* suffers from defects of excessive zeal.

(f) *Persecution of the Christians*

Almost up to the end of the first century the Christian religion appeared to Gentile eyes as a special sect of Judaism; hence it shared the tolerance which Judaism enjoyed in the main as a recognized national cult. Persecutions under Nero and Domitian had been the outcome of personal rancour rather than of State policy. But by the time of Trajan (A.D. 98-117) Christianity was making itself felt as a power which might well prove subversive of the imperial order itself. Its treasonable character, deduced from the refusal of Christians to swear loyalty to the Emperor as 'Lord', became apparent. From this time on, the State joined with the Jews in systematic oppression of the Christians.² This continued through the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius. After the death of the last-named (A.D. 180) there was a lull of more than fifty years. Then persecution broke out afresh. The State now stood alone in its hostility to Christians.

The references in the Epistle to persecution are as follows. Christians 'despise death' (i),³ 'suffer all things as strangers' (v, 5), 'are persecuted by all men', are 'condemned', 'put to death', 'dishonoured', 'spoken evil of', 'abused', 'insulted', 'buffeted', 'warred upon by the Jews as foreigners and persecuted by the Greeks' (v, 11 ff.), 'thrown to wild beasts' (vii, 7),

¹ See above, pp. 16 f.

² Against Harnack's view (*Expansion*, i, 58 f.; ii, 104) that the Jews were as a rule the instigators of "bloody persecutions" of Christians in general, Abrahams (*Stud. in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, second series, pp. 56 ff.) insists that the persecution related to Jewish Christians and not to Gentile Christians as such.

³ See below, pp. 93 f.

' punished ' (vii, 8 ; x, 7), ' endure for the sake of righteousness the fire which is but for a season ' (x, 8).

These references are general in character¹ and allow but little inference about the place or date of the Epistle.² The tone suggests that persecution was taken more or less for granted as the normal lot of Christians. But two points may be observed. First, the author suggests some of the grounds for the hatred towards Christians, namely, their refusal to acknowledge heathen gods (i, ii, 5-6, 10), their distinctive manner of life (v, 4), their opposition to the pleasures of the world (vi, 5), and probably their rejection of emperor-worship.³ He rebuts by implication the charges of immorality (v, 7-8) and aloofness from state service and loyalties (v, 4-5, 10). Secondly, he insists that persecution leads to increase in the number of Christians (vi, 9 ; vii, 8)—a feature not confined to any one period. Again we note that persecution is not attributed to the energies of demons as in Just. Mart. (*Apol.* i, 5 ; ii, 1).

As to the attitude towards the civil power the author's tone indicates that he shares in the disparagement of government in general and of the Roman Empire in particular. It is not that he is hostile. There is no suggestion that Church and State must be in fundamental opposition, the note we hear in the book of the Revelation and in Ignatius.⁴ On the contrary his tone is conciliatory. He affirms that Christians ' share all things as citizens ' (v, 5) and ' obey the appointed laws ' (v, 10).⁵ But he views earthly government as belonging to the transient order. He says that God in sending His Son did not send a ' servant or an angel or ruler, or one of those who administer the affairs of earth ' (vii, 2). And the Son came in gentleness and meekness, an implied contrast to earthly rulers who tyrannize by fear.⁶ So also he rules out ' dominion over one's neighbours ' (x, 5). This general attitude of inward aloofness to the temporal order

¹ The persecutors are specified only in one passage (v, 17). The Roman government is not named.

² Bunsen (*Christianity and Mankind*, i, 170) and others find in v, 17 an allusion to the Jewish war of Bar-Cochba, and hence assign the Epistle to A.D. 134-5. But the reference appears to be quite general.

³ ' Do you not see them thrown to wild beasts, that they may deny the Lord ? ' (vii, 7). Cf. also x, 7.

⁴ Cf. Rev. xiv, 8 ; xviii, 21.

⁵ Cf. Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 17 ; Athenagoras, *Suppl.* 3. So the N.T. (Rom. xiii, 1 ff. ; 1 Pet. ii, 13).

⁶ Cf. Just. Mart., *Apol.* ii, 1. Tatian, 19, says : " the construction of the world is excellent, but its *πολίτευμα* is bad ". So also Athenagoras, *de Resurr.*, 19, speaks of the " robber or prince or tyrant " who could not by one death make restitution for his evil deeds.

is rooted in the conviction that the true life of the Christian is above. On earth he is a stranger and pilgrim, because his citizenship is in heaven.¹

(g) *Moral and Religious Values*

Repentance is not specifically named in the Epistle, though implied. The stress lies on God's action rather than on man's moral response as the supreme factor in salvation. The divine delay in the plan of salvation was not, as was frequently explained,² to lead men to repent. Its purpose was to magnify the goodness and power of God in rescuing man impotent in his sins (ix, 1-2).³ On the other hand, the author makes *faith* primary: 'He manifested Himself through faith (διὰ πίστεως),⁴ by which alone it is given to see God' (viii, 6). This, however, is not the Pauline notion of faith. It does not signify that moral assent whereby man appropriates God's free gift of justifying grace. The author does not specify the object of faith, that is, God or Christ, or suggest its nature as an inward disposition of trust and surrender. The term here denotes belief in the divine revelation, this belief being the basis of true knowledge.⁵ Cf. x, 1 where 'this faith' is antecedent to 'knowledge of the Father' (in xi, 2 disciples, being πιστοί, gain 'knowledge of the mysteries of the Father'). The divine intention in effecting the redemption of man is 'that we should believe His goodness' (ix, 6), and grace 'rejoices over the faithful' (or 'believers'), xi, 5. In the later writer's phrases, 'the pledges of faith', 'the faith of the gospels' (xi, 5, 6), the term πίστις becomes objective signifying almost 'system of belief'. See note *ad loc.*

A few miscellaneous points may be mentioned. Almsgiving is enjoined (x, 6).⁶ Poverty seems to be commended (v, 13), and, conversely, covetousness and love of wealth condemned or at least their perils pointed out (x, 5).⁷ There is no marked ascetic strain in the teaching of the Epistle. The probable hint at fasting

¹ See below, pp. 41 f.

² Cf. Wisd. xi, 23; Acts xvii, 30; Rom. ii, 4; 2 Pet. iii, 9; Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 28.

³ So Paul: man's former sins are passed over in the forbearance of God (Rom. iii, 25).

⁴ The term is used in its active sense 'belief', 'trust', as predominantly in N.T. use.

⁵ The Fourth Gospel foreshadows this more intellectual content of 'believing' (πιστεύειν). See E. F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel*, pp. 267-70, F. R. Tennant, *The Nature of Belief*, pp. 65 f.

⁶ Cf. Aristides, *Apol.* xv; 2 Clem. xvi, 4; Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 15.

⁷ Cf. Tatian, *ad Graec.* 11; Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 15.

(vi, 9) merely indicates in general terms its moral value.¹ The author regards marriage and the procreation of children as normal.² He does not share the tendency of some early Christian writers³ to exalt celibacy. On the contrary, he stresses the purity of the Christians in the married state (v, 7-8), and that not merely as an answer to heathen charges of immorality (see above, p. 39). The wedded state, it would seem, is commended in and for itself. Prayer is mentioned only once ('I ask from God', etc., i). Happiness (*εὐδαιμονεῖν*) is defined in negative terms, with the positive implication that it consists in helping others (x, 5-6).

For ideas prominent in chs. xi-xii, see below, pp. 50 ff.

(h) *Eschatology*

Eschatological references are not numerous. The author tends to belittle earthly things as transient. His gaze is fixed on the higher and freer life hereafter. 'The soul, though immortal, dwells in a mortal tabernacle; and Christians sojourn among corruptible things, awaiting the incorruptibility which is in heaven' (vi, 8). The kingdom is perhaps regarded in one passage as a future consummation. God promises men 'the kingdom in heaven; and He will give it to them who loved Him' (x, 2).⁴ But the hope of future reward is nowhere made the ground of morality (cf. Aristides⁵). As in New Testament teaching⁶ the kingdom is also a present experience; the eschatology approaches the 'realized' type. This is suggested by the phrase 'to enter into the kingdom of God' (ix, 1), but is more apparent from the various features in the picture of the Christian's life in the world (v, vi). It is of an other-worldly order, 'the true life in heaven', though lived out here on earth (x, 7). The body, while not despised (note, however, the depreciatory reference to the flesh in vi, 5), is viewed as the temporary abode of the soul, as is also the world in relation to Christians. As the soul is 'not of the body', so Christians are 'not of the world'. The *θεοσέβεια* of the Christians remains invisible. It is a mystery hidden from men (iv, 6). It is true that Christians live in their own fatherlands, but as *παρόικοι*; they share in the general life

¹ See note *ad loc.*

² Cf. 1 Clem. xxxiii, 5 f.; Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 29; Athenagoras, *de Resurr.* 12.

³ Hermas, *Sim.* ix, 11; *Acts of Paul and Thekla*, 5-16.

⁴ So also the Eucharistic prayer in the *Didache* (x, 5) suggests a future kingdom.

⁵ Christians keep the commandments "in the hope and expectation of the world to come" (*Apol.* xv. Cf. xvi Syr.). So Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 14: "that they may become partakers with us of the same joyful hope of a reward from God".

⁶ Cf. Matt. xii, 28; Col. i, 13; Heb. vi, 5; 1 John ii, 8.

of men, but as *ξένοι*. Their citizenship is of a 'remarkable and admittedly strange order' (v, 4). It is 'in heaven' (v, 9).¹ The one brief reference to the *Parousia* (in vii, 9 the reference is probably to the 'presence' of God. See note) makes no suggestion of its nearness (vii, 6). The return of Christ involves judgement. If he came first as 'King', as 'God', as 'Man', he will come again as 'Judge'. Here the thought is thoroughly Pauline (2 Thess. i, 7 ff.; 1 Cor. iv, 4-5; 2 Cor. v, 10) and indeed primitive (Acts x, 42). Our author describes judgement in general terms (condemnation, punishment, death, ix, 2; x, 7). The one definite feature is 'eternal fire', which shall punish 'up to the end' (*μέχρι τέλους*. See on x, 7).² The main thought is, as in most Christian writers of the period, the certainty of judgement. Cf. Aristides, *Apol.* xvii (*sub fin.*), Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 8, 12, 17, 45; ii, 9.³ It is noticeable that the Epistle contains no allusion to the Resurrection.⁴ It is rather the resurrection life lived in this world that is in clear view.

(i) Relation to Current Thought

It may be of interest to note here the degree in which the author of the Epistle accommodates himself to the presumed intellectual standpoint and convictions of his inquirer and the public that he

¹ Paul's conception of life in the Spirit is analogous (Gal. v, 25 f.; Rom. viii, 9 ff.).

² Edwyn Bevan (*Hibbert Journal*, July, 1943, p. 378) points to the inconsistency of this view of God's judgement by fire with the previous statement that 'force is no attribute of God' (vii, 4), and sees here a proof of the author's "feeble intellectual grasp". But the contrast is more apparent than real. The statement that 'force is no attribute of God' is made expressly to illustrate the sending of the Son in gentleness and meekness; it stands, however, side by side in the same context with the idea of judgement to come. Judgement is less the forcible exertion of God's power over men than the just and inevitable 'reward' of sin in 'punishment and death' (ix, 2). The author's language suggests that these penalties work impersonally. He may have viewed them much in the manner of St. Paul, for whom the Wrath of God means not some feeling or attitude on His part towards men, but the inescapable Nemesis of sin seen in events, "an inevitable process of cause and effect in a moral universe" (C. H. Dodd, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans*, pp. 20 ff.). This would tally entirely with the insistence in *Diognetus* that God is personally *δόρυγρος* (viii, 8). Be that as it may, that an author may not have thought out the implications of his view of God so that he holds positions seemingly at variance is by no means a rare occurrence!

³ Geffcken (p. 27) points out that these threats of future judgement appear at the end of our Epistle, as also in Aristides, *Apol.* xvii, Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 68.

⁴ Note, however, the words 'they (Christians) are put to death, yet they are endowed with life' (v, 12), which may illustrate more generally the statement that the soul is immortal (vi, 8). Similarly, references to the Resurrection are rare in the Apostolic Fathers. Cf. 1 Clem. xxiv, 1; xlii, 3; *Barn.* v, 6; xv, 9.

represents. It is difficult to infer, except in general outline, what may have been Diognetus's religious tenets. As an educated man he would be fully aware of that complex of intellectual and spiritual beliefs which marked second-century non-Christian thought. It is perhaps reasonable to assume that in the prevalent eclecticism¹ Roman Stoicism was for him a predominant element. How far then does the author adjust himself to the point of view of his questioner, and how much in the Epistle can be taken as common ground between them?

Now the Epistle seems to some extent an *argumentum ad hominem*.² This may be deduced in part from the conciliatory manner in which the author approaches Diognetus's inquiry. His tone is respectful and pleasing. He commends both Diognetus's zeal to learn about the Christians, and the character of his questions. He prays that he himself may so speak that his addressee may be profited as much as possible and have the grace of hearing (i). The fact that these are conventional traits (see notes *ad loc.*) does not lessen the author's obvious sincerity. At the same time he is candid with his questioner. The latter must clear his mind of prejudice, use his intelligence, and indeed become, as it were, from the beginning a new man, as one too who is to hear a new story (ii, 1).

Similar frankness is shown concerning the recognition and worship of heathen gods. Here the tone is quite uncompromising. Idolatry is empty and foolish, a deceiving 'custom' in which Diognetus must have no complicity (see note on ii, 1). The author hints at the intellectual debasement to which it leads, and charges his inquirer(s) with hating Christians because they reject such pagan worship.³ How far Diognetus could justly be charged with belief in crude Greek polytheism is uncertain. He would, however, in company with the cultivated pagans of his time, doubtless tolerate and even reverence the popular religion of many gods.⁴ In any event, the author's language is

¹ On the philosophic syncretism, see Edwyn Bevan, *Stoics and Sceptics*, pp. 91 ff., and *Cambridge Ancient History*, xi, pp. 690 f.

² See W. Telfer in *J.T.S.* xlv (1944), 222 ff., for a suggestive elaboration of this view.

³ In v, 17 Christians are hated without cause; elsewhere various causes are assigned. See p. 39.

⁴ "From the time of Socrates an earnest belief in the gods of the Greek mythology became an impossibility to a philosophic mind" (J. Donaldson, *A Critical History*, ii, 19). "But the majority of philosophers did not deem it worth while to interfere with popular belief . . . they had no wish to indoctrinate men who were not philosophers with disparaging ideas of their national religions" (*op. cit.* ii, 22). See also E. Zeller, *Outlines of the History of Greek Philosophy* (E.T.² 1892), p. 254.

pointed and personal (ii, 5 ff.) and the tone openly contemptuous. In the invective against the Jewish *δεισιδαιμονία* the note is less directly personal. It is evident that Diognetus has some knowledge of Jewish worship (iii, 1) and observances (iv, 1). His attitude, however, is one of interest, not of allegiance. He desires to know why Christians do not worship in the same manner as Jews. The author commends the Jews' acknowledgement of 'the one God of the universe', but perhaps covertly alludes thereby to the many heathen gods which Diognetus avows (cf. ii, 5 ff.). The God of the Jews is also the Creator of heaven and earth (by implication contrasted with the Gentile gods which are man-made). The Jewish sacrificial worship, however, is in no respect better than pagan idolatry, and the ritual practices are utterly absurd.¹ Christians are right in rejecting the religion of both Jews and Greeks. Then comes the pertinent reminder that the 'secret' of the Christians' religion does not yield to human inquiry. It is as though the author, whilst welcoming Diognetus's quest, would show him its necessary limits.² Christian truth ('no human doctrine') is not discovered so much as disclosed (iv, 6; v, 3; vii, 1 f.), and that to faith (viii, 6).

It is in chapter vi that the author comes nearest to Diognetus's preconceptions. These are partly Platonic and partly Stoic.³ The Stoic conceived of the world as a living Whole,⁴ permeated and controlled by one energy. *Phusis*, the urge towards perfection, is everywhere at work, a life-force pervading all matter as the soul of a man permeates all his limbs.⁵ It is the soul of the world.⁶ Man by virtue of his rationality is a part of the Whole. Hence all men are akin and members of a world-state. Our author, it would seem, aligns his thought with this philosophic postulate of the world-soul. What the soul is in the body that Christians are in the world. In his conception of the cosmic role of Christians he moves in the intellectual orbit of his inquirer. The universalism of the function of Christians in the world corresponds to the

¹ For the superficiality of the author's account of pagan idolatry and Jewish sacrifices, see above, pp. 31 f.

² See Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, v: "human insignificance is quite incapable of investigating things divine". Cf. Ps.-Justin, *Cohort. ad Gent.* viii (cited below, p. 117).

³ Stoicism became from the first century B.C. more deeply infused with Platonism. This appears especially in Posidonius. For Platonic reminiscences in *Diognetus*, see notes on vi, 7, 10; x, 7 (*τοῦ δοκοῦντος θανάτου*).

⁴ Cf. Marc. Aurelius iv, 40; v, 8; vi, 9 *al.*

⁵ Stoicism was familiar with the idea of the soul dispersed in the body and sustaining it. The notion of the soul as imprisoned in the body goes back to Orphic and Pythagorean doctrine (cf. *Diognetus*, vi, 2, 4, 7).

⁶ See Gilbert Murray, *Stoic, Christian and Humanist*, pp. 102 ff.

Stoic emphasis on man's kinship with the whole of humanity. Similarly, the view of the Christians' loyalty to civic and political duties as subordinate to their heavenly citizenship (v, 9-10; vi *passim*) is quite in line with Stoic cosmopolitanism.¹ But whilst the thought-forms are the same,² the content they carry for our author is different. New Testament teaching is his primary source.³ Christians are the soul of the world in the sense that they are a spiritual influence which permeates the whole social order. The Gospel figures of light, leaven, and salt are not explicit but may be present to his mind. Johannine reflections in particular are traceable in this section. Note the meaning of the term *κόσμος* (vi, 1 *al.*) and the thought of Christians as in the world but not of it (vi, 3. Cf. v, 5).

In the conception of God our author, though holding views in common with current religious thought on some characteristics of the Deity,⁴ is pronouncedly Christian. He openly challenges Diognetus with the query: 'do you accept the vain and trumpety statements of those specious philosophers' who identify God with one of the created elements (viii, 2)? The stress laid on the creative power of God is marked (iii, 4; iv, 2, 5; vii, 2; viii, 7). The material world is the divine handiwork wrought through the Logos as agent (vii, 2). God too is all-provident, ordaining the seasons and bestowing on men all that they need. The whole tenor of the Epistle is that 'the one God of the universe' is personal, and that man's knowledge of God derives solely from His self-manifestation through faith. This is a far remove from the Stoic idea of an elemental Fire (as in the earlier theory of Heraclitus) in which the divine creative Reason is immanent and operative (at bottom a kind of materialistic pantheism), or even of a world-spirit permeating and governing the whole cosmic process in accordance with plan.⁵

Again the Epistle implies belief in a divine purpose in history, 'a great and unutterable design' (viii, 9). This was revealed and effected in the sending of the Son. His advent was timed to synchronize with man's acute awareness of sin and moral impotence. And that purpose was redemptive. The Son came to

¹ See Zeller, *Outlines*, p. 252, and below, p. 47, n. 5.

² As we have seen (pp. 34 f.), the author, whilst nominally contemptuous of Greek philosophy, is necessarily influenced by it.

³ See pp. 54 ff.

⁴ e.g., the idea that God needs nothing, a widespread notion in Greek thought. See note on iii, 3, and Blakeney, pp. 40 f.

⁵ Later, the religious element in Stoicism becomes more personal and intimate. The idea of a world-providence merges into that of a Guardian who cares for the individual. This note sounds in Seneca, Epictetus, and Marc. Aurelius.

save, not to compel nor to condemn, the end being that man might believe His goodness, etc. (ix, 6). That the contemporary world of Diognetus felt increasingly the need for some sure revelation of God and for its own redemption is clear.¹ The Stoic indeed held that Providence and Plan were at work in the universe, but he hardly apprehended a personal purpose in history. The end conceived by Stoic thinkers—perfection, reached after many cyclic rounds, by reabsorption into the original fiery substance²—offered a vague and chilling prospect. It led only to “the infinite tedium of human history”.³

At some points there is kinship between the author's view of man and that in current philosophic thought. But here again Christianization appears. For example, the author shares with pagan thought a high view of the dignity of man. The idea that God made the world for man's sake is frequent in Stoic teaching and became a commonplace in the Christian Fathers.⁴ Man was divinely endowed with reason (λόγος)⁵ and was so made that he could look upwards to God. But our author derives the last conviction not from its Stoic analogue but from the Scriptures.⁶ Similarly, the idea of man's imitation of God in love and beneficence (x, 4-6), though reflected in philosophic and religious thought,⁷ is probably coloured by and perhaps based on Pauline teaching. Again the deification of man by way of kindly offices to his fellows is familiar in the thought of the time.⁸ Goodness, so the Stoic held, consists in working along with God in the service of man. The good man co-operating with God in well-doing becomes a god.⁹ But the Epistle reshapes the idea in the light of Johannine teaching.¹⁰ Further, the author believes that the soul is immortal by virtue of union with the divine Spirit.¹¹ Christians, he says, though put to death are made alive (ζωοποιούνται, v, 12. Cf. 16). Cf. vi, 8; x, 2. Seneca indeed sometimes approximates to the Christian hope;¹² but for the most part Stoicism left only limited room for belief in a life after death. The soul is reabsorbed at the next conflagration into the

¹ See S. Angus, *The Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World*, pp. 16 ff.

² Cf. Marc. Aurelius iv, 21; x, 7.

³ Edwyn Bevan, *Later Greek Religion*, p. xxxvii. See also his *Stoics and Sceptics*, pp. 47 ff.

⁴ See Blakeney's full note, pp. 74 ff.

⁵ The earlier Stoic idea was that man's reason was itself a particle of the divine Being. So Epictetus later: *σὺ ἀπόσπασμα εἰ τοῦ θεοῦ* (*Diss.* ii, 8, 11).

⁶ See note on x, 2.

⁷ See Additional Note A.

⁸ See Additional Note B.

⁹ See Gilbert Murray, *Stoic, Christian and Humanist*, p. 107.

¹⁰ See below, p. 145.

¹¹ Cf. Tatian, *ad Graec.*, chs. 13, 15.

¹² *Epistles*, cii.

primary Being.¹ In one further point the difference of view is acute. Roman Stoicism in particular emphasized man's own moral resources: He has all-sufficiency (*αὐτάρκεια*) in himself. Not only can he by stern self-restraint gain complete 'apathy', but he can himself win his way to the higher life. A man's reason will suffice to attain salvation. There is no need of a Saviour or of divine grace.² But the heart of the teaching of our Epistle is man's moral and spiritual helplessness apart from the redeeming action of God manifested in the Son.³

In short, the author plainly tries, if not to come to terms with Diognetus, at least to win from him a hearing by a reasonable measure of intellectual accommodation.⁴ Such ideas and beliefs as they held in common⁵ are made the basis of his Christian *apologia*, and the terms in which this is framed are not alien from Diognetus's mode of thought.⁶ Moreover, the silence of the Epistle on some aspects of the Christian faith⁷ is significant. It may be due in part to the author's desire not to irritate his pagan interrogator by protruding peculiarities of the Christian faith which might prove uncongenial or incredible.⁸ He is accordingly economical in his statement of Christian belief. Such restrictions may be due also to the limited questions put by Diognetus. The author does not confine himself strictly to Diognetus's queries, but in the main moves within their bounds. He naïvely states (ii, 10) that he could say more! In this regard the Epistle is only in part an 'apology'; it is more of a special plea. At any rate, it is clear that the inquirer's need is kept

¹ See H. Sidgwick, *Outlines of the History of Ethics*, pp. 102 f.; J. B. Lightfoot, *Philippians*, pp. 320 ff.; E. V. Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, pp. 125 f., 262 ff.

² This tends to be modified in later Roman Stoicism. "Indeed no man can be good without the help of God. Can anyone rise superior to fortune unless God helps him to rise?" (Seneca, *Ep.* xli, 2). But even this is the God who indwells every good man and whom he knows not.

³ See especially ch. ix.

⁴ The author is really more of a philosopher than he knows. He is among those apologists who, though keen opponents of philosophy, "to a man occupied philosophic ground, and indeed Platonic ground" (Harnack, *Expansion*, i, 295). The practical temper too of the Epistle, which sets forth Christianity as a 'way of life' (see below, p. 49), would at once evoke the sympathy of a Stoic.

⁵ For example, the idea that man's true abode is the City of God. Stoicism held that man was a member of a world-city, consisting of gods and men (Seneca, *de Otto*, iv, 1; Marc. Aurelius, ii, 16; iii, 11; xii, 36 *al.*). For the author's use of this conception mainly in its Pauline setting see notes on v, 5. See also Lightfoot, *Philippians*, pp. 303 ff.

⁶ See Westcott's verdict (cited on p. 18). Cf. such terms as *εἰκαιότης* (iv, 6) and *δόγμα* (v, 3). See notes *ad loc.*

⁷ See above, p. 20.

⁸ The absence of some specifically Christian beliefs in the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix springs from a like consideration.

constantly in view.¹ At the same time, the author never surrenders his convictions, never compromises with vital Christian truth. If no complete conspectus of Christian belief appears, its core stands plainly revealed.²

As stated above,³ the presuppositions common to our author and his correspondent are always Christianized.⁴ Where their tenets part company, the divergence is marked and deep.

(j) Summary

The aid lent to the development of Christian theology by the apologists calls for fuller recognition. Their endowments were in the main slender, their writings had little distinction, and their theology is fairly described as "tentative, exploratory".⁵ But their work was lasting, if judged less by any immediate effects⁶ than by its preparatory and pioneer quality. In the writings of these men we find the beginnings of Patristic philosophy. But theirs was the philosophy of a Revelation. Whilst they availed themselves of the best elements in pagan thought, their convictions were basically Christian. The Christian 'secret' had been dis-

¹ Perhaps this partial *ad hominem* character of the Epistle is not unconnected with the neglect which the document seems to have suffered in early Christian literary history. See p. 3.

² There was a constant danger that the apologists in their desire to represent Christianity as the reasonable religion of mankind should rationalize unduly and impoverish the faith by dilution. See Edwyn Bevan, *Later Greek Religion*, p. xxxvi. The author of *Ad Diognetum*, however, is not open to this charge. He has a firm grasp of the essentials of the faith, and shows a no less firm insistence upon them.

³ See p. 35.

⁴ Naturally this would not be realized by Diognetus himself at his present stage. Dr. W. Telfer (in *J.T.S.* xlv (1944), 222 ff.) points out that *ad hominem* apologies consist of a succession of *doubles entendre*. Statements which, whilst consonant with the Christian faith, are intelligible and acceptable to the uninitiated reader (because they are part of his thought-world) disclose their deeper and Christian meaning only after his conversion. Dr. Telfer instances the words τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν ἀπέδοτο (ix, 2), which could mean for Diognetus nothing more than a supposed epiphany of the divine Logos (cf. τοῦτον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλεν, vii, 2) "as providing the manumission-price (λύτρον) delivering us from the bonds of habitual sinning against the divine law in Nature". The words would, however, assume for Diognetus their richer Christian significance if and when he became a Christian. We may compare x, 3, 7, 8, where 'knowledge' (ἐπιγνωστικῶς) is one of the fruits of Christian conversion.

⁵ F. C. Burkitt in *Camb. Ancient Hist.* xii, 463. See also J. Donaldson, *Crit. Hist.*, ii, 15 f.

⁶ "In the second century literary works were written in defence of the new Faith, but there is no indication that they were read by any save Christians or men on the way to be such or professed students of the movement such as Celsus" (A. D. Nock, *Conversion*, p. 192).

closed to faith ; it was their task to interpret it in the light of reason and align it with the best ethical and religious thought of the pagan world.¹ The apologists took the lofty moral truths preached in the philosophic schools and gave them the sanction of Christianity as a supernatural revelation. Here in an incipient form is that accommodation between Christianity and the highest philosophic thought which was to be made more complete by the great Alexandrian teachers of the third century. The apologists may claim at least the honour of the pathfinder.

In this dignity the little *Epistle to Diognetus* has its share. But its real merit lies elsewhere. Most marked is its emphasis on the spiritual and mystical aspect of the faith. This appears in the wholesale condemnation of material and outward worship, pagan and Jewish alike. It is perhaps not without significance that the author says nothing of Christian institutional religion or Church order. The Christian *θεοσέβεια* is invisible (vi, 4). It consists in the true knowledge of God and in the consequent change wrought in the heart by the atoning Son. The mystical element further appears in the comparison drawn between Christians in the world and the soul in the body (vi). It is indeed integral to the author's temper and outlook.

The author's mind never moves very far from the practical implications of the faith. In glowing terms he sets forth the Christian ethos. A new spirit of moral earnestness has come into the world. It is exercised within the earthly order, but its source and strength are from above. The note is one of joyous, almost rapturous, faith. Dialectic is not to our author's taste. His mind is of the pragmatic order. Conscious of Christianity as the revelation of the divine love, he sees its practical outworking negatively in deliverance from sin and positively in the imitation of God by love and beneficence towards men.² Hence he points to the purity and nobility of the lives of the Christians, their constancy under persecution, and their works of benevolence, as unmistakable evidence of the truth of their religion. These things, he seems to suggest, speak more loudly than any elaborate literary defence. It must of course be admitted that there is little that is new or creative in the *Epistle*. But that is only to

¹ As stated above (pp. 1 ff.), they had a precedent in the apologetic aim of the Alexandrian Jews of the second and first centuries B.C., who, having gained through constant contact with Hellenism a wider and more hospitable outlook than their Palestinian brethren, endeavoured to make Greek philosophy subserve the interests of Israel's faith.

² "L'imitation de Dieu est ici, comme dans la doctrine platonicienne, le dernier mot de la morale" (Aubé, *Saint Justin*, p. 95). Cf. *Theaetetus*, 176. Burnet (*E.R.E.*, x, 526) thinks that Plato adopted the doctrine from Pythagoreanism.

say that it is typical of second-century Christian writings as a whole. Moral and spiritual emancipation is the characteristic feature of apostolic Christianity. But of necessity there followed a period when that freedom was to be interpreted and secured. If the first task is to create, the second is to conserve. The Epistle proper stands nearer in this regard to the apostolic age. We cannot fail to detect in its pages the 'experimental' note. It has something of the glow of fresh discovery and creative experience. There is here no appeal to a body of Christian tradition. But this later note sounds in the appended chapters: 'the faith of the gospels is established, and the tradition of the apostles is guarded' (xi, 6).

ii: *Of chs. xi-xii.*

It may be convenient to summarize here the teaching contained in the two appended chapters. God, twice spoken of as 'Father' (xi, 2; xii, 9. Cf. x, 1), plants in Paradise the tree of knowledge and the tree of life (xii, 3), sends the Word into the world (xi, 3. Cf. vii, 2 ff.),¹ is the author of spiritual blessings (xii, 1, 8) and is glorified through the Word (xii, 9). The teaching regarding the Word or Son is fuller. The Word was 'sent' to appear to the world, and 'speaking plainly' revealed to disciples the secrets of God. He was indeed dishonoured by the chosen people, but preached by the apostles, and believed by the heathen. The Word is eternal. He is from the beginning, yet is ever young in that he is born in the hearts of the saints (xi, 4). As Son² he enriches the Church by revealing and increasing grace among the saints. The once-incarnate Word can still speak to those whom he will (xi, 7); he is ever the teacher of the saints (xii, 9). Thus the historic incarnation and the abiding spiritual presence of the Word are linked together. We note here the lack of any explicit mention of the person and work of the Holy Spirit, as also in i-x. It may be indeed, as Radford³ suggests, that the quasi-personal use of *χάρις* (xi, 5-7) which 'reveals' and 'rejoices' and which is not to be 'grieved'⁴ hints at the Spirit. It is, however, plain that if the Spirit is here in view it is not as a separate personality but rather as an agency of the Word.⁵ Other apologists

¹ In x, 2 the one 'sent' is 'the only-begotten Son'.

² See Additional Note C.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁴ Cf. Eph. iv, 30: "grieve not (*μὴ λυπεῖτε*) the Holy Spirit of God".

⁵ Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, ii, 209, thinks with regard to the apologists that "their conception of the Logos continually compelled them to identify the Logos and the Spirit". So Hermas earlier: "that Spirit is the Son of God" (*Sim.* ix, 1).

also, for example Theophilus (*ad Autol.* ii, 10),¹ are so concerned with the doctrine of the Logos or Son that they either fail to dwell on the Holy Spirit, or sometimes ascribe to the Son functions usually falling to the Spirit. Justin Martyr speaks now of the Son and now of the Spirit as the inspiration of men of old, though elsewhere he distinguishes between the two Persons (*Apol.* i, 6, 13). Similarly, in *Diognetus* it is the *Word* by whom the Church is enriched (xi, 5) and the *Word* who speaks through those whom he chooses (xi, 7).² Radford finds in this doctrine of the Logos as being "still the dominant truth of Christian theology" an indication of a second-century period.

As we have seen, the Epistle proper does not propound the idea of an organized Christian society. In the Appendix, however, we detect a conception of the Church³ as an institution aligned with the law, the prophets, the gospels, and the apostolic tradition (xi, 5-6). But even here the stress falls not on the ordered life of the Church but on its spiritual power mediated through the Son 'through whom the Church is enriched and grace is unfolded and multiplied among the saints'. Hence the exultant 'grace' of the Church. If *Diognetus* does not 'grieve this grace' he will understand what the Word wills to say through those whom he chooses. Divine revelation is thus continuous, and the authority of the faith is found in the written word and the living voice.⁴ In chapter xii the author avails himself of a current allegorical interpretation⁵ which regards Paradise as representing the Church. The Church as the company of 'those who love Him rightly' is, as it were, a tree all-fruitful and flourishing.

Apparently two grades of Christians are specified by the author of these chapters. He sounds the catechetical note and describes himself as both 'a disciple of apostles' and 'a teacher of the heathen'. What he has received from apostolic tradition he

¹ "The Word, being God's Spirit, came down upon the prophets and spake by them." But Theophilus (*op. cit.* ii, 15) is also careful to distinguish the two Persons and was the first Christian writer to use the term *τριάς* of the Godhead.

² Again we note the didactic office of the Logos. He is primarily Revealer and Teacher (xi, 2-3, 8). Nothing is said of his cosmic creativeness, dominion over nature, or redemptive function (as in vii-ix).

³ *ἐκκλησία* only in xi, 5-6. For a full survey of the term, see K. L. Schmidt in Kittel, *Th. W.* iii, 502 ff. In *Diognetus* the term has the ecumenical sense, the whole body of Christians. Cf. Phil. iii, 6; Col. i, 18, 24.

⁴ See Westcott, *Introd. to the Study of the Gospels* (ed. 1895), pp. 431 f. So also Cruttwell, *op. cit.* i, 286: "the canon of the truth in all the apologists is the same, namely, the teaching of Christ and His apostles preserved in the written evangelical records and in the general tradition of the Church".

⁵ See Routh, *Reliquiae Sacrae*, i, 16: certain early Christian writers and their followers "spiritualiter sunt contemplati de Christi ecclesia ea quae scripta sunt de paradiso".

ministers to 'those who are becoming disciples of the truth', i.e. catechumens (xi, 1). He speaks of 'disciples' who, being accounted πιστοί, receive divine revelation from the Word (xi, 2). He probably has in view two classes here, the catechumens and the full disciples. The latter are also named 'saints' (ἄγιοι, xi, 4, 5). Here he adds the mystical note. The saints are not only taught by the Word (xi, 7; xii, 9), but are indwelt by him (xi, 4) and through him enriched by grace (xi, 5).

We observe the author's respect for the old dispensation and for tradition. Note the phrases 'the fear of the law' and 'the grace of the prophets' (xi, 6), the O.T. reminiscences (xii, 1-3), the references to apostolic tradition (xi, 1, 6) and the decrees of the Fathers (xi, 5).¹

Three religious ideas are noticeable in this section.

Grace. The term χάρις (xi, 5-7) is used in the Pauline sense, denoting the free favour of God springing from His good pleasure and wholly apart from human merit (Rom. ii, 5 *al.*). Such grace is 'multiplied' (πληθύνεται)—perhaps an echo of the Petrine epistolary greeting (1 Pet. i, 2; 2 Pet. i, 2), though Paul dwells much on the same thought; cf. 2 Cor. iv, 15 (πλεονάζω . . . περισσεύω) and ix, 8 (περισσεύω). That grace is 'given' (δωρουμένη) is a note constantly struck by Paul (Rom. xii, 3, 6; 1 Cor. i, 4; Eph. iii, 8). The phrase 'the grace of the prophets' may reflect 1 Pet. i, 10, i.e. 'the coming grace proclaimed by the prophets', or the meaning may be 'grace which comes through the prophets'. 1 Clem. viii speaks of the prophets as "ministers of the grace of God". For the 'grace of the Church', see note on xi, 6.

Faith. πίστις as used in the Epistle proper denotes belief in the divine revelation and is the basis of true knowledge. So also in xi, 2 'knowledge of the mysteries of the Father' comes to the disciples who are πιστοί. But in the phrases 'the pledges of faith', 'the faith of the gospels' (xi, 5, 6), the term πίστις becomes objective. See above, p. 40 and note *ad loc.*

Knowledge. In i-x the concept of knowledge as such finds little place. It is sufficient for the author to insist that the knowledge of God cannot be reached by man. It is given by God Himself through faith and begets fullness of joy (x, 3). In xi-xii, however, knowledge looms large. Faith is intimately conjoined with gnosis. In the fertile world of Christian life both the tree of knowledge and the tree of life are found. 'The tree of knowledge does not kill; but disobedience kills' (xii, 2). That is, gnosis has its due place in the religious life. On the other hand, its place is subordinate. God planted first in the Garden the

¹ See below, pp. 138 f.

tree of life, the path to which was indicated by the tree of knowledge. 'For there can be neither life without knowledge nor sound knowledge without true life. Wherefore each (tree) stands planted near the other' (xii, 4). Hence the Apostle (Paul) blamed the gnosis which is divorced from the truth that leads to life (1 Cor. viii, 1). Dorner¹ finds "all through the twelfth chapter the pursuit of a middle path between Gnosticism and abstract piety". The author of this Appendix (xi-xii) sets high value upon a true gnosis as an essential element in the Christian life. Christianity is the highest philosophy and is in accord with reason. Yet it is revealed to faith, apprehended only by men enlightened by God, and attested by life.

7. LITERARY RELATIONSHIPS

(a) *Old Testament* (LXX)

- iii, 4 : ὁ γὰρ ποιήσας . . . ἐν αὐτοῖς. See note on that passage under (b) N.T.
- vii, 6 : καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν ὑποστήσεται ; Cf. Mal. iii, 2 : ἢ (καὶ A) τίς ὑποστήσεται ἐν τῇ ὀπτασίᾳ αὐτοῦ ;
- x, 2 : οὗς ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας εἰκόνας ἔπλασε. Derived from Gen. i, 26 f., with the variations of ἐκ τῆς εἰκόνας (for κατ' εἰκόνα) and πλάσσω (for ποιέω). The idea is very frequent. Cf. 1 Clem. xxxiii, 4 ἄνθρωπον . . . ἔπλασεν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ εἰκόνας χαρακτῆρα. See note on x, 2 (below).
- xi, 5 : ὁ σήμερον υἱὸς λογισθεῖς. Cf. Ps. ii, 7, and see note on xi, 5.
- xii, 1 : οἱ γενόμενοι παράδεισος τρυφῆς. Cf. Gen. iii, 23 f., ὁ παράδεισος τῆς τρυφῆς (the Garden of Eden. Cf. Joel ii, 3). It is frequently mentioned as a type of a fertile well-watered place (Gen. xiii, 10 ; Ezek. xxxi, 8 f.). Our author allegorizes it to typify the 'fruitfulness' of those who love God rightly. See note on xii, 1.
- xii, 2-3 : Plainly reminiscent of Gen. ii, 9, as the underlined and numbered points in common will show :

¹ *The Person of Christ*, i, 260, n. 1.

Gen. ii, 8-9

καὶ ἐφύτευσεν¹ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐν γὰρ τοῦτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ ξύλον παράδεισον ἐν Ἐδεμ κατὰ γνώσεως⁴ καὶ ξύλον ζωῆς² ἀνατολὰς καὶ ἔθετο ἐκεῖ τὸν πεφύτευται.¹ ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ τῆς ἀνθρώπου, ὃν ἔπλασεν. καὶ γνώσεως⁴ ἀναιρεῖ, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐξανέτειλεν ὁ θεὸς ἔτι ἐκ τῆς παρακοῆ ἀναιρεῖ. οὐδὲ γὰρ γῆς πᾶν ξύλον ὡραῖον εἰς ὄρασιν ἄσχημα τὰ γεγραμμένα, ὡς θεὸς καὶ καλὸν εἰς βρώσιν καὶ τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ξύλον γνώσεως⁴ καὶ ξύλον ζωῆς² ἐν μέσῳ³ παραδείσου ἐφύτευσε, διὰ γνώσεως ζωῆν εἰδέναι⁴ γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ ἐπιδεικνύς. πονηροῦ.

Diognetus, xii, 2-8

With ἐξανέτειλεν (Gen. ii, 9) cf. ἀνατείλαντες (D. xii, 1), and with παράδεισον ἐν Ἐδεμ (Gen. ii, 8) cf. παράδεισος τρυφῆς (D. xii, 1). There is no direct citation from the Greek O.T. and no introductory formulae. In two instances (iii, 4; vii, 6) the verbal correspondence is close. In the latter passage the author has the common παρουσία instead of the late and in the sense of 'appearance' less familiar ὄπτασία.¹ He simplifies and shortens the τὸ ξύλον τοῦ εἰδέναι γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ of Gen. ii, 9 into ξύλον γνώσεως and inverts the order 'tree of life' . . . 'tree of knowledge'. These scanty data suggest that the author is drawing loosely and paraphrastically upon O.T. passages, giving echoes of LXX language with a more or less free application of ideas. In particular the Genesis story of the Garden is allegorically interpreted by the writer of the appended chapters and adapted to the purpose of his homily (xii). No reminiscence of the Apocrypha appears, unless τοῦ δοκοῦντος ἐνθάδε θανάτου (x, 7, see note) recalls Wisd. iii, 2.

(b) New Testament

- ii, 1 : καθάρας σεαυτὸν κτλ. A probable reminiscence of Eph. iv, 22-4. See note.
- iii, 4 : ὁ γὰρ ποιήσας . . . ἐν αὐτοῖς. Cf. Exod. xx, 11; Ps. cxlv, 6; Acts xiv, 15. But Diognetus iii, 4 (see note *ad loc.*) differs from all three passages in omitting (καὶ) τὴν θάλασσαν

¹ The possibility lies open that this form of the prophetic text may be drawn from early Christian *testimonia*. The passage was familiar in Messianic prophecy. The first part (Mal. iii, 1) is cited in Matt. xi, 10, Lk. vii, 27, and Mark i, 2, and applied to John the Baptist. See J. Rendel Harris and V. Burch, *Testimonies*, Pt. II, pp. 64 f.; Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 282.

- (omitted also in the B text of Exod. xx, 11). Probably the immediate source of iii, 4 is Acts xiv, 15, since in both contexts God's creative activity is associated with His beneficence, 'which provides us all with what we need' (cf. Acts xiv, 17).
- iv, 4: there is some correspondence here with Rom. xi, 28. See note on iv, 4.
- v, 8: ἐν σαρκί . . . κατὰ σάρκα. Cf. 2 Cor. x, 3 and the τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα ζῆν of Rom. viii, 12 f.
- v, 9: a reminiscence of Phil. iii, 20.
- v, 12 f.: cf. 2 Cor. vi, 9-10 and see note on v, 12-13 for similarities and differences.
- v, 15: cf. 1 Cor. iv, 12 λοιδορούμενοι εὐλογοῦμεν. For the contrasted terms see 1 Peter iii, 9.
- v, 16: perhaps an echo of 2 Cor. vi, 10. But the notion of 'rejoicing' in tribulation is common. See note on v, 16.

.vi, 3

καὶ Χριστιανοὶ ἐν κόσμῳ οἰκοῦσιν
οὐκ εἰσὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου.

John xvii

καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἰσὶν (11).
οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου (14)
(cf. verse 16 and John xv, 19).

- vi, 5: may reflect Gal. v, 17. But again the notion is common in both Christian and pagan thought. See on vi, 5. For the hatred of Christians by the world, cf. John xv, 18-19, xvii, 14. *Diognetus* supplies a reason for the hatred of the soul by the flesh and of Christians by the world respectively, the latter reason being more pointed than the general statement of John xv, 19; xvii, 14. In the latter passages Christians are hated because they 'are not of the world'; in *Diognetus* because they resist the world's pleasures.
- vi, 6: an echo of Matt. v, 44 (Luke vi, 27).
- vi, 8: may possibly reflect 1 Cor. xv, 53 f.
- vii, 1: οἰκονομίαν μυστηρίων πεπίστευνται. Cf. 1 Cor. ix, 17, οἰκονομίαν πεπίστευμαι.
- vii, 4: ἐν ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ πραΰτητι. A possible reminiscence of 2 Cor. x, 1. But the combination is a familiar one. See note on vii, 4.
- vii, 4-5: ὡς σώζων . . . οὐ κρίνων. This antithesis in relation to the purpose of the Son may be a Johannine echo (John iii, 17; xii, 47).
- viii, 8: καὶ μόνος ἀγαθός ἐστιν. A reminiscence of Mark x, 18 (= Matt. xix, 17; Luke xviii, 19).
- viii, 10-11: see note *ad loc.*
- ix, 1: τῷ τότε τῆς ἀδικίας καιρῷ . . . τὸν νῦν τῆς δικαιοσύνης. See note *ad loc.* for N.T. references (Rom. iii, 21-6 *al.*).

- ix, 1 : ἀδύνατον . . . θεοῦ. Cf. John iii, 5 : οὐ δύναται εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, and also Mark x, 27.
- ix, 2 : ἦλθε δὲ . . . θεοῦ. Cf. Titus iii, 4-5, and see note on ix, 2.
- ix, 2 : ἀπέδοτο λύτρον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. See note *ad loc.* for N.T. references.
- ix, 2 : τὸν δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδίκων. A reminiscence of 1 Peter iii, 18.
- ix, 3 : for the 'covering' of sins see note *ad loc.*
- ix, 6 : περὶ . . . μεριμνᾶν. A probable gloss drawn from Matt. vi, 25, 28, 31.
- x, 2 : ὁ γὰρ θεὸς . . . ἠγάπησε. A free recollection of John iii, 16.
- x, 2 : πρὸς οὓς . . . μονογενῆ. Cf. the close parallel in 1 John iv, 9.
- x, 2 : οἷς . . . αὐτόν. A possible borrowing from Jas. ii, 5.
- x, 3 : for the notion of being 'filled with joy', cf. 1 John i, 4 ; 2 John 12.
- x, 3 : ἡ πῶς . . . σε ; from 1 John iv, 19 (cf. verses 10, 11). See p. 133.
- x, 6 : ἀλλ' ὅστις . . . βάρος. A possible reflection of Gal. vi, 2. But see on x, 6.
- x, 7 : ὅτι . . . πολιτεύεται. Cf. Eph. vi, 9. With *μυστήρια θεοῦ λαλεῖν*, cf. 1 Cor. xiv, 2 ; ii, 1-7.
- xi, 2 : οἷς ἐφάνέρωσεν ὁ λόγος φανείς. The language has a Johannine ring.
- xi, 3 : διὰ . . . ἐπιστεύθη. Perhaps reminiscent of 1 Tim. iii, 16. See note.
- xi, 4 : οὗτος ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. Cf. 1 John i, 1 : ὁ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς (cf. ii, 13, 14).
- xii, 5 : ἡ γνῶσις . . . οἰκοδομεῖ. The only citation (from 1 Cor. viii, 1).
- xii, 6 : ἐπ' ἐλπίδι. A Pauline phrase (Rom. iv, 18 ; v, 2 ; viii, 20 ; 1 Cor. ix, 10).
- xii, 9 : δι' οὗ . . . δοξάζεται. Cf. John xiii, 31 ; xiv, 13.

The influence of the phraseology of the New Testament pervades the Epistle. Some references are more explicit than others. Both earlier and later apologists made little *direct* use of Scripture.¹ In this the *Epistle to Diognetus* is true to type. It gives but one precise citation (xii, 5), the passage (1 Cor. viii, 1) being ascribed

¹ This is true in the main of the Apostolic Fathers also, though their language is throughout influenced by the apostolic diction. The early apologists had little need of recourse to Scripture, since their Gentile readers would attach no authority to the sacred books.

to 'the Apostle'.¹ But we hear abundant echoes, especially of the Pauline writings.² Words and phrases from the Corinthian letters in particular³ are interwoven into the Epistle. There is a not inconsiderable debt to the Fourth Gospel and 1 John.⁴ The Synoptic Gospels are less directly in evidence. Further points of kinship with the Pastorals and with James and 1 Peter serve to show that the author is familiar with most of the N.T. books (1 and 2 Thess., Philemon, Hebrews, 2 Peter, 3 John, Jude, and Revelation seem not to be represented). But he gives no indication that in his view any special sanctity or authority attached to these writings. Indeed his free handling of them along with the absence of the name of any sacred writer suggests that the idea of a New Testament Canon was as yet dimly, if at all, conceived.⁵ For the writer of the appended chapters (xi-xii), however, the Old Testament and the New form the authoritative Scriptures. Not only is the fear of the law sung and the grace of the prophets known, but the faith of the gospels is 'established', and the tradition of the apostles 'guarded' (xi, 6).⁶ Here a

¹ Similarly, Polycarp, *ad Phil.*, whilst drawing freely on the apostolic books, only once, following a quotation, mentions the sacred writer by name ('sicut Paulus docet' xi, 2). Cf. Ps.-Clem., *Epistles concerning Virginity* (i, 12), where the citation of 2 Cor. xi. 29 is introduced by the words "as the apostle hath said". Clem. of Alex. has now the title and now the personal name. Cf. *Protrept.* V, p. 50, 10 (Stählin) where a citation of Gal. iv, 9 is introduced by *ἡ φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος*. In IX, p. 64, 19, he quotes 1 Tim. iv, 8, *κατὰ τὸν Παῦλον*.

² Ewald (*Hist. of Israel*, viii, 174) says of the author of the Epistle: "in him there seemed to be no other than Paul himself come back to life to speak to this age". For Pauline words in the Epistle see p. 10.

³ The Corinthian letters figure plentifully in the N.T. citations made in general by early Christian writers of the second century. See *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (1905), p. 137.

⁴ The degree of actual literary dependence is not clear. J. N. Sanders, *The Fourth Gospel in the Early Church* (1943), p. 19, finds that chs. i-x point to a type of theology akin to that of the Fourth Gospel and 1 John. As regards chs. xi-xii he thinks that "the similarity in underlying doctrine and the use of the personal *Logos*" may suggest that these two chapters and the Fourth Gospel were both written in the same Church. Neither in the Epistle proper nor in the two appended chapters does he find any *certain* literary dependence on the Johannine writings. Be that as it may, the kinship with the Fourth Gospel is too marked to warrant the view of the author of *Supernatural Religion*, ii, 357 f., that the resemblance "is merely superficial and accidental".

⁵ This feature is, as far as it goes, consistent with the probable date of the Epistle (c. A.D. 150). "No witness of this period (the middle of the second century) knows any collection of New Testament writings, even a provisional and incomplete one" (Reuss, *Hist. of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament*, E.T. (E. L. Houghton, 1884), p. 299). But Marcion's truncated canon (c. A.D. 140) and the growth of Gnostic heresy were soon to accelerate, by way of reaction, a process of canonisation.

⁶ See note *ad loc.* Jacquier, *Le Nouveau Testament dans l'Église Chrétienne*, I, 131, cites this passage as proof that at the time it was written "les évangiles et les écrits apostoliques étaient réunis en collection. Nous avons ici les mêmes titres, que nous retrouverons dans les écrits subséquents: τὸ εὐαγγέλιον et ὁ ἀπόστολος, qui designaient les deux collections des écrits néotestamentaires".

fixed orthodoxy or canon of truth seems to be in view. At the same time the author recognizes the inspiration of the living Word along with that of the written Scriptures (xi, 7-8). He uses the phrase τὰ γεγραμμένα (xii, 3) to denote an O.T. passage (Gen. ii, 8-9),¹ but names no book of Scripture.

As the element of actual citation is negligible, it is not possible to draw any inference concerning the character of the N.T. text implied. We may, however, notice that x, 3 (ἢ πῶς ἀγαπήσεις τὸν οὕτως προαγαπήσαντά σε), which is apparently a free recollection of 1 John iv, 19, perhaps reflects the influence of the reading preserved in **ℵ** 33 *al.* (ἡμεῖς ἀγαπῶμεν τὸν θεόν) or in some codices (*αὐτόν*), as against that which is read by AB *al.* (ἡμεῖς ἀγαπῶμεν).

(c) *The Apologists*

Even a cursory reading of the early Christian apologies shows that they have much in common in both matter and form. The general likeness is so marked that it is easy to posit direct borrowing of one apologist from another. Close verbal correspondence is therefore needed as proof of such dependence.

(1) *The Preaching of Peter* (c. A.D. 100-30)²

This early writing is known from quotations made by Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, i, 29, 182; vi, 5, 39 ff., etc. It marks the transition from early Christian literature to the apologetic writings, and appears to have wielded much influence upon second-century Christian writings.³ A comparison of *Diognetus* with the fragments of the *Preaching* reveals close similarity. J. Armitage Robinson⁴ marshals evidence to show that the *Preaching* lies behind both the *Apology of Aristides* and our Epistle. By inference from parallels between these two documents he records eleven points which presumably appeared in the *Preaching*. But it may be noticed that some of these points are held in common with other Christian writers of the period and apparently reflect conventional religious thought and terminology, e.g. παντοκράτωρ and ἀόρατος as epithets of the Deity, the ideas that the world was made for the sake of man and that God has no

¹ So also Clem. (1 *Cor.* xiii, 1) writes ποιήσωμεν τὸ γεγραμμένον, followed by an O.T. passage introduced by λέγει γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

² See *Texts and Studies*, I, i, pp. 86 ff.; *Texte und Untersuch.* XI; Preuschen, *Antilegomena*, pp. 88-91, 192-5; M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 16 ff.

³ See J. N. Reagan, *The Preaching of Peter: the beginning of Christian Apologetic* (Chicago, 1923).

⁴ *Texts and Studies*, I, i, pp. 97 f.

need of sacrifices, etc. Similarly, the notions of creation by the Word and of Christians as a new or third *γένος* have older and wider currency. Moreover, there are some minor differences between the *Preaching of Peter* and the *Epistle to Diognetus*. The *Preaching* is impressed by the ignorance (*ἄγνοια*)¹ of the idolaters, "not knowing God as we do, according to the perfect knowledge" (cf. *Diognetus*, x, 1). The Epistle dwells rather on their utter irrationality (*ἀφροσύνη*).² The offering of animal and edible sacrifices, pagan oblations which deny God's existence (*Preaching*), finds no mention in *Diognetus*. The description of Jewish worship differs in one material point, in that the *Preaching* ascribes to the Jews the worship of angels and archangels.

(2) *The Apology of Aristides* (c. A.D. 140)³

Doulcet⁴ and Kihn⁵ advocated the view that the *Apology of Aristides* and the *Epistle to Diognetus* came from the same hand. J. Armitage Robinson,⁶ whilst not affirming common authorship, has shown that the *Apology* has points in common with *Diognetus*. To the specific similarities he gives we may add others of a more general kind. Both writings set forth the faith as eminently reasonable and as the source of moral power, and are marked by freshness and simplicity, especially in the pictures of the life of the Christians. In both, the polemic against heathen idolatry is conventional and superficial⁷ and no element of revelation is credited to the Jewish religion. Both ignore the Old Testament as far as actual citation is concerned, and neither uses the argument from prophecy. Some ideas reflected in both documents are shared by early apologetics in general, e.g., that God is above all personal need (*Apol.* i, xiii Syr.; *Diog.* iii, 4; *Clem. Recogn.* v, 15 f.). But some verbal similarities with the Greek version suggest at least acquaintance of our author with the *Apology*:

¹ So also the *Apol. of Aristides* stresses this aspect: the Greeks erred "as men who are destitute of knowledge", and former sins were wrought in ignorance (xvii Syr.).

² But cf. viii, 1: 'what man had any knowledge at all of what God is, before he came?'

³ See *Texts and Studies*, I, i (Harris and Robinson), 1891; *Texte und Untersuch.* IV, Heft 3 (E. Hennecke), 1893, IX, Heft 1 (Raabe), 1892; J. Geffcken, *Zwei griech. Apologeten*, 1-96 (1907).

⁴ *Revue des Quest. Histor.* xxviii (1880), 601-12.

⁵ *Der Ursprung usw.*, pp. 95-154.

⁶ *Texts and Studies*, I, i, pp. 95 ff. Molland (pp. 295 ff.) gives a recent and careful examination of the relationship between the two documents.

⁷ Aristides, however, deals with the matter more fully than the Epistle, which impatiently dismisses heathen worship with the remark: 'I think it needless to say more' (ii, 10).

<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Diog.</i>
xiii : τὰ κωφὰ καὶ ἀναίσθητα εἶδωλα.	ii, 4 : οὐ κωφὰ πάντα . . . οὐκ ἀναίσθητα ;
Epithets of the Deity: ἀόρατος (iv, xiv), παιτοκράτωρ (xiv), κτίστης καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν ἀπάντων (xv), and τεχνίτης (iv).	vii, 2 : ὁ παντοκράτωρ . . . ἀόρατος θεός. vii, 2 (cf. viii, 7) : ὁ τεχνίτης καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν ὄλων.

We may notice also the occurrence of such terms as the following : *μόρφωμα* and *ἐκτύπωμα* (*Apol.* iii). Cf. *μεταμορφώω* and *ἐκτυπώω* (*Diog.* ii, 3) ; *προσδέομαι* (*Apol.* x ; *Diog.* iii, 4) ; *εἰς χρῆσιν* (*ἀνθρώπων*) (*Apol.* iv, v, vii ; *Diog.* ii, 2 ; iv, 2) ; *οἰκονομία* (*Apol.* xv, bis ; *Diog.* iv, 5) of the divine 'dispensation' ; *πραεῖς καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς* (of Christians, *Apol.* xv) ; *ἐν ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ πραύτητι* (of the Son, *Diog.* vii, 4).

It is true that most of these terms are part of the stock-in-trade of Jewish and Christian writers in general. But when, as is the case in our two documents, they occur in similar contexts we may reasonably presume actual contact.

At the same time there are noticeable differences between the *Apologetica* and the *Epistle*. This may be seen in the respective attitudes towards the Jewish religion. Aristides's almost friendly tone (see xiv) is in sharp contrast to *Diognetus's* severity and contempt. *Diognetus* knows nothing of the adoration of angels, which Aristides (and the *Preaching of Peter*) attributes to the Jews. Conversely the idea of creation by the Word, found in our *Epistle* and the *Preaching*, is lacking in Aristides. Aristides (xv) sets forth the Christian way of life as issuing from Christian belief and finding its incentive in the hope of future reward : " they know and believe in God, the Maker of heaven and earth, in whom are all things and from whom are all things : He who has no other god as His fellow : from whom they have received those commandments which they have engraved on their minds, which they keep in the hope and expectation of the world to come ; so that on this account they do not commit adultery ", etc. (xv Syr. ; Harris's translation). *Diognetus* inverts the order, picturing first the life of the Christians and then passing to their doctrinal belief. It does not suggest the hope of future bliss as a motive for morality, though Christians ' await the incorruptibility which is in heaven ' (vi, 8). More significant perhaps is the view of the quest of God presented by each writer. In the *Apol.* (xv, xvi, Syr.) Christians " have found the truth " " by going about and seeking ". *Diognetus* gives man little or no part

in the discovery. It was God who 'established among men and fixed firmly in their hearts the truth and the holy and incomprehensible word' (vii, 2). Whilst commending Diognetus's zeal to understand the religion of the Christians (i), he insists that the knowledge of God lies beyond man's unaided power (v, 3; vii, 1).¹ God has manifested Himself through faith, 'by which alone it is given to see God' (viii, 6).

The data undoubtedly attest some contact of the Epistle with the *Apology*.² But the parallels are not sufficiently close to posit direct borrowing or a common authorship. Puech³ indeed thinks that, if *Diognetus* and the *Apology* have certain ideas in common, the former has made a quite different use of them, and he credits the author of the Epistle with a far higher degree of literary skill.⁴ We can hardly go farther than Pfeleiderer's verdict⁵ of "the acquaintance of the author of the Epistle to Diognetus with the earlier Apology of Aristides".

(3) *Justin Martyr*

It is convenient to summarize here the grounds on which the presumed authorship by Justin is inadmissible. As stated above,⁶ *Cod. Argent.* ix contained our Epistle among a number of treatises ascribed to Justin Martyr. Tillemont (1691) was the first to suspect the Justinian authorship, which came to be rejected by many older scholars (Grossheim, Semisch, Hefele, and others) and practically all modern writers. Otto himself in the third edition of his *Corpus Apologetarum* gave up his former advocacy of Justin's authorship. Even a cursory review confirms that judgement. Justin shows himself more charitable towards both pagan and Jewish religion; *Diognetus* rejects both outright as ἀφροσύνη and μωρία. Justin⁷ names Socrates, Heraclitus, Abraham, and others as 'Christians', being men who lived μετὰ λόγου. 'What man', says our author, 'had any knowledge at all of what God is, before he (the Son) came?' (viii, 1. Cf. 2-5). See above, p. 21. The Epistle seems to deny reality to the Greek gods, whereas Justin invests them with demoniacal powers. *Diognetus* dubs Judaism as 'superstition' but one remove from Greek idolatry, and pours ridicule on Jewish religious scruples. Justin, on the other hand, recognizes the divine origin of the Mosaic

¹ See note on iv, 6 (*sub fin.*).

² Molland discusses the various possibilities raised by this relationship.

³ *Les apol. grecs*, p. 251. See also his *Histoire*, ii, p. 218.

⁴ See also Geffcken, *Zwei griech. Apologeten*, pp. xli f., Molland, p. 298.

⁵ *Primitive Christianity*, iv, p. 482 (E.T., 1911).

⁶ See p. 5.

⁷ *Apol.* i, 46. Man has a partial knowledge of God through "the seed of the Word" sown in all men (*Apol.* ii, 13. Cf. 10).

ordinances as a preparation for the Gospel (*Dial.* 40-3). *Diognetus* makes little use of the O.T. ;¹ Justin cites the LXX abundantly, and finds in the argument from prophecy strong proof of the truth of the faith.² There is a marked difference in the theology of redemption. Both writers offer a reason for the delay in carrying out the divine plan. It was in order to demonstrate man's moral helplessness and need of a Saviour. So *Diognetus*. But Justin's view is that God, having given man the power of choice, had reinforced him by the partial indwelling of the Logos. So that God did not even seem to neglect man as *Diognetus* (viii, 10) hints. Justin shows but little Pauline influence ; the Epistle is rich in Pauline echoes. Our author works out his theme in orderly fashion ; Justin's writing lacks logical arrangement, is often discursive and marked by frequent parentheses. The language of Justin is mainly on the level of the common dialect, and is sometimes careless and irregular. *Diognetus*, on the other hand, approaches classical standards in both vocabulary and style. There are naturally coincidences of thought between the two writers.³ But these are shared for the most part with other apologists of the early and later periods.

(4) *Clement of Alexandria*

Harnack⁴ suggests that there is a literary connexion between the *Epistle to Diognetus* and the *Protrepticus* of Clement. Geffcken⁵ points out that both writers share the same Hellenistic-Christian mode of thought and show similar features in rhetorical style,⁶ rhythmical ending of sentences, and metrical periods. The results of a comparison of the two documents are mostly given in the Notes, but may for convenience be assembled here. References in the second column are to chapters of the *Protrepticus* with the page and line of Stählin's edition.

<i>Diog.</i>	<i>Protrept.</i>
ii, 1 : καθάρως σεαυτὸν . . . συνήθειαν ἀποσκευασάμενος.	i, 10, 8 ff. : σὺ δὲ εἰ ποθεῖς ἰδεῖν ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸν θεόν, καθαρσίῳν μεταλάβανε θεοπρεπῶν.

¹ See pp. 53 f.

² An argument, ἡπερ μείσθη καὶ ἀληθεστάτη ἀπόδειξις (*Apol.* i, 30. Cf. i, 53).

³ To take a minor point only : the apologists comment on the folly of appointing men as the guardians of the gods against theft. Cf. Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 9 ; *Diognetus* ii, 2.

⁴ *Gesch. der altchrist. Lit.* I, p. 758 ; II, i, p. 514.

⁵ *Der Brief an Diognetos*, p. v. Also *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xliii, N.F. vi, 348 ff.

⁶ e.g. the exclamatory ὦ c. genit. (*D.* ix, 2) frequently appears in Clem. Alex. To the reference given (p. 63) add *Protrept.* ii, 17, 11 f. ; ix, 63, 2.

συνήθεια, probably meaning 'custom' of idolatry (see note), is frequent in that sense in the *Protrept.* (iv, 35, 13; x, 72, 2 *al.*).

ii, 4 : οὐκ ἀναίσθητα ;

ii, 8 : αἵματι καὶ κνίσαις.

ii, 8 : αἷς δὲ δοκεῖτε τιμαῖς
προσφέρειν.

ii, 7 : οὐ πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς
χλευάζετε καὶ ὑβρίζετε.

iv, 39, 19 ff. : ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀναισθήτω
λίθῳ καὶ ξύλῳ καὶ χρυσίῳ
πλουσίῳ οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν μέλει, οὐ
κνίσης, οὐχ αἵματος, οὐ καπνοῦ,
ὧ δὴ τιμώμενοι καὶ τυφόμενοι
ἐκμελαινόνται. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
τιμῆς οὐχ ὑβρεως.

For the idea of the worshipper 'mocking' the gods (χλευάζω, *D.* ii, 7) cf. *Protrept.* ii, 29, 13 (παίζω).

ii, 5 : τούτοις προσκυνεῖτε, τέλεον
δ' αὐτοῖς ἐξομοιοῦσθε.

viii, 4 : ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τερατεία
καὶ πλάνη τῶν γοήτων ἐστίν.

viii, 6 : διὰ πίστεως, ἧ μόνη θεὸν
ἰδεῖν συγκεχώρηται.

ix, 2 : ὧ τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης
φιλανθρωπίας.

iv, 48, 3 f. : ὅπως δὲ αὐτοὶ μὴ
ὅμοιοι δι' ἀναισθησίαν τοῖς
ἀνδριάσιν ἀποτελεσθῆτε, οὐ
φροντίζετε.

ii, 12, 18 f. : τὰ ὄργια . . . ἀπάτης
καὶ τερατείας ἐμπλεα.

i, 10, 15 : αἱ τοῦ λόγου πύλαι,
πίστεως ἀνοιγνύμεναι κλειδί.

ix, 62, 11 : ὧ τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης
φιλανθρωπίας.

It must again be observed that some of the terms in the accounts of idolatry are common to most Greek writers on that theme. Similarly, some of the figures which Geffcken names to prove connexion between the two documents are familiar literary devices, e.g. paronomasia,¹ the exclamatory ὦ with the genit., and a series of rhetorical questions.² The idea of the worshipper becoming like the idol is also commonplace in polemics against idolatry (see note on ii, 5). The evidence is not sufficient to warrant the view that *Diognetus* is dependent on the *Protrepticus*, or that its author "shines only as a satellite of the star of Clement".³ We can hardly affirm more than a general resemblance between the Epistle and the *Protrepticus* due to the fact that both writings move in the same orbit of thought and deal in part with the same themes. The same observation may be made of the suggested parallels between *Diognetus* and Tertullian's

¹ κοινήν . . . κοίτην, v, 7. Cf. *Protrept.* x, 68, 9, ἀνοήτους καὶ ἀνοήτους τρυφάς and other examples. See above, p. 13, n. 4.

² *Diognetus*, ii, 2 ff.; *Protrept.* ii, 13, 13.

³ *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xliii, N.F. vi, p. 350. In our view (see pp. 18 f.) *Diognetus* probably antedates the *Protrepticus* (c. A.D. 190) by some thirty years.

Apology,¹ which are remarked in the Notes (pp. 92 ff.). For possible literary indebtedness to Irenaeus see note on vii, 4 (*ὡς περὶ τὸν . . . τῷ θεῷ*),² and for wider literary affinities see on vi, 7; viii, 5-8. The possible relationship of *Diognetus* xi-xii to Hippolytus and Melito is discussed below (pp. 66 ff.).

8. INTEGRITY

Two questions fall to be discussed; (1) the relation of chs. i-x to xi-xii; (2) the authorship and origin of chs. xi-xii.

(1) *The relation of chs. i-x to xi-xii*

Cod. Argent. ix shows a lacuna at the close of ch. x (after *ἐπιγνώσας*), with a marginal note: "and here the copy had a break".³ Stephanus first noted the incongruity of the last two chapters with the preceding ten, and nearly all later writers agree that xi-xii are a fragment of a work by a later author or editor.⁴ Some editors indeed print only chs. i-x.⁵ The case for the separation of xi-xii from the Epistle proper rests on:

(a) *General considerations, chiefly of content and teaching.* The plan outlined in ch. i is completed in the main in the following nine chapters, and xi-xii appear to be extraneous to the original scheme. In ch. i the author states that he is moved to write his Epistle by Diognetus's zeal to learn; according to xi, 8 he writes by command of the Word and under stress to share what has been revealed. In xi-xii there is no suggestion of an earnest seeker whose inquiries are answered. On the contrary, these chapters deal with the blessings of true teaching and of friendship with the Word,⁶ as embodied in the Church, and they have in view 'those who are becoming disciples of the truth' (xi, 1), i.e. presumably catechumens in course of instruction. These differences, it is

¹ Set forth by Lipsius (in *Liter. Centralblatt*, 1873, no. 40). See also Dräseke in *Jahrb. für protest. Theol.*, 1881, 475 ff.

² Molland (p. 294) says: "Merkwürdig bleibt doch die identische Formulierung. Indessen genügen kaum diese Worte als Grundlage für eine literarkritische Hypothese".

³ *καὶ ὅδε ἐγκοπὴν εἶχε τὸ ἀντίγραφον.*

⁴ Dörner (*Person of Christ*, I, i, 376) is a notable exception. These chapters (xi-xii), he says, "seem to me to exhibit the same compass of thought and Christian colouring as the rest, and first to bring the epistle to an appropriate conclusion". See also Kihn (*Der Ursprung*, p. 48), Birks in *Dict. of Christian Biography* (1911), p. 258.

⁵ e.g. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Geffcken, Blakeney. Others detach and edit chs. xi-xii. So Credner in *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanon* (ed. G. Volkmar), pp. 59-66 (1860).

⁶ For different aspects (in xi-xii compared with vii-x) of the Word or Son, see above, p. 50.

true, are not irreconcilable with the view that the same author is addressing Diognetus, who, convinced by the case set forth in i-x, may now be regarded as typical of the class of nascent disciples. But there are more serious divergences. There is a marked difference in the attitude towards the Jewish dispensation. In the Epistle proper the Mosaic ordinances (Sabbath, circumcision, fasts) are ridiculed and rejected (ch. iv), and prophecy is ignored, whereas in xi, 6 the law and the prophets are equated with the gospels and apostolic tradition as sources of enrichment for the Church. The primacy assigned to faith (viii, 6)¹ cedes to that of knowledge (xii, 3-7). Though i-x show abundant reminiscences of the New Testament,² there is no express citation; xii, 5 has an exact quotation of 1 Cor. viii, 1 ascribed to 'the Apostle'. The traces of allegorical interpretation (of the Garden of Eden story) in ch. xii are entirely lacking in i-x. The two appended chapters give the impression that they are a portion of a homily³ with vestiges of metrical form.⁴

(b) *Differences in vocabulary and style.* In estimating vocabular differences it is necessary to bear in mind the relative extent of the two sections (i-x, xi-xii), their different subject-matter, and the possible variation of mood in the author. But, with such allowances made, the following features are not without significance. Particles, plentiful and varied in i-x, are rather limited in xi-xii. οὐδέ, γάρ, ἀλλά, τε (only once, xii, 5), δέ and καί (*passim*) occur. But there are no instances of τε καί, γε, δή, ἄν. ὤς, especially frequent in i-x, appears only once (xii, 3) and that in a different sense (= ὅτι). μὲν . . . δέ, abundant in i-x, are entirely absent from xi-xii. In prepositions, conjunctions, etc., xi-xii show ἄνευ, διό, εἴτα, μετά (all absent from i-x); ἐξ ἀρχῆς (ii, 1; viii, 11), but ἀπ' ἀρχῆς (xi, 4; xii, 3 *bis*). Some words and phrases are alien from the general tenor of i-x: ἀπλόω, γνώσις, ἐξείπειν, συγχρωτίζω, συνετίζω, ἀποστόλων γενόμενος μαθητής, διδάσκαλος ἐθνῶν, ἀληθείας μαθηταί, λόγῳ προσφιλῆς,* οἱ ἄγιοι, οἱ πιστοί, ὄρκια * πίστεως, ὄρια πατέρων, εὐαγγελίων πίστις, ἀποστόλων παράδοσις, ἐκκλησίας χάρις, ὁ ἀπόστολος (= St. Paul), τὸ κυρίου πάσχα, κηροί.

The argument from silence is precarious; but the absence of

¹ See above, p. 40. Note the objective sense of πίστις in the usage of the later writer.

² See pp. 54 ff.

³ An Easter homily (Otto), an Epiphany homily (Lake).

⁴ For analogies in the New Testament and other early literature to the fusion of two distinct documents, see P. N. Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians*, pp. 20-4.

* Conj.

some favourite words of the author of i-x, e.g. ἴδιος, λοιπός, θεοσεβεία, may be noted.

An estimate of style is largely subjective. But the total impression made by xi-xii is that these chapters derive from a writer other than the author of i-x. The following features common in i-x are lacking in xi-xii: ἄν c. potential optative, the rhetorical question, the use of synonyms, resumptive οὗτος, the habit of reiterating a key word or construction. The high proportion of anarthrous nouns in xi-xii has no parallel in i-x.

(2) *The authorship and origin of chs. xi-xii*

Bunsen was the first to assign the authorship of these chapters to Hippolytus, and in 1852¹ he claimed that they formed the concluding passage of Hippolytus's *Refutation of all Heresies* or the *Philosophumena*. Dräseke² and Di Pauli³ supported this view. G. N. Bonwetsch⁴ agreed on the Hippolytean authorship, but did not assign the fragment to a particular treatise. Ewald⁵ suggested that xi-xii form the end of a different book written some twenty or thirty years later than chs. i-x, its object being to expound and commend the true gnosis. Westcott⁶ was disposed to assign the fragment to a Jewish convert of Alexandria writing c. A.D. 140-50, whilst Lightfoot,⁷ equally impressed by its Alexandrian tone, suggested Pantaenus⁸ (c. 180-210) as its author.

R. H. Connolly⁹ had independently come to the conclusion (about 1916) that these chapters came from the hand of Hippolytus, and later accepted the view that they formed the lost ending of the *Philosophumena*. He suggests that in the Codex (which contained various writings wrongly attributed to Justin Martyr) a portion (probably ch. x) of the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus stood immediately before chs. xi-xii of *Diognetus*. The parallels that Connolly draws differ in force and appositeness. The cumulative effect, however, is impressive, and a strong case has been built up by his careful study.

In his valuable study of Melito's *Homily* Campbell Bonner¹⁰

¹ *Hippolytus and His Age*, i, 414 ff.

² *Zeitschrift f. wissenschaft. Theol.* xlv (1902), 275 ff.

³ *Theologische Quartalschrift*, lxxxviii (1906), 28-36.

⁴ In *Götting. Nachr. phil.-hist. Kl.* (1902), 621-34 and (1923), 27 f.

⁵ *Hist. of Israel*, viii, 173, n. 3.

⁶ *Canon of the New Testament*⁵, pp. 88, 90, 93.

⁷ *Apostolic Fathers* (ed. Harmer), pp. 488 f., *Biblical Essays*, p. 92. See also Batiffol, *Primitive Catholicism*, pp. 179 ff.

⁸ For Pantaenus see the references in Eusebius, *H.E.* v, 10.

⁹ *J.T.S.* xxxvii (1936), 2 ff. See Additional Note C, below.

¹⁰ Campbell Bonner, *The Homily on the Passion by Melito, Bishop of Sardis, and some fragments of the Apocryphal Ezekiel* (1940).

raises the interesting question whether *Diognetus* xi-xii "were once part of a homily by Melito". A careful comparison of the text of all Melito's fragments¹ with the appended chapters of *Diognetus* yields results interesting but hardly conclusive. Bonner (pp. 60 ff.) points out that the sound and rhythm of some sentences in these two chapters reveal stylistic affinities with writings of Melito:

Diog. xi, 2 : ὑπὸ ἀπίστων μὴ νοούμενος, μαθηταῖς δὲ διηγούμενος.

Diog. xi, 4 : ὁ καινὸς φανεῖς καὶ παλαιὸς εὐρεθεῖς.

Diog. xi, 5 : οἷς ὄρκια πίστεως οὐ θραύεται οὐδὲ ὄρια πατέρων παρορίζεται.

Diog. xi, 6 : a sequence of four short clauses ending in -ται.

Diog. xii, 9 : a sequence of seven clauses ending in -ται. Cf. Melito, *Homily* 16 : ὅποτε τὸ πρόβατον σφάζεται καὶ τὸ πάσχα βιβρώσκειται καὶ τὸ μυστήριον τελεῖται καὶ ὁ λαὸς εὐφραίνεται καὶ ὁ Ἰσραὴλ σφραγίζεται. Note co-ordination in both writers.

The opening clauses of *Diognetus* xi, 4, 5, in praise of the Word or Son (οὗτος ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς . . . οὗτος ὁ ἀεὶ) reminds us of the *Homily*, 68-71, where a series of praises of Christ is expressed by eleven clauses introduced by οὗτός ἐστι with article and aorist participle. Cf. also 82-6, 104. The same locution is seen in Hippolytus, *Contra Noetum*, 18.

Minor coincidences appear in :

<i>Diog.</i>	<i>Homily</i>
xi, 3 : ὑπὸ λαοῦ ἀτιμασθεῖς.	75 : ἔδει αὐτὸν ἀτιμασθῆναι, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ σοῦ (Israel).
xi, 2 : τὰ διὰ λόγου δειχθέντα ("by the Word". See note.)	87 : τὴν ἐκεῖ διατροφήν διὰ τοῦ καλοῦ Ἰωσήφ ("by the good Joseph").
	P. Oxy. 1600 ² : τον δι ἀδελ[φου φ]ονευομενον ³ ("by a brother").

The evidence gleaned is too meagre to establish the authorship of *Diognetus* xi-xii by Melito. But that the author belongs to the school of thought represented in Melito and Hippolytus seems certain. Bonner (p. 62) suggests that "it is conceivable that Hippolytus wrote the paragraphs now incorporated in the closing

¹ Given in Routh, *Reliquiae Sacrae*, i, 113 ff.; Otto, *Corpus Apologetarum*, ix, 410 ff.; E. J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten*; Oxyrhynchus Papyri, xiii, 1600; Campbell Bonner (*op. cit.*).

² This papyrus of v/A.D. was formerly ascribed to Hippolytus (so J. V. Bartlet, G. N. Bonwetsch). But it has since been identified as part of Melito's *Homily on the Passion* (C. Bonner, C. Martin).

³ The readings, however, are very uncertain.

chapter of the Letter (i.e. *Diognetus*) in his younger days, before he had developed his more elaborate style, and while he was still more patently under the influence of Melito than he was in his maturity".

9. HISTORY OF THE TEXT

Of the original MS. and its history full accounts are given by various authorities.¹ It will be sufficient here to outline the story of the text. The original was a codex, probably of the thirteenth or fourteenth century,² which contained among other works³ the following tractates: (1) *Concerning the Monarchy*, (2) *An Exhortation to the Greeks*, each entitled "of the holy Justin, philosopher and martyr", (3) *An Exposition of the faith concerning the right confession or concerning the Trinity*, by "Justin, philosopher and martyr", (4) *To the Greeks* and (5) *To Diognetus*,⁴ each ascribed "of the same" (τοῦ αὐτοῦ). The codex, apparently once in the possession of J. Reuchlin (d. 1522),⁵ came about 1560 to the monastery of Maursmünster in Alsace. Its subsequent history is obscure, but between 1793 and 1795 it arrived at Strassburg, where it was destroyed by fire on August 24th, 1870, during the Franco-German war. The MS. was known as *Codex Argentoratensis Graec. ix*, from the old Latin name of the city, Argentoratum.

H. Stephanus of Paris made a transcript of the MS. in 1586 and published the *editio princeps* in 1592. About 1590 a copy of the codex had been made by J. J. Beurer of Freiburg. This copy seems to have perished, but some of Beurer's readings were incorporated by Stephanus in an appendix to his edition (1592) and by F. Sylburg (1593). Stephanus's transcript is extant at Leyden (*Codex Graec. Voss., Q. 30*). Until 1880, therefore, the Epistle was known only through Stephanus's manuscript. In that year, however, Dr. Neumann of Halle discovered an earlier transcript in the University Library at Tübingen. This copy

¹ See Gebhardt, *Patr. Apost. Opera*, I, pt. 2, pp. 142-6; Otto, *Corpus Apol. Christ.* III, pp. xiii ff.; Kihn, *Der Ursprung des Briefes an Diognet*, pp. 35 ff.; Harnack, *Gesch. der altchrist. Lit.* I, 757 f. and *Texte und Untersuch.* I, i, 79 f., 85, 161 ff.

² Harnack (*Texte und Untersuch.* I, 85) suggests that the codex may be traced to an earlier text of vi-vii/A.D.

³ Notably two treatises of Athenagoras, *Petition on behalf of the Christians and Concerning the Resurrection*.

⁴ For full title see above, p. 5.

⁵ The back of the codex bore a note in Reuchlin's handwriting stating that the MS. had been in his custody and that he had bought it from the Carthusian brotherhood in his native town.

(*Codex Misc. Tübing.*, M.b. 17) had been made by B. Haus in 1580.

Various editions of the Epistle appearing between 1742 and 1839¹ led up to the important work of J. C. T. Otto, *Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi (Justini Philosophi et Martyris Opera)*, tom. ii, Jena (1843), ed. 2 (1849), ed. 3 (1879).² For Otto's first edition the *Cod. Argent.* had been collated by Ed. Cunitz in 1842, and again for his third edition by Ed. Reuss in 1861. Among modern editors may be named Gildersleeve (1877), Lightfoot and Harmer (1891), Gebhardt, Harnack and Zahn (sixth ed., 1920), J. Geffcken (1928), and K. Lake (1913, reprinted 1930).³ The text of F. X. Funk, *Patres Apostolici I*² (1901), which incorporates the results of an examination of the Tübingen transcript of 1580, is that followed in the present study,⁴ though comparison has been made throughout with the texts of Otto, Lightfoot, Geffcken, and Lake. The original codex was defective in several places,⁵ and the readings in not a few instances are highly doubtful. All subsequent editors are indebted to the emendations made by Lachmann and Bunsen which appear in the latter's *Analecta Ante-Nicaena*, i, 103-21 (1854).

The following abbreviations are used in the *apparatus criticus*: MS. = *Cod. Argentoratensis Graec.* ix; h = the transcript by Haus; b = Beurer's readings; conj. = conjecture.

10. SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following list includes books and articles bearing upon the *Epistle to Diognetus* (or upon general questions involved) which have been read or consulted in the preparation of this study. With few exceptions, only works published after 1879 (the date of Otto's text in the third edition of his *Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi III*) are here specified. For a list of prior editions, translations, and studies see Otto, *op. cit.* pp. xxxiii ff., liv ff., Gebhardt, Harnack and Zahn, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, I, ii², pp. 147 f., 153 f., and E. C. Richardson, *Bibliographical Synopsis* (this gives editions up to 1881, translations to 1884). The Select Bibliography here presented may, it is hoped, afford an adequate guide to the modern interpretation of the Epistle. Additional works are named in the body of this book. Journals, dictionaries, etc., are cited by volume and page. The small numeral at the end of a specified work signifies the edition used, the date of publication being enclosed in brackets. Abbreviations used for works frequently cited appear in square brackets.

¹ Prudentius of S. Maur (1742), Gallandi (1765), Oberthür (1777), Böhl (1826), Hefele (1839), all based on Stephanus's text.

² Note also Otto's *Epistola ad Diognetum Justini philosophi et martyris nomen prae se ferens* (first ed., 1845, second, 1852).

³ See Bibliography. That of E. H. Blakeney is the most recent edition.

⁴ Some slight deviations from Funk's text are pointed out in the NOTES.

⁵ Lacunae appear at vii, 6; x, 1, 8.

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For the Greek Bible, LXX citations are made from *Septuaginta* (ed. A. Rahlfs, 1935), with occasional recourse to the texts of Swete (1901)³ and Brooke and McLean (1906 -). New Testament citations are from Eberhard Nestle's text, revised by Erwin Nestle, 15 *Auflage* (1932). The texts of Westcott and Hort and of Souter have sometimes been consulted.

Passages underlined in the Greek text of the Epistle (see pp. 74 ff.) denote close correspondences with the language of the Greek Bible.

NOTE.—I regret that I have not been able to gain access to two studies of the Epistle, viz. :—

- E. Buonaiuti : ' Lettera a Diogneto, testo, traduzione e note ' (*Scrittori cristiani antichi*, I (1921)).
 M. Fermi : ' L'apologia di Aristide e la lettera a Diogneto ' (*Ricerche religiose*, I (1925)).

An elaborate discussion of the Epistle has recently appeared :

- D. P. Andriessen : ' L'apologie de Quadratus conservée sous le titre d'Épître à Diognète ' (in *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale*, xiii, 5-39, 125-49, 237-60 (1946-47)). These articles are summarized by their author in *Vigiliae Christianae* I, ii, 129 ff. (1947). I have offered a brief account of Andriessen's thesis in Additional Note E (see below, pp. 148 ff.).

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΓΝΗΤΟΝ.

Title : τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Διογνητον.

I. Ἐπειδὴ ὄρω, κράτιστε Διογνητε, ὑπερεσπουδακότα σε τὴν θεοσέβειαν τῶν Χριστιανῶν μαθεῖν καὶ πάννυ σαφῶς καὶ ἐπιμελῶς πυνθανόμενον περὶ αὐτῶν, τίνα τε θεῶν πεποιθότες καὶ πῶς θρησκέουντες αὐτὸν τὸν τε κόσμον ὑπερορῶσι πάντες καὶ θανάτου καταφρονοῦσι καὶ οὔτε τοὺς νομιζομένους ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θεοὺς λογιζονται οὔτε τὴν Ἰουδαίων δεισιδαιμονίαν φυλάσσοις, καὶ τίνα τὴν φιλοστοργίαν ἔχουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ τί δὴ ποτε καινὸν τοῦτο γένος ἡ ἐπιτήδευμα εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν βίον νῦν καὶ οὐ πρότερον· ἀποδέχομαί γε τῆς προθυμίας σε ταύτης καὶ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦ καὶ τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ ἀκούειν ἡμῖν χορηγούντος, αἰτοῦμαι δοθῆναι ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰπεῖν οὕτως, ὡς μάλιστα ἂν ἀκούσαντά σε βελτίω γενέσθαι, σοὶ τε οὕτως ἀκοῦσαι, ὡς μὴ λυπηθῆναι τὸν εἰπόντα.

I. αὐτόν τόν τε] conj. Lachmann ; αὐτόν τε MS., h.
ἀκούσαντά] conj. Stephanus ; ἀκοῦσαι MS.

II. Ἄγε δὴ, καθάρας σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν προκατεχόντων σου τὴν διάνοιαν λογισμῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπατώσαν σε συνήθειαν ἀποσκευασάμενος καὶ γενόμενος ὡσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καινὸς ἄνθρωπος, ὡς ἂν καὶ λόγου καινοῦ, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ὠμολόγησας, ἀκροατῆς ἐσόμενος· ἴδε μὴ μόνον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ φρονήσει, τίνος ὑποστάσεως ἢ τίνος εἴδους τυγχάνουσι, οὓς ἐρεῖτε καὶ νομίζετε θεοὺς. 2. οὐχ ὁ μὲν τις λίθος ἐστίν, ὁμοῖοι τῷ πατουμένῳ, ὁ δ' ἐστὶ χαλκός, οὐ κρείσσων τῶν εἰς τὴν χρῆσιν ἡμῖν κεχαλκευμένων σκευῶν, ὁ δὲ ξύλον, ἡδὴ καὶ σεσηπός, ὁ δὲ ἄργυρος, χρῆζων ἀνθρώπου τοῦ φυλάξοντος, ἵνα μὴ κλαπῆ, ὁ δὲ σίδηρος, ὑπὸ ἰοῦ διεφθαρμένος, ὁ δὲ ὄστρακον, οὐδὲν τοῦ κατεσκευασμένου πρὸς τὴν ἀτιμοτάτην ὑπηρεσίαν εὐπρεπέστερον ; 3. οὐ φθαρτῆς ὕλης ταῦτα πάντα ; οὐχ ὑπὸ σιδήρου καὶ πυρὸς κεχαλκευμένα ; οὐχ ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν λιθοξόος, ὁ δὲ χαλκεύς, ὁ δὲ ἀργυροκόπος, ὁ δὲ κεραμεὺς ἔπλασεν ; οὐ πρὶν ἢ ταῖς τέχναις τούτων εἰς τὴν μορφήν τούτων ἐκτυπωθῆναι, ἢν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐκάστω, ἔτι καὶ νῦν, μεταμεμορφωμένον ; οὐ τὰ νῦν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὕλης ὄντα σκευὴ γένοιτ' ἂν, εἰ τύχοι τῶν αὐτῶν τεχνιτῶν, ὁμοῖα τοιοῦτοις ; 4. οὐ ταῦτα πάλιν, τὰ νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν προσκυνούμενα, δύναιτ' ἂν ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων σκευὴ ὁμοῖα γενέσθαι τοῖς

II. TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND NOTES

THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS

I

SINCE I perceive, most excellent Diognetus, that you are exceedingly zealous to learn the religion of the Christians and are making very clear and careful inquiry about them—both who is the God in whom they trust and how they worship Him, so that all disdain the world and despise death, and neither account those to be gods who are esteemed such by the Greeks, nor observe the superstition of the Jews; and what is the affection which they have for one another; and why it is that this new race of men or mode of living has entered into our world now and not formerly—I welcome this eager desire in you, and I ask of God, who bestows on us *the power* both of speech and of hearing, that it may be given to me so to speak that you may be edified as much as possible by your hearing, and to you so to hear that I by my speaking may suffer no regret.

II

1. Come then, clear yourself of all the bias that occupies your mind, and get rid of the habit that deceives you, and become as it were from the beginning a new man, as one too who is to hear a new story, even as you yourself also acknowledged. See not only with your eyes, but also with your understanding, what substance or form they chance *to have* whom you declare and esteem to be gods. 2. Is not one a stone, like that which we tread on, another bronze, no better than the implements which have been forged for our use, another wood already decayed, another silver, which needs a man to guard ¹ it lest it be stolen, another iron eaten through by rust, another earthenware, not a whit more pleasing than that made for the meanest service? 3. Are not all these of perishable matter? Have they not been forged by iron and fire? Did not the sculptor fashion one of them, the brass-worker another, the silversmith another, the potter another? Before they were modelled by these men's arts into the form of these *gods*, was not each of them subjected to transformation—and still *is so* even now—at the hands of each artificer? Might not the vessels now formed out of the same material, if they met with the same workmen, be made similar to such *images* as these? 4. Again, could not these things which are now worshipped by you become at the hands of men vessels like the rest? Are they

λοιποῖς ; οὐ κωφὰ πάντα ; οὐ τυφλά ; οὐκ ἄψυχα ; οὐκ ἀναίσθητα ; οὐκ ἀκίνητα ; οὐ πάντα σηπόμενα ; οὐ πάντα φθειρόμενα ; 5. ταῦτα θεοὺς καλεῖτε, τούτους δουλεύετε, τούτους προσκυνεῖτε, τέλεον δ' αὐτοῖς ἐξομιοῦσθε. 6. διὰ τοῦτο μισεῖτε Χριστιανούς, ὅτι τούτους οὐχ ἡγοῦνται θεούς. 7. ὑμεῖς γὰρ αἰνεῖτε νομίζοντες καὶ οἴομενοι, οὐ πολὺ πλέον αὐτῶν καταφρονεῖτε ; οὐ πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς χλευάζετε καὶ ὑβρίζετε, τοὺς μὲν λιθίους καὶ ὄστρακίους σέβοντες ἀφυλάκτους, τοὺς δὲ ἀργυρέους καὶ χρυσοὺς ἐγκλείοντες ταῖς νυξὶ καὶ ταῖς ἡμέραις φύλακας παρακαθιστάντες, ἵνα μὴ κλαπῶσιν ; 8. αἷς δὲ δοκεῖτε τιμαῖς προσφέρειν, εἰ μὲν αἰσθάνονται, κολάζετε μᾶλλον αὐτούς · εἰ δὲ ἀναίσθητοῦσιν, ἐλέγχοντες αἵματι καὶ κνίσαις αὐτοὺς θρησκευέτε. 9. ταῦθ' ὑμῶν τις ὑπομεινάτω, ταῦτα ἀνασχέσθω τις ἑαυτῷ γενέσθαι. ἀλλὰ ἄνθρωπος μὲν οὐδὲ εἰς ταύτης τῆς κολάσεως ἐκὼν ἀνέξεται, αἴσθησιν γὰρ ἔχει καὶ λογισμὸν · ὁ δὲ λίθος ἀνέχεται, ἀναίσθητεῖ γάρ. οὐκ οὖν τὴν αἴσθησιν αὐτοῦ ἐλέγγετε. 10. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μὴ δεδουλωθῆαι Χριστιανούς τοιοῦτοις θεοῖς πολλὰ μὲν ἂν καὶ ἄλλα εἰπεῖν ἔχομι · εἰ δὲ τι μὴ δοκοῖ καὶ ταῦτα ἱκανά, περισσὸν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τὸ πλείω λέγειν.

II. 3. (μορφὴν) τούτων] MS., h. ; ταύτην conj. Böhl. ἕκαστον] conj. Prud. M. ; ἕκαστος MS., h. ἔτι καὶ νῦν] MS., h. εἰκάζειν conj. Lachmann.

4. ὑμῶν] ἡμῶν MS.

7. αἰνεῖν] conj. Lachmann. οἱ νῦν MS. οἰόμενοι] MS., h. σεβόμενοι conj. Lachmann. παρακαθιστάντες] conj. Krenkel ; παρακαθίσαντες MS., h.

10. μὲν ἂν] Lachmann. μὲν MS., h.

III. Ἐξῆς δὲ περὶ τοῦ μὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἰουδαίους θεοσεβεῖν αὐτοὺς οἶμαί σε μάλιστα ποθεῖν ἀκοῦσαι. 2. Ἰουδαῖοι τοίνυν, εἰ μὲν ἀπέχονται ταύτης τῆς προειρημένης λατρείας, καλῶς θεὸν ἕνα τῶν πάντων σέβειν καὶ δεσπότην ἀξιοῦσι φρονεῖν · εἰ δὲ τοῖς προειρημένους ὁμοιοτρόπως τὴν θρησκείαν προσάγουσιν αὐτῷ ταύτην, διαμαρτάνουσιν. 3. ἃ γὰρ τοῖς ἀναισθήτοις καὶ κωφοῖς προσφέροντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀφροσύνης δείγμα παρέχουσι, ταῦθ' οὗτοι καθάπερ προσδεομένῳ τῷ θεῷ λογιζόμενοι παρέχειν μωρίαν εἰκὸς μᾶλλον ἡγοῦντ' ἂν, οὐ θεοσεβείαν. 4. ὁ γὰρ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν χορηγῶν, ὧν προσδεόμεθα, οὐδενὸς ἂν αὐτὸς προσδέοιτο τούτων ὧν τοῖς

not all dumb? Are they not blind? Are they not without souls? Are they not destitute of feeling? Are they not without motion? Are they not all rotting away? Are they not all in course of decay? 5. These things you call gods! These are what you serve! These you worship and in the end you become like them! 6. For this reason you hate (the) Christians—because they do not think that these are gods. 7. For is it not you, who, although you consider and think that you are praising *the gods*, are much more despising them? Are you not much rather mocking and insulting them, when you worship those of stone and earthenware, which you leave unguarded, and yet those of silver and gold you lock up at night and in the day-time set guards by them, lest they be stolen? 8. And by the honours that you think to offer them you are punishing them rather, if indeed they are endued with sense; but, if they lack sensibility, you are refuting² them by the very fact of worshipping them with blood and steaming fat. 9. Let anyone of you endure this treatment, let him bear with these things being done to him! Nay, there is not a single man who will, if he can help it, suffer this infliction, for he has sense and reason. But the stone suffers *it*, for it has no feeling. You do not then (by your offerings) show up its sensibility!³ 10. Well, I could say many other things about the fact that Christians are not in bondage to such gods. But if to anyone even these arguments should not seem sufficient, I think it needless to say more.

¹ Reading *φυλάξοντες*. See note *ad loc.*

² Perhaps better 'exposing', 'showing them up'. See note *ad loc.*, and cf. ii, 9.

³ See note for this rendering.

III

1. In the next place I suppose that you are especially anxious to hear why they (Christians) do not worship in the same manner as the Jews. 2. The Jews indeed, since they abstain from the religion described above, rightly deem that they worship the one God of the universe and think of Him as Master; but in offering this service to Him in like fashion to those already mentioned they go utterly astray. 3. For whereas the Greeks furnish an example of foolishness by making offerings to *images* void of sense and hearing, these *Jews* ought rather to consider it folly maybe, not piety, in thinking that they are offering these things to God as though He were in need of them.¹ 4. For "He who made the heaven and the earth and all things that are in them" and provides us all with what we need would not Himself need

οιομένοις διδόναι παρέχει αὐτός. 5. οἱ δὲ γε θυσίας αὐτῷ δι' αἵματος καὶ κνίσσης καὶ ὀλοκαυτωμάτων ἐπιτελεῖν οἰόμενοι καὶ ταύταις ταῖς τιμαῖς αὐτὸν γεραίρειν, οὐδέν μοι δοκοῦσι διαφέρειν τῶν εἰς τὰ κωφὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνδείκνυμένων φιλοτιμίαν · τῶν μὲν μὴ δυναμένοις τῆς τιμῆς μεταλαμβάνειν, τῶν δὲ δοκούντων παρέχειν τῷ μηδενὸς προσδοκίμῳ.

III. 2. καλῶς] conj. Hilgenfeld. καὶ εἰς MS.

3. εἰκόσ] MS., h. εἰκότως Stephanus.

5. ἐνδείκνυμένων] conj. Beurer, Stephanus. ἐνδείκνυμένοι MS., h. τῶν μὲν μὴ δυναμένοις] Gebhardt. τῶν μὴ δυναμένων MS., h. τῶν δὲ δοκούντων] Lachmann. τὸ δὲ δοκεῖν τινα MS., h.

IV. Ἄλλὰ μὴν τό γε περὶ τὰς βρώσεις αὐτῶν ψοφοδεές καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ σάββατα δεισιδαιμονίαν καὶ τὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἀλαζονείαν καὶ τὴν τῆς νηστείας καὶ νομηνίας εἰρωνείαν, καταγέλαστα καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄξια λόγου, οὐ νομίζω σε χρῆζειν παρ' ἐμοῦ μαθεῖν. 2. τό τε γὰρ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κτισθέντων εἰς χρῆσιν ἀνθρώπων ἃ μὲν ὡς καλῶς κτισθέντα παραδέχονται, ἃ δ' ὡς ἄχρηστα καὶ περισσὰ παραιτεῖσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἀθέμιστον ; 3. τὸ δὲ καταψεύδεσθαι θεοῦ ὡς κωλύοντος ἐν τῇ τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέρᾳ καλόν τι ποιεῖν, πῶς οὐκ ἀσεβές ; 4. τὸ δὲ καὶ τὴν μείωσιν τῆς σαρκὸς μαρτύριον ἐκλογῆς ἀλαζονεύεσθαι ὡς διὰ τοῦτο ἐξαιρέτως ἡγαπημένους ὑπὸ θεοῦ, πῶς οὐ χλεύης ἄξιον ; 5. τὸ δὲ παρεδρεύοντας αὐτοὺς ἄστροις καὶ σελήνῃ τὴν παρατήρησιν τῶν μηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὰς οἰκονομίας θεοῦ καὶ τὰς τῶν καιρῶν ἀλλαγὰς καταδιαιρεῖν πρὸς τὰς αὐτῶν ὀρμάς, ἃς μὲν εἰς ἑορτάς, ἃς δὲ εἰς πένθη · τίς ἂν θεοσεβείας καὶ οὐκ ἀφροσύνης πολὺ πλεόν ἡγήσασαιτο δείγμα ; 6. τῆς μὲν οὖν κοινῆς εἰκαιότητος καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων πολυπραγμοσύνης καὶ ἀλαζονείας ὡς ὀρθῶς ἀπέχονται Χριστιανοί, ἀρκοῦντως σε νομίζω μεμαθηκένας · τὸ δὲ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτῶν θεοσεβείας μυστήριον μὴ προσδοκῆσης δύνασθαι παρὰ ἀνθρώπου μαθεῖν.

IV. 1. οὐ] Stephanus inserts.

2. οὐκ ἀθέμιστον] Gebhardt. οὐ θέμις ἐστί MS., h.

5. καταδιαιρεῖν] καταδ . . . εἰν MS., h. ἡγήσασαιτο] Lachmann. ἡγήσεται τὸ MS.

6. ὡς] Bunsen inserts.

V. Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ οὔτε γῆ οὔτε φωνῆ οὔτε ἔθει διακεκρμένοι τῶν λοιπῶν εἰσιν ἀνθρώπων. 2. οὔτε γὰρ που πόλεις ἰδίας κατοικοῦσιν οὔτε διαλέκτῳ τινὶ παρηλλαγμένη χρῶνται οὔτε βίον παράσημον ἀσκοῦσιν. 3. οὐ μὴν ἐπινοῖα τινὶ καὶ φροντῖδι πολυπραγμόνων ἀνθρώπων μάθημα τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν εὐρημένον, οὐδὲ δόγματος ἀνθρωπίνου προεστασιν, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι. 4. κατοικοῦντες δὲ πόλεις ἑλληνίδας τε καὶ βαρβάρους, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐκκληρώθη, καὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἔθεισιν ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐν τε ἐσθῆτι καὶ διαίτῃ καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ θαυμαστὴν καὶ ὁμολογουμένως παράδοξον ἐνδείκνυνται τὴν κατάστασιν τῆς ἑαυτῶν

any of these things which He Himself supplies to those who imagine that they give *to Him*. 5. But those who think that they are rendering due sacrifices to Him by blood and fat and whole burnt offerings, and that they are doing Him reverence by these tributes, seem to me in no way better than those who show the same lavish honour to deaf *images*. For the one class seem to offer *sacrifices* to things unable to partake of the honour, the other to Him who is in need of nothing.

¹ For the rendering of this passage see note *ad loc.*

IV

1. But, in truth, I do not think that you need to learn from me that, after all, their qualms concerning food and their superstition about the Sabbath, and the vaunting of circumcision and the cant of fasting and new moon, are utterly absurd and unworthy of any argument. 2. For how can it be other than unlawful to receive some of the things created by God for man's use as created 'good' and to refuse others as useless and superfluous? 3. And is it not impious to slander God as though He forbids the doing of a good deed on the Sabbath day? 4. And to glory in the mutilation of the flesh as evidence of their election, as if they were on this account especially beloved by God—does this not call for derision? 5. And their star-gazing and watching of the moon, so as to observe months and days and to distribute at their own inclinations the orderings of God and the changes of the seasons, *making* some into feasts and others into times of mourning—who would consider this an example of piety and not much more of folly? 6. Well then, I think that you have learned sufficiently that Christians are right in keeping aloof from the general fatuity and deceit and from the meddlesomeness and pride of the Jews; but as for the mystery of the Christians' own religion, do not expect to be able to learn this from man.

V

1. For Christians are distinguished from the rest of men neither by country nor by language nor by customs. 2. For nowhere do they dwell in cities of their own; they do not use any strange form of speech or practise a singular mode of life. 3. This lore of theirs has not been discovered by any design and thought of prying men, nor do they champion a mere human doctrine, as some men do. 4. But while they dwell in both Greek and barbarian cities, each as his lot was cast, and follow the customs of the land in dress and food and other matters of living, they show forth the remarkable and admittedly strange order of their

πολιτείας. 5. πατρίδας οἰκοῦσιν ἰδίας, ἀλλ' ὡς πάροικοι· μετέχουσι πάντων ὡς πολῖται, καὶ πάνθ' ὑπομένουσιν ὡς ξένοι· πᾶσα ξένη πατρίς ἐστὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶσα πατρίς ξένη. 6. γαμοῦσιν ὡς πάντες, τεκνογονοῦσιν· ἀλλ' οὐ ρίπτουσι τὰ γεννώμενα. 7. τράπεζαν κοινήν παρατίθενται, ἀλλ' οὐ κοίτην. 8. ἐν σαρκὶ τυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ σάρκα ζῶσιν. 9. ἐπὶ γῆς διατρίβουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν οὐρανῷ πολιτεύονται. 10. πείθονται τοῖς ὠρισμένοις νόμοις, καὶ τοῖς ἰδίους βίοις νικῶσι τοὺς νόμους. 11. ἀγαπῶσι πάντας, καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων διώκονται. 12. ἀγνοοῦνται, καὶ κατακρίνονται· θανατοῦνται, καὶ ζωοποιοῦνται. 13. πτωχεύουσι, καὶ πλουτίζουσι πολλοὺς· πάντων ὑστεροῦνται, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι περισσεύουσιν. 14. ἀτιμοῦνται, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀτιμίαις δοξάζονται· βλασφημοῦνται, καὶ δικαιοῦνται. 15. λοιδοροῦνται, καὶ εὐλογοῦσιν· ὑβρίζονται, καὶ τιμῶσιν. 16. ἀγαθοποιούντες ὡς κακοὶ κολάζονται· κολαζόμενοι χαίρουσιν ὡς ζωοποιούμενοι. 17. ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ὡς ἀλλόφυλοι πολεμοῦνται καὶ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων διώκονται· καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἔχθρας εἰπεῖν οἱ μισοῦντες οὐκ ἔχουσιν.

V. 3. μάθημα τοῦτ' α. ε. εὐρημένον] P^{rud.} M. μαθήματι τοῦτ' α. ε. εἰρημένον MS.

7. κοίτην] conj. P^{rud.} M. κοινήν MS., h.

VI. Ἀπλῶς δ' εἰπεῖν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐν σώματι ψυχῇ, τοῦτ' εἰσὶν ἐν κόσμῳ Χριστιανοί. 2. ἔσπαρται κατὰ πάντων τῶν τοῦ σώματος μελῶν ἡ ψυχῇ, καὶ Χριστιανοὶ κατὰ τὰς τοῦ κόσμου πόλεις. 3. οἰκεῖ μὲν ἐν τῷ σώματι ψυχῇ, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ ἐν κόσμῳ οἰκοῦσιν, οὐκ εἰσὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου. 4. ἀόρατος ἡ ψυχῇ ἐν ὄρατῷ φρουρεῖται τῷ σώματι· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ γινώσκονται μὲν ὄντες ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ἀόρατος δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ θεοσέβεια μένει. 5. μισεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ σὰρξ καὶ πολεμεῖ μηδὲν ἀδικουμένη, διότι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς κωλύεται χρῆσθαι· μισεῖ καὶ Χριστιανούς ὁ κόσμος μηδὲν ἀδικούμενος, ὅτι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἀντιτάσσονται. 6. ἡ ψυχῇ τὴν μισοῦσαν ἀγαπᾷ σάρκα καὶ τὰ μέλη· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας ἀγαπῶσιν. 7. ἐγκέκλεισται μὲν ἡ ψυχῇ τῷ σώματι, συνέχει δὲ αὐτὴ τὸ σῶμα· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ κατέχονται μὲν ὡς ἐν φρουρᾷ τῷ κόσμῳ, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνέχουσι τὸν κόσμον. 8. ἀθάνατος ἡ ψυχῇ ἐν θνητῷ σκηνώματι κατοικεῖ· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ παροικοῦσιν ἐν φθαρτοῖς, τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀφθαρσίαν προσδεχόμενοι. 9. κακουργουμένη σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς ἡ ψυχῇ βελτιοῦται· καὶ Χριστιανοὶ κολαζόμενοι καθ' ἡμέραν πλεονάζουσι μᾶλλον. 10. εἰς τοσαύτην αὐτοῦς

own citizenship. 5. They live in fatherlands of their own, but as aliens. They share all things as citizens, and suffer all things as strangers. Every foreign land is their fatherland, and every fatherland a foreign land. 6. They marry, like all others; they breed children, but they do not cast out their offspring. 7. Free board they provide, but no carnal bed. 8. They are "in the flesh", but they do not live "after the flesh". 9. They pass their days on earth, but they have their citizenship in heaven. 10. They obey the appointed laws, yet in their own lives they excel the laws. 11. They love all men, and are persecuted by all. 12. They are unknown, yet they are condemned; they are put to death, yet they are made alive. 13. "They are poor, yet they make many rich". They suffer the lack of all things, yet they abound in all things. 14. They are dishonoured, and yet are glorified in their dishonour. They are evil spoken of, yet are vindicated. 15. "They are reviled, and they bless"; insulted, they repay with honour. 16. When doing good they are punished as evil-doers; suffering punishment, they rejoice as if quickened into life. 17. By the Jews they are warred against as foreigners, and are hunted down by the Greeks. Yet those who hate them cannot state the cause of their hostility.

VI

1. Broadly speaking, what the soul is in the body, that Christians are in the world. 2. The soul is dispersed through all the members of the body, and Christians throughout the cities of the world. 3. The soul dwells in the body, but is not of the body; and Christians dwell in the world, but "are not of the world". 4. The soul, itself invisible, is guarded in the body which is visible; so Christians are known as being in the world, but their religion remains unseen. 5. The flesh hates the soul, and, though it suffers no wrong, wars *against it*, because the flesh is hindered from indulging its pleasures; so too the world, though in no wise wronged, hates Christians, because they set themselves against its pleasures. 6. The soul loves the flesh that hates it, and the limbs; so Christians love them that hate them. 7. The soul is enclosed within the body, but itself curbs¹ the body; and Christians are detained in the world as in a prison, but themselves restrain¹ the world. 8. The soul, though immortal, dwells in a mortal tabernacle; and Christians sojourn among corruptible things, awaiting the incorruptibility which is in heaven. 9. When faring ill in food and drink the soul becomes better; so Christians when buffeted day by day flourish the more. 10. To so high a

τάξιν ἔθετο ὁ θεός, ἣν οὐ θεμιτὸν αὐτοῖς παραιτήσασθαι.

VI. 4. μὲν οὖν] conj. Stephanus. μένοντες MS., h.

VII. Οὐ γὰρ ἐπίγειον, ὡς ἔφην, εὐρημα τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς παρεδόθη, οὐδὲ θνητὴν ἐπίνοιαν φυλάσσειν οὕτως ἀξιούσων ἐπιμελῶς, οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπίνων οικονομίαν μυστηρίων πεπίστευνται. 2. ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀληθῶς ὁ παντοκράτωρ καὶ παντοκτίστης καὶ ἀόρατος θεός, αὐτὸς ἀπ' οὐρανῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὸν λόγον τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἀπερινόητον ἀνθρώποις ἐνίδρυσε καὶ ἐγκατεστήριξε ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν · οὐ, καθάπερ ἂν τις εἰκάσειεν, ἀνθρώποις ὑπέρητην τιὰ πέμψας ἢ ἄγγελον ἢ ἄρχοντα ἢ τινα τῶν διεπόντων τὰ ἐπίγεια ἢ τινα τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὰς ἐν οὐρανοῖς διοικήσεις, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὄλων, ᾧ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἔκτισεν, ᾧ τὴν θάλασσαν ἰδίοις ὄροις ἐπέκλεισεν, οὗ τὰ μυστήρια πιστῶς πάντα φυλάσσει τὰ στοιχεῖα, παρ' οὗ τὰ μέτρα τῶν τῆς ἡμέρας δρόμων ὁ ἥλιος εἴληφε φυλάσσειν, ᾧ πειθαρχεῖ σελήνη νυκτὶ φαίνειν κελεύοντι, ᾧ πειθαρχεῖ τὰ ἄστρα τῷ τῆς σελήνης ἀκολουθοῦντα δρόμῳ · ᾧ πάντα διατέτακται καὶ διώρισται καὶ ὑποτέτακται, οὐρανοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, θάλασσα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, πῦρ, ἀήρ, ἄβυσσος, τὰ ἐν ὕψει, τὰ ἐν βάθει, τὰ ἐν τῷ μεταξύ · τοῦτον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλεν. 3. Ἄρα γε, ὡς ἀνθρώπων ἂν τις λογίσαιτο, ἐπὶ τυραννίδι καὶ φόβῳ καὶ καταπλήξει ; 4. οὐ μὲν οὖν · ἀλλ' ἐν ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ πραύτητι ὡς βασιλεὺς πέμψων υἱὸν βασιλέα ἐπεμψεν, ὡς θεὸν ἐπεμψεν, ὡς ἄνθρωπον πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐπεμψεν, ὡς σώζων ἐπεμψεν, ὡς πείθων, οὐ βιαζόμενος · βία γὰρ οὐ πρόσεστι τῷ θεῷ. 5. ἐπεμψεν ὡς καλῶν, οὐ διώκων · ἐπεμψεν ὡς ἀγαπῶν, οὐ κρίνων. 6. πέμψει γὰρ αὐτὸν κρίνοντα. καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν ὑποστήσεται ; . . . 7. [οὐχ ὄρας] παραβαλλομένους θηρίοις, ἵνα ἀρνήσωνται τὸν κύριον, καὶ μὴ νικωμένους ; 8. οὐχ ὄρας, ὅσων πλείονες κολάζονται, τοσοῦτω πλεονάζοντας ἄλλους ; 9. ταῦτα ἀνθρώπου οὐ δοκεῖ τὰ ἔργα · ταῦτα δύνამίς ἐστι θεοῦ · ταῦτα τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ δείγματα.

VII. 2. ἀνθρώποις ὑπέρητην] MS., h. conj. Bunsen ἄνθρωπος, ὑπέρητην.

4. ἄνθρωπον] Lachmann and Bunsen insert.

6. ὑποστήσεται] Here MS., h. show a lacuna and a marginal note. See on vii, 6 (below).

7. [οὐχ ὄρας] Stephanus inserts.

9. δείγματα] Stephanus. δόγματα MS., h.

rank has God appointed them, and it is not right for them to refuse it.

¹ For this rendering see note *ad loc.*

VII

1. For this is not, as I said, an earthly discovery which was committed to them, and no mortal idea which they think it their duty to guard with such care, nor have they been entrusted with the stewardship of mere human mysteries. 2. But in truth God Himself, the all-sovereign and all-creating and invisible God, Himself from heaven established among men the truth and the holy and incomprehensible word and fixed it firmly in their hearts, not, as one might surmise, by sending to men some servant, or an angel, or ruler, or one of those who administer the affairs of earth, or one of those entrusted with the ordering of things in heaven, but the very Artificer and Maker of the universe himself, by whom He created the heavens, by whom He confined the sea in its own bounds; whose mysteries all the elements faithfully guard, from whom the sun has received the measure of its daily rounds to keep, whom the moon obeys as he bids her shine by night, whom the stars obey as they follow the course of the moon, by whom all things have been ordered and determined and placed in subjection, the heavens and the things in the heavens, the earth and the things therein, the sea and what is in the sea, fire, air, abyss, the things in the heights, the things in the depths, the things in the realm between—him He sent unto them. 3. Did He send him, as a man might conclude, to rule in tyranny and terror and awe? 4. Not so, but in gentleness and meekness He sent him, as a king sending a son who is a king, He sent him as God, He sent him as Man unto men. He was as it were saving when He sent him, (as) persuading, not compelling (for force is no attribute of God). 5. When He sent him God was calling, not pursuing; He sent him as in love, not in judgement. 6. For He will send him to be our judge, and who shall stand at his coming? 7. *Do you not see*¹ *them* thrown to wild beasts that they may deny the Lord, and *yet* unconquered? 8. Do you not see that as more of them are punished, so much do others abound? These things do not seem to be the works of man; they are a mighty deed of God; they are proofs of His presence.

¹ There is a lacuna in the MS. at this point. See note *ad loc.*

VIII. Τίς γὰρ ὅλως ἀνθρώπων ἠπίστατο, τί ποτ' ἐστὶ θεός, πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν ; 2. ἢ τοὺς κενοὺς καὶ ληρώδεις ἐκείνων λόγους ἀποδέχη τῶν ἀξιοπίστων φιλοσόφων, ὧν οἱ μὲν τινες πῦρ ἔφασαν εἶναι τὸν θεὸν (οὐ μέλλουσι χωρῆσαι αὐτοί, τοῦτο καλοῦσι θεόν), οἱ δὲ ὕδωρ, οἱ δ' ἄλλο τι τῶν στοιχείων τῶν ἐκτισμένων ὑπὸ θεοῦ ; 3. καίτοι γε, εἴ τις τούτων τῶν λόγων ἀπόδεκτός ἐστι, δύναται' ἂν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κτισμάτων ἔν ἑκάστον ὁμοίως ἀποφαίνεσθαι θεόν. 4. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τερατεία καὶ πλάνη τῶν γοήτων ἐστίν · 5. ἀνθρώπων δὲ οὐδεὶς οὔτε εἶδεν οὔτε ἐγνώρισεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἑαυτὸν ἐπέδειξε. 6. ἐπέδειξε δὲ διὰ πίστεως, ἢ μόνῃ θεὸν ἰδεῖν συγκεχώρηται. 7. ὁ γὰρ δεσπότης καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν ὄλων θεός, ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα καὶ κατὰ τάξιν διακρίνας, οὐ μόνον φιλόανθρωπος ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ μακρόθυμος. 8. ἀλλ' οὗτος ἦν μὲν αἰεὶ τοιοῦτος καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται, χρηστός καὶ ἀγαθός καὶ ἀόργητος καὶ ἀληθής, καὶ μόνος ἀγαθός ἐστιν · 9. ἐννοήσας δὲ μεγάλην καὶ ἀφραστον ἔννοιαν ἀνεκουνώσατο μόνῳ τῷ παιδί. 10. ἐν ὅσῳ μὲν οὖν κατεῖχεν ἐν μυστηρίῳ καὶ διετήρει τὴν σοφὴν αὐτοῦ βουλήν, ἀμελεῖν ἡμῶν καὶ ἀφροντιστεῖν ἐδόκει · 11. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκάλυψε διὰ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἐφάνερωσε τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡτοιμασμένα, πάνθ' ἅμα παρέσχεν ἡμῖν, καὶ μετασχεῖν τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ νοῆσαι, ἃ τίς ἂν πάποτε προσεδόκησεν ἡμῶν ;

VIII. 5. εἶδεν] conj. Stephanus. εἶπεν MS., h. 6. μόνῃ] h. μόνον MS.

9. ἀνεκουνώσατο] ἦν ἐκουνώσατο MS., h.

11. νοῆσαι, ἃ τίς] conj. Lachmann. ποιῆσαι τίς MS., h.

IX. Πάντ' οὖν ἤδη παρ' ἑαυτῷ σὺν τῷ παιδί οἰκονομηκῶς, μέχρι μὲν τοῦ πρόσθεν χρόνου εἶασεν ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἐβουλόμεθα, ἀτάκτοις φοραῖς φέρεσθαι, ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις ἀπαγομένους · οὐ πάντως ἐφηδόμενος τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἀνεχόμενος, οὐδὲ τῷ τότε τῆς ἀδικίας καιρῷ συνευδοκῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν νῦν τῆς δικαιοσύνης δημιουργῶν, ἵνα ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ ἐλεγχθέντες ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἔργων ἀνάξιοι ζωῆς νῦν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ χρηστότητος ἀξιωθῶμεν, καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς φανερώσαντες ἀδύνατον εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ θεοῦ δυνατοὶ γενηθῶμεν. 2. ἐπεὶ δὲ πεπλήρωτο μὲν ἡ ἡμετέρα ἀδικία καὶ τελείως πεφανέρωτο, ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς αὐτῆς κόλασις καὶ θάνατος προσεδοκάτο, ἦλθε δὲ ὁ καιρὸς, ὃν θεὸς προέθετο λοιπὸν φανερώσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χρηστότητα καὶ δυνάμιν (ὡ τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης φιλανθρωπίας

VIII

1. For what man had any knowledge at all of what God is, before he came? 2. Or do you accept the vain and trumpery statements of those specious philosophers of whom some said that God was fire (what they themselves are destined to go to, that they call God!), and others water, and others some other of the elements created by God? 3. And yet, if any of these arguments is admissible, each one of the other created things could in like manner be declared God. 4. But these things are mere miracle-mongering and deceit of the magicians. 5. No man has either seen or known *Him*, but God manifested Himself. 6. And He manifested Himself through faith, by which alone it is given to see God. 7. For God, Master and Maker of the universe, who made all things and disposed *them* in their *due* order, proved Himself not only a lover of man but also long-suffering. 8. Nay, such He ever was and is and will be, kind and good and free from anger and true, and He alone is good. 9. And having conceived a great and unutterable design He communicated it to His Child alone. 10. And so long as He held it in a mystery and guarded His wise counsel He seemed to have no concern or care for us. 11. But when He revealed it through His beloved Child, and manifested the things prepared from the beginning, He bestowed upon us all things at once, both to share in His blessings and to see and understand. Who of us would ever have expected these things?

IX

1. Having therefore planned everything already in His own mind with His Child, He suffered us up to the former time to be borne along by unruly impulses, as we willed, in the clutches of pleasures and lusts. Not at all because He took pleasure in our sins, but out of His forbearance; not in approval of the season of iniquity which was then, but creating the season of righteousness which is now, so that we who in past time were from our own deeds convicted as unworthy of life might now by the goodness of God be deemed worthy, and when we had shown clearly that of ourselves it was impossible "to enter into the kingdom of God", might be made able by the power of God. 2. But when our iniquity was fulfilled and it had been made fully manifest that its reward of punishment and death was awaited, and the season came which God had appointed to manifest henceforth * His own goodness and power (O the exceeding kindness and love of God!),

καὶ ἀγάπης τοῦ θεοῦ), οὐκ ἐμίσησεν ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ ἀπόσατο οὐδὲ ἐμνησικάκησεν, ἀλλὰ ἐμακροθύμησεν, ἠνέσχετο, ἐλεῶν αὐτὸς τὰς ἡμετέρας ἀμαρτίας ἀνεδέξατο, αὐτὸς τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν ἀπέδοτο λύτρον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τὸν ἅγιον ὑπὲρ ἀνόμων, τὸν ἄκακον ὑπὲρ τῶν κακῶν, τὸν δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδίκων, τὸν ἀφθαρτον ὑπὲρ τῶν φθαρτῶν, τὸν ἀθάνατον ὑπὲρ τῶν θνητῶν. 3. τί γὰρ ἄλλο τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἡδυνήθη καλύψαι ἢ ἐκεῖνου δικαιοσύνη; 4. ἐν τίνι δικαιοθῆναι δυνατὸν τοὺς ἀνόμους ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἢ ἐν μόνῳ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ; 5. ὡς τῆς γλυκείας ἀνταλλαγῆς, ὡς τῆς ἀνεξιχνιάστου δημιουργίας, ὡς τῶν ἀπροσδοκῆτων εὐεργεσιῶν· ἵνα ἀνομία μὲν πολλῶν ἐν δικαίῳ ἐνὶ κρυβῆ, δικαιοσύνη δὲ ἐνὸς πολλοὺς ἀνόμους δικαιώσῃ. 6. ἐλέγξας οὖν ἐν μὲν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ τὸ ἀδύνατον τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως εἰς τὸ τυχεῖν ζωῆς, νῦν δὲ τὸν σωτήρα δείξας δυνατὸν σώζειν καὶ τὰ ἀδύνατα, ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἐβουλήθη πιστεῦεν ἡμᾶς τῇ χρηστότητι αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸν ἡγείσθαι τροφέα, πατέρα, διδάσκαλον, σύμβουλον, ἱατρόν, νοῦν, φῶς, τιμὴν, δόξαν, ἰσχύν, ζωὴν, περὶ ἐνδύσεως καὶ τροφῆς μὴ μεριμνᾶν.

- IX. 1. ἡδῆ . . . οἰκονομικῶς, μέχρι μὲν τοῦ] conj. Lachmann.
 ἡδῆ . . . οἰκονομικῶς, μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῦ MS., h.
 τὸν νῦν] conj. Hefele. τὸν νοῦν MS.
 2. ὡ] Prud. M. ὡς MS., b. h. shows a gap.
 καὶ ἀγάπης] conj. Lange. μία ἀγάπη MS.
 ἐλεῶν] conj. Lachmann. λέγων MS., h.

X. Ταύτην καὶ σὺ τὴν πίστιν ἐὰν ποθήσῃς, καὶ λάβῃς πρῶτον μὲν ἐπίγνωσιν πατρός. 2. ὁ γὰρ θεὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠγάπησε, δι' οὗς ἐποίησε τὸν κόσμον, οἷς ὑπέταξε πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ γῆ, οἷς λόγον ἔδωκεν, οἷς νοῦν, οἷς μόνοις ἄνω πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄραν ἐπέτρεψεν, οὗς ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας εἰκόνας ἔπλασε, πρὸς οὗς ἀπέστειλε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, οἷς τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλείαν ἐπηγγείλατο καὶ δώσει τοῖς ἀγαπήσασιν αὐτόν. 3. ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ τίνος οἶε πληρωθῆσεσθαι χαρᾶς; ἢ πῶς ἀγαπήσεις τὸν οὕτως προαγαπήσαντά σε; 4. ἀγαπήσας δὲ μιμητῆς ἔσῃ αὐτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητος. καὶ μὴ θαυμάσῃς, εἰ δύναται μιμητῆς ἀνθρώπος γενέσθαι θεοῦ. δύναται θέλοντος αὐτοῦ. 5. οὐ γὰρ τὸ καταδυναστεύειν τῶν πλησίων οὐδὲ τὸ πλεόν ἔχειν βούλεσθαι τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων οὐδὲ τὸ πλουτεῖν καὶ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους εὐδαιμονεῖν ἐστίν, οὐδὲ ἐν τούτοις δύναται τις μιμησασθαι θεόν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐκεῖνου μεγαλειότητος. 6. ἀλλ' ὅστις τὸ τοῦ πλησίων ἀναδέχεται βάρος, ὃς ἐν ᾧ κρείσσων ἐστίν ἕτερον τὸν ἐλαττούμενον εὐεργετεῖν ἐθέλει, ὃς ἂν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβῶν ἔχει, ταῦτα τοῖς ἐπιδομένοις χορηγῶν θεὸς γίνεται τῶν λαμβανόντων, οὗτος μιμητῆς ἐστὶ θεοῦ. 7. τότε θεῶν τυγχάνων ἐπὶ γῆς, ὅτι θεὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς πολιτεύεται, τότε μυστήρια θεοῦ λαλεῖν ἄρξῃ,

He did not hate us or repel us or remember our misdeeds, but was long-suffering, bore with us, Himself in mercy took on Him our sins, Himself gave up His own Son as a ransom for us, the holy One for the wicked, the innocent for the guilty, "the just for the unjust", the incorruptible for the corruptible, the immortal for mortals. 3. For what else could cover our sins but his righteousness? 4. In whom was it possible for us, wicked and impious as we were, to be justified, except in the Son of God alone? 5. O the sweet exchange, O work of God beyond all searching out, O blessings past our expectation, that the wickedness of many should be hidden in one righteous Man and the righteousness of the One should justify many wicked! 6. Having then convinced us in the former time of the powerlessness of our nature to gain life, and having now shown the Saviour in his power to save even powerless creatures, in both these ways His will was that we should believe His goodness, and regard Him as guardian, father, teacher, counsellor, healer, mind, light, honour, glory, strength, life, and have no anxiety about clothing and food.¹

* Or ' at last '.

¹ For the last clause see notes *ad loc.*

X

1. If you also long for this faith and first obtain knowledge of the Father . . .¹ 2. For God loved men for whose sake He made the world, to whom He subjected all things which are in the earth, to whom He gave reason, to whom He gave mind, whom alone He permitted to look upward to Him, whom He formed after His own image, to whom "He sent His only-begotten Son", to whom He promised the kingdom which is in heaven—and He will give it to them that have loved Him. 3. And when you have this knowledge, with what joy, think you, will you be filled? Or how will you love Him who so first loved you? 4. Loving Him you will imitate His goodness. And do not wonder that a man can become an imitator of God. By the will of God he can. 5. For happiness lies not in lordship over one's neighbours, nor in the desire to have more than one's weaker *brethren*, nor in being rich and coercing the more needy. Not in these things can any man imitate God. Nay, these things are outside His majesty. 6. But whosoever takes upon himself his neighbour's burden, whosoever wishes to benefit another who is poorer in that in which he himself is better off, whosoever by supplying to those in want the things which he has received and holds from God becomes a god to those who receive them—this man is an imitator of God. 7. Then though your lot is on earth you will see that God lives²

τότε τοὺς κολαζομένους ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ θέλειν ἀρνήσασθαι θεὸν καὶ ἀγαπήσεις καὶ θαυμάσεις· τότε τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς πλάνης καταγνώση, ὅταν τὸ ἀληθῶς ἐν οὐρανῷ ζῆν ἐπιγνώσῃ, ὅταν τοῦ δοκοῦντος εἰθάρδε θανάτου καταφρονήσης, ὅταν τὸν ὄντως θάνατον φοβηθῆς, ὃς φυλάσσεται τοῖς κατακριθησομένοις εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον, ὃ τοὺς παραδοθέντας αὐτῷ μέχρι τέλους κολάσει. 8. τότε τοὺς ὑπομένοντας ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης θαυμάσεις τὸ πῦρ τὸ πρόσκαιρον καὶ μακαρίσεις, ὅταν ἐκείνο τὸ πῦρ ἐπιγνώσῃ.

- X. 1. καὶ λάβης] MS. κατάλαβε conj. Gebhardt. See note *ad loc.*
 2. ἀνω] b. ἄ . . . MS. αἰεὶ h.
 αὐτὸν] MS. οὐρανὸν conj. Lachmann.
 6. ὃς ἄ] conj. van Hengel. ὅσα MS., h.
 7. ἐπιγνώσῃ] Lachmann, Bunsen. ἐπιγνώση MS.
 8. πρόσκαιρον] conj. Sylburg. προσ . . . MS.
 ἐπιγνώσῃ] the MS. shows a lacuna and a comment. See note *ad loc.*

XI. Οὐ ξένα ὁμιλῶ οὐδὲ παραλόγως ζητῶ, ἀλλὰ ἀποστόλων γενόμενος μαθητῆς γίνομαι διδάσκαλος ἔθνων· τὰ παραδοθέντα ἀξίως ὑπηρετῶ γινομένοις ἀληθείας μαθηταῖς. 2. τίς γὰρ ὀρθῶς διδαχθεὶς καὶ λόγῳ προσφιλῆς γενηθεὶς οὐκ ἐπιζητεῖ σαφῶς μαθεῖν τὰ διὰ λόγου δειχθέντα φανερώς μαθηταῖς, οἷς ἐφάνέρωσεν ὁ λόγος φανείς, παρρησία λαλῶν, ὑπὸ ἀπίστων μὴ νοούμενος, μαθηταῖς δὲ διηγούμενος, οἱ πιστοὶ λογισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔγνωσαν πατρὸς μυστήρια; 3. οὐ χάριν ἀπέστειλε λόγον, ἵνα κόσμῳ φανῆ· ὃς ὑπὸ λαοῦ ἀτιμασθεὶς, διὰ ἀποστόλων κηρυχθεὶς, ὑπὸ ἔθνων ἐπιστεύθη. 4. οὗτος ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὁ καινὸς φανείς καὶ παλαιὸς εὐρεθεὶς καὶ πάντοτε νέος ἐν ἀγίῳ καρδίαις γεννώμενος. 5. οὗτος ὁ αἰεὶ, ὁ σήμερον υἱὸς λογισθεὶς, δι' οὐ πλουτίζεται ἢ ἐκκλησία καὶ χάρις ἀπλουμένη ἐν ἀγίοις πληθύνεται, παρέχουσα νοῦν, φανεροῦσα μυστήρια, διαγγέλλουσα καιροὺς, χαίρουσα ἐπὶ πιστοῖς, ἐπιζητοῦσι δωρουμένη, οἷς ὄρκια πίστεως οὐ θραύεται οὐδὲ ὄρια πατέρων παρορίζεται. 6. εἴτα φόβος νόμου ἄδεται, καὶ προφητῶν χάρις γνωσκεται, καὶ εὐαγγελίων πίστις ἴδρυται, καὶ ἀποστόλων παράδοσις φυλάσσεται, καὶ ἐκκλησίας χάρις σκιρτᾷ. 7. ἦν χάριν μὴ λυπῶν ἐπιγνώση, ἃ λόγος ὁμιλεῖ δι' ὧν βούλεται, ὅτε θέλει. 8. ὅσα γὰρ θελήματι τοῦ κελεύοντος λόγου ἐκινήθημεν ἐξειπεῖν μετὰ πόνου, ἐξ ἀγάπης τῶν ἀποκαλυφθέντων ἡμῖν γινόμεθα ὑμῖν κοινωνοί.

- XI. 1. ἀξίως] conj. Hollenberg. ἀξίους MS., h.
 2. προσφιλῆς γενηθεὶς] Prud. M., Bunsen.
 προσφιλεῖ γενηθεὶς MS.
 διηγούμενος] MS. conj. Lachmann διηχοούμενος.
 5. ὄρκια] conj. Lachmann. ὄρια MS.
 6. ἐκκλησίας χάρις] MS. conj. Lachmann χαρὰ.

in heaven, then you will begin to speak the mysteries of God, then you will both love and admire those who are being punished for their refusal to deny God, then you will condemn the deceit and error of the world, when you know what is the true life in heaven, when you despise the apparent death here below, when you fear the real death, which is kept for those that shall be condemned to the eternal fire, which shall punish up to the end those that were delivered to it. 8. Then you will admire those that endure for righteousness' sake the fire which is but for a season, and you will count them blessed when you know that *other* fire. . . .³

¹ For the apparent lacuna see note *ad loc.*

² Or 'rules'. See note *ad loc.*

³ See note *ad loc.*

XI

1. My discourse is not of strange matters, nor is my quest perverse ; but having been a disciple of apostles I am become a teacher of the heathen. What has been handed down I minister worthily to those who are becoming disciples of the truth. 2. For who that has been rightly instructed and has become a lover of the Word does not seek to learn clearly the things that were openly shown by the Word to disciples, to whom the Word on his appearance manifested them, speaking plainly, not being perceived by unbelievers, but expounding them to disciples, who, deemed by him to be faithful, gained knowledge of the mysteries of the Father? 3. For which cause He sent the Word that he might appear to the world, who was dishonoured by the chosen people, proclaimed by the apostles, believed on by the heathen. 4. This is he who was from the beginning, who appeared as new and was proved to be old, and being born in the hearts of the saints is ever young. 5. This is he who is the eternal one, who to-day was accounted a Son, through whom the Church is enriched and grace is unfolded and multiplied among the saints, grace which confers understanding, makes mysteries plain, announces seasons, rejoices over the faithful, is given to them that seek, that is, those by whom the pledges of faith are not broken nor the decrees of the Fathers transgressed. 6. Then is the fear of the law sung, and the grace of the prophets is known, and the faith of the gospels is established, and the tradition of the apostles is guarded, and buoyant is the grace of the Church. 7. And if you do not grieve this grace you will understand what the Word speaks through those whom he chooses, when he will. 8. For in all things which we were moved to declare under stress,¹ by the will of the Word who commands us, we become sharers with you, out of love for what has been revealed unto us.

¹ I. it. 'with labour'.

XII. Οἷς ἐντυχόντες καὶ ἀκούσαντες μετὰ σπουδῆς εἴσεσθε, ὅσα παρέχει ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν ὀρθῶς, οἱ γενόμενοι παράδεισος τρυφῆς, πάγκαρπῶν ξύλων εὐθαλοῦν ἀνατείλαντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ποικίλοις καρποῖς κεκοσμημένοι. 2. ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ ξύλον γνώσεως καὶ ξύλον ζωῆς πεφύτευται· ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ τῆς γνώσεως ἀναιρεῖ, ἀλλ' ἡ παρακοῆ ἀναιρεῖ. 3. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄσημα τὰ γεγραμμένα, ὡς θεὸς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ξύλον γνώσεως καὶ ξύλον ζωῆς ἐν μέσῳ παραδείσου ἐφύτευσε, διὰ γνώσεως ζωὴν ἐπιδεικνύς· ἢ μὴ καθαρῶς χρησάμενοι οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πλάνη τοῦ ὄψεως γεγύμνωται. 4. οὐδὲ γὰρ ζωὴ ἄνευ γνώσεως οὐδὲ γνώσις ἀσφαλῆς ἄνευ ζωῆς ἀληθοῦς· διὸ πλησίον ἐκάτερον πεφύτευται. 5. ἦν δύναμιν ἐνιδῶν ὁ ἀπόστολος τὴν τε ἄνευ ἀληθείας προστάγματος εἰς ζωὴν ἀσκομένην γνώσιν μεμφόμενος λέγει· Ἡ γνώσις φυσιοῖ, ἢ δὲ ἀγάπη οἰκοδομεῖ. 6. ὁ γὰρ νομίζων εἰδέναι τι ἄνευ γνώσεως ἀληθοῦς καὶ μαρτυρουμένης ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς οὐκ ἔγνω, ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄψεως πλανᾶται, μὴ ἀγαπήσας τὸ ζῆν. ὁ δὲ μετὰ φόβου ἐπιγνοῦς καὶ ζωὴν ἐπιζητῶν ἐπ' ἐλπίδι φυτεύει, καρπὸν προσδοκῶν. 7. ἦτω σοὶ καρδιά γνώσις, ζωὴ δὲ λόγος ἀληθῆς, χωρούμενος. 8. οὐ ξύλον φέρων καὶ καρπὸν αἰρῶν τρυγήσεις αἰεὶ τὰ παρὰ θεῷ ποθοῦμενα, ὧν ὄφισ οὐχ ἄπτεται οὐδὲ πλάνη συγχρωτίζεται· οὐδὲ Εὐὰ φθείρεται, ἀλλὰ παρθένος πιστεύεται. 9. καὶ σωτήριον δείκνυται, καὶ ἀπόστολοι συνετίζονται, καὶ τὸ κυρίου πάσχα προέρχεται, καὶ καιροὶ συνάγονται καὶ μετὰ κόσμου ἀρμόζονται, καὶ διδάσκων ἀγίου ὁ λόγος εὐφραίνεται, δι' οὗ πατὴρ δοξάζεται· ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

XII. 3. ξύλον γνώσεως καὶ] Bunsen inserts.

8. αἰρῶν] con]. Otto (2nd ed.). . . . ρῶν MS. καρποῦ ἐρῶν b. ποθοῦμενα] MS. πορούμενα b. εὐπορούμενα con]. Bunsen.

9. καιροὶ] con]. Sylburg. κηροὶ MS. See note *ad loc.* ἀρμόζονται] b. ἀρμόζεται MS.

XII

1. If you chance upon ¹ these truths and listen earnestly to them you will know what things God provides for those who love Him rightly, who are become "a Paradise of delight", raising up in themselves a tree all-fruitful and flourishing, and are adorned with divers fruits. 2. For in this garden has been planted "the tree of knowledge and the tree of life". But the tree of knowledge does not kill; disobedience kills. 3. For that which stands written is not without significance, how that God from the beginning planted "the tree [of knowledge and the tree] of life in the midst of Paradise", showing that life is through knowledge. Because our first parents did not make pure use of this knowledge they were left naked ² by the deceit of the serpent. 4. For there can be neither life without knowledge nor sound knowledge without true life. Wherefore each (tree) stands planted near the other. 5. And when the Apostle saw the force of this, he blamed the knowledge which is exercised apart from the truth of the commandment which tends unto life, and said, "Knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth". 6. For he who thinks that he knows anything without knowledge that is true and attested by life has learned nothing, but he is deceived by the serpent, not having loved life. But he who has gained knowledge with fear and seeks after life plants in hope, expecting fruit. 7. Let your heart be knowledge, your life the true teaching received (into the heart). 8. If you bear the tree of this and pluck its fruit, you will ever gather in the things desired with ³ God, which the serpent does not touch and deceit does not taint; and Eve is not corrupted, but is believed on as a virgin. 9. And salvation is set forth, and apostles are given understanding, ⁴ and the Passover of the Lord advances, and the seasons ⁵ are gathered together and are arranged in order, and the Word rejoices in teaching the saints, the Word through whom the Father is glorified; to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

¹ Or 'read'. See note *ad loc.*

² Or 'were deprived of it'.

³ i.e. in the sight of God. See note *ad loc.*

⁴ See note *ad loc.*

⁵ See note *ad loc.*

NOTES

(A brief explanatory section is prefixed to each chapter as a guide to the thought of the Epistle.)

- On the title of the Epistle, see above, page 5.

I

Diognetus, eager to be informed about the religion of the Christians, makes three pointed inquiries. The first of these, however, involves three dependent questions, which, though stated affirmatively, are virtually interrogative. The series, which we here repeat (see above, p. 5) for convenience, is as follows :

1. Who is the God the Christians trust in, and what is the nature of the worship they offer Him, that they are all led to (a) disregard the world and despise death, (b) deny those to be gods whom the Greeks consider as such, (c) refrain from the superstition of the Jews ?
2. What kind of affection is this that the Christians have for one another ?
3. Why has this new race or practice entered the world now and not formerly ?

The author approves Diognetus's zeal and asks God's favour for both speaker and hearer.

How far these questions represent precise queries made by an inquirer is uncertain. As Geffcken (p. 12) remarks, a demand to set forth the nature of the Christian God was general among the heathen. See Theophilus, *ad Autol.* i, 2 ; Origen, *Con. Cels.* vi, 66. We may suppose that the questions reflect some of the main issues raised in the mind of cultured pagans. The author's apologetic aim may account for their particular form ; it certainly determines the order of their treatment. He discusses first both pagan and Jewish worship, so as to bring out in sharp relief the religion of the Christians which he desires to commend. The major part of Question 1 is dealt with by implication in the discussion of 1(b) and 1(c) in chs. ii-iv, and more directly in vii ff. See also note on x, 7. Question 2 is answered generally in the exposition of the Christian manner of life (v-vi) ; it is significantly amended in the statements that ' they love all men ' (v, 11), even their enemies (vi, 6). Question 3 falls into ch. viii and particularly within viii, 7-ix.

'Επειδὴ ὀρῶ κτλ. The writer begins in the conventional manner by complimenting his addressee. Cf. the *Letter of Aristeeas* addressed to Philocrates : " I know that thou hast a mind in love with learning " (1. Cf. 5, 322). Similarly, Josephus, *Antiq.* i, 8, acknowledges the literary stimulus that he received from Epaphroditus, " a man who is a lover of every kind of learning ". Melito writing to " his brother Onesimus " speaks in the same vein (*Eus.*, *H.E.* iv, 26).

The causal clause (ἐπειδὴ . . . αὐτῶν), amplified by the intervening words τίνι . . . πρότερον, leads up to the main sentence (ἀποδέχομαι κτλ). Note the similar structural opening of Melito's letter (*ibid.*), and cf. Theophilus, *ad Autol.* ii, 1, ἐπειδὴ . . . ἐγένετο λόγος ἡμῖν . . . περὶ τῆς θεοσεβείας μου ἐξεθέμη σοι.

κράτιστε Διόγνητε. The semi-technical term κράτιστος, denoting status rather than moral character, is commonly used in the inscr. and pap. in addressing men of high official position. Cf. Acts xxiii, 26 ; xxiv, 3 ; xxvi, 25. As a polite form of address it was employed sometimes without especial regard to the rank of the addressee. For this more personal and even intimate nuance, cf. Dion. Hal. *de orat. antiq.* proem. : ὦ κράτιστε Ἀμμαίε. Nothing is known of Diognetus's rank or identity (assuming that a real person and not a literary fiction is intended).

The name was not uncommon. See the evidence assembled by Otto, *Epist. ad Diog.* (§ 21 f., 2nd ed.). The view of Stelkens and Kihn that it is a mere appellative (= 'born of Zeus') and that it referred to the emperor Hadrian is very improbable. Nor is the suggestion (Ceillier, Otto, Dräseke, Molland) that Diognetus may be identical with one of the tutors of Marcus Aurelius (cf. i, 6) more than conjecture. Renan (*Marc-Aurèle*, p. 424) thinks that the tutor was not sufficiently famous to be the addressee, whom he holds to be a "personnage fictif sans doute". The Epistle itself does not lend us the aid of any personal touches (as, e.g. Josephus, *Con. Apion.* ii, 1: τιμώτατέ μοι Ἐπαφρόδιτε), since the name does not recur. We may surmise that Diognetus was a pagan of high but not necessarily official status, who was interested in the Christian religion and evidently had some knowledge of Jewish worship. The κράτιστε Θεόφιλε of Lk. i, 3 is a parallel to this personal sense of the title. See Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge*, i, pp. 6 f., Cadbury in *Beginnings*, II, pp. 505 ff.

The author whilst respectful is not less candid; Diognetus must shed all prejudice and use his intelligence (ii, 1)!

On the custom of dedicating books to individuals, see p. 8.

ὑπερεσπουδακότα. Idiomatic participle (cf. πυνθανόμενον) after a verb of perception (δρῶ). Cf. vii, 8 (πλεονάζοντας). For infin. (μαθεῖν) cf. Menander, *Sam.* 4 ὑπερεσπουδακῶς τὰ τοῦ γάμου πράττειν, Josephus, *Antiq.* xv, 69 ὑπερεσπουδακῶς . . . ἐπιδείξαι. Beurer's copy read ὡς ὑπερεσπουδακότα. See Otto, 158 f.

τὴν θεοσέβειαν. This class. word and the late cognate verb are favourite terms of the author (iii, 1 *al.*). Cf. Sir. i, 25; 1 Tim. ii, 10 (here only in N.T.). It is common in the apologists to denote the distinctive 'religion' of the Christians, which, according to *Diognetus* (vi, 4), is invisible, being a μυστήριον not learned from man (iv, 6; v, 3). On the name Χριστιανοί see Cadbury in *Beginnings*, V, 383 ff.

πάνν. Goes with both advbs., as in 2 Macc. xii, 43. Note the effective change from the perf. participle (ὑπερεσπουδακότα) to the present (πυνθανόμενον) 'are exceedingly zealous' (existing state) . . . 'are making inquiry' (action in progress). Cf. πεποιθότες . . . θρησκεύοντες (below). For πυνθάνομαι περί, cf. Esth. vi, 4; Acts xxiii, 20; P. Oxy. VI, 930 (ii-iii A.D.) πυνθῆσθαι περὶ τῆς ὑγίαι σου.

τίμη . . . πεποιθότες. The usual constructions in the Gk. Bible are πέποιθα ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν (or τῷ θεῷ) or ἐν κυρίῳ. For the simple dat. (of person), cf. Sir. xxxii, 24; 2 Cor. x, 7.

θρησκεύοντες αὐτὸν τὸν τε κόσμον. So Lachmann, Bunsen, and others. αὐτὸν κόσμον τε (Krenkel), αὐτὸν τε κόσμον (others). Stephanus conjectures αὐτὸν τε τὸν κόσμον. In the Gk. Bible θρησκεύω is confined to Wisdom (xi, 15; xiv, 17), both passages in a derogatory setting. Similarly θρησκεία (cf. Wisd. xiv, 18, 27, of the worship of idols) is not commonly used of Christians. Note, however, Jas. i, 26 f. (see Mayor's note) and *Clem. Hom.* vii, 8, ἡ ὑπὸ θεοῦ ὀρισθεῖσα θρησκεία. The terms usually denote the ritual and external aspect of worship. Cf. ii, 8, iii, 2; and see Hatch, *Essays*, pp. 55 ff., Trench, *Synonyms*, § xlvi. For κόσμος see note on vi, 1.

ὑπερορῶσι. 'They disregard', 'make light of'. Cf. 2 Macc. vii, 11, 23. In the N.T. only in Acts xvii, 30 in the extended sense ('overlook'). The meaning is that in virtue of their faith (πεποιθότες) and cultus (θρησκεύοντες) they are led to condemn the world and despise death, etc. The Christians' disregard of death would contrast the more strikingly with the wide and deep-seated fear of death which pervaded the ancient world. See E. R. Bevan, *Hellenism and Christianity*, pp. 81 f. Early Christian writers base the Christian contempt of death on various grounds. "Those with Peter" are led to defiance of death by their contact with

the revived flesh of Jesus (Ign., *Smyrn.* iii). For Just. Mart. it lies in the expectation of a divine future kingdom and in the fact that death is inevitable (*Apol.* i, 11-12, 39, 57; ii, 11-12). Cf. also *Acts of Apollonius*, §§ 25-28. Marcus Aurelius (xi, 3) attributes the Christians' scorn of death to their irrational obstinacy, while Lucian of Samosata (*The Passing of Peregrinus*, 13) bases it on their conviction that they are immortal for all time. For our author it is explained by the divine presence (*παρουσία*) that sustains the martyr (vii, 7-9), and the transcendence of the 'apparent' death of this world by knowledge of 'the true life of heaven' (x, 7). So also the Christians' slighting of the world (cf. 1 John ii, 15 ff.; v, 19) is familiar in the literature of the period. Cf. the parallel in Just. Mart., *Dial.* 119: *μέχρι τοῦ ἀποθνήσκειν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀπεραξάμεθα* (cited in Otto, p. 159).

οὔτε . . . φυλάσσοι. Cf. Eus., *Dem. Evang.* I, vi, 62-3, who speaks of a third division (i.e. Christians) which, "as it has escaped Greek godlessness . . . so it has left behind Jewish unprofitable observances", etc. For the Christian refusal to acknowledge heathen gods see below (ii, 6, 10). The heathen turned the tables on the Christians by charging them with 'atheism', an inference drawn from the fact that the Christians neither set up images nor offered sacrifice. For Christian replies to the charge, see Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 6 and 13; Athenagoras, *Suppl.* 4; Tertullian, *Apol.* 24.

τοὺς νομιζομένους . . . θεοῦ. For the common classical *νομίζων θεοῦ* (Xen. *Mem.* i, 1 *al.*), cf. ii, 1; *Wisd.* xiii, 2. *τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, i.e. the Gentiles. So also v, 17. For this sense of the term, cf. *Acts* xiv, 1; *Gal.* iii, 28. See notes by Lightfoot on *Col.* iii, 11 and Swete on *Mark* vii, 26. The art. occurs here and in iii, 3, but not in v, 17. *Ἰουδαίων* generally without the art. as a collective term. Cf. iii, 1, 2; iv, 6; *Acts* xxv, 10; xxvi, 2, and frequently in the Pauline Epistles. So with *Χριστιανοί* (ii, 6, 10; iv, 6 *al.*).

δαισιδαμονίαν. *Per se* the term is morally neutral. Cf. *Acts* xxv, 19 (of the Jews). Most modern translators incline to the good sense (cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* x, 42) in *Acts* xvii, 22 (adj.), as against R. V., Field (*Notes*, pp. 125 ff.), Hatch (*Essays*, pp. 43 ff.). Here the sense is derogatory as appears from iv, 1 ('superstition about the Sabbath'). See notes in Gildersleeve (pp. 238 f.); Lake and Cadbury, *Beginnings*, IV, 214 f., 311; Blakeney (p. 32); Moulton-Howard, *Gram.* p. 291.

φυλάσσοι. 'They keep', 'observe'. For the act. in this sense cf. John xii, 47. In LXX and N.T. we find both mid. (*Mk.* x, 20) and act. (*Gen.* xxvi, 5) in this meaning. See *Bl.-Deb.* § 316, 1.

φιλοσοργίαν. Practically a *κοινή* word, being first found in Xen. (*Cyrop.* i, 4, 3). It is appropriately used of strong family love (4 *Macc.* xv, 6, 9) and so here of Christians as a family. Cf. *Rom.* xii, 10 (adj.). *Diod. Sic.* iv, 44, 1 defines it as *ἡ φυσικὴ τῶν γονέων εἰς τέκνα φιλοσοργία*. Minucius Felix (*Octavius* ix, 2) includes among charges made against Christians that "they love one another after the briefest acquaintance". It is interesting to see how our author turns this particular query of Diogenes by asserting the love of Christians for *all* men, even enemies (v, 11; vi, 6).

καιόν . . . ἐπιτήδευμα. *γένος* either 'kind' (*Wisd.* xix, 21; *Matt.* xiii, 47, and often in pap.), or, more probably, 'race' (1 Peter ii, 9). *ἐπιτήδευμα* 'practice', 'mode of life', frequent in LXX (*Ezek.* xx, 44 *al.*).

For Christians as a new *γένος* (cf. *καιὸς ἄνθρωπος*, ii, 1) see chs. v, ix, where its character is set forth. See also Origen, *Con. Cels.* i, 26 and the references in Otto's note (160). Add Aristides, *Apol.* xvi, 4 (Syr.), "truly this people (i.e. Christians) is a new people", Arnobius, *Adv. Gent.* ii, 69, "but our name is new (we are told), and the religion which we follow arose but a few days ago". The heathen found it difficult to place the Christians and their novel faith.

Harnack (*Expansion*, I, 247 ff.) has pointed out that *Diognetus's* classification into three peoples (Jews, Greeks, Christians) goes back to the threefold division of *worshippers* in John iv, 21 f. This classification is taken up in the *Preaching of Peter* (in Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vi, 5, 39 and 41), which asserts that Christians are a new or third γένος: "a new covenant He has made with us, for that of the Greeks and Jews is old, but ye who worship Him anew in the third manner are Christians", i.e. of the three classes Christianity is the new or third genus of worship. *Diognetus* takes the further step and separates into three peoples. The threefold classification lends some support to the Greek text of Aristides, *Apol.* ii, which Geffcken (*Zwei griech. Apol.* 46) and F. C. Burkitt (*Camb. Ancient Hist.* XII, 464, n. 1) accept as original. The Syriac and Armenian versions of Aristides have a fourfold division (Barbarians, Greeks, Jews, Christians). The idea may derive ultimately from 1 Peter ii, 9 f. Cf. also 1 Cor. x, 32 (Jews, Greeks, the Church of God).

τὸν βίον. Used apparently in the late sense 'world' (of men). Cf. Philo, *de post. Caini*, 2, and (probably) *Wisd.* x, 8; xiv, 21. Cf. 4 Macc. xvii, 14: ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος ἐθεώρει. In *Diognetus*, v, 2 ('manner of life'); v, 4 ('livelihood').

νῦν καὶ οὐ πρότερον. For the question why Christianity had not appeared earlier, see Origen, *Con. Cels.* iv, 7: "after so long a period of time, then, did God now bethink Himself of making men live righteous lives, but neglect to do so before? To which we answer that there never was a time when God did not wish to make men live righteous lives". Cf. also vi, 78. Arnobius, *Adv. Gent.* ii, 75, dealing with the question "why was the Saviour sent forth so late?", argues that there are fitting seasons for the relief of particular moral conditions and that God judged the period when He sent forth Christ to be proper to man's need at that time.

ἀποδέχομαί c. acc. of person and genit. of source, after the pattern of *θανυμάζω τινά τινος* (Thuc. vi, 36). Cf. P. Oxy. IV, 705⁶⁹ ἀποδεχόμεθα σε ταύτης τῆς ἐπιδόσεως. Gildersleeve calls attention to the respectful tone of the word here and in Acts xxiv, 3. The commendation of the 'hearer' is conventional. Cf. Cyprian, *ad Donatum*, 1: "a listener, too, with an eagerness proportioned to your affection". For the MS. rdg. γε Bunsen, Scheibe, and others conjecture τε. The two particles are often interchanged by the scribes. See Otto on Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 4, n. 2.

παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ . . . αἰτοῦμαι. Puech (p. 253) thinks that this is a recollection, probably conscious, of the traditional formula by which ancient Attic writers won the goodwill of their hearers. Otto (p. 160) points out the similar prayer at the beginning of the *Cohort. ad Gent.*, where, he thinks, the author imitates the exordium of Demosthenes, *de Corona*. Prayer at the beginning of an oration was not unusual among the ancients. Cf. the opening of Lycurgus's speech against Leocrates. The formula may well have been adapted to their own use by Christian writers. See note on p. 34. The mid. (αἰτοῦμαι) perhaps emphasizes the earnestness of the action. See Mayor on Jas. iv, 3 f., Moulton, *Proleg.* 160 f.

χορηγοῦντος. Frequent of divine 'supply', as in iii, 4. Cf. Sir. i, 26; 2 Cor. ix, 10. See Blakeney's note (p. 34).

ἂν ἀκούσαντά σε. So Bunsen, Gildersleeve, Lake, and others, against the MS. ἂν ἀκούσαι σε. The participle is clearly to be preferred, to correspond to εἰπόντα, just as εἰπεῖν and ἀκούσαι answer to each other. We then have εἰπεῖν and τὸν εἰπόντα (of the writer) in antithesis to ἀκούσαντα and ἀκούσαι (of Diognetus). Otto and other edd. prefer to read τὸν ἀκούσαντα, substituting the art. for ἂν and the participle for ἀκούσαι σε, thus securing a complete correspondence (τὸν ἀκούσαντα . . . τὸν εἰπόντα). Scheibe follows Otto but would retain ἂν, connecting it with γένησθαι to denote the future.

βελτίω = βελτίονα (acc. masc. sing.). Cf. βελτίω γεγονότα (Plato, *Gorgias*, 514E).

σοί τε. Against Stephanus's conjecture δέ (balancing ἐμοὶ μὲν) Otto cites passages where a τε (or καὶ) balances a μὲν. On the other hand, our author regularly employs the familiar antithesis μὲν . . . δέ (ii, 2 ; iii, 5 *al.*).

The implication of the prayer ('I ask of God', etc.) is that man, apart from divine aid, is unable to speak about God (cf. iv, 6 *sub fin.*). We may compare the probable interpretation of the Greek text of the *Apol. of Aristides* (ii *init.*): τούτων οὕτως εἰρημένων περὶ θεοῦ, καθὼς ἐμέ ἐχώρησε περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν.

For the twofold division into speaker and hearer and prayer offered on behalf of both, cf. Hippolytus, *de Antichristo*, 2 (*sub fin.*): 'since, then, in this there is a work assigned to both parties together, viz. to him who speaks, that he speak forth faithfully without regard to risk, and to him who hears, that he hear and receive in faith that which is spoken, I beseech you to strive together with me in prayer to God' (S. D. F. Salmond's trans.).

II

Pagan idolatry and Jewish superstition must alike be dismissed before the faith and practice of the Christians is expounded. See above, pp. 31 ff. Polemics against idol-worship are abundant in both Jewish and Christian literature (see references on p. 31). Our author follows the conventional mode of attack. He has little or nothing fresh to say, but says it with some warmth and severity in a series of rhetorical questions. What impresses his mind is not so much the wickedness of idolatry as its absurdity (cf. iii, 3).

1. *ἄγε δή*. Interjectional, as often in Homer. Cf. Judg. xix, 6 B (*ἀρξάμενος* A) and *ἄγε νῦν* (Jas. iv, 13 ; v, 1).

καθάρας κτλ. The language is perhaps reminiscent of Eph. iv, 22-24 (note *καὶνὸς ἀνθρώπου*, the influence of *ἀπάτη*, and *ἐξ ἀρχῆς* which may be a terse way of expressing the idea of man's original endowment *κατὰ θεόν* stated in Eph. iv, 24. Cf. Paul's *καὶνὴ κτίσις* (2 Cor. v, 17 ; Gal. vi, 15)). Geffcken cites Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, p. 10, 8 ff. (Stählin): *σὺ δὲ εἰ ποθεῖς ἰδεῖν ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸν θεόν, καθαρῶν μεταλάβανε θεοπροπῶν . . .* Note Att. *καθαίρω*, not Hellenistic *καθαρίζω*. *καθαίρω* in LXX (3) and N.T. (1 simplex and 3 in compound form).

λογισμῶν. In class. usage the word has a morally neutral sense, 'reasoning'. So ii, 9 (sing.). The present context favours the bad sense frequently found in H. Gk. (cf. Wisd. i, 3, 5 ; xi, 15 ; 2 Cor. x, 4).

ἀπατώσάν. The simple verb is infrequent in later Gk. But see Gen. iii, 13 *al.*, Eph. v, 6. See M.M., *Vocab.* p. 54.

συνήθειαν. The term may refer to pagan 'custom' in general. But in view of the following polemic it probably relates to the 'habit' of idol-worship. *συνήθεια* is frequent in Clem. Alex., *Protrept.* in this sense (see pp. 62 f.). Cf. 1 Cor. viii, 7 for a similar connexion. In LXX the term is confined to 4 Macc. (*quater*). Diognetus must free himself alike from general preconceptions (*λογισμῶν*) and a particular habit (*συνήθειαν*).

ἀποσκευασάμενος. A vivid figurative use, 'having packed off' (of baggage). It is perhaps the author's equivalent of Paul's *ἀποθέσθαι*, if he has the Ephesian passage (iv, 22) in mind. Cf. Polyb. ii, 26, 2, *ταῦτα δ' ἀποσκευασάμενος*, 'having got rid of these encumbrances', Athenagoras, *Suppl.* 9, *ὅπως μετὰ τοῦ προσήκοντος λογισμοῦ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπήρειαν ἀποσκευάσασθε*. A late word used literally in the Gk. Bible (only in Lev. xiv, 36 *act.*, and Acts xxi, 15 *v.l.*). See Ditt., *Syll.*³ 588, 50 ; 633, 65.

ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Cf. viii, 11 (in xi, 4 *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*). For the Gk. Bible cf. Sir. xv, 14 ; John vi, 64, *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* being much more frequent.

ὡς ἂν . . . ἐσόμενος. A rare construction. See Gildersleeve's note (240 f.), and add P. Par. 26 (163-2 B.C.): *ὑπέδειξαν ὡς ἂν εὐτακτηθησομένων ἡμῖν τῶν*

καθημότων (cited in Milligan, *Selections*, pp. 14 f.). For *ὡς ἄν, c. pres.* participle, cf. 2 Macc. i, 11; xii, 4.

λόγου καινοῦ. For the significance of the epithet 'new' ('a new race', 'a new man', 'a new story'), see pp. 94 f. Cf. Clem. Alex., *Paedag.* i, 5, 20: *χρῆ γὰρ εἶναι καινοὺς τοῖς λόγου καινοῦ μετεληφότας.* 'The author's use of the term λόγος reflects its elasticity of meaning. (1) 'story', 'narrative' (ii, 1); (2) 'statement', 'argument' (iv, 1; viii, 2, 3); (3) 'word', 'teaching' (vii, 2; xii, 7); (4) 'reason' (x, 2); (5) 'the Word' (xi, 2, 3, 7; xii, 9).

καθάπερ. Cf. iii, 3; vii, 2. "Thoroughly Attic and a slight literary touch" (Robertson, *Gram.* p. 967). Cf. Gen. xii, 4. In N.T. 17 times, all in Paul (Rom. iv, 6 *al.*), except Heb. iv, 2. The *καί* strengthens the correspondence indicated by *καθάπερ* (cf. 2 Cor. i, 14).

ὡμολόγησας, i.e. implicitly in Diognetus's third question about the 'new race or practice' (i).

ἴδε. The zeugma (*ἴδε* relating to both *ὀφθαλμοῖς* and *φρονήσει*) is natural. Cf. "the mind's eye". *ἴδε* has its imperatival force here (cf. Is. lxix, 18; Rom. xi, 22), though frequently it is stereotyped into an interjection (cf. Mk. xv, 35). Cf. *ἄγε* (ii, 1). For the accent on *ἴδε* see p. 12.

ὑποστάσεως, 'substance' or 'real nature' (cf. Heb. i, 3 R.V.), as opposed to 'form' (*εἶδος*). It is practically synonymous here with *ἕλη* (ii, 3), which in Aristotle is often contrasted with *εἶδος*. Note *μορφή* (ii, 3). For the *εἶδος* of divine beings cf. Is. liii, 2 f.; John v, 37.

τυγχάνουσιν. Abs. use, practically equivalent to *εἰσίν*. Cf. v, 8; Xen., *Anab.* iii, 1, 3; Tob. v, 14; P. Oxy. VII, 1070¹⁸ (iii/A.D.): *σὺ αὐτῆ μήτηρ τυγχάνουσα τοῦ τέκνου.*

ἐρεῖτε. The use of the future here rather than the present (cf. the correlative *νομίσετε*) has led to various conjectures: *αἰρέετε* (Sylburg), *αἰνεῖτε* (Lachmann). But *ἐρῶ* sometimes bears in later usage (possibly earlier. Cf. Aesch., *Eumen.* 45) a present sense. Cf. Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 400a. Note the transition to the plur. *ἐρεῖτε, νομίσετε*. For the most part in addressing Diognetus the sing. is used (i; ii, 1; iii, 1, etc.); but the plur. occurs here and in ii, 5 f., perhaps suggestive of Diognetus as a representative of the pagan world. This alternation of sing. and plur. occurs also in xi-xii. Cf. xi, 7 with xi, 8 *ἡμῶν*, xii, 1 with xii, 7 f.

Otto points out that the 'substance' (*ὑπόστασις*) is illustrated in the following section, 'is not one a stone . . . iron and fire' (2-3), and the 'form' (*εἶδος*) in the words 'have they not been forged . . . in process of decay' (3-4); then the words 'whom you declare and esteem to be gods' are taken up in the phrases 'these things . . . you worship' (5).

2. Now follows a series of rhetorical questions which imply an affirmative answer, the initial *οὐχ* controlling the correlative clauses which follow. For this stylistic feature, see p. 13.

ὁ μὲν τις . . . ὁ δέ. The pleonastic *τις* in this location is frequent in Xen. (*Cyrop.* iii, 1, 41 *al.*). See below, viii, 2, *οἱ μὲν τινες . . . οἱ δ' . . . οἱ δ'*, with which cf. Just. Mart., *Dial.* 35; *οἱ μὲν τινες καλούμενοι Μαρκανοί, οἱ δὲ Οὐαλεντινιανοί κτλ.*

κρείσσων. On the spelling, see p. 11.

τῶν . . . κεχαλκευμένων σκευῶν. Genit. of comparison. Cf. *τοῦ κατεσκευασμένου* (below). The phrase is amplified in 3 (*ὑπὸ σιδήρου . . . κεχαλκευμένα*). Note in this and the following section the perf. participles of existing state. For *εἰς τὴν χρῆσιν ἡμῶν* cf. iv, 2.

σσηπός. In the passive sense, 'rotted'. Cf. Job xvi, 7, and for the metaphorical usage Jas. v, 2 (of wealth). Note *σηπόμενα* (ii, 4), and for the habit of style, see p. 14.

ὁ δὲ ἄργυρος . . . κλαπῆ. Again the thought is repeated in § 7 (*sub fin.*).

The idea of gods being stolen is frequent. Cf. *Ep. of Jeremiah*, 57 ff.; Aristides, *Apol.* iii, 2; *Clem. Recogn.* v, 15 (cited under ii, 7 below).

For τοῦ φυλάξαιτος (so the MS. and some edd.) Stephanus prefers to read τοῦ φυλάξοιτος, the future participle expressing purpose (cf. Acts viii, 27 *al.*). So also Otto and Geffcken. The aorist participle may indeed be used in Hellenistic Greek in a futuristic or purposive sense. See arts. by C. D. Chambers and W. F. Howard in *J.T.S.* xxiv (1923), pp. 183 ff. The present occurrence, however, is not parallel to the usage there illustrated, since the aorist participle here is not conjoined with a main finite verb (of motion or appointment). If the aorist participle be read here, it may reflect its timeless use. Cf. Gen. iv, 15; John xvi, 2 (πᾶς ὁ ἀποκτείνας). But the change to the future participle is very slight.

The art. marks the attributive character of the participial clause. Cf. 1 Peter i, 7 (χρυσίου τοῦ ἀπολλύμενου).

ὑπὸ τοῦ, the 'rust' being viewed as an inanimate agent. Cf. ὑπὸ σιδήρου καὶ πυρός (ii, 3). Cf. Xen., *Anab.* i, 5, 5; Matt. xi, 7. For ἰός = 'rust', cf. Jas. v, 3.

οὐδὲν . . . εὐπρεπέστερον. The passage shows some verbal similarity to Wisd. xiii, 11b. πρὸς is a stylistic variation of εἰς (εἰς τὴν χρῆσιν) above. Cf. Paul's "a vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour" (ἀτιμία, Rom. ix, 21), and 2 Tim. ii, 20.

3f. These 'gods' of perishable material were moulded by men, to whom they owe their particular shapes. The implication is that to worship such gods is to honour the created thing rather than its creator (cf. Rom. i, 25). Aristides, *Apol.* iii, makes the point openly: "he who creates is greater than that which is created". So also Athenagoras, *Suppl.* 16: "how can I call those objects gods of which I know the makers to be men?"

οὐ φθαρτῆς . . . πάντα; cf. ii, 4: οὐ πάντα φθειρόμενα; see note on style, p. 13.

ὁ μὲν . . . ὁ δὲ. There is no need to write ὁ μὲν . . . ὁ δὲ, as Funk. The use in these correlative clauses of the relative with demonstrative force is common in prose after Demosthenes. See iv, 2, 5; Polyb. i, 7, 3; Matt. xxi, 35, etc.

λιθοδόος, 'sculptor'. Late word. Cf. Plut., *Mor.* 74E, and inscr. For ἀργυροκόπος 'silversmith', cf. Plut., *Mor.* 830E: χρυσοδόος καὶ ἀργυροκόπος, Jer. vi, 29, Acts xix, 24.

The list of the four artificers answers to four of the six materials specified in § 2, ξύλον and σίδηρος being left without their corresponding craftsmen. But, as Otto acutely observes, they are covered by the phrase ὑπὸ σιδήρου καὶ πυρός, "since wood needs the service of iron implements (e.g. the axe) and iron needs that of fire".

ἐπλασεν. The verb goes with all four subjects though more appropriately with κεραμεύς (cf. Wisd. xv, 7). It is used of God, below (x, 2).

οὐ πρὶν ἢ κτλ. For the thought see *Ep. of Jer.* 45. πρὶν ἢ (cf. πρὶν, viii, 1) is only occasional in Att. prose, though frequent in Hdt. and common in late Gk. Cf. Exod. i, 19; Matt. i, 18; Just. Mart. *Apol.* i, 23, 30. The infin. here with πρὶν (after the negative principal sentence) may be explained by the facts that (1) the initial οὐ postulates an affirmative answer to the question, making the sentence virtually positive, (2) the πρὶν ἢ clause precedes the main sentence, suggesting that the temporal idea ('before') is dominant in the writer's mind (cf. Mk. xiv, 30).

τούτων (the artificers) . . . τούτων (the gods). Lightfoot and Geffcken (after Böhl) emend the latter pronoun to ταύτην.

ἢν ἕκαστον . . . μεταμεμορφωμένον; the text is corrupt and difficult. See trans. above. ἕκαστον is read by most edd. for the MS. ἕκαστος. For ἔτι καὶ

vñv Lachmann substitutes *εἰκάσειν*, which Bunsen accepts. So also Lightfoot, getting the general sense "made to resemble these several utensils". Geffcken suggests *ᾧ, τι καὶ νῦν*. Gildersleeve with some reserve inserts *ὡς* before *ἐπι καὶ νῦν*, "as still happens". The drift of the passage is clear, viz., that these 'gods' owe their form to the caprice of the craftsman. He first roughly shaped his material and then formed it into an idol, although he was free (and is so now) to mould it into any form that he desired. Accordingly, the same material which now serves to make vessels of ordinary use could be shaped by the craftsman into a 'god'. Cf. Horace, *Satires* i, 8 (*ad imit.*).

ἐκάστω, dat. of agent ('by each artificer') after the perf. participle pass. (*μεταμορφωμένον*). For *μεταμορφώω*, cf. Rom. xii, 2.

τὰ νῦν. The following sentence *τὰ νῦν . . . προσκυνούμενα* suggests that *vñv* here goes with *δύνα* rather than with *γένουτ' ἄν*.

For *γένουτ' ἄν* (potential opt.), cf. *δύνατ' ἄν* (4). See p. 12.

τοιούτοις, i.e. the objects fashioned into the shape of gods. Cf. ii, 10.

4. Conversely it would surely be possible for these 'gods' now worshipped by you to be converted by the craftsmen into such vessels.

ἡμῶν. So Stephanus for the MS. *ἡμῶν*.

κωφά. The word means both 'dumb' and 'deaf'. Cf. iii, 3, 5. The 'dumbness' of idols is frequently remarked. Cf. Habakkuk ii, 18; 1 Cor. xii, 2; *Sib. Orac.* v, 84, etc. So also their *ἀναισθησία* (cf. iii, 3). Cf. *Aristeas* 135: "obviously the images lack feeling" (*τῆν ἀναισθησίαν*). For *ἄψυχα*, cf. *Wisd.* xiii, 17; xiv, 29.

Note the three adj. in *ἀ-*privative. See p. 15.

5. It is difficult to decide whether the sentences of §§ 5-6 are affirmative or interrogative. Most edd. and translators take the former view, Lake the latter. It is perhaps a point in favour of the affirmative rendering that all the rhetorical questions (§§ 2-4, 7) are put in the negative form. To think that you call such inanimate things gods and then serve and worship them! It is the irrationality of idol-worship that impresses the author, but he goes on to point out its psychological effect, viz., that the worshipper becomes like the idol, void of feeling and liable to decay. Thus in a double sense he provides an *ἀφροσύνης δείγμα* (iii, 3), because he regards mere things without life and motion as gods, and thereby shares their nature.

Otto suggests that the thought of the worshipper's conformity to the idol goes back to Ps. cxv, 8 (cxiii, 16 LXX. Cf. cxxxiv, 18). Funk compares *Clem. Recogn.* v, 15: "but I should like if those who worship idols would tell me if they wish to become like those whom they worship", etc. For our author as for the Psalmist the 'likeness' consists in mental rather than moral degradation. Idolatry leads to aesthetic failure, incapacity to perceive that the idol is nothing but a mere moulded form. Cf. *Clem. Alex., Protrept.* iv, 48, 3 f.: "you exercise no care to guard against your becoming like images for stupidity" (*δὲ ἀναισθησίαν*).

ταῦτα . . . τοῖτοις . . . τοῖτοις. The emphasis and reiteration are impressive. Cf. ii, 9; vii, 9. In H.Gk. *προσκυνέω* takes either acc. or dat. (*Gen.* xxiv, 26; *John* iv, 23). *τέλεον*. An adv. use found in late prose (*Lucian, Clem. Alex., 3 Macc.* i, 22, pap.). Either 'in the end' (so Lightfoot, Lake) or 'completely' (= *τελέως*). So Otto. Cf. *Just. Mart., Apol.* i, 29 and 62. *ἐξομοῦσθε* (*Hdt., Plato*). Cf. *2 Macc.* iv, 16; *Epict.* i, 2, 18; *Just. Mart., Apol.* i, 6.

6. *διὰ τοῦτο . . . ὅτι* κτλ. The demonstrative is expanded by the *ὅτι* clause: "for this reason, namely", etc. Cf. *Is.* xxiv, 6; *John* v, 16. For the hatred of Christians see note on *οὔτε . . . φυλάσσοι* (i), and cf. v, 17; vi, 5. For the omission of the art. with *Χριστιανοὺς* see note (i).

7-8. You are deluding yourself. Your worship means not praise but contempt for the gods. For, to discriminate between your idol-gods, setting close

guard over some but not others—this is not to worship but to ridicule and to insult them. And the gods themselves, if they have powers of perception, will not be deceived by your homage, but will feel aggrieved (κολάζετε) by such discrimination. If, on the other hand, they lack perception, by worshipping them with blood and steaming fat you are really showing them up (ἐλέγχοντες) for what they are, mere insensible idols. For a kindred view see Tertullian, *Apol.* 12.

ὑμεῖς . . . οἰόμενοι. The text is uncertain. The MS. reads οἱ νῦν νομίζοντες καὶ οἰόμενοι. Otto substitutes σεβόμενοι for οἰόμενοι. So also Lightfoot and Geffcken. Bunsen, following Lachmann, reads ὑμεῖς γὰρ αἰνεῖν (for οἱ νῦν) νομίζοντες καὶ σεβόμενοι. Gebhardt, Funk, and Lake similarly, with οἰόμενοι for σεβόμενοι.

πολὺ πλέον. Cf. iv, 5. The comparison is implied, αὐτῶν (= the gods) being genitive after καταφρονεῖτε. Cf. 4 Macc. i, 8. So πολὺ μᾶλλον (below). Cf. Heb. xii, 9. The alternative, to take αὐτῶν as genit. after πλέον and refer it to the Christians (so Radford and Blakeney), would leave both αἰνεῖν and καταφρονεῖτε without an object expressed, and is less likely. For πλέον see p. 10.

σέβοντες. The act. form (cf. iii, 2) is rarer in prose than the mid. But cf. Xen., *Mem.* iv, 4, 19, and 4 Macc. v, 24; P. Oxy. XII, 1464^b (A.D. 250) σέβων θεοῖς.

Stephanus emends ἀφυλάκτως (so MS. and Haus' copy) to ἀφυλάκτους.

ἀργυρέους. Otto and other edd. prefer the contracted form ἀργυροῦς (cf. the following χρυσοῦς). Note the addition of gold, not mentioned among the 'gods' in § 2. ἐγκλείοντες. Cf. vi, 7 (of the soul 'locked up' in the body), vii, 2 (of the 'enclosing' of the sea).

παρακαθιστάντες. The foregoing pres. participle (ἐγκλείοντες) favours this emendation (Krenkel) of the MS. rdg. παρακαθίσαντες. For φύλακας καθιστάναι cf. Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 9.

Clem. Recogn. v, 15 remarks in similar fashion that men guard gods of silver and gold "and even of brass", but leave those of stone and earthenware unguarded, since none would steal such.

8. αἷς . . . αὐτούς. Geffcken (pp. 13, 14) thinks that this is the only thought in the author's diatribe against idolatry which, "so far as I know", is not otherwise known from literature. τιμαῖς, i.e. sacrificial offerings (iii, 5). προσφέρειν is frequent in the LXX and Ep. to Hebrews (20 times) for the 'offering' of sacrifices. εἰ μὲν αἰσθάνονται. The author has already denied the sensibility of these gods (ii, 4). But he here grants the hypothesis for the sake of his argument.

κολάζετε. The verb may have the weaker meaning, 'harm', 'wrong'. Cf. κόλασις (9). The pass. has this sense in Aelian, *N.A.* iii, 24: ἀπαλά τε ὄντα τὰ νεόττια . . . οἶδε καλῶς . . . ὅτι κολασθήσεται ἀλοῦντα. It occurs later in the Ep. in the stronger sense of the 'punishment' of Christians in persecutions (v, 16; vi, 9; vii, 8; x, 7). Cf. *Mart. Polyc.* ii, 4.

ἀναισθητοῦσιν. For the 'insensibility' of idols see *Ep. of Jer.* 19 and 23. ἐλέγχοντες . . . θρησκεύετε. The participle takes the main emphasis: 'you are refuting them by the very fact of worshipping them' (= ἐλέγχετε . . . θρησκεύοντες), as in 2 Peter, i, 16. ἐλέγχω may here have the sense 'expose' 'show them up' (for what they are). Cf. ii, 9 (note), Xen., *Mem.* i, 7, 2, Eph. v, 11 (see Abbott's note, *I.C.C.*), and pap. For the slightly stronger nuance 'convince', 'convict', cf. ix, 6. For θρησκεύετε see note (i).

αἵματι καὶ κνίσαις. Cf. iii, 5. κνῖσα a Homeric word (κνίση). Cf. *Sib. Orac.* viii, 391: οὐ χρήζω . . . οὐ κνίσσης μαρῆς, οὐχ αἵματος ἐχθίστοιο.

9. ταῦθ' . . . ταῦτα. Emphasis and repetition. 'These things' are the sacrifices of blood and steaming fat, ironically referred to below as 'this punishment'. ὑμῶν τις, i.e. Diognetus and those who think with him.

ταύτης τῆς κολάσεως. See note above (ταῦτα). The acc. is more usual with ἀνέχομαι. For the genit. cf. Plato, *Protag.* 323A; 2 Macc. ix, 12; 2 Tim. iv, 3. For λογισμὸν see note on ii, 1.

ὁ δὲ λίθος. The 'stone' is singled out as a familiar type of 'those whom you declare and esteem to be gods'. It stands first in the list (ii, 2).

ἀναισθηρεὶ γάρ. The laconic sentence ending with γάρ recalls Mk. xvi, 8 (ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ). Brief sentences ending in γάρ are not without precedent in Greek literature. See the arts. cited by R. H. Lightfoot (*Locality and Doctrine in the Gospels*, pp. 1 ff.) who reports other instances from class. Greek prose, the papyri, Just. Mart., and the Hermetic writings. The present passage (*Diognetus* ii, 9) may be added as typical of this locution: the γάρ ends a brief statement which gives the reason for what precedes. Note the *two γάρ* clauses here (the second of which shows the final γάρ), as in Mk. xvi, 8, and also in Plato, *Protagoras*, 328C: τῶνδε δὲ οὕτω ἀξίον τοῦτο κατηγορεῖν. ἔτι γάρ ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰσιν ἐλπίδες. νέοι γάρ. (cited by Lightfoot, *op. cit.* p. 11).

οὐκ οὖν . . . ἐλέγχετε. A cryptic sentence, the meaning depending on (a) the rdg. (οὐκ οὖν or οὐκοῦν), (b) the meaning of ἐλέγω ('prove', or with negative sense 'refute'), (c) the interpretation of the sentence as a statement or a question. The general sense of the passage is: no one would willingly endure such offerings (i.e. blood and fat) made to himself, because he has perception and reason. The fact that the stone endures such shows that it lacks sensibility. (1) You do not then (οὐκ οὖν) by offering such sacrifices show up its sensibility! No. Quite the contrary—an ironical comment. (2) Do you not then (οὐκ οὖν) refute its sensibility, i.e. prove that it has none (ἀναισθηρεὶ)? (3) So then (οὐκοῦν) you refute its sensibility.

Of these renderings (1) is perhaps to be preferred since (a) it lends to ἐλέγω the same sense as above (ii, 8), (b) a statement seems more natural in the context than a question, (c) the ironical touch is quite in the author's vein (see above, p. 15).

For various emendations of the sentence see Otto, p. 167, Gildersleeve, p. 243. αὐτοῦ sc. τοῦ λίθου.

10. For the thought cf. Melito (in Routh, *Reliq. Sacr.* i, 118): "we are not servants (*θεραπευταί*) of stones that have no feeling, but of God alone".

δεδουλωθῆναι, with full force of the perfect, 'to be in a state of bondage'. For *περὶ τοῦ*, c. infin., cf. iii, 1 and see p. 12. *ἄν*. So several edd., following Lachmann. The MS. omits *ἄν*, Krenkel places it after *ἔχοιμι*. For the familiar *ἔχω*, c. infin. (= *δύναμαι*), cf. Heb. vi, 13, and v, 17 (below).

καὶν. This crasis is sometimes used in later Greek as an equivalent of intensive καί = 'even'. Cf. Mk. v, 28; Acts v, 15.

περισσὸν ἡγοῦμαι. Cf. Wilcken, *Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, 238, II, 4: *περισσὸν ἡγοῦμαι διεξοδέστερον ὑμῖν γράφειν* (c. A.D. 117). Cf. 2 Cor. ix, 1.

III

The author turns now to the subject of Jewish worship raised in Diognetus's first question (1c). The Jews may rightly claim that they reverence the one true God. But in their ritual service they match the foolishness of the Greeks, who offer to 'senseless and deaf images'. For the Jews make their oblations on the assumption that God is in need of such offerings. But the Creator and Provider of all cannot Himself stand in need of anything. Indeed, these very offerings are His gift to men. For both Greek and Jew it is absurd to consecrate such sacrifices, 'for the one seems to offer to those unable to partake of the honour, the other to Him who is in need of nothing'.

1. 'Ἐξῆς, 'next' in order or sequence. In the N.T. always of time (Lk. ix,

37 *al.*). *περὶ τοῦ . . . θεοσεβείν.* Cf. *Preaching of Peter* in Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vi, 39 ff.): *μηδὲ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους σέβασθε.* For *κατὰ τὰ ἀντὰ*, 'after the same manner', cf. *Aristeas*, 236; *Lk.* vi, 23, 26. For the omission of the art. with *Ἰουδαίους*, see p. 94, and for *θεοσεβείν*, see on *θεοσέβεια* (i).

αὐτοῦς, i.e. the Christians. The shortened form *οἶμαι* is common in Att. prose. For the acc. and infin. construction cf. *Gen.* xxxvii, 7; *John* xxi, 25; and *par.* In *Jas.* i, 7 *ὅτι . . .* For *ποθεῖν*, c. infin. (aor.), cf. *Barn.* xvi, 10. The verb occurs below with acc. (x, 1) and in the pass. (xii, 8).

2. *λατρείας*. (divine) 'service'. Cf. *Plato, Apol.* 23B; *Exod.* xii, 25; *Rom.* ix, 4. For its reference to the 'service' of idol-gods as here, see *Didache* vi, 3.

καλῶς : . . . *φρονεῖν.* The text is obscure. The various editorial reconstructions are fully set out in Otto's note (168 f.). See also Gildersleeve (244). We follow the rdg. suggested by Gebhardt and Hilgenfeld and adopted by Funk, Lightfoot, and Lake as least open to objection. Geffcken prints *καὶ εἰ θεὸν ἕνα τῶν πάντων σέβειν καὶ δεσπότην ἀξιοῦσιν, ὁρθῶς δοκοῦσι φρονεῖν.*

θεὸν ἕνα. Cf. *I Cor.* viii, 5-6. *μόνος* is very frequent in this connexion (2 *Macc.* vii, 37; *John* v, 44, etc.).

τῶν πάντων. The universal sovereignty of God is a familiar idea in Jewish and Christian literature. Cf. *ὁ πάντων δεσπότης*, *Job* v, 8; *Wisd.* vi, 7. Cf. viii, 7 (below). Otto suggests that the author has also in mind the thought that God is God of all (Greek) gods, and cites *Just. Mart., Dial.* 55; *Deut.* x, 17; *Ps.* xlix, 1. For *σέβειν* see note on ii, 7, and for *δεσπότης* (of God) on viii, 7.

ἀξιοῦσι c. infin. 'think fit', 'claim'. Cf. vii, 1; *Acts* xv, 38; xxviii, 22. In ix, 1 (pass.) 'to deem worthy'.

θηρησκείαν. See p. 93.

προσάγουσιν. The verb commonly connotes *sacrificial* 'offering' in LXX (*Lev.* iii, 12 *al.*), but *moral* offering in *Tob.* xii, 12.

διαμαρτάνουσιν. Bunsen would read *αὐτῶ, ταύτης διαμαρτάνουσιν* 'in this they go utterly astray'. But for the abs. use of the verb, cf. *Plato, Theaet.* 178A; *Num.* xv, 22; *Hermas, Mand.* iv, 1, 2; *I Clem.* xl, 4.

The author does not charge the Jews with angel worship. See p. 36.

3. *οἱ Ἕλληνες.* See note on p. 94.

ἀφροσύνης δείγμα. The phrase recurs in iv, 5. *παρέχουσι*, a favourite word.

ταῦθ' οὗτοι κτλ. Two renderings are possible according as *παρέχειν* is taken as *expegetic* of *λογιζόμενοι* with *ταῦθ'* as its object, or as *infin.* with *ἡγοῦντ' ἄν* having *μωρίαν* as object. (a) 'These (the Jews) ought rather to consider it folly maybe, not piety, thinking that they are offering these things to God as though He were in need of them'. (b) 'These (the Jews) ought rather to consider that they are showing folly maybe, not piety, by crediting these things to God as though He were in need of them'. It is better to adopt (a) since the *infin.* seems more natural with the participle (cf. *τοῖς οἰομένοις δίδόναι*, iii, 4), and *ἡγέομαι* takes the direct object in ix, 6.

For *καθάπερ* see on ii, 1.

προσδεόμενῳ. Here of God (as in *Plato*, *Aristotle*, etc. See *W. Bauer, Wörterbuch*, p. 1188). In iii, 4 it is used of God and man. The thought that God has need of nothing (*ἀπροσδεής*) is very frequent. Cf. 2 *Macc.* xiv, 35; 3 *Macc.* 9, ii; *Aristeas*, 211: "God is in need of nothing and is gentle withal"; *Philo, quod Deus sit immut.* 57: "in addition to the fact of (God's) wanting nothing, He actually has everything". Cf. also *Theophilus, ad Autol.* ii, 10; *Tatian, Orat. ad Graec.* 4. See *Blakeney*, pp. 40 f.

μωρίαν. Possibly a stylistic variation of *ἀφροσύνης* (above). See iv, 5, where *ἀφροσύνη* (like *μωρία* here) is predicated of the Jews and contrasted with *θεοσέβεια*. *Hermas, Sim.* ix, 22, 2, has *ἀφροσύνη μωρά*. Both terms suggest moral as well as intellectual fault.

εἰκός. Some edd., following Stephanus, emend to εἰκότως or to εἶναι. Otto retains εἰκός and thinks that the word (= 'perhaps') is so placed ('*cum quadam urbanitate*') to moderate the notion of μωρία. In line with this suggestion we render 'folly maybe'. For θεοσέβειαν see p. 93.

4. ὁ γὰρ . . . αὐτός. Note the omission here of the sea (cf. Exod. xx, 11; Ps. cxlv, 6; Acts xiv, 15; see below, pp. 54 f.) among created objects. But cf. vii, 2 (below). The thought may be reminiscent of Acts xiv, 15. The idea of God, however, as Creator and universal Provider and consequently as above all personal need is familiar. Cf. Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 10: "we have received by tradition that God does not need the material offerings which men can give, seeing that He Himself is the Provider of all things". For χορηγῶν see p. 95.

ᾠν. Antecedent omitted. In the next line the antecedent (τοῦθων) is supplied and the relative ᾠν (= ᾄ) is assimilated to it.

τοῖς οἰομένοις διδόναι. Perhaps an ironical touch. See above, p. 15. For the infin. after οἴομαι, cf. iii, 5; 1 Macc. v, 61; Phil. i, 17.

διδόναι, i.e. τῷ θεῷ.

αὐτός. Emphatic by position and repetition.

5. θυσίας . . . ἐπιτελεῖν. Cf. Hdt. ii, 63. The verb is common in a ritual sense and setting. Cf. Lev. vi, 22 (15); 1 Esdras viii, 16; Heb. ix, 6; P. Tebt. i, 6, 48 (140 B.C.), ἐπιτελεῖν τὰ νομιζόμενα τοῖς θεοῖς.

Since the author is dealing now with Jewish sacrifices he adds 'whole burnt offerings' (δόλοκαυτωμάτων) to 'blood and steaming fat' (ii, 8).

τιμαῖς, i.e. sacrificial offerings. Cf. ii, 8, and iii, 5 (τιμῆ).

γεραίρω. Poetical word (Homer, Pindar), but found in Hdt., Plato, and Xen. Cf. 3 Macc. v, 17; Philo, *de sacr. Abel et Caini*, 117: ἀπαρχαῖς καὶ τιμαῖς γεραίρωμεν τὸ θεῖον.

ἐνδεικνυμένων (so Stephanus for the MS. ἐνδεικνύμενοι), i.e. the Greeks. φιλοτιμίαν. The noun along with its cognate adj. and verb originally connoted 'emulation', 'ambition'. Cf. Wisd. xiv, 18. In later Greek generally the meaning develops into 'zeal', as often in Polybius. Here we have the rarer sense 'lavish honour', for which cf. *Aristeas*, 227: πῶς τινα δεῖ φιλότιμον εἶναι . . . φιλοτιμίαν δεῖν χαριστικῆν ἔχειν. Cf. also P. Oxy. VIII, 1153¹⁸ (i/A.D.): ἐκ φιλοτιμίας αὐτοῦ κατηγορησμένα. Josephus, *Antiq.* x, 25, has φιλοτιμία περὶ τὸν θεόν.

τῶν μὲν μὴ δυναμένοις κτλ. The text is corrupt. See Otto's full note. Stephanus reads τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα. So Gildersleeve. Geffcken follows Wilamowitz' rdg. τῶν μὲν τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις. For further emendations, see Blakeney (p. 42). We adopt the text printed by Funk, Lightfoot, and Lake, following Gebhardt. For the grammatical construction of the sentence see p. 13.

IV

The author now particularizes his indictment of the Jews, and shows briefly the folly and impiety of their scruples concerning meats, the Sabbath, circumcision, fasting, and the new moon. These ritual observances are arbitrary and impugne the character of God. From all such error the Christians hold aloof. The secret of their religion is not learned from man.

1. We may compare Paul's list (Col. ii, 16), which varies the order, adds 'drinking', but omits circumcision. *Diognetus* leaves out 'drinks', perhaps because the Mosaic law was almost entirely concerned with meats. Only in a few special cases, e.g. of priestly ministration in the tabernacle (Lev. x, 9) and of Nazarite vows (Num. vi, 3), were prohibitions laid down respecting drinks.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν τό γε κτλ. The particles mark the transition to another point (cf. Xen., *Mem.* i, 1, 10).

τὰς βρώσεις. Lit. 'eatings', but here in the concrete sense 'food'. There was a tendency to identify the meaning of words ending in -μα and -σις. Cf. *Aristeas*, 224, 229, where δόμα and δόσις are apparently used interchangeably. For βρώσις = 'food', cf. Thuc. ii, 70; Gen. xxv, 28; John iv, 32; and pap.

ψοφοδεές, 'qualms'. 'Skittishness', 'shyness' (Gildersleeve). Cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 257D: εἰ αὐτὸν οὕτως ἡγεῖ τινα ψοφοδεά, Plut., *Nic.* 2: τὸ δ' ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ψοφοδεές.

τὰ σάββατα. Plural used of the single day. In the Gk. Bible both plur. and sing. forms are found in the sense 'the Sabbath'. Cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* iii, 237: κατὰ δὲ ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν, ἥτις σάββατα καλεῖται. See Thackeray, *Gram.* 35; Swete, *Mark* 17. Note ἡ τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέρα (iv, 3 below), for which cf. Exod. xx, 8; Acts xiii, 14 *al.* On δεισδαμονίαν see p. 94.

τῆς περιτομῆς, the rite (Gen. xvii, 13; John vii, 22 *al.*), or possibly here the state (Rom. iii, 1 *al.*) of circumcision.

ἀλαζονεῖαν . . . εἰρωνεῖαν. Cf. Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* II, vii, 12, for the juxtaposition and see Cope's notes (*Aristotle's Rhetoric* I, ii, § 7; II, ii, § 24; v, § 11). ἀλαζονεῖα, 'excessive self-assertion', implies both presumption and imposture. εἰρωνεῖα stands primarily for dissimulation and cunning. Cf. the Socratic εἰρωνεῖα, 'mock' in conversation. *Diognetus* uses the terms of the Jews to denote their empty vaunting (ἀλαζονεῖα) of circumcision and their 'sham' or 'cant' (εἰρωνεῖα) in respect of fasting and the new moon, with perhaps the implication, common to both terms, that such Jewish practices are 'quackery' and 'humbug'. The notion of ἀλαζονεῖα is repeated in iv, 6 (below) and in iv, 4 (ἀλαζονεύομαι). For εἰρωνεῖα cf. 2 Macc. xiii, 3. The *Didache* (viii, 1) has a stronger word: the Jews fast (and pray) as ὑποκριταί. Note the paronomasia ἀλαζονεῖαν, εἰρωνεῖαν . . . νηστείας, νουμηνίας.

νουμηνίας. Att. contracted spelling for νεομηνίας. See p. 11. It refers to the Jewish monthly celebrations, as in Num. x, 10; Col. ii, 16. See the similar condemnation of Jewish lunar observances in the *Preaching of Peter* (Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vi, 5, 39 ff.), Aristides, *Apol.* xiv (Syr.).

οὐ νομίζω. The sense 'need' for χρήζειν (cf. ii, 2) favours the insertion of οὐ made by Stephanus. The negative may easily have fallen out after λόγον. Otto, however, takes χρήζειν = 'desire', and follows the MS. in omitting οὐ: 'I think that you desire to learn', etc. But the brevity of treatment in the following sections (2-5), which relate, as Otto points out, to these four matters of food, Sabbath, circumcision, and lunar festivals respectively, rather supports the insertion of the negative: 'I do not think that you need', etc. Jewish superstition may be summarily dismissed (ἀρκούντως σε νομίζω μεμαθηκέναι), since *Diognetus's* chief interest lies in the faith and worship of the Christians.

2. Now follows a series of rhetorical questions (πῶς οὐ κτλ) after the author's manner.

κτισθέντων. Of creation by God, as frequently (cf. vii, 2; viii, 2). Cf. *Aristeas*, 185; Prov. viii, 22; Mark xiii, 19. We have ποιέω in viii, 7, x, 2 (below), as in iii, 4 (a citation); πλάσσω in x, 2.

εἰς χρήσω. Cf. ii, 2.

ἃ μὲν . . . ἃ δ', 'some' . . . 'others'. See note on ii, 3 and cf. iv, 5.

ὡς καλῶς κτισθέντα. Is this a possible reminiscence of the refrain (καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν) in Gen. i, 10, 12, 18 *al.*? Cf. 1 Tim. iv, 4: πᾶν κτίσμα θεοῦ καλόν.

παρατεῖσθαι (opp. παραδέχεσθαι). Cf. vi, 10; 2 Macc. ii, 31; 1 Tim. iv, 7; v, 11; and pap. (M.M., *Vocab.* 484). It bears here the strong sense 'decline', 'refuse'.

πῶς οὐκ ἀθέμιστον. So Gebhardt for the MS. rdg. πῶς οὐ θέμις ἐστί. For editorial emendations see Otto (172). The Gk. Bible, as the *Koinē* generally, has the more correct prose form ἀθέμιτος (2 Macc. vi, 5; 1 Pet. iv, 3). The term

is used here with reference to the Jewish code: 'contrary to the Law' (which you Jews exalt). Cf. Acts x, 28.

3. τὸ δὲ καταψεύδεσθαι. Good class. word found once in the Gk. Bible (Wisd. i, 11: στόμα καταψευδόμενον). Cf. Ign., *Trall.* x: καταψεύδομαι τοῦ Κυρίου.

ὡς κωλύοντας. Of divine 'restraint', as in 1 K. xxv, 26. For κωλύω, c. infin. without art., cf. 1 Tim. iv, 3; P. Magd. 2 (221 B.C.): Πόρις κεκώλυκεν οἰκοδομεῖν. For the pass. cf. vi, 5 (below). ὡς c. participle suggests the presumed reason.

For the thought see Mark iii, 4 and the Synoptic parallels (Matt. xii, 12; Lk. vi, 9). With καλὸν τι ποιεῖν, cf. the καλῶς ποιεῖν of Matt. xii, 12. See the discussion of the Sabbath in *Barn.* xv; Just. Mart., *Dial.* 27; Tertullian, *Con. Jud.* 4.

4. Circumcision, a ground of Jewish ἀλαζονεία, was regarded as a proof of special divine favour. Cf. Jubilees xv, 26 f.: "and every one that is born, the flesh of whose foreskin is not circumcised on the eighth day, belongs not to the children of the covenant which the Lord made with Abraham, but to the children of destruction" (Charles's trans.). Cf. Gen. xvii, 13 f.

τὴν μείωσιν. Lit. 'the lessening', 'contraction', the reference being to circumcision (iv, 1). In Polyb. ix, 43, 5 of the 'decrease' as opposed to the αὔξησις of the Euphrates. σάρξ here denotes the material part of a living being. See on v, 8; vi, 5.

ἐκλογῆς. A common Att. word (Plato, Aristotle) found also in Polyb. and pap. It does not occur in the LXX (cf., however, Aq. Is. xxii, 7; Sm., Th., Is. xxxvii, 24), but is found seven times in the N.T. as a quasi-technical term, always of divine 'choice' (Acts ix, 15 *al.*). Cf. 1 Clem. xxix, 1, where Christians are styled ἐκλογῆς μέρος.

ἀλαζονεῖσθαι. Cf. ἀλαζονεία (iv, 1, 6). For the verb. cf. Xen., *Mem.* i, 7, 5; Wisd. ii, 16. διὰ τοῦτο, i.e. because of their ἐκλογῆ.

ἐξαιρέτως. A late adv. (Plut., inscr., pap.). Cf. Aq. Deut. xxxii, 12; Ign., *Smyrn.* vii, 2.

ἡγαπημένους ὑπὸ θεοῦ. For the verb and noun (used of God) cf. vii, 5; ix, 2; x, 2, 3. Paul (Rom. xi, 28) finds the ground upon which the chosen people were 'beloved' in the fact of their election (κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκλογὴν). Earlier (1 Thess. i, 4) he had applied the same thought (and language) to Christian brethren: εἰδότες, ἀδελφοὶ ἡγαπημένοι ὑπὸ (τοῦ) θεοῦ, τὴν ἐκλογὴν ὑμῶν.

For χλεῦς ἄξιον cf. Philo, *de Vit. Cont.* 6: τοῦτό γε καὶ χλεῦς ἄξιον. Cf. *Leg. ad Gaium*, 71.

5. παρεδρεύοντας. Cf. Prov. i, 21; viii, 3; 1 Cor. ix, 13; *Aristeas*, 81: τοῖς δὲ τεχνίταις παρήδρευεν ἐπιμελῶς, 'he would attentively supervise the craftsmen'.

Otto notes the chiasmus (for the figure cf. Gal. iv, 4-5):

ἄστροις καὶ σελήνῃ
μηνῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν

For the anarthrous ἄστροις καὶ σελήνῃ cf. vii, 2. Terms denoting familiar natural phenomena may lack the art., being sufficiently definite in themselves. Cf. 4 Macc. xvii, 5; 1 Cor. xv, 41; 1 Clem. xx, 2 ff.

τὴν παρατήρησιν . . . ποιεῖσθαι. The familiar periphrasis with ποιεῖσθαι. Cf. *Aristeas*, 18; Plut., *Mor.* 363B. παρατήρησις, a late word (since Polyb.). Cf. Lk. xvii, 20. Note Paul's use of the cognate verb in connexion with months and days in Gal. iv, 10: 'ye observe (παρατηρεῖσθε) days and months, and times and years'. Cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv, 264: μηδένα κωλύεσθαι παρατηρεῖν τὴν τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέραν. The Jews dated the beginning of the Sabbath and other holy days from the rising of the stars. For example, none might work after three stars (= night) had appeared on Friday evening, the beginning of the Sabbath.

without being guilty of sin. See the quotation from Böhl in Otto (173) and Funk (396 f.). The moon had similar significance. Cf. *The Preaching of Peter* (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi, 5, 39): "and if no moon be seen, they do not celebrate what is called the first sabbath, nor keep the new moon, nor the days of unleavened bread, nor the feast (of tabernacles?), nor the great day (of atonement)" (M. R. James's trans.). See Lietzmann's note (*An die Galater*, pp. 24, 26). *μηνῶν, ἡμερῶν*, objective genitives.

τὰς οἰκονομίας. The word *οἰκονομία* extends its meaning from 'management of a household' to management or provision in general (cf. vii, 1). It came to be used of the various operations of the divine will, particularly of God's 'dispensation' effected in Christ for the salvation of men. So Eph. i, 10; iii, 2. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii, 5, 20, where Isaac is spoken of as *τύπον ἐσόμενον ἡμῖν οἰκονομίας σατηρίου*. Cf. the use of the cognate verb in ix, 1 (below), and see J. Armitage Robinson's note on Eph. i, 10, and Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, II, ii, 75. Here the term relates to the divine 'ordering' of the seasons, which may be specifically named as *καιρῶν ἀλλαγάς*. So Lake: 'the changing seasons ordained by God'. But it is better to take *καί* as the simple copula, 'the orderings of God and the changes of the seasons'. In Wisd. vii, 18 man's knowledge of *τροπῶν ἀλλαγάς καὶ μεταβολὰς καιρῶν* is a gift of God. See W. Gass, 'Das patristische Wort *οἰκονομία*' (*Zeitschrift für wiss. Theol.* xvii (1874)). With *ἀλλαγὴ* cf. *παραλλαγὴ* (Jas. i, 17. See notes by J. B. Mayor and R. J. Knowling). *καταδιαρεῖν*. Otto thus fills the MS. lacuna, *καταδ . . . εν*. See his note (174) for other editorial reconstructions. *καταδιαρεῖν* is a late word occurring four times in the LXX (Ps. xlvii, 13 *al.*), and in pap. Cf. Dion. Hal., *Antiq.* iv, 19; *καταδιαρῶν τὸ πλήθος κτλ.*

ἃς μὲν . . . ἃς δὲ. See note on p. 13. The 'feasts' and 'mourning' refer to the great Jewish festivals and the Day of Atonement respectively (Lev. xxiii, 27 ff.).

θεοσεβείας . . . ἀφροσύνης . . . δεῖγμα. A repetition of the language of iii, 3.

ἂν . . . ἤγησαιο δεῖγμα; so Lachmann, Scheibe, and others, for the MS. *rdg.* *ἤγησεται τὸ δεῖγμα*. Stephanus has *ἤγησεται τὸ δεῖγμα*. See Gildersleeve's note (246). For *δεῖγμα*, cf. vii, 9.

6. *τῆς . . . ἀπάτης*, 'the general fatuity and deceit', i.e. of the Greeks; *τῆς . . . ἀλαζονείας*, 'the meddlesomeness and pride of the Jews'. This interpretation is preferable to the view (Lightfoot-Harmer, Lake) that all four faults relate to the Jews, for (a) the position of the word *Ἰουδαίων* confines it to the second clause, (b) the defects here paired (note the one art. *τῆς*) in each member correspond to the author's general view of the Greek and Jewish cults respectively, the one 'silly' (*εἰκαιότης*) and in some instances a deliberate 'imposture' (*ἀπάτη*), the other 'fussy' in its minute regulations (*πολυπραγμοσύνη*) and 'proud' (*ἀλαζονεία*) of its privileges. On this view *κοινῆς* means 'general' and refers to the Greek or pagan world as a whole in contrast to Jews, not, as Funk takes it, 'common' to both alike. (c) iv, 6 closes the *whole* discussion up to this point. The worship offered by both Greeks and Jews is now dismissed in a comprehensive, not to say caustic, phrase.

εἰκαιότητος. A late word found in Aq. Prov. xxx, 8. Cf. Philo, *quod det. pot.* 10: *ἐξ οὗ μοι δοκεῖς εἰκαιότητα καὶ εὐχέρειαν ἀπελέγχειν σεαυτοῦ . . . μηνῶν, Diog. Laert. vii, 48: εἰς ἀκοσμίαν καὶ εἰκαιότητα*. For *ἀπάτη*, cf. x, 7, *τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ κόσμου*, and see note on ii, 1.

πολυπραγμοσύνης. This good class. word seems to carry the double sense of 'fussy or punctilious activity' and 'prying'. Cf. *πολυπράγμων* (v, 3). See Blakeney's note (p. 47).

ἀλαζονείας, 'pride' in keeping all the Jewish laws and customs, i.e. general. In iv, 1 it is specified in regard to circumcision, as also the verb in iv, 4.

ὥς. So Bunsen inserts. Gebhardt and most modern edd. accept. Stephanus and others prefer *ὅτι*. For *μανθάνω ὥς*, cf. Thuc. i, 34; Prov. vi, 8a.

ἀρκοῦντως. Att. contraction for *ἀρκεῖντως*. Cf. Thuc. i, 22. *μεμαθηκέναι* has the full force of the perfect, stressing the abiding result. Contrast *μαθεῖν* (iv, 6), 'to ascertain'. This brief exposition of Jewish observances is quite 'sufficient' for the purpose! See on iv, 1 (*οὐ νομίζω*).

αὐτῶν, i.e. the Christians. *ἴδιος* here, as in v, 2, 5, 10 has its original force (one's own), not the weakened sense (= *ἐαυτοῦ*) as sometimes in late Greek. See Deissmann, *B.S.* 123 f., Moulton, *Proleg.* 87 ff. For the conjunction of *ἴδιος* and the personal pronoun, cf. Wisd. xix, 13; Acts i, 19; 2 Pet. iii, 3, 16.

μυστήριον. A favourite word of the author. He uses it in reference to the Christian religion (iv, 6), to the Father or God, whose 'mysteries' the Christian can both apprehend (xi, 2) and utter (x, 7). The term is used of God's secret ways in nature (vii, 2) and of the hidden plan of salvation (viii, 10). Only once does it refer to man (*ἀνθρώπινα μυστήρια*, vii, 1).

The whole passage (6) serves as a transition to the picture of the Christian life (v, vi). The concluding comment (*τὸ δὲ κτλ*) is to be interpreted in the light of the passages v, 3; vii, 1 ff. Diognetus had asked for information about the Christian *θεοσέβεια*. So far the author's references to the Christians have been more or less of a negative character (ii, 10; iii, 1). In coming now to the positive exposition of the religion of the Christians he is aware that it is a *μυστήριον* (cf. 1 Tim. iii, 16). It cannot be learned from man (*παρὰ ἀνθρώπου*) any more than its teaching ('no human doctrine') has been discovered by man. The 'secret' is disclosed by God, who Himself from heaven established among men and fixed firmly in their hearts 'the truth and the holy and incomprehensible word'. It is as though our author acknowledges that no argumentative skill or subtlety can avail to win Diognetus to the Faith (there are signs of impatience in the previous discussion, as though he was eager to proceed to the heart of his theme. See ii, 10; iv, 1). Hence he points him now to the *life* of the Christians—the unanswerable proof.

Similarly Paul insists that his gospel, being *οὐ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον*, did not come to him *παρὰ ἀνθρώπου* but *δι' ἀποκαλύψεως* (Gal. i, 12). Cf. Rom. xvi, 25 f.; Col. i, 26.

Note that the direct personal address to Diognetus ceases after iv, 6. The personal note is renewed in vii, 8 (see note).

V

The true distinction of the Christians lies not in their habitat, language, or customs—a statement briefly expanded in § 2. It resides in the supernatural quality of their individual and corporate life. Just as their teaching is not of human origin or discovery, so their citizenship, whilst conforming to the ordinary life of men, is not of this world (*ἐν οὐρανῷ πολιτεύονται*, v, 9). The rest of chapters v and vi develops this latter principle. By terse contrast and paradox, which defy analysis, these sections bring out the positive features of the Christian ethos which attest its divine origin and nature.

This emphasis on the moral life of the Christians is significant for the apologetic. Nothing is said up to this point of the belief in God which is its *fons et origo*. The author comes to this later (see viii, 6: ix, 6; x, 1). He is in no doubt that the quality of the Christian life springs from the divine revelation in the Incarnate and Atoning Son. But his mind reverts to the practical aspects of faith (x, 4-7). He is concerned to show that 'by their fruits ye shall know them'. See above, p. 49. Aristides, *Apol.* xv, inverts the order: 'they know and believe in God . . . from whom they have received those commandments . . . so that on this account they do not commit adultery', etc. (Syr.).

This description of the Christian way of life may be compared with the accounts given in Aristedes (*ibid.*) and Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 14 f. It is instructive to follow Renan's hint (*Marc-Aurèle*, pp. 424 ff.) and work out the contrast with the picture of the secular ideal state in Lucian's *Hermotimus*, 22-4. Lucian depicts a blissful life for men in the enjoyment of legality, equality, and all good things. But in at least three features it is widely different from the picture of the Christian *πολιτεία* in *Diognetus*: (a) Lucian's city-state is set in the future. One day men will reach it, be naturalized, and gain their franchise; for *Diognetus* the Christian lives here and now in the heavenly city. (b) For Lucian earthly duties and domestic ties must alike be sacrificed to gain the ideal state; the Christians, says *Diognetus*, 'share all things as citizens', conform in matters of clothing, food and customs, and obey the appointed laws. Moreover, they enjoy and honour the privileges of family life. (c) Lucian's city is secular; for *Diognetus* the Christian's ideal is, though not expressly so named, the city of God. It is 'in heaven'.

1. *ἔθει*. For MS. *ἔθει* ('clothing'). But the threefold correspondence with v, 2 (cities, speech, life) favours the term 'customs'. Cf. *τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις* . . . *βίω* (v, 4), where *ἔθει* is the generic term inclusive of *ἔσθης*, etc. Trypho (Just. Mart., *Dial.* 10) wonders why Christians, supposing themselves to be pious and better than other men, yet exhibit no mode of living distinct from that of the nations. Cf. Tertullian, *Apol.* 42: "people (Christians) who live among you, eating the same food, wearing the same attire, having the same habits, under the same necessities of existence" (cited by Otto, p. 175).

διακεκριμένοι . . . *εἶσω*. Periphrastic perfect. Cf. *ἔστιν εὐρημένον* (v, 3).

2. A particularization of v, 1. The Christians do not dwell in cities of their own (*οὔτε γῆ*); they do not use a strange form of speech (*οὔτε φωνή*); they practise no notable way of life (*οὔτε ἔθει*). Whilst the phrase *τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων* suggests their distinctiveness from men in general, the author seems to point an especial contrast with the Jews, who have their own city quarters (cf. the medieval ghetto), a strange language, and practices of marked singularity (Sabbath, food taboos, circumcision). The first point ('country') and the third ('customs') are developed in the rest of ch. v. The point of language is not further referred to.

ἰδίας. See note on iv, 6. *κατοικοῦσιν*. Trans. here and in v, 4; intrans. vi, 8.

διαλέκτω. If any contrast with *φωνή* (v, 1) is intended, *διάλεκτος* indicates variety of speech (*ῥατοῖς*). Cf. Strabo viii, 1, 2 (of the ancient Greek 'dialects').

παρηλλαγμένη, 'strange'. Cf. Polyb. 2, 29, 1; 3, 55, 1; 2 Macc. iii, 16.

παράσημον, 'notable', 'singular', with a suggestion of reprehension. Cf. Plut., *Μορ.* 823B: *οὐδὲ τοῖς εἰς τρυφήν καὶ πολυτελείαν ἐπιφθόνους παράσημος*. Note the substantive in 3 Macc. ii, 29 ('emblem'), Acts xxviii, 11 ('figure-head'). Their manner of life is not 'singular', though their citizenship, being 'in heaven', is of 'a remarkable and admittedly strange order' (v, 4).

3. *πολυπραγμόνων*. Used in its common disparaging sense ('meddlesome'). See note on iv, 6. The meaning tends to be refined in later Greek, being used, for example, of the 'research' of the historian. Cf. Diod. Sic. 1, 37, 4: *Ἡρόδοτος ὁ πολυπράγμων*, and the cognate verb in 2 Macc. ii, 30.

μάθημα . . . *εὐρημένον*. For the MS. and editorial rdgs. see Otto, p. 176. The thought of man's inability to grasp the 'mystery' of the religion of the Christians seems to interrupt the connexion of §§ 2 and 4. But it is in the author's mind (cf. iv, 6) and is developed in vii, 1.

For *μάθημα* of Christian teaching, cf. Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 3: *καὶ βίου καὶ μαθημάτων τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν*, ii, 2: *τῶν Χριστιανῶν μαθημάτων*. It became a quasi-technical term to connote Christian tradition. See note on τὰ παραδοθέντα (xi, 1). *αὐτοῖς*, dat. of possession. For the periphrastic perfect, see p. 12.

προεστᾶσιν, c. genit. Cf. 4 Macc. xi, 27; Titus iii, 8, 14. The thought that the Christians 'champion' no human doctrine is taken up in vii, 1: 'it is no mortal idea which they think fit to guard with such care'. It is probable that there is here, as Radford (p. 62) hazards, a specific reference to Rabbinical subtleties (πολυπραγμόνων ἀνθρώπων) and Greek philosophy (δόγματος ἀνθρωπίνου), since (a) πολυπράγμων is used of the Jews in iv, 6, and (b) the author throughout seems to have the two main types, Gentiles and Jews, in mind. Cf. especially iii, 5; iv, 6; v, 17.

The term δόγμα is employed in a sense akin to that of the Stoic use to denote 'principles' of their teaching. Cf. Marc. Aurel. ii, 3: ταῦτά σοι ἀρκείω, αἱ δόγματα ἔστω. The term is not infrequent in the Fathers (Ign., Magn. xiii; Did. xi, 3; Barn. i, 6; ix, 7). ἔνιοι, i.e. the philosophers.

The MS. has a marginal note to the phrase οὐδέ . . . προεστᾶσιν, viz., "because the Christians do not hold to the teaching of a man. For the Apostle Paul says, 'I received it not from man'" (Gal. i, 12). See note on μυστήριον (iv, 6).

4. So far (§§ 1-3) the distinctiveness of the Christians has been couched in negative terms. Now it is set forth mainly in a positive way (except §§ 6, 8).

πόλεις . . . βαρβάρους. Otto (pp. 176 f.) understands 'Gentile (ἑλληνίδας) and Jewish (βαρβάρους) cities', and compares the use of the two terms in Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 5; i, 7; i, 46. But the more comprehensive range of βάρβαρος (cf. Thuc. ii, 97) is not excluded. Cf. vi, 2: 'Christians are dispersed throughout the cities of the world' (see note). See Lightfoot on Col. iii, 11.

τοῖς . . . βίω. The author insists on the participation of the Christians in the common life of men as against the frequent charge of aloofness. Cf. v, 5.

ἀκολουθοῦντες (not ἐπομαι), as in pap., N.T., and LXX (except 3 Macc. ii, 26).

ὁμολογουμένως. To be taken with παράδοξον, as perhaps also in 1 Tim. iii, 16 ('confessedly great'). Cf. Thuc. vi, 90; P. Par. 15⁸⁰ (120 B.C.) *al.*

παράδοξον, 'beyond expectation', i.e. 'strange'. Cf. *Aristeas*, 175: οὐ πᾶσι παραδόξου φανέντος, Lk. v, 26, 1 Clem. xxv, 1.

τὴν κατάστασιν . . . πολιτείας 'the order of their own citizenship'. Cf. Plato, *Legg.* 832D; Aristotle, *Athen.* xlii, 1. πολιτεία, πολιτεύεσθαι (cf. v, 9), originally denoting civic condition or behaviour, came to have also the general meaning 'manner of life', 'conduct'. Cf. *Aristeas*, 31; 2 Macc. xi, 25; Acts xxiii, 1; Phil. i, 27; Just. Mart., *Dial.* 105, 119. Geffcken takes the word in this wider sense here, 'Leben', 'Wesen'. But the context suggests that the idea of citizenship is here predominant. Cf. πολῖται . . . ξένοι, v, 6.

5. The descriptive features in §§ 5-17 are reminiscent of Paul's Epp. with perhaps an occasional echo of Heb. xi, 13 f. and 1 Peter (see following notes). Note the effective sequence of antithetical sentences extending from v, 5 to vi, 9.

οἰκοῦσιν. The simplex resumes the compound (κατοικέω, v, 2, 4) with no appreciable diminution of meaning, a classical usage. Cf. John i, 11-12 (παρέλαβον . . . ἔλαβον), Rev. x, 10 (κατέφαγον . . . ἔφαγον). See Moulton, *Proleg.* p. 115. The verb, trans. here, is intrans. in vi, 3. ἰδίως. See iv, 6.

παρόικοι. The word is familiar as a metaphorical description of the Christians' status in the world. Cf. 1 Peter ii, 11; Heb. xi, 13 f. (see especially Moffatt, *Comm. on Heb.* (I.C.C.), pp. 174 f.). Note Χριστιανοὶ παροικοῦσιν ἐν φθαρτοῖς (vi, 8). For the thought see Hermas, *Sim.* i, 1 ff. Philo (*de conf. ling.* 77 f.) allegorizes all the wise men mentioned in the books of Moses as 'sojourners' (παροικοῦντες), "for their souls are sent down from heaven upon earth as to a colony, . . . looking upon the heavenly country in which they have the rights of citizens (πολιτεύονται) as their native land (πατρίδα) and the earthly abode in which they dwell for a while (παρώκησαν) as a foreign land" (ξένην). So Clem. of Alex., *Pædag.* iii, 8, 1: πατρίδα ἐπὶ γῆς οὐκ ἔχομεν (of Christians).

On the use of παρόικος in the Gk. Bible, see Kennedy, *Sources*, p. 102.

μετέχουσι . . . πολῖται. On the general attitude of the Christians towards secular ordinances, see above, pp. 38 ff. Tertullian, *Apol.* 42, insists that Christians take an active part in the observances and institutions of public life and engage in its ordinary callings.

ξένοι, 'foreigners' in general, contrasted with πολῖται. Cf. Eph. ii, 19 for the combination of ξένοι καὶ πάροικοι contrasted with συμπολίται.

ξένη, sc. γῆ. Lietzmann (*Beginnings of the Christian Church*, ii, 247) prefers to render "every strange city is their home town and every home town is strange" on the ground that the conception of 'native land' in the patriotic sense was lacking in the ancient world. But, whilst πατρίς properly means 'native town' (Lk. iv, 23 f. and pap.), it is better to give it here the wider connotation into which the term shades off (2 Macc. viii, 21), in view of the occurrence of πόλεις (4). Cf. 2 Macc. xiii, 14.

For the sentiment see Blakeney's full note (pp. 49 f.).

6. γαμοῦσιν . . . τεκνογονοῦσιν. For the absence of the ascetic note in the teaching of the Epistle, see pp. 40 f. Cf. Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 29: τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐγαμοῦμεν, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ παῖδων ἀνατροφῇ. See Athenagoras, *Suppl.* 33; *Resurr.* 21. For the abs. use of γαμέω cf. 2 Macc. xiv, 25; 1 Cor. vii, 28; P. Oxy. IX, 1213⁴ (ii/A.D.): [εἰ] δέδοται μοι γαμῆσαι;

(καὶ) τεκνογονοῦσιν. Otto, followed by Bunsen and Gildersleeve, inserts καὶ. But the asyndeton is characteristic. Cf. ii, 9; ix, 2. τεκνογονέω is a rare and late word. Cf. *Anthol. Gr.* ix, 4: πέμφθη δ' εἰς ἀγέλην τεκνογονεῖν ἄφετος (of a heifer). The two verbs are here used of the Christians of both sexes. The fluidity in the use of γαμέω (in the act. properly of the man; in later Greek of the woman also) probably attaches to τεκνογονέω (both verbs are used of the woman in 1 Tim. v, 14).

ρίπτουσι. 'They throw out', 'expose' (of children). Cf. Sophocles, *O.T.* 719; Gen. xxi, 15. A 'verbum magis odiosum' (Otto) than the more usual word ἐκτιθέσθαι (Hdt. i, 112; Wisd. xviii, 5; Acts vii, 21 (cf. 19)). See the famous passage in P. Oxy. IV, 744 (1 B.C.) in which a certain Hilarion, writing to his sister (wife) Alis, says: "if—good luck to you—you bear offspring, if it is a male, let it live: if it is a female, expose it". See Deissmann, *L.A.E.*, pp. 167 ff. Too much must not be made of this somewhat rare allusion in the papyri. But exposure of (female) infants was common enough in the Graeco-Roman world to elicit protests from both Hellenistic Jews (cf. Ps.-Phocylides, 185) and Christian writers (Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 27; Athenagoras, *Suppl.* 35; Tertullian, *Apol.* 9; Minucius Felix, xxx; *Didache* ii, 2). See Blakeney, pp. 50 f. for fuller references.

7. τράπεζαν . . . κοίτην. 'Free board they provide—but no carnal bed', an attractive specimen of the author's terse and epigrammatic style. For τράπεζα κοινή cf. Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 14: ἐστίας κοινὰς μὴ ποιοῦμενοι. For παρατίθενται τράπεζαν, an old expression, cf. Homer, *Od.* v, 92; Acts xvi, 34.

κοίτην. The reading is uncertain. (1) κοινήν. So the MS., followed by Otto (see his full note, pp. 178 f.) and other edd. This makes an effective play upon the word, 'a common board, but no polluted one'. If κοινήν be read the author may have in mind the question of Christians partaking of meats offered to idols, which vexed the Corinthian Church (1 Cor. viii, x). Cf. Just. Mart., *Dial.* 34 (*sub fin.*). For this sense of κοινός cf. 1 Macc. i, 62; Acts x, 14 *al.* Or possibly the allusion is to the calumnies circulated about the Christian love-feasts, namely, that promiscuous lewdness was commonly practised at services after dark. See Athenagoras, *Suppl.* 3; Tertullian, *Apol.* 7. Radford (p. 64) inclines to think that the hospitality is not 'profane', in the sense that it is "consecrated by the word of God and thanksgiving", 1 Tim. iv, 5. Puech's suggestion (*Les Apol. grecs*, pp. 255 (n. 2), 262) that there is here a veiled allusion to the Eucharist is improbable. See also Blakeney, p. 52. (2) κοίτην. So Prudentius of Maur

(1742) conjectures. This reading is adopted by Bunsen and many modern edd. See Just. Mart., *Apol.* ii, 2, of a Christian wife, *ἡμοδίατος καὶ ἡμόκοιτος γυναικὴν*, seeking divorce from a dissolute husband, and the much-quoted passage from Tertullian, *Apol.* 39: '*omnia indiscrcta sunt apud nos, praeter uxores*'. The writer of Heb. xiii, 2-4 enjoins hospitality (*φιλοξενία*), but insists that the marriage-bed be undefiled (*ἡ κόλπη ἀμίαντος*).

For the paronomasia *κοινήν* . . . *κοίτην*, see p. 13. It is gratuitous to suggest, as Geffcken does, that Clement of Alexandria is the model here. Paronomasia is a literary feature of general occurrence. See above, p. 63.

8. *ἐν σαρκί* . . . *κατὰ σάρκα*. These Pauline borrowings (2 Cor. x, 3; Rom. viii, 4) illustrate the twofold sense in which the Apostle uses the term *σάρξ*. 'In the flesh', i.e. physically, 'after the flesh', i.e. ethically, the *σάρξ* being viewed as the material medium through which the lower senses are gratified, and hence the seat of sin. Cf. Rom. vii, 18; Gal. v, 19 ff.

For *τυγχάνουσιν* see note on ii, 1.

9. The thought that the Christians' 'native land' is in heaven frequently recurs in the writings of the period. But the other-worldliness of our Epistle is healthy. There is no escapist strain such as we find in Tertullian, who, placing the true Christian abode in heaven ('*scilicet se peregrinam in terris agere . . . dignitatem in caelis habere*', *Apol.* 1), would hasten the Christians' progress thereto ('*nihil nostra refert in hoc aevo, nisi de eo quam celeriter excedere*', *Apol.* 41). Plato (*Repub.* 592B) had already envisaged the pattern of an ideal city in heaven, the practices of which the wise man will adopt.

διατρίβουσιν. Abs. as in 2 Macc. xiv, 23; John iii, 22. Frequent in papyri. *ἐν οὐρανῷ πολιτεύονται*, 'they live (as citizens) in heaven', where God 'lives' (*πολιτεύεται* x, 7). For *ἐν οὐρανῷ*, cf. *ἐν οὐρανοῖς* (vi, 8; x, 7). The thought is plainly reminiscent of Phil. iii, 20. It recurs often in 1 Clem. See ii, 8 and especially liv. 4: *ταῦτα οἱ πολιτευόμενοι τὴν ἀμεταμέλητον πολιτείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐποίησαν καὶ ποιήσουσιν*. See on *πολιτεία* (v, 4).

10. The meaning is that Christians excel the laws in that they exhibit a higher type of life than mere legal requirements demand (cf. Athenagoras, *Suppli.* 32 and 34 *ad fin.*). This kind of life is exemplified in general terms in the statements that follow (11-16). Love as being "the fulfilment of the law" holds the first place (Rom. xiii, 10). The 'laws' here are the ordinances laid down by the secular authority, obedience to which Paul had enjoined (Rom. xiii, 1 ff.), and which Christians, in the thought of our author, 'overcome' in the sense that they fulfil (*πληροῦν*) them. It is more probable that the author is here indebted, as so often, to Paul than to classical precedents (Aristotle, Varro, Horace) which Geffcken (p. 18) cites. For the insistence on the Christians' loyalty to lawful state demands, see pp. 38 ff. Cf. Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* vi, 23: '*nec tantum legibus publicis pareat: sed sit supra omnes leges, qui legem dei sequitur*'. We have an analogy in the transcendence of the Jewish law by Christians, which is implicit in both the teaching of Jesus (see especially Matt. v, 17 f.) and Paul's view of "the fruit of the Spirit" as above the law (Gal. v, 23). Cf. 1 Tim. i, 9: "the law is not made for a righteous man".

καί, here and similarly in 11-16, introduces a mild antithesis, almost 'yet'. Cf. John i, 10; iii, 11; P. Tebt. ii, 278³⁰: *ζητῶν καὶ οὐχ εὐρίσκων*.

11. *ἀγαπᾶσι πάντας*. The verb is used here (as in vi, 6; x, 7) of man's love to man; to God (x, 3). Note how the scope of Diogenetus's original question, 'what is the love which they have for one another?', is here enlarged ('all men') and later particularized (vi, 6) into love of enemies. Cf. the universal note struck in x, 6: Christian love ministers to one's 'neighbour' and to 'those in need'. Cf. Aristides, *Apol.* xv. A. D. Nock (*Conversion*, p. 219) shows that 'love of the brethren' has analogies in popular philosophy and pagan faiths. But it "was

altogether more lively and more far-reaching in Christianity". Our author gives but a slight treatment of Diognetus's question. Overbeck (*Studien* i, 7) suggests that a fuller exposition of this point stood originally in the lacuna at vii, 6-7.

12-13. The language is clearly reminiscent of 2 Cor. vi, 9-10 :

ἀγνοοῦνται.	ὡς ἀγνοούμενοι.
θανατοῦνται, καὶ ζωοποιοῦνται.	ὡς ἀποθνήσκοντες καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶμεν, ὡς παιδευόμενοι καὶ μὴ θανατούμενοι.
πτωχεύουσι . . . πολλοὺς.	ὡς πτωχοὶ . . . πλουτίζοντες.
πάντων . . . περισσεύουσιν.	ὡς μὴδὲν . . . κατέχοντες.

But there is a marked difference. Our author applies to the Christian life in general what Paul sketches of his own ministry in particular. This difference appears in various details. (1) While Paul was misunderstood (ἀγνοούμενοι) by some, yet he was understood (ἐπιγινωσκόμενοι) by others (cf. 2 Cor. xi, 16). The Christians had no such recompense; it was their lot both to suffer wide ignorance or misunderstanding and to be condemned, (2) the Apostle, while dying 'daily', was inwardly sustained (cf. 2 Cor. iv, 10); Christians suffer death, but the life of the Christian society is renewed. For this latter idea, see v, 16; vi, 9; vii, 8.

ἀγνοοῦνται κτλ. For the pass. cf. Gal. i, 22. The connexion appears to be that Christians are 'not understood' and yet (or in consequence) are condemned. For this nuance of ἀγνοέω cf. Mark ix, 32. It was commonly maintained by the apologists that the persecution of Christianity rested on the fact that the emperors were not rightly informed about its nature and objects, such ignorance or distortion being due (so Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 14) to the activity of the demons. Justin indeed appeals to the authorities to pass judgement on Christians only κατὰ τὸν ἀκριβῆ καὶ ἐξεταστικὸν λόγον (*Apol.* i, 2), for ἀκρίτως κολάζετε μὴ φροντίζοντες (*Apol.* i, 5). Cf. also *Apol.* ii, 14. Similarly Tertullian, *Apol.* i, 'unum gestit interdum, ne ignoratur damnetur', and again (*ibid.*), 'quid enim iniquius, quam ut oedervint homines, quod ignorant'.

θανατοῦνται, καὶ ζωοποιοῦνται, 'they are put to death, yet they are endowed with life' (cf. ζωοποιούμενοι, v, 16). For the collocation of the two verbs see 4 K. v, 7; 1 Peter iii, 18.

πλουτίζουσι. Cf. Gen. xiv, 23; 2 Cor. vi, 10. See Anz, *Subsidia*, p. 297. πάντων ὑπεροῦνται. Christians are like O.T. worthies ὑπεροούμενοι (Heb. xi, 37).

ἐν πᾶσι περισσεύουσιν: 'they abound in all things' (opp. to ὑπερέω, cf. 1 Cor. viii, 8, Phil. iv, 12), a sense of the verb common in Paul. For περισσεύω ἐν, cf. 1 Cor. xv, 58, Phil. i, 9.

14. ἀτιμοῦνται . . . δοξάζονται may possibly reflect Paul's διὰ δόξης καὶ ἀτιμίας (2 Cor. vi, 8). Cf. 1 Cor. iv, 10 and for the collocation Sir. iii, 10. ἀτιμία, the plur. indicating "the individual concrete manifestations of the abstract quality" (Blass, *Gram.* p. 84). Cf. Dem. xviii, 205.

δοξάζονται. Here used of honour by men. Cf. Esth. iii, 1; 1 Macc. ii, 64. The verb receives enriched meaning in the N.T. (John xii, 28 *al.*).

βλασφημοῦνται, 'are defamed'. For this sense, calumny against men, cf. Rom. iii, 8; 1 Cor. x, 30; Titus iii, 2.

δικαιοῦνται, 'justified' (in the sight of men), i.e. vindicated as to the calumnies they suffer (βλασφημοῦνται). Cf. Matt. xi, 19. In ix, 4 (below) in the Pauline sense, 'justified' (before God). See note.

15. λοιδοροῦνται καὶ εὐλογοῦσιν. A reminiscence of 1 Cor. iv, 12. Cf. also 1 Peter iii, 9; Rom. xii, 14. So Aristides, *Apol.* xv, "those who grieve them they comfort and make them their friends". In cl. Gk. εὐλογέω 'to praise'. Hellenistic adds the associated sense 'to bless', as in Gen. xiv, 19; Acts iii, 26.

ὑβρίζονται, καὶ τιμῶσιν. Geffcken (19) thinks that the 'honour' is that paid by the Christians to the emperor, in that they regard him as ordained of God

(cf. Rom. xiii) to his high office and pray for him and for the stability of the Empire. See Tertullian, *Apol.* 31 ff.

16. ἀγαθοποιούντες, abs. as in Lk. vi, 9. The context (εὐλογοῦσιν, τιμῶσιν) favours the sense 'to do good (to)', as in *Aristeas*, 242; Num. x, 32; Lk. vi, 33, 35. The verb sometimes carries the sense 'to do what is morally right' (1 Peter ii, 15, 20; 3 John 11). See Hatch, *Essays*, p. 7. For the suffering of the ἀγαθοποιούντες, cf. 1 Peter iii, 17; for rejoicing in punishment, 2 Cor. vi, 10; 1 Peter iv, 13; Col. i, 24, etc. Note the epanastrophe κολάζονται. κολαζόμενοι, and cf. ἐπέδειξεν. ἐπέδειξε (viii, 5-6). κολάζω is a favourite word of the author (ii, 8, see note; vi, 9; vii, 8; x, 7).

17. For the hatred shown to Christians see ii, 6; vi, 5. It is probable that the reference to Jewish bitterness is quite general (cf. John xv, 18 f.) and not to any specific persecution such as the Bar-Cochba rising (see above, p. 39). Radford, following Otto, cites Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 31: "the Jews regard us with personal enmity (ἐχθροὺς) and active hostility (πολεμίους), slaying and injuring us just as you Gentiles do". Cf. also *Dial.* chs. 16, 19, 133. At the final preparations for Polycarp's death the Jews were especially zealous "as is their custom" (ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς), *Mart. Polyc.* xiii, 1. Cf. 1 Thess. ii, 14-16. ὑπό Ἑλλήνων, i.e. Gentiles, as in i (above).

καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν κτλ. Otto cites John xv, 25 (= Ps. xxxiv, 19; lxviii, 5); but the parallel is closer in thought than in language. The statement relates to the general hatred of the Christians, for which their enemies can assign no cause—a confirmation of the fact that Christians ἀγνοοῦνται (v, 12). Both Jews and Greeks could of course supply specific reasons for their hostile attitude, the one the Christians' acceptance of Jesus as the Messiah (cf. Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 36), the other their 'atheism' and repudiation of heathen gods (ii, 6). The writer himself supplies some reasons. See above, p. 39.

For Jewish persecution of Christians, see Harnack, *Expansion*, i, 57 ff. εἰπεῖν . . . οὐκ ἔχουσιν. For the construction see on ii, 10 (above).

VI

An analogy between the function of the soul in the body and that of Christians in the world is elaborated in a series of antithetical statements. The section concludes with a moralizing touch: Christians must not refuse their divinely appointed rank.

1. ἀπλῶς δ' εἰπεῖν may mean 'to speak simply' (or 'shortly'; cf. Isoc. 4, 154), or 'to speak in general terms' (cf. Aristotle, *Pol.* iii, 9, 5; *Nic. Eth.* iii, 6, 2). The latter rendering is perhaps to be preferred, since the specific features of the Christians' manner of life (v) are followed (vi) by a broad statement of their relation to the world.

ὅπερ . . . τοῦτ' . . . For the form of the comparison Geffcken (p. 19) cites Philo, *de orif. mundi*, 53 (12M): ὅπερ γὰρ νοῦς ἐν ψυχῇ, τοῦτ' ὀφθαλμὸς ἐν σώματι.

ἐν κόσμῳ. The term κόσμος appears fourteen times in the Ep., eight times in this chapter. The prevailing sense is ethical: the world of human affairs viewed as apart from and hostile to God. Cf. especially x, 7: 'the deceit and error of the world'. This sense is found in Paul (1 Cor. i, 21), James (i, 27), and is especially Johannine (John xiv, 17; 1 John iv, 4, etc.). In x, 2 (below) and perhaps xii, 9 the word appears in its classical sense: the world as an ordered system. Cf. Acts xvii, 24, etc. See Burton, *Galatians*, p. 514.

2. A vivid figure of the soul dispersed as seed (ἐσπαρται) through all the members of the body. For Christians as seed sown in the world, cf. *Iren., Adv. Haer.* iii, 11, 8: κατέσπαραι ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς. Our author's statement (cf. v, 4) is more or less rhetorical and can hardly be cited as evidence for the

spread of Christianity in the first two centuries (see Harnack, *Expansion*, vol. ii, 25). Nevertheless numerous passages elsewhere have the same tenor. See the references on this point cited in Otto's note on Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 1. In A.D. 112 Pliny (*Ep. to Trajan*, x, 96) writes of the Christians: '*multi enim omnium aetatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus etiam vocantur in periculum et vocabuntur. Neque enim civitates tantum, sed vicus etiam atque agros superstitionis istius contagio pervagata est*'. Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* xv, 44; Eus., *H.E.* ii, 3; iv, 7, etc.

κατὰ πάντων τῶν μελῶν . . . κατὰ τὰς πόλεις. The genit. and acc. cases with κατὰ in a local sense here approximate in meaning, the acc. having perhaps a more distributive force, 'throughout the several cities of the world'. Cf. Lk. iv, 14 (genit.); Acts viii, 1 (acc.). κατὰ, c. genit., 'throughout', is Hellenistic (cf. Polyb. iii, 19, 7, κατὰ τῆς ἰησοῦ δισπάρησαν, Jos., *Antiq.* viii, 297, τὸ ἔθνος κατὰ πάσης σπαρήσεται γῆς), though it is seen in class. Gk. in the phrases καθ' ὅλου and κατὰ πάντων. In the N.T. it is Lukan (Gospel and Acts) and found always with ὅλος (Acts ix, 31, etc.). See Blass-Deb. § 225.

3. Note here and in §§ 4, 7, 8 that each half of the analogy contains a contrast within itself.

καὶ Χριστιανοὶ κτλ. Cf. John xv, 19; xvii, 11, 14, 16. The thought is akin to that of v, 5. It finds some correspondence in Pauline teaching (1 Cor. ii, 12; Gal. vi, 14).

4. ἀόρατος . . . ὄρατῶ. For the collocation cf. Col. i, 16; Ign., *Trall.* v, 2. ἀόρατος is used of their 'religion' (below) and of God (vii, 2). Cf. Ign., *Polyc.* iii, 2. φρουρεῖται, 'is guarded'. The verb is commonly used in the (military) sense 'to garrison', 'to keep watch'. So 1 Esdras iv, 56; 2 Cor. xi, 32; Phil. iv, 7. Here the sense is rather 'to enclose', 'to keep in ward', for which cf. Wisd. xvii, 15; Gal. iii, 23. The notion is virtually repeated below (vi, 7), where note the force of ἐγκλείσθαι and ἐν φρουρᾷ. See note by E. L. Hicks in *Class. Rev.* i, 7 f. Cf. Plut., *de Defect. Orac.* 29: οὐδὲ φρουρεῖν συγκλείσαντας ἐν ὕλῃ "nor keep them (gods) imprisoned by enclosing them with matter".

For the idea of the soul as the prisoner of the body see note on vi, 7. Otto appositely cites (Ps.)-Plato, *Axiōch.* p. 365E, ed. Steph., ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἴσμεν ψυχῆ, ζῶον ἀθάνατον, ἐν θνητῷ κατειργμένον φρουρίῳ.

καὶ Χριστιανοὶ κτλ. Throughout the chapter the parallelism between the soul on the one hand and Christians on the other is closely drawn. At this point it is somewhat extended. It is the *religion* of the Christians that is like the soul in being secret or invisible.

μὲν ὄντες. Later edd. follow this conjecture for the MS. μένοντες. Note the correlative δέ. To join disparate words is a common scribal error. Cf. Just. Mart., *de Resurr.* 6: μὲν οὐσῶν (μενουσῶν, B and edd.), Xen. *Oecon.* viii, 4: ἀτακτος μὲν οὔσα. For ἡ θεοσέβεια see on p. 93. Funk sees here a contrast between the externalism of pagan and Jewish religion and the spirituality of Christian worship. So also Otto. This is in line with the general connotation of θεοσέβεια as "profession of religion". But the nuance here may be the inner character of Christian piety, the life that is "hid with Christ in God". Lightfoot's remark (*Hist. Essays*, p. 15) is here, by way of contrast, very pertinent: "it is next to impossible for us to realize the ubiquity, the obtrusiveness, the intrusiveness of polytheism". But Christianity as "a spiritual religion from its very nature does not force itself on observation in the same way".

5-6. The ethical (Pauline) sense of σὰρξ would fit the context here (see on v, 8). But, since the chapter deals with the body as opposed to the soul (cf. 1 ff. 7 ff.), the σὰρξ is here virtually equivalent to the σῶμα. Cf. the μέλη of verse 6. At the same time, the gradations from the physical to the ethical nuance of the term σὰρξ cannot always be clearly marked. For the opposition of flesh to soul see Plut., *Mor.* 101B; Gal. v, 17; 1 Pet. ii, 11.

πολεμεῖ. Abs. as in 1 Macc. xi, 46; Jas. iv, 2. Cf. the pass. use above (v, 17). μηδέν. Adv. acc. διότι, causal, as apparently always in N.T. (Lk. i, 13 *al.*), and 300 times in LXX (Thackeray, *Gram.* i, 139). It is used here instead of ὅτι probably to avoid hiatus after ἀδικουμένη as frequently in Polyb. and LXX. Cf. below, ἀδικούμενος, ὅτι (causal). See Meecham, *L.A.* pp. 162 f.

ταῖς ἡδοναῖς. A depreciatory sense is implied. The word is found five times in N.T. in a bad sense (Lk. viii, 14 *al.*). For the plur. cf. *Aristeas*, 277; 4 Macc. v, 23; Titus iii, 3; and ix, 1 (below).

κωλύεται χρῆσθαι. For the pass. of κωλύω, *c.* infin. (without the art.), cf. Acts xvi, 6, Heb. vii, 23, and see note on iv, 3 above. For χρῆσθαι see p. 11.

ἀντιτάσσονται. Mid. 'they range themselves against', 'resist'. Cf. Prov. iii, 34; Rom. xiii, 2, etc. For the aloofness of the Christians from worldly pleasures, see Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, xii: "you abstain from legitimate amusements, you never visit the shows, never join the processions, never attend the public banquets". Cf. also Tertullian, *Apol.* 38.

For the world's hatred of Christians, see v, 17 (note) and cf. 1 John iii, 13.

6. ἡ ψυχὴ . . . σάρκα. The thought is repeated from vi, 5 (see p. 15). The soul loves also the limbs (τὰ μέλη), through which it is dispersed (vi, 2).

καὶ Χριστιανοὶ κτλ. Cf. the teaching of Jesus (*Matt.* v, 44; *Lk.* vi, 27 f.). See p. 30.

7. The import of this section depends upon the meaning of συνέχω. (1) 'hold together' (Gildersleeve cites *Max. Tyr.* 15, 5: τὸ μὲν σῶμα συνέχεται, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ συνέχει). The thought appears to be that the soul, though confined (ἐγκέλεισται) within the body (cf. note on vi, 4), avails to hold the body together, since it is dispersed (ἐσπαρται, vi, 2) through its members. Similarly, the Christians are locked up in the world ὡς ἐν φρουρᾷ, yet suffice to hold it together, since they are spread abroad through its cities. Lake renders 'sustain the world', and cites *Aristides, Apol.* xvi, "I have no doubt but that the world stands through the intercession of Christians". The idea that Christians are the preservative of the world is common in early writers, a natural development of the figures used by Jesus of Christians as 'salt', 'light' (*Matt.* v, 13 ff.). Justin (*Apol.* i, 45) says that it is on account of the good and virtuous (i.e. Christians) that God has delayed the consummation. See also *Apol.* ii, 7 (*init.*). In similar vein Tertullian (*Apol.* 32 and 39) states that Christians pray for emperors and for the stability of the Roman Empire, since it is the existence of the latter that retards the final dissolution of all things (see also *ad Scap.* 2). Cf. *Clem. Alex., Quis dives salu.* 36: "this is the seed (i.e. the elect) sent here as on a kind of foreign service . . . and all things are held together so long as the seed remains here". Origen (*Con. Cels.* viii, 70) has the Gospel figure of the salt: "men of God are assuredly the salt of the earth; they preserve the order of the world; and society is held together (συνέστηκε) as long as the salt is uncorrupted". Most commentators take the passage here in this sense. But (2) if συνέχω may be rendered 'hold in charge', 'keep under arrest', the parallelism becomes more exact. Just as the soul, though shut up in the prison of the body, yet keeps the body under control, so Christians apparently imprisoned in the world, really hold mastery over it. For this sense of συνέχω cf. *Lk.* xxii, 63; 1 *Clem.* xx, 5; and pap. (M.M., *Vocab.* p. 606b). Cf. the force of συνέχει in 2 *Cor.* v, 14, 'keeps within bounds'.

Otto thinks that the phrase ὡς ἐν φρουρᾷ τῷ κόσμῳ is reminiscent of Plato, *Phaedo* 62B, ὡς ἐν τινι φρουρᾷ ἔσμεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, and that its following words, καὶ οὐ δεῖ δὴ ἑαυτὸν ἐκ ταύτης λύειν οὐδ' ἀποδιδράσκειν are echoed in vi, 10. The notion of the soul as incarcerated in the body is of course widespread in both pagan and Christian literature. We may add Plato, *Phaedo* 82E, where the soul is described as διαδεδεμένην ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ προσκεκολλημένην, *Tim.* 44B, ὅταν (ψυχῇ) εἰς σῶμα ἐνδεθῇ θνητόν, *Cicero, Somn. Scip.* 3, 'ii vivunt qui e corporum

vinculis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt. For Philo (*de migr. Abr.* 9) the body is a δεσμοπήριον. Cf. Rom. vii, 22 f.; 2 Cor. v, 1-4. See Blakeney (p. 56) for references.

ἐγκέκλεισται, 'is enclosed' (perf.). For the verb cf. ii, 7; vii, 2 (act.). For κατέχω 'detain', 'imprison', cf. Gen. xxxix, 20. Often in pap. 'to arrest', φρουρά shows the ambiguity of its cognate verb and may mean 'watch' and 'prison'. The whole context of this chapter supports the latter rendering. See note on φρουρεῖται (vi, 4).

8. The meaning is not that the soul is necessarily immortal. See above, p. 28. Several of the apologists reject the idea of natural immortality. See Just. Mart., *Dial.* 5; Theoph., *ad Autol.* ii, 27. But the soul is capable of immortality by union with the divine Spirit. Cf. 'they are put to death, yet they are endowed with life' (v, 12). Cf. v, 16; x, 2 (the promise of the kingdom in heaven).

ἀθάνατος. A frequent epithet of the soul. Cf. Pausanias iv, 32, 4; 4 Macc. xiv, 6. σκηνώματι, i.e. the bodily 'frame', the temporary home of the soul. Cf. Wisd. ix, 15, and 2 Cor. v, 1 (σκῆνος), on which see Field, *Notes*, p. 183, and 2 Pet. i, 13-14. Eus., *H.E.* ii, 25, speaks of the place where τὰ ἱερὰ σκηνώματα of Peter and Paul are laid. κατοικεῖ, intrans. See above, p. 108.

παροικοῦσιν. See on πάροικοι (p. 109). There is no implied contrast between the two verbs here (as there is in Gen. xxxvii, 1). As we have seen, κατοικέω is used quite generally by the author and παροικέω specially of the Christians' 'sojourn'.

φθαροῖς . . . ἀφθαροῖαν. The collocation is familiar (cf. 1 Cor. xv, 53). φθαρτός is not specifically of the body (cf. Wisd. ix, 15). It related to earthly things in general. Cf. 2 Clem. vi, 6: τὰ ἐνθάδε . . . φθαρτά (cf. *Barn.* xix, 8). In ix, 2 (below) φθαρτός is used of men. ἀφθαροῖα is commonly employed by the apologists to denote God's manner of life as free from decay. Applied to Christians it suggests that their destiny was a divine existence of a similar quality. For ἀφθαροῖα and ἀθανασία see 1 Cor. xv, 53.

ἐν οὐρανοῖς. See v, 9, and Hort's note on 1 Pet. i, 5.

9. The author is content to remark the spiritual benefit of literal fasting, i.e. abstinence from food and drink. He says nothing about other forms of fasting or about the various motives which prompt it (see R. L. Ottley in *Lux Mundi*, pp. 511 ff.). There is no suggestion that fasting is imposed upon Christians. In the early Christian period fasting is commended as a useful spiritual exercise; it must not, however, be a merely external observance. See *Barn.* iii; Just. Mart., *Dial.* 15 (both cite Is. lviii); Polycarp, *ad Phil.* vii; Hermas, *Sim.* v, 1 ff. The *Didache*, viii, 1 enjoins a change of days for the Christians' two weekly fasts. Later, great emphasis was laid on fasting (Tertullian, Cyprian, Jerome).

The author curtly dismisses Jewish fasts as a 'sham' (εἰρωνεία, iv, 1).

κακουργομένη. The cognate noun is used in respect of the soul in Ps. xxxiv (xxxv), 17. σιτίοις, 'food' (Prov. xxiv, 57 (xxx, 22), Acts vii, 12 (N AB)), ποτοῖς, 'drink' (Ign., *Trall.* ii, 3) are datives of respect. For the combination, cf. Xen., *Anab.* vii, 1, 33. For the association of the soul with food and drink, cf. Lk. xii, 19. See Otto's note for other references.

βελτιούται (pass.). A late verb. Cf. Philo, *de sacr. Abel* 42; Plut., *Mor.* 85 C.; inscr. Cf. Clem. Alex., *Paedag.* i, 1, 1: τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ βελτιῶσαι τὴν ψυχὴν ἔστιν.

καὶ Χριστιανοὶ . . . μᾶλλον. The thought (see below, πλεονάζουσι) is anticipated in v, 12, 16 and repeated in vii, 8 (note κολάζω and πλεονάζω).

κολαζόμενοι. See note on ii, 8. καθ' ἡμέραν may be taken with either κολαζόμενοι or πλεονάζουσι. If the latter, the statement, though not the language, is parallel to Acts ii, 47.

πλεονάζουσι. 'Increase' in either (a) numbers (quantitative), or (b) strength (qualitative). The strict parallelism with βελτιοῦται would support (b). The soul improves the less the corporeal needs are tended. So Christians grow (inwardly) the more they are punished. Stephanus, Otto, and others take this view. But the N.T. usage of the verb (2 Peter i, 8 *al.*) generally seems to carry with it the notion of external or visible increase ('to flourish')—1 Thess. iii, 12 of *spiritual* increase is an exception—and this appears to be the sense in vii, 8 (below). Moreover, the idea that the Christians increase in numbers in proportion as they are oppressed is very familiar in the apologetic writings. Cf. Just. Mart., *Dial.* 110: "the more such things (tortures) happen, the more do others and in larger numbers become faithful and worshippers of God through the name of Jesus". So also Tertullian, *Apol.* 50: "the oftener we are mown down by you, the more in number we grow; the blood of Christians is seed". See also *ad Scap.* 5: "this community will be undying; for be assured that just in the time of its seeming overthrow it is built up into greater power". See Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* v, 19; Origen, *Con. Cels.* vii, 26.

εἰς τοσαύτην . . . παρατήσασθαι. Otto sees here a reflection of Plato, *Phaedo*, 62B. See note on vi, 7 (above). Plato, *Apol.* 29A is perhaps a closer parallel: Socrates will not desert the post (τάξις) to which the god has ordained him. For the thought cf. Cicero, *de Senectute*, 73; *Tusc. Disp.* i, 74.

For παρατέομαι see on iv, 2. Lachmann prefers to read τοιαύτην here.

The τάξις is the place or rank of the Christians as the soul of the world, ch. vi ending on the same note as that on which it begins. For this sense of the term, cf. Isocrates, vi, 2: τὴν ἰδίαν τοῦ βίου τάξιν διαφυλάττων, "by keeping the place appropriate to my years", Josephus, *Antiq.* xx, 183: παιδαγωγὸς . . . τάξιν τῆν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πεπιστευμένος. Lake thinks that the notion is that of the Church as the 'militia dei' (Tertullian). But the context does not suggest the military flavour which τάξις often carries ('post'. Cf. Plato, *Apol.* 29A, referred to above).

VII

The religion of the Christians is no human discovery, but a divine revelation. It was God who implanted in men the truth and the holy and incomprehensible word by sending to them 'the very Artificer and Creator of the universe'. He sent him in gentleness, meekness, and love to save and persuade, not to compel nor to judge . . . Christian martyrs suffer and die but are not overcome. Nay, they multiply the more. These things attest God's presence and power.

1. ὡς ἔφην, i.e. in v, 3 (see note, and cf. iv, 6). The thought there touched upon is now resumed and developed (hence γάρ) and the language to some extent repeated. Cf. ἐπινοία (v, 3) with θνητὴν ἐπινοίαν, and εὐρημένον (v, 3) with εὕρημα. Note ἀνθρωπίνων μυστηρίων as perhaps an echo of δόγματος ἀνθρωπίνου (v, 3). Ps.-Justin, *Cohort. ad Gent.* viii, insists that "our progenitors . . . received from God the knowledge which also they taught to us. For neither by nature nor by human conception (ἀνθρωπίνῃ ἐπινοίᾳ) is it possible for men to know things so great and divine", etc. Cf. Just. Mart., *Apol.* ii, 10: "our doctrines, then, appear to be greater than all human teaching".

ἐπίγειον. Cf. vii, 2. Note Paul's phrase οἱ τὰ ἐπίγεια φρονούντες (Phil. iii, 19) and the σοφία ἐπίγειος of Jas. iii, 15. For εὕρημα note the class.-ημα form, not the Κοινῆ preference for -εμα (cf. Sir. xx, 9; Strabo xvi, 2, 24). See Thackeray, *Gram.* i, 80; Moulton, *Proleg.* p. 46; Moulton-Howard, *Gram.* 57, 354. ἀζιούσιν. See note on iii, 2.

οἰκονομίαν μυστηρίων πεπιστευται. Cf. 1 Cor. ix, 17. Gildersleeve cites Theophilus, *ad Autol.* i, 11: [ὁ βασιλεὺς] τρόπῳ τινι οἰκονομίαν πεπιστευται. Verbs, which in the act. take an acc. of the thing and a dat. of the person (cf. John ii,

24), have (in the pass.) the latter (dat.) as subject, while the former (acc.) is retained. Cf. vii, 2 (below); Rom. iii, 2; Gal. ii, 7. For *οικονομία*, see on iv, 5, and for *μυστήριον*, on iv, 6. The perf. *πεπίστευνται* has its full force of completed past action with existing result (contrast the aorist *παρεδόθη*).

2. *αὐτός . . . αὐτός*. The repeated pronoun adds emphasis. Cf. ix, 2 and Rev. xix, 15. *ὁ παντοκράτωρ* (θεός). Cf. *Aristeas*, 185; 2 Macc. viii, 18. In the N.T. the appellative *παντοκράτωρ* in reference to God ('All-Sovereign') is confined (except in 2 Cor. vi, 18, a quotation) to nine instances in Rev. (i, 8 f.) but is very frequent in early Christian literature (1 Clem. ii, 3 *al.*).

παντοκτίστης. The word is not given in LS.⁹ It may be a coinage of the author, though an obvious formation from *ὁ πάντων κτίστης* (of God, 2 Macc. i, 24; Sir. xxiv, 8; cf. 1 Pet. iv, 19).

δόρατος. Of God, as frequently in Greek, Jewish, and Christian thought. Cf. *de Mundo*, 399a; Col. i, 15; Heb. xi, 27; 1 Tim. i, 17; 2 Clem. xx, 5. See Josephus, *Bell.* vii, 346: *δόρατος . . . ὡσερ αὐτὸς ὁ θεός*. For the thought, cf. John i, 18.

ἀπ' οὐρανῶν. The phrase should probably be taken not with *αὐτός* but with *ἐνίδρυσε*, 'established from heaven', indicating the source of the divine action and the origin of the truth so established.

τὴν ἀλήθειαν . . . ἀπερινόητον. A difficult passage due largely to the elasticity of the term *λόγος*. (a) 'reason'. This, though supported by x, 2: 'to whom He gave reason' (*λόγον*). Cf. ii, 9, *λογισμός* is, in view of the epithets, improbable. (b) 'teaching', i.e. truth revealed in Christ, here spoken of as 'established' and 'fixed firmly' among men. So Lightfoot-Harmer. (c) the Word, i.e. the Incarnate Son. Otto, who takes this view, cites John xiv, 6 (for *τὴν ἀλήθειαν*) and Theophilus, *ad Autol.* ii, 10 (*ὁ λόγος ὁ ἅγιος*). His further references to Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 32; *Dial.* 54, do not seem conclusive for the present passage. The terms *ἅγιος* and *ἀπερινόητος* fit either (b) or (c), and indeed, as Radford (p. 68 f.) points out, the two views (b) and (c) are not mutually exclusive. It may be that the author intends 'the truth' and 'the word' as personifications of Christ, as in the *Preaching of Peter* (Clem. Alex., *Strom.* i, 29, 182), where the Lord is called 'Law and Word'. On the other hand, some support for (b) is found in the terms *ἐνίδρυσε* and *ἐγκατεστήριξε* and in the fact that the title *Logos* is used of Christ only in the Appendix (xi, 2, 3, 7; xii, 9). The balance of probability lies on the side of (b). In contrast with the 'earthly discovery' and the 'mortal idea' and 'mere human mysteries' (vii, 1) God has established among men the truth and the holy, incomprehensible *teaching* by sending 'the very Artificer', etc. On this view there would seem again to be kinship with Johannine thought. Note especially the connexion of *ἀλήθεια* and *λόγος*. Cf. 1 John i, 8: *ἡ ἀλήθεια (ὁ λόγος, i, 10) οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν, ii, 14: ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν μένει, John xvii, 17: ὁ λόγος ὁ σὸς ἀληθείᾳ ἐστιν*.

For *ἀπερινόητον*, cf. Theophilus, *ad Autol.* i, 3: *μεγέθει ἀκατάληπτος, ὕψει ἀπερινόητος* (of God). The word is used (in an active sense) of *ἡ ψυχὴ* in Athenag., *Synchl.* 27: *ἀπερινόητος δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ποιητοῦ τῶν ὄλων*.

ἐνίδρυσε. Cf. Plut., *Mon.* 1008A: *ἡ φύσις, ὡσερ κυβερνήτην ἐνιδρύσασα τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸν λογισμὸν*.

ἐγκατεστήριξε. Rare word. Cf. Cornutus, *de nat. deorum* vi: *ὁ λίθος οὗτος ὃν καλοῦμεν γῆν, οἰονεὶ καταποθεῖς, ἐγκατεστηρίχθη*.

καθῦπερ. See note on ii, 1.

εἰκάσειεν, ἀνθρώποις ὑπηρέτην κτλ. (MS.). *ἀνθρώποις* may be due to ditto-graphy (cf. one line above). Otto emends to *εἰκάσειεν ἀνθρώπων, ὑπηρέτην*, and points to *ὡς ἀνθρώπων ἂν τις λογίσαιτο* (vii, 3). Bunsen and other edd. read *εἰκάσειεν ἀνθρώπων, ὑπηρέτην*. For the stylistic trait see p. 15.

ὑπηρέτην τινά . . . διοικήσεις. The passage is difficult. (1) Are two classes

in view, or more? (2) What is the connexion of the clauses ('one of those who administer the affairs of earth' and 'one of those entrusted with the ordering of things in heaven') with ἄγγελον and ἄρχοντα? (3) What precise meaning can be attached to ἄγγελος and ἀρχων here?

Otto takes ὑπέρητην as a general term. 'God has not sent to men some one of his ministering spirits', i.e. from the class of 'angels' or 'rulers'; the former are further specified as 'those who administer the affairs of earth', the latter as 'those entrusted with the ordering of things in heaven'. On this view both 'angel' and 'ruler' denote heavenly officiants with different spheres of service. The one class ('angel') administers on earth; the other ('ruler') governs in heaven. This is perhaps to credit our author with too much precision. It may be that the terms and clauses are loosely strung together without careful differentiation. The order of the added clauses supports Otto's connexion. On the other hand, the ἄρχοντα and the two explanatory clauses may be merely variations on the term ἄγγελον. God sent no minister to men whether we call him angel or ruler, an earthly governor or a heavenly ruler. But the general sense of the passage is clear. The One sent did not belong to any subordinate order of celestial beings; he was 'the very Artificer and Maker of the universe'. On the grades of the spiritual hierarchy see Lightfoot on Col. i, 16.

The term ἄγγελος was apparently current in early Christian usage as a designation both of the nature and of the office of Christ. Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 63, uses the term as a title of the Logos: 'the Word of God is His Son . . . and He is called ἄγγελος καὶ ἀπόστολος'. Harnack, *H.D.* i, 185, n. 3, cites a protest against this view in *Aroc. Sophoniae*, ed. Stern, 1886, iv, frag., p. 10: "He appointed no Angel to come to us, nor Archangel, nor any power, but he transformed himself into a man that he might come to us for our deliverance". See also Harnack, *Gesch. der altchrist. Lit.* I, 758, II, 514, n. 1, and *Texte und Untersuchungen*, N.F. II, Heft 3a, p. 69 (Steindorff). Geffcken (pp. 20 f.) thinks that the passage in *Diognetus* is directly opposed (*im deutlichen Gegensatze*) to Justin's view. But the context suggests that ἄγγελος is here used not as a title, but is descriptive of the role of the Son, in line with the terms ὑπέρητης and ἀρχων.

The idea of angels exercising authority in heaven and earth is frequent in apologetic literature. See Athenag., *Suppl.* 10: "we recognize also a multitude of angels and ministers (ἀγγέλων καὶ λειτουργῶν) whom God the Maker and Framers of the world distributed and appointed to their several posts by His Logos, to occupy themselves about the elements, and the heavens and the world, and the things in it, and the goodly ordering of them all" (Pratten's trans.). See also ch. 24.

ἀρχων is used generically, 'ruler', whether in heaven or on earth. For the latter, cf. Baruch iii, 16; Matt. xx, 25; Acts iv, 26-8; 1 Clem. lx, 2. Geffcken (p. 21) thinks that ἄρχοντα denotes "a demon who directs the στοιχεῖα, as in the Pauline sense: cf. 1 Cor. ii, 6-8". But this is less probable here. Our author is apparently silent about the demons. See p. 22.

τῶν διεπόντων, 'those who administer'. Cf. Wisd. ix, 3 (of man); xii, 15 (of God). The word is appropriately used here of God's 'deputies'. Cf. 1 Clem. lxi, 1 f.

διοικήσεις, 'dispensations'. Once in the Gk. Bible (Tob. i, 21, 'state affairs'). In 1 Clem. xx, 1 the word is used of the divine 'appointment' which controls the heavens. Cf. Epict. i, 14, 7: ἡ θεία διοίκησις.

For the acc. case, see on οἰκονομίαν μυστηρίων πεπίστευνται (vii, 1).

τὸν τεχνίτην καὶ δημιουργόν. Both terms relate to the Sou. τεχνίτης is used of God in Wisd. xiii, 1, and both terms in juxtaposition (of God) in Heb. xi, 10 (see Moffatt's note *ad loc.*) and Philo, *de mut. nom.* 29-31. In viii, 7 (below) δημιουργός τῶν ὄλων is descriptive of God, with which cf. 1 Clem. xxvi, 1; lix, 2: ὁ δημιουργός τῶν ἀπάντων.

ᾧ . . . ἔκτισεν, ᾧ . . . ἐπέκειλεν. A 'remarkable' use of the instrumental dative (Moulton, *Proleg.* p. 76 n.). Aall, *Der Logos* ii, 370, n. 1, notes this passage and points out that the instrumental dat. may be used rather than the usual διά, c. genit., whenever the means is regarded as personal. Cf. Xen., *Anab.* vi, 4, 27: ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὄπλοις ἐνυκτέρευον, φυλαττόμενοι ἱκανοῖς φύλαξι. Cf. also Soph., *Antig.* 164 (πομποῖσιν, 'by means of messengers'). The function of the Logos in the creation of the world is commonly expressed by διά, c. genit. Cf. John i, 3, 10; Heb. i, 2. Philo speaks of God as the cause (αἰτίων) of the world by whom it was made (ὑφ' οὗ γέγονεν), but the Word as the medium through whom it was prepared (ὄργανον δὲ λόγον θεοῦ δι' οὗ κατασκευάσθη, *de Cherub.*, 127). Cf. also *de Sacerd.* 81: λόγος δ' ἐστὶν εἰκὼν θεοῦ, δι' οὗ σύμπας ὁ κόσμος ἐδημιουργεῖτο. But Philo uses also the simple dat. in this connexion. Cf. *Quod Deus sit immut.* 57: δίδωσι δὲ λόγῳ χρώμενος ὑπέρητη δωρεῶν, ᾧ καὶ τὸν κόσμον εἰργάζετο. The use of the dat. in both Philo and our Epistle may attest the feeling that the Logos is directly concerned in the act, being less the medium than the personal instrument of creation. We note that *Diognetus* has διά, c. genit., to indicate the office of the Word in revelation (viii, 11; xi, 2), enrichment of the Church (xi, 5), and glorification of God (xii, 9).

For ἔκτισεν see on iv, 2. ἐπέκειλεν. Cf. ii, 7; vi, 7, and for the thought 1 Clem. xx, 6 f.; xxxiii, 3. See the glowing description of Wisdom in Prov. viii, 27 ff.: "when He gave to the sea its bound" (29 R.V. The LXX has no equivalent of this sentence. But note the rdg. of $\aleph^{AC}A$ in Swete's text, footnote). Cf. Job xxvi, 10; xxxviii, 8; Ps. civ, 9; Jer. v, 22.

τὰ μυστήρια, i.e. the laws of nature as being divine 'secrets' lying beyond man's ken. See on iv, 6. πιστῶς, only once in the Gk. Bible (4 K. xvi, 2). Cf. 1 Clem. xxxv, 5; P. Oxy. IX, 1187¹⁸ (A.D. 254): ὑγιῶς καὶ πιστῶς. In viii, 2, τὰ στοιχεῖα = 'the elements'. See note. Here the term denotes the heavenly bodies ('luminaries') immediately named (sun, moon, stars), as in Just. Mart., *Apol.* ii, 5: τὰ οὐράνια στοιχεῖα. Cf. 2 Pet. iii, 10 and 12 (R.V.); Theophilus, *ad Autol.* i, 4. See the full notes in M.M., *Vocab.* p. 591; Burton, *Galatians* (I.C.C.), pp. 510 ff.; Lietzmann, *An die Galater*, pp. 23 ff.

δρόμων. Used frequently of the 'courses' of the sun and moon (cf. three lines below). So 1 Esdras iv, 34; Josephus, *Antiq.* i, 31. ὁ ἥλιος is lacking in the MS. Most edd. insert (with or without the art.), but some before εἰληφε (Bunsen, Otto), others before (Hefe) or after (Krenkel, Gildersleeve) φυλάσσειν.

ᾧ πειθαρχεῖ. The phrase is immediately repeated. See p. 14. (ἡ) σελήνη. Otto inserts the art. (lacking in the MS.), pointing to τὰ στοιχεῖα (preceding) and τὰ ἀστρο (following). He thinks that H may easily have fused with the last two letters (E I) of the preceding word. Lightfoot and Lake omit the art. Note the anarthrous οὐρανοί, etc., in the following passage, and see note on iv, 5. For νυκτί Gildersleeve reads ἐν νυκτί, but cf. ii, 7 (ταῖς νυκτί). For ἀκολουθοῦντα see on v, 4.

διώρισαι. In Is. xlv, 18 of the divine action in creation, as here. The word is found in Hdt., inscr., and pap.

καὶ ὑποτέτακται. Some interpret, 'to whom (all things) have been subjected'. Cf. 1 Cor. xv, 27. But it would be harsh in a writer so neat as the author to take ᾧ with the third verb in a different sense (dat. of advantage) from that of the other two (dat. of agent after the perf. pass. = 'by whom'). Otto renders, 'a quo omnia disposita et suis limitibus circumscripta et (hominibus) subjecta sunt'. He thinks that the phrase, 'the earth and the things in the earth', relates to ὑποτέτακται, and he completes the sense by adding 'to men' on the analogy of x, 2: οἷς (i.e. to men) ὑπέταξε πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ γῆ. For subjection to man cf. Gen. i, 26; ix, 2; Heb. ii, 8 (= Ps. viii, 6); Just. Mart., *Apol.* ii, 5: ὁ θεός . . . τὰ ἐπίγεια ἀνθρώποις ὑποτάξας.

ἐν οὐρανοῖς. It is unnecessary to insert the art. τοῖς (as Otto), for, while it would match τῇ γῆ and τῇ θαλάσῃ, the author's invariable practice is to omit the art. in this prepositional phrase (v, 9; vi, 8; x, 2, 7). See note on σελήνη (above). Cf. ἐν ὕψει and ἐν βαθέει (below).

τοῦτον. Emphatic and resumptive. Cf. x, 6 (*sub fin.*). ἀπέσειλεν (so x, 2), but πέμπω in vii, 4 f. Both verbs are used in N.T. of the Father 'sending' the Son. Cf. 1 John iv, 9, 14 (ἀποστέλλω); Rom. viii, 3 (πέμπω). It is hardly possible to refine between the two verbs in this connexion (*per contra* Westcott, *Gospel of St. John*, Add. Note, p. 298). On the incidence of the two verbs in the Johannine writings, see W. F. Howard, *Christianity according to St. John*, p. 25.

3. For δὲ γὰρ cf. Gen. xxxvii, 10; Acts viii, 30. ἀνθρώπος is used pleonastically as in viii, 1, 5. ὡς . . . λογίσαιτο. For the stylistic feature see p. 15.

ἐπὶ τυραννίδι. The ἐπὶ is either (1) of accompaniment ('with', 'in'), virtually equivalent to ἐν (cf. ἐν ἐπιεικείᾳ, vii, 4). Cf. Rom. iv, 18; 2 Cor. ix, 6. Or more probably (2) of object or purpose ('to rule in tyranny', etc.). Cf. Wisd. ii, 23; Gal. v, 13; Eph. ii, 10. ἐν ἐπιεικείᾳ would then be differentiated, 'in gentleness'. See 1 Thess. iv, 7 for a similar variation of the prepositions. καταπλήξει. Class. word. Cf. 2 Esdras, iii, 3; B.G.U.: 1209¹⁶ (i/B.C.): πρὸς καταπλήξιν τῶν τολμησάντων.

4. Here only, and that in a quite general way, does the author show any interest in the earthly life of the Son. Cf. also xi, 3.

ἐν ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ πραύτητι. For the collocation cf. Philo, *de opif. mundi*, 103, and, with reference to Christ, as here, 2 Cor. x, 1. Otto punctuates with a full stop after πραύτητι, supplying in thought the words 'He sent him'. But the sense does not demand a stop after πραύτητι. The passage has a rhythmical force, which suggests an excerpt from a Christian hymn (see on ix, 2). See Otto's note (186). πραύτης (a later form of πράότης) is a characteristic of the Messianic King (Zech. ix, 9).

ὡς βασιλεὺς . . . ἔπεμψεν. The acc. (three times) before the main verb ἔπεμψεν rather favours the rendering, 'He sent him as king. He sent him as God' (Lake). But it is preferable to translate 'He sent him, as a king sending a son who is a king', etc., since (a) the ὡς qualifies βασιλεὺς not βασιλέα. (b) the apposition 'the son who was a king' gives added point to ἐν ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ πραύτητι. Though he was a king, he did not come in tyranny and terror and awe, but in gentleness and meekness. (c) the antithesis 'God' . . . 'man' is more natural than the series 'king', 'God', 'man'.

Keim (*Protest. Kirchenzeitung*, (1873), n. 13 and 14) sees here an allusion to Commodus being taken into the co-regentship by his father, and hence dates the Epistle in the time of Marcus Aurelius (c. A.D. 177). See Lightfoot-Harmer, *Apost. Fathers*, 488.

ὡς θεόν. See above, p. 27. ἀνθρώπων. So Lachmann conjectures. Lightfoot brackets the word.

ὡς πείθων . . . τῷ θεῷ. Note the parallel in P.S.I., II, 120 (? iv/A.D.): εὐμετάβολος γὰρ ὁ θεός. πείσαι ζητεῖ μὴ βιάσασθαι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ βιασάμενος ἔχθρός, ὁ δὲ πείσας σοφός (cited in M.M., *Vocab.* p. 110). R.H. Connolly (*J.T.S.* xxxvi (1935), 349 ff.) cites several passages from Irenaeus, *Haer.* on the point of God's not using 'force', which in his view show that 'Irenaeus is under contribution both by Hippolytus and in the Epistle to Diognetus'. In particular the words ὡς πείθων, οὐ βιαζόμενος (*D.* vii, 4) closely agree with Irenaeus (v, 1, 1), 'suadentem et non vim inferentem', and the οὐ βιαζόμενος has "at least four other parallels in Irenaeus". Moreover, βία γὰρ οὐ πρόσσειτι τῷ θεῷ (*D.* vii, 5) is precisely paralleled in the first half of Irenaeus's statement (iv, 59): 'vis enim a Deo non fit, sed bona sententia adest illi semper (βία (γὰρ) θεῷ οὐ πρόσσειν. ἀγαθὴ δὲ γνώμη πάντοτε συμπάρεστιν αὐτῷ). Connolly argues that this close kinship posits literary

indebtedness and that *Diognetus* has borrowed from Irenaeus and not *vice versa*. For the bearing of this point on the question of the date of the Epistle, see pp. 18 f. See also Harnack, *Gesch. der altchrist. Lit.* I, 758; II, i, 514; Grensted, *Hist. of the Atonement*, p. 36.

βία γὰρ . . . θεῶ. Otto brackets these words and suspects a gloss. οὐ βιάζομενος. Mid. 'using no violence' (cf. Lk. xvi, 16). Cf. x, 5 (trans.); Thuc. vii, 70, 72 (βιάζεσθαι τὸν ἐκπλοῦν); 4 Macc. ii, 8. It is probably pass. in Matt. xi, 12, as in class. Gk. But see Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 258; R. Otto, *The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man*, pp. 108-12; M.M., *Vocab.* pp. 109 f.

5. καλῶν. Used absolutely, a point which Connolly (*ibid.*) notes in favour of the Hippolytean authorship of the Epistle. See Hippolytus, *Philos.* x, 33.

6. The οὐ κρίνων (5) reminds the author of the Second Coming of Christ as Judge. Hence κρίνοντα, the pres. participle expressing attendant circumstance ('in judgement') which easily shades off into purpose ('to judge'). It is unnecessary to emend (with Stephanus and Bunsen) to κρινόντα. For the occasional use of the present participle to imply purpose Bl-Deb. § 339, 2 cite Thuc. vii, 25, 9, ἐπεμφαν . . . ἀγγέλλοντας (note the normal future participles which follow, δηλώσοντας, ἀξιώσοντας). Cf. also Acts iii, 26 where εὐλογοῦντα may be rendered purposively 'to bless' (so R.V., Moffatt, Goodspeed, Weymouth) and also xv, 27 (ἀπαγγελοῦντας D).

καὶ . . . ὑποστήσεται; cf. Malachi iii, 2. See above, pp. 53 f. The wicked especially have cause to fear the judgement by Christ at his Second Coming. See Just. Mart., *Dial.* 121. For ὑφίστημι, c. acc., cf. Judith vi, 3; Prov. xiii, 8.

τὴν παρουσίαν. In class. Gk. the word bears the general sense 'presence', 'arrival', as also in LXX (2 Esdras xii, 6A; 2 Macc. viii, 12 *al.*) and N.T. (2 Cor. x, 10; Phil. ii, 12). In the pap. and inscr. *παρουσία* has added a quasi-technical meaning denoting the 'visit' of a royal or official personage. This particularized usage is reflected in the N.T. where the term is frequently and appropriately employed "to emphasize the nearness and the certainty" of the Second Advent of Christ (1 Thess. ii, 19 *al.*). See Milligan's elaborate study of the word (*Thess.* pp. 145 ff.). It is not certain whether our author uses the term here in the general sense 'presence' or with the particularized meaning 'coming'. The meaning 'presence' (of God) in vii, 9 (see note *ad loc.*) favours the former view; the latter is supported by the context ('He will send him as judge').

7. The MS. has a lacuna at this point with a marginal note: οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀντίγραφῳ εὗρον ἐγκοπὴν, παλαιστάτου ὄντος. A considerable section may have been omitted (see on v, 11). Stephanus fills in the gap with the words οὐχ ὄρας (cf. vii, 8 *init.*). Otto has a full note on the suggestions made by various edd. See also Geffcken (22). For παραβαλλομένους θηρίους cf. Just. Mart., *Dial.* 110.

ἵνα ἀρνήσωνται τὸν κύριον. This was the head and front of the Christians' offence, that they would not offer sacrifice to the emperor and renounce Christ (cf. x, 7). For ἀρνέομαι, c. personal acc. ("unclassical and seems to be confined to Christian literature", Mayor, *Comm. on Jude*, p. 72), cf. Matt. x, 33; 2 Clem. xvii, 7. For the title κύριος, cf. xii, 9; in both instances it refers to the exalted Christ (Rom. xiv, 8; Eph. iv, 5).

8. The direct address to Diognetus is here inserted in the exposition which began with ch. v. It is repeated in vii, 2; x, 1, 3, 4, 7, 8.

κολάζονται. The verb here and perhaps in vi, 9 suggests the 'punishment' of death. See x, 7: 'you will love and admire those who are being punished (τοὺς κολαζομένους) because they will not deny God' . . . 'the everlasting fire which shall punish (κολάσει) up to the end'. Note κόλασις καὶ θάνατος (ix, 2). κολάζω is used probably in this sense in Wisd. iii, 4. Cf. also Matt. xxv, 46 (εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον).

πλεονάζοντας. See on vi, 9. Funk (*Patres Apostolici*, p. 401) queries whether Exod. i, 12 is here in mind.

9. ταῦτα . . . ἔργα. Stephanus omits οὐ (dittography from the preceding ἀνθρώπου ?) and takes the sentence as a question to which the words that immediately follow are the answer. 'These things' are the endurance and triumph of the Christian martyrs (cf. x, 8). δύναμις, 'mighty act', God's moral power (cf. ix, 1, 2) at work, enabling impotent man.

τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ δείγματα. The precise reference indicated by παρουσία is uncertain. (a) Christ's *first* coming. So Otto (*eum advenisse*), who points to the opening words of viii (πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν). The connexion, however, of the last-named clause with the end of vii is hardly conclusive, since viii, 1 may introduce a new theme. Moreover, the notion of the *second* coming has already intervened (vii, 6), if παρουσία there is so interpreted. But it is in favour of Otto's view that the bulk of the chapter (1-5) relates to the first coming. παρουσία commonly has this meaning (Ign., *ad Phil.* ix, 2). Just. Mart. (*Apol.* i, 52; *Dial.* 14, 32) uses the term of *either* advent. (b) Christ's *second* coming, as probably in vii, 6. The thought in the present passage is consonant with this rendering: endurance by the Christians of persecution is a presage that Christ is soon to come again. Cf. Matt. xxiv, 9 f.; *Didache* xvi, 3-8; Just. Mart., *Dial.* 39, 110. (c) God's 'presence'. This is the most probable interpretation. The pronoun goes most naturally with the antecedent θεοῦ, and the twofold contrast of 'man' and 'God' is not marred by the introduction of a third factor (the coming of Christ). For παρουσία in reference to God, see *Test. XII Patr.*, *Test. Jud.* xxii, 2: ἕως τῆς παρουσίας θεοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης. Cf. also Athanasius, *de Incarn.* xix, 3: τῆν τοῦ δεσπότητος παρουσίαν (in xxxi, 2 of the 'presence' of Christ).

δείγματα. So Stephanus for the MS. rdg. δόγματα. See iv, 5.

VIII

The author now approaches Diognetus's third query. The answer is given more explicitly in ch. ix, to which he leads up by denying that any true knowledge of God existed before the coming of His Son. The theories held by 'those specious philosophers' about the nature of God are palpably absurd. They savour too of deceit and magic. The true knowledge of God (that He is kind, good, and long-suffering) and of His purpose comes through faith, 'by which alone it is given to see God'. God manifested Himself. So long as God's design remained secret man could charge God with indifference. But by the revelation through 'His beloved Child' that which had been prepared from the beginning was made known and all its benefits conferred. What unexpected gifts!

1. πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν. Not πρὶν ἢ as in ii, 3 (see note). The general rule is observed that πρὶν (= 'before') commonly takes the infin. after affirmative principal sentences. The αὐτὸν relates to the Son, the meaning being that as θεός (cf. vii, 4) he was able to reveal the nature of the divine. See above, p. 27. For the thought cf. John i, 18; Acts xvii, 23.

2. On the attitude to pagan philosophers, see pp. 33 ff. In Heraclitus's view reality regarded in its material aspect is fire; the Logos, fire, and God are fundamentally the same conception (see J. Adam, *The Religious Teachers of Greece*, pp. 212 ff.). Thales held that the origin of all things is water. Our author curtly dismisses such speculations. If God is to be identified with the elements, then one element is as good as another. The *Apology of Aristides*, iv, ff. (Syr.), discusses these theories more seriously and fully.

ληρώδεις, 'trumpery', a class. word (Plato, Aristotle). Cf. 2 Macc. xii, 44: περισσὸν καὶ ληρώδες ὑπὲρ νεκρῶν εὐχεσθαι, *B.G.U.* 1011, ii, 15 (ii/B.C.): πολλὰ . . . ληρώδη καὶ ψευδῆ. For ἀποδέχη, cf. Acts ii, 41.

ἀξιόπιστων, 'trustworthy' (Prov. xxviii, 20), perhaps used here ironically (Otto). It may, however, bear a later derogatory sense, 'specious', 'plausible', for which cf. Ign., *ad Phil.* ii, where heretical teachers are described as λύκοι ἀξιόπιστοι (see Lightfoot's note for further references). Lucian (*Alex.* 4) uses it in this ironical way. He characterizes Alexander's type of soul as πιθανὴν καὶ ἀξιόπιστον, 'plausible and convincing'.

αἱ μὲν τινες. So most edd. Otto brackets τινες (see his note). For ὁ μὲν τις . . . ὁ δέ, cf. ii, 2 (note).

(οὗ μέλλουσι . . . θεόν). A parenthesis in ironical vein ('this Christian unmannerliness', Gildersleeve). They are destined to go to τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον (x, 7, 8). To think they should give the name of God to that! οὗ = οί. In late Greek the notions of 'where' and 'whither' often coalesce. The distinction had not always been preserved even in the class. language (Bl.-Deb. § 103). For the Gk. Bible (where οί does not occur) cf. Gen. xl, 3; Lk. x, ι. μέλλουσι χωρήσειν. As often in class. Gk. μέλλω takes the *future* infin., which is almost obsolete in the LXX, N.T. (*ter*), and pap. See Moulton, *Proleg.* 114 n. For χωρεῖν, 'to go', cf. Matt. xv, 17; Ign., *ad Eph.* xvi, 2 (εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἀσβεστον χωρήσει). For the pass. in another sense see xii, 7 (below).

τῶν στοιχείων, 'the elements', often enumerated as four (fire, water, air, earth). Cf. Plato, *Timaeus*, 32C; Wisd. vii, 17. For ἐκτισμένων see on iv, 2.

3. καίτοι γε introduces an objection or qualification. Cf. Xen., *Mem.* i, 2, 3; John iv, 2. καίτοι is rare in the Gk. Bible (4 Macc. ii, 6; Acts xiv, 17), and is not found in the Apostolic Fathers.

ἀπόδεκτός ἐστι. Bunsen and other edd. accent as a verbal form; Otto as an adj. (ἀπόδεκτος. Cf. 1 Tim. ii, 3; v, 4). Cf. the cognate verb above (viii, 2).

δύναιτ' ἂν. Either the personal construction with ἐν ἑαυτοῖς as subject (cf. ii, 4), or 'it would be possible', impersonal use followed by acc. and infin. Stephanus prefers δύνανται ἂν, 'they (the philosophers) would be able', etc. So also Geffcken.

4. ταῦτα, i.e. the content of the λόγοι of the philosophers (viii, 2, 3). τερατεία, 'big talk'. Cf. Aristophanes, *Nub.* 318 ('humbug'); Polyb. ii, 17, 6: περὶ ὧν οἱ τραγωδιογράφοι . . . πολλὴν διατέθεινται τερατείας. Blakeney (p. 65) aptly cites two passages from Eusebius, *Praef. Evang.* 63 and 132, for the conjunction of τερατεία with 'deceit' (ἀπάτη). τῶν γοήτων, 'of the magicians', as often in class. Gk. Later the word frequently bears the sense 'impostor'. For their πλάνη see 2 Tim. iii, 13, where they are stigmatized as πλανῶντες καὶ πλανώμενοι. The term is here used in the act. sense, 'deceit'. The pass. sense, 'error', probably holds in all N.T. occurrences of the word, "though the active meaning, 'deceit', would sometimes be equally appropriate" (J. Armitage Robinson, *Ephesians*, p. 185). Philo, *de Sacrif.* 315, speaks of the γῆσις as ψευδόμενος λόγια καὶ χρησμούς ἐπλάσασα. See Blakeney's note (pp. 65 f.).

5-8. It is not unlikely that the thought that God Himself revealed Himself (5) as eternally the same (8) echoes a passage in *Sib. Orac.* iii, 15; ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀνέδειξεν αἰώνιος αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν ὄντα τε καὶ πρὶν εἶναι, ἀτὰρ πάλι καὶ μετέπειτα. The Christian apologists, e.g. Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 44, Athenagoras, *Suppl.* 30, and especially Theophilus, *ad Autol.* ii, 3, 36, drew upon the *Sibylline Oracles*, as did Tertullian and Lactantius in the West. Blakeney, pp. 66 f., gives further pagan parallels to the thought of § 8.

θεόν (§ 3 *sub fin.*) must be understood as the object of εἶδεν and ἐγνώρισεν. The thought repeats that of viii, 1. One might have expected the author to quote here John i, 18. ἐγνώρισεν, either (a) 'has known', 'recognized' (Lightfoot-Harmer), or (b) 'has made known', 'declared', a meaning rare in class. Gk., but predominant in Hellenistic (1 Sam. vi, 2; Eph. i, 9; Phil. iv, 6). So Otto ('*notum fecit*'). The same uncertainty attaches to Phil. i, 22 ('to know', R.V., 'to make known', R.V.m.). The context in *Diognetus* viii, 5 leaves either rendering open, though εἶδεν (Stephanus's emendation of the MS. εἶπεν) favours 'has

known', since 'seeing' and 'knowing' God are frequently associated (Irenaeus, *Haer.* iv, 20, 6 and 11).

αὐτός, i.e. God. Emphatic, as in Matt. i, 21; Acts xx, 35.

6. ἐπέδειξε δὲ sc. εαυτόν. Cf. John xxi, 1 (ἐφάνηρῶσεν δὲ οὐτως). The verb ἐπιδείκνυμι is used of God twice only in the Gk. Bible (Is. xxxvii, 26; Heb. vi, 17). Cf. xii, 3 below. διὰ πίστεως. Cf. Rom. iii, 25; Eph. iii, 17. For the meaning of 'faith' in the author's thought, see p. 40, and the note on ix, 4 (below). ἢ μόνη, 'by which alone' (instrumental dat.), rather than 'to which alone'. Faith enables men to see God who is ἀόρατος (vii, 2. Cf. viii, 5). Have we here a reminiscence of Heb. xi, 27? συγκεχώρηται, 'it is given', 'conceded', perf. with the force of existing state. συγχωρέω, a class. word found in LXX, inscr., pap.

7. From this point to the end of ch. ix the author addresses himself particularly to Diognetus's third question. See p. 92.

ὁ γὰρ δεσπότης . . . θεός. For the combined terms cf. 1 Clem. xx, 11; xxxiii, 2. δεσπότης (cf. iii, 2) is a title of God in LXX (Wis. vi, 7 *al.*), and in N.T. of both God and Christ (Lk. ii, 29; 2 Peter ii, 1). For δημιουργός (of God) see on vii, 2. It is frequent in later philosophy of God as Creator (Philo).

τῶν ὄλων is to be taken with both appellatives. Cf. Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 36: ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ δεσπότου πάντων καὶ πατρὸς θεοῦ. For ὁ τῶν ὄλων δεσπότης see Just. Mart., *Dial.* 140. With κατὰ τάξιν, cf. 1 Cor. xiv, 40.

φιλάνθρωπος. The adj. and its cognates commonly denote the 'humaneness' of a king towards his subjects. Cf. *Aristeas* 36, 208; 2 Macc. iv, 11; inscr. and pap. Here it is used of God (cf. φιλανθρωπία, ix, 2), who while being ὁ δεσπότης καὶ δημιουργός τῶν ὄλων is also 'a lover of men'. M.M., *Vocab.* 669 cite P. Oxy. VI, 925², ὁ θεός . . . φιλάνθρωπος καὶ δημιουργός (in a Christian prayer of v/vi A.D.).

μακρόθυμος, of God, as in ix, 2 (the verb); Exod. xxxiv, 6; *Hermas*, *Sim.* viii, 11, 1. The cognate substantive is frequent (of God) in the Pauline Epistles (Rom. ii, 4 *al.*).

8. χρηστός. For the χρηστότης of God (Ps. cxliv (cxlv), 7) cf. ix, 1, 2, 6; x, 4. As so used in the N.T. it expresses God's (a) gracious long-suffering (Lk. vi, 35; Rom. ii, 4. Cf. the substantive in Rom. xi, 22), (b) loving-kindness (Titus iii, 4; 1 Peter ii, 3). It is frequent in the Apostolic Fathers (1 Clem. ix, 1 *al.*).

καὶ ἀγαθός . . . καὶ μόνος ἀγαθός ἐστίν. Not mere repetition. The second statement amplifies the first: 'God is good . . . yes, He alone is good' (the sole source of goodness). For the thought, cf. Mk. x, 18 (= Matt. xix, 17; Lk. xviii, 19).

ἀόργητος. The only negative quality in the list. The word is not used of God in the Gk. Bible, perhaps because of the frequent references to the ὀργή and θυμός of God. But Hellenistic-Jewish writers had already sounded this note (cf. *Aristeas*, 254: "one must know that God directs the whole world with kindness, all anger apart"), taken up by Christian writers. Cf. 1 Clem. xix, 3: "let us consider how free from wrath (ἀόργητος) is He toward all His creatures"; Aristides, *Apol.* 1 (Syr.): "anger and wrath He possesses not". Athenagoras, *Suppl.* 21, marks the same feature in heathen gods. *Per contra* see Theophilus, *ad Autol.* i, 3: "is God angry? Yes, He is angry with those who act wickedly", etc. See E. R. Bevan, *Later Greek Religion*, p. 215, n. 2.

For an impressive passage on the moral qualities of God in 'forbearing' with men see 2 Esdras vii, 62-8 [132-8].

9. The idea of God's counsel with the pre-existent Logos has been traced to Gen. i, 26, ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κτλ. It is reflected in *Hermas*, *Sim.* ix, 12, 2: "the Son of God is older than all his creation, so that he was the Counsellor (σύμβουλον) of his creation to the Father". Cf. also *Barn.* v, 5. Theophilus, *ad*

Autol. ii, 18, commenting on Gen. i, 26, writes: "to no one else than His own Word and Wisdom did He say, 'Let us make'", and again (ii, 22), "for before anything came into being He had him (the Word) as His Counsellor (σύμβουλον), being His own mind and thought".

The above references relate to the counsel of the Son in *creation*. The thought in *Diognetus* is rather that the Son shares in the plan of *redemption*, which he was to effect by his being sent to men (cf. viii, 11; ix, 1). It may be that the author has in mind Isaiah ix, 6 (N^{CA} AV), where the ideal Messianic King is described as *θαυμαστός σύμβουλος*, which Clem. Alex. (*Paedag.* i, 24) reproduces in his quotation. Cf. the '*admirabilis, consiliarius, Deus fortis*' of Irenaeus, *Haer.* iv, 33, 11. For the idea that the Logos not only shared in the divine counsel but also revealed it to men (*D.* viii, 11), perhaps suggested by the *μεγάλῃς βουλῆς ἄγγελος* of Isaiah ix, 5, cf. Hippolytus, *in Dan.* iii, 9: *ὁ δὲ λόγος ἀκούσας τὴν βουλήν τοῦ πατρὸς καταβὰς ἀπὸ οὐρανῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἀνήγγειλεν*. See also Just. Mart., *Dial.* 56, 76, 127, 128, and see note above (on vii, 2 *ἄγγελος*).

ἄφραστον. Poetical word (Homer, Aeschylus), emerging again in later prose. Cf. *Test. XII. Patr., Test. Levi* viii, 15 (*v.l.*) of the *παρουσία*.

ἐννοίαν, 'design', 'intent' (Heb. iv, 12), i.e. the Incarnation. Cognate acc. *ἀνεκοινώσατο*. So Bunsen, Gildersleeve, and others for the MS. rdg. *ἦν ἐκοινώσατο*. For *ἀνακοινῶω* (Plato, Xen.), cf. 2 Macc. xiv, 20. For the thought, see ix, 1.

μόνη τῷ παιδί. Stephanus and Krenkel think that some words have fallen out after *τῷ παιδί*. It would seem that *παῖς* and *υἱός* are used in the Epistle as practical equivalents expressing the filial relationship of Christ to God. Note that the epithets *ἀγαπητός* and *μονογενής* (which may be virtually synonymous. See on viii, 11) are used of *παῖς* (viii, 11) and *υἱός* (x, 2) respectively. If we can at all refine here, Christ as *παῖς* shares and reveals the Father's plan of salvation (viii, 9, 11; ix, 1); as *υἱός* he is 'sent' and effects it (ix, 2, 4; x, 2). Note the interchange of the two terms in *Wisd.* ii, 13, 18 (cf. 16), xii, 19, 20 f., in *John* iv, 46, 47, 50, 53 (the nobleman's *υἱός*), 51 (*παῖς. v.l. υἱός*), and (of the Word) in Hippolytus (see the passages cited in Add. Note C, below). See Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, pp. 277 ff. *παῖς*, "in later Christianity easily fused with *υἱός* when applied to Jesus" (H. J. Cadbury in *Beginnings* V, 369). Cf. Origen, *Con. Cels.* vii, 9 (*θεοῦ παῖς*), 10 (*θεοῦ υἱός*).

The usage of *παῖς* in Acts (iii, 13, 26; iv, 27, 30) probably arises from the LXX occurrence of the term in Second Isaiah to denote the 'Servant' (lii, 13 *al.*), though it is also used in the O.T. of the great men of Israel (Moses, etc.). *Matt.* xii, 18 specifically applies the *παῖς* of Is. xlii, 1 to Jesus. Cf. *Didache* ix, 2 f.; *Barn.* vi, 1; ix, 2. In these passages *παῖς* is rightly rendered 'servant'. See the discussion in *Beginnings*, I, 391; IV, 46 f.; V, Add. Note 29; A. E. J. Rawlinson, *The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ*, Appended Note II, 238 ff.; Vincent Taylor, *The Atonement in New Testament Teaching*, p. 26, n. 1.

It is the filial relationship of Christ to God that dominates our author's mind. Hence we render *παῖς* as 'Child', not 'Servant'. Cf. especially *Mart. Polyc.* xiv, 1: *ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ εὐλογητοῦ παιδὸς σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατῆρ*. See also xiv, 3. Lightfoot detects the higher sense of *υἱός* in the ambiguous word *παῖς* in 1 Clem. lix, 2 (see his note *ad loc.*) and cites *Apost. Const.* viii, 5, 14, 39, 40, 41.

10-11. The essential points in these sections (the divine design for long kept secret—the possible charge against God of neglect of man—the revelation through the Son of the plan prepared from the beginning—the consequent blessings contrary to all man's expectations) are drawn from Paul's teaching, and there is some similarity in language also. See especially *Rom.* xvi, 25 f.; 1 *Cor.* ii, 7-10; *Eph.* iii, 4 f.; *Col.* i, 26 f. Note the prevalence of the terms *μυστήριον*, *ἀποκάλυψις* (*ἀποκαλύπτω*), *φανερῶω*, and the idea of the prolonged 'hiddenness' of the divine plan (cf. the phrases *χρόνοι αἰώνιοις*, *πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων*, *ἐτέραις γενεαῖς*, *ἀποκεκρυμμένον*

ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν γενεῶν). The *δοσα ἤτοιμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν* of I Cor. ii, 9 (a citation) suggests τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἠτοιμασμένα of *Diognetus* viii, 11, and Paul's question in Rom. viii, 32 the words πάνθ' ἅμα παρέαχεν ἡμῖν (*Diognetus* viii, 11. Cf. also I Tim. vi, 17).

ἐν μυστηρίῳ is better taken with κατεῖχεν ('He held it in a mystery and guarded His wise counsel') rather than with the whole phrase κατεῖχεν . . . βουλήν. The second clause then virtually repeats the notion of the first.

αὐτοῦ. It is unnecessary to read αὐτοῦ with Bunsen and others. See I Pet., ii, 9 and cf. I Clem. xix, 3: εἰς τὸ μακρόθυμον αὐτοῦ βούλημα.

ἐδόκει, 'he seemed', personal use as in Acts xvii, 18.

For the marginal comment in the MS. at the end of § 10 see Radford, pp. 73 f. I I. τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ παιδός, (a) 'beloved Child' (= ἠγαπημένος. Cf. Ps. xlv (xlv) title; I Clem. lix, 2), or (b) 'only Child' (= μονογενής. Cf. x, 2 below; *Marl. Polyc.* xx), a sense found in class. Gk. (Dem. xxi, 165) and LXX (Gen. xxii, 2; Jer. vi, 26). ἀγαπητός is frequent in the *Ascension of Isaiah* (i, 4 *al.*) as a title of the Messiah. Cf. Mark i, 11, ix, 7; and see J. Armitage Robinson, *Eph.* pp. 229 ff.; C. H. Turner in *J.T.S.* xxvii (1925-6), 113 ff. For φανερώω (of God) cf. ix, 2, and (of the Word) xi, 2.

τὰ . . . ἠτοιμασμένα. The idea of divine 'preparation' from the beginning in the interest of God's people is familiar in the N.T. (Matt. xx, 23; xxv, 34; I Cor. ii, 9).

νοῆσαι, ἃ τίς. So Lachmann conjectures for the MS. ποιῆσαι τίς. See Otto, p. 192.

προσεδόκησεν. Cf. ix, 5: 'O the unexpected (ἀπροσδοκῆτων) blessings!'

IX

To the third question why Christianity was late in appearing the author replies as follows. God permitted men during the pre-Christian period to be under the dominion of sin, until both their own inability to attain life and the inevitable reward of sin were fully manifest. This He did in His forbearance and by wise design. Then at the appointed time God in His patience and love gave His own Son as Ransom for men. In none other than Him, the Righteous One, is there salvation.

I. πάντ' οὖν ἤδη . . . οἰκονομηκώς. So Lachmann's reconstruction, which most edd. accept. Others follow the MS. rdg. πάντ' οὖν ἤθει . . . οἰκονομικώς, on the interpretation of which see Radford's note (p. 74 f.). οἰκονομηκώς, 'late for ἄκονομηκώς' (Gildersleeve). For οἰκονομέω in the general sense 'plan', 'arrange', cf. 3 Macc. iii, 2; Polyb. iv, 67, 9. See note on οἰκονομία (iv, 5).

σὺν τῷ παιδί. σὺν, 'in association with', here only in the Ep. though frequent in compounds. σὺν is little used in Attic prose, apart from Xenophon. So also in the N.T. it is comparatively rare, being mainly Lukan (Lk. ii, 13; Acts x, 23 *al.*). In both the class. and Hellenistic language μετά, c. genit. prevails, of which *Diognetus* shows only four instances, all in the Appendix (xi, 8; xii, 1, 6, 9). For τῷ παιδί see note on viii, 9.

τοῦ πρόσθεν χρόνου. Cf. ix, 6: ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ. The good class. word πρόσθεν seems to decline from the beginning of the Christian era. It is absent from both LXX and N.T. and is rare in pap. of the period.

For the notion of the contrasted seasons (below), τῷ τότε τῆς ἀδικίας καιρῷ and τὸν νῦν τῆς δικαιοσύνης, Otto cites Pauline teaching (Rom. iii, 21-6; v, 20; Gal. iv, 4; Eph. ii, 1-9; Acts xvii, 30. Add Titus iii, 3-7). For our author this 'former time' was not so much one of men's ignorance (cf. Acts xvii, 30, ἀγνοία) as of their 'iniquity' (ἀδικία).

ἀτάκτοις φουαῖς, 'inordinate impulses'. The phrase has a philosophic ring.

G. Milligan, *Thess.* p. 152, cites references to ἀτακτοὶ ἡδοναί from Plato, *Legg.* ii, 660B; Plut., *de lib. educ.* § 7, p. 5A. For ἀτακτος, cf. 3 Macc. i, 19. φοραῖς, cognate instrumental dat. Class. word found in inscr., pap., and Polyb., but here in a late sense. Used of the 'surge' of the passions in Longinus, *de Subl.* 32.

ἡδοναῖς. See note on vi, 5. For the collocation with ἐπιθυμίας cf. 4 Macc. v, 23; Titus iii, 3.

ἀπαγομένους. So Otto conjectures for varying rdgs. See his note (193). The figure is vivid, 'in the clutches of pleasures and lusts', ἀπάγω having commonly the sense 'to arrest', sometimes with the added nuance, 'to lead away to death' (Gen. xxxix, 22; Acts xii, 19; 1 Cor. xii, 2).

οὐ πάντως . . . ἀνεχόμενος, and οὐδέ τῶ . . . δημιουργῶν, anticipating possible objections. See p. 15. ἐφιδόμενος, 'gloating over', as in Xen. *Hellen.*, iv, 5, 18, ἐφιδόμενος τῷ δυστυχήματι. ἀνεχόμενος. Cf. Is. lxiv, 11 (of God); Matt. xvii, 17 (of Christ). For the abs. use cf. Job vi, 11; 1 Cor. iv, 12. Note the Pauline insistence on the 'fornbearance' of God (Rom. ii, 4; iii, 25 f.).

καιρῶ, 'season', 'period' (ix, 2). Cf. χρόνος ('course of time'), below, and see G. Milligan's note (*Thess.* p. 63). If the change of word here is deliberate, then καιρός is used as the qualitative word (as properly in class. Gk. and generally in the N.T.), being defined by ἀδικίας and δικαιοσύνης, whereas χρόνος is general, lacking a defining genitive. But it is not always possible to press the distinction (cf. Acts i, 7).

συνευδοκῶν, a late and common verb (Polyb., inscr., pap.), here with dat. of the thing (1 Macc. i, 57; Lk. xi, 48).

τὸν νῦν (so Hefele, for the MS. τὸν νῦν). Sc. καιρόν (Rom. iii, 26; viii, 18). τῆς δικαιοσύνης, i.e. the time of 'the One Righteous' (ix, 5). So also Christians endure martyrdom 'for the sake of righteousness' (x, 8). δημιουργεῖν is appropriately used of divine 'fashioning' (cf. the substantive in ix, 5). See Philo, *de opif. mundi*, 16; 1 Clem. xx, 10; xxxviii, 3. For ἐλεγχθέντες see on ii, 8.

ἐκ . . . ἔργων, 'from', 'out of' (source). But the sense approximates to that of instrument, 'by our own works'. Cf. 2 Cor. ii, 2; Rev. ii, 11.

ἀνάξιοι ζωῆς. Stated positively in § 2, κόλασις καθ' ἑαυτοὺς.

ὑπὸ . . . ἀξιωθῶμεν, 'we may be deemed worthy by the agency (ὑπὸ) of God's goodness' (for χρηστότης see on viii, 8). In verbs in -ῶ derived from adj. of moral meaning the factitive sense is modified = 'to regard as', rather than 'to make'. See Moulton-Howard, *Gram.* p. 397, and cf. Gen. xxxi, 28; 2 Thess. i, 11; Heb. iii, 3. Note δικαιοῶ (ix, 4, below).

τὸ . . . ἀδύνατον. Otto refers to John iii, 5. There may be also an echo of Mark x, 27 (= Matt. xix, 26; Lk. xviii, 27). Note ἀδύνατον . . . τῆ δυνάμει . . . δυνατοί. See p. 14.

καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, 'of ourselves', a common periphrasis for the personal genitive. Cf. *Aristeas*, 147: ἰσχύι τῆ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, 2 Macc. iv, 21: τῆς καθ' αὐτὸν ἀσφαλείας, Eph. i, 15: τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς πίστιν. Since man was long under the sway of 'inordinate impulses' he came ultimately to complete moral impotence. 'Unworthiness of life' (ἀνάξιοι ζωῆς) and 'inability to enter the kingdom of God' (τὸ . . . ἀδύνατον κτλ.) are regarded as virtually equivalent (cf. ix, 6, τὸ ἀδύνατον τῆς ἡμέτερας φύσεως εἰς τὸ τυχεῖν ζωῆς). The two notions sometimes correspond in the N.T. (Mark ix, 43-7; x, 17, 24, 25).

2. The thought and language show kinship with Titus iii, 4-5 (note χρηστότης and φιλανθρωπία. See Field, *Notes*, pp. 147 f., 222 f.).

πεπλήρωτο. The syllabic augment is omitted from the pluperfect pass., as also in πεφάνερωτο. (For the usage in the Gk. Bible see Thackeray, *Gram.* pp. 190 f., Moulton-Howard, *Gram.* pp. 190 f., Bl.-Deb. § 66, 1).

πληρῶν is used of ethical 'fulfilment', whether good (John xvi, 24) or bad (Dan. viii, 23; Matt. xxiii, 32).

κόλασις και θάνατος. In apposition to *μισθός*, 'its reward, namely', etc. See note on vii, 8.

προέθετο. Of the divine purpose, 'set before himself', as in Eph. i, 9. Cf. the technical Pauline *πρόθεσις* (Rom. viii, 28 *al.*).

λοιπὸν. Probably 'henceforth' (Heb. x, 13 *al.*), though the sense 'at last' (Acts xxvii, 20) would fit the context. In either case the word should be taken with *φανερῶσαι*, not with *προέθετο*.

ὡ τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης . . . τοῦ θεοῦ. The text is uncertain. If the MS. *rdg.* *ὡς τῆς . . . μίας ἀγάπης* be followed the sense would be 'how (*ὡς*) the one love of God in its surpassing kindness', etc. But Lange, followed by most edd., reads *καὶ ἀγάπης*. See Otto's note (pp. 194 f.). For the exclamatory *ὦ*, *c. genit.*, cf. ix, 5 (*ter*).

For *ἀγάπη* see Meecham, *The Letter of Aristeas*, p. 63, and the references there given. See especially Stauffer's treatment of *ἀγαπάω* (*Th.W.*).

οὐκ ἐμίσησεν . . . θνητῶν. F. Probst thinks that this is a fragment of a Christian hymn. See Otto, and notes on vii, 4 (above), xi, 3 (below).

ἀπώσατο, of God's 'rejecting' His people, as in Rom. xi, 1-2 (Ps. xciii, 14). The class. verb *μνησικακέω* occurs five times in the LXX (Gen. i, 15 *al.*), but not of God. The thought, however, of the divine 'forgetfulness' of man's sins is familiar (Is. xliii, 25; Jer. xxxi, 34). Cf. especially Hermas, *Sim.* ix, 23, 4: *εἰ ὁ θεός . . . οὐ μνησικακεῖ τοῖς ἐξομολογουμένοις κτλ.*

ἠρέσχετο . . . ἀνεδέξατο. The MS. has *ἠρέσχετο λέγων κτλ.* Lachmann reads *ἐλάων λέγων*. Hefele omits *λέγων* (so Gildersleeve). Otto (text) omits the whole passage, *ἠρέσχετο . . . ἀνεδέξατο*. He thinks that *ἠρέσχετο* merely unfolds *ἐμακροθύμησεν*, that the words *λέγων . . . ἀνεδέξατο* are a textual gloss from Is. liii, 4, 11, and instances other possible glosses in ix, 6 (*sub fin.*), vii, 4 (*βία . . . θεῶ*). The phrase 'took upon Himself our sins' means that God in His concern for man acted as though man's sin was His own and hence planned to do away with it by giving His own Son as ransom. Later Patristicism is not here in view. For *ἀνεδέξατο* cf. Epict. iii, 24, 64: *ὁς οὕτως ἡμερος ἦν καὶ φιλόανθρωπος ὥστε . . . τοσοῦτους πόνους . . . ἄσμενος ἀναδέχεσθαι* (of Diogenes). The verb is used in the pap. with a legal nuance ('become surety for'). Cf. 2 Macc. viii, 36, and see below (x, 6). *αὐτὸς . . . αὐτὸς*. Emphatic repetition (vii, 2).

ἀπέδοτο λύτρον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. The mid. is appropriate, 'to give up of one's own will', 'part with' (so Moffatt on Heb. xii, 16). The thought is clearly based on Mark x, 45 (= Matt. xx, 28): *δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν*. *Diogenetus* enlarges it in the following clauses: *τὸν ἅγιον κτλ.* The *λύτρον* (see Westcott, *Heb.* pp. 295 ff.; Abbott, *Eph.* pp. 11 ff.) was necessary, since men were 'in the clutches of pleasures and lusts' (ix, 1). Cf. Eph. i, 7 (*ἀπολύτρωσις*); 1 Tim. ii, 6 (*ἀντὶλύτρον*); Titus ii, 14 (*ὁς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἵνα λυτρώσῃται κτλ.*).

No exegetical importance can be attached to the change from Mark's *ἀντὶ* to *ὑπὲρ*. The two prepositions are not infrequently interchanged. In the probable reminiscence of the Marcan saying in 1 Tim. ii, 6 we have *ὑπὲρ πάντων* (cf. Mark xiv, 24). *ὑπὲρ* seems occasionally to approximate to the idea of substitution. Cf. Plato, *Gorgias*, 515C: *ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἀποκρινοῦμαι*, Xen., *Anab.* vii, 4, 9: *ἐθέλοις ἂν, ὦ Ἐπίσθενης, ὑπὲρ τούτου ἀποθανεῖν*; Philemon 13 ('as your deputy', Moffatt), P. Oxy. II, 275 (A.D. 66): *ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἰδὸτος γράμματα*.

ἀνόμων. Otto prefers to read *τῶν ἀνόμων* to balance *τῶν κακῶν*, etc. For Christ's association with the 'lawless' see Lk. xxii, 37 (= Is. liii, 12).

τὸν ἄκακον, 'innocent' (Job viii, 20; Jer. xi, 19). Used of Christ as High Priest in Heb. vii, 26.

τὸν δίκαιον . . . ἀδίκων, a reminiscence of 1 Pet. iii, 18. The alignment of the term *δίκαιος* with other adj. shows that it is descriptive, not a title of the Son (as in Acts iii, 14; vii, 52; xxii, 14). This is made clear in ix, 5 by the absence

of the art. ('in one who is righteous'). We may compare 1 John ii, 1, 'Jesus Christ, being, as he is, righteous'.

τὸν ἀθάνατον. For the apparent redundancy after τὸν ἀφθαρτον Otto cites Just. Mart., *Dial.* 117: ἀφθάρτους καὶ ἀθανάτους.

3. The 'covering' of sins is a Scriptural idea. See Ps. xxxi (xxxii), 1; lxxxiv (lxxxv), 3; Jas. v, 20 (see Mayor's full note); 1 Pet. iv, 8. The author's meaning is that the righteousness of Christ 'covers' men's sins in the sense of 'making atonement' for them (cf. the force of the Heb. קָפַר in the Ps. (lxv, 4 *al.*)). Note that it is the δικαιοσύνη of the Son (cf. § 5) that thus 'covers' sins. See above, p. 25. καλύπτω is a word of Ionic origin (Nägeli, *Wortschatz*, p. 27). The simplex, common in Homer and the poets, is rare in Att. prose. For Hellenistic cf. *Aristeas*, 87; Exod. xxiv, 15; Matt. x, 26. For the form ἡδυνήθη, see p. 11.

4. δικαιωθῆναι, 'to be justified'. This rendering best preserves the ambiguity of δικαιώω (cf. § 5), which means strictly 'to declare or deem righteous' (see note on ἀξιώω, ix, 1). But the notion 'to make righteous' is not excluded when the verb is used of the divine dealings with men. (So Moberly, *Atonement and Personality*, p. 335, n. 1). See Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, 28 ff., C. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks*, 42 ff. Our author's thought is deeply Pauline (cf. Rom. iii, 26, 30; iv, 5; viii, 30, 33; Gal. iii, 8). The place of 'faith' in the work of justification is doubtless present to his mind, though not explicitly named. For the use of the term 'faith' see p. 40.

ἀνόμους . . . ἀσεβείς. For the conjunction cf. 1 Macc. vii, 5; Ps. l, 15. The former term has here a positive ring, 'those who violate law' (1 John iii, 4).

5. ὦ τῆς γλυκείας ἀνταλλαγῆς. For exclamatory ὦ, c. genit., see ix, 2, and for a rhetorical series of exclamations as here, Clem. Alex., *Quis Div. Salv.* ch. 35. The context suggests that the 'exchange' is one of *state* rather than of *person*, of wickedness for justification, not the substitution of Christ for men. ἀνταλλαγή is a very rare word.

ὦ τῆς ἀνεξιχνιάστου δημιουργίας, 'O heavenly workmanship past finding out!' (Newman, *A Grammar of Assent*, p. 474). ἀνεξιχνίαστος is perhaps a 'biblical' word, though formed on classical precedents (see LS. on ἐξιχνεύω, Aesch., *Agam.* 368). It is found in Job v, 9, ix, 10, as here, in reference to God's creativeness, and perhaps borrowed by Paul (Rom. xi, 33; Eph. iii, 8). Cf. 1 Clem. xx, 5. For δημιουργίας cf. 1 Clem. xx, 6, and see note on ix, 1.

ὦ τῶν ἀπροσδοκῆτων εὐεργεσιῶν, referring to viii, 11 (ἀ τίς . . . ἡμῶν), i.e. to share in His blessings (εὐεργεσιῶν).

ἵνα ἀνομία κτλ. The ἵνα clause is explanatory of the three preceding exclamations, the ἵνα, following late usage, denoting *content* not purpose (cf. John xv, 13; xvii, 3 *al.*).

The contrast of the 'One' righteous with the 'many' wicked is drawn from Rom. v, 12 ff. (see especially verses 15, 18). δικαίω . . . δικαιοσύνη . . . δικαιοῦση. For the stylistic feature see p. 14. κρυβῆ; the second aorist pass. form ἐκρύβην is late (Gen. iii, 10; John viii, 59). See Bl.-Deb. § 76, 1.

6. ἐλέγξας. Sc. ὁ θεός, to which also the pronouns αὐτοῦ and αὐτόν (below) relate. For ἐλέγχω see on ii, 8.

ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ, i.e. before the Son came. Cf. ix, 1, μέχρι τοῦ πρόσθεν χρόνου.

τὸ ἀδύνατον . . . φύσεως. This pregnant phrase resumes the thought of the second half of ix, 1 (ἐν τῷ τότε . . . γενηθῶμεν). From the classical down to the Byzantine period the neuter sing. of common adjectives is used with the art. as a substantive expressing an abstract idea, often followed by a genit. as here. It is a frequent usage in the higher κοινή (Bl.-Deb. § 263, 2). Cf. *Aristeas*, 122; Rom. viii, 3; 1 Cor. i, 25; 2 Cor. viii, 8.

εἰς τὸ τυχεῖν ζωῆς. The construction is used in place of the so-called object infinitive after τὸ ἀδύνατον (expressing *inability*). See Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, §§ 747-9). It is a virtual equivalent of the construction ἀδύνατον εἰσελθεῖν (ix, 1. Cf. δυνατὸν σώζειν, ix, 6). Cf. Habakkuk i, 8: πρόθυμος εἰς τὸ φαγεῖν.

νῦν δὲ τὸν κτλ. The νῦν is emphatic and in contrast with ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ. The term ὁ Σωτήρ is found here only in the Epistle. It is infrequent also in Paul (Eph. v, 23; Phil. iii, 20), the Gospels (*ter*), and the Apostolic Fathers (2 Clem. xx, 5 *al.*).

τὰ ἀδύνατα. A cryptic phrase. Either (a) 'even powerless creatures' or (b) 'even in the sphere of the impossible', taking τὰ ἀδύνατα as acc. of respect. If so, σώζω is used absolutely (Matt. viii, 25).

For the thought cf. Lk. xviii, 27: τὰ ἀδύνατα παρὰ ἀνθρώποις δυνατὰ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἔστιν.

ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων. The position of the phrase suggests that it goes with ἐβουλήθη, 'in both ways His will was', etc. The thought runs as follows. God has proved man's inability to attain life in time past and has now shown the Saviour's ability to save. In both these ways His will was that men should believe His goodness and regard Him as guardian, etc. Otto thinks that the passage shows the influence of Is. xi, 2-3, xii, 2 on our author. But the connexion is not obvious. For a similar list of appellatives (of God) see Theophilus, *ad Autol.* i, 3.

τροφέα. This and the following terms are not titles of God, but descriptive of His role towards men. For τροφεύς cf. *Hermetica*, I, p. 390, 12 (ed. W. Scott): τῷ δημιουργῷ ὡς πατρὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ τροφῆι χρηστῷ. The cognate verb is used of God in Baruch iv, 8. Cf. the *v.l.* τροφοφορεῖν in Deut. i, 31; Acts xiii, 18. For σύμβουλος (of the Son) see note on viii, 9 (above). For φῶς (of God) cf. 1 John i, 5, 7. τιμὴ and δόξα are frequently combined, usually in the reverse order, and used in reference to God in Ps. viii, 6; Rom. ii, 7, 10.

περὶ . . . μεριμᾶν. So the MS. and most edd., including Lake. Otto and Lightfoot omit the words as a gloss (on τροφέα) drawn from Matt. vi, 25, 28, 31, 'in *textum inepte importatum*' (Otto). This view is probably correct, for the notion of 'care for clothing and food' is not only alien from the context, but almost from the entire Epistle. God's provision of temporal necessities is stated in iii, 4, but nowhere does the idea of man's anxiety in this regard occur. Moreover, the clause savours of an anticlimax, following the glowing description of God's moral qualities. On the other hand, some sequence is apparent: men believing on God's goodness will think of Him as guardian, etc., and so be free from care for material needs. Atonement for man's sin and provision for his daily needs alike attest the χρηστότης of God, who 'bestowed upon us all things at once' (viii, 1). Cf. Rom. viii, 32.

X

The author now draws some practical conclusions from the Christian belief in God and redemption, intermingling after the Pauline manner paraenesis (note the resumption of the second person of address; see note on vii, 8) and exposition. He reaffirms that God loved men and gave them privileges which culminated in the sending of the Son and the promise of the heavenly kingdom. The knowledge of this manifested love fills men with joy and moves them to an answering love which seeks to imitate the goodness of God. A man can copy God, when He wills. For true happiness does not consist in domination, wealth, and power; it lies rather in the service of the weak and needy. There is the true *imitatio Dei*. And such a life of well-doing brings in its train new insight and judgement.

1. ταύτην . . . τὴν πίστιν. The words, emphatic by position, may refer specifically to the faith in God's goodness enjoined in ix, 6. But probably the wider

sense of the term, as used in viii, 6 ('faith, by which alone it is given to see God') is intended. Here, as there, no object of faith is assigned.

ἐὰν ποθέης, καὶ λάβῃς κτλ. If this, the MS. rdg., be accepted, the twofold conditional sentence lacks an apodosis. So Krenkel, Funk, and Lake. Editorial conjectures show much variety. (1) Otto reads καὶ λήψῃ, regarding it as the apodosis ('you shall also receive', etc.). See his note (pp. 197 f.). (2) Gildersleeve suggests καταλάβῃς ἂν κτλ. ('you must gain'). (3) Lachmann prefers ἐπιποθέσῃς, καὶ λάβοις (optatives expressing a wish, 'mayest thou desire . . . and gain'). So Bunsen. (4) Gebhardt reads ἐὰν ποθέῃς, κατάλαβε, and so Geffcken. (5) Scheibe would emend to κἂν λάβοις.

There is no need to depart from the MS. rdg. The second καὶ does not necessarily introduce an apodosis; it may well begin another protasis. The loss of apodosis may be due to a lacuna in the text or to the digression of thought in § 2. For such apoepitosis, cf. Dan. iii, 15; Lk. xiii, 9. Moreover, the MS. rdg. brackets 'this faith' and 'knowledge of the Father' as conditional elements of some unspecified consequences, and this is better than to make (as 4) faith consequent upon gaining knowledge of the Father, a view which reverses the dictum of viii, 6, cited above.

For ποθέω cf. iii, 1 (c. infin.); xii, 8 (of God).

ἐπίγνωσις πατρὸς. J. Armitage Robinson, *Eph.* pp. 248 ff., argues that ἐπίγνωσις denotes not 'complete knowledge', but knowledge directed to (ἐπι) a particular object. πατρὸς, obj. genit. Cf. 2 Pet. i, 2 (θεοῦ). God is here named 'Father' (there is no art. in the three occurrences of the term) in relation to both the Son or Word (xi, 2; xii, 9) and to man, as § 3 implies. See p. 21, n. 3.

A. D. Nock (*J.T.S.* xxix (1927-8), 40), retaining καὶ λάβῃς, would emend to ἐπιγνώσῃ πατέρα.

2. This section is in the nature of a digression (§ 3 resuming or being correlated to § 1. Note μὲν . . . δέ). But it gives in brief compass a comprehensive survey of God's gifts of love to men in creation, redemption, and sanctification.

ὁ γὰρ θεὸς κτλ. A free recollection of John iii, 16. Cf. 1 John iv, 9, and see below, x, 3: τὸν οὕτως προαγαπήσαντά σε.

δὲ οὖς ἐποίησε τὸν κόσμον, a point frequently stressed by early Christian writers. Cf. Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 10: "we have been taught that He in the beginning did, of His goodness, for man's sake (δὲ ἀνθρώπων), create all things," etc.

So also *Apol.* ii, 4, διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος. Cf. *Dial.* 41. See also *Apology of Aristides* i (Syr.); Hermas, *Mand.* xii, 4, 2. The universalism of this note contrasts with the Jewish view of a chosen race, as, e.g. 2 Esdras vi, 55 f., "O Lord . . . thou hast said that for our sakes thou hast created the world. But as for the other nations that are descended from Adam, thou hast said that they are nothing and that they are like spittle" (cf. vii, 11). For other references see note by E. H. Blakeney (*J.T.S.* xlii (1941), 193 ff.) and his ed. of the Epistle, pp. 74 ff. οὖς ὑπέταξε . . . γῆ. See note on καὶ ὑποτέτακται (vii, 2).

λόγον, here = 'reason' (see on vii, 2). Cf. Epict. i, 3, 3: ὁ λόγος δὲ καὶ ἡ γνώμη κοινὸν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς (cited in Sharp, *Epictetus and the New Testament*, p. 127), Just. Mart., *Apol.* ii, 7: παρὰ λόγον καὶ νοῦν.

οὖς . . . ἐπέτρεψεν. (1) 'whom alone He permitted to look upward to Him' or (2) 'on whom alone He enjoined that they should look upward to Him' (Lake). (1) is preferable, and is the prevailing sense of ἐπέτρεπω in the N.T.

For αὐτὸν Lachmann (so also Lightfoot) conjectures οὐρόν, a contraction of οὐρανόν (cf. Matt. xiv, 19). The thought is akin to that of Col. iii, 1-2 (the quest of τὰ ἄνω).

It is gratuitous to see here, with Geffcken (p. 26), a loan from essentially Stoic thought. The passage he cites from Xen., *Mem.* i, 4, 11 affords no real parallel. There the regard of the gods for men is seen in the fact that they made

man alone, of all animals, of upright posture, and the whole context stresses man's superiority to the animals. More relevant is Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* ii, 56: "He (the Deity) has made us of a stature tall and upright, in order that we might behold the heavens and so arrive at the knowledge of the gods". Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* ii, 1, 15, cites a passage from Ovid, *Metamorphoses* i, 84 ff., enshrining the same idea. On this 'upright form' peculiar to man, see Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, Series II, n. 7, pp. 164 f. See Blakeney, pp. 77 f., for further references.

But the setting in *Diognetus* makes no such contrast between man and lower creatures, although the insertion of *μόνοις* in the clause may be significant in that regard. What seems to be more decisive is the meaning of the words 'to look upward to Him'. It is improbable that they refer merely to man's physical stature. The author is recounting the initial blessings man has received at the Creation, and these are mental and spiritual in character. A *physical* reference would be an intrusion in the series 'reason'—'mind'—'in His own image'. The phrase 'to look upward to Him' is a figurative description of man's capacity for aspiration Godwards, being thus in line with the preceding and especially the following words ('whom He made in His own image'). Philo stresses this very point, that man's likeness to the image of God is not bodily: "the resemblance is spoken of with reference to the most important part of the soul, namely, the mind", etc. (*de opif. mundi* 69). Gen. i, 26 ff. is a sufficient source for the thought of *Diognetus* x, 2. Man by divine gift has the ability to look up to God. Hence the frequent exhortations of psalmist (Ps. cxxiii, 1 *al.*), prophet (Is. xl, 26), and apostle (Col. iii, 1). Athanasius (*de Incarn.*) associates the upward look with man's knowledge of God. Cf. xii, 6; xiv, 7; xlv, 3.

ἐκ . . . εἰκόνας, 'in accordance with' (cf. Hdt. i, 64; John iii, 34; 2 Cor. viii, 11; and pap.) His own image', for which *κατ' εἰκόνα* is more usual in the Gk. Bible (Gen. i, 27; Col. iii, 10). See the note on *εἰκών* in Lightfoot, *Col.* pp. 142 ff. ἐπλασε, of God's 'forming' (Gen. ii, 7 f., 15; 1 Tim. ii, 13). πλάσσω, 'form' is perhaps a literary variation on ποιέω, 'make' (above). The two verbs are interchanged in Rom. ix, 20 f. Contrast also Gen. i, 27 (ποιέω), ii, 7 (πλάσσω). The metaphor of the potter applied to God is frequent in the O.T. (Is. xlv, 9; lxiv, 8; Jer. xviii, 4 ff.). *Test. XII Patr.*, *Test. Naph.* ii, 2 ff. draws out the comparison between God's creation of man and the work of the potter.

ἀπέστειλε . . . μονογενῆ. From 1 John iv, 9. μονογενής, 'unique' (1 Clem. xxv, 2), 'only', of children (Tob. iii, 15). Cf. John i, 14, 18; iii, 16, 18. See note on viii, 11 (above). On ἀπέστειλε, see vii, 2.

τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλείαν. In ix, 1 τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. Our author has virtually both the Matthean (τῶν οὐρανῶν) and the Lukan (τοῦ θεοῦ) equivalents. The passage οἷς τὴν . . . αὐτόν is apparently borrowed from Jas. ii, 5 (cf. also i, 12). For the idea that Christians receive or inherit the kingdom, cf. Matt. v, 3; 1 Pet. i, 4; 2 Thess. i, 5. For τοῖς ἀγαπήσασιν αὐτόν cf. xii, 1, τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν ὁρθῶς.

3. ἐπιγινούς δέ, 'and when you have this knowledge', i.e. of the Father (x, 1). τίνας . . . σε; for these N.T. reminiscences see above, p. 56. On οὕτως see p. 11. προαγαπήσαντά. The verb is apparently confined to late and ecclesiastical writers (it is not registered in LS⁹). An obvious coinage from 1 John iv, 19.

4-6. Here the author reverts to the practical issues of faith. See note on ch. v (*imit.*). The thought is that if a man loves God he will seek 'to imitate His goodness'. And this will be seen not in dominance over one's neighbour (how alien is such an attitude from God Himself!), but in helpful service to those in need. In a word, love towards God must express itself in love towards man. Here the influence of 1 John (iv, 11 f., 20 f.) is marked.

ἀγαπήσας. Coincident aor. participle, 'by loving'. On μιμητῆς ἔση . . . γενέσθαι θεοῦ see Additional Note A. For the *χρηστότης* of God, see viii, 8.

δύναται θέλοντος αὐτοῦ. The genit. abs. here only in the Epistle, with the possible exception of iii, 5. The reference of αὐτοῦ is uncertain. (1) 'it is possible when he (ἄνθρωπος) will'. (2) 'he can, if God willeth it', αὐτοῦ referring to θεοῦ. So Lightfoot. Cf. Acts xviii, 21. This is probably the better view, for, although the context stresses man's own moral effort to imitate God (cf. μιμητῆς γενέσθαι), as in all N.T. instances, it is the divine grace and initiative that enables men to imitate God.

For δύναμαι used absolutely see 4 Macc. xiv, 17b; 1 Cor. iii, 2; x, 13.

5. A negative definition of happiness (εὐδαιμονεῖν). Geffcken (p. 26) thinks that we have here an echo of familiar Platonic conceptions. But in the two passages he cites (*Gorgias*, 488b; *Repub.* 349b) Plato is concerned with the concept of justice (τὸ δίκαιον), not happiness.

The precept (οὐ γὰρ τὸ καταδυναστεύειν) is no doubt intended to be of general application. But, since καταδυναστεύω is frequently used of men in authority misusing their power (Wisd. xv, 14; xvii, 2; Sir. xlviii, 12 *al.*), this may be the shade of meaning here. Cf. βιάζεσθαι τοὺς ὑποδεετέρους (5). It would have especial point, if Diognetus held official rank. See pp. 92 f.

For καταδυναστεύω, c. genit., cf. Diod. Sic. xiii, 73: καταδυναστεύσειν τῶν πολιτῶν, Jas. ii, 6; *Hermas, Mand.* xii, 5, 1. In the LXX it always takes the acc. (Wisd. ii, 10 *al.*). It is practically a *Koinē* word, first found in Xen.

βιάζεσθαι. See note on vii, 4. τοὺς ὑποδεετέρους, lit. 'inferior', i.e. 'poorer'. Cf. 1 Clem. xix, 1: τὸ ὑποδεές, 'submissiveness'.

τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλειότητος. For the 'majesty' of God cf. Ign., *ad Rom.* (heading): ἐν μεγαλειότητι πατρὸς ὑψίστου, also Josephus, *Con. Apion.* ii, 168: πρέποντα τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσει καὶ μεγαλειότητι, and 2 Pet. i, 16. The suggestion is that the majesty of God is the majesty of love. Cf. the use of the term in the story of the healing of the demoniac child (Lk. ix, 43).

6. τὸ . . . βάρος. Perhaps there is a sidelong glance at Gal. vi, 2 (βασιτάζω). The thought, however, is familiar. The βάρος is general, 'something hard to be borne' (cf. Acts xv, 28), though the nuance 'financial burden', as in the pap. (P. Giss. i, 7, A.D. 117), would fit the sense of ἀναδέχομαι (see on ix, 2) and is in keeping with what follows. Cf. 2 Cor. xi, 9 (ἄβαρής).

κρείσων . . . ἐλαττούμενον. For the spelling see above, p. 11.

ἐθέλει. In the Gk. Bible always θέλω (not ἐθέλω). Note θέλει in xi, 7.

ὁς ἄ. So van Hengel conjectures for the MS. ὅσα. With τοῖς ἐπιδουμένοις (abs. as in Sir. xxxiv, 21) cf. τοὺς ὑποδεετέρους (above). For the communism of the early Christians see Acts ii, 44 f.; *Apol. of Aristides* xv; Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 14. θεὸς γίνεται τῶν λαμβανόντων. See Additional Note B.

7. τότε, 'then' (note the repetition in §§ 7, 8), i.e. in consequence of such well-doing there follows insight into 'the mysteries of God' and a new valuation of men and the world. Knowledge waits on doing. Cf. John vii, 17. For τυγχάνων see on ii, 1.

πολιτεύεται. The verb means (a) 'to live the life of a citizen', (b) more generally, 'to live' (see note on v, 4, above), (c) 'to rule', 'govern'. Cf. Dem. ii, 29 (of citizens); 1 Clem. xiv, 6 (of bishops); and pap. (M.M., *Vocab.* p. 526). As here used of God (a rare application) it probably carries the sense of (b). Man's lot (τυγχάνων) is on earth; God 'lives' in heaven (for the latter thought see Eph. vi, 9: ὁ κύριός ἐστιν ἐν οὐρανοῖς. Cf. Matt. v, 16 *al.*). But the meaning may well be 'God rules in heaven'. So Radford ('ruleth').

μυστήρια θεοῦ λαλεῖν. For μυστήριον see on iv, 6. Cf. 1 Cor. xiv, 2: πνεύματι δὲ λαλεῖ μυστήρια. The Christian knows God's 'secret counsel' (contrast Wisd. ii, 22).

ἐπι τῷ μὴ θέλειν, 'on the ground of their unwillingness'. For the construction see p. 12. For ἀρνήσασθαι θεόν see on vii, 7 (τὸν κύριον). θαυμάσεις. Cf. x,

8. In Att. Gk. the future commonly takes the mid. form. For the act. form of the future cf. Plut., *Mor.* 823 f.; Deut. xxviii, 50; for the mid. Is. xlii, 23.

For 'the deceit and error of the world' cf. iv, 6, ἀπάτη (of the heathen world), viii, 4, πλάνη (of the heathen philosophers). See 2 Pet. ii, 18 (τοὺς ἐν πλάνῃ ἀναστροφεομένους, i.e. the heathen); Hermas, *Sim.* vi, 3, 3; 2 Clem. vi, 4.

ἐπιγνώσις. So Lachmann, Bunsen, and others. The MS. reads ἐπιγνώση. Cf. x, 8 (*fin.*).

ὅταν . . . καταφρονήσης. A suggested emendation adopted by Otto (text), τότε . . . καταφρονήσεις, relates the clause in sequence to the preceding ὅταν . . . ἐπιγνώσις. This, however, would interrupt the succession of ὅταν clauses balancing that of the foregoing τότε clauses.

τοῦ δοκοῦντος ἐνθάδε θανάτου contrasts with τὸν ὄντως θάνατον, perhaps a Platonic touch. Note too the implied double contrast with τὸ ἀληθῶς ἐν οὐρανῷ ζῆν. In heaven life is 'true' (ἀληθῶς); here on earth (ἐνθάδε) death is merely 'apparent' (δοκοῦντος). Have we here a reflection of the saying of Jesus (Matt. x, 28)? For the use of ὄντως as an attributive adj. cf. 1 Tim. v, 3, 5, 16, vi, 19 (τῆς ὄντως ζωῆς), Athenagoras, *Synchl.* 7 (τὸ ὄντως θεῖον).

The striking phrase, τοῦ δοκοῦντος ἐνθάδε θανάτου, is probably a reminiscence of Wisd. iii, 2: ἔδοξαν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀφρόνων τεθνάναι.

ὅς φυλάσσεται . . . αἰώνιον. Cf. 2 Pet. ii, 9: σιδεν κύριος . . . ἀδίκους δὲ εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως κολαζομένους τηρεῖν. For τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον cf. 4 Macc. xii, 12; Matt. xviii, 8; xxv, 41; Jude 7. αἰώνιος, 'perpetual', of unknown duration', being associated with such terms as βίανος (4 Macc. ix, 9), κόλαισι (Matt. xxv, 46), gained an eschatological sense, the future punishment of the wicked. See above, p. 42. It is needless to see here "a cryptic reference to Heraclitus" (Blakeney, pp. 9, 83). The context and language suggest rather reflections of the N.T.

μέχρι τέλους, 'up to the end', a semi-technical phrase (Wisd. xvi, 5; xix, 1; Dan. vii, 26; Heb. iii, 14), modifying κολάσει. Eternal fire punishes 'up to the end'.

It is interesting to notice how § 7 takes up three points in Diognetus's first question. Diognetus had asked about (1) the kind of God whom the Christians believe in and worship, their (2) disregard of the world, and (3) contempt for death. The author now says in effect: when you are a Christian, Diognetus, you yourself will (1) know that God lives in heaven and be able to 'speak His mysteries', (2) understand the Christians' disregard of the world (its 'deceit and error'), and (3) love and admire the Christians who endure punishment (i.e. death) rather than deny God (such death is only 'apparent').

8. τοὺς ὑπομένοντας . . . μακαρίσεις, a virtual repetition of τότε τοὺς κολαζομένους . . . θαυμάσεις (7). See pp. 134 f. For the association of the terms ὑπομένω and μακαρίζω cf. Dan. xii, 12; 4 Macc. vii, 22; Jas. i, 12. For ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης see note on τὸν νῦν τῆς δικαιοσύνης (ix, 1).

θαυμάσεις τὸ πῦρ . . . μακαρίσεις. The MS. rdg. is uncertain. Reuss (see Otto, p. 202, n. 19) restores it thus: θαυμάσεις τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο καὶ μακαρίσεις. Through scribal disarrangement this becomes τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο θαυμάσεις καὶ μακαρίσεις, which Otto (3rd ed.) prints. This is the rdg. of Haus's copy and is adopted by Geffcken (text). On this rdg. τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο is antithetical to ἐκεῖνο τὸ πῦρ. The emendation τὸ πρόσκαιρον (with the order θαυμάσεις τὸ κτλ) is followed by many edd. (Funk, Lightfoot, Lake) and contrasts well with τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον (7). Cf. 4 Macc. xv, 2, 3; 2 Cor. iv, 18.

The allusion is to the fires endured by Christian martyrs. Otto refers to Just. Mart., *Dial.* 110: "for it is plain that, though beheaded, and crucified, and thrown to wild beasts and chains and fire", etc., and to the letter to the Church at Smyrna (Eus., *H.E.* iv, 15), which gives an account of Polycarp's

martyrdom at the stake. With the present passage cf. Polycarp's words: "you threaten with the fire that burns for a time (*πρός ὥραν*), and is quickly quenched, for you do not know the fire which awaits the wicked in the judgement to come and in everlasting punishment" (*αἰωνίου κολάσεως*), *Mart. Polyc.* xi, 2.

ἐκείνο τὸ πῦρ. Sc. τὸ αἰώνιον (7).

Ch. x is plainly incomplete. The MS. shows a lacuna after *ἐπιγνώως* and adds a marginal note: *καὶ ὠδε ἐγκοπὴν εἶχε τὸ ἀντίγραφον*. See p. 64. Blakeney supplies "by way of makeshift": (*ὅ ἐστιν ὁ δεύτερος θάνατος*). It is probable that the gap is not considerable, since the questions raised in the Preface have been dealt with, and the Epistle ends appropriately in ch. x on the paraenetic note.

XI

As a disciple of apostles I speak and teach with right the truths that have been handed down. These truths the Word has plainly revealed to disciples, who, being deemed faithful, thus gained knowledge of the mysteries of the Father. The Word was sent to appear to the world; he was dishonoured by God's own people, but proclaimed by the apostles, and believed on by the heathen. He is from of old, yet is ever young in the hearts of the saints. This eternal Word is now accounted a Son, and the Church inherits the riches of his grace, grace which works variously in the life of the Church. The individual too it enables to understand the message which the Word speaks through chosen men. For all things which the Word moves us to speak we share with you, out of love for what he has revealed.

1. *ξένα*, 'foreign to' (the apostolic faith). Cf. the *διδαχαὶ ξένα* of Heb. xiii, 9. For *ὁμιλῶ c. acc.*, cf. xi, 7. Bunsen conjectured *ζηλῶ* (for *ζητῶ*).

ἀποστόλων γενόμενος μαθητῆς. The meaning of the phrase depends on the sense of the term *ἀπόστολος*. In the N.T. the term is used in (a) a particularized sense, indicating those who exercised general authority given directly by Christ, and sometimes limited to the Twelve (Acts i, 2 ff., 17, 25 f.), (b) a wider sense, of one engaged in the service of the Gospel, almost a 'missionary' (Acts xiv, 4, 14; Rom. xvi, 7). In our Epistle *ἀπόστολος* is confined to the appended chapters (xi, 1, 3, 6; xii, 5, 9). In xii, 5 *ὁ ἀπόστολος* (= Paul) is clearly used in the narrower sense, and the context favours that reference in the remaining four passages. This limitation of meaning agrees with the general usage of the Apostolic Fathers (1 Clem. xlii; Ign., *Rom.* iv), though the *Didache* (xi, 3 ff.) apparently employs the term in the wider sense. The writer of the appended chapters may indeed be claiming that he was personally a pupil of the apostles, though the phrase in itself need imply nothing more than his acceptance of apostolic teaching.

διδάσκαλος ἐθνῶν (cf. 1 Tim. ii, 7; 2 Tim. i, 11 (*N^o CD al.*)). He represents the Gentiles as believing on the Word (xi, 3). For the significance of this phrase for the probable connexion of chs. xi-xii with the end of Hippolytus's *Philosophumena*, see Connolly (*J.T.S.* xxxvii (1936), 13). For *ἐθνῶν* see on xi, 3.

τὰ παραδοθέντα. One of several terms (*παράδοσις, πίστις, κήρυγμα*) denoting the 'traditions' about Jesus which became part of the basis of the faith. Cf. the note on *μάθημα* (v, 3) and Additional Note D. See also Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma I*, 155, f.

ἀξίως ὑπηρετῶ. So Funk and Lake. Bunsen, Gildersleeve, and Lightfoot read *ἀξίως ὑπηρετῶν*. Bunsen later read *ἀξίως*. The MS. has *ἀξίως ὑπηρετῶ*. The dat. *γινόμενοις κτλ.* goes with *ὑπηρετῶ* rather than (as Lake's translation) with *παραδοθέντα*.

For *ὑπηρετῶ, c. acc.* (*τὰ παραδοθέντα*) and dat. (*γινόμενοις*), cf. Plato, *Symp.*, 196 C: *πᾶς γὰρ ἕκων Ἔρωσι πᾶν ὑπηρετεῖ*.

With *γινόμενοις ἀληθείας μαθηταῖς*, i.e. presumably catechumens, cf. 1 Tim. ii, 4: *εἰς ἐπιγνώσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν*.

2. *λόγῳ προσφιλῆς γενηθείς*. The MS. reads *λόγῳ προσφιλεῖ γεννηθείς* 'begotten by the loving Word'. Read (with Bunsen) *γενηθείς* and (with Prud. M.) *προσφιλῆς*. See Otto's note (p. 203). It is improbable that *λόγος* should be used in such close contiguity in two senses ('word' and 'Word'), as Lake's translation implies. The absence of the art. is not decisive against this view. See note on *θεός* (p. 21, n. 3). Read the title 'the Word' throughout.

προσφιλῆς may be taken in either (a) a passive sense 'beloved' (of the Word), for which cf. Sir. iv, 7, xx, 13, or; more probably, (b) active, 'kindly-affectioned' (to the Word). Cf. Thuc. vii, 86. It is used absolutely in Phil. iv, 8.

διὰ λόγου, the Word being the medium of the revelation. But when *διά* is followed by a *personal* genit. mediate approximates to direct agency (= *ὑπό c. genit.*). See Meecham, *L.A.* pp. 144 f.

εἰσέφανέρωσεν. *Sc. αὐτά*. Cf. John xxi, 2. *φανείς*, 'on his appearance' (to the world). Cf. § 3. *παρρησία λαλῶν*. A Johannine phrase (John vii, 26; xvi, 29; xviii, 20), except Mark viii, 32.

ἀπίστων . . . πιστοί. In the act. sense, 'unbelieving' . . . 'believing'. Cf. John xx, 27. 'Faithful' best renders *πιστοί* as covering both its act. and pass. signification. Cf. xi, 5. *διηγούμενος*, 'expounding'. Lachmann and Bunsen conjecture *διηχοούμενος* (pass.), 'bruted' (by the disciples). But the emphasis lies on the *training* of the disciples.

λογισθέντες, 'accounted', almost 'found (to be)'. Cf. xi, 5, and Neh. xiii, 13, *πιστοί ἐλογίσθησαν*. For *πατρός μυστήρια* cf. *μυστήρια θεοῦ* (x, 7). Cf. *εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ θεοῦ* (Col. ii, 2).

3. *οὐ χάριν*, 'for which cause'. Lake takes *οὐ* as masc., 'for his sake'. But who then is meant? It can hardly be the remote *τίς ὀρθῶς διδαχθείς κτλ.* (§ 2 *ad init.*), though it is true to the tenor of the Epistle to say that the Word was sent for man's sake (cf. vii, 3 ff.; x, 2). If *οὐ* refers to God or the Word the sense is difficult. For the neut. ('wherefore') cf. Lk. vii, 47.

χάριν is placed after its case as generally in class. Gk. So also in N.T. except 1 John iii, 12. In LXX and pap. it generally precedes a Hellenistic use (Bl.-Deb. § 216, 1). For *ἀπέστειλε* see on vii, 2.

ὑπὸ λαοῦ ἀτιμασθείς. Cf. John viii, 49: *καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀτιμάζετέ με. λαοῦ . . . ἔθνων*. The terms are regularly contrasted in the LXX: 'the chosen people (Israel)' . . . 'the heathen'. Cf. also Lk. ii, 32. See Kennedy, *Sources of New Testament Greek*, p. 98; Hort on 1 Pet. ii, 9.

διὰ ἀποστόλων κηρυχθείς. If *διά* is here differentiated from the two occurrences of *ὑπό, c. genit.*, the apostles are the media of the preaching. But see note on *διὰ λόγου* (§ 2).

The last two clauses are perhaps reminiscent of 1 Tim. iii, 16 (probably a fragment of an early Christian hymn): *ἐκκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν, ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ*. F. Probst suggested that §§ 3-6 may have a similar origin. See notes (above) on vii, 4, ix, 2, and also p. 14.

For the thought of § 3b cf. Acts xiii, 46-8.

4. *οὗτος ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*. Cf. 1 John ii, 13, 14, John i, 1, and see xi, 5 (below): *οὗτος ὁ ἀεί. εὔρεθείς*, 'found to be', 'proved'. Cf. 1 Cor. iv, 2 *al.* On the thought of xi, 4-5 see Additional Note C.

καινός . . . νέος. If the class. distinction is intended, the Incarnation of the Son is qualitatively "a new departure in God's ways with men" (Radford), and a recurring new experience in the hearts of men. But the distinction is often blurred in late Greek. For the opposition of *καινός* and *παλαιός* see Matt. xiii, 52; Eph. iv, 22-4.

ἐν . . . γεννώμενος. Causal, supplying the reason for *νέος*. This is preferable to taking *νέος* closely with *γεννώμενος*, 'being born young', an otiose statement. This mystical note of the indwelling Christ is both Pauline (Rom. viii,

10; Gal. ii, 20) and Johannine (John xiv, 20; xvii, 26). It is frequently stressed in Ignatius (*Magn.* xii; *Smyrn.* iv, 1). The thought is amplified in the following section (5) in the words ἡ ἐκκλησία . . . πληθύνεται. For parallels in Hippolytus see R. H. Connolly in *J.T.S.* xxxvii (1936), 8 f.

5. ὁ σήμερον υἱὸς λογισθεῖς. An obscure phrase. Its ultimate source is probably Ps. ii, 7, interpreted as a Messianic prediction by the author of πρὸς Ἐβραίους (i, 5; v, 5). Whether or not we can fix our author's σήμερον to denote a feast of the Nativity (Lake) or a celebration of Easter Day (Radford; cf. Paul's citation of Ps. ii, 7 in Acts xiii, 33), the term obviously refers to the Christian era. So Heb. (iii, 7, 13, 15) seems to interpret the σήμερον of Ps. xcv, 8. For the sense of λογισθεῖς see on xi, 2.

ἡ ἐκκλησία. Stephanus and many edd. insert ἡ. Otto thinks that the art. is unnecessary and cites ἐκκλησίας χάρις (xi, 6) and 1 Cor. xiv, 4. See pp. 12 f. χάρις . . . πληθύνεται. See above, p. 52. This 'grace' is unfolded or extended in its influence. ἀπλόω, a late word. Cf. Job xxii, 3.

διαγγέλλουσα καιρούς. In what sense does grace proclaim seasons? Bunsen thinks the reference is to the direction of the Church by the Spirit on the question of the times of festivals (cf. the collocation of 'the Lord's Passover' and 'the seasons' in xii, 9). More probably the meaning is that grace proclaims the times of fulfilment of the promises. Cf. the use of διαγγέλλω in Acts xxi, 26. See W. Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, p. 301, and Schniewind in *Th.W.* i, 67.

χαίρουσα ἐπί, c. dat. Cf. Baruch iv, 33; Matt. xviii, 13 *al.* Class. Gk. has simple dat. and also ἐπί, c. dat. For πιστοῖς see on xi, 2. Here it is almost a technical term for the Christian brotherhood (cf. 1 Tim. iv, 3, 10).

ἐπιζητοῦσι δωρομένη. Cf. xi, 2: τίς . . . οὐκ ἐπιζητεῖ σαφῶς μαθεῖν, κτλ. The dat. of agent (οἷς) is used chiefly with the perf. and pluperfect pass. It occurs, however, with the present pass. (as here) in Thuc. Cf. iii, 64: τίνες ἂν οὖν ὑμῶν δικαιότερον πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι μισοῦντο; cf. also vi, 87, 3: τῶν ἡμῶν ποιουμένων. This usage of the dat. is probably an extension of the dat. of interest.

ὄρκια πίστεως. If Lachmann's conjecture, accepted by most edd., ὄρκια (for the MS. ὄρια) is read, the allusion is to the baptismal vows. πίστις, here and in xi, 6, is objective, 'the faith', i.e. a defined body of Church doctrine. Cf. Jude 3; the 'sound teaching' of 1 Tim. i, 10; Titus ii, 1; and Justin's "pure and pious faith" (*Dial.* 80). See below, p. 148.

ὄρια πατέρων. The bounds set by the Church Fathers relating to doctrine and discipline. Cf. Clem. *De Virg.* ii, 15, 5: 'haec fida sunt, haec vera et recta, hi limites, quos non mutant, qui recte in Domino conversantur' (see Funk ii, 26). See also Radford's note (p. 83).

παρορίζεται. Late word. Cf. P. Tebt. II, 410⁴ (A.D. 16): πρόσχε χάριν οὐ παρορίζεται ὑπὸ γίτονος, "give heed on account of the encroachments made by a neighbour" (cited in M.M., *Vocab.* p. 684b).

6. For the significance of the equation of law and prophecy with the gospels and apostolic tradition, see above, p. 51. Cf. also Theophilus, *ad Autol.* iii, 12: Gospels, Prophets, Law.

Note the series of short rhetorical clauses connected by καί, as also in xii, 9. R. H. Connolly (*J.T.S.* xxxvii (1936), 11 f.; xxxix (1938), 361) sees here a further link in the proof that xi-xii derive from a work of Hippolytus.

εἰτα marks the transition to a new point. Cf. *Barn.* vi, 3; Heb. xii, 9. νόμου, objective genit. ἄδεται refers to the chanting of the law in psalm or hymn. For the figure see Ign., *Eph.* iv; *Rom.* ii.

προφητῶν χάρις. See above, p. 52.

εὐαγγελίων πίσις. Note the plur. 'gospels'. The term is here used concretely of books (cf. the well-known passage in Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 66: ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασι, ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια) aligned with the law and the

prophets as sources for Christian instruction. On the other hand, it is the *oral* teaching of the apostles that is mainly in view (*ἀποστόλων παράδοσις*). See Additional Note D. The *πίστις* is again objective, as in xi, 5. For the phrase cf. Phil. i, 29.

ἐκκλησίας χάρις, 'grace which works in the Church'. Lachmann suggests *χαρά* (for the MS. *χάρις*), which goes fittingly with *σκιρτᾶ* (cf. Lk. i, 44). *χαρά* is a *v.l.* for *χάρις* in 2 Cor. i, 15 (*χαρᾶν* \aleph^o BLP), and *χάρις* for *χαρά* in 3 John 4 (*χάρις* B, Vg., Cop.). Cf. Clem. Alex., *Paed.* i, 5, 22: *μόνη αὐτῆ* (i.e. *ἐκκλησία*) *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας μένει χαίρουσα αἰ.* On the other hand, note the following *ἦν χάριν* (7), and the preceding notion (5) of the 'grace of the Church'.

7. *ἃ λόγος ὁμιλεῖ*. Cf. xi, 1. *δι' ὧν*, relative assimilated to the omitted antecedent. For *θέλει* see on x, 6.

8. The first person plur. is used because the author is including himself among the agents of the Word just mentioned (7). They are under a double constraint to impart Christian truth to others: the command laid upon them by the Word, and love of what has been revealed to them.

μετὰ πόνου is best taken with *ἐξειπεῖν* ('to declare under stress') rather than *γινόμεθα*. Connolly (*J.T.S.* xxxvii (1936), 6 f.) shows the close kinship of this phrase (and indeed of xi, 8-xii, 1) with passages in the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus.

ἐξ ἀγάπης κτλ. See Connolly (*ibid.*).

XII

Those who love God rightly become 'a paradise of delight', a fertile tree rich in varied fruits. Scripture records that God planted in the Garden the tree of knowledge and the tree of life. Both trees were planted together to show the intimate union of knowledge and life. This is the force of the Apostle's precept, "knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth". Wherefore 'let your heart be knowledge, your life the true word received (into the heart)'. This true word is a fruitful tree, yielding the harvest of blessings that God desires.

1. *ἐντυχόντες*, 'meet with', hence 'to read'. Cf. Plato, *Lysis*, 214B; Polyb. i, 3, 10; Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 26. For the conjunction of 'reading' and 'hearing' see 2 Macc. xv, 39. Note ch. i (above): the writer 'speaks' and the reader 'hears'. *οἷς*, i.e. the preceding *ῥα . . . μετὰ πόνου* (xi, 8). *εἰσεσθε*. Att. form of the future of *οἶδα*. Note the second person plur., but the sing. (*σοί, τρυγήσεις*) in xii, 7 f. See note on ii, 1.

ῥα . . . ὀρθῶς recalls the citation in 1 Cor. ii, 9b.

οἱ γινόμενοι παράδεισος τρυφῆς may refer to (1) *τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν ὀρθῶς*. So Lightfoot and Lake, or (2) *οἱ ἐντυχόντες καὶ ἀκούσαντες*, 'ye who become thereby', etc. So Otto and Radford. A point that perhaps favours the latter view is that the reader is pictured as a fruitful tree. Hoffmann's conjecture, *τρύγης* (cf. *τρυγήσεις* xii, 8), is improbable, since the phrase is taken from Gen. iii, 24 (cf. ii, 15). Also Joel ii, 3). It is figuratively applied, in view of their fertility, to those who love God rightly. Cf. Is. li, 3; Pss. of Sol. xiv, 2-3 (*ὁ παράδεισος τοῦ κυρίου, τὰ ξύλα τῆς ζωῆς, ὅσιοι αὐτοῦ*).

εὐθαλοῦν. Cf. Dan. iv, 4 (Theod.), P. Oxy. IV, 729²² (ii/A.D.): *τὰ φυτὰ εὐθαλοῦντα*.

ἀνατείλαντες. So Stephanus for the MS. *ἀνατείλατε*. Otto reads *ἀνετείλατε*. For the trans. use, found in Homer, cf. Gen. iii, 18; Matt. v, 45; 1 Clem. xx, 4. Lightfoot takes it as intrans., "growing up in themselves", making *πάγκαρπον ξύλον* in apposition to *παράδεισος*.

ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, 'in themselves'; if the alternative view (above) of *οἱ γινόμενοι κτλ.* is taken, 'in yourselves'.

ποικίλοις καρποῖς κεκοσμημένοι. In Herinas, *Sim.* ix, 28, 1, believers are likened to δένδρα καρπῶν πλήρη, ἄλλοις καὶ ἄλλοις καρποῖς κεκοσμημένα (cf. ix, 1, 10). ποικίλος, as in class. Gk., 'variegated', 'of divers hues'. Then, 'various'.

2. ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ (i.e. τῷ παραδείσῳ) . . . ζωῆς. Cf. Gen. ii, 9. See above, p. 54. πεφύτευται, 'there stands planted' (force of the perfect). So also in § 4. Contrast the aorist ἐφύτευσε (§ 3).

3. οὐδὲ . . . ἄσημα. Litotes. 'With significance'. The phrase perhaps suggests that there is an allegorical meaning behind the scripture. τὰ γεγραμμένα, i.e. the passage in Gen. ii, 8-9. The perfect tense denotes the abiding record (in Scripture). ὡς, 'how that' (= ὅτι).

ξύλον γνώσεως καί. Rightly inserted by Bunsen. The scribal omission might easily arise from the repetition of ξύλον.

διὰ . . . ἐπιδεικνύς. A compressed phrase. The meaning is that man's true life (cf. ζωῆς ἀληθοῦς, xii, 4) is to be gained through knowledge. For ἐπιδεικνύς see on viii, 6.

ἧ, i.e. γνώσει. Cf. Gen. iii, 7. καθαρῶς may refer to physical or moral 'purity'. If the former the reference is to the physical intercourse of the parents. Probably the latter sense is intended: they did not use their knowledge 'rightly'.

οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, 'the first parents'. This is preferable to taking ἀπ' ἀρχῆς with γεγύμνωται, 'they were in the beginning left naked'. Cf. ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς (xi, 4).

γεγύμνωται. Possibly metaphorical, 'were deprived of it' (i.e. knowledge or true life). If literal ('were left naked') the author gives a somewhat free interpretation of the Genesis story, which represents Adam and Eve as naked before their disobedience (ii, 25) and as awaking to their condition in consequence of yielding to the serpent.

4. This section is explanatory (note γάρ) of the statement that 'life is through knowledge', the connexion being momentarily interrupted by the words 'but our first parents . . . serpent'. There is thus a vital bond between sound knowledge and true life. Harnack (*Hist. of Dogma* I, p. 170, n. 1) says that this "classification is a Hellenic one, which has certainly penetrated also into Palestinian Jewish theology". It is Johannine in origin (cf. John xvii, 3) and is richly reflected in later writings. Cf. the Eucharistic prayer in the *Didache* (ix, 3): 'we give Thee thanks, our Father, for the life and knowledge (ὕπερ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως) which Thou didst make known to us through Jesus Thy servant'.

γνώσις ἀσφαλῆς (cf. 1 Clem. i, 2) may mean 'knowledge that is safe or secure'. But the association of γνώσκω and ἀσφαλῆς in Acts (ii, 36; xxi, 34; xxii, 30) suggests the sense 'certainty'. The meaning would then be that knowledge to be 'sound' must take account of religion (i.e. the true life).

διό. Here only in the Epistle. It is rare in the apologists generally. ἐκότερον, sc. ξύλον.

5. ἦν δύναμιν, i.e. the 'meaning' of both trees being planted together. For δύναμις, 'force', 'meaning', cf. Plato, *Crat.* 394B: ἡ τοῦ ὀνόματος δύναμις, 1 Cor. xiv, 11: τὴν δύναμιν τῆς φωνῆς, Polyb. xx, 9, 11: οὐκ εἰδότες τίνα δύναμιν ἔχει τοῦτο.

ὁ ἀπόστολος, i.e. Paul, who is thus included in the apostolate, as in Ign., *Rom.* iv, 3. Cf. also Athanasius, *de Incarn.* xxv, 5, where φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος introduces a citation of Eph. ii, 2. For Paul as 'apostle' see Gal. i, 1, 17; Acts ix, 15. See on xi, 1 (above).

εἰς ζωὴν may be taken with ἀσκομένην, 'knowledge exercised unto life apart from the truth of the commandment' (so Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, p. 194b). But it yields a better sense to take it as a pregnant phrase connected with προστάγματος, 'knowledge which is exercised apart from the truth of the commandment which tends unto life'.

What is the προστάγματος εἰς ζωὴν? If a precise injunction is meant it may

be the 'commandment' not to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil (Gen. ii, 16 f.; iii, 11, 17, *ἐντέλλομαι*). This, however, is negative in character and has no suggestion of *εἰς ζωήν*. Paul is more explicit in his *ἐντολή ἢ εἰς ζωήν* (Rom. vii, 10), where, though the immediate reference is to the tenth Commandment, he is allegorizing the Genesis story of the Fall. The term *πρόσταγμα* may, however, be used here quite generally by our author. Cf. John xii, 50 (*ἐντολή*). With *ἀληθεία προσαγματος* cf. *λόγος ἀληθής* (xii, 7).

6. *ὕπὸ τοῦ ὄφρου πλανᾶται*. Deception by the serpent (cf. § 3) here operates on a wider scale. Any man who lacks knowledge that is true and attested by life is its victim. The allegory of the Garden of Eden is present to the author's mind throughout the chapter.

ἐπ' ἐλπίδι . . . προσδοκῶν. Cf. the similar spiritual interpretation of 'ploughing' and 'threshing', *ἐπ' ἐλπίδι* (1 Cor. ix, 10). The note of patient waiting for fruit is frequently struck. Cf. Sir. vi, 19 (*ἀναμένω*); Jas. v, 7; 2 Clem. xx, 3 (*ἐκδέχομαι*).

7. A pregnant sentence. The meaning seems to be that the heart should be filled with the knowledge of divine things so that true teaching (*λόγος ἀληθής*), thus received in the heart, may become effectual in the life. For *λόγος* = 'teaching', cf. vii, 2 (above); John v, 24. We may compare *ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀληθείας* of the N.T. (Eph. i, 13; Col. i, 5; 2 Tim. ii, 15), and *ὁ περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀληθῆς λόγος* of Hippolytus, *Philos. x*, 34.

χαρούμενος. A difficult expression. Probably the meaning is 'received' (into the heart), i.e. 'comprehended'. Cf. Aelian, *V.H.* iii, 9: *ἴσον αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ χωρεῖ*. Also Matt. xix, 11 f.; Ign. *Trall.* v, 1. It may, however, mean 'being spread abroad', for which cf. Hdt. i, 122: *ἡ φάτις κεχώρηκε*. So also John viii, 37 (act.), "my word makes no headway among you!" (Moffatt). See Field, *Notes*, pp. 94 f. Bunsen prefers to read *χορηγούμενος*, 'offered' (to you), Hollenberg, *δαρούμενος*, 'presented'.

8. *οὐ*, 'of it', i.e. *λόγος ἀληθής*.

καρπὸν αἰρῶν. The MS. has *καρπὸν . . . ρῶν*. See Otto's full note for the various conjectures. Otto reads *εὐρῶν*, which (in ed. 2) he emended to *αἰρῶν*. But in ed. 3 he adopted Reuss's conjecture, *ὄρῶν*. Funk, Lightfoot, and Lake prefer *αἰρῶν*. *τρυφήσεις*: cf. Lk. vi, 44; Rev. xiv, 18 f.; 2 Clem. xix, 3. Bunsen would read *τρυφήσεις*, 'shall fare sumptuously on'. *παρὰ θεῷ*, 'with God', i.e. in His judgement. Cf. Rom. ii, 13; 1 Cor. iii, 19; Jas. i, 27.

οὐδὲ πλάνη . . . πιστεύεται. Some edd. (Bunsen, Hollenberg, Gildersleeve) read *οὐδὲ πλάνη συγχρωτίζεται* *Εὐα οὐδὲ φθείρεται*, 'Eve is not defiled with deceit, nor is she corrupted'. Ewald would read *οὐ* ('where') *οὐδὲ Εὐα κτλ.* See Radford's note (pp. 87 f.).

συγχρωτίζομαι is a rare word found in Diog. Laert. vii, 2: *ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν θεόν, εἰ συγχρωτίζοιτο τοῖς νεκροῖς*, "the god's response was that he should take on the complexion of the dead" (R. D. Hicks's trans.). The context of our passage supports the sense of sexual 'taint' found in a late writer (Eustathius, 1069, 1). Cf. also *Hermetica* (ed. W. Scott), I, 198, 19: *ἀνέχεσθαι συγχρωτίζομενον αὐτῇ παθητὸν σῶμα*, "to submit to contact with a body defiled by passion" (Scott's trans.).

Eve here probably denotes the Virgin Mary. From the story of the serpent's deceit the author's mind passes swiftly and naturally to "the second Eve". The purity of Eve (i.e. Mary) and the consequent Christian benefits specified in the following clauses ('and salvation is set forth', etc.) form the harvest (desired of God) of 'the true word'. The parallel between the Eve of Genesis and the Virgin Mary is familiar. Just Mart., *Dial.* 100, describes Eve as the mother of disobedience and death, but Mary as the mother of him through whom God destroys the serpent and delivers man from death. Irenaeus, *Haer.* iii, 22, 4, similarly contrasts the Virgin Mary found obedient and Eve disobedient: "for

she did not obey, being yet a virgin. As, having indeed a husband, i.e. Adam, yet being still a virgin . . . was made the cause of death . . . So also did Mary . . . by yielding obedience, become the cause of salvation". Irenaeus elaborates the contrast in v, 19, 1. This same parallel appears in Tertullian, *de Carn. Christi*, 17: "as Eve had believed the serpent, so Mary believed the angel. The delinquency which one caused by believing, the other by believing effaced".

Böhl thinks that the allusion is to the Virgin Mary, but takes *μοιρέσεται* in the act. sense, 'Mary exercises faith'. There would thus be a pointed contrast between Eve's enticement and transgression and Mary's confidence in the divine announcement (Lk. i, 26 ff.). Funk (i, 413) thinks that, while the allusion is to Eve, the author has in mind Mary the Virgin as a second Eve.

The idea that Eve lost her virginity through sexual seduction by Satan and so bequeathed infection to mankind is familiar in Rabbinic tradition. See Oesterley and Box, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, p. 240; Thackeray, *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, pp. 50 ff. Whilst this is not a Biblical notion, it may lie behind 2 Cor. xi, 2 f., the serpent which deceived Eve being regarded as identical with Satan. Cf. 4 Macc. xviii, 8; Slavonic Enoch xxxi, 3 ff.; Wisd. ii, 24 (possibly). Note the suggested analogy between Eve and Mary in this regard in the *Book of James*, or *Protevangelium*, xiii, 1.

9. For the stylistic feature of short sentences joined by *καί* cf. xi, 6. See p. 67. *σωτήριον δείκνυται*, 'salvation is set forth' (in the Gospel). For *σωτήριον* cf. Lk. iii, 6 (= Is. xl, 5), *Test. XII Patr.*, *Test. Sim.* vii, 1; *Test. Dan.* v, 10.

συνερίζονται. The verb occurs sixteen times in LXX (Neh. ix, 20; Pss. xv, 7; xxxi, 8). Cf. also Hermas, *Mand.* iv, 2, 1; *Test. Levi* iv, 5; ix, 8. All these instances show the act. voice and the meaning 'to give understanding', 'instruct'. Connolly (*J.T.S.* xxxvii (1936), p. 11) cites five occurrences of the verb in Hippolytus. For the pass. as here, cf. in *Dan.* iii, 2: *οἱ μακάριοι προφήται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος αἰ συνερίζομενοι*. In view of the fairly common use of the word to denote 'instruction' by the Spirit or the Lord, it is better to render the present passage 'apostles are given understanding'. If so, the thought would seem to be that the apostles have special divine enlightenment. Hence their tradition must be 'guarded' (xi, 6). Otto, however, points to the secondary sense of *συνερός* 'intelligible', and renders here 'are understood' (*intelliguntur*). Radford prefers 'are interpreted' (i.e. the writings of the apostles are read and explained), and points to Justin's reference to the reading of the "memoirs of the apostles" at the Sunday Eucharist.

καὶ τὸ . . . προέρχεται. This phrase may denote the time of the year when the passage was written, i.e. shortly before the Passover.

καιροί. So Sylburg for the MS. rdg. *κηροί*. Otto accepts *κηροί* ('wax candles' used by Christians at night to avoid persecution); Sylburg thinks that the reference is to the feasts at the three seasons (cf. Exod. xxxiv, 23, 24; Deut. xvi, 16). Funk (i, 413) thinks that the *καιροί* denote the seasons of the Christian year. Maran suggests *χοροί*. So Hefele. Other conjectures are *πηροί* (Lachmann), *κλήροι* (Bunsen). See Otto's note.

μετὰ κόσμον ἀρμόζονται. So Otto, Funk, Lake, Lightfoot (the last-named reads the [πάντα] *μετὰ κόσμου ἀρμόζονται* of Bunsen's suggestion (1854)). The MS. has *μετὰ κόσμου ἀρμόζεται*. On the spelling *ἀρμόζω* see p. 11.

καὶ διδάσκων . . . ἀμήν. On this passage see Connolly (*J.T.S.* xxxvii (1936), p. 10), who shows its close kinship, especially in the form of the doxology, with Hippolytean passages.

δόξα. Cf. ix, 6. The word here connotes 'visible splendour', 'radiance', a non-classical use which came in with the LXX as the translation of קְבוֹד. Cf. Exod. xxiv, 16; Acts xxii, 11 *al.* See Kennedy, *Sources*, p. 97; G. Milligan, *Thessalonians*, p. 27.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

A. THE IMITATION OF GOD (x, 4-6)

Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, Series II, pp. 138 ff., shows the dispersion of this religious ideal. In *Diognetus* it is the imitation of God especially in acts of beneficence that is in view. This aspect we may trace in:

The Letter of Aristeas, where kingly duty is constantly based upon God's benign rule of men. 'As God does good to the whole world, so also wouldst thou, by imitating Him, be void of offence' (210). See also §§ 190, 205, 281.

Philo, *de Judice* 73: 'men never act in a manner more resembling the gods than when they are bestowing benefits; and what can be a greater good than for mortal men to imitate the everlasting God?' (Yonge's trans.). Cf. also *de migr. Abrah.* 131: 'the end is, according to the most holy Moses, to follow God' (ἐπεσθαι θεῷ); *de Humanitate* 168: 'to imitate God (μιμεῖσθαι θεόν) as far as possible'.

Dio Chrysostom II, 26: 'a kindly disposition . . . and above all, rejoicing in acts of beneficence, which is the nearest approach to the nature of the gods'.

Ignatius, *ad Trall.* i: 'I received your godly benevolence . . . and found you . . . imitators of God' (μιμητὰς ὄντας θεοῦ). Cf. *ad Eph.* i, 1.

Aristides, *Apol.* xiv: 'and they (the Jews) imitate God by reason of the love which they have for man' (Syriac text).

Clem. Alex., *Paedag.* III, 1, 1: 'and knowing God he will be made like God, not by wearing gold or long robes, but by well-doing'.

Longinus, *De Sublimitate*, i, 2: 'for he answered well who, when asked in what qualities we resemble the gods, declared that we do so in benevolence and truth' (W. Rhys Roberts' trans.).

We need not assume here direct borrowing by the author of *ad Diognetum* from Hellenistic-Jewish sources as such. It is clear that the idea had long and wide currency in popular religious thought.¹ In view of the indebtedness of our Epistle to Pauline teaching the immediate source of the passage may be Eph. v, 1, where the ethical expression of beneficent acts is 'to walk in love'. Cf. also the teaching of Jesus (Matt. v, 44 f., 48; Lk. vi, 36). In 1 Cor. xi, 1; 1 Thess. i, 6, we have the *imitatio Christi*, a natural extension to the Son of the character faith recognized in the Father. See further in Add. Note B.

B. THE DEIFICATION OF MAN

'But whosoever takes upon himself his neighbour's burden . . . supplying to those in want the things which he has received and holds from God becomes a god to those who receive them'

¹ It was clearly reflected in Stoic teaching. Cf. Epictetus ii, 14, 13: "he, who would please and obey them (the gods), must try with all his power to be like them" in faithfulness, freedom, beneficence, and magnanimity; Marc. Aurelius vii, 31: "love the human race; follow God" (ἀκολούθησον θεῷ).

(x, 6). The meaning is that in virtue of such godlike service he becomes as a god to his beneficiaries, thus being truly an 'imitator of God'. The thought is akin to vii, 4: 'He sent him as God'. On "the variability and elasticity of the concept 'θεός'" see Harnack's valuable note (*Hist. of Dogma* I, 119 f., n. 1): "the genius, the hero, the founder of a new school who promises to show the certain way to the *vita beata*, the emperor, the philosopher (numerous Stoic passages might be noted here), finally man, in so far as he is inhabited by νοῦς—could all somehow be considered as θεοί, so elastic was the concept". See also A. D. Nock, *Journal of Hellen. Studies* xlvi (1928), 31, who thinks that the passage in *Diognetus* x, 6 is "important as showing how commonplace this mode of expression was at the end of the second century A.D.". See his note (51) for illustrative references; also W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, Appendix C.

Stephanus cites the Greek proverb ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπου δαιμόνιον. More apposite is a passage from the *Acts of John*, ch. 27 (ed. Lipsius and Bonnet, *Acta Apost. Apoc.* II, 166, 3-4): "but if, next to that God, it be right that the men who have benefited us should be called gods" (cited in the Greek original by Funk i, 408 f.). Note also Clem. Alex., *Paedag.* III, i, 5: "the man with whom the Logos dwells . . . is made like to God . . . and that man becomes God, for God wishes it".¹ Hippolytus, too, has the idea of the deification of man. Note the following from the *Philosophumena* (Legge's trans.):

x, 33: 'but if thou dost wish also to become a God, hearken to the Creator and withstand Him not now, so that being found faithful over a little, thou mayest be entrusted with much'.

x, 34: 'thou (wilt) have become God . . . thou hast been made divine, since thou hast been begotten immortal'.²

x (end): 'having hearkened to whose august precepts, and having become a good imitator of the Good One, thou wilt be like unto and be honoured by Him. For God asks no alms, and has made thee God for His own glory'.

Funk (i, 409) also quotes a saying from Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orat.* xiv, 26, 27, of the same tenor:

'Be thou a god to him that is in misfortune, imitating the mercy of God; for man has nothing which is so truly of the nature of God as the doing of good'.

Geffcken (p. 26) names similar passages in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii, 7, 18:

'For mortal to aid mortal . . . this is god . . . To enrol such men among the deities is the most ancient method of paying them gratitude for their benefactions' (H. Rackham's trans. of ii, 5, 18 f. in the Loeb ed.).

¹ See G. W. Butterworth, "The Deification of Man in Clement of Alexandria" (*J.T.S.* xvii (1916), 157 ff.). Also *op. cit.* 257 ff. (by C. Lattey).

² Harnack (*Hist. of Dogma* III, 164, n. 2) shows that the notion of man's deification, as understood by the Greek Church, consisted mainly in imperishableness.

Seneca, *De Benef.* VII, xxxi, 2 f. :

'Do as the gods, those glorious authors of all things do; they begin to give benefits to him who knows them not', etc. (J. W. Basore's trans.).

The author of our Epistle is evidently familiar with this current idea¹ that man may share in the divine nature and stand in the role of God to men.² But he has shaped it in the light of Johannine teaching that love and well-doing are integral to faith. Cf. John xiii, 34; 1 John iii, 16 f.; iv, 21. Note in the two former passages the association of beneficence with the 'imitation' of Christ.

C. THE SONSHIP OF THE LOGOS

The Appendix (xi, 4-5) has the noteworthy statement: 'This is He (the Word) who was from the beginning, who appeared as new and was proved to be old . . . He who is the eternal one, who to-day was accounted a Son (*ὁ σήμερον υἱὸς λογιθεῖς*).' May we trace here the idea of a progressive development from the status of *λόγος* to that of *υἱός* or *παῖς*? R. H. Connolly³ finds here one among many evidences that *Diognetus* xi-xii came from the hand of Hippolytus, who in one passage (ch. 15, given below) plainly asserts and in several others implies that the pre-incarnate Logos was not yet 'perfect Son of God'. He cites the following excerpts⁴ from the *Contra Noetum*, which we here reproduce in S.D.F. Salmond's trans. (*Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vol. IX):

Ch. 4: 'Yet there is the flesh which was presented by the Father's Word as an offering—the flesh that came by the Spirit and the Virgin, (and was) demonstrated to be the perfect Son of God'.⁵

Ch. 11: 'And the Father is the All, from whom cometh this Power, the Word. And this is the mind (or reason) which came forth into the world, and was manifested as the Son of God'.⁶

¹ For its prominence in Orphic religion see J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (3rd ed.), pp. 476 f., 662 (*θεὸς ἐγένου ἐξ ἀνθρώπου*). The theory of Euhemerus (c. 316 B.C.) bore on the question of the deification of Hellenistic kings by showing that even the older gods of Greece had been really no more than deified men.

² There are hints that even in the strict Jewish monotheism of the Old Testament the term 'god' was not rigidly exclusive. John x, 34 ff. (citing Ps. lxxxii, 6) implies an elastic use of the term 'god' to include men who were commissioned by God as His representatives. Many scholars think that the 'gods' addressed in that Psalm (cf. also Ps. lviii, 1 R.V.m.) are not heathen deities or angelic powers, but the rulers and judges of the time, who are given this title of honour as God's vicegerents on earth. Just. Mart., *Dial.* 124, in his interpretation of Ps. lxxxii thinks that it proves "that all men are deemed worthy of becoming gods, and of having power to become sons of the Highest".

³ *J.T.S.* xxxvii (1936), 2 ff.; xxxix (1938), 357 f.

⁴ See also *The so-called Egyptian Church Order (Texts and Studies*, viii (1916), pp. 164-5).

⁵ *τέλειος υἱὸς θεοῦ ἀποδεδειγμένος*.

⁶ *ἐδείκνυτο παῖς θεοῦ*.

- Ch. 15 : ' For neither was the Word, prior to incarnation and when by Himself, yet perfect Son, although He was perfect Word, only-begotten. Nor could the flesh subsist by itself apart from the Word, because it has its subsistence (*τὴν οὐσίαν*) in the Word. Thus, then, one perfect Son of God was manifested'.¹
- Ch. 17 : ' In the same manner also did He come and manifest Himself,² being by the Virgin and the Holy Spirit made a new man '.

As a further illustration of the idea Connolly cites Hippolytus, *de Antichristo* 3, where Hippolytus asks his addressee (Theophilus) to pray " that the things which the Word of God revealed in olden time to the blessed prophets, (the Word) who was again the Child of God,³ being of old the Word, but now also manifested⁴ in the world for our sakes as man, these he may make clear to thee through us ".

The notion that the Word ' was shown ' ⁵ in the Incarnation to be the perfect Son is thus expressly stated in Hippolytus. As Dorner ⁶ says of the Logos in the teaching of Hippolytus, " His Sonship, therefore, was a growing one, and first attained completion at the Incarnation ". *Diognetus* xi, 4-5 is briefer and less explicit than the passages cited above. If, however, on other grounds we accept the strong case for the Hippolytean authorship of xi-xii, then probably xi, 4-5 adumbrates the notion which appears in a developed form in Hippolytus's other writings.

D. GUARDED TRADITION

The writer of the appended chapters makes the interesting statement: *ἀποστόλων παράδοσις φυλάσσεται* (xi, 6). The association of apostolic tradition with the fear of the law, the grace of the prophets, and the faith of the gospels is significant. Among the Jews tradition was of major importance. Paul rated highly among his credentials ' in time past ' his zeal for ' the traditions of my fathers ' (Gal. i, 14). The orally-transmitted traditions were strictly observed by the Pharisees, and were the chief means of preserving the teaching of the great rabbis (Mark vii, 3 f. = Matt. xv, 2 f.). Josephus ⁷ speaks of *τὰ ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν πατέρων* in contradistinction to *νόμιμα τὰ γεγραμμένα* (in the laws of Moses). There are indications that ' guarded tradition ' played an important part in early Christian history. The need of garnering information about Jesus would be felt by Christians

¹ *εἰς υἱὸς τέλειος θεοῦ ἐφανέρωθη.*

³ *νῦν αὐτὸς πάλιν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ παῖς.*

⁵ *φανερῶω, δείκνυμι, ἀποδείκνυμι* (in the Hippolytean passages), *φαίνω* (in *Diognetus* xi, 2-4).

⁶ *Person of Christ* I, ii, 89.

² *ἐφανέρωσεν ἑαυτόν.*

⁴ *φανερῶθεις.*

⁷ *Antiq.* xiii, 297.

at a fairly early stage and would be intensified as the hope of a speedy *Parousia* began to fade. Some authoritative summary of Christian truth would be necessary for the instruction of converts and the equipment of missionaries, the more so since the earliest Christians had no New Testament in their possession or even within their purview. The following Pauline passages are significant :

- 2 Thess. ii, 15 : " Stand fast, and hold the traditions (*τὰς παραδόσεις*) which ye were taught, whether by word, or by epistle of ours " .
 2 Thess. iii, 6 : " That ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition (*τὴν παράδοσιν*) which they ¹ received of us " .
 1 Cor. xi, 2 : " Hold fast the traditions (*τὰς παραδόσεις*), even as I delivered (*παρέδωκα*) them to you " .

Two points of interest emerge here. (a) 'Paradosis' apparently included both doctrinal instruction and ethical guidance (cf. 1 Thess. iv, 1 ; Phil. iv, 9), the latter perhaps in the form of rules for Christian living.² (b) The written word begins to be conjoined with oral tradition as authoritative for faith. Paul in 2 Thess. ii, 15 (cited above) aligns the traditions he had either originated or transmitted to his converts 'by word' and what he had since written 'by epistle'.³ In 1 Cor. xi, 2 the tradition is that which Paul has himself received (*παραλαμβάνω*) either from (*ἀπό*) the Lord (1 Cor. xi, 23. Cf. vii, 10) or from those who have been 'in Christ' before him (1 Cor. xv, 3), and has delivered (*παραδίδωμι*. Cf. Luke i, 2) to others.⁴ We may confidently posit an amount of more or less fixed Christian tradition, oral and written. Cf. Paul's *τύπον διδαχῆς* (Rom. vi, 17). It is generally agreed that 1 Cor. xi, 23 f. ; xv, 3 f. show actual examples of such *παράδοσις*. Hence more generally 2 Tim. i, 13 f. bids the reader " hold the pattern of sound words which thou hast heard from me . . . that good thing which was committed unto thee guard " (*τὴν καλὴν παραθήκην φύλαξον*).⁵ Cf. 1 Tim. vi, 20. So also the

¹ Or ' ye ' (*v.l.*).

² In the Thessalonian passages above directions for Christian conduct seem to be in view, and there the nuance of the term *παράδοσις* is rather ' rule ' or ' instruction ' than ' tradition '.

³ Moffatt, *The Thrill of Tradition*, p. 176, n. 1, shows that it is the oral associations of *παράδοσις*, *παραδίδωμι* that predominated in primitive Christian usage, and cites the present passage (*Diognetus* xi, 6).

⁴ Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel* (E.T.), p. 21, shows that these two correlative terms are technical, having their equivalents in Jewish usage, both Palestinian and Hellenistic.

⁵ The metaphor in the term *παραθήκη* reflects the custom of depositing valuables for safe custody. The apostles have been entrusted by God with precious ' securities ', namely, the truth of the Gospel tradition. *Diognetus* vii, 1 f. insists that the Gospel is God's trust to men, which they must carefully guard (*φυλάσσειν*).

writer of Jude 3 exhorts "to contend earnestly for the faith which was once for all delivered to the saints" (τῇ ἀπαξ παραδοθείσῃ τοῖς ἀγίοις πίστει). See 2 Peter ii, 21, and similarly 2 Tim. ii, 2. See Mayor, *Commentary on Jude*, pp. 23, 61 ff., and art. 'Tradition', by L. Prestige in *Theology* xiii (1926), 8 ff.

The apologists frequently appeal to the authority of tradition as interpretative of Scripture. So Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 10: "We have received by tradition (παρειλήφαμεν) that God does not need", etc. . . . "and we have been taught (δεδιδάγημεθα) . . . and so we have received" (παρειλήφαμεν). Still earlier 1 Clem. vii, 2 exhorts the readers to come ἐπὶ τὸν εὐκλεῆ καὶ σεμνὸν τῆς παραδόσεως ἡμῶν κανόνα,¹ whilst Polycarp, *ad Phil.* vii, 2 urges a return "to the word which was delivered to us in the beginning" (ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡμῖν παραδοθέντα λόγον). The *Didache* iv, 13 has the more general injunction: φυλάξεις δὲ ἃ παρέλαβες. At a later time Clement of Alexandria² pays his grateful tribute to tradition, which he further insists is a unity.³

E. DIOGNETUS AND THE APOLOGY OF QUADRATUS

Dom P. Andriessen⁴ has recently revived and elaborated an interesting theory. His view is that the *Epistle to Diognetus* is to be identified with the *Apology of Quadratus*, which was formerly presumed to be lost apart from a fragment preserved in Eusebius, *H.E.* iv, 3. This Apology was presented to the Emperor Hadrian at the beginning of the second century A.D., Diognetus, the addressee, being no other than the Emperor himself. H. Kihn⁵ had examined Dorner's suggestion that

¹ The language here may be metaphorical, the 'rule' being the measure of the leap or race, and the 'tradition' referring to the example set by the Neronian martyrs.

² "Preserving the true tradition of the blessed teaching derived directly from the holy apostles Peter and James, John and Paul, the son receiving it from the father (though few sons were like their fathers), they [the missionaries] came by God's favour to us as well, in order to deposit these ancestral, apostolic seeds. Well do I know that they will rejoice. For, in my opinion, a soul desirous of preserving the blessed tradition unbroken may be described as follows: 'in a man who loves wisdom his father takes delight'" (*Strom.* i, 1, 11 f., quoted by Moffatt, *op. cit.* 77).

³ μία γὰρ [ἡ] πάντων γέγονε τῶν ἀποστόλων ὥσπερ διδασκαλία, οὕτως δὲ καὶ [ἡ] παράδοσις (*Strom.* vii, 17, 108). Cf. Plato, *Legg.* 803: διδασκαλία καὶ παράδοσις, where the terms denote oral teaching and exposition.

⁴ "L'apologie de Quadratus conservée sous le titre d'Épître à Diognète" (in *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* xiii (1946), pp. 5-39, 125-49, 237-60). Andriessen summarizes this series of articles in "The authorship of the Epistula ad Diognetum" (in *Vigiliae Christianae* i, no. 2 (April 1947), pp. 129 f.). See also his final article (in *Recherches* xiv (1947), 121-56.)

⁵ *Der Ursprung* (1882).

Quadratus was the author of *Diognetus*, but had rejected it in favour of his own view that Aristides was the author of the *Epistle*, though Kihn had hazarded the notion (p. 97) that the fragment of the *Apology of Quadratus* might have occupied one of the lacunae in *Diognetus*, especially vii, 6-7. Andriessen revives this abandoned supposition. He argues (1) that the missing portion (*D.* vii, 6-7) contained references to the miracles wrought by Christ (an inference drawn from a careful examination of the sections following and preceding the lacuna), and (2) that the Quadratus fragment agrees in point of view, contents, and style with the presumed theme of *D.* vii, 6-7.

In support of (1) Andriessen makes the following points :

(a) The assumption that earlier apologists, apart from Justin, are relatively silent about the life, miracles, passion, and resurrection of Christ calls for qualification. Andriessen thinks that the early apologetic writings included at least a short conspectus of the chief facts of the life of Christ and cites Aristides and Quadratus in proof. The former touched briefly on the main evangelical facts, the latter on the miracles. *Diognetus*, he holds, is to be classed in temper and outlook with the early apologies. It would therefore be strange if the *Epistle* contained no reference to the miracles and the historical events of the Christian tradition.

(b) The term *παρουσία* (*D.* vii, 6-9) is significant in this regard. Its two occurrences in this context carry a different reference : vii, 6 = the second coming ; vii, 9 = the first coming. Andriessen therefore interprets the passage to mean that the fidelity of Christians and their numerical increase under persecution are for the author of *Diognetus* signs that Christ has already come, and he suggests that other evidences of Christ's first advent originally stood in the lacuna (vii, 6-7). Similarly, Just. Mart., *Dial.* 121, 110, *Apol.* i, 39, and Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iv, 34, 3 ; iv, 33, 9 consider the constancy and growth of Christians under trial as proofs of the *first* coming of Christ.

(c) The staunchness and increase of Christians (*D.* vii, 7-8) are *moral* miracles, attesting indeed Christ's presence and aid, but inferior, as a foundation for faith, to physical miracles. What was needed was some account of actual works wrought by Christ as *direct* testimony to his coming. This is given in Justin and Irenaeus, both of whom refer to the miracles of Christ as direct evidence of his first coming. The presumption is that a similar section dealing with the miracles originally stood in the lacuna (*D.* vii, 6-7), and Andriessen points to the triumphant tone of vii, 9 in confirmation.

“ il est dès lors indubitable que dans la partie qui manque il était question de quelques miracles au moins, opérés par le Seigneur, qui devaient prouver à Diognète que le Christ n'était pas un homme ordinaire, mais le vrai Fils de Dieu venu parmi les hommes ” (p. 11).

(d) Andriessen infers from *D.* vii, 1-5 the character of the miracles set forth in the lacuna (6-7). They are deeds which exhibit the gentleness and beneficence of Christ (cf. viii, 11 *μετασχεῖν τῶν ἐδεργείων* and ix, 5). He points out that Christ himself names such miracles as proofs of his coming (*Matt.* xi, 4 ff.).

(e) The lacuna must have comprised some complete phrases and probably was of a fairly considerable size. It is suggested that the two lacunae (vii, 6-7 ; x, 8) consisted originally of four pages, two for each gap.

In relation to (2) the fragment of the *Apology*, Andriessen argues :

(a) that the content harmonizes with what he supposes was the subject-matter of the hiatus in *D.* vii, 6-7, and that his hypothesis clarifies several phrases in the *Epistle* (vii, 9 ; viii, 4, 11 ; ix, 6). The term *σωτήρ* (ix, 6) gains special point in that Christ heals men from disease. His saviourhood is linked with his miracles of healing. Cf. Irenaeus, *Demonst.* 53, Just. Mart., *Apol.* ii, 5.

(b) that a close examination of the language and style shows that the *Apology* “ possède toutes les caractéristiques de Dg.” (p. 39).

The general conclusion is that all the data concerning the person and work of Quadratus favour strongly the identification of his *Apology* with *Diognetus*. This view is also acceptable on more general grounds : both documents are apostolic in teaching and temper ; both show an admirable style in imitation of the best pagan authors, but are marked by an absence of citations from such writers.

Andriessen then proceeds to discuss the identity of Quadratus and of Diognetus, the inquirer. After assembling the relevant passages in Eusebius and other sources, he concludes that Quadratus, at the time when he presented his *Apology* to Hadrian, was Bishop of Athens.¹ Diognetus he identifies with the Emperor Hadrian (p. 242). Some passages in the *Epistle* point, he holds, to this conclusion :

¹ So also Jerome, *de viris illustribus*, 19. Note the phrase ‘discipulus apostolorum’ (cf. *D.* xi, 1).

The name Diognetus was an honorific title given to princes, and was fittingly applied to Hadrian by the Apologist and by Marcus Aurelius.

Pride in the mutilation of the flesh (iv, 4) is given point by the fact that Hadrian had published a decree forbidding circumcision.

Emphasis on obedience to the laws (v, 10. Cf. *ἀνομος*, *ἀνομία* ix, 2, 4, 5) would appeal to Hadrian with whom honour shown to the laws was of the first importance.

The improvement of the soul through asceticism (vi, 9) may reflect Hadrian's Spartan self-discipline.

Fidelity to an appointed *τάξις* (vi, 10) was entirely appropriate to Hadrian's firm military discipline.

The inquisitiveness of Hadrian ('*curiositatum omnium explorator*', Tertullian, *Apol.* v, 7) is a further link in the proof of identity (pp. 244 ff.). Andriessen sees in the *Epistle* many allusions to the fact that Hadrian had been initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, and remarks on Diognetus's 'curiosity' (see i *ad init.*; iii, 1; iv, 6; v, 3).

καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν ὑποστήσεται; (vii, 6). The emphatic position of *αὐτοῦ* (contrast vii, 9) is, Andriessen thinks (p. 244), deliberate. It is intended to make a pointed contrast with the *παρουσία* of Hadrian.

Other significant passages are ii, 1; vii; x, 4-6.

Andriessen concludes that in the light of his theory chapters xi-xii of *Diognetus*, which frequently reflect the Eleusinian mysteries, form an authentic part of the *Epistle*, i.e. the *Apology of Quadratus*.

The care and thoroughness with which Andriessen propounds his view calls for a more detailed examination than can here be given. Some queries, however, may be raised. Whilst it is agreed that *D.* vii, 6-7 shows a break in sense and sequence as well as in text, it is speculative to assume a lengthy lacuna such as Andriessen's theory seems to posit. The interpretation of *D.* vii, 6-7 seems to hinge on the meaning of *παρουσία* in verse 9. Andriessen takes it to denote the first 'coming' of Christ. We have seen reason to prefer the meaning '(God's) presence'. See note *ad loc.* The meaning thus gained seems more natural: the firmness of Christians and their numerical growth under trial are due not to any agency of man but to the power (*δύναμις*) and presence (*παρουσία*) of God. Moreover, it is surely straining language to find in the emphatic position of *αὐτοῦ* (vii, '6')¹

¹ It is doubtful whether the position of the pronoun lends emphasis. Cf. Matt. ii, 2; John ii, 23 (can we differentiate between the force of the first *αὐτοῦ* and that of the second?). Cf. *D.* ii, 1 (*σου*), vi, 4 (*αὐτῶν*), x, 4 (*αὐτοῦ*), all apparently unemphatic.

a pointed contrast between the *παρουσία* of Christ and the *παρουσία* of Hadrian. Again, would the actual miracles of Christ prove a more powerful aid to faith than the fidelity and increase of Christians under persecution? Andriessen argues that in the missing section (vii, 6-7) there must have been a reference to Christ and some of his works and points to the significance of the words ἀρνήσονται τὸν κύριον (vii, 7). But if such reference is to be presumed, why only here? The author is throughout consistently silent about the earthly life of Christ. Andriessen suggests that the term *σωτήρ* (ix, 6) is linked with the healing miracles of Christ, as in Quadratus, Justin, and Irenaeus. In point of fact in ix, 6 the term stands in a context which suggests not Christ's healing works but his power to 'save' men impotent in sin. The comparison of the *Epistle* with the fragment of Quadratus suffers from the brevity of the latter. It would seem precarious to deduce so much from so slender an excerpt as Eusebius gives. Nor is it at all certain on chronological grounds that Quadratus, 'the disciple of the apostles' and the author of the *Apology*, is the same person as the Bishop of Athens. Finally, some points which Andriessen finds in favour of the identification of Diognetus with Hadrian seem forced, for example, the reflection in the *Epistle* of the supposed 'curiosity' and austerity of the Emperor.

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