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# THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

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*Edited and introduced by*

**J.B. Lightfoot & J.R. Harmer**



THE  
APOSTOLIC  
FATHERS

Revised Greek texts with  
introductions and English translations

*edited by*

J.B. Lightfoot

*and*

J.R. Harmer



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## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE text of the Epistles of Clement, Ignatius and Polycarp and of the Martyrdom of Polycarp is taken from Bishop Lightfoot's larger work *The Apostolic Fathers, Part I. S. Clement of Rome* (2 vols., Macmillan & Co., 1890); *Part II. S. Ignatius, S. Polycarp* (2nd edition, 3 vols., Macmillan & Co., 1889). That of the Teaching of the Apostles was revised by him for this work. Mr Harmer contributes the text of the Epistle of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Epistle to Diognetus. The Fragments of Papias and the Reliques of the Elders are taken from the printed editions referred to in each case.

No attempt has been made to give any apparatus criticus; but in passages where the reading of all the Greek authorities has been set aside for that of a version or patristic quotation, or for a conjectural emendation, the fact is stated in a footnote, and the authorities given.

The introductions throughout (with the exceptions of those which deal with the text, and the short prefatory note to the Fragments of Papias) were either written by Dr Lightfoot for this work, or are derived from his larger work referred to above.

The translations of the Epistles of Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp and of the Martyrdom of Polycarp are reprinted from the larger edition. The rest of the translations are based upon

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

rough notes found among his papers, but in the case of the Reliques of the Elders Keble's translation of Irenæus in the *Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church* (Parker & Co. 1872) has been adopted with a few verbal alterations.

Mr Harmer alone has fulfilled the task of seeing the volume through the press, and the Trustees are indebted to him for this and in other works not only for critical skill and constant care, but also for great generosity which is not further referred to only in deference to his own firmly expressed wish. It should however be added that the Bishop himself recorded in a written memorandum 'his earnest desire that Mr Harmer's name should stand upon the title page, side by side with his own.'

It is hoped that an index of words and phrases will be published separately.

H. W. W.

May 25, 1891.

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THE EPISTLES  
OF  
S. CLEMENT OF ROME



- I. *GENUINE EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.*
- II. *ANCIENT HOMILY, COMMONLY CALLED THE SECOND EPISTLE.*

## S. CLEMENT OF ROME

### 1

**T**HE EPISTLE was written in the name of the Roman Church to the Christian brotherhood at Corinth. The author was Clement, the Bishop of the Roman Christians, but he does not write in his own name. Hence it is mentioned by early Christian writers, sometimes as the work of the Roman Church, sometimes as written by or sent by the hand of Clement. Its date was nearly simultaneous with the close of Diocletian's persecution, when the emperor's cousin, Flavius Clemens, the namesake of the writer, perished during or immediately after the year of his consulate (A.D. 95), and his wife Domitilla, Domitian's own niece, was driven into banishment on charges apparently connected with Christianity.

A feud had broken out in the Church of Corinth. Presbyters appointed by Apostles, or their immediate successors, had been unlawfully deposed. A spirit of insubordination was rife. The letter of Clement was written to rebuke these irregularities. Allusion is made in it to the persecution at Rome, as an apology for the delay in attending to the matter. Some information is thus given incidentally respecting the character of the persecution in the course of the letter. But more precise and definite facts are contained elsewhere respecting the earlier and more severe assault on the Christians in the latter years of the reign of Nero, where reference is made especially to the martyrdoms of S. Peter and S. Paul.

### 2

Besides the patristic quotations more especially those in Clement of Alexandria, and in some later fathers, the text is mainly due to three sources.

(1) The famous Alexandrian uncial ms of the New Testament [A] in the British Museum, belonging to the fifth century, to which it is

added as a sort of appendix together with the spurious so-called Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians. This MS is mutilated at the close of both Epistles besides being torn or illegible in many passages of the first. From this was published the *Editio princeps* of Patricius Junius (1633).

(2) The Constantinopolitan or Hierosolymitan MS [C] belonging to the library of the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, whose chief residence is at Constantinople. From this the two Epistles of Clement (the Genuine and the Spurious) were first printed in full (1875) by Bryennios, then Metropolitan of Serræ, but now Patriarch of Nicomedia. This MS is dated A.D. 1056.

(3) The Syriac translation discovered a few years ago and now in the possession of the Cambridge University Library. This is not yet published, but all the various readings were given in Lightfoot's *S. Clement of Rome* Appendix, London, 1877. This Syriac Version bears a date corresponding to A.D. 1170.

The relations of these authorities are fully discussed in the larger edition of Clement. Here it is sufficient to say that A, as being the most ancient, is likewise far the best authority; but owing to the lacunæ in it and other reasons the two other authorities are of the highest value in different ways.

Wherever the text is taken from any one or any combination of these three authorities, no notice is given of a various reading. But where the authority is patristic it is mentioned in the notes, and occasionally a reading is either adopted into the text, or recorded as highly probable in the footnote on conjecture, in which case the name of its author is given.

The square brackets [ ] throughout the book denote that a word so included is of doubtful authority and ought perhaps to be neglected; corruptions in the text are indicated by daggers † † placed on each side of the corrupt passage. A full list of symbols and abbreviations employed in dealing with the text is given at the end of the volume.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥΣ

Ἡ Ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ Κόρινθον, κλητοῖς, ἡγιασμένοις ἐν θελήματι Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη.

Ι. Διὰ τὰς αἰφνιδίους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους γενομένας ἡμῖν συμφορὰς καὶ περιπτώσεις, ἀδελφοί, βράδιον νομίζομεν ἐπιστροφὴν πεποιῆσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐπιζητουμένων παρ' ὑμῖν πραγμάτων, ἀγαπητοί, τῆς τε ἀλλοτρίας καὶ ξένης τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ, μαρᾶς καὶ ἀνοσίου στάσεως, ἣν ὀλίγα πρόσωπα προπετῆ καὶ αὐθάδη ὑπάρχοντα εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀπονοίας ἐξέκαυσαν, ὥστε τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ περιβόητον καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀξιαγάπητον ὄνομα ὑμῶν μεγάλως βλασφημηθῆναι.

2. τίς γὰρ παρεπιδημήσας πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὴν πανάρετον καὶ βεβαίαν ὑμῶν πίστιν οὐκ ἔδοκίμασεν; τὴν τε σόφρονα καὶ ἐπιεικῆ ἐν Χριστῷ εὐσέβειαν οὐκ ἐθαύμασεν; καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τῆς φιλοξενίας ὑμῶν ἦθος οὐκ ἐκήρυξεν; καὶ τὴν τελείαν καὶ ἀσφαλῆ γνῶσιν οὐκ ἐμακάρισεν; 3. ἀπροσωπολήμπτως γὰρ πάντα ἐποιεῖτε, καὶ τοῖς νομίμοις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπορεύεσθε, ὑποτασσόμενοι τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν καὶ τιμῆν τὴν καθήκουσαν ἀπονέμοντες τοῖς παρ' ὑμῖν πρεσβυτέροις· νέοις τε μέτρια καὶ σεμνὰ νοεῖν ἐπετρέπετε· γυναιξὶν τε ἐν ἀμώμφῃ καὶ σεμνῇ καὶ ἀγνῇ συνειδήσει πάντα ἐπιτελεῖν

i. 3 τοῖς νομίμοις] Clem. Alex.; τοῖς νόμοις AC; in lege S.

παρηγγέλλετε, στεργούσας καθηκόντως τοὺς ἀνδρας ἑαυτῶν ἔν τε τῷ κανόνι τῆς ὑποταγῆς ὑπαρχούσας τὰ κατὰ τὸν οἶκου σεμνῶς οἰκουργεῖν ἐδιδάσκετε, πάνυ σωφρονοῦσας.

Acts xx. 35. II. Πάντες τε ἐταπεινοφρονεῖτε, μηδὲν ἀλαζονεύμενοι, ὑποτασσόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑποτάσσοντες, ἥδιον διδόντες ἢ λαμβάνοντες, τοῖς ἐφοδίοις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀρκούμενοι· καὶ προσέχοντες τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἐπιμελῶς ἐνεστερνισμένοι ἦτε τοῖς σπλάγχθοις, καὶ τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ ἦν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν.

2. Οὕτως εἰρήνη βαθεῖα καὶ λιπαρὰ ἐδέδοτο πᾶσιν καὶ ἀκόρεστος πόθος εἰς ἀγαθοποιῶν, καὶ πλήρης πνεύματος ἀγίου ἔκχυσις ἐπὶ πάντας ἐγένετο· 3. μεστοί τε ὁσίας βουλήs ἐν ἀγαθῇ προθυμίᾳ μετ' εὐσεβοῦς πεποιθήσεως ἐξετείνετε τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν παντοκράτορα Θεόν, ἱκετεύοντες αὐτὸν ἰλέως γενέσθαι, εἴ τι ἄκοντες ἡμάρτετε. 4. ἀγὼν ἦν ὑμῖν ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς ἀδελφότητος, εἰς τὸ σώζεσθαι μετὰ δέους καὶ συνειδήσεως τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ· 5. εἰλικρινεῖς καὶ ἀκέραιοι ἦτε καὶ ἀμνησίκακοι εἰς ἀλλήλους· 6. πᾶσα στάσις καὶ πᾶν σχίσμα βδελυκτὸν ὑμῖν· ἐπὶ τοῖς παραπτώμασιν τοῖς πλησίον ἐπενθεῖτε· τὰ ὑστερήματα αὐτῶν ἴδια ἐκρίνετε· 7. ἀμεταμέλητοι ἦτε ἐπὶ Titus iii. 1. πάσῃ ἀγαθοποιῶν, ἔτοιμοι εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν· 8. τῇ παναρέτῃ καὶ σεβασμίῃ πολιτείᾳ κεκοσμημένοι πάντα ἐν τῷ φόβῳ αὐτοῦ ἐπετελεῖτε· τὰ προστάγματα καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα Prov. vii. 3. τοῦ Κυρίου ἐπὶ τὰ πλάτη τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν ἐτέγραπτο.

III. Πᾶσα δόξα καὶ πλατυσμὸς ἐδόθη ὑμῖν, καὶ ἐπετελέσθη τὸ γεγραμμένον· Ἐφαγεν καὶ ἔπιεν καὶ ἐπλατύνθη καὶ ἐπαχύνθη καὶ ἀπελάκτισεν ὁ ἠγαπημένος. 2. Ἐκ τούτου ζῆλος καὶ φθόνος, [καὶ] ἔρις καὶ στάσις, διωγμὸς καὶ ἀκαταστασία, Is. iii. 5. πόλεμος καὶ αἰχμαλωσία. 3. οὕτως ἐπηγέρθησαν οἱ ἄτιμοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐντίμοις, οἱ ἄδοξοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐνδόξους, οἱ ἄφρονες ἐπὶ τοὺς φρονίμους, οἱ νέοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους. 4. διὰ τούτο Is. lix. 14. πόρρω ἄπεστιν ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ εἰρήνη, ἐν τῷ ἀπολείπειν ἕκαστον τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτοῦ ἀμβλυπῆσαι μηδὲ ἐν τοῖς νομίμοις τῶν προσταγμάτων αὐτοῦ πο-

ἵεσθαι μηδὲ πολιτεύεσθαι κατὰ τὸ καθήκον τῷ Χριστῷ, ἁὲ ἕκαστον βαδίζειν κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ ἢ πονηρᾶς, ζῆλον ἄδικον καὶ ἀσεβῆ ἀνειληφότας, δι' οὗ καὶ ἡστος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον.

Wisd. ii.

24.  
Gen. iv.

3-8.

IV. Γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως· Καὶ ἐγένετο μεθ' ἡμέρας, ἦνεγ-  
 νη Καῖν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς θγσίαν τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ Ἄβελ  
 ἔργκεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν πρωτοτόκων τῶν προβάτων καὶ ἀπὸ  
 τῆς στεάτων αὐτῶν. 2. καὶ ἐπέιδεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπὶ Ἄβελ καὶ ἐπὶ  
 τοῖς δώροις αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ δὲ Καῖν καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θγσίαις αὐτοῦ οὐ  
 ὁσεσχεν. 3. καὶ ἐλγπήθη Καῖν λίαν καὶ συνέπεσεν τῷ προσ-  
 ἔπι αὐτοῦ. 4. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς Καῖν· Ἴνα τί περίλγπος  
 ἦστος; καὶ ἴνα τί συνέπεσεν τὸ πρόσωπόν σου; οὐκ ἔαν ὀρθῶς  
 ὁσενέγκης ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλης, ἡμαρτες; 5. ἡσγχασον· πρὸς  
 τὸν Θεόν αὐτοῦ, καὶ σὺ ἄρξεις αὐτοῦ. 6. καὶ εἶπεν Καῖν  
 πρὸς Ἄβελ τὸν ἀδελφόν αὐτοῦ· Διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. καὶ  
 ἦνετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτοῦς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἀνέστη Καῖν ἐπὶ Ἄβελ  
 καὶ ἀδελφόν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν. 7. Ὁράτε, ἀδελφοί,  
 ἡστος καὶ φθόνος ἀδελφοκτονίαν κατειργάσατο. 8. διὰ ζῆλος  
 πατήρ ἡμῶν Ἰακώβ ἀπέδρα ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἡσαῦ τοῦ  
 ελφοῦ αὐτοῦ. 9. ζῆλος ἐποίησεν Ἰωσήφ μέχρι θανάτου  
 οχθῆσαι καὶ μέχρι δουλείας εἰσελθεῖν. 10. ζῆλος φυγεῖν  
 ἀγκασεν Μωϋσῆν ἀπὸ προσώπου Φαραὼ βασιλέως Αἰγύπ-  
 τῆς ἐν τῷ ἀκοῦσαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀμοφύλου, Τίς σε κατέστησεν  
 ἡστος ἢ δικαστὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν; μὴ ἀνελεῖν με σὺ θέλεις, ὅτι τρώ-  
 νη ἀνελες ἐχθὲς τῶν Αἰγύπτιον; 11. διὰ ζῆλος Ἀαρὼν καὶ  
 ἀριὰμ ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἠύλισθησαν. 12. ζῆλος Δαθὰν  
 ἐπὶ Ἀβειρῶν ζῶντας κατήγαγεν εἰς ἄδου, διὰ τὸ στασιάσαι  
 τοὺς πρὸς τὸν θεράποντα τοῦ Θεοῦ Μωϋσῆν. 13. διὰ  
 ζῆλος Δαυεὶδ φθόνον ἔσχεν οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ Σαοὺλ [βασιλέως Ἰσραὴλ] ἐδιώχθη.

Ex. ii. 14.

V. Ἄλλ' ἴνα τῶν ἀρχαίων ὑποδειγμάτων πασιώμεθα,  
 ἡστος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔγγιστα γενομένους ἀθλητάς· λάβωμεν τῆς  
 νεᾶς ἡμῶν τὰ γενναῖα ὑποδείγματα. 2. Διὰ ζῆλον καὶ  
 ἰσχυρίαν οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ δικαιοτάτοι στύλοι ἐδιώχθησαν καὶ

ἕως θανάτου ἤθλησαν. 3. Δάβωμεν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀποστόλους· 4. Πέτρον, ὃς διὰ ζήλον ἀδικον οὐχ ἕνα οὐδὲ δύο ἀλλὰ πλείονας ὑπήνεγκεν πόρους, καὶ οὕτω μαρτυρήσας ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης. 5. Διὰ ζήλον καὶ ἔριον Παῦλος ὑπομονῆς βραβεῖον ὑπέδειξεν, 6. ἐπτάκις δεσμὰ φορέσας, φυγαδευθείς, λιθασθείς, κήρυξ γενόμενος ἔν τε τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει, τὸ γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἔλαβεν, 7. δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων, οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη, ὑπομονῆς γενόμενος μέγιστος ὑπογραμμός.

VI. Τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁσίως πολιτευσαμένοις συνηθροίσθη πολλὸ πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν, οἷτινες πολλαῖς αἰκίαις καὶ βασάνοις, διὰ ζήλος παθόντες, ὑπόδειγμα κάλλιστον ἐγένοντο ἐν ἡμῖν. 2. Διὰ ζήλος διώχθεισαι γυναῖκες, † Δαναίδες καὶ Δίρκαι†, αἰκίσματα δεινὰ καὶ ἀνόσια παθούσαι, ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πίστεως βέβαιον δρόμον κατήντησαν καὶ ἔλαβον γέρας γενναῖον αἰ ἀσθενεῖς τῷ σώματι. 3. ζήλος ἀπηλλοτριώσεν γαμετὰς ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἠλλοίωσεν τὸ ῥήθην ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Gen. ii. 23. ἡμῶν Ἀδάμ, Τοῦτο νῦν ὄστογν ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μογ καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός μογ. 4. ζήλος καὶ ἔρις πόλεις μεγάλα κατέστρεψεν καὶ ἔθνη μεγάλα ἐξερίζωσεν.

VII. Ταῦτα, ἀγαπητοί, οὐ μόνον ὑμᾶς νουθετοῦντες ἐπιστέλλομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς † ὑπομνήσκοντες †· ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔσμεν σκάμματι, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ἀγὼν ἐπίκειται. 2. Διὸ ἀπολείπωμεν τὰς κενὰς καὶ ματαίας φροντίδας, καὶ ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν εὐκλεῆ καὶ σεμνὸν τῆς παραδόσεως ἡμῶν κανόνα, 3. καὶ ἴδωμεν τί καλὸν καὶ τί τερπνὸν καὶ τί προσδεκτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἡμᾶς. 4. ἀτενίσωμεν εἰς τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ γινώμεν ὡς ἔστιν τίμιον τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἐκχυθὲν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ μετανοίας χάριν ὑπήνεγκεν. 5. διέλθωμεν εἰς τὰς

vi. 2 Δαναίδες καὶ Δίρκαι] ACS ; νεάνιδες παιδίσκαι conj. Wordsworth.

BIBLICAL STUDIES

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