

# The Apostolic Fathers



# The Apostolic Fathers

*Greek Texts and English Translations*

*3rd edition*

edited and translated by  
Michael W. Holmes

after the earlier work of  
J. B. Lightfoot and J. R. Harmer

  
**Baker Academic**  
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*in memoriam*

William R. Holmes

(June 27, 1926–January 14, 2007)

Father

and

Bruce M. Metzger

(February 9, 1914–February 13, 2007)

Doktorvater



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# Preface to the Third Edition

The roots of this third edition of the Greek texts and English translations of the writings known as the Apostolic Fathers reach back to 1891 when Macmillan and Company published a diglot edition based on the work of J. B. Lightfoot and completed after his death by his younger colleague J. R. Harmer.<sup>1</sup> In the mid-1980s, at the invitation of Baker Book House, I undertook a revision of the Lightfoot-Harmer translation, taking into account both changes in English usage and advances in scholarship while at the same time generally preserving Lightfoot's and Harmer's interpretative decisions (to the extent that all significant deviations from Lightfoot-Harmer, both textual and interpretative, were footnoted). The resulting second edition was published in 1989.<sup>2</sup>

Subsequently that same English version (with a small number of revisions in addition to typographical corrections here and there) was paired with the revised and updated Greek and Latin texts on which it was based to create *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and*

1. J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers: Revised Texts with Short Introductions and English Translations*, edited and completed by J. R. Harmer (London: Macmillan, 1891). The English translation alone was reprinted by Baker Book House in 1956: J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, edited and completed by J. R. Harmer (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1956). The diglot was reprinted by Baker Book House in 1984: *The Apostolic Fathers: Revised Greek Texts with Introductions and English Translations*, edited by J. B. Lightfoot and J. R. Harmer (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1984).

2. J. B. Lightfoot and J. R. Harmer, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 2nd ed., edited and revised by Michael W. Holmes (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1989; paperback edition, 1998).

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*English Translations of Their Writings*, 2nd ed., published by Baker Book House in 1992 in hardcover. The “updated edition” of the latter, published in paperback in 1999, again corrected some minor errors, but the texts and translation remained essentially unchanged.

In 2003, the editors at Baker Academic offered the opportunity to collaborate on a major revision of the English translation. Their intention was partly to improve the design and typography of the volume to render it more “user-friendly” for introductory-level students and general readers. (For example, they wanted to provide running heads with chapter and verse numbers to facilitate quick reference; they suggested adding subheadings within the translations to indicate the content of sections; and they thought the notes could be presented more conveniently.) In addition we believed that the translation itself, well received by reviewers and users, could be further improved.

The result of our collaboration was a thoroughly revised translation.<sup>3</sup> In addition to substantive changes in the translation, various stylistic details such as spelling, punctuation, capitalization, were in general conformed to current usage as represented in the New Revised Standard Version of the Bible (though in some cases, special usages in one or more of the texts in this volume seemed to warrant capitalization of terms that are lowercase in the NRSV and other literature). The number of cross-references to scripture was increased, and notes indicating points of textual variation were simplified.

In addition, the new edition paid closer attention than before to the gender of pronouns and to the use of masculine terms such as “brother.” It would not have been useful to add “and sisters” or the like mechanically wherever a form of *adelphoi* occurs in the Greek. Rather, I attempted to make all such decisions in a context-sensitive manner. Where I judged that by *adelphoi* the writer was probably

3. Michael W. Holmes, trans. and ed., *The Apostolic Fathers in English*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006).

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referring exclusively to males, the translation reads simply “brothers.” Where I judged that the writer’s intention was inclusive, it reads “brothers and sisters.” Furthermore, there are places where the Greek text reads *adelphoi kai adelphai* (“brothers and sisters”), or where the translation renders a phrase rather than the single word *adelphoi* as “brothers.” So that readers of the translation are not left guessing, wherever it reads “brothers and sisters” a note indicates whether the Greek is *adelphoi* or *adelphoi kai adelphai*, and if “brothers” represents something other than *adelphoi* a note so indicates. This means that wherever the translation reads simply “brothers” (with no note attached), the Greek text has *adelphoi*; in any other circumstance a note will indicate how the Greek text reads. In addition, various strategies were used to avoid inclusive use of masculine pronouns wherever possible. Attentive readers will spot instances here and there where no grammatical and graceful alternative could be found.

In conjunction with that revision of the English translation a review of the Greek and Latin texts was also initiated. As old evidence was reviewed and new evidence added (including the evidence of a manuscript of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* not previously available that is here utilized for the first time), a relatively small number of textual changes were made (perhaps the most notable being the restoration of *περιστέρᾳ καί*, “a dove and,” to the text of *Mart. Pol.* 16.1), and the scope of the critical apparatus was significantly expanded. In addition, the improvements in the design and typography of the translation were applied as well to the presentation of the Greek and Latin texts, and the format of the critical apparatus was reconfigured for greater ease and accuracy of use.

In view of the scope of these changes to both text and translation, it no longer seemed useful or necessary to continue to signal in the notes all significant differences in text and interpretation from the original Lightfoot-Harmer version. This third edition, then, while

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genetically descended from the 1891 Lightfoot-Harmer diglot edition, is in effect a fresh and comprehensive revision.

In addition to changes in the text, translation and notes, I have expanded the introductions to each writing in the corpus to include an updated description of textual witnesses and problems. I also extended the bibliographies, which (though not intended to be comprehensive) do attempt to include the best of both classic and recent scholarship on each document.

A number of obligations have been incurred during the revision process, and I am glad to have this opportunity to acknowledge them. Of the various editors and proofreaders who assisted in the production of this new edition, special thanks must go to James Ernest, editor at Baker Academic and a patristic scholar in his own right, who not only broached the possibility of a revision but subsequently invested a great deal of time and energy in it, and to Paul Peterson, who read the translation and notes more than once and suggested numerous improvements. Several colleagues generously offered advice or suggestions, including Allen Brent (University of Cambridge), Paul Foster (University of Edinburgh), James Rhodes (St. Michael's College), Frank Shaw (Earlham College), Nancy Pardee (Saint Xavier University), Jeffrey Childers (Abilene Christian University), and Trevor Thompson and Brandon Cline (University of Chicago). Greg Ward (OakTree Software) and Rex Koivisto (Multnomah Bible College) provided a corrected electronic file of the second-edition Greek text that became the starting point for this third edition, and Rick Brannan (Logos Bible Software) provided a very helpful list of corrections. Paul Crego of the Library of Congress provided the Armenian text of three of the fragments of Papias, and Gary Long, my colleague here at Bethel, provided the Arabic text of one and the Syriac text and English translation of two others; I thank them both for their gracious assistance. Tom

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Robinson (University of Lethbridge) wrote the section headings used in *1 Clement*, *Didache*, and the letters of Ignatius. A number of respondents provided useful feedback via virtual focus groups (one regarding fonts, another regarding apparatus formats): Annewies van den Hoek, Rod Decker, Brian Daley, Gene Fojtik, Carl Conrad, Margaret Mitchell, Hans Klauck, Greg Sterling, Paul Achtemeier, Joel Green, Everett Ferguson, Jeff Childers, Kavian McMillon, Rod Whitacre, Clayton Jefford, Joe Lienhard, Larry Hurtado, Chuck Hill, Lyn Osiek, David Scholer, François Bovon, and others anonymously; naturally they incur no blame for the end product. Finally, my teaching assistant, Marissa Cwik, provided valuable assistance at a key stage of the revision. I am grateful to each of them for their contributions.

The two men to whose memory this book is dedicated never met, and had they done so, might not have had much to talk about, so different were they from each another: one the prototypical Western dairyman and outdoorsman, the other the quintessential Ivy League academic and scholar. Yet in the attitudes and outlooks they passed on to me, they shared much more in common than either realized. Coincidentally, their passings are closely tied to this book, in that I began the task of preparing for the publisher the manuscript of the revised Greek text and notes shortly after returning from my father's funeral, and sent the completed file to my editor a day before receiving the news of my *Doktorvater's* passing. Consequently this volume will always be linked with my memories of them and all that each in his own way meant to me, and thus I dedicate it *in memoriam*.

Michael W. Holmes  
Easter 2007

# First Clement

## Introduction

The letter from the Christians in Rome to their fellow believers in Corinth known as *1 Clement* is one of the earliest extant Christian documents outside the New Testament. Written in Rome around the time when John was composing the book of Revelation on the island of Patmos, it reveals something of both the circumstances and the attitudes of the Roman Christians, circumstances and attitudes that differ dramatically from those of their Christian sisters and brothers in Asia Minor to whom Revelation was addressed. Whereas in Revelation Rome is presented as the great harlot whose attacks upon the church must be resisted (to the point of death, if necessary), in *1 Clement* one finds a much more positive view of the Roman government (as in the prayer in 60.4–61), and the elements of peace, harmony, and order that are so important to the author (or authors) of this letter reflect some of the fundamental values of Roman society. Thus it provides important evidence of the diverse and creative ways in which Christians sought to come to terms with the Greco-Roman culture and society within which the church was so rapidly expanding.

### *Occasion*

The same kind of factiousness that Paul had earlier encountered in Corinth apparently flared up once again in that congregation near

the end of the first century. It appears that some of the younger men in the congregation had provoked a revolt (this is the Roman point of view; the younger Corinthians no doubt defended their action in more positive terms) and succeeded in deposing the established leadership of the church (3.3; 44.6; 47.6). When news of this turn of events reached Rome (47.7), leaders of the Roman congregation were sufficiently distressed by this breach of proper conduct and order and the consequent damage to the reputation of the Corinthian congregation (1.1; cf. 39.1) that they wrote this long letter and even dispatched mediators (63.3; 65.1) in an effort to restore peace and order to the Corinthian congregation. Due to restrictions imposed by the genre (see below, under “Literary and Rhetorical Aspects”), details regarding the exact cause or motivation are not clear. For this reason, all suggestions about the “real point” of the dispute—for example, that it was a struggle between “spirit and order,” or between orthodoxy and heresy, or was about financial issues, or involved a conflict between house churches—must remain hypotheses.

### *Authorship*

The unity of style suggests that the letter is the work of a single author. While the letter, which was sent on behalf of the whole church (see the subscription), does not name its writer, well-attested ancient tradition<sup>1</sup> and most manuscripts identify it as the work of Clement—whose precise identity, however, is not clear. Tradition identifies him as the third bishop of Rome after Peter, but this is unlikely because the office of monarchical bishop, in the sense intended by this later tradition, does not appear to have existed in Rome at this time. Leadership seems to have been entrusted to a group of presbyters or bishops (the two appear to be synonymous in *1 Clement*; see 44.1–6), among

1. Cf. Eusebius, *Church History* 4.23.11.

whom Clement almost certainly was a (if not the) leading figure. It is possible that *The Shepherd of Hermas* (*Herm.* 8.3 = *Vis.* 2.4.3) speaks of this same person, in which case Clement would have served as the corresponding secretary for the Roman church. Lightfoot hypothesizes that Clement was a freedman of the household of the emperor's cousin, the consul Titus Flavius Clemens, who according to one ancient historian was executed on the charge of atheism—a frequent accusation against Christians.<sup>2</sup> There is, however, no more basis for this hypothesis than there is for Origen's attempt to identify him with the Clement mentioned in Philippians 4:3.<sup>3</sup> In each case, the proposed connection rests on nothing more than the similarity of the name.

### *Date*

Clues in the letter itself suggest that the document probably was penned sometime during the last two decades of the first century. (1) In chapters 5 and 6 the Neronian persecution (AD 64–68), which according to tradition included Peter and Paul among its victims, is an event of the past. (2) In 63.3, there is a reference to those “who from youth to old age have lived blameless lives among us.” (3) Statements in 44.3–5 indicate that some of the leaders appointed by the apostles are still living. Taken together, the first two points would seem to require a date subsequent to the late 60s or early 70s,<sup>4</sup> while the third point would rule out any date much beyond the turn of the century.<sup>5</sup>

2. *AF* 1.1.25–61.

3. Origen, *Commentary on John* 6.36; cf. Eusebius, *Church History* 3.15.1.

4. Contra A. E. Wilhelm-Hooijbergh (“A Different View of Clemens Romanus,” *Heythrop Journal* 16 [1975]: 266–88), who dates it to AD 69, and Thomas J. Herron (“The Most Probable Date of the First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians,” in *Studia Patristica* 21, ed. E. A. Livingstone [Leuven: Peeters, 1989], 106–21), who argues for AD 70.

5. Contra (in part) L. L. Welborn (“On the Date of First Clement,” *Biblical Research* 29 [1984]: 35–54), who would allow it to be dated as late as AD 140.

What little external evidence exists (chiefly references in Hegesippus and Irenaeus, and its possible use by Polycarp) is consistent with these internal indicators.

There is, however, a long-standing tradition of dating the document a bit more narrowly, to ca. AD 95–97. At the time of writing, the church in Rome appears to be facing some sort of persecution; in fact, the letter to Corinth has been delayed because of it (1.1; cf. 7.1). This apparent mention of “persecution” is often interpreted as a reference to an episode attributed to the last years of Domitian (AD 81–96) or the beginning of Nerva’s reign (AD 96–98). Welborn, however, has correctly pointed out the conventional and stereotypical character of the language in those two passages, which suggests (but does not require) that the terms may not refer to a specific event or set of circumstances at all.<sup>6</sup> In short, the traditional date is possible; if the reference in 1.1 is not to a specific event, then the document could have been written anytime during the last two decades or so of the first century.

### *Literary and Rhetorical Aspects*

In 58.2 the readers are asked to “accept our advice” (Greek *symbolē*), indicating that the document was intended as a “symbolleutic” (or “deliberative”) letter, a category widely discussed by ancient rhetoricians and to which *1 Clement* closely conforms. The “appeal for peace and concord” (63.2) indicates the theme of the letter, one very much in keeping with contemporary examples, which often sought to resolve *stasis*, “revolt” or “dissension,” (1.1, 63.1; the term is used a total of nine times in the letter) by an appeal to *homonoia*, “concord” (used fourteen times). Since the purpose of

6. Welborn, “On the Date of First Clement,” 35–54; cf. K. Erlemann, “Die Datierung des ersten Klemensbriefes—Anfragen an eine Communis Opinio,” *New Testament Studies* 44 (1998): 591–607.

such a work was to persuade or advise about a future course of action, narrative was intentionally kept to a minimum (this accounts for the scarcity of details about the specific problems in Corinth). As in secular examples, the writer assigns blame (jealousy is a key problem, 3.4–6.4), warns about the consequences of wrong behavior (e.g., 46.7–9), and extols the benefits of the recommended course of action (e.g., 48.1–4).

To support his arguments and appeals the author makes extensive use of scripture (in the form of the Septuagint), particularly Genesis and Psalms, as well as some pseudepigraphical or unidentified sources (8.3; 17.6; 23.3–4; 46.2; 29.3?). He also draws upon traditions about and words of Jesus (but not, apparently, in the form preserved in the Synoptic Gospels). It is virtually certain that he used 1 Corinthians, and very likely Romans and Hebrews as well (beyond these, however, no firm conclusions may be drawn regarding the other writings that came to be included in the New Testament).<sup>7</sup>

Furthermore, in addition to using Jewish and early Christian writings and traditions as sources of authority, the author of *1 Clement* also makes extensive use of secular examples, some of which are the standard stuff of secular rhetoric. The portrait of cosmic harmony (20.1–12) is largely of Stoic origins, and his use of the metaphor of the body (37.5) is shaped by Stoic cosmology; the familiar legend of the phoenix (25.1–5) is presented as a source of divine revelation (26.1); and in 37.1–3 the Roman army (a favorite topic of the Stoics) offers, no less than Old Testament heroes or an earlier generation of believers, a model of proper Christian behavior.

7. On the use of the NT in *1 Clement*, see Andrew Gregory, “*1 Clement* and the Writings That Later Formed the New Testament,” in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Andrew Gregory and Christopher Tuckett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 129–57.

*Reception of the Letter*

Although it is not known how the Corinthians reacted to this letter,<sup>8</sup> later Christian writers held it in high regard. It was quoted frequently, and Clement of Alexandria cites it as scripture. It was even made part of some copies of the New Testament. In the important biblical manuscript known as Codex Alexandrinus (copied in the fifth century) *1 Clement* (together with *2 Clement*) stands immediately after Revelation, and in a Syrian manuscript of the New Testament dating from the twelfth century the two letters are found right after the Catholic Epistles (which is how *1 Clement* is explicitly described) and before the Pauline Epistles.<sup>9</sup> The late-fourth-century Syrian work known as *The Apostolic Canons* lists both *1* and *2 Clement* as part of the New Testament,<sup>10</sup> and at about the same time in Alexandria, Didymus the Blind appears to have counted *1 Clement* as part of his canon.<sup>11</sup>

*Text*

Despite the popularity of this document in antiquity (it was cited by such notable figures as Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, Didymus the Blind, and Jerome), very few manuscripts of the letter are extant today. Indeed, the complete Greek text of *1 Clement* has survived in only a single manuscript, Codex Hierosolymitanus (AD 1056; also known as Constantinopolitanus), the famous codex discovered by Bryennios in 1873 that also includes *2 Clement*, *The Didache*, *Barnabas*, and the long form of the Ignatian letters. The

8. Cf., however, the introduction to *2 Clement* below.

9. Cf. Lightfoot, *AF* 1.1.129–35.

10. Text in B. M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 313.

11. B. D. Ehrman, “The New Testament Canon of Didymus the Blind,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 37 (1983): 1–21.

primary sources for the text (and the symbols used to represent them) are:

- A Codex Alexandrinus (5th cent.; lacks 57.7–63.4)<sup>12</sup>
- C Codex Hierosolymitanus (AD 1056)<sup>13</sup>
- L the Latin translation of the letter (probably made in the 2nd or 3rd cent.; now preserved in a single 11th-cent. manuscript)<sup>14</sup>
- S the Syriac translation (preserved in a New Testament manuscript dated AD 1169–1170)<sup>15</sup>
- Co the Coptic translation (incompletely preserved in two manuscripts from the 4th and 7th centuries).<sup>16</sup>

In addition, Clement of Alexandria (= “ClemAlex”) and Jerome occasionally preserve quotations from *1 Clement*.

12. For photographs consult F. G. Kenyon, *The Codex Alexandrinus (Royal ms. 1 D v–viii) in Reduced Photographic Facsimile* (London: British Museum, 1909). Photographs of this volume are available online at the website of the Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts ([www.csntm.org](http://www.csntm.org)).

13. Photographs of its text of *1* and *2 Clement* are available in Lightfoot, *AF*, 1.1.425–74.

14. G. Morin, *Sancti Clementis Romani ad Corinthios Epistulae versio latina antiquissima* (Anecdota Maredsolana 2; Maredsous, Belgium, 1894).

15. R. H. Kennet and R. L. Bensly, *The Epistles of S. Clement to the Corinthians in Syriac* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899).

16. C. Schmidt, *Der erste Clemensbrief in altkoptischer Übersetzung* (Texte und Untersuchungen 32.1; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1908); F. Rösch, *Bruchstücke des ersten Clemensbriefes, nach dem achmimischen Papyrus der Strassburger Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek* (Strasbourg: Schlesier and Schweikhardt, 1910).

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## ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥΣ Α΄

Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ παροικουσίᾳ Κόρινθον, κλητοῖς ἁγιασμένοις ἐν θελήματι θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη.

**1** Διὰ τὰς αἰφνιδίους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους γενομένας ἡμῖν συμφορὰς καὶ ἁ περιπτώσεις, ἁ ἀδελφοί, βράδιον νομίζομεν ἐπιστροφὴν πεποιήσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐπιζητουμένων παρ' ὑμῖν πραγμάτων, ἀγαπητοί, τῆς τε ἀλλοτρίας καὶ ξένης τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ μιᾶς καὶ ἀνοσίτου στάσεως, ἣν ὀλίγα πρόσωπα προπετή καὶ αὐθάδη ὑπάρχοντα εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀπονοίας ἐξέκαυσαν, ὥστε τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ περιβόητον καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀξιγάπητον ὄνομα ὑμῶν μεγάλως βλασφημηθῆναι. **2** τίς γὰρ παρεπιδημήσας πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὴν πανάρετον καὶ βεβαίαν ὑμῶν πίστιν οὐκ ἔδοκίμασεν; τὴν τε σώφρονα καὶ ἐπιεικὴ ἐν Χριστῷ εὐσέβειαν οὐκ ἔθαύμασεν; καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τῆς φιλοξενίας ὑμῶν ἦθος οὐκ ἐκήρυξεν; καὶ τὴν

**Title** Κλημεντος προς Κορινθιους α΄ C; . . . Κορινθιους A; incipit epistola Clementis ad Corinthios L; the catholic epistle of Clement the disciple of Peter the apostle to the church of the Corinthians S; – Co **Salutation** ἁγιασμενοις AC] αἰτιος LSCo **1.1 περιπτώσεις** ASCo] περιστασεις C; impedimenta L • **αδελφοι** A] αγαπητοι S; – CLCo

# FIRST CLEMENT

## *Salutation*

The church of God that sojourns in Rome to the church of God that sojourns in Corinth, to those who are called and sanctified by the will of God through our Lord Jesus Christ:

May grace and peace from almighty God through Jesus Christ be yours in abundance.

## *Corinth's History of Humility and Harmony*

**1** Because of the sudden and repeated misfortunes and reverses that have happened to us, brothers, we acknowledge that we have been somewhat slow in giving attention to the matters in dispute among you, dear friends, especially the detestable and unholy schism, so alien and strange to those chosen by God, which a few reckless and arrogant persons have kindled to such a pitch of insanity that your good name, once so renowned and loved by all, has been greatly reviled. **2** For has anyone ever visited you who did not approve your most excellent and steadfast faith? Who did not admire your sober and magnanimous piety in Christ? Who did not proclaim the magnificent character of your hospitality? Who did not congratulate you on your

**Salutation** *sojourns* Or *lives as an exile* or *lives as an alien* or *temporarily resides*. **1.1** *brothers* Gk *adelphoi*. Some ancient authorities omit this word; one ancient authority reads *dear friends*. Gk writings (including the letters of Paul and some of the other writings in this volume) regularly employ the masculine plural to refer to a group consisting of both men and women. But this writer may in fact be addressing the *brothers* rather than the community.

τελείαν καὶ ἀσφαλῆ γνώσιν οὐκ ἔμακάρισεν; **3** ἀπροσωπολήπτως γὰρ πάντα ἐποιεῖτε, Ἦ καὶ τοῖς Ἦ νομίμοις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπορευέσθε, ὑποτασσόμενοι τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν καὶ τιμῆν τὴν καθήκουσαν ἀπονέμοντες τοῖς παρ' ὑμῖν πρεσβυτέροις· νέοις τε μέτρια καὶ σεμνὰ νοεῖν ἐπετρέπετε· γυναιξὶν τε ἐν ἀμώμῳ Ἦ καὶ σεμνῇ Ἦ καὶ ἀγνῇ συνειδήσει πάντα ἐπιτελεῖν παρηγγέλλετε, στεργούσας καθηκόντως τοὺς ἄνδρας ἑαυτῶν ἔν τε τῷ κανόνι τῆς ὑποταγῆς ὑπαρχούσας τὰ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον σεμνῶς οἰκουργεῖν ἐδιδάσκετε, πάνυ σωφρονούσας.

**2** Πάντες τε ἐταπεινοφρονεῖτε, μηδὲν ἀλαζονευόμενοι, ὑποτασσόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑποτάσσοντες, ἥδιον διδόντες ἢ λαμβάνοντες, τοῖς ἐφοδίοις τοῦ Ἦ θεοῦ ἀρκούμενοι. καὶ προσέχοντες τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἐπιμελῶς ἐνεστερνισμένοι ἦτε τοῖς σπλάγχνοις, καὶ τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ ἦν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν. **2** οὕτως εἰρήνη βαθεῖα καὶ λιπαρὰ ἐδέδοτο πᾶσιν καὶ ἀκόρεστος πόθος εἰς ἀγαθοποιῖαν, καὶ πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου ἔκχυσις ἐπὶ πάντας ἐγένετο· **3** μεστοί τε Ἦ ὁσίας βουλῆς ἐν ἀγαθῇ προθυμίᾳ μετ' εὐσεβοῦς πεποιθήσεως ἐξετείνετε τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν παντοκράτορα θεόν, ἰκετεύοντες αὐτὸν ἴλεων γενέσθαι, εἴ τι ἄκοντες ἡμάρτετε. **4** ἀγὼν ἦν ὑμῖν ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς ἀδελφότητος, εἰς τὸ σῶζεσθαι Ἦ μετὰ δέους Ἦ καὶ Ἦ συνειδήσεως τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ. **5** εἰλικρινεῖς καὶ ἀκέραιοι ἦτε καὶ ἀμνησικάκοι εἰς ἀλλήλους. **6** πᾶσα στάσις καὶ πᾶν σχίσμα βδελυκτὸν Ἦ ἦν ὑμῖν. ἐπὶ τοῖς παραπτώμασιν Ἦ τοῖς πλησίον ἐπενθεῖτε· τὰ ὑστερήματα αὐτῶν ἴδια ἐκρίνετε. **7** ἀμεταμέλητοι ἦτε ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀγαθοποιίᾳ, ἔτοιμοι εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν. **8** τῇ παναρέτῳ καὶ

1.3 και A] + εν CL ClemAlex • νομιμοις L ClemAlex] νομοις AC • και σεμνη AC] – LSCo  
 2.1 θεου A] χριστου CLSCo 2.3 οσιας AS] θειας C 2.4 μετα δεους C] μετ' ελεους  
 ALSCo • συνειδησεως ACS] + αγαθης LCo 2.6 ην C] – A Lftf • τοις A] των C

complete and sound knowledge? **3** For you did everything without partiality, and you lived in accordance with the laws of God, submitting yourselves to your leaders and giving to the older men among you the honor due them. You instructed the young people to think temperate and proper thoughts; you charged the women to perform all their duties with a blameless, reverent, and pure conscience, cherishing their own husbands, as is right; and you taught them to abide by the rule of obedience, and to manage the affairs of their household with dignity and all discretion.

**2** Moreover, you were all humble and free from arrogance, submitting rather than demanding submission, more glad to give than to receive, and content with the provisions that God supplies. And giving heed to his words, you stored them up diligently in your hearts, and kept his sufferings before your eyes. **2** Thus a profound and rich peace was given to all, together with an insatiable desire to do good, and an abundant outpouring of the Holy Spirit fell upon everyone as well. **3** Being full of holy counsel, with excellent zeal and a devout confidence you stretched out your hands to almighty God, imploring him to be merciful if you had inadvertently committed any sin. **4** You struggled day and night on behalf of all the family of believers, that through fear and conscientiousness the number of his elect might be saved. **5** You were sincere and innocent and free from malice one toward another. **6** Every faction and every schism was abominable to you. You mourned for the transgressions of your neighbors: you considered their shortcomings to be your own. **7** You never once regretted doing good, but were ready for every good work. **8** Being adorned

**1.3** *reverent* Some ancient authorities omit this word. **2.1** *more glad . . . receive* Cf. Acts 20:35. • *God* Most ancient authorities read *Christ*. **2.4** *family of believers* Gk *adelphotētos*. • *fear* Some ancient authorities read *compassion*. **2.7** *ready for every good work* Titus 3:1.

σεβασμίῳ πολιτείᾳ κεκοσμημένοι πάντα ἐν τῷ φόβῳ αὐτοῦ ἐπετελείτε· τὰ προστάγματα καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ κυρίου ἐπὶ τὰ πλάτη τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν ἐγγέγραπτο.

**3** Πᾶσα δόξα καὶ πλατυσμός ἐδόθη ὑμῖν, καὶ ἐπετελέσθη τὸ γεγραμμένον· Ἔφαγεν καὶ ἔπιεν καὶ ἐπλατύνθη καὶ ἐπαχύνθη καὶ ἀπελάκτισεν ὁ ἠγαπημένος. **2** ἐκ τούτου ζῆλος καὶ ἦ φθόνος, ἔρις καὶ στάσις, διωγμός καὶ ἀκαταστασία, πόλεμος καὶ αἰχμαλωσία. **3** οὕτως ἐπηγέρθησαν οἱ ἄτιμοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐντίμους, οἱ ἄδοξοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐνδόξους, οἱ ἄφρονες ἐπὶ τοὺς φρονίμους, οἱ νέοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους. **4** διὰ τοῦτο πόρρω ἄπεστιν ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ εἰρήνη, ἐν τῷ ἴ ἀπολιπεῖν ἕκαστον τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτοῦ ἀμβλυωπῆσαι, μηδὲ ἐν τοῖς νομίμοις τῶν προσταγμάτων αὐτοῦ πορευέσθαι μηδὲ πολιτεύεσθαι κατὰ τὸ καθῆκον τῷ Χριστῷ, ἀλλὰ ἕκαστον βαδίζειν κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ τῆς πονηρᾶς, ζῆλον ἄδικον καὶ ἀσεβῆ ἀνειληφότας, δι' οὗ καὶ θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον.

**4** Γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως· Καὶ ἐγένετο μεθ' ἡμέρας ἤνεγκεν Κάϊν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς θυσίαν τῷ ἴ θεῷ, καὶ Ἄβελ ἤνεγκεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν πρωτοτόκων τῶν προβάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στεάτων αὐτῶν. **2** καὶ ἐπεῖδεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ Ἄβελ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δώροις αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ δὲ Κάϊν καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις αὐτοῦ οὐ προσέσχεν. **3** καὶ ἔλυπηθη Κάϊν λίαν καὶ συνέπεσεν ἴ τῷ προσώπῳ ἴ αὐτοῦ. **4** καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς Κάϊν· Ἰνατί περίλυπος ἐγένου, καὶ ἰνατί συνέπεσεν τὸ πρόσωπόν σου; οὐκ ἐὰν

3.2 φθονος CS] + καὶ AL[Ltft] 3.4 ἀπολιπειν CS] ἀπολειπειν (A)Ltft 4.1 θεω ASCo] κυριω CL(LXX) 4.3 τῷ προσώπῳ A(LXX)] τὸ προσωπον CLSCo

with a virtuous and honorable manner of life, you performed all your duties in the fear of him. The commandments and the ordinances of the Lord were written on the tablets of your hearts.

*Corinth's Loss of Humility and Harmony*

**3** All glory and growth were given to you, and then that which is written was fulfilled: “My beloved ate and drank and was enlarged and grew fat and kicked.” **2** From this came jealousy and envy, strife and sedition, persecution and anarchy, war and captivity. **3** So people were stirred up: those without honor against the honored, those of no repute against the highly reputed, the foolish against the wise, the young against the old. **4** For this reason righteousness and peace stand at a distance, while each one has abandoned the fear of God and become nearly blind with respect to faith in him, neither walking according to the laws of his commandments nor living in accordance with his duty toward Christ. Instead, all follow the lusts of their evil heart, inasmuch as they have assumed that attitude of unrighteous and ungodly jealousy through which, in fact, death entered into the world.

*Ancient Examples of Jealousy*

**4** For thus it is written: “And it came to pass after certain days that Cain offered from the fruits of the earth a sacrifice to God, and Abel also offered a sacrifice from the firstborn of the sheep and from their fat. **2** And God looked with favor upon Abel and upon his gifts, but to Cain and his sacrifices he gave no heed. **3** And Cain was greatly distressed and his face was downcast. **4** And God said to Cain, ‘Why are you so distressed, and why is your face downcast? If you offered

**2.8** *written... hearts* Cf. Prov. 7:3. **3.1** *My beloved... kicked* Deut. 32:15. **3.3** *those without... honored* Isa. 3:5. • *the young against the old* Isa. 3:5. **3.4** *righteousness... distance* Cf. Isa. 59:14. **3.4** *death entered into the world* Wis. 2:24. **4.1–6** Gen. 4:3–8.

ὀρθῶς προσενέγκης ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλης, ἡμαρτες; 5 ἡσύχασον· πρὸς σὲ ἡ ἀποστροφή αὐτοῦ, καὶ σὺ ἄρξεις αὐτοῦ. 6 καὶ εἶπεν Κάϊν πρὸς Ἄβελ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ· Διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἀνέστη Κάϊν ἐπὶ Ἄβελ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν. 7 ὁρᾶτε, ἴ ἀδελφοί, ζῆλος καὶ φθόνος ἀδελφοκτονίαν κατειργάσατο. 8 διὰ ζῆλος ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν Ἰακώβ ἀπέδρα ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἡσαῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ. 9 ζῆλος ἐποίησεν Ἰωσήφ μέχρι θανάτου διωχθῆναι καὶ μέχρι δουλείας εἰσελθεῖν. 10 ζῆλος φυγεῖν ἠνάγκασεν Μωϋσῆν ἀπὸ προσώπου Φαραῶ βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου ἐν τῷ ἀκοῦσαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁμοφύλου· Τίς σε κατέστησεν ἴκριτὴν ἢ δικαστὴν ἐφ’ ἡμῶν; μὴ ἀνελεῖν μέ σου θέλεις, ὃν τρόπον ἀνεῖλες ἐχθὲς τὸν Αἰγύπτιον. 11 διὰ ζῆλος Ἀαρὼν καὶ Μαριάμ ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἠύλισθησαν. 12 ζῆλος Δαθὰν καὶ Ἀβειρῶν ζῶντας κατήγαγεν εἰς ἄδου διὰ τὸ στασιάσαι αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν θεράποντα τοῦ θεοῦ Μωϋσῆν. 13 διὰ ζῆλος Δαυὶδ φθόνον ἔσχεν οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ Σαοὺλ ἴ βασιλέως Ἰσραὴλ ἔδιώχθη.

**5** Ἄλλ’ ἵνα τῶν ἀρχαίων ὑποδειγμάτων παυσώμεθα, ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔγγιστα γενομένους ἀθλητάς· λάβωμεν τῆς γενεᾶς ἡμῶν τὰ γενναῖα ὑποδείγματα. 2 διὰ ζῆλον καὶ φθόνον οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ δικαιοτάτοι στυλοὶ ἐδιώχθησαν καὶ ἕως θανάτου ἤθλησαν. 3 λάβωμεν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀποστόλους· 4 Πέτρον, ὃς διὰ ζῆλον ἄδικον οὐχ ἓνα οὐδὲ δύο ἀλλὰ πλείονας ὑπήνεγκεν πόνους, καὶ οὕτω μαρτυρήσας ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης. 5 διὰ ζῆλον καὶ ἔριν Παῦλος ὑπομονῆς βραβεῖον ἴ <ὑπέδειξεν,> 6 ἐπτάκις δεσμὰ φορέσας, φυγαδευθεὶς, λιθασθεὶς,

4.7 ἀδελφοί] αγαπητοι S 4.10 κριτην A] αρχοντα CLSCo(LXX) • η AL] και CSCo(LXX) 4.13 βασιλεως Ισραηλ ALSCo] – C; [Lftf] 5.5 υπεδειξεν em Lftf (cf. A, υ . . . ξεν)] εδειξεν C

correctly but did not divide correctly, did you not sin? **5** Be quiet; he shall turn to you, and you shall rule over him.’ **6** And Cain said to Abel his brother, ‘Let us go out to the field.’ And it came to pass, while they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother and killed him.” **7** You see, brothers, jealousy and envy brought about a brother’s murder. **8** Because of jealousy our father Jacob ran away from the presence of Esau his brother. **9** Jealousy caused Joseph to be persecuted nearly to death, and to be sold into slavery. **10** Jealousy compelled Moses to flee from the presence of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, when he was asked by his own countryman, “Who made you a judge or a ruler over us? Do you want to kill me just as you killed the Egyptian yesterday?” **11** Because of jealousy Aaron and Miriam were excluded from the camp. **12** Jealousy brought Dathan and Abiram down alive into Hades, because they revolted against Moses, the servant of God. **13** Because of jealousy David not only was envied by the Philistines but also was persecuted by Saul, king of Israel.

### *Recent Examples of Jealousy*

**5** But to pass from the examples of ancient times, let us come to those champions who lived nearest to our time. Let us consider the noble examples that belong to our own generation. **2** Because of jealousy and envy the greatest and most righteous pillars were persecuted and fought to the death. **3** Let us set before our eyes the good apostles. **4** There was Peter, who because of unrighteous jealousy endured not one or two but many trials, and thus having given his testimony went to his appointed place of glory. **5** Because of jealousy and strife Paul showed the way to the prize for patient endurance. **6** After he had been seven times in chains, had been driven into exile, had been stoned,

**4.8** Cf. Gen. 27:41–28:5. **4.9** Cf. Gen. 37. **4.10** Exod. 2:14. **4.11** Cf. Num. 12. **4.12** Cf. Num. 16. **4.13** Cf. 1 Sam. 18–31. • *king of Israel* One ancient authority omits these words. **5.2** *pillars* I.e., of the church; cf. Gal. 2:9.