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THE EPISTLES
OF
ST. IGNATIUS
VOL. II.

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REV. J. H. SRAWLEY

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Early Church Classics.

THE EPISTLES
OF
ST. IGNATIUS,
BISHOP OF ANTIOCH.

BY THE
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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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ST. IGNATIUS

V. THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

[This epistle was one of the four letters written from Smyrna. It bears the date August 24th. While the other letters were called forth by the dangers and heresies which threatened the life of the Churches addressed, this deals with a personal matter, his own impending martyrdom. Of heresy we hear nothing. His favourite topic, Church order, is not once mentioned. Certain members of the Syrian Church had preceded Ignatius to Rome with news of his coming martyrdom. He fears that the influential Church in that city may intercede for him, and, by procuring some commutation of his sentence, rob him of the crown of martyrdom. He earnestly deprecates their interference, and expresses his own passionate desire for a martyr's death. On account of this strong personal interest the letter was more popular, and is quoted earlier, than any of the others. It became, in Lightfoot's words, a 'sort of martyr's manual,' and influenced largely the language and ideas of several of the early stories of martyrdom. The epistle was incorporated in the Antiochene Acts of the martyrdom and so became dissociated from the other letters in its transmission, being preserved in a separate set of manuscripts and translated separately. The only extant Greek manuscript which contains the epistle is the Colbertine MS. of the tenth century in the National Library at Paris, the epistle being incorporated in the Acts of the martyrdom.]

IGNATIUS, who is also Theophorus, to her that has found mercy in the bounteous power¹ of the Father most High and Jesus Christ, His only Son, to the Church that is beloved and illuminated by the will of Him that willed all things which exist, in faith and love towards Jesus Christ our God ; to her that has the chief place in the district of the region of the Romans,² being worthy of God, worthy of honour, worthy of congratulation, worthy of praise, worthy of success, worthy in purity, and holding the chief place in love,³ following the law of Christ, bearing the Father's name ; which Church also I salute in the name of Jesus

¹ For the word used here cf. Luke ix. 43, A.V., 'the mighty power of God.' It denotes an exhibition of God's power which reveals His goodness and bounty.

² These words describe merely the area over which the Roman Church exercised supervision. Cf. Tertullian, *de Præscr.* 36 : 'Go through the Apostolic churches, in which the very seats of the Apostles, at this very day, preside over their own places.' Others, however, have urged that Ignatius is here maintaining the absolute supremacy of the Roman Church among the churches of the world, as though he said, 'To her that, being situate in the district of the region of the Romans, has the chief place [among churches].' But, as Lightfoot urges, in that case it is difficult to see why Ignatius did not write merely 'in Rome,' when describing the locality of the church.

³ As the Church of Rome had the supremacy of rank among the churches in the region around it, so too was it foremost among them in works of love. Dionysius of Corinth (c. A.D. 175) testifies to the world-wide charity of the Roman Church (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23).

Christ, Son of the Father ; to them that are united in flesh and spirit with every one of His commandments, being wholly filled with the grace of God, without wavering, and strained clear from every foreign dye,¹ warmest greeting in Jesus Christ our God without blame.

I. My prayer to God has been heard, and I have been permitted to see your holy faces, so that I have gained even more than I was asking.² For in bonds in Christ Jesus I hope to salute you, if it be God's will that I should be accounted worthy to reach the end.³ For the beginning is well ordained if I may attain the end and so receive my inheritance without hindrance. For I fear lest your very love should do me wrong. For you may easily do what you will.⁴ But for me it is difficult to attain unto God, unless you spare me.

¹ The 'foreign dye' is the colouring-matter which pollutes the purity of a stream. The Church had been kept pure from grave errors of doctrine and life. For the metaphor cf. Philad. 3.

² He had asked that he might visit Rome. His prayer had been granted, with the further favour that he was privileged to visit it as a prisoner of Jesus Christ, soon to be glorified by a martyr's death.

³ *i. e.* the goal of his ambition, martyrdom.

⁴ Christianity had already found its way into the higher ranks of Roman society. In the reign of Domitian (95 A.D.) the consul, Flavius Clemens, a cousin of the Emperor, had been executed, and his wife banished on a charge which has been proved to have arisen from their profession of Christianity. Ignatius is afraid that influence

II. For I would not that you should please men, but that you should please God, as indeed you do. For I shall never have such an opportunity of attaining unto God, nor can you, if you keep silent, be credited¹ with a nobler deed. For if you keep silent and spare me, I am a word of God, but if you crave for my flesh, I shall again be a mere voice.² [Nay] give me nothing more than that I

in high quarters will result in his respite. Lucian the heathen satirist, who wrote about 165 A.D., describes the efforts made by the Christians to procure the release of their imprisoned brethren (*De morte Peregrini*, c. 12).

¹ 'Be credited,' literally, 'have your name attached to.' An allusion probably, as Zahn suggests, to the practice of craftsmen, who inscribe their names on the work they have completed. The idea of Ignatius is that his martyrdom will be a great achievement, in which they will have their part by restraining their desire to intercede for him.

² There is a distinction here between λόγος, 'a word,' expressing the intelligible utterance of a rational being, and φωνή, which denotes a mere irrational cry. Both words occur in the opening chapter of St. John's Gospel, λόγος, 'the Word,' being used of the Eternal Son of God, as Revealer of the Father, while St. John the Baptist describes himself as φωνή, 'a mere voice of one crying,' *i. e.* a mere impersonal instrument. See John i. 1, 14, 23. Thus the thought of Ignatius is, 'My death will render my life intelligible as a living message to man from God, whereas, if I am spared, my life will be as destitute of meaning as the cry of an irrational animal.'

The text of the passage, however, shows considerable variation, probably due to alteration through failure to see the above distinction. The Greek text and the Armenian version read instead of φωνή the word τρέχων, which Lightfoot

may be poured out as a libation to God,¹ while yet there is an altar ready, that forming a choir in love you may sing to the Father in Jesus Christ, because God has granted that the bishop from Syria² should be found in the West, having summoned him from the East. Good it is for my sun to set from the world unto God, that it may rise unto Him.³

understands to mean that Ignatius 'would be put back again to run the race.' Similarly the word λόγος has been changed to γενήσομαι ('I shall belong to God,' instead of, 'I shall be a word of God') probably because of the seeming irreverence in attributing the title, 'word of God,' to any one but our Lord.

¹ The 'libation,' the 'altar,' and the 'choir,' are suggested by the ritual of a heathen sacrifice. For a similar metaphor cf. Eph. 9.

² The genitive Συρίας is probably here equivalent to little more than an adjective, 'the Syrian bishop,' or 'the bishop from Syria.' It must not be understood to imply jurisdiction over the whole of Syria, as though it were the equivalent of τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας, 'bishop of the church which is in Syria.' The organization of large dioceses was of later growth, and followed the lines of Roman imperial administration. The bishop of the second and third centuries resembled, so far as the extent of his administration went, the rector of a town parish in modern times. See Hatch, *Bampton Lectures*, viii. It is quite possible, however, that these city bishops would exercise some supervision over the scattered Christians in the rural districts around, until early in the fourth century these country congregations came to be placed under the control of a subordinate class of bishops known as *chorepiscopi*.

³ Ignatius plays on the words δύσις, 'West,' lit. 'setting of the sun,' and ἀνατολή, 'East,' lit. 'rising of the sun.'

III. You have never grudged¹ any man. Others you have instructed.² But I would that those lessons, which you enjoin in your teaching, may endure.³ Only ask that I may find power within and without, that I may not only say it, but may desire it, that I may not only be called but be found a Christian. For if I be found a Christian, then can I also receive the name; then too can I be faithful when I am not visible to the world. Nothing that is visible is good.⁴ For our God, Jesus Christ is the more clearly visible now that He is in the Father.⁵ The Work is not of persuasive

¹ *ἐβασκάνατε*, lit. 'envied.' The word is found in Gal. iii. 1, and means literally 'to bewitch,' with special reference to the power of the evil eye. The derived notion of 'envy' follows from this use. Ignatius means 'You have never grudged any one the honour of martyrdom.'

² Probably a reference to the encouragement and exhortations given to previous martyrs by the Roman Christians. The particular form, however, of the following sentence rather favours the view that Ignatius is referring to some definite, written charge upon the subject, such as is found in the letter of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, which contains exhortations to follow the example of the martyrs.

³ Ignatius expresses the hope that they will not depart, in his own case, from the principles of the teaching which they have given to others on the subject of martyrdom.

⁴ 'Visible,' *e. g.* material and transient. Cf. 2 Cor. iv. 18. Ignatius is speaking of the material world as it exists apart from God. On his general view of the relations of 'spirit' and 'matter,' see Introd. § 4.

⁵ A paradox. Christ's true power, manifested in the life of the Church, is more clearly seen now that He has passed out of the sight of human eyes, than it was when in His earthly life He was subject to the malice and misunderstanding of men.

eloquence,¹ but Christianity is a thing of might whenever it is hated by the world.

· IV. I write unto all the churches, and charge them all to know that I die willingly for God, if you hinder not. I entreat you, do not unseasonably befriend me. Suffer me to belong to the wild beasts, through whom I may attain unto God. I am God's grain, and I am ground by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found pure bread.² Rather entice the wild beasts to become my tomb, and to leave naught of my body, that I may not, when I have fallen asleep, prove a burden to any man.³ Then shall I truly be a disciple of Jesus

¹ Cf. Eph. 14. 'The Work' is the Gospel. Christianity is not a matter of words but of deeds. Cf. the old motto 'taire et faire.'

² Some MSS. add, after 'bread,' the words 'of Christ,' while others have 'of God,' and others omit both. The figure in this passage is suggested by the sacrificial loaves which were offered both among Jews and Gentiles. Light-foot would see a more definite reference to the Pentecostal loaves (Lev. xxiii. 17). The 'pure' bread is that which was made of the finest flour. Ignatius is the grain which is ground by the teeth of the beasts and fitted for an offering to God.

³ He is thinking of the difficulties likely to attend his burial. The spurious Acts of the martyrdom vary in their account of the treatment of his reliques. The Antiochene Acts narrate (c. 6) that only the tougher parts of his reliques were left, and that these were carried back to Antioch and laid in a sarcophagus. The Roman Acts state that the beasts only crushed him to death, without touching his flesh, 'that his reliques might be a protection to the great city of the Romans' (c. 10). On the later history of his reliques see *Intro.* § 3.

Christ, when the world shall not see even my body. Intreat the Lord for me, that by these instruments¹ I may be found a sacrifice unto God. I do not enjoin you in the manner of Peter and Paul.² They were Apostles, I am a condemned man. They were free, I, until this moment, am a slave. But if I suffer, I am Jesus Christ's freedman,³ and in Him I shall arise free. Now in my bonds I am learning to give up all desires.

V. From Syria unto Rome I am fighting with

¹ *i. e.* the wild beasts.

² Both these Apostles had been connected with the Roman Church. Their names also appear in conjunction in the letter written by Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, c. 5. St. Peter's residence at Rome, with his martyrdom there, rests on too strong evidence to be rejected. It is explicitly mentioned by a succession of Christian writers in the latter half of the second century, *i. e.* by Dionysius of Corinth, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria. The 'Church in Babylon' in 1 Pet. v. 13 is now generally understood to refer to Rome. Finally, the Roman presbyter Gaius tells us that in his day (*circa* 200 A.D.) the tombs of the two Apostles were to be seen on the Vatican and Ostian Ways. On the other hand the evidence for their martyrdom at the same time is slender, being derived from the statement of Dionysius of Corinth, who wrote in the second half of the second century (c. 175 A.D.), and was not intimately connected with the Roman Church. Accordingly some recent scholars have rejected his statement and incline to the view that St. Peter was the survivor of St. Paul. This would help to account for the greater prominence of his name in later days in the memory of the Roman Church. See Ramsay, *Ch. in R. E.*, p. 279 ff.; Sanday, *Expositor*, IV. vii. p. 411 f.; Swete, *St. Mark*, p. xvii f.

³ 1 Cor. vii. 22.

wild beasts¹ by land and sea, by night and day, bound to ten leopards,² that is, a company of soldiers,³ whose usage grows still harsher when they are liberally treated.⁴ Yet through their unjust doings I am more truly learning discipleship. *Yet am I not hereby justified.*⁵ May I have joy of the beasts that are prepared for me. I pray too that they may prove expeditious with me. I will even entice them to devour me expeditiously, and not to refrain, as they have refrained from

¹ θηριομαχῶ. Based on 1 Cor. xv. 32, where it is used metaphorically of human opponents. Here the usage is similar, but also looks forward to the literal fulfilment of the words in his coming death.

² It has been urged that the use of this word is an anachronism and a proof that this letter is not genuine, the word not being found in any writer of the second century. Lightfoot, however, refers to its use in a rescript of the Emperors Marcus and Commodus (A.D. 177-180), and a still earlier use by Galen about half a century after the time of Ignatius. The word is probably of Roman origin, and Lightfoot shows that it was already in process of formation in the time of Pliny some thirty or forty years before this time. Syrian leopards are mentioned by Vopiscus as having been exhibited by the Emperor Probus. See Lightfoot *in loco*.

³ His escort consisted of ten soldiers, who relieved one another in turn. Like St. Paul (Acts xxviii. 16, 20), Ignatius was attached by a 'coupling-chain' to a guard by night and day.

⁴ This probably refers to the sums of money given to the soldiers by friends of Ignatius to procure for him better treatment. This common Christian practice is alluded to in Lucian's famous satire on the Christians, *De Morte Peregrini*, c. 12.

⁵ 1 Cor. iv. 4.

some,¹ through fear. And even though they are not willing without constraint,² I will compel them. Pardon me. I know what is expedient for me. Now I am beginning to be a disciple. May naught of things visible or invisible seek to allure³ me ; that I may attain unto Jesus Christ. Come fire and cross and conflicts with wild beasts,⁴ wrenching of bones, mangling of limbs, crushing of the whole body ; come grievous torments of the devil upon me,—only may they aid me in attaining unto Jesus Christ.

VI. The furthest bounds of the universe, and the kingdoms of this world shall profit me nothing. It is better for me to die for the sake of Jesus Christ than to reign over the boundaries of the earth. Him I seek Who died for us. Him I desire,

¹ Cf. Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 7, where similar instances are cited in the case of the Egyptian martyrs. Similar incidents are recorded of the martyrs of Vienne in 177 A.D. (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1). In the present passage Ramsay, following Zahn, thinks that there is a reference to the story of Thecla as contained in a first-century document on which he supposes the Acts of Paul and Thecla to be based (*Ch. in R. Emp.* pp. 381, 404).

² Lightfoot, however, translates 'to devour me, though I am ready.'

³ ζηλώσαι. Cf. Gal. iv. 17, 2 Cor. xi. 2. In both those passages, and probably in the present passage, there is the idea of assiduous attention. Lightfoot, however, understands the word to mean 'envy.'

⁴ The Greek text and the Armenian Version in the Martyrology add here 'gashes and rendings.'

Who rose [for our sakes]. My travail-pains are upon me.¹ Forgive me, brethren. Hinder me not from entering into life: desire not my death. Bestow not upon the world him who desires to be God's; nor tempt me with the things of this life. Suffer me to receive pure light. When I come thither then shall I be a man indeed. Suffer me to be an imitator of the passion of my God. If any man has Him dwelling in him, let him understand what I desire, and have fellow-feeling with me, knowing what constrains me.

VII. The prince of this world desires to make me his spoil² and corrupt my purpose towards God. Let none of you then who are at hand assist him. Rather be on my side, that is, belong to God. Use not the words 'Jesus Christ' and yet desire the world. Let not envy make its dwelling within you. Even though I should come and intreat you, hearken not even to me, but rather trust these words which I write unto you. For I write unto you in the midst of life, enamoured of death. My Love³ has been cruci-

¹ Ignatius represents both mother and child. The pains are the agonies of martyrdom, which result in the birth of the new Ignatius, born into the higher life.

² Cf. Mark iii. 27.

³ ἔρως. This word has been understood in two widely different senses—

(a) Zahn and Lightfoot understand it to mean 'love' in the lower sense of 'lust,' 'passion.' According to this view Ignatius declares that he has crucified the carnal passions of

fied, and there is not within me any fire of earthly desire,¹ but only water that lives² and speaks in me,³ and says from within me, 'Come hither to the Father.' I have no pleasure in the food of corruption nor in the pleasures of this material

his nature. In the only two passages of the LXX. where the word occurs, it bears this sense. See Prov. vii. 18, xxx. 16. It does not occur in the N. T., which uses ἀγάπη to denote 'love.'

(b) An interpretation which has been current since the time of Origen's *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, refers ἔρως objectively to Christ. 'My Love has been crucified.' And so the words were commonly understood by later writers. This interpretation is rejected by Zahn and Lightfoot, but it has found a fresh defender in Dr. C. Bigg (*Bampton Lectures*, p. viii f.). He shows fairly conclusively that ἔρως and its cognates may be used in a higher sense, and also that ἔρως may be used of the object of love. This sense agrees too with the context. Ignatius is 'in love' with death, 'because Christ, his Beloved, is crucified, and perfect union with Him will be attained by death.' His love for Christ draws him away from material things. On the whole this interpretation, perhaps, suits best the highly imaginative fervour of the passage.

¹ Reading with Zahn and Lightfoot φιλόυλον = 'loving matter,' 'carnal.'

² The phrase 'living water' recalls John iv. 10, 11. For its use in connection with the Spirit, see John vii. 38-39.

³ The words καὶ λαλοῦν ('water . . . that speaketh') are probably corrupt. If retained they must be held to refer to the prophetic power said to be imparted by certain springs to those who drank them. Lightfoot thinks that the longer Greek recension has here preserved the true text, ἀλλόμενον for καὶ λαλοῦν. This would present a further parallel to St. John's Gospel (iv. 14), and the passage would run, 'water that lives and springs up.'

life. I desire God's bread,¹ which is the flesh of Christ, Who is of the seed of David,² and for drink I desire His blood, which is love incorruptible.³

VIII. I desire no longer to live the common life of men. And this will be granted, if it is your desire. Desire it, that you too may be desired. In a short letter I intreat you. Believe me. Jesus Christ shall make this clear to you, that I speak truly—even He Who is the Mouth which cannot speak falsely, whereby the Father spake [truly]. Intreat for me, that I may attain in the Holy Spirit. I write not unto you after the flesh, but after the mind of God. If I suffer, it is because you desired it. If I be rejected, it is because of your hatred.

IX. Remember in your prayer⁴ the Church in Syria, since it hath God as its shepherd⁵ in my room. Jesus Christ alone shall be its bishop⁶—

¹ Cf. John vi. 33, and the section John vi. 48-59.

² Cf. Eph. 18. Ignatius may have the Docetic teachers in mind. Only if Christ has become truly incarnate, is it possible for our manhood to be united with God.

³ See note on Trall. 8. The parallelism of that passage suggests that the clause 'which is love incorruptible' refers to 'His Blood.' Then love is regarded as the means of union with the incarnate Christ, or, better still, as the fruit and issue of that union. Zahn, however, refers the words to the whole preceding sentence. 'The participation in the flesh and blood of Christ is love incorruptible.' He sees in it a reference to the Agape or Love-Feast.

⁴ Cf. Eph. 21.

⁵ Cf. 1 Pet. ii. 25, v. 2.

⁶ Cf. Polyc. inscr.

together with your love. But as for me, I am ashamed to be spoken of as one of them. Nor indeed am I worthy, since I am the last of them and one born out of due time;¹ but I have received mercy that I should be some one, if haply I may attain unto God. My spirit salutes you, as also does the love of the churches which received me in the name of Jesus Christ, not as one that merely passed by, for even the churches which lay not² naturally near to my route went before me from city to city.³

X. I write this unto you from Smyrna by the hand of the Ephesians⁴ who are worthy of congratulation. There is with me also, along with many others, Crocus, a name dear to me. Concerning those who went before me from Syria to Rome unto the glory of God I believe that you have received full tidings. Inform them also of my approach. For they are all worthy of God and of you, and it is fitting that you should in every way refresh them. I am writing this to you on the 9th day before the Kalends of September. Farewell unto the end in patient abiding for Jesus Christ.

¹ Suggested by 1 Cor. xv. 8 sq. See Introd. § 3.

² The shorter Syriac version omits the negative.

³ *i. e.* to prepare his welcome.

⁴ So Lightfoot. But it is possible that here, as in Philad. 11, Smyrn. 12, the preposition used (*διὰ*) refers to the bearer, rather than to the scribe of the epistle. Cf. Polycarp, *Phil.* 14, and 1 Pet. v. 12, in the former of which the bearer seems referred to.

V. THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILADELPHIANS.

[Philadelphia, a city of Lydia, lay upon the great road which connected Northern Phrygia and Galatia with Sardis and touched the Ægæan at Smyrna. It does not appear to have attained any great importance, but from the number of its temples and festivals it received the name of 'little Athens.' This shows that it was a stronghold of the ancient religion. The first mention of the Christian Church there is in Rev. iii. 7-13. It probably dates from the stay of St. Paul at Ephesus (see Acts xix.). Already in Rev. iii. 9 the mention of the Jews occupies an important place, and there are traces of Judaistic error. But the Church as a whole receives high commendation (Rev. iii. 8, 10). In after days the city won great renown for its long resistance to the Turks, but it finally capitulated in 1390 A.D. The present city, Ala-Shehr, contains a considerable Christian population under a resident Greek bishop.

Ignatius had passed through Philadelphia (cc. I, 6, 7) and Smyrna on his way to Troas. Accordingly, whereas in writing to the Ephesians, Trallians, and Magnesians, he warns them generally against heresy, without directly charging them with it, in the present epistle he is dealing with the dangers actually existing in a Church with which he is personally acquainted.

The heresy which he attacks is plainly Judaistic (cc. 6, 8, 9), of a strongly developed character. The false teachers

had organized themselves apparently into a schism (cc. 3, 7). The traces of Docetism are only incidental (see inscr. and cc. 3, 8). They are not sufficient to justify the view that the heresy was current at Philadelphia (see Add. Note 1, vol. ii.). Nor is it necessary with Harnack (*Expositor*, March 1886, and *Chronologie*, pp. 389 n., 393 n.) to see in cc. 8, 9 traces of a third tendency. The passages most naturally refer to the Judaistic teachers. See notes.

This epistle was one of the three epistles written from Troas. Ignatius had been joined at that place by two friends, who had followed his route, and had stayed at Philadelphia. There they had been welcomed by the Church as a whole, but had in some way been slighted, probably by the heretical party, who also appear to have brought false charges against Ignatius (see cc. 6, 11). These incidents called forth the present letter.]

IGNATIUS, who is also Theophorus, to the Church of God the Father and Jesus Christ which is at Philadelphia in Asia,¹ to her who has received mercy and is established in godly concord and rejoices in the passion² of our Lord and in His resurrection without wavering, being fully persuaded in all mercy; her I salute in the blood of Jesus Christ; seeing that it is eternal and enduring joy, especially if they be at one with the bishop and with the presbyters who are with him, and with the deacons appointed according to the

¹ *i. e.* in the Roman province of Asia. According to local divisions Philadelphia was in Lydia.

² Ignatius is continually dwelling on the Passion of Christ. It is possible that here, as Lightfoot suggests, his language is influenced by the remembrance of the Docetic denial of the Passion.

mind¹ of Jesus Christ; whom of His own will He established, confirming them by His Holy Spirit.

I. For I perceived that this bishop of yours did not owe to himself or to the agency of men² his ministry, which pertains to the common good, nor does he hold it with vain glory, but in the love of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. For I have been amazed at his forbearance; who by his silence effects more than those who speak. For he is tuned in harmony³ with the commandments as a lyre with its strings. Therefore my soul blesses his godly purpose, perceiving that it is virtuous and perfect, even his unruffled and quiet spirit, since he lives in all godly forbearance.⁴

II. As children therefore of truth flee division and false doctrines, and where the shepherd is there follow as sheep. For there are many wolves⁵ who by specious professions lead captive with fatal

¹ The appointment of these deacons by the Church and its officers had been confirmed by the gift of the Holy Spirit, conveying to them the sanction of Christ Himself.

² An echo of Gal. i. 1.

³ The metaphor here is confused and difficult. Unless the text is corrupt, and we read in the last part of the sentence, 'as the strings with the lyre,' we must attribute the expression to the extreme haste of composition, which this epistle exhibits also in other parts.

⁴ The words may also mean, 'in all forbearance inspired by a living God.'

⁵ This recalls Matt. vii. 15. Cf. John x. 12, Acts xx. 29.

pleasures the runners in God's course¹; but while you continue in unity these shall have no place.

III. Abstain from evil herbs,² whose husbandman³ is not Jesus Christ, because they are not the planting of the Father. I say not this because I found division among you but rather sifting.⁴ For as many as are of God and Jesus Christ, these are with the bishop. And as many as repent and enter the unity of the Church, they also shall belong to God, that they may be living according to Jesus Christ. Be not deceived, my brethren. If any one follow a man that causes schism, he does not inherit God's kingdom. If any man walks in strange opinions, he has no part in the passion.

IV. Therefore give heed to keep one Eucharist.⁵ For there is one flesh⁶ of our Lord Jesus Christ,

¹ The favourite Pauline metaphor. Cf. Gal. v. 7, 1 Cor. ix. 24 sq.

² Cf. Trall. 6.

³ Cf. John xv. 1, 1 Cor. iii. 9. With the words following cf. Matt. xv. 13.

⁴ The Philadelphians had separated themselves from these heretics. Hence Ignatius will not use the word 'division,' which might imply censure, but uses instead, 'sifting,' literally 'filtering.' Cf. Rom. inscr.

⁵ Cf. Smyrn. 8. With the exception of the reference in the *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*, c. 9, these passages of Ignatius are the earliest certain instances of the name 'Eucharist' applied to the Holy Communion. In Clement of Rome, c. 41, however, the verb *εὐχαριστεῖν*, 'to give thanks,' is used of the public service of the Church, and probably refers to the Eucharist.

⁶ Cf. 1 Cor. x. 16, 17, which probably suggested this language.

and one cup unto union with His blood. There is one altar,¹ as there is one bishop, together with the

¹ *θυσιαστήριον*. See Magn. 7 (note). As we have seen, in that passage the word means probably 'the court of the altar,' a sense which it plainly bears in Eph. 5 and Trall. 7. The idea was suggested by the arrangements of the Jewish tabernacle and temple. This is probably the sense in Rev. xi. 1, and also in Clement of Rome, c. 41. The common idea underlying all these passages is 'a place of sacrifice,' or 'a sanctuary.' In Hebrews xiii. 10 the 'altar' appears to denote the Cross. In the present passage the 'sanctuary' is the Christian assembly gathered round the Eucharist, and forming the counterpart of the congregation of Israel. There is no certain and undisputed instance of the use of the word 'altar' to denote the Holy Table before Irenæus (iv. 18. 6). 'The idea of the whole transaction of the Supper as a sacrifice is plainly found in the Didache (c. 14), in Ignatius, and, above all, in Justin (I. 65 f.).'—Harnack (*Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. I. 209). The passage from the Didache (or *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*) urges that the celebration of the Eucharist should begin with a confession of sin, 'that our sacrifice may be pure.' Alike in the Didache and in Justin Martyr we find the prophecy Malachi i. 11 quoted and applied to the Eucharist. Similarly Clement of Rome (cc. 40–44) compares the bishops and deacons with the Priests and Levites of the Old Testament, and mentions as the chief duty of the former 'to offer the gifts.' In addition to the prayers and thanksgivings (cf. Smyrn. 7, Eph. 13, cf. Didache 9), the alms (cf. Polyc. *Phil.* 4), and oblations of bread and wine (cf. Clement, cited *supra*), which were regarded as sacrifices, the association of these with the commemoration of Christ's sacrifice and 'the gift of God' in the Sacrament (Smyrn. 7, cf. Eph. 20), constituted the Christian sacrifice or thank-offering (Eucharist). See Justin, *Trypho* 41, and Irenæus, iv. 17. 5.

presbytery and deacons, my fellow-servants; that whatsoever you do, you may do according unto God.

V. My brethren, my soul is wholly poured out in love for you. And because I rejoice exceedingly, I put you on your guard, yet not I, but Jesus Christ, whose prisoner I am: and therefore I fear the more, since I am not yet perfected. But your prayer unto God shall perfect me, that I may attain unto that lot,¹ in which I have obtained mercy, because I took refuge in the Gospel as the flesh² of Jesus, and the Apostles³ as the presby-

¹ *i. e.* martyrdom. Cf. Trall. 12.

² Cf. Trall. 8, note. The outward manifestation of Christ in His Incarnation is the substance of the Gospel. Zahn suggests the further thought that after the Ascension the preaching of the Gospel took the place of the earthly manifestation of the Lord.

³ The 'Gospel' and the 'Apostles' plainly refer to the authorities on which Ignatius bases his faith. Some have seen in the words an allusion to two distinct collections of writings, *i. e.* our four Gospels and the collection of the Apostolic epistles. From the fact that Polycarp in his one short epistle quotes nine out of the thirteen epistles of St. Paul we may conclude that he possessed a collection of these epistles. In the time of Justin (*circa* 150 A.D.) we learn that gospels were read at the Sunday Eucharist. We should be assuming, however, too much in saying that in the time of Ignatius the collection of the four gospels had acquired a fixed authority side by side with that of the Old Testament prophets, and distinct from the Apostolic epistles. The words are probably a more general expression for the Gospel as publicly taught and set forth in the writings, whether gospels or epistles, of the Apostles.

tery of the Church. And the prophets moreover we love,¹ because they too looked forward to the Gospel in their preaching, and hoped in Him and waited for Him ; in Whom also they believed and were saved² in the unity of Jesus Christ, for they were worthy of our love and admiration, being holy men, testified of by Jesus Christ and enrolled together in the Gospel of our common hope.

VI. If any man in his interpretation³ set forth Judaism unto you, hear him not. For it is better to hear Christianity from one who is circumcised than to hear Judaism from an uncircumcised man.⁴ But if both speak not of Jesus Christ, I reckon them to be tombstones and graves of the dead,⁵ whereon are inscribed merely names of men. Flee

¹ Probably Ignatius has in mind the Judaizers who set up the authority of the Old Testament books and priesthood (cf. c. 9) against the Gospel. He may be replying to some charge laid against the teaching of the Church as disparaging the Old Testament. For his treatment of the prophets cf. Magn. 8, note 4.

² Cf. Magn. 9 (notes).

³ *i. e.* the interpretation of the Old Testament and especially the prophets. The allusion is to the interpretations of the Judaizers.

⁴ The uncircumcised man is a Gentile Christian who has a tendency to Judaistic practices. Among such practices circumcision was evidently at this time not included. This corresponds with what we know of the later developments of Ebionism.

⁵ Cf. Matt. xxiii. 27. Harnack sees in the following words a reference to Rev. iii. 12.

therefore the malicious arts and snares of the prince of this world, lest being worn out by his suggestions you grow weak in love. But meet together, all of you, with an undivided heart. I thank my God that I have a good conscience in regard to you, and no man can boast that either in secret or openly I have been burdensome to any one¹ in things great or small. Yea, and for all among whom I have spoken I pray that my words may not prove to be a witness against them.

VII. For even if after the flesh some wished to lead me astray, yet the Spirit is not deceived since it is from God. For it knoweth whence it cometh and whither it goeth,² and it convicts the things which are in secret. I cried aloud, when I was among you,³ I spake with a loud voice, with the voice of God, 'Give heed unto the bishop and the

¹ Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 9, xii. 16, 1 Thess. ii. 6. Probably Ignatius is meeting some charge made against himself in reference to his conduct while at Philadelphia. The charge may refer to overbearing conduct. How he came to know of such charges is explained in c. 11.

² In addition to John iii. 8, there are parallels to the expression 'knoweth not whence . . . goeth' in John viii. 14, ix. 29, xii. 35, 1 John ii. 11, and other passages. Hence Ignatius need not have made use of the passage John iii. 8. The passage may be a reminiscence of some saying of our Lord like John viii. 14, preserved in the living tradition of the Church, and here applied by Ignatius to the Holy Spirit. Cf. Von der Goltz, *Texte u. Unters.* xii. 3.

³ On the route of Ignatius, see *Introduct.* § 3.

presbyters and deacons.' But they suspected¹ that I said this because I knew beforehand the division caused by some;² yet is He my witness, Whose prisoner I am, that I learned it not from human flesh. But it was the Spirit³ Who kept preaching in these words: 'Do nothing without the bishop. Keep your flesh as a shrine of God. Love union. Flee divisions. Become followers of Jesus Christ as He also was of the Father.'

VIII. I therefore have done my own part as a man perfectly established in union. But where there is division and wrath, God dwells not. Therefore the Lord forgives all that repent, if on their repentance they turn to the unity of God and the council of the bishop. I believe in the grace of Jesus Christ, Who shall loose from off you every bond.⁴ Moreover I entreat you, act not in any matter in the spirit of faction but as disciples of Christ. For I have heard some saying, 'Except I find it in the archives⁵ I believe it not in the

¹ The text is in some confusion. Lightfoot's reading has been adopted.

² The Judaistic party had plainly organized themselves into a schism. Cf. c. 3.

³ Ignatius here speaks of himself as the recipient of a spiritual revelation. The gift of prophecy had not yet died out. Similarly Polycarp is called 'an apostolic and prophetic teacher' (*Mart. Polyc.* 16).

⁴ Cf. Is. lviii. 6, which is quoted by several early Christian writers. The bond refers probably, as Lightfoot says, to the power of evil generally.

⁵ The Greek text and the Latin version read in place of

Gospel.' And when I said to them, 'It is written,'¹ they answered me, 'That is the question in dispute.' But my archives² are Jesus Christ ;

'archives' a word which may be translated either 'ancient writings' or 'ancient writers.' But as the word 'archives' occurs twice below it should probably be read in this place also. The word originally means 'a place where records are kept,' and then came to be used of the documents themselves. The reference here is to a collection of ancient authoritative records, *i. e.* the Old Testament, which these writers set up as an authority against the Gospel, and with which they required the Gospel to agree. Others, however, understand 'archives' to mean the original copies of the Gospel, with which is contrasted the traditional Gospel as preached and taught. These teachers would then be represented as claiming that the Gospel had been falsified, and we should translate, 'Except I find it in the archives, that is, in the (written) Gospel, I do not believe it.' This rendering, however, gives an unjustifiable sense to the word 'Gospel' and does not suit the argument of the chapter so well.

¹ Ignatius claims that the points in question are found in the Old Testament. The allusion is doubtless to the Cross, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, which were a stumbling-block alike to Judaizers and to those who held Docetic views. A similar appeal to the Old Testament had been made in the first age of the Church. Cf. Luke xxiv. 26, 46, Acts xvii. 3.

² Ignatius, though above he has claimed that the Old Testament witnesses to Christ, here maintains that the relation of Christ to the teachers of the Old Covenant is not one of dependence. He is Himself the supreme authority, and His Passion and Resurrection authenticate His mission. Cf. Magn. 8, 10 with notes. Below in c. 9 he further maintains that Christ is the Door through Whom the men of the Old Covenant must find entrance to God.

the inviolable archives are His Cross and Death and Resurrection, and the faith which is through Him. In these I desire to be justified through your prayer.

IX. Good¹ indeed are the priests, but better is the High-priest,² Who has been entrusted with the Holy of Holies, for He alone has been entrusted with the secret things of God. He is Himself the Door³ of the Father, through which enter in Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and the Prophets and the Apostles and the Church. All these combine in the unity of God.⁴ But the Gospel has a surpassing gift—even the coming of the Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ, His Passion, His Resurrection. For the Prophets, who are dear to us, in their preaching looked forward to Him. But the

¹ Here, as in the previous chapter, Ignatius is making concessions to the Judaizers. He grants the excellence of the Old Covenant, but maintains the superiority of the Gospel, which centres in Jesus Christ.

² This word and the passage which follows seem to show that Ignatius is reproducing the ideas of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is also quoted by Clement of Rome, c. 36. Cf. especially Heb. ix., x.

³ An allusion to John x. 9. Cf. also Rev. iii. 8, and Clem. Rom. 48. Similarly in the Shepherd of Hermas (S. ix. 4, 12, 15), in the building of the Church, the gate through which the stones are carried is the Son of God, and among the stones built into the fabric are some which represent the righteous men and prophets of old.

⁴ The Old Covenant finds its true place in the Divine unity of revelation, which receives its crowning expression in the Incarnation.

Gospel is the crown of incorruption. All things alike are good, if you believe by love.

X. Seeing that, in accordance with your prayer and the tender love which you have in Christ Jesus, it has been reported to me¹ that the Church which is at Antioch in Syria is at peace, it is fitting that you, as a Church of God, should appoint² a deacon to journey thither as an ambassador of God, to rejoice with them when they are met together, and to glorify the Name. Blessed in Jesus Christ is he who shall be deemed worthy of such a ministry. You too shall be glorified. Moreover, if you desire it, it is not impossible for you to do this for God's Name; even as the churches which lie nearest have sent bishops, and others presbyters and deacons.

XI. Concerning Philo, the deacon from Cilicia, a man well reported of, who even now is ministering for me in the word of God,³ together with Rhaius Agathopus, an elect man, who accompanies me from Syria, having bidden farewell to the ordinary life of men; who also bear witness unto you—I too thank God for you, that you received them, as the Lord shall receive you. May they who treated them dishonourably be ransomed by the grace of Jesus Christ. The love

¹ The tidings would be brought by the persons mentioned in c. II.

² Cf. similar directions in Smyrn. II, Polyc. 7.

³ Or, as Zahn, 'ministering to me in the cause of God.'

of the brethren who are at Troas salutes you, whence also I write unto you by the hand of Burrhus¹, who was sent with me by them of Ephesus and Smyrna to do me honour. They shall receive honour from the Lord Jesus Christ, in Whom they hope in flesh, soul, spirit, by faith, love, concord. Farewell in Jesus Christ, our common Hope.

¹ So Lightfoot. But Burrhus may have been the bearer of the epistle. See note 4 on Rom. 10.

VI. THE EPISTLE TO THE SMYRNÆANS.

[Smyrna was one of the oldest of the Greek cities on the west coast of Asia. During the first and second centuries A.D. it vied with Ephesus and Pergamos in claiming the title 'first city of Asia.' Of the foundation of the Church at Smyrna we have no record in the New Testament, but it may possibly be placed at some period during St. Paul's three years' residence at Ephesus, as it was within easy reach of that city and was a great centre of trade. We have a picture of the Church in this city in Rev. ii. 8-11. That passage contains an allusion to persecution (ii. 10), and also to the hostility and calumnies of the Jews (ii. 9). Ignatius had stayed at Smyrna and had received a warm welcome from the Church and its bishop Polycarp. The number of salutations would point to his having made many friends there. The present letter was written from Troas. The rapid transition, immediately after the opening salutation, to the subject of the Docetic heresy (cc. 1-7) seems to show that the Church at Smyrna had been endangered by its presence. Moreover in c. 7 Ignatius warns his readers against associating with these heretics. The epistle contains the most detailed account of Docetism to be found in the Ignatian writings. From c. 6 we learn that these heretics had neglected the practical duties of Christianity. From cc. 7, 8 it appears that they had formed into separatist communities (see notes). Hence the heresy is probably of a more developed character than that referred to in the epistles to the Ephesians and Trallians. There

are, however, no allusions to Judaism unless we except cc. 5, 7. The opening words of c. 1 indicate that as yet the Church had remained steadfast. In cc. 7, 8 there is a strong statement of the unity of the Church. Of special interest is the occurrence for the first time in Christian literature of the phrase 'the Catholic Church.']

IGNATIUS, who is also Theophorus, to the Church of God the Father and Jesus Christ the Beloved,¹ to her that has been mercifully blessed with every gift, filled with faith and love, lacking in no gift, most highly revered, the bearer of sacred vessels,² to the Church which is at Smyrna in Asia, in a blameless spirit and in the word of God heartiest greeting.

I. I render glory to Jesus Christ the God³ Who has given you such wisdom. For I have perceived that you are firmly settled in unwavering faith, being nailed, as it were, to the Cross of the Lord Jesus Christ⁴ in flesh and spirit, and firmly planted

¹ Cf. Eph. i. 6.

² ἀγιοφόρος, 'fruitful in saints,' Wake, following Pearson. Probably, however, the idea is the same as in Eph. 9, and contains an allusion to the heathen ceremonial. 'The "sacred vessels" which the Church of Smyrna bears are its Christian graces and virtues.'—LIGHTFOOT.

³ The Armenian and Coptic versions omit the words 'the God.' On the other hand the Greek text and the Latin version contain them, and the passage is quoted by two Fathers of the sixth century with the words inserted. On Ignatius' use of the word 'God' as applied to Jesus Christ see Introd. § 4.

⁴ Cf. Gal. ii. 20. But here the idea is faith in the reality

in love in the blood of Christ, being fully convinced as touching our Lord that He is truly of the race of David after the flesh, and Son of God after the Divine will and power,¹ truly born of a virgin, baptized by John, that all righteousness might be fulfilled by Him,² under Pontius Pilate and Herod the Tetrarch³ truly nailed for us in the flesh (of Whose fruit are we,⁴ even of His most blessed

of the sufferings and death of Christ upon the Cross. Cf. Polyc. *Phil.* 7.

¹ Cf. Eph. 18, note.

² Cf. Matt. iii. 15.

³ Cf. Luke xxiii. 7-12, Acts iv. 27, and see Introd. vol. i. p. 17.

⁴ Cf. Trall. 11. The Cross here, as in that passage, is represented apparently as a tree.

The words ἀφ' οὗ καρποῦ are rendered by Wake, following the Latin translator, 'by the fruits of which we are, even by His most blessed Passion,' the 'which' referring to the tree of the Cross. Zahn takes a similar construction, but refers the relative pronoun to Christ. In this case the fruit would be the Christian converts, in whom Christ 'sees of the travail of His soul,' and the meaning would be further explained by the following words, 'even of His most blessed Passion.' In illustration Zahn quotes John iv. 36, Rom. i. 13, 1 Cor. ix. 19 sq. This seems preferable to Lightfoot's rendering, 'from which fruit are we,' which requires us to represent Christ Himself as 'the fruit hanging upon the tree.' Possibly, however, the text is corrupt and we should read καρποί, 'of Whom we are the fruits.' This would find a parallel in a passage from Clement of Alexandria quoted by Zahn, where the Church is called 'His fruits' (καρποί).

The whole clause 'of whose fruit . . . Passion' is a parenthesis. The following words 'that He might raise' belong to the preceding sentence.

Passion); that He might raise up an ensign¹ to the ages through His resurrection, for His saints and believers, whether among Jews or Gentiles, in one body of His Church.²

II. For all these sufferings He endured for our sakes [that we might be saved]. And He truly suffered, as also He truly raised Himself up. Nor is it the case, as some unbelievers affirm, that He suffered in semblance—it is they who are semblance.³ And according to their opinions, so shall it happen unto them, for they are unsubstantial and spirit-like.⁴

¹ A reference to Isaiah v. 26; cf. also xlix. 22, lxii. 10. In all these passages the reference is to the rallying of the nations round the standard of Jehovah, set up among the chosen people. Ignatius sees a fulfilment of the prophecy in the Passion crowned by the Resurrection. Jerome states that some Christian writers understood the passage Is. v. 26 to refer to the Cross. The symbolism is certainly found earlier than the time when Constantine adopted the Cross as his standard, and may have been suggested by the language of John xii. 32.

² The language of this passage clearly recalls the teaching of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. Cf. Eph. ii. 16, iii. 6, i. 23 etc., Coloss. i. 18.

³ Cf. Trall. 9, 10, where there is a similar play on the word *δοκίησις*, 'seeming,' from which these teachers derived their name Docetæ.

⁴ The denial of the reality of the human nature of the Lord involved the denial of the resurrection of the body. There is probably an allusion to this in these last phrases. Ignatius has also in view, probably, the quotation which follows in the next chapter, 'I am not a spirit without body.'

III. For I know¹ and believe that He was in the flesh even after the resurrection. And when He came to Peter and those who were with him, He said to them, 'Take, handle me and see that I am not a spirit without body.'² And straightway they touched Him and believed, being united with His flesh and spirit.³ Therefore also they despised

¹ The Latin version here reads 'I have seen' in place of 'I know.' This was probably due to a careless translation found in Jerome (*Vir. Illustr.* 16), who is plainly quoting at second-hand from Eusebius.

² The incident recorded here bears a strong resemblance to that in Luke xxiv. 36-42. But there are striking differences, which show that it comes from a different source. Especially interesting is the phrase 'an incorporeal spirit,' whereas St. Luke has 'a spirit hath not flesh and bones.' Whether Ignatius derived the quotation from some apocryphal Gospel or from tradition, it is difficult to say. Eusebius quotes this passage of Ignatius (*H. E.* iii. 36), but admits his ignorance of the source of it. The words are ascribed by Origen to the apocryphal 'Doctrine of Peter,' and by Jerome to the Gospel according to the Hebrews. In any case the words would appear to represent a later tradition than the simpler and more natural words of St. Luke.

³ Reading 'spirit' with the Greek text and the Latin and Coptic versions. The Armenian version, however, reads 'blood,' which Lightfoot prefers. Against the argument (see Lightfoot) that 'spirit' might easily be substituted for 'blood,' may be set the counter-argument that the difficulty of understanding how the disciples could be 'joined to His Spirit' may have led to the alteration 'blood.' The invitation to feel the nail-prints might suggest the word 'blood.' On the other hand it is possible that Ignatius had in mind John xx. 20-22 and the incident of the gift of the Spirit of the risen Christ.

death, and were found to rise above death. Moreover after His resurrection He ate with them and drank with them,¹ as living in the flesh, although spiritually united with the Father.

IV. Now these things I urge upon you, beloved, knowing that you also are thus minded. But I watch over you to guard you from wild beasts in the form of men, whom you must not only refuse to receive, but, if possible, not even meet [them]. Only pray for them, if haply they may repent. Though this² is difficult, yet Jesus Christ, our true Life, has power to effect it. For if these deeds were wrought by our Lord in mere semblance, then too are my bonds mere semblance. Why moreover have I surrendered myself to death, to face fire, sword, wild beasts? Yet he that is near to the sword, is near to God,³ in the presence of wild beasts, in the presence of God—only may it be in the name of Jesus Christ, that we may suffer with Him. All things I endure, since He, the perfect Man, makes me strong.⁴

V. Yet Him certain persons ignorantly deny, or rather they have been denied by Him,⁵ for they are

¹ Luke xxiv. 30, 35, 42, John xxi. 13.

² *i. e.* their repentance.

³ Cf. a saying attributed to our Lord, recorded by Didymus on Ps. lxxxviii. 8: 'He who is near Me is near the fire, he that is afar from Me is far from the Kingdom.'

⁴ Cf. Phil. iv. 13.

⁵ Cf. 2 Tim. ii. 12, Gal. iv. 9.

advocates of death ¹ rather than of the truth. They have not hearkened unto the prophecies nor the law of Moses, ² nor even up till now to the Gospel, nor to the sufferings which we severally endure.³ For they have the same thoughts also about us.⁴ For what profit is it to me, if a man praises me, but speaks evil of my Lord, refusing to confess that He has borne our flesh? But he that will not assert this has completely denied Him, and himself bears about with him a corpse.⁵ Now their names, since they are unbelievers, I have not thought good to write. May I not even remember them, until they have repented and turned to the Passion, which is our resurrection.

VI. Let no man be deceived. Even the heavenly powers and the glory of the angels and the principalities both visible and invisible,⁶ except they

¹ *i. e.* by denying Christ's death and resurrection they deny the Christian hope of immortality.

² This need not refer to Judaistic teaching, but may equally well be said of any error which ignored the testimony of the prophets and the facts of the Lord's life. For the Christian attitude to Old Testament prophecy see Magn. 9, Philad. 5, 8, 9.

³ Their sufferings are a testimony to Christ's death and resurrection.

⁴ Cf. c. 4. Their view of Christ's death and resurrection leads them to think of Christ's martyrs as idle visionaries.

⁵ See note above on c. 2. According to their teaching the body which they bore about with them was already practically a corpse, since they had undermined the belief in the resurrection.

⁶ Cf. Trall. 5 with notes.

believe in the blood of Christ [Who is God],¹ have a judgment awaiting them. *Let him that receiveth receive.*² Let not office puff up any man. For faith and love are everything, and there is nothing better than these. Mark those who hold strange doctrine with regard to the grace³ of Jesus Christ, which came unto us, how opposed they are to the mind of God. They have no thought for love, nor for the widow,⁴ the orphan, the afflicted, the prisoner,⁵ the hungry nor the thirsty. They withhold themselves from Eucharist⁶ and prayer, because they confess

¹ The words in brackets are found apparently in two quotations of this passage in writers of the fifth and sixth centuries, but they are omitted by the Greek text and the Latin, Armenian, and Coptic versions. Against their genuineness is the fact that Ignatius never speaks of Christ as 'God' in this absolute way. See *Introd.* § 4.

² Matt. xix. 12.

³ *χάρις*, 'the gift of Christ's incarnation and passion.'—
LIGHTFOOT.

⁴ For the 'order' of widows see 1 Tim. v. 9 and cf. Acts vi. 1, ix. 41; see also Polyc. 4. From early times the Church organized with the greatest care her benevolent work. About 250 A.D. Cornelius claimed that in the Church of Rome there were 'fifteen hundred widows and persons in distress, all of whom the grace and kindness of the Master nourish' (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 43).

⁵ Cf. Heb. x. 34. The Greek text and Latin version add after 'prisoner' the words 'or him that has been released.' But they are probably spurious.

⁶ On the word 'Eucharist' see Philad. 4 note. By 'abstaining from Eucharist' Ignatius means that they abstained from the authorized, public Eucharist of the Church. None of the Gnostic sects appear to have altogether ceased from holding Eucharistic feasts in their own assemblies. But

not¹ that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which flesh suffered for our sins, and which in His loving-kindness the Father raised up.

VII. So then they who speak against the gift of God² die by their disputing. It were better for them to exhibit love, that they may also rise again. Therefore it is fitting to withhold yourselves from such, and to say nothing either in private or in public about them, but rather to give heed unto the prophets,³ and especially to the Gospel, wherein the passion is manifested to us and the resurrection is accomplished.

VIII. Avoid divisions,⁴ as the beginning of evil. Follow, all of you, the bishop, as Jesus Christ followed the Father; and follow the presbytery as

according to Ignatius such Eucharists would not be regular or 'valid.' See c. 8.

The prayer refers to the public prayer of the Church, especially that connected with the Eucharist.

¹ The reality of Christ's humanity was denied by these heretics. Such denial involved a disbelief in the virtue of the Sacrament which was a means of communion with the Divinely-exalted humanity of Christ. Cf the language of John vi. Similarly Irenæus argues that the Gnostics are inconsistent in offering the Eucharistic gifts, holding such views as they do upon the human nature of Christ (Iren. iv. 18. 5).

² *i. e.* the Incarnation and its issues, including a reference to the Eucharist.

³ Cf. above, c. 5, and Philad. 5, 9.

⁴ Ignatius here warns them against separatism, as above he has been warning them against heresy. The Docetæ were guilty of both.

the Apostles.¹ Moreover reverence the deacons as the commandment of God.² Let no man do aught pertaining to the Church apart from the bishop. Let that eucharist be considered valid³ which is under the bishop or him to whom he commits it. Wheresoever the bishop appears, there let the people be, even as wheresoever Christ Jesus is, there is the Catholic Church.⁴ It is not lawful

¹ Cf. *antea*, Magn. 6, 7, 13, Trall. 2, 3.

² *i. e.* 'as the voice of God enjoining you.'—LIGHTFOOT.

³ The word translated 'valid' (*βέβαιος*) is found in Rom. iv. 16, Heb. ii. 2, ix. 17, and also in Ign. *Rom.* 3. It expresses the idea of security, and is used of the ratification of a promise or the validity of a covenant. It is the opposite of that which is precarious and insecure. Ignatius emphasizes the sacramental, no less than the doctrinal unity of the Church. Cf. his language on the 'one altar' in Magn. 7, Philad. 4, and see *Intro.* § 4.

⁴ 'The bishop, argues Ignatius, is the centre of each individual Church, as Jesus Christ is the centre of the universal Church.'—LIGHTFOOT.

This is the earliest occurrence in Christian literature of the phrase 'the Catholic Church' (*ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία*). The original sense of the word is 'universal.' Thus Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 82) speaks of the 'universal or general resurrection,' using the words, *ἡ καθολικὴ ἀνάστασις*. Similarly here the Church universal is contrasted with the particular Church of Smyrna. Ignatius means by the Catholic Church 'the aggregate of all the Christian congregations' (Swete, *Apostles' Creed*, p. 76). So too the letter of the Church of Smyrna is addressed 'to all the congregations of the Holy Catholic Church in every place.' And this primitive sense of 'universal' the word has never lost, although in the latter part of the second century it began to receive the secondary sense of 'orthodox' as opposed to 'heretical.' Thus

apart from the bishop either to baptize¹ or to hold a love-feast.² But whatsoever he approves,

it is used in an early Canon of Scripture, the Muratorian fragment (*circa* 170 A.D.), which refers to certain heretical writings as 'not received in the Catholic Church.' So too Cyril of Jerusalem, in the fourth century, says that the Church is called Catholic not only 'because it is spread throughout the world,' but also 'because it teaches completely and without defect all the doctrines which ought to come to the knowledge of men.' This secondary sense arose out of the original meaning because Catholics claimed to teach the whole truth, and to represent the whole Church, while heresy arose out of the exaggeration of some one truth and was essentially partial and local. The use of the word in this passage by Ignatius has been urged as an indication of the late date of the epistles. But the fact that it is used in its primary sense is on the contrary an indication of early date.

¹ Ignatius is writing at a time when the extent of a bishop's administration did not exceed that of a town parish at the present day, and when the clergy worked in much closer connection with him than is possible now. See note, Rom. 3. The principle underlying his statement, however, is the general necessity of due authorization of ministerial acts by the bishop.

² ἀγάπην. Cf. for this use of the word Jude 12 and 2 Pet. ii. 13 (where it is read by some MSS. in place of ἀπάταις, 'deceivings'). There is apparently an almost contemporary reference to these 'love-feasts' in Pliny's letter to Trajan (*circa* 112 A.D.). After describing how the Christians met before daylight and sang a hymn to Christ as God and bound themselves by an oath to live a strict life, the writer proceeds: 'After this was done, their custom was to depart and meet again to take food, which was however quite ordinary and harmless.' Originally, as we infer from 1 Cor. xi. 17 sq., the Eucharist was celebrated in con-

that also is well-pleasing to God, that everything which you do may be secure and valid.

IX. It is reasonable that henceforth we should awake and live soberly,¹ while we have opportunity to repent and turn to God. It is good to acknowledge God and the bishop. He that honours the bishop is honoured of God. He that does anything without the knowledge of the bishop serves the Devil. Let all things then abound unto you in grace, for you are worthy. In every way you have refreshed me, and Jesus Christ shall refresh you. Alike in my absence and presence you have cherished me. May God reward you, and as you endure for His sake, so shall you attain unto Him.

X. You did well in receiving as ministers of [Christ Who is]² God, Philo and Rhaius Agathopus, who accompanied me for the sake of God; who also give thanks unto the Lord for you,

junction with, and probably at the close of, a common meal. Cf. too *The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*, c. 10, where the words 'if any be holy, let him come' may mark the close of the meal and the invitation to communion. Lightfoot argues that in the time of Ignatius the separation had not yet taken place, as otherwise it is difficult to see the importance of the mention of the Agape here, or to explain the omission of the Eucharist, if it is not included in the phrase. But this argument is weakened by the fact that the connexion of the bishop with the Eucharist has already been indicated above.

¹ Cf. 2 Tim. ii. 25.

² Probably these words are corrupt.

because you refreshed them in every way. You shall surely lose nothing. My spirit devotes itself for you,¹ as also my bonds which you did not scorn, and of which you were not ashamed. Nor shall He be ashamed of you, Who is perfect faithfulness, Jesus Christ.

XI. Your prayer has gone forth unto the Church which is at Antioch in Syria. From thence I come, bound with the godly adornment of these chains, and I salute you, not as though I am worthy to belong to that Church, since I am the very last among them. In accordance with the will of God I have been deemed worthy, not of my own conscious act, but by God's grace, which I pray may be given to me completely, that by your prayer I may attain unto God. In order then that your work may be made complete, on earth as well as in Heaven, it is fitting that your Church should appoint for the honour of God an ambassador of God,² to visit Syria and congratulate them because they are at peace and have received again their proper stature,³ and have had restored to them the proper measure of their body.⁴ It seemed

¹ Cf. Polyc. 2 and Eph. 21 (note).

² Cf. Philad. 10, and the fuller account in Polyc. 7.

³ The Church had been diminished by the effects of persecution.

⁴ In this and in the preceding phrase the Church at Antioch is compared to a fully-developed human body, which for a time had been attenuated by persecution. The word *σωματεῖον*, translated 'the measure of their body,' is

then to me a worthy act for you to send some one of your number with a letter, to give glory with them for the calm which by God's appointment has set in for them, and because through your prayer they were now reaching the haven. Inasmuch as you are perfect set your aims also on that which is perfect.¹ For if you desire to act well, God is ready to aid you.

XII. The love of the brethren who are at Troas salutes you. Hence also I am writing to you by the hand of Burrhus,² whom you sent in my company together with the Ephesians your brethren. In everything he has refreshed me. And I would that all imitated him, for he is a pattern of the ministry of God. The Divine grace shall wholly requite him. I salute your godly bishop and revered presbytery, and my fellow-servants the deacons, and all of you both individually and in common, in the name of Jesus Christ, and in His flesh and blood, in His Passion and Resurrection which was both of the flesh and the spirit, in the unity³ wherewith God binds you all. Grace, mercy, peace, patience be unto you always.

found in Eusebius, *H.E.* x. 5 and in the Code of Justinian in the legal sense of 'a body corporate.'

¹ *i. e.* to fulfil the 'work' referred to above.

² On the question whether this refers to the scribe or the bearer of the epistle see Rom. 10, Philad. 11 (notes).

³ Notice how Ignatius sums up in this sentence the warnings contained in this epistle. The mention of the

XIII. I salute the households of my brethren with their wives and children, and the virgins who are called widows.¹ I bid you farewell in the power of the Father. Philo, my companion, salutes you. I salute the household of Gavia, and pray that she may be established in faith and love both in flesh and spirit. I salute Alce,² a name dear to me, and the excellent Daphnus and Eutecnus and all by name. Farewell in the grace of God.

resurrection as being 'in both flesh and spirit' is an allusion to Docetic views. The mention of 'unity' is an allusion to the separatism of the heretics.

¹ There have been several interpretations of these words. The most convincing is that of Lightfoot. According to him the words refer to those women who, 'though by name and in outward condition they are widows,' yet are here called virgins, because they are 'such in God's sight by their purity and devotion.' There is an allusion to the order of widows, on which see note, c. 6.

² Cf. Polyc. 8, and also the letter of the Church of Smyrna, c. 17, where the same name is found. Both passages may refer to the same person.

VII. THE EPISTLE TO POLYCARP.

[This epistle was one of those which were written from Troas immediately before Ignatius and his guard set sail for Neapolis (c. 8), and probably accompanied the letter addressed to the Church at Smyrna. It is of a more personal character than any of the others, and reveals the affection entertained by Ignatius for Polycarp. Ignatius had stayed at Smyrna and had apparently received much kindness from its bishop, of whom he makes a grateful mention in the letters written from that city (Eph. 21, Magn. 15).

Whether Ignatius had been acquainted with Polycarp before this visit it is difficult to say. The Antiochene Acts speak of Polycarp as the 'fellow-student' of Ignatius, and add, 'for in old time they had been disciples of John' (c. 3). But the tone of the present epistle certainly indicates that Polycarp was considerably the younger of the two, and was in fact a comparatively young man. The disparity of age would thus render improbable the statement of the Acts. On the other hand, when Ignatius expresses his gratitude that he has been permitted to see Polycarp (Polyc. 1), this language is insufficient to justify us in assuming, as Pearson and Lightfoot do, that Ignatius had not seen him before his visit to Smyrna.

The epistle was undoubtedly intended to be read also by the members of the Church at Smyrna, as in c. 6 he addresses them and enjoins them to obey their bishop. In the more directly personal part of the epistle he gives advice to Polycarp with reference to the various respon-

sibilities of his office and his own personal conduct. He gives full instructions as to the choice of a delegate to represent the Church of Smyrna at Antioch, and makes a passing allusion to heresy. See c. 3.]

IGNATIUS, who is also Theophorus, to Polycarp, who is bishop of the Church in Smyrna, or rather, who has God the Father and Jesus Christ for his bishop, abundant greeting.

I. I welcome your godly purpose which is firmly planted as on an immovable rock, and I render exceeding glory that I have been granted the sight of your blameless face—may I have joy of it in God. I urge you in the grace wherewith you are clothed to press on in your race, and to urge all men to be saved. Assert your office with all diligence of flesh and spirit.¹ Give heed unto union, for there is nothing better. Bear all men, as the Lord also bears you.² Suffer all men in love, as indeed you do suffer them. Devote yourself to unceasing prayers. Ask for greater understanding than you have. Be watchful, possessing a wakeful spirit. Speak to each man individually after God's way.³ Bear the infirmities of all men,

¹ Polycarp is urged to make the power and influence of his office felt by an attentive discharge of all its duties.

² For the idea of this passage cf. Gal. vi. 2. The latter part of the sentence is probably taken from Is. liii. 4, following the version given in Matt. viii. 17, which differs from the LXX. rendering. The influence of the same passage is also to be noticed a few lines below, where Ignatius says: 'Bear the infirmities of all men.'

³ *i. e.* in conformity with the character of God as revealed

as a perfect athlete.¹ Where there is more toil there is greater gain.

II. If you love good disciples, this does not win you favour.² Rather subdue by meekness the more pestilent. Not every wound is cured by the same salve. Ease sharp pains by fomentations. *Become prudent as the serpent in all things, and harmless continually as the dove.*³ Therefore you are of flesh and spirit, that you may humour the things which are visibly present before your face.⁴ But ask that the things which are unseen may be manifested to you, that you may lack nothing and may abound in every gift. The season demands you, as pilots demand winds and the tempest-tossed man demands the haven, so as to attain

in the principles on which He acts. Cf. Matt. v. 45 ff., which probably suggested this passage.

¹ Cf. for the figure 2 Tim. ii. 5 and Heb. x. 32. In later times the word 'athlete' became a common synonym for a martyr

² The spirit of this passage resembles that of Luke vi. 32 and 1 Pet. ii. 18.

³ A reference to Matt. x. 16.

⁴ By 'the things visibly present before your face' Ignatius means 'the visible, material world.' This world is to be 'humoured' into obedience to God. The two elements of man's nature, flesh and spirit, render it possible for him to act as a mediator between the material and the spiritual world. The passage expresses in a somewhat homely way a truth which recalls the great saying of St. Paul, 'I am made all things to all men.'

unto God. Be temperate, as God's athlete. The prize is incorruption and life eternal, concerning which also you have been persuaded. In all things I devote myself for you, even I and my bonds which you have cherished.²

III. Let not those who seem to be specious and yet bring novel teaching dismay you. Stand firm as an anvil when it is smitten. It is the part of a great athlete to suffer blows and to conquer. And above all for God's sake we ought to endure all things, that He also may endure us. Become more zealous than you are. Consider the seasons.³ Look for Him Who is above all seasons, Who is timeless, invisible, made visible for our sakes, Who is beyond the touch of our hands, beyond suffering, Who yet suffered for us, Who in every way endured for us.

¹ The text here is probably in some confusion. The reading translated above represents the crisis as the pilot and Polycarp as the breeze, which gives an unnatural sense. Lightfoot suggests an emendation of the text which would yield the translation: 'The season demands you, as a ship demands a pilot, and as a tempest-tossed mariner the haven.' The metaphor of a ship to denote the Church is frequently found in later Christian writers. The abridged Syriac version contains a reading in this passage which indicates the presence of the word 'ship' in the text.

² Or, as Zahn would translate it here, following Bunsen, 'kissed,' referring to a practice alluded to by Tertullian and the Acts of Paul and Thecla. But, though ἀγαπᾶν is used of external demonstrations of affection, there seems no authority for this precise sense. ³ Cf. Matt. xvi. 3, Luke xii. 56.

IV. Let not widows be neglected.¹ Next to the Lord be yourself their guardian.² Let nothing be done without your approval, neither yourself do anything without God's approval, as indeed you do not. Be firm. Let assemblies³ be held more often. Search out all men by name. Treat not disdainfully bondmen or bondwomen, yet neither let them be puffed up, but let them serve the more⁴ to the glory of God, that they may obtain from God a better freedom. Let them not desire to gain their freedom out of the common fund,⁵ that they may not be found the slaves of lust.

V. Flee evil arts,⁶ or rather discourse upon

¹ See note on Smyrn. 6.

² Or 'trustee,' 'a semi-official term' (Lightfoot).

³ συναγωγαί, lit. 'synagogues,' a name derived from Jewish usage and applied in the N. T. to the meetings for worship held by Jewish Christians. See James ii. 2. Here, however, it is used quite generally. For the duty here enforced see Heb. x. 25.

⁴ Cf. 1 Tim. vi. 2.

⁵ For this custom of the early Church cf. the Apostolical Constitutions iv. 9, where the ransom of slaves is included among the objects to which the Church alms may be devoted.

⁶ Various interpretations have been given of this warning. Some have seen in these 'evil arts' a reference to the 'black arts' of witchcraft, sorcery, etc., which we know to have been common in these regions. See Acts xix. 19. Others, as Zahn, take the phrase more generally to denote all improper ways of earning a living. Zahn rightly urges that it would be an easy transition for the writer, after speaking of slaves, to pass on to the other elements of life to be found in the great cities of the day, the disreputable callings of actors, mountebanks, wizards, etc.

them.¹ Charge my sisters to love the Lord and to be satisfied with their husbands in flesh and spirit. Likewise charge my brethren in the name of Jesus Christ to love their wives, *even as the Lord loved the Church.*² If any one is able to abide in purity³ to the honour of the flesh, which is the Lord's,⁴ let him abide therein without boasting. If he boast, he has perished. And if it be known further than the bishop,⁵ he is corrupted. It is fitting that those who marry, both men and women, should enter into the union with the approval of the bishop, that the marriage may be according to the

¹ Polycarp is urged to warn his hearers against the dangers alluded to by 'holding discourse' upon them, *i. e.* by making mention of them in his sermons in the Christian assemblies.

² An echo of Eph. v. 25.

³ The word for 'purity,' *ἀγνεία*, is used here in the strictest sense to denote 'virginal chastity.' In the second and third centuries there grew up within the Church a widespread feeling upon this subject, which led many both married and unmarried to devote themselves to perpetual chastity. The starting-point for such a view was probably the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 1 ff.

⁴ Cf. 1 Cor. vi. 15 sq. The words are especially applicable to those spoken of here.

⁵ Those who devote themselves to perpetual chastity are to make known their vow to the bishop, but to no one else. To parade their virtue would be an act of immodesty. Others, however, as Zahn, would translate here 'if he become better known than the bishop,' *i. e.* if his chastity win him greater fame than the bishop, supposing the latter to be married.

Lord and not according to lust. Let all things be done to the honour of God.

VI. Give heed¹ unto the bishop, that God also may give heed unto you. I devote myself for those who submit to the bishop, presbyters, deacons. May it be mine to have my portion along with them in the presence of God. Share one another's toil,² contend together, run together, suffer together, alike in rest and rising be together as stewards³ and assessors and ministers of God. Please Him under Whom you serve,⁴ from Whom also you shall receive your pay. Let none of you be found a deserter.⁵ Let your baptism abide as your shield,⁶

¹ At this point Ignatius turns to the members of the Church of Smyrna. In the whole of this and the following chapter he is addressing them.

² The phrase alludes to the hard course of training which athletes underwent. Cf. Phil. ii. 16, Col. i. 29, 1 Tim. iv. 10. The following passage continues the metaphor, and the words 'rest' and 'rising' refer to the hours of sleep and rising appointed by the trainer.

³ The word 'stewards' is used here of Christians generally. Cf. 1 Pet. iv. 10. The following word 'assessors' is a strong expression of the idea found in 1 Cor. iii. 9.

⁴ Cf. 2 Tim. ii. 4.

⁵ The word used here is the Latin word 'desertor'; similarly below the words translated 'deposit' and 'sums accredited to you' are Latin words. The presence with Ignatius of an escort of Roman soldiers helps to explain the use of such words, and also the repeated reference to the details of a soldier's life and equipment.

⁶ *i. e.* your baptism into the privileges and blessings of the Christian life will be found your best defence against sin.

your faith as your helmet, your love as your spear, your patience as your body-armour. Let your works be your deposit,¹ that you may receive the sums credited to you as your due. So then be long-suffering with one another in meekness as God is with you. May I have joy of you continually.

VII. Since the Church which is at Antioch in Syria enjoys peace² through your prayer, as I have been informed, I also have been more greatly cheered, and God has set my mind at rest; if haply I may through suffering attain unto God, so that I may be found, through your entreaty, a disciple.³ It is meet, most blessed Polycarp, that you should assemble a godly council and appoint⁴

The metaphor in this passage was undoubtedly suggested by Eph. vi. 13-17, though it is worked out differently.

¹ Zahn compares for the general sentiment here Matt. vi. 20, xix. 21, Tobit iv. 8, 9. The metaphor is derived from the savings-bank attached to the cohorts of the Roman legions. The sums accumulated in this way were paid over to soldiers at their discharge. Deserters forfeited their savings.

² Cf. Philad. 10, with note.

³ In the Greek there is a play of words which may have been intended to recall, as Lightfoot suggests, a Greek proverb, *παθήματα μαθήματα*, 'suffering brings wisdom.' There is however some doubt about the text in this passage. Another reading, supported by some MSS. and adopted by Zahn, would yield the translation, 'so that I may be found at the resurrection your disciple.' Then the contrast would be between 'suffering' and 'resurrection.' The expression 'your disciple' would find a parallel in Eph. 3, where his readers are spoken of as his trainers for the athletic contest.

⁴ Cf. Smyrn. 11, where the messenger is called 'God's ambassador.'

some one of your number, who is greatly beloved and full of zeal, that he may bear the name of God's messenger. Commission him to go to Syria and glorify your untiring love to the glory of God.¹ A Christian has not power over himself, but devotes his time to God. For this is God's work and yours, when you have completed it. For I trust in God's grace that you are prepared to do a good work which is meet for God. I have exhorted you in a brief letter, because I know how earnest is your sincerity.

VIII. Seeing that I could not write unto all the churches, because I sail immediately from Troas to Neapolis,² as God's will commands, you shall write to the churches which lie in front,³ as yourself possessing the mind of God, to bid them also do the same thing. Let those who can send messengers, the rest letters by the hands of the messengers whom you send, that you may be glorified, as you are worthy to be, by a work that will live for ever.

I salute all by name, as also the wife of Epitropus,⁴

¹ The purpose of this mission is more fully stated Philad. 10, Smyrn. 11.

² For Neapolis see Acts xvi. 11. It was the port of Philippi. From Philippi Ignatius would travel along the Via Egnatia to Dyrrhachium and thence by sea to Italy.

³ *i. e.* nearer to Syria.

⁴ Lightfoot thinks the passage may be translated 'the widow of the procurator.' His reasons are—(1) there is no mention of the husband in the following salutation, (2) the word 'Epitropus' may possibly be, not a proper name, but the title of an office, as inscriptions found at Smyrna mention an officer called *ἐπιτροπος στρατηγός*.

with all her household and her children. I salute Attalus my beloved. I salute him who is to be commissioned to go to Syria. God's grace shall be with him continually, and with Polycarp who sends him. I bid you farewell continually in our God, Jesus Christ, in Whom abide in the unity and under the governance¹ of God. I salute Alce, a name dear to me. Farewell in the Lord.

¹ The word here is *ἐπισκοπή*, the title of the bishop's office. Cf. the opening words of the epistle, where Polycarp is said to have God as his bishop.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

1. THE HERESIES IN THE CHURCHES OF ASIA.

ALL the epistles, with the exception of those to the Romans and to Polycarp, contain warnings against heresy. In the epistles to the Magnesians and Philadelphians Ignatius deals with a Judaistic error, which showed itself in a return to the ceremonialism of the Jewish Law and in a setting up of the authority of the Old Testament against the Gospel (Magn. 8, 9, 10, Philad. 6, 8, 9). The epistle to the Philadelphians exhibits the more developed form of this tendency. In the epistles to the Trallians and Smyrnæans Ignatius opposes a Docetic error which denied the reality of the birth, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, and maintained that our Lord's body was a mere phantom. Cf. esp. Trall. 9, 10, Smyrn. 1, 2, 3. We see the more developed form of this tendency in the epistle to the Smyrnæans. In both cases the false teaching had led finally to schism (Philad. 2, 3, 7, Smyrn. 7, 8, 9). From some references to Docetism in the epistles to the Magnesians and Philadelphians (Magn. 8, 9, 11, Philad. inscr. 3 (end), 4, 5) Lightfoot assumes that the two errors co-existed in some

form of Docetic Judaism, which Ignatius attacks from different sides in the different epistles. This is also the view of Lipsius and Zahn, but it has been challenged by Hort (*Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 181-187) and Harnack (*Expositor*, March 1886, and *Chronologie*, pp. 389 *n.*, 393). An intermediate view is held by Von der Goltz, *Texte u. Unters.*, Bd. xii. 3.

There are no references to Judaism in the epistles to the Ephesians, Trallians, and Smyrnæans (unless we regard as such the references to the prophets and the law of Moses in Smyrn. 5, 7). There the error is simply Docetic. The reference in Magn. 8 to 'strange doctrines' and 'ancient fables' probably refers to Rabbinical fables rather than to Gnostic myths (see notes on the passage). In Magn. 9 and Philad. inscr. there are apparently references to Docetism. In the former of the two passages, after speaking of 'our life' as having 'its rising through Him and His death,' Ignatius adds a parenthetical clause beginning, 'which fact some deny.' The parenthesis, however, forms no part of his argument. In the second passage Ignatius speaks of the Philadelphian Church as 'rejoicing in the passion of our Lord and in His resurrection,' where his language may contain, as Lightfoot thinks, an allusion to the Docetic denial of the Passion. But in any case neither passage contains more than an incidental reference to errors which were prominent in the writer's thoughts at the time. In Magn. 11, after the conclusion of the attack on the Judaistic teachers contained in cc. 8-10, Ignatius bids them 'be fully convinced of the birth and passion and resurrection, which came to pass in the time of the government of Pontius Pilate—events which truly and certainly were brought to pass by Jesus Christ.' But the words do not necessarily

form a part of the attack contained in cc. 8-10. Ignatius may be merely thinking of the dangers to which other churches were exposed, and warning the Magnesians beforehand against them. But the most valuable piece of evidence is the epistle to the Philadelphians. Ignatius had visited this Church, and in addressing it he plainly refers to actually existing errors, of which he had personal experience. Here, if anywhere, we might expect to find traces of a mixture of Judaism and Docetism. Yet besides the passage which we have already quoted the only passages appealed to by Lightfoot are cc. 3 (end), 4, 5.

In the first of these Ignatius says, 'If any man walks in strange opinions, he has no part in the Passion.' In the second he bids them partake of one Eucharist, as there is one flesh of Christ. Both these passages may quite easily refer to the separatist tendencies of heresy generally, as cutting men off from the unity of the Church and the benefits of the Passion of Christ. In c. 5 Ignatius speaks of himself as 'taking refuge in the Gospel as the flesh of Jesus.' Here again the allusion is too slight to convey any distinct controversial sense. Had Ignatius been confronted with a form of heresy which combined Judaic and Docetic features, it is difficult to believe that his language would have been so vague and indirect.

Thus the language of the epistles does not require us to suppose that a form of Docetic Judaism was generally current in the churches. Both Docetic and Judaistic influences were undoubtedly present to the mind of Ignatius when he wrote his epistles. But whether in any particular church the one or the other, or both in combination, were found, depends upon the internal evidence of each epistle. From what we know of the

foreign influences which had invaded the Jews of the Dispersion in the first and second centuries, it is not *à priori* unlikely that such a combination might exist, but it would require much stronger language than that of the passages Magn. 9, 11, Philad. 3, 8, Smyrn. 5, 7, to demonstrate its presence in the three churches addressed in those epistles. It is only natural to suppose that the memory of the dangers arising from both forms of error would colour the thought and language of Ignatius at the time, even when he was writing to churches not directly in danger. The remaining epistles show no trace of a combination of the two errors.

The Docetic heresy arose out of the oriental mystical spirit, which found a difficulty in believing in the contact of the Supreme God with matter. There are traces of a similar heresy in the false teaching alluded to in St. John's epistles (1 John iv. 3, 2 John 7) and in Polycarp's epistle to the Philippians (c. 7). St. John, however, is probably referring to the teaching of Cerinthus, which was not properly Docetic. The Docetism attacked in the present epistles was 'thorough-going.' It was applied to the whole earthly life of our Lord from the Birth to the Resurrection.

This is a sign of early date, as Docetism tended to become modified as time went on. This 'thorough-going' Docetism finds a parallel in the teaching of Saturninus, who was a contemporary and fellow-citizen of Ignatius. The epistles contain no traces of the features of the later Gnostic systems of Valentinus, Basilides, and Marcion.

The Jewish or Ebionite heresy was a development of the Pharisaic Judaism, of which we see the beginnings in the false teaching attacked by St. Paul in the Epistle to

the Galatians. It appears, however, that circumcision was no longer insisted on, for in Philad. 6 we read, 'It is better to hear Christianity from one who is circumcised, than to hear Judaism from an uncircumcised man.' This is in accordance with what we know of the later development of this heresy.

Both forms of heresy were dishonouring to the Person of Christ. Docetism denied the reality of His Manhood. Ebionism started from an imperfect conception of His Person, and ended by denying His Divinity. Both alike found a stumbling-block in the Passion, with its teaching of a Divine sufferer and a crucified Messiah. Both heresies in their developed form (see above) resulted in separatism, and gave occasion to an emphatic assertion by Ignatius of the unity of the Church.

Both the Ebionite and the Docetic errors find counterparts in the rationalistic conceptions of modern times. Docetism has something in common with the modern tendency to idealize the life of Christ by robbing it of its historical setting. This tendency found expression some years ago in Strauss' *Leben Jesu*, which profoundly influenced George Eliot. More recently popular currency has been given to a view in which the Virgin-Birth and Resurrection are set aside as mythical additions to the story of a Christ who was purely human. Further, the figure of Christ appears to be regarded, according to this view, as important merely because it is the expression of an 'eternal verity' behind it, and Christianity is identified with 'the spirit of devotion, through a man, to an idea' (*Robert Elsmere*, c. xlix.). But apart from the failure of modern criticism to discredit the historical accuracy of the Christian records, such theories fail to account for the conception of the Person of Christ found

in the writings of St. Paul and St. John. St. Paul describes Jesus Christ as 'the last Adam' and 'the second man from Heaven' (1 Cor. xv. 45, 47). He speaks of Him as absolutely sinless (2 Cor. v. 21), and as coming to release mankind from the effects of a sinful ancestry (Rom. v. 17, 21, vi. 4, 1 Cor. xv. 22), and to introduce the 'new creation' (Gal. vi. 15, 2 Cor. v. 17) and 'the new man' (Eph. ii. 15, etc. ; cf. Ign., Eph. 20). Such language seems to require as its basis a belief in such a fact as the Virgin-Birth. Again, St. John's description of the Incarnation in the phrase 'the Word became flesh' involves a belief that the personality of Jesus Christ was divine, and it is difficult to see how a purely human birth could have resulted in anything but a human personality. For the significance of the Resurrection it is needless to adduce further testimony than St. Paul's own words (1 Cor. xv. 14), 'If Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain.' The great historical facts of the Virgin-Birth and Resurrection of Jesus Christ are no accretion of later growth. They underlie the earliest Christian teaching, and are the source from which Christian hope and Christian morality have always derived their inspiration. The controversies in which Ignatius was engaged deal with subjects which have a living interest to-day. The knowledge of the living God, the belief in the forgiveness of sin and the power to conquer sin, the hope of immortality, these find their only sure foundation in Him Who 'was truly born of a Virgin, truly nailed for us in the flesh, truly suffered, truly raised Himself up.'¹

¹ Ign., Smyrn. 1, 2.

2. THE EARLY USE OF THE WORDS 'PRESBYTER' AND 'EPISCOPUS.'

THE statement in the Introduction, § 4, p. 34, that the terms 'bishop' or 'overseer' (*episcopus*) and 'presbyter' were originally applied to the same persons, and are so used in all known Christian writings before the time of Ignatius, may be illustrated as follows—

I. We find the same persons referred to under both titles.

(a) In Acts xx. 17, 28: 'From Miletus he sent to Ephesus and called to him the elders (*presbyters*) of the Church.'

In his address to them he says (v. 28): 'Take heed unto yourselves and to all the flock, in the which the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops (*episcopi*).'

(b) In Titus i. 5, 7: 'For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest . . . appoint elders (*presbyters*) in every city, as I gave thee charge; if any is blameless . . . for the bishop (*episcopus*) must be blameless.'

II. Sometimes the word *episcopus* alone is used, where the office referred to is that of the presbyter.

(a) Phil. i. 1: 'Paul and Timothy . . . to all the saints . . . which are at Philippi, with the bishops (*episcopi*) and deacons.'

(b) 1 Tim. iii. 1-7, in which the Apostle describes the qualifications for the office of a bishop or *episcopus*, and then proceeds at once to speak of deacons, without any mention of presbyters.

III. Clement of Rome still used the word 'bishop' or *episcopus* for the person who held the presbyter's office.

(a) Ad Cor. 42: 'As they (the Apostles) preached . . . they proved by the Spirit the first-fruits of

their work in each place, and appointed them to be bishops (*episcopi*) and deacons among them that should believe.'

(b) Ad Cor. 44: 'Our Apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the dignity of the office of the bishop (*episcopus*). For this very reason . . . they appointed the aforesaid bishops (*episcopi*) and deacons. . . . For we shall be guilty of no small sin, if we reject men who have holily and without offence offered the gifts pertaining to the office of the bishop (*episcopus*).'

IV. In the *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles* we find the word *episcopus* used in a similar way of the presbyter's office.

See c. 15: 'Elect therefore for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord . . . for they also minister unto you the ministry of the prophets and teachers.'

If the date which has usually been assigned to this portion of the *Doctrine* be correct, all these passages would fall within the first century. But in any case the *Doctrine* presents a picture of a community which lived in the backwater of Church life. With the opening of the second century a new terminology comes into sight in the Ignatian epistles. The word 'bishop' is there and thenceforth used to denote a Church officer, who is superior to the presbyter, and who exercises the same kind of authority as was exercised in the first century by the Apostles, by Timothy at Ephesus and Titus in Crete, and again by the 'men of repute' mentioned by Clement of Rome (c. 44). Though there has been a change of title, the functions exercised by the threefold ministry of bishops, presbyters, and deacons are a continuation of the functions exercised in the Apostolic age by Apostles, presbyter-bishops, and deacons.

3. THE ACTS OF THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. IGNATIUS.

THE story of the martyrdom of Ignatius is current in five different forms.

1. The Antiochene Acts, current in Greek, Latin, and Syriac.

2. The Roman Acts, current in Greek and Coptic.

3. The Bollandist Acts (Latin).

4. The Armenian Acts.

5. The Acts of Symeon the Metaphrast (Greek).

Of these the last three forms show their dependence upon (1) and (2), the narratives of which they combine in various ways. On the other hand the Antiochene and Roman Acts are plainly independent. Hence our attention may be confined to them.

The *Roman Acts* are the longer of the two forms, and exhibit a more developed legendary character than we find in the Antiochene Acts. According to the account which they contain, the trial before Trajan took place at Rome in the presence of the Senate. A long dialogue ensues between Trajan and Ignatius, in which the Senate occasionally intervenes. Trajan at first makes overtures to his prisoner and promises to appoint him high priest of Zeus and give him a share in his kingdom, if he will abjure Christianity and sacrifice to the gods. As this proves unavailing, he threatens him with various forms of torture. On his part Ignatius heaps ridicule on the heathen gods and vindicates Christianity. After torture has proved unavailing, Trajan orders him to be left in prison without food for three days and then to be cast to the wild beasts. On the third day Trajan, attended by

the Senate and the prefect, proceeds to the amphitheatre, where a great concourse is assembled. The endurance of the martyr excites the Emperor's wonder, and as he is still obdurate, the final sentence is carried out, and the wild beasts are let loose upon him. The beasts, however, only crushed him to death, without touching his flesh, 'so that his reliques might be a means of protection to the great city of the Romans, in which Peter also was crucified and Paul was beheaded and Onesimus was perfected' (c. 10).

Trajan is amazed at the circumstances of the martyr's death, and receiving about the same time letters from Pliny the governor with reference to the Christians, he issues a decree ordering that the Christians should not be sought out, but only punished when found. At the same time he permits the burial of the martyr's reliques. 'Then,' we read, 'the brethren in Rome, to whom also he had sent word that they should not sue for his deliverance from martyrdom and so rob him of the hope which he cherished, took his body and laid it where it was possible for them to gather together and praise God and His Christ for the perfecting of the holy bishop and martyr Ignatius. For "the memory of the righteous is highly praised."' ¹

The Acts conclude with a quotation of the references made to Ignatius by Irenæus and Polycarp.

The work is plainly a romance and cannot be shown even to be based on earlier documents.

'The exaggerated tortures inflicted on the saint, the length and character of the discourses attributed to him, and the strange overtures made to him by the Emperor, all alike are fatal to the credit of the narrative.' ²

¹ c. 11.

² Lightfoot, vol. ii. p. 377.

The date of these Acts can only be inferred within rough limits. The writer shows traces of acquaintance with, and dependence on, the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius. He appears also to have known the interpolated version of the Ignatian Epistles, which, as we have seen, probably belongs to the latter half of the fourth century. The story of Ignatius, as contained in these Acts, is made use of by Latin martyrologists of the ninth century, not however in its original form, but in combination with the narrative of the Antiochene Acts. Hence Lightfoot thinks they may have been written at some period during the fifth or sixth centuries.

As to the place of writing, the fact that Greek appears to be the original language of the work shows that they do not come from the Roman Church, where Greek had ceased to be spoken long before this time. Lightfoot adduces several indications in favour of Alexandria in Egypt as their birthplace. The mention of the month Panemus (which belongs to the Alexandrian reckoning), the attack made by Ignatius on animal worship, and lastly the fact that these Acts alone were translated into Coptic, favours Lightfoot's conclusion. The relations of Alexandria and Rome, and the prominence of Rome in the narrative, may account for the circulation of these Acts in the West.

The *Antiochene Acts* stand on a somewhat higher level. Their genuineness has been maintained by Ussher and Pearson as well as by many modern writers. In these Acts the centre of interest is mainly Antioch, where the trial takes place, and where the reliques are finally deposited.

After describing the government of the Church at Antioch by Ignatius, 'the disciple of the Apostle John, a man in every way of apostolic life,' the narrative

proceeds to describe the visit of Trajan to Antioch, in the ninth year of his reign, after his victory over the Scythians and Dacians, and his resolve to complete his conquests by subduing the Christians. Ignatius is brought before him, and the following dialogue takes place. 'Who art thou, possessed of a devil, that art so ready to disobey our commands, and to persuade others also to come to a miserable death?' Ignatius said, 'No man calleth him that carries God within him devil-possessed, for the devils keep far from the servants of God. But if, because I am burdensome to these, thou callest me a wretch toward devils, I agree. For because I have Christ, a heavenly king, I overthrow their plots.' Trajan said, 'And who is he that beareth God?' Ignatius answered, 'He that hath Christ in his breast.' Trajan said, 'Dost thou then think that we have not gods in our hearts, forasmuch as we use them as allies against our enemies?' Ignatius said, 'Thou art in error in calling the devils of the nations gods. For there is one God, Who made heaven and earth and sea and all that is in them, and there is one Christ Jesus, His only begotten Son, Whose friendship may I enjoy.' Trajan said, 'Meanest thou him that was crucified under Pontius Pilate?' Ignatius said, 'I mean Him that hath crucified sin and the deviser thereof, and hath condemned all wickedness of devils to be trampled under foot of them that bear Him in their hearts.' Trajan said, 'Dost thou then bear Christ within thyself?' Ignatius said, 'Yea, for it is written, I will dwell in them and walk in them.' Trajan thereupon sentences him to be taken to Rome and to be thrown to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre.

The route is next described. Ignatius sails from Seleucia to Smyrna, where he visits Polycarp, the bishop,

his fellow-student and disciple under John. The churches of Asia send their bishops, presbyters, and deacons to welcome him, and men flock to him to receive a blessing from him. Then follows the letter to the Romans and the account of his fears lest he should be respited. From Smyrna he sails to Troas and Neapolis, thence through Philippi across Macedonia and Epirus to Epidamnus, where he takes ship to Portus. He had desired, we are told, to land at Puteoli, that he might tread in the footsteps of St. Paul, but unfavourable winds prevent this. Having set out from Portus, he is met by the brethren, whom he addresses at length, and after having prayed to the Son of God for the peace and love of the churches, he is conducted into the amphitheatre. It was the great 'thirteenth day,' and the sports were drawing to a close. Only the tougher parts of his reliques were left, and so his prayer was fulfilled, that he might not be burdensome to any of the brethren (Rom. 4). The bones were carried back to Antioch and laid in a sarcophagus as 'a priceless treasure to the holy Church.' On the night of his martyrdom he appears to several of his companions. To some he appears standing over them and embracing them, others see him praying over them, others again see him 'dripping with sweat, as one that had come out of great toil and standing by the Lord with great boldness and unspeakable glory.'

Like the Roman Acts, this narrative betrays its spurious character. In the first place the journey by sea from Seleucia is inconsistent with the genuine letters, which plainly indicate an overland route, as was seen by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 36) and the compiler of the Roman Acts (c. 1). The visit of Trajan to Antioch 'in the ninth year of his reign' is unknown to history, while the

expedition to Parthia, for which he is said in the Acts to have been preparing, did not take place till several years later. The account of the reliques reads like the language of one writing in a later age. Moreover the Acts are not quoted before the end of the sixth century. As we have seen, Eusebius contradicts their account of the journey. nor does he mention the interview with Trajan. Chrysostom in his oration on Ignatius nowhere alludes to the story of the Acts. The earliest historian who shows any acquaintance with them is Evagrius, who wrote at the close of the sixth century.

There are, however, a few incidents in the latter part of the journey which, it has been thought, may be based upon some true traditions. Ignatius' desire to land at Puteoli, in order to follow in the footsteps of St. Paul, and the disappointment of his wish, are thought by Lightfoot to exhibit an 'air of truthfulness, or at least of verisimilitude.'

So too the appearances of Ignatius to his friends on the night of the martyrdom offer, it is urged, parallels to incidents in other genuine narratives. But against the view that a contemporary letter of the saint's companions has been incorporated into the narrative, Lightfoot himself urges the objection that it is improbable that such a document should not have come to light before the fifth or sixth century.

We are thus thrown back upon the letters themselves for the information which we seek about their author, and the traditions of later ages in this case add nothing that is reliable to our knowledge.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

DATE.	EMPERORS.	EVENTS.
A.D.		
54	Nero.	
64	. . . . .	Fire at Rome.
64-68	. . . . .	Persecution of the Christians. Martyrdom of St. Paul. Preaching and martyrdom of St. Peter at Rome.
68	Galba.	
69	Otho ; Vitellius ; Ves- pasian.	
70	. . . . .	Fall of Jerusalem.
79	Titus.	
81	Domitian.	
95	. . . . .	Flavius Clemens, consul, exe- cuted. Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians.
96	Nerva.	St. John's residence at Ephesus.
98	Trajan.	
110-117	Martyrdom of Ignatius. Epis- tle of Polycarp to the Philippians. Martyrdom of Symeon, Bishop of Jeru- salem.
117	Hadrian.	
138	Antoninus Pius.	
155	Martyrdom of Polycarp.

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Psalms i. 3	Magn. 13.
xxxiii. 9	Eph. 15.
Proverbs iii. 34	Eph. 5.
xviii. 17	Magn. 12.
Isaiah v. 26	Sm. 1.
lii. 5	Tr. 8.
lxvi. 18	Magn. 10.
St. Matt. ii. 1 sq.	Eph. 19.
iii. 12	Eph. 16.
iii. 15	Sm. 1.
v. 13	Magn. 10.
vii. 15.	Phld. 2.
vii. 24, 25	Polyc. 1.
viii. 17	Polyc. 1.
x. 16.	Polyc. 2.
x. 40	Eph. 6.
xii. 33	Eph. 14.
xv. 13	Tr. 11, Phld. 3.
xviii. 16-20	Eph. 5.
xix. 12	Sm. 6.
xxi. 33	Eph. 6.
xxvi. 7 (cf. St. Mark xiv. 3 sq., St. John xii. 2 sq.)	Eph. 17
xxvii. 52 sq.	Magn. 9.
St. Mark iii. 27	Rom. 7.
viii. 38 (cf. St. Luke ix. 26).	Sm. 10.

St. Luke viii. 14.	Rom. 7.
xxiii. 7-12, 15 (cf. Acts iv. 27).	Sm. 1.
St. John i. 23	Rom. 2
iii. 8	Phld. 7.
iv. 10-11.	Rom. 7.
vi. 33	Rom. 7.
viii. 29	Magn. 8.
x. 9.	Phld. 9.
Acts i. 25	Magn. 5.
x. 41	Sm. 3
Romans vi. 4	Eph. 19.
1 Cor. i. 20	Eph. 18.
i. 23, 24	Eph. 18.
ii. 14 sq.	Eph. 8.
iii. 16, 17 (cf. vi. 9 and 2 Cor. vi. 16)	Eph. 15, 16.
iv. 4	Rom. 5.
iv. 13	Eph. 8.
v. 7.	Magn. 10.
vi. 7	Eph. 10.
vi. 9	Eph. 16, Phld. 3.
ix. 27	Tr. 12.
xv. 8	Rom. 9.
xv. 32	Tr. 10.
Gal. i. 1	Phld. 1.
v. 21	Eph. 16.
Eph. i. 3 sq.	Eph. inscr.
ii. 16, etc.	Sm. 1 (end).
ii. 20 sq.	Eph. 9.
iv. 24 (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 45, 47)	Eph. 20.
v. 25	Polyc. 5.
vi. 11 sq.	Polyc. 6.
Philipp. iv. 13	Sm. 4.
Col. i. 23	Eph. 10.
1 Thess. v. 8	Polyc. 6.
1 Tim. i. 4	Magn. 8.
vi. 2	Polyc. 4.

2 Tim. ii. 3.	.	.	.	.	Polyc. 6.
Titus i. 14	.	.	.	.	Magn. 8.
ii. 7	Magn. 6.
iii. 9	Magn. 8.
Heb. ix. 7-12. (cf. x. 19 sq.)	.				Phld. 9.
1 Pet. i. 10	Magn. 8.
(?) Rev. iii. 12	Phld. 6.
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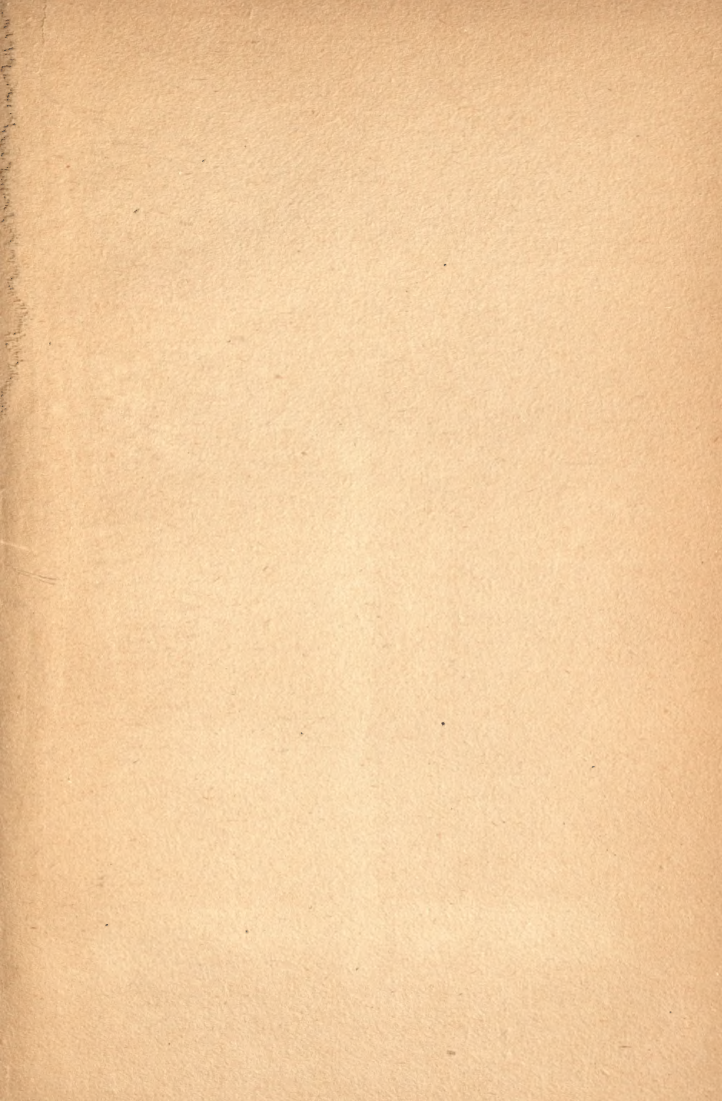
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