

PART III

NOTES ON THE SYRIAC VERSION.

p. 35, l. 4 (κ 3). We have given in the introductory remarks the reasons for believing that the words ܠܝܠܝܐ and ܠܝܠܝܐ are a part of the name of the emperor addressed. Both of these words, however, might have been used generally, as royal adjectives. For example, in the recently published *Acta Mar Kardaghi* of Abbeloos p. 87 they occur as titles of the king of Persia :

ܠܝܠܝܐ ܠܝܠܝܐ ܠܝܠܝܐ ܠܝܠܝܐ ܠܝܠܝܐ ܠܝܠܝܐ

which Abbeloos renders by "contra adorabilem regem regum."

ܠܝܠܝܐ ܠܝܠܝܐ ܠܝܠܝܐ ܠܝܠܝܐ (rex regum clemens jussit).

[The plural points in these two titles, though obviously wrong, have been retained in our text, in accordance with the principle of reproducing the punctuation of the MS. exactly as it stands. In the first sentence the MS. has a slight stop after ܠܝܠܝܐ, while there is no stop after ܠܝܠܝܐ. 'Almighty' can only be retained as an epithet of the Deity : but possibly there has been some confusion of the original, which may have run : *περὶ θεοσεβείας* * *αὐτοκράτορι*, κ.τ.λ.]

l. 7 (κ 7). The demonstration of Divine Providence from the contemplation of the heavenly bodies is common to all forms of Theistic teaching : consequently it occurs freely in Christian Apologetics. We may compare the following passages :

Melito, *Oration to Antoninus Caesar* (Cureton, *Spic. Syr.* p. 46). "He hath set before thee the heavens, and He has placed in them the stars. He hath set before thee the sun and the moon, and they every day fulfil their course therein...He hath set before thee the clouds which by ordinance bring water from above and satisfy the earth : that from these things thou mightest understand, that He who moveth these is greater than they all,

[ܐܝܬܝܢ ܠܝܠܝܐ ܠܝܠܝܐ ܠܝܠܝܐ ܠܝܠܝܐ ܠܝܠܝܐ ܠܝܠܝܐ]

and that thou mightest accept the goodness of Him who hath given to thee a mind by which thou mayest distinguish these things."

Origen, *De Principiis*, II. 1. 5. "But that we may believe on the authority of Holy Scripture, that such is the case, hear how in the books of Maccabees,

Acta Mar Kardaghi (ed. Abbeloos, p. 30):

καὶ τὸ καὶ . . . αὐκ καὶ τὸ διωθικ . . .
 . . . αὐκ καὶ τὸ αὐκ :

l. 28 (↪ 8). The same philosophical opinion will be found almost in the same words in Eustathius *contra Arianos* quoted in John of Damascus, *Parallels* p. 314,

πάν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχον, καὶ τέλος ἐπιδέχεται· τὸ δὲ τέλος ἐπιδεχόμενον, φθορὰς ἐστὶ δεκτικόν.

l. 30 (↪ 10). We may compare the following passages from Justin and from the Epistle to Diognetus, in view of Jerome's statement that Justin imitated Aristides, and the modern theory of Doucet as to the authorship of the anonymous epistle to Diognetus.

Justin, *Apol.* I. 9. οὐ γὰρ τοιαύτην ἡγούμεθα τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν τὴν μορφήν, ἣν φασὶ τινες εἰς τιμὴν μεμιμῆσθαι.

Justin, *Apol.* II. 6. ὄνομα δὲ τῷ πάντων πατρὶ θεόν, ἀγεννήτῳ ὄντι, οὐκ ἔστιν· ὃ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὄνομά τι προσαγορεύηται, πρεσβύτερον ἔχει τὸν θέμενον τὸ ὄνομα.

Justin, *Dial.* 4. φησὶ γὰρ Πλάτων, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, αὐτὸ τοιοῦτον εἶναι τὸ τοῦ νοῦ ὅμμα καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἡμῖν δεδόσθαι, ὥς δύνασθαι καθορᾶν αὐτὸ ἐκείνο τὸ ὃν εἰλικρινεῖ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ, ὃ τῶν νοητῶν ἀπάντων ἐστὶν αἷτιον, οὐ χρῶμα ἔχον, οὐ σχῆμα, οὐ μέγεθος, οὐδὲ οὐδὲν ὧν ὀφθαλμὸς βλέπει.

Justin, *Apol.* I. 10. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ δέεσθαι τῆς παρ' ἀνθρώπων ὑλικῆς προσφορᾶς προσειληψάμεν τὸν θεόν, αὐτὸν παρέχοντα πάντα ὀρώντες.

Ep. ad Diogn. 3. ὁ γὰρ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν χορηγῶν ὧν προσδεόμεθα, οὐδενὸς ἂν αὐτὸς προσδέοιτο τούτων ὧν τοῖς οἰομένοις δίδοναι παρέχει αὐτός.

[p. 36, l. 13 (↪ 2). ἴδωμεν Gr. (p. 100, l. 16) Arm., εἶδωμεν Syr. A comparison between the Gr. and Syr. shews a like variation in π 18 (Gr. p. 101, l. 3) and ↪ 18 (Gr. p. 104, l. 1).

l. 18 (↪ 8). 'The head of the race of their religion.' This seems to be a conflation of the two phrases which occur lower down: 'the head of their race,' and 'the beginning of their religion.' It should be simply 'the head of their race,' as we see from the Greek.]

l. 23 (↪ 13). The Armenian has 'Kadmus the Sidonian and Dionysus the Theban.' Cf. Herod. II. 91 τὸν γὰρ Δαμιὸν καὶ τὸν Λυγκέα ἐόντας Χερμίτας ἐκπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, and II. 49 παρὰ Κάδμον τε τοῦ Τυρίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης. But Kadmus is a Sidonian in Eur. *Bacch.* 171 and Ovid, *Met.* IV. 571.

[l. 27 (↪ 17). The statement that the people received the name of 'Hebrews' from Moses is peculiar to the Syr. and Arm. translations.]

l. 29 (↪ 20). The writer not only deduces the name of the Christians from the title of their founder, but he is also ready, like Justin and other

fathers, to compare the name with the Greek word *χρηστός*, as we shall see in the closing chapter. The following parallels may be noted in Justin.

Justin, *Apol.* I. 12. Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ χριστιανοὶ ἐπονομάζεσθαι ἐσχήκαμεν.

Dial. 63. τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ γενομένη καὶ μετασχοίῃ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, χριστιανοὶ γὰρ πάντες καλούμεθα.

Ibid. 138. ὁ γὰρ χριστός, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως ὢν, καὶ ἀρχὴ πάλιν ἄλλου γένους γέγονεν, τοῦ ἀναγεννηθέντος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δι' ὕδατος καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἑλίου, τοῦ τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἔχοντος, ὃν τρόπον καὶ ὁ Νῶε κτέ.

1. 32 (~~23~~). With the closing words of this sentence we may compare the Syriac *Acts of John* (ed. Wright), p. 37,

.ကဝေ မာဏ ကျ ပရိသတ် ကလေး တို့ နှင့်

where we should correct the text so as to read "and when formed as a child in the womb He was with His Father."

L. 34 (¶ 1). The Gospel is clearly a written one, and not the general message (*εὐαγγέλιον*). In c. xvi. we again find Aristides offering the Emperor the Christian Scriptures.

[L. 38 (¶ 5). The Greek text has καὶ τελέσας τὴν θαυμαστὴν αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίαν. Cf. Justin, *Dial.* 103, and Otto's note on that passage, where the use of οἰκονομία is illustrated. In the Syriac ܡܢܬܐ is unsatisfactory. It can hardly be intended to represent (οἰκονομίαν) τινά. Possibly it is a corruption of some word which corresponded to θαυμαστήν.]

p. 37, l. 1 (¶ 6). Another instance of the formula 'He was crucified by the Jews,' beyond those to which we have already drawn attention, may be found in a fragment of Melito preserved by Anastasius Sinaita ;

Ὁ θεὸς πέπονθεν ὑπὸ δεξιᾶς Ἰσραηλίδου,

for which the Syriac rendering is given by Cureton, *Spic. Syr.* ܐܠܗܐ, ܐ.

ಕುರು ಸುಖವು ಬಹು. ಹೀಗೆಯೇ
ಕುರುಕುಲವು.

In later times we may expect to find similar language, though the expression itself disappears from the Creed. In *Acta Mar Kardaghi* p. 37 we have the following (*loquitur Satan*),

לכאן וכלה כה חלל נחל
 כה חלל נחל כה חלל נחל
 כה חלל נחל כה חלל נחל

and again in p. 74

പുനർനിർമ്മാണത്തിന് പണി പൂർത്തിയാക്കിയിട്ടുണ്ട്.

The idea of the Jews being the special agents of Satan in the Crucifixion

comes out also in an unpublished *Ἀντιλογία* between the Devil and Christ, which is preserved in a MS. at Jerusalem (Cod. 66, S. Sep.), where we read

Καὶ ὁ διάβολος λέγει· Πορεύσομαι πρὸς Ἄνναν καὶ Καϊάφαν τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς τοὺς ἐμοὺς Ἰουδαίους· καὶ ποιήσω αὐτοὺς ἵνα σέ σταυρώσωσι.

[Compare also the Letter of Pilate in the Acts of Peter and Paul § 42 (Tisch. *Acta Petri et Pauli*, Lips. 1851, p. 17): οἱ δὲ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν, καὶ ταφέντος αὐτοῦ φύλακας κατέστησαν ἐπ' αὐτόν.]

1. 20 (¶ 25). The injunction to have a care that your gods be not stolen is not uncommon with the early Christians, and it is not improbable that they were able to refer to special and notable cases of violation of temples and mutilation of images. We may refer, at all events, to the following parallels:

Justin, *Apol.* 1. 9. καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἔνθα ἀνατίθενται φύλακας τοιοῦτους καθιστάναι, μὴ συννορῶντας ἀθέμιτον καὶ τὸ νοεῖν ἢ λέγειν ἀνθρώπους θεῶν εἶναι φύλακας.

Ep. ad Diogn. 2. τοὺς μὲν λιθίνους καὶ ὀστρακίνους σέβοντες ἀφυλάκτους, τοὺς δὲ ἀργυροῦς καὶ χρυσοῦς ἐγκλείοντες ταῖς νυξὶ καὶ ταῖς ἡμέραις φύλακας παρακαθιστάντες ἵνα μὴ κλαπῶσιν.

1. 26 (¶ 5). Compare c. vii. From the "Teaching of the Apostles" (c. vi. 3) onwards, idolatry is known as a 'worship of dead gods': e.g. Melito, *Oration* p. 43, "But I affirm that also the Sibyl has said respecting them, that it is the images of kings, who are dead, they worship."

p. 38, l. 1 (¶ 19). The writer now proceeds to discuss the views of those who either sought the First Principle in one of the elements or imagined it to be located in one of the heavenly bodies. And it is common for the early Christian writers to demolish the philosophic schools in detail according as they found them referring the origin of all things to water, as Thales; or air, as Anaximenes; or fire, as Heraclitus; or earth, as Pherecydes and Xenophanes. We may compare Plutarch *De placitis philosophorum* 1. 3, and then notice how the Christian apologists deal with the matter. The writer of the Epistle to Diognetus thinks that, if a god is to be found amongst the elements, one element or created thing is as good as another:

Ep. ad Diogn. 8. οἱ μὲν πῦρ ἔφασαν εἶναι τὸν θεόν (οὗ μέλλουσι χωρήσειν αὐτοί, τοῦτο καλοῦσι θεόν)· οἱ δὲ ὕδωρ· οἱ δ' ἄλλο τι τῶν στοιχείων τῶν ἐκτισμένων ὑπὸ θεοῦ· καίτοιγε, εἴ τις τούτων τῶν λόγων ἀπόδεκτός ἐστι, δύναται ἂν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κτισμάτων ἐν ἑκάστον ὁμοίως ἀποφαίνεσθαι θεόν.

Melito deals even more shortly with the matter, and in a rude common-sense manner says that we may call a creature God without making it to be divine:

Oration, p. 42. "And if, therefore, a man...say that there is another God, it is found from his own words that he calleth some created thing God. For if a man call fire God, it is not God, because it is fire; and if a man call the waters God, they are not God, because they are waters; and if this earth which we tread upon, and if those heavens which are seen by us, and if the sun, or the moon, or one of those stars which run their course by

ordinance and rest not, nor proceed by their own will—and if a man call gold and silver gods: are not these things that we use as we please?"

It will be seen that their treatment of the subject was superficial, no other treatment being, in fact, necessary. Aristides, however, takes the matter more seriously and examines each case in detail by the light of his previously stated axioms concerning the divine nature.

[l. 1 (ⲙ 19). *ἔλθωμεν* Gr., *ἑπανελθωμεν* Syr. Comp. also 𐤀 18 (Gr. p. 104, l. 1).

l. 8 (ⲁ 5). *ⲕⲃⲁⲕⲁⲓ* (so Cod.) = *ⲕⲃⲁⲕⲃⲁⲓ* cf. l. 22.

l. 36 (ⲓ 10). *ⲕⲱⲓⲁⲁⲁ*. Probably for *ⲕⲱⲓⲁⲁⲁ*, examples of which are given under *ⲱⲁⲓⲁ* in the *Theo. Syr.*

p. 39, l. 1 (ⲓ 11). *ⲁⲁⲃⲁⲁⲁⲓ*. This phrase, 'your majesty,' does not in any way suggest that more than one person is addressed.

l. 11 (ⲓ 20). A probable emendation is *ⲕⲃⲁⲁⲓ ⲕⲃⲁⲁⲓ*.

l. 27 (ⲱ 13). *: ⲙⲓ ⲃⲁⲕ ⲕⲃⲁⲓ*. This slight emendation brings the Syr. into more literal accordance with the Gk. The expression *μερισμὸν ἔχοντα* seems also to have suggested the next sentence in the Syriac, where it is combined with the preceding words *εἰς χρῆσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων*.

l. 37 (𐤀 1). Similar language is applied to *the heaven* in a paragraph found only in the Gr. (p. 101, l. 30) *καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν συνεστῶτα διὸ καὶ κόσμος καλεῖται*. Where the reference is to man, we should have expected *μικρὸς κόσμος*. See Suicer, *Theo.* II. 369 (1728). A treatise was written on this subject (*ⲕⲓⲁⲁⲓ ⲕⲁⲃⲁ ⲕⲱⲓⲁⲁ*) by Aḥudhemmeḥ († A.D. 575). See *Bibl. Or.* III. 1. 194.

p. 40, ll. 22 ff. (ⲱ 2–12). In this classification of the gods of the Greeks the principal points in which the Syr. differs from the Gr. are: (1) *ἀδελφοκτόνους* (p. 104, l. 7) is not represented. It is absent also from the Pemb. Coll. MS. of the Greek. (2) After *μυνομένους* two clauses are inserted, the one taken from the description of Apollo (ⲙ 21, 22), and the other from that of Artemis (ⲁ 5). (3) An additional clause is inserted after *καὶ φυγάδας γενομένους*. (4) Two additional clauses, the one taken from the description of Aphrodite (ⲁ 15), the other probably from that of Tammuz (ⲁ 23), are inserted after the words *καὶ κοπτομένους καὶ θρηνομένους*.

It may be remarked that the Greek participles just quoted are both rendered as passives ('wept and lamented by men') by the Syr. translator. The Latin version omits them: the translation of Billyus is: "nonnullos vulnera accepisse, ac lamenta edidisse."]

l. 25 (ⲱ 7). He is referring to Apollo, Poseidon and Asklepios: cf. Tertullian, *Apol.* 14, Hic Apollinem Admeto regi pascendis pecoribus addicit, ille Neptuni structorias operas Laomedonti locat. Est et illis de lyricis

(Pindarum dico) qui Aescolapium canit avaritiae merito, quia medicinam nocenter exercebat, fulmine iudicatum.

[l. 33 (12). ܐܢܝܢܐ. The Pah. and Aph. of ܐܢܐ = moechari are not given in the Lexicons. The use of the former is however a marked feature in the language of our translator. It occurs again ܐܢ 9 with ܐܢ; ܐܢ 12, absol.; ܐܢ 20 and ܐܢ 11, with ܐܢ. Compare ܐܢܢܐ, Targ. Job xxxvi. 20. We have an instance of the Aph. in Mat. v. 32 (Cur.) ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ = ποιεί αὐτήν μοιχευθῆναι.

l. 34 (13). ܐܢܐܢܐ so MS. Prof. Nöldeke happily suggests ܐܢܐܢܐ verunreinigten sich, comparing ܐܢܐܢܐܢܐ verunreinigt werden. Efr. II. 103 D and ܐܢܐܢܐܢܐ Unreinheit Lag. Anal. 43. 27.

p. 41, l. 20 (14. Gr. p. 104, l. 22). The Syr. supports neither ὅπως nor ὁ πρῶτος.]

l. 21 (15). The translator gives the Syriac name for Saturn, ܐܢܐ. In the *Classical Review* for June 1890, p. 259, Prof. Margoliouth reviewing Budge's *Pseudo-Callisthenes* remarks as follows, "On p. 9 after the name of each planet we are told what the Persian for it is: surely this implies that the book which the translator had before him was in Persian. I will quote one of these, because Mr Budge has by accident missed the truth. The name of *Saturn* is omitted from the list, but instead we read, *the colour of a black stone, and the horoscopus of helanī which is called in Persian Farnūg*'. Mr Budge would emend *Farnūg*', but it is a Persian word signifying *Saturn*..... Hence ܐܢܐ 'colour' must stand for a word signifying *Saturn*; and this will be the Persian کيوان which the translator has read گون 'colour'."

It would seem to be a more direct process simply to emend the Syriac ܐܢܐ into ܐܢܐ.

[l. 28 (22). ܐܢܐܢܐܢܐ Cod. Prof. Nöldeke proposes ܐܢܐܢܐܢܐ.]

p. 42, l. 2 (10). The amours of the gods are, as might have been expected, the staple of early Christian apologetics. A few references may be given in illustration of the scornful summary of Olympic history given by Aristides.

Justin, *Apol.* I. 21. πόσους γὰρ υἱὸν φάσκουσι τοῦ Διὸς οἱ παρ' ἡμῶν τιμώμενοι συγγραφεῖς, ἐπίστασθε· Ἑρμῆν μὲν, λόγον τὸν ἑρμηνευτικὸν καὶ πάντων διδάσκαλον, Ἀσκληπιὸν δέ, καὶ θεραπευτὴν γενόμενον, κεραυνωθέντα ἀνεληλυθέναι εἰς οὐρανόν, Διόνυσον δὲ διασπαραχθέντα, Ἡρακλέα δὲ φυγῇ πόνων ἑαυτὸν πυρὶ δόντα, τοὺς ἐκ Ἀήδας δὲ Διοσκούρους, καὶ τὸν ἐκ Δανάης Περσέα,...

Justin, *Apol.* I. 25. θεῶ δὲ τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ καὶ ἀπαθεί ἑαυτοὺς ἀνεθήκαμεν, οὐτε ἐπ' Ἀντιόπην καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὁμοίως οὐδὲ ἐπὶ Γανυμήδην δι' οἷστρον ἐληλυθέναι πειθόμεθα.

Recog. Clement. x. 22. "Antiope Nyctei versus in Satyrum corruptit: ex qua nascuntur Amphion et Zethus; Alcmene, mutatus in virum eius Amphitryonem; ex qua nascitur Hercules: Aeginam Asopi, mutatus in aquilam, ex qua nascitur Aeacus. Sed et Ganymodem Dardani mutatus nihilominus in aquilam stuprat; Mantheam Phoci, mutatus in ursum; ex qua nascitur Arctos: Danaen Acrisii, mutatus in aurum; ex qua nascitur Persus: Europen Phoenicis, mutatus in taurum; ex qua nascitur Minos, et Rhadamanthus Sarpedonque: Eurymedusam Achelai, mutatus in fornicam; ex qua nascitur Myrmidon: Thaliā Aetnā nympha, mutatus in vulturem; ex qua nascuntur apud Siciliā Palix: Imandram Gencani apud Rhodum, mutatus in imbrem: Cassiopiam, mutatus in virum eius Phoenicem; ex qua nascitur Anchinos: Ledam Thesti, mutatus in cyenum; ex qua nascitur Helena: et iterum eandem, mutatus in stellam; ex qua nascuntur Castor et Pollux: Lamiā, mutatus in upupam: Mnemosynē, mutatus in pastorem; ex qua nascuntur Musae novem: Nemēs, mutatus in anserem: Semelen Cadmiā mutatus in ignem; ex qua nascitur Dionysus," etc.

See also Ps. Justin, *Oratio ad Gentiles* = Ambrose, *Hypomnemata* (Cureton, *Spic. Syr.* pp. 63, 64) for a similar sketch to that of Aristides.

[l. 4 (ܒܒ 11). **ܦܣܝܦܗܐ** is an erroneous insertion in the Syriac.

l. 6 (ܒܒ 13). **ܦܣܝܦܗܐ** seems to be an attempt to render *σάρπεν*. In the Syriac of Ambrose (*Spic. Syr.* 16) the Greek word is transliterated.

l. 7 (ܒܒ 14). **ܦܣܝܦܗܐ**. Our translator seems to have read ΣΕΑΗΝΗΣ for ΣΕΜΕΑΗΣ.

l. 11 (ܒܒ 19). **ܦܣܝܦܗܐ ܕܕܐܠܐ ܕܕܐܠܐ ܕܕܐܠܐ**, 'Castor and Polydeuces and Helene (ܕܕܐܠܐ) and Paludus.' This last word is a *vox nihili*; and the confusion has arisen in the following manner. The Greek has 'Castor and Helene and Polydeuces.' The Syriac scribe has written Polydeuces in its more obvious position immediately after Castor, and then the second Polydeuces has suffered corruption.

l. 18 (ܒܒ 6. Gr. p. 105, l. 15). **ܦܣܝܦܗܐ ܕܕܐܠܐ ܕܕܐܠܐ** Codd. AW. Syr.

l. 30 (ܒܒ 16). **ܦܣܝܦܗܐ ܕܕܐܠܐ ܕܕܐܠܐ** in the Syr. alone. Comp. 'cum pilleo Vulcanus et malleo.' Arnob. *adv. nat.* vi. 12.]

l. 31 (ܒܒ 17). For the ornaments made by Hephaestus, and sarcastic Christian remarks thereon, we may cite

Tatian, *Oratio ad Graecos*, c. viii. 'Ὁ γὰρ ἀμφιγυῖς, ὡς εἰκός, ὁ πόρπας καὶ γναμπτὰς ἑλικας δημιουργῶν τοῖς κοροκοσμίοις ἡπάτησε τὴν ἀμήτορα παῖδα καὶ ὀρφανήν (sc. Ἀθηνᾶν).

[l. 37 (ܒܒ 2). **ܦܣܝܦܗܐ**, 'maimed.' The Greek has *κυλλόν*: but it is an impossible epithet for Hermes. The corruption however must have been a very early one. The Pembroke College MS. has *δόλιον* as a suggestion in the margin; but this is merely a conjectural emendation of the seventeenth

century. The Latin version has 'uersipellem.' Probably *κυλλόν* has slipped in from the description of Hephaestus just above. It may be noted however that 'versipellis' = *הַרְרִיץ* Prov. xiv. 25, Vulg., where the LXX. has *δόλιος*, which is elsewhere used as an epithet of Hermes. If therefore the Latin really represents a Greek word, and is not a mere guess, *δόλιον* would seem to be appropriate, and it is not very unlike *κυλλόν*.

Κῆρις ('and an athlete'). An addition in the Syr., referring to Hermes as the inventor of the palaestra. Comp. 'curat Mercurius ceromas, pugillationibus et luctationibus praest,' Arnob. *adv. nat.* III. 23.

p. 43, l. 7 (**א** 11). The Syr. read *Λακεδαίμονα* or *Λακεδαιμόνιον* and omitted *νίον*.

l. 25 (**ב** 7). *ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων*. Comp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* I. 41, v. 19. The Syr. has the singular.

l. 29 (**ב** 12). **כַּיְיָבִל . . . כְּדַוּוּ כַּיֹּ**. Peculiar to the Syriac. Comp. *τά τ' ἐχθρὰ μισεῖν*, Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 586.

p. 44, l. 1 (**ב** 21, 22). **כַּיֹּאֲרֹא כִידֹו**, lit. 'a cithara, and a striker' (cf. **א** 5). This last word might mean the 'plectrum'; or it might mean another musical instrument. Cf. Arnob. *adv. nat.* VI. 12, 'cum plectro et fidibus Delius.'

The Greek has *κιθάραν καὶ ἐπανθίδα* (or *ἐπανθίδα*, or *ἐπανλίδα*). The emendations *πληκτίδα* and *πηκτίδα* have little to commend them. The Latin version has 'tibiam.')

l. 31 (**א** 5). [The paragraph on Rhea and the following one on Proserpine are not in the Greek.] The Fathers not infrequently allude to the myth of Rhea and Atys. [Cf. Tatian, *ad Graecos*, 8, 'Ρέα μὲν γάρ, ἣν οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Φρυγίων ὀρώων Κυβέλην φασίν, διὰ τὸν ἐρώμενον ταύτης "Αττιν.]]

The story is apparently Phrygian in origin, though very similar in its details to forms from the further East. Lucian (*De dea Syria*, 33) describing the three images in the temple at Hierapolis says that the first two are Zeus and Hera, and the third *καλέεται δὲ σημήιον καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀσσυρίων οὐδέ τι ὄνομα ἴδιον αὐτῷ ἔθεντο*. Baethgen (*Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*) p. 73 most ingeniously conjectures this to be a misunderstanding of Lucian's; *σημεῖον* = **סמ** = **סמ** which last stands for *Atti* or *Atys*: the name appearing in a variety of forms, sometimes alone, sometimes combined with other deities, and sometimes as a factor in proper names: e.g. in Bardesanes *De Pato* we are told that the men of Edessa down to the time of Abgar used to sacrifice their foreskins to Tharatha: this seems to be a late form **סמ** + **תת** = **עשת** + **סמ** or Istar + Atta.

As to the establishment of dances in honour of Atys, these are a characteristic feature of Semitic orgiastic worship. One of the best illustrations is the temple of Baal-Marcod, which stands on a spur of the Lebanon above Beyrout, and where there are many inscriptions from the ancient temple

built into the walls of a modern convent. The name implies *Lord of Dances* and in one inscription given by Waddington (Inscr. Syr. No. 1855) is directly paraphrased as *κοίρανε κώμων*.

[p. 45, l. 11 (2). 𐤒𐤌𐤀𐤁 𐤁𐤏𐤍 in the Syriac alone, taken from the formula in l. 9.]

l. 22 (13). According to our apologist Isis fled to Byblos in Syria; and this agrees with Plutarch *De Iside et Osiride*, that Byblos was a sanctuary of Isis; now we know from Lucian *De Dea Syria* c. 6 that the great sanctuary at Byblos was a sanctuary of Aphrodite *Βυβλίη* (cf. Strabo xvi. 2, p. 362 *Βύβλος* = *Ἀδώνιδος ἱερά*). We should therefore have to assume that Byblos was the centre at once of an Isis-cult and an Aphrodite-cult which is the same thing as an Astarte-cult, for our apologist tells us to equate the Greek Aphrodite to the Syrian Astera. We must then assume either that the two forms of worship existed side by side, or that there had been a fusion of the two cults, the latter hypothesis being favoured by the similarity between the case of Aphrodite weeping for Tammuz and Isis lamenting Osiris. Moreover the confusion extends to the personalities of Osiris and Adonis: and Movers quotes from Stephanus of Byzantium as follows: *Ἀμαθοῦς πόλις Κύπρου ἀρχαιοτάτη, ἐν ᾗ Ἀδωνις Ὀσίρις ἐτιμᾶτο ὃν Αἰγύπτιον ὄντα Κύπριοι καὶ Φοίνικες ἰδιοποιοῦντο*.

Whether, then, we pay attention to the dead gods or the wailing goddesses, there is a great similarity in the matter of the two religions. And we have suggested that in the sanctuary at Byblos the two cults may have been carried on side by side. One other question suggests itself, viz. whether they may not both be modifications of some earlier worship. We have some reason for believing that the original Byblos-worship was that of the Assyrian Baaltis, for Philo Byblius says that this city was the gift of Cronos to Baaltis. Now this Baaltis, the Assyrian mother of the gods, appears in the west in a Greek form, first under the name of Mylitta by a common change in the pronunciation of *b* and *m*. But this Mylitta is affirmed by Herodotus to be capable of equation with Aphrodite (l. 131 *καλέουσι δὲ Ἀσσύριοι τήν Ἀφροδίτην Μύλιττα*) and this would lead us to recognize in the sanctuary at Byblos an original sanctuary of Mylitta.

[p. 46, l. 2 (6). We should probably read 𐤒𐤌𐤀𐤁 and transfer 𐤁𐤏𐤍 to the preceding clause.]

l. 3 (7). The local variation in the Egyptian worship appears in Herodotus and is alluded to by the Christian fathers:

Herod. ii. 69. *τοῖσι μὲν δὴ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱεροὶ εἰσι οἱ κροκόδειλοι, τοῖσι δὲ οὐ, ἀλλὰ ἅτε πολεμίους περιέπουσι.*

Justin, *Apol.* i. 24. *ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ καὶ δένδρα σεβομένων καὶ ποταμούς καὶ μῦς καὶ αἰλούρους καὶ κροκοδείλους καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων τὰ πολλά.*

Recog. Clement. v. 20. "Nam alii eorum bovem qui Apis dicitur colendum tradidere, alii hircum; alii gattas; nonnulli ibin; quidam serpentem; piscem

quoque, et caepas et cloacas, crepitus ventris, pro numinibus habendos esse docuerunt: et alia innumerabilia quae pudet etiam nominare."

[See Mayor's notes to Juv. *Sat.* xv., for a storehouse of references on this point.]

Of the objects of worship mentioned by Aristides, some are rather difficult to identify. The first question that arises is with regard to the animal denoted by **κῑαῖ**. In the Dublin MS. of the Fables of Syntipas, Fable 45, we find

κῑᾱ δῶρα κῑᾱῖ

The word therefore stands for a cat. The fable to which we have referred is No. 40 in Landsberger's *Fabeln des Sophos*. The Syriac reference is due to Prof. Bensly.

[**κῑαῖ** = *αἴλουρος* occurs in Lagarde's *Geop.* 116. 19 (Gr. XIV. 4), and the form **κῑᾱ** in *Geop.* 114. 22 (Gr. XIV. 15).]

Twice there is an allusion to sacred fish, once in a general manner, where we should perhaps correct **κῑα** to **κῑᾱ**, thus placing the dove with the rest of the sacred birds; and once in a special manner, where the name of the fish is given as Shibbuta. What fish is this? Is it the same as the *λεπιδωτὸς* of Herodotus (II. 72)?

νομίζουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων τὸν καλούμενον λεπιδωτὸν ἶρὸν εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἐγγεῆν.

The name of the fish is found in the Arabic Lexicons as **شبوط**: and in Freytag it is described as being like a shad (*alosa*) but three times larger, and is said to be exported from the Euphrates to Aleppo. Cf. Levy, *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, iv. pp. 496, 678.

For a similar account of this fish we may refer to a note by Kosegarten in *Z. D. M. G.* iv. 249. Kosegarten merely quotes the *Kamus* and Freytag, but an editorial note adds that the fish in question is the Latin *rhombus*, i.e. the turbot.

[**κῑᾱ**, 'silurus,' 'the shad-fish' (cf. Mayor's note on Juv. *Sat.* iv. 32). This comes in somewhat inappropriately: and it may have arisen from a misreading of *αἴλουρος*. 'The cat' however is represented lower down by **κῑαῖ**.

κῑα, 'the fish,' is evidently out of place here in the midst of the birds, and indeed it is repeated later on, 'the fish Shibbuta.' It would be easy to emend **κῑα**, 'the dove'; but all the birds are of the ravenous type. There is just a possibility that **κῑᾱ κῑ** may have been the original word. It occurs in the Pesh. Vers. of Levit. xi. 17, where the corresponding word in the A. V. is 'the cormorant.'

l. 14 (**κῑ** 18). **— αἰσθῆῶν κῑ**. The Syriac translator read *ἐταίρων* for *ἐτέρων*.]

l. 27 (ⲁ 6). Here the language may be illustrated by a reference to Justin, *Apol.* I. 9, τί γὰρ δεῖ εἰδόσιν ὑμῖν λέγειν ἅ τὴν ὕλην οἱ τεχνῖται διατιθέασιν ξέοντες καὶ τέμνοντες καὶ χωνεύοντες καὶ τύπτοντες; and *Ep. ad Diogn.* 2, οὐχ ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν λιθοξόος, ὁ δὲ χαλκεύς, ὁ δὲ ἀργυροκόπος, ὁ δὲ κεραμεὺς ἐπλασεν;

[p. 47, l. 20 (ⲕ 15, 16). Our translator has evidently taken τὴν τῶν θεῶν φυσιολογίαν in the sense of 'the counting of the natures of the gods.']

p. 49, l. 1 (ⲡ 21). The description given of the Christians in this chapter recalls in many points the "Teaching of the Apostles." To begin with, we have the golden rule in a negative form, which may be compared with the first chapter of the Teaching, and with a similar Syriac sentence given as a saying of Menander in Land, *Anecdota* I. 69, from Cod. Mus. Britt. 14658, fol. 166 r, as follows:

ⲕⲟⲥⲟⲓ ⲕⲓ γⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲕ : ⲕⲓⲱ γⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲩⲕ ⲁⲩⲕ
ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲩⲕⲁⲩⲕ

which is a very different rendering from that of Aristides, and may be suspected from its ascription to Menander to be a translation of some metrical form of the golden rule.

The version in Aristides, from its setting in the text of the Apology, between two precepts against idolatry, viz. idols in the form of man, and meats offered to idols, reminds one of the Codex Bezae which completes the rule of the Council at Jerusalem (Acts xv. 29) by adding the words

καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλετε ἑαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι, ἐτέρῳ μὴ ποιεῖν.

But whether the sentence stood in this connexion in the primitive Didascalia, we cannot say.

Other parallels will suggest themselves, as when Aristides describes Christian practice in words that seem to answer to

ⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲓϭⲉⲩⲥⲓⲥ, ⲟⲩ ⲡⲟⲣⲛⲉⲩⲥⲓⲥ, ⲟⲩ ⲡⲥⲩⲱⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲏⲥⲓⲥ, ⲟⲩⲕ ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲉⲣⲏⲥⲓⲥ, ⲟⲩⲕ ⲉⲡⲓⲧⲩⲙⲏⲥⲓⲥ τὰ τοῦ πλⲏⲣⲓⲟⲩⲁ,

which does not differ much from c. II. of the Teaching. The parallelisms, however, are only just sufficient to suggest an acquaintance with the Teaching on the part of Aristides; and his whole presentation of Christian ethics is vastly superior to anything in the Didaché, and can only be paralleled for beauty and spirituality in the pages of Tertullian. [See further, pp. 84 ff.]

[l. 3 (ⲁ 1). ⲙⲕⲁⲩⲁⲩⲕ, 'they comfort.' This is a mistranslation of the Greek word παρακαλοῦσιν, which in this place clearly means not 'to comfort,' but 'to exhort.']

p. 50, l. 37 (ⲁ 17). The belief that the world stands by reason of the Christians occurs also in the following passages:

Justin, *Apol.* I. 45. ἕως ἂν...συντελέσθῃ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν προεγνωσμένων αὐτῷ ἀγαθῶν γινομένων καὶ ἐναρέτων, δι' οὓς καὶ μηδέπω τὴν ἐπικύρωσιν πεποιήται.

Justin, *Apol.* II. 7. ὅθεν καὶ ἐπιμένει ὁ θεὸς τὴν σύγχυσιν καὶ κατάλυσιν τοῦ

APPENDIX
THE REMAINS OF THE ORIGINAL GREEK
OF
THE APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES

BY
J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON B.D.
FELLOW AND ASSISTANT TUTOR OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE

THE ORIGINAL GREEK OF THE APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES.

WHILE Mr Harris was passing the preceding pages through the press, he kindly allowed me to read the proof-sheets of his translation of the Syriac. Shortly afterwards as I was turning over Latin Passionals at Vienna in a fruitless search for a lost MS. of the Passion of S. Perpetua, I happened to be reading portions of the Latin Version of the 'Life of Barlaam and Josaphat,' and presently I stumbled across words which recalled the manner and the thought of Aristides. Turning back to the beginning of a long speech, I found the words: 'Ego, rex, providentia Dei veni in mundum; et considerans celum et terram, mare et solem et lunam, et cetera, admiratus sum ornatum eorum.' The Greek text of 'Barlaam and Josaphat' is printed in Migne's edition of the works of S. John of Damascus: and it was not long before I was reading the actual words of the Apologist himself: Ἐγὼ, βασιλεῦ, προναίᾳ θεοῦ ἦλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον· καὶ θεωρήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, ἡλιὸν τε καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ, ἐθαύμασα τὴν διακόσμησιν τούτων. It was with some impatience that I waited for my return to Cambridge, in order to examine the proof-sheets again, and so to discover by a comparison of the Syriac Version how much of our author was really in our hands in the original tongue.

To what extent then does the Greek speech in 'Barlaam and Josaphat' correspond to the Syriac Version of the Apology of Aristides? In other words: How far may we claim to have recovered the original Apology in the language in which it was written?

The circumstances under which the Greek has been preserved at all demand first a brief notice. 'The Life of Barlaam and

Joasaph (or Josaphat)' is the title of a religious romance, which, by a tradition dating at the latest from the 11th century, has been connected with the name of S. John of Damascus. It is true that SS. Barlaam and Josaphat find a place in the Calendars of both the Eastern and Western Churches: but it has long been recognised that their 'Life' is a working up of the Indian legend of Sakya Mouni, or Buddha; and a number of the apologues scattered over the piece have also been identified as Eastern stories of a very early date.

The popularity of the book has rarely been equalled in the history of literature. Before the 13th century it had been translated into almost every known language of the world; an Icelandic Version was made about the year 1200 by the order of a Norwegian king; and there is an early English rendering in metre.

It has lately been argued, and I think with success, by Zotenberg¹, that the book is much earlier than the time of S. John of Damascus; and that the matter which it has in common with several of his works is drawn from previous writers such as Gregory Nazianzen and Nemesius. This being so, it may well go back to the 6th century, or perhaps earlier still.

The outline of the story is as follows. An Eastern king, named Abenner, persecutes the Christians, and especially the monks, whom he expels from India. He is childless; but at length the young prince Josaphat is born, and the astrologers, as in the case of Buddha, predict for him an extraordinary greatness. They add however that he will become a Christian. This his father determines to prevent. He encloses him in a magnificent palace; allows none but young and beautiful attendants to approach him; and forbids the mention of sorrow, disease and death, and above all of Christianity. When the prince is grown to man's estate he asks his father to give him liberty. His entreaties are at length successful, as it seems that otherwise his life will be saddened, and the first step will have been taken towards his reception of the forbidden faith. He is allowed to drive out, but the way is carefully prepared beforehand, and guarded from the

¹ *Notice sur le livre de Barlaam et Joasaph*, Paris, 1886. A useful summary of the literature on 'B. and J.' is given by Krumbacher in Iwan von Müller's *Handbuch der alt. Wissensch.* vol. 9, pt. 1, p. 469.

intrusion of sad sights and sounds. At last precaution fails, and he sees one day a lame man and a blind man, and another day a man wrinkled and tottering with age. He inquires whether accidents may befall any man, and whether every man must come at last to miserable old age or death. There is but one answer: and the joy has fled from his life.

A monk of the desert, Barlaam by name, is divinely warned of the prince's condition; and comes disguised as a merchant, and obtains entrance to the prince to shew him a most goodly pearl. In a long discourse, into which Gospel parables and Eastern apologues are skilfully woven, he expounds to him the vanity of the world and the Christian hope of the life to come. In the end the prince is baptized, and Barlaam disappears into the desert. The king, distracted with rage on the one hand and love for his son on the other, casts about for means to shake his faith. A wily counsellor propounds a plan. An old man, who closely resembles Barlaam and who is an admirable actor, is to defend the cause of Christianity in an open debate. He is to make a lame speech, and be easily refuted by the rhetoricians. The prince, seeing his instructor baffled, will renounce his newly accepted faith.

The day comes, and Nachor, for this is the old man's name, appears to personate Barlaam. Josaphat addresses him in vigorous terms, reminding him of the difficulties in which his instructions have involved him, and promising him a miserable fate if he fails to prove his point. Nachor is not reassured by this mode of address; but after some preliminary fencing on the part of the rhetoricians he begins to speak. Such, says our author, was the providence of God, that like Balaam of old he had come to curse, but he ended by blessing with manifold blessings. Or, as he says again, lowering his metaphor; 'He beckoned to the multitude to keep silence, and he opened his mouth, and like Balaam's ass he spake that which he had not purposed to speak; and he said to the king: I, O king, by the providence of God came into the world....'

The Apology of Aristides carried the day: and, to cut the long story short, Nachor himself and finally the king and his people were converted: and at last Josaphat, who in due course succeeds

his father, resigns his kingdom and retires to spend his days with Barlaam in the desert¹.

What modifications then were required to fit the Apology for its new surroundings? Surprisingly few.

(1) The king is of course addressed throughout: but this is so in the original piece. Only a short sentence at the end praises the wise choice of the king's son.

(2) The fourfold division of mankind into Barbarians and Greeks, Jews and Christians, was out of place in an Indian court. We find in its stead a triple division—Worshippers of false gods, Jews and Christians: and the first class is subdivided into Chaldeans, Greeks and Egyptians, as being the ringleaders and teachers of heathenism to the rest of the world².

(3) A short passage at the close, in which the Christians are defended from the foul charges so often brought against them in the first days, was out of date and consequently has disappeared.

(4) If we add to this that there are traces of compression here and there, and that the description of the Christians at the close is considerably curtailed, we have exhausted the list of substantial modifications which can with certainty be detected.

The substance of the Apology then is for the most part faithfully preserved: but can we say that with the exceptions already named we have the actual Greek words of Aristides himself?

The first and most obvious test to apply is that of comparative length. The Syriac is, speaking roughly, half as long again as the Greek: and this difference is not fully accounted for by the combination in the latter of the preliminary statements about the Jews and the Christians with the fuller descriptions of them given later on, and by the omission of nearly two pages at the close.

¹ A small fragment (below, p. 104), which is omitted from its proper place in Nachor's speech, is embodied in an early part of the book (Bois. p. 49). We thus see that the writer had the Apology before him at the outset of his work, and designed his plot with the definite intention of introducing it.

² See, however, below, p. 90; where reasons are given which tend to shew that the Greek has preserved the original triple division, as against the Syriac and the Armenian.

The fact is that the Syriac has a large number of repetitions and not a few additional details which are absent from the Greek. Thus at the end of each description of the several gods and goddesses of the heathen, the Syriac Version points the moral and drives home the inevitable conclusion: and again such histories as those of Kronos and of Isis and Osiris are somewhat more elaborately told in this form of the Apology.

Are we then to conclude that the Syriac translator has enlarged upon his original, and supplemented it here and there from his own resources? Or must we say that the author of 'Barlaam and Josaphat' found the Apology too long for his purpose, and pruned away unnecessary details?

The second hypothesis has a *prima facie* probability, and the general reputation for faithfulness of Syriac translators might point us in the same direction. On the other side it is to be observed that, even when read in the light of the Syriac Version, the Greek form is still felt to be a harmonious and consistent whole: and it certainly does not convey the impression of serious mutilation. The genius of the author, in so framing his plot as perfectly to suit the Apology which he intended to introduce, needs no further praise than is involved in the fact that hitherto no one has had the remotest suspicion that he did not write the speech of Nachor himself. If anything could make his genius appear more extraordinary still, it would be the proof that he had consistently compressed the original document in almost every alternate sentence without leaving any traces of rough handling: but such proof is at present not forthcoming. In the absence of further documents, the question must be decided largely by internal evidence and the minute investigation of the points of difference. But there are two external sources from which light may be thrown upon the problem.

(1) In 1855 Cureton published in his *Spicilegium Syriacum* a treatise bearing the title: 'Hypomnemata, which Ambrose, a chief man of Greece, wrote;' and commencing with the words: 'Do not suppose, men and Greeks, that without fit and just cause is my separation from your customs.' These words are the literal translation of the opening sentence of the *Oratio ad*

Gentiles traditionally ascribed to Justin Martyr: Μὴ ὑπολάβητε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἄλογον ἢ ἀνεπίκριτον εἶναί μου τὸν ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐθνῶν χωρισμόν.

When we compare the original Greek with the Syriac Version of this document, we find that in point of length they stand to one another exactly as do the Greek and Syriac forms of the Apology of Aristides: that is to say, in either case the Syriac is about half as long again as the Greek. Moreover, as in the case of our Apology, the variation begins to shew itself immediately after the first sentence, which I have quoted. For the Greek continues thus: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς εὗρον ὅσιον ἢ θεοφιλές. αὐτὰ γὰρ τὰ τῶν ποιητῶν ὑμῶν συνθέματα λύσσης καὶ ἀκрасίας ἐστὶ μνημεῖα. τῷ γὰρ ἐν παιδείᾳ παρ' ὑμῖν προὔχοντι φοιτῶν τις πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν ἀργαλεώτατος. πρῶτιστα μὲν γὰρ φασὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα, κ.τ.λ. But the Syriac replaces this by the following, as Cureton renders it: 'For I have investigated the whole of your wisdom of poetry, and rhetoric, and philosophy; and when I found not anything right or worthy of the Deity, I was desirous of investigating the wisdom of the Christians also, and of learning and seeing who they are, and when, and what is this its recent and strange production, or on what good things they rely who follow this wisdom, so as to speak the truth. Men and Greeks, when I had made the enquiry I found not any folly, as in the famous Homer, who says respecting the wars of the two rivals, "for the sake of Helen many of the Greeks perished at Troy, far from their beloved home." For first they say respecting Agamemnon,' &c.

Here then we have a similar problem to that of the Apology of Aristides; and in this case we are not hampered by the consideration that the Greek may possibly have been abbreviated to fit it for incorporation into a religious novel. Few will be disposed to challenge the verdict of Otto¹, that the Syriac translator has so altered and amplified his original as almost to have produced a new work.

We may give one more illustration of the manner in which the translator has proceeded. We have seen already that he has paraded at the outset his independent acquaintance with Homer.

¹ *Justini Opera*, tom. 2, p. xxix.

Where Ulysses is alluded to, later on, the Greek has a sentence full of satire and liable to be misunderstood. 'Ο γὰρ Ἰθακήσιος Λαερτιάδης ἐκ κακίας ἀρετὴν ἐνεπορεύσατο· ὅτι δὲ ἀγαθῆς φρονήσεως ἄμοιρος ἦν, ὁ κατὰ τὰς Σειρήνας διάπλους ἐδήλωσεν, ὅτε μὴ ἡδυνήθη φρονήσει ἐμφράξαι τὴν ἀκοήν. Corresponding to this we find in the Syriac Version: 'But respecting the guile of Odysseus, son of Laertes, and his murders, who shall tell? For to a hundred and ten suitors in one day his house was a grave, and was filled with dead bodies and blood. And he it is that by his wickedness purchased praises, because by the excellence of his wisdom he was concealed: and he it is that, as ye say, sailed over the sea, and heard the voice of the Sirens, because he stopped his ears with wax.'

The translator then has first supplemented his author by introducing fresh details about Ulysses: and then he has totally missed the meaning of the Greek. He has obviously read it as if it were δι' ἀγαθῆς φρονήσεως ἀμαυρὸς ἦν, 'through the excellence of his wisdom he kept himself in the dark.' Then not seeing the point of φρονήσει ἐμφράξαι, he simply tells us that 'he stopped his ears with wax.' This of course the hero did not do: and the translator has got the Homeric story wrong: nor shall we mend matters much by inserting with Cureton the word 'not' after 'and heard.' We see at any rate plainly enough what was this Syrian's conception of a translator's function when his author seemed obscure.

The parallel between the two Apologies is the more striking, because the line of argument in these *Hypomnemata* vividly recalls parts of Aristides, and the same illustrations of the misdemeanours of the gods frequently reappear in almost the same language. The satire of the so-called Ambrosius is a much keener weapon than the simple narrative of Aristides: but there is not the same intensity of moral earnestness. It is quite credible that the later Apologist had the work of Aristides before him when he wrote, and endeavoured to reproduce the same arguments in what he thought was a more telling manner. Thus he says: Ἀνάγνωτε τῷ Διὶ, ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, τὸν κατὰ πατρολῶν νόμον καὶ τὸ μοιχείας πρόστιμον καὶ τὴν παιδεραστίας αἰσχρότητα (cf. *infra* p. 109, l. 7). And again: Τί σεμνὸν ἐπιδείκνυται γυνὴ ὅπλοις κεκοσμημένη, κ.τ.λ.

(cf. p. 106, l. 24). And once more: Θέτω τὸν ζῆλον Ἡφαιστος, καὶ μὴ φθονεῖτω, εἰ πρεσβύτης ὢν καὶ κυλλὸς τὸν πόδα μεμίσσητο, Ἄρης δὲ πεφίλητο νέος ὢν καὶ ὥραϊος (cf. p. 105, l. 18).

Enough then has been said to shew that a Syriac translator, finding an early Greek Apology and desiring to reproduce it in his own language, might have no scruple whatever in dealing very freely with his author, in expunging sentences which he was not able or did not care to translate, and in supplementing the original here and there out of his own resources. The Syriac translator of the *Oratio ad Gentiles* has clearly so treated his unknown author; and this fact removes any *a priori* objection to the supposition that the Syriac translator of Aristides has acted in a similar way.

(2) We are fortunate in having an additional source of evidence in the Armenian fragment which contains the opening sentences of the Apology. The Armenian translator has clearly done what we have had some reason to suspect in the case of the Syriac translator. He has dealt freely with his original, adding words and even sentences, and introducing the stock phrases of a later theology. But this, while it diminishes very considerably the amount of the evidence which can be produced from his version, does not materially affect its value as far as it goes. Phrases which are only found in the Armenian, or only found in the Syriac, may be dismissed as possibly the inventions of the respective translators: but there remains a considerable quantity of matter common to the two Versions, which therefore presupposes a Greek original. The question we have to ask is: What is the relation of this common matter to the Greek text now in our hands?

A preliminary point however demands attention: Is the Armenian translated from the Syriac, or is it an independent translation made directly or indirectly from the Greek itself?

A few instances in which the Armenian corresponds with the Greek against the Syriac will suffice to shew that it cannot come from the Syriac as we now have it.

In the opening sentence we have *προνοία* and 'providentia' (Arm.) against 'goodness' (Syr.). Immediately afterwards *σελήνην* and 'luna' (Arm.), which the Syriac omits. Lower down 'rectorem'

three times corresponds to parts of *διακρατεῖν*, but there is nothing to answer to these in the Syriac. In the Christological passage near the end of the fragment, 'una cum Spiritu Sancto' (Arm.) answers to *ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*: and here again the Syriac has no equivalent.

Moreover in the description of the Divine nature the Armenian Version says: 'Ei neque colores sunt neque forma,' or as Mr Conybeare renders it, 'Colour and form of Him there is not.' This corresponds to the Syriac phrase: 'He has no likeness, nor composition of members.' The Greek fails us here: but we may suppose that the Greek word which has been variously rendered 'colour' and 'likeness' was *χρῶμα*, as in the passage quoted by Mr Harris from Justin (*supra*, p. 54): *οὐ χρῶμα ἔχον, οὐ σχῆμα*.

We may conclude then that the Armenian Version is not made from the Syriac Version in its present form¹: and similar arguments could be adduced, if there were any necessity, to shew that the Syriac Version is independent of the Armenian.

I have mentioned already almost all the cases in which the Syriac fails to reproduce in any form matter which is common to the Greek and the Armenian. They scarcely make up between them more than a dozen words. The additional matter found only in the Syriac Version is more considerable.

First, there is the second title which introduces the name of Antoninus Pius, and so conflicts with the first which has the support of the Armenian².

Then we have the following phrases:

(α) Who is hidden in them and concealed from them: and this is well known, that...

¹ See however p. 90, where the fourfold division of mankind, common to Syr. and Arm., is further criticised.

² Mr Harris inclines to accept this second title of the Syriac Version as the true one: see above, pp. 7 ff. But the course of the present argument tends to shew that the Syriac translator has introduced many arbitrary changes on his own account: and this makes me the more unwilling to accept his testimony against that of the Armenian Version, which has moreover the explicit statement of Eusebius to support it. The circumstances under which the Greek has been preserved to us necessitated the omission of the title altogether; so that no direct evidence on the point reaches us from that quarter.

(b) And in saying that He is complete, I mean that there is no deficiency in Him.

(c) And that which has an end is dissoluble.

(d) From man He asks nothing.

(e) Who begat...from whom was born...who begat.

(f) Of their religion (bis).

(g) And it is said that (in the Christological statement)...and clad Himself with...and they say that...who are well known.

I have taken no account of the many places in which the two Versions wander far from each other, and yet seem to have some common basis. Here the Armenian is obviously the worst offender, and its interpolations are far more numerous.

We now turn to the Greek itself in the passage covered by the Armenian fragment, in order to see first of all to what extent what we actually have faithfully represents the Greek words which underlie the Syriac and Armenian Versions.

(1) The first sentence which bears the appearance of compression is the following: *ἀνώτερον πάντων τῶν παθῶν καὶ ἐλαττωμάτων, ὀργῆς τε καὶ λήθης καὶ ἀγνοίας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν*. This seems to bring together several more expanded phrases witnessed to by the two Versions, which however do not agree with one another sufficiently closely to allow us to make a certain reconstruction.

(2) In the sentence, *ὅπως ἴδωμεν τίνες αὐτῶν μετέχουσι τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τίνες τῆς πλάνης*, a word, corresponding to 'præfatas' (Arm.) and 'which we have spoken concerning Him' (Syr.), has dropped out before *ἀληθείας*: and instead of *τῆς πλάνης* there must have been a verb in the original; 'ab eis erraverint' (Arm.), 'have erred therefrom' (Syr.). The difference is of course exceedingly slight in itself: but it is important from a critical point of view, when we are testing the faithfulness with which the author of 'Barlaam and Josaphat' has preserved to us the original Apology. We may probably trace in this sentence the influence of an almost identical one, which comes later on, after the preliminary descriptions of the four races have been given. As the Greek combines these descriptions with the fuller

accounts afterwards given, it brings the parallel sentences close together.

(3) The division of mankind into three races, and not four, has been already noticed¹.

(4) It is just at this point that the most serious divergence is found: viz., the omission of the preliminary descriptions of the races, as noted above. This was perhaps the result of the change in the method of their division, which rendered unsuitable the sentences which immediately followed.

Once more, we have to ask how much is there which can be shewn, by the united testimony of the Versions, to have stood in the original Greek, and which yet finds no place in the Greek which has survived.

(1) In the first line both Versions have 'into this world,' while the Greek has *εἰς τὸν κόσμον*: but the demonstrative may perhaps only be an attempt to represent the Greek article. The first real gap is eight lines lower down, where the Versions are very divergent², but yet point to some common original. It is probable that the Greek text at this point was difficult or corrupt, and so was omitted altogether by the author of 'Barlaam and Josaphat.' The topic is the difficulty and uselessness of elaborate investigation concerning the Divine nature: and the conclusion is drawn 'that one should fear God and not grieve man' (Syr.), 'utpote unum Deum nos adorare oportet: unumquemque autem nostrum proximum suum sicut semetipsum diligere' (Arm.). To this the Greek has nothing to correspond.

(2) For the list of properties of the Divine nature we have in the Greek merely the compressed sentence, part of which was quoted above. The Versions agree in telling us more fully that 'God is not begotten, not made'; 'without beginning, because that which has a beginning has also an end'; 'without name, because that which has a name belongs to the created'; 'without likeness (Arm. 'colores,' implying *χρῶμα* in the Greek) and composition of members (Arm. 'forma'), for he who possesses this is associated with things created' (Arm. 'mensurabilis est, limit-

¹ See above, p. 70; and further remarks on p. 90.

² The Syriac is untranslatable as it stands.

busque cogitur'); 'neither male nor female' (Arm. adds 'quia cupiditatibus agitur qui huic est distinctioni obnoxius'); 'the heavens do not contain Him: but the heavens and all things visible and invisible are contained in Him'; 'He has no adversary' (in the reason for this there is fresh discrepancy); 'He is altogether wisdom and understanding.' After this the Greek, as we have it, is again, for the next seven lines, obviously the same as that which lay before the translators.

(3) Now comes the new division of mankind, and the Greek has omitted the following: 'Now the Barbarians reckon—and from Dionysus,' about six lines.

(4) The preliminary accounts of the Jews and the Christians are found in the Greek later on, where they are amalgamated with the fuller descriptions. The account of the Jews agrees fairly well with that given in the Versions, especially in the Armenian. The additions in the Greek will be noticed presently. It adds at the close: *καθάπερ εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν (τῶν ἀποστόλων) τὰς καθ' ἡμᾶς περιῆλθε χώρας, τὸ δόγμα κηρύττων τῆς ἀληθείας.*

(5) The Christological passage which follows is so important that it will be an advantage to have the three forms side by side. I have given a strictly literal rendering of the Armenian.

Οἱ δὲ χριστιανοὶ γε- νεαλογοῦνται ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. οὗτος δὲ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου ὁμολογεῖ- ται ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταβὰς διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων· καὶ ἐκ παρθένου ἁγίας γεννηθεὶς, ἀσπύρως τε καὶ ἀφθόρως, σάρκα ἀνέλαβε, καὶ ἀνεφάνη ἀνθρώποισι.	(Syr.) <i>The Christians then reckon the beginning of their religion from Jesus Christ, Who is named the Son of God most High; and it is said that God came down from heaven, and from a Hebrew virgin took and clad Himself with flesh; and there dwelt in a daughter of man the Son of God.</i>	(Arm.) <i>But the Christ- ians are race-reckoned from the Lord Jesus Christ. He is Son of God on high, Who was manifested by the Holy Spirit: from heaven having come down; and from a Hebrew virgin having been born: having taken His flesh from the virgin, and having been manifested by the nature of this humanity [as] the Son of God.</i>
---	---	---

Here I have distinguished by spaced type or by italics every word, which having a double testimony may be referred to the original Greek. As regards omissions, the Greek omits only the epithet 'Hebrew', which it replaces by the epithet *ἁγία*, and the

second reference to 'the Son of God,' where however there is a discrepancy between the two Versions. The Syriac omits *κυρίου, πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, γεννηθείς, ἀνεφάνη*. The Armenian has no omission that can be certainly traced. The additions in each case may be seen at a glance. The Armenian has practically none; though a few lines further down the epithet corresponding to *θεοτόκος* is applied to the Virgin. The most serious change is that in the Syriac, where the word 'God' is inserted as the subject of the verbs which follow. The passage is one which was more likely than any other in the whole piece to tempt later writers to make changes of their own. It is to be noted that here the Greek in spite of its additions represents the original Apology much more faithfully than the Syriac does.

(6) In the words which follow next the Versions do not agree either with one another, or with the Greek, which has displaced the sentence and gives it a little lower down. But both the Greek and the Syriac appeal to a written Gospel, which the king might read if he chose.

(7) The repetition of the fourfold division of mankind is of course not found in the Greek, and with it has disappeared the problematical sentence: 'To God then ministers wind, and to angels fire; but to demons water, and to men earth.' At this point the Armenian fragment ends.

What then is the result of our investigation of this opening passage, in which alone we have a triple testimony to the contents of the original Apology?

(1) There is one serious modification (if, indeed, we have not here the original) in the Greek, as it is preserved to us; but it was necessitated by the conditions of its reproduction in its new surroundings.

(2) There is one serious displacement in the Greek; but this was almost necessitated by the modification just mentioned.

(3) The description of the Divine nature is very much abbreviated in the Greek; but no word occurs in it which has not the support of the Versions.

(4) In the Christological passage which we examined in de-

tail the Greek was seen to preserve the original statements, though with the addition of the later phrase *ἀσπόρως τε καὶ ἀφθόρως*.

(5) The Syriac Version is often loose and inaccurate: it drops a phrase here and there; and it makes insertions by way of explanation or of supplement, and sometimes in such a way as to convey a wholly false conception of the original.

We learn then to expect for the remainder of the Apology that the Greek, as we have it, will as a rule give us the actual words of Aristides, except in the very few places in which modification was obviously needed. Where the Syriac presents us with matter which has no counterpart whatever in the Greek, we shall hesitate to pronounce that the Greek is defective, unless we are able to suggest a good reason for the omission, or to authenticate the Syriac from some external source¹.

The Greek Text of 'Barlaam and Josaphat.'

It is remarkable that this work, which at one time enjoyed such extraordinary popularity, should not have found its way into print in its original language before the present century. The Latin Version wrongly attributed to Georgius Trapezuntius, but really, as the MSS. of it prove, of a much earlier date, was printed, together with various works of S. John of Damascus, at Basel in 1539: but it was reserved to Boissonade to publish the Greek Text for the first time in the fourth volume of his *Anecdota*, which appeared at Paris in 1832.

Boissonade apologises for the meagreness of his *apparatus criticus* on the ground that an edition was expected almost immediately from Schmidt and Kopitar the librarian of the Imperial Library at Vienna. This edition, however, never appeared. Out of seventeen MSS. preserved in the Library at Paris, Boissonade used throughout but two, 903 and 1128, which he refers to as A and C. He gives occasional readings from two others, 904 and 907, which he names B and D. In the portion of the book which specially concerns us, viz. the speech of Nachor, C is defective for about 10 of Boissonade's pages, and the testimony of D is frequently

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 90.

recorded. From time to time readings are also quoted from the Latin Version.

This very inadequate text has been reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, tom. 96, in the third volume of the works of S. John of Damascus: but we have gained nothing by the reproduction except new blunders.

In the *Wiener Jahrbücher für Deutsche Literatur* (lxxii. 274, lxxiii. 176) Schubart has given some description of the Vienna MSS., and a list of the principal variants contained in them.

Lastly, Zotenberg¹ has made a useful list of about 60 MSS., and has constructed a critical text of certain passages of special interest. Nothing however has been attempted as yet in the way of a genealogical classification of the MSS.; a work which will involve great labour, but which is essential to the production of a satisfactory edition.

In editing the Remains of the Apology of Aristides I have used three MSS., which were kindly placed at my disposal in Cambridge. I have recorded their variants with a greater completeness than is necessary for my present purpose, in order to aid a future editor of the whole treatise in assigning them without further trouble to their proper families.

(1) I have to thank Miss Algerina Peckover of Wisbech for kindly sending to the University Library a MS. in her possession, which apparently belongs to the beginning of the eleventh century. This Codex is specially interesting for the pictures which a later hand has drawn in the margin, sometimes in ink and sometimes in colours. It is unfortunately defective at the beginning and at the end. It commences with the words *τῇ προνοίᾳ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ φωτιζόμενα* (Bois. p. 48), and ends with *καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ τῶν ἐντολῶν σου ἡξίωσας τὸν δρόμον τέλε* (Bois. p. 357). Unhappily it has been corrected very largely throughout, and it is frequently impossible to discover the original readings: those which are obviously by a later hand I have marked as W².

(2) The authorities of Magdalen College, Oxford, with a like generosity allowed me to use their codex, Gr. 4, side by side with

¹ *Notice sur le livre de B. et J.*, pp. 3—5.

the Wisbech MS. in our Library. This bears the date 1064. It contains besides: a Life of S. Basil, a tract on Images, the Martyrdom of SS. Galaction and Episteme, a tract on Penalties, and a work of Anastasius Sinaiticus. It has remained for the most part uncorrected.

(3) In the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge, there is a MS. of the 17th century, the readings of which are of sufficient interest to be recorded for the present in spite of its late date.

In my *apparatus criticus* these MSS. are referred to by the letters W, M and P respectively. I have now and then recorded readings from the Vienna MSS. collated by Schubart using the signs V_{21} , V_{102} , &c., where the figures correspond with Schubart's numbers. Wherever I have differed from the text of Boissonade, I have recorded his readings, and sometimes I have expressly mentioned his MSS., A, C and D. I have given in the margin of the Greek text the reference to Boissonade's pages. Where it seemed desirable I have recorded readings of the Latin Version, taking them from the Basel edition of 1539 mentioned above.

The Bearing of the Apology on the Canon.

There are but few references to the Books of Scripture in the Apology of Aristides, which thus stands in striking contrast with the works of Justin. On two occasions the Emperor is referred to Christian writings. In the first case a written Gospel is distinctly implied, as the matter in hand is the outline of our Lord's Life; the words in the Greek are¹: οὗ τὸ κλέος τῆς παρουσίας ἐκ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένης εὐαγγελικῆς ἀγίας γραφῆς ἕξεστί σοι γινῶναι, βασιλεῦ, ἐὰν ἐντύχῃς (p. 110, l. 21). The second reference is more general, and possibly includes Books outside the Canon: ταῖς γραφαῖς ἐγκύψας τῶν χριστιανῶν εὐρήσεις, κ.τ.λ. (p. 111, l. 24; cf. Syr. supra p. 50 fin.). There are no direct quotations from the New Testament, although the Apologist's diction is undoubtedly coloured at times by the language of the Apostolic writers.

(1) The opening sentence recalls the words of 2 Macc. vii. 28: ἀξιῶ σε, τέκνον, ἀναβλέψαντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὰ

For the Syriac see above, p. 36 fin. 'This is taught from that Gospel,' &c.

ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα ἰδόντα, γινῶναι ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐποίησεν αὐτὰ ὁ θεός.

(2) p. 100, l. 11. δι' αὐτοῦ δὲ τὰ πάντα συνέστηκεν. Cf. Col. i. 17, καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν (cf. δι' αὐτοῦ in i. 16).

(3) p. 101, l. 6. καὶ ἤρξαντο σέβεσθαι τὴν κτίσιν παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα αὐτούς. This is clearly based on Rom. i. 25: καὶ ἐσεβάσθησαν καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα. The addition of αὐτούς is interesting. The Syriac translator renders: 'and they began to serve created things instead of the Creator of them'; he is probably led to make the change by the recollection of the Syriac Version (Pesh.) in this passage, where the word 'Creator' has the suffix of the fem. plural.

(4) p. 104, l. 2. σοφοὶ λέγοντες εἶναι ἐμωράνθησαν. Cf. Rom. i. 22: φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοὶ ἐμωράνθησαν.

(5) p. 107, l. 12. ὅθεν λαμβάνοντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀφορμὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν, ἔπραττον πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν καὶ ἀσέλγειαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν. These words are a kind of echo, although in a different sense, of Rom. vii. 8: ἀφορμὴν δὲ λαβοῦσα ἡ ἁμαρτία διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς κατειργάσατο ἐν ἐμοὶ πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν.

(6) p. 109, l. 12. νυνὶ δὲ οἱ νόμοι καλοὶ εἰσι καὶ δίκαιοι. Here again we seem to feel the influence of the same chapter; Rom. vii. 12, 16, ὥστε ὁ μὲν νόμος ἅγιος, καὶ ἡ ἐντολὴ ἀγία καὶ δικαία καὶ ἀγαθή...σύνφημι τῷ νόμῳ ὅτι καλός (cf. 1 Tim. i. 8).

(7) p. 109, l. 26. οὗτοι γὰρ, τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ὄντες ἀπόγονοι καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, παρώκησαν εἰς Αἴγυπτον· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐξήγαγεν αὐτούς ὁ θεὸς ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ καὶ ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ. The first part of this sentence has affinities with Heb. xi. 8, 9, πίστει Ἀβραὰμ...παρώκησεν εἰς γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας...μετὰ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ. And the whole may be compared with Acts xiii. 17, ἐν τῇ παροικίᾳ ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτου, καὶ μετὰ βραχίονος ὑψηλοῦ ἐξήγαγεν αὐτούς ἐξ αὐτῆς. The second part of the phrase however is not attested by the Syr. and Arm. Versions, and may possibly have been introduced by the author of 'Barlaam and Josaphat' from Ps. cxxxvi. 11, 12.

(8) p. 110, l. 2. τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους πρὸς αὐτοὺς προφήτας καὶ δικαίους ἀπέκτειναν. This is a combination of words found in S. Matt. xiii. 17, πολλοὶ προφῆται καὶ δίκαιοι, and S. Matt. xxiii.

37 (cf. S. Luke xiii. 34) ἡ ἀποκτείνουσα τοὺς προφῆτας, καὶ λιθοβολοῦσα τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους πρὸς αὐτήν. But here again we cannot be sure that we have the words of Aristides himself. This last remark applies also to the phrase, ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν (p. 110, l. 9), which comes from Rom. x. 2.

(9) p. 110, l. 19. θανάτου ἐγεύσατο clearly comes from Heb. ii. 9; but the Syr. simply has 'He died,' and the Arm. has nothing at all to correspond. Hence we cannot be certain that these are the words of Aristides. They probably have replaced the statement preserved in the Syr. 'He was pierced by the Jews.' Throughout this great Christological passage it is worth noting how the actual phrases of the N. T. are not introduced.

(10) p. 111, l. 30. οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ῥήματα λαλοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. With this we may perhaps compare 1 Thess. ii. 13, ἐδέξασθε οὐ λόγον ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ, καθὼς ἀληθῶς ἐστίν, λόγον θεοῦ¹.

The Apology and the Didaché.

A source from which our author has drawn part of his description of the life and conduct of the Christians is the Two Ways, though it may well be doubted whether he knew it in the form preserved to us in the Didaché.

The passage in question runs as follows in the Apology (c. xv.):

Οὐ μοιχεύουσιν, οὐ πορνεύουσιν, οὐ ψευδομαρτυροῦσιν; οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦσι τὰ ἀλλότρια· τιμῶσι πατέρα καὶ μητέρα· καὶ τοὺς

¹ The following parallels may also be noted: p. 111, l. 17, 1 Thess. ii. 10; p. 111, l. 29, Apoc. xv. 3; p. 108, l. 2 (ἀσυνέτων), and p. 110, l. 1 (ἀχάριστοι), Rom. i. 21; p. 109, l. 30, Rom. ix. 22; p. 111, l. 26 (οὐκ ἀπ' ἑμαντοῦ λέγω), Joh. vii. 17, xii. 49. Moreover there seems to be some relation between our Apology and several chapters of the Book of Wisdom, beginning with the personal statement of c. vii. 1: εἰμὶ μὲν κἀγὼ θνητὸς ἄνθρωπος κ.τ.λ. Comp. esp. vii. 15 ἐμοὶ δὲ δῶκε ὁ θεὸς εἰπεῖν κατὰ γνώμην...αὐτὸς γὰρ μοι ἔδωκε τῶν ὄντων γνῶσιν ἀψευδῆ, εἰδέναι σύστασιν κόσμον καὶ ἐνέργειαν στοιχείων κ.τ.λ....(ix. 1) ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα ἐν λόγῳ σου κ.τ.λ....(xii. 24) τῶν πλάνης δδὼν μακρότερον ἐπλανήθησαν, θεοὺς ὑπολαμβάνοντες τὰ καὶ ἐν ζῴοις κ.τ.λ....(xiii. 2) ἀλλ' ἡ πῦρ ἢ πνεῦμα ἢ ταχυνὸν ἀέρα ἢ κύκλον ἀστρων ἢ βίαιον ὕδωρ ἢ φωστῆρας οὐρανοῦ πρυτάνεις κόσμου θεοὺς ἐνόμισαν...ὁ κατασκευάσας αὐτὰ δυνατώτερός ἐστιν...ταλαίπωροι δὲ καὶ ἐν νεκροῖς αἱ ἐλπίδες αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ....ἐν τοίχῳ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸ ἀσφαλίσάμενος σιδήρῳ...ἔτι ἀδυνατεῖ ἐαυτῷ βοηθῆσαι κ.τ.λ.

πλησίον φιλοῦσι δίκαια κρίνουσιν· ὅσα οὐ θέλουνσιν αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι ἐτέρῳ οὐ ποιοῦσι· τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας αὐτοὺς παρακαλοῦσι καὶ προσφιλεῖς αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς ποιοῦσι· τοὺς ἐχθροὺς εὐεργετεῖν σπουδάζουσιν· πραεῖς εἰσὶ καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς· ἀπὸ πάσης συνουσίας ἀνόμου καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας ἐγκρατεύονται· χήραν οὐχ ὑπερορῶσιν, ὀρφανὸν οὐ λυποῦσιν· ὁ ἔχων τῷ μὴ ἔχοντι ἀνεπιφθόνως ἐπιχορηγεῖ· ξένον εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἰδῶσιν, ὑπὸ στέγην εἰσάγουσι, καὶ χαίρουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ὡς ἐπὶ ἀδελφῷ ἀληθινῷ· οὐ γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.

The following parallels may be adduced from the Didaché:

c. ii. οὐ μοιχεύσεις...οὐ πορνεύσεις...οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον...οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις.

c. i. ἀγαπήσεις...τὸν πλησίον σου.

c. iv. κρινεῖς δικαίως.

c. i. πάντα δὲ ὅσα εἰς ἐὰν θελήσης μὴ γίνεσθαι σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει.

c. iv. εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους.

c. iii. ἴσθι δὲ πραῦς.

To these we may perhaps add, as parallel to the last of the sentences cited above:

c. iv. οὐκ ἀποστραφήσῃ τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου.

It may also be noted that the whole passage is prefaced by the words: ἔχουσι τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ... καὶ ταύτας φυλάττουσι. Compare Did. c. iv.: οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς κυρίου, φυλάξεις δὲ κ.τ.λ.

When we turn to the Epistle of Barnabas we find there the same parallels which have been quoted from the Didaché, with two exceptions; viz., οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, and the negative form of the Golden Rule.

On the other hand, we find in Barn. c. xix.: ἡ οὖν ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός ἐστὶν αὕτη· εἰάν τις θέλων ὁδὸν ὁδεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν ὠρισμένον τόπον, κ.τ.λ.: with which we may compare Apol. c. xvi.: ὅντως οὖν αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας, ἥτις τοὺς ὁδεύοντας αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον χειραγωγεῖ βασιλείαν. And the two phrases about the widow and the orphan, which found no parallel in the Didaché, may be compared with Barn. c. xx.: χήρα καὶ ὀρφανῷ οὐ προσέχοντες. Compare also Barn. c. xix.: διὰ λόγου κοπιῶν καὶ πορευόμενος εἰς

τὸ παρακαλέσαι with Apol. c. xv. (quoted above) τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας αὐτοὺς παρακαλοῦσι.

It is possible then that here we have a witness to the earlier Two Ways, which has been variously embodied in the Didaché and the Epistle of Barnabas.

Some support may be given to this view when we observe that the wording of the negative form of the Golden Rule in our Apology has a greater affinity to the famous interpolations in Codex Bezae than to the clause in the Didaché. This appears partly from the position of the first negative, and partly from the use of ἕτερος rather than ἄλλος.

Let us bring the various texts together :

Acts xv. 20. ὅσα μὴ θέλουσιν ἑαυτοῖς γείνεσθαι, ἑτέροις μὴ ποιεῖτε.

Acts xv. 29. ὅσα μὴ θέλουσιν ἑαυτοῖς γείνεσθαι, ἑτέρῳ μὴ ποιεῖν.

Apol. c. xv. ὅσα οὐ θέλουσιν αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι, ἑτέρῳ οὐ ποιοῦσιν.

Did. c. i. πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσης μὴ γίνεσθαί σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει.

It is hardly possible therefore to believe that Aristides can have drawn this precept directly from the Didaché in the form in which we know it.

The Apology and the Preaching of Peter.

At the close of the Apology Aristides challenges the Emperor to examine the writings of the Christians, from which he declares that the materials for his defence are drawn: p. 111, l. 23: καὶ ἵνα γνῶς, βασιλεῦ, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπ' ἑμαυτοῦ ταῦτα λέγω, ταῖς γραφαῖς ἐγκύψας τῶν χριστιανῶν εὐρήσεις οὐδὲν ἕξω τῆς ἀληθείας με λέγειν: or, as it is more fully said in the Syriac Version: 'Take now their writings and read in them, and lo! ye will find that not of myself have I brought these things forward nor as their advocate have I said them, but as I have read in their writings, these things I firmly believe,' &c.

We have seen already that he refers to a written Gospel for his statements as to the life and work of our Lord. We have also seen that he has drawn part of his description of the conduct of the Christians from the 'Two Ways.' Moreover the Book of

Wisdom seems to have influenced his method and his language in several parts of his work.

The following investigation will tend to shew that he owes a still greater debt to a work now lost, which exercised a considerable influence upon the writings of the second century.

The Preaching of Peter (*κήρυγμα Πέτρου*) is classed by Eusebius (*H. E.* III. 3) together with his Acts, his Gospel and his Apocalypse as outside the Canon of writings accepted by the universal Church (*οὐδ' ὅλως ἐν καθολικοῖς ἴσμεν παραδεδομένα*). He goes on to say of these four books that none of the early writers or of his contemporaries used quotations from them. This statement is however incorrect: for Clement of Alexandria again and again quotes from both the Preaching and the Apocalypse, as authoritative works. The Preaching of Peter then was one of those books which, like the *Didaché*, the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas, at one time claimed a place in the Canon; though its claim was disallowed, even more emphatically perhaps than the claims of these other competitors.

We must in the first instance gather together all the fragments which can be assigned with certainty to this work¹. For the sake of clearness I have arranged them in the order in which it will be most easy to compare them with our Apology.

Clem. Al. Strom. VI. 39 ff. *Γινώσκετε οὖν ὅτι εἷς θεός ἐστιν, ὃς ἀρχὴν πάντων ἐποίησεν καὶ τέλους ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, καὶ ὁ ἀόρατος ὃς τὰ πάντα ὁρᾷ, ἀχώρητος ὃς τὰ πάντα χωρεῖ, ἀνεπίδεῖς οὐ τὰ πάντα ἐπιδέεται καὶ δι' ὃν ἐστιν² ἀκατάληπτος, ἀέναος, ἀφθαρτος, ἀποίητος, ὃς τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν λόγῳ δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ³.*

Τοῦτον τὸν θεὸν σέβασθε μὴ κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας⁴. ὅτι ἀγνοία

¹ Hilgenfeld (*N. T. extra Can.* pp. 56 ff.), to whose work I need scarcely acknowledge my indebtedness, has brought together under the head of Πέτρου (καὶ Παύλου) *κήρυγμα*, various fragments of the *Didascalia Petri*, &c. The fact that these find no parallels in Aristides will give a new reason for keeping them separate.

² *Apōl.* c. i. *αὐτὸν οὖν λέγω εἶναι θεὸν τὸν συστησάμενον τὰ πάντα καὶ διακρατοῦντα...ἀπροσδεή...πάντες δὲ αὐτοῦ χρῆζουσιν.*

³ c. i. 'Now I say that God is not begotten, not made: a constant nature, ... immortal, complete, and incomprehensible...the heavens do not contain Him; but the heavens and all things visible and invisible are contained in Him' (Syr.).

c. iv. *ἀφθαρτος...καὶ ἀόρατος, αὐτὸς δὲ πάντα ὁρᾷ.*

c. xiv. *τὸν ἀόρατον καὶ πάντα ὁρῶντα καὶ πάντα δημιουργήσαντα δεῖ θεὸν σέβασθαι.*

⁴ cc. viii. ff.

φερόμενοι καὶ μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν θεὸν¹ (ὡς ἡμεῖς κατὰ τὴν γνῶσιν τὴν τελείαν), ὃν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίας εἰς χρήσιν² μορφώσαντες³ ξύλα καὶ λίθους, χαλκὸν καὶ σίδηρον, χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, τῆς ὕλης αὐτῶν καὶ χρήσεως τὰ δοῦλα τῆς ὑπάρξεως ἀναστήσαντες σέβονται καὶ ἃ δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς εἰς βρώσιν ὁ θεὸς, πετεινὰ τοῦ αἼερος καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τὰ νηκτὰ καὶ τῆς γῆς τὰ ἔρπετὰ καὶ τὰ θηρία σὺν κτήνεσι τετραπόδοις τοῦ ἀγροῦ, γαλαῖς τε καὶ μῆς, αἰλούρους τε καὶ κύνας καὶ πιθήκους⁴ καὶ τὰ ἴδια βρώματα βρωτοῖς⁵ θύματα θύουσιν, καὶ νεκρὰ νεκροῖς⁶ προσφέροντες ὡς θεοῖς ἀχαριστοῦσι τῷ θεῷ διὰ τούτων ἀρνούμενοι αὐτὸν εἶναι⁷.

Μηδὲ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους σέβεσθε, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μόνοι οἰόμενοι τὸν θεὸν γινώσκειν οὐκ ἐπίστανται, λατρεύοντες ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀρχαγγέλοις, μηνὶ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ ἐὰν μὴ σελήνῃ φανῇ, σάββατον οὐκ ἄγουσι τὸ λεγόμενον πρῶτον, οὐδὲ ἄζυμα οὔτε ἑορτὴν οὔτε μεγάλην ἡμέραν⁸.

Ὡστε καὶ ὑμεῖς ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως μαυθάνοντες ἃ παραδίδομεν ὑμῖν φυλάσσεσθε⁹, καινῶς τὸν θεὸν διὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ σεβόμενοι. εὔρομεν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, καθὼς ὁ κύριος λέγει· Ἴδου διατίθεμαι ὑμῖν καινὴν διαθήκην, οὐχ ὡς διεθέμην τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν ἐν ὄρει Χωρήβ. νέαν ὑμῖν διέθετο· τὰ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἰουδαίων παλαιὰ, ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ καινῶς αὐτὸν τρίτῳ γένει σεβόμενοι Χριστιανοί¹⁰.

¹ c. iii. μὴ εἰδότες θεὸν ἐπλανήθησαν.

² c. v. καὶ αὐτὸ γὰρ εἰς χρήσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων γέγονε, καὶ κατακυριεύεται ὑπ' αὐτῶν (et saepius).

³ c. iii. ὧν καὶ μορφώματα τινα ποιήσαντες ὠνόμασαν ἐκτύπωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, κ.τ.λ.... καὶ συγκλείσαντες νοοῖς προσκυνοῦσι.

⁴ c. xii. τινὲς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐσεβάσθησαν πρόβατον...τινὲς δὲ τὸν αἰλουρον καὶ τὸν κύνα καὶ τὸν λύκον καὶ τὸν πίθηκον, κ.τ.λ.

⁵ c. xii. ἄλογα ζῶα παρεισήγαγον θεοὺς εἶναι, χερσαῖά τε καὶ ἐνυδρά...ὁρῶντες γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν βιβρωσκομένους ὑπὸ ἐτέρων ἀνθρώπων...(this confirms Potter's emendation βρωτοῖς for βροτοῖς.)

⁶ c. iii. σεβόμενοι ἀγάλματα νεκρά.

⁷ c. xiv. ἀγνώμονες καὶ αὐτοὶ φανέντες καὶ ἀχαριστοὶ...ἀρνοῦνται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.

⁸ c. xiv. 'The Jews...suppose in their minds that they are serving God, but...their service is to angels and not to God, in that they observe sabbaths and new moons and the passover and the great fast and the fast, and circumcision, and cleanness of meats.' (Syr.)

⁹ c. xv. τὰ γὰρ προστάγματα αὐτοῦ ἀσφαλῶς φυλάττουσιν, ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως ζῶντες.

¹⁰ c. xvi. 'And this people is truly a new people,' &c. (Syr.)

c. ii. φανερόν...ὅτι τρία γένη εἰσὶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ· ὧν εἰσὶν οἱ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν λεγομένων θεῶν προσκυνηταί, καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ χριστιανοί. 'There are four races of men in this world: Barbarians and Greeks, Jews and Christians.' (Syr.)

Ibid. 48. (ὁ κύριός φησι πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν) Ἐξελεξάμην ὑμᾶς δώδεκα μαθητὰς, κρίνας ἀξιόους ἐμοῦ (οὓς ὁ κύριος ἠθέλησεν καὶ ἀποστόλους πιστοὺς ἡγησάμενος εἶναι), πέμπων ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον εὐαγγελίσασθαι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀνθρώπους¹, γινώσκειν ὅτι εἷς θεὸς ἐστίν, διὰ τῆς τοῦ χριστοῦ πίστεως ἐμῆς δηλοῦντας τὰ μέλλοντα, ὅπως οἱ ἀκούσαντες καὶ πιστεῦσαντες σωθῶσιν, οἱ δὲ μὴ πιστεῦσαντες ἀκούσαντες μαρτυρήσωσιν, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀπολογία εἰπεῖν Οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν. (τί οὖν; οὐχὶ καὶ ἐν Αἴδου ἡ αὐτὴ γέγονεν οἰκονομία;) ²

Ibid. 43. εἰ μὲν οὖν τις θελήσῃ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ μετανοήσας διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματός μου πιστεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, ἀφεθήσονται αὐτῷ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι. μετὰ δώδεκα ἔτη ἐξέλθετε εἰς τὸν κόσμον, μή τις εἴπῃ Οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν.

Ibid. 48. ὅσα ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ τις ὑμῶν ἐποίησεν μὴ εἰδὼς σαφῶς τὸν θεόν, εἰ μὴ ἐπιγνούς μετανοήσῃ, πάντα αὐτῷ ἀφεθήσεται τὰ ἁμαρτήματα³.

Ibid. 128. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀναπτύξαντες τὰς βίβλους ἃς εἴχομεν τῶν προφητῶν, ἃ μὲν διὰ παραβολῶν, ἃ δὲ δι' αἰνιγμάτων, ἃ δὲ αὐθεντικῶς καὶ αὐτολεξεῖ τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ὀνομαζόντων, εὗρομεν καὶ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς κολάσεις πάσας ὅσας ἐποίησαν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι⁴, καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν καὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν πρὸ τοῦ Ἱεροσόλυμα κτισθῆναι, καθὼς ἐγγέγραπτο. ταῦτα πάντα ἃ ἔδει αὐτὸν παθεῖν, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἃ ἔσται· ταῦτα οὖν ἐπιγνόντες ἐπιστεύσαμεν τῷ θεῷ διὰ τῶν γεγραμμένων εἰς αὐτόν⁵.

ἔγνωμεν γὰρ ὅτι ὁ θεὸς αὐτὰ προσέταξεν ὄντως⁶, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄτερ γραφῆς λέγομεν⁷.

¹ c. xv. οὗτος δώδεκα ἔσχε μαθητὰς, οἱ μετὰ τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀνοδὸν αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὰς ἐπαρχίας τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ ἐδίδαξαν κ.τ.λ.

² c. ii. 'He had twelve disciples, in order that a certain dispensation of His might be fulfilled' (Syr.); c. xv. κατ' οἰκονομίαν μεγάλην.

³ c. xvi. 'And when it chanees that one of them turns...he confesses to God, saying, In ignorance I did these things: and he cleanses his heart, and his sins are forgiven him, because he did them in ignorance in former time' (Syr.).

⁴ c. ii. 'He was pierced by the Jews' (Syr.).

⁵ c. xvi. 'As I have read in their writings, these things I firmly believe, and those things also that are to come' (Syr.).

⁶ c. xv. καθὼς κύριος ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς προσέταξεν...ὄντως οὖν αὕτη κ.τ.λ. (c. xvi.).

⁷ c. xvi. καὶ ἵνα γνωῖς, βασιλεῦ, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπ' ἐμαντοῦ ταῦτα λέγω, ταῖς γραφαῖς ἐγκύβας τῶν χριστιανῶν, εὐρήσεις οὐδὲν ἕξω τῆς ἀληθείας με λέγειν.

I have given above in full (with one exception; Clem. Strom. i. 182, *νόμος καὶ λόγος ὁ κύριος*) all the indisputable fragments of the Preaching of Peter¹: and the parallels adduced from the Apology of Aristides shew that there is an intimate connexion between the two documents.

Before going further into the interesting problem of the reconstruction of the Preaching, let us inquire what light these parallels throw upon the relation of the Syriac Version to the Greek text of the Apology.

(1) Several passages of the Syriac Version, quoted above in the notes, which are wanting in the Greek as we now have it, are authenticated by their similarity to portions of the Preaching.

Of these the most important are: (a) the worship of angels attributed to the Jews; (b) the description of the Christians as a 'new people'; (c) the confession of the converted heathen; (d) the attribution of our Lord's sufferings to the Jews. Especially valuable are (a) and (c), as giving us ground for believing that the great closing section of the Syriac Version, which is so curtailed in the Greek, is substantially the writing of Aristides himself.

(2) On the other hand, the division into three races, which we find in the Greek, has the support of the famous *τρίτῳ γένει* of the Preaching. The fourfold division of the Syriac and Armenian Versions (Barbarians and Greeks, Jews and Christians) comes therefore under grave suspicion: and the more we examine it, the less primitive it appears. For to the Greek mind the Jews were themselves Barbarians: see, for example, Clem. Strom. vi. 44, *νόμος μὲν καὶ προφήται βαρβάροις, φιλοσοφία δὲ Ἑλλησι*: and Orig. c. Cels. i. 2, *ἐξῆς βάρβαρόν φησιν ἄνωθεν εἶναι τὸ δόγμα, δηλονότι τὸν Ἰουδαϊσμόν*. Moreover there seems to be no parallel to this fourfold classification of races in early Christian literature.

The Preaching of Peter is quoted by Heracleon (Orig. Comm. in Joan. xiii. 17), and we shall see that possibly it was used by

¹ The context of the quotations in Clement may sometimes give us, in the light thrown by the Apology, further materials for the reconstruction of the Preaching. Thus Strom. vi. 127, *ὅταν τις τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ τὰ πάντα πεποιηκόςτος σάρκα ἀνελήφωτα καὶ ἐν μήτρᾳ παρθένου κυοφορηθέντα, καθὼς γεγέννηται τὸ αἰσθητὸν αὐτοῦ σαρκίον, ἀκολούθως δὲ καθὼς γέγονεν τοῦτο πεπονθότα καὶ ἀνιστάμενον ὁ μὲν λέγει, οἱ δὲ ἀκούουσιν, κ.τ.λ.*, has several points of resemblance with Apol. c. xv., *οὗτος δὲ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου ὁμολογεῖται...ἐκ παρθένου ἁγίας γεννηθεῖς...σάρκα ἀνέλαβε, κ.τ.λ.*

Celsus. It seems also to have been in the hands of the unknown writer of the Epistle to Diognetus. Moreover in the Sibylline Oracles we have several passages which seem to be based on it. Some of these are especially interesting, as shewing coincidences with our Apology, though not with the existing fragments of the Preaching¹.

Now if three or four extant works can be shewn to have drawn materials from a document, which is known to us now only by a few fragments, there is obviously a possibility that the lost document may be to some extent critically reconstructed by a consideration of common matter found in any two of the works, which may accordingly have been taken from the document in question. To attempt to do this fully for the Preaching of Peter would be beyond our present scope: but we may fairly consider here what contributions to such a reconstruction are afforded by our Apology, which has apparently made so free a use of it.

Let us begin with those passages which either the Preaching or the Apology have in common with *the Sibylline Oracles*. I shall not attempt a discrimination between the various writings which are gathered under the name of the Sibyl, but shall simply give references to Alexandre's edition of 1869.

Proem. 7 ff.

Εἷς θεὸς, ὃς μόνος ἄρχει, ὑπερμεγέθης, ἀγέννητος,
παντοκράτωρ, ἀόρατος, ὁρῶν μόνος αὐτὸς ἅπαντα,
αὐτὸς δ' οὐ βλέπεται θνητῆς ὑπὸ σαρκὸς ἀπάσης.

* * *

αὐτὸν τὸν μόνον ὄντα σέβεσθ' ἡγήτορα κόσμου,
ὃς μόνος εἰς αἰῶνα καὶ ἐξ αἰῶνος ἐτύχθη,
αὐτογενὴς, ἀγέννητος, ἅπαντα κρατῶν διαπαντός.

* * *

¹ The Gnostic Acts of Thomas are frequently indebted to the Preaching of Peter, as may be seen by the following passages: c. 1, διέλαμεν τὰ κλίματα τῆς οἰκουμένης κ.τ.λ.: c. 15, καὶ εἰπεῖν μὲν ὡς δεῖ οὐ δύναμαι, ἃ δὲ χωρῶ λέγειν περὶ αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ.: c. 28, οὐκ ἔχει τις λόγον ἀπολογίας μέλλων παρ' αὐτοῦ κρίνεσθαι, ὡς μὴ ἀκούσας: c. 36, οὐδὲ θυσίων δέεται ἵνα αὐτῷ θύσῃς: c. 38, ἀλλὰ παραβλέπει ὑμῶν τὰ παραπτώματα ἃ κατὰ ἀγνοίαν ἦτε πεποιηκότες: c. 55, τῶν πράξεων ὧν διεπράξασθε χωρὶς γνώσεως...πιστεύσατε...καὶ ἀφήσιν ὑμῖν τὰ πρὸ τούτου πεπραγμένα ἁμαρτήματα: c. 56, μὴ λογίσῃ ἡμῶν τὰ παραπτώματα καὶ τὰ πρῶτα σφάλματα, ἃ διεπραξάμεθα ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ὄντες (see too the argument from prophecy in the same chapter).

ἀλλὰ θεὸς μόνος εἷς παννύπτερος, ὃς πεποίηκεν
οὐρανὸν, ἡέλιόν τε καὶ ἀστέρας, ἡδὲ σελήνην,
καρποφόρον γαῖαν τε καὶ ὕδατος οἷδατα πόντου.

* * *

ἡμῖν τε κτήνη ὑπέταξεν πάντα βροτοῖσιν,
πάντων θ' ἡγητῆρα κατέστησεν θεότευκτον,
ἄνδρ' ὃν ὑπέταξεν, κ.τ.λ.

* * *

αἰσχύνθητε γαλαῖς καὶ κνώδαλα θειοποιούντες.
οὐ μανίη καὶ λύσσα φρενῶν [αἰσθησιν ἀφαιρεῖ],
εἰ λοπάδας κλέπτουσι θεοὶ, συλοῦσι δὲ χύτρας ;

* * *

προσκυνέοντες ὄφεις, κύνας, αἰλούρους, ἀνόητοι,
καὶ πετεηνὰ σέβεσθε, καὶ ἔρπετὰ θηρία γαίης,
καὶ λίθινα ξόανα, καὶ ἀγάλματα χειροποίητα,
κἂν παρόδοισι λίθων συγχώματα· ταῦτα σέβεσθε,
ἄλλα τε πολλὰ μάταια, ἃ δὴ κ' αἰσχρὸν ἀγορεύειν.

Bk. iii. 9 ff.

τίπτε μάτην πλάζεσθε, καὶ οὐκ εὐθείαν ἀταρπὸν
βαίνετε, ἀθανάτου κτίστου μεμνημένος αἰεὶ ;
εἷς θεὸς ἐστὶ μόναρχος, ἀθέσφατος, αἰθέρι ναίων,
αὐτοφυῆς, ἀόρατος, ὁρῶν μόνος αὐτὸς ἅπαντα.
ὃν χεὶρ γ' οὐκ ἐποίησε λιθοξόος, οὐδ' ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ
τέχνης ἀνθρώπου φαίνει τύπος, οὐδ' ἐλέφαντος.

* * *

τίς γὰρ θνητὸς ἐὼν κατιδεῖν δύναται θεὸν ὅσσοις ;
ἢ τίς χωρήσει κἂν τοῦνομα μόνον ἀκοῦσαι
οὐρανίου μεγάλου θεοῦ, κόσμον κρατέοντος ;
ὃς λόγῳ ἔκτισε πάντα, καὶ οὐρανὸν ἡδὲ θάλασσαν,
ἡέλιόν τ' ἀκάμαντα, σελήνην τε πλήθουσσαν,
ἄστρα τε, κ.τ.λ.

* * *

οὐ σέβει, οὐδὲ φοβεῖσθε θεὸν, ματαίως δὲ πλανᾶσθε
προσκυνέοντες ὄφεις τε, καὶ αἰλούροισι θύοντες,
εἰδώλοισι τ' ἄλλοις, λιθίνοις θ' ἰδρύμασι φωτῶν,
καὶ ναοῖς ἀθέοισι καθεζόμενοι πρὸ θυράων,
τηρεῖτε τὸν ἐόντα θεὸν, ὃς πάντα φυλάσσει.

Bk. viii. 375 ff.

ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος οἶδα, ὃς οὐρανὸν ἔκτισα καὶ γῆν,
 μῶνος γὰρ θεὸς εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι θεὸς ἄλλος.
 εἰκόνα θεσπίζουσιν ἐμὴν, ληφθεῖσαν ἀφ' ὕλης,
 χειρὶ τε μορφώσαντες ἐπ' εἰδώλοισιν ἀνάδοις
 δοξάζουσι λιταῖς καὶ θρησκείαισιν ἀνάγνοις.
 τὸν κτίστην προλιπόντες ἀσελγείαις ἐλάτρευσαν.

* * *

οὐ χρήζω θυσιῶν, οὐ σπονδῶν ὑμετεράων.

* * *

ταῦτα γὰρ, εἰς μνήμην βασιλῶν ἡδὲ τυράννων,
 δαίμοσι ποιήσουσι νεκροῖς, ὥς οὐρανίοισι.

When with these passages before us we read over again the early sections of the Preaching and the parallels to them which I have quoted from Aristides, we shall feel that we have here something more than ordinary commonplaces about the unity of God and the folly of idolatry. Again, when we compare together the first and second groups of passages from the Sibylline Books, we shall be led to ask for a common basis which shall explain their resemblances. Neither seems to be a direct imitation of the other: each presents us with words and phrases not found in the other, but accounted for at once on the supposition that either the Preaching of Peter or our own Apology lies in the background. Thus in the first we have *παντοκράτωρ, ἀγέννητος, γαλᾶς, πετεηνὰ καὶ ἔρπετά, ἃ δὴ κ' αἰσχρὸν ἀγορεύειν*. In the second, *τοῦνομα, λόγῳ ἔκτισε, ναοῖς...τηρεῖτε*.

Moreover the mention of Creation by the Word guides us to the Preaching, in preference to the Apology, in which this finds no place: and the phrases which are found in the Apology, but not in the Preaching, need not cause us difficulty when we remember how very fragmentary is our knowledge of the latter document.

In fact we may at once begin a tentative reconstruction, and say that the Preaching probably contained

- (1) *παντοκράτωρ* and *ἀγέννητος* as epithets of the Deity;
- (2) the verb *διακρατεῖν* of His continuous action upon created things;
- (3) the statement that the Deity has no outward image, and no name;

- (4) that God created 'heaven, earth and sea, sun, moon and stars';
 - (5) that these were made for the sake of Man;
 - (6) among objects of false worship, ὄφεις, and other things disgraceful even to name in such a connexion;
 - (7) a reference to the folly of guarding the Deity.
- From the lines in the eighth Book we may add:
- (8) the desertion of the Creator for the creature;
 - (9) that God has no need of sacrifice and oblation.

Another passage of the Sibylline writings bears a striking resemblance to our Apology. This is the commencement of the fourth Book¹, of which Alexandre says: 'Liber hic Christianorum Sibyllinorum antiquissimus est habendus, scriptus nempe primo saeculo.' It opens with lines which recall much of what has been already cited, dealing with the attributes of the Creator. It then gives a brief description of the men who shall one day inhabit the earth (ll. 25 ff.). We may select the following passages:

ὅσσοι δὴ στέρξουσιν θεὸν μέγαν, εὐλογέοντες
πρὶν φαγέειν πιέειν τε, πεποιθότες εὐσεβέησιν.

* * *

οὐδ' ἄρ' ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίῃ κοίτῃ πόθον αἰσχροὺς ἔχοντες,
οὐτ' ἐπὶ ἄρσεως ὕβριν ἀπεχθέα τε στυγερὴν τε.
ὧν τρόπον εὐσεβίην τε καὶ ἡθεα ἀνέρες ἄλλοι
οὐποτε μιμήσονται, ἀναιδείην ποθέοντες.
ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς χλεύη τε γέλωτί τε μυχθίζοντες,
νήπιοι ἀφροσύνησιν, ἐπιψεύσονται ἐκείνοις,
ὅσσ' αὐτοὶ ῥέξουσιν, ἐπίψογα καὶ κακὰ ἔργα.

With reference to the first of these passages, we may remember that in the description of the Christians in c. xv. we saw that Aristides uses the 'Two Ways': but at the end of his account he adds words which remind us forcibly of the Preaching of Peter: ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως ζῶντες, καθὼς κύριος ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς προσέταξεν: and then he goes on: εὐχαριστοῦντες αὐτῷ κατὰ πάσαν ὥραν ἐν παντὶ βρώματι καὶ ποτῷ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀγαθοῖς.

¹ It is not unimportant to observe that this Book has also remarkable affinities with the *Apocalypse* of Peter.

With regard to the second passage, there is a still more striking parallel in c. xvii., preserved to us only in the Syriac Version. 'The Greeks then, O king, because they practise foul things in sleeping with males, and with mother and sister and daughter, turn the ridicule of their foulness upon the Christians; but the Christians are honest and pious,' etc.

These coincidences are worth noting even if we are not prepared, with our present knowledge, to suppose that they send us back for their explanation to the Preaching of Peter¹.

Next let us turn to *the Epistle to Diognetus*. As soon as the Armenian fragment of Aristides was discovered, it was observed that it had points in common with this anonymous Epistle. The coincidences have multiplied greatly with our larger knowledge of the Apology. Several of them have been quoted by Mr Harris in his notes, but it is necessary for our present purpose to bring them together again under one view. I shall do this in the briefest possible form, giving in the footnotes references to such parallels in the Apology as have not already been quoted above.

Ep. ad Diog. c. 1. οὔτε τοὺς νομιζομένους ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θεοὺς λογίζονται, οὔτε τὴν Ἰουδαίων δεισιδαιμονίαν φυλάσσουν...καὶ τί δήποτε καινὸν τοῦτο γένος ἢ ἐπιτήδευμα εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν βίον νῦν καὶ οὐ πρότερον.

παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦ καὶ τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ ἀκούειν ἡμῖν χορηγοῦντος, αἰτοῦμαι δοθῆναι ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰπεῖν οὕτως² κ.τ.λ.

c. 2. ὡς ἂν καὶ λόγου καινοῦ...ἀκροατὴς ἐσόμενος.

οὐχ ὁ μὲν τις λίθος ἐστὶν ὅμοιος τῷ πατουμένῳ, ὁ δ' ἐστὶ χαλκὸς οὐ κρείσσων τῶν εἰς τὴν χρῆσιν ἡμῖν κεχαλκευμένων σκευῶν, ὁ δὲ ξύλον ἤδη καὶ σεσηπός, ὁ δὲ ἄργυρος χρήζων ἀνθρώπου τοῦ φυλάξαντος ἵνα μὴ κλαπῇ, ὁ δὲ σίδηρος κ.τ.λ.

εἰς τὴν μορφὴν τούτων ἐκτυπωθῆναι³ κ.τ.λ.

¹ With the thought contained in the passage last quoted, compare Just. Apol. ii. 12: Αἰδέσθητε, αἰδέσθητε, ἀ φανερώς πράττετε εἰς ἀναιτίους ἀναφέροντες, καὶ τὰ προσόντα καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὑμετέροις περιβάλλοντες τοῦτοις ὧν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐπὶ ποσὸν μετουσία ἐστὶ. But here the notion of ridicule, which we find in Aristides and in the Sibyl, is wanting.

² *Ap. c. ii.* τούτων οὕτως εἰρημένων περὶ θεοῦ, καθὼς ἐμὲ ἐχώρησε περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν.

³ *Ap. c. iii.* ὧν καὶ μορφώματά τινα ποιήσαντες ὠνόμασαν ἐκτύπωμα κ.τ.λ.

τοὺς δὲ ἀργυρέους καὶ χρυσοὺς ἐγκλείσαντες ταῖς νυξί, καὶ ταῖς ἡμέραις φύλακας παρακαθιστάντες, ἵνα μὴ κλαπῶσιν¹.

c. 3. ἐξῆς δὲ περὶ τοῦ μὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἰουδαίοις θεοσεβεῖν... Ἰουδαῖοι τοίνυν... καλῶς θεὸν ἕνα τῶν πάντων σέβειν, καὶ δεσπότην ἀξιούσι φρονεῖν· εἰ δὲ τοῖς προειρημένοις ὁμοιοτρόπως² τὴν θρησκείαν προσάγουσιν αὐτῷ ταύτην, διαμαρτάνουσιν.

ὁ γὰρ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν χορηγῶν ὧν προσδεόμεθα, οὐδενὸς ἂν αὐτὸς προσδέοιτο τούτων ὧν τοῖς οἰομένοις διδόναι παρέχει αὐτός. οἱ δὲ γε θυσίας κ.τ.λ.

c. 4. ἀλλὰ μὴν τό γε περὶ τὰς βρώσεις αὐτῶν ψοφοδεές, καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ σάββατα δεισιδαιμονίαν, καὶ τὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἀλαζονείαν, καὶ τὴν τῆς νηστείας καὶ νουμηνίας εἰρωνείαν, κ.τ.λ.

τό τε γὰρ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κτισθέντων εἰς χρήσιν ἀνθρώπων, κ.τ.λ.

τὸ δὲ παρεδρεύοντας αὐτοὺς ἄστροις καὶ σελήνῃ τὴν παρατήρησιν τῶν μηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν ποιεῖσθαι, κ.τ.λ.

c. 6. χριστιανοὶ κατέχονται μὲν ὡς ἐν φρουρᾷ τῷ κόσμῳ, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνέχουσιν τὸν κόσμον³.

c. 7. οὐ γὰρ ἐπίγειον, ὡς ἔφην, εὔρημα τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς παρεδόθη, οὐδὲ θνητὴν ἐπίνοιαν φυλάσσειν οὕτως ἀξιούσιν ἐπιμελῶς, οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπίνων οἰκονομίαν μυστηρίων πεπίστευνται. ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀληθῶς ὁ παντοκράτωρ καὶ παντοκτίστης καὶ ἀόρατός θεός, αὐτὸς... τὸν λόγον τὸν ἅγιον... ἐνίδρυσε καὶ ἐγκατεστήριξε ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν⁴.

c. 8. οἱ μὲν τινες πῦρ ἔφασαν εἶναι τὸν θεὸν (οὗ μέλλουσι χωρήσειν αὐτοί, τοῦτο καλοῦσι θεόν), οἱ δὲ ὕδωρ, οἱ δ' ἄλλο τι τῶν στοιχείων τῶν ἐκτισμένων ὑπὸ θεοῦ.

¹ Ap. c. iii. συγκλείσαντες ναοῖς... τηροῦσιν ἀσφαλῶς ἵνα μὴ κλαπῶσιν.

² Ap. c. xiv. καὶ εἰσὶ παρόμοιοι τῶν ἐθνῶν.

³ Ap. c. xvi. 'And I have no doubt that the world stands by reason of the intercession of the Christians' (Syr.).

⁴ Ap. c. xv. οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς εὐρόντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν· γινώσκουσι γὰρ τὸν θεὸν κτίστην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ἀπάντων... ἔχουσι τὰς ἐντολάς... ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις κεχαραγμέναις.

c. 10. ὁ γὰρ θεὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠγάπησε, δι' οὓς ἐποίησε τὸν κόσμον, οἷς ὑπέταξε πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ¹.

ὅς, ἃ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβὼν ἔχει, ταῦτα τοῖς ἐπιδεδομένοις χορηγῶν, θεὸς γίνεται τῶν λαμβανόντων, οὗτος μιμητὴς ἐστι θεοῦ².

We cannot account for these parallels by merely supposing that Aristides had the Epistle to Diognetus before him: for there are many points in common between Aristides and the Preaching of Peter, such as the worship of angels ascribed to the Jews, which do not appear in the Epistle. Nor will the converse hypothesis hold good. For, to take one instance out of several, the phrase in the Epistle *μὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἰουδαίοις θεοσεβεῖν* is directly parallel to *μηδὲ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους σέβεσθε* in the Preaching; but it has no counterpart in form in the Apology.

Here again then we are guided to the hypothesis that the Preaching lies behind both of these works. Can we gain anything further in the way of its reconstruction?

Taking up some of our former points (see p. 93) we are confirmed in thinking that the Preaching contained

- (1) *παντοκράτωρ* as an epithet of the Deity.
- (2) the statement that God created 'heaven and earth and all that is therein.'
- (3) that these were made for the sake of Man; and we may add 'placed in subjection under him.' (Cf. Or. Sibyl. *Prooem.*, quoted above.)
- (4) a reference to the folly of guarding the Deity.
- (5) that God has no need of sacrifices.

We may perhaps go on to add

- (6) a statement that God must give the power to speak rightly of Him.
- (7) a reference to circumcision and meats in treating of the Jews.
- (8) the position of the Christians as sustaining the world.
- (9) the fixing of God's commandments in their hearts.

¹ *Ap. c. i.* 'He is God of all, who made all for the sake of man' (Syr.).

² *Ap. c. xiv.* 'They imitate God by reason of the love which they have for man: for they have compassion on the poor,' &c. (Syr.).

(10) a reasoned condemnation of the worship of fire, water and other elements.

(11) the imitation of God consists in beneficence.

Mr Harris has collected (pp. 20 ff.) several instances of contact between the Apology of Aristides and *the True Word of Celsus*; and he has suggested that Celsus may have had the Apology in his hands when he wrote his attack upon Christianity. We are now in a position to see that most of the coincidences which have been pointed out would be accounted for by the supposition that it was the Preaching of Peter itself, and not our Apology, which, like 'Jason and Papiscus' and other apocryphal writings, supplied the materials of his attack.

It will be more satisfactory to present the evidence in full as we have done in the previous cases, even at the risk of some repetition. I shall follow the order of Origen's reply.

Orig. c. *Cels.* I. 4. κοινὸν εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους φιλοσόφους, ὥς οὐ σεμνὸν τι καὶ καινὸν μάθημα. Cf. II. 5 μηδὲν δὲ καινὸν ἐν τούτοις διδάσκεισθαι φαίνων χριστιανούς, οἵεται ἀνατρέπειν χριστιανισμόν. Also IV. 14 λέγω δὲ οὐδὲν καινὸν, ἀλλὰ πάλαι δεδογμένα (i.e. he does not claim novelty for his view, as they do for theirs).

I. 23. τῷ ἡγησαμένῳ σφῶν ἐπόμενοι Μωϋσῇ... ἕνα ἐνόμισαν εἶναι θεόν.

I. 26. λέγων αὐτοὺς σέβειν ἀγγέλους καὶ γοητεία προσκεῖσθαι, ἥς ὁ Μωϋσῆς αὐτοῖς γέγονεν ἐξηγητής. ποῦ γὰρ τῶν γραμμάτων Μωϋσέως εὔρε τὸν νομοθέτην παραδιδόντα σέβειν ἀγγέλους... ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ διδάξειν ἐξῆς, πῶς καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας ἐσφάλησαν ἐξαπατώμενοι¹ (cf. v. 6).

...περὶ τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν, ὡς γενομένου ἡγεμόνος τῇ καθὼ χριστιανοὶ ἐσμεν γενέσει ἡμῶν καὶ φησιν αὐτὸν πρὸ πάντων ὀλίγων ἐτῶν τῆς διδασκαλίας ταύτης καθηγήσασθαι, νομισθέντα ὑπὸ χριστιανῶν υἱὸν εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ².

I. 28. πρῶτον δὲ ὡς πλασαμένου αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γένεσιν.

¹ *Ap.* c. xiv.

² *Ap.* c. xv. οἱ δὲ χριστιανοὶ γενεαλογοῦνται ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. οὗτος δὲ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου ὁμολογεῖται... καὶ ἐκ παρθένου ἁγίας γεννηθεῖς.

I. 49 f. ἄλλ' εἶπεν ὁ ἐμὸς προφήτης ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ποτὲ, ὅτι ἤξει θεοῦ υἱὸς, τῶν ὁσίων κριτῆς, καὶ τῶν ἀδίκων κολαστής... τί μᾶλλον σὺ ἢ ἄλλοι μυρίοι, οἱ μετὰ τὴν προφητείαν γενόμενοι, εἰσὶ περὶ ὧν ταῦτα προεφητεύετο ;

III. 19. μηδὲν σεμνότερον τράγων καὶ κυνῶν, τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις, εἰσάγοντας ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ διηγήσεσιν.

III. 22. ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμῶν λόγῳ Διοσκούρους καὶ Ἡρακλέα καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν καὶ Διόνυσον ὀνομάζει...καὶ φησιν οὐκ ἀνέχεσθαι μὲν ἡμᾶς τούτους νομίζειν θεοὺς, ὅτι ἄνθρωποι ἦσαν... τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν ἀποθανόντα, κ.τ.λ.

IV. 23. καὶ ἡμῖν πάντα ὑποβέβληται, γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀήρ καὶ ἄστρα, καὶ ἡμῶν ἕνεκα πάντα, καὶ ἡμῖν δουλεύειν τέτακται. (Cf. IV. 99, οὐκ οὐν ἄνθρωπος πεποίηται τὰ πάντα.)

Besides these parallels there are several instances in which Celsus seems to turn a weapon used by the Christians back upon themselves : e.g., I. 54, ὀνειδίζει τῷ σωτήρι ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει, ὡς μὴ βοηθηθέντι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἢ μὴ δυνηθέντι ἑαυτῷ βοηθῆσαι¹. II. 9, καίτοι θεὸν, φησὶν, ὄντα φεύγειν ἐνὴν, οὔτε δεθέντα ἀπάγεσθαι, κ.τ.λ. So again in III. 42, his reply to the charge of corruptibility brought against idols is that flesh is still more corruptible : παραβάλλον τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ σάρκας χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ λίθῳ, ὅτι αὗται ἐκείνων φθαρτότεραι. And in III. 76 we seem to hear the echo of Christian words in : ὅμοιον ποιεῖν τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν διδάσκαλον, ὡς εἴ τις μεθύων εἰς μεθύοντας παριὼν κακηγορεῖ τοὺς νήφοντας ὡς μεθύοντας².

It is not easy on the evidence here collected to say whether it was the Preaching of Peter or the Apology of Aristides which lay before Celsus, but we can hardly doubt that it must have been one or the other. The statement that the world was made for the sake of man does not find a place in the recognised fragments of the Preaching; but we have given good reasons for believing that it was contained in it. On the other hand, the Apology gives no starting point for the attack of Celsus on Jewish prophecies about the Messiah, whereas the Preaching laid great stress on this point (see above, p. 89).

¹ *Ap. c. x.* εἰ οὖν Διόνυσος σφαγὴς οὐκ ἠδυνήθη ἑαυτῷ βοηθῆσαι...πῶς ἂν εἴη θεός; (et passim). Cf. δέσμιος and δραπέτης in the same chapter.

² *Ap. c. xvi.* ὁδεύοντες γὰρ ἐν σκότει προσήρπονται ἑαυτοῖς ὡς μεθύοντες.