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THE USE OF ΠΙΕΤΙΣ AND COGNATE WORDS

IN THE

APOSTOLIC FATHERS

by

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ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations in this work follow those listed in Arndt and Gingrich, *A Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (A.G.), except in the case of the periodicals, where the abbreviations listed in Altaner-Stuiber, *Patrologie*, have been followed.
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ABSTRACT

THE USE OF πίστις AND COGNATES IN THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

The Apostolic Fathers is the name given to the body of literature, written in Greek, which dates from immediately after the New Testament period. The works cover the last decade of the 1st century A.D. and the first half of the second century. They give a varied picture of the moral and doctrinal state of the early Christian Church in a period characterised by constant threat of persecution and martyrdom on the one hand, and growth in theological and ethical understanding on the other.

The works considered in this thesis are the genuine letters of Ignatius; the Shepherd of Hermas; the Epistle of Barnabas and the Didache; the letter to Diognetus; the letter of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians; the Pseudo-Clementine Homily (commonly called II Clement); the letters of Polycarp to the Philippians and the Martyrdom of Polycarp.

The study begins with an essay on the development of the language of faith. This traces the use of the πίστις group from Homer to the New Testament, and shows how the Homeric and Classical Greek usages were taken by the Septuagint and applied in a religious context to God and salvation, and how this process was further developed in the New Testament into a full-blown technical vocabulary of faith. The Apostolic Fathers take this process a step further, and there is a broadening of the meanings of the cognates, together with resultant changes in the linguistic usage.

All the occurrences of πίστις and its cognates in the Apostolic Fathers are examined in detail. In each case there is comment on the meaning of the words within the wider context in which they are set in each work.
The Greek is given, together with a translation, and obscure passages are elucidated.

In the course of the study it becomes apparent that the application of the cognates is broadened beyond the New Testament emphasis on trust and belief to the understanding of faith as a virtue. This ethical emphasis has a levelling effect on the linguistic usage and the meanings associated with the cognates. In particular, the New Testament distinction by which the noun πίστις tends to be emotive and signify primarily the trust aspect, and the verb πιστεύω signifies belief, no longer applies; noun and verb without distinction are used to convey all the aspects of faith—trust, commitment, confidence, assurance and belief.

In addition, the verb πέποιθα (to trust, have confidence) almost disappears from use. This completes a process noticed for the New Testament whereby the verb πιστεύω takes over the Septuagint meanings of πίστις as well as its own basic sense of 'to believe'.

The noun πίστις occurs both with and without the article, and the usage is studied in detail. Some translators have interpreted η πίστις in the concrete sense of 'The Faith'. It is shown that this is not usually a proper sense in the Apostolic Fathers. The noun is also frequently constructed with an objective genitive, and the study suggests that the translators have not always acknowledged this in their work.

The situation of each author dictates the particular emphases of each, and influences the linguistic expression. The personal and ecclesiastical situation of each is taken into account in the discussion.

In addition there is an Excursus on δίψωχος (double-minded) and its cognates which are set as opposites to faith, especially in Hermas. There is an Appendix containing comment on Ignatius' use of δικαιος (righteous) and its cognates. A second Appendix contains a note on the translations available to the English reader.
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The first task of anyone who would attempt a study of that body of literature known as the Apostolic Fathers is to decide what is included under this title. For the purposes of this study, I have interpreted the description in the widest possible sense, including especially the letter to Diognetus which is often omitted from the collection. The result is a body of material which is very diverse, and which offers a varied and interesting picture of the Church in the last decade of the first century and the first half of the second century A.D.

The writings considered cover a wide spectrum. There are the vivid and urgent letters of Ignatius of Antioch, who faces the docetic threat to the Church as well as his own impending martyrdom; who writes as a concerned pastor with a good intellectual understanding. Next is Hermas, whose work of moral instruction is couched in less intellectual style, and relies largely on allegory to communicate its message. The letter of Barnabas and the Didache are tracts on moral and ecclesiastical discipline with a strong Jewish flavour. The letter to Diognetus has the most intellectual approach of the works in our collection; it is a reasoned defence of Christianity from both a moral and theological standpoint, and is often regarded as being nearer to the Apologists of the late second century and after. Clement of Rome writes a pastoral letter to the Corinthian Church, urging unity and harmony. The letter shows a deep pastoral concern, but is intellectually less satisfying than those of Ignatius or that to Diognetus. The three remaining works - the pseudo-Clementine Homily (II Clement), the Martyrdom of Polycarp and Polycarp's letter to the Philippians are collected together in the last chapter, being shorter than the other works, and by their subject-matter and more circumscribed reference, less useful for our purposes here.
The arrangement of the chapters has been determined by the extent to which πίστις and cognate words occur in the various authors. By far the greatest number and variety occur in Ignatius, and thus he is considered first, and provides a standard of comparison to which the other authors can be related.

All the contexts of πίστις and cognate words in these authors have been considered. Where the cognates have been in a citation from the Old Testament or the New Testament I have not commented in detail unless the usage sheds light on the author who has quoted the passage, rather than on the understanding of the original alone. In all other cases the context has been investigated and is commented on in detail. By this means I have sought to build up a picture of what faith meant in all its various emphases at this particular stage of the Church's history.

As the various meanings and emphases in each author have become apparent, it has been possible to elucidate some of the more obscure passages. I have also suggested how some passages which are very difficult to translate should be tackled. The greatest advantage of the method which extracts all the contexts and looks at them together is that it becomes possible to see more clearly how particular authors use a word and what it means to them. This is a significant aid in providing an accurate translation for obscure passages where these words occur.

All the translations offered in this study are my own, unless explicitly stated otherwise. I have sought to convey, in good English, a faithful representation as far as that is possible, of what the study of the cognates suggests the author really meant in each case. I recognise that in providing a connected translation of a whole work it may be necessary to modify some of my translations for the sake of smooth flow and readability, but this has not been my aim here.
I have criticised other translators where this study has revealed that they have misunderstood a word or a construction. Thus, for example, Lake consistently misunderstands the objective genitive on πίστις, and at times others do too. The standard translations are also in places so literal as to be almost meaningless, and I have suggested alternatives when this is the case. The translations which I have compared are those listed in the Note on Translations pp.210 - 214.

In the study there is constant comparison with the New Testament writers, and especially St John and St Paul, and the letter of St James and the Pastoral epistles. These seem to have been the most influential documents on the minds of our authors. It will be shown that there are clear indications of development in the understanding of faith, going along with changed emphases and changes in linguistic usage.

It will also become plain that the Apostolic Fathers represent an intermediate stage between the New Testament and the Apologists. So we will detect the beginnings of the use of ἡ πίστις to mean "The Faith". In this respect too, some translators have read back meanings for the articulation which do not apply in either the Apostolic Fathers or the New Testament.

The thesis begins with a Historical Survey of the occurrences and usage of the cognates in the πίστις group from Homer through to the New Testament. All the contexts in the Apostolic Fathers are then considered in detail. The General Conclusion sums up the linguistic usage of the Apostolic Fathers and shows where change and development have taken place, relating these to the Historical Survey, and showing what is the peculiar contribution of the Apostolic Fathers.
As far as I have been able to discover, no attempt at a comprehensive study of πίστις and its cognates in the Apostolic Fathers has been attempted. My hope is that this study will add to our knowledge, and provide clarification of some doubtful and obscure passages, as well as providing some insight in relation to the general linguistic usage of the cognates. Since Lightfoot, detailed commentary on passages is hard to find. I have used the Sources Chrétiennes editions as basic texts. These are excellent, but the notes are often very short, and many passages of interest attract no comment at all. There are good summaries in Liébaert's book, but no detailed discussion on the contexts of πίστις and cognates. The same is true of Virginia Corwin's work on Ignatius. This present study seeks to be much more detailed although more confined in its scope, and to shed further light on what faith in all its various aspects meant to those authors whose works are collected under the general title of the Apostolic Fathers.
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LANGUAGE OF FAITH.
A HISTORICAL SURVEY.

The verbs πείθομαι, πέποιθα, πιστεύω, πιστόω; the noun πίστις; the adjective πιστός, together with the negative forms of these words, derive ultimately from a single Indo-European root reconstructed as *bheidh - which has the basic sense of "confidence, faithfulness" in its most archaic usage. The use of this root in Greek is attested even in Mycenaean times. (See the entry in Chantraine P., Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots, four volumes, 1968 - 1980, s.v. πείθομαι.) For the purposes of this survey it will be sufficient to begin with the Homeric usage.

In Homer, the adjective πιστός is used of persons to denote their trustiness, faithfulness or reliability; the negative ἄπιστος denotes a person who is faithless, not to be trusted. The causative verb πιστόω is found in the middle and passive in the sense of giving assurance or confidence (middle); or feeling assurance, being convinced (passive). The idea of confidence or reliance is conveyed by the middle of πείθω constructed with either a dative or infinitive; but more frequently the second perfect πέποιθα is used for this meaning. The verb πιστεύω and the noun πίστις do not occur in Homer; they are later formations.

At Iliad 18. 234, Achilles follows the body of Patroklos as the Achaians retrieve it -

μετὰ δὲ σφι ποδώκης εἴπετ' Ἀχιλλεὺς
δάκρυα θερμὰ χέων, ἐπεὶ εἴσοδε πιστὸν ἑταῖρον
κείμενον ἐν φέρτῳ............

"And with them Achilles followed on foot weeping warm tears, since he looked upon his faithful friend lying on a bier."
The same phrase is used of Patroklos again at Iliad 18.465, and of various close relationships in both the Iliad and Odyssey. The sense is of a reliable friend who can be trusted in the battle situation; but with the nuance of affection.

The adjective can also be applied to words, and especially to oaths - ἄκουα πιστά - oaths in which one may feel confidence, that they will be carried out.

The neuter plural can be used as an abstract noun. In Odyssey 11.456, Agamemnon has appeared along with the other Shades and speaks to Odysseus. He warns Odysseus to approach Ithaca cautiously; his own experience on arrival home was to be murdered by his own wife, and although Odysseus' wife Penelope is an excellent woman in every respect, care is still needed ἐπεὶ οὐκετί πιστὰ γυναιξίν - "since women are no longer to be trusted" (literally there are no longer trustworthy things to women).

So the adjective denotes in Homer the reliability and trustworthiness of people and their words.

Similarly the negative ἀπιστος denotes the opposite quality. In Iliad 3.106. Menelaus requires that Priam himself should take the oaths, ἐπεὶ οἱ παιδεῖς ὑπερφιάλοι καὶ ἄπιστοι - "since his sons are arrogant and unreliable" - i.e. they cannot be trusted to honour the treaty.

Apollo too is a companion not to be trusted - αἰὲν ἄπιστος - Iliad 24.63; and Priam is not to trust Achilles - ὑμνὴς καὶ ἄπιστος ἄνηρ ὅ τε - "a brutal and untrustworthy man he" (Iliad 24.207).

Eumaeus refuses to believe the words of Odysseus (in disguise) when he seeks to convince him that Odysseus will return - Odyssey 14.150 and 391. In each case Eumaeus is described as ἄπιστος in respect of his θυμός - θυμός ἐνι στήθεσιν ἄπιστος - "there is a disbelieving heart in his breast".
Thus in the case of the negative adjective, the sense is of disbelief in words or distrust of people; or in the passive sense of "not to be trusted". In the case of πιστός only the passive senses are to be found; but with ἀπιστός both active and passive senses are examplified.

The verb ἀπιστέω appears once, at Odyssey 13.339, where Athene asserts that she never doubted that Odysseus would return. The causative verb πιστέω is used only in the middle and passive. In the middle it means "to make oneself trustworthy", "to give an assurance, give confidence" e.g. ἐπιστώσαντ' ἐπέδεξον -"they gave an assurance" - of Poseidon and Athene encouraging Achilles. (Iliad 21.286).

In the passive, the verb can mean "to give an assurance, be bound with an oath", as at Odyssey 15.436 - ὀρκῶ πιστοθήναι. Alternatively the meaning can be "to feel assurance, be convinced" ὀρκα πιστοθήνον - "that you may be convinced" - (Odyssey 21.218) as Odysseus draws aside his rags to show the scar made by the boar's tusk and thus convince the cowherd of his true identity.

The idea of confidence and reliability is closely connected with that of obedience. The verb πείθω, especially in its second perfect form πέποιθα, is frequently used from Homer onwards in contexts where confidence and reliability are to be conveyed.

At Odyssey 23.230, Penelope is at last convinced by Odysseus that it is really he, and she concludes πείθεις ὅτι μεν δυνόμεν - "you convince me" -i.e. she believes the words of proof that Odysseus has offered.

By far the most common use is that of πέποιθα, which is found constructed with the dative of the thing or person; with the infinitive; or absolutely. The word conveys the sense of believing in or relying upon something or someone.
At the Funeral Games for Patroklos, Achilles gives an open invitation to all the Achaeans to join him in the chariot race - ὡς τις Ἀχαίων ὑποίσιν τε πέποιθε καὶ ἀρμασι κολλητοίσιν -"whoever of the Achaeans has confidence in his horses and well built chariots" (Iliad 23.285) Here the word expresses confidence in things. On the other hand, Odysseus can speak of three companions, ὅσι μᾶλιστα πέποιθε πᾶσαν ἐπὶ Ιθάν -"in whom I had most confidence for every enterprise" (Odyssey 4.434).

This personal object of confidence is exemplified also in the construction with the infinitive - The Earthshaker stirs up the Achaeans to greater efforts, and tells them ὑπόμων ἔγω γε μαραμένοι ἐποίηθα σαρακέμεναι νέας Δᾶμας - "on your gallantry I rely to save our ships" (Iliad 13.95 and 96).

The participle is very common with the dative case, as at Iliad 23.319, in the context of the Funeral Games again - ὑποίσιν καὶ ἀρμασίν ὅσι πέποιθός -"having confidence in your horses and chariots". In one instance the gods are the object of confidence or reliance - οὐ ρα θεοῖσι πεποίθότες ἀθανάτοισιν οὔτε φυτεύουσιν χερσὶν φυτὸν οὕτω ἀγωνίαι - "who relying on the Immortal Gods put their hands neither to planting nor to ploughing" (Odyssey 9.107) - of the Cyclops.

There is one formula where the verb is used absolutely meaning "to feel confident" in the sense of being certain that something will happen, or that something is so - e.g. Odyssey 24.329, where Laertes asks for a sign that Odysseus has truly come home, ἀφικναὶ πεποίθῳ -"in order that I may be certain".

Thus already in Homer some of the same words are used to express belief, reliance, confidence, trust within the context of the Homeric scenario, as we will find in that of the New Testament and early Fathers. Trustworthiness, faithfulness, reliability are valued attributes in Homer, and men have a need to be assured in their minds of what is true. The expressions denoting these things do not change greatly as we will see; only the context and application changes. Both
Judaism and Christianity take the expressions and adapt them to their own use, as they seek to express their growing understanding of the divine revelation. This growth can be traced in the usage of these words and expressions.

In the Classical period the Homeric usage continues; there is no change in meanings from those already noted.

In the case of the adjective πιστός there are examples of such phrases as πιστὰ διδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν —to give and receive guarantees— as applied to the treaties (e.g. Xenophon Anab. 3.2.5, 4.8.7) in the historians, and the adjective in both positive and negative forms is frequent in the poets.

There is however some broadening in the sense, especially in Thucydides. He is fond of the construction which uses the neuter accusative, singular and plural, in the sense of an abstract noun. A very good example of this is to be found in Pericles' first speech, at Thucydides 1.141.5. Pericles is talking about the comparative resources which each side has at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. He suggests that the Athenians are in a better position than the Spartans because they have control of the sea, and because the Spartans, being small farmers, find a prolonged conflict difficult. They are therefore unwilling to risk the large sums of money required. σάμαι τε ἐποιμότεροι οἱ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ χρήματι πολεμεῖν, τὸ μὲν πιστὸν ἐχοντες ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων κἂν περιγενέσθαι, τὸ δὲ οὐ βέβαιον μὴ οὐ προαναλώσειν. "Farmers are a class of men more prepared to fight in person than with money, having in the former a possession they can rely on to emerge safe from the dangers; but in the latter a possession in which there is no security that it will not all be spent before the war finishes......."

The adjective πιστός is also applied to describe a faithful wife or husband; a reliable witness; or to describe matters constituted or pursued by men. ἀπιστός describes the
opposite qualities.

The causative verb πιστῶ shows no significant change in the Classical period, while πείθεσθαι continues to convey the sense of "rely on," "have confidence in." An interesting example of this, with τῷ θεῷ as indirect object, is provided by Herodotus. The context is the famous oracle delivered to the Athenian envoys at Delphi, in which the Prophetess referred to the "Wooden Wall" which would save the Athenians, and to "divine Salamis". Themistokles persuaded the Athenians that the Wooden Wall referred to the naval defenses of Athens, consisting of wooden ships, and on this basis was able to get the Assembly to agree to build two hundred hulls. These were used to meet the Persian threat at sea "with full force, and with any other Greeks who were willing to join them, τῷ θεῷ πείθομένους —relying on (the oracle of) the God". (Herodotus 7.144.3). The nuance of obedience is present in this example as well. It is contexts such as this that provide the antecedents of the later New Testament and Patristic use.

The second pluperfect form is found in Herodotus 9.88, this time in a reference to bribery — καὶ δὴ χρήματι ἐπεποίθεσαν διώκεσθαι — "and they relied on money to avoid condemnation", or as we could just as correctly translate, "they believed that they would avoid penalty by bribery."

Belief in words also provides an important antecedent for the verb in regard to Christian faith. At Herodotus 1.8.2 Kandaules tells Gyges that he does not think that Gyges believes him when he speaks about his wife's appearance — οὔ γάρ σε δοκεῖν πείθεσθαι μοι λέγοντι περὶ τοῦ εἴδεος τῆς γυναικὸς — "for I do not think that you believe me when I tell you about the appearance of my wife".

The idea of obedience is expressed by Socrates in Plato Apology 29a, when he says ἔγὼ ……… πείθομαι δὲ μᾶλλον τῷ θεῷ ἦ νυμῖν —
"I..... will obey God rather than you". It is worth comparing this expression with what is said several times in 27d, where Socrates talks about believing and not believing in gods. In this case the verb used is νομίζω and in Classical Greek this is the regular verb for belief in the gods. In this regard we may compare also Plato Ap. 24 and Xenophon Mem.1.1.1 for a similar use of νομίζω.

The verb πιστεύω appears from the seventh century onwards, and has the basic meaning of "to trust, rely on". Only in Hellenistic times does it come to replace νομίζω of belief in the gods, but even in Classical times the verb can convey belief in words or persons.

Some illustrations of the general Classical Greek usage may now be considered -

In Thucydides' famous dissertation on the effects of stasis in the Greek states, the verb is used absolutely to describe the lack of confidence and trust that widespread stasis had created - Thucydides 3.83.2 - ........ ἀπαντες λογισμῷ ἐς τὸ ἀνέλπιστον τοῦ βεβαιοῦ μὴ παθεῖν μᾶλλον προσκόπουν ἢ πιστεύσαι ἔδυνατο -"all in their calculation, dwelling on the hopelessness of a permanent state of affairs, were more intent on not suffering than able to have confidence".

The object of trust or confidence is in the dative case. Xenophon Anab.5.2.9 shows a context in which Xenophon expresses reliance on the sacrifices as the basis for a military manoeuvre- τοῖς ἱεροῖς πιστεύος -"in reliance on the sacrifices". Herodotus 2.118 uses the verb to express belief in the story of Helen and the treasure being not in Troy but in Egypt - οὕτω δὲ πιστεύοντο τῷ λογῷ - "so at last believing the story ..." Similar contexts may be quoted with words of many different sorts as the object of belief or confidence; with luck (τύχη) or signs. It is these
kinds of expressions that form the antecedents for the New Testament usage of belief in Jesus' words or miracles, or belief in Christian teachings. These senses also carry on into the Patristic period.

The verb in Classical Greek usage can also be followed by an internal accusative, as in Euripides Helen 710 - λόγοις ἐμοίσι πίστευσον τάδε - "believe my words with respect to these things" - where once again it is belief in words that is in question, although the construction with the internal accusative finds no parallel in the New Testament or early Christian literature.

The use of a personal recipient of trust or confidence in the dative case also has important New Testament parallels, especially where Jesus Himself becomes the recipient of trust. As far as Classical Greek is concerned, the usage is well illustrated in Thucydides 7.85.1, where the Athenian army have been all but destroyed, and Nikias gives himself up to Gylippos, the Spartan commander, πιστεύσας μᾶλλον αὐτῷ ἥ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις - "trusting him rather than the Syracusans". When the object of trust is a person, the element of trust and confidence in the person is uppermost, but the element of belief must also be present. In this case quoted, Nikias thought Gylippos more trustworthy; in his own mind he believed that Gylippos was more likely to stop the slaughter than the Syracusans. It is very difficult to separate clearly the various nuances of belief, trust, reliance and confidence in the Classical period, just as the "faith" contexts of the later Christian literature will be shown to contain the same nuances which are not usually clearly distinguished in the contexts. Christianity adopted in πιστεύω a verb which was well suited to express the various aspects of her faith.

In the passive, the verb means "to be trusted or believed" -so Plato Laws 181b - ἀνδρες ἄξιοι πιστεύονται -
"men worthy of trust". The phrase πιστευόμαι ὑπὸ τινὸς means to enjoy someone's confidence (Xenophon Cyr. 6.1.39). In this construction prepositions may follow the verb - πιστεύεσθαι παρὰ τινι - (Demosthenes 23.4) πρὸς τινας (Demosthenes 20.25), although there is no parallel to the common New Testament use of the active followed by ἐν., ἐπὶ, πρὸς or εἰς.

One Classical contraction that does find many New Testament and other early Christian parallels is the use of the verb followed by a dependent clause of indirect speech. Thucydides 2.62.4 provides an example with the infinitive - καταφρόνησις (ἐγγίγνεται) δὲ οὐκ ἡν καὶ γνώμη πιστεύῃ τῶν ἐναντίων προόχειν - "disdain is the property of the man who, by reflection, believes that he is superior to his enemies". The indirect speech may also be introduced by a ὅτι clause, as in Plato Gorgias 512e - πιστεύουσαν ταῖς γυναιξίν ὅτι τὴν εἰμαρμένην οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἑκφύγοι - "believing the women that no one would escape the appointed death-day".

Both these constructions have great importance for later Christian writings, and especially for those contexts which express the content of faith and belief.

The verb may also be used transitively in the sense of "to entrust something to someone" - πιστεύειν τινι τί - e.g. Xenophon Sym. 8.36 - τῷ ... ... ... ραντεβολ ... ... ἄν τις πιστεύειν χρήματα ... "would anyone entrust money to children". As early as Polybius (3.69.1) we find the construction with the passive and a retained accusative to mean "to be entrusted with something". Both forms of the construction are to be found in the New Testament and other early Christian literature in the sense of "trust", "entrust" or "entrusted with something".

The noun πίστις appears first in Hesiod in the sense of trust - Op. 372 - πίστις γάρ τοι ὁμός καὶ ἀπιστίαι ὑλεσαν ἄνδρας - "for trust and mistrust alike ruin men". In this sense of trust, confidence, there are numerous examples that
could be quoted from both poetry and prose throughout the Classical period, as the lexicons show. The application of the trust, confidence is to persons, relationships and things.

In philosophy the word can express the idea of certainty or conviction, as in Parmenides Fr. 1.30, where the philosopher contrasts πίστις ἀληθὴς with βροτῶν δόξα - "true conviction" with "opinions of mortals ". This sense finds an extension to that of trustworthiness, honesty - as at Herodotus 8.105.2, where Eunuchs are described as τιμώτεροι ... πίστις εἶναι τῆς πάσης τῶν ἐνορχὲων - "more valuable than the uncastrated men on account of their trustworthiness in every respect".

The noun also comes to apply to that which gives assurance - a pledge or guarantee of good faith, as at Antiphon 6.25 - ὀρκοὶς καὶ πίστειν ἀναγκαζεῖν - "to compel with oaths and pledges ". There are many examples of this meaning in both poetry and prose, but this transfer to a concrete identity is not of great significance as regards Christian usage. It is the objective belief and trust in somebody, or the subjective trustworthiness which are more closely related to the Christian trust, belief, faithfulness, assurance which the noun comes to denote in Christian contexts.

In addition to the cognates already considered, the negative verb ἀπίστεω occurs in the sense of distrusting or disbelieving, and this especially in the case of words; it may also be applied to laws in the sense of disobeying. ἀπιστία denotes unreliability or unfaithfulness, as in the quotation above from Hesiod Op. 372.

In Classical usage these words are not used in a specifically religious sense, but when applied to belief in words, or to oracles and the gods; or in connection with oaths and guarantees and trustworthiness in general, the seeds of religious use are there. Both Judaism and Christianity made
use of these connections, and applied the words within the context of religious faith. There are, then, Classical Greek antecedents - and Homeric as well - but the more immediate influence on Christian usage is to be found in the context of Hellenistic Judaism, especially in the Septuagint and in Philo. To a lesser extent, Hellenistic philosophy made a contribution, and such authors as Plutarch and the Corpus Hermeticum provide parallels to Christian usage.

In the Septuagint the verbal πέποιθα is very common. It denotes confidence or reliance as in the earlier periods, and this as applied to ordinary material things or everyday relationships; but to these are added the specifically religious senses where God or salvation is the object of confidence or reliance. That on which one relies is expressed by ἐπὶ and dative, or the bare accusative. This is a change from the Classical usage, and marks a stage in the development of the wide use of prepositions to describe the objects of faith in the New Testament.

Another feature that will be noted is that in the Septuagint πέποιθα is much more common than πιστεύω. The latter occurs some forty times only in the Septuagint, while the former occurs some sixty times with dependent ἐπὶ and dative; some twenty times with bare accusative; only six times in the Classical construction with the dative; once each with ἐν and dative and a cognate accusative; four times absolutely; twice with a dependent infinitive and twice with a ὅτι clause. This makes in all about one hundred occurrences of πέποιθα in the Septuagint.

It will be sufficient to quote a few examples only -

Reliance on a material object is illustrated in Isaiah 31.1 where the prophet refers to οἱ ἔφ' ἐποίησε πεποίθότες καὶ ἔφ' ἀρμασίν - "those who trust in horses and chariots".
The application to relationships is exemplified at Isaiah 20.5 - καὶ αἰσχυνθῆσονται ἢττηθέντες ἐπὶ τοῖς Αἰθιοπιν, ἐν' οἷς ἦσαν πεποίητοι οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι - "and the Egyptians will feel a sense of shame, since they have been overcome by the Ethiopians in whom they trusted". The specifically "religious" use comes in with the expression of trust in God, as at 2 Samuel 22.3 - ο θεὸς μου φύλαξ μου ἔσται μοι, πεποίηθος ἐσομαι ἐν' αὐτῷ - "my God is my Guardian, in whom I shall trust" - although it should be remembered that in Old Testament thought God is the God of all history and all relationships, so that whatever happens is religious in this wider sense.

There seems to be no real difference in meaning in the one case where ἐν and dative occurs - viz. Jeremiah 31.7 - ἐπείδη ἐπεποίηθες ἐν ὀχυρώματί σου - "since you have trusted in your stronghold".

The absolute use indicates confidence in the sense of safety or security, as at Leviticus 25.18 - κατοικήσετε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πεποίητος - "you will dwell securely in (your) land". In the case of the infinitive the sense is that of confident expectation - e.g. Isaiah 20.6 - ἤμεν ἤμεν πεποίητος τοῦ φυγεῖν εἰς αὐτοῦς εἰς βοήθειαν - "we confidently expected to flee to them for protection". The context of one's confidence is defined by a ὅτι clause at Job 31.21 - πεποίηθος ὅτι πολλῇ μοι βοήθεια περιεστὶν - "being confident that my strength was great".

We find in the Septuagint a wide range of recipients for the trust, confidence or reliance which the verbal πεποίθος expresses. But when it comes to the expression of belief, especially in an intellectual sense, the Septuagint uses the verb πιστεύω and there is quite a clear differentiation here in the use of the two verbs.

The reason for this clear division of function between
πέποιθα and πιστεύω in the Septuagint derives from the usage of the Hebrew original. πιστεύω is always used to translate the Hebrew root הָפַע, never πέποιθα (in accordance with T.W.N.T. s.v. πιστεύω κτλ, note 149, page 197). Conversely πέποιθα is used for several Hebrew words, which are variously translated in different parts of the Septuagint.

The consistent use of πιστεύω to represent one Hebrew root is an exception in the Septuagint. This root signifies belief, and embraces the deepest relationship between God and man. (For a detailed treatment of this, see T.W.N.T. s.v. πιστεύω κτλ p182ff, and especially note 149 on p197.)

In the Septuagint πιστεύω occurs with the following dependent constructions - the dative case; ἐν and the dative; κατὰ and the genitive (but only in Job, and 3 times); a ὅτι clause; an infinitive. It is used absolutely and in the passive. The transitive use does not occur in the Septuagint.

Belief in a person, that they are or are not telling the truth, is exemplified by Jacob's disbelief at the news that Joseph is alive - Genesis 45.26 - οὐ γὰρ ἐπιστευσεν αὐτοῖς - " for he did not believe them ". Belief in words is illustrated at 2 Chronicles 9.6 by the astonishment of the Queen of Sheba, who had heard reports of Solomon's magnificence, but says οὐκ ἐπιστευσα τοῖς λόγοις - " I did not believe the reports ".

The promises of God are the object of Abraham's belief at Genesis 15.6 - ἐπιστευσεν Ἄβρααμ τῷ θεῷ - " Abraham believed God ". Belief in God is expressed at Psalm 77.22 and Daniel 6.23 in the phrase ἐπιστευσεν ἐν τῷ θεῷ - " he believed in God", a phrase which is very common in the New Testament. Similar quotations could be given to illustrate belief in God's words, in the testimony of His actions, or in His commandments.

The content of belief may be defined by a ὅτι clause, as in Job 9.16 - οὐ πιστεύω ὅτι εἰσακῆκομεν τῆς φωνῆς - " I do not believe that he heard my voice ". There is no hint
in the Septuagint of the later "credal" use of this construction which becomes so important in the New Testament and later, but the transition to this technical use is not a great step.

The object of belief must sometimes be supplied from the context, and later we will notice that when the verb or noun is used absolutely in a 'faith context', the object of faith can always be easily supplied from the context - in fact we will note that faith of its nature must have an object. This is the case at Isaiah 28.16, ὁ πιστεύων οὐ μὴ κατασχυνῇ - "he who believes will not be put to shame ", where the object of belief is the foundation stone which God is laying in Zion, and by implication also God Himself.

The content of belief may also be expressed by the infinitive - in fact both this construction and the ὅτι clause construction reflect the "indirect speech" usage noted in the Classical Period. e.g. Psalm 26.13 - πιστεύω τοῦ ἱσεῖν ἡ ἀγαθὰ κυρίου - "I believe that I will see the goodness of the Lord ". We may note in passing the pleonastic τοῦ with the infinitive which is very common in the Septuagint.

In the New Testament, πιστεύω takes over the meaning of πέποιθα in addition to the "intellectual" type meanings noted in the Septuagint. This may be illustrated from a context such as Acts 27.25, where Paul is encouraging those with him on the ship and sharing in the danger - διὸ εὐθυμεῖτε, ἀνδρεῖς πιστεύω γὰρ τῷ θεῷ ὅτι οὕτως ἐσται καθ' ὑμᾶς τρόπον λελάθηται μοι - "Therefore take heart, men; for I trust God that it will turn out in the manner I have been told ". In this Example the element of trust is perhaps uppermost, but that of belief in God's words is also present as the ὅτι clause shows. The use of the single verb πιστεύω to express all the aspects of trust and belief may very well indicate that the two ideas which were treated separately came to be recognised as two sides of the
same coin, and this also marks a return to the wider Classical Greek usage noted above on pxiv. We recognise in the Septuagint again with πίστεύω a broadening of the constructions used, and another step towards the richer expressions of faith that are characteristic of the New Testament and other early Christian literature.

One particular nuance that is very strong in the Old Testament is that of the obedience of faith. So to believe in God's words and commandments is also to be obedient.

The noun πίστις in the Septuagint indicates belief in something or someone. Perhaps the most famous example, because so prominently quoted by Paul at Romans 1.17 is Habakkuk 2.4 - ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐν πίστεως μου ζησεται - "The righteous shall live by his belief in me" - although Paul omits the μου. As it stands in the Septuagint meaning, this is a good example of the objective genitive on πίστις - a construction which becomes very common to denote the object of faith in the New Testament and after. This construction with πίστις is rare in Classical Greek, but becomes more widespread in the Hellenistic literature. The fact that Paul omits the objective genitive at Romans 1.17 is a further illustration of the ease with which the object is to be supplied from the context as noted above.

As in the Classical period, πίστις denotes also in the Septuagint faithfulness, reliability, especially as applied to the covenant - e.g. Jeremiah 5.3 - κύριε, οἱ γνώσαντες καὶ τὸν εἰς πίστιν - "Lord, your eyes are towards faithfulness" - i.e. God looks for faithfulness to the covenant. An extension of this meaning is demonstrated by contexts in which πίστις comes to mean "truth" - e.g. Proverbs 12.17 - ἐπιδεικνυμένην πίστιν ἀπαγγέλλει δίκαλος - "the righteous man declares the open truth". This is parallel to the Classical Greek construction with the neuter accusative of the adjective, but finds no parallel in the New Testament and later literature.

* eg. Eur. Med. 414 (θείον... πίστευμα), Hipp. 1037, Thuc. 5.30.3.
πίστις is applied to God's faithfulness, and this meaning is extended to the use of the noun to describe the covenant itself (Nehemiah 9.38). The phrase ἐν πίστει is quite common; it is used adverbially to mean "faithfully". (2 Kgs. 12.15, Ps. 32.4).

The adjective πιστός in the Septuagint means "faithful, reliable, trustworthy". Its use follows earlier applications, but to these are added, as one would expect, references to the "faithful God" or to His "faithful servants". The adjective is common in the Wisdom literature to denote a "faithful man / friend" - an attribute much valued in this context.

The causative πιστῶ is infrequent in the Septuagint, and when it does occur it is in almost every case in the passive sense of "being proved faithful". The application to the covenant or to God is the only development here. Psalm 77.37 will suffice to illustrate this - ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν οὐκ εὔθεια μετ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ ἐπιστῶθησαν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ αὐτοῦ - "Their heart was not straight with Him, neither did they prove faithful in His covenant".

What emerges from the Septuagint usage is that the Septuagint forms the bridge-head to the later New Testament and early Christian usage. The words come to be applied in an overtly religious context, and they become associated with technical covenant language. This opens the way for the New Testament writers to apply the words in the context of the New Covenant in Jesus, and so for the development of the technical language of faith. With the Septuagint the use of dependent prepositional phrases becomes more widespread, although nothing like as much so as in the New Testament, nor in quite the same way. Thus ἐπὶ and dative is associated with πέποιθα, while ἐν and dative is nothing like so popular as later, although it is there. The objective genitive on πίστις appears more frequently, but it remains for the New Testament to make wide use of this construction in the language of faith. The division between πέποιθα and πιστεύω persists, while in the New Testament πιστεύω takes over the
trust aspect as well as belief, although πέποιθα persists to some extent. Taken as a whole, we may say that Classical and earlier Greek usage provided basic words for confidence, reliance, trust and belief; the Septuagint adapted these to a primarily religious context; but it was for the New Testament to develop them into a technical language of faith.

The Septuagint usage carries over into that of Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism, and it is often difficult to assess on which side the influence lies. Also by this time the Canon of scripture has become fixed, and so faith is related to this; there is a lack of dynamic faith in what God is doing in the contemporary situation; rather faith is a static thing and related to the past history enshrined in the Canon. In this sense, the wider Hellenistic / Jewish context offers less enlightenment as to the nature of Christian faith than the Septuagint itself.

Nevertheless the works of Philo, which are typical of Hellenistic Judaism, provide some parallels, and the historical picture would not be complete without considering these. It is also a fact that some of the Apostolic Fathers, especially Barnabas and the Didache, were strongly influenced by Hellenistic Judaism as well as by the New Testament writings.

For Philo, belief in one God and trust in His Providence is basic - Virt. 2.16 : διὸ καὶ πιστεύσαι λέγεται τῷ θεῷ πρῶτος - " wherefore (Abraham) is said to believe first in God....." It is trust in the permanence and immovability of God that is basic to Philo's faith; to believe in God is to believe this about Him, as the passage quoted above goes on to show. We may compare also Leg. All. 2.89 - πῶς ἂν τις πιστεύσαι θεῷ; ἐὰν μάθῃ ὅτι πάντα τὰ ἄλλα τρέπεται, μόνος δὲ αὐτὸς ἀτρεπτὸς ἔστι - " How would anyone believe God? If he learns that everything else is moveable, but God is immovable". The verb πιστεύειν is used again at Leg. All. 3.229 - ἀληθὲς μὲν ἔστι δόγμα τὸ πιστεύειν θεῷ, Ψευδὸς δὲ τὸ πιστεύειν τοῖς κενοῖς λογισμοῖς - " Belief in God is a true precept, belief in empty words is a falsehood " - where
it is worth noting the use of the articular infinitive as an abstract noun, a construction which can be paralleled especially in the Aposolic Fathers.

In a more extended passage, the use of the noun πίστις can be illustrated in its Philonic sense of trust in the permanence of God as ever against the world of becoming and perishing - ὅτι δ' ἐξεγένετο πάντα μὲν σώματα πάντα δ' ἀσώματα ὑπεριδεῖν καὶ ὑπερισχύσαι, μόνος δ' ἐπερεῖσασθαι καὶ στηρίσασθαι θεῷ μετ' ἵσχυρογνώμονος λογισμοῦ καὶ ἀκλινοῦς καὶ βεβαιοτάτης πίστεως, εὐδαίμων καὶ τρισμαχάριος οὕτως ὡς ἀληθῶς - "But he to whom it is given to gaze and soar beyond not only material but all immaterial things, and to take God for his whole stay and support with a reasonableness whose resolution falters not, and a faith unswerving and securely founded, will be a truly happy and thrice-blessed man" (Praem.Poen.30. The translation is that of F.H.Colson in the Loeb Classical Library edition, vol.8, p330).

In some respects this is a very limited kind of faith, static and restricted compared with the Septuagint, and even more when compared with the New Testament. But the idea of belief and trust in both noun and verb is clearly present. Another aspect which is paralleled in the Apostolic Fathers is that of faith as one of the virtues - to Philo it is τελείοτάτη ἀρετῶν - the most perfect of the virtues (Rev.Div.Her.91). The virtuous aspect of faith is much developed in the post-New Testament literature. Thus Philo makes his contribution and provides his parallels, but in general his importance and influence is less. It is apparent to some extent in the Apolostic Fathers, but is negligible in respect to the New Testament.

The wider Hellenistic literature is even less helpful. Plutarch is contemporary with the later parts of the New Testament and with the Apolostic Fathers, but most of his subject matter is so different that it provides no real parallels. Belief and disbelief are illustrated in Plu.Superstitio 11 - οὐκ οὗτοι θεοὺς εἶναι ὁ ἄθεος, ὃ δὲ δεισιδαιμόνι ὡς βούλεται, πιστεύει δ' ἀκὼν. φοβεῖται
γὰρ ἀπιστεῖν — "The atheist thinks that the gods do not exist; the superstitious man does not want them to exist, but he believes unwillingly; for he is frightened to disbelieve ". This is only parallel to the extent that the verb expresses belief in divinities, as the New Testament does in relation to God and Christ.

A number of other contexts are quoted by T.W.N.T. (s.v. πιστεύω κτλ. p179ff), but they are from second or third century A.D. authors. They provide some parallels in terms of the meaning of the cognates to signify belief, trust and confidence, but they add little to our understanding of what the New Testament and early Christian writers mean by faith. What is illustrated is that Christianity has taken words from the standard Hellenistic vocabulary, and invested them with the peculiarly Christian application to faith in relation to Christ and His acts.

This leads us to the New Testament usage. The verbal πεποίθα occurs only sixteen times, πιστεύω having virtually taken over its Septuagint function of the expression of trust and confidence. However in the sense of trust or confidence it occurs with a dependent ἐπί and dative, ἐν and dative, the bare dative, and with a cognate accusative. With a dependent noun clause it occurs twice in the infinitive construction, and there are several examples with a ὅτι clause expressing the content or cause of confidence. 2 Thessalonians 3.4 will suffice to illustrate the usage — πεποίθαμεν δὲ ἐν κυρίῳ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, ὅτι ἡ παραγγέλλωμα καὶ ποιεῖτε καὶ ποιήσετε — "We have confidence in the Lord with regard to you, that you are doing and will do the things which we told you ".

The verb πιστεύω occurs two hundred and thirty-eight times in the New Testament, and this reflects its importance
in the Christian vocabulary. It is used transitively in the sense of entrusting something to somebody - as in the case of John 2.24, where Jesus ὁ ὑπέστηκεν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς - "did not trust himself to them". In the passive we find it in the Classical Greek usage with the retained accusative, as in the phrase of Paul - ὁ ὑπεστηκαν πεπιστευμαι - "I am entrusted with a stewardship" (1 Corinthians 9.17). This transitive use does not occur in the Septuagint, but appears also in the Apostolic Fathers.

The commonest New Testament use of πιστεύω is absolutely, with the object of belief to be implied from the context - as at Romans 1.16 - δύναμις γὰρ θεοῦ ἐστὶν εἰς σωτηρίαν πάντι τῷ πιστεύοντι - "for (the Gospel) is the power of God for salvation to all who believe" - and the object of belief is the Gospel, to be supplied from the previous clause. As noted in the section on the Septuagint, and later with regard to the Apostolic Fathers, the principle of supplying the object of faith from the context is very significant to our ability to understand some "faith passages".

The verb is found, as in Classical Greek, construed with a plain dative - Luke 1.20 - ἀνθ. ἐν ὑπέστηκαν τοῖς λόγοις μου - "because you did not believe my words", of the Angel Gabriel to Mary. This construction can also take the dative of a person, in which case it indicates belief in the truth of what they say - as Acts 8.12 - ἐπιστευμαν τῷ Φιλίππῳ εὐαγγελιζομένῳ - "they believed Philip preaching the Gospel". An internal accusative also sometimes occurs, as 1 Corinthians 13.7 - πάντα πιστεύει - "believes all things".

The object of faith can be signified, under the influence of the Septuagint usage, by ἐπί and accusative or dative,
and by ἐν and dative. e.g. - Romans 4.24 - τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγείροντα Ἰησοῦν ... - "those who believe in the one who raised Jesus..."; 1 Timothy 1.16 - μελλόντων πιστεύειν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ - "those about to believe in Him"; Mark 1.15 - πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ - "believe in the Gospel". It is very difficult to distinguish any real difference between these constructions, and they are probably to be regarded as equivalents.

A real change in emphasis is apparent with the introduction of the peculiarly Christian usage of a dependent εἰς and accusative, T.W.N.T. s.v. πιστεύω κτλ p203f suggests that this was a usage developed in the language of mission, and indicates the faith that comes with conversion. So πιστεύσαι εἰς Χριστὸν means to believe in Christ, or more accurately to come to belief in Him.

T.W.N.T. associates this with the development of the construction with a dependent ὅτι clause (s.v. πιστεύω κτλ p203ff). This has been noted in both Classical and Hellenistic use, but in the New Testament it is greatly expanded, and forms the basis of the "credal" type statements which give the content of faith, and which form the basis of the later church creeds - a matter discussed at some length in the body of this thesis. A very clear example of this is given at John 20.31, where the purpose of the Gospel is given - ἵνα πιστεύητε ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ γίνος τοῦ θεοῦ - "in order that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God". In St. John especially, it may be seen that πιστεύειν εἰς Χριστὸν is equivalent to πιστεύειν ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς - that to believe in Christ is equivalent to believing that Jesus is the Christ. e.g. at John 7.5 we are told that Jesus' brothers did not believe in Him - οὐδὲ πίστευον εἰς αὐτὸν. This would be equivalent to saying that they did not believe that he was the Christ. If we put this alongside such statements as I.Mag. 10.3 it becomes clear that the construction with εἰς is a standard way of expressing belief, developed in the context of the Church's missionary task - πιστεύσαι ( = to come to believe) εἰς Ἰουδαίους...εἰς Χριστιανούς
is a phrase that expresses conversion.

The content of faith becomes very important to the preaching of the early Church, as does conversion to this faith, and this seems the best explanation of the growth of these two constructions with εἰς and accusative, and a ὅτι clause.

The verb is constructed with the infinitive and with the accusative and infinitive in the manner already noted for earlier periods. It is also found in the passive sense of "to be believed".

The noun πίστις occurs only once in the Johannine writings - at 1 John 5.4. This is because the noun tends to express in the New Testament the emotive aspects of faith - trust and faithfulness - while the verb expresses the more intellectual aspect of belief. This has already been illustrated above in the account of πιστεύειν ὅτι, and εἰς and accusative.

πίστις may take a subjective genitive, denoting whose faith is in question, as Romans 4.5 - λογίζεται ἡ πίστις αὐτοῦ εἰς δικαιοσύνην - "his faith is reckoned for righteousness".

Very frequently the object of faith is expressed by an objective genitive on πίστις, as Mark 11.22 - ἔχετε πίστιν θεοῦ - "have faith in God". This objective genitive occurs more frequently than the prepositional phrases - εἰς and accusative, ἐν and dative, πρὸς and accusative, and ἐπὶ and accusative - and it is difficult to detect any significant difference between the usage.

The phrase ἐν πίστευσι occurs several times in Romans and Galatians to express the source from which righteousness
springs. It is dependent on δίκαιος and its cognates and arises from the quotation of Habakkuk 2.4 in both epistles. e.g. Romans 10.6 illustrates the point - ἡ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη - "the righteousness that springs from faith".

In the New Testament, the article is used with πίστις when there is a dependent possessive genitive or as in Romans 11.20 quoted above, when this is implied; when πίστις is qualified by an adjectival expression - ἡ πίστις ἡ δι' αὐτοῦ - "the faith which is through Him (Acts 3.16); when πίστις stands in the genitive case, governed by a noun with the article, as τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως - "the word of faith" (Romans 10.8). The omission of the article makes the phrase general instead of specific, as Matthew 8.10 - οὖν .... τοσαύτην πίστιν εὑρὼν - "neither .... have I found such faith". It is important to notice the use of the article, or its omission, as this too will help in the understanding of some "faith contexts" in the later literature. It will be seen that "the Faith" as a body of doctrine is not a New Testament concept of faith.

In addition to these words, the causative πιστεύω is found only in its passive use in the New Testament. The adjective πιστός denotes "Faithful" and "trusting", and is applied to the loyalty of faith, especially in the context of witness. It applies also to the faithfulness of God. It denotes in some contexts that a person is a Christian believer (e.g. Acts 16.1). Similarly ἀπιστος denotes an unbeliever, or something unworthy of credence (Acts 26.8). The verb ἀπιστεύω occurs a few times in the sense of "to be unfaithful or unbelieving". ἀπιστία denotes unfaithfulness, with the nuance of disobedience (Hebrews 3.19), or lack of trust. ὀλγόπιστος and ὀλγοπιστία are new words derived from Judaism.

Thus the New Testament develops the usage of πίστις and its cognates into a full-blown technical vocabulary of faith as it applies to the Christian religion in its sense of belief, trust, confidence, assurance, commitment and conviction.
The meaning of faith depends on the context in which it is to be practised. The Christian context is different from that of Judaism, and the development of the usage illustrates this. The sub-apostolic context is different again in some respects, and new emphases emerge which affect the language and constructions. How this happens in the Apostolic Fathers is the subject of the following work.
INTRODUCTION

The writings of Ignatius of Antioch consist of seven letters. These letters were written in a short space of time and can be dated to the early years of the second century, somewhere between 107 and 117 A.D. \(^1\). Ignatius was the Bishop of Antioch in Syria elected as the second successor to Peter, according to Eusebius. He was arrested there and condemned to death by being cast to wild beasts at Rome. The persecution in which Ignatius and others were arrested seems to have been of only short duration. The letters of Ignatius indicate that the Syrian Church was at peace again before the end of his journey to Rome \(^2\); they also indicate that a number of others were condemned with him, and also were taken to Rome \(^3\).

The journey from Antioch to Rome was long and arduous. Ignatius travelled by land and sea, and in the course of his journey came overland through some of the cities of Asia Minor. He tells of the difficulties he was experiencing when he writes to the Romans:

"From Syria to Rome I am fighting wild beasts, over land and sea, night and day, bound to ten leopards, that is to a detachment of soldiers, who when they are well treated grow even worse."

(I. Ro 5.1)

It appears that Ignatius spent some time at Philadelphia - he speaks in his letter to the Church in that place \(^4\) of what he said to them when he was "in their midst" - and from there he went to Smyrna, where he also spent some time. It was his habit to teach and encourage the Christian communities with which he came in contact during his journey, and he received delegates from those whom he did not visit along the way. At Smyrna he received delegates from Ephesus, Magnesia and Tralles, and from Smyrna he writes to these churches \(^5\). From Smyrna also he writes to the Christians at Rome, to prepare them for his arrival and
to warn them not to intervene on his behalf.

From Smyrna, Ignatius travelled to Troas; from this place he wrote to the Philadelphians and to the Smyrnaeans. At Smyrna he had been kindly received by the Bishop, Polycarp, and he writes also to him a private letter. It appears that Ignatius' stay at Troas was cut short - he and his company sailed suddenly for Neapolis, and he asks Polycarp to send on his letters and to write on his behalf to the churches to which he has not had time to write himself.

Ignatius is on his way to martyrdom, and this fact colours all that he says. In particular, the nearness of his death helps him to see the needs of the Church very clearly and he has the desire to leave a clear message about what is really important. He urges unity above all else. This unity is expressed in obedience to the Bishop and the duly appointed ministers of the Church, and is of overwhelming importance in the letters.

The worst feature of heresy to Ignatius is the schism it causes. The churches he visited, and especially those at Tralles, Philadelphia and Smyrna, were threatened by that heresy known as docetism, which cast doubt on the reality of Christ. In every letter, Ignatius urges his readers to believe in Jesus Christ, in the reality of his incarnation, earthly life, death and resurrection. In relation to faith, this is for Ignatius the dominant element. For himself, he also has a vested interest in this because his martyrdom would be futile if Christ and His promises are but an appearance.

As a man on his way to martyrdom, Ignatius puts Christ at the centre of his life and thoughts, and urges others to do so too. He expresses his personal faith in Christ as trust and commitment - it is this that will see him through the pain of his death. But he is never over-confident; he knows that he could lose his nerve at the last. If this happens he would lose his chance of being a disciple, for martyrdom in his thought is the gateway to discipleship.
There is a striking difference between Ignatius' letter to the Romans and the other six letters. In these latter he is concerned to teach and encourage, and to urge true belief, obedience and unity. But in the letter to the Romans we have a remarkable witness to the way in which he viewed his martyrdom. He is afraid that the Roman Christians might intercede on his behalf, and he urges them not to do this. In the most outspoken way he describes how he will force himself between the jaws of the beasts if necessary, so important is martyrdom to him. There is practically nothing about faith in this letter\(^9\); its priority is different from the others. He is not concerned to teach so much as to show the importance of martyrdom. The whole letter is a plea to the Roman Christians to do nothing to hinder this. Ignatius is convinced that the only way he can express his discipleship is by seeing his martyrdom through to the end\(^10\).

Ignatius writes passionately; he feels the urgency of his own situation as he faces martyrdom, and he feels equally the urgency of the situation facing the Church. He speaks vehemently of his martyrdom and the attainment of discipleship through it; he speaks equally vehemently of the needs of the Church as he sees them so clearly, in the face of docetism and disunity. This deep feeling comes across in the use of vivid words and imagery; it also leads to a certain jerkiness of style, and a tendency to leap from one thing to the next. Some of his metaphors especially are not entirely consistent and well worked out.

The physical conditions under which he wrote cannot have been helpful either. His treatment by the soldiers and his being bound to them; the long and arduous nature of the journeying through Asia Minor; the sudden departure from Troas; the natural apprehension he must have felt at the nature of his impending death - all these factors would make writing very difficult. There is no mention of an amanuensis as in the case of Paul; neither does he write anacolutha as Paul does when he writes passionately\(^11\). Taking Ignatius' situation and difficulties into consideration, the most surprising thing is that he writes as well and effectively as he does. He emerges from his letters as a clear-thinking and well educated man who is totally
committed to Christ and the Church and to his own vocation to martyrdom.

It will be convenient to classify the contexts in which πίστις and its cognates occur into a number of categories. In this way it is possible to discover the various shades of meaning that can be attached to Ignatius' concept of faith. However, as will become apparent in the study, it is impossible to be too rigid about the classification, and the emphases tend to merge into one another at certain points. We will consider faith as Ignatius expresses it as follows: Faith as the standard of Christian belief and behaviour; Faith as true belief over against docetism; Faith in its place among the virtues and especially in its connection with unity and harmony; Faith as it expresses true religion and Christian commitment; Faith as full conviction. Finally we will consider some passages where Ignatius speaks of faith using some striking imagery to describe its nature.
Section 1 - Faith as the Standard

According to Ignatius, the two basic principles on which the Christian life is based are faith and love. These are habitually coupled together by Ignatius and are seldom found separately.

Together, they are the standard in accordance with which the Christian life is to be lived out and they express the God-ward and man-ward aspects of this life - its relation to God in all His reality and to Jesus; and the ethical outcome in Christian behaviour towards one's fellow-men.

ἀποδεξάμενος ἐν θεῷ τὸ πολυάγαπτόν σου ὄνομα, ἡ κέκτησαι φύσει δικαίας κατὰ πίστιν καὶ ἀγάπην ἐν χριστῷ Ἰσσωῦ . . . . . . . μιμήται δυνεῖς θεοῦ ἀναζωπυρῆσαντες ἐν αἰματί θεοῦ τὸ συγγενικὸν ἔργον τελείος ἀνηρτίσατε.

"Having received in God your much loved name, which you have obtained by a righteous nature in accordance with faith and love in Christ Jesus . . . . . . . being imitators of God, being rekindled (with new life) in the blood of God, complete perfectly the task so well suited to you."

(I. Eph 1.1)

Ignatius is particularly fond of κατὰ phrases, and his use of κατὰ with the accusative is best understood as an expression of the standard in accordance with which something is to be done. This usage is given in A.G. s.v. κατὰ II; 5.α.γ., where a similar usage is quoted in Matt. 9.29 - two blind men are healed by Jesus, who has asked them whether they believe that He is able to do this (πιστεύετε ὅτι . . . . . . .), and upon their asserting that they do, He replies "according to your faith (κατὰ τὴν πίστιν) let it come to pass for you". In this case they have reached an acceptable standard of faith for the healing to take place.
In this present context, the righteous nature of the Ephesians is in accordance with an acceptable standard of faith and love.

This use of κατά to express a standard is exemplified in Ignatius by other κατά phrases - so at I. Eph. 1.3, Ignatius refers to Onesimus the Bishop of Ephesus as "a man of indescribable love ..... whom I pray that you may love in accordance with Christ Jesus (κατά Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν).

Lightfoot (p. 33) translates this phrase "after the standard of Christ" and comments "i.e. with a Christian love" and compares I. Ro 15.4 where the same phrase occurs.

Similarly in I. Eph. 2.1 ad fin, Ignatius claims to have seen the whole Ephesian Church in the persons of their representatives sent to meet him at Philadelphia "in accordance with the standard of love" (κατὰ ἀγάπην). The loving presence of these representatives who so encouraged Ignatius, and especially the deacon Burrhus who stayed with him as he requests in 2.1 ad init., express the standard of their own love as well as that of the whole congregation who sent them ².

At I. Eph. 6.2 we have the phrase κατὰ ἀληθείαν ζην - "to live according to the standard of truth". This may indicate that there was no heresy at Ephesus, as indeed the following phrase indicates, but Liébaert ³ suggests that the sense is that of "a rule of life ". This again, then, is used to express a standard in accordance with which the Christian lives. The use of εὐταξία - "good order, good discipline" (A.G. s.v.) supports this sense suggested by Liébaert. The word has military overtones, and is so used from Thucydides onwards, but finds a wide usage to indicate orderliness and regulation from the late Classical period on ⁴. In writers subsequent to the sub-apostolic period εὐταξία finds specifically Christian usage ⁵. All this goes to indicate that the present context of living according to the truth has a wider connotation than simply the indication of the absence of heretical groups.
Ignatius expresses the standard most strikingly by exhorting the Magnesian Christians at 10.1 "let us learn to live in accordance with Christianity" - μάθωμεν κατὰ Χριστιανισμὸν ζῆν. This is the first occurrence of this word, appropriately from the pen of the Bishop of Antioch. In context the exhortation is to adherence to true doctrine as taught by the Bishops and elders of the Church, and opposed to Judaism and its customs. Just as "Judaism" describes the whole system of the Law and the Jewish faith, so "Christianity" is an all-embracing word to describe the whole system of ethics, doctrine and Church order to which the disciple commits himself. The point is further elaborated in 10.3.

Miss Corwin, on page 227 ad init of her book translates this phrase "let us learn to live by Christian standards"; although she is commenting on the "prudent" warning contained in this passage, that one runs the risk of rejection by God for failure to live in this way. Salvation depends on an acceptable standard of belief and behaviour, as does the attainment of discipleship.

These examples amply demonstrate Ignatius' fondness for this construction with κατὰ and lend support for the view expressed that κατὰ πίστιν καὶ ἀγάπην is Ignatius' way of stating the basic standards in accordance with which the Christian disciple must live.

To return now to I. Eph. 1.1. These standards of faith and love are in turn the outworking of the "righteous nature" which the Ephesians possess. In other words, they are the outcome of a right relationship with God and men. The righteous nature is characterised by faith in God and love towards men.

The outward designation of the righteous nature is in turn "the much loved name" which they have obtained, and which Ignatius has received.

These phrases which we have discussed shed some light on the
meaning of the first phrase in the quotation which we are considering. Camelot 10 points out that Ignatius several times uses "name" to designate the person - in the case of Alke (I. Sm. 13.2; I. Pol. 8.3); and Crocos (I. Ro. 10.1). He further suggests that there is a play on words in one passage between the name Εὐερεσος and Εὐερεσός (desire). Lightfoot 11 had rejected this on the grounds that, while Alke (courage) makes sense if taken this way, Crocos does not.

It is not necessary to totally reject the play on words in the case of I. Eph. 1.1. As we will see in any number of other cases in subsequent contexts, he is fond of writing in a startling and vivid fashion, and using phrases whose meaning is not immediately obvious. So there is nothing inherently unlikely about a play on words here. Moreover it makes good sense if we take the reference in context. The Ephesians are in a right relationship with God and their fellow-men; they are imitators of God engaged in this work. All this makes it very natural for Ignatius to "desire" their fellowship and support, given so lovingly in the sending of their representatives.

In this action they are "imitators of God" whose very nature is love. Ignatius elsewhere 12 equates love with the blood. His meaning is that the shedding of Christ's blood is the sign par excellence of His love; it is a vivid way of saying much the same thing as John when he says that "God is love" 13.

We will see later that imitation is a very important idea for Ignatius. Here he refers it to faith and love - Christians who set these as their standards for the Christian life are indeed imitators of God as He has made Himself known in Jesus. In I. Eph. 10.3 the imitation is related to ἐπιεύεξου - graciousness, forbearance. In other places Ignatius urges an imitation which is a literal following of Jesus even to death. The martyr is the imitator par excellence. However here it is clear that the loving actions of the Ephesian Christians toward Ignatius himself are primarily in mind.
Ignatius' fondness for the vivid and striking phrase is well illustrated by the way in which he expands this idea of imitation in the following phrase - ἀναξωπυρῆςαντε ἐν αἰωνὶ Θεο - "being rekindled in the blood of God".

ἀναξωπυρῶ is not an uncommon word in early Christian usage, especially in the sense of spiritual revival. 1 Cl. 27.3 has the verb in the clause "let faith in Him be rekindled in us". Lightfoot p29 translates the Ignatian example "kindled into living fire - i.e. stimulated to activity". Moulton and Milligan s.v. comment that the word is "a characteristic compound of the Pastorals, but vouched for in the common speech of the day".

In 2 Tim. 1.6, Timothy is reminded "to stir up (ἀναξωπυρέιν) the gift of God, which is in you through the laying-on of my hands". Lock comments that the meaning here is properly "to stir up smouldering embers into living flame" and that there may possibly here be a reference to the Spirit as fire. But he concludes that the Septuagint usage (2Kgs. 8.1.5 to bring to life a dead child, Gen. 45.27, 1 Macc. 13.7 "to revive" (intransitive)) makes it very doubtful whether the metaphor was consciously present in Hellenistic Greek, and he quotes our passage of Ignatius.

This was one of those words, then, which frequent use had reduced to the conventional. Almost certainly Lightfoot goes too far in his translation. The more recent translators all have "kindle" or "rekindle". However Lampe s.v. 2 suggests "be kindled into fire" for the intransitive use, but gives no other authority than the 1 Cl. and Ignatius occurrences.

So we conclude that for Ignatius, the vividness of the phrase lies in the reference to the blood of God rather than in the rekindling. As well as the significance of the blood as a sign of God's love, there are almost certainly eucharistic overtones in this phrase, as in other places where the blood is mentioned. It is in the eucharist that the blood of Christ
is shared by the faithful, and their love rekindled by their participation in the sacrament.

It remains now to discuss the meaning of the final part of our context. The Ephesians' imitation of God's love and their being rekindled in His blood has resulted in the perfect completion of "the work so well suited" to them. This translation is suggested by A.G. s.v. σουγγενικός.

The basic sense of the word is kindred, of the same kind. L & S indicate that it is a late word, used in the medical writers in the sense of congenital, hereditary, and in Aristotle to describe something shared "between kinsmen". The metaphorical sense which we have here is also found in Aristotle.

Lightfoot prefers the translation "natural"; and this is followed by L.C.C. ANCL has "beseeming" and Goodspeed "proper". Lake 17 follows Zahn and takes σουγγενικός in the sense of "brotherly" task - a view which Lightfoot (p30) describes as possible but less probable than "natural". Harmer's edition of Lightfoot's translation gives "congenial".

The point is that the Ephesian Christians have completed a work which is that specifically Christian task of imitating God's love. Because love is natural to Jesus, being part of His essential nature of love, the task is also "natural" for Christians who seek to imitate Him. This translation "natural" preserves the literal sense of σουγγενικός, viz. "born with", and expresses the inherent duty of Christians to show love in their own lives as an extension of God's own love. As we have seen above, to be rekindled in the blood of God is Ignatius' way of saying that they are rekindled in the love of God, for the blood is a symbol of God's love. The task of love, then, is natural to those who have been thus renewed.

In relation to our investigation of faith, we see it in this context as the standard in accordance with which the Christian
life is lived, together with love. These are the outcome of a righteous nature and express the relationship of such a nature towards God and men. In this case the concomitants of faith are the imitation of God as He is revealed in the faith and love of Jesus and the showing forth of these in the ministry of the Ephesian Christians to Ignatius in his need. The motivation for this is in the rekindling of Christian love through the Eucharist, and the result is the completion of a work which is natural for them.

These two essential principles of faith and love, on which the Christian life is based, are found also in the principal Church - that at Rome.

'Ignatius ...... τῇ ...... ἐκκλησίᾳ ἡγαπημένη καὶ περιφυσιμένη ἐν δείληματι τοῦ δελησαντος τὰ πάντα ᾧ ἔστιν, καὶ πίστιν καὶ ἀγάπην Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ θεοῦ ἠμῶν, ἢτις καὶ προκάθυνται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίῳ Ἰωμαῖων ......

"Ignatius ...... to the Church beloved and enlightened in the will of Him who has willed all things that are, in accordance with faith in and love for Jesus Christ our God; which presides in the region of the environs of the Romans ......".

(I. Ro. Inscr.)

There can be no doubt that for Ignatius the Roman Church had a pre-eminence over the surrounding Churches, but it would be a mistake to press the details of this too far 18. Nevertheless there is a dignity and expressiveness in this inscription which is absent from others, even in the case of that to the leading city of the Asia Minor seaboard viz. Ephesus. This letter to the Ephesians is also by far the longest epistle among those which have come down to us. The compliments in the long list of elaborate ἄξιο-compounds are also fulsome in the Roman epistle, and surpass those elsewhere 19.
This Roman Church is described as προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης — "pre-eminent in love". There are some who have wished to see here an allusion to superior almsgiving and works of benevolence on the part of the Roman Church 20. But it is better to take this in the sense that the leading Church leads also in that which is essential to Christianity — viz. love as it is expressed toward God and man. It is difficult not to see here a back-reference to κατὰ πίστιν καὶ ἀγάπην above. In the thought of Ignatius faith and love are so closely united and so often expressed together that we must consider that in mentioning the one he has also the other in mind. So the phrase conveys the idea that the principal Church is pre-eminent in the basic essentials also.

The role of the Roman Church as "presiding" then, whatever this may or may not indicate in regard to territorial authority and leadership, at the least means that in Ignatius’ mind it sets a standard in the essentials of Christianity — viz. faith and love.

We must now turn to an examination of the statement that the Roman Church is "beloved and enlightened ...... in accordance with faith in and love for Jesus Christ".

O. Perler 21 in an article which examines in detail the whole inscription, argues forcibly that the genitive Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is to be taken as objective, not subjective. This is in line with the New Testament usage, and also with the usage common in the Apostolic Fathers, especially in Hermas, and frequently misunderstood by translators. In this case, the misunderstanding of the objective genitive has led to the rejection of the πίστιν by many editors and copyists, both ancient and modern. 22

Perler proposes, very attractively, that in these words we have a chiasmus — ἡγαπημένη καὶ περισσυμένη compared chiastically with πίστιν καὶ ἀγάπην. The Roman Church beloved by God reflects that love of God in a corresponding love for Him; and enlightened by God, the enlightenment issues in faith.
"Der unerschaffenen Liebe Gottes zu uns entspricht als Gradenzwirkung die geschaffene Christliche Liebe in uns; der göttliche Erleuchtung entspricht der unverfälschte Glaube an Jesus Christus, unseren Gott. Die chiastische Warstellung ist rhetorische Figur" 23.

"To the uncreated love of God for us there corresponds as an effect of grace the created Christian love in us; to the divine enlightenment there corresponds the genuine faith in Jesus Christ our God. The chiastic arrangement of words is a rhetorical figure".

The point is that the principal Church is especially beloved and enlightened by God, and as such is able to set the standards of faith and love to others, as well as keeping to them herself. 23a

It is interesting that this is the only place in the Roman letter where πιστεύει occurs, and this reflects the different emphasis in this letter from that of the others 24. Ignatius is not here concerned with doctrinal error at Rome, but rather he writes a vehement plea to the Roman Christians not to interfere to have him pardoned, or to spoil his chance to win the martyr's crown and so become a disciple 25.

"For the beginning is auspicious, if I may obtain grace to receive my lot unhindered. For I fear your love, lest it should harm me" 26.

Ignatius believed that the only way he could truly serve Christ was to die the martyr's death.

"Only ask for me power inwardly and outwardly in order that I may not only say, but also wish, not only to be called a Christian but also to be found to be one. For if I am found a Christian I am also able to be called one; and when I am not visible to the world, then am I able to be called a believer (πιστός)" 27.
This urgency which Ignatius feels about his martyrdom leads him to express himself again in vivid language. He calls himself the "wheat of God" to be ground between the teeth of the wild beasts, and he urges the Roman Christians to entice the beasts. "Then I shall be truly a disciple of Jesus Christ." (I. Ro 4.1)

For Ignatius, the imitation of Christ is a literal following of Christ to death. He longs to die, and the world no longer has any appeal for him.

"My desire is crucified, and there is no longer in me any fire of love for material things (πυρ ψυχής) ...... I have no pleasure in perishable food neither in the pleasure of this life. I desire the Bread of God, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ ...... . I desire His blood, which is love imperishable."

(I. Ro 7)

Here again we notice the emphasis on imitation and the identification of love with the blood of Christ. Again too there are clear eucharistic overtones. But faith is not mentioned in this context this time, because no doctrinal question is raised here.

This omission tells us something important about Ignatius' view of faith. It is not so much relational and expressed in trust as it is doctrinal and expressed in belief. This will become clearer in the next section when we come to consider his anti-docetism. Of course Ignatius does trust God; but he does this because he believes God's
promises in Jesus, and especially because he believes in the reality of the resurrection of Jesus and all that this means for the resurrection of believers. The trust aspect of faith is expressed indirectly when he speaks of the imitation of Christ and the attainment of discipleship.

There is both similarity and dissimilarity here with the teaching of St Paul. Ignatius does not mention the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, and it is in these terms especially that Paul speaks of the relational side of faith. But for them both, faith is firmly rooted in the belief in the resurrection of Jesus Christ and the consequent resurrection of believers. The two sides of faith in Paul are well illustrated by the argument developed in Ro. 5-8. Ro 5.1 begins with the statement that "Having been justified by faith we have peace with God." This leads to teaching about grace and the forgiveness of sins, and the cautioning against "sinning that grace may abound" at the beginning of Chapter 6, where Paul teaches that a Christian cannot continue in sin, because he has been baptised into Christ's death. But he goes on at 6.8 to say that: "If we have died with Christ we believe that (πιστεύομεν οτι) we will also live with Him." So faith is that trust in Christ which enables grace to work in the Christian and results in justification; but faith is also the belief in the truth of Christ's resurrection. These two aspects of faith cannot be illustrated in like manner in the case of Ignatius.

Th. Preiss points to other differences between Paul and Ignatius,
which go along with the different emphasis in regard to faith. These have to do with the different view of martyrdom taken by the two men.

For Ignatius, his whole desire is to become a martyr and so become in the truest sense a disciple, and in this to literally imitate the passion of Jesus. On the other hand, Paul, although he believes it would be advantageous for him to die, \textsuperscript{33} subordinates his desire to be with Christ to the need to preach the gospel, which is his first responsibility. For Paul, the entry into the death of Christ is a spiritual thing which takes place at Baptism, and is reflected in the death to sin and newness of life which takes place in the believer \textsuperscript{34}. The imitation of Christ is in the imitation of His manner of life, seen in the death to sin and in the "new" behaviour of the Christian.

But for Ignatius it is all a literal going to death with Jesus. To imitate Christ is to die as He died. This is the way to true discipleship; and in this sense discipleship = imitation. However, although Ignatius does not mention the sacrificial aspect of the death of Christ as such, he believes that the passion of the martyr has its own redemptive value for the Church \textsuperscript{35}. Thus the martyrdom has not only personal efficacy for the martyr / disciple / imitator, but also it is of great value and importance for the Church.

Ignatius speaks of himself in sacrificial language - "Do not
provide more for me than that I should be poured out as a libation to God, as long as an altar is prepared ....... ." 36 He speaks of himself as a "sacrifice to God". 37 It is only in this epistle to the Romans that such language occurs; he must impress upon these Christians that any plea on his behalf would not only spoil his own chances of attaining discipleship, but also deny to the Church the efficacy of his sacrifice of himself.

This kind of commitment to martyrdom requires great faith. It requires a firm belief in the reality of the resurrection, and the consequent fact that death is not the end. It also requires trust in Christ to see him through the horrors not only of the beasts, but of the journey itself in company with the "ten leopards". 38 He speaks of faith when he refers to belief in the resurrection and promises; but being a realist and quite unsentimental in his approach, when it comes to trust he talks not of faith as such, but of imitation and discipleship. This is his way of expressing his commitment to Christ, a commitment which Paul would call faith. The basis of Ignatius' relationship with Christ is that of imitation and discipleship; that of Paul is faith / trust.

There are only two other occurrences in this epistle to be considered. In 8.2, Ignatius asks the Romans πιστεύσατε μοι - "believe me" - as part of an assertion of his own veracity. In 10.2 he expresses the belief that the Romans already know about those who have gone before him in martyrdom at Rome, πιστεύω ὑμᾶς ἐπεγγυόμεναί. So in these two cases he uses the verb to express belief in an ordinary non-theological sense.

From these contexts, then, we may conclude that Ignatius sees faith as the standard by which Christians live, together with love. The two together express the God-ward and man-ward aspects of the Christian life. But, faith in God is for Ignatius primarily a belief in this reality and in the reality of His work in Jesus. The trust aspect of faith is seen in his
commitment to imitate Jesus even to death, and so to attain to true discipleship.

That faith is seen by Ignatius as primarily belief in God's reality is shown clearly by his use of προτις and cognates in relation to the prevalent docetism in many of the Churches to which he wrote. By far the greatest number of contexts lie in this division which we will consider next.
Section 2 - Faith as true belief - over against docetism

Docetism is that heresy which sees Christ in His incarnation and human life as τὸ δομέτιν - "seeming" ¹. The end result of this is that the resurrection too, is only apparent. The heresy thus cuts at the very root of the Christian faith, and renders null and void the promises both of forgiveness and life after death. In the case of Ignatius, and his martyrdom, it renders useless his sufferings and pending death, and means that he is sadly mistaken about the rewards of that martyrdom because there is no real after-life.

The heresy seems to have been widespread in the early Church, and to have been the forerunner of the later developed gnosticism of the 3rd century and after. Ignatius found the heresy especially strong at Smyrna, Philadelphia and Tralles, judging by the great emphasis on it in those letters. It appears that Ephesus was also threatened by heretics travelling through from these other places ², and that the heresy was present at Magnesia as well. Only the Roman Epistle does not deal with the problem; the reason for this is that the priorities of the epistle are rather different ³.

There has been much disagreement in recent years as to the identity of the docetists. Lightfoot has argued for a Judaeo-docetism, and for a single group of heretics in each case. Others, and especially Virginia Corwin, have agreed that Ignatius is fighting on two fronts against two distinct groups. The evidence is weighed and summarised by Barnard ⁴, who favours Lightfoot's judgment. More recently, Donahue has supported the two-heresy view ⁵.

As Paul J. Donahue ⁶ has pointed out, finality for this question is unlikely to be reached. For the present inquiry, it does not matter which side we take, as it does not affect the meaning of πίστις and cognates. The docetism is a fact, be it Jewish or gnostic or both, and in reference to what is attacked we
will simply refer to it as docetism. So far as faith is concerned, Ignatius argues that it includes belief in the reality of Jesus' incarnation, life and death, and especially belief in the reality of the resurrection, and its corollary of life after death. It was these facts that the docetists taught as being only apparent - τὸ δοκεῖν.

For the sake of convenience, we will take the anti-docetic occurrences of πτήσις and cognates in the order in which they occur in the epistles as they stand in Camelot's edition.

At I. Eph. 7, the Bishop has some strong words about the docetists and the damage they do to the Church -

"For some are accustomed to bandy about the Name with evil guile, practising some other things which are unworthy of God; whom you must avoid as wild beasts. For they are mad dogs who bite with stealth, against whom you must be on your guard, since their bites are difficult to heal. There is one physician, fleshly and spiritual, begotten and unbegotten, being God in flesh, true life in death, both from Mary and from God, first passible then impassible, Jesus Christ our Lord."

This leads directly to Section 8, where Ignatius speaks of faith in this anti-docetic context -

"Let not anyone, therefore, lead you astray, as you are not being led astray, being wholly God's. For when no strife has taken root among you which is able to torment you, then you are living according to God's will (ματὰ θεόν). I am your humble servant (περίψημα) and I am dedicated for you Ephesians, a Church renowned for ever."

Faith comes in now in Section 2 -
οι σαρκικοὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ πράσσειν οὐ δύνανται οὐδὲ οἱ πνευματικοὶ τὰ σαρκικὰ ὁσπερ οὐδὲ ἡ πίστις τὰ τῆς ἁπιστίας οὐδὲ ἡ ἁπιστία τὰ τῆς πίστεως.

"Men of the flesh cannot practise the things of the spirit, neither spiritual men the things of the flesh. Similarly faith cannot practise the things of unbelief, neither unbelief the things of faith."

(I. Eph. 8.2)

The Section concludes -

"The things which you do according to the flesh, these things are spiritual; for you do everything in Christ Jesus."

Sections 7 and 8 must be taken together, because the train of thought follows out the damaging and divisive effects of heresy. It is in this context that we must understand the references to faith. The effects of heresy are as damaging and difficult to heal as the bite of a mad dog. There is only one physician who has the cure - Jesus Christ who is both flesh and spirit, begotten and unbegotten etc. These phrases describe the two sides to Christ's nature - He is both true God and true man, and in each aspect He is real. The statement that He is both "flesh and spirit" is the basic principle - the other following ascriptions elaborate on this.

The Ephesians are not to be led astray from this true belief in the reality of Christ in His two natures. Only by holding this can they live ὑπάρξεις 7 - in accordance with God's will. This too is the basis for Ignatius' own offering of himself. This is the force of ἀγνεῖζομαι - the meaning is that he dedicates himself as an offering on behalf of the Ephesians,8 an action that would be meaningless if Christ's sufferings and resurrection were but an appearance.
It follows then, that the men of the flesh are the docetists, and they are so described because wrong belief leads to wrong behaviour - to strife (ὥρις) which tortures, and to a life not in accordance with the will of God. It follows also that πίστις here must be understood as right belief, which cannot indulge in the destructive works of unbelief (ἀπιστία). For the true believer, all that he does is "in Christ Jesus", and even the everyday things which are related to the flesh are spiritual because they are done "in Christ". So Ignatius comes at the conclusion of the section to the all-embracing nature of Christ in the life of the Christian.

The reference to the false teachers continues into Section 9, but the thought becomes more symbolic and less definite. It is interesting too that when faith is mentioned later in the Section it is in the context of the "machine metaphor" and it is closely connected with love; faith is called the ἀναγωγεύς - the guide - and is to be understood more in the sense of a virtue, and the motivating force which leads to the practice of other virtues. Faith for Ignatius is not monochrome nor limited to the sense of right belief; there is the emotional as well as the intellectual side. The transition of thought here is instructive in our understanding of the many-sided nature of faith and we will return later to a fuller investigation of the significance of the "machine metaphor" and what it suggests for our understanding of faith in Ignatius ⁹.

Another important insight here is the moral effect of right belief. So far the Ephesians are not led astray - no strife (ὥρις) has taken root among them. Discord goes with heresy, and the disruptive behaviour of the heretics is typical of "men of the flesh". It remains true that belief determines behaviour; only those who are not led astray can live ἐκατον Θεόν - in accordance with the will of God ¹⁰. In the end, the most serious aspect of heresy was the behaviour of heretics, and their destructive effect on the life of the Church, and upon its witness to those outside ¹¹.
This moral effect of wrong belief is picked up again in this letter to the Ephesians at 16.1 f.

"Do not be deceived my brethren; the Temple destroyers (οἰκοφθόροι) will not inherit the Kingdom of God. Wherefore, if those who do these things according to the flesh have died, how much more if anyone should corrupt faith in God (πίστιν θεοῦ) by evil teaching, i.e. which faith Christ was crucified? Such a man, being filthy, shall go into the unquenchable fire, and likewise he who listens to him".

Lightfoot points out in commenting on "those who do these things πατα σάρκια, that the early heresies were in many cases highly immoral in their teaching, maintaining in direct terms the indifference of "sins of the flesh." The οἰκοφθόροι are "temple-destroyers", or "spiritual adulterers" ¹² who by their behaviour destroy peoples' faith. The passage is clearly based on 1 Cor. 6 with its condemnation of sexual immorality and its references to immorality being unable to inherit the Kingdom of God (1 Cor. 6. 9f twice) ¹³. AG s.v. suggests that Ignatius is here thinking of immorality being introduced by the heretics as the particular means of destruction. Paul in 1 Cor. 6.19 speaks of our body as the temple of the Holy Spirit, and although he uses ναὸς there rather than οἶκος, the thought may well have been connected in Ignatius' mind. In this case the οἰκοφθόροι would be those who destroy the temple of their body, or that of the bodies of other Christians, with their false teaching and its immoral results ¹⁴. At all events the point here is that if adulterers who are such in fact perish, how much more the spiritual adulterers who do a greater and eternal damage, and corrupt the faith of others.

But what is the meaning of πίστιν θεοῦ?

Lightfoot ad loc. describes
it as an objective genitive, and understands it in the sense of "the faith of God" - i.e. the teaching of the Gospel. He claims that the article is here omitted because the usage is so well attested by Ignatius' time that there is no need to include it. He quotes Gal. 1.23, 3.23 and 6.10 where ἡ πίστις is used with the article, in support of this view. But these N.T. occurrences are hardly parallel, and in my opinion are better understood as W.F. Richardson suggests; ἡ πίστις is not "the faith", in the sense of a body of doctrine; but the article defines and makes explicit that it is the peculiarly Christian faith that is meant in the sense that it is the faith in the God of the Christians.

This is much more likely to be the sense here. The article is omitted because the object is stated, and we translate "faith in God". What was being corrupted was the individual's faith in the God who had sent Jesus, and who was Jesus. This is the constant sense of the objective genitive in the New Testament, and the same is true in the case of the Apostolic Fathers. It is for this faith in God that Jesus has died. But if the reality of Jesus and His death and resurrection are denied, then God's actions and His veracity are called into question, and faith in Him is destroyed. The end result of this will be behaviour like that of the heretics.

This interpretation above differs in its emphasis from that of Virginia Corwin, who states on p.239 that "it was for the faith of God that Jesus was crucified", and interprets this passage as an assertion that "a correct understanding by man is part of the very purpose of God". She goes on to say that in this Ignatius comes closest to the use characteristic of his age - viz. that faith is either a virtue alongside others or the intellectual affirmation of the Church. This is, however, to build a good deal on this phrase, and it assumes that at this stage there were "affirmations of faith". As we saw above, Ignatius has a balanced view of faith which includes the trust aspect as well as the intellectual and virtuous senses. Her interpretation also assumes that Lightfoot has rightly explained the absence of the article - and note that Miss Corwin herself speaks here of "the faith" as if the article were present.
Among the translators, Goodspeed has 'faith in God'; Lake and ANCL have 'faith of God', 'God's faith' is the translation of L.C.C.

This section is a vivid condemnation of the destructive forces attached to wrong belief and its immoral results. The parallel between the fate of adulterers and the end of spiritual adulterers who corrupt others' faith is typical of the vivid and striking manner in which Ignatius writes.

This same vividness of expression is apparent in the section of Magnesians, where Ignatius again attacks docetism - viz. sections 8-11 inclusive. Liébaert, who quotes sections 8-10 in full, makes this point - "Cette page vêhémentment dit magnifiquement l'enthousiasme d'Ignace devant la nouveauté du Christianisme ..." In this case, the attack on the docetists is centred on the contrast between the newness of Christianity and the old Jewish observances, now superseded.

"Do not be deceived by erroneous opinions nor by the old fables, which are harmful. For if up till now we live according to law, we confess that we have not received grace ..."

(I.Mag.8.1)

Having drawn the contrast between law and grace, Ignatius then goes on to speak of the function of the prophets as pointing the way to Christ, a subject which he treats also in Phld.5.2 Although Ignatius does not often quote the Old Testament, yet even more than St Paul he sees it as the account of a definite part of God's plan in preparing the way for His principal work in Jesus Christ. But the Old Testament, and Judaism with all its practices, is prior to and preparatory for Christianity, and it is illogical to revert from Christianity to Judaism - the movement is the other way. This is the context of his assertion at Mag. 10.3 that "Christianity has not believed in Judaism, but Judaism in Christianity, into which every tongue which believes in God has been gathered" -
Camelot's translation here seems to find a reference to the reversal of the story of the Tower of Babel - in Genesis 11.1-9, where God is pictured as deliberately confusing the languages of the nations, and dispersing them over the face of the earth, unable to understand one another - "en qui s'est réunie toute langue qui croit en Dieu"; but συνάγων does not have this sense, and the meaning is simply that Christianity is a universal faith as distinct from the nationalistic and more exclusive nature of Judaism. εἰς θεόν could go either with πιστεύσασα or with συνήχθη. I have preferred the former, but A.G. s.v. συνάγω 4 prefers the latter. It makes no real difference to the sense; Ignatius is here claiming that faith in Christ has a catholicity and largeness absent from faith in the God of the Jews.

This statement which we have just examined stands toward the conclusion of the passage at 10.3. In the course of his writing through to this point, Ignatius has compared in section 8 law and grace, and noticed the role of the prophets. In section 9 he contrasts the sabbath observance of the Lord's Day among the Christians and speaks of all that this implies about the resurrection of Jesus and the consequent newness which ought to be found in Christians. It is in this context that he comes to faith.

"If, then, those who lived according to the ancient customs came into a new hope, no longer observing the sabbath but living according to the Lord's Day,
in which also our life has arisen through Him and His death, which some deny, through which mystery we received faith and on account of this we endure, in order that we may be found disciples of Jesus Christ ...

The personal renewal is emphatically stated in the reference to our life, raised through Jesus and His death. But this personal renewal is denied if Christ and His death are denied, and there is a reversion to Jewish practices.

There is a difficulty with the ὧν in the phrase "which some deny". What is the antecedent? Is it "His death" only, or the whole preceding phrase? Lightfoot, ad loc., reads ὧν and takes only the death as the antecedent; P.J. Donahue says that if ὧν is read, then the whole phrase must be the antecedent. He sees in this support for a gnostic as well as a Jewish element. Whether this be so or not, the docetists denied not only the reality of Jesus' death but also that of His incarnation. This interpretation finds support from the assertion in 8.2 that "God is one, who has manifested Himself through Jesus Christ His only Son, Who is His word coming forth from silence. ..."

It is through the mystery of the life and death of Jesus that we have received faith - τὸ πιστεύω. This is the only occasion where Ignatius expresses faith by the use of the articular infinitive. The construction in which the articular infinitive functions as a noun in the accusative case, and direct object of a transitive verb, can be paralleled at Mag. 5.2 and Trallians 2.1 by the use of τὸ ἀποθανεῖν. In the former case the usage may arise from the idiomatic Hellenistic use of τὸ ζῆν in the next clause; in the latter case it may be for the sake of variation, as the phrase εἰς τὸν ἄνωτερον occurs in the same clause. In the Mag. 9.1 example under consideration, there is no ready explanation from the grammatical context. Apart from the fact that the substantivising use of the article with the infinitive is well established in Hellenistic times, the best explanation of its use here is that
Ignatius wishes to emphasise that he is talking about faith in the sense of "the act of believing". He is insisting on the intellectual assent to the reality of Jesus' incarnation and death as against the docetic denials.

This ability to believe in the reality of the incarnation is not a thing that man attains to by his own efforts; it is the gift of God. Like love, it is one of the charismata. "We have received faith" says Ignatius; elsewhere again he will indicate the divine origin of faith, as we will see when we deal with the "machine metaphor". The inscription of the letter to the Smyrneans speaks of them as having "received mercy in every gift, filled with faith and love; having no lack in any gift". In both these latter examples, faith is coupled with love; but in Mag. 9 this is not the case. Miss Corwin finds that it is easier to think of love as a charisma rather than faith, and she explains το πιστεύειν here as containing both the sense of trust and belief, although this would be opposed to my suggestion that the articular infinitive emphasises the intellectual aspect. It is difficult to see why God cannot work directly on the intellect, as on the emotions. Ignatius views right belief as of such importance that it is logical that he would attribute it to the activity of God in the mind of man. The same view of faith as the gift of God is to be found in the New Testament in Romans 12.3 and Acts 17.31, in which faith is provided by the resurrection; the cry of the father in Mark 9.23f. also assumes that it is within the power of Jesus to grant sufficient faith for the demons to be cast out.

If the interpretation of faith as the gift of God in the intellectual sense as I have suggested here is correct, then it is better, with Lightfoot, to take the ἰδα τοῦτο following as pointing forward rather than referring back. Endurance is not so much the result of faith, but the means by which discipleship is attained - a desire very much to the forefront of Ignatius' mind, and only to be attained if he endures to the point of martyrdom itself. The connection of thought is then that belief in the reality of Jesus' incarnation, life, death and
resurrection is absolutely necessary; this conviction comes not through the cleverness of man, but as a gift of God. The martyr, believing in Jesus and especially in the resurrection, can look forward to a real life after death. In view of this, endurance is worthwhile for the attainment of that true discipleship which only he who endures to the end can claim.

Moving now to the letter to the Trallians, we find an even stronger condemnation of docetism. The ancient city of Tralles was situated on the Maeander River in a particularly wealthy part of Asia Minor. In this it was similar to its inland neighbour, Laodicea. Both these cities owed their wealth not only to a natural fertility, but also to their support of the Romans, and an ability to win the favour of their overlords. Tralles even took the additional name of Caesarea. When the author of the book of Revelation writes to the Laodiceans he condemns them for their lukewarmness; they are "neither cold nor hot" and fit only to be spewed out; and they are in danger from a heresy which apparently bears a close relation to that at Tralles, attacked by Ignatius. Ignatius describes himself here as a man full of zeal, and in need of gentleness; but gentleness can degenerate into the same sort of laissez-faire attitude apparent at Laodicea: an attitude which tolerates heresy without recognising its seriousness. In addressing the Trallians, Ignatius will show the reality of Christ and His death in the most vivid and striking terms, and he will describe the grave moral danger to the Trallians which results from heresy. I believe that we may better appreciate the situation which Ignatius addresses if we bear in mind the comparison cited here with Revelation, and the dangers to which Christians in a wealthy environment are exposed.

The Bishop, Polybius, has travelled to Smyrna to see Ignatius, and the letter is an appreciation for this. No doubt it is this fact which prompts Ignatius to begin gently, and with a nice compliment. Polybius has made it clear that his people have "a blameless mind and unwavering in standfastness - οὕτως κατὰ χρῆσιν, ἄλλα κατὰ φύσιν" - not by usage but by nature; The sense of the expression is that their virtues are firmly
rooted in their nature, and not merely ad hoc - developed in relation to a particular situation and then forgotten. They are by nature virtuous Christians. Moreover, they are in this imitators of God, as Ignatius proceeds to say in 1.2.

This imitation is expressed in obedience to the Bishop, and Ignatius develops this theme in 2.1. To be obedient to the Bishop is to live, not according to the standards of men, but "according to the standards of Jesus Christ" -

άλλα κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν δι’ ἡμᾶς ἀμοιβανόντα, εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀμοιβανεῖν ἐκφύγητε.

Who died for our sakes, in order that believing in His death you might escape death".

So faith here is belief in the death of Jesus, as against those who said this was only an apparent death. For Ignatius the death is only too real, and his own death is an entering into Jesus' death, and the resultant escape from death.

There is a similarity of thought here with Ignatius Mag. 5.2 - "unless we die voluntarily to share His sufferings, His life is not in us." The point is that believing in Jesus' death involves a willingness to follow Him there. If there is doubt in the mind as to the reality of Jesus' own death, then there is hardly likely to be a willingness to follow Him there. The same pattern of thought lies behind both the Magnesians and Trallians passages. In the latter, the Trallians are imitators of God; this imitation is expressed in obedience to the Bishop; this obedience to the Bishop is itself a symbol of Jesus' own obedience even to death. This faith in Jesus' death implies a similar obedience even to death. So faith is belief in a real death and issues in action to imitate this and thus enter into His death. For faith to be real, it must issue in action. This fact emerges clearly in the thought of Ignatius.
Although Ignatius has made a fairly gentle start here and complimented the Trallians on their orthodoxy and obedience, the considerable emphasis placed on obedience to the Bishop in these early sections suggests that there was at least a tendency to disobedience. That there was also grave danger of heresy appears strongly as we read on.

The mention of heresy is explicit in section 6. Here, Ignatius bids the Trallians "take only the Christian nourishment, and reject foreign herbage, which is heresy".

The passage continues -

οἱ ἑαυτοὶς παρεμπλέκουσιν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καταξιοπληστευόμενοι . . .

"Those who make a pretense of honesty blend Jesus Christ for themselves, as giving a deadly poison with honey-sweet wine, which the ignorant man gladly receives, and in this evil pleasure receives death."

(I.Tr.6.2)

This constitutes a very stern warning against heresy. The figure of the heresy as a deadly plant which tastes sweet like honey is vivid and telling, in Ignatius' style. Clearly all was not well at Tralles. There were some there to whom Ignatius attaches the name of οἱ καταξιοπληστευόμενοι. A.G. s.v. gives for this verb the meaning "pretend to be trustworthy, simulate honesty"; Lightfoot translates "imposing by their profession of honesty"; L & S s.v. give the meaning "to demand implicit belief to the prejudice of τεσσάρας." Lampe s.v. gives "demand implicit belief". The verb is a hap. leg. in early Christian literature. Both A.G. and L & S quote as a parallel Polybius 12.17.1.

In this section, Polybius begins his criticism of Callisthenes' inability to write about military matters (12.17-22).
To illustrate this he takes the account of the Battle of Issus. Polybius has just completed his criticisms of Timaeus (12.1-16) and prefaces his next remarks thus -

ζις ε δε μη δοξωμεν των τηλικοιτων άνδρων καταξοπλοστεοσθαι ...

"In order that I may not seem to insist arbitrarily on the acceptance of my criticism of such famous writers ...".40

F.W. Walbank41 comments that καταξοπλοστεοσθαι is for καταξοπλοστεοσθαι, and that the sense appears to be "to claim credence for oneself at the expense of someone else". This sense fits our Ignatius passage very well. There were those at Tralles who made Jesus fit their own preference - they "blended Jesus Christ for themselves" - and in so doing they "claimed credence" for their own teachings at the expense of those who would listen to them. The medical metaphor of the the attractive yet poisonous nature of heresy, together with this word which suggests the persuasiveness of the heretics, forms a pointed and telling condemnation of the activities of the false teachers. Ignatius may have begun his message gently, but he moves to a stern condemnation and warning.

The false teaching must be guarded against, as he continues to write in section 7. Again, true faith issues in right conduct; the Trallians are not puffed up - ψυχομενους. The implication is that heretics are puffed up. Lightfoot, commenting on this passage, describes it as the "pride of self-assertion which rebels against lawful authority".42 The Bishop, the Presbyterate and the deacons are the centre of lawful authority, and also the guardians of right teaching. To believe true doctrine and to be obedient is, in Ignatius' memorable phrase in 7.2, to be "within the altar" and "clean". Again, he has brought us back to the ethical outcome of faith.

This ethical side of faith is further argued in section 8, where we have one of the most striking and memorable of Ignatius' phrases -
"You, then, putting on gentleeness, recreate yourselves in faith, which is the flesh of the Lord, and in love, which is the blood of Jesus Christ."

Faith is the flesh and love the blood. Clearly there are eucharistic overtones in this identification. Flesh and blood of Christ are the normal food of Christians; so faith and love are the basic virtues which stem from participation in the Eucharist. But the identification goes further than this. For example, the flesh and blood of Christ represent His reality— that which the docetists deny. So "faith is flesh" is an arresting way of saying that faith is belief in the reality of Jesus. Liébaert expresses the idea well— "La 'chair' du Christ — avec toute la densité du mot dans la pensée d'Ignace: chair véritable, réellement crucifiée et réellement ressuscitée — , cette chair à laquelle le baptisé est uni par l'Eucharistie, est la substance même de la foi chrétienne; la sang du Seigneur, versé sur la croix et communiqué dans le sacrement, est le signe même de l'agapè divine et le principe de toute charité."

The identification of the two fundamental virtues of the Christian life with the fundamental means of grace is a significant insight. Again, the denial of Christ's reality by the docetists must of necessity call into question the reality of the Eucharist.
We may, then, state Ignatius' thought here as follows: Faith is belief in the reality of Christ represented by His real flesh, which is partaken of in the Eucharist. The Blood of Christ, poured out on the cross, is the sign of His love, which flows through Christians by their participation in the Eucharist. 46

Both Lake and Goodspeed translate πραΰξάθελα as "meekness"; A.G. gives "gentleness" and quotes Philo, de Ab. 37.213 where the word is used of the gentleness of Abraham in separating from Lot and giving the latter the best choice of land. M-M 47 suggest "gentleness of spirit", which seems to catch the Philonic sense. Ignatius has said in section 4 that he has need of gentleness (πραΰτης) as against his zeal (ζηλος). He has a zeal to die the martyr's death, but he needs also the quiet acceptance of his fate. The use of the article with πραΰξάθελα makes the reference specific, and is best understood as the gentleness of Christ in His acceptance of suffering and death. The Trallians need to believe in the reality of Christ's death and so put on His gentleness - the attitude of acceptance which true faith demands. The use of ἀνακτόσαθε suggests that the peril of the Trallians at the hands of docetism may have been greater than has been admitted in the letter. 48

This true faith which Ignatius speaks of here will be found in a gentleness of spirit which is willing to accept it and as always will express itself in behaviour acceptable for Christians - holding nothing against a neighbour, giving no opportunity to gentiles to blaspheme the name of Christ (8.2).
Then in 9.1, Ignatius gives us a number of statements about Christ which virtually amount to a creed, all designed in particular to emphasise the reality of Christ in His incarnate and risen life. He is "the One from the tribe of David, from Mary, who truly⁴⁹ was born, ate and drank, truly was persecuted under Pontius Pilate, truly was crucified and died, while the things in the heavens, on the earth and under the earth looked on; Who also was truly raised from the dead, Whom His Father raised, and in the same manner in Jesus Christ His Father will raise us who believe in Him (τοὺς πλησιν Ὀντας αὐτῷ)".

Camelot⁵⁰ says that we have here the echo of very ancient professions of Christological faith; the terms were already fixed by the tradition and used in the liturgy of baptism and the Eucharist. That it was necessary for Ignatius to state the orthodox Christology, further demonstrates the danger of docetism at Tralles. "This docetism ... was extended to the birth, passion and resurrection, in fact to the whole human life of Christ".⁵¹

The condemnation of the docetists is explicit in section 10. They are ἀθέτοι - atheists; they are ἀπιστοὶ - unbelievers. They are on the level with the heathen (Lightfoot). The passage bears a close resemblance to I Cor.15.12ff., where Paul's preaching is in vain and the Corinthians' faith is in vain if the resurrection is denied. Here, Ignatius asks why he is bound and why he prays to fight wild beasts - if Christ's death is only apparent, Ignatius himself dies for nothing. So Ignatius brings the strongest condemnation against docetism at Tralles.

λέγοντι, τὸ δοκεῖν πεπονθέναι αὐτὸν, αὐτὸλ ὃντες τὸ δοκεῖν.

(I.Tr.10)

"They say, in appearance he has suffered - they themselves being the appearance."⁵²

Clearly the docetists had reached Tralles, as they had reached many of the other churches in Asia. Ignatius warns the faithful
against the infection of wrong doctrine. There would, it seems, be every possibility that the condemnation of the Laodicaean church in Rev 3, could be applied also at Tralles, at least to a pro-docetic group.

The same is true of neighbouring Philadelphia to which Ignatius writes next, and at which a heretical group has also received strong condemnation in Rev. 3.7ff. There was at Philadelphia a "Synagogue of Satan - of those who say that they are Jews, and they are not, but they lie" (Rev 3.9). The Philadelphian docetism has a Jewish flavour, as appears both from Revelation and from Ignatius.\textsuperscript{53}

Ignatius' epistle to Philadelphia suggests that some considerable danger existed, and that already there was disobedience to the Bishop, and division. After complimenting the worth of the Bishop, and especially his graciousness (ἐπεξεύθεν), Ignatius leads straight into the problems of heresy and the division it causes, in section 2. The heretics are plausible wolves - λύκου ἀξιόπιστοι - who take captive "these who run in God's race".\textsuperscript{54} The word ἀξιόπιστος can have either a good or bad sense - here it has the bad sense of "plausible". We may compare the word καταξιοπιστεύονται discussed above on p.31ff. In Ignatius' letter to Polycarp at 3.1, he also warns the latter to beware of those who teach error and "appear plausible" - οἵ διοικοῦντες ἀξιόπιστοι εἶναι.

Sections 3 and 4 continue the warnings against division, and particular mention is made of the Eucharist as a centre and means of unity, with the one flesh and one cup, one altar and one Bishop.

It is noticeable that in the letters to the Ephesians and Magnesians it was possible to deal with the references to faith more as individual contexts. However, in Trallians and Philadelphians, and as we shall see also in Smyrneans, the argument tends to be more close-knit and directed against heresy and its results in the life of the church. Faith is more doctrinal than ethical in this context, and therefore needs to be treated
within the whole argument. This necessarily points up the different senses attached to πίστευτες and its cognates in different situations.

Thus in Philadelphians, after the exhortations to unity, Ignatius continues (5.1 and 2) -

"My brothers, I am wholly consumed with love for you,55 and with overflowing joy I safeguard you; not I, but Jesus Christ, in Whom I, bound, am rather fearful, as being yet imperfect; but your prayer to God will make me perfect, praying (ἐναρμόνιον)56 that in the lot in which I have received mercy I may attain (perfection), since I flee to the Gospel as to the flesh of Jesus (προσφυγών τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ) and to the Apostles, as to the council of the Church. And we love the prophets, because they pointed the way toward the Gospel and hoped in Him and awaited Him and also believing in Him they have been saved (ἐν θησαυροῖς πιστεύσαντες ἀκούσαν ...)"

The argument proceeds with an expression of Ignatius’ own doubts as to his ability to see his martyrdom through to the end and so become perfect; but this will be possible by their prayers for him, and because he finds refuge in the Gospel. This leads him to discuss the place of the Gospel and its relation to the Old Testament.

There is difficulty in deciding just what is meant here by the "Gospel". Camelot57 refers it to the good news borne by Jesus, and in support of this he quotes Ignatius, Eph.20.1 ("the Plan concerning the new Man Jesus Christ") which he states to be an exact parallel. In the Eph. passage, Ignatius is saying that in a subsequent letter to the Ephesians he is going to make clear this plan (οἷς καὶ πιστεύσαντες ἐσώθησαν ...) which he has begun to discuss in
his present letter to them, "in faith in Him and love for Him, in His suffering and His resurrection". These are the basic facts of the Gospel as we understand it, and the two passages may well amount to the same thing. But Lightfoot was not nearly so sure, and allowed that a case could be made for the Gospel as the written account of Jesus and His teaching. The linking with the Apostles may indicate that what Ignatius means is the message of Jesus as recorded and proclaimed by the Apostles. The contrast with the Prophets certainly suggests a written record, in the same way as the words of the latter were recorded in the Old Testament. The weight of evidence is in favour of understanding the Gospel referred to here by Ignatius as the message of God's Plan in Jesus. This explanation also fits the other references to the Gospel in Ignatius (e.g. Philad.9.1. Sm. 7.2).

Ignatius "flees to the Gospel as to the flesh of Christ" - again here, the "flesh" is Ignatius' way of speaking about the reality of Christ. The Gospel contains the message of that reality, and its truth is dependent on Christ's reality. This is expressed also in 9.2 where Ignatius speaks of the Gospel as "something special" which records "the coming of the Saviour ... His suffering and His resurrection".

The Prophets gain a mention here because their message looks forward to this Gospel; Ignatius also prepares the way for his later words in section 8 about the Old Testament. The Prophets found salvation through faith in Jesus - the reference here is to the descent into Hades. The early church taught that Our Lord visited the souls of the patriarchs and prophets and taught them the truths of the Gospel and raised them either to paradise or heaven. This tradition is reflected here in our present passage, and the faith of the prophets leads to salvation - i.e. in the sense of their belief in the truths of the Gospel. This tradition fits well in this anti-docetic context.

The argument of this section is rounded off by the statement that, in unity with Jesus Christ, all the saints of both the Old Testament and New Testament are gathered together and included in the benefits of the Gospel.
After further warnings about the danger of heresy and disobedience to the Bishop, Ignatius returns again to the place of the Old Testament in relation to the Gospel at section 8. This is a notable passage and contains some inspiring words in typical Ignatian style -

"I therefore have tried to play my part as a man committed to unity. Where there is division and wrath, God does not dwell. The Lord will forgive everyone who repents, if in repentance they come into unity with God and to the council of the Bishop. I have confidence in the grace (πιστεύω τῇ χάριτι) of Jesus Christ Who will loose from you every bond.

I exhort you to do nothing from selfish ambition, but in accordance with the teaching of Christ (κατὰ χριστομαθέαν) I. Nevertheless, I have heard some saying that, except I find it in the archives I do not believe in the Gospel (ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὐ πιστεύω), and when I say that it is written there (in the Old Testament) they answer me that this is the question at issue (ὅτι πρόκειται). To me the archives are Jesus Christ, the inviolable archives His cross and death and resurrection and the faith which is through Him (ἡ πίστες ἡ δυ' αὐτοῦ) - by which things I wish by your prayers to be justified."

In this passage just quoted we can detect two senses in which the verb πιστεύω is used, reflecting two different emphases in the mind of Ignatius in relation to faith. In the first case - πιστεύω τῇ χάριτι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ - the emphasis is on trust and confidence; in the second case - ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὐ πιστεύω - the emphasis is on lack of belief. So faith/trust and faith/belief are here side by side.
We will consider first the trust/confidence aspect, although care must always be taken not to entirely exclude the element of belief. Πιστεύω τῇ χάριτι - Ignatius must believe in the grace of Jesus in the sense that He is able to forgive sins; but the predominant thought here is that of trust or confidence in Christ and His willingness to deliver not only from the bonds of sin, but also in the case of Ignatius from the literal bonds which he will escape by his martyrdom. Ignatius has confidence in Jesus both in the case of his own needs and those of others.

There is one other context in which Ignatius uses this same phrase - viz. in his letter to Polycarp, at 7.3. Here Ignatius is asking Polycarp to appoint a man "beloved and untiring" who will be a messenger to the Church at Antioch, and he expresses his confidence in grace, that Polycarp and his people will be prepared for this task -

πιστεύω γὰρ τῇ χάριτι, ὅτι ἔτοιμος ἐστε εἰς εὑποκούναν θεῷ ἀνήκουσαν.

"I trust in (the) grace, that you are prepared for a good deed relating to God."

(I. Pol. 7.3)

The good deed is clearly the encouragement of the Antiochene Church by the messenger. Ignatius is here expressing confidence in grace, that by means of this grace someone will be found for this task.

The article with χάρις indicates a particular grace - that they are prepared for this task. The ὅτι clause then defines the grace. Alternatively, we may assume that Ἰησοῦς χριστὸν is to be understood on the analogy of I. Phld. 8.1; but even if this is so, the ὅτι clause still defines the purpose of that grace, whose source is Jesus - just as the relative clause in Philad. defines the grace there.

Torrance in his treatment of these contexts (i.e. Ignatius, Phld. 8.1 and Pol. 7.3) fails to distinguish the difference between them. While it is true that the former is concerned with grace which "brings salvation through unity", the latter
context is quite different; and the grace is not directly to bring unity where heresy has caused disunity, but rather to achieve a wider fellowship between the Asian churches and especially to encourage the Syrian Church in the loss of Ignatius, its Bishop. Torrance makes no comment on the meaning of πιστεύειν in either place.

As far as our study of faith is concerned, in both these passages, Ignatius is primarily expressing confidence in the availability and effectiveness of grace, the source of which is Jesus Christ, and the purpose of which in Phld. is the loosing of every bond, and in ad Pol. is the task of the messenger. While "belief" in grace is present, the predominant sense is that of trust and confidence; but as often as not there is overlapping. It would be best to translate πιστεύω in both cases as "I have confidence" in grace.

We return now to the letter to the Philadelphians, section 8, to consider the second of the usages of πιστεύειν - that which expresses lack of belief in the Gospel. Ignatius says that he has heard some saying "ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἄρχεσίς εὖρω, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὐ πιστεύω" - "except I find it in the archives, I do not believe in the Gospel".

This statement reflects the presence of a docetism with a strong Jewish flavour. The archives are clearly the scriptures of the Old Testament. The point is that these Judaisers refuse to grant priority to the Gospel - all must be subject to the Old Testament. It appears that they are also very difficult to argue with. Their intransigence is expressed by the πρόκελεται - when it is suggested to them that evidence for the New Plan is to be found in the Old Testament, they refuse to see any reference there to the New Order - they say "that is the question". Their mind was closed because of their preconceived ideas, so real debate was impossible. This is what Ignatius is indicating here.

But Ignatius' conviction as to the truth of his position rings clearly in the assertion that the archives are Jesus Christ, and
the inviolable archives (τὰ ἀδελφὰ ἀναφάντα) His cross and death and resurrection. The phrase "inviolable archives" appears to reassert the truth and reality of these facts - and their priority over the Old Testament.

Together with this there is "the faith which is through Him" - belief in Jesus and the truth and reality of the Gospel is a gift from God through Jesus; and this faith, together with the saving acts in which the man of faith believes, is the means of justification. Here we are very close to St Paul's doctrine of justification by faith.64 The centrality of Christ as the author of salvation and justification comes through very clearly in this passage. Liébaert comments on this - "Ici ... le rapprochement avec les épîtres pauliniennes s'impose; c'est avec les mêmes accents qu'Ignace affirme la primauté du Christ dans la vie chrétienne ... Le mystère du Seigneur mort et ressuscité est l'objet même de la foi chrétienne, et c'est pourquoi Ignace en défend passionément la réalité ... L'adhésion de foi à ce mystère de la mort et de la Résurrection du Seigneur est le critère de l'appartenance à la communauté chrétienne."65 For Ignatius, as for Paul, faith is central; but it must be added that for Paul it is faith as against works and especially faith/trust, whereas for Ignatius true belief is the prevailing sense especially in these anti-docetic passages.

The argument is rounded off in section 9 - the High Priest occupies the central place in Judaism, being entrusted (ῥεπολογεμένος)66 with the Holy of Holies; the Priests are important, but he is the most important. The imagery of the door which follows shows that the High Priest is the type of Jesus, Who is the Door. The image recalls Jn. 10 and Rev. 3., this latter also in reference to the Philadelphian Church. But the Gospel is something special as containing the message of the Saviour, to which the prophet pointed.

"The Gospel is the perfection of immortality. All things together are good, if in love you believe."
So faith and love together are the basis of true Christian life -
faith that believes in the reality and truth of Jesus and all
that He has done, and that issues in that love which will have
no part in the divisions and disruption and selfish ambition of
heresy. This is the emphasis in the letter to the Philadelphians.

As one would expect, there is considerable similarity between
what is said to the Church at Smyrna and what is said to the
Philadelphians. Smyrna was one of the great trading cities of
the ancient world, nearer the sea coast than Philadelphia and
Tralles, and larger; but the same area makes it logical to
expect the same influence. Rev.2.8ff. tell us of the Judaism
there, and the "Synagogue of Satan" - again the same term of
abuse used of the Judaizers at Philadelphia (Rev.3.9). Ignatius,
however, concentrates more in the Smyrnian letter on the doc-
etic question than on the Judaic side of the heresy.

Many of the same anti-docetic expressions and emphases arise
again in this letter as we have already noted in the former
letters, and especially that of the Philadelphians. So there
is another little "credal statement" in section 1; the reference
to "flesh and spirit" to signify reality and entirety will again
be noted; ἀληθεία occurs often in relation to the death and
resurrection; τὸ δοξασθὲν with reference to Christ and His death -
and as a term of abuse to describe the docetists (sections 2 and
4); and the futility of Ignatius' present position if the docet-
etic doctrine is adopted (section 4). The reference to the
Gospel and the Prophets in 7.2 indicates the Judaic nature of the
docetic teaching here at Smyrna as well.

As in the case of the Philadelphians, Ignatius is anxious to
dissociate the faithful from the condemnations he will level at
the docetists. Thus he begins in Sm.1 by complimenting
the Smyrnaeans on the firmness of their faith, using again
the same striking language but in this case a new image - faith
so firm that it is as if it were nailed to the cross. In 1.1 -
"I glorify Jesus Christ as the God who makes you so wise; for
I have perceived that you are complete in immovable faith
(καταγεγραμμένου ἐν ἀληθείᾳ πίστει), as nailed to the cross
(καθηφανεύουσα ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ) of our Lord Jesus Christ in flesh
and spirit, and established in love in the blood of Christ,
having full conviction in relation to our Lord (πεπληρωμένους
ἐκ τῶν νυμφῶν ἡμῶν), being truly from the tribe of David
according to the flesh, Son of God according to the will and
power of God, truly born from a virgin, baptised by John, in order that all righteousness might be fulfilled by Him; (2) truly under Pontius Pilate and Herod, nailed (to the cross) for us in flesh, from the fruit of which we exist - from His sufferings blessed by God, in order that He might raise an ensign ...

The Greek of section 2 runs as follows, and raises some difficulties which will be discussed below -

άληθῶς ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ Ἡρώδου τετράρχου καθηλωμένον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν σαρκί, ἀπ' οὗ καρποῦ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεομακαρίστου αὐτοῦ πάθους, ζνα ἄρη σύσημον ...

The true faith of the faithful Smyrnaeans is as firm as if nailed to the cross - immovable - i.e. by the winds of docetism. The figure of faith nailed to the cross also suggests the reality of the suffering and death of Christ. The nailing is "in flesh and spirit" - the phrase is a favourite in Ignatius, and conveys the idea of totality - it is a firm and total faith which he is talking about. The phrase here may also convey the idea of reality - the faith is not just inward and spiritual, but also firmly fixed on the reality of Christ's death in the flesh. Such faith goes also with love, as always, and the blood shed is the sign par excellence of this love of Christ for men, to be reflected in the life of the faithful.

The figure of the nailing suggests also again the idea of imitation of the passion. "Le Christ est surtout exemplaire dans sa passion. C'est la vocation de tout Chrétien de reproduire dans sa vie le sacrifice du Seigneur." There is a sense in which Ignatius himself is being "nailed to the cross" as he shares the passion of Jesus in his journey to Rome, and in the anticipation of fighting the wild beasts. The same depth of commitment is enjoined upon all Christians.

This total commitment, which is the keynote of this passage, is further expressed in the phrase which follows - πεπληρωμένους εἰς τὸν κυρίον ἡμῶν - "having full conviction in relation to our
Lord”. As we will see later, this verb is important in Ignatius’ writings as an expression of conviction and resultant commitment. 71

The elements of this conviction in Christ are expanded here into the little credal statement that follows, in which the historical facts surrounding the birth, life and death of Jesus are reiterated, together with his lineage according to the flesh - all in support of the objective reality of Jesus and His work against docetic aberrations.

The nailing is mentioned again in 1.2 in the course of the credal statement. In this it is not immediately clear what is the antecedent in the relative clause, ἀφ’ οὗ καρποῦ. Camelot’s translation takes the fruit as referring to the cross, and the ἀπό clause as enlarging on this - "c’est grâce au fruit de sa croix, à sa passion divinément bienheureuse que nous nous existons." 72 Lake supplies ζύλον with καθηλ, and makes this the antecedent. 73 Goodspeed just translates literally and makes no real sense here. Lightfoot sees a reference here to the figure of the tree of life as referred to the cross of Christ - a symbolism dating from very early times. 74

The best solution is to supply ἐν τῷ σταύρῳ from 1.1 above with καθῆλωμένον. The cross is then the antecedent, and the fruit is that of the cross. The ἀπό clause is a further explanation of this. We exist as a result of the cross and passion in all their reality and our changed lives and the message of resurrection raises a standard (σῶσημον) "for the saints and faithful (πιστοὺς), whether among Jews or Gentiles ...". The raising of the ensign goes back to Is. 49.22 and 62.10 - men will rally to it from all parts of the earth. The cross, the resurrection, and the effects of these in the lives of believers, are to Ignatius the fulfilment of this prophecy. We may compare with this Jn 12.32 - "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men to myself. This he said, signifying by what death he was to die".

In denying the reality of the death and resurrection, and by their
behaviour and the disunity they were causing, the docetists destroy the effectiveness of the standard of the cross, as well as its fruits.

This interpretation is further strengthened by Ignatius' emphasis on the true passion of Christ in section 2 which follows on -

"These things He suffered for us, in order that we might be saved; and truly He suffered (ἀληθῶς again), as also He truly raised himself, not as some unbelievers (ἄφωτος) say, that He appeared to have suffered, they are the ones who only "appear" (τὸ δοκεῖν); and even as they think, it will also turn out for them, being disembodied and demonic."

Here the docetists are ἄφωτος as contrasted with the πνεῦμα in 1.2. They are also disembodied demons - "Ignace considère-t-il que les docètes, conformément à leur opinion, seront, comme les démons, sans corps". This too is in contrast with the real resurrection body of Jesus which the disciples were invited to touch in 3.2 below.

Th. Preiss points out in his article how high a value was placed upon the redemptive value of the martyr's death by the early church. It would be terrible for the martyr and fatal for the value of his death if the passion of his model Jesus Christ was not real but only an appearance (p.213). Hence the fury of Ignatius against the docetists - and we may compare Paul against those who deny the resurrection at I Cor. 15.32. The martyr by his death shows with "the tacit eloquence of action" that the death of Christ was a real death. The pleading with the Romans for a death brutal and bloody also has as its intention to underline the reality of Christ's death.

Preiss further points out that the accusation against the docetists in Ignatius Sm. 2, that they are bodiless demons, has
as its roots the belief that they will get the after-life they believe in and deserve by their unbelief (p.214). From this also springs the assertion of Ignatius, Sm.3 that Christ was in the flesh after His resurrection - a very unPauline affirmation, Preiss comments.

The presence of Christ in the flesh is dealt with in strong and vivid terms in Sm. 3, and we turn now to an examination of this section -

3.1 "For I know and believe that Christ was in the flesh also after the resurrection.

2. And when He came to those around Peter, He said to them:

Λάβετε, φηλαφήσατε με καὶ ἐδεετε, 
διὸ ὧν τελεῖ δαμασκίνου ἀσώματον.

Take me, feel me, and see, that I am not a bodiless demon.

And immediately they touched Him and believed, 
κραθέντες τῇ σαρκί αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ πνεύματι closely united to Him in His flesh and spirit.

On this account they also despised death, and they were found above death.

3. After the resurrection He ate together with them and drank together with them as one in the flesh (ὡς σαρκικός), although spiritually united with the Father".
Here Ignatius is at pains to show the reality of the resurrection from the evidence of the post-resurrection appearance. He probably has in mind Luke 24.33-43. Here, Luke relates the return to Jerusalem of the two disciples to whom Jesus has appeared on the road to Emmaus. On their return they are told that Jesus has already appeared to Simon; with that Jesus is in the midst of the gathering and invites those present: "See my hands and my feet, it is I myself; feel me and see, because a spirit does not have flesh and bones even as you see that I have". (v.39.)

Both Luke and Ignatius use the verb ἐναλαμβάνω. This is a strong word, quite rare and used in contexts where some striking fact is related - as, for example, in Hebrews 12.18. in a description of the theophany of Exodus 19. 78

Both Luke and Ignatius also speak of the eating and drinking with the disciples after the resurrection.

However, the phrase "Take me, feel me and see that I am not a bodiless demon" seems to be associated with a logion related in the apocryphal Kerygma Petri, 79 a work which is now known only from fragments. 80
The meaning of the verb κατανυκτεῖ in this context is in some doubt. Lampe s.v. κατανυκτεῖ 4 gives the meaning "be joined" - of close physical contact, and this suits the context and the juxtaposition with τήλασφῶ well. However, A.G. prefers "united". The basic meaning of the verb is "to mix." In later Christian writings it comes to be used in a Christological sense of the 'mix' of the two natures in Christ. There seems to be no support elsewhere for Lampe's meaning in section 4 s.v., and only the connection with τήλασφῶ lends support. Lampe also thinks that Ignatius may have had Lk 24.39 in mind.

It should be noted that κατακάει governs Ignatius' frequent couple "in His flesh and spirit", which is a phrase conveying the totality of Christ. It would be better to take κατακάει closely with this, and to understand the sense conveyed as the disciples, upon touching Christ, and being convinced of His reality, were united with Christ in all the reality and totality of His risen life. This would only be possible if they were fully convinced that His resurrection was real.

This whole section is another case of Ignatius using arresting and vivid language to press home the point he is making. The disciples know by physical contact the reality of the risen Christ, and they were able to be closely united with Him. The implication must be that subsequent generations of Christians can also be united in a spiritual sense because Christ really lives. This makes good sense of the language of this section.

So strongly does Ignatius feel the threat of the docetists that in section 4 he urges believers not to receive them, and if possible not even to meet them, unless they repent. This leads Ignatius to the question of the futility of his own position if docetism is true, and so again to the assertion of his own willingness to endure all for Christ.
The last of our anti-docetic passages follows these assertions, in sections 6 and 7. Here Ignatius criticises the disbelief of the docetists in the reality of the Eucharist, and also their behaviour -

"Let no one be deceived; the heavenly things and the angels in all their glory and the rulers visible and invisible, except they believe in the blood of Christ, it is judgement for them. Let him who has understanding understand. Let position puff no one up; for the whole is faith and love, than which things nothing is preferable."

(I.Sm. 6)

Here the heavenly beings must also "believe in the blood of Christ". The blood, as before, is the sign of God's love for man shown in Jesus. The blood is shed upon the cross and is the symbol of the love of God for the world. But the blood is also a demonstration of the reality of the death. It is the blood of a real man. The incarnation is therefore also involved here. To deny one aspect of the manhood of Christ is to deny all. Docetism cuts at the very root of the Christian faith, and in the end renders it null and void.

There are clear eucharistic overtones here also. Ignatius makes this aspect more explicit in 7.1; he says of the docetists -

"They neglect eucharist and prayer, because they do not confess the eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, Which suffered for our sins, Which the Father raised by His kindness."

The language here has the same stark and arresting quality as that in Jn. 6. Both John and Ignatius speak not of the body and blood, but of flesh and blood. Both demonstrate by their language that they believe in the reality of Christ in the
Eucharist. Ignatius' use of the relative ἐν, agreeing with the flesh "which suffered"; "which the Father raised", is particularly striking.

Virginia Corwin\(^83\) has a detailed comparison with Jn. 6 and the eucharistic teaching of Ignatius. She suggests that in both writers, realistic and symbolic ideas are combined without discrimination. "The Bread I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world ..." (Jn 6.51ff.). But such affirmations stand in the context of the Bread of Life discourse. The reference in the saying "I am the Bread of Life" is wider than the Eucharist only and extends to the very Being of Christ. Again in 6.63, Jesus' words are "It is the spirit that gives life ... the words that I have spoken are spirit and life".

Miss Corwin continues: "Ignatius and the Fourth Gospel both seem to be ambiguous in using now realistic terms, now symbolic ones, but they agree that the sacrament binds the Christian to Christ and that it conveys life. Sacramental realism is thus not for either of them the finally important matter, for the sacraments lead on to union with God."

We might go further in regard to the likeness of the thought of John and Ignatius. John is concerned with Christology as of first importance; throughout his Gospel the reality of Christ as the true Son of God is presented to the reader. Jesus is shown by word and symbol to be truly man and truly God. Thus in the prologue John tells us "In the beginning was the Word ..."; he takes us through the discourse on the Bread of Life (Ch.6) already mentioned above, and the other discourses associated with the "I am" sayings, and which have their origin in the Old Testament, and declare God's self-revelation. These lead on to the account of the death of Jesus and the details such as the water and the blood from the side of Christ (19.34), demonstrating both real manhood and real divinity. Finally we are presented with the resurrection appearances in Chapters 20-21, and the climax of the Gospel is to be found in 20.28ff. where Thomas, invited to touch Jesus after His resurrection, confesses Him to be "My Lord and my God". This is followed by the statement of Jesus -
"Because you have seen me you have believed; blessed are those who do not see and believe". This looks forward to the Church of the future - to those who in later generations will believe in Jesus as Son of God. This is clearly stated by John in the closing verses of the chapter - "These things are written in order that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing you may have life in His name." 84

In all this, John expresses the importance of faith in Jesus in all His reality as both man and God. Ignatius has the same concern and is expressing the same truths in different but no less clear and striking language. The differences may be those between two different personalities; but John is giving us the distillation of a life's prayer and meditation, while Ignatius is a man sentenced to death and under many pressures. There is an urgency in Ignatius which is absent from John, but their priorities are the same.

"All is faith and love, nothing is to be preferred above these" - so Ignatius sums up the basics of the Christian life. Faith here is belief in Christ, Who really has lived a human life, died on the cross, and really been raised by the Father. And that faith is coupled with love and must issue in loving behaviour. It is in this regard too that the docetists fail. They have no care for love, for widows and orphans, for the oppressed, for prisoners or those released from prison, nor for the hungry and thirsty (so Sm. 7.1). The section concludes - "It is profitable for them to love, in order that they may also rise."

Faith stands in close association with the virtues. In Hermas this is the main emphasis - faith is the first of the virtues. 85 The Ignatian emphasis is on faith/belief. But there are times, as in section 7, where the virtuous side of faith is seen. The virtues here are reminiscent of the "sheep and goats" passage in Matt. 24. We are reminded too of James and the importance of faith and works together. 86 Ignatius is no one-sided theologian, and we pass now to a consideration of other passages where faith is seen in its place among the virtues.
Section 3. Faith in its Place Among the Virtues.

In I. Eph. 10.2, there is a mention of faith along with other virtues, set as pairs of opposites which contrast the behaviour expected of Christians over against that of the heathen. In the previous sections, Ignatius has been referring especially to the docetists, but now he looks beyond to the heathen world outside the Church. Christian behaviour is to be an act of witness which will bring men to repentance.¹

10.1 "Pray unceasingly for other men; for there is in them hope of repentance, that they may attain to God. Permit them to become disciples, if only by your works.

10.2 In the face of their anger, you display gentleness; to their boastful talking you present humble-mindedness; to their blasphemies you say prayers, to their deception you be firm in faith (ἔφρατοι τῇ πίστει); in response to their cruelty you show mercy, not being zealous to imitate them."

The phrase "firm in faith" is related to Col. 1.23, where Paul exhorts the Colossians to "remain in (their) faith, founded and firm (τεθεμελιωμένοι καὶ ἔφρατοι) and not moving from the "hope of the Gospel". Abbott² comments that ἔφρατος refers to the firmness of the structure, while τεθεμελιωμένος refers to the sure foundation. I Cor. 15.58 also provides a parallel - ἔφρατοι γίνεσθε - "become, prove yourselves to be, firm, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord". Robertson and Plummer³ comment: "(The Corinthians) still have much to learn; they are not yet stable either in belief or behaviour (v.2,33). They need to be τῇ πίστει τεθεμελιωμένοι in order to become ἔφρατοι τῇ πίστει" (I.Eph.10.2): compare Pol.10, where this is quoted. (Paul) is speaking ὡς σαλευμένους. He says ἀμετακίνητοι, 'unmovable' ... , not ἀκίνητοι, 'unmoved': they must not allow themselves to be loosed from their moorings." Although
Ignatius does not quote exactly from either of these passages, yet he is expressing the same sentiments. The deception of the heathen world no less than that of the docetists must not be allowed to lose the Ephesian Christians from their moorings.

Lightfoot says that there is no clear connection here between faith as a virtue and the other virtues. It is, however, quite clear that Ignatius sees the intimate connection between right belief and right behaviour. The two go hand in hand, and the absence of the one will ultimately lead to the destruction of the other. Almost certainly Ignatius is relying on his memory of Paul’s epistles. The context of the phrase in Colossians is that of an exhortation to a blameless life as a response to reconciliation with God. Ignatius’ recollection in the context of his own moral exhortation is natural and the expression appropriate.

The behaviour of the believer is to be gentle, humble-minded, prayerful, merciful. Ignatius adds to this in 10.3 -

"Let us be found their brethren in graciousness (ἐλεήμονες); let us be zealous to be imitators of the Lord. Who more than He has been wronged, depraved, rejected?—in order that no plant of the devil should be found among you, but in all purity (ἀγνεύα) and moderation (σωφροσύνη) you should abide in Jesus Christ in your flesh and in your spirit."

The manner of life required of the believer is summed up once again in the ideal of imitation of Jesus, Whose own behaviour can be summed up in the word ἐλεήμονες—graciousness. In II Cor.10.1 Paul makes the gentleness and graciousness (πραΰτης and ἐλεήμονες) of Christ the ground for his appeal for acceptance by the Corinthians. As Christ displayed these characteristics, so the implication is that the Corinthians should also in their attitude to Paul.
The word ἐπεικεία conveys the Christian ideal of gentle and gracious forbearance. Aristotle Nic. Eth.5.10 contrasts the quality of the ἐπεικισ with ἄρσποδικας, 'severely judging'. The word is applied to the man who does not insist on his "rights" at all costs and who is willing to make allowances for others. Vincent⁵ quotes Mayor in the remark that "the disposition of Christian joyfulness must elevate men quite as much above strict insistence on their rights and claims as above solicitude". In the Ignatian context with which we are concerned, the unbelievers must be won over to faith by an attitude of forbearance and unfailing graciousness which makes allowance for error and ignorance and presents the truth in such a way that men are attracted to it. "It is the opposite of a spirit of confrontation and self-seeking" which would aim to win an argument for the sake of winning rather than of establishing truth.⁶ However, while in Christian contexts the word enshrines the ideal of Christ-like behaviour, it should be recognised that in other contexts the word can have a legal sense of equity, or be used of, for example, reasonable precautions. Moulton and Milligan comment that the meaning is often elusive, and far from that of "sweet reasonableness".⁷ It would appear from the New Testament and early Christian usage that it was one of those words which became almost a Christian technical term and meant gracious and forbearing behaviour as exemplified by Christ and to be imitated by those who believe in Him.

The reference to the "plant of the devil" may refer to heretics, as Camelot suggests (n.3,p.67). Alternatively, as Lightfoot says, the reference may well be wider to vice in general as well as to heresy. This wider sense is to be preferred, as Ignatius in this section is looking beyond the Church itself to the world to which the Church is to witness. Miss Corwin⁸ in commenting on this section says: "Ignatius believes in the influence of the lives of Christians as well as in the efficacy of their prayers. He seems to contrast two strategies with which to meet the world, the one of persuasiveness (Ro. 3.3), the other of courageous witness. For the
martyr the latter is inevitable, but persuasiveness, even in the face of hatred, is the method usually open to the Church." This persuasiveness will be tempered by graciousness which seeks to win its hearers, and by an attractive behaviour which makes the beholder wish to emulate it. This is the ideal which Ignatius sets before the Ephesians to whom he writes. ⁹

A little later in section 14, Ignatius returns to this thought of the importance of Christian behaviour in relation to witness, and in so doing he makes mention of faith three times, again in its place as the first of the virtues. Between sections 10 and 14 there is a variety of material - i.e. warnings about the last times; mention of his own bonds and witness as a martyr to which he looks forward, although recognising the danger of failing in this; the example of Paul and the place of affection in the Apostle's letters which the Ephesians have; instructions about frequent use of the Eucharist. Finally, nothing, he says, is more important than peace. All this is not well organised, and it tends to jump from one thing to the next. Nevertheless, it is clear that the whole section is intended to be one of ethical exhortation rather than of doctrinal warning and instruction, and it is in the ethical context that we are primarily to understand the references to faith. The rather unsystematic arrangement of material, and the tendency to jump from one subject to another is no doubt the result of the circumstances of writing, and especially the pressures which were upon him both physically, mentally and spiritually at the time. ¹⁰

After these varied instructions, Ignatius continues at 14 -

"Of these things, nothing escapes your notice, if completely you have faith in Jesus Christ and love for Him, which is the beginning of life and the end; the beginning is faith, the end is love. The two things being in unity are God, and all the other things follow on for nobility of character".
Here once again we have the coupling of faith and love. Together they stand at the beginning and end of the Christian life. This recalls Hermas' vision of the maidens,\textsuperscript{11} with faith in the first place, holding her hands, and the other maidens, also personified virtues, born from her. Hermas in another place\textsuperscript{12} has shown faith, coupled with other virtues, as maidens standing at the corners of the tower. In both these cases love stands at the end of the list although Hermas does not give love equal footing with faith in the way Ignatius does. For Hermas, all are \textit{άκολουθα} from faith; in Ignatius the other lesser virtues are \textit{άκολουθα} from faith and love.

Ignatius speaks of the \textit{άκολουθα} as \textit{εἰς καλοκαγαθίαν}. Lightfoot comments that this word does not occur in the Septuagint or New Testament, "but seems here to denote Christian perfection (\textit{τελειότης} \textit{Heb.6.1})". The Hebrews passage quoted also connects the idea with faith - "Wherefore, leaving behind the elementary Christian teaching, let us move on toward perfection - \textit{ἐκ τήν τελειότητα}", although the mention of faith in v.2a regards it as one of the elementary doctrines rather than as the first of the virtues. Lampe s.v. gives the meaning "nobility of character", and the entry shows that the word becomes quite common in Christian literature in this sense from Clement of Alexandria onwards. Ignatius here wishes us to understand that faith and love together lead on to that nobility of character which is the hallmark of the Christian, the man who has God at the centre of his life.\textsuperscript{14}
This is the burden of the statement that he has made, that "the two being in unity are God". Here Ignatius expresses his deepest convictions in language which is poetic in character. "It is not easy to know how to understand such a passage; ... it can no more be read as mere metaphor than can the great Johannine exclamation which it so strongly suggests, 'God is love' (I Jn. 4.8) ... It is the declaration that faith and love for Jesus Christ, in perfect fulness bring one into the very presence of God ... It recalls other passages when in a comparable surge of conviction (Ignatius) declares that perfect hope or knowledge is Jesus Christ (cf. Eph. 17.2, Mag. 7.1, Sm. 10.2).”

This kind of language in Ignatius expresses the great truth that God is at the centre of the Christian life, and that all virtue flows from Him.

The coupling together of faith and love as the means of Christian perfection, and then identification with God, suggests that there is a wholeness and completeness in the Christian life which reflects the Christian's solidarity and identification with God. The same idea of wholeness is expressed elsewhere by saying that "love is the blood and faith is the flesh of Jesus Christ". As was noted in the treatment of Tr.8, the usage is in that context anti-docetic. Here in Eph. it is the virtuous side of faith which is to the fore. To say that love is the blood and faith the flesh is to identify faith and love very closely with Christ in a doctrinal sense; to say that faith and love together are God is to identify faith and love closely with God Himself in the practice of Christian virtue.

It could never be enough for Ignatius to merely speak about faith and proclaim it by word; faith and love are not to be talked about unless they are also acted upon. This is what Ignatius now goes on to say -

οὐδεὶς πίστιν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἁμαρτάνει, οὐδὲ ἄγαπην κεκτημένον ἢ λειπεῖ, φανερῶν τὸ δὲνδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ οὗτος οἱ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι Χριστὸν ἐλναι δὲ ὃν πράσσουσιν ὅφθησονται.
οὐ γὰρ νῦν ἐπαγγελλάς τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλ' ἐν
dύναμιν πίστεως ἐὰν τις εὑρεθῇ εἰς τέλος.

"No one professing faith sins, neither possessing love hates. The tree is known from its fruits. Thus those who proclaim that they are Christ's will be seen (to be His) through their actions. For now (Christ's) work is not one of proclamation, but if one should be found in the power of faith to the end."

(I.Eph.14.2.)

This is not an easy passage to translate. It is necessary to place a stop after the phrase ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ. This gives full force to the ὁδὸς - "thus". The ὁδὸς clause is an expansion and explanation of the tree being known by its fruit.

Χριστοῦ εἰσαὶ is best taken with both ἐπαγγελλόμενοι and ὁδηγοῦνταί - i.e. Christians who proclaim that they are Christ's will also be seen to be His.

Lightfoot 17 says that τὸ ἔργον here is used absolutely to mean "the preaching and practice of the Gospel". "The work" expresses the whole Christian responsibility of proclaiming the Gospel not only by word but also by behaviour, which is the concern of Ignatius at this point. 18

The last sentence of the quotation is abbreviated, and it is necessary to supply ἐστὶν - "the work is not of proclamation .." The ἐὰν clause has a suppressed apodosis. If it were fully expressed it would be something like - "If a man shall be found in the power of faith, he will be doing Christ's work". Light suggests for the phrase ἐν δύναμιν πίστεως "with an effective faith". This catches the sense rather well. An effective faith, such as Ignatius is advocating here, will manifest itself not only in proclamation, but also in virtue and action.
The translators are in agreement as to the general sense of the passage - it is not saying so that makes a Christian, but acting in accordance with faith and love. The sentiment is exactly that of the Epistle of James.\textsuperscript{19}

We may see in the opening statement an expansion of the preceding thought that faith and love together are God. God is sinless;\textsuperscript{20} God is also the one Who "hates nothing that He has made". The faith that does not sin and the love that does not hate are together the God in Whom is total absence of sin and hate. While this extension may not have been in the mind of Ignatius as he wrote, it demonstrates how consistent his thought and expression are with that of the New Testament.

The teaching that faith must lead to action brings into Ignatius' mind the silent activity of God, who "spoke the word and it came to pass" (Ps. 32.9, 148.5). God spoke out of silence at the Creation, and His Creation tells us what manner of God He is; likewise Jesus, even in the passive side of His life, showed by His actions this essential goodness and His power as Son of God.\textsuperscript{21} In God's case too, it is not a matter of speech alone, but also of action. By His fruits we know Him both in the created world and in Jesus. "It is better to be silent and to be (a Christian) than speaking not to be. It is good to teach, if the teacher also acts. There is one Teacher Who 'spoke and it came to pass'; "What He did in silence is worthy of His Father" (I. Eph. 15).

God is the example of sinless faith and love which knows no hate; He is also the example of the faith and love which are known not so much by word as by action. Truly faith and love together may be said to be God.\textsuperscript{22} Ignatius puts God at the centre of all Christian life and witness; it is in Him that these find their true meaning and practice.

These considerations lead us very naturally into the contexts in which Ignatius links faith with the idea of harmony and unity. In the life of the Church, there is nothing more
desirable than that Christians should be obedient to the Bishop, the Presbyterate and the deacons. The Bishop is the centre of unity, and the guardian of truth. The heretic is not only wrong in his doctrine, but by his heresy he separates himself from the authority of the Bishop. Thus the unity of the Church is destroyed. Moreover, unity with the Bishop is also union with God.  

\[\text{εὐνώς} \text{ is one of Ignatius' key words, and one of his most central concepts.} \] \[\text{"εὐνώς has to do at once with the union of the believer and God in faith and love, and with the unity of Christians in faith and worship. When, however, Ignatius speaks of the unity of faith and love, we are not to think merely of the individual Christian life, but of the individual Christian within the body of Christ, the Church, in which alone there can be union of faith and love."} \]

In this context it is difficult to separate the faithbelief and faith/virtue emphases. Wrong belief leads to disunity; the mistaken faith of the heretics issues in behaviour that destroys the peace and harmony that should exist within the Church. This is clearly stated by Ignatius at Eph.13.1f. -

"Show zeal therefore in coming together frequently to "make eucharist" \[\text{to God for His glory. For when frequently you are together, the powers of Satan are vanquished, and his destruction is overcome in the harmony of your faith (ἐν ὅμοοφεξ ὅμῳν τῆς πίστεως). There is nothing better than peace, in which every earthly and heavenly conflict is done away."} \]

We may see here a double sense in πίστεως - it is right belief that avoids the conflict caused by heresy; but in section 14 considered on pp.55 ff., it is the virtuous faith, coupled with love that is in Ignatius' mind. This overlapping illustrates how closely connected are right belief and right behaviour. Faith is both doctrinal and virtuous; where one
is wrong, so is the other. True faith promotes peace and concord; heresy causes schism. Sadly, in the early Church, as in the modern Church, the vice often went beyond mere disharmony to blatant immorality, and this became one of the prime concerns of the Apologists in the next century after Ignatius and the other Apostolic Fathers.26

Ignatius makes a very strong appeal for unity in faith at Eph. 20.2. In section 1 he has spoken about the second letter he hopes to write to them, in which he will make clear "the plan in relation to the New Man, Jesus Christ, in faith in Him and love for Him, in His sufferings and resurrection.27 He continues in section 2 -

μάλιστα ἐὰν ὁ κύριος μου ἀποκαλύψῃ ὅτι
οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα κοινῇ πάντες ἐν χάριτι ἐξ
ἀνόμιας οὐνέρξεσθε ἐν μιᾷ πίστει καὶ
ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ...

"Most of all, if the Lord reveals to me that you all, individually and corporately, in grace, each individual among you, come together in one faith and in Jesus Christ ..."

Ignatius sees that the "plan in relation to the New Man, Jesus Christ, can only be applicable to these Christians if they are one in faith; to be "in one faith" is to be "in Jesus Christ" Who is the object of all true faith. The appeal for unity of faith is made in the strongest possible terms, the phrase ἐξ ἀνόμιας strengthening κατ' ἄνδρα and emphasising the responsibility on each individual to a faith which is in harmony with the Church.

Torrance28 suggests that ἐν χάριτι here "indicates the result of humble unity in which all members of the community submit to the Bishop in faith and discipline". In this sense faith can be understood as the result of grace, the gift of God.
Camelot (p.77) misses the point of ἐξ ὑμῖν, taking the phrase with ἐν χάριτι, which loses the sense and the emphatic nature of Ignatius' exhortation: "... chacun en particulier et tous ensemble, dans la grâce qui vient de son nom ..." The weight of opinion is firmly on the side of taking the phrase emphatically - so Goodspeed "all individually every one come together in grace"; also Lake, p.195, n.3 (quoting Lightfoot); also A.G. s.v. δύναμις C.3 notes this usage in Ignatius and elsewhere.

What emerges here, then, is a very strong appeal for unity in faith, on the basis that, apart from this unity, there will be no newness of life among them.

The source of this new life is Christ Himself, and He is able to transfer this to Christians whose faith and love lead them to union with Christ and with each other in the Church. The thought of Christ as our life appears again in Mag.1.2 -

καταξιωθεὶς γὰρ ὑμῖν θεοπροσκυνήτου, ἐν ὅς περιφέρω δεσμοῖς, ἃς τὰς ἐκκλησίας, ἐν αἷς ἐνσώματι εὐχόμεθα σαρκός καὶ πνεῦματος Ιησοῦ Christou, τοῦ διὰ παντὸς ἡμῶν ἐχθροῦ, πιστεύεις τε καὶ ἀγάπης, ἢς οὐδὲν προσέκρυται, τὸ δὲ κυριώτερον Ἰησοῦ καὶ πατρός, ἐν φιλομένων τὴν κάθαν ἐπήρεαν τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ αἰώνος τοῦτου καὶ διαφυγόντες Θεοῦ τευχόμεθα.

Here Christ is described as "our life for all time", and this is set in the context of union with Him in faith and love. The passage is one of the most difficult in Ignatius to translate. The difficulty lies principally in deciding how the genitives are to be taken, and there are as many suggestions as there are translators.

Ignatius prays, as so often, for unity in the Church. As we have seen, unity is of great importance. The urgency
of his own situation as he travels to martyrdom helps him to see the true priorities. Disunity is disastrously damaging to the Church, and lesser issues are allowed to fade into the background; doctrinal differences are of less importance than the disharmony and separation which they cause. So the burden of Ignatius' prayer for the Churches is that they may find unity centred in Jesus and the Father. However, in his prayer, Ignatius defines the union more closely still. It is a union "with the flesh and spirit of Jesus Christ" (... ἐνωσύ... σάρκος καὶ κνεῦματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ). The phrase is standard in Ignatius to express the reality and wholeness of Christ, especially against the docetic denials. So he prays for a union centred upon Christ in all His reality and entirety; Who is "our life for all time". The thought is that the life of Christ will be manifest in Christians who are united with Him, as we have noted above in the preceding discussion on I. Eph.14. It is also very probable that Ignatius intends here a eucharistic reference as well in the flesh of Christ; union in the Eucharist, and the "one altar" are commended by him in section 7 of this epistle.

This union is further defined as ἐνωσύ... πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης - a union in faith and love. Unity is only possible if faith is that true belief in the reality of Christ incarnate; and such true faith issues in love for God and man. Faith and love together are the basic characteristics of true Christian life, as Ignatius has pointed out often enough elsewhere.

But most of all, the unity is in Jesus and the Father, Who are Themselves perfectly united with each other and therefore together They are the centre of unity for Christians. This unity of Jesus and the Father is clearly stated in I. Mag. 7, where it is cited as the basis for the unity of the Church in faith and practice under its Bishop.

The same sentiment is expressed in different words in the High-Priestly prayer of Jesus in Jn. 17.21 - "In order that all (those who believe through the disciples' word) may be
one; even as you, Father, are in me and I in you, in order that they may be one in us, in order that the world may believe that you have sent me." It is significant that here too the unity is seen as a practical demonstration to the world, just as in Ignatius the life of Christ in Christians will be an example to those outside, as will be their unity.

On the basis that Ignatius views the Father and Son as One, we may explain the following singular ἐν Ὁ. By abiding in Jesus and the Father - or perhaps more exactly by abiding in the Father and so also in Jesus Who is One with Him, Christians will "escape the abuse of the ruler of this world and attain to God."

Another possibility is that Ignatius intended the ἐν Ὁ to mean 'in this unity' and that the gender has been changed under the influence of the preceding χριστόν του. Although this makes quite good sense it is perhaps less likely than the preceding suggestion.

This interpretation, then, suggests that the best way to translate this difficult passage is as follows -

"Having been counted worthy of a name radiant with divine splendour, in the bonds which I bear about, I praise the Churches, in which I pray for unity in the flesh and spirit of Jesus Christ, our life for all time, in faith and love, to which nothing is to be preferred, and most important of all in Jesus and the Father, in Whom enduring every abuse of the ruler of this world and making good our escape, we will attain to God."

Lightfoot refers the flesh and spirit to the Churches and not to Christ, and then to avoid an "unmeaning and awkward repetition", he makes the first 'Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ a possessive genitive on this idea and translates "unity in their flesh and in their spirit, Which are Jesus Christ's." But as we have
seen above, there is no awkward repetition if we understand the unity as being defined as both centred in the reality of Christ and in Him as united with the Father. Again, the passages he quotes in support of his interpretation - viz. κατὰ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἡνωμένους in Mag.13, are not really parallel to our present passage, but as Camelot 35 points out, refer to the whole personality, interior and exterior, of Christians.

Camelot, 36 although he does not comment in detail on our passage, offers a translation which is close in sense to that offered here -

"... je leur souhaite l'union avec la chair et l'esprit de Jésus-Christ, notre éternelle vie, l'union dans la foi et la charité, à laquelle rien n'est préférable, et ce qui est plus important, l'union avec Jésus et le Père, en qui nous résisterons à toutes les menaces du prince de ce monde ..."

Of the English translators, Lake, ANCL and Goodspeed all translate the genitives quite literally by "of" in each case, without any attempt to interpret. L.C.C. does make an effort at interpretation, but strays far from the real sense of the passage -

"... I want them to confess that Jesus Christ, our perpetual Life, united flesh with spirit. I want them, too, to unite their faith with love - there is nothing better than that. Above all, I want them to confess the union of Jesus with the Father ..."

There is nothing in the Greek to suggest the idea of "confessing". While the flesh and spirit are made to refer, correctly, to Jesus, there is no justification to translate the phrase "flesh with spirit", nor to take the following phrase as "faith with love". Flesh and spirit; faith and
love; these are so often coupled together in a standard phrase in Ignatius, that it is misleading to take them otherwise than in this way. However, the translator is at least consistent in taking all the genitives, including Jesus and the Father, in the same way.

The variety of translations offered for this passage are nevertheless an indication of its difficulty and obscurity. Here is another indication that Ignatius is writing under pressure and in the difficult conditions of his imprisonment and treatment at the hands of the "ten leopards". What is clear enough, though, is that he makes here another impassioned and urgent plea for a broadly-based unity within the Churches.

Virginia Corwin speaks of the great difficulty of translating this passage, and especially in relation to the genitives. "The climax of his thought is the bridging of the ultimate separation between God and man ... The union that exists between Jesus Christ and the Father is one of the cardinal points of Ignatius' belief and quite beyond doubt. It would, therefore, be meaningless for him to pray that in the Churches there may be a union of Jesus Christ and the Father. The passage is throughout affirming the union of what is not always joined. Union of believers with God is therefore the most reasonable translation." This is a sufficient answer to those who translate literally. Miss Corwin translates -

"a union with the flesh and spirit of Jesus Christ ... of faith and love ... a union with Jesus and the Father ..."

This follows Camelot. However avec/with does not emphasise the idea of the union centred upon Jesus and the Father, and their own union, as well as "in" offered in the translation suggested above on p.64.

As far as our study of faith is concerned, it is here an essential ingredient, along with love, of union. It can only be this if it is true belief in the fulness and reality
of Christ, and centred upon Him. Again, it is difficult to separate the different senses in which faith is to be understood - it is doctrinal, as belief; it is ethical as connected with love; it is also trust and commitment as centred upon the Person of Jesus and the Father. However, uppermost in Ignatius' mind here is its connection with the unity and harmony of the Church, in which we may say it has a predominantly ethical connection.

The idea of faith as trust is probably the main emphasis to be found in the last passage in which we find faith connected with unity. Again here, Ignatius makes a vehement plea for unity in the strongest terms -

"I cried out when I was in the midst of you; I spoke with a loud voice, with the voice of God; hold fast to the Bishop and to the Council of Elders and to the deacons ... Do nothing apart from the Bishop; keep your flesh as God's temple, love unity, flee divisions, be imitators of Jesus Christ, as He Himself is of His Father."

... Where there is division and wrath, God does not dwell. The Lord will forgive everyone who repents if they repent towards unity with God and the Council of the Bishop.

πιστεύω τῇ χάρτῃ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δὲ λύσει άφ', ὑμῶν πάντα δεσμόν.

I trust in the grace of Jesus Christ, Who will loose from you every bond.

I beseech you to do nothing from selfish ambition (κατ' ερευνα), but in accordance with Christian discipleship (κατ' χριστιανομαθείαν).

(I.Phld.7and8)

There could be no stronger condemnation of schism than the assertion that it excludes God, and the implication that it
comes from selfish ambition. There is also the further implication of moral degeneration in the exhortation to "keep your flesh as God's temple" - we may compare Paul's words to the Corinthians that their bodies are the Temple of the Holy Spirit (I Cor. 6.19), where Paul is dealing with the question of fornication. The same thought must also be in the mind of Ignatius here, and we are again reminded of the moral depravity of heretics which was such a problem to the early Church.\textsuperscript{38}

Unity depends on obedience to the Bishop and the hierarchy of the Church, and on the conscious imitation of the Father. Again we have a thought similar to that in \textsuperscript{Mag.1} discussed above, that the union of Father and Son is the example for the unity of Christians within the Church.

Forgiveness is possible where disunity has occurred, so long as the penitent comes into unity with God and the Bishop. The grace referred to here is the grace of forgiveness and release from the bondage of the devil, who is the cause of all schism. In 6.2 Ignatius has exhorted the Philadelphians: "Flee from the evil devices and treachery\textsuperscript{39} (τάς καινοτομίας καὶ ἔννοιας τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ κόσμου", and this exhortation leads straight into our passage in sections 7 and 8, and it gives the clue to the understanding of the bonds. Ignatius trusts in Jesus' grace to this particular end - viz. forgiveness and the healing of division - and this is the force of the article with Χάριτε.\textsuperscript{40}

While it is true that Ignatius believes objectively in this grace, and in Jesus' power and willingness to forgive and bring about unity, the tone of the passage suggests a considerable emotive content to the whole statement. This indicates that faith here is not only faith/belief, but in large measure also faith/trust. The emotional trust predominates while the objective belief cannot be excluded.

There is a departure here from the New Testament pattern. In the New Testament the verb πιστεύειν indicates the objective
sense of faith/belief, the intellectual side of faith, while
the noun has the more emotive sense of trust: so John never
uses the noun, and is concerned primarily with faith as
belief in the incarnation. Thus he is fond of the construc-
tion πιστεύειν διὰ ... to believe that ... (cf. especially Jn.
20.30). Paul, on the other hand, emphasises faith as trust -
faith in Christ as the means of salvation and justification -
cf. Ro. 1.17. However, it remains true that even in the New
Testament the two senses cannot be entirely separated. In
Ignatius there is more overlapping still, and as we have seen
in these examples, it is unrealistic to try and make too
rigid a separation. Ignatius' doctrine of faith cannot be
neatly compartmentalised.

All these passages we have considered where faith is in the
context of unity show how impossible it is to separate the
various aspects of faith into compartments. One side may
be emphasised, but the other cannot be excluded. The
present passage in the Philadelphian letter leads on to the
"archives passage" discussed above in the section on faith
as against docetism.

There are two words in this passage which also require some
comment. ἐρέθεια is a word which occurs in the New Testa-
ment in the Pauline corpus a number of times. Its meaning
is not clear, nor its derivation. Selfish ambition is the
most satisfactory translation, or factious ambition.

The word χριστομαθία is a coinage of Ignatius' own. "Pour
exprimer ce christocentrisme, Ignace ne craint pas de
forger des néologismes: les chrétiens sont des χριτομαθοῖ
(I. Eph.9.2), leur doctrine est la χριστομαθία (Phld.8.2),
leur vie le χριστανικός; 1'Eglise de Rome se voit louée
d'être χριστοπολίτης (I. Ro. Inscr.)" The meaning is
"Christian discipleship" - so Lampe s.v. The word shows
that the disciple of Christ, according to Ignatius' under-
standing, is one who centres his life on Christ. Ignatius'
fondness for this centrality of Christ in the life of Chris-
tians, expressed by these words as Liébaert says, is further
support for my contention on I. **Mag.1** to take the genitive there as expressing the thought of unity, faith and love as centred also upon Him.\textsuperscript{45}

As far as faith is concerned, this section shows that for Ignatius faith is a virtue as well as an intellectual assent. However, the two emphases are often difficult to separate - more so than is the case in the New Testament. One reason for this is that Ignatius is deeply concerned with the moral outcome of faith. Right belief leads to unity and obedience and harmony, and therefore faith is found in close association with those virtues. On the other hand, wrong belief leads to schism and other moral depravity - and faith cannot be connected with these things. So men of faith believe what is true and behave as Christians should. What is emphasised here is that faith, like love, is centred upon Christ, and leads to imitation of His life and sufferings and behaviour. This is Ignatius' real contribution. Faith, whether it is belief or trust, is centred upon Christ and leads to imitation of Him at every point, even to death. Thus the outcome is true discipleship, to which Ignatius himself constantly looks forward in his own martyrdom. All that he writes is coloured by this intense desire for the martyr's crown, and his view of faith in its place among the virtues is no exception.
Section 4. Faith as General Term for True Religion.

There are several passages where faith is referred to by Ignatius which do not fit neatly into any particular category. Because faith is such a many-sided notion it defies concise definition or easy categorisation. So far we have seen Ignatius use faith in its intellectual, doctrinal sense as true belief; we have seen it as part of his ethic in close connection with love, harmony and unity, and as the standard by which Christians live. We come now to a group of passages where the emphasis is on the emotional content of faith; it describes that true religion which is reflected in commitment to Christ, and which issues in newness of life. This latter is related to the virtuous aspect of faith; and as usual there is some inevitable overlapping.

As Ignatius draws his letter to the Ephesians to a conclusion, he makes reference to his intention, if it should be God's will, to write a second letter, in which he promises -

"I will make clear to you the plan which I began in relation to the new man Jesus Christ, in faith in Him and in love for Him, in His sufferings and resurrection."

(I. Eph. 20.1)

It seems probable that this second letter was never written; certainly it has not come down to us. In his letter to Polycarp (8.1), Ignatius refers to his sudden sailing from Troas to Neapolis, and asks that Polycarp ensure that the courier who travels from Smyrna to Antioch carry a message to the Churches to which Ignatius has not been able to write. It looks very much as if this sudden departure precluded further
writing, and this may well have prevented this second letter ever being written. To Ignatius, this was the dictate of the divine will, and he accepts what happens in this spirit. ἡμετέρα, which occurs both in I.Eph.20.1 and I.Pol. 8.1 refers to the divine will.\(^2\)

Ignatius is quite explicit that the sudden sailing was the will of God; he also refrains from asserting categorically that he will write the second letter. This kind of statement indicates that for him, nothing was outside the realm of God's providence, and the implication is that had God wanted the letter written He would have made it possible. Yet Ignatius does not seem to be as naive as this in his reasoning. God's will can be frustrated by men. Even the Roman Christians could well-meaningly get in the way of Providence by appealing on Ignatius' behalf to the authorities and so prevent his martyrdom (see esp. I.Ro.2 and 4). In the case of the letters he has not been able to write, Ignatius accepts what he cannot change and finds the next best way of getting the information to the Churches. Polycarp has the knowledge (I.Pol 8.1) and so Ignatius bids him do it for him. We are to understand that Ignatius' faith reflects a commitment to God which accepts the inevitable and leaves the end result in God's hands. This faith also subjects everything to God's will. Ignatius' desire is to let God work out His purpose in him.

This gives the clue to our understanding of what Ignatius means by faith in this present context, where he refers to the "plan in relation to the new man Jesus Christ, in faith in Him and love for Him, in his suffering and His resurrection." The primary sense here is that of commitment to the new man, Jesus Christ; a commitment accompanied by love for Him and which shares His sufferings and so also His resurrection. However, while commitment is primary, to share the sufferings and resurrection requires that these should be real. So there is the underlying significance of faith as belief also in the reality of these things. But the primary significance of faith here is commitment to Christ in accordance with His will, motivated and accompanied by love for Him.
Faith, love and the participation in Christ's sufferings and death are all part of the "plan in relation to the new man Jesus Christ". The word ὄικονομια refers in its basic sense to the management of a household, and so to the work of an ὄικονομος - a steward. In Christian use it comes to denote the idea of stewardship towards God - the fulfilment of an office or commission given by God in relation to the arrangements made by Him for the world and its salvation. So Paul can speak of himself as entrusted with a stewardship - ὄικονομιᾷ πεποίθημα (I Cor. 9.17); in the Epistle to Diognetus 7.1, the unknown author speaks of Christians as not "entrusted with the administration of human mysteries" - ἀνθρωπίνων ὄικονομίων μυστηρίων πεποίθητον. Ignatius also uses the term in this sense of a bishop - in I. Eph. 6.1 - the Bishop is sent "for the management of (God's) household".

In relation to God, the word describes His arrangements for man's redemption, His Plan for salvation. This is the sense in the New Testament at Ephesians 1.10 and 3.9 - the "Plan for the fulness of time", and the "Plan of the mystery". The relationship between God's Plan and His commission in relation to this Plan is shown in Col. 1.25, where Paul speaks about the Church, "of which I have become a minister according to the commission of God given me for you, to fulfil the word of God, the mystery ... now made manifest ..."

... ἡ ἐκκλησία ... ἐν ἐγενόμενῃ ἐνῷ ὄλακονος κατὰ τὴν ὄικονομίαν τοῦ θεοῦ ...

In this case, ὄικονομια means commission primarily, but it is also clear that the commission is given in accordance with God's Plan of salvation and Paul's part in that Plan. The sentence makes perfectly good sense whether we translate ὄικονομια by "commission" or "plan". Moule translates this verse: "in virtue of the task assigned by God to us for your benefit, namely the task of fully proclaiming God's message", and comments: "ὁ ὄικονομια is either the position of an administrator or the act of thus administering - the exercise of
this office. But since the Apostle knows that his apostolic office (that of dispensing the Gospel) is in turn dispensed to him by God Himself, it is very possible that ὀλχονομεῖα carries in it also an allusion to God's administration."

In the case of I. Eph.20.1 under discussion, the sense of ὀλχονομεῖα is clearly enough that of the divine Plan. Here, this Plan is not so much the hidden mystery now revealed as in Eph.1 and 3, but the personification of personal renewal as seen in Jesus Christ, and especially in His suffering and death. Personal renewal for Ignatius is the literal entering-into this in his own experience of martyrdom. What the new man Jesus did, so must the Christian disciple do, to attain to that fulness of discipleship to which Ignatius looks forward as a result of his martyrdom.

This is as far as Ignatius is really able to go in relation to renewal. His mind is so filled with the thought of martyrdom that he does not in these letters work out renewal as it affects others in the more mundane business of living the Christian life day by day in the world. In this he differs markedly from the epistle to Diognetus, where in sections 5 and 6 the unknown author does work out how the new man is to live in the everyday world after the example of Jesus. The priorities of the two authors are different, and dictate the particular emphases of each.

In Diog.2.1, the recipient is urged "cleanse yourself from all the former reasonings of your mind ... being as from the beginning a new man, as also you are about to be the hearer of a new message ..." In section 5 the unknown author explains how Christians live in the world as any other persons, but their behaviour in regard to marriage and family and their attitudes to their fellow men are all quite different. The instructions given bear a close relationship to those in II Cor. 4 and 6. In Diog. section 6 there is a striking simile of Christians as the soul of the world, worked out elaborately against the model of the soul in the body.5

It is no coincidence that in Diog.7.1 there occurs the state-
ment already quoted above that Christians are entrusted with the administration of no human mysteries. Their stewardship and commission is to live out this new life in the world. Brändle comments that the Christian faith is a new idea, a new teaching, and intelligent hearers can only be new men. It is the concern of the letter to Diognetus to delineate the implications of this both intellectually and ethically.

But Ignatius does not have time for this. He is on his way to martyrdom, and time is short. It must suffice to say that faith in the sense of commitment to Jesus, together with love for Him and imitation of His passion is God's Plan, together with the end result— viz. a share in His resurrection. The discussion of the details of how this ideal is to be applied to the situations of Christians in the everyday world is beyond the scope of these letters.

Before we pass from our discussion of this passage we ought to notice the genitives. In translation, those on προστρές and ἄγαμα are to be taken as objective, the third is subjective. Among the translators, Goodspeed, A.N.C.L. and Loeb take all three genitives as subjective— i.e. as referring to the faith, love, sufferings and resurrection of Jesus. To translate thus is virtually meaningless for faith and love. God's Plan (the οἰκονομία) is not that Jesus should have faith, but that men should have faith in Him. While the love of Jesus for men is a fact, the objective faith in Jesus suggests that objective love for Him, rather than His love for us, is what Ignatius is writing about here. Sense demands that the last of the genitives is, however, to be taken as subjective. This is another of those passages where the pressures on Ignatius are apparent; as in the case of Mag.1.2, the genitives are a real difficulty, and we must translate them in a way consistent with the thought of Ignatius as this emerges in the course of our inquiry. The correct sense is exactly conveyed by Camusat's translation— "Elle consiste dans la foi en lui et dans l'amour pour lui, dans sa souffrance et sa résurrection."
Ignatius maintains a proper sense of his own insignificance and unworthiness. He calls himself ἀντίφυσχον as he concludes his letter to the Ephesians in section 21, and he is "ἔσχατος ... τῶν ἐκεῖ Πιστῶν - the least of the faithful there" (at Antioch). Here ὁ πιστὸς is a general term for Christians.10 It is difficult to know whether it is best to translate as "faithful" or "believers". Probably both senses are present in the title. Christians must believe; but they must also, like Ignatius, be faithful even to the end.

Of the translators, only Goodspeed translates as "believers" here, and it is probable that the primary sense is that of faithfulness. This was what was in Ignatius' mind in relation to his own position - he is going faithfully to his death as a Christian disciple.

This sense of πιστῶς also picks up the title which Ignatius has used of himself at the beginning of the section - viz. ἀντίφυσχον - "Ransom". This word denotes a life given for a life, and in this sense is closely related to the other title which Ignatius applies to himself - viz. πέριψημα - literally "offscouring"; but applied to the expiatory victim, and meaning also in general usage, "your humble servant".11 This latter word is used by Ignatius at Eph. 8.1 and 18.1; the former in this present context, and also at I.Sm.10 and I.Pol. 2.6.

Lightfoot12 comments: "The expression means, therefore, properly 'I give my life for you', 'I devote myself for you', and is closely allied with πέριψημα in meaning; but the direct idea of a vicarious death is more or less obliterated and the idea of devotion to and affection for another stands out prominently. We therefore cannot press the allusion to his approaching martyrdom."

This last sentence of the quotation is difficult to accept. In 21.2 Ignatius speaks explicitly of himself as "being led bound to Rome, the least of the faithful". He knows he is going to martyrdom, and it is precisely in this action that
he shows the extent of his affection and devotion. Jesus too showed His in the same way; the martyr deliberately imitates his Master.

Ignatius is faithful, and his faithfulness is expressed in the offering of himself as a martyr. Faith in this sense is commitment to God and His people, expressed by Ignatius' bonds and all that they imply.

It is a shared faith that Ignatius declares to be the basis of his address to the Magnesians -

"Knowing the good order of your godly love, rejoicing, I determined in faith in Jesus Christ (ἐν πίστει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) to address you."

(I. Mag. 6.1)

As often, there is no article here; the statement is qualitative. The fact that both Ignatius and his readers have faith in Jesus Christ is what gives them common ground. Lightfoot paraphrases "as a Christian speaking to Christians". Here, faith is an expression of their common Christian commitment. It is a general term, qualified only by the statement of its object.

This shared faith as the basis of their relationship is again mentioned by Ignatius in section 6 of the letter to the Magnesians. He makes reference to the visit of Damas, their Bishop, together with the "worthy Presbyters" Bassos and Apollonius, and the Deacon, Zotion, first mentioned in section 2 -

"Since in the aforementioned persons I have seen the whole congregation in faith, and I have loved them ... (ἐθεώρησα ἐν πίστει καὶ ἡγάπησα).

(I. Mag. 6.1)

In these representatives, Ignatius deals with the whole congregation. Faith is the basis of their relationship, and even those who were not present can share a relationship because of this common faith. So too, the representatives have greeted Ignatius on behalf of all the faithful. ἡγάπησα here refers
to the outward greetings, the embrace of welcome and affection. The same sense is attached to ἀγαπάω at I. Pol. 2.3, where Ignatius speaks of Polycarp as having "greeted his bonds". ¹⁵

ἐν πάσει is again here a quite general term which expresses the common commitment to Christ which unites Christians, their common beliefs and the behaviour which is the outcome. The passage continues with an exhortation to harmony -

παράλυμι, ἐν ὑμνοῦσα θεῷ σπουδάζετε πάντα πράσσειν ...

"I exhort you, in a divine harmony be zealous to do all things ..."

6.1 concludes "the Bishop presiding in the place of God and the Elders in the place of the Council of the Apostles, and the deacons most dear to me who are entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ, ¹⁶ Who was with the Father before the ages and has appeared at the end."

For Ignatius, Christian commitment cannot be separated from obedience to the properly constituted ecclesiastical authority as seen in the Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons. In so far as faith is an expression of Christian commitment, it must include this submission. The result is that all will be done in a 'divine harmony'. The teaching is further elaborated in section 7.

We ought to notice the phrase ἐν ὑμνοῦσα θεῷ. It is possible to take the genitive here in two different ways, both of which make good sense. We may take it as an objective genitive ¹⁷ - "in harmony with God". In this case, to be in harmony with the Bishop, Elders and Deacons is to be in harmony with God. This is quite consistent with what Ignatius says here about the Bishop being in the place of God.

On the other hand, the genitive may be taken as a genitive of
quality, where θεοῦ would be equivalent to the adjective θεός. This adjective is not common; it is found once in I. Mag.8.2 in the superlative as applied to the prophets. If we take the genitive this way, we understand that all things are done by the Magnesians in a "divine harmony" - i.e. a harmony inspired by God and which reflects His will. Parallels to this usage in Ignatius can be found at I. Eph.18.2 - κατ' οἶκονομίαν θεοῦ = according to God's plan; I. Tr.1.1 - θελήματι θεοῦ = God's will; Phld. Inscr. - ἐν ὁμοοὐθη θεοῦ = in a divine harmony, and I. Sm. 1.1 - κατὰ θέλημα καὶ δύναμιν θεοῦ = according to the divine will and power. Camelot takes our present passage - I. Mag.6.1 quoted above - in this way: "une divine concorde". Goodspeed also has "godly harmony". However, Lake prefers the objective sense, "in harmony with God". This objective genitive can be paralleled by that on πίστις.

We have noted in other contexts the difficulty of these genitives in Ignatius, and we come to another one in the very next sentence -

πάντες οὖν ὁμοθέτες θεοῦ λαβόντες ἔντρέπεσθε ἀλλήλους καὶ μηδεὶς κατὰ σάρκα βλέπετω τὸν κλησόν, ἀλλ' ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ἀλλήλους ὅλα παντὸς ἀγαπάτε ...

"Wherefore all of you, either having received a similarity of character with that of God, or having received a divine agreement in your convictions, respect one another, and let no one look at his neighbour according to the flesh, but in Jesus Christ love one another at all times."

The section concludes -

"Let there be nothing among you which is able to divide you, but be one with the Bishop and with those presiding for a type and teaching of immortality."

(I. Mag.6.2)
The difficult phrase is ὀμοσθελαν θεου λαβόντες. The first possibility takes the genitive as dependent on the idea of similarity in ὀμοσθελαν. It is not an objective genitive such as on πίστευς or ὀμοσθελα above. Likeness is naturally expressed in Greek by the dative case, using an adjective such as ὀμολογος. However, here a noun is used and its dependent case is a genitive. The construction may be paralleled by such a phrase as ὁμολογος τόνος - someone’s namesake. Lightfoot prefers to take the Ignatian phrase this way, and he translates "moral conformity with God". He is followed by Lake.

On the other hand, the alternative translation offered above is that of A.G. - "a divine agreement in your convictions". Goodspeed is similar, "God's attitude"; Camelot has "unité de sentiments qui vient de Dieu" - which makes the genitive one of origin. To take the genitive adjectivally, as do A.G. and Goodspeed, is quite legitimate, as we have shown above in the case of the previous phrase, ἐν ὀμολογω θεοῦ.

Once again it is very difficult to decide which way the genitive must be taken. Both make good sense. In the first case their harmony with God is an expression of their common renewal into God's character and ways - a renewal which is expressed in respect and love; in the second case their agreement in doctrine leads to respect and love for one another, and unity in the Church.

ὀμοσθελα is a rare word. The adjective ὀμοσθελισ occurs from Plato on in the meaning "of the same habits or character"; the noun is first noted in the 1st century B.C. and means "similarity of habits" in late Hellenistic philosophy. In early Christian literature, the only occurrences quoted by A.G. are this one in I.Mag. 6.2, and I.Pol. 1.3. In this latter case, either sense of the genitive is again possible. Lampe gives the meaning as "similarity in character or disposition".

In the case of I.Pol. 1.3 the phrase in question is ματα
ὁμοθετεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ λαλεῖ. Lightfoot again prefers the same sense as in the Magnesians example and translates "in conformity with God". He explains further that "Ignatius here means conformity with the character of God our Father, Who neglects no one, but makes His sun shine alike upon the good and evil." He compares Matt. 5.45f. and suggests that Ignatius must have had this in mind.

A.G., on the other hand, offers the translation for I.Pol. 1.3 of "on the basis of a divine unity in convictions". Thus there is in both cases a consistency in the way the phrase is taken as to the sense both of the word ὑμοθετεῖν and the genitive.

The etymology of ὑμοθετεῖν suggests that the meaning "similarity of character" is to be preferred. However, as the examples of the adjectival use of the genitive quoted above show, to adopt an adjectival use of the genitive and refer the phrase to a divine agreement in convictions is quite consistent with Ignatius' style, and his thought especially in the anti-docetic passages quoted in sect. 2 of our treatment of Ignatius, where unity in belief is seen as so essential for the well-being of the Church. 23

In regard to I. Mag. 6.2, which is the passage which is primarily under discussion, the sense given in the first alternative translation - i.e. to take the phrase as "similarity of character with that of God", fits very well with what we have been saying about faith. Commitment to Jesus Christ leads to unity in the Church under the Bishop and properly appointed ministers; this in turn brings about a renewal which shows itself in a similarity of character with that of God Himself, and this affects the way Christians treat one another - i.e with respect and love, and not according to worldly standards (κατὰ σάρκα). In this passage an understanding of the significance of πῦστις leads to clarification of this perplexing phrase. πῦστις here is faith/commitment rather than faith/belief as over against docetism; thus likeness of character is the likely emphasis of ὑμοθετεῖν rather than likeness of conviction. Had the latter word
occurred in an anti-docetic passage in relation to faith, then similarity of conviction might well have been the sense preferred. In our translation of I. Mag. 6.2, then, we adopt the first alternative.

Faith and love together form the essence of true religion—faith as the expression of commitment, trust and belief; love as the ethical outcome of faith. So it is not surprising that faith and love are found together in the summary passages at the beginning and end of some letters.

The letter to the Magnesians is an example of this. Section 13, where Ignatius is rounding off what he has to say, runs thus—

"Show zeal to be made firm in the precepts of the Lord and of the Apostles, in order that 'you may prosper in all that you do' in flesh and spirit (σαρκί καὶ πνεύματι), in faith and love (πίστευ καὶ ἀγάπη), in Son and Father and in Spirit, in beginning and in end ..."

The build-up of the phrases describing the prosperity of the Christian who sets himself firmly in the keeping of Christ's precepts is designed to show the totality of that prosperity. Flesh and spirit is a favourite stock phrase in Ignatius to express the whole personality of man. Faith and love express the totality of religion in its relational and ethical sense, and this is further expanded by "in the Son, etc,". The ultimate importance of these things for Christians is expressed by "in beginning and end". The wideness of faith as a general term to cover many aspects of religion is apparent here.

At both the beginning and end of the letter to the Smyrneans this same summary use of faith occurs, each time coupled with love, and at the end linked also with flesh and spirit, emphasising the idea of totality noted above in connection with Mag. 13. The phrase ἐνθράσωσα τὴν πίστιν in I. Sm. 13.2
is linked with the similar idea of firmness expressed in I. Eph. 10.2. In the introduction to the letter to the Smyrnaeans, the Christians at that place are described as being "filled with faith and love". Faith and love are again words to give a general description to the Christian religion, and as such, describe the basis of Ignatius' address to the Smyrnaean Christians.

In this section, we have seen that faith is in some contexts an umbrella word which expresses Christian commitment in its widest sense. It is the basis of the relationship between Christians; it is a shared faith that makes it possible for Ignatius to have fellowship with so many of his fellow-Christians en route to Rome. Faith is commitment to Christ; it is often linked with love, which is its ethical outcome. Faith and love together express the spiritual and ethical content of Christianity in general terms. It is not surprising that such general terms find frequent expression in the address and summary sections of the letters.
Additional Note on the use of the verb πληροφορέω.

In addition to the verb πιστεύω, Ignatius uses the verb πληροφορέω to express the idea of faith with more intensity than πιστεύω conveys. Although πληροφορέω is not cognate with the πίστις group, for the sake of completeness it is desirable to include those contexts in which it occurs in Ignatius, because they add to our understanding of the whole picture of faith as Ignatius presents it. The verb takes a similar set of constructions to those found with πιστεύω—twice it is followed by ἐν and the dative, once by εἰς and the accusative, once by a διὰ clause, and in three of the four occurrences the object of the full conviction is expressed in the same "credal" type of statement noted before in connection with faith, as in I. Τρ. 9.2. The verb πληροφορέω, then, is a word which Ignatius uses to express belief in a more intense way than is possible with πιστεύω.

In I. Mag.8.1, the thought moves from the importance of unity in the Church under the Bishop, to a direct condemnation of the false doctrines which lie at the root of this disunity.

8.1 "Do not be deceived by strange doctrines nor by old fables which are harmful, for if up to now we live according to law, we confess that we have not received grace.

2 For the most divine prophets lived according to Christ Jesus. On account of this they were persecuted, inspired by His grace, so that the disobedient might be fully convinced (εἰς τὸ πληροφορηθῆναι τῶν ἀπελθόντων, διὰ ...) that God is one, Who has manifested Himself through Jesus Christ His Son, Who is His Word proceeding from silence, Who in all things was pleasing to the one Who sent Him."
In strong language, Ignatius condemns wrong belief, which is so harmful to the Church. The "strange doctrines" and "old fables" are the teachings of the Judaising docetists that we have met before in his anti-docetic passages.\(^1\) The context here would suggest that they had been encouraging Christians to keep the Jewish Law. Ignatius points out that even the prophets foreshadowed Christ. That he is here referring to the Old Testament prophets is clear from the similar passage in I.Phil.5 as well as from the contrast he draws here between law and grace, in language not unlike that of St Paul in Galatians 3 and 4.

In the thought of Ignatius, as in that of the New Testament, there is a continuity from the Old Testament through into the Christian era. It is the same God Who is active through His servants at every stage. The same idea is expressed in I.Phil.5.2 - "And let us love the prophets, because their proclamation pointed towards the Gospel, and they hoped in Him and awaited Him." "le Dieu des prophètes est celui qui s'est manifesté en Jésus-Christ, c'est au Christ que croyaient les saints de l'Ancien Testament".\(^2\)

The witness and teaching of the prophets ought to lead to full conviction in the minds of Christians in regard to the unity and manifestation of God in Christ, "His Word proceeding from silence". The primary reference in this phrase is to the incarnation of Christ. The silence of God has been broken by the declaration of God in Christ, His Word. In I. Eph.19 the period before the incarnation is described as God's silence, broken by the revelation which God gives of Himself in the birth of Christ, and this suggests that the present passage be taken in the same way.\(^3\)

Silence has great significance for Ignatius. It conveys the depth of the mystery of God, and it is in silence that a Christian reaches his deepest fellowship with God. I.Eph.15 is a key passage in this regard - "He who truly possesses the word of Jesus is able also to hear His silence, in order that he may be perfect, in order that through the things which he speaks he may act, and through the things in which he is silent he may
be known." The Christian enters into the very silence of God, and so becomes part of His Being.

"It may be said that for Ignatius 'silence' seems to mean roughly what in more philosophical circles would be expressed by the metaphysical term **ουσία** ... Silence is its equivalent. It means the real which cannot be further defined: existence sui generis, whether of man or of God. Silence is mysterious, undifferentiated, unexplained. It is opposed to activity, expression, the explicit ... Silence is not an attribute of God; it is God Himself."\(^4\)

Twice Ignatius refers to the silence of Bishops - at Eph. 6.1 and Phil. 1.1. Lightfoot \(^5\) takes this as a reference to the quiet and retiring disposition of the Bishops in these places, and to some extent Corwin \(^6\) agrees with this. But the Bishop as God's representative must act like God, and so silence is appropriately one of his attributes. When the Bishop is silent, then is he most to be held in respect. \(^7\)

The point so far as this present study is concerned, is that Ignatius is saying here that a proper understanding of the Old Testament prophets will lead to a full conviction of the manifestation of God in Jesus Christ, and of this as a true manifestation of the very Being and Essence of God as understood by the metaphor of His silence. To simply believe this is not enough; there must be full conviction of this truth of the Incarnation, that Jesus is truly God. The truth is strikingly stated in the figure of the Word proceeding from silence; such a strong statement requires a verb of intensity.

In the 11th section of this same letter to the Magnesians, Ignatius again uses τιληφοροετυ and follows it by a strong credal statement -

"... I wish you to be on your guard, lest you fall into the fish-hooks of error, but to be fully convinced of the birth and suffering and resurrection which took place in the governorship of Pontius Pilate ..."
The ensnaring nature of false doctrine is vividly portrayed as a fish-hook; Christians are easily hooked on error. What is needed is full conviction. This conviction is spelled out, and the objectivity of the events is heightened by the dating to the governorship of Pontius Pilate. It is fitting that here again a verb of some intensity should be used with this strong statement.

Ignatius is even more explicit about dating the Incarnation in Sm. 1.1. We have already discussed this passage in relation to its anti-docetic character. Ignatius praises the firmness of the faith of the Smyrnaeans, whom he describes as:

"fully convinced in Our Lord (ἐξ τὰν κυρίου ἡμῶν), Who is truly from the tribe of David according to the flesh, Son of God ... truly born of a virgin, baptised by John ... truly under Pontius Pilate and Herod the tetrarch nailed for us ..."

The vividness of this passage and its intensity derives from the two-fold reference to the literal nailing to the cross and the repeated ἀληθῶς. The dating of the Incarnation and related events is further expanded by the reference to John the Baptist and to Herod. The fact that a denial of the reality of the Incarnation totally destroys the whole of Christianity is clearly seen here - there must be full conviction of the reality of all the events of Jesus' life, but of the Incarnation in the first instance. If this is denied, the rest are illusory anyway. This was the fatal danger of docetism. Again, this is a strong and intense passage in which a strong verb is appropriate. Hence Ignatius' use again of πληροφορεῖν to express the intensity with which Christians must believe.

Finally, we must consider the introduction to the letter to the Philadelphians -
"Ignatius ... to the Church (at Philadelphia) ... shown mercy ... and rejoicing in the suffering of our Lord without wavering and fully convinced of His resurrection in all mercy ..."

There is some doubt as to how this should be taken. ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει may go with either πεπληρωμένη or with the preceding ἀγαλλιωμένη. Goodspeed prefers the latter; Lake & Camelot take the former. Lightfoot while preferring the latter, finds no objection to the former. He quotes Col. 4.12 as a parallel to this construction with ἐν, "where the preposition describes the sphere, the surroundings, of the conviction".

The translation given above is to be preferred - i.e. taking the ἐν phrase as dependent on πεπληρωμένη. The construction is then a chiasmus, and there is a parallel construction in the Introduction to the letter to the Ephesians - ἄτρεπτον ἡμών ἐχελεγμένη καὶ ἐκλεισμένη ἐν πάσῃ ἀληθείᾳ - "unchangeably united and chosen in true suffering".

It is interesting to notice that in this letter there is less emphasis on the Incarnation and more on the cross and resurrection. The most notable passage in the letter, and its climax, is the "archives" passage in section 8. Here Ignatius asserts - "to me, Jesus Christ is the Archives, the inviolable archives His cross and death and His resurrection and the faith which is through Him." It is not unlikely that Ignatius, in the Introduction, is highlighting the main point that he will make in the letter. Thus full conviction in the resurrection is held up as one of the essentials. This too supports the translation here given. The use of the intense πεπληρωμένη is also appropriate to the main emphasis of the letter.
This use of πληροφορεῖν in strong expressions of conviction is found also in the New Testament. Both in regard to construction and usage there is nothing really new in Ignatius. There are six occurrences in the New Testament—three take a dependent εν and dative; one a dependent δείκτη clause; and the remaining two occurrences are in II Tim. and both times it takes an accusative. Col.4.12 is typical of the type of strong statement with this verb in the New Testament—"that you may stand perfect and fully convinced in all the will of God." Where Ignatius goes further than the New Testament is in the association of the verb with vivid metaphors and in the intensity of feeling which his writing conveys in the passages quoted. For Ignatius, πληροφορεῖν expresses faith in its intense conviction as to where the truth lies.
Section 5. Faith Personified and the Adjective πιστός.

Once, at Smyrnaeans 10.2, Ignatius personifies faith and identifies it with Jesus Himself -

"My spirit is your ransom, and my bonds, which you did not despise neither were you ashamed of them. Neither will the perfect faithfulness (ἡ τελεία πιστοτέωσις), Jesus Christ, be ashamed of you."

Here πιστός must be understood in the sense of faithfulness. Jesus is Himself this perfect faithfulness, and Ignatius is saying that the attitude and love of the Smyrnaeans will not be overlooked by God Who is faithful.

The faithfulness of God is often expressed in the Pauline epistles, although Paul uses the adjective πιστός, e.g. I Cor.1.9; 10.13, II Cor.1.18, I Thess.5.24. The thought of Jesus being ashamed can also be paralleled in the synoptic saying recorded at Mk.8.38 and Lk.9.26 - "For whoever is ashamed of me and mine in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of Man will also be ashamed of him, when He comes in the glory of His Father and the holy angels."

The parallel here is really very close. Ignatius may well have thought of himself as included in those referred to as "mine" (τούς ἐμοὺς) in the synoptic saying. The Smyrnaeans had not been ashamed of him in his bonds and on his way to martyrdom, so neither would Jesus, Who is faithfulness personified, be ashamed of them. Ignatius expresses the thought in his own vivid and striking way. It is thoroughly in character with his style to personify πιστός as faithfulness in this fashion.

On one occasion in these letters, at Tr. 13.3, right at the end of that letter, Ignatius speaks of God as πιστός in the New Testament fashion.
"I am still under danger; but the Father is faithful (πιστός ὁ πατήρ) in Jesus Christ to fulfil my request and yours ..."

Ignatius realises that martyrdom will not be easy. Until he has actually died there is the possibility that his courage may fail, or that he may even be pardoned - the possibility he recognises when he writes Ro.4. But what he is saying to the Smyrnaeans is that he believes in God to be faithful in the same sense that He will answer and grant his prayer to be a martyr. There is no exact New Testament parallel where God's faithfulness in answering prayer is cited. I Thess.5.24 is the closest - "Faithful is He Who calls you, Who also will do it."

On the one other occasion where Ignatius uses πιστός he applies it to himself, and it means "faithful". So in Ro.3.2 -

"Only ask for one power inwardly and outwardly, that I may not only say, but also wish, that I may not only be called a Christian, but also be found to be one. For if I be found a Christian, I am also able to be called one, and then to be faithful (πιστός), when I am not visible to the world."

By martyrdom Ignatius will prove himself to be a Christian in the fullest sense. Perhaps again here is reflected the fear of the possibility that he may recant and apostatise and so fail to be a Christian - this letter to the Romans expresses this apprehension that he felt all the way through. Or the Romans themselves may make untimely representations on his behalf as he suggests in section 4. To be a Christian, to be πιστός, and to be a μαθητής - a disciple - seems for Ignatius to be much the same thing. So in section 5.2 he says that now he is beginning to be a disciple. So in a short space we have all three terms in this letter, and in each case martyrdom is the means by which he attains the title.
This kind of language is peculiar to Ignatius, and reflects his great preoccupation with and enthusiasm for his approaching martyrdom.

The high value of martyrdom is here indicated by the reference to his no longer being visible to the world. As Jesus reaches His true greatness after the Ascension to the Father, and is delivered from all the sufferings He endured in this world, so also the martyr reaches his true greatness in going to God and so being no longer visible to the world. This state is, in the thought of Ignatius, that of the true Christian disciple and believer; the martyrdom is the proof of these things.
Section 6. κεφάλαιον 6 - "Entrusted".

In the New Testament and early Christian writings, by far the most common use of πιστεύειν is the intransitive where the meaning is to believe, trust, have confidence in.\(^1\) As we have seen, this is certainly true in Ignatius.

However, from Classical times onwards, the transitive use has also appeared. The meaning here is to entrust (something to someone). In this case πιστεύειν is followed by the accusative of the thing entrusted and the dative of the person to whom it is entrusted.\(^2\) In the New Testament this usage is found on two occasions - at Jn. 2.24 and Lk. 16.11.

Since the 2nd century B.C., the passive form has appeared; in this case the accusative of the thing entrusted is retained, and the person to whom it is entrusted becomes the subject of the passive verb.\(^3\) There are five examples of this in the New Testament, all in the Pauline writings and the Pastorals - e.g. Ro.3.2 ἐπιστευθησάν τὰ λόγια, and I Cor.9.17 ἀκολούθος εἰς περιστάσεις.

In Ignatius' letters there are three examples of this passive - at Mag.6.1 - where Ignatius speaks of the deacons as περιστάσεις διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ - 'entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ'. Lightfoot\(^4\) interprets this as 'a service under Jesus Christ' as their χώρος. Both Lake and Goodspeed translate "service of Jesus Christ". All three apparently take the genitive as objective. It may be that the best way to understand this is to see the ministry of the deacons as one of direct service to God's people, as distinct from the more exalted position of the Bishop and Presbyters. In this sense it would be a ministry of Jesus Christ, and like His own ministry in the direct service of people as we see it in the Gospels.\(^5\)

This same construction is found twice in I.Phld.9.1 -
"Good are the priests but better the High Priest who is entrusted with the holy of holies, who alone is entrusted with the hidden things of God" -

πελάτευμένος τὰ ἁγία τῶν ἁγίων, ὥς μόνος
πεπλοτευτάς τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ θεοῦ.

In this passage, which follows on from the "archives" passage discussed above, 6 Jesus is the new High Priest, and as such, like the Old Testament High Priest, is entrusted with the Holy of Holies and the hidden things of God. Jesus is Himself also the door through which both Old and New Testament figures find entry. The thought here is akin to that of Jn. 10.7-9. 7

There is nothing unusual about Ignatius' use of this passive form; it is quite normal usage for Greek of this period, and requires no further comment.
Section 7. The Imagery of Faith.

It is fitting that we should conclude this study of faith in Ignatius by looking at three passages in which there is some striking imagery. This kind of writing is what we have come to expect of Ignatius, and is another aspect of that vividness and intensity of expression which is one of his most notable characteristics.

The first of these passages is I. Eph.3. In the second section Ignatius has been exhorting the Ephesians to obedience to the Bishop. He then appears to feel the need to apologise for his commanding attitude -

3.1 "I am not commanding you as though I am someone. For even if I am bound in the name (of Jesus Christ), not yet am I perfected in Jesus Christ."

He continues -

'Ενε γὰρ ἄρχῃν έχω τοῦ μαθητεύεσθαι καὶ προσδέχεται ὑμᾶς ἡ συνοδευσαλάταις ὑμῶν. Ἐνε γὰρ ἐδειχθεὶ ὑμῖν ὑπάλληλον Πέτρος, νομισματικός, ὑπομνήμισα, μακροθυμία.

"For now I am beginning to be a disciple, and I address you as my fellow disciples. It was necessary for me to be anointed by you with faith, admonition, steadfastness and long-suffering.

3.2 But since love does not allow me to be silent concerning you, on this account I undertook to exhort you, in order that you may run together with the thought of God (ὅπως συντρέχητε τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ).

"For Jesus Christ also, our unwavering life (τῷ ἀδιάκριτον ζῆν), is the thought of the Father, as also the Bishops ... are in the thought of Jesus Christ."
Once again we notice Ignatius' recognition that only martyrdom will make him truly a disciple, and perfect him in Jesus Christ. This sense of his present imperfection and the vulnerability of his position until the death has actually been faced and suffered finds expression on many occasions in the epistles, both in this idea of a discipleship to be attained, and in the use of the terms "your humble servant" - ἀντίψυχον and περὶφήμα. Ignatius exhibits a real humility, which is able to make a realistic assessment of his own weaknesses; his letters never show a cock-sureness or arrogance about his coming martyrdom, and he does not use this as an excuse to make demands on his readers or to command them to believe in a particular fashion.

This fact gives us an indication of the meaning of συνδοξαικολύτης. A.G. gives "fellow pupil, fellow disciple." Lightfoot argues for a similar meaning, especially on the grounds of the significance of the -της termination, which signifies 'one who has to do with anything' - so, for example, συμφυλακτής means not fellow-jailer but fellow prisoner. He points out also that if Ignatius wanted to say fellow-teachers he could have used the current συνδόξασκολοι. Again, there is no reason to regard the Ephesian Christians as a board of fellow-teachers. All the translators similarly translate this sense for the word. However, Lampe gives the meaning 'one who teaches together with others'. The word is a hapax legomenon. The weight is against Lampe here, and the widely accepted sense of "fellow disciple" is further supported by what is said above about Ignatius' personal attitudes to his present circumstances. His reference earlier in the same sentence to his attainment of discipleship and his whole attitude of genuine humility makes it more likely that he would style himself as one disciple or one pupil among his fellows.

This brings us to the imagery of the passage, where Ignatius speaks of his need to be anointed by the Ephesians with faith, admonition, endurance and long-suffering. Both Camelot and Lightfoot, make much of the athletic imagery here, and both cite examples of the athletic anointing being applied as a preparation for martyrdom. Lightfoot in his note also points out that it
was the trainer whose duty it was to do the anointing of the athlete, and that this puts the Ephesians in the place of trainers, thus indicating possible support for taking ουνόλασκ-αλίταις as fellow-teachers. But this seems very forced, and to find such support would mean taking the imagery very literally, and it is unlikely that Ignatius in his circumstances would have thought out all the implications of a metaphor very carefully or fully. As we will see later in discussing other metaphors that he uses, the imagery is not well thought through and there are signs of haste.

Given Ignatius' familiarity with at least some parts of the New Testament writings, and among these St Matthew's Gospel, as is indicated by both direct and oblique references in his letters, it is likely that he also has in mind with this present imagery, the anointing of Jesus at Bethany before His death. This, as Jesus said, was done to prepare Him for burial; the anointing of Ignatius too is a preparation for his martyrdom. In all probability we should not over-play the athletic imagery, but give due weight to other influences.

Athletic imagery is none the less present. The Ephesians are to "run together with the thought of the Bishop". This is a vivid way of exhorting them to unity and obedience to the Bishop, and in section 4 the thought is carried on under the image of the chords of a cithara symbolising harmony. So Ignatius, emphasising one of his most deeply-felt themes, moves from one set of imagery to the next in his effort to press home his message.

Ignatius wishes to be anointed with faith. προτερείς here indicates that commitment which will carry him through the great test that lies before him. Faith here is the same as that discussed in Ch.1, s.4 above, and the sense of προτερείς is that noted in the contexts discussed there. This context here indicates that the thought uppermost in Ignatius' mind is that of faith as it relates directly to his own martyrdom and the needs of his present situation.
The concomitants of faith in this passage show a like emphasis. νουθεσία is best translated admonition. The word occurs in the New Testament in the epistles at Eph. 6.4 and I Cor. 10.11 in the sense of Christian instruction, and in the former passage is associated with πολέμος: training, discipline. The sense in our present passage seems to be that the Ephesians are to encourage Ignatius by their words of instruction and warning as to the extent of the test he faces, with all that he must suffer and the inherent possibility that he may fail, as he has himself just implied above in the statement that he is not yet perfect nor has attained discipleship. The word is "rare and late". 10 ὑπομονὴ is the endurance required in the face of suffering, while μακροθυμία is the patience needed in the face of the discomfort and privations of the journey. 11 These concomitants add to our understanding of the faith-commitment that Ignatius needs to carry him through. It is truly the faith of the martyr with which Ignatius has need to be anointed.

This athletic imagery is picked up again in the interesting phrase "to run together with the thought of God". Jesus is described elsewhere as the "Word proceeding from silence"; 12 in His pre-existent state with the Father he is described as the "thought of God". 13 In this way Ignatius expresses the distinction between the pre-existent Christ and the Father. 14 The Word proceeding from silence is the expression of the mind of God. The description is characteristic of Ignatius, and occurs at Ro. 8, Sm. 6, I.Pol.8 and Phld.Inscr. Lampe 15 gives the meaning "will" for γνώμη, and quotes this present passage. While it is true that Jesus does the will of the Father and as His Word expressed that will, it is better to render γνώμη as thought rather than will here because it more faithfully represents Ignatius' understanding of the relationship of the Father and the Son. Again, the position of the Bishop is of such importance to the Church in the theology of Ignatius that he can describe the Bishops as being in the thought of Jesus. The significance of their position and function in the Church could hardly have been more strongly
expressed; nor could Ignatius have more clearly demonstrated the need for obedience to the Bishop. To obey the Bishop is to obey God for he is in the thought of the Thought of God.

In this same context Jesus is described as τὸ ἀδιάκριτον ἡμῶν ζῆν - our unwavering life. As the thought of God He is constant and dependable, for God is always consistent. The adjective occurs in the Epistle of James in the New Testament in the description of the Wisdom which is from above; among other things it is unwavering, in contrast to the inconsistent behavior of men in their speech. The thought is not unlike that of the opening verses of the same epistle, where James deals with the behavior of the δύσροις - the man who is forever changing his mind and does not know where he stands. It is interesting to note that ἀδιάκριτος is cognate with ὁ δολαρφυνόμενος - the doubter - who later in that same section of James is described as δύσροις. To call Jesus ἀδιάκριτος is to suggest that He has all the certainty, reliability and consistency that the δύσροις lacks. This gives better sense than Lightfoot who translates "inseparable", or Lampe who gives "undifferentiated, uniform" as the meaning here and in I. Mag.15; although he gives "unwavering" as the meaning in I. Tr. 1.1, where it is applied to men and not to Jesus. There seems no reason to find a different sense for men and Jesus in the application of the adjective.

There is much in this context that goes beyond the immediate application to faith, which is our prime concern. We may, however, trace a progression of thought here which does have application to faith. Ignatius speaks of his need to be anointed with faith that will carry him like an athlete, through to the end of the contest of martyrdom, and so to the full attainment of discipleship. The Ephesians too must run as athletes a race which is consistent with the thought of God, and in obedience to the Bishop who is himself in the thought of Jesus. Jesus as the thought of the Father is our unwavering life - He is reliable and does not change. It is because of this that Ignatius can commit himself in faith to Jesus, Who is Himself utterly dependable.
No discussion on Ignatius would be complete without mention of the "machine metaphor" in 1. Eph. 9.1; it is perhaps the best known and most often quoted piece of Ignatius' writings.

Following section 3 of Eph. discussed above, Ignatius further exhorts the Ephesians to obedience to the Bishop and to the effectiveness of prayer which issues from a Church united to its Bishop. Then in sections 7 and 8 there are strong condemnations of heretics and their teachings - these passages have already been discussed in this chapter, section 2.

In 9.1 Ignatius continues -

"I learned to know certain people who had passed by on their way from that place, having evil teaching; whom do not you allow to sow it among you, stopping your ears, with a view to your not receiving the things sown by them, as being stones of the Father's Temple, prepared for a building of God the Father, being borne up into the heights by means of the machine of Jesus Christ, which is His cross, using for rope the Holy Spirit; and your faith is what leads you upwards (ἡ δὲ πλευρὰς ὑμῶν ἀναγωγεῖς ὑμῶν), and love is the way which bears you to God (ἡ δὲ ἀγάφη δόδος ἡ ἀναφέρουσα εἰς θεόν)."

Lightfoot remarks that the metaphor is violent, after the manner of Ignatius, but he later concedes that while "the metaphor is extravagant it is not otherwise ill-conceived." It may be that the violence and extravagance is further evidence of hasty writing and difficult conditions. Camelot speaks of "Cette allégorie, dont tous les éléments sont loin d'être absolument cohérents" and goes on to quote, as does Lightfoot, similar metaphors in other writers contemporary with Ignatius, and later.

The building imagery is common enough in the New Testament, and it is probable that this present metaphor is suggested by the
imagery of Eph.2.20-22, although in this case it is the founda-
tions and the corner-stone which are the principal features. 
There Christ is the chief corner-stone; here His cross is the 
machine for building. Ignatius makes no mention of the 
foundation; his emphasis is on the stones which go into the 
building, raised by the machine.

The machine remains inert until the rope is attached to the 
load and raised. The rope used is the Holy Spirit. "Ignatius ... 
realises the work of the Spirit in the lives of all faithful 
members of the Church. With a characteristicaly graphic 
extension of a New Testament metaphor he ... well expresses the 
office which the Holy Spirit fulfils in the personal life, plac-
ing His work in its true relation to the sacrifice of the cross 
on the one hand, and to human responsibility on the other. 
The grace of the Spirit, Ignatius would say, brings the machinery 
of redemption into vital connection with the individual soul. 
Apart from this, the cross stands inert, a vast machine at rest, 
and about it lie the stones of the building, unmoved. Not till 
the rope has been attached can the work proceed of lifting the 
individual life through faith and love to the place prepared 
for it in the Church of God." 23 What attaches the rope and 
raises it is faith. This is the human responsibility.

Faith in the metaphor is described as the ἀνάγωγεὺς. This is 
a very rare word. L & S quote it only once in the sense of one 
who raises - and that from Proclus in the 5th century A.D. 
Lightfoot, 24 gives the meaning as "lifting engine"; in his 
translation he has 'windlass' and this suggestion is followed 
by Corwin 25 and others. Lampe and A.G. give 'one who guides/
leads upwards' and both remark that windlass is unlikely. How-
ever, if Ignatius had the image of a stage-crane in his mind, 
it may well be that a drum or wheel to provide the motive power 
was what he conceived. This was part of the construction and 
would have been familiar enough. 26 If this were the case, 
windlass would not be an inappropriate translation. At all 
events, it should not be dismissed too readily.

What is quite clear, however, is that faith is the motive power, 
however it is conceived of as being applied in terms of the
mechanics of the metaphor. It describes the human response to the Holy Spirit — that motivation without which God's gifts are ineffective. As so often, faith is coupled with love, which is the path taken upwards. In terms of the wider context of the metaphor, faith has been closely identified with right belief, as over against heresy (see sections 7ff.) and with unity and harmony in the Church under the Bishop (sections 3ff.). Putting all this together we may say that faith issuing in orthodoxy, unity and harmony is the guide and motivating power along the way of love which leads ultimately to God. 27

In the last context to be considered, Ignatius sets before his readers the choice which each has to make between God and the world. The contrast is starkly presented under the figure of two coinages.

I .Mag.5.1 "For things have an end and there lies before us the two together, death and life, and each is about to go to his own place. For so there are two coinages, the one of God and the other of the world, and each of them has its own impression stamped there-on, the unbelievers (ο̂ς Φιλάτολος) that of this world, and the believers (ο̂ς Πιστόλος) in love the impression of God the Father through Jesus Christ; through Whom, except we choose to die in order to have a part in His passion, His life is not in us."

To be a believer in the context of this passage is to be sufficiently committed to Jesus Christ to be prepared to die for Him. This expresses Ignatius' own commitment to martyrdom, as we have already noted in pages 90ff. where the other contexts of the adjective Πιστός are discussed. For Ignatius there is really no middle ground, the choice between faith and unbelief is absolute. This is in contrast to Hermas who recognises degrees of faith, and for whom the issue is less black and white. 28

The imagery of coinage is applied to Christ in the New Testament at Hebrews 1.3 where Christ is said to bear the stamp of God's
actual Being - ὃς ὁ... χαρακτηρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ. The contrast between life and death is expressed in Ro.6.3-11, but especially there the death is a death to sin and the life a living to God. There is not the same starkness of expression as in Ignatius.

In section 4 of the letter to the Magnesians, Ignatius has written of the importance of not only being called a Christian, but also of being one. Similarly he condemns the hypocrisy that calls upon the Bishop and then "does everything apart from him". A Christian bears the imprint either of the world or of God; by his imprint he will be known as also he will be known by his fruits. We have noted before the concern of Ignatius with bearing fruit and with Christian witness. The same concern is being expressed here in the coinage imagery.

This is not one of Ignatius' most memorable or striking passages. The imagery does, however, show up clearly the distinction between believers and unbelievers as it existed in Ignatius' mind. In this regard it is not unlike that between light and darkness in St John's Gospel, another New Testament writing familiar to Ignatius as his quotations show. So far as the meaning of faith is concerned, the primary sense, as in the other occurrences of the adjective, is that of commitment; and commitment for Ignatius cannot be separated from his own imitation of Christ in his approaching martyrdom.
Section 8. Conclusion.

Ignatius uses πίστις and its cognates to express faith as it relates to belief and behaviour. As in other writers, faith is a wide-ranging and general term, and its many facets make it virtually impossible to define. The situation in which Ignatius finds himself dictates what he understands by faith.

The docetic heresy was widespread, especially in Tralles, Philadelphia and Smyrna, but to some extent in all the Churches to which Ignatius wrote. This fact leads to a heavy emphasis on faith as true belief. Ignatius uses both noun and verb to express this faith/belief. The verb πιστεύω is constructed with εἰς and the accusative or ἐν and the dative or the plain dative. Ignatius shows a slight preference for the verb in anti-docetic contexts, but this is by no means exclusive of the noun - as 1.Eph 16.2 shows - where πίστις is followed by an objective genitive in an anti-docetic passage. We noted also the use of the verb πληροφορέω to express the idea of full conviction in similar contexts. It is interesting to note that πιστεύω does not occur in Ignatius constructed with a ὅτι clause, despite the frequency of the doctrinal emphasis. The adjective πιστός and its negative also occur to express the idea of believers or unbelievers in the sense of those who believe or otherwise in the reality of Christ.

Belief in the reality of Christ must be emphasised in the face of docetism and this leads to elaborate "credal" statements about the human and divine natures of Christ which elaborate on the object of belief. The effect of heresy is to create schism, and the behaviour of disbelievers also brings discredit on the Church. The renewed life of Christians is therefore a result of faith, and personal renewal is a part of right belief: "Our life rises through Him and His death ... through which we have received faith" (I. Mag.9.1).

The ethical side of faith is never far away in the thought of Ignatius. So faith is found frequently coupled with love; faith and love together are "umbrella" terms which describe our
relationship with God and man. Faith is also found as a concomitant of unity, harmony, gentleness, moderation, obedience and truth. Together, faith and love are the beginning and end of life (I. Eph. 14.1).

As a wide-ranging, general "umbrella" term, faith is also used as a general term for Christian commitment, especially in summary passages at the beginning and end of the letters. It is the common possession which binds Christians together.

As far as the martyr's faith is concerned, Ignatius recognises faith as the gift of God which will enable him to endure to the end; the commitment in faith brings endurance and the rewards of martyrdom (I. Eph. 9.1). It is interesting that Ignatius departs here from the New Testament usage. For Paul, faith is predominantly trust in Christ, and the basis of his relationship with God; by faith he is justified - i.e. brought into a right relationship with God. Ignatius never speaks of justification by faith, and his relationship with Christ tends to be expressed not as faith but as imitation of Christ, and discipleship. He imitates his Model even to death, and thereby becomes a disciple.

In relation to the New Testament, Ignatius is closer to James and John than he is to Paul. He quotes from John quite frequently, or his words are reminiscent of John. However, Ignatius shares the concern of James that faith is not just to be proclaimed, but also acted upon. He is also close to the Gospel teachings of our Lord Himself about the tree being known by its fruit (I. Eph. 14.2).

Finally, Ignatius is very much a Bishop and within the life of the Church. The Eucharist is a part of his life and understanding. His faith springs from this also. So he can say that faith is the flesh and love the blood (I. Tr. 8). Nothing is more typical of Ignatius than this startling and vivid statement. Faith and love are together; they are both identified with the Eucharistic elements; the source of both is Christ Himself. In the Eucharist, Ignatius receives Christ in His eucharistic flesh and blood, and at the same time he receives both faith and love.
Faith finds expression in both right belief and commitment, and issues in love toward his fellow men.
CHAPTER TWO

THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

The work which bears the title of the Shepherd of Hermas enjoyed considerable popularity in the Church in the second half of the second century. It consists of five visions, purported to have been granted by God to one Hermas, who apparently lived in Rome in the second century. In addition to the visions there are twelve mandates, which are in the nature of ethical instruction, and ten similitudes or parables on the life of the Church.

Both Hellenic and Jewish works stand behind the Shepherd of Hermas. On the Hellenic side such works as the "Pinax" of the Pseudo-Cebes have influenced the structure, and on the Jewish side, the Manual of Discipline and the 'Two Ways' familiar in Barnabas and the Didache. It is, however, important not to make too much of these influences; Hermas Christianises the concepts which have influenced him, and this will become clear as we study his expressions about faith in particular.

The Shepherd of Hermas was written against a background of persecution. The message of the work has much to do with the problem of repentance and reacceptance of those who have apostatised. Hermas takes a realistic and sympathetic view of one of the great problems of the early Church in the face of persecution - viz. what to do about those whose courage and commitment had failed, and who had denied their faith, but who after the persecution had passed expressed a desire to be reinstated in the Church. Perhaps his greatest insight, expressed especially in Vision 3 about the tower, and in Similitude 8 about the sticks, is that there are varying degrees of faith in the Church, and that it is necessary for the Church to recognise this fact. Thus it is possible for some imperfect stones to find a place in the tower, and for sticks which are not entirely green and supple to be accepted.

The expression of faith for each author in our study is seen to spring from their situation. That of Hermas compels him
to insist that faith must issue in a morality following a strict code and the highest ideals of purity and truth - this is an essential for repentance. But at the same time, there needs to be some accommodation for those who have apostatised. The passages discussed below will amply illustrate these emphases.

The contrast with Ignatius and his emphasis is very noticeable. Ignatius recognises his own weakness - the possibility that he could fail in the final test - this is what he tells the Romans in his letter to them especially. But there is no thought in his mind of the problem which Hermas faces. If Ignatius were to fail to attain to martyrdom he would also fail to attain to discipleship, but he never considers how he would deal with that situation. Thus he stops short of the question with which Hermas comes to grips.

The style and content of Hermas' writing suggests a mind which is much less theologically conscious than that of Ignatius; his approach is much simpler, and the emphasis is much more heavily on ethics than on doctrine. Ignatius faces the threat of docetism to the Church; Hermas is much less concerned with the threat of heresy than he is with that of apostasy and immorality. This has led some to claim that the Shepherd of Hermas is barely Christian. Our study of faith will demonstrate that this is not true; faith is firmly rooted in Christ, although we will not find the explicit and lengthy credal statements present in Ignatius. There are nevertheless occasions when faith as belief in some theological proposition is clear enough in Hermas, as the following examples will show. Barnard cites evidence to suggest that Hermas was accepted as a duly accredited Christian prophet, and as such would have delivered his message in the context of public worship. It is clear also that his writing was widely thought to have been inspired in the early centuries. It will be our task here to look at all the contexts of πίστις and its cognates, and on the basis of this to assess what faith meant to Hermas.

Faith for Hermas takes its place as the first of the virtues. Faith is personified as the mother of all the virtues, the first among seven women about the tower -
"The first of these, the one holding her hands, is called Faith; through her the elect of God are saved."

(Vis. 3.8.3)

From Faith in the vision is born self-control (εγκράτεια) "girded and courageous"; and from her, and so on as daughters one of another, are born sincerity, knowledge, innocence, piety and love (ἀγάπη). The fact that Faith is pictured as holding her hands demonstrates her primacy.  

This list of virtues concomitant with Faith is expanded by Hermas in Sim. 9.15. This parable takes up Vision 3 from which the first list was quoted. In Vision 3 the tower "represents the celestial church; that of Similitude 9 represents the terrestrial church."

This time the virtues are maidens standing at the corners of the tower - faith, self-control, power, patience; in between are sincerity, innocence, holiness, gladness, truth, understanding, harmony, love.

According to Joly, the knowledge of Vision 3 has become understanding, and piety has become holiness in Similitude 9; these personifications are Hellenic in origin, and find a parallel particularly in the Pseudo-Cebes. These virtues in Similitude 9 are set over against corresponding vices, pictured as maidens in black garments - unbelief (ἀποστασί), lack of self-control, disobedience, deceit - described as the worst - sorrow, evil, shamelessness, bad-temper (δεμοχωλία), falsehood, foolishness, slander and hatred.

In the lists of vices and virtues the parallels are clear enough except power set against disobedience and patience set against deception. S. Giet, quoted by Liébaert, makes the suggestion that the power spoken of is power in the service of obedience; and Liébaert further suggests that the deception can be understood as the deception of the pleasures of the world, and the patience
as perseverance in the good. The clear parallels in the other cases point to such an intention in all cases. The corresponding lists of virtues and vices are, moreover, reminiscent of the Two Ways of the Didache\textsuperscript{17} and Barnabas.\textsuperscript{18} The implication of faith and disbelief (πίστις and ἀπίστευσις) standing at the beginning of the lists is that the man of faith - the Christian Believer - practises the virtues which follow on faith and rejects the vices which follow on disbelief. Faith must issue in morality.

The teaching here is not really different from that of Ignatius. He does not give lists of virtues and vices, but he is very clear that faith must be seen by its fruits.\textsuperscript{19} In Ignatius the concomitants of faith are rather different in their emphasis from those in Hermas, indicating again the different situation and priorities of the two. For Ignatius the virtues most frequently taught are sincerity, harmony, gentleness, moderation, obedience and truth.\textsuperscript{20} However for both, faith and love are basic; just as Ignatius can say "Faith is the beginning of life and love the end",\textsuperscript{21} so also Hermas' list of virtues begins with faith and ends with love.

The primacy of faith among the virtues and the two ways of right and wrong are dealt with again in Mandate 6. Here Hermas gives us a triad - faith, fear and self-control - and he deals with these respectively in Mandates 6, 7 and 8. Mandate 6 contains a number of examples of the use of πίστις and πιστεύειν in different senses, and provides an interesting study of different aspects of faith.

Hermas is first of all reminded that he is to "keep faith" -

\begin{quote}

\textit{Ἐνετελλάμην σοι ... ὑνα ψυλαξές τήν πίστιν καὶ τόν ψόβον καὶ τήν ἑγκράτειν.}
\end{quote}

"I have commanded you ... that you should keep faith and fear and self-control."

(H.Man.6.1.1)
Here faith is the first of the virtues, and is to be understood as that basic attitude to God from which Christian behaviour flows. This behaviour as far as Hermas is concerned is the result of faith primarily, but coupled with fear of the Lord and the keeping of His commandments (as Mandate 7 teaches) as well as with that self-control explained in Mandate 8. Faith and fear define the attitude of the Christian to God; self-control defines his attitude to others and to the world.

Having in Mandate 6.1.1 stated the basis of Christian behaviour, Hermas goes on in the next section to draw the distinction between right and wrong. These mandates or commands are delivered to Hermas by the Shepherd into whose care and instruction he has been delivered.  

\[\text{οὐ νόμον πίστευε τῷ δικαίῳ, τῷ δὲ ἀδίκῳ μὴ πιστεύεις}\]

"you therefore have confidence in the right, and have no confidence in the wrong."  

(H.Man.6.1.2)

The instruction is in the form of a chiasmus, a structure noted also in Ignatius and common enough at all periods. It is interesting to notice that Hermas uses this device and that he has sufficient literary consciousness to do so. It is a question here of the man of faith expressing his faith as confidence in right behaviour.

The concomitants of faith here are given under the figure of the works of the angel of righteousness and set over against those of the angel of evil (6.2). The angel of righteousness is delicate, modest, and quiet, and when this angel goes up into the heart he speaks of righteousness, holiness, piety, contentment and "concerning every righteous work and every glorious virtue".

Taken by itself this reads as a rather innocuous and general list of pious virtues without any real moral demands. However, the specific moral demands come with the angel of evil, who is
to be avoided - bad temper, bitterness, lust, luxuries in respect of food and drink, carousings, lust after women, pride and arrogance. For Hermas, it is as important to avoid wrong behaviour as it is to pursue what is right. The method of expression is verbose, and in this respect quite unlike the very direct and succinct moral directions of Ignatius - "nothing is more important than faith and love"; "do nothing apart from the Bishop"; "pursue unity and harmony". Nevertheless, for both, the basis is faith, the first of the virtues.

After the virtues of the angel of righteousness, Hermas is told -

τούτω οὖν πιστεύε καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ

"have confidence in this (angel) and in his works"

(H.Man. 6.2.3)

After the views of the angel of evil have been enumerated, Hermas is told -

ἀπόστα ἀκριβῶς καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῷ πιστεύε

"reject him and have no confidence in him"

(H.Man.6.2.6)

The conclusion of the matter is this -

τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς πίστεως, αὕτη ἡ ἐντολὴ ὅπλος, ἔνα τοῖς ἔργοις τοῦ ἁγιάσθη τῆς δικαιοσύνης πιστεύομεν .... πίστευε δὲ ὅτι τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἁγιάσθη τῆς πνευμάτως χαλεπά ἐστί ....

"This commandment makes clear to you the things concerning faith, that you are to have confidence in the works of the angel of righteousness ... believe that the works of the angel of wickedness are perilous."

(H.Man. 6.2.10)
This passage sums up for us the three senses in which faith is used in this mandate. First, faith is the first virtue from which Christian behaviour springs; second, it is an expression of confidence in these virtues; third, it is belief in the proposition that the works of the angel of evil are perilous. As so frequently in the New Testament the content of faith in the sense of belief is expressed by a ὅτι clause (cf. Historical Survey, p.xxvii). 26

Both Goodspeed and Lake are inconsistent in the way in which they translate this mandate in regard to the verb πιστεύειν. All agree that before the ὅτι clause it is to be translated as 'believe'; but in the other cases they translate sometimes 'trust', sometimes 'believe'. So Goodspeed has 'trust' in 6.1.1, 'believe' in 6.2.3, then goes back to 'trust' in 6.2.6. This seems arbitrary, and the three allied but distinct senses of faith here suggest that the translation offered here with its consistent 'have confidence in' is best.

As the principal virtue, faith describes that Christian commitment from which Christian behaviour springs. This has been the predominant emphasis in the mandate just discussed, and in the passage discussed earlier from Vision 3. 27 However, in the description of the stones in the tower itself in Vision 3, the idea of faithfulness is predominant, as against the behaviour of those who apostatise in time of persecution, or who are led astray by riches and the affairs of this world. Hermas recognises that the faith of people varies in intensity and this is symbolised by the condition of the various stones in the tower.

In the vision Hermas sits on the subsellium on the left of an old woman, and she explains the vision. Both the old woman and the tower are identified with the Church (Vision 3.3.3). The tower is being built, and has the appearance of a single stone, so perfectly do the stones which are being used fit together. The perfectly fitting stones are the Apostles, Bishops, teachers, deacons; together with other stones drawn from the water on which the tower is built. The water represents baptism, salvation through water. The stones from the water
are "those who have suffered for the name of the Lord"; these are found to fit perfectly into the building. But then there are some from the dry ground, unhewn, which are also brought and placed into the building (3.5.3). Hermas is told that these "the Lord has approved, because they went in the straight way and carried out his commandments". Then there are others being brought and placed into the building, and these are -

\[ \text{Νέοι εἰς ὧν ἐν τῇ πίστει καὶ πίστοι} \]

"New in their faith, and faithful."

(H.Vis. 3.5.4)

"They are admonished by the Angels to do good, because evil is not found in them."

Faith here represents that faithful commitment to the Lord which issues in innocency of life. We will return later to a consideration of the force of the article. 28

But not all Christians succeed in remaining faithful and in abstaining from evil. These are represented by various types of other stones, which are rejected by the builders. Some are thrown away quite close to the tower, and these are sinners who wish to repent. But others are broken and are thrown far from the tower, and these are "sons of lawlessness". Others still are rough - they do not know the truth; others are split - they do not live at peace with one another.

"These are believers (οὗτος εἰς ὧν πεπλασμένοις μὲν) who have the most part in righteousness, but have some part of lawlessness."

(H.Vis. 3.6.4)

These stones represent people who have come to faith in Jesus but whose faithfulness is imperfect, but who nevertheless do still believe in Him. This would seem to be the force of the perfect participle - belief in past time and continuing into the present. 29
In similar case are the "white and striped" stones -

οὕτως εἰσὸν ἔχοντες μὲν πίστιν, ἔχοντες δὲ καὶ πλοῦτον .... ὅταν δὲ γενήσεται θλίψις .... ἀπαρνοῦνταί τὸν κύριον αὐτῶν.

"These have faith, but have also riches .... when persecution comes .... they deny their Lord."

(H. Vis. 3.6.5)

These two examples show how closely in Hermas' mind the various aspects of faith are interwoven - faithfulness, trust and belief.

Others, designated οἱ πεπλοστευκότες (3.7.1.), have been believers and have "left the true way" on account of δύσωπος - double-mindedness, doubt, vacillation. The significance of this term will be discussed in relation to Mandate 9, where it is set over against πίστις. The force of the perfect is difficult to define here. It may be best to understand that by it Hermas wishes to convey that at one time they were believers, and that although now deceived and vacillating, there is still some vestige of faith. This would distinguish them from "those falling into the fire and burning" who are completely apostate and whom he discusses in the last sentence. This finds support from a comparison with the use of the perfect in Vis. 3.6.4. quoted on p 114, where believers (πεπλοστευκότες) are referred to who "have the most part in righteousness, but have some part of lawlessness".
To consider now the force of the article. The phrase ἐν τῇ πίστει has been quoted above in connection with Vision 3.5.4 - νέοι ἐν τῇ πίστει. The same phrase occurs again at Vision 3.12.3. The young man explains to Hermas why in the course of the three visions the woman has appeared each time younger in appearance and he tells Hermas that the change signifies his own renewal. Strength has now come, and -

ἐνεδυσάμενος .... τὴν πίστιν τοῦ κυρίου

"clothed with faith in the Lord."

In each case the article has the force of making a specific reference to faith as the special attribute of the people concerned; it is the new Christians' faith, and Hermas' faith, which is referred to. The translations all have "in faith", which fails to take account of the article.31

The article may also indicate that an unexpressed object is to be understood.32 At Vision 4.1.8, "faith in the Lord" is referred to, using the construction with the objective genitive, so common in the New Testament,33 and also in Ignatius:34

"you have been made strong in your faith"

(H.Vis. 3.12.3)
Here the article expresses again a particular faith - that which has "the Lord" for its object. There are other examples though, where the article is used but no object is expressed, and where the translators have translated ἡ πίστις as "the Faith" - in the sense of a body of doctrine. It is very unlikely that Hermas thought of faith in this way, or that he was as doctrinally self-conscious as this implies. Such language belongs to the Apologists. So in the phrase ἐν τῇ πίστει as we have it twice at Vision 3.5.4, quoted above, Goodspeed has "young in the faith" and "strong in the faith" which is too literal, and is inconsistent with the "in faith" he has along with the three others at Visions 3.12. 3.

The best sense can be made of the articular use if we keep both significations in mind - viz. the application of the article to faith as it belongs to the particular person and the implying of an object, usually "the Lord".

This is the case in the phrase in Mandate 5.2.1 -

... τοὺς πλήρεις ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ πίστει

"those who are full of faith"

Here, faith relates specifically to the people concerned, i.e. those whom bad temper (δἰχωκόλα) does not lead astray; it also is faith "in the Lord". The same phrase occurs in Mandate 12.5.4.

The same holds true just a few lines further on in Mandate 5.2.3 -
μετὰ τῶν τὴν πίστιν ἐχόντων ὅλοκληρον

"with those who have (their) faith (in the Lord) complete" or as we would say, "those who have complete faith."

Mandate 11.4 states the object specifically -

ὅσοι δὲν ἔχουσιν εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ πίστει τοῦ κυρίου

"so many as are strong in (their) faith in the Lord"

We must conclude, therefore, that when the article is expressed with πίστις, it has the effect of making some specific reference which picks up what has been stated previously either in regard to whose faith is referred to, or in regard to the object of that faith. On the other hand, it is very unlikely that "the Faith" as such is being referred to. This ought to be made clear in translation.

The object of faith is similarly to be supplied in the case of the participle in Sim. 9. on some fourteen occasions. At 9.13.5. the object is expressed: οἱ πιστεύσαντες τῷ κυρίῳ, however subsequently from sections 19-30 Hermas simply writes οἱ πιστεύσαντες and leaves us to supply the object; and it is quite clear that it is still those from the various mountains of the similitude who believe in the Lord who are being described.

So far we have discussed only one example where the aspect of faith has been defined by the use of a δὴ clause in Hermas, at Mandate 6.2.6, where Hermas was bidden to 'believe that the works of the angel of wickedness are perilous'. To believe this is to reject wickedness; faith issues in action.

However, in Hermas, faith is not only connected with virtue, but also looks toward doctrine -

πάντων τῶν πονηρῶν ἔργων ἀφέξεται, πιστεύων
ὅτι ἐὰν ἀφέξεται κάθες ἐπιθυμίας πονηρᾶς,
κληρονομήσει χωλν αἰώνιον.
"he will refrain from all evil works, believing that if he rejects every evil lust, he will inherit eternal life."

(H. Vis. 3.8.4)

Here, belief in eternal life is the motivation for rejecting evil. The theological statement is made quite baldly with no attempt to enlarge on eternal life or to define the connection with Christ's death, after the manner of Ignatius. Hermas' concern with the moral issues is still predominant.

In Vision 4, Hermas is told the reason for his escape by a young woman who appears to him after the onslaught of the beast in his vision, and who says to him -

"You have got away safely, because you cast your care on God and opened your heart to the Lord,

πιστεύοντες δὴ δέ' οὔδενδε δύνη σωθήναι εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἐνόδου ὄνοματος

"having believed that through no one you are able to be saved except through His great and glorious name."

(H. Vis. 4.2.4)

In this case, faith is a belief in the ability of the Lord to deliver His faithful ones from persecution. The young woman says to Hermas, "you have escaped a great persecution through your faithfulness" - ὁδ' τὴν πίστιν σου. (H. Vis. 4.2.4 ad fin). The beast is a symbol of persecution, although there are apocalyptic overtones; πίστις in this latter phrase is again faithfulness in the face of persecution.

Joly has an interesting comment on the attitude to persecution which is reflected in this passage - "La fidélité au Seigneur fera échapper à la persécution. Cette idée ne doit pas nous
étonner: les premiers chrétiens n'aspirent pas au martyre et, plus tard, les plus dignes des évêques ont parfois cru opportun de se soustraire à la persécution." Clement of Alexandria was one such, and Polycarp hid for as long as he was able. This attitude is in contrast to that of Ignatius, who longed for martyrdom and would even force himself between the jaws of the beasts if they were unwilling to devour him.

For Hermas in this context, faith is belief in God's ability and willingness to save from death. This is a strong motivation to faithfulness in the face of persecution.

In two cases, Hermas uses προσευχόμενος with both a dependent dative and a ὅτι clause, indicating both the object and content of faith -

προσευχόμενος τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι, ἐὰν ταῦτα ἐργάσῃ καὶ φωτισθῇ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγκρατεύσῃ ἀπὸ παντὸς κονορίου πράγματος, ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ.

"Have confidence in God, that if you do these works (i.e. keep the true fast) and fear Him and abstain from every evil affair, you will live to God"

(H.Sim. 5.1.5)

The object of faith/confidence here is God; the content of faith is the belief in "living to God". Joly comments on this phrase that it does not signify "Tu vivras de façon à plaire à Dieu" mais "Tu vivras aux yeux de Dieu," "Dieu t'accordera la vie (éternelle)." So "to live to God" would amount to the same thing as is meant at Vision 3.8.4 by inheriting eternal life. In context this latter phrase describes the motivation for refraining from evil behaviour. It seems likely also that 'living to God' had ethical overtones, and this would be very likely, given the emphasis that ethics gets in this work. This point of view is supported by the comments of Barnard who suggests that the phrase draws on a Jewish background of thought, in which Torah is the supreme means of life for men - so Hillel is reputed to have said that "The more a man studies and obeys
the commands of Torah the more life he has". The phrase 'to live to God' is very frequent in Hermas; in particular it comes at the end of almost every mandate. It is likely that by it we are to understand that 'living to God' involves keeping His commandments and so inheriting eternal life.

However, it is possible to go even further than this in assessing the implications of the phrase. Barberet, in an article which is important to our understanding of "to live to God", comments that this is set over against "to die to God" in Similitude 9, where weak Christians are tempted to avoid persecution even at the price of denying their Lord. Such an act leads to death to God in a metaphysical as well as a present sense. In an antithetical fashion, living to God is a present reality reflected in the kind of commitment which goes even to martyrdom, and it also has eschatological overtones. It describes adherence to God in His Church and solidarity with the saints, as its use in Similitude 9 shows.

Living to God is connected also with the gift of the Spirit in Mandate 3; the man who lives to God places God in his heart (Mandate 12.4f) and God lives in him and fills him with His Spirit (Similitude 9). So 'living to God' is a Gift of God which is expressed in this world by faithful commitment to God through His Son within His Church, and which looks forward to the full experience of God in eternal life. Barberet has been able to show a great richness in this phrase, which goes well beyond what Joly has suggested. There are also parallels with the book of Ezekiel and with the New Testament.

The moral implications of the phrase are also illustrated by this use of it to characterise the faithful Christian, for his faith issues in virtue as Mandate 6 clearly shows. Moreover, Hermas uses the phrase to sum up the attitude of obedience to God's will and commandments, and as the characteristic of the faithful man over against the διώκων - the vacillator - as e.g. in Mandate 9. "To live to God" is, then, an expression of the ethical principle, and at the same time of the eschatological hope, of the faithful Christian.
To return now to the discussion of the content of faith as expressed by a διε clause - Hermas is instructed about prayer, that the prayer of faith is always answered -

καθάρισον⁴⁹ οὖν τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀπὸ τῆς δυσύψως, ἐνδυσάσας δὲ τὴν πίστιν, διὰ λογικά λέγει, καὶ πιστεύεις⁵⁰ τῷ Θεῷ, διὸ πάντα τὰ αἰτήματα σου ἀντέχεις λήψῃ.

"Cleanse, then, your heart from double-mindedness, and put on faith, because it is strong, and believe in God, that you will receive all your requests which you make.

(H. Man. 9.7)

The object of faith is again here God in the case of both the noun and verb, and the content of faith is the belief that God will grant the requests of the man who eschews δυσύψως - double-mindedness or doubt.

This noun, and the adjective δυσύψως which describes the man who exhibits δυσύψως, are the words which Hermas uses of the vacillating and doubting frame of mind in which a man, weak in faith, approaches prayer. If prayer is to be effective, then it must be prayed with full conviction that it will be answered. δυσύψως is "evil and foolish, and uproots many from their faith" (ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως). Hermas is advised that if prayer is not answered, then it is to ourselves that we must look (Mandate 9.8). Moreover, double-mindedness is the "daughter of the devil, and is very evil towards the servants of God" (Mandate 9.9). The cure for double-mindedness is to put on faith -

ἐνδυσάμενος τὴν πίστιν τὴν ἴσχυρὰν καὶ δυνατήν.

"putting on faith, strong and powerful"

(H. Man. 9.10)
The teaching on prayer here is very close to that given at James 1.5f., where a man must "ask in faith, nothing doubting". The doubter, or double-minded man, is the opposite of the man of faith in both James and in Hermas. For a full investigation of this important concept, see the excursus on ὁδύσχος and its cognates at the end of this Chapter.

Hermas' most self-consciously doctrinal statement about the content of faith is to be found at Mandate 1.1 -

κρύτον πάντων πίστευσον ὅτε εἰς ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς,
ὁ τὰ πάντα κτίσας καὶ καταρτίσας καὶ ποιήσας ἐκ
tοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα, καὶ πάντα
χωρὸν, μόνος δὲ ἁγώρητος ὤν. πίστευσον αὐτῷ
καὶ φοβήσετε αὐτὸν, φοβήσεις δὲ ἐγκράτευσαι.

"First of all, believe that God is one, who has created all things and fashioned them and brought all things into being from nothing, and contains all things, being alone uncontained. Believe in Him and fear Him, and fearing, exercise self-control."

This mandate provides a simple credal statement of belief in God as creator of the universe. It shows that Hermas has a theological consciousness, but it is interesting to note that he stops well short of Paul in 1 Corinthians 15.1-7, making no mention of the death and resurrection of Jesus; and of John 20.31 with its Christological statement about the Person of Jesus; and he also stops short of the credal statements of Ignatius, which are quite fully worked out.⁵¹ As we have seen in the preceding examples, Hermas' doctrine is more concerned with eternal life and the moral implications of belief in God; his mind is filled with the needs of a Church threatened by persecution and the possibility of apostasy. At the same time, the number of times Hermas uses this ὅτε construction on πίστευσον, or defines the meaning of faith by specifying its object, suggests that Joly⁵² goes too far when he remarks in respect of Mandate 1.1 that "Il est remarquable qu'Hermas se débarrasse en trois lignes de la théologie".
Liébaert deals with Hermas' understanding of faith on p. 200f. He makes the claim that faith, fear of God and self-control "go together and sum up all the commandments ...". While it is true that these are the three principal virtues, and that they are dealt with in turn in Mandates 6, 7 and 8, it is an over-simplification to say that they sum up all the commandments. In Vision 3.8 faith and self-control are linked as mother and daughter, but a number of other virtues are listed also as daughters the one of another. Except at the beginning of Mandate 6, the three are not found specifically linked elsewhere, and simplicity, truth, holiness and endurance (Mandates 2-5) occupy an equally important place among the virtues springing ultimately from faith.

There is disagreement between Liébaert and Joly who both quote the statement of Lelong that the "association of faith, fear and self-control gives to the morality of Hermas an essentially Christian character". Joly quotes this with approval, but Liébaert states that "un tel programme de soi n'évoque pas une perspective spécifiquement Chrétienne, et ce que l'auteur dit par la suite de la foi ne corrige pas cette première impression." Liébaert supports this statement in his note 3 by the further statement that "La crainte et l'encrateia ne sont pas précisément caractéristiques de la morale du Nouveau Testament."

Reference to the place occupied in the New Testament by ϕόβος and ἔγκρατεια and their cognates calls in question the validity of the latter statement. There are some 142 occurrences of ϕόβος and cognates in the New Testament; of these, there are 65 instances where fear is mentioned as the effect on people of God's actions or as a motivation for Christian behaviour. "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling" (Phil 2.12) would seem to sum up well the New Testament attitude; again in Acts 10.2 Cornelius is one who fears God with all his house, an attitude essential in one who aspires to be a Christian. Although Jesus can say to people, "Do not fear", yet fear of the consequences is a powerful moral motivation (Luke 12.4f.). ἔγκρατεια and cognates occur only eight times in the New Testament; however, despite the comparatively small number of occurrences
the usage suggests that self-control was a central Christian ideal. So self-control is one of the fruits of the spirit at Gal. 5.23. At Acts 24.24ff. Paul is talking with Felix and Drusilla "concerning faith in Jesus Christ. And as he was discussing righteousness and self-control and the coming judgement Felix became fearful ..." It would seem that to Paul self-control was just as central to faith in Christ as righteousness and judgement; and the mention of Felix's fearfulness makes an interesting connection with what has just been said above about the place of fear in the New Testament. In coupling together faith, fear and self control, Hermas is certainly reflecting a Christian emphasis present also in the New Testament.

Liébaert's final summary of Hermas' teaching about faith further expresses his view that there is nothing specifically Christian in it - "Au total, ces textes ont le mérite de mettre en lumière les différentes composantes de la foi vivante, croyance, confiance et fidélité; mais il faut constater qu'ils le font en dehors de toute référence proprement Chrétienne."55 Again, the latter part of this statement cannot be accepted on the evidence before us. Faith which has for its object God, or Christ, or the Lord; or salvation and eternal life; or an articular use which implies such an object, is indeed specifically Christian. This is the decisive point, as Richardson56 has shown, and has been shown to be true also in the case of Hermas.57 This is consistently missed by Liébaert and other writers and translators. That this is so in Liébaert's case is clear from his treatment of Similitude 8.9.1 earlier in his summary paragraph already quoted - Hermas is speaking of Christians whose behaviour is inconsistent with their faith -

ἐνεμέλων τῇ πίστει, μὴ ἐργατόμενοι δὲ τὰ ἔργα τῆς πίστεως.

Liébaert translates "ils sont restés dans la foi sans faire les oeuvres de la foi". However, on the basis of our study, the correct translation is "they remained in their faith (in Christ) although they did not do its works". The force of the article
is to make the reference specifically to the faith of the people concerned, which has Christ for its object. This is certainly faith which is specifically Christian.

Of interest is Hermas' use of the phrase ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως. This expresses the idea of separation from faith, as in the case of διψυχα, which in Man.9.9 is described as that which -

πολλοὺς ἐκρυζοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως
"uproots many from their faith"

This idea of separation is similarly expressed in Similitude 9.19.2 -

ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως κενοὺς εἶσο
"(the hypocrites and teachers of evil) are void of faith"

(H.Sim. 9.19.2)

In similar fashion in Similitude 9.26.8, there are those who are κολοβοῦ ... ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως αὐτῶν
"damaged ... in their faith"

(H.Sim. 9.26.8)

However, it is the occurrence of the phrase in Mandate 8.10 that presents the greatest opportunity for discussion and choice of possibilities, and on the analogy of the foregoing, it is possible to make the best choice.

Self-control is the subject of the discussion in this mandate, and Hermas is listing the actions in which it is necessary not to exercise self-control, viz: the good works, among which is -

ἐσκανδαλομένως ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως μὴ ἀκοβάλλεσθαι.
The question is what does this mean? A.G. s.v. ἀκοβδάλλω offers the translation "do not reject those who are offended in the faith". This fails to preserve the sense of separation found in the other examples of the ἅπτο phrase, and A.G. s.v. σκανδαλίζω 1a ad fin quoting this same occurrence, offer the translation "people who have been 'led astray'", and comment that the phrase describes "those who have not altogether fallen away from the faith". Apart from the inconsistency of the two entries, the latter has the virtue of preserving the idea of separation in the ἅπτο phrase but assumes that ἡ πίστις means "the Faith". But neither of these two suggestions is really satisfactory.

Lampe s.v. ἀκοβδάλλω A refers the phrase to the lapsed - "not to reject those lapsed from the faith". This preserves the separation idea and is consistent with the meaning of σκανδαλίζωma in Vision 4.1.3, where it is clearly enough the lapsed who are being referred to.

Joly translates "ne pas rejeter ceux qui sont inquiets dans la foi" and comments "Il s'agit ici vraisemblablement de δυσπιστεύω dont il ne faut pas désespérer". This fits well, as many of the double-minded were in fact lapsed (see Mandate 9 and the excursus on δυσπιστεύω). But the double-minded were also those who were seduced by the attractions of this world, whose commitment was weak and who could not make up their minds where they stood, and Hermas may have had in mind the need to treat gently and mercifully those who found it difficult to resist the attractions of the world of which he has just spoken, in dealing with the things concerning which one must exercise self-control - especially Mandate 8.3 and 4.

With these factors in mind, a satisfactory translation which preserves the basic sense of ensnaring inherent in σκανδαλίζω; the separation idea in the ἅπτο phrase; and the probable connection with the δυσπιστεύω idea which is dealt with in the following mandate; and the force of the article with πίστις would be as follows -
"not to reject those ensnared from their faith".

Thus to Hermas, faith is a mixture of trust and confidence in God, which issues in moral behaviour, of the kind which ought to be characteristic of Christians and which he delineates in some detail, especially in the Mandates. Faith is the primary virtue, and the mother of all virtues. But the emphasis is not devoid of theology; the content of faith is the belief in God Who has created all things and promises eternal life to His people. Hermas lacks the developed Christology of Paul and John, or even of Ignatius, and he is much less intellectual in his whole approach. But to say this is not to reduce his work to a quasi-Christian allegory as some have tended to do. Again, it is important not to impute to Hermas the concept of a body of doctrine labelled "the Faith", a concept which is proper to the Apologists. It is interesting that the very writers who debunk the Christian emphasis in Hermas are the same ones who misinterpret the articulat usage. The object of faith for Hermas is God and the Lord and the promises.

The opposite of faith is δυσφοβία - the vacillating and doubting frame of mind which cannot make a firm decision as to which side of the fence it is on. Hermas sees faith against the background of his times - the threat of persecution and the reality of apostasy; the attraction exercised by the world and the difficult demands of the righteous and holy life of the man of faith. Faith stands firm no matter what, although Hermas acknowledges the reality of the situation: that within the Church there are many degrees of faith and commitment to be found - as true for our own day as for his.
Excursus: δύψωξος and Cognates

Frequently in Hermas, δύψωξος and its cognates are placed in juxtaposition with faith - so in Vis.4.1.8 the Lord instructs the fearful Hermas, terrified at the approach of the beast -

μὴ δύψωξης εἰς, Ἑκμᾶ. ἐνθεοσέμενος οὖν ...
τὴν πίστιν τοῦ κυρίου ... "Do not doubt, Hermas". Therefore putting on faith in the Lord, and remembering the great things which He had taught me, taking heart I gave myself to the beast.

Similarly in Mandate Η.1, the false prophet is said to destroy the minds of the servants of God -

τῶν δύψωξων δὲ ἀπόλλυσεν, οὐ τῶν πιστῶν.

"He destroys the minds not of the faithful, but of the double-minded."

The same contrast with faith can be seen in Vision 4.2.4 and 6; Mandate 5.2.1; 11.1, 2 and 4; Similitude 6.1.2.

In particular the apostate exhibit δύψωξα, which in their case is the inability to remain faithful in the face of persecution. Such as these are portrayed in Similitude 9.21.3 -

οὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ δύψωξοι, ὃταν ἐλεψαν ἀκούσασι
dia tìn δειλίαν αὐτῶν εἰδωλολατροῦσι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπαυσάχυνονται τοῦ κυρίου αὐτῶν.
"So also the double-minded, whenever they hear of persecution, on account of their cowardice they become idolaters, and they are ashamed of the name of their Lord."

Apostasy was a great problem for the early Church and strict rules were laid down for the readmission of those who had apostatised. Hermas goes on to assure the apostate δύψωξος (21.4) that repentance is possible, but they have to be quick. The Similitudes 8 and 9 especially show the deep concern of Hermas for the whole problem of apostasy and restoration.

The δύψωξος is the man who wants the best of both worlds. Apostasy too is the result not only of persecution, but also of the desire for pleasure, and the involvement in business and the affairs of this life. Such a man is neither one thing nor the other - he is neither dead nor alive (Similitude 8.8.5; 9.21). Similitude 8.8 deals with those involved in the world and its affairs, and πολλοὶ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐδυψωξησάν - "many of them have become double-minded". The δύψωξος on all counts lacks commitment to his Lord, and fails in that total character that establishes the faithful man.

The δύψωξος lacks any real sense of direction - he "leaves the true way; thinking that he can find a better way, he wanders and becomes wretched (ταλαγχωρεόν), walking in pathless ways " (H.Vis. 3.7.1). This aimlessness may be a factor in the moral failures attached to δύψωξα. In H.Sim. 8.10.2 δύψωξα is connected with δύχοστασία - dissension - "some having become double-minded have caused greater dissension". It is also the cause of bad temper (δύχολλα), as is graphically described in H.Man. 5. It leads, with bad temper, also to sorrow (λυπη) - Man.10.1 - and sorrow is in Hermas always connected with and a sign of sin. The moral significance is clear also from the frequent connection of δύψωξα with the idea of the cleansing of the heart - e.g. Man.9.4 and 7 (cf. James 4.8, Vis.3.2.2). In Similitude 9.18.3 we are told that -
"There shall be one body of those cleansed. And as the tower became as made from one stone after its cleansing, so also shall the Church of God after the cleansing and the casting out of all evil men and hypocrites and blasphemers and double-minded (διψυχοις) and those committing various kinds of evil."

Here then, διψυχοις is connected with other sins in a list, as well as with the idea of cleansing.

The frequent use of διψυχοις and cognates by Hermas shows that for him the words enshrined an important and influential idea. But although διψυχοις and cognates are of frequent occurrence in Hermas, they are comparatively rare in the other Apostolic Fathers, but nevertheless the passages are of some importance. Both 1 and 2 Cl. quote a passage, probably from an unknown Jewish apocalypse, with slight divergence in the last part and slightly different application.

2 Cl. 11. - "Let us serve God with a pure heart and we shall be righteous. But if we do not serve on account of our unbelief in the promise of God, we shall be wretched (ταλαπώροι). For the prophetic word also says: Wretched (ταλαπώροι) are the double-minded (διψυχοι), who doubt (δυστοέντεσ) in their heart, who say: these things we have heard of old also in the time of our fathers, and we, expecting them day by day, have seen nothing of them. Fools, compare yourselves to a tree ..."

The quote then goes on to express the inexorable fulfilment of the promises of God in terms of the development and production of a ripe grape through all its processes. Thus the διψυχοι here are all those who have doubts about God's willingness and ability to fulfil His promises.
In 1 Cl. 23.3ff. the same passage is called a γραφή, and is applied to the inexorable working out of God's will and purpose. So 23.1f. begins:

"The beneficent Father, merciful in all things, has compassion on those who fear Him. Gently and kindly He gives His gifts to those who come to Him with a sincere mind (ἀπλή διανοοῦσα). Wherefore let us not be double-minded (μὴ διψυχῶμεν) neither let our soul indulge in fancies on the basis of His superlative and glorious gifts."

Here the double-mindedness is set in contrast to the sincere mind, and it consists in disbelief in God's ability to work His purpose, and in particular in doubt about the Parousia (23.5 ad fin).

A similar sentiment is expressed in 1 Cl. 11. Lot is set as an example of faith and obedience to God along with Noah, Enoch and Abraham. Both Abraham and Lot showed hospitality (φιλοξενία) to God when He visited them, and they were obedient to His commands and so obtained His promises (10 and 11). They showed constancy in their attitude of mind and purpose. But Lot's wife was among the rebellious (ἐτεροκλίνουσα); she was "of inconstant mind" (ἐτερογνώμων), 3 and not in harmony with her husband. For these reasons she was made a pillar of salt -

εἰς τὸ γνωστὸν ἔναυτον πάσιν ὅτι οἱ δύσφυξοι καὶ οἱ διστάζοντες περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως εἰς κρύμα ... γύνονται.

"with a view to it being known to all, that those who are double-minded and vacillate concerning the power of God come into judgement ..." (1 Cl. 11.2.)

So in her case, double-mindedness involved vacillation and doubt as to God's power, combined with lack of unity. Here
again are the moral overtones; and the combination with \( \text{où δυστάξοντας} \) is reminiscent of James 1.8, and Hermas, Mandate 9.5.

Division of interest is basic to \( \text{δυσφυχία} \). Faith demands an absolute and single-minded commitment. \( \text{δυσφυχία} \) can cloud our knowledge of ourselves, and faith is seldom as complete as it ought to be. For this reason Christians should accept criticism from others -

\[ \text{ἐνώτε εἰπὸν ποιηρὰ πράσοντες οὐ γυνώσκομεν} \\
\text{διὰ τὴν δυσφυχίαν καὶ ἀπειτήν τὴν ἐνοθεαν} \\
\text{ἐν τοῖς στήθεσιν ἡμῶν …} \]

"For sometimes when we do wrong we do not know on account of double-mindedness and lack of faith which dwells in our breasts, and our minds are darkened by our futile desires".

\( \text{(2 Cl. 19.2)} \)

Didache 4.4, part of the instructions regarding the Two Ways, has

\[ \text{où δυσφυχησεῖς, πότερον ἔσται ἡ οὐ.} \]

"You shall not be double-minded, whether it shall be or not".

The same phrase occurs in Barnabas 19.5a. The context in both these cases does not help us very much in deciding the application of the exhortation. Audet\(^4\) (p.330) wishes to determine the meaning by relating the instruction to the making of judgements within the Church on the basis of the preceding instruction in the Didache - "you shall judge justly, you shall not show favouritism in convicting (others) for sins". Such judgements are small matters relating to the everyday life of the Church, and those who are in the position of judging those matters must not take into account the position of the person judged, nor the personal consequences
for himself of the judgement given. So Audet offers the following translation for 4.4 -

"Tu ne t'arrêteras pas à te demander ce qui en adviendra ou non pour toi."

Audet claims that the interpretation takes full account of the future ἔσται, as against Sabatier whom he quotes, and who applies the instruction to those who give an evasive judgement divided between the desire to be right, and that to please a rich and influential man.

As against this Kraft considers at least as worthy of consideration the later application suggested by the Apostolic Constitutions, which apply the instruction to prayer - "you shall not be double-minded in your prayer, whether it shall come to pass or not" (Ap. Const. 7.11). Others still have sought to apply the instruction to the judgement of God, giving it an eschatological flavour; yet others have applied it materially, having an eye to the instruction following in Didache 4.5 - "Do not stretch out your hands when it comes to receiving, but be tight-fisted in giving."

However, we have noted before the moral overtones of δυσω&v;α, and in particular its connection with dissension and division (H. Sim. 8.10.2). If we go back to the preceding phrase but one in Didache 4.3f. we have the same connection -

"You shall not cause divisions, but you shall reconcile those who are fighting; you shall judge justly, you shall not show favouritism in convicting of sins. You shall not vacillate whether it shall be or not."

Audet points out (p. 328 ad fin) the limited horizon of the judgements - the whole instruction applies to the "small-time disturbances of Church life". The best sense is
obtained if we take 4.3 and 4 together, and apply the vacillation to the self-interest of one who is in a position to judge arguments and differences in the life of the Church, but who, out of self-interest, fails to effect a fair basis for reconciliation, showing favour to the influential. The ὀψιχετήρι here then is the inward vacillation that takes self-interest into account in the judgements given. One can visualise a situation such as the arguments over the neglect of the widows of the Hellenists in Acts 6.1 or the disturbance associated with the Eucharist envisaged in Paul's reproofs in I Cor.11. James 2.1ff. rebukes a similar regard for status.

In Barnabas, ὀψιχετήρι stands in close connection with μνησκακατήρι in the preceding instruction of 19.4. A similar connection is to be found in Hermas, Visions 2.2.7 and 2.3.1; and in Mandate 9.3. In Hermas the absence of grudge (μνησκακατήρι) is the basis of repentance and cleansing for others. In Barnabas the exact application is not clear, but the inclusion of ὀψιχετήρι in a list of moral instructions supports the point made above that there are moral connotations to the word. Hermas, Similitude 9.18.3 includes the ὀψιχος apparently in a list of sinners of various kinds.

In the New Testament, only the adjective ὀψιχος occurs, and then but twice, both times in the Epistle of James — at 1.8 and 4.8. In 1.8 the term is connected with prayer —

αἰτεῖτω δὲ ἐν πίστει, μηδὲν ὀλαχρινόμενος·
ὁ γὰρ ὀλαχρινόμενος ἐοικεῖν κλυδώνυ ταλάντος
ἀνεμισμένῳ καὶ ἄλυτοι οὐλοθρείῳ. μὴ γὰρ οἰδόθω
ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος ὅτι λήμφεται τι παρὰ τοῦ
Κυρίου, ἀνὴρ ὀψιχος, ἀκατάστατος ...

"Let him ask in faith, nothing doubting; for the doubter is like a wave of the sea, blown and tossed. Let not that man think that he will receive anything from the Lord, a double-minded man, unstable in all his ways."

(James 1.6-8.)
Here again we have the juxtaposition with faith; the styling of the δίψυχος as a doubter; the instability. The tossing wave, blown in all directions by the wind, is a vivid metaphor of the δίψυχος. Ropes⁷ (I.C.C. p.143) describes him as the man "with soul divided between faith and the world, Mr. Facing-both-Ways".

The δίψυχος is described as ὁ διαιρέωνομενος = the doubter, waverer. Sanday and Headlam⁸ have an interesting note on this latter word, which sheds further light on δίψυχος. They point out that the basic meaning of διαιρέωνομεν is to discriminate, distinguish between two things or persons; to arbitrate, judge; and as a legal technical term, means to render a decision. In the middle or aorist passive the meaning is to dispute (cf. also A.G. s.v.). The meaning for the middle and passive "to be at odds with oneself, doubt, waver" (A.G.2b) is found for the first time in the New Testament, where it is well established ... (and) it appears as the proper opposite of ποστιεν/ποστεν (Matt. 21.21, Mk 11.23, Ro.14.23, Jn.1.6). A like use is found in Christian writings of the 2nd century and later ... It is remarkable that a use which (except as an antithesis to ποστεν) there is no reason to connect especially with Christianity should thus seem to be traceable to Christian circles and the Christian line of tradition. It is not likely to be in the strict sense a Christian coinage, but appears to have had its beginning in near proximity to Christianity. A parallel case is that of the word δίψυχος ... The two words seem to belong to the same cycle of ideas. Moulton and Milligan,⁹ agreeing with Sanday and Headlam, add that the sense of waver, doubt "arises quite naturally out of the general sense of making distinctions".

This has all been called into question in a recent article by F.C. Synge.¹⁰ He claims to be unable to discern any "relevant difference in meaning between active, passive and middle of the verb as used in the New Testament", and he claims that in every case the verb means to distinguish, differentiate. He then proceeds to an examination of all the New Testament
occurrences of the verb, and offers a translation which fits his premises. In particular he calls into question that doubt is the opposite of faith, because it reduces the meaning of faith to confidence in God's trustworthiness. This, he says, "has declined very far from the magnificent, glowing, evangelical word with which Paul enriched the Church's vocabulary and life. The opposite of this ἐνίκει is not doubt; it is works ... ἐνίκει is trust solely in Christ for salvation and reconciliation with God, and its corollary is abandonment of self-assurance and of confidence in works."

While it is true that both Paul and James do set faith opposite works, it is also true that the contrast with doubt is far more widespread and common, both in the New Testament and certainly in the sub-Apostolic literature, as has been shown here. It is also true that faith does include confidence and trust in God and in His trustworthiness, as well as in His power to reconcile and save.

However, the most noteworthy fact about Synge's theory is that he completely ignores the combination of δεικνύωθαι with διψυχος, as it occurs in James 1.6ff., and in quoting Sanday and Headlam (cf. n.8 above), he stops short of their remark that διψυχος provides a parallel case. In commenting on James 1.6, Synge, in his article, says this -

"In view of James' un-Pauline understanding of faith, it is noteworthy that he contrasts ἐνίκει and δεικνύω in the same manner as Paul. He who 'asks in faith' is contrasted with him who 'asks and decides'. What does he decide? Where the line is to be drawn between the possible and the impossible? Such a one, relying in emergencies not so much in God's power as on his own assessment of God's power, finds himself at the mercy of the winds and storms of life."

This cannot be right. The distinction is drawn not between ἐνίκει and δεικνύω, but with the passive or middle
Synge then translates this latter as 'he who decides', on the basis of his preconceived notion that there is no difference between active and middle/passive. But he fails totally to note that οδακρυνόμενος is here synonymous with δίψυχος, and the meaning "doubter, waverer" is well established for this latter. Synge's theory then falls totally to the ground, and we follow the established New Testament meaning of διακρίνομαι.

Thus, as in Hermas, Mandate 9, the δίψυχος is the man who doubts the efficacy of prayer and who accordingly fails to find an answer to his prayers.

In James 4.8 the moral overtones are apparent again -

"Be subject to God, withstand the devil and he will flee from you; draw near to God and He will draw near to you. καθαρίσατε χεῖρας, ἁμαρτώλοις, καὶ ἄγνισάτε καρδίας, δίψυχοι - cleanse your hands, you sinners, and purify your hearts, you double-minded - ταλαιπωρήσατε ... κτλ. Be wretched ..." (James 4.7-9)

We notice here the connection with καθαρίζετε and ταλαιπωρεῖτε frequent in the sub-Apostolic literature (cf. p.130 above).

It is clear that there are very close parallels between the New Testament occurrences in James and those in 1 and 2 Clem. and Hermas in particular. This raises the question of whether the sub-Apostolic writings are dependent on James. This whole subject has been carefully investigated by O.S.F. Seitz in three articles:

1) Relationship of the Shepherd of Hermas to the Epistle of James.11
2) Antecedents and signification of the term δίψυχος.12
3) Afterthoughts on the term δίψυχος.13

In the first article, Seitz (p.132f.), quoting Ropes,14 rejects the dependence of the sub-Apostolic writers on James, and rejects
also the suggestion that the author of the Epistle of James coined the term. Rather, the origin of the term is likely to be found in the "mass of religious and moral commonplaces, probably characteristic of Jewish hortatory preaching. In particular, 'the rabbinic conception of the 'two hearts' or a 'double heart', which is generically related to the idea of two Yesarim, and in particular to that of the yeser ha-ra' which leads man into sin. Thus, too, Hermas teaches that it is διψυχα which causes men to forsake their true way (Vision 3.7.1) and those who do so are described as giving way after their evil desires (ibid 3). In other words, διψυχα is the inner disunity of heart, called by the rabbis 'two hearts', which renders man vulnerable to the assaults of the tempter, the ἐπιθυμια πονηρα, or yeser ha-ra."¹⁵ (Seitz No.2, art. cit., p.214f.). In the third article,¹⁶ Seitz further explains the yesarim as inclinations, one toward what is good and one toward what is evil.

Both 1 and 2 Cl. . in their common quotation (the γραφη of 1 Cl. 23.3f. and the προφητικος λογος of 2 Cl. 11.2-4) have clearly derived their material from a non-scriptural source, suggested to be a lost Jewish apocryphon, and further identified possibly with the Book of Eldad and Modad as early as Lightfoot.¹⁷ This suggestion is further investigated by Seitz in the third of his articles.¹⁸ He suggests that not only is it highly likely that this lost prophetic book is the common source for all the 2nd century writers, including James, but he further suggests on the basis of Hermas' mention of the book of Eldad and Modad in Vision 2.3.4, that the βεβλαζων given to Hermas in Vision 2 by the old woman to transcribe was none other than this lost prophetic book.¹⁹ This is of course not proven, but Seitz suggests sufficient evidence to make it a real possibility, especially as the quotation of the book at Vision 2.2.4 and 7 contains the words διψυχα and διψυχευ.

A similar sentiment to that expressed by διψυχα and cognates is expressed in different terms in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, at Test.Asher.3.1.f.²⁰
"But you, my children, do not be two-faced toward them, of goodness and of evil, but be joined to goodness alone ... because the two-faced are not of God, but they are slaves to their own desires. ...

The theme of the behaviour of the two-faced and single-faced man is further elaborated with its moral implications in the subsequent sections of Test.Asher. A similar exhortation to avoid the "double-tongue of blessing and cursing" is to be found elaborated in Test. Benjamin 6.

In the Septuagint δίψωχος and cognates do not occur at all; but again, the same idea is expressed. So at Ecclus 2.12-14 we find the phrase -

σοι εἰς καρδίας δέκατης ... καὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ ἐπιβαίνοντε ἐπὶ δύο πρόνοιας.

"Woe to the cowardly hearts ... to the sinner who goes in two ways."

It is significant that here too the sentiment expressed under the figure of the two paths is found in connection with lack of faith and loss of endurance (ὑπομονή) - cf. especially James 1.3-8.

In Hosea 10.2, the people of Israel who have gone after other gods and built altars and pillars are described there -

ἐμέρισαν καρδιάς αὐτῶν, νοῦν ἁμαρτωλότητα αὐτῶν, ταλαιπωρήσουσιν αὐτοῖς.
"They divided their hearts, now they shall be destroyed; He Himself will tear down their altars, their pillars shall become wretched."

And here the divided hearts, divided between Yahweh and other Gods, stand in connection with ταλαιπωρεῖν. This inward division of the soul in its commitment to God is precisely the fault of the διψυχος, and the same connection with ταλαιπωρεῖν is found in 1 and 2 Cl. and in Hermas Vision 3.7.1 - cf. p.130 above.

In later literature the cognates remain a quite rare occurrence, and the same meanings persist. Origen uses it in his "Discussion with Heraclides", section 6, where Maximus seeks the removal of theological doubts in asking certain questions on the resurrection; he prefaced his question with the remark -

"πλὴν μὲντοι ζων μὴ ... διψυχῆσον περὶ τίνος πυνθάνομαι".

"However, in order that I may have no doubt about what I am ascertaining."

In this case the verb seems to have become weakened to mean simply "to have doubts" rather than to vacillate between faith and unfaith. There is no idea of duplicity. But this simple meaning of doubt is also found in Hermas Vision 4.1.8.

However, in Acta Philippi 16, an apocryphal work which dates to the 4th or 5th century, we have again the contrast with faith -

οἱ μὲν ύπὸ τῆς πίστεως ἐστηριγμένοι οὐκ ἐκλησιον μας οὐκ ἐδιψυχησαν· ξένεσαν γὰρ δὴ τὴν Μάλαπος νεκρῆς ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

"Those firmly rooted in their faith were not cowed, neither did they hesitate; for they knew that Philip will overcome by the glory of Jesus."
The context is the accusation of Philip by the High Priest. Those whose faith is firmly rooted stand by him with no vacillation between faith and doubt.

In part 58 of the same apocryphal Acts, Philip assures the High Priest of forgiveness for his opposition if he truly repents, and he tells him -

μὴ φοβηθῆς, μὴ δὲ ψυχήσῃς.

"Do not fear, neither doubt."

Both these occurrences are very close to the usage of Hermas, and especially the contrast between faith and δυσψυχία in Similitude 6.1.2 and the teaching on believing prayer in Mandate 9. The firmly-rooted faith of Philip and his companions is in contrast to the uprooting effect of δυσψυχία in Hermas Mandate 9.9.

Thus in setting δυσψυχία over against πνεύμα, the sub-Apostolic writers and James take over a long established idea of religious vacillation and indecision which in late Jewish circles had been enshrined in the word δυσψυχικός and its cognates. They found it an apt manner of expression for lack of faith and indecision, and lack of real commitment to God and His moral teachings, especially in the face of apostasy and disturbances in Church life. The firmness and high value of faith is in vivid contrast to the weak vacillation of the δυσψυχικός - "Mr. Facing-both-ways", who cannot really make up his mind between God and the world, and whose soul is divided between right and wrong.
CHAPTER THREE
THE LETTER OF BARNABAS AND THE DIDACHE

Section 1: Barnabas

The so-called epistle of Barnabas may be dated approximately to the second quarter of the second century A.D.¹ Although called an epistle, its genre is more that of a tract; although bearing the name of Barnabas as its author, it is not the work of the Apostle and companion of St Paul in Acts.² The work is in two main parts - sections 1-17 advance allegorical interpretations of various parts of the Old Testament, seeking to show that the Jewish scriptures are not to be taken literally, but that in every way they point towards the life and work of Jesus. Section 10 is typical - the Jewish food laws are given a 'spiritual' interpretation. So Moses commands that pork is forbidden, but the reason for this is not that it is unclean in itself, but that it represents men who are unclean, and who, like pigs, forget their Lord when they are full. Similarly, section 12 finds references to the cross in prophetic passages.

The aim of all this is to show the primacy of Christianity. It became a custom in the early Church to use testimonia in this way, and it seems probable that collections of 'proof texts' were made. The beginning of this process can be seen in the New Testament, and Barnabas represents a considerable growth in the bulk of such texts. Later they were to increase even more.³ According to Barnabas, the Christian has received γνῶσις, discernment, which enables him to see the true meaning of the Old Testament texts, and in particular their reference to Christ.⁴

Sections 18-21 contain teaching about the Two Ways. Here Barnabas bears a close relationship with the Didache, which also makes use of this figure. There has been much discussion as to whether Barnabas used the Didache in this regard or vice versa; more likely is the suggestion that both are dependent on a Jewish model of ethical instruction.⁵ The details of the Two Ways need not concern us here, as in neither Barnabas nor the Didache do we find contexts in this section that contain ποιμήν or its
cognates. This would tend to support the belief in their Jewish nature and origin. In fact, the Two Ways contains ethical instruction which could be entirely Jewish and which contains nothing specifically Christian.\textsuperscript{6} It is therefore not surprising that a study of what faith meant to early Christians does not lead us into this particular part of our literature.

Faith, however, does appear frequently in the first section of Barnabas, and a new dimension of faith emerges - it is to be perfected by γνῶσις -

\[ \text{ἐνα μετὰ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν τελείως ἔχετε καὶ τὴν γνῶσίν.} \]

"in order that with your faith you may also have perfect discernment."

\textbf{Barnabas 1.5}

This clause expresses the purpose of this writing. γνῶσις is that knowledge which discerns the relevance of the Old Testament prophecies to Christ and His ministry, to His death and resurrection; it issues in morality, and finds a place beside faith, fear, steadfastness, endurance, self-control (2.2f.). It is also this discernment that leads to the way of righteousness and rejects the way of death (5.4b; 18.1; 19.1).\textsuperscript{7}

However, it is clear that discernment is subsequent to faith in Barnabas, and that in each case discernment must take its place among the other virtues. Yet the primacy of faith is not so explicitly stated here as it has been in both Ignatius\textsuperscript{8} and Hermas.\textsuperscript{9} There is a very close connection in Barnabas between faith and hope; another way of putting this would be to say that the eschatological content of faith is very much in evidence here. This stands in contrast to Ignatius, who ignores this aspect of faith almost entirely.\textsuperscript{10} This eschatological emphasis is expanded when Barnabas writes -

"There are three precepts of the Lord:
"the hope of life, beginning and end of our faith; and righteousness, beginning and end of judgement; love, witness of gladness and rejoicing in works (done) in righteousness."

(Barnabas 1.6)

In this quotation we have the triad - faith, hope and love - although in a different order from that of Paul in 1 Cor. 13.13. The three precepts are hope of life, righteousness and love. These precepts are indissolubly linked in the thought of our author with this exegetical knowledge which he has received and now teaches in his turn.11

These observations support the translation here given, which follows the punctuation of Kraft;12 and takes the genitives in the last clause of the quotation as dependent on μαρτυρία, not on ἀγάπη, as in Lake13 and Goodspeed.14

This section is intended by Barnabas to be a definition of the perfect γνώσις. This knowledge springs from the hope of life - in the sense of a looking forward to the life to come described as the beginning and end of faith. Righteousness in Barnabas is not so much the justification by faith, as in Paul, but a righteousness which is expressed in obedience to the precepts of the Way of Life and rejection of the Way of Death.15 Love is the witness which expresses in action the joy which a Christian experiences from doing the right as laid down in the Two Ways.

Faith here then is both eschatological and ethical, and its ethical concomitants are righteousness in the sense defined above,
and love. At the beginning of Barnabas' treatise, he has in effect given us the "umbrella" terms which cover the principles which he will enunciate in more detail later.

In respect of the ethical nature of faith he elaborates in the next section -

τῆς οὖν εὐσεβείας ἡμῶν εἰσὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβος καὶ ὑπομονῆς, τὰ δὲ συμμαχοῦσα ἡμῖν μακροθυμία καὶ ἐγκράτεια ... συνευφραίνονται αὐτοῖς σοφία, σοφείας, ἐπιστήμην, γνῶσις.

"The helpers of our faith are fear and endurance, and our allies patience and self-control ... wisdom, discernment rejoice together with them."

(Barnabas 2.2f.)

There is a much heavier emphasis here on the intellectual virtues than in either Hermas or Ignatius. All that Barnabas says is coloured by his theology of the allegorical nature of the Old Testament and its application to Christianity - faith perceives what the true 'spiritual' meaning of the Old Testament texts is. Another interesting contrast is that here faith is described as being supported by the other virtues, whereas in Hermas especially faith is the supporter - one of the four corners of the tower.16

Prigent17 comments on faith here that "le mot est sans doute à comprendre ici (comme en 4.9b par example) dans le sens général de religion, foi chrétienne, et non dans le sens paulinienne." We may see here a parallel to Ignatius' use of faith as a general term for religion or Christian commitment - that which gives the common basis for a relationship between Christians.18 In the case of both Barnabas and Ignatius, it is shared faith which forms the basis on which the two writers are able to address their readers, although they do so in very different terms. This general sense is found also in Barnabas 4.9 - "All the time of our life and faith" - a context that we will meet later in connection with the Didache.
We have already noticed that the triad, faith, hope and love, has appeared at 1.6; and we have noted the eschatological emphasis so characteristic of Barnabas. These connections find expression in other parts of the treatise -

"Because great faith and love dwell in you, based on hope of His life."

(Barnabas 1.4)

Here Barnabas is setting out some of his themes at the beginning of his letter; the combination of eschatology and ethics as relating to faith are basic to his whole thought as he expresses it.

Again -

"their covenant was broken,
in order that the covenant of the beloved Jesus might be sealed in our heart in hope that belongs to faith in Him."

(Barnabas 4.8)

The promise of eternal life is mentioned in connection with the significance of the promised land -

"What then is the milk and the honey? Because first the little child is nourished on honey, then on milk; so then we also, being nourished on faith in the promise (τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐπαγγελίας) and by the word shall live, lording it over the earth."

(Barnabas 6.17)
The promise refers to eternal life, as 6.19 makes clear. The object of faith here is the promise, expressed by the objective genitive so common in all the authors we have met, and in the New Testament. Lake does not recognise this.

In this eschatological faith, Barnabas stands close to the famous definition of faith in Heb. 11.1 - "Faith is the assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things not seen". There is truth in the dictum that hope is faith as it relates to the future. Prigent comments that hope and faith in Barnabas are synonymous, and that the treatise looks very much to salvation and the perfection that awaits the faithful Christian hereafter. Here again, the emphasis is quite different from that of Ignatius who is deeply concerned with the problems of the Church in this life and with his own calling to be a martyr and so to fulfil discipleship; but what is beyond does not really find expression in his writings. There is more eschatology in Hermas, but post-baptismal sin is his main concern, and although the future perfection is reflected in, for example, the perfect stones of the tower, the emphasis on the future is not nearly so strong as in Barnabas. Faith is truly many-sided, and its emphasis depends very much on background and purpose.

The familiar coupling of faith and love is to be found at 11.8, where the words of Christians are to proceed with 'faith and love' bringing conversion and hope to many. The hope is again for the future, and defines the aspect of the faith here mentioned. Again there is the combination of ethics and eschatology related to faith.

If the eschatological hope is to have any real significance, God must Himself be reliable, and faithful to his promises. It is in this sense that we can best understand the difficult passage at 16.9a. In 16, the point is made that the Temple of God exists where God dwells, and that in so far as God dwells in Christians, His spiritual temple is to be found in them. "Receiving the forgiveness of sins ... we have become new, created again from the beginning; ... God truly dwells in us whom He has made as His dwelling-place." Barnabas then asks -
πῶς; ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ τῆς πίστεως, ἡ κλῆσις
αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, ἡ σοφία τῶν δικαιωμάτων,
αἱ ἑντολαί τῆς διδακτῆς.

(Barnabas 16.8)

The English translations all have "His word of faith, the
calling of His promise ...", which makes very poor sense,
and leaves us wondering just what is referred to as supporting
the contention that God dwells in us in our renewed state.

Prigent does not help us either. He offers the translation
"Par la parole de sa foi, la vocation de sa promesse ..."
and comments (note 3) "Anacoluthe. Le sens général de la
phrase reste pourtant assuré."

The passage makes much better sense if we take τῆς πίστεως
as referring to God's faithfulness, and translate - "The
message of His faithfulness, the calling which belongs to
His promise ..." It is the promises and the faithfulness
of God which guarantee the reality of His indwelling and re-
newal, together with "the wisdom of His precepts and the
commands of His teaching." In this case each αὐτοῦ,
functions as the genitive of the possessive pronoun
on the substantive which follows it - a quite normal use.

So far all the examples considered have used the noun πίστεως.
This has expressed the general sense of faith as confidence in
the future and in the faithfulness of God to fulfil His promises.
Barnabas tends to support the contention that on the whole
the noun expresses the more emotive trust aspect of faith,
while the verb tends to express the intellectual aspect of
belief in certain propositions. Barnabas believes the
promises of God, as well as having a sense of trust and con-
fidence in them. In his use of the verb, Barnabas shows the
same eschatological emphasis -

δός ἂν ... ἀκούσῃ τοῖς λαλουμένων καὶ
πιστεύσῃ, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.
"whoever ... hears these things spoken and believes, will live forever."

(Barnabas 11.11)

The "words" here are the assertion that a person goes to baptism and enters the water filthy and sinful, and emerges pure. To believe this is to enter eternal life.

Again, he urges his readers -

ἐλπισάτω πλοτεύσας, ὅτι αὐτὸς ὃν νεκρὸς ὄντανακεφόλησα ...

"Let him hope, believing that He Himself, although He is dead, is able to give life."

(Barnabas 12.7)

This is spoken in respect of those who are bitten by the serpent of Numbers 21.8f. In the exegesis of Barnabas the serpent is a symbol of Jesus Who also gives life. Christians must believe that Jesus can give life, and this is a further doctrinal aspect of this faith.

In this example and in the next, the content of faith is expressed by a ὅτι clause.

The allegorical exegesis of Barnabas emerges again -

πλοτεύσαμεν ὅτι ὁ νόσος τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἠδύνατο παθεῖν εἰμή ὁλῇ ἡμᾶς.

"Let us believe that the Son of God was not able to suffer except for our sake."

(Barnabas 7.2)

Faith is here belief in the proposition that Jesus suffered for our sake, and that there was no other way in which He
could suffer. Indeed, in terms of this section, He could only suffer vicariously, because Barnabas finds in the fast of the Scapegoat a foreshadowing of Christ's sacrificial death for sin. 27

The idea of sacrifice occurs also in 3.6 -

ως ἐν ἀκρασίασφυν πιστεύσει ὁ λαὸς ...

"that the people will believe, in purity ..."

The context here is the importance of belief in the true spirit of sacrifice - not merely that of animals, but of giving bread to the hungry and showing mercy to the downcast. 28

Faith is twice expressed by the use of a participle in section 13.7 -

εἰ σὺν ἐπὶ καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἐμνήσθη, ἀπέχομεν τὸ τέλεον τῆς γνώσεως ἡμῶν. Τούτῳ λέγει τῷ Ἀβραὰμ, οὗ μόνος πιστεύσας ἔτεθει εἰς ὅλην ἀκρασίαν ἢ Ἰδοὺ, τέθεικα σε, Ἀβραὰμ, κατέρα ἐθνῶν τῶν πιστευόντων δι' ἀκρασίας τῆς θεᾶς.

"If again, then (this people) was referred to in the case of Abraham 29, we have received in full the perfection of our discernment. What then does he say to Abraham, when he alone having believed was made righteous? "Behold, I have established you Abraham, as 'father of the gentiles who believe in God through uncircumcision'."

A.G. s.v. μυμνήσκομαι 2 suggests that ὁ λαὸς σύνος should be understood as the subject of ἐμνήσθη in the first clause. This makes good sense, because in the previous
parts of Chapter 13, Barnabas has been using typology to illustrate that Christianity is greater than Judaism. This he finds suggested by the two sons of Isaac and Rebecca, of whom "the older shall serve the younger" (Genesis 25). Again, he uses the case of Ephraim and Manasseh, in which Joseph crossed his hands and made the younger the more important, to illustrate and foreshadow the same phenomenon (Genesis 48). Barnabas then comes to Abraham, and suggests that if we understand the significance of him alone as the man of faith and Christians as his descendants, then our perception is perfect.

Abraham, having believed in the promises of God, "was made righteous". It seems better to take the clause this way, rather than in a strictly Pauline sense, as does Lake, and translate "it was counted to him for righteousness". δευκαλιονυμι in Barnabas does not have the technical Pauline sense of justified in God's sight, i.e. brought into a right relationship with Him as in Rom.4.3 and passim throughout that epistle. Rather, righteousness for Barnabas works towards the Two Ways, the Way of Life as enshrining the will of God and His commandments to be followed by the righteous man. Goodspeed translates here "and was ordained to be upright"; Prigent has "il fait établi dans la justice". Both these translations keep the sense of righteousness proper to Barnabas.

As far as faith is concerned in this passage, Abraham's faith was belief in God's promises and a willingness to trust God (Genesis 15 and 17); the faith of the gentiles is in God, and is of the same type as that of Abraham, viz: belief and trust.

In Chapter 16 the imagery of the Temple, destroyed in 70 A.D. (an event alluded to by Barnabas in section 4 of this chapter) is transferred from the building destroyed and rebuilt to the
the new creation in the Christian through baptism. Before baptism, the soul is defiled and filthy; but through baptism there is cleansing and rebuilding. Barnabas asks -

πῶς οὖν οὐκοδομηθῆσεται ἐπὶ τῷ ὄντωτι κυρίου; μὴ ἔσθε ἁπέρ τοῦ ἡμῶν κυντεύον τῷ θεῷ ἢν ἡμῶν τὸ κατολοξητήριον τῆς καρδίας φθαρτὸν καὶ ἁθενεῖς ...

"How shall (the Temple) be built in the name of the Lord? Learn; before we believed in God, the dwelling-place of our heart was corrupt and weak ..."

(Barnabas 16.7)

Here once again as in the previous context, the object of faith is God, expressed in the dative case. The content of that faith is suggested by sections 8 and 9. In answer to the question as to how the Temple will be built, the answer is in "receiving forgiveness of sins and hoping in His name." So hope and faith are brought into close proximity once again. In section 9 immediately following, there is reference also to the "calling, which belongs to His promise". So when Christians believe in God, they believe and trust in His promises, which have a strong eschatological flavour. The result is personal renewal. We have noticed the connection of faith with renewal in Ignatius. For Barnabas, to believe in God and to hope in His name are virtually the same thing.

The idea of trust is expressed once in Barnabas by the use of πέπολθα -

"circumcision in which they trust, is abolished"

(Barnabas 9.4)
Finally, Chapter 21 forms a conclusion to the whole treatise, and not only to the Two Ways. Barnabas exhorts his readers -

"be for yourselves faithful counsellors."

(Barnabas 21.4)

This is the only occurrence of the adjective in this work, and its sense is that of faithfulness in keeping the precepts laid down by Barnabas.

The most significant point which emerges from this study of πίστις and cognates in Barnabas is that faith has here a very strong future reference. The reason for this lies in the purpose of the treatise to see how the Old Testament foreshadows Christ. Barnabas is strongly influenced by Hellenistic Judaism, and eschatology is one of the interests he shares with it. It is therefore not surprising that this interest is reflected in his understanding of faith. This has been a characteristic of all our authors; their emphasis when it comes to faith springs from their situation.

In addition to the eschatological reference to faith, there is also the virtuous aspect and especially the connection with personal renewal through the forgiveness of sins. The aspect of faithfulness has also been noticed in relation to God. The object of faith is God and His promises. There is an intellectual side to this, expressed especially where the verb is used, in which the believer assents to certain theological statements about God and His actions. But there is no working out of doctrine or credal definition such as we noticed in Ignatius. Barnabas' theology is heavily influenced by Jewish typology, and he is most interested in the significance of Old Testament figures and customs as they point to Jesus. To understand this is to have discernment and this is closely related to faith. Faith goes then with hope, discernment, righteousness as it is expressed by moral obedience,
renewal, and that salvation which God promises to His faithful servants and which will be realised because He Himself is faithful.

Section 2: The Didache

There is clearly a close connection between Barnabas and the Didache.\(^{39}\) This latter is a very early Christian manual containing material which is catechetical, liturgical and disciplinary.\(^{40}\) The material almost certainly goes back into the first century,\(^{41}\) and its rediscovery last century was of great importance to our understanding of early Christianity.\(^{42}\) It shares with Barnabas the Two Ways, although its purpose is that of a manual of instruction, and there is none of the typology found in Barnabas.

There are only three references to faith in the Didache; in all three the noun πίστις is used; although the purpose of the work is different, the future reference of faith will be found to predominate here also, as in Barnabas.

The Didache makes the connection with γνώσεις, but in a different context –

εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι ... ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως, καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας, ἃς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν.

"We give you thanks ... for the knowledge and faith and immortality which you have made known to us."

*(Didache 10.2)*

This is in the context of the Eucharistic Prayer. The 'knowledge' here is not that discernment of the scriptures of the Old Testament as in Barnabas, but the Christian's knowledge of God and of what He has done in redemption. Faith here is general, like that which defines religion in Ignatius; but it is also the gift of God, for which He is being thanked.
in the Eucharist. Immortality is that gift by which God delivers His people from death; its juxtaposition here with faith gives to faith its future reference.

This future connotation of faith is expressed again in the second occurrence. The faithful are exhorted -

"Come together often, seeking the things relating to your souls,
οὐ γὰρ ὄφελμεν ὑμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πότευς ὑμῶν
for all the time of your faith will not benefit you, except you be made perfect in the last time."

(Didache 16.2)

The context of this quotation is the exhortation to be prepared for the Day of the Lord - the Parousia. "Watch for your life; let not your lamps be extinguished, and let not your loins be ungirded, but be prepared." The sentiment is that of Matt. 24.42 and Luke 12.35. The frequent coming together or "Synaxis" is to assist in this watchfulness and help towards the perfection required for the Parousia. Ignatius too urges Christians to come together frequently, but he has no concern for the second coming, being taken up with his impending martyrdom.

Faith here is again general in its sense. The future reference is also present in the connection with the need for watchfulness for the End. Faith awaits the Parousia and prepares for it. The Parousia will mean the gathering in of the faithful and the fulfilment of the Kingdom. Audet suggests that the meaning of πότες in 10.2 and 16.2 is the same, and this is clearly so. Liébaert points out that in the thought of the Didachist the Parousia would come soon - in the lifetime of believers. Later, with the delay in the Parousia and the lessening of the sense of urgency, the
word 'life' tends to be substituted for faith. In fact, faith and life are virtually synonymous in the general sense of describing a Christian's time on earth. This is illustrated by Barnabas, where the process of lessening of the urgency is apparent, at 4.9, where life and faith are coupled together -

"Wherefore let us take care in the last days; for all the time of our life and our faith will not benefit us, unless now ... we resist."

(Barnabas 4.9)

Barnabas and the Didache are here very close, and the significance of faith is very similar in both.

Didache, Chapter 16, continues with warnings about the end and descriptions of it - love turning to hate, the growth of lawlessness, the coming of the Son of God with signs and wonders. The tone of what is written here is very similar to the "little apocalypse" of Mark 13, and there are parallels with Matthew 24 and some Old Testament passages. Towards the end of the warnings the Didachist says -

οἱ δὲ ὑπομένοντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται

"Those who endure in their faith shall be saved."

(Didache 16.5)

So those who endure the fiery trial of the End, and stand fast by their Christian profession, will be saved.

Thus the Didache has brought into focus for us another element in the faith of early Christians, and pointed to its presence also in Barnabas. The Parousia loomed large in the mind of the early Church, especially in the first century. Faith looked towards and awaited the end, expecting the fulfilment of the promises and the reward of the faithful. Faith also endured the period of trial which heralded the parousia. Moreover, because faith was so important and covered every aspect
of a Christian's life, it could be equated with life itself. So here in Barnabas and the Didache, faith can be described as an "umbrella" term for what it meant to be a Christian in terms of hope, endurance, faithfulness, righteousness, trust, and commitment. In addition, it covered belief also, but this only to a limited extent, as doctrine is not a priority in either of these writings.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE EPISTLE TO DIOGETUS

This letter is sometimes included with the Apostolic Fathers, and sometimes with the Apologists of the second century. It stands between the two, but its genre is more that of a defense of the faith than an exhortation to Christian behaviour in the face of some particularly pressing moral or doctrinal problem. The background of the letter to Diognetus bears little relation to the preoccupations of martyrdom and docetism as in Ignatius, or apostasy in Hermas; there is no parallel to the 'Two Ways' of the Didache or Barnabas. Barnard finds parallels with the anti-Jewish sentiments of the first section of the Epistle of Barnabas, and there is evidence that the two letters came from the same period.2

There have been numerous suggestions as to who the unknown author of the Epistle to Diognetus may have been, but no conclusive agreement has been reached by scholars, and the problem need not concern us here.3 Suffice it to say that the author was clearly a person of some intellectual ability, with a background in classical learning, who writes good Hellenistic Greek.4 The letter sets out to be a defense of the Christian faith on an intellectual level. This statement will find support in our consideration of the concepts of faith in the letter - at once more intellectual than in the other writers we have considered - and bearing a closer relationship to the concept of "The Faith" as a definite body of doctrine as in the Apologists.5

Another problem which has received much attention from scholars is that of the integrity of the work. There is a lacuna at the end of Chapter 10, and this has led to widespread rejection of Chapters 11 and 12 as an original part of the letter. Our study of the contexts of πίστις and its cognates will tend to support the unity of the letter as the work of a single author; however, evidence of this kind could not pretend to solve the problem, and argument so narrowly based is quite insufficient. There is, however, no difference in usage in Chapters 1-10 as compared with Chapters 11 and 12.
The first context to be considered comes from Chapter 12, in the closing sentences of the letter. It is the most obscure and difficult passage related to faith to be encountered in any of our authors.

Chapter 12 includes a discussion on the connection between the tree of knowledge and the tree of life as they appear in Genesis 2.8f. The unknown author says that it is necessary to seek the knowledge that goes with life; this is the true knowledge, which is witnessed by life and is contained in the true word of God. He then exhorts Diognetus:

"Let there be to you a heart as knowledge and life as the true word, comprehended (in you). Bearing the tree and loving the fruit of this word, you will delight always in the things desired by God, which the serpent does not touch neither the deceiver defile by handling them; neither is Eve corrupted, but being a virgin, is an object of trust."

(Diognetus 12.7f.)

Marrou lists four possibilities for the last clause, depending on whether παρθένος is taken as subject or complement, and πιστεῦται as passive or middle:

1. is believed to be a virgin.
2. a virgin (Mary) is the object of faith, of confidence.
3. Eve, always a virgin, believes.
4. A virgin (Mary) believes.
On the basis of parallel texts in Justin, Irenaeus and Tetullian, Marrou with some hesitation prefers No. 3. His main point is that this whole chapter is to be interpreted within the context of the Church. "Toute notre chapitre XII analyse la vie de l'âme chrétienne au sein de l'Église là, ou alors, (devenue parfaite) l'âme ne se laissera plus tenter par le serpent, comme Ève; conservant sa virginité, elle affirmera sa foi, comme la Vierge Marie, modèle du chrétien et type de l'Église, a cru dans la parole de l'Ange; l'allusion à Marie est certaine, mais indirecte."

In the Church the new Eve is not corrupted; frequently in this epistle the newness of Christians is emphasised, e.g. at 1.1 and 2.2. In the Old Order Eve was corrupted, but this will not be so in the New Order. On the contrary, another virgin, i.e. Mary, becomes a symbol of the New Order. Her obedience is set against Eve's disobedience. Marrou takes πλοτεύεται as middle and translates "proclame sa foi", referring to the new Eve, viz. Mary. The difficulty about this is that there is no precedent for a middle sense of πλοτεύεται in the New Testament or in the Apostolic Fathers; neither does Lampe quote any such usage for the later literature.

Radford takes πλοτεύεται as passive, and translates "but is trusted in her maiden purity". However, he cannot decide whether Eve or Mary is meant. "In the former case the idea seems to be that Eve can be safely trusted, being untouched by the serpent - an allegory signifying that man's perceptive faculty need not be suspected as though it were itself corrupted by pleasure, and so in turn was corrupting the purity of his knowledge. In the latter case the antithesis is between the disobedience of Eve ... and the obedience of the Virgin Mary ...". The second possibility is simpler, and the reference to Mary is in line with the letter's emphasis on renewal.

Meecham also takes πλοτεύεται as a passive - "but is believed in as a virgin" - and says that Eve here probably denotes the Virgin Mary. It is Mary's purity and obedience, he says, that issues in the fruits of section 9 - salvation, fulfilment of the times, cosmic harmony, the instruction of the saints and the glorification of the Father.
Another line of interpretation is suggested by Andriessen, 12 a scholar who has done much work on the Epistle to Diognetus. He finds in Chapters 11 and 12 references to the Eleusinian mysteries. "It is especially in the Eleusinian Mysteries that the concepts of the pleasure garden, the fruit trees, the tree of life, the serpent, etc. played an important part. In the new paradise ... Eve is not seduced by the serpent, but found to be a virgin. Now the two chief moments of the Eleusinian Mysteries were exactly the two scenes in which Korē was seduced, the first time by Hades, the second time by Zeus in the likeness of a serpent." 13 However, this interpretation involves attributing the authorship of the letter to the apologist, Quadratus, and it assumes the unity of the whole work. Both these proposals are challenged by other scholars. 14

There is general agreement among scholars that Eve here represents the Virgin Mary. It is Mary's obedience that makes possible the initiation of the New Order in God's plan for redemption. This New Order finds specific mention in Diognetus at 1.1 and 2.1, and the new life of Christians is one of his special themes, worked out in particular in Chapters 5 and 6. Thus, if we accept the unity of the work, this emphasis in the concluding passage is in keeping with the rest.

In translating above "but being virgin, is an object of trust", we assume the reference to Mary, and take πιστευέται as a passive. καρθένος then contrasts with φθείρεται and πιστευέται expresses the result of her not being corrupted.

she is not corrupted: οὐ φθείρεται
i.e. she is a virgin: καρθένος
therefore she can be an object of trust: πιστευέται

This makes πιστευέται have passive meaning. The usage is unusual, but could have arisen from the passive πιστεύωμαι = I am entrusted (τύνα), 15 transferred into the trust/belief category of meaning. 16
In this case Mary, the new Eve, is to be trusted because of her obedience and her function as the symbol of the New Order.

Some discussion of the problem of the unity of the Epistle to Diognetus seems necessary at this point. Chapters 11 and 12 have been widely rejected as not being a genuine part of the epistle. The problem is associated with the lacuna in the text at the end of Chapter 10, and the apparent differences between the first ten and the last two chapters. Meecham rejects entirely the authenticity of these last two chapters, especially on the basis of differences in vocabulary and style. Both Meecham and Marrou summarise the views of others who find alternative authorship for these two chapters. More recently, Barnard has argued that Chapters 11 and 12 are from the same hand, but from a different time and addressed to a different situation; these things account for the differences in style and vocabulary. Andriessen argues for the unity of the work and the authenticity of Chapters 11 and 12 on the basis of attributing the whole letter to Quadratus.

Marrou argues persuasively for the unity and integrity of the whole work, especially on the basis that the lacuna probably represents the loss of several leaves of the original manuscript, and the gap, together with the quickening of pace toward the end, are enough to account for the differences noticed by others. More recently J.J. Thierry has accepted the authenticity of Chapters 11 and 12 on the basis of cognate ideas connected with λόγος being found throughout the work. However, the unity of the epistle has been refuted once again by Brändle on the grounds that the two parts are grammatically and theologically so different that he can see no possibility that they have the same authorship.

In view of this widespread disagreement and the inconclusiveness of the evidence, it is not possible to state that the epistle is a unity. However, in our examination of πίστις and its cognates, no difference in emphasis will be observed between the two parts. It therefore seems better for the purposes of this study to assume that the epistle is a unity while recognising that there are difficulties in this assumption.
The exclusiveness of the Christian message is explained by the unknown author in Chapter 7; and this message is entrusted to Christians to pass on, just as he is himself doing.

οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπίνων οἶκονομίαν μυστηρίων πεποίηται.

"neither are (Christians) entrusted with a stewardship of human mysteries."

(Diognetus 7.1)

We have already noted in the case of Ignatius that οἶκονομία is both stewardship and plan, and the two meanings are very close together. The same is true here. The οἶκονομία is the Plan which God has for redemption, now revealed in Jesus, but previously hidden and so a mystery; but it is also the stewardship which God has entrusted to Christians which involves them in the active spreading of the message of the Plan and in being instruments of its working. The thought here is closely parallel to that of Eph. 3.9 where Paul speaks of ἡ οἶκονομία τοῦ μυστηρίου - the plan or stewardship of the mystery.

This Plan reached a crucial stage with the life and work of Jesus, sent from God as "the Truth and the holy and incomprehensible Word" (Diog.7.2). God did not entrust such a work to "an angel or ruler, or any of those who manage the affairs of earth or any of those entrusted with the heavenly government -

ἡ τύχη τῶν πεποίητομένων τὰς ἐν οὐρανοῖς διοικήσεις

(Diognetus 7.2)

The passage goes on to describe Jesus as the "artificer and creator of the whole" and as the agent of God in creation.

The thought of this passage is very Pauline; it is interesting to compare what is said here with Ignatius also. Both authors are concerned to express the exclusiveness of Jesus and His divinity. Ignatius does this in face of the current docetism; the author here uses a more philosophical approach, more intellectual in tone than Ignatius. But both authors draw on St Paul,
and especially on the idea of God's Plan as stewardship, a mystery now revealed. Both too are concerned to impress on their readers, in terms which meet the needs and intellectual level in each case, the divinity of Jesus and the importance of His work for man's salvation, and the reality of Jesus Himself and what He has done. 26

These two examples of the use of the perfect passive illustrate the common construction of the retained accusative with passive verb, where the indirect object, expressed in the dative in the active, becomes the subject of the passive. 27

The aspect of faith here is acceptance of the message of God's Plan and of the stewardship which this involves in communicating this message to others.

This redemption effected in Jesus is an example of God's kindness. In Chapter 9, the unknown author contrasts our former state of disobedience and powerlessness to overcome sin with our new state when justified by Christ's actions. Again the thought is Pauline, and ἔλκαι, ἐκω is used in the Pauline sense of being made righteous in God's sight as a result of what Jesus has done. 28

The righteousness of the One, Jesus, is also shown in the making righteous of many (Diog. 9.5). The passage continues -

"Having demonstrated the inability of our nature to obtain life in the former time, He has now shown the Saviour who is able to do even the impossible."

ἐξ ἀγωγέων ἐβολήσας πλησύου ἡμᾶς τῷ ἡσυχάτων αὐτοῦ.

"On both counts he wishes us to believe in His kindness, (and) to consider Him as Nourisher, Father, Teacher, Counsellor, Healer, Mind, Light, Honour, Glory, Strength, Life, and not to worry about clothing and food."

(Diognetus 9.6)
The kindness of God is demonstrated in all those properties which are listed here, and this becomes a comprehensive statement of the nature and functions of God. Faith in God's kindness involves belief in Him as being these things here listed. The element of trust is also present as the last clause shows. The thought here is similar to that in Matthew 6.25ff. We could as well have translated "trust His kindness". However, it is well to recognise that both belief and trust are present here, and to note again how difficult it is to separate the elements of faith.

The influence of I.Tim. 3.16 is clearly apparent in 11.3. Christ is described again, as in 9, as Word -

"Therefore He sent His Word, in order that He might be manifest to the World, Who was discovered by the people, presented through Apostles and believed by gentiles - ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν ἐπιστευθή." (Diognetus 11.3)

The reference here is to the acceptance of Christ and the Gospel by the Gentiles. It was no doubt important to emphasise this in a work such as this with Gentile rather than Jewish flavour and interests. The Logos here is to be understood as Jesus, sent by God to teach his ways to the world.29 It is only through the eyes of faith that it is possible to see God. In Chapter 8 the author ridicules the ancient philosophers who proposed fire or water or some other element to be God. He says that "no man has ever seen him or made him known, but He has revealed himself". He continues -

ἐπέδειξε δὲ διὰ κύριως, ἥ μόνη θεοῦ ζωὴν συγκεκριμένη.

"He revealed (Himself) through faith, by which alone it is permitted to see God." (Diognetus 8.6)
Marrou notes parallels from apologetic sources, which demonstrate the closeness of this letter to this genre. Meecham also gives other parallels with the Apologists. He takes the dative as instrumental. Equally well we could regard the dative as a dative of means - "by means of which ... see God". The content of faith here is that mixture of trust and belief which we noted above in the discussion of 9.6.

The connection with the Apologists leads to an interesting development in respect of faith. We have noted in connection with both Ignatius and Hermas that they do not conceive of "the Faith" as a body of doctrine. However, we see the beginning of the usage, common in the Apologists, in the letter to Diognetus. Thus -

ταῦτην καὶ σὺ τὴν πίστιν ἔδω παθήσης, καὶ λάβῃς πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιγνώσῃ πατέρα.

"If you desire this faith, and receive it, you will first come to know the Father."

(Diognetus 10.1)

"This faith" refers back to Chapter 9, where the kindly purpose of God to reveal Himself and show mercy on our sinful state is explained. (See above, the discussion on 9.6.) While this is not the fully developed sense of a system of doctrine, it is a specific reference to a set of beliefs outlined in the previous chapter, and especially to the catalogue of God's attributes in 9.6 ad fin. already quoted above. This marks a step along the way to a more developed doctrinal consciousness. Ignatius too has lists of attributes and "credal" statements as we have noted; however, he does not refer back to these in a specific statement as "this faith". The epistle to Diognetus marks a more developed outlook than that of Ignatius.

There are two references to faith in a similar way in Chapter 11. The first raises some textual problems, but both Marrou and Meecham adopt the following reading -
Meecham\textsuperscript{35} refers this statement to the baptismal vows of Christians. This would suggest that the "pledges of faith" means the assent of Christians at their baptism. There is no indication as to what exactly they were required to assent to. It may have been only the very basic confession "Jesus is Lord" witnessed to in Rom. 10.9ff. and I Cor. 12.1ff.\textsuperscript{36} On the other hand, this may well have been expanded into a fuller statement to which candidates were expected to subscribe, and the developing sense of "the Faith" which we notice in this letter may indicate that such was the case.

This is further suggested by the statement in 11.6 -

"Then fear of law is praised and grace of prophets is known and faith in Gospels is established and tradition of apostles is guarded ..."

The phrase in question here is εὐαγγελίων πίστις ἔρωτη. Meecham\textsuperscript{37} suggests for this that the gospels referred to are books, and Marrou suggests that both the faith referred to in 11.5 and the Gospels are part of the tradition which is preserved in the Church, in which the mission of the incarnate Word is continued. Chapter 10, together with Chapters 11 and 12, form a summary and conclusion to the letter.\textsuperscript{38} The summary nature of these last sections is also the explanation for the absence of the article with the nouns—mind, prophets, Gospels and tradition. The pace picks up in these last two chapters, building to a climax at the end of Chapter 12 with the difficult passage discussed at the beginning of this present chapter.
It is not absolutely clear what is meant here by Gospels. The unknown author is familiar with the writings of St John as his references to the incarnate Word show. He shows strong links with St Paul's thought and writing. Some knowledge of the synoptic tradition is also indicated - for example, at 9.6 with the reference to not worrying about food and clothing; also at 8.8 in the statement that God is good. Except for St John, we cannot say with any certainty which of the Gospels is meant in addition, but it may well be that the unknown author knew all four Gospels.

At all events, this letter reflects a more developed stage of doctrine than any of the other Apostolic Fathers, and a wider knowledge of other early Christian writers, especially those of the New Testament. In our study of faith, this becomes apparent in the appearance of the idea of "the Faith" as a body of doctrine which represents a tradition, preserved from the first Apostles, within the Church, and especially in such writings as later became recognised as scripture: in the Baptismal affirmations; in the teachings of Prophets and in the Apostolic tradition. In all this, the letter to Diognetus stands midway between the other Apostolic Fathers and the Apologists. The seeds of this process can be found in the New Testament, especially in the παράδοσις of I Cor. 11.23f. and 15.3f. paralleled in Diognetus in the ἀποστόλων παράδοσις of 11.6. Later, in the Pastoral epistles, at II Tim.1.13, there is the παραθεῖσα, the "deposit" handed down and to be preserved by Timothy; in Jude v.3 there is what is probably the only case in the New Testament where ἡ παράδοσις refers to a body of doctrine - "to do battle for the faith which was once for all delivered to the saints". There is some parallel between the situation of Jude and the unknown author of the Diognetus. It appears that Jude was faced with some threat of doctrinal error and needs to recall his flock to the truth of what they believe; Diognetus too must be made to understand the truth of Christian doctrine, and a rational argument is produced to convince him. Both authors are faced with doctrinal error; Jude exhorts and is more dramatic than the epistle to Diognetus; the latter is more sophisticated and intellectual. Nevertheless, the seeds of "the Faith" conceived as a body of doctrine are ready at hand in the former, and our author at a later date and at a more developed
stage of the tradition can use the term in a more developed sense. The Apologists take the process a stage further. For all, the situation gives rise to the usage.

For the unknown author of the epistle to Diognetus, faith is belief in the kindness of God as manifested in Jesus and the salvation wrought through Him. It is belief in the Word, revealed in Jesus and taught by Him, and preserved in the tradition of the Church. Only by faith such as this is it possible to see God. And then too, faith is assent to a body of doctrine and to the tradition, which may be described in the apologetic sense as "the Faith".

This faith is the possession of the believers - οἱ πιστοὶ - who in 11.2 are set over against the unbelievers - οἱ ἄκινδυνοι. In 11.5 grace is "multiplied in (the) saints" and "rejoices at (the) faithful, by whom pledges of faith are not broken". The believers are those who subscribe to the faith enshrined in the Word and taught by the prophets and apostles of the Church; the unbelievers are outside this tradition.

The interest has shifted in this letter from the urgency of persecution and martyrdom and apostasy typical of the outlook of Ignatius and Hermas. The Jewish flavour of Barnabas and the Didache is replaced by a definitely Greek flavour. The unknown author has set out a reasoned, intellectual defense of the Christian faith; he has also described the ethical outcome of this faith in terms which reflect a Greek background. His understanding of faith is dictated by both background and situation.
CHAPTER FIVE
THE FIRST LETTER OF CLEMENT

Introduction

Clement is recognised on good authority as being the Bishop of Rome, third in line after Peter. Irenaeus gives the order as Peter, Linus, Anacletus and then Clement. Eusebius reaffirms this. The letter to the Corinthians, which is the object of our present study, is widely attested in the early Christian literature as being the genuine work of this same Clement. There is almost universal agreement among scholars that it is to be dated in the latter years of the reign of Domitian, during the time when many prominent Romans lost their lives as a result of the Emperor's jealousy. Among those executed were some prominent members of the Christian community. The letter, then, was written somewhere between the years 95 and 98 A.D.¹

The letter is addressed to the Church at Corinth. The contents suggest that the situation at Corinth was little different from that faced by Paul, where division and party spirit were rife, and where the apostle had found himself criticised and rejected by certain sections of the community.² Clement writes to the Corinthian Church some fifty-odd years later that peace and harmony must be of the essence of the Christian Church, and much of his letter is concerned with these matters. He teaches the need for obedience to both ecclesiastical and secular authority, as well as to the Commandments of God, and to His will. Sexual purity and marital fidelity are mentioned by Clement, although not with the same prominence given by Paul in I Cor. 5. Going to court with fellow-Christians before heathen judges, and the matter of meat offered to idols, both of which are prominent in Paul's writing (I Cor. 6 & 7 especially) are not mentioned by Clement. There is no specific treatment of spiritual gifts, nor of the
disruption caused by their misuse, which we find in 1 Cor. 12 and 14, although Clement does have a reminiscence of Paul's teaching on love as we have it in 1 Cor. 13.  

The Corinthians had apparently found it necessary to ask Paul for guidance in doctrinal matters, and particularly about the nature of the resurrection. This had given rise to Chapter 15 of 1 Corinthians. The first eleven verses of this chapter amount to a credal statement of faith, similar in form to several such statements that we have noticed in Ignatius. Paul concludes at v.11:

οὕτως κηρύσσομεν καὶ οὕτως ἐκποιεῖσθαι.

"So we preach, and so you believed."

(I Cor. 15.11)

The faith expressed here by the verb ἐκποιεῖσθαι is an intellectual assent to the doctrinal proposition contained in the previous verses. While Clement has a section on the resurrection (24-28), his approach is much less doctrinal than Paul, and we will notice that in his contexts on faith the intellectual assent to doctrinal propositions is entirely absent. In fact, nothing illustrates the difference between the approach of Paul and Clement more clearly than their respective treatment of the resurrection. Paul argues from the objective evidence of the witnesses to the resurrection of Jesus, and so passes to the evidence provided by the seed "dying" in the earth and then becoming a plant very different from the original seed, for the nature of the resurrection body. The whole treatment is carefully worked out, logical, well argued and intellectual in its approach. Clement, on the other hand, finds in the periodic renewal of nature evidence for resurrection and supports this by the myth of the Phoenix. Intellectually this is much less convincing than Paul, and indicates a mind which is of less intellectual stature.
It is not surprising that these differences should be reflected in the view of faith which we find in Clement. The intellectual side of faith, so prominent in Paul, and also in Ignatius where he argues against the docetists, is much less prominent in Clement. For him, faith is trust, confidence, commitment and faithfulness rather than belief and the assent to a doctrinal system.

Clement nevertheless emerges as an attractive Christian pastor. He is concerned to see Christians living in peace and harmony and faithfulness to God and one another, and so as examples to those outside the Church. He emphasises, much more than any other writer we have considered, such virtues as ἐπιτελεῖσθαι⁵ - moderation or graciousness which does not insist on rights; σωφροσύνη⁶ - that sense of balance which promotes moderation and saves from excess in any one direction; ὁμόνοια - that harmony with God's plan which promotes peace in the Church and heals divisions; φιλοξενία - hospitality, so essential for Christians on the move. ταπεινοφρονεῖν - to be humble-minded, is to be practised by all Christians. These virtues are to be found in I Clement, as concomitants of faith. But again there is a difference - we do not find faith presented as the first of the virtues in the conscious manner of Hermas;⁷ while faith happens to be in first place in some lists, it is rather an expression of the commitment and motivation which leads to the practice of the other virtues. Ignatius' figure of faith as the ἀναγόμενος in the machine metaphor⁸ best describes the view of faith in its virtuous context in Clement. An examination of the contexts of faith in I Clement will illustrate these factors, and especially we will see the pastoral concern of a Bishop deeply concerned for the well-being of the Church.
Section 1 - Faith as a general term for commitment and belief.

In his address to the Corinthians, Clement mentions first the "sudden and repeated reversals" to which the Roman Church has been subject; a reference to the actions of Domitian, as they affected some leading members of that Church. He passes then to the "unholy disruption" of the Corinthian Church which has been caused by a few individuals, and which has led to the Christian community being denigrated. He continues -

τύς γὰρ παρεκκλησίαν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὴν πανάρετον καὶ βεβαιὰν ὑμῶν πίστευον οὐκ ἐδοκίμασεν;

"For who has visited you and not had proof of your most virtuous and firm faith?"

(1.2)

The adjective πανάρετος "signifie la possession de toutes les qualités, donc l'excellence". The faith of the Corinthians, then, gives rise to all the qualities to be expected in Christians, and is firm. Clement has condemned the divisive behaviour of the few, but seems anxious to soften his words by dwelling on the positive side as exhibited by the majority.

This paragraph, comprising 1.2 & 3, goes on to mention a number of virtues, and it is important to notice how these are expressed here as concomitants of faith, and to notice the Clementine emphasis on the virtues mentioned in the introduction - "wise and gracious godliness in Christ; hospitality, knowledge, lack of regard for persons (ἀπροσωπολημπτως); obedience, moderation and reverence; faithfulness to husbands in purity with moderateness (σωφροσύνη)."
In 2.1 Clement goes on to mention humility, obedience and doing good (ἀγαθοποιούμενοι). All these virtues are such as will provide unity and harmony in the Church and in the personal lives of its members. The practice of such virtues is an expression of faith and Christian commitment as shown by the majority of the Corinthian Christians, but not by the divisive individuals.

That faith is the motivation for these virtues, and the expression of Christian commitment which gives rise to their practice, is further confirmed for Clement's thinking by his statement at 22.1 -

ταῦτα δὲ πάντα βεβαιώ ἐν Χριστῷ πίστες.

"All these things, faith in Christ confirms."

The reference is to what he has just said in section 21. This section encourages unity and harmony within the Christian community. The virtues which will guarantee this are enumerated, especially respect for authority, gentleness, humility and that gracious moderation (ἐξελεύξεω) of which Clement is so fond. As we noted in the introduction to this chapter, faith is for Clement not the first of the virtues, but the commitment to them which makes their practice real.

In section 3 Clement dwells on schism and its results, especially the jealousy and envy, strife and disruption which are characteristic of schism. In more general terms he says -

"On account of this righteousness and peace are far removed, while each leaves aside the fear of God, becoming dim-sighted in his faith in Him (ἐν τῷ ..., καὶ ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτοῦ ἀμβλυωπήσας), neither going in the laws of His commandments ..."

(3.4)
So disharmony within the Church leads to a dimming of faith. It is possible to take the αὐτοῦ as either possessive or objective genitive; the latter is better because of the immediately preceding mention of God and the reference immediately following to "His" commandments; this makes it more logical to refer the αὐτοῦ to God also. The article with πέστις makes it clear that the reference is to the faith of the schismatic individual. His faith in God is dimmed by his schism.

Clement sees jealousy - ζηλος - as a prime cause of divisive behaviour, and he chooses in section 4 some examples from the Old Testament - namely the case of Cain and Abel; Moses' flight from Egypt; Aaron and Miriam; Dathan and Abiram; David's flight from Saul.12

In section 5, Clement passes to contemporary examples who have been victims of jealousy. Peter first, and then Paul who -

"on account of jealousy and strife (διὰ ζηλοῦ καὶ ἐβρευ), seven times having borne bonds, become an exile, having been stoned, becoming a herald in east and west, received the noble renown which he had won by his faith (τὸ γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἐλαβεν)."

(5.5f)

Lftft comments that his faith was that in his divine mission to preach to the gentiles.13 There is a close connection in this section between faith and endurance - ὑπομονή occurs in both 5.5 and 5.7. So faith here is an expression of commitment to the task given by God and which sees that task through to the end.
Many other Christians have followed the example of Peter and Paul in their commitment. Clement passes to these in section 6. Among them are those who display the martyr's faith - commitment even to death -

"Because of jealousy, women having been persecuted, Danaids and Dirkae suffering unholy and terrible tortures, reached the sure goal of their faith (ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πίστεως βέβαιον δρόμον κατήντησαν)."

(6.2)

The verb καταντάω signifies the reaching of a goal; thus τὸν βέβαιον δρόμον - lit. "the sure course" - is that point of the stadium where victory is secured, and so is virtually equivalent to "the goal". 14 The reference here is to the victims of the Neronic persecution after the fire. 15 Here the martyrs' reward is the objective of their faith. There is here an element both of commitment and trust.

A similar significance for faith is to be found at 55.6, where Clement has been urging self-sacrifice for the common good. As examples he cites Judith and Esther. In the case of Esther her example was to offer herself for the deliverance of her people; Clement describes her as -

ἡ τελεύτα κατὰ πίστευ'Εσθήρ.

"Esther, perfect in faith".

(55.6)

Her faith was her commitment to God and His people in their need.

So far we have established that faith for Clement signifies Christian commitment which leads to a virtuous life and especially to peace and harmony, but where the situation
requires it, to endurance and even to martyrdom.

There are a number of occasions where Clement uses the term in a very general way indeed, to signify simply the fact of being a believer. In speaking about the role of Bishops and Deacons in the Church, Clement says that the Apostles appointed their first-fruits throughout the cities in which they preached as "Bishops and Deacons of future believers - τῶν μελλόντων πιστευόντων" (42.4). As we have seen in other authors, at the end of their work they tend to use terms in a general, summarising sense.16 Clement is no exception, and faith is used in this way at 62.2 at the head of a summary of virtues very similar to that with which the letter opened, in sections 1 and 2. In section 64, Clement prays that God may give to the Corinthian Christians "faith, fear, peace, endurance and patience, self-control, purity and moderateleness". Although the sense is general, it is interesting to see how Clement ends as he began, by putting faith at the head of a list of the virtues which will best provide the peace and harmony so dear to his heart. There can be no doubt that faith is the source and motivation of these desirable virtues.

Section 2 - Faith as trust and belief; the balance between Faith and Works

Clement's concern for moderate and balanced behaviour in the Church is matched by his desire to keep the balance also in his own thinking. One of the most striking features of his view of faith is that it must be balanced by works. There would seem to be a deliberate attempt by Clement to balance Paul's doctrine of justification by faith against the emphasis on works to be found in the epistle of James. We have already noticed his knowledge of St Paul, and especially the relationship between Paul's Corinthian correspondence and Clement's letter, in the earlier parts of this chapter. There are similarities also between Clement and the letter of James - especially in relation to the use of δεσποτός and
its cognates - although it is not clear whether Clement is
dependent on James or vice-versa. 17

At section 9.3, Clement begins a recital of Old Testament
figures noted for their faith and righteousness which is
reminiscent of Hebrews 11. Enoch heads the list,"righteous
in obedience"; then Noah, "found faithful (πιστός). At
10.1 we have Abraham, also found faithful. At 10.7 we are
told -

δη πιστός καὶ φιλοξενίαν ἐδόθη αὐτῷ υἱῶς
ἐν γῆρᾳ....

"on account of faith and hospitality a son was
given to him in his old age...."

Abraham's faith here relates especially to his belief in
God's promise to give him a son. This has been explicitly
stated in 10.6 where Clement has quoted from the Septuagint
of Genesis 15.5f -

"And God led Abraham out and said to him, Look
at the heaven and number the stars, if you are
able to number them; so shall your seed be.
Abraham believed God (ἐπέστειλεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ
θεῷ) and it was counted to him "for righteousness".

So faith is belief in God's promises and His ability to
fulfil them. But Abraham had also entertained the divine
messengers according to the account of Genesis 18, so his
faith is balanced by works.

The next on the list at 11.1 is Lot, who "on account of
hospitality and godliness (ἐυσέβεια) was saved from Sodom."
The reference here is to Genesis 12.1-4. Faith is not mentioned in relation to Lot, but in this section he is set over against his wife who doubted and is counted among οἱ δύσφυχοι καὶ οἱ δωστάζοντες - "the double-minded and doubters", who are the opposite of those who have faith. The connection here with James 1.6f. is clear; ¹⁸ the coupling of faith and hospitality in 10.7, followed by hospitality and godliness in 11.1, and then faith and hospitality again in 12.1 suggests also that in Clement's mind there is not much difference between πίστις and εὐσέβεια. This is further evidence that Clement does not have nearly such a definite and clearly defined view of faith as does either Paul or Ignatius or even Hermas.

The coupling of faith and hospitality in 12.1 noted above is in the case of Rahab the harlot who appears in Joshua 2 as the means by which the spies are saved from the pursuers. Rahab hides them beneath the flax on the roof of her house, and points the pursuers further on when they come and inquire if she has seen the men. ¹⁹ As a reward she is told to hang a scarlet thread in her window and gather her family with her, and no harm will come to them when the Israelites attack Jericho. Rahab is listed in Hebrews 11.31 as an example of faith, and in James 2.25 as one justified by her works. She therefore is presented by Clement as the type of Christian justified by both faith and works. ²⁰

Both here and in Barnabas 7 the scarlet thread is explained as signifying the sacrificial blood of Christ -

"making clear that through the blood of the Lord redemption shall be to all those who believe and hope in God (τοῖς πιστεύουσιν καὶ ἐλπίζουσιν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ). See, Beloved, that not only faith, but also prophecy (προφητεύα) was in the woman."

(12.7f.)
Rahab exhibits a faith in God which believes the guarantees given by His servants; it is a prophetic faith because it points to that which Christians have in the promises of Christ.

Not only hospitality, but every good work must accompany faith. Clement's view is summed up in section 34 -

"The good workman receives with confidence the reward of his labour; the lazy and neglectful does not look his employer in the face. It is necessary for us to be willing to do good (ἐλεἱ σάγαθοποιοι); for from Him are all things.

It is fitting for us who believe in Him (πιστεύοντος ... ἐπ' αὐτῷ) with our whole heart not to be either lazy or neglectful for any good work (ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔργον σάγαθον).

(34.1, 2 & 4)

What has emerged from these contexts is a faith which involves belief and trust in God's promises, and which must be accompanied by hospitality in particular, and good works in the widest possible sense. But the balance between faith and works must be preserved, and our next context presents the other emphasis - that works alone are not enough.

At 31.2 Abraham's faith is again mentioned - he was blessed "having done righteousness and truth through faith". This statement follows exhortations to avoid sinful, and especially lustful conduct, and it is in the context of the way of blessing to be chosen rather than the evil way set out in 30. Lightfoot in his comment on this passage suggests that Clement here combines the statements of Paul at Ro.4.1ff. and Gal.3.6ff. with that of James 2.21ff. The faith here mentioned again relates to the fulfilment of God's promises, and is immediately followed by the case of Isaac in 31.3.
But Clement ends this portion of his letter with a clear statement that justification can never be by works alone - it is the gift of God -

"But we, brethren, ... are not justified through our own wisdom or understanding, or godliness or works which we have wrought in holiness of heart, but through faith ..."

These two contexts show clearly this balanced view of faith and works which Clement seeks to preserve.

The object of faith in this section has most often been the promises of God, but God Himself can also be the object of faith. In this case it is trust in God and belief in His promises and His power. Clement urges his readers to "receive our counsel, and you will have nothing to regret."

ἐὰν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἢ ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἣτε πίστες καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν.

"For God lives and the Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, the object of the faith and hope of the elect." 24

Similarly, in the prayer at the end of the letter, at 60.4, Clement prays -

"Give harmony and peace to all those who dwell on the earth, even as you gave to our fathers when they called upon you with holiness in faith and truth ..."
The burden of the prayer is for peace and harmony, and especially for absence of persecution. The reference to faith and peace is reminiscent of I Tim. 2.7. The prayer for the secular power and sense of the Christian obligation of obedience to it are thoroughly in line with the New Testament and especially Ro. 1. 1-7 and I Peter 2.15-17. 25 A Christian's faith in this context is in God's power to give peace and to deliver in time of persecution, even if that deliverance must come through martyrdom.

There is one other passage where Clement urges faith in God, but the translation may be disputed -

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άναζωπυρησάως οὖν ἡ πίστις αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν
καὶ νοήσωμεν ὅτι πάντα ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ ἐστίν.
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"Let faith in Him be rekindled in us, and let us know that all things are near Him."

(27.3)

Lightfoot alone translates πίστις as faithfulness and takes αὐτοῦ as a possessive genitive. All the other translators, A.G. and Lampe take πίστις as faith, followed by an objective genitive. 26 άναζωπυρέω is used intransitively as in I Eph. 1.1. The thought is, then, that the nearness and faithfulness of God inspires our faith in Him. God has been described as the One faithful to His promises in 27.1, and unable to lie. The statement follows the myth of the Phoenix and the promise of resurrection. It is consistent with Clement's view of faith elsewhere as we have noted in this section that he should urge a rekindling of faith in God and His promises of resurrection, and His power to make this effective. The basis of our faith in Him is His faithfulness.
Lightfoot translates: "His faithfulness in us", and comments that
"the context seems to suggest it". But there is no article with
ἐν ὑμῖν so it naturally goes with the verb. The word
order also favours the translation given here, which follows
both Goodspeed and Lake; the emphasis is on the strong verb at
the beginning of the clause and the prepositional phrase
at the end. As has been suggested above, this translation suits
the context very well.

Section 3 - πιστός - faithful.

Twice Clement speaks of the faithfulness of God in referring
to Him as ὁ πιστός - the Faithful One. At 27.1 God is
described as "the One faithful to His promises and righteous
in His judgements". The faithfulness of God is very import-
ant to Clement with his view of faith as trust and belief
in God's promises. In the great prayer at the end, at 60.1,
Clement addresses God as "faithful in all generations".

Man's faithfulness to God is expressed in service and obedience
to God and His commands. At 9.3, Noah is faithful, and
found to be so by his service (λειτουργία) - i.e. in his
godly life prior to the Flood. Abraham in 10.1 was found
faithful "in his obedience to the words of God". Moses,
at 17.5, in a citation of Numbers 12.7, is "faithful with
all his house"; the quote is interesting because it links
the faithfulness of Moses with his service of God and
emphasises his humble approach - that he "did not boast" and
in the theophany of the bush asked "Who am I, that you send
me?" We have seen in the lists of virtues favoured by
Clement that humble-mindedness is necessary for harmony and
peace, and Moses demonstrates this by his attitude. As
faith goes with humble-mindedness (1.2 and 2.1), so faithful-
ness goes with a humble assessment of oneself.
A similar emphasis is seen at 48.5 where Clement speaks about the gate of the Lord, having quoted Psalm 117.19f. To enter this gate, one must be "faithful, able to express knowledge, wise in discerning words, holy in works; for one ought to be humble-minded in proportion as one seems great, and to seek the good of all and not that of oneself." It is interesting to notice here the same emphasis on humble-mindedness with the faithfulness and also the need for this to be expressed in seeking the common good. Faith and works go together, although the method of expression is a little different here.

The adverb πιστῶς occurs once, at 35.5. Clement speaks of endurance and the obtaining of God's promised gifts, then he asks, "How shall this be?" The answer he gives is, "If our mind be fixed faithfully on God, if we seek what is pleasing to Him ..." Again the connection is made between faith and endurance and the doing of God's will.

The sense tends to become more general in the concluding passages of the letter with the adjective as with the noun. We have noticed this tendency in Ignatius especially, at the end of his letters, and it is so also in Clement. So in 62.3 and 63.3 ὁ πιστὸς are simply "believers" in the broad sense. Nevertheless, the rest of the letter has told us what this means - a believer is one who believes and trusts in God's promises, endures, and complements faith with works. Such is Clement's view of the significance of faith.

Section 4: Confidence, Conviction and Trust. πιστῶς, ἡμοῦσις and ἔποιησα.

If a Christian trusts God and His promises, this must lead to a sense of confidence in relation both to God and the truths about Him. This confidence is expressed by Clement in his use of the noun ἡμοῦσις and the verb ἔποιησα.
Four times the noun πεπολογηθης occurs. This word is used by Paul a number of times in his letters, and very probably Clement has been influenced by this. None of the other Apostolic Fathers use it.

At 2.3, Clement urges the Corinthians to stretch out their hands in prayer to God with "godly confidence" (μετ' ἐνσεβοσ πεπολογηθης). Mention has already been made of the way of blessing. 27 In this context, Abraham "did righteousness and truth through faith" (31.2). At 32.3, Isaac "with confidence knowing the future, gladly offered himself as a sacrifice". The reference is to a Jewish tradition that Isaac saw the greatness of his sacrifice as he was being offered and proclaimed his willingness. In this he is seen as a type of Christ. 28

That confidence is a product of faith is shown clearly by two contexts in which πεπολογηθης and πιστευ occur together. At 26.1 following the myth of the Phoenix and the promise of resurrection for believers, Clement makes the statement -

"We think it a great and marvellous thing that the Creator of all things will make resurrection of those who serve Him in holiness in confidence of good faith (ἐν πεπολογηθης πιστευ ἁγαθης)." 29

So belief in the resurrection leads to a sense of confidence. Moreover, faith is one of God's gifts, and as such gives confidence -

"How blessed and marvellous are the gifts of God, beloved. Life in immortality, joyousness in righteousness, truth in boldness, faith in confidence (πιστευ ἐν πεπολογηθης)."

(35.1-2.)
At 42, Clement speaks of the Apostolic succession - Christ has been sent forth from God and the Apostles from Christ - "Wherefore, having received the promises and having been fully convinced (πληρωθεντες) through the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ and having full confidence (πληρωθεντες) in the word of God, and with full conviction (μετὰ πληρωθεντες) of the Holy Spirit, they went out preaching the Gospel ..." (42.3.)

This triad of words expressing conviction makes a strong statement of the Apostles' witness and preaching. Ignatius is fond of πληρωθεντες to express full conviction, but no other of our authors has such a collection as this. Lightfoot notes II Tim.3.14 as an antecedent. Every aspect of the conviction that comes from faith is covered here.

Clement is the only one of our authors to use the causative verb πληρωθεντες, in this case in the passive. The only other occurrence is in a citation at 1 Cl.15.4. The passive use of this verb is common in the Septuagint and New Testament in the sense of being confident, but the Apostolic Fathers do not use it apart from Clement. Ignatius prefers to express the idea by using πληρωθεντες.

The verb πέπολεθα occurs in a citation at 58.1, and again in the context of the prayer at 60.1, of God's kindness to those who trust in Him (χρηστος ἐν τοῖς πεπολεθαι ἔκει σε).

There is one occurrence of the passive use of πληρωθεντες with a retained accusative, at 43.1, of the Apostles entrusted with God's work.
Conclusion

The main emphasis in Clement is on faith as belief and trust in God's promises. These promises relate especially to the resurrection and salvation of the faithful. There is virtually no doctrinal emphasis on faith as belief in certain propositions; there are no "credal" statements. Faith is the motivation for those virtues which will lead to peace and harmony in the Church, and lives of personal holiness for Christians. Faith leads to confidence and full conviction about God and His promises. God Himself is faithful and unable to lie. He is therefore a worthy object of faith.

Most notable is Clement's effort to keep the balance between faith and works. A man is justified by faith as the gift of God; but this faith must be expressed in works. Hospitality is an essential expression of faith, as is doing good in the broad sense.

Clement's attitude to faith is dictated by his pastoral concern for the harmony and unity of the Church. He does not set out like Ignatius to combat heresy; nor does he, like Hermas, see faith as the mother of all the virtues. He is separated from the Jewish interests of Barnabas and the Didache. The intellectual justification of the letter to Diognetus is beyond his scope. He is deeply influenced by Paul and his writings, but seeks to present a balanced view. All these factors go together in his expression of the meaning and significance of faith in his letter to the Corinthians.
CHAPTER SIX

THE MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP; THE PSEUDO-CLEMENINE HOMILY (II CLEMENT); POLYCARP'S LETTERS TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

These three writings complete the body of literature known as the Apostolic Fathers. II Clement is a homily; Polycarp's two letters to the Philippians relate respectively to a request for a copy of Ignatius' letters, and pastoral advice concerning the life of the Church; the Martyrdom of Polycarp is a narrative account of the events surrounding the arrest and death of Polycarp.

Each of these writings has a specific purpose, and therefore the material dealt with is limited. For this reason, and because of their comparative brevity, we cannot expect to build a comprehensive picture of the authors' understanding of faith. πίστις and its cognates do not appear nearly so often as in the other writings we have discussed. Nevertheless the usage of each author has its own interest, even if the scope is limited.

Section 1 - The Martyrdom of Polycarp.

In the Martyrdom of Polycarp there are only two references to be considered. In both cases the adjective πιστός is used, and the reference is to believers who surrounded Polycarp. At 12.3, reference is made to the martyr's vision of his pillow burning: "turning to the faithful who were with him (ἐκπραγμένος τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ πιστοὺς), he said prophetically: I must be burnt alive". At 13.2, the author describes how Polycarp had difficulty undoing his boots, because he did not usually do this for himself, as "always each of the faithful (ἐκαστὸν τῶν πιστῶν) would be in haste to be the first to touch his skin". The reason for the lack
of any other examples of the cognates is that the account is straight narrative of events, with very little theological comment. In this, the Martyrdom of Polycarp differs markedly from the other writings among the Apostolic Fathers. 1

Section 2 - The Pseudo-Clementine Homily, or II Clement.

This work, which is most commonly entitled the Second Letter of Clement to the Corinthians, is not the work of Clement of Rome. It is clearly an address given in the context of a church service.2 It is very valuable as an example of early Christian preaching, and is to be dated towards the middle of the second century, some thirty years or more after I Clement. 3

The homily makes no attempt at a comprehensive covering of Christian doctrine, so of necessity the emphasis on faith is limited by the points covered in the course of the address. The preacher begins by stressing the reality of salvation and the importance of the work of Christ; 4 he passes to belief in the resurrection and especially the hope of believers to share in this. 5 There is a heavy eschatological emphasis, 6 and so far as faith is concerned, it has a strong future reference. The promises of God have an important place in the exhortations, 7 and Christian life is seen as a response to what God has done, and will do for Christians. 8 All this is interspersed with moral exhortation to righteousness and holiness of life according to God's will, and in faithfulness to baptism.

It is interesting to notice that it is the verb πίστευεν which is most frequently used in the homily; it is belief in incarnation, resurrection and God's promises which is the main emphasis of faith here; morality springs from belief. Faith is found once coupled with love, but in no sense is faith shown as the first of the virtues. The adjectival use to describe believers and unbelievers also occurs.
It will be convenient simply to take the contexts in order of occurrence rather than to group them in any way.

The preacher begins in Chapter 1 by stating that we must think of Christ as God and place a high value on salvation. In Chapter 2 the thought moves to the Gentile Church, now more numerous than the Jewish Church -

\[ \text{νῦνὶ δὲ πληθυσματες πλεονες ἐγενόμεθα τῶν δοκοῦντων ἐξελυθεῖν.} \]

"But now we who have believed have become more than those who seem to have God."

(2.3)

The belief here is in the divinity of Christ and the value of salvation, without which, according to Chapter 1, we fall into sin.

Moral exhortation is interspersed throughout the homily. In Chapter 4 there is a list of moral requirements - to love, to exercise mercy, goodness and self-control, to suffer with one another; to avoid adultery, slander, jealousy, and the love of money. Faith is not mentioned along with these, although it is a very similar list of virtues to those found in connection with faith in such passages as Hermas, Mandate 6 and in parts of Ignatius' letters.¹⁰

In Chapter 6, some of these same virtues or prohibitions are linked to baptism, which must be kept pure and undefiled -

\[ \text{ἐὰν μὴ τηρήσωμεν τὸ βάπτισμα ἀγνὸν καὶ ἀμώματον, ποὺς πεπολύσσελε εἰσελευσόμεθα εἰς τὸ βασιλείου τοῦ θεοῦ;} \]

"If we do not keep baptism pure and undefiled, with what confidence shall we enter into the Kingdom of God?"

(6.9)
So confidence, which is closely linked with faith, here springs from a life which is consistent with baptism. Fidelity to baptism is, in this homily, a major motivation to Christian morality, and as such a source of confidence for the future.¹⁰

This future reference is taken up again in Chapter 10, where the preacher speaks of the necessity to look not so much to present enjoyment (ἀπόλαυσις) as to the future promise of God which holds the real delight. In Chapter 11, the hearer is cautioned lest he should fail to serve God due to unbelief in His promise -

ἐὰν δὲ μὴ δουλεύσωμεν διὰ τὸ μὴ πιστεύειν ἡμᾶς τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ταλαίπωροι ἐσόμεθα.

"If we do not serve on account of our unbelief in the promise of God, we shall be wretched." (11.1)

This leads to the quoting of the same passage as in I Clement 23.3f. about the δύσφισμα - the double-minded - being wretched. Thus the double-minded man who doubts is once again set over against the one who believes. Both here and in I Clement, the quote relates to the promise of resurrection.¹¹

In 11.5, following the quote, the preacher exhorts: "And so, my brethren, let us not be double-minded, but hoping, let us endure in order that we may receive the reward".

So the double-minded are set over against those who believe on the one hand, and those who endure on the other. Endurance and faith are often found consciously linked, as they are implicitly here.¹²
This faith in the promise of God, and the rejection of double-mindedness, is possible because God Himself is faithful, as the homily goes on to point out -

πιστὸς γὰρ ἐστιν ὁ ἐπαγγελμένος τὰς ἀντιμισθίας ἀποδίδοναι ἐκάστη τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ.

"For He Who has promised is faithful to give to each the reward of his works."

(11.6)

The faithfulness of God was noticed as a favourite theme in I Clement.

Self-control is of importance to keep the flesh pure. The flesh in Chapter 14 is a type of the Church; both type and reality must be pure, so self-control becomes doubly important. This is no small piece of advice, he says, because if it is taken both preacher and hearer will be saved.

"We have this return to make to God Who created us, if speaker and hearer should speak and hear with faith and love."

(μετὰ πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης).

(15.2)

We have found faith and love frequently coupled together as the basic virtues which regulate the relationship of the Christian with God and man. πίστις is here to be understood particularly as belief in God's promise, as the preacher goes straight on to imply -

"Let us abide, then, in the things in which we have believed, (ἐφ' ὅτι ἐπιστεύσαμεν) righteous and holy ..."

(15.3)
The terms "righteous and holy" (δικαιος καὶ ὁσιος) describe those who fulfil their duty to God and man.13 Thus faith and love are the basis for a righteous and holy life.

The preacher leads on to the urgency of the situation and in Chapter 16 details the signs of the End. It is necessary for the Christian to be consistent -

"let us not merely seem to believe (δοκιμευμεν πιστευων) and pay attention now, while we are being admonished by the Elders."

(17.3)

Belief is here again in the promises of God and in the behaviour which is demanded of the faithful. On the other hand, the unbelievers (οἱ ἀπιστοι) will be amazed on the Last Day when the Lord gathers all in. They will be woeful because they did not believe and were not persuaded by the Elders when they talked about salvation (17.5).

At 19.2, διψυχία, double-mindedness, is related to ἀπιστία - unbelief. These things lead to evil and to the darkening of the mind by futile lusts.

The homily ends by mentioning the common objection that in this life the ungodly seem to prosper, while the faithful apparently are less well off. The preacher concludes -

"Let us therefore believe (πιστευωμεν οὖν), brothers and sisters, for we compete in the contest of the living God and we train ourselves by this life, in order that we may in the future receive the crown."

(20.2)

In this homily, faith is belief in God's promise of resurrection, and has a strong future reference. This last quote sums up what the preacher has been saying in the earlier parts
of his address. Faith began at the outset by being belief in Christ's divinity. Once this assent is given, the importance of Christ's work of salvation can be acknowledged. This faith leads to Christian behaviour which is apparent in a life consistent with baptism, righteous and holy. A strong motivation for this is belief also in the future - in God's promise of resurrection and life after death. For those with faith such as this, the End of the World and the Judgement have no terrors.

The emphasis on belief in the divinity of Christ and His promises, and the eschatological flavour of the address, make the preacher's concept of faith closer to that of Ignatius and the letter to Diognetus than to that of Clement of Rome.

Section 3 - The Letters of Polycarp to the Philippians.

Scholars are generally agreed that we have two letters of Polycarp to the Philippian Church. Section 13 represents the first letter, sent as a covering note with the letters of Ignatius which Polycarp had in his possession, and for which the Philippians had made request. Sections 1-12 are a second letter, mainly of exhortation, and occasioned by the failure of the Presbyter Valens. ¹⁴ This second letter was in all probability sent quite soon after the first. ¹⁵ Thus a date of around 120 A.D. for both letters seems reasonable. This is close to the martyrdom of Ignatius, and yet gives time for Polycarp to have gained the stature which would make this kind of writing appropriate from him. ¹⁶

Polycarp's writing relies heavily on quotations from the New Testament, and although he writes as a pastor and respected Christian leader, his writing is very unoriginal. In this he is in strong contrast to the originality and vitality of Ignatius. It will be sufficient to summarise the contexts in which πολτικος and cognates occur in his letters.
In the first letter, i.e. section 13, Polycarp refers to the letters of Ignatius, attached to his own covering note, and says that the Philippians will derive great benefit from them.

"For they contain faith (πίστευ) and endurance (δομομονήν) and all upbuilding which relates to our Lord Jesus Christ".  

(13.2)

It is interesting to note the coupling of faith and endurance here made explicit as it was implicit in II Clement 11, 1-5.17 The reference here is to Ignatius' understanding of faith as it is to be found in his letters.18

In the second letter, Polycarp refers in 1.2 to the "firm root of your faith", and in 1.3 goes on to say that this continues to bear fruit for Christ. This is followed by the sort of credal statement about Jesus' nature and work noted in Ignatius,19 and concluding "in Whom you believe with joy (εἰς ὅν...... πιστεύετε χαρᾷ):" cf. 1 Pt.1.8. So faith is a commitment to Jesus, Who died and was raised, and belief in these things. We noted the element of commitment attached to πίστευ in Ignatius,20 and it is highly probable that the closeness of noun and verb here indicate the two elements of commitment and belief, the former issuing from the latter. A similar statement about "believing in the one Who raised our Lord Jesus Christ" follows in 2.1. (πιστεύοντες εἰς......): - cf. 1 Pt.1.21.

In 3.2-3 Polycarp refers to the letters of Paul as repositories of "the faith given to you, which is mother of us all, hope following and love towards God and Christ and our neighbour preceding". We have here Paul's triad of faith, hope and love, with faith occupying the central position. It is almost as if Polycarp was altering Paul's emphasis.21 We may compare I Cor.12-14, and I Eph.14.1 where faith leads and love follows, but hope is not mentioned.
The "faith delivered to them" is mentioned again in 4.2 in relation to wives, and coupled there with love and purity. It is interesting to note the use of ἡ πίστις in these two cases to refer to what is enshrined in Paul's letters. What is in view here is Paul's whole doctrinal and ethical teaching. We have not here reached the technical usage of the Apologists where ἡ πίστις refers to a body of doctrine, but the usage is a logical development from what is found here.22

The object of faith is Jesus Christ. In 4.3, the widows are to show moderation concerning their faith in the Lord (περὶ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου πίστιν). At 5.2 the life of the deacons is under discussion. The exhortation ends "if we believe we will also reign with Him" - a reminiscence of II Tim. 2.12.

The link between faith and endurance is raised again at 8.2, where Jesus' example of endurance is to be imitated, because "we have believed this". Belief in Jesus demands imitation. Imitation was also urged by Ignatius.23 We may also compare I Peter 4.16 and I Clement.24

Finally, Ignatius and his fellow martyrs are referred to in 9, and in 9.2; they are said to have "run not in vain, but in faith and righteousness ..." This is the faith of the martyrs, that commitment even to death which Ignatius also speaks about.25 The righteousness of the martyrs is guaranteed also by their death.

Not surprisingly, Polycarp shows that he has been influenced by Ignatius in his view of faith. He too had to face the docetists (as sections 7 & 8.1 show), so faith had to be firmly rooted in right belief. But faith was also commitment, linked with endurance and issuing in Christian behaviour. The letters of Paul show their influence too on Polycarp's view of faith. A new development is the use of ἡ πίστις to describe the doctrinal and ethical teaching enshrined in Paul's epistles.
These three works considered in this chapter tend to support and illustrate the emphases and meanings attached to ποστίς and cognates in the other writings we have considered. This provides useful confirmation, even though they are individually too restricted in scope to provide much new material.
CHAPTER SEVEN.
GENERAL CONCLUSION.

In the Historical Survey, Introduction pp.vii - xxx, the development of the technical language of faith as it is found in the New Testament was traced from Homer onwards. It remains now to summarise the manner in which the Apostolic Fathers have used this language. It will be convenient to follow the same manner of treatment as in the Historical Survey, and especially that part which relates to the New Testament on pp.xxv - xxx.

πέποιθα occurs only five times in the Apostolic Fathers, and as in the earlier literature considered, it continues in its meaning of trust, confidence. It is constructed once with ἐπὶ and dative (R.9.4); three times with ἐπὶ and accusative (H.Sim.9.18.5; H.Man.9.5; 1 Cl.60.1); once with the plain dative (Diog. 1.1). Besides these occurrences there are two citations from the Septuagint.

In the Septuagint πέποιθα is much more common than πιστεύω (p.xvii); in the New Testament πιστεύω takes over the expression of trust and confidence as well as its basic sense of belief, and far exceeds the use of πέποιθα (p.xxv); in the Apostolic Fathers this process has gone a stage further, and πέποιθα has almost disappeared from use.

The verb πιστεύω has, as in the New Testament, the double significance of trust and belief. It can be used in a non-theological context, as in I.Ro.8, where Ignatius urges the Romans πιστεύσατε μοι - "believe me", in respect of what he says to them about not interfering with his martyrdom.

On the other hand, the verb can indicate theological assent, as at I.Phld. 8 - πιστεύω τῇ χάριτι... - "I believe in the grace (of our Lord Jesus Christ)". This context also shows how the two senses of belief and trust are combined in the verb, because Ignatius not only believes but also trusts in the grace.
The verb is constructed with the plain dative as in the above examples. It is found with ἐπὶ and accusative (e.g. 1 Cl. 12.7); and with ἐπὶ and dative (e.g. 1 Cl. 34.1, 2 Cl. 15.3, H. Sim. 9.17.4, but in none of the other authors in this construction). Ignatius uses the verb with ἐν and dative once (I. Phld. 8), and there seems no discernible difference between this and the plain dative used in the same section.

Ignatius constructs the verb with εἰς and accusative, and one example of this (I. Mag. 10.3) was quoted in the Historical Survey, p. xxvii, to illustrate the way in which this construction conveys the idea of conversion.

Ignatius never constructs πιστεύω with a ὅτι clause, but shows a marked preference for the more relational sense conveyed by the prepositional phrase. In such an expression as occurs at I. Tr. 2.1 - πιστεύσαντες εἰς τὸν σάνταν αὐτοῦ - "believing in His death", Ignatius is concerned to express belief not only in the fact of Jesus' death, but reliance on that fact in relation to believers. Ignatius' own situation and his personal concern for the Church have affected his form of expression.
The use of a ὅτι clause on πιστεῦω is common in Hermas, and occurs also in Barnabas, as the contexts in the relevant sections show. The construction can express belief in a non-theological context (as at H.Sim.5.1.5); or it can make a doctrinal or credal statement (as at B.12.7 and 7.2, H.Man.1.1). The ὅτι clause is one of the "reported speech" constructions (cf. Historical Survey pp xv, xxviii). In addition these are represented by πιστεῦω followed by an accusative and infinitive (I.Ro.10.2 - non-theological, and cf. I.Ro.8 quoted above, p.198); and by an accusative and participle (I.Sm.3.1).

The transitive use in the passive is common enough in the corpus in the sense of "entrusted", and is found as in the New Testament with the retained accusative (e.g. I.Mag.6.1, Diog.7.1 & 2).

The articular infinitive is found as an abstract noun (at I.Mag.9.1), and in a temporal clause (B.16.7) and a causal clause (2 Cl.11.1). The participle (perfect or aorist) is used in the same sense as the adjective to mean "believers" (H.Vis.3.6.4, 2 Cl.2.3). The verb is used absolutely several times - e.g. I.Sm.3.2 ἔφαντο καὶ ἐπίστευσαν - "they touched him and believed". (cf. also for this absolute use B.11.11, 13.7, 3.6, Didache 12.7, 1 Cl.42.4, 2 Cl.17.3, Polycarp 5.2). The number of examples of this absolute use reflects also the New Testament abundance (cf. Introduction p. xxvi). However care needs to be exercised in this area, as although the object is not
expressed, it can always be inferred from the context. Perhaps the closest to a strict absolute use would be a phrase such as B.13.7, where God's promises to Abraham are in question, and he is referred to as μόνος πιστεύων - "alone having believed". However even in this case a further reference in the next sentence to him as πατέρα ἐθνῶν τῶν πιστευόντων.......τῷ θεῷ - "father of the nations who believed in God...." suggests that τῷ θεῷ can be understood in the first instance as well. The same characteristic was also noticed for the New Testament(p.xxvi).

The noun πίστις can have the sense both of trust / confidence and of belief. In the New Testament it was noted that there was a tendency for the noun to express the more emotive trust aspect of faith while the verb tended to express the more intellectual idea of belief (see Historical Survey p.xxviii). It would not be possible to make such a distinction for the usage of the Apostolic Fathers. Thus the contexts quoted in Chapter 1, Section 2, pp.19-51 on the doctrinal aspects of faith demonstrate that in Ignatius there is really no difference between noun and verb when it comes to expressing right belief. Other contexts indicate the same phenomenon in other authors - e.g. H.Man.9.7 (p 121); Diog.10.1 (p.166). The growth of the idea of faith as a virtue may have contributed to this process, as in many of the "virtuous" contexts it is difficult to distinguish between trust and belief in the use of πίστις - e.g. B.1.4, p.146, where faith, love and "hope of His life" are connected, and the combination of ethics and eschatology obscures the distinction between trust and belief; or H.Vis.3.6.5, p.115, where the combination of faith, riches and apostasy suggests an admixture of ethical and doctrinal rejection, and apostasy involves a denial not only of commitment but also of belief.

It is useful to set beside this a context with πιστεύω where the verb is shown to mean both trust and belief - H.Man.1.1, p.122. - In this context there are two occurrences of the verb; the first is doctrinal and constructed with a ὅτι
clause; the second, constructed with the dative is connected with fear and must of necessity contain an emotive trust / commitment element which leads to self-control.

These examples with both noun and verb illustrate the "levelling" that has occurred in their usage since New Testament times. So not only has πίστις taken over the trust aspect from πίστις, but it has done the same thing in relation to the noun; on the other hand the noun has taken over the belief aspect of the verb. This levelling means that the emotive / intellectual distinction between noun and verb is no longer present.

The noun πίστις is constructed with ἐν and dative and εἰς and accusative, and there seems no real difference between the two.

Most commonly the noun is constructed with an objective genitive, or a possessive genitive. In many cases the object is to be supplied from the context. These aspects are fully treated in the main body of this thesis. ἡ πίστις can also be used as a proper noun, as at I.Sm.10.2 where Jesus is described as ἡ τελεία πίστις - "the Perfect Faithfulness". A similar personification of faith, as a virtue, is found in H.Vis.3.8.3,487; H.Sim.9.15.2. This is not a New Testament sense.

The phrase ἐν πίστει occurs several times, both with object to be understood (I.Cl.60.4) or with object expressed (I.Mag.6.1).

The article appears with πίστις when there is a possessive idea implied (e.g. H.Vis.3.5.4.) or expressed (I.Eph.13.1). Its presence can also make a specific reference back to a preceding statement, or to some particular aspect of faith, and this has been dealt with in context (e.g. H.Sim.8.9.1 and the comments on p.124). The article is also present when faith is qualified by an adjective or adjectival phrase - e.g. H.Man.9.10 - ἐνδυσάμενος τὴν πίστιν τὴν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ δυνατὴν - "putting on faith, strong and powerful". The omission of the article makes the statement general, as at I.Mag.6.1. It has been noted that the concrete
sense of ἡ πίστις as "the Faith" is foreshadowed in the contexts mentioned in Diognetus and Polycarp (see pp.166 and pp.195f.)

The causative verb πιστῶ is used once only (and once in a citation), and this is dealt with on p.186 together with the noun πεποιθήσεις. The adjective πιστός is used in its sense of faithful; in the plural it can signify "believers" as a group (e.g. I.Eph. 21).

Each of the Apostolic Fathers has his own style, as well as his own particular situation and emphasis. Ignatius' style is lively and full of vivid and picturesque language; that of Clement is more mundane; that of Hermas is verbose and repetitive. The Unknown Author of the Diognetus is an intellectual who writes polished Hellenistic Greek in defence of his Christian faith. Barnabas and the Diadache are Jewish in style and flavour. These factors give rise to a wide variety of linguistic usage within the Apostolic Fathers, and it is impossible to speak of any one style or usage as typical of all.

The diverse background and situation of these writers means that within the corpus we have encountered many different aspects of faith. It is commitment to Christ, if necessary even to the point of martyrdom; it is belief in the person and work of Jesus, and in His promises. It is trust in the reliability of God Himself. In these aspects there is a close connection with the New Testament, both in the sense of belief in Jesus and the Gospel, and the confidence and trust reflected in those parts of the New Testament where the fact of persecution is in the writer's mind (e.g. 1 Peter and Hebrews).

But the Apostolic Fathers go further than the New Testament, and their situation makes new demands on their expression of faith. The problem of apostasy looms large, and especially
the burning question of what to do with apostate Christians who later wish to be reinstated. In this context Hermas recognises grades of faith. Heresy too is a pressing problem, and this leads to a more detailed statement of belief than in the New Testament, and to the further development of the "credal" statements. The aspect of faith as right belief is one of Ignatius' special contributions; the letter to Diognetus is also concerned with faith in this regard.

The New Testament tells us that Christians are to be known by their fruits (Matt. 7.16), and ethics occupies much of the attention of the New Testament writers. However, the Apostolic Fathers develop the connection of faith with the virtues to the extent that it becomes the chief virtue. They have to face the particular problem of the damage done to the Church by the behaviour of heretics, and it becomes necessary to detail Christian behaviour to a greater extent than in the New Testament. The more developed ecclesiastical organisation is evident in Ignatius, where unity under the Bishop finds close connection with faith in his letters. This more developed ecclesiastical situation is apparent in all the writers though - e.g. in the instructions and prayers of 1 Clement and the Didache; in the apostasy problem in Hermas; in the corporate nature of doctrinal and ethical responsibility reflected in Diognetus and the developed typology of Barnabas.

The greater emphasis on faith as a virtue has affected the method of expression, as illustrated above (p. 201). This emphasis may also explain the lack of reference in the Apostolic Fathers to the New Testament doctrine of justification by faith.
Finally, faith becomes a general term for religion, and an umbrella designation for Christian attitude, belief and behaviour. Thus there is a broadening beyond the New Testament expression and application of the cognates demanded and occasioned by the later situation of the Apostolic Fathers and the more developed ecclesiastical organisation.
APPENDIX I.

IGNATIUS' USE OF δίκαιος AND COGNATES

Ignatius uses δίκαιος and its cognates sparingly. In his letters they are general words to describe Christian behaviour on the one hand, and the right relationship between God and man which that behaviour makes possible.

I Eph. 1.1 speaks of the Ephesians as "having received in God your much-loved name, δέ κέκτησεν θεόν δίκαιον κατὰ πίστιν καὶ ἀγάπην ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ - "which you have obtained by (your) righteous nature in accordance with faith and love".

The connection of the righteous nature with faith and love is to be noted - two other basic and general words which express the foundation of Christian ethics. The relationship of the righteous man with regard to God is based on faith; with regard to his fellow men it is based on love. Ignatius here recognises the righteous nature of the Ephesians as being manifested in these two directions.

There is no other occurrence of the phrase φήσις δίκαια in Ignatius, but the clear New Testament connections in other contexts where Ignatius uses these cognates suggest the meaning "a nature in a right relation with God and man". (For the New Testament meaning of δίκαιος and its cognates, see the full note in Burton, I.C.C. on Galatians, p.460ff.)

The coupling of δίκαιος with ἀγάπη is an addition to the New Testament usage. In the New Testament the connection with πίστις is consistently made - e.g. Romans 1.17 - but there is no example to parallel the coupling with ἀγάπη as well. This nevertheless marks a logical development of the New Testament usage, and is consistent with the emphasis
on the love of neighbour found in all the Apostolic Fathers (e.g. Diog.5 and 10; Didache 1.2ff., in addition to the constant references to faith and love in Ignatius' letters.)

The only other occurrence of δίκαιος in Ignatius is in a citation from Proverbs 18.17 quoted at I. Mag. 12.1 - δαν ἐπανὼ θμᾶς, ἤδε δὲ ἐκτρέπεσθε, ὡς γέγραπται, ὡτὶ δ ἡ δίκαιος ἑαυτὸν κατήγορος "when I praise you, I know that you feel a sense of shame, as it is written, the righteous is his own accuser". Ignatius, as always in his letters, has made a humble assessment of himself - although he is bound, in comparison with one of the Magnesians who is free, he is nothing (12.1). He goes on to assert that the Magnesians are themselves not puffed up, and it is in this context that he quotes the righteous man as being his own accuser, i.e. he is one who recognises his own unworthiness before God. Ignatius certainly recognised this in his own case - so the description of himself as μερίσμα (I. Eph. 8.1; 18.1), and his claim to be far from perfect and wishing to attain to discipleship and to God by martyrdom (I. Eph. 3.1). He also taught the need for humility (I. Eph. 10.2). Thus, too, if righteousness is an all-embracing term, then humility will certainly be an attribute of the δίκαιος.

However, in the Septuagint δίκαιος always has the connotation of "obedient to God's Law", and this sense will also be present to the mind of Ignatius in quoting the Old Testament, even though he does not make the connection explicit here.

There are no other occurrences of δίκαιος in Ignatius, but δίκαιοσύνη is found once, in a citation this time from the New Testament - Matthew 3.15. In I. Sm. 1.1 he speaks of Jesus and the facts of His birth and lineage in what amounts to the formulations of a primitive creed (see p. 43ff.). This list ends with the statement that Jesus was baptised Ἰησοῦς πεπληρωθῆς πάσα δίκαιοσύνη ἵπταν αὐτοῦ - quoting in the passive form the words of Jesus at His baptism. Here
δικαίωση is the expression of Jesus' total life of obedience to His Father and His total identification with men. But it seems likely that familiarity with the Gospel of Matthew and the mention of the baptism may have prompted Ignatius to quote these words as belonging to and completing the statement about Jesus' baptism.

In I.Phld.8.2 the Pauline sense of δικαίωμα predominates. Ignatius desires, through the prayers of the Philadelphians, to be justified by the cross, death and resurrection of Jesus and the faith which is through Him. Here δικαίωση must mean "to be set in a right relation to God", and the connection with faith, the basis of that relationship, supports this - cf. Ro.1.17. It is by faith, and the forgiveness and new life wrought by the death and resurrection of Jesus that Ignatius desires to be brought into a right relationship with God.

I_Ro.5.1 quotes I_Cor.4.4. Ignatius speaks of himself as bound to 'ten leopards', the soldiers who are his escort to Rome and who mistreat him on the way. This is all part of his becoming a disciple, ἀλλ' οὗ παρὰ τῷ τοῦτο δικαίωμα - "But not on this account am I justified". His sufferings are part of his discipleship, but in themselves they cannot justify him before God. Only faith in Jesus, His death and resurrection, can do this. (Compare also what is said above on I.Phld.8.2)

The original context of Paul's remark is his acknowledgement that he is not justified merely on the basis of his own conscience being clear. However, Ignatius takes the quotation out of context and applies it not to his conscience but to his sufferings.

The sense in which Ignatius understands δικαίωμα is also different from Paul here. Robertson and Plummer (I.C.C. I_Cor.p.77) say that Paul is not here using the technical,
theological sense of the verb, but the general sense of "acquitted", for the passage "deals not with the question as to how man is justified in God's sight, but with the question as to who is competent to sit in judgement on a man's work or life". However, it is difficult to be too hard and fast with a word which is so central to Paul's thought, for the technical, theological sense can never be far from his mind, as Barrett (Commentary on St John, p.102) shows. Similarly in Ignatius, the technical, theological sense gives the best understanding of the quotation.

Note that Ignatius changes Paul's ἐν τούτῳ λέγεται παρὰ τούτῳ "without change of meaning" (so Robertson and Plummer). This is supported by AG sv παρὰ 111.5 - the causal sense, where this passage is quoted.

There are two occurrences of the adverb δικαίως in Ignatius. The first, I. Mag. 9.2 - ἐν δικαίως ἁμένων - of the prophets who, being disciples, awaited Jesus as their teacher, has the sense of "uprightness" (so AG), and Camelot (p.89) translates "dans la justice". The reference must be to the upright behaviour of the prophets. In the Old Testament sense this would be a life lived in accordance with the precepts and commandments of God.

The second occurrence is I. Eph. 15.3 - ἐκ δικαίως ἁμαρταίων αὐτῶν - i.e. we love God on the basis of His indwelling within us, from which springs our righteous actions - those based on our relationship of love for God, and right in His sight.

These contexts demonstrate that for Ignatius the cognates have the double sense of right behaviour and right relationship between God and man. The two sides are closely connected, one being impossible without the other. It is consistent with the heavy emphasis on behaviour and its importance at this period when Ignatius and the other Apostolic Fathers were writing, that the connection with love as well as the New Testament connection with faith is made. There is a shift of emphasis from New Testament times towards the behavioural sense in the case of δικαίως and cognates, just as becomes apparent in the case of πρᾶπτος and its cognates.
APPENDIX II.
A GUIDE TO THE ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

1. "THE WRITINGS OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS".
   Translated by Dr. Roberts, Dr. Donaldson and F. Crombie
   Edinburgh 1887.

This is volume 1 of the series entitled the Ante-Nicene
Christian Literature (A.N.C.L.). It contains an English
translation of all the authors considered to come under the
title Apostolic Fathers, including both the Short and Long
Recensions of the Epistles of Ignatius and the Fragments of
Papias, but excluding the Didache. The translators claim they
have "for the most part leaned toward a literal exactness; and
wherever any considerable departure has been made, a verbatim
rendering has been given at the foot of the page". Some notes
have also been provided to assist understanding, and an
Introductory Notice is prefixed to each author's work.

This is a very well set-out and careful piece of work. The
Short and Long Recensions of Ignatius' Epistles are set out in
parallel columns, and throughout care has been taken to
elucidate the text and help the reader who has little or
no Greek. In fact, the editors claim that one of their aims
has been to put the English reader on an equal footing with
those who read the original language, as far as that is
possible.

This first volume in the series is now very old, and the
English itself is archaic to the present day reader. Also
much work has been done on the Greek texts themselves
since this volume was published. However this is still a
useful and valuable contribution to Patristic scholarship,
despite the absence of the Didache, which had itself only
just been published (in 1883) prior to publication of this
translation. The literal renderings and aim of the translators
as stated above can still be of assistance in translating
some of the more obscure passages faced by the student of the
Apostolic Fathers.
2. "THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS".

This is a very complete work, comprising a historical and critical introduction to each author's work, followed by the Greek text, followed by the translation. Notes on textual variants are given, and reasons for emendations to the text where these have been made. The texts used are those of Lightfoot in his three volume work on the Apostolic Fathers (see Bibliography), or prepared by him for this separate volume, or those prepared with the aid of Lightfoot's notes by Harmer after the former's death.

This work has proved to be the basic tool of all the later commentators, writers or translators to the present day. While age has rendered some of the English out-of-date, the translation remains most useful and reliable. The Greek text has been improved in recent years, and some of Lightfoot's renderings are no longer accepted. But these are facts rather than criticisms, and the translation will often be found to elucidate a difficult or obscure passage.


This is volume 1 in The Library of Christian Classics (L.C.C.). From the corpus known as the Apostolic Fathers it provides a translation of 1 and 2 Clement, the Didache, the so-called "Middle Recension" of Ignatius' letters; the Letter of Polycarp to the Philippians; the Martyrdom of Polycarp; and the letter to Diognetus. The Letter of Barnabas, and the Shepherd of Hermas are omitted, presumably because they are considered by the editors to be of less "worth and interest" than the other writings, as the General Editors' Preface
to the series would suggest. This volume provides an introduction to each work, together with useful information about the Greek text in each case, and other editions available. There are also useful footnotes provided for elucidation throughout.

This proved to be the least helpful of all the available English translations. There is no attempt, as in the case of A.N.C.L., to "lean toward literalness", and this leads to some doubtful renderings as will be shown in the body of this thesis. The absence of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas also deprives the English reader of two important parts of the literature of the second century Church.


This is a very polished translation of the entire corpus of the works designated as the Apostolic Fathers. The translation has no particular bias, and the translator makes no special claims in his introduction. There is a short general introduction giving very basic information about the corpus and the text used - the Funk-Bihlmeyer edition, Tübingen, 1924, except for the Shepherd of Hermas where the Loeb text is used.

There is a brief introduction to each work, and this is followed by the translation. No notes or comments are provided; the translation stands on its own merits.

This proved to be the most helpful and useful translation available. It is accurate and readable, set out in clearly marked divisions, and has the great virtue of translating the whole corpus.
5. "THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS".
Greek text with English translation by Kirsopp Lake, two volumes, Harvard 1912.

This is the Loeb Classical Library edition. Volume 1 contains 1 and 2 Clement, Ignatius (the "Short Re-cension"), Polycarp, Didache and Barnabas. Volume 2 contains The Shepherd of Hermas, the Martyrdom of Polycarp, and the Epistle to Diognetus.

Lake's translation may best be described as conservative. It sticks closely to the Greek text, and a glance at the Greek on the opposite page makes it easy to see how he gets to the English. The Loeb editions are always most useful, and by far the most convenient aid available.

Lake's text has been superseded in many places, and the Sources Chrétienues editions provide a better and more up-to-date text. Nevertheless the differences are not so great as to spoil Lake's usefulness.

A short general Introduction is provided in volume 1. There is a thorough historical and textual introduction to each author. Footnotes are provided which elucidate the more difficult problems of text and translation.

6. "EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITINGS - THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS".

This work contains 1 Clement, the Ignatian Epistles, Polycarp, the Martyrdom of Polycarp, Diognetus, Barnabas and the Didache. 2 Clement and the Shepherd of Hermas are omitted.

The translation is based on Kirsopp Lake's text in the Loeb edition, although when it has suited the translator he has departed from it in favour of an alternative. A minimum of notes is provided in the text, and a short introduction to each author appears at the beginning of each section.
The translation might be described as "modern" and the style is conversational.

This is a subjective work, and just as 'poetic licence' has determined the choice of text, according to the Translator's Note, so also subjective preference rather than accuracy is the main criterion of the translation.

The Absence of the Shepherd of Hermas and 2 Clement together with the limitations imposed by such a subjective approach, make the translation of very limited use to the serious student, although it may serve to popularise the works.

In summary, both Lake and Goodspeed provide accessible and reliable translations. Of the older works, that of Lightfoot and Harmer has proved an enduring and important contribution to Patristic Scholarship, and it remains required reading for all serious students. The other older translation A.N.C.L. is more limited in the help it offers today. Staniforth, the most recent translator, is popular rather than scholarly in approach. The L.C.C. translation is a disappointment.

Taken as a whole, the Apostolic Fathers have been well served by translators in the last century, and as a result the English reader has ready access to these documents.
NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE - IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH.

Introduction

1. On the question of date see Camelot, p.13. I have followed the most widely accepted view here of the date and authenticity of the Ignatian epistles. Alternative views are advanced and discussed by R. Joly in Le Dossier D'Ignace D'Antioche, especially Chs.9 and 10. These questions do not affect what is said here in relation to κόσμης and its cognates as they are presented in this thesis.

2. I.Phld. 10.1; I.Sm.11.2; I.Po1.8.1.
3. Pol.1.1; 9.1; 13.2.
4. I.Phld. 7.1.
5. I.Eph.1 and 2; I.Mag.15; I.Tr.13; I.Ro 9 and 10.
6. I.Phld. 11.2; I.Sm.13.2.
7. I.Po1.8.
8. I.Tr.5; I.Phld. 5.
10. See esp. I.Ro.3 and 4.
11. Cf. Ro.2.8; II Cor.12.17; Ro.8.3. "Paul allows himself to be drawn along on the wings of his thought in sharp bursts, resulting in parentheses and discords ..." - Nigel Turner in J.H. Moulton, A Grammar of New Testament Greek, Vol.4, p.86.

Section 1 - Faith as the Standard

1. Intransitive use - A.G. s.v. 2.
2. It is interesting to note two other uses of κατά in this same section - the adjectival use (A.G.II.7), where Burroughs is called the "godly deacon" (τὸ κατὰ θεόν διάκονον); and later the stock phrase κατὰ πάντα = "in all things". The adjectival use is further illustrated at I.Mag.1.1 in the phrase τὸ πολυεὐτάκτων τῆς κατὰ θεόν ἀγάπης - a phrase which is very variously taken by translators. Lft comments that this is a favourite expression with Ignatius in various connotations; he translates "in the way of God" for the κατά phrase. Lake has "knowing the great orderliness of your love toward God" which makes poor sense; Camelot has "votre charité est parfaitement adorée selon Dieu" which is possible; but A.N.C.L., L.C.C. and Goodspeed all take the κατά phrase adjectivally - "godly love". This makes the best sense and is in accord with Ignatius' usage as illustrated at I.Eph.2.1.
3. Liébaert, op.cit., p.58 ad init.
4. See L & S s.v.

5. See Lampe s.v.


7. See below, p. 25f.


10. Camelot, p. 57, n. 3.

11. Llft, op.cit., p. 28.

12. I. Tr. 8.

13. I. Jn 4.8

14. See Lampe s.v. For a discussion of 1 Cl 27.3, see p. 182.


16. See I. Ro. 7.2; I. Tr. 8.


19. In I. Ro. Inscr. the Church at Rome is described as ἀξιόλογος ἀξιοπρεπής, ἀξιομακάριστος, ἀξιέπαλνος, ἀξιοπεπτευκτος, ἀξιόδανυς.

20. Camelot, p. 107, n. 3.

21. O. Perler, art.cit. (see Bibliography)

22. O. Perler, art.cit., p. 417. Additional evidence cited by Perler for the retention of πίστιν is the unusual separation of the two phrases; the essential combination of faith and love; the parallel at I Sm. Inscr. ἐλεημόρφη ... πεπληρωμένη ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπη. Perler comments that "in each letter the idea of faith and love was varied" by these parallel and expanded statements.

23. O. Perler, art.cit., p. 418.

23a. It would be possible to place a comma after ἀγάπην and to take the genitive Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in apposition to τοῦ Θεοπάντου, and so to translate - "to the Church beloved and enlightened in the will of Him Who has willed all things, namely Jesus Christ our God, in accordance with faith and love...."

However this would make the chiasmus less striking in its reference; it is the objective relating of the faith and love to God that answers to His love and enlightenment for the Roman Church.
In addition, none of the Greek texts adopt this punctuation; neither do any of the English translations. Lake, ANCL and Staniforth adopt a text which omits πίστιν καὶ and translate respectively 'love of Jesus Christ' (Lake, ANCL.) and 'love to Jesus Christ' (Staniforth) Goodspeed has 'in faith and in love of Jesus Christ our God'. LCC has the objective 'by virtue of your believing in Jesus Christ, our God, and of loving him'. Camelot also follows the objective sense - 'selon sa foi et son amour pour Jésus - Christ notre Dieu'. Thus the weight of evidence suggests that most scholars prefer to overcome the difficulty of translating this phrase by amending the text by omission of πίστιν καὶ or by taking Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ as dependent on the phrase πίστιν καὶ ἀγάπην. The fondness of Ignatius for a dependent genitive would suggest that this latter course is to be preferred to taking the genitive in apposition to τὸ Θελήματος. The length of the separation between the genitives is also against this.

25. See esp. I. Ro. 4.
26. I. Ro. 1.2.
27. I. Ro. 3.1.
28. I. Ro. 6.3.
29. Cf. I. Tr. 8.
30. For the use of πίστις to convey the trust aspect of faith in Ignatius' thought, see section 5.
31. I. Ro. 2.2, 4.3, 6.1.
32. Th. Preiss, art.cit. (see Bibliography)
33. Phil. 1.22ff.
34. Ro. 6.
36. I. Ro. 2.2.
37. Ibid, 4.2.
38. Ibid, 5.
Section 2 - Faith as True Belief Over Against Docetism.

1. I. Sm. 4. 2.
2. I. Eph. 7.
3. See Introduction to Ignatius.
5. P. J. Donahue, art. cit. (see Bibliography).
7. See A. G. s. v. κατά II 5 a 2.
8. See Ltf. I ad loc. and A. G. s. v. ἀγνός τις 2 b. This is supported by the use of περίφημα as a title for himself in the same context. The word contains within it the idea of expiation as well as that of humility. See also Camelot, ad loc. Note that by Hellenistic times the word is common as a term of humble politeness. The expiatory idea is again expressed in connection with the cross in 18. 1.
9. See p. 100ff.
10. Cf. note 7 above.
11. See E. Osborne, art. cit. from Prudentia (see Bibliography), p. 11. Cf. also the same idea at I. Eph. 14. 2 where faith is again part of the context, and the comments in this thesis, p. 58ff.
13. The connection with the Corinthian correspondence is further shown by the clear references in I. Eph 18.
14. Cf. Ltf. i ad loc., for a similar view.
15. W. F. Richardson, art. cit. (see Bibliography), p. 23ff.
16. Ibid., p. 22f.
17. See especially the chapter on Hermas, pp. 107-127.
20. See p. 17.
22. Ibid., p. 51.
23. Camelot, p. 91.
24. We have already noted in connection with the discussion of I. Mag. 10.1 on p. 7 that this section provides the first occurrence of the term 'Χριστιανισμός' - Christianity. In I. Mag. 10.3 under discussion here it is set over against 'Σουδατισμός'. Camelot, in n. 3, p. 89 remarks that this latter term was current at least since the Maccabean period. See also the note in E. D. Burton: Galatians, I.C.C. p. 44 - in the New Testament the term occurs only at Gal. 1.13f.


26. On the significance of the silence of God see Camelot p. 86, n. 4. Also Chadwick, art. cit. (see Bibliography) passim.

27. See Funk 398, where the construction is defined as "especially characteristic of the Ptolemaic papyri, but well attested at the lower levels of the language".

28. See p. 100ff.


30. Ltft, p. 130.


33. Rev. 3.14ff and see especially Caird, op. cit. ad loc (see Bibliography).

34. I. Tr. 4.2.

35. See A. G. s. v. 'Χριστός' 1.

36. See Camelot, p. 94, n. 2. in which he agrees with the article by Schoedel, which he quotes there.

37. On this use of 'κατά', cf. p. 5ff. above.

38. On the articular infinitive see p. 27ff. and cf. n. 33 above.

39. This is made clear in 3.1 where the Bishop is described as τὸ θεον τοῦ πατρός "type of the Father".


42. Ltft, p. 169.

43. So Lampe s. v. ἄναξαμβάνω IIIc.


46. Cf. I Ro. 7.2 for a similar expression which is interpreted in the same way. Torrance, op. cit. (see Bibliography), misses this point in his comments on p. 65. His interpretation assumes a too subtle thought pattern for Ignatius.
47. Moulton & Milligan, Vocab. s.v. πράματα εἰς.
48. So Lttf, ad loc.
49. ἀληθός - "the watchword against docetism" - Lttf.
50. Camelot, p.100, n.4.
51. Lttf, p.173.
52. The translation of this phrase is difficult. It seems best to take τὸ δοξεῖν as adverbial accusative in the first instance. The same phrase occurs at I Sm.2; Camelot translates "qu'il n'ait souffert qu'en apparence: eux mêmes n'existent qu'en apparence". Haste and strong feeling may have caused some inconsistency in grammar here.
53. See Lttf, p.173 for a summary of the different emphases in the different epistles of Ignatius.
54. So Lampe s.v. ἔκδρομος. A.G. s.v. adds that the word is a coinage of Ignatius on the basis of such passages as Gal.5.7; I Cor.9.24-26; II Tim.4.7. The word occurs again at I.Pol.7.2.
55. See A.G. s.v. ἔκχω 3.
56. I have taken the ἦνα clause here as the contents of the prayer. A parallel for this may be found at I.Phld. 6.3; cf. the New Testament, Eph.1.17; I Cor.14.13. The participial clause then defines the reason why the prayer should be successful - he will attain because the Gospel of the reality of Christ is his refuge.
58. See the long discussion in Lttf, p.260ff.
59. See the discussion on p.33ff and the references there.
60. Cf. I Pt. 3.19, 4.6; I Mag.9; Lttf, p.131 and the other references there.
61. See A.G. s.v. χρυσοπράσινα.
62. Torrance, op.cit., p.84f.
63. So Camelot, p.127f., n.3; also Lttf, p.271 who refutes other views there.
64. Cf. Ro.1.47 and Eph.2.8f. See Appendix, p.206ff.
66. See section 7, p.93ff.
67. S.c. οὐκεῖν.
68. See Lttf on I.Eph.10, p.60.
69. Cf. I.Tr.8.
70. Liébaert, op.cit., p.49 ad fin. Cf. I.Mag.5.2.
71. See section 5 on Faith as Full Conviction.
72. Camelot, p.133.
73. Lake, op.cit., p.253 and n.1.
74. Lftt, p.291.
75. Contrast this reflexive with the New Testament usage where the passive forms are used of the resurrection, presenting it as an act of God in Christ, Who "was raised".
76. Camelot, p.134, n.2 - and see the other references there.
77. Th. Preiss, art.cit.
79. On the evidence, see Camelot, p.134, n.3.
81. ἃ δόξα τῶν ἀγγέλων. This either reflects the Hebrew construct, or more probably it is an inversion, as here translated. See Funke 165.
82. Cf. I.Tr.8.
83. Virginia Corwin, op.cit., p.209f.
84. On the exegesis of Jn 20, and especially the punctuation of vv.30ff. see Barrett's commentary, p.477. (See Bibliography)
85. H. Vis. 3.8.5.
86. James 2.18ff.

Section 3 - Faith in its Place Among the Virtues.

1. Cf. 1 Pt.2.11 f.
2. T.K. Abbott, Ephesians and Colossians, I.C.C. p.227. (See Bibliography)
3. Robertson & Plummer, I Corinthians, I.C.C., p.379. (See Bibliography)
5. M.R. Vincent, Philippians & Philemon, I.C.C., p.133. (See Bibliography)
7. Moulton & Mulligan, Vocab. s.v. ἐπιεύχεια. See also L & S s.v. ἐπιεύχεια and ἐπιεύχεια. Cf. also the comments on Clement's use of the words in Ch.5.
9. On this passage, and especially on the sense in which Ignatius uses these virtuous terms, see Liébaert, op.cit., p.59, n.7.
10. See Torrance, op.cit., p.56 where he states that Ignatius is "often very vague and at times hardly consistent". The same reasons may be advanced to account for this.

11. H.Vis.3.8.3. Note that on p.65 Torrance states that "faith evidently takes its beginning at baptism or the birth of the Christian life ..." He quotes this passage from Hermas and also H.Sim.9.15; also I.Eph.14 et al. However, I find no evidence that this is so in Ignatius.

12. H.Sim.9.15.

13. Lttf, p.68.

14. This is quite a different idea from the old Greek idea of the καλὸς κἀγαθὸς - the gentleman - whose values were centred on the need for social and material success. See on this A.W.H. Adkins, Merit & Responsibility, Oxford, 1960, p.254f.

15. Virginia Corwin, op.cit., p.244.


17. Lttf, p.68.

18. Cf. the similar use at Acts 15.38.


20. 1 Pt. 2.22 "Who did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth".


22. We may cf. this with what Torrance says, op.cit., p.75, about faith in relation to grace - "τὸ θὸν, the union of faith and love ..., is the ελπίς οίνω of God and even God Himself."

23. See especially I.Mag.3 and 3 for these sentiments.


25. οὐνερχεσθαι εἰς εὐχαριστίαν θεοῦ - Camelot on p.69 n.3 comments: "Εὐχαριστία désigne ici la prière d'action de grâces,"à la gloire de dieu." Mais c'est aussi l'Eucharistie, mémorial et reproduction de la dernière Cène, où Jesus 'rendit grâces' sur le pain et sur la coupe (Lc 22.19-20 et par.) Nous avons ici le premier exemple de l'emploi technique de ce mot, que l'on retrouvera en ce sens ..."

26. For a development of this theme see E. Osborn, Prudentia, art.cit. in Bibliography, p.11ff.

27. See section 4 of Ignatius, p.71ff.

28. Torrance, op.cit., p.79.

29. See Camelot, Introduction, p.31f., and cf. I.Ro.Inscr. and I.Mag.13 for similar form of expression.

30. See Ignatius, section 2, p.22ff., on Faith as true belief over against docetism.
31. E.g. I.Eph. 1.1, 14, 20; I. Mag. 1.13; I. Phld. 11; I. Sm. Inscr. 1.13.

32. See further Th. Preiss, art. cit., p. 228. Here Preiss deals with the question of the unity of God and draws attention to some of the striking phrases such as at I. Eph. 14, where faith and love are said to be a unity that is God. He says these are best explained as arising from the belief that God is a divine substance, for which the aim of redemption is to reassemble the parts. He compares also I. Phld. 9. Unity is the essential quality of the spiritual world. It is characteristic of the thought of Ignatius. He even identifies unity with God Himself at Tr. 11.2. Unity is so important that it renders the idea of the sovereignty of God into the background.

Thus the disunity of the Church is doubly serious, not only because it is harmful to the Church, but ultimately also to God Himself.

33. For this translation see A.G. s.v. Θεόπρεπέςτατος. For the name referred to see Camelot, p. 80, n. 1 - 'prisoner' or merely 'Christian' are both possibilities.

34. Ltft, p. 108 ff.

35. Camelot, p. 31 ad fin.

36. Ibid, p. 81.


38. See note 26 above.

39. See Lampe s.v. ἔνεδρον.

40. On the meaning of grace here see further, Torrance, op. cit., p. 84 f.

41. See W.F. Richardson, art. cit., p. 28 f.

42. So A.G. s.v. ἔρνθεια. See the note there on the New Testament usage and in the later literature.

43. So Lampe s.v. ἔρνθεια.

44. Liébaert, op. cit., p. 48.

45. See pages 62 ff.

Section 4 - Faith as a General Term for True Religion.


2. Ibid, p. 154, n. 2.

3. C.F.D. Moule, op. cit., p. 80 (see Bibliography).

4. See A.G. s.v. οἰκονομία 2b. Cf. also the relationship of οἰκονομία in I. Eph. 20.1 with the "Gospel" in I. Phld. 5.2, and the discussion in Camelot, p. 124, n. 1; also the discussion on p. 73 ff of this thesis. For a discussion of the function of the Jewish Law as οἰκονόμος, see E.D. Burton, op. cit., p. 212-215, on Galatians 4.1.
5. For a full discussion of the Christian as the soul of the world, its background and implications, see R. Brändle, op.cit., p.147ff. (see Bibliography)

6. R. Brändle, op.cit., p.86. On the use and sense of οἰκονομία in the Epistle to Diognetus, see H.I. Marrou, op.cit., p.198f. (see Bibliography)


8. See the discussion on I. Mag.1.2 on p.62ff.


10. For this technical sense in the New Testament and after, see A.G. s.v. πίστις 2 and cf. the discussion in section 6, p.90ff.

11. See note 8 on Ignatius, Section 2.


13. On this use of κατὰ see Chapter 1, Section 1.


15. Ibid, p.118.

16. On this phrase see p.93f.

17. Funke 163.


20. Goodwin 1175. (See Bibliography)


22. L & S s.v. ὑποθέταν.  


24. See p.44.

25. See p.52ff.

Additional note on the use of the verb πληροφορέω

1. Camelot, p.86, n.3.

2. Liébaert, op.cit. p.51 ad fin.

3. See Lftt, p.127. Also Camelot, p.86ff, n.4, where in addition are quoted as parallels I. Mag.6.1, 7.2; I. Eph.15.1; I. Ro.8.2; Wisdom 18.14-18.


5. Lftt, p.69.


7. Chadwick, art.cit., but Corwin p.122, n.10 questions the literal idea of the earthly Church as the counterpart of the heavenly, and says that Chadwick goes too far. Cf. also Camelot, p.71, n.3.
8. See p. 43ff.
9. The εἰς clause is here parallel to that common on πιστεύειν - cf. A.G. s.v. πιστεύειν 2a8.
10. Lttf, p.250.
11. Cf. also I.Ro.Inscr. and what is said on p.12f.re the chiasmus there.
12. For a full discussion of this passage, see pp.39-43.

Section 5 - Faith Personified and the Adjective πιστός.

1. See A.G. s.v. πιστός and the parallels cited there.
3. See further Camelot, p.110, ns.3-5. See also the discussion in this thesis on I.Mag.5.2 on p.102f, where οἱ άξιοστοι are contrasted with οἱ πιστοί under the image of two coinages.

Section 6 - πεπιστευμένος - "entrusted".

1. See A.G. s.v. πιστεύω 1 and 2.
2. A.G. s.v. πιστεύω 3.
3. See L & S s.v. πιστεύω II.
4. Lttf, p.120.
5. Cf. Gregory Dix, op.cit. (see Bibliography), p.28f. where he discusses Ignatius' view of the nature of the diaconate and advances evidence in favour of this interpretation adopted here.
6. See p.43fand p.88f.
7. Cf. also Camelot, p.129, ns. 1 and 2.

Section 7 - The Imagery of Faith.

1. See p.91.
2. Cf. I.Eph.13.1; I.Sm.10.2; I.Pol.2.3 and 7.1. See also p.76.
3. See A.G. s.v. συνδιάδασκαλίτης.
4. Lttf., p.37f.
5. Lampe, s.v. συνδιάδασκαλίτης.
7. Lttf, p.38f.
9. See Camelot, p.60f., n.3.
10. Moulton & Milligan, Vocab., s.v. νοηθοσία.
11. On the difference between μαζροθυμία and ουκομονή see Robertson & Plummer, I.C.C. on I Corinthians, cit. (see Bibliography), p.292 - "While ουκομονή is endurance of suffering without giving way, μαζροθυμία is patience
of injuries without paying back". The treatment Ignatius received at the hand of the "ten leopards" (I. Ro. 5) may well be in his mind.

15. Lampe s.v. γνώμη. C.
17. See the excursus on διψωχος and cognates.
19. Lampe, s.v. ἀδρακτος. B.
20. After A. G. s.v. παραδεξωμ.
23. H. B. Swete, op.cit. (see Bibliography), p. 15.
24. Ltf, p. 54.
26. See C. W. Dearden, op.cit. (see Bibliography), p. 76 and L & S. s.v. τροχός.

See also Landells, J. G., "Engineering in the Ancient World", pages 84ff., where many different hoisting devices are illustrated and described. It may be that faith as the motive power refers not so much to a drum, but to people pulling the rope (the Holy Spirit) with a system of pulleys.

27. This metaphor is cited by Th. Preiss, art.cit., as evidence for the fact that Ignatius shares the Hellenistic view of the ascent of the soul to God. Ignatius has no real interest in eschatology in the sense that we find in St Paul, and especially in Ro. 8 with the renovation of nature. In Ignatius the end is there, and the judgement especially as it relates to the punishment of unbelievers - quoted as a spur to believers - but the parousia and the events of the end are simply ignored (see p. 226).

28. See especially H. Sim. 9, and the discussion in Chapter 2.

29. See especially Ignatius section 3, and the passages discussed there, and the concern of Ignatius for the witness of Christian behaviour.

Conclusion

1. See W. F. Richardson, art.cit., p. 26ff.
NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO - THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

1. See Barnard, op.cit., p.151.
2. R. Joly, Hermas, p.11-16 sets out the evidence.
5. I.Ro 3ff.
6. I.Ro 4.2, and similar references are to be found in all Ignatius' letters.
7. See Chapter 1, section 2, p.19ff.
8. Liébaert, op.cit., Ch.7, p.159ff. See also the references in R. Joly, Hermas, p.31.
9. e.g. I.Sm.1, I.Tr.9, I.Mag.8.2.
10. Barnard, op.cit., on page 155 deals with the passages in Hermas which suggest that he too had to face gnostic or docetic teaching - e.g. H.Sim.5.7.
12. R. Joly, Hermas, ad loc. p.121.
17. Didache, 4ff.
19. See especially I.Eph. 14.2 discussed on p.58ff and cf. also the other examples from Ignatius dealt with in section 3 of Ch.1.
22. See H. Vis. 5.
23. In regard to the variation between the present and the aorist here, it seems that Hermas pays very little attention to the rules of 'Aktionsart', and in this he is typical of many writers of the period. cf. Moule, C.F.D. "Idiom Book of N.T. Greek", pp 135-137, and especially notes i. and ii. on p136. At Mandate 6.2.6, just a few lines further on from our present example, he has written υπὸ άντι συντευέ and there is no apparent difference in sense from the earlier example using the aorist subjective. On the whole problem of 'Aktionsart' and the difficulty of deciding any particular example, see Nigel Turner in vol.3 of J.H. Moulton, Grammar of N.T. Greek, p 74 f.

24. This is especially against such statements as that of B.H. Streeter, quoted by Barnard, op.cit., p.152, that Hermas' work is one of 'pottering mediocrity'.

25. See esp. I.Phld. 8 and the passages quoted in Ch.1, section 3.

26. e.g. I Thess. 4.14; Jn. 20.31; Rom. 10.9; I. Pol. 7.3; I. Mag. 8.2. On the imperatival use of the ἔνα clause in H. Man. 6.2.10, cf. Moule, Idiom Book (see Bibliography), p.144.2.

27. See p.109f.

28. See p. 115ff.

29. Funk 340

30. See p.121f and the excursus on δεισφαρος and cognates, p. 128-141.

31. The same principles apply here as that stated for the New Testament in Richardson, art.cit., p.24ff.

32. Richardson, art.cit., p.24ff.


34. e.g. I. Eph. 16.2, 26.1; I. Rom. Inscr. etc.

35. See the evidence cited in respect of Ignatius, where the same point is made, p. 24, and the notes.

36. e.g. I. Tr 9.


38. Cf. on Vis. 3, p.


40. M.Pol.5.

41. I. Rom.4.
42. The aorist is used of conduct in a specific situation - see Funk 335 and 337.
45. Barberet, *art.cit.*, see Bibliography.
48. See the discussion on p.110ff.
49. For the aorist, cf. note 42.
50. For the present, cf. note 42.
51. Cf. note 9 above.
57. See p.115.
58. Cf. the excurses on διψαχά and its cognates, pp.128-141.
NOTES TO EXCURSUS ON δεισιωσις AND COGNATES.

1. K.S. Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, p.216, (See Bibliography)
3. Lampe, s.v.
14. Ropes, *op.cit.* (See Bibliography)
15. Seitz, 2nd *art.cit.*, n.12, p.214f.
NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE - BARNABAS AND THE DIDACHE.

1. On the problems of date, see Prigent, Barnabas (see Bibliography), p.26 ad fin and f.

2. On the question of genre, see Prigent, Barnabas, p.9f.; on that of authorship, p.27f.

3. For a discussion of the use of Testimonia in the early Church, see Barnard, op.cit. p.112ff. For a more detailed treatment, see Prigent, La Testimonia (see Bibliography).

4. Prigent, Barnabas, p.34f.

5. On the Two Ways, see Prigent, Barnabas, p.12ff. On the relationship of Barnabas and the Didache, see Audet, Didache, (see Bibliography), p.122ff. and Rordorf and Tuillier, op.cit. (see Bibliography), p.22-34. See also below on the Didache.


7. Ibid, p.34f.

8. I.Eph.14.1


11. See Prigent, Barnabas, pp.76 note 2.

12. I.e. the text printed in Prigent, Barnabas.


16. H.Vis.3.

17. Prigent, Barnabas, p.81 note 2.

18. See Ch.1, section 4, p.71ff.

19. For this use of ἐξ θ', see A.G. s.v. IIby.

20. See Richardson, art.cit., p.22ff; cf. Chapter 1, p.12


22. Prigent, Barnabas, p.361f.

23. Cf. I.Eph.1.1 and passim in Hermas, 1.CL 15.2 etc.


25. Funk, 284.1.

26. Richardson, art.cit., p.28.

27. Leviticus 16.7,9, 28,29.

28. Isaiah 58.4ff.

29. σωτ ὁ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ - 'through Abraham' in the sense of 'in the case of Abraham', cf. Prigent, Barnabas, p 177 - 'dans le cas d'Abraham'.

30. Sanday and Headlam, ICC Romans (see Bibliography), p.28ff.
31. On the meaning of righteousness in Barnabas, cf. Liébaert, op.cit., p.133 - "... une perspective assez différente de celle des épîtres pauliniennes; l'auteur la voit, non pas au point de départ de la vie chrétienne, mais plutôt au terme de l'épreuve terrestre ..." and p.155 ad fin.

32. See especially Prigent, Barnabas, p.193, note 2.

33. See the discussion on this on p.134.

34. Mag. 9.1, Tr. 8.1, Eph. 20.1.

35. Cf. Prigent, Barnabas, p.36 ad fin.

36. The second perfect, meaning to trust, put confidence in (A.G. s.v. πίστωσ 2) is quite common in LXX and New Testament. In the Apostolic Fathers it occurs here, and at I Cl. 57.7, 58.1, 60.1; H. Sim. 9.18.5, H. Man. 9.6 and Diog. 1.1.


38. See Prigent, Barnabas, p.20-24, 28ff.

39. See Rordorf & Tuilier, op.cit. Analyse Critique, passim; Audet, Didache, p.122ff.

40. Rordorf & Tulier, op.cit., p.11.

41. Ibid, p.96.

42. Ibid, p.11f.


44. On the Parousia, cf. especially Mark 13 - and esp. v.27; also Ro. 13.1ff., etc.

45. Audet, Didache, p.470.


47. This process is apparent also in the New Testament. So Paul finds it necessary in 2 Thess. to tone down the sense of urgency and discourage Christians from ceasing to work for a living in expectation of an early return. See esp. 2 Thess. 2, 3.6ff.

48. See the references in Rordorf and Tuilier, op.cit., p.196 and Audet, Didache, p.471f.
NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR — THE EPISTLE TO DIOGENETUS

2. For a discussion of the genre, and the links between the epistle to Diognetus and the Apologists, see Marrou, op.cit. p.92ff. (see Bibliography)
3. For a summary of the evidence and the suggestions for authorship, see Barnard, op.cit., p.171f.
5. For this use cf. Lampe, s.v. πίστεως II. Cf. also the discussion in Chapter 1, p.24.
6. Marrou, op.cit. p.84.
7. Marrou, op.cit., p.239f.
8. See Lampe, s.v. πίστεως.
9. Radford, op.cit., p.88. (see Bibliography)
10. Meecham, op.cit., p.141. (see Bibliography)
11. On the significance and meaning of these phrases see Marrou's notes ad loc.
12. Andriessen, art.cit., p.129ff. (see Bibliography)
14. e.g. Barnard. For a summary of views see Meecham, p.142.
15. See Chapter 1, Section 7 for a discussion of the construction of the passive with a retained accusative. A parallel for this passive use occurs at Diog.11.3, discussed on page 165.
16. I am indebted to W.F. Richardson of the Department of Classics and Ancient History in the University of Auckland for this suggestion.
19. Meecham, p.66f; Marrou, p.222.
23. J.J. Thierry, art.cit., and especially n.1, p.146 (see Bibliography).
25. See the discussion of this word and its usage and meanings in Chapter 1, page 73f.
27. See Chapter 1, Section 7, p.93f and cf. note 15 above.

29. See J.J. Thierry, _art.cit._
32. See Chapter 1, p. 24; Chapter 2, p.115f.
33. e.g. I. Sm 1.1; Tr 9.
34. Marrou, _op.cit._, p.80; Meecham, _op.cit._, ad loc.
36. See Cranfield, ICC Romans _ad loc._ and Robertson and Plummer, ICC I Cor. _ad loc._
39. See Brändle, p.202ff for the connections with Paul. Brändle shows how close the epistle to Diognetus is to the thought of Paul, and to a lesser extent to that of John. The developed Pauline doctrine of faith as the means of justification does not appear, nor do we find the contrast between faith and works. Nevertheless the connection of thought with that of Paul is present in the epistle.

On the connection with John, and especially as regards the idea of Christ as the Incarnate Word, see Brändle, p.217ff.

40. These are the areas listed in _Diog._ 11.6.
42. See Bigg, ICC St Peter and St Jude, p.325 (see Bibliography). "Men who used such phrases believed passionately in a creed." Bigg assigns Jude to the second half of the 1st century A.D. which makes this kind of language historically significant. As he says, the tone is more like that of a 4th century bishop.

On the claim that this is "probably the only reference to "the Faith" in the New Testament", cf. Richardson, _art.cit._, p.24 _ad fin._
43. See Bigg, _op.cit._, p.316.
44. χαίρεται ἐπὶ πλησίον. ἐπίζ here in the sense of the basis of the action. AG s.v. _ἐπί_ II.1.b.8. Marrou translates "à cause des fideles".
NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE - The First Epistle of Clement.

1. For a full summary of the evidence of authorship and date see Jaubert, op.cit. (see Bibliography), pp.15-23. For the place of the letter in the context of Domitian's persecution, see Barnard, op.cit., Ch.2, p.5ff.

2. See especially I Corinthians, Ch.3, II Corinthians, Ch.3, and Ch.7.2ff.


4. I. Sm.1.1, Tr. 9.1

5. On the usage and meaning of ἔργεικα see p.53f. and the other references listed there. Clement uses the word more frequently than any of the other writers quoted. See also Liébaert, op.cit. p.30.

6. For a detailed treatment of this word, see the study by North listed in the Bibliography.

The etymological derivation of the word is from σοφός and φήν. The literal meaning is that of "safe-mindedness". The word occurs several times in the New Testament in the Pastoral epistles, especially in connection with the virtues of women. The translation "a sense of balance" fits well in most cases and preserves the basic sense of the word.

7. See page 110ff.

8. I.Eph 9.1. See page 100f. for a discussion of this metaphor.

9. See Barnard, op.cit., especially p.9f.

10. Jaubert, op.cit., p.100, n.2. See also the reference there to Sanders, op.cit. (see Bibliography).

11. For Clement's frequent use of διαφυσιοῦσα see Liébaert, op.cit., p.17. On Clement's teaching on the Christian virtues, see Liébaert, Ch.1, section B, p.20ff. The use of σωφροσύνη in the context of marital fidelity and the virtues of women is reminiscent of I Tim.2.9 and 15.

12. Genesis 4.5-8; Genesis 37; Numbers 12.14f; II Kings 18-29.

13. Lett ad loc. The translation of the Greek phrase is also that suggested by Lett.
14. Ltft. ad loc.


17. On the question of the relationship between I Clement and James, and especially as regards the use of ὁσοχῶς and cognates, see article by F.W. Young cited in Bibliography. See also the excursus on ὁσοχῶς and cognates, p.128-141. Young favours the view that James is dependent on Clement.

18. See the excursus on ὁσοχῶς and cognates for the details of this section of James.

19. On the problem of the flax on the roof and the pointing of the pursuers "in the opposite direction", see the discussion in F.W.Young's art.cit. above in n.17.


22. On the need for hospitality and the importance of this in relation to Corinth, see especially Ltft on I Clement 1.2, and the note on παρεκκλησίας.

23. See below the section on πεποιηθήσεσσα.

24. Ltft and Jaubert are agreed that this is the correct way to take this sentence. Ἐπὶ πίστεις and Ἑλπίζεις are in apposition to the rest of the sentence.


26. A.G. and Lampe, s.v. ἀνατρεπόμενον, intransitive use, and Ltft ad loc.


28. See Jaubert, p.150, n.6.


30. See Ch.1, section 5.

31. See Ltft, ad loc.


32. Cf. n.36 on Chapter 3.

33. See Ch.1, section 7.
NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. For the text of this work, together with introduction and notes, see Camelot, op.cit., pp.197-238.

2. The clearest evidence for this statement is to be found in II Clement 17.3, where the preacher says: "And let us not only now appear to believe and to pay attention, while we are being admonished by the Elders ..." See also L.tft ad loc. The reference to the preacher's "reading" at 19.1 also suggests the context of the homily. See also L.tft's introduction, pt.1, Vol.2, p.194ff.

3. On the importance of the work and its date, see Altaner - Stuiber, Patrologie, p.88. (See Bibliography) The dating there agrees with L.tft's suggestion on p.202 of his introduction to II Clement.

4. Chapter 1.

5. Chapters 9-11.

6. Especially Chapter 16, where the "signs of the End" are given.

7. On the eschatological emphasis and the importance of God's promises and the Christian's hope of reward, see Liébaert, op.cit., pp.86 and 96. Liébaert in his Chapter 4, pp.81-98, has a very good summary of the teaching of II Clement.

8. The idea of Christian life as a response to God is conveyed in II Clement by the frequent use of the word ἀντιλαμβάνεται. Liébaert, op.cit. p.83, comments: "L'άντιλαμβάνεται, réponse de l'homme à cette générosité divine, est définie en plusieurs passages de l'Homélie et sa nature est essentiellement morale".

9. e.g.I. Pol.6.2 Eph.10.2.

10. On this theme see Liébaert, op.cit., p.89ff. and cf Ch.1, section 5

11. On the common source used by I and II Clement, see Jaubert, op.cit. on I Cl. 23, p.141, n.4.

12. On the linking of προτέλεως and cognates with ὑπομονή and cognates, cf. Pol.13.2, and I. Eph.3.1 and cf. p.198 and the refs ther. On ὄψηψασ and cognates, and for a more detailed discussion of these, see the excursus on ὄψηψασ and its cognates, p.128-141.

14. On the problems associated with these letters, see Camelot, op.cit., p.164ff., and Barnard, op.cit., Ch.4, p.31ff.

15. On the question of date, see works referred to in note 14.


17. See p.191ff. and note 12 above.

18. See Chapter 1 for a detailed discussion of this.

19. I.Sm 1.1; Tr.9.1.

20. See Chapter 1, section 4.

21. See Camelot, op.cit., p.180, n.4; also Liébaert, op.cit., p.75.

22. For a discussion of this technical usage in the Apologists, see pp.24, 115f., 166.


24. For these references, see Camelot, op.cit., p.187, n.4.

25. See Chapter 1, section 4, passim, and also n.23 above.
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