**What Early Christians Taught – Experience and Practice**

May 13, 2024 version - unfinished

Let’s ask the following question. What could you prove about early Christianity if you had no Bible, but only the pre-Nicene church writers? Here is a consensus of what four or more writers said, and none contradicted, prior to 325 A.D.. Afterwards are what post-Nicene authors and heretics wrote too. You can read the quotes and context of them at <http://www.ccel.org> or Tertullian at www.Tertullian.org.

You can see what Christians taught after Nicea at WhatNiceaToEphesusChristiansTaught.doc. The author or work is only in bold if it is the first one that is an implied or a direct reference. Subsequent references and partial references are in normal text.

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# Adam to Isaac Individuals

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Genesis 2:7-4:1,25; 5:1-5; Deuteronomy 32:8; 1 Chronicles 1:1; Job 31:33; Luke 3:38; Romans 5:14; 1 Corinthians 15:22,45; 1 Timothy 2:13-14; Jude 14

**Clement of Rome** (96/98 A.D.) “Envy has alienated wives from their husbands, and changed that saying of our father Adam, ‘This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh.’” *1 Clement* ch.6 (ANF vol.1) p.6. See also ch.6 (*ANF* vol.9 p.231.

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.6 p.140 “For man is earth in a suffering state, for the formation of Adam was from the face of the earth.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) discusses how Genesis obscurely predicted Adam would live less than 1,000 years after he ate of the tree. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.81 p.239-240

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) “just as Eve was made from one of Adam's ribs, and as all living beings were created in the beginning by the word of God.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.84 p.240

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) mentions Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Twelve Patriarchs, Adam, and Noah. *On Pascha* stanza 83 p.60

**Theophilus of Antioch**(168-181/188 A.D.) “For the divine writing itself teaches us that Adam said that he had heard the voice. But what else is this voice but the Word of God, who is also His Son?” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.22 p.103

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) has a whole chapter on the fall of man. He mentions “Adam and his wife”. *To Autolycus* book 2 ch.21 p.102-103.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) After Adam’s fall, we inherited the curses. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.21.3-6 p.456-457

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) “And, whilst man dwelt in Paradise, God brought before him all living things and commanded him to give names to them all; and whatsoever Adam called a living soul, that was its name. And He determined also to make a helper for the man: for thus God said, It is not good for the man to be alone: let us make for him a helper meet for him.” *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.13

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) says that death reigned from Adam to Moses and refers to Romans 5:12-14. *Stromata* book 3 ch.9 p.393

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) ‘man,’ and ‘for the sake of the man,’ that rib of Adam. *On the Veiling of Virgins* ch.7 p.31

Tertullian (c.203 A.D.) says that the soul by birth has its nature in Adam until it is born again in Christ. It is unclean while is remains without regeneration. It is sinful. *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.40 p.220

Tertullian (204/205 A.D.) mentions Adam’s sin. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 2 ch.2 p.298

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-234/235 A.D.) “What, then, is meant by the serpent but Antichrist, that deceiver who is mentioned in Genesis,(4) who deceived Eve and supplanted Adam” *Treatise on Christ and AntiChrist* ch.14 p.205

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) discusses how the fall of Adam took place in paradise. He also mentions how the Son of man [Jesus] will send His angels to gather His elect from the four winds. *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.64 p.218 See also ibid ch.3 p.205

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) says that Adam was the first who fell, and that he conferred on us what he did.*Instructions of Commodianus* ch.35 p.209

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) mentions Eve being deceived and Adam falling. *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 1 ch.22 p.308

Origen (233/234 A.D.) “First, in Genesis it says Adam and Eve heard the sound of the Lord God walking at evening in the garden, and both Adam and his wife hid themselves from the Lord God amid the wood of the Garden.” *Origen on Prayer* ch.23.3 p.78

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) *Concerning the Trinity* ch.1 p.612 said that evil would arise if man exercised his free will and take of the fruit of the tree. He also says that man is in the image of God. “He [God] laid down a command, in which man was taught that there was no evil in the fruit of the tree; but he was forewarned that evil would arise if perchance he should exercise his free will, in the contempt of the law that was given. For, on the one hand, it had behooved him to be free, lest the image of God should,”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “For Adam was first formed, then Eve; and Adam was not seduced, but the woman was seduced.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.47 p.546

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) discusses Adam falling when he ate the fruit. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 9 ch.11 p.487

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “With words of deceit that personality deluded Adam; with the words of divinity, then, let the deceiver himself now be deluded.” *Commentary on Luke* ch.44 p.116

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 307 A.D.) “four generations of people from Adam to Noah, from Noah to Abraham, from Abraham to Moses, from Moses to Christ the Lord, the Son of God;” *On the Creation of the World* ch.1 p.341

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) in *Discourse on the Resurrection* 1 ch.7 p.370 discusses how Adam and Eve fell and became evil.

Methodius (270-311/312 A.D.) “if the Scripture meant nothing higher than what is conveyed by the mere words and the history; for if we are to take the Scripture as a bare representation wholly referring to the union of man and woman, for what reason should the apostle, calling these things to remembrance, and guiding us, as I opine, into the way of the Spirit, allegorize the history of Adam and Eve as having a reference to Christ and the Church?” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* ch.1 p.317

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) (partial, never uses the names Adam and Eve) discusses the first man and woman falling when they ate the fruit. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.3 p.38

**Theophilus** (318 A.D.) “For the covenants caused a more especial appearance of angels,--that(3) in the case of Adam, that in the case of Noah, that in the case of Abraham, that in the case of Moses.”. *Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon* ch.51 p.49

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (partial, does not use the words Adam and Eve) mentions that the man and woman fell. *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.13 p.62

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “’And he drove Adam out, and made him dwell outside the region of paradise.’ Then it adds: ‘Adam lay with his wife Eve, and she conceived and gave birth to Cain.’” *Chronicon*

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**Pseudo-Ignatius** (after 117 A.D.) “It is right, therefore, that we should honour those who have had a part in giving us birth. "Neither is the man without the woman, nor the woman without the man,"(3) except in the case of those who were first formed. For the body of Adam was made out of the four elements, and that of Eve out of the side of Adam.” *Letter ot Hero* ch.4 p.114

**Among heretics**

**Sethians** (before 188 A.D.) according to Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “But Ialdabaoth, feeling envious at this, was pleased to form the design of again emptying man by means of woman, and produced a woman from his own enthymesis, whom that Prunicus [above mentioned] laying hold of, imperceptibly emptied her of power. But the others coming and admiring her beauty, named her Eve, and falling in love with her, begat sons by her, whom they also declare to be the angels. But their mother (Sophia) cunningly devised a scheme to seduce Eve and Adam, by means of the serpent, to transgress the command of Ialdabaoth. Eve listened to this as if it had proceeded from a son of God, and yielded an easy belief. She also persuaded Adam to eat of the tree regarding which God had said that they should not eat of it. They then declare that, on their thus eating, they attained to the knowledge of that power which is above all, and departed from those who had created them. When Prunicus perceived that the powers were thus baffled by their own creature, she greatly rejoiced, and again cried out, that since the father was incorruptible, he (Ialdabaoth) who formerly called himself the father was a liar; and that, while Anthropos and the first woman (the Spirit) existed previously, this one (Eve) sinned by committing adultery.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.30.7 p.356

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 2 ch.16 p.231 mentions Adam. See also ibid homily 3 ch.55 p.248 and homily 13 ch.21 p.305.

The Ebionite ***Protoevangelium of James*** (145-248 A.D.) ch.13 p.364 mentions Adam and Eve.

The Sethian Gnostic ***Hypostasis of the Archons*** ch.91 p.165-166 discusses Adam, Eve, Cain, and Abel. It says Adam and Eve were correct to eat and to follow the advice of “the Instructor” (the serpent)

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 2 ch.47 p.110 mentions Adam and Eve.

## Ai2. Eve

Genesis 3:20; 4:1; 2 Corinthians 11:3; 1 Timothy 2:13

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.12 p.145 “For since transgression was committed by Eve through means of the serpent, [the Lord] brought it to pass that every [kind of] serpents bit them, and they died,(6) that He might convince them, that on account of their transgression they were given over to the straits of death.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “just as Eve was made from one of Adam's ribs, and as all living beings were created in the beginning by the word of God.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.84 p.240

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “And Adam having been cast out of Paradise, in this condition knew Eve his wife, whom God had formed into a wife for him out of his rib.”. *To Autolycus* book 2 ch.28 p.105.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “And on this account does the law term a woman betrothed to a man, the wife of him who had betrothed her, although she was as yet a virgin; thus indicating the back-reference from Mary to Eve, because what is joined together could not otherwise be put asunder than by inversion of the process by which these bonds of union had arisen; so that the former ties be cancelled by the latter, that the latter may set the former again at liberty.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.22.2 p.455

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) “And, whilst man dwelt in Paradise, God brought before him all living things and commanded him to give names to them all; and whatsoever Adam called a living soul, that was its name. And He determined also to make a helper for the man: for thus God said, It is not good for the man to be alone: let us make for him a helper meet for him.” *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.13

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) ‘man,’ and ‘for the sake of the man,’ that rib of Adam. *On the Veiling of Virgins* ch.7 p.31

Tertullian (204/205 A.D.) mentions the curse of Adam and Eve. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 2 ch.25 p.317

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-234/235 A.D.) “What, then, is meant by the serpent but Antichrist, that deceiver who is mentioned in Genesis,(4) who deceived Eve and supplanted Adam” *Treatise on Christ and AntiChrist* ch.14 p.205

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) mentions Eve being deceived and Adam falling. *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 1 ch.22 p.308

Origen (c.227-250 A.D.) “Adam is the father of all men. And if Eve also is intended by the apostle to refer to the Church, it is not surprising that Cain, who was born of Eve, and all after him, whose descent goes back to Eve, should be types of the Church, inasmuch as in a pre-eminent sense they are all descended from the Church.” *de Principiis* (Greek) book 4 ch.1.22 p.371

Origen (233/234 A.D.) “First, in Genesis it says Adam and Eve heard the sound of the Lord God walking at evening in the garden, and both Adam and his wife hid themselves from the Lord God amid the wood of the Garden.” *Origen on Prayer* ch.23.3 p.78

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “For Adam was first formed, then Eve; and Adam was not seduced, but the woman was seduced.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.47 p.546

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) in *Discourse on the Resurrection* 1 ch.7 p.370 discusses how Adam and Eve fell and became evil.

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Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) (partial, never uses the names Adam and Eve) discusses the first man and woman falling when they ate the fruit. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.3 p.38

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**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**Pseudo-Ignatius** (after 117 A.D.) “It is right, therefore, that we should honour those who have had a part in giving us birth. "Neither is the man without the woman, nor the woman without the man,"(3) except in the case of those who were first formed. For the body of Adam was made out of the four elements, and that of Eve out of the side of Adam.” *Letter ot Hero* ch.4 p.114

**Among heretics**

**Sethians** (before 188 A.D.) according to Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “But Ialdabaoth, feeling envious at this, was pleased to form the design of again emptying man by means of woman, and produced a woman from his own enthymesis, whom that Prunicus [above mentioned] laying hold of, imperceptibly emptied her of power. But the others coming and admiring her beauty, named her Eve, and falling in love with her, begat sons by her, whom they also declare to be the angels. But their mother (Sophia) cunningly devised a scheme to seduce Eve and Adam, by means of the serpent, to transgress the command of Ialdabaoth. Eve listened to this as if it had proceeded from a son of God, and yielded an easy belief. She also persuaded Adam to eat of the tree regarding which God had said that they should not eat of it. They then declare that, on their thus eating, they attained to the knowledge of that power which is above all, and departed from those who had created them. When Prunicus perceived that the powers were thus baffled by their own creature, she greatly rejoiced, and again cried out, that since the father was incorruptible, he (Ialdabaoth) who formerly called himself the father was a liar; and that, while Anthropos and the first woman (the Spirit) existed previously, this one (Eve) sinned by committing adultery.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.30.7 p.356

The **Gnostics** according to Epiphanius of Salamis (360-403 A.D.) had a Gospel of Perfection and a Gospel of Eve. *The Panarion* section 2 ch.26 p.84

## Ai3. Abel

Matthew 23:35; Luke 11:51 (Abel’s blood but no mention of Cain)

p46 Chester Beatty II – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Hebrews 11:4

p77 (Matthew 23:30-39) (200 A.D.) (partial) mentions Abel

p13 Hebrews 2:14-5:5; 10:8-22; 10:29-11:13; 11:28-12:17 (225-250 A.D.) (partial) Hebrews 11:4 mentions Cain and Abel but does not say Cain murdered Abel.

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “For thus it is written: ‘And it came to pass after certain days, that Cain brought of the fruits of the earth a sacrifice unto God; and Abel also brought of the firstlings of his sheep, and of the fat thereof. And God had respect to Abel and to his offerings, but Cain and his sacrifices He did not regard. And Cain was deeply grieved, and his countenance fell. And God said to Cain, Why art thou grieved, and why is try countenance fallen? If thou offerest rightly, but dost not divide rightly, hast thou not sinned? Be at peace: thine offering’” *1 Clement* ch.4 (*ANF* vol.1) p.6. Also ch.4 (*ANF* vol.9) p.230.

***Theophilus to Autolycus*** (168-181/188 A.D.) book 2 ch.29 p.105-106 discusses Cain murdering Abel.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) discusses Cain and Abel and Cain’s murder or Abel. *Irenaeus* *Against Heresies* book 3 ch.23.4 p.456-457; book 4 ch.18.3 p.484

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) says that Cain committed fratricide and slew his brother Abel. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.17.

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) says that Abel was killed. *On Pascha* ch.59 p.51

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) quotes three-fourths of Romans 2:14, to show that the Gentiles knew of righteousness even between Abel and Noah. He uses this to show that those who practiced righteousness when they died, were preached to after death by Christ, and accepted Christ. *Stromata* book 2 ch.9 p.357. He also quotes Romans 2:14 in *Stromata* book 1 ch.19 p.322. See also *Stromata* book 2 ch.9 p.357.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) mentions Cain and Abel. *An Answer to the Jews* ch.5 p.156

Tertullian (204-205 A.D.) mentions Abel and Noah. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 2 ch.22 p.314

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) mentions Cain murdering Abel. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.39 p.210

Commodianus (c.240 A.D.) (implied) mention of Cain and Abel. No mention of the murder though. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.36 p.210, He mentions the martyrdom of Abel and others in *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.62 p.215.

Commodianus (c.240 A.D.) (partial) mentions the murder of Cain and Abel, except he does not give any names. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.26 p.208

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) discusses Cain slaying Abel. *Origen’s Commentary On John* book 6 ch.7 p.356. Cain plotted against Abel. *Origen Against Celsus* (225-253/254 A.D.) book 4 ch.43 p.517

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) discusses Abel being murdered by Cain. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 9 ch.10 p.486. See also *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 54 ch.2 p.339.

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “Thus, at the very beginning of the world, the righteous Abel was the first to be slain by his brother; and Jacob was driven into exile, and Joseph was sold, and king Saul persecuted the merciful David; and king Ahab endeavoured to oppress Elias, who firmly and bravely asserted the majesty of God.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 11 ch.11 p.503

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) says Cain committed murder. *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 3 ch.3 p.369. He also says that Abel was killed by his brother in *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 11 ch.2 p.352

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) “Was not Abel born of Adam … Isaac from Abraham …?” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.35.7 p.55

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) (partial) book 3 ch.61 p.130 mentions Cain and Abel.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 3 ch.42 p.246 says that Cain killed Abel.

The Ebionite *Clementine Homilies* (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions Cain and Abel, but nothing about the murder. homily 2 ch.16 p.231

**Mani** (262-278 A.D.) mentions Abel’s blood. *Disputation with Manes* ch.28 p.201

The Sethian Gnostic ***Hypostasis of the Archons*** ch.91 p.165-166 discusses Adam, Eve, Cain, and Abel. It says Adam and Eve were correct to eat and to follow the advice of “the Instructor” (the serpent)

## Ai4. Cain murdered his brother/Abel

Genesis 4:1-16

1 John 3:12

(partial) Jude 11; (partial) Hebrews 11:4; (partial) Hebrews 12:24

(partial) Hebrews 11:4

p46 Chester Beatty II – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) (partial, only mentions Abel) Hebrews 11:4

p77 (Matthew 23:30-39) (200 A.D.) (partial) mentions Abel

p75 (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) Luke 11:51

p13 Hebrews 2:14-5:5; 10:8-22; 10:29-11:13; 11:28-12:17 (225-250 A.D.) (partial) Hebrews 11:4 mentions Cain and Abel but does not say Cain murdered Abel.

p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8) (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. (partial) Mentions unrighteous Cain, but no mention of the murder. Jude 11

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “For thus it is written: ‘And it came to pass after certain days, that Cain brought of the fruits of the earth a sacrifice unto God; and Abel also brought of the firstlings of his sheep, and of the fat thereof. And God had respect to Abel and to his offerings, but Cain and his sacrifices He did not regard. And Cain was deeply grieved, and his countenance fell. And God said to Cain, Why art thou grieved, and why is try countenance fallen? If thou offerest rightly, but dost not divide rightly, hast thou not sinned? Be at peace: thine offering’” *1 Clement* ch.4 (*ANF* vol.1) p.6. Also ch.4 (*ANF* vol.9) p.230.

Melito of Sardis (170-177/180 A.D.) (partial, no mention of Cain) says that Abel was killed. *On Pascha* ch.59 p.51

***Theophilus to Autolycus*** (168-181/188 A.D.) book 2 ch.29 p.105-106 discusses Cain murdering Abel.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) discusses Cain and Abel and Cain’s murder or Abel. *Irenaeus* *Against Heresies* book 3 ch.23.4 p.456-457; book 4 ch.18.3 p.484

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) says that Cain committed fratricide and slew his brother Abel. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.17.

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) (partial) quotes Hebrews 11:34 about Cain and Abel. *Stromata* book 2 ch.4 p.350

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) (partial) mentions the blood of Abel, without saying who killed Him. *The Instructor* book 1 ch.6 p.221

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “… if Cain, that first homicide and first fratricide,…” *On Patience* ch.5 p.710

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) mentions Cain murdering Abel. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.39 p.210

Commodianus (c.240 A.D.) (implied) mention of Cain and Abel. No mention of the murder though. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.36 p.210, He mentions the martyrdom of Abel and others in *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.62 p.215.

Commodianus (c.240 A.D.) (partial) mentions the murder of Cain and Abel, except he does not give any names. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.26 p.208

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) discusses Cain slaying Abel. *Origen’s Commentary On John* book 6 ch.7 p.356. Cain plotted against Abel. *Origen Against Celsus* (225-253/254 A.D.) book 4 ch.43 p.517

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says that Cain murdered his brother. *Origen On Prayer* ch.29.18 p.126

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says that Cain murdered his brother. *Origen’s Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.6.50 p.195

Origen (c.250 A.D.) (partial) mentions Abel. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 67.1.8 p.154

Novatian (250/4-256/7 A.D.) (partial) mentions Abel, Enoch, and Noah. *Treatise Concerning the Trinity* ch.16 p.626

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) discusses Abel being murdered by Cain. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 9 ch.10 p.486. See also *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 54 ch.2 p.339.

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “Thus, at the very beginning of the world, the righteous Abel was the first to be slain by his brother; and Jacob was driven into exile, and Joseph was sold, and king Saul persecuted the merciful David; and king Ahab endeavoured to oppress Elias, who firmly and bravely asserted the majesty of God.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 11 ch.11 p.503

Alexander of Lycopolis (301 A.D.) (partial) says in the first a man kills his brother. (Does not mention Cain and Abel by name though.) *Of the Manichaeans* ch.12 p.246.

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) says Cain committed murder. *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 3 ch.3 p.369. He also says that Abel was killed by his brother in *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 11 ch.2 p.352

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) (partial, Abel but not Cain) “Was not Abel born of Adam … Isaac from Abraham …?” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.35.7 p.55

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) (partial) book 3 ch.61 p.130 mentions Cain and Abel.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 3 ch.42 p.246 says that Cain killed Abel.

The Ebionite *Clementine Homilies* (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) (partial) says that Cain was a murderer. homily 3 ch.25 p.243

Mani (262-278 A.D.) mentions Abel’s blood. *Disputation with Manes* ch.28 p.201

Mani (262-278 A.D.) (partial) mentions Cain. *Disputation with Manes* ch.33 p.206

The Sethian Gnostic ***Hypostasis of the Archons*** ch.91 p.165-166 discusses Adam, Eve, Cain, and Abel.

Sethians (c.150-4th century) according to Irenaeus (182-188 A.D.) “They also found out food, through the guidance of Sophia; and when they were satisfied, they had carnal knowledge of each other, and begat Cain, whom the serpent, that had been cast down along with his sons, immediately laid hold of and destroyed by filling him with mundane oblivion, and urging into folly and audacity, so that, by slaying his brother Abel, he was the first to bring to light envy and death.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.30.9 p.356

## Ai5. Seth [son of Adam and Eve]

Genesis 4:25; 5:3-6

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “And his son Seth, 205. And his son Enos, 190. And his son Cainan, 170. And his son Mahaleel, 165. And his son Jared, 162. And his son Enoch, 165. And his son Methuselah, 167. And his son Lamech, 188. And Lamech’s son was Noah, of whom we have spoken above, who begat Shem when 500 years old.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.24 p.118

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “They [heretics] conceive, then, of three kinds of men, spiritual, material, and animal, represented by Cain, Abel, and Seth. These three natures are no longer found in one person, but constitute various kinds [of men].” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.7.5 p.326

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “‘Cognovit autem Adam Evam uxorem suam; et concepit, et peperit filium, et nominavit nomen ejus Seth: Suscitavit enim mihi Deus aliud semen pro Abel.’” [And Adam knew his wife Eve, and she conceived, and they had a son whose name was Seth, saying ‘God has given me another child instead of Abel’] *Stromata* book 3 ch.12 p.395

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Cain and Abel, and Seth, who were in a certain sense the sources of the human race, become the fountain-heads of just as many qualities of nature and essential character.” *Against the Valentinians* ch.29 p.517

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “The Church, then, is the spouse. The queens are those royal souls before the deluge, who became well-pleasing to God, that is, those about Abel and Seth and Enoch.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 7 ch.4 p.332

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Seth, Noah, Shem, Japheth, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the Patriarch Job *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 2.2 p.2

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) &&& *Chronicon* ch.&&&

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Hippolytus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “And on their first approach, indeed, they happily found the bodies of the fathers, Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kainan, Mahaliel, Jared, Mathusalach, and Lamech.” doubtful fragment Sections II, III p.196

**Among heretics**

The Sethian Gnostic ***Apocryphon of John*** (c.150-185 A.D.) ch.9 p.110 mentions Seth, as does ch.25 p.119.

The Sethian Gnostic ***Zostrianos*** ch.8 p.405 mentions Seth.

**Valentinians** (c.150-220 A.D.) Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “Cain and Abel, and Seth, who were in a certain sense the sources of the human race, become the fountain-heads of just as many qualities of nature and essential character.” *Against the Valentinians* ch.29 p.517

## Ai6. Enoch

Hebrews 11:5; Genesis 5:18-21

**p13** Hebrews 2:14-5:5; 10:8-22; 10:29-11:13; 11:28-12:17 (225-250 A.D.) Hebrews 11:5

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) says that Enoch was translated. *1 Clement* ch.9 vol.1 p.7 (See also vol.9 p.232)

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.4 p.138 “The final stumbling-block (or source of danger) approaches, concerning which it is written, as Enoch says, ‘For this end the Lord has cut short the times and the days, that His Beloved may hasten; and He will come to the inheritance.’”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “Those who did which was universally, naturally, and eternally good are pleasing to God, they will be saved through Christ in the resurrection equally with the righteous men before them, such as Noah, Enoch, Jacob, and others.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.45 p.217.

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “And his son Seth, 205. And his son Enos, 190. And his son Cainan, 170. And his son Mahaleel, 165. And his son Jared, 162. And his son Enoch, 165. And his son Methuselah, 167. And his son Lamech, 188. And Lamech’s son was Noah, of whom we have spoken above, who begat Shem when 500 years old.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.24 p.118

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) mentions that Enoch and Elijah were translated to heaven in the same body. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.5.1 p.530

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) mentions the translation of Enoch. *Stromata* book 4 ch.17 p.428

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “To these considerations is added the fact that Enoch possesses a testimony in the Apostle Jude.” *On the Apparel of Women* book 1 ch.3 p.16

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) says that Enoch and Elias [Elijah] have not experienced a resurrection because they have not encountered death. *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* ch.58 p.591

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) The Two witnesses were Enoch and Elijah [Elias] who will prophesy for 1,260 days. *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.43 p.213

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) says that Elijah and Enoch were transformed into heaven. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 67 homily 15 ch.28 p.70.

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “He [God] translated Enoch” *Treatise Concerning the Trinity* ch.8 p.617

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Enoch, who pleased God and was translated; and Noah, who, when the world and men” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 first part ch.8 p.510

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) mentions the anti-Christ and Elijah the prophet who comes before. *Commentary on the Apocalypse of the Blessed John* p.351

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “The Church, then, is the spouse. The queens are those royal souls before the deluge, who became well-pleasing to God, that is, those about Abel and Seth and Enoch.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 7 ch.4 p.332

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) discusses that Elijah and Enoch were translated to some remote place without dying that they might attend Christ when He comes to judge. However, we should not believe that Nero is returning too. *Of the Manner in which the Persecutors Died* ch.2 p.302.

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions the translation of Enoch, Noah’s Flood, and that God confused people’s languages after Babel. *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 1.6 p.8

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) mentions Enos [Enoch]. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 7 ch.8 p.6

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) &&& *Chronicon* ch.&&&

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 4 ch.12 p.137 discusses Enoch being translated. See also ibid book 2 ch.47 p.110.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions Enoch. homily 18 ch.13 p.328

## Ai7. Methuselah

Genesis 5:22

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “Adam lived till he begat a son,[4] 230 years. And his son Seth, 205. And his son Enos, 190. And his son Cainan, 170. And his son Mahaleel, 165. And his son Jared, 162. And his son Enoch, 165. And his son Methuselah, 167. And his son Lamech, 188. And Lamech's son was Noah, of whom we have spoken above, who begat Shem when 500 years old.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.24 p.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “I am aware that the Scripture of Enoch, which has assigned this order (of action) to angels, is not received by some, because it is not admitted into the Jewish canon either. I suppose they did not think that, having been published before the deluge, it could have safely survived that world-wide calamity, the abolisher of all things. If that is the reason (for rejecting it), let them recall to their memory that Noah, the survivor of the deluge, was the great-grandson of Enoch himself; and he, of course, had heard and remembered, from domestic renown and hereditary tradition, concerning his own great-grandfather’s “grace in the sight of God,” and concerning all his preachings; since Enoch had given no other charge to Methuselah than that he should hand on the knowledge of them to his posterity.” *On the Apparel of Women* book 1 ch.3 p.15

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “For consider what confidence Seth had towards God, and Abel, and Enos, and Enoch, and Methuselah, and Noah, the first lovers of righteousness,” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* ch.6 p.333

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “Methuselah became the father of Lamech when he was 167 years old, and lived for another 802 years. The number of years assigned to Methuselah [by the Septuagint] suggests that he survived for (?) 22 years after the time of the flood; but we know that in some copies of the text, it is stated that he lived for another 782 years [after the birth of Lamech], and died at the time of the flood.” *Chronicon* ch.1

## Ai8. Lamech [father of Noah]

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “And his son Seth, 205. And his son Enos, 190. And his son Cainan, 170. And his son Mahaleel, 165. And his son Jared, 162. And his son Enoch, 165. And his son Methuselah, 167. And his son Lamech, 188. And Lamech’s son was Noah, of whom we have spoken above, who begat Shem when 500 years old.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.24 p.118

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) mentions Lamech having two wives. *On Monogamy* ch.4 p.61-62

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “Plurality of marriage began with an accursed man. Lamech was the first who, by marrying himself to two women, caused *three* to be (joined) “into one flesh.’” *Exhortation to Chastity* ch.5 p.53

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “Perhaps, then, these things also border on an obscurity akin to the words, ‘Hear My voice, ye wives of Lamech,’ etc.” *Commentary on Matthew* book 14 ch.5 p.496-497

**Julius Africanus** (232-245 A.D.) “Mathusala, when 187 years old, begot Lamech. Lamech, when 188 years old, begets Noe.” Fragment 3 p.131

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) “Or what woman has sufficed without man for the conception of human kind? Was not Abel born of Adam, Enoch of Jared, Noe of Lamech, and Abraham of Tharra, Isaac of Abraham, Jacob of Isaac? Was not Judas born of Jacob, and Moses and Aaron of Ameram? Was not Samuel born of Elkana, was not David of Jesse, was not Solomon of David, was not Ezechias of Achaz, was not Josias of Amos, was not Esaias of Amos, was not Jeremy of Chelchias, was not Ezechiel of Buzi?” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.35 p.55

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “Enoch became the father of Methuselah when he was 165 years old, and lived for another 200 years, until he was taken away in the 33rd year of Lamech. Methuselah became the father of Lamech when he was 167 years old, and lived for another 802 years. The number of years assigned to Methuselah [by the Septuagint] suggests that he survived for (?) 22 years after the time of the flood; but we know that in some copies of the text, it is stated that he lived for another 782 years [after the birth of Lamech], and died at the time of the flood.” *Chronicon* book 1 p.71

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Hippolytus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “And on their first approach, indeed, they happily found the bodies of the fathers, Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kainan, Mahaliel, Jared, Mathusalach, and Lamech.” *The Law* doubtful fragment Sections II, III p.196

## Ai9. Noah got drunk

Genesis 9:20-23

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) (partial) “With respect to those misdeeds for which the Scriptures themselves blame the patriarchs and prophets, we ought not to inveigh against them, nor become like Ham, who ridiculed the shame of his father, and so fell under a curse; but we should [rather] give thanks to God in their behalf, inasmuch as their sins have been forgiven them through the advent of our Lord; for He said that they gave thanks [for us], and gloried in our salvation.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.31.1 p.504

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “Wherefore also Noah’s intoxication was recorded in writing, that, with the clear and written description of his transgression before us, we might guard with all our might against drunkenness.” *The Instructor* book 2 ch.2 p.246

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) Noe [Noah] was drunk on wine. *Origen On Prayer* ch.29.18 p.126

**Cyprian** (c.246-258 A.D.) *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 62 ch.11 p.361

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) (implied) “and the vine to the precept given to Noah at the time of the deluge, because, when overpowered by wine, he was mocked.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 10 ch.2 p.348

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “And when he had first taken the fruit from the vineyard, having become merry, he drank even to intoxication, and lay naked.” *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.14 p.63

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 2 ch.52 p.238 says that Noah got drunk.

## Ai10. Ham [son of Noah]

Genesis 6:10; 7:13; 9:18

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) (implied) “For while Noah gave to the two sons the seed of the third as servants, now on the other hand Christ has come to restore both the free sons and the servants amongst them, conferring the same honour on all of them who keep His commandments;” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew a Jew* ch.134 p.267

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “And this Noah had three sons (as we mentioned in the second book), whose names were Shem, and Ham, and Japhet;” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.19 p.116-117

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “With respect to those misdeeds for which the Scriptures themselves blame the patriarchs and prophets, we ought not to inveigh against them, nor become like Ham, who ridiculed the shame of his father, and so fell under a curse;” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.31.1 p.

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) “But Shem and Japheth, his brothers, because of their piety towards their father obtained a blessing. Now the curse of Ham, wherewith his father Noah cursed him,”. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.20

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “So great efficacy had *that* one word *that* from the three *sons of Noah* are begotten in *the* family 72 children,-(viz.,) from Shem, 25; from Japheth, 15; *and* from Ham, 32. Unto Ham, however, these 32 children are born in accordance with previous declarations. *And among Ham’s children are*: Canaan, from whom came the Canaanites; Mizraim, from whom the Egyptians; Cush, from whom the Ethiopians; *and* Phut, from whom the Libyans.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 10 ch.27 p.149

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) “Noah had three sons-Shem, Ham, *and* Japheth. From these the entire family of man was multiplied, and every quarter *of the earth* owes its inhabitants *in the first instance to these*.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 10 ch.27 p.149

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) mentions Ham, Shem, Japheth, cand Canaan son of Ham. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 67 homily 1 ch.8 p.154.

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “And when one of his [Noah’s] sons, whose name was Cham [Ham], had seen this, he did not cover his father’s nakedness, but went out and told the circumstance to his brothers also. But they, having taken a garment, entered with their faces turned backwards, and covered their father. And when their father became aware of what had been done he disowned and sent away his son. But he went into exile, and settled in a part of that land which is now called Arabia; and that land was called from him Chanaan [Canaan], and his posterity Chanaanites.” *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.14 p.63

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Hippolytus** (after 235/236 A.D.) “When he had made an end, accordingly, of building the ship, Noah, with his sons, Sem, Chain, and Japheth [Shem, Ham, Japheth] , entered the cave of deposits.” Section 2, 3 p.196

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) &&& *Chronicon* ch.&&&

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 4 ch.27 p.140 mention Ham.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions Ham. homily 9 ch.3 p.275

## Ai11. Shem [son of Noah]

Genesis 6:10; 7:13; 9:18

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “Now, in what he said, he foretold that the descendants of Shem would keep in retention the property and dwellings of Canaan: and again that the descendants of Japheth would take possession of the property of which Shem’s descendants had dispossessed Canaan’s descendants; and spoil the descendants of Shem, even as they plundered the sons of Canaan.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.139 p.269

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “And this Noah had three sons (as we mentioned in the second book), whose names were Shem, and Ham, and Japhet;” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.19 p.116-117

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) mentions Nebroth [Nimrod], Asshur, Shem, and Mizraim. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.31 p.106

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “He, appearing in these last times, the chief cornerstone, has gathered into one, and united those that were far off and those that were near; that is, the circumcision and the uncircumcision, enlarging Japhet, and placing him in the dwelling of Shem.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.5.3 p.418

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) “But Shem and Japheth, his brothers, because of their piety towards their father obtained a blessing. Now the curse of Ham, wherewith his father Noah cursed him,”. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.20

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “From Adam to the deluge are comprised two thousand one hundred and forty-eight years, four days. From Shem to Abraham, a thousand two hundred and fifty years. From Isaac to the division of the land, six hundred and sixteen years.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.332

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “Noah had three sons-Shem, Ham, *and* Japheth. From these the entire family of man was multiplied, and every quarter *of the earth* owes its inhabitants *in the first instance to these*.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 10 ch.27 p.149

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) mentions Ham, Shem, Japheth, cand Canaan son of Ham. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 67 homily 1 ch.8 p.154.

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Seth, Noah, Shem, Japheth, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the Patriarch Job *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 2.2 p.2

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) &&& *Chronicon* ch.&&&

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Hippolytus** (after 235/236 A.D.) “When he had made an end, accordingly, of building the ship, Noah, with his sons, Sem, Chain, and Japheth [Shem, Ham, Japheth] , entered the cave of deposits.” Section 2, 3 p.196

## Ai12. Japheth [son of Noah]

Genesis 6:10; 7:13; 9:18

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “Now, in what he said, he foretold that the descendants of Shem would keep in retention the property and dwellings of Canaan: and again that the descendants of Japheth would take possession of the property of which Shem’s descendants had dispossessed Canaan’s descendants; and spoil the descendants of Shem, even as they plundered the sons of Canaan.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.139 p.269

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “And this Noah had three sons (as we mentioned in the second book), whose names were Shem, and Ham, and Japhet;” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.19 p.118

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “He, appearing in these last times, the chief cornerstone, has gathered into one, and united those that were far off and those that were near; that is, the circumcision and the uncircumcision, enlarging Japhet, and placing him in the dwelling of Shem.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.5.3 p.418

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) “But Shem and Japheth, his brothers, because of their piety towards their father obtained a blessing. Now the curse of Ham, wherewith his father Noah cursed him,”. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.20

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “Noah had three sons-Shem, Ham, *and* Japheth. From these the entire family of man was multiplied, and every quarter *of the earth* owes its inhabitants *in the first instance to these*.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 10 ch.27 p.149

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) mentions Ham, Shem, Japheth, cand Canaan son of Ham. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 67 homily 1 ch.8 p.154.

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Seth, Noah, Shem, Japheth, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the Patriarch Job *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 2.2 p.2

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) &&& *Chronicon* ch.&&&

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Hippolytus** (after 235/236 A.D.) “When he had made an end, accordingly, of building the ship, Noah, with his sons, Sem, Chain, and Japheth [Shem, Ham, Japheth] , entered the cave of deposits.” Section 2, 3 p.196

## Ai13. Canaan [son of Ham]

Genesis 9:18,22,25

The land of Canaan and the seed of Canaan are not included here

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “Now, in what he said, he foretold that the descendants of Shem would keep in retention the property and dwellings of Canaan: and again that the descendants of Japheth would take possession of the property of which Shem’s descendants had dispossessed Canaan’s descendants; and spoil the descendants of Shem, even as they plundered the sons of Canaan.” *Dialogue with Trypho a Jew* ch.139 p.269

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) (partial) “For while Noah gave to the two sons the seed of the third as servants, now on the other hand Christ has come to restore both the free sons and the servants amongst them, conferring the same honour on all of them who keep His commandments;” *Dialogue with Trypho a Jew* ch.134 p.267

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) (partial, no mention of the individual Canaan per se) “But Shem and Japheth, his brothers, because of their piety towards their father obtained a blessing. Now the curse of Ham, wherewith his father Noah cursed him, is this: Cursed be Ham the child; a servant shall he be to his brethren. This having come upon his race, … For the Canaanites and Hittites and Peresites [Perizzites] and Hivites and Amorites, and Jebusites and Gergasites and Sodomites, the Arabians also and the dwellers in Phoenicia, all the Egyptians and Libyans, are the posterity of Ham, who have fallen under the curse;”. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.20

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “So great efficacy had *that* one word *that* from the three *sons of Noah* are begotten in *the* family 72 children,-(viz.,) from Shem, 25; from Japheth, 15; *and* from Ham, 32. Unto Ham, however, these 32 children are born in accordance with previous declarations. *And among Ham’s children are*: Canaan, from whom came the Canaanites; Mizraim, from whom the Egyptians; Cush, from whom the Ethiopians; *and* Phut, from whom the Libyans.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 10 ch.27 p.149

**Origen** (239-242 A.D.) Noah cursed Canaan. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 11 ch.4.1 p.143-144

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) (partial) and another will rend in pieces him of the seed of Chanaan, and not of Judah, whom beauty had deceived, and whose heart lust had perverted. *Letter to Africanus* ch.7 p.388

Origen (c.250 A.D.) mentions Ham, Shem, Japheth, cand Canaan son of Ham. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 67 homily 1 ch.8 p.154.

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “And when one of his [Noah’s] sons, whose name was Cham [Ham], had seen this, he did not cover his father’s nakedness, but went out and told the circumstance to his brothers also. But they, having taken a garment, entered with their faces turned backwards, and covered their father. And when their father became aware of what had been done he disowned and sent away his son. But he went into exile, and settled in a part of that land which is now called Arabia; and that land was called from him Chanaan [Canaan], and his posterity Chanaanites.” *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.14 p.63

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “just as contrariwise it calls the Jews, when they sin, by names that suit their ways, Canaanites, and seed of Canaan not Judah, Rulers of Sodom, and people of Gomorrah.” *Demonstration of the Gospel*

## Ai14. Nimrod/Nimrud

Genesis 10:8-14

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “in the land of Shinar. And their king was called Nebroth [Nimrod]. From these came Asshur, from whom also the Assyrians receive their name. And Nimrod built…”. He also mentions Shem and Mirzaim. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.31 p.106

**Hippolytus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “And there are, he says, many who closely imitate this (Nimrod): as numerous are they as the gnawing (serpents) which were seen in the wilderness by the children of Israel,” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 5 ch.11 p.63

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 312 A.D.) “and they shall encircle Assur,' that is, Antichrist, 'in the trench of Nimrod,' that is, in the nation of the devil, by the spirit of the Church. Similarly when” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the seventh chapter p.352

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) &&&

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions Nebrod [Nimrod]. homily 9 ch.4 p.271

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** book 4 ch.29 p.141 mentions Ninus [Nimrod]

## Ai15. Abraham [friend of God]

2 Chronicles 20:7; Isaiah 41:8; James 2:23

Hebrews 11:8 (partial, only mentions Abraham)

p13 Hebrews 2:14-5:5; 10:8-22; 10:29-11:13; 11:28-12:17 (225-250 A.D.) (partial, only mentions Abraham) Hebrews 11:8

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Abraham was specially honoured, and was called the friend of God; yet he, earnestly regarding the glory of God, humbly declared, “I am but dust and ashes.” *1 Clement* vol.1 ch.17 p.9

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) “Abraham, styled ‘the friend,’ was found faithful, inasmuch as he rendered obedience to the words of God.” *1 Clement* vol.1 ch.10 p.7

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) mentions Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Twelve Patriarchs, Adam, and Noah. *On Pascha* stanza 83 p.60

&&&Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section &&&

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “But when He [our Lord] terms His disciples ‘the friends of God,’ He plainly declares Himself to be the Word of God, whom Abraham also followed voluntarily and under no compulsion (*sine vinculis*), because of the noble nature of his faith, and so became ‘the friend of God.’ But the Word of God did not accept of the friendship of Abraham, as though He stood in need of it, for He was perfect from the beginning (‘Before Abraham was,’ He says, ‘I am’), but that He in His goodness might bestow eternal life upon Abraham himself, inasmuch as the friendship of God imparts immortality to those who embrace it.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.13.4 p.478

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “‘The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob.’ For the first is found to have been expressly called ‘friend;’ *Stromata* book 2 ch.5 p.351. See also *Stromata* book 4 ch.17 p.428

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “In short, before the Law of Moses, written in stone-tables, I contend that there was a law unwritten, which was habitually understood naturally, and by the fathers was habitually kept. For whence was Noah ‘found righteous,’ if in his case the righteousness of a natural law had not preceded? Whence was Abraham accounted ‘a friend of God,’ if not on the ground of equity and righteousness, (in the observance) of a natural law? Whence was Melchizedek named ‘priest of the most high God,’ if, before the priesthood of the Levitical law, there were not Levites who were wont to offer sacrifices to God?” *An Answer to the Jews* ch.2 p.152-153

Tertullian (213 A.D.) mentions Abraham. *On Monogamy* ch.6 p.63

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) mentions Abraham *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 15 homily 1 ch.1 p.39

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “He [God] translated Enoch: He elected Abraham into the society of his friendship; He protected Isaac: He increased Jacob; He gave Moses for a leader unto the people; He delivered the groaning children of Israel from the yoke of slavery; He wrote the law;” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.8 p.617

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Let us imitate Abraham, the friend of God, who did not delay to offer his son as a victim with his own hands, obeying God with a faith of devotion.” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 55 ch.5 p.348

**Theophilus** (318 A.D.) “For the covenants caused a more especial appearance of angels,--that(3) in the case of Adam, that in the case of Noah, that in the case of Abraham, that in the case of Moses.”. *Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon* ch.51 p.49

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) “for Abraham died, ending his life on a bed; Isaac and Jacob also died with their feet raised on a bed; Moses and Aaron died on the mountain;…” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.37.1 p.56

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) (partial) “Was not Abel born of Adam … Isaac from Abraham …?” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.35.7 p.55

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Seth, Noah, Shem, Japheth, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the Patriarch Job *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 2.2 p.2

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) mentions Abraham, Isaac, and Joseph *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 1.6 p.8

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) mentions Abraham in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 9 ch.17 p.14

Eusebius of Caesarea(318-325 A.D.) mentions Abraham. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.2 p.83

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) &&& *Chronicon* ch.&&&

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Protoevangelium of James*** (145-248 A.D.) ch.20 p.365 mentions Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.32-33 p.86 mentions Abraham and Sarah.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions Abraham. homily 18 ch.13 p.328

## Ai16. Lot or his wife

Genesis 19:15-26

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “For Lot’s wife, who went forth with him, being of a different mind from himself and not continuing in agreement with him” *1 Clement* ch.11 p.8

**Justin Martyr** (138-165 A.D.) “Lot, being uncircumcised, was saved from Sodom, the angels themselves and the Lord sending him out.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.19 p.204

*Tatian’s* ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 42 p.109 “Remember Lot’s wife.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Then, again, Lot, without circumcision, was brought out from Sodom, receiving” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.16.2 p.481

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “For God has respect to the very thought, since Lot’s wife, who had merely voluntarily turned towards worldly wickedness,” *Stromata* book 2 ch.14 p.361

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Lot, withal, the brother of Abraham, proves that it was for the merits of righteousness, without observance of the law, that he was freed from the conflagration of the Sodomites.” *An Answer to the Jews* ch.2 p.153

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “Now, in this discussion of yours, when you suppose that we are to be met with the case of the Creator’s angels, as if they held intercourse with Abraham and Lot in a phantom state, that of merely putative flesh, and yet did truly converse, and eat, and work, as they had been commissioned to do, you will not, to begin with, be permitted to use as examples the acts of that God whom you are destroying.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.9 p.328

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “are the children born to Lot by his daughters, and their race survives even now.” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.51 p.215

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) discusses Lot’s wife. *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 13 ch.3 p.134

Origen (c.250 A.D.) discusses Lot’s wife. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 36 homily 4 ch.2 p.125-126

***Treatise on Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.13 p.674 “if by chance he has excluded himself there from by his own fault; even as that wife of Lot, who in a similar manner in time of trouble only, contrary to the angel’s command, looked behind her, and she became a pillar of salt.”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “And again: ‘And let him that is in the field not return back. Remember Lot’s wife.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 11 ch.7 p.500

## Ai17. Sarai / Sarah

Genesis 11:29-31; 16:1-6; 18:6-15

Rom 9:9

Hebrews 11:11

**p13** Hebrews 2:14-5:5; 10:8-22; 10:29-11:13; 11:28-12:17 (225-250 A.D.) Hebrews 11:11

**Justin Martyr** (135-168 A.D.) “And I said, “Do you think that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Noah, and Job, and all the rest before or after them equally righteous, also Sarah the wife of Abraham, Rebekah the wife of Isaac, Rachel the wife of Jacob, and Leah, and all the rest of them, until the mother of Moses the faithful servant, who observed none of these [statutes], will be saved? ‘ And Trypho answered, ‘Were not Abraham and his descendants circumcised?’” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.46 p.217-218

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “And upon the death of Sarah his wife, when the Hittites were willing to bestow upon him a place where he might bury her, he declined it as a gift, but bought the burying-place (giving for it four hundred talents of silver) from Ephron the son of Zohar the Hittite.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.32.2 p.561

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) mentions Isaac, from Sarah, as well as “of Isaac Jacob was born”. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.24

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Sarah was at one time barren, being Abraham’s wife. Sarah having no child,” *Stromata* book 1 ch.5 p.306

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “requested of the sons of Heth [the Hittites] a spot to bury Sarah in, he said to them,” *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* ch.18 p.558

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “inasmuch as the Creator also altered the names of Abram, and Sarai, and Oshea, by calling the latter Joshua, and adding a syllable to each of the former.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.13 p.365

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “let any one read the accounts of Abraham and Sarah, to whom at an advanced age was born Isaac, the father of the whole Jewish nation: and there are other instances of the same thing.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.46 p.656

Origen (c.250 A.D.) mentions Sarah and Hagar. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 76 homily 2 ch.3 p.257.

**Novatian** (250-258 A.D.) “And after this he [Abraham] hears also that he should be a father, and learns that Sarah his wife should bring forth a son by him;” *Treatise Concerning the Trinity* ch.18 p.628

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) mentions Sarah, the wife of Abraham in discussing how Isaac was a type of Christ. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 first part ch.20 p.512

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Protoevangelium of James*** (145-248 A.D.) ch.2 p.361 mentions Sarah and Isaac.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.34-35 p.86 mentions Abraham and Sarah.

## Ai18. Hagar

Genesis 16

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “But that you may clearly discern what I say, listen to the words expressly employed by Moses; they are these: ‘And Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian bond-woman, whom she bore to Abraham, sporting with Isaac her son, and said to Abraham, Cast out this bond-woman and her son; for the son of this bond-woman shall not share the inheritance of my son Isaac.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.56 p.223

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “The arrangement also made by Sarah when, after ten years, she gave her handmaid Hagar to him, that by her he might have a son, showed the same thing.” (Irenaeus is explaining how the Marcosians twist scripture.) *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.18.3 p.343

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Wherefore also, when Sarah was jealous at Hagar being preferred to her,” *Stromata* book 1 ch.5 p.\306

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) mentions Sarah and Hagar. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 76 homily 2 ch.3 p.257.

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “Hagar, Sarah’s maid, driven from her home as well as turned away, near the” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.18 p.628

**Among Heretics**

**Marcosians** according to Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “The arrangement also made by Sarah when, after ten years, she gave her handmaid Hagar to him, that by her he might have a son, showed the same thing.” (Irenaeus is explaining how the Marcosians twist scripture.) *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.18.3 p.343

## Ai19. Ishmael

Genesis 16:11,15; 17:18,20,23-26

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “Arabians, or Egyptians, or Idumaeans, since Ishmael became the father of a” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.119 p.259

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) (implied) discusses the allegory of Isaac and Ishmael in Galatians “the two narratives of the sons of Abraham had an allegorical meaning in their course;”. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.5 p.324. See also *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.9 p.357.

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “the father of Ishmael, who underwent the rite of circumcision along with his” *Against Celsus* book 5 ch.48 p.564

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “womb there should be a numerous seed, and that she should have Ishmael to be” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.18 p.628

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.33 p.86 mentions Ishmael.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions Isaac, Ishmael, Jacob, and Esau. homily 2 ch.16 p.231

## Ai20. Isaac

Genesis 24:62-66

Romans 9:6 “It is not as though God’s word had failed. For not all who are descended from Israel are Israel. Nor because they are his descendants are they all Abraham’s children. On the contrary, ‘It is through Isaac that your offspring will be reckoned.”

Hebrews 11:9

**p13** Hebrews 2:14-5:5; 10:8-22; 10:29-11:13; 11:28-12:17 (225-250 A.D.) Hebrews 11:9

**p1** (225-275 A.D.) Matthew 1:1-9, 12, 14-20 (17 verses) Matthew 1:2

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) mentions by name Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph but does not say anything about Joseph’s brothers. *Letter of Ignatius to the Philadelphians* ch.5 p.82

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.6 p.140 “Enter into the good land which the Lord sware [to give] to Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and inherit ye it, a land flowing with milk and honey.”

*Epistle of Barnabas* (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.13 p.145 tells of various Old Testament saints, including Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Ephraim.

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “From the writings of Moses also this will be manifest; for thus it is written in them, ‘And the Angel of God spake to Moses, in a flame of fire out of the bush, and said, I am that I am, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, the God of thy fathers; go down into Egypt, and bring forth My people.’” [Exodus 3:6] *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.63 p.184

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) says that Isaac almost being sacrificed was a type of Christ. “not shrinking form shedding the blood of his son.” *From the Catena on Genesis* ch.5 *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.759

Melito of Sardis (170-177/180 A.D.) mentions Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Twelve Patriarchs, Adam, and Noah. *On Pascha* stanza 83 p.60

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-182/188 A.D.) “the righteous seed of godly and holy men-Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.9 p.114

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “whom invoking, he exclaimed, ‘LORD God of Abraham, God of Isaac, and God of Jacob, hear me to-day, and let all this people know that Thou art the God of Israel.’” [1 Kings 18:36] *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.6.5 p.419

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) mentions Isaac, from Sarah, as well as “of Isaac Jacob was born”. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.24

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) says that Isaac is a type of Christ *Stromata* book 1 ch.4 p.306

**Tertullian** (213 A.D.) discusses Isaac and the meaning of his name. *On Monogamy* ch.6 p.63; ch.11 p.68.

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) discusses the allegory of Isaac and Ishmael in Galatians: “the two narratives of the sons of Abraham had an allegorical meaning in their course;”. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.5 p.324. See also *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.9 p.357 and book 3 ch.18 p.336.

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “From the circumstance, then, (of this migration) is traceable the beginning of an increase (of population) in Judea, which obtained its name from Judah, fourth son of Jacob, whose *name* was also called *Israel*, from the fact that a race of kings would be descended from him. Abraham removes from Mesopotamia (when 75 years , and) when 100 years old he begat Isaac. But Isaac, when 60 years of age, begat Jacob. And Jacob, when 86 years old, begat Levi; and Levi,” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 10 ch.26 p.148-149

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) “And whatsoever the Egyptians possess is given over to the fire, but Abraham’s substance is given to Isaac.” On Psalm 77 or 87 no.48 p.171

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “Be thou such as Abel was, or such as Isaac himself, or Stephen, who chose for himself on the way the righteous life.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.62 p.215

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) in discussing Abraham and Isaac, “Or rather do you think of those well-known words, and say that it is impossible for him who promised to lie; be that as it may, the promise shall remain?” *Homilies on Genesis* homily 8 ch.1 p.137. See also *Origen Against Celsus* ch.4 p.575.

Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) mentions Isaac, Jacob, and Esau. *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 10 ch.4 p.383

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions Isaac, Rebecca, and Jacob. *Origen On Prayer* ch.3.1 p.22

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “He [God] preserved the most righteous Noe [Noah] from the perils of the deluge, for the merit of His innocence and faith; He translated Enoch: He elected Abraham into the society of his friendship; He protected Isaac: He increased Jacob; He gave Moses for a leader unto the people;” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.8 p.617

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) Thus also to Abraham, when his former son was born of a bond-woman, Sarah remained long barren; and late in old age bare her son Isaac, of promise, who was the type of Christ.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 first part ch.20 p.512-513

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) “However, when Isaac was about to give Esau his blessing at a time when Rebecca had been told: ‘The elder shall server the younger’” *Dialogue on the True Faith* part 1 ch.20 p.63

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “He may make us to lie down in the bosom of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* Discourse 5 ch.3 p.326

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) “Was not Abel born of Adam … Isaac from Abraham, Jacob of Isaac?” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.35.7 p.55

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Seth, Noah, Shem, Japheth, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the Patriarch Job *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 2.2 p.2

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) mentions Abraham, Isaac, and Joseph *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 1.6 p.8

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) mentions Isaac in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 9 ch.21 p.17

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) mentions the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.2.13 p.83

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) &&& *Chronicon* ch.&&&

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**Megethius** (c.300 A.D.) says that the Old Testament God let Isaac be partially blind. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.20 p.62

**pseudo-Methodius** (after 312 A.D.) “with authority, the God of Abraham, the Protector of Isaac, the Holy One of Israel, the Instructor of Moses” *Oration of Simeon and Anna* ch.6 p.387

***Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*** (70-135 A.D.) book 7 ch.7 p.26 mentions Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph.

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Protoevangelium of James*** (145-248 A.D.) ch.2 p.361 mentions Sarah and Isaac.

The Ebionite *Protoevangelium of James* (145-248 A.D.) ch.20 p.365 mentions Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.34-35 p.86 mentions Isaac.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions Isaac, Ishmael, Jacob, and Esau. homily 2 ch.16 p.231

# Isaac to Egypt Individuals

## Ie1. Abraham offered Isaac as a sacrifice

Genesis 22; James 2:21

(partial) John 8:33,38; Hebrews 11:2

p52 (=John Rylands 457) John 18:31-35, 37-38 (c.117-138 A.D.) (partial) mentions Abraham, but nothing of Isaac or a sacrifice in John 18:33,38

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Hebrews 11:7

p13 Hebrews 2:14-5:5; 10:8-22; 10:29-11:13; 11:28-12:17 (225-250 A.D.) (partial) Hebrews 11:2 mentions Abraham, but not the sacrifice

**p20** - James 2:19-3:2 (6 out of 96 letters of 3:3; 3:4-9 (3rd century A.D.) Abraham offered his son but does not say which one or a type of Christ. James 2:21

p40 – Romans 1:24-27; 1:31-2:3; 3:21-4:8; 6:2-5,16; 9:17,27 (3rd century A.D.) (partial) mentions Abraham in Romans 3:31-4:3

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “For what reason was our father Abraham blessed? was it not because he wrought righteousness and truth through faith? Isaac, with perfect confidence, as if knowing what was to happen, cheerfully yielded himself as a sacrifice” *1 Clement* ch.31 vol.1 p.13 (See also vol.9 p.238)

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) says that the Son of God came in the flesh ch.5 p.140 , He was to be manifested in the flesh ch.6 p.141; and the judge of the living and the dead suffered ch.7 p.141. He was to offer in sacrifice for our sins, as the type established in Isaac when he was offered on the alter. ch.7 p.141

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “The slaughter of this animal redeemed Isaac from death. In like manner, the Lord, being slain, saved us; being bound, He loosed us; being sacrificed, He redeemed us… For the Lord was a lamb, like the ram which Abraham saw caught in the bush Sabec [thicket]. … For a new mystery was presented to view, a son led by his father to a mountain to be slain, whose feet he bound together, and laid him on the wood of the sacrifice, preparing with care whatever was necessary for his immolation. Isaac on his part is silent, bound like a ram, not opening his mouth, nor uttering a sound with his voice. For, not fearing the knife, nor quailing before the fire, nor troubled by *the prospect of* suffering, he sustained bravely *the character of* the type of the Lord. According there lies Isaac before us, with his feet bound like a ram, his father standing by, with the knife all bare in his hand, not shrinking form shedding the blood of his son.” *Catena on Genesis* ch.5 (*ANF* vol.8) p.759

Melito of Sardis (170-177/180 A.D.) says that Isaac almost being sacrificed was a type of Christ. “not shrinking form shedding the blood of his son.” *From the Catena on Genesis* ch.5 (*Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8) p.759

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) Righteously also do we, possessing the same faith as Abraham, and taking up the cross as Isaac did the wood follow Him. For in Abraham man had learned beforehand, and had been accustomed to follow the Word of God. For Abraham, according to his faith, followed the command of the Word of God, and with a ready mind delivered up, as a sacrifice to God, his only-begotten and beloved son, in order that God also might be pleased to offer up for all his seed His own beloved and only-begotten Son, as a sacrifice for our redemption. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.5.4 p.467

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) Christ was born of a virgin, and suffered on the cross; was raised also from the dead, and taken up to heaven; that He was glorified, and reigns for ever. He is Himself termed the Perfect Intellect, the Word of God. He is the First-begotten, after a transcendent manner, the Creator of man; All in all; Patriarch among the patriarchs; Law in the law; the Priest among priests; among kings Prime Leader; the Prophet among the prophets; the Angel among angels; the Man among men; Son in the Father; God in God; King to all eternity. He was sold with Joseph, and He guided Abraham; was bound along with Isaac, and wandered with Jacob; with Moses He was Leader, and, respecting the people, Legislator. He preached in the prophets; was incarnate of a virgin; born in Bethlehem; received by John, and baptized in Jordan; was tempted in the desert, and proved to be the Lord. He gathered the apostles together, and preached the kingdom of heaven; gave light to the blind, and raised the dead; was seen in the temple, but was not held by the people as worthy of credit; was arrested by the priests, conducted before Herod, and condemned in the presence of Pilate; He manifested Himself in the body, was suspended upon a beam of wood, and raised from the dead; shown to the apostles, and, having been carried up to heaven, sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and has been glorified by Him as the Resurrection of the dead.” Fragment 54 p.577

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “‘The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob.’ For the first is found to have been expressly called ‘friend;’ and the second is shown to have received a new name, signifying ‘he that sees God;’ while Isaac, God in a figure selected for Himself as a consecrated sacrifice, to be a type to us of the economy of salvation.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.5 p.351. See also *The Instructor* ch.5 p.215.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “This ‘wood,’ again, Isaac the son of Abraham personally carried for his own sacrifice, when God had enjoined that he should be made a victim to Himself. But, because these had been mysteries which were being kept for perfect fulfilment in the times of Christ, Isaac, on the one hand, with his “wood,” was reserved, the ram being offered which was caught by the horns in the bramble” *An Answer to the Jews* ch.13 p.170

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “First, then, Isaac, when he was given up by his father as an offering, himself carried the wood for his own death. By this act he even then was setting forth the death of Christ, who was destined by His Father as a sacrifice, and carried the cross whereon He suffered. Joseph likewise was a type of Christ” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.18 p.336

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) discusses Abraham almost sacrificing Isaac in *Homilies on Genesis* . homily 8 ch.7-9 p.141-147

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) discusses Isaac prepared to be sacrificed by Abraham. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise *9* ch.10 p.486

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) In Genesis : “And God, tempted Abraham, and said to him, Take thy only son whom thou lovest, Isaac, and go into the high land, and offer him there as a burnt-offering on one of the mountains of which I will tell thee.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 third book ch.15 p.537

Alexander of Lycopolis (301 A.D.) (partial) Abraham’s [unnamed] son was prepared as a sacrifice. *Of the Manichaeans* ch.24 p.251

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Abraham offering Isaac in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 9 ch.19 p.16

## Ie2. Rebecca [wife of Isaac]

Genesis 25:20-21

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.13 p.145 “Hear ye now what the Scripture saith concerning the people. Isaac prayed for Rebecca his wife, because she was barren; and she conceived.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “patriarchs, but also that the children brought forth by Rebecca were a” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.21.2 p.493

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) And Rebecca, interpreted, means ‘glory of God; ‘and the glory of God is immortality.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.25 p.439

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Abraham, greatly feared in regard of his own wife’s grace; and Isaac, by falsely representing Rebecca as his sister, purchased safety by insult!” *On the Apparel of Women* book 2 ch.2 p.19-20.

Tertullian (208-220 A.D.) mentions Rebecca, the wife of Isaac. *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.9 p.82

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “and keep the true Sabbath. Rebecca is full of the Holy Spirit, as understanding” Quoted in Jerome Epistle 36 ad Damasum, Numbers 18 (from Galland) p.169

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “Consider what was abundantly said of Rebecca from heaven; whence, imitating the alien, ye may believe in Christ.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.39 p.210

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “I suppose he means the conduct of Rebecca, who contrived that the” *Origen Against Celsus* book 4 ch.43 p.517

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions Isaac, Rebecca, and Jacob. *Origen On Prayer* ch.3.1 p.22

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Also in Genesis , Abraham sends his servant to take from his seed Rebecca, for” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.62 p.62

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) “However, when Isaac was about to give Esau his blessing at a time when Rebecca had been told: ‘The elder shall server the younger’” *Dialogue on the True Faith* part 1 ch.20 p.63

## Ie3. Laban [Jacob’s father-in-law]

Genesis 25:20

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Isaac, with perfect confidence, as if knowing what was to happen, cheerfully yielded himself as a sacrifice Jacob, through reason of his brother, went forth with humility from his own land, and came to Laban and served him;” *1 Clement* ch.31 p.13 See also vol.9)

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “Jacob served Laban for speckled and many-spotted sheep; and Christ served, even to the slavery of the cross, for the various and many-formed races of mankind, acquiring them by the blood and mystery of the cross.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.134 p.267

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “For not only did not the nations in this life serve this Jacob; but even after he had received the blessing, he himself going forth [from his home], served his uncle Laban the Syrian for twenty years;” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.33.3 p.562

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “She who emulates Sarah is not ashamed of that highest of ministries, helping wayfarers. For Abraham said to her, ‘Haste, and knead three measures of meal, and make cakes.’ ‘And Rachel, the daughter of Laban, came,’ it is said, ‘with her father’s sheep. Nor was this enough; but to teach humility it is added, ‘for she fed her father’s sheep.’” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.10 p.283

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-234/235 A.D.) “Wherefore Rebecca-that is, patience-told her husband of the brother’s plot: who, summoning Jacob, bade him go to Mesopotamia and thence take a wife of the family of Laban the Syrian, his mother’s brother.” Fragment 3 quoted in Jerome Epistle 36 to Damasus Numbers 18 p.169.

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “living with Laban, not understanding to what these words refer: “And those which” *Origen Against Celsus* book 4 ch.43 p.517

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions Laban, Jacob’s father-in-law. *Origen On Prayer* ch.29.3 p.14

**Novatian** (250-258 A.D.) “all that Laban hath done to thee. I am God, who appeared to thee in the place of” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.19 p.630

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Laban. *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 1.5 p.7

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) &&& *Chronicon* ch.&&&

## Ie4. Esau

Genesis 25:25-34; 26:34; 27:1-42; 28:5-9; 32:3-19; 33:1-16; 35:1,29; 36:1-43; Deuteronomy 2:4-8,12,22,29; Joshua 24:4; 1 Chronicles 1:34-35; Jeremiah 49:8,10; Obadiah 6-21; Malachi 1:2-3; Romans 9:13; Hebrews 11:20; 12:16

**p13** Hebrews 2:14-5:5; 10:8-22; 10:29-11:13; 11:28-12:17 (225-250 A.D.) Hebrews 12:16

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Romans 9:13

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Through envy, also, our father Jacob fled from the face of Esau his brother.” *1 Clement* ch.4 p.6. See also ch.4 (*ANF* vol.9) p.230.

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “words which narrate how He who is both Angel and God and Lord, and who appeared as a man to Abraham, and who wrestled in human form with Jacob, was seen by him when he fled from his brother Esau.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.58 p.226

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Our God, one and the same, is also their [the patriarchs’] God, who knows hidden things, who knoweth all things before they can come to pass; and for this reason has He said, ‘Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.21.2 p.493

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “But rather, he says, “Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord: looking diligently, lest there be any fornicator or profane person, as Esau, who for one morsel surrendered his birth-right; and lest any root of bitterness springing up trouble you, and thereby many be defiled.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.20 p.432

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “always do I recognise the savour of Esau, the hunter of wild beasts: so unlimitedly studious are you of catching fieldfares, so do you come from ‘the field’ of your most lax discipline, so faint are you in spirit.” *On Fasting* ch.17 p.113

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “But to Esau the blessing promised is an earthly one, which he supplements with a heavenly, after the fatness of the earth, saying, ‘Thy dwelling shall be also of the dew of heaven.’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.25 p.343

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “Those of Edom are the sons of Esau, who inhabit Mount Seir.” *Interpretation of Daniel and Nebuchadnezzar* ch.40 p.184

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) mentions Isaac, Jacob, and Esau. *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 10 ch.4 p.383

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) “or, in addition, to that of Esau against Jacob;” *Origen Against Celsus* book 4 ch.43 p.517

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions Esau. *Origen On Prayer* ch.3.1 p.22. See also ibid ch.5.4 p.29.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (256 A.D.) “But how dangerous it is in divine matters, that any one should depart from his right and power, Holy Scripture declares when, in Genesis , Esau thence lost his birthright, nor was able afterwards to regain that which he had once given up.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 72 ch.26 p.386

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) mentions how the younger Jacob was blessed instead of the older, Esau. *Dialogue on the True Faith* part 1 ch.20 p.63

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “Wherefore I dare to ask you to listen to me with ears free from all envy, without imitating the jealousy of Cain, or persecuting your brother, like Esau, or approving the brethren of Joseph, because they, hated their brother on account of his words; but differing far from all these, insomuch that each of you is used to speak the mind of his neighbour.” *Concerning Free Will* p.356

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Esau in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 9 ch.21 p.17.

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 3 ch.61 p.130 mentions Esau.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions Isaac, Ishmael, Jacob, and Esau. homily 2 ch.16 p.231

## Ie5. Jacob

Genesis 25:28; Genesis 27-33; Malachi 2:12; John 4:5,12; Acts 3:23; 7:8-46; Romans 9:13; 11:26; Hebrews 11:9,20-21

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Romans 9:13

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 4:5,12

**p13** Hebrews 2:14-5:5; 10:8-22; 10:29-11:13; 11:28-12:17 (225-250 A.D.) Hebrews 11:9

**p1** (225-275 A.D.) Matthew 1:1-9, 12, 14-20 (17 verses) Matthew 1:2

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Through envy, also, our father Jacob fled from the face of Esau his brother.” *1 Clement* ch.4 p.6. See also ch.4 (*ANF* vol.9) p.230.

**Ignatius of Antioch** (c.100-117 A.D.) “He is the door of the Father, by which enter in Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the prophets, and the apostles, and the Church. All these have for their object the attaining to the unity of God.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Philadelphians* ch.9 p.84

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.6 p.140 “Enter into the good land which the Lord sware [to give] to Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and inherit ye it, a land flowing with milk and honey.”

*Epistle of Barnabas* (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.13 p.145 tells of various Old Testament saints, including Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Ephraim.

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “words which narrate how He who is both Angel and God and Lord, and who appeared as a man to Abraham, and who wrestled in human form with Jacob, was seen by him when he fled from his brother Esau.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.58 p.226

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) mentions Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Twelve Patriarchs, Adam, and Noah. *On Pascha* stanza 83 p.60

Melito of Sardis (170-177/180 A.D.) “from Abraham to Isaac and Jacob and the twelve patriarchs” *On Pascha* Stanza 85 p.60

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-182/188 A.D.) “the righteous seed of godly and holy men-Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.9 p.114

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “-He who formed the world (for the world is of all), -He who fashioned man,-He [who] is the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, above whom there is no other God, nor initial principle, nor power, nor pleroma,-He is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, as we shall prove.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.22.1 p.347

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) mentions Isaac, from Sarah, as well as “of Isaac Jacob was born”. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.24

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Noah preached repentance; Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob gave many clear utterances respecting future and present things. Contemporaneous with the law, Moses and Aaron; and after these prophesied Jesus the son of Nave, Samuel, Gad, Nathan, Achias, Samaeas, Jehu, Elias, Michaeas, Abdiu, Elisaeus, Abbadonai, Amos, Esaias, Osee, Jonas, Joel, Jeremias, Sophonias the son of Buzi, Ezekiel, Urias, Ambacum, Naum, Daniel, Misael, who wrote the syllogisms, Aggai, Zacharias, and the angel [Malachi] among the twelve. These are, in all, five-and-thirty prophets. And of women (for these too prophesied), Sara, and Rebecca, and Mariam, and Debbora, and Olda, i.e., Huldah.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.331

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “‘all nations have ‘to ascend to the mount of the Lord and to the house of the God of Jacob,’ who demands of His saints in martyrdom that death which He exacted even of His Christ.” *Treatise on the Soul* ch.50 p.227

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “‘Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and He will teach us His way, and we will walk in it: for out of Sion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.21 p.339

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “And that the case stands thus, we see also from the words of Jacob: ‘Let Dan be a serpent, lying upon the ground, biting the horse’s heel.’” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.14 p.207

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) mentions Jacob. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.39 p.210

**Julius Africanus** (232-245 A.D.) mentions Jacob the father of Joseph. He also mentions Juda (Judah), Levi, David, Nathan, Solomon. *Genealogy in the Holy Gospels* (=*Epistle to Aristides)* ch.1 p.125

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “And the same remark applies to Isaac, and Jacob, and Israel; which names, although confessedly Hebrew, are frequently introduced by those Egyptians who profess to produce some wonderful result by means of their knowledge.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.22 p.405. See also *Origen Against Celsus* ch.4 p.575.

Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) mentions Isaac, Jacob, and Esau. *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 10 ch.4 p.383

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions Isaac, Rebecca, and Jacob. *Origen On Prayer* ch.3.1 p.22

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “‘For,’ it says, ‘Jacob remained alone; and there wrestled with him a man even till daybreak.’” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.19 p.630

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Thus, at the very beginning of the world, the righteous Abel was the first to be slain by his brother; and Jacob was driven into exile, and Joseph was sold, and king Saul persecuted the merciful David; and king Ahab endeavoured to oppress Elias, who firmly and bravely asserted the majesty of God.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 11 ch.11 p.503

**Pierius** (275 A.D.) “And, again, he indulges in some obscure speculations, after the manner of the nonsense of Origen, on the subject of the ‘pre-existence of souls.’ And also in the book on the Passover (Easter) and on Hosea, he treats both of the cherubim made by Moses, and of the pillar of Jacob, in which passages he [Pierius] admits the actual construction of those things, but propounds the foolish theory that they were given economically, and that they were in no respect like other things which are made; inasmuch as they bore the likeness of no other form, but had only, as he foolishly says, the appearance of wings.” Fragment p.157

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) mentions how the younger Jacob was blessed instead of the older, Esau. *Dialogue on the True Faith* ch.21 p.63

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “‘Lo, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, hath prevailed.’] We read in Genesis that this lion of the tribe of Judah hath conquered, when the patriarch Jacob says, ‘Judah, thy brethren shall praise thee; thou hast lain down and slept, and hast risen up again as a lion, and as a lion’s whelp.’” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the fifth chapter verse 5 p.350

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) “Also the account of the famine and the buying of corn, and the mutual recognition of the sons of Jacob, and of the birth of Moses and the appearance of God to Moses, which took place at Mount Sinai.” *An Exposition of Acts* section h p.166

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “He may make us to lie down in the bosom of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* Discourse 5 ch.3 p.326

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) mentions Jacob’s prophesy in Genesis 49:10 as referring to Christ *Incarnation of the Word* ch.40 p.57

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) “Was not Abel born of Adam … Isaac from Abraham, Jacob of Isaac?” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.35.7 p.55

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “But Moses also, in Numbers, thus speaks: ‘There shall arise a star out of Jacob, and a man shall spring forth from Israel.’” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.13 p.112

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Jacob in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 6 ch.10 p.41 and book 9 ch.21 p.17,

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) mentions Seth, Noah, Shem, Japheth, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the Patriarch Job *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 2.2 p.2

Eusebius of Caesarea(318-325 A.D.) mentions Jacob. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.2.0 p.82

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) mentions the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.2.13 p.83

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) &&& *Chronicon* ch.&&&

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Ignatius** (after 117 A.D.) “For I pray that, being found worthy of God, I may be found at their feet in the kingdom, as at the feet of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob; as of Joseph, and Isaiah, and the rest of the prophets; as of Peter, and Paul, and the rest of the apostles, that were married men.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Philadelphians* ch.4 p.81 (Latin)

***Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*** (70-135 A.D.) book 7 ch.7 p.26 mentions Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph.

**Among heretics**

***A Naasene Sermon*** (188-235 A.D.) says Jacob went through a gate in Genesis 28:17, and this is why Jesus says, “I am the true gate”. *TGB* p.487

The Ebionite ***Protoevangelium of James*** (145-248 A.D.) ch.20 p.365 mentions Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.34-35 p.86 and book 1 ch.49 p.90 mentions Jacob.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions Isaac, Ishmael, Jacob, and Esau. homily 2 ch.16 p.231.See also ibid homily 2 ch.52 p.238.

The Ebionite *Clementine Homilies* (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) says that Jacob wrestled with an angel. homily 20 ch.7 p.341

## Ie6. Leah [wife of Jacob]

Genesis 29:16-32; 30:9-20; 33:1-7; 34:1; 35:23; 46:15,18; 49:31; Ruth 4:11

**Justin Martyr** (135-168 A.D.) “And I said, “Do you think that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Noah, and Job, and all the rest before or after them equally righteous, also Sarah the wife of Abraham, Rebekah the wife of Isaac, Rachel the wife of Jacob, and Leah, and all the rest of them, until the mother of Moses the faithful servant, who observed none of these [statutes], will be saved? ‘ And Trypho answered, ‘Were not Abraham and his descendants circumcised?’” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.46 p.217-218

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) (implied) “And it was foretold what each should be according to rank and according to fore-knowledge. Jacob served Laban for speckled and many-spotted sheep; and Christ served, even to the slavery of the cross, for the various and many-formed races of mankind, acquiring them by the blood and mystery of the cross. Leah was weak-eyed; for the eyes of your souls are excessively weak. Rachel stole the gods of Laban, and has hid them to this day; and we have lost our paternal and material gods. Jacob was hated for all time by his brother; and we now, and our Lord Himself, are hated by you and by all men, though we are brothers by nature. Jacob was called Israel; and Israel has been demonstrated to be the Christ, who is, and is called, Jesus.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.134 p.267

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “Look upon Leah, that was a type of the synagogue, which Jacob received as a sign,”*Instructions of Commodianus* ch.39 p.210

**Novatian** (250-258 A.D.) “For when, to his wives Leah and Rachel, Jacob complained of the injustice of their father, and when he told them that he desired now to go and return into his own land, he moreover inter posed the authority of his dream; and at this time he says that the angel of God had said to him in a dream,” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.19 p.629

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Thus also Jacob received two wives: the elder Leah, with weak eyes, a type of the synagogue; the younger the beautiful Rachel, a type of the Church, who also remained long barren, and afterwards brought forth Joseph, who also was himself a type of Christ. … and Samuel being born, was a type of Christ.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 first part ch.20 p.512-513

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Rachel and Leah in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 9 ch.21 p.17.

## Ie7. Rachel [wife of Jacob]

Genesis 29:6,9-31; 30:1-25; 31:4,14,19,32-34; 33:1,2,7; 35:16,19-25; 46:19,22,25; 48:7; Ruth 4:11; Matthew 2:18

1 Samuel 10:2 (Rachel’s sepulchre)

**Justin Martyr** (135-168 A.D.) “And I said, “Do you think that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Noah, and Job, and all the rest before or after them equally righteous, also Sarah the wife of Abraham, Rebekah the wife of Isaac, Rachel the wife of Jacob, and Leah, and all the rest of them, until the mother of Moses the faithful servant, who observed none of these [statutes], will be saved? ‘ And Trypho answered, ‘Were not Abraham and his descendants circumcised?’” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.46 p.217-218

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “But he (Jacob) did all things for the sake of the younger, she who had the handsome eyes, Rachel, who prefigured the Church, for which Christ endured patiently; who at that time, indeed, by means of His patriarchs and prophets, was prefiguring and declaring beforehand future things, fulfilling His part by anticipation in the dispensations of God, and accustoming His inheritance to obey God, and to pass through the world as in a state of pilgrimage, to follow His word, and to indicate beforehand things to come. For with God there is nothing without purpose or due signification.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.21.3 p.493

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “She who emulates Sarah is not ashamed of that highest of ministries, helping wayfarers. For Abraham said to her, ‘Haste, and knead three measures of meal, and make cakes.’ ‘And Rachel, the daughter of Laban, came,’ it is said, ‘with her father’s sheep. Nor was this enough; but to teach humility it is added, ‘for she fed her father’s sheep.’” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.10 p.283

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “whereas things carnal, he says, are all corruptible, even though very many things (of this type) are produced. For this reason, he says, ‘Rachel wept for her children, and would not,’ says (the prophet), ‘be comforted; sorrowing for them, for she knew,’ says he, ‘that they are not.’ But Jeremiah likewise utters lamentation for Jerusalem below, not the city in Phoenicia, but the corruptible generation below.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 5 ch.3 p.55

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) mentions Rachel. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 15 homily 1 ch.1 p.39

**Novatian** (250-258 A.D.) “For when, to his wives Leah and Rachel, Jacob complained of the injustice of their father, and when he told them that he desired now to go and return into his own land, he moreover inter posed the authority of his dream; and at this time he says that the angel of God had said to him in a dream,” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.19 p.629

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Thus also to Abraham, when his former son was born of a bond-woman, Sarah remained long barren; and late in old age bare her son Isaac, of promise, who was the type of Christ. Thus also Jacob received two wives: the elder Leah, with weak eyes, a type of the synagogue; the younger the beautiful Rachel, a type of the Church, who also remained long barren, and afterwards brought forth Joseph, who also was himself a type of Christ. And in the first of Kings it is said that Elkanah had two wives: Peninnah, with her sons; and Hannah, barren, from whom is born Samuel, not according to the order of generation, but according to the mercy and promise of God,” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 book 1 ch.20 p.512-513

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Rachel and Leah in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 9 ch.21 p.17.

**Among heretics**

***A Naasene Sermon*** (188-235 A.D.) mentions Jeremiah and Rachel weeping for her children. *TGB* p.490-491

## Ie8. Reuben [patriarch]

Genesis 37:21-22; 49:3-4

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “And to Jacob: ‘And in thee and in thy seed shall all families of the earth be blessed.’ He says that neither to Esau nor to Reuben, nor to any other; only to those of whom the Christ should arise, according to the dispensation, through the Virgin Mary.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.120 p.259

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “Reuben, my first-born, thou art my strength, and the first of my children; hard to bear with, and hard and self-willed: thou hast waxed wanton as water; boil not over.” *Genesis 49:3* p.163

**Origen** (227-240 A.D.) “‘And I heard the number of them that were sealed, a hundred and forty-four thousand who were sealed, out of every tribe of the children of Israel; of the tribe of Juda [Judah] were sealed twelve thousand, of the tribe of Roubem [Reuben] twelve thousand.’ And he mentioned each of the tribes singly, with the exception of Dan.” *Commentary on John* book 1 ch.1 p.297

Origen (c.250 A.D.) mentions Reuben, Manasses, and Gad in *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 15 homily 1 ch.6 p.46

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “For why was not the nation called after the eldest of the twelve, I mean (c) Reuben, according to the divine law of primogeniture? Why not from Levi, who was greater than Judah in order of birth, and also in receiving the priesthood? Why not, even more, was the race and the country not called after Joseph, from his acquiring rule not only over the whole of Egypt, but over his own relations, and because his descendants, long years after, were to rule as many as nine tribes of the nation, on hose account it was far more probable that the whole race and the country would have been named after their ancestor? And who would not agree (d) that they might reasonably have been called from Benjamin, since their famous mother-city and the all-holy Temple of God was in the portion of his tribe? But yet, in spite of all, the name of the Lord and of the whole nation was drawn from none of them but Judah, as the prophecy foretold.” *Demonstration of the Gospel* ch.1

## Ie9. Simeon [patriarch]

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “When Jacob pronounced a blessing on Simeon and Levi, he prophesies of the scribes and Pharisees; for from them is derived their origin.” *An Answer to the Jews* ch.10 p.&&&

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “Gen. XLIX. 5. Simeon and Levi, brethren. Since from Simeon sprang the scribes, and from Levi the priests.” Fragment 1 p.163

**Julius Africanus** (235-245 A.D.) mentions Jacob, Symeon [Simeon] and Levi. *Chronology* fragments p.132

**Origen** (239-242 A.D.) mentions Israel, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 4 ch.4 p.71

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (c.318-325 A.D.) “10 And they shall look on me, whom they pierced, because they have mocked me, and shall make lamentation for him as for a beloved, and grief as for a firstborn son. 11. In that day the lamentation of Jerusalem shall be increased, as the mourning for Roon cut down in the plain. 12. And the land shall mourn according to families. The family of the house of David by itself, and its women by themselves; the family of the house of Nathan by itself, and its women by themselves; the family of the house of Levi by itself, and its women by themselves; the family of the house of Simeon by itself, and its women by themselves. 14. All the families that are left, each family by itself and their wives by themselves.'” *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 8 ch.4

Eusebius of Caesarea (c.318-325 A.D.) mentions Reuben, Symeon, Levi, Judah, Nephthalim [Napthali], Gad, Asher, Issachar, Zabulun [Zebulun], Dinah, Joseph, Benjamin, Rachel. P*reparation for the Gospel* book 9 ch.20 p.18.

## Ie10. Levi (patriarch or tribe)

Genesis 29:34; Hebrews 7:10

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “By these Christ was typified, and acknowledged, and brought into the world; for He was prefigured in Joseph: then from Levi and Judah…” fragment 17 p.571

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Demetrius, in his book, *On the Kings in Judaea*, says that the tribes of Juda, Benjamin, and Levi were not taken captive by Sennacherib; but that they were from this captivity to the last, which Nabuchodonosor made out of Jerusalem,” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.332

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “When Jacob pronounced a blessing on Simeon and Levi, he prophesies of the scribes and Pharisees; for from them is derived their origin.” *An Answer to the Jews* ch.10 p.165

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “*Like* Simeon and Levi, they consummated their wickedness by their heresy, with which they persecuted Christ. ‘Into their counsel let not my soul enter; to their assembly let not my heart be united: for in their anger they slew men,’ that is, the prophets; ‘and in their self-will they hacked the sinews of a bullock,’ that is, of Christ.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.18 p.336

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “But Isaac, when 60 years of age, begat Jacob. And Jacob, when 86 years old, begat Levi; and Levi, at 40 years of age, begat;” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 10 ch.26 p.149

**Julius Africanus** (235-245 A.D.) “For the priestly tribe of Levi, too, was allied with the kingly tribe of Juda, through the circumstance that Aaron married Elizabeth the sister of Naasson,” *On the Genealogy in the Gospels* (*Letter to Aristides*) p.125

**Origen** (239-242 A.D.) mentions Levi in discussing Hebrews 7:10. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 1 ch.3.2 p.29

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) Also in Malachi: ‘My covenant of life and peace was with Levi; and I gave him fear, that he should fear me, that he should go from the face of my name. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 2 ch.5 p.517

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Levi in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 9 ch.21 p.17.

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Hippolytus** (after 236 A.D.) “Moses the son of Amram, the son of Kohath, of the sons of Levi.” *Doubtful fragments on the Pentateuch* p.194

## Ie11. Judah (patriarch or tribe)

Genesis 29:35; Mathew 1:2

**p1** (225-275 A.D.) Matthew 1:1-9, 12, 14-20 (17 verses) Matthew 1:2

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “From him [arose] kings, princes, and rulers of the race of Judah.” *1 Clement* ch.32 p.13

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “In talking about the circumcision, the Sabbath, sacrifices and offerings and feasts, “…that they should have an end in Him who was born of a virgin, of the family of Abraham and the tribe of Judah, and of David, in Christ the Son of God.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.43 p.216

**Hegesippus** (170-180 A.D.) “the children of Israel, held by those who were opposed to the tribe of Judah and” *Concerning His Journey to Rome* p.765

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “by [the history of] Thamar, Judah’s daughter-in-law.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.25.2 p.496

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “By these Christ was typified, and acknowledged, and brought into the world; for He was prefigured in Joseph: then from Levi and Judah…” fragment 17 p.571

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “of Juda, Benjamin, and Levi were not taken captive by Sennacherib;” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.332

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Now it behooved Him to be born in Bethlehem of Judah. For thus it is written in the prophet: ‘And thou, Bethlehem, are not the least in the leaders of Judah: for out of thee shall issue a Leader who shall feed my People Israel.’ But if hitherto he has not been born, what ‘leader’ was it who was thus announced as to proceed from the tribe of Judah, out of Bethlehem? For it behooves him to proceed from the tribe of Judah and from Bethlehem.” *An Answer to the Jews* ch.13 p.169

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “From the circumstance, then, (of this migration) is traceable the beginning of an increase (of population) in Judea, which obtained its name from Judah, fourth son of Jacob, whose *name* was also called *Israel*, from the fact that a race of kings would be descended from him. Abraham removes from Mesopotamia (when 75 years , and) when 100 years old he begat Isaac. But Isaac, when 60 years of age, begat Jacob. And Jacob, when 86 years old, begat Levi; and Levi,” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 10 ch.26 p.148-149

**Julius Africanus** (235-245 A.D.) mentions Juda (Judah) *Genealogy in the Holy Gospels* (=*Epistle to Aristides)* ch.1 p.125

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “And if we should ask for a second prophecy, which may appear to us to have a clear reference to Jesus, we would quote that which was written by Moses very many years before the advent of Christ, when he makes Jacob, on his departure from this life, to have uttered predictions regarding each of his sons, and to have said of Judah along with the others: ‘The ruler will not fail from Judah, and the governor from his loins, until that which is reserved for him come.’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.53 p.419

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “He [Jesus Christ] is spoken of when it shows how a man wrestled with Jacob; He too, when it says: ‘There shall not fail a prince from Judah, nor a leader from between his thighs, until He shall come to whom it has been promised; and He shall be the expectation of the nations.’” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.9 p.618

***Treatise on Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.8 p.671 “For that our Lord was born, and that He was the Christ, appeared by many reasons to be believed, not unjustly, by His disciples, because He had been born of the tribe of Judah, of the family of David, and in the city of Bethlehem;”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “and that He Himself is the Lion of the tribe of Judah, and should couch sleeping” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 62 ch.6 p.360

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “‘Lo, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, hath prevailed.’] We read in Genesis that this lion of the tribe of Judah hath conquered, when the patriarch Jacob says, ‘Judah, thy brethren shall praise thee; thou hast lain down and slept, and hast risen up again as a lion, and as a lion’s whelp.’” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the fifth chapter verse 5 p.350

**Methodius** (c.270-312 A.D.) “O seed of the shameless Canaan, and not of Judah the devout!” *Oration on Psalms* ch.3 p.395

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “to the house of Israel and the house of Judah, not according to the testament” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.20 p.123

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Judah in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 9 ch.21 p.17.

## Ie12. Tamar / Thamar

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “by [the history of] Thamar, Judah’s daughter-in-law.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.25.2 p.513

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “You may have also another image of what has been said, in Thamar sitting by the way” *Stromata* book 1 ch.5 p.306

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “It was the fact that Thamar ‘had painted out and adorned herself’ that led Judah to regard her as a harlot,” *On the Apparel of Women* book 2 ch.12 p.24

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) mentions Tamar.*Instructions of Commodianus* ch.39 p.210

**Origen** (233-244 A.D.) mentions Tamar. *Homilies on Luke* homily 28 ch.2 p.115

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Also in Genesis : ‘Thamar covered herself with a cloak, and adorned herself;” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 book ch.36 p.544

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**Pseudo-Clement***Two Epistles on Virginity* (3rd century A.D.) (partial) Letter 2 ch11 p.64 tells how David committed adultery with Bathsheba, and had her [unnamed] husband killed.

## Ie13. Dan (patriarch or tribe)

Genesis 30:6; 35:25; 46:23; 49:16-17; Exodus 1:4; 31:6; 35:34; Ezekiel 48:1-2,32

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “his swift horses from Dan; the whole earth shall be moved by the voice of the” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.30.2 p.559

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “they were led by Samson, of the tribe of Dan, who conquered the foreigners in battle. He ruled twenty years.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.326

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “For if Solomon ‘reigned,’ why, it was within the confines of Judea merely: ‘from Beersheba unto Dan’ the boundaries of his kingdom are marked.” *An Answer to the Jews* ch.7 p.158

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “And that the case stands thus, we see also from the words of Jacob: ‘Let Dan be a serpent, lying upon the ground, biting the horse’s heel.’” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.14 p.207

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) “But some one may say that this refers to Samson, who sprang from the tribe of Dan, and judged the people twenty years.” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.15 p.207

**Origen** (227-240 A.D.) “There are some also who say that Samson was predicted by Jacob, when he said, ‘Dan shall judge his own people, he is as one tribe in Israel,’ for Samson who judged Israel was of the tribe of Dan.” *Commentary on John* book 6 ch.12 p.361

Origen (227-240 A.D.) “‘And I heard the number of them that were sealed, a hundred and forty-four thousand who were sealed, out of every tribe of the children of Israel; of the tribe of Juda [Judah] were sealed twelve thousand, of the tribe of Roubem [Reuben] twelve thousand.’ And he mentioned each of the tribes singly, with the exception of Dan.” *Origin’s Commentary on John* book 1 ch.1 p.297

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “But of the fathers also who should judge, says the patriarch Jacob, ‘Dan also himself shall judge his people among his brethren, even as one of the tribes in Israel.’” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the fourth chapter verse 8 p.349

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Daniel in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 9 ch.21 p.17.

## Ie14. Naphtali (patriarch or tribe)

Genesis 30:8

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “At her instance Barak the son of Bener [Ahinoam], of the tribe of Naphtali, commanding the army, having joined battle with Sisera,” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.326

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235.236 A.D.) “And he (Naphtali) is adopted as a figure of things pertaining to us, as the Gospel shows: ‘The land of Zabulun, and the land of Nephthalim, by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan,’ etc.; and, ‘To them that sat in darkness light has arisen.’” *Commentary on Genesis* ch.49 p.167

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “of Zebulun and Naphtali, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Isaiah the prophet, saying, The land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali; ‘and after” *Commentary on John* book 10 ch.1 p.381

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) In the same again: ‘The land of Zebulon, and the land of Nephtalim, by the way of the sea, and ye others who inhabit the maritime places, and beyond Jordan of the nations. People that walk in darkness, behold yea great light; ye who dwell in the region of the shadow of death, the light shall shine upon you.’ *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 first part ch.21 p.514

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (c.318-325 A.D.) mentions Reuben, Symeon, Levi, Judah, Nephthalim [Naphtali], Gad, Asher, Issachar, Zabulun [Zebulun], Dinah, Joseph, Benjamin, Rachel. P*reparation for the Gospel* book 9 ch.21 p.18.

## Ie15. Gad (patriarch or tribe)

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Noah preached repentance; Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob gave many clear utterances respecting future and present things. Contemporaneous with the law, Moses and Aaron; and after these prophesied Jesus the son of Nave, Samuel, Gad, Nathan, Achias, Samaeas, Jehu, Elias, Michaeas, Abdiu, Elisaeus, Abbadonai, Amos, Esaias, Osee, Jonas, Joel, Jeremias, Sophonias the son of Buzi, Ezekiel, Urias, Ambacum, Naum, Daniel, Misael, who wrote the syllogisms, Aggai, Zacharias, and the angel [Malachi] among the twelve. These are, in all, five-and-thirty prophets. And of women (for these too prophesied), Sara, and Rebecca, and Mariam, and Debbora, and Olda, i.e., Huldah.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.331

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) mentions Gad. *Commentary on Genesis* Gen. 49:16-20 p.165

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) mentions Reuben, Manasses, and Gad in *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 15 homily 1 ch.6 p.46

**Athanasius** (c.318A.D.) mentions Gad. *The Incarnation* 40 p.57

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (c.318-325 A.D.) mentions Reuben, Symeon, Levi, Judah, Nephthalim [Napthali], Gad, Asher, Issachar, Zabulun [Zebulun], Dinah, Joseph, Benjamin, Rachel. P*reparation for the Gospel* book 9 ch.20 p.18.

## Ie16. Zebulun/Zebulon/Zabulun (patriarch, tribe, or land)

Genesis 30:20

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “By these Christ was typified, and acknowledged, and brought into the world; for He was prefigured in Joseph: then from Levi and Judah He was descended according to the flesh, as King and Priest; and He was acknowledged by Simeon in the temple: through Zebulon He was believed in among the Gentiles, as says the prophet, ‘the land of Zabulon;’ and through Benjamin [that is, Paul] He was glorified, by being preached throughout all the world.” fragment 17 p.571

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “After whom, Abatthan of Bethlehem, of the tribe of Juda, ruled seven years. Then Ebron the Zebulonite, eight years.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.326

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235.236 A.D.) mentions Zabulun [Zebulon]. *Commentary on Genesis* Gen 49:15 p.165.

**Origen** (c.227-c.240 A.D.) “But when He heard that John was delivered up, He departed into Galilee, and leaving Nazareth He came and dwelt at Capernaum on the seashore in the borders of Zebulun and Naphtali, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Isaiah the prophet, saying, The land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali; ‘and after the quotation from Isaiah:” *Commentary on John* book 10 ch.1 p.381

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “In the same again: ‘The land of Zebulon, and the land of Nephtalim, by the way of the sea, and ye others who inhabit the maritime places, and beyond Jordan of the nations. People that walk in darkness, behold yea great light; ye who dwell in the region of the shadow of death, the light shall shine upon you.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 1 ch.21 p.514

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Zebulun in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 9 ch.21 p.18. Also ibid ch.20.

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Hippolytus** (after 235 A.D.) “And Ephran delivered it to Elul of the tribe Zebulon.” *Doubtful fragments on the Pentateuch* p.195

## Ie17. Joseph [son of Jacob]

Genesis 30:24; 37-47

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Hebrews 11:21-22

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Envy made Joseph be persecuted unto death, and to come into bondage.” *1 Clement* ch.4 p.6

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) mentions by name Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph but does not say anything about Joseph’s brothers. *Letter of Ignatius to the Philadelphians* ch.5 p.82

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.13 p.145 tells of various Old Testament saints, including Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Ephraim.

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) mentions Joseph and his brothers. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.91 p.245

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “For this is He [the word] who was pilot to Noah; He who was guide to Abraham; He who was bound with Isaac; He who was in exile with Jacob; He who was sold with Joseph; He who was captain of the host with Moses; He who was the divider of the inheritance with Jesus the son of Nun;” *Extracts from the Law and the Prophets* p.757

Melito of Sardis (170-177/180 A.D.) mentions in Egypt “Joseph the Just” *On Pascha* stanza 87 p.61

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “By these Christ was typified, and acknowledged, and brought into the world; for He was prefigured in Joseph: then from Levi and Judah…” fragment 17 p.571

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) (implied) And Jacob begat twelve sons, from whom the twelve tribes of Israel are named.. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.24

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) discusses Joseph and the envy of his brothers. *Stromata* book 5 ch.8 p.457

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Joseph, again, himself was made a figure of Christ in this point alone (to name no more, not to delay my own course), that he suffered persecution at the hands of his brethren, and was sold into Egypt, on account of the favour of God;” *Answer to the Jews* ch.10 p.165

Tertullian (213 A.D.) mentions Joseph. *On Monogamy* ch.6 p.63

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) mentions Joseph. *To the Nations* 2.8 p.136-137

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) says that Isaac and Joseph are types of the death of Christ. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.18 p.336-337

**Hippolytus of Portus** Fragment 1 mentions Joseph being the head of his brothers. Fragment on Genesis 49:21-26 p.166.

**Julius Africanus** (232-245 A.D.) “And for this reason the one traced the pedigree of Jacob the father of Joseph from David through Solomon;” *Epistle to Aristides* p.125

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) mentions Joseph, after being sold as a slave, was put in prison and interpreted the dreams of the baker and chief butler. Later he showed himself to his brothers. *Origen Against Celsus* book 4 ch.47 p.519

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions Joseph. *Origen On Prayer* ch.27.18 p.126

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “For when this very Jacob was about to bless Manasseh and Ephraim, the sons of Joseph,” *Treatise on the Trinity* ch.19 p.631

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) discusses Joseph being sold by his brothers in *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 9 ch.10 p.487. See also letter 54.

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “Thus, at the very beginning of the world, the righteous Abel was the first to be slain by his brother; and Jacob was driven into exile, and Joseph was sold, and king Saul persecuted the merciful David; and king Ahab endeavoured to oppress Elias, who firmly and bravely asserted the majesty of God.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 11 ch.11 p.503

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) “After he had been deprived of his cloak by his brothers, Joseph not only parted with his tunic (in harmony with what is written it the Gospel), but also provided corn, and, in time of famine, food and a very large sum of money.” *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.e18 p.61.

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “Thy valiant son Joseph, O Word, won the greatest prize of virginity, when a woman heated with desire forcibly drew him to an unlawful bed; but he giving no heed to her fled stripped, and crying aloud:” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 11 ch.12 p.352

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Abraham, Isaac, and Joseph *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 1.6 p.8

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) mentions Joseph in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 9 ch.19 p.15.

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) mentions Joseph. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.6 p.90; book 1 ch.7 p.94; book 1 ch.10 p.97

**Among heretics**

***Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*** (70-135 A.D.) book 7 ch.7 p.26 mentions Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions Joseph. homily 17 ch.17 p.323

## Ie18. Benjamin

Genesis 35:18,24; 42:4,36; 43:14-16,29; 45:12,14,22; 46:19,21; 49:27; Exodus 1:3,36-39; 2:2; 7:60; 10:24; 13:9; 26:31,41; 34:21; Numbers 1:11; Deuteronomy 27:12; 33:12; Joshua 13:11,20-21,28; 21:4,17; Judges 1:21; 5:14; 10:9; 19:14; 20; 21:1-23; 1 Samuel 4:12; 9:1; Esther 2:5; Acts 13:21; Romans 11:1; Philippians 3:5; Revelation 7:8

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “of Juda, Benjamin, and Levi were not taken captive by Sennacherib;” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.332

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “But how Paul, an apostle, from being a persecutor, who first of all shed the blood of the church, though afterwards he exchanged the sword for the pen, and turned the dagger into a plough, being *first* a ravening wolf of Benjamin, then himself supplying food as did Jacob, -how he, (I say, ) speaks in favour of martyrdoms, now to be chosen by himself also,” *Scorpiace* ch.13 p.646

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “He foresaw that Paul would arise out of the tribe of Benjamin, a voracious wolf, devouring his prey in the morning: in order words, in the early period of his life he would devastate the Lord’s sheep, as a persecutor of the churches; but in the evening he would give them nourishment, which means that in his declining years he would educate the fold of Christ, as the teacher of the Gentiles.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.1 p.430

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “This [Genesis 49:27] thoroughly suits Paul, who was of the tribe of Benjamin. For when he was young, he was a ravening wolf; but when he believed, he ‘apportioned’ food. This also is shown us by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that the tribe of Benjamin is among the first persecutors, which is the sense of ‘in the morning.’ For Saul, who was of the tribe of Benjamin, persecuted David, who was appointed to be a type of the Lord.” *Fragments from Commentaries* Gen. 49:27 p.168

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “And seeking to ascertain what might be the inference from the heavenly Jerusalem belonging to the lot of Benjamin and the valley of Ennom [Hinnom],” *Origen Against Celsus* book 6 ch.25 p.584

Origen (239-242 A.D.) mentions Benjamin. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 4 ch.3.2 p.71

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “the books of Kings; where ten tribes were divided from the tribe of Judah and Benjamin, and, forsaking their king, appointed for themselves another one without.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 75 ch.6 p.399

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Benjamin in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 9 ch.21 p.18.

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*** (70-135 A.D.) Benjamin ch.12 said Benjamin prophesied that the Messiah would rise from the grave and ascend from earth into heaven.

**Among heretics**

**Naaseni** (222-235/236 A.D.) “This, he [the Naaseni author] says, has been discovered hid in the beauteous seeds of Benjamin.” In Hippolytus’ *Refutation of All Heresies* book 5 ch.3 p.52

## Ie19. Manasseh (patriarch or tribe)

Genesis 48:20

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.13 p.145 “And he brought Manasseh and Ephraim, desiring that Manasseh should be blessed, because he was the elder. With this view Joseph led him to the right hand of his father Jacob. But Jacob saw in spirit the type of the people to arise afterwards. And what says [the Scripture]? And Jacob changed the direction of his bands, and laid his right hand upon the head of Ephraim, the second and younger, and blessed him. And Joseph said to Jacob, ‘Transfer thy right hand to the head of Manasseh, for he is my first-born son.’”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “After these events, Gideon, of the tribe of Manasseh, the son of Joas, having fought with his three hundred men, and killed a hundred and twenty thousand, ruled forty years; after whom the son of Ahimelech, three years.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.326

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) mentions Manasses, Reuben, and Gad. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 15 homily 1 ch.4 p.45

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “For when this very Jacob was about to bless Manasseh and Ephraim, the sons of Joseph,” *Treatise on the Trinity* ch.19 p.631

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “On this matter too in Genesis: ‘But when Joseph saw that his father placed his right hand on the head of Ephraim, it seemed displeasing to him: and Joseph laid hold of his father’s hand, to lift it from the head of Ephraim on to the head of Manasseh.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 first book ch.21 p.513

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Ephraim and Manasseh in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 9 ch.21 p.18.

## Ie20. Ephraim (patriarch or tribe)

Genesis 48:20

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.13 p.145 tells of various Old Testament saints, including Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Ephraim.

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “But God shall bring on thee, and on thy people, and on the house of thy father, days which have not yet come upon thee since the day in which Ephraim took away from Judah the king of Assyria.’” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.43 p.216

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “After him Deborah the wife of Lapidoth, of the tribe of Ephraim, prophesied; and Ozias the son of Rhiesu was high priest.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.326

**Origen** (c.227-c.240 A.D.) “‘And He shall destroy chariots from Ephraim and horse from Jerusalem, and the bow of the warrior shall be destroyed, and a multitude and peace from the Gentiles, and He shall rule over the waters as far as the sea, and the rivers to the ends of the earth,’” *Commentary on John* book 10 ch.17 p.395-396

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “For when this very Jacob was about to bless Manasseh and Ephraim, the sons of Joseph,” *Treatise on the Trinity* ch.19 p. 631

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “On this matter too in Genesis: ‘But when Joseph saw that his father placed his right hand on the head of Ephraim, it seemed displeasing to him: and Joseph laid hold of his father’s hand, to lift it from the head of Ephraim on to the head of Manasseh.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 first book ch.21 p.513

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Ephraim and Manasseh in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 9 ch.21 p.18.

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

pseudo-Hippolytus (after 235 A.D.) (partial, Mount Ephraim, not Ephraim) “And Joshua the son of Nun lived 110 to years, and died on the fourth day, which was the first day of the month Elul. And they buried him in the city Thamnatserach, on Mount Ephraim.” *Commentary on Deuteronomy 33:2* p.199

## Ie21. Patriarch[s]

Romans 9:5

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “But the Gentiles, who have believed on Him, and have repented of the sins which they have committed, they shall receive the inheritance along with the patriarchs and the prophets, and the just men who are descended from Jacob, even although they neither keep the Sabbath, nor are circumcised, nor observe the feasts. Assuredly they shall receive the holy inheritance of God.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.27 p.207

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) mentions Abraham our patriarch *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.24 p.118. He also mentions the patriarch David in *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.28 p.120

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “It was for this reason, too, that the Lord descended into the regions beneath the earth, preaching His advent there also and [declaring] the remission of sins received by those who believe in Him. Now all those believed in Him who had hope towards Him, that is, those who proclaimed His advent, and submitted to his dispensations, the righteous men, the prophets, and the patriarchs,… For ‘all men come short of the glory of the God,’ and are not justified of themselves, but by the advent of the Lord,” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.27.1 p.499. See also ibid book 3 ch.12.10 p.434

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “from Abraham to Isaac and Jacob and the twelve patriarchs” *On Pascha* stanza 85 p.60. See also ibid stanza 57 p.52.

Melito of Sardis (170-177/180 A.D.) mentions Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Twelve Patriarchs, Adam, and Noah. *On Pascha* stanza 83 p.60

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Thou hast lived for the defense of the people, thy children were blessed in the tents of their fathers.’ And if the same mansions are promised by prophecy to us and to the patriarchs, the God of both covenants is shown to be one.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.6 p.354.

**Tertullian** (c.203 A.D.) mentions that Christ went to Hades “that He might there make the patriarchs and prophets partakers of Himself.” (It does not say whether or not Jesus preached to them though.) *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.55 p.231.

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “Now we believe that Christ did ever act in the name of God the Father; that He actually from the beginning held intercourse with (men); actually communed with patriarchs and prophets; was the Son of the Creator; was His Word; whom God made His Son by emitting Him from His own self, and thenceforth set Him over every dispensation and (administration of) His will, making Him a little lower than the angels, as is written in David.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 2 ch.27 p.318

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240 A.D.) “as the patriarchs and Moses, and the prophets; then also the apostles.” *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.52 p.49

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “The web-beam, therefore, is the passion of the Lord upon the cross, and the warp on it is the power of the Holy Spirit, and the woof is the holy flesh (woven) by the Spirit, and the thread is the grace by which the love of Christ binds and unites the two in one, and the combs or (rods) are the Word; and the workers are the patriarchs and prophets who weave the fair, long, perfect tunic for Christ; and the Word passing through these, like the combs or (rods), completes through them that which His Father willeth.” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.4 p.205

**Julius Africanus** (235-245 A.D.) mentions the patriarchs and Joseph. *Epistle to Aristides* ch.1 p.125

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “Now the question here before us, is why the light of men should not be the light of other creatures also, and we have seen that to speak of the light of men by no means excludes the possibility that the light may be that of other beings besides man, whether inferior to him or like him, Now a name is given to God; He is said to be the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob. He, then, who infers from the saying, ‘The life was the light of men,’ that the light is for no other than for men, ought also to conclude that the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob is the God of no one else but these three patriarchs.” *Origen’s Commentary on John* 2 ch.16 p.335-336. See also homily *on 1 Kings 28* ch.10 p.333.

Origen (235-245 A.D.) mentions the Patriarchs. *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 4 ch.2.4 p.35

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “What will be the glory and how great the joy to be admitted to see God, to be honoured to receive with Christ, thy Lord God, the joy of eternal salvation and light-to greet Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the patriarchs, and prophets, and apostles, and martyrs-to rejoice with the righteous and the friends of God in the kingdom of heaven, with the pleasure of immortality given to us-to receive there what neither eye hath seen, nor ear heard, neither hath entered into the heart of man!” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 55 ch.10 p.350

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “Moreover, also, they are the twenty-four fathers-twelve apostles and twelve patriarchs.” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the fourth chapter verse 7-10 p.348

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “To-day, also, the patriarch Jacob keeps feast in spirit, seeing his prophecy” *Oration on Psalms* ch.2 p.394

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) “the covenant of God with Abraham, and concerning the twelve patriarchs. Also the account of the famine and the buying of corn, and the mutual recognition of the sons of Jacob,” *An Exposition of the Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles* Section H (Stephen’s speech) p.166

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) mentions the patriarchs. Incarnation of the Word ch.35.7 p.55; ibid ch.37.4 p.56.

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) “of the patriarchs and apostles, and all the saints. And in one Lord Jesus” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* letter 1 ch.12 p.295

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions the patriarchs. *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 1.5 p.7

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) (Partial, only 1, not Jewish) mentions Seth, Noah, Shem, Japheth, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the Patriarch Job *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 2.2 p.2

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*** (70-135 A.D.) Benjamin ch.12 said Benjamin prophesied that the Messiah would rise from the grave and ascend from earth into heaven.

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 2 ch.47 p.110 and book 5 ch.10 p.145 mention the patriarchs.

## Ie22. The twelve tribes [of Israel]

*The Shepherd of Hermas* mentions twelve tribes, but it refers to nations, not Israel

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Esther also, being perfect in faith, exposed herself to no less danger, in order to deliver the twelve tribes of Israel from impending destruction.” *1 Clement* ch.55 vol.1 p.20. See also vol.9

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.8 p.142 “To these He gave authority to preach the Gospel, being twelve in number, corresponding to the twelve tribes of Israel.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “shall also come again, and then your twelve tribes shall mourn. For if you had” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.126 p.263

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 29 no.7-8 p.89 “when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit on twelve thrones, and shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (c.160-202 A.D.) “And Jacob begat twelve sons, from whom the twelve tribes of Israel were named.” *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.24

**Hippolytus** (222-235/236 A.D.) (implied) “For He [the Naasene Gnostic] says He chose twelve disciples from the twelve tribes, and spoke by them to each tribe. On this account, He says, the preachings of the twelve disciples neither did all hear, nor, if they heard, could they receive.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 5 ch.3 p.53

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “That people which was called of old the people of God was divided into twelve tribes, and over and above the other tribes it had the Levitical order, which itself again carried on the service of God in various priestly and Levitical suborders.” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 1 ch.1 p.297

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “As the twelve tribes of Israel were divided, the prophet Abijah rent his garment.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 1 ch.7 p.423

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) refers to the Son of Man in two places. (implied) “‘We have forsaken all that we had, and followed Thee: what shall we have?’ our Lord replied, ‘When the Son of man shall sit upon the throne of His glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.’” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* From the 4th chapter no.8 p.349

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “The whole Hebrew race consisted of twelve tribes, one of which has Judah for its ancestor and head,”. And then he goes to say that the Messiah would come from Judah.. *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 7 ch.3 p.15

**Among heretics**

**[Gnostic] heretics** according to Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “For they [heretics] declare that the twelve sons of Jacob, from whom also sprung twelve tribes,-the breastplate of the high priest, which bore twelve precious stones and twelve little bells, -the twelve stones which were placed by Moses at the foot of the mountain, -the same number which was placed by Joshua in the river, and again, on the other side, the bearers of the ark of the covenant, -those stones which were set up by Elijah when the heifer was offered as a burnt-offering; the number, too, of the apostles; and, in fine, every event which embraces in it the number *twelve*,-set forth their Duodecad.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.18.4 p.344

**Naasene Gnostics** according to Hippolytus (222-235/236 A.D.) “For He [the Naasene Gnostic] says He chose twelve disciples from the twelve tribes, and spoke by them to each tribe. On this account, He says, the preachings of the twelve disciples neither did all hear, nor, if they heard, could they receive.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 5 ch.3 p.53

## Ie23. Job and his sufferings/patience

Job

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “and again, Job says, ‘Thou shalt raise up this flesh of mine, which has suffered all these things.’” *1 Clement* ch.26 p.12

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “How did God smile, how was the evil one cut asunder, while Job with mighty equanimity kept scraping off the unclean overflow of his own ulcer, while he sportively replaced the vermin that brake out thence, in the same caves and feeding-places of his pitted flesh!” *On Patience* ch.14 p.716

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) (implied) mentions Job and name and Satan testing him. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 36 homily 3 ch.6 p.111

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Thus Job, after the loss of his wealth, after the death of his children, grievously afflicted, moreover, with sores and worms, was not overcome, but proved; since in his very struggles and anguish, showing forth the patience of a religious mind,” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 7 ch.10 p.471

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “and Job, in the tempest of his afflictions, had not made shipwreck of his faith, but his constancy shone forth the rather;” Fragment 2 p.401

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions the sufferings of Job in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 9 ch.25 p.26

# Exodus to Solomon Individuals

## Es1. Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt

Exodus 12-14; Hebrews 3:16

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Hebrews 11:27-28

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Mentions the Israelites delivered out of Egypt, no mention of Moses though. Jude 5

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) tells of Pharaoh’s army and the princes of Egypt sunk in the depths of the red sea after so many signs and wonders by Moses. *1 Clement* ch.51 vol.1 p.19 (See also vol.9 p.244)

*Epistle of Barnabas* ch.10 p.143 (c.70-130 A.D.) (partial) mentions Moses and Deuteronomy.

*Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.24 p.118 (partial) says that the Israelites left Egypt. Then it mentions that Moses died.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) (speaking of Gnostics, but not disagreeing with this) “Afterwards, by means of Moses, he brought forth Abraham’s descendants from Egypt, and gave them the law, and made them the Jews.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.30.10 p.356-357

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) tells how God brought the Israelites out of Egypt by the hand of Moses, and mentions Aaron, the ten plagues, and slaying the first-born. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.24

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) Moses led the people out. *Stromata* book 1 ch.23 p.335-336

**Tertullian** (298-220 A.D.) For thus, after the above-mentioned patriarchs, was the Law given to Moses, at that (well-known) time after their exodus from Egypt, after the interval and spaces of four hundred years. In fact, it was after Abraham’s ‘four hundred and thirty years’ that the Law was given. Whence we understand that God’s law was anterior even to Moses?” *An Answer to the Jews* ch.2 p.153

Tertullian (298-220 A.D.) (partial) “For Joshua was to introduce the people into the land of promise, not Moses.” *An Answer to the Jews* ch.9 p.163

Tertullian (213 A.D.) (partial) mentions Moses. *On Monogamy* ch.6 p.63

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) (partial) mentions Moses in many places, and mentions coming out of Egypt in a few places including *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.11 p.453-454

Theodotus the probable Montanist (ca.240 A.D.) (mentions Moses) “as the patriarchs and Moses, and the prophets; then also the apostles.” *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.52 p.49

**Julius Africanus** (235-245 A.D.) dates the Exodus and the time Moses left Egypt. *Five Books of the Chronology of Julius Africanus* ch.13.5 p.133.

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) Moses came out of Egypt with the Jewish people. *Origen Against Celsus* book 4 ch.67 p.527

Origen (233/234 A.D.) (partial) mentions Moses and Aaron. *Origen On Prayer* ch.3.2 p.22

*Treatise Against Novatian* (250/4-256/7 A.D.) (partial) ch.12 p.660 speaks of Pharaoh, after being stricken with the plagues from heaven, asking Moses and Moses’ brother to pray for him. (Does not mention Moses leaving Egypt though.)

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) (partial) says how Moses led an ungrateful people. *Treatises of Cyprian* T*reatise* 9 ch.10 p.487

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) mentions the plague on Pharaoh but protected by the blood. *Commentary on Luke* ch.8.2 p.109

Adamantius (c.300 A.D.) (partial) mentions Moses in may places, but not specifically leading the Israelites out of Egypt. “The law was given through Moses” *Dialogue on the True Faith* fifth part ch.11 p.160

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) (implied) mentions Moses, Mount Sinai, and the exodus. *An Exposition of the Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles* H. vol.6 p.166

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) (partial) God conversed with Moses. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.4.8 p.87

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite *Epistle of Peter to James* (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.3 p.215 (partial) mentions Moses.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.34-35 p.86-87 said that God sent ten plagues and Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt.

The Ebionite *Clementine Homilies* (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) (partial) mentions Moses. homily 2 ch.16 p.231

## Es2. Miriam [sister of Moses]

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “On account of envy, Aaron and Miriam had to make their abode without the camp.” *1 Clement* ch.4 *ANF* vol.1 p.6. See also ibid ch.43 p.16. See also ch.4 (*ANF* vol.9) p.230.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “For Miriam’s punishment affected him to such an extent, that no sooner did she experience it, than he entreated [Moses], who had been injured, that he would be his intercession do away with the affliction.” fragment 32 p.573

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “While Miriam, my sister, watched afar. Then, with her maids, the daughter of the king, To bathe her beauty in the cleansing stream, Came near, straight saw, and took and raised me up; And knew me for a Hebrew. Miriam my sister to the princess ran, and said, ‘Is it thy pleasure, that I haste and find A nurse for thee to rear this child Among the Hebrew women?’” *Stromata* book 1 ch.7 p.308

**Tertullian** (c.213 A.D.) “in the way that He says to Aaron and Miriam, ‘And if there shall be a prophet amongst you, I will make myself known to him in a vision, and will speak to him in a dream; not as with Moses, with whom I shall speak mouth to mouth,” *Against Praxeas* ch.14 p.609

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) speaks of Aaron and his sister Miriam angering Moses. *Dialogue on the True Faith* First part ch.13 p.56

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions Miriam. homily 17 ch.18 p.323

## Es3. Aaron [brother of Moses]

Exodus 4:14,27,28-30; 5:1,4,20; 6:13,20,23,26-27; 7:1-2,6-10,19-20; 8:5-6,8,12,16-17,25; 9:8,27, etc.

Luke 1:5; Acts 7:40; Hebrews 5:4; 7:11

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “On account of envy, Aaron and Miriam had to make their abode without the camp. Envy brought down Dathan and Abiram alive to Hades, through the sedition which they excited against God’s servant Moses.” *1 Clement* ch.4 *ANF* vol.1 p.6. See also ibid ch.43 p.16. See also ch.4 (*ANF* vol.9) p.230.

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “Moses and Aaron among His priests, and Samuel among those who call upon His name.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.37 p.213

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) says that Moses and Aaron’s rod were types of Christ. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.21.8 p.453. In ibid book 4 ch.25.2 p.496 he also mentions that the scarlet thread when Tamar was giving birth was a type of salvation.

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) tells how God brought the Israelites out of Egypt by the hand of Moses, and mentions Aaron, the ten plagues, and slaying the first-born. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.24

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “An instance of the same is the making of the calf by the people before Aaron.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.15 p.363

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “which had dedicated Samuel, and consecrated Aaron, to God. For of” *On Fasting* ch.9 p.108

Tertullian (205 A.D.) “Aaron is importuned, and commands that the earrings of their women be brought” *Scorpiace* ch.3 p.636

Tertullian (213 A.D.) mentions Aaron. *On Monogamy* ch.6 p.63

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “They first refused it when they said to Aaron, ‘Make us gods, which shall go before us;’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.31 p.401

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “Froth his other actions, then, the proof is already given us that he spoke not with a pure spirit; for he who blasphemes against the Holy Ghost is cast out from the holy inheritance. He alleged that he was himself Moses, and that Aaron was his brother.” *Against the Heresy of One Noetus* ch.1 p.223

**Julius Africanus** (232-245 A.D.) mentions Aaron and Eleazar. *Genealogy in the Holy Gospels* (=*Epistle to Aristides)* ch.1 p.125

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “Behold I have given thee for a God to Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet.” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 6 ch.10 p.359

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions Moses and Aaron. *Origen On Prayer* ch.3.2 p.22

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “as in the book of Numbers the Lord commanded Moses, saying, ‘Take Aaron thy brother, and Eleazar his son, and place them in the mount, in the presence of all the assembly, and strip Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son; and let Aaron die there, and be added to his people.’” [Numbers 20:25-26] *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 67 ch.4 p.370

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) speaks of Aaron and his sister Miriam angering Moses. *Dialogue on the True Faith* First part ch.13 p.56

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “But Luke said, ‘There was a priest, by name Zachariah, of the course of Abia, and his wife was of the daughters of Aaron:’” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the fourth chapter verses 7-10 p.348

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “And Aaron shall burn thereon sweet incense every morning:” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 5 ch.6 p.328

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) mentions Aaron, Moses’ brother. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.37.1 p.56

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Aaron in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 9 ch.27 p.27

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Ignatius of Antioch** (after 117 A.D.) “and the two hundred and fifty who conspired with him against Aaron, were” *Epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians* ch.3 p.60

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions Aaron. homily 2 ch.16 p.231. See also ibid homily 2 ch.33 p.235 and homily 17 ch.18 p.323..

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.46 p.89 mentions Aaron.

The Gnostic **Basilides** (222-235/236 A.D.) “And this is what has been declared: ‘As the ointment upon the head which descended to the beard of Aaron.’ This is the savour from the Holy Spirit borne down from above, as far as formlessness, and the interval (of space) in the vicinity of our world. And from this the Son began to ascend, sustained as it were, says (Basilides), upon eagles’ wings, and upon the back.” In Hippolytus’ *Refutation of All Heresies* book 7 ch.10 p.105

## Es4. Pharaoh during the Exodus

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Envy compelled Moses to flee from the face of Pharaoh king of Egypt, when he heard these words from his fellow-countryman,” *1 Clement* ch.4 vol.1 p.6. See also ch.4 (*ANF* vol.9) p.230.

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “The Scripture of the exodus of the Hebrews has been read, and the words of the mystery have been declared; how the sheep was sacrificed, and how the people was saved, and how Pharaoh was flogged by the mystery.” *On Pascha* stanza 1 p.37. See also ibid stanza 68 p.55.

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “And Moses, becoming the leader of the Jews, as we have already stated, was expelled from the land of Egypt by the king, Pharaoh, whose name was Amasis, and who, they say, reigned after the expulsion of the people 25 years and 4 months, as Manetho assumes.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.20 p.117

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “And Moses himself, being a man of God, was indeed given as a god before Pharaoh; but he is not properly termed Lord, nor is called God by the prophets, but is spoken of by the Spirit as ‘Moses, the faithful minister and servant of God,’ which also he was.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.6.5 p.420

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.170-202 A.D.) “Now (as to) the *rod:* for this cause also Moses with a rod showed the mighty works to Pharaoh: and with other men also the rod is a sign of rule. And by *flower* he means His flesh; for from spirit it budded forth, as we have said before.” *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.59

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “Further, to Moses He says, ‘Go and tell Pharaoh to send My people forth; but I know that he will not send them forth.’” *The Instructor* book 1 ch.9 p.228

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “The serpents which emerged from the magicians’ rods, certainly appeared to Pharaoh and to the Egyptians as bodily substances.” *Treatise on the Soul* ch.57 p.233

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “that Egypt, although most depraved and superstitious, and, worse still, the harasser of its guest-population, was unjustly stricken with the chastisement of its ten plagues. *God* hardens the heart of Pharaoh.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 2 ch.14 p.308

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “Of old, too, the Lord made a similar announcement to Moses, saying, ‘See, I have made thee a god to Pharaoh;’” *Scholia on Daniel* ch.46 p.187

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “On the one hand, ‘Thou shalt say to Pharaoh, Thus saith the Lord, Let My people go, that they may serve Me in the wilderness.” *Commentary on John* book 10 ch.11 p.388

Origen (235 A.D.) discusses Moses, Pharaoh, and the plagues of Egypt. “And Moses going forth from the presence of Pharao, prayed to the Lord.” *Origen On Prayer* part 1 ch.3 p.23

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “And what in the world is the reason, that although they say that this name was given even to Moses, since it is said, ‘I have made thee as a god to Pharaoh,’ it should be denied to Christ, who is declared to be ordained not to Pharaoh *only*, but to every creature, as both Lord and God?” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.20 p.631

*Treatise Against Novatian* (250/4-256/7 A.D.) (partial) ch.12 p.660 speaks of Pharaoh, after being stricken with the plagues from heaven, asking Moses and Moses’ brother to pray for him. (Does not mention Moses leaving Egypt though.)

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.248-256 A.D.) “In Exodus the Jewish people, prefigured as a shadow and image of us, when, with God for their guardian and avenger, they had escaped the most severe slavery of Pharaoh and of Egypt-that is, of the devil and the world-faithless and ungrateful in respect of God, murmur against Moses,” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 11 ch.7 p.500

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “But now it always flows onward, polluted with blood and slaughters and the drowning struggles of men, just as it did of old, when on Pharaoh’s account it was changed by Moses into blood, and made putrid.” Letter 13 ch.2 p.109

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions the Pharaoh who opposed Moses. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 8 ch.9 p.22. Also ibid book 8 ch.9 p.23

## Es5. Korah / Kore

Exodus 6:21,24; Numbers 16:1-49; 26:9-11; 27:3

1 Chronicles 1:35; 2:43; 6:22,37; 9:19,31; 12:6; 26:1,19; 2 Chronicles 20:19; 31:14

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) (implied) “For it is better that a man should acknowledge his transgressions than that he should harden his heart, as the hearts of those were hardened who stirred up sedition against Moses the servant of God, and whose condemnation was made manifest [unto all]. For they went down alive into Hades, and death swallowed them up.” *1 Clement* 51 p.19

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “acknowledge that Esau, Korah, the Sodomites, and all such persons, are related” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.31.1 p.358

**Origen** (246-248 A.D.) “For though there were three sons of Korah whose names we find in the Book of Exodus” *Commentary on Matthew* book 14 ch.1 p.495

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Which, moreover, we find to be manifested also in Numbers, when Korah, and Dathan, and Abiram Claimed for themselves the power of sacrificing in opposition to Aaron the priest.” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 67 ch.3 p.370

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Ignatius** (after 117 A.D.) “For Dathan and Abiram did not speak against the law, but against Moses, and were cast down alive into Hades. Korah also, and the two hundred and fifty who conspired with him against Aaron, were destroyed by fire.” *To the Magnesians* (Latin version) ch.3 p.60

**pseudo-Hippolytus** (after 236 A.D.) “the sons of Core (Korah), and even to Moses. As they are therefore. the words of” *On Psalm 1* ch.1 p.199

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Protoevangelium of James*** (145-248 A.D.) ch.5 p.363 “remember what the Lord did to Dathan, and Abiram, and Korah; how the earth opened, and they were swallowed up on account of their contradiction. And no fear, O Joseph [mother of Mary]”

## Es6. Balaam or his donkey

Numbers 22:5-41; 23:1-30; 24:1-25; 31:8,16; Deuteronomy 23:4-5; Joshua 13:22; 24:9; Micah 6:5; 2 Peter 2:15 (partial), Jude 11 (partial), Revelation 2:14 (partial) Balaam’s teaching

**p115** (=Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 4499) (c.250-300 A.D.) 119 verses of Revelation. 2:1-3,13-15,27-29; 3:10-12; 5:8-9; 6:5-6; 8:3-8,11-13; 9:1-5,7-16,18-21; 10:1-4,8-11; 11:1-5,8-15,18-19; 12:1-5,8-10,12-17; 13:1-3,6-16,18; 14:1-3,5-7,10-11,14-15,18-20; 15:1,4-7 (middle to late 3rd century) Balaam Revelation 2:14

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “is, of the virgin of [the house of] David, and Emmanuel; whose star also Balaam” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.9.2 p.422

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “And a little after he sets forth, in a most instructive manner, representations of those that are judged: ‘Woe unto them, for they have gone in the way of Cain, and run greedily after the error of Balaam, and perished in the gainsaying of Core.’” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.8 p.282

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “The prophet Balaam, in Numbers, when sent forth by king Balak to curse Israel, with whom he was commencing war, was at the same moment filled with the Spirit.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.28 p.396

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “possessing as they did the prophecies of Balaam, which Moses also records,” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.60 p.422

Origen (239-242 A.D.) mentions Balaam. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 6 ch.1.1 p.86

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Nor is it difficult for God to open the mouth of a man devoted to Himself, and to inspire constancy and confidence in speech to His confessor; since in the book of Numbers He made even a she-ass to speak against the prophet Balaam.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 11 ch.10 p.502

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “For Balaam, with his doctrine, taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the eyes of the children of Israel, to eat what was sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication,-a thing which is known to have happened of old.” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the second chapter verse 14-16 p.346

## Es7. Joshua conquered Canaan

Joshua 1-14; 23-24

p46 Chester Beatty II (100-150 A.D.) 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) (partial, only mentions Joshua) Hebrews 11:30

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) tells of Joshua, Rahab and the spies to Jericho. The scarlet thread was a type of the blood of the Lord. *1 Clement* ch.12 vol.1 p.8 (See also vol.9 p.233)

*Epistle of Barnabas* (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.12 p.145 (partial) mentions Joshua, Son of Nave [Nun] one who would spy out the land.

**Justin Martyr** in *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.106 p.252 (c.138-165 A.D.) says that under Joshua the people who survived Egypt were conducted to the promised land. See also ibid ch.113 p.255

**Meleto/Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) (implied) says that God was with Jesus [Joshua] son of Nun. In ch.4 *On Faith* p.757

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (c.160-202 A.D.) “Jesus [Joshua] son of Nun succeeded him [Moses]. He divided the Jordan and made the people to pass over into the land; and when he had overthrown and destroyed seven races that dwelt therein, …”. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.29

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) mentions Joshua warring for 65 years. *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.325

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) mentions Joshua and the Battle of Jericho. *An Answer to the Jews* ch.4 p.155-156

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.)discusses much about Joshua’s conquest, including the parting of the Red Sea, the waters of the Jordan standing still, and the sun standing still. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4ch.20 p.378

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) Joshua prayed for the sun to stand still [happened while he was conquering Canaan.]. *Commentary on Isaiah* ch.2 p.177

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) (implied) “Joshua, too, understood the meaning of the allotment of the land after the destruction of the nine and twenty kings, and could see better than we can the realities of which his achievements were the shadows.” *Commentary on John* book 6 ch.2 p.351

Origen (233/234 A.D.) (partial) mentions Joshua. *Origen On Prayer* ch.14.5 p.53 and ibid ch.22.13 p.102

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) (partial) mentions Joshua. (No inference of the command to conquer Canaan though.) *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 73 ch.2 p.386

Peter of Alexandria (306,285-311 A.D.) (partial) mentions Joshua who succeeded Moses in *Fragment 5* ch.5 p.282

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) (partial) mentions Joshua in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 10 ch.10 p.25 and “Jesus the son of Nave” in book 9 ch.30 p.47

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) (partial) briefly mentions Joshua at Jericho and Joshua encountering the captain of the Lord’s army. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.2.10,12 p.83

## Es8. Rahab of Jericho

Joshua 2:1-21; Hebrews 11:31

**p13** (225-250 A.D.) Hebrews 2:14-5:5; 10:8-22; 10:29-11:13; 11:28-12:17 (225-250 A.D.) Hebrews 11:31

**p1** (225-275 A.D.) Matthew 1:1-9, 12, 14-20 (17 verses) Matthew 1:5

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) tells of Joshua, Rahab and the spies to Jericho. The scarlet thread was a type of the blood of the Lord. *1 Clement* ch.12 vol.1 p.8 (See also vol.9 p.233)

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “son of Nave (Nun), gave to Rahab the harlot, telling her to bind it to the window” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.111 p.254

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “seven trumpets, Rahab the harlot was preserved, when all was over” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.20.12 p.492

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “For faith and hospitality, Rahab the harlot was saved.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.17 p.428

**Origen** (246-248 A.D.) “have become harlots; but these have become like the harlot Rahab, who received the spies of Joshua, and was saved with all her house;” *Commentary on Matthew* book 12 ch.4 p.452

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Which also we see expressed concerning Rahab, who herself also bore a type of” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 75 ch.4 p.398

Cyprian of Carthage (c.248-256 A.D.) “Rahab, in whom was prefigured the Church, ‘Thy father, and thy mother, and thy brethren,’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 1 ch.8 p.424

## Es9. Jephthah [the judge]

Judges 11:1-12:7; Hebrews 11:32

**p13** Hebrews 2:14-5:5; 10:8-22; 10:29-11:13; 11:28-12:17 (225-250 A.D.) Hebrews 11:32

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) mentions Jephthah. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.24 p.119

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “After whom, the people having sinned again, were delivered to the Ammonites eighteen years; and on their repentance were commanded by Jephtha the Gileadite, of the tribe of Manasseh; and he ruled six years.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.326

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “Jephthah’s sacrifice of his daughter should receive attention; it was by vowing it that he conquered the children of Ammon, and the victim approved his vow,” *Commentary on John* book 6 ch.36 p.377

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions Jephthah’s vow. *Origen on Prayer* ch.1.4 p.26.

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions Jephthah in Judges 11:30. *Origen On Prayer* ch.4.2 p.26

***Treatise On Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.15 p.678 briefly mentions the Holy Spirit’s interaction with Joshua, Othoniel (Gothoniel), Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, Saul, and David.

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “Jephthah offered his fresh slaughtered virgin daughter a sacrifice to God, like a lamb; and she, nobly fulfilling the type of Thy body, O blessed One,” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 11 ch.2 p.352

## Es10. Gideon

Judges 6-8:35; Hebrews 11:32

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “...they had judges: Gothonoel, 40 years; Eglon, 18 years; Aoth, 8 years. Then having sinned, they were subdued by strangers for 20 years. Then Deborah judged them 40 years. Then they served the Midianites 7 years. Then Gideon judged them 40 years; Abimelech, 3 years;” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.24 p.119

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) mentions Gideon. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.17.3 p.445

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Noah preached repentance; Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob gave many clear utterances respecting future and present things. Contemporaneous with the law, Moses and Aaron; and after these prophesied Jesus the son of Nave, Samuel, Gad, Nathan, Achias, Samaeas, Jehu, Elias, Michaeas, Abdiu, Elisaeus, Abbadonai, Amos, Esaias, Osee, Jonas, Joel, Jeremias, Sophonias the son of Buzi, Ezekiel, Urias, Ambacum, Naum, Daniel, Misael, who wrote the syllogisms, Aggai, Zacharias, and the angel [Malachi] among the twelve. These are, in all, five-and-thirty prophets. And of women (for these too prophesied), Sara, and Rebecca, and Mariam, and Debbora, and Olda, i.e., Huldah.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.331

***Treatise On Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.15 p.676 “as upon Gothoniel, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, Saul, David, and many others.”

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-**H**ippolytus** (222-235/236 A.D.) And Baruk delivered it to Gideon. And Gideon delivered it to Abimelech. And Abimelech delivered it to Taleg. (Fragment 1, doubtful fragments on the Pentateuch) p.195

**pseudo-Tertullian** *Five Books In Reply to Marcion* “Of whom when Gideon, guide (new line) 100 Of martial band, keen to attack the foe,”

## Es11. Samson

Judges 13:14-16:30; Hebrews 11:32

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Hebrews 11:32

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) mentions Samson. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.24 p.119

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “The little boy, therefore, who guided Samson by the hand, pre-typified John the Baptist, who showed to the people the faith in Christ. And the house in which they were assembled signifies the world, in which dwell the various heathen and unbelieving nations, offering sacrifice to their idols. Moreover, the two pillars are the two covenants. The fact, then, of Samson leaning himself upon the pillars, [indicates] this, that the people, when instructed, recognized the mystery of Christ.” Fragment 27 p.572

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “The noble Samson was overcome by the harlot, …” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.11 p.287

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-234/5 A.D.) “That it is in reality out of the tribe of Dan, then, that that tyrant and king, that dread judge, that son of the devil, is destined to spring and arise, the prophet testifies when he says, ‘Dan shall judge his people, as (he is) also one tribe in Israel.’ But some one may say that this refers to Samson, who sprang from the tribe of Dan, and judged the people twenty years. Well, the prophecy had its partial fulfilment in Samson, but its complete fulfilment is reserved for Antichrist.” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.15 p.207

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240 A.D.) mentions Samson and his hair. *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.39 p.48

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) mentions Samson, from the tribe of Dan, as a possible fulfillment of the prophecy of Dan in Genesis 49:16. *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 6 ch.12 p.361

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions Samson. *Origen On Prayer* ch.14.5 p.56

***Treatise On Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.15 p.676 “as upon Gothoniel, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, Saul, David, and many others.”

**Among heretics**

The Encratite Gnostic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “And he [Tatian] said that women were punished on account of their hair and ornaments by a power placed over those things, which also gave strength to Samson by his hair, and punishes those who by the ornament of their hair are urged on to fornication.” Fragment 6 in Clement of Alexandria p.82

## Es12. Eli [priest and mentor of Samuel]

1 Samuel 1-4

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “Then Samson judged them 20 years. Then there was peace among them for 40 years. Then Samera judged them one year; Eli, 20 years; Samuel, 12 years.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.24 p.119

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “But on their returning [to God], they were led by Samson, of the tribe of Dan, who conquered the foreigners in battle. He ruled twenty years. And after him, there being no governor, Eli the priest judged the people for forty years. He was succeeded by Samuel the prophet; contemporaneously with whom Saul reigned, who held sway for twenty-seven years.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.326

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Eli breaks his neck before the temple doors, his sons fall in battle, his daughter-in-law expires in child-birth: for such was the blow which had been deserved at the hand of God by the shameless house, the defrauder of the fleshly sacrifices.” *On Fasting* ch.16 p.113

**Origen** (c.230 A.D.) refers to Heli [Eli]. *Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.17 p.158

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions Heli [Eli]. *Origen On Prayer* ch.28.9 p.112. See also *Origen on Prayer* ch.4.1 p.25.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Also in the first book of Kings, God says to the priest Eli: “And I will raise up to me a faithful priest, who shall do all things which are in my heart: and I will build him a sure house;” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 first book ch.17

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (c.318-325 A.D.) refers to Eli. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 10 ch.10 p.25

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Ignatius** (after 116 A.D.) “Samuel also, when he was but a little child, reproved Eli, who was ninety years old, for giving honour to his sons rather than to God.” *Epistle to the Magnesians* ch.3 p.60

**pseudo-Hippolytus** (after 235 A.D.) “Moreover, he was the father of Samuel the prophet. Of this Helkanah mention is made in the beginning of the first book of Kings (Samuel). And Helkanah delivered it to Eli the priest. And Eli delivered it to Samuel the prophet.” *Doubtful fragments on the Pentateuch* p.195

## Es13. Samuel

1 Samuel 1:20; 2:18-26; 3-4; 7-16, 19, 25:1; 28:3-20; 1 Chronicles 6:28; 9:22; 11:3; 26:28-29; 2 Chronicles 35:18; Psalm 99:6; Jeremiah 15:1; Acts 3:24; 13:20; Hebrews 11:32

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “Moses and Aaron among His priests, and Samuel among those who call upon His name.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.37 p.213

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) mentions Samson, Samuel, and Saul to the captivity. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.25 p.119

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “And all [the prophets] from Samuel, and henceforth, as many as have spoken, have likewise foretold of these days.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.12.3 p.431

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) says that after Eli judged Israel for 42 years he was succeeded by Samuel. *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.326

**Tertullian** (c.203 A.D.) “-even to represent the soul of Samuel, when Saul consulted the dead, after” *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.57 p.234

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “Now this point is determined for you even in the scripture which we have quoted. Samuel says to Saul, ‘The Lord hath rent the kingdom of Israel from thee this day, and hath given it to a neighbour of thine that is better than thou;’ and into two parts shall Israel be divided: ‘for He will not turn Himself, nor repent; for He does not repent as a man does.’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 2 ch.24 p.316

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-234/5 A.D.) “And in the second (form),-to wit, by the prophets, as by Samuel, calling” Fragments of Discourses or Homilies 4 *Discourse on Elkanah and Hannah* ch.3 p.238

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “desire such things, as when Samuel prophesies regarding three she-asses” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.36 p.412

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions Samuel (the person, not the book). *Origen On Prayer* ch.13.5 p.32

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “In the book of Kings also, when Samuel the priest was despised by the Jewish people on account of his age, as you are now, the Lord in wrath exclaimed, and said, ‘They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me.’” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 64 ch.1 p.366

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “Besides, when Samuel appeared, it is clear that, being seen, he was clothed in a body; and this must especially be admitted, if we are pressed by arguments which prove that the essence of the soul is incorporeal, and is manifested by itself.” *Discourse on the Resurrection* ch.9 p.366

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) “Was not Samuel born of Elkanah, was not David of Jesse, …” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.35.7 p.55

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Samuel in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 10 ch.2 p.4, book 10 ch.10 p.5, and book 9 ch.30 p.47.

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Ignatius** (after 116 A.D.) “Samuel also, when he was but a little child, reproved Eli, who was ninety years old, for giving honour to his sons rather than to God.” *Epistle to the Magnesians* ch.3 p.60

## Es14. Saul [son of Kish]

1 Samuel 9:2-27; 10:11-26; 11:4-15; 13-24; 25:44; 26-29, 31:2-12; 2 Samuel 1-9, 12:7; 16:5,8; 19:17,24; 21:1-14; 22:1; 1 Chronicles 5:10; 8:33; 9:39; 10:2-13; 11:2; 12:1-2,19,25,29; 13:3; 15:29; 26:28; Psalm 18:title; 52:title; 54:title; 57:title; 59:title; Isa 10:29

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Through envy, David underwent the hatred not only of foreigners, but was also persecuted by Saul king of Israel.” ch.4 p.6. See also ch.4 (*ANF* vol.9) p.230.

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “And that the souls survive, I have shown to you from the fact that the soul of Samuel was called up by the witch, as Saul demanded.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.105 p.252

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) As in the book of Kings: ‘It repented me that I have made Saul king.’”

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) mentions Samson, Samuel, and Saul to the captivity. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.25 p.119

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “God, although Saul persecuted him. For all the righteous possess the sacerdotal” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.8.3 p.471

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) says that Saul reigned after Samuel. *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.326

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) mentions Saul the king. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.1 p.172

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “For there fell upon him that ecstasy, which is the Holy Ghost’s operative virtue of prophecy. And even the evil spirit too is an influence which comes upon a man. Indeed, the Spirit of God not more really “turned Saul into another man,” that is to say, into a prophet, when “people said one to another, What is this which is come to the son of Kish? Is Saul also among the prophets?’” *Treatise on the Soul* ch.11 p.191

Tertullian (c.203 A.D.) “-even to represent the soul of Samuel, when Saul consulted the dead, after” *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.57 p.234

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “because He actually said, ‘It repenteth me that I have set up Saul to be king’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 2 ch.24 p.315

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “And of all men, we Christians alone are those who in the third gate celebrate the mystery, and are anointed there with the unspeakable chrism from a horn, as David (was anointed), not from an earthen vessel, he says, as (was) Saul, who held converse with the evil demon of carnal concupiscence.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 5 ch.4 p.58

**Origen** (246-248 A.D.) “For he knows that all the Scripture is the one perfect and harmonised instrument of God, which from different sounds gives forth one saving voice to those willing to learn, which stops and restrains every working of an evil spirit, just as the music of David laid to rest the evil spirit in Saul, which also was choking him." *Commentary on Matthew* book 2 p.413

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.14 p.661 “Saul, that *once good* man, besides other things, is subsequently overthrown by envy, and strives to do everything that is harsh and hostile against David.”

***Treatise On Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.15 p.676 “as upon Gothoniel, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, Saul, David, and many others.”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258) “mentions Jacob, Joseph, king Saul persecuting David. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 11 ch.11 p.503.

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) says that Saul pursued David.. (Adamantius is speaking) *Dialogue on the True Faith* First part ch.12 p.55

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) mentions that King Saul persecuted David. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.37.1 p.56

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Saul in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 10 ch.14 p.36. See also ibid book 6 ch.30 p.47

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) mentions King Saul and David. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.6.4 p.90

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Ignatius** (after 116 A.D.) “Saul also was dishonoured, because he did not wait for Samuel the high priest.” (Latin) *Letter to the Magnesians* ch.3 p.60

## Es15. David

At Tel Dan an inscription on a well is in 9th B.C. Aramaic, speaks of a victory over ‘the king of Israel’ and the ‘house of David.’

(House of David is counted as partial)

2 Samuel 7

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Hebrews 11:32

p66 Bodmer II papyri - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) (partial, only mentions house of David) John 17:42

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Acts 13:33

**p13** Hebrews 2:14-5:5; 10:8-22; 10:29-11:13; 11:28-12:17 (225-250 A.D.) Hebrews 11:32 mentions Samson, David, and others

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) tells of David repenting of his (unspecified) sin, and quotes Psalm 51:1-17. *1 Clement* ch.18 vol.1 p.10. See also vol.9 ch.4 p.230 and p.234-235.

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) says Jesus Christ was of the seed of David and Abraham. *Letter of Ignatius to the Romans* ch.7 p.77

***Didache*** (=*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*) (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.9 p.380 mentions the holy vine of David.

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.10 p.143 says that David knew the three doctrines about meats.

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) in *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.14 mentions the sure mercies promised to David.

Justin Martyr mentions the one fall of David with Uriah’s wife. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.141 p.270

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 7.37 p.55 “But Jesus said unto them, Have ye not read in olden time what David did, when he had need and hungered, he and those that were with him? how he entered the house of God, when Abiathar was high priest, and ate the bread of the table of the Lord, which it was not lawful that any should eat, save the priests, and gave to them that were with him also?”

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) mentions what was said through the prophet David. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.35 p.108

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) says that David reigned 40 years. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.25 p.119

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) says that David was godly, except that he committed adultery. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.27.1 p.498

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) mentions the “blessed David” *Stromata* book 1 ch.1 p.301

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) speaks of David and Psalm 78:8,10. *The Instructor* book 1 ch.9 p.231

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) mentions David. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.1 p.172

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) (implied) quotes for us what David says [in Psalms] *Against Hermogenes* ch.29 p.493

Tertullian (208-220 A.D.) mentions David. *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.6 p.79

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) (partial) mentions David many times against Marcion. One example is *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.36 p.411

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “This is the Spirit that David sought when he said, ‘Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me.’” *Discourse on the Holy Theophany* ch.9 p.237

**Julius Africanus** (235-245 A.D.) “And for this reason the one traced the pedigree of Jacob the father of Joseph from David through Solomon; the other traced that of Heli also, though in a different way, the father of Joseph, from Nathan the son of David.” *On the Genealogy of Christ* ch.1 p.125

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) is that we should become wise, can be proved not only from the ancient Jewish writings, which we also use, but especially from those which were composed after the time of Jesus, and which are believed among the churches to be divine. Now, in the Psalms 50, David is described as saying in his prayer to God these words: “The unseen and secret things of Thy wisdom Thou hast manifested to me.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 3 ch.45 p.482

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions David. *Origen On Prayer* ch.29.3 p.114

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.10 p.660 mentions the Holy Spirit testifying by David.

***Treatise On Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.15 p.676 “as upon Gothoniel, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, Saul, David, and many others.”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) discusses how David was commended for patience and not killing King Saul when he could have done so. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 9 ch.10 p.487

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) mentions David the king and prophet. *Metaphrase of Ecclesiastes* ch.1 p.9

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) Megethius quotes Psalm 2:1-2 as “David announced”. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.25 p.67. Adamantius then says, “What have been reasonably stated in the Scriptures you want to interpret unreasonably.” *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.25 p.68

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) mentions “the blessed David”. *Orations on the Psalms* ch.4 p.396

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) mentions that King Saul persecuted David. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.37.1 p.56

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) mentions Jacob, Jeremy [Jeremiah], Ezekiel, David, Solomon, Gad, Asaph, Nathan, Osee [Hosea] *Incarnation of the Word* ch.40 p.57

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says that David and Solomon were the most powerful kings, and also prophets. *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.8 p.107

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Saul and David in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 10 ch.14 p.36

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) mentions King Saul and David. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.6.4 p.90

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**Pseudo-Clement***Two Epistles on Virginity* (3rd century A.D.) (partial) Letter 2 ch11 p.64 tells how David committed adultery with Bathsheba, and had her [unnamed] husband killed.

**Among heretics**

**Megethius** (c.300 A.D.) Megethius quotes Psalm 2:1-2 as “David announced”. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.25 p.67. Adamantius then says, “What have been reasonably stated in the Scriptures you want to interpret unreasonably.” *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.25 p.68

## Es16. [King] Saul persecuted David

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Through envy, David underwent the hatred not only of foreigners, but was also persecuted by Saul king of Israel.” *1 Clement* ch.4 p.6. See also vol.9

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “For David had been appointed a priest by God, although Saul persecuted him. For all the righteous possess the sacerdotal rank.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.8.3 p.471

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “Then, again, in Saul’s conduct towards David, exhibited first in violent persecution of him, and then in remorse and reparation, on his receiving from him good for evil, we have nothing else than an anticipation of Paul in Saul-belonging, too, as they did, to the same tribe-and of Jesus in David, from whom He descended according to the Virgin’s genealogy.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.1 p.430

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) (partial) “Saul, who was good beyond all others, is afterwards subverted by envy.” *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.3 p.244

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “For Saul, who was of the tribe of Benjamin, persecuted David, who was appointed to be a type of the Lord.” *Commentary on Genesis on Genesis* 49.27 p.168

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) (implied) mentions David escaping from Saul. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 15 homily 1 ch.1 p.37

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.14 p.661 “Saul, that *once good* man, besides other things, is subsequently overthrown by envy, and strives to do everything that is harsh and hostile against David.”

***Treatise on Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.15 p.676 “and after a malign spirit from the Lord vexed him, because then he had come, after the messengers whom he had previously sent before with care, with intent to kill David;”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Thus, at the very beginning of the world, the righteous Abel was the first to be slain by his brother; and Jacob was driven into exile, and Joseph was sold, and king Saul persecuted the merciful David; and king Ahab endeavoured to oppress Elias, who firmly and bravely asserted the majesty of God.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 11 ch.11 p.503

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) (implied) says that Saul pursued David.. (Adamantius is speaking) *Dialogue on the True Faith* First part ch.12 p.55

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) mentions that King Saul persecuted David. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.37.1 p.56

## Es17. Nathan [the prophet, not the son of David]

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “And Nathan likewise, speaking to David about Him, thus” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.118 p.258

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “and Nathan the prophet is sent to him, pointing out to him his crime, in order” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.27.1 p.498

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “And after this Solomon the son of David reigned forty years. Under him Nathan” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.326

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “Uriah, the prophet Nathan said unto him, ‘The Lord hath cancelled’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.10 p.358

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “David, … desired to build a temple for God. But God, through Nathan, prevents him from doing so, and Nathan says to him,” and quotes 1 Chronicles 22:8,9 *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 6 ch.1 p.349

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions Nathan [the prophet]. *Origen On Prayer* ch.33.3 p.138

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “In the second of Kings: ‘And the word of the Lord came to Nathan, saying,’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 first part ch.15 p.511

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) mentions Jacob, Jeremy [Jeremiah], Ezekiel, David, Solomon, Gad, Asaph, Nathan, Osee [Hosea] *Incarnation of the Word* ch.40 p.57

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Also in the second book of Kings, the prophet Nathan was sent to David, who” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.13 p.113

## Es18. Uriah [the Hittite]

**Justin Martyr** (c.238-165 A.D.) “And this one fall of David, in the matter of Uriah’s wife,” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.141 p.270

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “But when his [David’s] lust prompted him to take Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, the Scripture said concerning him,” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.27.1 p.498

**Tertullian** (208-220 A.D.) “and David, by confession, purged Uriah’s slaughter, together with its cause-adultery.” *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.6 p.79

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “I read, too, how that, when David acknowledged his sin against Uriah, the prophet Nathan said unto him, ‘The Lord hath cancelled thy sin, and thou shalt not die;’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.10 p.358

**Origen** (239-242 A.D.) mentions Uriah. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 9 ch.5.5 p.126

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

Pseudo-Clement *Two Epistles on Virginity* (3rd century A.D.) (partial) Letter 2 ch11 p.64 tells how David committed adultery with Bathsheba, and had her [unnamed] husband killed.

## Es20. [King] Solomon

1 Kings 3

Matthew 6:29 (partial, only mentions Solomon in his splendor)

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) mentions Solomon possessing the spirit of wisdom. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.87 p.243

*Tatian’s* ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 16.5 p.68 mentionst he wisdom of Solomon.

*Tatian’s Diatessaron* (c.172 A.D.) section 10 p.59 (partial) in the Sermon on the Mount says that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of the lilies.

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) (implied) “And Moses, who lived many years before Solomon, or, rather, the Word of God by him as by an instrument, says, ‘In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.’” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.10 p.98

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) mentions Solomon in many places in *Irenaeus Against Heresies* books 3 and 4, including book 4 ch.9.2 p.472

**Caius** (190-217 A.D.) “And the *book of* Wisdom, written by the friends of Solomon in his honour.” ch.4 p.&&&

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) teaches on Solomon’s wisdom. *Stromata* book 1 ch.5 p.305

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) mentions Solomon the king in *The Instructor* book 2 ch.11 p.264

**Tertullian** (205 A.D.) Mentions God’s wisdom through Solomon. *Scorpiace* ch.7 p.639

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) (partial) mentions Solomon was king of Israel. (no mention of his wisdom though.) *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.20 p.339

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) Solomon was a king. *Commentary on Proverbs* p.172

**Julius Africanus** (235-245 A.D.) says that Christ is King, and the High Priest of His Father. Solomon was a prophet. *Epistle to Aristides* ch.1 p.125.

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) says that Solomon asked for wisdom and received it. *Origen Against Celsus* book 3 ch.45 p.482

Origen (239-242 A.D.) mentions Solomon. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 1 ch.2.2 p.27

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) mentions the Holy Spirit speaking by Solomon. *letter 54* ch.21 p.346

**Seventh Council of Carthage** (258 A.D.) p.566 mentions false Christs, false prophets, and the Lord saying to Solomon.

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) says Solomon was a prophet and “wise above all men.” *Metaphrase of Ecclesiastes* ch.1 p.9

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) Ecclesiastes says that Solomon had an experience surpassing prudence. *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* ch.1 verse 18 p.111

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “with Noah, seven of all clean things in the ark; seven revenges of Cain, seven years for a debt to be acquitted, the lamp with seven orifices, seven pillars of wisdom in the house of Solomon.” *On the Creation of the World* p.342-343

Pamphilus (martyred 309 A.D.) (partial) mentions the times of Solomon. *Exposition of the Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles* section H p.166

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) says Solomon and refers to the Song of Songs. *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 9 ch.3 p.346

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) mentions Jacob, Jeremy [Jeremiah], Ezekiel, David, Solomon, Gad, Asaph, Nathan, Osee [Hosea] *Incarnation of the Word* ch.40 p.57

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) (partial) mentions Solomon being born of David. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.35.7 p.55

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says mentions “that most wise King Solomon”. *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.6 p.105

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says that David and Solomon were the most powerful kings, and also prophets. *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.8 p.107

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) refers to a saying of Solomon. *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Epistle 1 ch.7 p.294

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) says that wisdom was revealed most clearly through Solomon *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.2 p.84

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions Solomon and his wisdom. homily 11 ch.33 p.391

## Es21. Hannah, mother of Samuel

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Thus a God-ward fast is a work of reverential awe: and by its means also Hannah the wife of Elkanah making suit, barren as she had been beforetime, easily obtained from God the filling of her belly, empty of food, with a son, ay, and a prophet.” *On Fasting* ch.7 p.106

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “And likewise earlier, in the book of Kings, Hannah the mother of Samuel gives glory to God in these words: ‘He raiseth the poor man from the ground, and the beggar, that He may set him amongst the princes of His people (that is, in His own kingdom), and on thrones of glory’ (even royal ones).” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.14 p.366

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-234/5 A.D.) “And in the second (form),-to wit, by the prophets, as by Samuel, calling” Fragments of Discourses or Homilies 4 *Discourse on Elkanah and Hannah* ch.3 p.238

**Origen** (246-248 A.D.) “In like manner also he who has been weaned, like Samuel, and dedicated by his mother to God, -she was Hannah, which is, by interpretation, grace, -would be also a son of grace, seeking, like one nurtured in the temple, flesh of God, the holy food of those who are at once perfect and priests.” *Commentary on Matthew* book 12 ch.31 p.467

Origen (233/234 A.D.) refers to Anna [Hannah] in 1 Kings (to us 1 Samuel). *Origen on Prayer* ch.2.5-6 p.21

Origen (233/234 A.D.) refers to Anna [Hanna]. *Origen On Prayer* ch.13.2 p.48.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Thus also to Abraham, when his former son was born of a bond-woman, Sarah remained long barren; and late in old age bare her son Isaac, of promise, who was the type of Christ. Thus also Jacob received two wives: the elder Leah, with weak eyes, a type of the synagogue; the younger the beautiful Rachel, a type of the Church, who also remained long barren, and afterwards brought forth Joseph, who also was himself a type of Christ. And in the first of Kings it is said that Elkanah had two wives: Peninnah, with her sons; and Hannah, barren, from whom is born Samuel, not according to the order of generation, but according to the mercy and promise of God,” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 book 1 ch.20 p.512-513

## Es22. Jesse [father of David]

Luke 3:32

**p4** Luke 1:58-59; 1:62-2:1,6-7; 3:8-4:2,29-32,34-35; 5:3-8; 5:30-6:16 (c.150-175 A.D.) Luke 3:32

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “But what shall we say concerning David, to whom such testimony was borne, and of whom God said, ‘I have found a man after Mine own heart, David the son of Jesse; and in everlasting mercy have I anointed him?’” *1 Clement* ch.18 p.10 see also vol.9.

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “And Isaiah, another prophet, foretelling the same things in other words, spoke thus: “A star shall rise out of Jacob, and a flower shall spring from the root of Jesse; and His arm shall the nations trust. And a star of light has arisen, and a flower has sprung from the root of Jesse-this Christ.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.32 p.174

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) “The hymns of David the son of Jesse are ended.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.34 p.211

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (c.160-202 A.D.) “For Jesse was the descendant of Abraham, and the father of David; (and David’s) descendant the virgin was who conceived Christ.” *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.59

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “For Christ did not at that time descend upon Jesus, neither was Christ one and Jesus another: but the Word of God-who is the Saviour of all, and the ruler of heaven and earth, who is Jesus, as I have already pointed out, who did also take upon Him flesh, and was anointed by the Spirit from the Father-was made Jesus Christ, as Esaias also says, ‘There shall come forth a rod from the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise from his root; and the Spirit of God shall rest upon Him: the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and piety, and the spirit of the fear of God, shall fill Him.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.9.3 p.423

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “The golden lamp conveys another enigma as a symbol of Christ, not in respect of form alone, but in his casting light, ‘at sundry times and divers manners,’ on those who believe on Him and hope, and who see by means of the ministry of the First-born. And they say that the seven eyes of the Lord ‘are the seven spirits resting on the rod that springs from the root of Jesse.’” *Stromata* book 5 ch.6 p.452. See also *The Instructor* (193-217/220 A.D.) book 1 ch.7 p.224.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “And that the virgin of whom it behooved Christ to be born (as we have above mentioned) must derive her lineage of the seed of David, the prophet in subsequent passages evidently asserts. ‘And there shall be born,’ he says, ‘a rod from the root of Jesse’ - which rod is Mary –’and a flower shall ascend from his root: and there shall rest upon him the Spirit of God, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of discernment and piety, the spirit of counsel and truth; the spirit of God’s fear shall fill Him.’” *An Answer to the Jews* ch.9 p.164

Tertullian (203/204 A.D.) “In Him dwelt the fullness of the Spirit; therefore I acknowledge Him to be ‘the rod of the stem of Jesse.’ His blooming flower shall be my Christ, upon whom hath rested, according to Isaiah,” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.17 p.335. See also *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.8 p.445.

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “For Isaiah says, ‘There shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall grow up out of it.’ That which is called by Isaiah a *flower*, Jacob calls a shoot. For first he shot forth, and then he flourished in the world. And the expression, ‘he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as a lion’s whelp,’ refers to the three days’ sleep (death, couching) of Christ;” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.8 p.206

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “Isaiah also called Christ the rod and the flower: ‘There shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall spring out of its root, and the spirit of God shall rest upon Him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel slid of might, the spirit of knowledge and of godliness, and He shall be full of the spirit of the fear of the Lord.’” *Commentary on John* book 1 ch.23 p.310

**Novatian** (250-258 A.D.) (implied) “Isaiah alludes to: ‘There shall go forth a rod from the root of Jesse, and a flower shall grow up from his root.’ The same also when he says: ‘Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son.’ Him he refers to when he enumerates the healings that were to proceed from Him,” referring to Christ. *Concerning the Trinity* ch.9 p.619

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Also in Isaiah: ‘And a rod shall go forth of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall go up from his root; and the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon Him, the spirit of wisdom and of understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and piety; and the spirit of the fear of the Lord shall fill Him.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 second part ch.11 p.520

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (c.318 A.D.) “Christ, who was born of the root of Jesse” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.40 p.58. See also ibid ch.35.6 p.55.

**Lactantius** (c.303-325 A.D.) “There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a blossom shall grow out of his root; and the Spirit of God shall rest upon Him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and of might, the spirit of knowledge and of piety;” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.13 p.113

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Methodius** (after 312 A.D.) “visible and invisible, shinest forth as the most honourable. Blessed is the root of Jesse, and thrice blessed is the house of David, in which thou hast sprung up.” *Oration on Simeon and Anna* ch.9 p.389

## Es23. Dathan and Abiram

Numbers 16:1-27; 26:9; Deuteronomy 11:6; Psalm 106:17

Abiram who died when Jericho was rebuilt is a different person.

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “On account of envy, Aaron and Miriam had to make their abode without the camp. Envy brought down Dathan and Abiram alive to Hades, through the sedition which they excited against God’s servant Moses.” *1 Clement* ch.4 *ANF* vol.1 p.6. See also ibid ch.43 p.16. See also ch.4 (*ANF* vol.9) p.230.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “who bring strange fire to the altar of God-namely, strange doctrines-shall be burned up by the fire from heaven, as were Nadab and Abiud. But such as rise up in opposition to the truth, and exhort others against the Church of God, [shall] remain among those in hell (*apud inferos*), being swallowed up by an earthquake, even as those who were with Chore, Dathan, and Abiron.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.26.2 p.497

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Which, moreover, we find to be manifested also in Numbers, when Korah, and Dathan, and Abiram Claimed for themselves the power of sacrificing in opposition to Aaron the priest.” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 67 ch.3 p.370

**Firmilian of Caesarea** to Cyprian (250-251 A.D.) “But the enemies of the one Catholic Church in which we are, and the adversaries of us who have succeeded the apostles, asserting for themselves, in opposition to us, unlawful priesthoods, and setting up profane altars, what else are they than Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, profane with a like wickedness, and about to suffer the same punishments which they did, as well as those who agree with them, just as their partners and abettors perished with a like death to theirs?” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 74 ch.16 p.394

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Ignatius** (after 117 A.D.) “For Dathan and Abiram did not speak against the law, but against Moses, and were cast down alive into Hades. Korah also, and the two hundred and fifty who conspired with him against Aaron, were destroyed by fire.” *To the Magnesians* (Latin version) ch.3 p.60

## Es24. Hiram [king of Tyre]

1 Kings 5:1

**Theophilus of Antioch** (178-188 A.D.) “Then concerning the building of the temple in Judaea, which Solomon the king built 566 years after the exodus of the Jews from Egypt, there is among the Tyrians a record how the temple was built; and in their archives writings have been preserved, in which the temple is proved to have existed 143 years 8 months before the Tyrians founded Carthage (and this record was made by Hiram (that is the name of the king of the Tyrians), the son of Abimalus, on account of the hereditary friendship which existed between Hiram and Solomon, and at the same time on account of the surpassing wisdom possessed by Solomon.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.22 p.117

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “For you will make up in all, down to the death of Solomon, six hundred and eighty-three years and seven months. Hiram gave his daughter to Solomon about the time of the arrival of Menelaus in Phoenicia, after the capture of Troy, as is said by Menander of Pergamus, and Laetus in *The Phoenicia*. And after Solomon, Roboam his son reigned for seventeen years; and Abimelech the son of Sadoc was high priest. In his reign, the kingdom being divided, Jeroboam, of the tribe of Ephraim, the servant of Solomon, reigned in Samaria; and Achias the Shilonite continued to prophesy; also Samaeas the son of Amame, and he who came from Judah to Jeroboam, and prophesied against the altar. After him his son Abijam, twenty-three years; and likewise his son Asaman. The last, in his old age, was diseased in his feet; and in his reign prophesied Jehu the son of Ananias.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.1 p.21

**Origen** (c.227-c.240 A.D.) “And the sons of Solomon and the sons of Hiram hewed the stones and laid them in the fourth year, and they founded the house of the Lord in the month Nisan and the second month: in the tenth year in the month Baal, which was the eighth month, the house was finished according to the whole count and the whole plan of it.” *Commentary on the Gospel of John* book 10 ch.22 p.402-403

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Hiram. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 10 ch.11 p.28

## Es25. Deborah [godly judge]

Rebecca’s nurse, also named Deborah, is a different person.

Judges 4:4-10;5:1

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “...they had judges: Gothonoel, 40 years; Eglon, 18 years; Aoth, 8 years. Then having sinned, they were subdued by strangers for 20 years. Then Deborah judged them 40 years. Then they served the Midianites 7 years. Then Gideon judged them 40 years; Abimelech, 3 years;” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.24 p.119

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “After him Deborah the wife of Lapidoth, of the tribe of Ephraim, prophesied; and Ozias the son of Rhiesu was high priest.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.326

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “Jabin’s commander-in-chief, conquered him. And after that Deborah ruled, judging" *Stromata* book 1 ch.19 p.&&&

**Tertullian** (203/204 A.D.) Yea, Deborah, a woman far *Five Books Against Marcion* book &&&

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “Joshua was of the tribe of Ephraim; after whom their ruler was Deborah, of the tribe of Ephraim, and Barak.” *Demonstration of the Gospel* ch.1

## Es26. Caleb [son of Jephunneh]

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Those, doubtless, who do believe God, and who have continued in His love; as did Caleb [the son] of Jephunneh and Joshua [the son] of Nun, and innocent children, who have had no sense of evil.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.29.2 p.502

Irenaeus of Lyons (188-202 A.D.) “save only the two who had testified of the inheritance, Jesus the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and those who were quite young and knew not the right hand and the left.” *Demonstration of Apostolic Preaching* ch.27.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “But having afterwards besought the Lord, they receive for leader Gothoniel [Othniel],(1) the younger brother of Caleb, of the tribe of Judah, who, having slain the king of Mesopotamia, ruled over the people forty years in succession.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21p.325-326

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) mentions Caleb in *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 15 homily 1.6 p.47

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (c.318 A.D.) “Arb. … Formerly it was called Arbo but later Hebron after Hebron one of the sons of Caleb according to Paralipomenon [Chronicles]. … Zeib (Zif). "Dry mountain" of Zeib (rough mountain or foggy or cloudy near Zif), in which David lived near Chumalba, which is called (in scriptures) Karmelos. This is name given today to a village of Jews. Home of Nabal the Carmelite. One of the descendants of Caleb is said to be Zeib (Zif) according to Paralipomenon.” Onomasticon

# DIVIDED KINGDOM ON Individuals

## Dk1. Jeroboam

1 Kings 12:28

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “receive from God the same punishment as Jeroboam did.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.26.2 p.497

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) mentions Jeroboam and the start of the divided kingdom. *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.326

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “in conjunction with Jeroboam, worship golden kine [cows], and groves, and enslave” *An Answer to the Jews* ch.1 p.152

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “He [God] designated idolatry under the name of Samaria, as that city was shameful for its idolatry, through which it had then revolted from God from the days of king Jeroboam.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.13 p.332

**Origen** (235-245 A.D.) mentions Jeroboam. *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 4 ch.2 p.30

Origen (239-242 A.D.) mentions the two golden calves of Jeroboam in discussing 1 Kings 12:28. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 9 ch.1.4 p.118

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions Jeroboam. *Origen On Prayer* ch.13.2 p.34

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “and they made themselves a king, Jeroboam the son of Nebat.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 75 ch.6 p.399

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Jeroboam in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 6 ch.10 p.61

## Dk2. Ahab

1 Kings 16-22; 2 Kings 3:1,5’; 2 Chronicles 18,21,22; Jeremiah 29:21-22; Micah 6:16

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “For she was of the family of Ahab. But the sister of Ozias, Josabaea, stole Joas” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.327

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “This remedy even Ahab acknowledges. When, after his transgression and idolatry,” *On Fasting* ch.7 p.106

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “How ready to forgive Ahab, the husband of Jezebel, the blood of Naboth, when he” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.11 p.452

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “altar in the times of Ahab” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 6 ch.13 p.362

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “was sold, and king Saul persecuted the merciful David; and king Ahab endeavoured” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 11 ch.11 p.503

## Dk3. Elijah was a godly prophet

1 Kings 18-20; Luke 9:33;

(Implied) John 1:25

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) (implied, John the Baptist was asked if he was Elijah) John 1:21

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) The transfiguration Luke 9:33

**p5** John 1:23-31, 33-40; 16:14-30; 20:11-17,19-20,22-25 (47 verses) (early 3rd century) (implied) John 1:25

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) mentions Elijah in many places including *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.49 p.219

*Tatian’s* ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 18.3 p.71 (implied) mentions asking if John the Baptist was Elijah returned.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Elijah, too, was caught up [when he was yet] in the substance of the [natural] form; thus exhibiting in prophecy the assumption of those who are spiritual, and that nothing stood in the way of their body being translated and caught up.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.5.1 p.530-531

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) mentions the prophet Elijah in *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.327

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) discusses God feeding Elijah using ravens. *On Fasting* ch.9 p.107-108

Tertullian (213 A.D.) mentions Elijah. *On Monogamy* ch.6 p.65

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “For in like manner, during the famine in Elijah’s time, the scanty and final meal of the widow of Sarepta was multiplied by the blessing of the prophet throughout the period of the famine. You have the third book of the Kings. If you also turn to the fourth book,” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.21 p.381

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “By one week, therefore, he meant the last week which is to be at the end of the whole world of which week the two prophets Enoch and Elias will take up the half. For they will preach 1,260 days clothed in sackcloth, proclaiming repentance to the people and to all the nations.” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.43 p.213

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “Then, doubtless, the world shall be finished when he shall appear. He himself shall divide the globe into three ruling powers, when, moreover, Nero shall be raised up from hell, Elias [Elijah] shall first come to seal the beloved ones; at which things the region of Africa and the northern nation, the whole earth on all sides, for seven years shall tremble. But Elias shall occupy the half of the time, Nero shall occupy half. Then the whore Babylon, being reduced to ashes, its embers shall thence advance to Jerusalem; and the Latin conqueror shall then say, I am Christ, whom ye always pray to; and, indeed, the original ones who were deceived combine to praise him. He does many wonders, since his is the false prophet.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.41 p.211

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “but only he who has devoted himself to God, such as Elijah and those who are called men of God in the Scriptures,” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 2 ch.24 p.340

Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) “And through this same Jordan Elisha receives, through Elijah, the gift he desired, saying, ‘Let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me.’” *Commentary on John* book 6 ch.27 p.373

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions the prophet Elijah [Elias]. *Origen On Prayer* ch.13.5 p.52

Origen (c.250 A.D.) mentions Elijah’s ravens sent by God. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 36.3.10 p.115

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258) “And king Ahab endeavoured to oppress Elias, who firmly and bravely asserted the majesty of God.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 second book ch.11 p.520.

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “Thus that widow in the third book of Kings, when in the drought and famine, having consumed everything, she had made of the little meal and oil which was left, a cake upon the ashes, and having used this, was about to die with her children, Elias came and asked that something should first be given him to eat,” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 8 ch.17 p.480

**Pontius** (258 A.D.) “although to him, if the ministrations of men had been wanting, either birds, as in the case of Elias, or angels, as in that of Daniel, would have ministered.” *Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.11 p.271

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) (implied) says that Elijah went up to heaven. *Dialogue on the True Faith* 5th part ch.18b p.172

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) in discussing Revelation 7 says that Elijah the prophet will come before the Antichrist. *Commentary on the Apocalypse of the Blessed John* from the Sixth chapter 7 p.352

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “Hence the Scripture relates that Elijah, fleeing from the face of the woman Jezebel, at first came under a bramble, [1 Kings 19:4] and there, having been heard, received strength and took food;” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* Discourse 10 ch.3 p.349

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) mentions Naaman the leper, Elias [Elijah], Eliseus [Elisha]. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.38.5 p.57

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) mentions the prophet Elias [Elijah] in the third book of kings [1 Kings] *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.11 p.109

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions Elias [Elijah]. homily 2 ch.16 p.231

The Gnostic **Docetae** (222-235/236 A.D.) “And (we may learn, according to the Docetae, the same) from the expressions of the Saviour, ‘And if ye will receive it, this is Elias [Elijah] that was for to come.” In Hippolytus *Refutation of All Heresies* book 8 ch.3 p.119

## Dk4. Hezekiah [godly king]

Isaiah 38:5-39:7

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “In the splendour of the saints before the morning star have I begotten Thee. The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.’ Who does not admit, then, that Hezekiah is no priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek? And who does not know that he is not the redeemer of Jerusalem?” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.83 p.240

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) mentions the 29 year reign of Hezekiah. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.25 p.119

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “In his time, in the fifteenth year, Israel was carried away to Babylon. And Salmanasar the king of the Assyrians carried away the people of Samaria into the country of the Medes and to Babylon. Again Ahaz was succeeded by Osee, who reigned for eight years. Then followed Hezekiah, for twenty-nine years. For his sanctity, when he had approached his end, God, by Isaiah, allowed him to live for other fifteen years, giving as a sign the going back of the sun.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.327-328

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Similarly, when the king of the Assyrians, Sennacherib, after already taking several cities, was volleying blasphemies and menaces against Israel through Rabshakeh, nothing else (but fasting) diverted him from his purpose, and sent him into the Ethiopias. After that, what else swept away by the hand of the angel an hundred eighty and four thousand from his army than Hezekiah the king’s humiliation?” *On Fasting* ch.7 p.106

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “Hezekiah was no priest; and even if he had been one, he would not have been a priest for ever. ‘After the order,’ says He, ‘of Melchizedek.’ Now what had Hezekiah to do with Melchizedek, the priest of the most High God, and him uncircumcised too, who the blessed the circumcised Abraham after receiving from him the offerings of tithes? To Christ, however, ‘the order of Melchizedek’ will be very suitable; for Christ is the proper and legitimate High Priest of God. He is the Pontiff of the priesthood of the uncircumcision,…” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.9 p.468. See also ibid book 5 ch.9 p.448.

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “When Hezekiah, king of Judah, was still sick and weeping, there came an angel, and said to him: ‘I have seen thy tears, and I have heard thy voice. Behold, I add unto thy time fifteen years. And this shall be a sign to thee from the Lord: Behold, I turn back the shadow of the degrees of the house of thy father, by which the sun has gone down, the ten degrees by which the shadow has gone down,’ so that day be a day of thirty-two hours. For when the sun had run its course to the tenth hour, it returned again.” *On the Prophet Isaiah* ch.1 p.176

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/6 A.D.) “Hezekiah did away with, because the people looked to these for the remedies for their diseases, and neglected to seek their healing from god.” *On the Song of Songs* ch.2 p.176

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “Let him also read the account of Hezekiah, who not only recovered from his sickness, according to the prediction of Isaiah, but was also bold enough to say, ‘Afterwards I shall beget children, who shall declare Thy righteousness.’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.46 p.656

Origen (239-242 A.D.) mentions Hezekiah and quotes Isaiah 39:7. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 4 ch.8.4 p.77

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “And Hezekiah: ‘That all may know that Thou art God alone.’” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.30 p.642

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “And therefore Hezekiah is commanded” *Banquet of The Ten Virgins* discourse 10 ch.5 p.350

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (c.318 A.D.)”the Assyrian oppressed them, … and Ezechias [Hezekiah] quail at the boasting of Senacherim [Sennacherib], and Amalek make war against Moses, and the Amorites oppose him,…” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.36.3 p.55

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Hezekiah in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 10 ch.14 p.36

## Dk5. Elisha

1 Kings 19:17,19; 2 Kings 2-9; 13:14-21

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “went about proclaiming the coming of Christ; I mean Elijah, Elisha, and Ezekiel” *1 Clement* ch.17 p.9

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “into the river Jordan, recovered the iron part of the axe with which the sons of” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.86 p.242

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “Elisha the Hebrew, and he came and healed him of his leprosy. The people of” Discourse in the Presence of Antonius Caesar p.752

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “upon Elisha’s coming to the place, and learning what had happened, he threw some wood into the water. Then, when he had done this, the iron part of the axe *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.17.3 p.545

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) Mentions Elisaeus son of Saphat (Elisha). Stromata book 1 ch.21 p.327

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “stream the iron which had sunk. And accordingly Elisha, having taken ‘wood,’ and” *An Answer ot the Jews* ch.13 p.170

Tertullian (207/208A.D.) “If, however, the Creator’s prophet Elisha cleansed Naaman the Syrian alone, to the exclusion of so many lepers in Israel,” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.9 p.356

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “And through this same Jordan Elisha receives, through Elijah, the gift he desired, saying, ‘Let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me.’” *Commentary on John* book 6 ch.27 p.373

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Moreover, belief in divine Scripture declares to us, that among all, whether infants or those who are older, there is the same equality of the divine gift. Elisha, beseeching God, so laid himself upon the infant son of the widow, who was lying dead, that his head was applied to his head, and his face to his face, and the limbs of Elisha were spread over and joined to each of the limbs of the child, and his feet to his feet. If this thing be considered with respect to the inequality of our birth and our body, an infant could not be made equal with a person grown up and mature, nor could its little limbs fit and be equal to the larger limbs *of a man*.” [2 Kings 4:34-35] *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 58 ch.3 p.354

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “Many think that there is Elisha, or Moses, with Elijah; but both of these” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the eleventh chapter verse 5 p.354

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) mentions Naaman the leper, Elias [Elijah], Eliseus [Elisha]. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.38.5 p.57

**Among heretics**

Marcionite heretic Megethius (c.300 A.D.) (partial) a self-labeled follower of Marcion, in his debate with Adamantius mentions that the god of creation told a bear to come out and devour children. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.16 p.58

## Dk6. Naaman [the Syrian leper]

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 17 line 47 p.71 mentions Naaman the Syrian.

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) says that Naaman the Syrian was dipped seven times because of the seven deadly sins, such as “idolatry, blasphemy, murder, adultery, fornication, false-witness, and fraud.” *Five Books Against Marcion book* 4 ch.9 p.356

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) mentions Naaman the Syrian. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.35 p.408

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “and what is said of the rivers of religion of the enemies of Israel. It is recorded of Naaman that he came with horse and chariot, and stood at the door of the house of Elisha. And Elisha sent a messenger to him, saying, ‘Go, wash seven times in the Jordan, and thy flesh shall come again unto thee, and thou shalt be cleansed.’” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 6 ch.28 p.374

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) mentions Naaman the leper, Elias [Elijah], Eliseus [Elisha]. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.38.5 p.57

## Dk7. Jonah in the fish or warned Ninevites

Jonah; Matthew 12:39-41; (partial) Luke 11:29-32

p75 (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) (partial) Luke 11:29-32

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) Jonah proclaimed destruction to the Ninevites, but they repented. *1 Clement* ch.7 vol.1 p.7 also ch.7 vol.9 p.231

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) mentions Jonah preaching to the city of Ninevah after he had been cast up on the third day from the belly of the great fish. This is a sign of Christ. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.107 p.252

*Tatian’s* ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 16.3-4 p.68 mentions Jonah and the Ninevites. Ibid section 23.18 p.79 also mentions Jonah.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) Jonah was swallowed by a great whale, and God saving Him is a type of our salvation. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.20.2 p.449-450

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) (partial) mentions the shipmaster asking why Jonah was snoring and not calling out to his God. *Stromata* book 5 ch.14 p.474-475

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) (partial) mentions the Ninevites. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.10 p.197

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) Jonah did not die in the belly of the great beast [big fish]. *Tertullian’s De Fuga Persecution* ch.10 p.122

Tertullian (208-220 A.D.) mentions Jonah and the Ninevites. *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.10 p.84

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) mentions Jonah. *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* ch.18 p.597

Tertullian’s(207/208 A.D.) (partial) mentions Jonah fleeing to Tarshish instead of going to the Ninevites. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 2 ch.24 p.315

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) discusses Jonah telling the Ninevites that in three days Ninevah will be overthrown. *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 1 ch.1.2 p.3-4. See also homily 1 ch.1 p.3

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions Jonah in the fish. *Origen On Prayer* ch.13.2 p.49

Origen (246-248 A.D.) (partial) mentions the prophets Jonah and Daniel. *Commentary on Matthew* book 7 ch.53 p.633

Origen (233/234 A.D.) (partial) mentions Mardochai [Mordecai] and Esther. He also mentions Nabuchodonosor [Nebuchadnezzar], Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, Daniel in the den of lions and Jonas [Jonah]. *On Prayer* ch.13.2 p.49

*Treatise Against Novatian* (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.12 p.660 (partial) says the mercy of God is indeed not denied to the Ninevites. (No mention of Jonah or the great fish though.)

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) says that Jonah was in the whale’s belly three days and three nights, as the Jesus was. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 book 2 ch.25 p.525

Adamantius (c.300 A.D.) (partial) mentions that the water received Jonah. *Dialogue on the True Faith* 5th part ch.18b p.172

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “As, then, Jonah spent three days and as many nights in the whale’s belly, and was delivered up sound again, so shall we all, … rise again.” *On the History of Jonah* ch.2 p.378

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions Jonas [Jonah]. homily 11 ch.33 p.291

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 6 ch.14 p.156 mentions Jonah and the men of Nineveh.

## Dk8. Sennacherib

2 Kings 18:13; 19:9-36; 2 Chronicles 32; Isaiah 36:1; 37:9-37

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “There were these kings of Assyria: Tiglath-Pileser, and after him Shalmaneser, then Sennacherib; and Adrammelech the Ethiopian, who also reigned over Egypt,” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.31 p.107

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Demetrius, in his book, *On the Kings in Judaea*, says that the tribes of Juda, Benjamin, and Levi were not taken captive by Sennacherib; but that they were from this captivity to the last, which Nabuchodonosor made out of Jerusalem,” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.332

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Similarly, when the king of the Assyrians, Sennacherib, after already taking several cities, was volleying blasphemies and menaces against Israel through Rabshekah, nothing else (but fasting) diverted him from his purpose, and sent him into the Ethiopias. After that, what else swept away by the hand of the angel an hundred eighty and four thousand from his army than Hezekiah, the king’s humiliation?” *On Fasting* ch.7 p.106

**Origen** (246-248 A.D.) “and of Tirhakah, king of the Ethiopians, with Sennacherib,” *Commentary on Matthew* book 12 ch.1 p.450

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) “Tobias himself says, ‘Because I remembered God with all my heart; and the Most High gave me grace and beauty in the eyes of Nemessarus, and I was his purveyor; and I went into Media, and left in trust with Gabael, the brother of Gabrias, at Ragi, a city of Media, ten talents of silver.’ And he adds, as if he were a rich man, ‘In the days of Nemessarus I gave many alms to my brethren. I gave my bread to the hungry, and my clothes to the naked: and if I saw any of my nation dead, and cast outside the walls of Nineve, I buried him; and if king Senacherim [Sennacherib] had slain any when he came fleeing from Judea, I buried them privily (for in his wrath he killed many).’” *Letter of Origen to Africanus* ch.13 p.391

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) mentions Sennacherim [Sennacherib]. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.36.3 p.55

## Dk9. Josiah [the godly king]

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) mentions Josiah and other kings. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.25 p.119

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) in chronicling all the kings of Israel and Judah mentions Josiah, who was succeeded by Jeconiah. *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.328

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “prisoner to Babylon. Now there are born to the blessed Josiah these five sons-Jehoahaz, Eliakim, Johanan, Zedekiah, or Jeconiah, and Sadum” *On Daniel* section 1 p.177

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “Josiah, too, as we read in third Kings, was predicted by name by the prophet who came out of Judah; for he said, Jeroboam also being present at the altar, ‘Thus saith the Lord, Behold a son is born to David, his name is Josiah.’” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 6 ch.12 p.361

Origen (235-245 A.D.) mentions Josiah. *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 1 ch.2 p.4

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions Josiah. *Origen On Prayer* ch.5.5 p.29

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) mentions Josiah. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.36.1 p.55

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Josiah. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 6 ch.10 p.41

## Dk10. Jeconiah/Jechoniah

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “But besides, if indeed He had been the son of Joseph, He could not, according to Jeremiah, be either king or heir. For Joseph is shown to be the son of Joachim and Jechoniah, as also Matthew sets forth in his pedigree. But Jechoniah, and all his posterity, were disinherited from the kingdom; Jeremiah thus declaring, ‘As I live, saith the Lord, if Jechoniah the son of Joachim king of Judah had been made the signet of my right hand, I would pluck him thence, and deliver him into the hand of those seeking thy life.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.21.3 p.452

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Josiah was succeeded by Jechoniah, called also Joachas, his son, who reigned three months and ten days. Necho king of Egypt bound him and led him to Egypt, after making his brother Joachim king in his stead, who continued his tributary for eleven years.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.328

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “prisoner to Babylon. Now there are born to the blessed Josiah these five sons-Jehoahaz, Eliakim, Johanan, Zedekiah, or Jeconiah, and Sadum” *On Daniel* section 1 p.177

**Origen** (235-245 A.D.) mentions Jeconias. *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 27 ch.2.5 p.254

## Dk11. Nebuchadnezzar [King of Babylon]

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) mentions Nebuchadnezzar. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.25 p.119

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “the captivity of the people under Nebuchadnezzar, the Scriptures had been” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.21.2 p.452

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Demetrius, in his book, *On the Kings in Judaea*, says that the tribes of Juda, Benjamin, and Levi were not taken captive by Sennacherib; but that they were from this captivity to the last, which Nabuchodonosor made out of Jerusalem,” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.332

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “that example of the three brethren has forerun us, who, in other respects obedient toward king Nebuchadonosor, rejected with all constancy the honor to his image,” *On Idolatry* ch.15 p.71

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “[Daniel] a prophet and witness of Christ, who not only declare the visions of Nebuchadnezzar the king in those times,” *On Daniel* section 1 p.177

**Origen** (235-245 A.D.) mentions Nebuchadnessar of Babylon. *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 5 ch.6 p.48. See also ibid homily 12 ch.11 p.124

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions Mardochai [Mordecai] and Esther. He also mentions Nabuchodonosor [Nebuchadnezzar], Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, Daniel in the den of lions and Jonas [Jonah]. *On Prayer* ch.13.2 p.49

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “faith by these words: ‘O king Nebuchadnezzar, we are not careful to answer thee in this matter” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 55 ch.4 p.348

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “‘And he shall place,’ says he, ‘his temple within Samaria, upon the illustrious and holy mountain that is at Jerusalem, an image such as Nebuchadnezzar had made.’” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the thirteenth chapter verse 13 p.357

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “time of Nebuchadnezzar, and those who after him reigned over Babylon, until the time of the Persian expedition against the Assyrians” *A synopsis of the Apostolic Word from the Discourse on the Resurrection* ch.18 p.376

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Daniel and Nebuchadnezzar. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 6 ch.10 p.42

**Among corrupt of spurious books**

**pseudo-Hippolytus** (after 236 A.D.) mentions Nebuchodonosor. *Discourse on the End of the World* ch.12 p.245

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions Nebuchadnezzar. homily 17 ch.78 p.323

## Dk12. Zedekiah

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “Then another Jehoiakim, 3 months 10 days; and after him Zedekiah, 11 years. And after these kings, the people, continuing in their sins, and not repenting, the king of Babylon, named Nebuchadnezzar, came up into Judaea, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah. He transferred the people of the Jews to Babylon, and destroyed the temple which Solomon had built.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.25 p.119

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Then Zedekiah reigned for eleven years; and up to his time Jeremiah continued to prophesy. Along with him Ezekiel the son of Buzi, and Urias the son of Samaeus, and Ambacum prophesied.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.328

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) Jeremiah and Ambacum [Habakkuk] were still prophesying in the time of Zedekiah. In the fifth year of his reign Ezekiel prophesied at Babylon; after him Nahum, then Daniel. After him, again, Haggai and Zechariah prophesied in the time of Darius the First for two years; and then the angel among the twelve. After Haggai and Zechariah, Nehemiah, the chief cup-bearer of Artaxerxes, the son of Acheli the Israelite, built the city of Jerusalem and restored the temple. *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.328

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “prisoner to Babylon. Now there are born to the blessed Josiah these five sons-Jehoahaz, Eliakim, Johanan, Zedekiah, or Jeconiah, and Sadum” *On Daniel* section 1 p.177

**Origen** (239-242 A.D.) mentions Zedekiah. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 12 ch.2.1 p.149

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Then their condition was changed, and they began to have kings; and when they had ruled *during four hundred and fifty years*, until the reign of Zedekiah, the Jews having been besieged by the king of Babylon, and carried into captivity, endured a long servitude, until, in the seventieth year afterwards, the captive Jews were restored to their own lands and settlements by Cyrus the elder, who attained the supreme power over the Persians, at the time when Tarquinius Superbus reigned at Rome.” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.5 p.105

## Dk13. Ezekiel

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “went about proclaiming the coming of Christ; I mean Elijah, Elisha, and Ezekiel” *1 Clement* ch.17 p.9

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) ch.6 p.518 “For thus also saith the Scripture in Ezekiel, “If Noah, Job, and Daniel should rise up, they should not deliver their children in captivity.’”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) quotes Ezekiel 14:18,20 as by Ezekiel, directly followed by quoting Ezekiel 18:20. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.40 p.269

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “having made myself accurately acquainted with the books of the Old Testament, I have set them down below, and herewith send you *the list*. Their names are as follows:- The five *books* of Moses-Genesis , Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; Joshua, Judges, Ruth, the four *books* of Kings, the two of Chronicles, the *book of the* Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon, also called *the Book of* Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Job, *the books of* the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, of the twelve contained in a single book, Daniel, Ezekiel, Esdras.” *From the Book of Extracts* p.759

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “And another prophet, Ezekiel, says: ‘If the wicked will turn from all his sins that he hath committed, and keep all My statutes, and do that which is right in My sight, he shall surely live, he shall not die. All his transgressions that he hath committed, they shall not be mentioned unto him; but in his righteousness that he hath done he shall live: for I desire not the death of the sinner, saith the Lord, but that he turn from his wicked way, and live.’” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.11 p.114

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “But when they turned themselves to make a calf, and had gone back in their minds to Egypt, desiring to be slaves instead of free-men, they were placed for the future in a state of servitude suited to their wish,-[a slavery] which did not indeed cut them off from God, but subjected them to the yoke of bondage; as Ezekiel the prophet, when stating the reasons for the giving of such a law, declares: “And their eyes were after the desire of their heart; and I gave them statutes that were not good, and judgments in which they shall not live.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.15.1 p.479

**Clement of Alexandria** (197-202 A.D.) “Jeremiah and Ambacum were still prophesying in the time of Zedekiah. In the fifth year of his reign Ezekiel prophesied at Babylon; after him Nahum, then Daniel.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.328

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “if you turn to the prophecy of Ezekiel, you will at once perceive that this angel was both by creation good and by choice corrupt. For in the person of the prince of Tyre it is said in reference to the devil: “Moreover, the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Son of man,” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 2 ch.10 p.305

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “Ezekiel also speaks of him to the same effect, thus: “Thus saith the Lord God, Because thine heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am God, I sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the sea; yet art thou a man, and not God, (though) thou hast set thine heart as the heart of God. Art thou wiser than Daniel? Have the wise not instructed thee in their wisdom? With thy wisdom or with thine understanding hast thou gotten thee power, and gold and silver in thy treasures?’” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.18 p.208

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) And in the book of Ezekiel it is said to the ruler of Tyre, who greatly prided himself on his wisdom, ‘Art thou wiser than Daniel? Every secret was not revealed to thee.’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 3 ch.45 p.482

Origen (239-242 A.D.) mentions Ezekiel. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 1 ch.2.1 p.26. See also *Origen on Prayer* 16.2 p.67.

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) quotes as by Ezekiel ch.36:17-23 followed by referring to Ezekiel 18:23-32. ch.10 p.660. It quotes Ezekiel 18:30-32 in ch.18 p.663.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “It is required, then, that the water should first be cleansed and sanctified by the priest, that it may wash away by its baptism the sins of the man who is baptized; because the Lord says by Ezekiel the prophet: “Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be cleansed from all your filthiness; and from all your idols will I cleanse you: a new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you.’ *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 69 ch.1 p.376

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “There came one of the seven angels, which have the seven bowls, and spake with me, saying, Come, I will show thee the judgment of that great whore who sitteth upon many waters. And I saw the woman drunk with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs.’] The decrees of that senate are always accomplished against all, contrary to the preaching of the true faith; and now already mercy being cast aside, itself here gave the decree among all nations.(paragraph) ‘And I saw the woman herself sitting upon the scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy.’] But to sit upon the scarlet beast, the author of murders, is the image of the devil. Where also *is treated* of his captivity, concerning which we have fully considered. I remember, indeed, that this is called Babylon also in the Apocalypse, on account of confusion; and in Isaiah also; and Ezekiel called it Sodom. In fine, if you compare what is said against Sodom, and what Isaiah says against Babylon, and what the Apocalypse says, you will find that they are all one.” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the 17th chapter verses 1-6 p.357

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “XVIII. And, when Origen allegorises that which is said by the prophet Ezekiel concerning the resurrection of the dead, and perverts it to the return of the Israelites from their captivity in Babylon, the saint in refuting him, after many other remarks, says this also: For neither did they obtain a perfect liberty, nor did they overcome their enemies by a greater power, and dwell again in Jerusalem; and when they frequently intended to build (the temple), they were prevented by other nations.” *Discourse on the Resurrection* ch.18 p.376

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) Ezekiel. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.39.4-5 p.57

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) mentions Jacob, Jeremy [Jeremiah], Ezekiel, David, Solomon, Gad, Asaph, Nathan, Osee [Hosea] *Incarnation of the Word* ch.40 p.57

## Dk14. Daniel

Ezekiel 14:14,20; book of Daniel, Matthew 24:15; Mark 13:14

Ezekiel 28:3 (Daniel, probably not the Ugaritic Danel, who was not particularly wise)

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “For what shall we say, brethren? Was Daniel cat into the den of lions by such as feared God? Were Ananias, and Azariuas, and Nishael shut up in a furnace of fire by those who observed the great and glorious worship of the Most High? Far from us be such a thought!” *1 Clement* ch.45 p.17. See also vol.9

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.4 p.138 “In like manner Daniel says concerning the same, ‘And I beheld the fourth beast, wicked and powerful, and more savage than all the beasts of the earth, and how from it sprang up ten horns, and out of them a little budding horn, and how it subdued under one three of the great horns.’”

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) ch.6 p.518 “For thus also saith the Scripture in Ezekiel, ‘If Noah, Job, and Daniel should rise up, they should not deliver their children in captivity.’”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “But if so great a power is shown to have followed and to be still following the dispensation of His suffering, how great shall that be which shall follow His glorious advent! For He shall come on the clouds as the Son of man, so Daniel foretold, and His angels shall come with Him.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.31 p.209

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 42 no.4 p.108 “And when ye see the unclean sign of desolation, spoken of in Daniel the prophet,”

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “having made myself accurately acquainted with the books of the Old Testament, I have set them down below, and herewith send you *the list*. Their names are as follows:- The five *books* of Moses-Genesis , Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; Joshua, Judges, Ruth, the four *books* of Kings, the two of Chronicles, the *book of the* Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon, also called *the Book of* Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Job, *the books of* the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, of the twelve contained in a single book, Daniel, Ezekiel, Esdras.” *From the Book of Extracts* p.759

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “of history, in agreement with Moses; and with the prophets Jeremiah and Daniel” Theophilus to Autolycus book 3 ch.29 p.121

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Whom also Daniel the prophet, when Cyrus king of the Persians said to him, ‘Why dost thou not worship Bel?’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.5.2 p.467

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) says that Daniel 9:24-27 prophesies of Christ. *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.329

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “For Daniel says, that ‘both the holy city and the holy place are exterminated together with the coming Leader, and that the pinnacle is destroyed unto ruin.’” *An Answer to the Jews* ch.8 p.158

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “For we shall, according to the apostle, be caught up into the clouds to meet the Lord (even the Son of man, who shall come in the clouds, according to Daniel) and so shall we ever be with the Lord,” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.25 p.343

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) mentions the four beasts [living creatures] and the four and twenty elders. *Commentary on Daniel* ch.2.20 p.181

Hippolytus of Portus (225-234/5 A.D.) “which Daniel says: ‘I saw in the night visions, and behold one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and was brought near before Him. And there was given Him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom; and all peoples, tribes, and languages shall serve Him: and His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and His kingdom shall not be destroyed.’” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.26 p.209

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “In the book of Daniel, also, the following prophecies are found relating to those who are to share in the resurrection: “And at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that has been written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and (those) of the many righteous as the stars for ever and ever,’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 5 ch.10 p.547

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions Mardochai [Mordecai] and Esther. He also mentions Nabuchodonosor [Nebuchadnezzar], Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, Daniel in the den of lions and Jonas [Jonah]. *On Prayer* ch.13.2 p.49

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.17 p.662 “Like things to these also says Daniel: “I beheld a throne placed, and the”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “For the grace of God is mighty to associate and join together in the bond of charity and unity even those things which seem to be divided by a considerable space of earth, according to the way in which of old also the divine power associated in the bond of unanimity Ezekiel and Daniel, though later in their age, and separated from them by a long space of time, to Job and Noah, who were among the first; so that although they were separated by long periods, yet by divine inspiration they felt the same truths.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 74 ch.3 p.390

**Pontius’ *Life and Passion of Cyprian*** (258 A.D.) ch.11 p.271 “Such a place might have borne the name of exile, if Cyprian, the priest of God, had come thither; although to him, if the ministrations of men had been wanting, either birds, as in the case of Elias, or angels, as in that of Daniel, would have ministered.”

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) says that the kingdom of Iron in the prophecy of Daniel is the Roman Empire. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.24 p.67

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “one should buy or sell them. Daniel had previously predicted his contempt and” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the thirteenth chapter verse 13 p.357

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “and therefore Daniel was called ‘a man of desires.’” *Discourse on the Resurrection* part II ch.12 p.375

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) “the most wise Daniel, who marks both the actual date, and the divine sojourn of the Saviour, saying: ‘Seventy weeks are cut short upon thy people, and upon the holy city,…” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.39 p.57

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Daniel also foretold similar things: ‘I saw,’ he said, ‘in a vision of the night, and, behold, one like the Son of man coming with the clouds of heaven, and He came even to the Ancient of days.” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.12 p.111

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “The prophet Daniel had long before shown this, saying, ‘I saw in the night vision, and, behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days; and they who stood beside Him brought Him near before Him. And there was given Him a kingdom, and glory, and dominion, and all people, tribes, and languages shall serve Him; and His power is an everlasting one, which shall not pass away, and His kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.’” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.47 p.241

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Daniel and Nebuchadnezzar. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 6 ch.10 p.42

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) mentions Daniel. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 10 ch.14 p.36

**Among corrupt of spurious books**

**pseudo-Ignatius of Antioch** (after 117 A.D.) “For Daniel the wise, at twelve years of age, became possessed of the divine X Spirit, and convicted the elders, who in vain carried their grey hairs, of being false accusers, and of lusting after the beauty of another man’s wife.” Letter to the Magnesians (Latin version) ch.3 p.60

pseudo-Ignatius of Antioch (after 117 A.D.) “He, being begotten by the Father before the beginning of time, was God the Word, the only-begotten Son, and remains the same for ever; for ‘of His kingdom there shall be no end,’ says Daniel the prophet.” *Epistle to the Magnesians* ch.6 p.61

## Dk15. The three youths in Daniel

Daniel 3:16-18

See also, W30: Christ with the three youths in Daniel.

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “For what shall we say, brethren? Was Daniel cat into the den of lions by such as feared God? Were Ananias, and Azariuas, and Nishael shut up in a furnace of fire by those who observed the great and glorious worship of the Most High? Far from us be such a thought!” *1 Clement* ch.45 p.17. See also vol.9

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “And then, again, when Ananias, Azarias, and Misael were cast into the furnace of fire sevenfold heated, they sustained no harm whatever, neither was the smell of fire perceived upon them. As, therefore, the hand of God was present with them, working out marvellous things in their case-[things] impossible [to be accomplished] by man’s nature-what wonder was it, if also in the case of those who were translated it performed something wonderful, working in obedience to the will of God, even the Father? Now this is the Son of God, as the Scripture represents Nebuchadnezzar the king as having said, ‘Did not we cast three men bound into the furnace? and, lo, I do see four walking in the midst of the fire, and the fourth is like the Son of God.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.5.2 p.531

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “But His Word [Christ],… For at one time He [Christ] was seen with those who were around Ananias, Azarias, Misael, as present with them in the furnace of fire, in the burning, and preserving them from [the effects of] fire: ‘And the appearance of the fourth,’ it is said, ‘was like to the Son of God.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.20.11 p.491

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) mentions the youths, Mishael, Ananias, Azariah. *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.328

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) quotes Daniel 3:16 in *Scorpiace* ch.8 p.640.

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “…even Jesus the Creator. It was He who was seen by the king of Babylon in the furnace with His martyrs: ‘the fourth, who was like the Son of man.’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.5 p.359

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) in discussing the three youths in the fire says, See how even the fire appears intelligent, as if it recognised and punished the guilty. For it did not touch the servants of God, but it consumed the unbelieving and impious Chaldeans. *Scholia on Daniel* ch.3 no.47 p.188

Hippolytus of Portus (225-235/6 A.D.) also mentions that Jesus was in the furnace with Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, though Jesus was not yet born on earth of a virgin. *Fragment 3* : *Commentary on Daniel* ch.2.93 p.188

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) speaks of the three youths in Daniel. *Origen On Prayer* ch.13.2 p.49 and *Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.5.33 p.173

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions Mardochai [Mordecai] and Esther. He also mentions Nabuchodonosor [Nebuchadnezzar], Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, Daniel in the den of lions and Jonas [Jonah]. *On Prayer* ch.13.2 p.49

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “representing to us something of the same kind as once did Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, the illustrious youths to whom, when shut up in the furnace, the fires gave way, and the flames gave refreshment, the Lord being present with them, and proving that against His confessors and martyrs the heat of hell could have no power, but that they who trusted in God should always continue unhurt and safe in all dangers.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 80 ch.3 p.407

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) (partial) “Let us imitate the three children Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, who, neither frightened by their youthful age nor broken down by captivity, Judea, being conquered and Jerusalem taken, overcame the king by the power of faith in his own kingdom;” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 55 ch.5 p.348

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) mentions the three children in Daniel. *Dialogue on the True Faith* part 1 815a ch.20 p.63

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite *Clementine Homilies* (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 17 ch.17 p.323 (partial) mentions that Nebuchadnezzar, an impious man, saw a vision of a fourth man in the furnace with the three men. It does not specifically say who this is though.

## Dk16. Cyrus [King of Persia]

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) mentions Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.25 p.119

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “For who is the God of the living unless He who is God, and above whom there is no other God? Whom also Daniel the prophet, when Cyrus king of the Persians said to him, ‘Why dost thou not worship Bel? ‘ did proclaim, saying, “Because I do not worship idols made with hands, but the living God, who established the heaven and the earth and has dominion over all flesh.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.5.2 p.467

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) says that Cyrus of Persia reigned 30 years. *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.329

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Finally, in the third year of Cyrus king of the Persians, when he had fallen into careful and repeated meditation on a vision, he provided another form of humiliation. “In those days,” he says, “I Daniel was mourning during three weeks: pleasant bread I ate not; flesh and wine entered not into my mouth; with oil I was not anointed; until three weeks were consummated:” *On Fasting* ch.9 p.107

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) This has been fulfilled. For after Cyrus arose Darius, and then Artaxerxes. These were the three kings; (and) the Scripture is fulfilled. *Interpretations of Hippolytus on Daniel and Nebuchadnezzar* ch.2 no.30 p.183

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “And therefore that very ancient prophet, who prophesied many generations before the reign of Cyrus (for he was older than he by more than fourteen generations), expressed himself in these words: “The Lord is my light and my salvation: whom shall I fear?” *Origen Against Celsus* book 6 ch.5 p.575

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) mentions Cyrus building God’s temple in Jerusalem. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.21 p.63

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “The prophet Ezra also, who was in the times of the same Cyrus by whom the Jews were restored, thus speaks:” and then quotes Nehemiah 9:26. *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.11 p.109

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Cyrus in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 6 ch.10 p.41, book 10 ch.9 p.24, and book 10 ch.14 p.37

## Dk17. Darius [King of Persia]

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) mentions Darius. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.25 p.119

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) discusses Darius Hystaspes of Persia. *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.329

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “Apollodorus says that he was born in the fortieth Olympiad, and reached to the times of Darius and Cyrus.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.14 p.314

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “But withal Daniel, in the first year of King Darius, when, fasting in sackcloth and ashes, he was doing exomologesis to God, said:” *On Fasting* ch.10 p.109

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) This has been fulfilled. For after Cyrus arose Darius, and then Artaxerxes. These were the three kings; (and) the Scripture is fulfilled. *Interpretations of Hippolytus on Daniel and Nebuchadnezzar* ch.2 no.30 p.183

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “And because they [the Jews] were in favour with God, they were not abandoned by Him; but although few in number, they continued to enjoy the protection of the divine power, so that in the reign of Alexander of Macedon they sustained no injury from him, although they refused, on account of certain covenants and oaths, to take up arms against Darius. They say that on that occasion the Jewish high priest, clothed in his sacred robe, received obeisance from Alexander, who declared that he had beheld an individual arrayed in this fashion, who announced to him in his sleep that he was to be the subjugator of the whole of Asia.” *Against Celsus* book 5 ch.50 p.565

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) mentions Darius’ edict in Daniel. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.20 p.541

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says that Zechariah prophesied in the time of King Darius. *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.5 p.105

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) “And they say that Darius, the father of Xerxes, was the sixth who legislated for the Egyptians.” *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.9 p.277

## Dk18. Artaxerxes/Ahasuerus [King of Persia]

Nehemiah 2:1

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “land, then, in the times of Artaxerxes king of the Persians, inspired Esdras” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.21.2 p.452

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “After Haggai and Zechariah, Nehemiah, the chief cup-bearer of Artaxerxes,” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.328

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Artaxerxes reigned” *An Answer to the Jews* ch.8 p.159

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) This has been fulfilled. For after Cyrus arose Darius, and then Artaxerxes. These were the three kings; (and) the Scripture is fulfilled. *Interpretations of Hippolytus on Daniel and Nebuchadnezzar* ch.2 no.30 p.183

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “Neither are the letters; nor the one written to Amman [Haman] about the rooting up of the Jewish nation, nor that of Mardochaios [Mordecai] in the name of Artaxerxes delivering the nation from death.” *Letter to Africanus* ch.3 p.387

## Dk19. Ezra the scribe/prophet

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) says the Esdras [Ezra] reconstructed the scriptures. *Stromata* book 1 ch.23 p.335

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) mentions Ezra in *On the Apparel of Women* ch.1 p.14

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/256 A.D.) “son of Josedech, and Ezra the scribe, and Zerubbabel the son of Salathiel,” of Fragments

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “The place-names of Scripture are specially to be suspected where many of them occur in a catalogue, as in the account of the partition of the country in Joshua, and in the first Book of Chronicles from the beginning down to, say, the passage about Dan, and similarly in Ezra.” *Origen’s Commentary on John* ch.6.24 p.371

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “In Ezra also: ‘They have fallen away from Thee, and have cast Thy law behind their backs, and have killed Thy prophets which testified against them that they should return to Thee.’ [Nehemiah 9:26]” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 1 ch.2 p.508

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “The prophet Ezra also, who was in the times of the same Cyrus by whom the Jews were restored, thus speaks:” and then quotes Nehemiah 9:26. *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.11 p.109

## Dk20. Zerubbabel

Ezra 2:2; Luke 3:27

**p4** Luke 1:58-59; 1:62-2:1,6-7; 3:8-4:2,29-32,34-35; 5:3-8; 5:30-6:16 (c.150-175 A.D.) Luke 3:27

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “If any one, however, advocating the cause of the Jews, do maintain that this new covenant consisted in the rearing of that temple which was built under Zerubbabel after the emigration to Babylon, and in the departure of the people from thence after the lapse of seventy years, let him know that the temple constructed of stones was indeed then rebuilt (for as yet that law was observed which had been made upon tables of stone), yet no new covenant was given, but they used the Mosaic law until the coming of the Lord;” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.34.4 p.512

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “At the time of Zorobabel, having by his wisdom overcome his opponents, and obtained leave from Darius for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, returned with Esdras [Ezra] to his native land;” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.328

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “son of Josedech, and Ezra the scribe, and Zerubbabel the son of Salathiel, of” *An Interpretation by Hippolytus of the Visions of Daniel and Nebuchadnezzar* ch.15 p.180

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Also in Haggai: ‘And Zerubbabel the son of Salathiel, of the tribe of Judah, and Jesus the son of Josedech, the high priest, and all who remained of the people, obeyed the voice of the Lord their God, because the Lord sent him to them, and the people feared from the face of God.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.20 p.541

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Zerubabbel in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 10 ch.10 p.24.

## Dk21. Joshua the high priest (in Zechariah)

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) quotes Zechariah 3:1 as by Zechariah, as a foreshadowing of Jesus. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.79 p.238

Clement of Alexandria (193-220 A.D.) (partial, no mention of Joshua) quotes Zechariah 3:2 as by Zechariah.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) refers to Zechariah 3 as by Zechariah. *An Answer to the Jews* ch.14 p.172.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes Zechariah 3:1,3,5,7,8 as by Zechariah. *The Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 2 ch.13 p.521-522.

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) quotes Zechariah 3:1-8 as by Zechariah. *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.14 p.113-114

## Dk22. Antiochus [Epiphanes] of Syria

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-234/235 A.D.) “For in this wise, too, did Antiochus Epiphanes the king of Syria, the descendant of Alexander of Macedon, devise measures against the Jews.” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.49 p.214

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “But if this result has not taken place, and if, on the contrary, they have suffered countless calamities rather than renounce Judaism and their law, and have been cruelly treated, at one time in Assyria, at another in Persia, and at another under Antiochus, is it not in keeping with the probabilities of the case for those to suppose who do not yield their belief to their miraculous histories and prophecies, that the events in question could not be inventions, but that a certain divine Spirit being in the holy souls of the prophets, as of men who underwent any labour for the cause of virtue, *did* move them to prophesy some things relating to their contemporaries, and others to their posterity, but chiefly regarding a certain personage who was to come as a Saviour to the human race?” *Origen Against Celsus* book 3 ch.3 p.466

Origen (233/234 A.D.) tells of the seven brothers in Machabees, who were tortured with whips and scourges by Antiochus. *Origen’s Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.4.23 p.163-164

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “The king Antiochus, their enemy-yea, in Antiochus Antichrist was set forth-sought to pollute the mouths of martyrs, glorious and unconquered in the spirit of confession, with the contagion of swine’s flesh; and when he had severely beaten them with whips, and could prevail nothing, commanded iron plates to be heated, which being heated and made to glow, he commanded him who had first spoken, and had more provoked the king with the constancy of his virtue and faith, to be brought up and roasted, his tongue having first been pulled out and cut off, which had confessed God; and this happened the more gloriously to the martyr.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 11 ch.11 p.504

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “Matthias also, prince of Judah, broke the Sabbath; for he slew the prefect of Antiochus the king of Syria on the Sabbath, and subdued the foreigners by pursuing them.” *On the Creation of the World* p.342

**Modern times**

**C. H. Spurgeon (1834-1892), of unforgettable stature in Christian history, referred to a commentary on the book of Daniel as setting forth the ”absurd hypothesis” that all of Daniel’s prophecies were fulfilled in the period between the Old and New Testament -- that is, the years between Malachi and Matthew (See Spurgeon’s Commenting and Commentaries, page 126, review #770).**

**Jewish Writers**

1 Maccabees 1:54 claims Antiochus Epiphanes fulfilled Daniel.

Josephus claims Antiochus Epiphanes fulfilled Daniel.

## Dk23. Rehoboam

Matthew 1:7

**p1** (225-275 A.D.) Matthew 1:1-9, 12, 14-20 (17 verses) Matthew 1:7

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “And after the judges they had kings, the first named Saul, who reigned 20 years; then David, our forefather, who reigned 40 years. Accordingly, there are to the reign of David [from Isaac] 496 years. And after these kings Solomon reigned, who also, by the will of God, was the first to build the temple in Jerusalem; he reigned 40 years. And after him Rehoboam, 17 years; and after him Abias, 7 years;” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.25 p.119

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) mentions Roboam [Rehoboam] *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.326

**Tertullian** (200-240 A.D.) mentions Rehoboam. *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.25 p.206

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) mentions Rehoboam. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 77.1.1 p.288. *Homilies on Luke* (233-244 A.D.) homily 28.2 p.116

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “As this Psalm is addressed to Solomon, the first verse of (354) the Psalm must be referred to him, and all the rest to the son of Solomon, not Rehoboam, who was king of Israel after him, but Him that was of his seed according to the flesh, the Christ of God: for all who are acquainted with the Holy Scriptures will agree that it is impossible to connect (c) what is said in this Psalm with him or his successors, because of what they reveal about him.” *Demonstration of the Gospel* from Psalm 72 p.&&&

## Dk24. The prophets are holy

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “with your holy prophets, so are there now many false teachers amongst us” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.82 p.240

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “At the same time, I met with the sacred Scriptures of the holy prophets, who also by the Spirit of God foretold the things that have already happened,…” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.14 p.93

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) “sent holy prophets to declare and teach the race of men, that each one of us might awake and understand that there is one God.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.34 p.108

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “of which God hath spoken by His holy prophets.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.12.3 p.430-431

**Clement of Alexandria** (198-220 A.D.) “The like also we find in the holy prophets; but to Moses an angel appeared near and at hand. Moses heard him and spoke to him manifestly, face to face.” *Comments on the First Epistle of John* (Latin translation by Cassiodorus) p.574

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) mentions “His holy prophets” *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* ch.33 p.362

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “And holy prophets that were after him” *Five Books Against Marcion* book

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “after the glorious and honourable company of the holy prophets” *Commentary on Genesis 49:21-26* p.167

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “the choir of the holy prophets” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.42 p.211

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “souls of the holy prophets.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 3 ch.81 p.496

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) “Therefore, when the holy prophets, and all, as I have said, who righteously and justly walked in the law of the Lord, together with the entire people, celebrated a typical and shadowy Passover, the Creator and Lord of every visible and invisible creature, the only-begotten Son, and the Word co-eternal with the Father and the Holy Spirit, and of the same substance with them, according to His divine nature, our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, being in the end of the world born according to the flesh of our holy and glorious lady, Mother of God, and Ever-Virgin, and, of a truth, of Mary the Mother of God; and being seen upon earth, and having true and real converse as man with men, who were of the same substance with Him, according to His human nature, Himself also, with the people,” fragment 5.7 p.282

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “This is the doctrine of the holy prophets which we Christians follow;” *The Divine Institutes* book 7 ch.26 p.221

## Teachings on O. T. individuals not on the list

**1. Abigail** (no writers)

**2. Abimelech in Isaac’s time** (only 2 writers: Clement of Alexandria, Origen)

**3. Abimelech father of Abiathar** (only 1 writer: Clement of Alexandria)

**4. Abimelech son of Gideon** (only 2 writers: Theophilus of Antioch, Hippolytus)

**5. Abner** (no writers)

**6. Abraham’s descendants like dust** (only 3 writers; Clement of Rome, Justin Martyr)

**7. Abraham rejoiced to see the day of Christ** (only 3 writers)

**8. Absalom** (no writers. After Nicea Ambrosiaster q6 p.130, Asterius of Amasea Against Covetousness sermon 3 ch.1 p.2.)

**9. Achish** (no writers)

**10. Adonijah** (no writers)

**11. Adoniram** (no writers)

**12. Agag** (no writers)

**13. Ai (town of)** (no writers)

**14. Amaziah** (only 1 writer: Theophilus of Antioch)

**15. Amon** (only 1 writer: Theophilus of Antioch)

**16. Ammonites** (Not an individual. 4 writers: Justin Martyr, Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian)

**17. Aphek (town of)** (no writers)

**18. Arad (town of)** (no writers)

**19. Arioch** (only 1 writer: Theophilus of Antioch)

**20. Asa** (only 1 writer: Theophilus of Antioch)

**21. Asahel** (no writers)

**22. Asaph** (only 2 writers: Origen, Athanasius of Alexandria *Incarnation* ch.40 p.57. Also pseudo-Hippolytus)

**23. Asher** (2 writers)

**24. Athaliah, evil queen** (only 1 writer: Theophilus of Antioch)

**25. Athiophel** (no writers)

**26. Bathsheba, Solomon’s wife** (only 1 writer. After Nicea Ambrosiaster (Bersabee or adultery) q3 p.153)

**27. Baasha king of Israel** (no writers)

**28. Baruch Jeremiah’s scribe** (no writers)

**29. Ben Hadad of Syria** (no writers)

**30. Beniah, Solomon’s soldier** (no writers)

**31. Bildad the Shuhite** (no writers)

**32. Bilhah** [Jacob’s concubine] (no writers)

**33. Boaz, husband of Ruth** Matthew 1:5 (no writers. manuscript p1)

**34. Caleb** (only 2 writers: *Irenaeus Against Heresies*, Irenaeus *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.27, Clement of Alexandria)

**35. David, man after God’s own heart** (no writers)

**36. Deborah, godly judge** (only 3 writers: Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian)

**37. Delilah, caused Samson’s downfall** (no writers)

**38. Dinah, Jacob’s daughter** (no writers)

**39. Doeg the Edomite** (no writers. After Nicea: Athanasius of Alexandria)

**40. Eldad and Modat [Medad]** (only 1 writer: *Shepherd of Hermas*)

**41. Eleazar** (only 3 writers: Julius Africanus, Origen, Cyprian)

**42. Eliashib the priest** (no writers)

**43. Enoch (son of Cain)** (only 2 writers)

**44. Enos** (only 2 writers)

**45. Esther the Persian queen** (only 3 writers: Clement of Rome, Clement of Alexandria, Origen)

**46. Geshem the Arab** (no writers)

**47. Goliath the Philistine** (only 1 writer)

**48. Ham son of Noah** (only 3 writers)

**49. Haman** (only 2 writers)

**50. Hezekiah did away with Solomon’s books on healing** (only 1 writer)

**51. Ichabod** (no writers)

**52. Isaac became blind** (only 1 writer: Adamantius: 1 heretic: Megethius)

**53. Issachar** (only 1 writer: Eusebius)

**54. Jair** (only 1 writer)

**55. Jannes and Jambres/Mambres** (only 2 writers: Origen, Cyprian of Carthage. After Nicea: Hegemonius/Archelaus)

**56. Jared** (only 1 writer: Origen)

**57. Jehoiada** (no writers)

**58. Jehoshaphat, good king of Judah** Matthew 1:8 (only 1 writer manuscript p1)

**59. Jehu** (only 1 writer)

**60. Jethro** (only 1 write: Origen. Among heretics a Naasene sermon *TGB* p.485)

**61. Jezebel in the OT** (only 3 writers: Tertullian, Hippolytus, Methodius. After Nicea: Athanasius of Alexandria)

**62. Joab** (no writers)

**63. Joash** (only 2 writers: Clement of Alexandreia, Athanasius)

**64. Jonadab and the Recabites** (only 1 writer: Origen)

**65. Jonathan son of Saul** (only 3 writers: Tertullian, Hippolytus, Gregory Thaumaturgus)

**66. Jotham** (only 1 writer)

**68. Keturah, wife of Abraham** (no writers)

**68. Manasseh son of Hezekiah** (only 1 writer)

**69. Manoah [father of Samson** (no writers. After Nicea: Athanasius of Alexandria)

**70. Mephibosheth, son of Jonathan** (no writers)

**71. Methuselah** (only 3 writers: Theophilus of Antioch, Methodius,)

**72. Mesha, king of Moab** (no writers)

**73. Mordecai** (only 2 writers: Clement of Alexandria, *Origen’s Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.33 p.173 and *On Prayer* ch.13.2 p.49)

**74. Moses fasted for 40 days on the mountain** (only 3 writers: Clement of Rome, Epistle of Barnabas, Irenaeus. After Nicea: Hegemonius/Archelaus)

**75. Naboth, vineyard owner** (only 1 writer: Tertullian. After Nicea: Athanasius of Alexandria, Ambrosiaster q110 p.118)

**76. Nadab** (only1 writer: Irenaeus)

**77. Nahor/Nachor** (only 2 writers. Origen)

**78. Naomi, mother-in-law of Ruth** (no writers)

**79. Nazirites** (only 2 writers)

**80. Nehemiah** (only 1 writer)

**81. Noah’s nakedness** (only 2 writers)

**82. Oded** (no writers)

**83. Orpah** (no writers)

**84. Othniel** (only 1 writer: Eusebius of Caesarea)

**85. Queen of Sheba** (only 1 writer: Origen)

**86. Reu** (only 2 writers: Theophilus of Antioch, Hippolytus)

**87. Reuben** (only 3 writers: Justin Martyr, Hippolytus, Origen)

**88. Ruth (the person, not the book)** (only 2 writers: Julius Africanus and Origen. Melito mentions the book)

**89. Serug/Serag** (only 2 writers: Theophilus of Antioch, Hippolytus)

**90. Shamgar** (no writers)

**91. Shimei** (no writers)

**92. Simeon** (only 3 writers: Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen)

**93. Terah, Abraham’s father** (only 2 writers: Theophilus of Antioch, Eusebius of Caesarea)

**94. Thola/Tola** (only 1 writer: Theophilus of Antioch)

**95. Tobias the Ammonite** (no writers)

**96. Tobit** [in the apocrypha] (only 3 writers: Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Adamantius)

**97. The widow [and Elisha]** (only 1 writer: Cyprian)

**98. Uriah the Hittite** (only 3 writers: Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Tertullian 5 Books)

**99. Uzziah** Matthew 1:9 (only 3 writers: Theophilus of Antioch, Cyprian of Carthage, Eusebius of Caesarea. manuscript p1 corrupt or spurious: pseudo-Methodius)

**100. Zadok the scribe** (no writers)

**101. Zechariah killed between temple and altar** (only 1 writer: Cyprian of Carthage)

**102. Zelophehad** (no writers)

**103. Zilpah** [Jacob’s concubine] (no writers)

**104. Zipporah circumcising their son** (only 2 writers: Tertullian, Origen)

# GOSPEL Individuals

## Go1. Mary mother of Jesus was blessed

Luke 1:48b

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “But it has fixed and established ‘the fruit of the *belly*,’ that it might declare the generation of Him who should be [born] from the Virgin, as Elisabeth testified when filled with the Holy Ghost, saying to Mary, ‘Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy belly;’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.21.5 p.453

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “Tell me, O blessed Mary, what that was that was conceived by thee in the womb, and what that was that was born by thee in thy virgin matrix.” Fragment 4 *On Resurrection and Incorruption* p.238

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) “Chap. II. 7. And if you please, we say that the Word was the first-born of God, who came down from heaven to the blessed Mary, and was made a first-born man in her womb, in order that the first-born of God might be manifested in union with a first-born man.” *On Luke* ch.7 p.194

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Also in the Gospel according to Luke: ‘And it came to pass, when Elisabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb; and she was filled with the Holy Ghost, and she cried out with a loud voice, and said, Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 second part ch.8 p.519

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Protoevangelium of James*** (145-248 A.D.) ch.11 p.363 (implied) mentions Mary, the mother of Jesus.

## Go2. Elizabeth [mother of John the Baptist]

Luke 1:5,7,13,24,40-45,57

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “For Samuel’s mother, who was barren, brought forth by the will of God; and so also the wife of the holy patriarch Abraham; and Elisabeth, who bore John the Baptist, and other such.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.84 p.241

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 1 p.43 The angel came and spoke to Elizabeth and Mary.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Luke also, the follower and disciple of the apostles, referring to Zacharias and Elisabeth, from whom, according to promise, John was born, says:” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.10.1 p.423

**Tertullian** (c.203 A.D.) “who had been irregularly conceived. However, even these have life, each of them in his mother’s womb. Elizabeth exults with joy, (for) John had leaped in her womb;” *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.26 p.207

Tertullian (198-240 A.D.) has a detailed description of a surgical abortion. In Elizabeth’s womb the fetus was alive. *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.25 p.206

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “45. He, on hearing the salutation addressed to Elisabeth, leaped with joy in his mother’s womb, recognising God the Word conceived in the womb of the Virgin.” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.44,45 p.213

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “This is to teach us that the man also of the Son of God, the man who was mixed with His divinity, was older than His birth from Mary. John says he does not know this man, but must he not have known Him when he leapt for joy when yet a babe unborn in Elisabeth’s womb, as soon as the voice of Mary’s salutation sounded in the ears of the wife of Zacharias?” *Commentary on John* book 1 ch.37 p.317

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions Zechariah and Elizabeth. *Origen On Prayer* ch.14.3 p.54

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Also in the Gospel according to Luke: “And it came to pass, when Elisabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb; and she was filled” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 first part ch.8 p.519

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) claims that Herod slew Zechariah, while [John the Baptist] escaped with Elisabeth.” *Canonical Epistle* canon 13 p.277

**Among heretics**

**Mandaeans** (>350?) says Zechariah and Elizabeth are the father and mother of John the Baptist. *Ginza* p.550

## Go3. Zechariah, husband of Elizabeth

Luke 1:5-25

**p4** Luke 1:58-59; 1:62-2:1,6-7; 3:8-4:2,29-32,34-35; 5:3-8; 5:30-6:16 (c.150-175 A.D.) Luke 1:59

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 1.6 p.43 mentions the priest Zacharias and his wife Elizabeth.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “For through him we have become acquainted with very many and important parts of the Gospel; for instance, the generation of John, the history of Zacharias, the coming of the angel to Mary, the exclamation of Elisabeth, the descent of the angels to the shepherds, the words spoken by them, the testimony of Anna and of Simeon with regard to Christ, and that twelve years of age He was left behind at Jerusalem;” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.14.3 p.438

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) “And it was this which was signified by the dumbness of Zacharias, which waited for fruit in the person of the harbinger of Christ, that the Word, the light of truth, by becoming the Gospel, might break the mystic silence of the prophetic enigmas.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.1 p.174

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) Zechariah, John the Baptist’s father. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.1 p.174

**Tertullian** (213 A.D.) “Monogamy and Continence: one modest, in Zechariah the priest; one absolute, in John the forerunner: one appeasing God; one preaching Christ: one proclaiming a perfect priest; one exhibiting ‘more than a prophet,’ -him, namely, who has not only preached or personally pointed out, but even baptized Christ.” *On Monogamy* ch.8 p.65

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “Thus also two forerunners were indicated. The first was John the son of Zacharias, who appeared in all things a forerunner and herald of our Saviour,” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.44 p.213

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “This explains, perhaps, how it was that Zacharias lost his voice at the birth of the voice which points out the Word of God, and only recovered it when the voice, forerunner of the Word, was born.” *Origen’s Commentary on John* 2 ch.26 p.341

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions Zechariah and Elizabeth. *Origen On Prayer* ch.14.3 p.54

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Also in that according to Luke: ‘And Zacharias was filled with the Holy Ghost, and prophesied, saying, Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who hath foreseen redemption for His people, and hath raised up an horn of salvation for us in the house of His servant David.’” *Treatises of Cyprian Treatise* 12 second part ch.7 p.519

**Pontius** (258 A.D.) “I find something similar in the Scriptures. For Zacharias the priest, because he did not believe the promise of a son, made to him by the angel, became dumb; so that he asked for tablets by a sign, being about to write his son’s name rather than utter it.” *Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.13 p.272

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “Luke, in narrating the priesthood of Zacharias as he offers a sacrifice for the people, and the angel that appears to him with respect of the priesthood,” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the fourth chapter 7-10 p.348

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) claims that Herod slew Zechariah, while [John the Baptist] escaped with Elisabeth.” *Canonical Epistle* canon 13 p.277

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Protoevangelium of James*** (145-248 A.D.) ch.10 p.363 mentions that Zecharias was mute, and after Jesus was born he spoke again.

**Mandaeans** (>350?) says Zechariah and Elizabeth are the father and mother of John the Baptist. *Ginza* p.550

## Go4. John the Baptist leapt in Elizabeth’s womb

Luke 1:44

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 1.43 p.44 says that Elizabeth’s baby leaped in her womb.

**Tertullian** (c.203 A.D.) “who had been irregularly conceived. However, even these have life, each of them in his mother’s womb. Elizabeth exults with joy, (for) John had leaped in her womb;” *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.26 p.207

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “45. He, on hearing the salutation addressed to Elisabeth, leaped with joy in his mother’s womb, recognising God the Word conceived in the womb of the Virgin.” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.45 p.213

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “Gabriel, when announcing to Zacharias the birth of John, and to Mary the advent of our Saviour among men, says: That John is to be ‘filled with the Holy Spirit even from his mother’s womb.’ And we have also the saying, ‘For behold, when the voice of thy salutation came into mine ears, the babe leaped in my womb for joy.’” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 2 ch.24 p.340

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Also in the Gospel according to Luke: “And it came to pass, when Elisabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb; and she was filled” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 first part ch.8 p.519

## Go5. Shepherds at Jesus’ birth

Luke 2:8-20

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 2.16-28 p.46 “And there were in that region shepherds abiding, keeping their flock in the watch of the night. And behold, the angel of God came unto them, and the glory of the Lord shone upon them; and they were greatly terrified. And the angel said unto them, Be not terrified; for I bring you tidings of great joy which shall be to the whole world; there is born to you this day a Saviour, which is the Lord the Messiah, in the city of David. And this is a sign for you: ye shall find a babe wrapped in swaddling cloths and laid in a manger. And there appeared with the angels suddenly many heavenly forces praising God and saying, Praise be to God in the highest, And on the earth peace, and good hope to men. And when the angels departed from them to heaven, the shepherds spake to one another and said, We will go to Bethlehem and see this word which hath been, as the Lord made known unto us. And they came with haste, and found Mary and Joseph, and the babe laid in a manger. And when they saw, they reported the word which was spoken to them about the child. And all that heard wondered at the description which the shepherds described to them. But Mary kept these sayings and discriminated them in her heart. And those shepherds returned, magnifying and praising God for all that they had seen and heard, according as it was described unto them.”

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “…He who in David and the prophets announced His own sufferings; He who put on a bodily form in the Virgin; He who was born in Bethlehem; He who was wrapped in swaddling-clothes in the manger; He who was seen by the shepherds; He who was glorified by the angels; He who was worshipped by the Magi; He who was pointed out by John; He who gathered together the apostles; He who preached the kingdom; He who cured the lame; He who gave light to the blind; He who raised the dead;…” Fragment 4 *On Faith* p.757

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “And the angel of the Lord, he says, appeared to the shepherds, proclaiming joy to them: ‘For there is born in the house of David, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord. Then [appeared] a multitude of the heavenly host, praising God, and saying, Glory in the highest to God, and on earth peace, to men of good will.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.10.3 p.424-425

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “…and from the testimony of the angel, who at night announced to the shepherds that Christ had at that moment been born, and again from the place of the birth, for it is towards night that persons arrive at the (eastern) ‘inn’.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.9 p.448

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “This is He who was hymned by the angels, and seen by the shepherds, and waited for by Simeon, and witnessed to by Anna.” *Against the Heresy of One Noetus* ch.18 p.230

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “Hence an angel standing over the shepherds made a bright light to shine round about them, and said: ‘Fear not; behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all tile people; for there is born to you, this day, a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord, in the city of David.’” *Commentary on John* book 1 ch.13 p.304

***Treatise on Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.8 p.671 “For that our Lord was born, and that He was the Christ, appeared by many reasons to be believed, not unjustly, by His disciples, because He had been born of the tribe of Judah, of the family of David, and in the city of Bethlehem; and because He had been announced to the shepherds by the angels at the same moment that there was born to them a Saviour; because His star being seen in the east, He had been most anxiously sought for and adored by the Magi,…”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Also in the same place, the angel said to the shepherds: ‘Fear not; for, behold, I bring you tidings that unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ Jesus.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 2 ch.7 p.519

## Go6. The Magi came to Christ

Matthew 2:1-12

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “‘Now this king Herod, at the time when the Magi came to him from Arabia, and said they knew from a star which appeared in the heavens that a King had been born in your country, and that they had come to worship Him, learned from the elders of your people that it was thus written regarding Bethlehem in the prophet: ‘And thou, Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, art by no means least among the princes of Judah; for out of thee shall go forth the leader who shall feed my people.’ Accordingly the Magi from Arabia came to Bethlehem and worshipped the Child, and presented Him with gifts, gold and frankincense, and myrrh; but returned not to Herod, being warned in a revelation after worshipping the Child in Bethlehem.’” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.88 p.237

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.106 p.252 says that the Magi worshipped Jesus. He also says that we should worship him in ch.63 p.229

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 3.1 p.47 says the Magi came to worship Christ.

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) vol.8 ch.4 p.757 says that the Magi worshipped Jesus.

Melito of Sardis (170-177/180 A.D.) says, “Christ our Lord. To whom be glory forever and ever. Amen.” *On Pascha* ch.45 p.48, ch.65 p.54, and ch.100 p.65

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) says the Magi worshipped Jesus. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.9.2 p.423

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “and the Magi of the Persians, who foretold the Saviour’s birth and came into the land of Judea guided by a star.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.15 p.316

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “‘But Magi and astrologers came from the east.’ We know the mutual alliance of magic and astrology. The interpreters of the stars, then, were the first to announce Christ’s birth the first to present Him “gifts.” By this bond, [must] I imagine, they put Christ under obligation to themselves? What then? Shall therefore the religion of those Magi act as patron now also to astrologers? Astrology now-a-days, forsooth, treats of Christ-is the science of the stars of Christ; not of Saturn, or Mars, and whomsoever else out of the same class of the dead it pays observance to and preaches? But, however, that science has been allowed until the Gospel, in order that after Christ’s birth no one should thence forward interpret any one’s nativity by the heaven. For they therefore offered to the then infant Lord that frankincense and myrrh and gold, to be, as it were, the close of worldly sacrifice and glory, which Christ was about to do away. What, then? The dream-sent, doubtless, of the will of God-suggested to the same Magi, namely, that they should go home, but by another way, not that by which they came. It means this: that they should not walk in their ancient path.” *On Idolatry* ch.9 p.65

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-234/5 A.D.) mentions that the Gnostic heretic Basilides mentions the Magi. “And the Magi (afford similar testimony) when they gaze wistfully upon the (Saviour’s) star.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 7 ch.15 p.108

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) mentions the wise men who came from the east to worship the child Jesus. *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.40 p.413. See also *Origen Against Celsus* book 6 ch.80 p.609-610.

***Treatise on Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.8 p.671 “He had been announced to the shepherds by the angels at the same moment that there was born to them a Saviour; because His star being seen in the east, He had been most anxiously sought for and adored by the Magi, and honoured with illustrious presents and distinguished offerings;”

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) (partial) says men from Persia came to worship Him [Christ]. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.37.5 p.56

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions the Magi from the east who came to worship Christ. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.8.1 p.94

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Protoevangelium of James*** (145-248 A.D.) ch.21 p.366 discusses the story of how the Magi came and worshipped Jesus.

The Gnostic **Basilides** in Hippolytus (222-234/5 A.D.) mentions the Magi. “And the Magi (afford similar testimony) when they gaze wistfully upon the (Saviour’s) star.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 7 ch.15 p.108

## Go7. Simeon [at Jesus’ dedication]

Luke 2:25-35

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 2.30-41 p.46 “And when the days of their purification according to the law of Moses were completed, they took him up to Jerusalem to present him before the Lord (as it is written in the law of the Lord, Every male opening the womb shall be called the holy thing of the Lord), and to give a sacrificial victim as it is said in the law of 33 the Lord, A pair of doves or two young pigeons. And there was in Jerusalem a man whose name was Simeon; and this man was upright and pious, and expecting the consolation of Israel; and the Holy Spirit was upon him. And it had been said unto him by the Holy Spirit, that he should not see death till he had seen with his eyes the Messiah of the Lord. And this man came by the Spirit to the temple; and at the time when his parents brought in the child Jesus, that they might present for him a sacrifice, as it is written in the law, he bare him in his arms and praised God and said, Now loosest thou the bonds of thy servant, O Lord, in peace, According to thy saying; For mine eye hath witnessed thy mercy, Which thou hast made ready because of the whole world; A light for the unveiling of the nations, And a glory to thy people Israel. And Joseph and his mother were marvelling at the things which were being said concerning him. And Simeon blessed them and said to Mary his mother, Behold, he is set for the overthrow and rising of many in Israel; and for a sign of contention; and a spear shall pierce through thine own soul; that the thoughts of the hearts of many may be revealed. And Anna the prophetess, …”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “For through him we have become acquainted with very many and important parts of the Gospel; for instance, the generation of John, the history of Zacharias, the coming of the angel to Mary, the exclamation of Elisabeth, the descent of the angels to the shepherds, the words spoken by them, the testimony of Anna and of Simeon with regard to Christ, and that twelve years of age He was left behind at Jerusalem;” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.14.3 p.438

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Then within the same period John prophesied till the baptism of salvation; and after the birth of Christ, Anna and Simeon.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.331

**Tertullian** (207-220 A.D.) “We acknowledge, however, that the prophetic declaration of Simeon is fulfilled, which he spoke over the recently-born Saviour: ‘Behold, this *child* is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign that shall be spoken against.’” *On the Flesh of Christ* ch.23 p.541

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “This is He who was hymned by the angels, and seen by the shepherds, and waited for by Simeon, and witnessed to by Anna.” *Against the Heresy of One Noetus* ch.18 p.230

**Origen** (233-244 A.D.) mentions Simeon holding Jesus in his arms. *Homilies on Luke* homily 15 ch.1 p.62

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Certainly Simeon, that just man, who was truly just, who kept God’s commands with a full faith, when it had been pledged him from heaven that he should not die before he had seen the Christ, and Christ had come an infant into the temple with His mother, acknowledged in spirit that Christ was now born, concerning whom it had before been foretold to him; and when he had seen Him, he knew that he should soon die. Therefore, rejoicing concerning his now approaching death, and secure of his immediate summons, he received the child into his arms, and blessing the Lord, he exclaimed, and said, ‘Now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word; for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation;’” [Luke 2:29) *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 7 ch.3 p.470

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “Once, indeed, the aged Simeon met the Saviour and received in his arms, as an infant, the Creator of the world, and proclaimed Him to be Lord and God;” *Oration on Psalms* ch.5 p.396

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite *Protoevangelium of James* (145-248 A.D.) (partial because in one reading but not in the main one.) ch.24 p.366 “the priests consulted as to whom they should put in his place; and the lot fell upon Simeon; For it was he who had been warned by the Holy Spirit that he should not see death until he should see the Christ in the flesh.”

## Go8. Anna [at Jesus’ dedication]

Luke 2:36-38

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 2.30-41 p.46 “And Anna the prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher, was also advanced in years (and she dwelt with her husband seven years from her virginity, and she remained a widow about eighty-four years); and she left not the temple, and served night and day with 46 fasting and prayer. And she also rose in that hour and thanked the Lord, and she spake of him with every one who was expecting the deliverance of Jerusalem.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “For through him we have become acquainted with very many and important parts of the Gospel; for instance, the generation of John, the history of Zacharias, the coming of the angel to Mary, the exclamation of Elisabeth, the descent of the angels to the shepherds, the words spoken by them, the testimony of Anna and of Simeon with regard to Christ, and that twelve years of age He was left behind at Jerusalem;” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.14.3 p.438

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Then within the same period John prophesied till the baptism of salvation; and after the birth of Christ, Anna and Simeon.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.331

**Tertullian** (298-220 A.D.) “On the threshold of the Gospel, Anna the prophetess, daughter of Phanuel, ‘who both recognised the infant Lord, and preached many things about Him to such as were expecting the redemption of Israel,’” *On Fasting* ch.8 p.107

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “seen by the shepherds, and waited for by Simeon, and witnessed to by Anna.” *Against the Heresy of One Noetus* ch.18 p.230

**Origen** (233-244 A.D.) mentions Anna who prophesied about Jesus. *Homilies on Luke* homily 17 ch.9 p.74

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Let not us, then, who are in Christ-that is, always in the lights cease from praying even during night. Thus the widow Anna, without intermission praying and watching, persevered in deserving well of God, as it is written in the Gospel: ‘She departed not,’ it says, ‘from the temple, serving with fastings and prayers night and day.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 4 ch.36 p.457

## Go9. Herod’s slaughter in Bethlehem

Matthew 2:16

**p70** – Matthew 2:13-16; 2:22-3:1; 11:26-27; 12:4-5; 24:3-6,12-25 (3rd century A.D.) tells of Herod killing the infant boys in Bethlehem. Matthew 2:13-16

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) mentions that Magi visiting Herod, and Herod massacring all the children in Bethlehem. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.78 p.238

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** quotes Luke 2 and the killing of the baby boys in Bethlehem.

Hegesippus (170-180 A.D.) (partial) said that Herod dreaded the advent of Christ *Five Books of Commentaries on the Acts of the Church* section 1 Concerning the Relatives of our Savior p.763

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) says that [God] “removed those children belonging to the house of David, whose happy lot it was to have been born at that time, that He might send them on before into His kingdom” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.16.4 p.442

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) said Jesus “fled from the persecution set on foot by Herod” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.21.3 p.452

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) (partial, does not mention babies being killed) “means this: that they should not walk in their ancient path. Not that Herod should not pursue them, who in fact did not pursue them;” *On Idolatry* ch.9 p.66

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) says that Herod slew all the infants in Bethlehem and surrounding areas hoping to kill the King of the Jews. *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.61 p.423

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) (implied, no mention of Herod) mentions that at Christ’s birth infants two years old and under were killed for Christ. *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 55 ch.6 p.349

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) mentions the infants Herod slaughtered because of Christ. *Canonical Epistle* Canon 13 p.277

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) tells of Herod’s slaughter of the boys under 2 in Bethlehem. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.8.1-7 p.94. See also ibid book 1 ch.8.16 p.95.

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Protoevangelium of James*** (145-248 A.D.) ch.21-22 vol.8 p.366 mentions that after the wise men were warned and left for their own country, Herod sent murderers to slay the children.

## Go10. John the Baptist

Matthew 3:1-15; Mark 1:4-8; 14; Luke 3:1-20; John 1:15,19-35

(Implied) John 1:23-31

Matthew 3:1-12; Mark 1:1-8; Luke 3:3-20; John 1:5-34

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 5:35; 3:22-35

**p4 + p64 + p67** Luke 1:58-59; 1:62-2:1,6-7; 3:8-4:2,29-32,34-35; 5:3-8; 5:30-6:16; Matthew 26:7-8,10,14-15,22-23,31-33; Matthew 3:9,15; 5:20-22,25-28 -95 verses (c.150-175 A.D.) Mention of John the Baptist. Luke 1:76

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) John the Baptist rebuked Herod because of his wife Herodias in Luke 3:18-20. Also John 1:15-29

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Mark 6:17-25; Mark 11:29

**p5** John 1:23-31, 33-40; 16:14-30; 20:11-17,19-20,22-25 (47 verses) (early 3rd century) (implied) John 1:23-31

**p70** – Matthew 2:13-16; 2:22-3:1; 11:26-27; 12:4-5; 24:3-6,12-25 (3rd century A.D.) mentions John the Baptist. Matthew 3:1

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) discusses how John the Baptist was the forerunner of Christ. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.51 p.221.

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) vol.8 ch.4 p.757 says that Jesus was pointed out by John [the Baptist]

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) tells how John the Baptist identified Jesus as the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.10.2 p.424

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) discusses John the Baptist. *The Instructor* book 2 ch.11 p.266

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) mentions John the Baptist. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.1 p.174

**Tertullian** (c.203 A.D.) mentions that John the Baptist coming in the spirit and power of Elijah in Matthew 11:14 does not support transmigration [reincarnation]. The error of transmigration teaches a person will die, leave their body, and go to some other body. But Elijah did not die, and he will return in the endtimes in his own body. The “spirit and power” were bestowed as external gifts by the grace of God.” *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.35 p.217-218

Tertullian (213 A.D.) says that John was the forerunner. *On Monogamy* ch.8 p.65

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “He graciously adduced the prophecy in the superior sense of the alternative mentioned by the perplexed John, in order that, by affirming that His own precursor was already come in the person of John, He might quench the doubt which lurked in his question: ‘Art thou He that, should come, or look we for another?’ Now that the forerunner had fulfilled his mission, and the way of the Lord was prepared, He ought now to be acknowledged as that (Christ) for whom the forerunner had made ready the way.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.18 p.376

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) Jesus came to John the Baptist, the forerunner of the Lord. *Discourse on the Holy Theophany* ch.2 p.235

**Julius Africanus** (235-245 A.D.) (partial) says that prophecy was until John [the Baptist]. *Five Books of the Chronology of Julius Africanus* ch.16.1 p.134.

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) discusses the role of John the Baptist. *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 2 ch.29-30 p.343-344

Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) mentions John the Baptist as coming in the spirit and power (but not the reincarnation of) Elijah. *Origen’s Commentary on Matthew* book 10 ch.20 p.427

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions John the Baptist. *Origen On Prayer* ch.24.3 p.54

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) mentions John the Baptist. *Treatise Concerning the Trinity* ch.14 p.623

***Treatise on Rebaptism*** (254-257 A.D.) mentions us fully following the announcement of John the Baptist ch.19 p.677-678

*Treatise On Rebaptism* (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.2 p.668 mentions with approval the baptism of John the Baptist. Ch.15 p.676 says that John was filled with the Holy Spirit form his mother’s womb.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (256 A.D.) mentions that John the Baptist was esteemed the greatest among prophets. *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 72 ch.25 p.385

**Firmilian** (c.246-258 A.D.) in his letter to Cyprian mentions John the Baptist who baptized before the Holy Spirit had been sent by the Lord in *Letter 74* p.392

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) discusses the role of John the Baptist. *Dialogue on the Truth* second part 867d p.100. He mentions that John the Baptist was Christ’s forerunner from God. *Dialogue on the True Faith* First part d 26 p.70

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) mentions John the Baptist. *Commentary on the Apocalypse of the Blessed John* ch.16 p.345

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) He was baptized by the prophet John in the river Jordan, that He might *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.15 p.115

**Among heretics**

The ***First Form of the Gospel of Thomas*** (shorter Greek version) (188-235 A.D.) ch.46 p.131 speaks well of John the Baptist.

The Ebionite ***Protoevangelium of James*** (145-248 A.D.) ch.22 p.366 mentions John the Baptist.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 2 ch.23 p.233 positively mentions John the Baptist.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) ch.1.53 p.91 mentions John the Baptist.

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.63 p.94 (partial) Said he preached to the disciples of John the Baptist that he should not be a stumbling block to them accepting the eternal Christ. (Does not say whether John was good or bad though.)

## Go11. Andrew the disciple/apostle

Matthew 4:18; John 1:40

**p5** John 1:23-31, 33-40; 16:14-30; 20:11-17,19-20,22-25 (47 verses) (early 3rd century) John 1:40

**p137** Mk 1:7-9,16-18 (6 verses) (150-250 A.D.) Simon [Peter] and Andrew

**Papias** (95-110 A.D.) “If, then, any one who had attended on the elders came, I asked minutely after their sayings,-what Andrew or Peter said, or what was said by Philip, or by Thomas, or by James, or by John, or by Matthew, or by any other of the Lord’s disciples: which things Aristion and the presbyter John, the disciples of the Lord, say.” *From the Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord* ch.1 p.153

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 5.10-15 p.50 tells of Jesus calling Andrew, Simon [Peter], Philip, Nathanael.

***Muratorian Canon*** (190-217 A.D.) ch.1 p.603 “to Andrew, one of the apostles, that John should narrate all things in his own”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “also brothers, as Peter with Andrew, and James with John the sons of Zebedee,” *Who is the Rich Man That Shall Be Saved* ch.25 p.598

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “Christ as found by Andrew, or Jesus saying to Philip, ‘Follow Me,’ or Philip” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 10 ch.28 p.408

**Among heretics**

***Gospel of Peter*** (180-190 A.D.) *ANF* vol.9 ch.14 p.8 mentions Simon Peter, Andrew, and Levi son of Alphaeus

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions Andrew. homily 12 ch.6 p.293.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book2 ch.63 p.114 mentions Andrew the disciple.

***Acts of Thomas*** (early form) (pre-Nicene) p.535 mentions Simon Peter, Andrew his brother, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas, Matthew, James of Alphaeus, Simon the Cananaean, and Judas of James. (Judas of James is not in the Bible).

## Go12. Peter the disciple/apostle

Matthew 4:18; 10:2; Mark 3:16; Luke 6:14; Acts 1:13; John 1:40,42; Matthew 16:13-20; k 8:27-30; Luke 9:18-27; Matthew 17:1-8; Mark 9:2-8; Luke 9:28-36; 2 Peter 1:16-18; Matthew 17:24-27; Matthew 26:31-35; Mark 14:27-31; Luke 22:31-34; John 13:31-38; Matthew 26:69-75; Mark 14:66-72; Luke 22:54-62; John 18:15-27; Acts 10; Acts 11; 15; Acts 12; Galatians; 2:11-21; Acts 15

(Peter being a disciple before the resurrection is not counted here)

Acts 8:14; 10:6-16; 12:13-18; John 21:7-19

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Galatians 1:18; 2:1

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 21:15-19

**p5** John 1:23-31, 33-40; 16:14-30; 20:11-17,19-20,22-25 (47 verses) (early 3rd century) John 1:40

**p4 + p64 + p67** Luke 1:58-59; 1:62-2:1,6-7; 3:8-4:2,29-32,34-35; 5:3-8; 5:30-6:16; Matthew 26:7-8,10,14-15,22-23,31-33; Matthew 3:9,15; 5:20-22,25-28 -95 verses (c.150-175 A.D.) Matthew 10:33 p64

**p69** – Luke 22:40,45-48,58-61 (3rd century A.D.) mentions Peter betraying Jesus. Luke 22:58-61

**p37** (222-275 c.260 A.D.) mentions Peter and Judas at the Garden of Gethsemane. Mt 26:19-52

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Peter is a servant and an apostle. 1 Peter 1:1; 2 Peter 1:1

**p137** Mk 1:7-9,16-18 (6 verses) (150-250 A.D.) Simon [Peter] and Andrew

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) says that Peter was a martyr. “Peter, through unrighteous envy [by others], endured not one or two, but numerous labors; and when he had at length suffered martyrdom, departed to the place of glory due to him.” *1 Clement* ch.5 ANF vol.1 p.6. The same quoted is in another copy of *1 Clement* ch.5, in *ANF* vol.9 p.230.

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) “I do not, as Peter and Paul issue commandments unto you. They were apostles; I am but a condemned man;…” *Letter of Ignatius to the Romans* ch.4 p.75

**Aristides** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) says Jesus called Peter and the disciples lambs. Then Peter asked Jesus about the wolves tearing the lambs, and Jesus answered him, said not to fear those who can only kill your body. *Apology of Aristides* (Greek version) ch.1 p.252.

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) vol.7 ch.5 p.518 (implied) shows that Peter was asking Jesus about the meaning of sheep and wolves.

**Polycarp** (100-165 A.D.) quotes 1 Peter 2:22 in *Polycarp’s Letter to the Philippians* ch.9 p.35

**Papias** (95-110 A.D.) And the presbyter said this. Mark having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately whatever he remembered. It was not, however, in exact order that he related the sayings or deeds of Christ. For he neither heard the Lord nor accompanied Him. But afterwards, as I said, he accompanied Peter, who accommodated his instructions to the necessities [of his hearers], but with no intention of giving a regular narrative of the Lord’s sayings. Wherefore Mark made no mistake in thus writing some things as he remembered them. For of one thing he took especial care, not to omit anything he had heard, and not to put anything fictitious into the statements. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 3 ch.39 vol.1 p.154

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) says that Peter recognized Jesus to be Christ the Son of God, by the revelation of His Father *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.100 p.249

**Dionysius of Corinth** (170 A.D.) speaks of the churches planted by Peter and Paul: Romans and Corinthians Fragment 3 *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.765

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) Section 54.33-34 p.128 quotes John 21:15 where Jesus asks Peter to “feed my sheep”.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) quotes 1 Peter 2:16 as “Peter says”. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.16.5 p.482

**Caius** (190-217 A.D.) ch.1 p.601 “For they say that all those of the first age, and the apostles themselves, both received and taught those things which these *men* now maintain; and that the truth of Gospel preaching was preserved until the times of Victor, who was the thirteenth bishop in Rome from Peter, and that from his successor Zephyrinus the truth was falsified. And perhaps what they allege might be credible, did not the Holy Scriptures, in the first place, contradict them. And then, besides, there are writings of certain brethren older than the times of Victor, which they wrote against the heathen in defence of the truth, and against the heresies of their time: I mean Justin and Miltiades, and Tatian and Clement, and many others, in all which divinity is ascribed to Christ.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) tells how the blessed Peter, when watching his wife being led to death, called to her saying, “Remember the Lord” *Stromata* book 7 ch.60 p.541

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) quotes 1 Peter 2:1-3 as by Peter. *The Instructor* book 1 ch.6 p.220

**Tertullian** (208-220 A.D.) In Matthew 16:18 the keys were personally given to Peter, not the church. *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.21 p.99. See also *On Monogamy* (213 A.D.) ch.8 p.65.

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “I mean the Gospels of John and Matthew – whilst that which Mark published may be affirmed to be Peter’s whose interpreter Mark was. For even Luke’s form of the Gospel men unusually ascribe to Paul. And it may well seem that the works which disciples publish belong to their masters.” Tertullian *Against Marcion* book 4 ch.5 p.350

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) says Paul rebuked Peter in See also *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.23 p.254.

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) Simon the Sorcerer later went to Rome, and Peter opposed him there. *Refutation of All Heresies* book 6 ch.14 p.80. He also says that Nero crucified Peter head downward.

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) quotes 1 Peter 1:24,25 *The Refutation of All Heresies* book 4 ch.5 p.76

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) quotes 1 Peter 3:18-20 as by Peter. *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 6 ch.18 vol.9 p.368. See also *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 3 ch.3 p.346

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions Peter. *Origen On Prayer* ch.14.5-6 p.57

***Treatise On Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.5 p.669 speaks of Peter speaking in Acts 10 and the Holy Spirit falling on those who heard. He also mentions Simon [Peter] in ch.12 p.674

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Nevertheless, Peter, upon whom by the same Lord the Church had been built, speaking one of all, and answering with the voice of the Church, says, ‘Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life;… Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God” *The Epistles of Cyprian* letter 54 ch.7 p.341

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) mentions “the Epistle of Peter to them in Pontus” and then quotes 1 Peter 4:15-16 in *Treatises of Cyprian - Testimonies* ch.39 p.545.

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) mentions “The Epistle of Peter” and quotes 2 Peter 2:11,12 in *Treatises of Cyprian - Testimonies* ch.11 p.536.

**Firmilian** (c.246-258 A.D.) in his letter to Cyprian mentions that Gnostics defame the blessed apostles Peter and Paul the Lord in *Letter 74* p.391

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “And on the ground of such a revelation as that the Lord pronounced Peter blessed, when He said: 'Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven.'” *From the Two Books on Promises* ch.4 p.83

**Anatolius** (270-280 A.D.) “so far as regards this matter, with the authority of some, namely, the successors of Peter and Paul, who have taught all the churches in which they sowed the spiritual seeds of the Gospel,” *The Paschal Canon of Anatolius* ch.10 p.149

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) (implied) “Because he was a Jew and had been taught in the Law, Peter was expecting the Christ announced by the Law and the Prophets.” *Dialogue on the True Faith* second part ch.13 p.92

Arnobius of Sicca (297-303 A.D.) said that the chariot and fiery car of Simon Magus were blown to pieces by the Peter’s mouth and vanished at the name of Christ. Arnobius Against the Heathen book 2 ch.12 p.438

**Phileas** **of Thmuis** (martyred 306/307 A.D.) mentions “Peter, on whom we all depend in the hope which we have in the Lord Jesus Christ” *Letter of Phileas to Meletius of Lycopolis* vol.6 p.164

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) mentions Peter speaking a number of times in his *Exposition of the Chapter on the Acts of the Apostles* p.166.

**Creed of Lucian of Antioch** (c.300-311 A.D.) &&&

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) says that Peter was the first of the apostles. *Canonical Epistle* Canon 9 p.283

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “He [Nero] it was who first persecuted the servants of God; he crucified Peter, and slew Paul:”. *Of the Manner in Which the Persecutors Died* ch.2 p.302

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Cornelius, of Caesarea in Palestine, Peter, and later the persecution of Stephen and still later Agabus. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 2 ch.3.3 p.107

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) talks of Peter in Rome. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 2 ch.14.4 p.115

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions Peter. homily 1 ch.15 p.227.

***Sethian Letter of Peter to Philip*** (before 185 A.D.) *TGB* p.238 Peter is speaking and then it says “And he [Peter] was filled with the holy spirit and spoke in this way: ‘our luminary Jesus came down and was crucified. He wore a crown of thorns, was clothed in a purple robe, crucified upon a cross, and buried in a tomb. And he rose from the dead. My brothers, Jesus is a stranger to this suffering. But we are the ones who have suffered through the mother’s transgression.” … the lord Jesus…”

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Peter to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date ) ch.4.1 p.216 mentions James and Peter.

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Clement to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.1 p.218 mentions Peter.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.12 p.80 positively narrates stories about Peter.. See also book 1 ch.44 p.89.

***Gospel of Peter*** (180-190 A.D.) *ANF* vol.9 ch.14 p.8 mentions Simon Peter, Andrew, and Levi son of Alphaeus

Nag Hammadi ***Apocalypse of Peter*** (3rd century A.D.) *Nag Hammadi Library in English* p.373 positively mentions Peter.

The ***First Form of the Gospel of Thomas*** (shorter Greek version) (188-235 A.D.) ch.13 p.127 mentions Peter.

***The Valentinian Letter of Peter to Philip*** (c.300 A.D.) *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* p.434 Peter is writing to Philip.

***Acts of Thomas*** (early form) (pre-Nicene) p.535 mentions Simon Peter, Andrew his brother, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas, Matthew, James of Alphaeus, Simon the Cananaean, and Judas of James. (Judas of James is not in the Bible).

## Go13. Philip the disciple/apostle

Matthew 10:3; Mark 3:18; Luke 6:14; John 1:43-48; 14:8; Acts 1:13

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 1:43-48; 14:8

**p4 + p64 + p67** Luke 1:58-59; 1:62-2:1,6-7; 3:8-4:2,29-32,34-35; 5:3-8; 5:30-6:16; Matthew 26:7-8,10,14-15,22-23,31-33; Matthew 3:9,15; 5:20-22,25-28 -95 verses (c.150-175 A.D.) Luke 6:14 p4

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) Luke 6:14; John 1:43-48; 14:8

**Papias** (95-110 A.D.) “If, then, any one who had attended on the elders came, I asked minutely after their sayings,-what Andrew or Peter said, or what was said by Philip, or by Thomas, or by James, or by John, or by Matthew, or by any other of the Lord’s disciples: which things Aristion and the presbyter John, the disciples of the Lord, say.” *From the Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord* ch.1 p.153

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 5.10-15 p.50 tells of Jesus calling Andrew, Simon [Peter], Philip, Nathanael.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “8. But again: Whom did Philip preach to the eunuch of the queen of the Ethiopians, returning from Jerusalem, and reading Esaias the prophet, when he and this man were alone together? Was it not He of whom the prophet spoke: ‘He was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb dumb before the shearer, so He opened not the month?” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.12.8 p.422

**Polycrates of Ephesus** (130-196 A.D.) “I speak of Philip, one of the twelve apostles,…” *Epistle to Victor and the Roman Church* p.773

**Caius** (190-217 A.D.) ch.3 p.601 “And after this there were four prophetesses, daughters of Philip, at Hierapolis in Asia. Their tomb is there, and that, too, of their father.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) mentions Philip, Thomas, Levi, and others. *Stromata* book 4 ch.9 p.422

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “The Spirit had enjoined Philip to proceed to that road: the eunuch himself, too,” *On Baptism* ch.18 p.678

**Asterius Urbanus** (c.232 A.D.) “But the false prophet falls into a spurious ecstasy, which is accompanied by a want of all shame and fear. For beginning with a voluntary (designed) rudeness, he ends with an involuntary madness of soul, as has been already stated. But they will never be able to show that any one of the Old Testament prophets, or any one of the New, was carried away in spirit after this fashion. Nor will they be able to boast that Agabus, or Judas, or Silas, or the daughters of Philip, or *the woman* Ammia in Philadelphia, or Quadratus, or indeed any of the others who do not in any respect belong to them, were moved in this way.” ch.9 p.337

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “And Philip, not having been able to receive this, as far as it was possible to see it, requested to behold the Father. To whom then the Lord said, ‘Philip, have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me?” *Against the Heresy of One Noetus* ch.7 p.226

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “Christ as found by Andrew, or Jesus saying to Philip, ‘Follow Me,’ or Philip” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 10 ch.28 p.408

**Novatian** (250/254-257 A.D.) “For again and again, and frequently, he objects that it was said, ‘Have I been so long time with you, and do ye not know me, Philip? He who hath seen me, hath seen the Father also.’” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.28 p.638

*Treatise on Rebaptism* (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.4 p.669 (partial, says Philip the deacon, not the apostle) “Just as the Ethiopian eunuch, when he was returning from Jerusalem and reading the prophet Isaiah, and was in doubt, having at the Spirit’s suggestion heard the truth from Philip the deacon, believed and was baptized; and when he had gone up out of the water, the Spirit of the Lord took away Philip, and the eunuch saw him no more.”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “In the Acts of the Apostles: ‘Lo, here is water; what is there which hinders me from being baptized? Then said Philip, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 third part ch.43 p.545

**Pontius** (258 A.D.) “For although in the Acts of the Apostles the eunuch is described as at once baptized by Philip, because he believed with his whole heart, this is not a fair parallel.” *Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.3 p.268

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) “the healing of many in Samaria by Philip the apostle.” *An Exposition of the Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles* section I p.166

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) “Whence, also, to Philip, who then was desirous to see Him, the Lord shows this abundantly. For when he said, ‘Show us the Father,’ He answered: “He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father,” since the Father was Himself seen through the spotless and living mirror of the divine image.” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Epistle 1 ch.9 p.294

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.59 p.92-93 “Then a certain Pharisee, hearing this, chid [chided] Philip because he put Jesus on a level with Moses. To whom Bartholomew, answering, boldly declared that we do not only say that Jesus was equal to Moses, but that He was greater than he, because Moses was indeed a prophet, as Jesus was also, but that Moses was not the Christ, as Jesus was, and therefore He is doubtless greater who is both a prophet and the Christ, than he who is only a prophet. After following out this train of argument, he stopped. After him James the son of Alphaeus gave an address to the people,” See also ibid book 1 ch.58 p.92.

***The Valentinian Letter of Peter to Philip*** (c.300 A.D.) *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* p.434 Peter is writing to Philip.

***Acts of Thomas*** (early form) (pre-Nicene) p.535 mentions Simon Peter, Andrew his brother, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas, Matthew, James of Alphaeus, Simon the Cananaean, and Judas of James. (Judas of James is not in the Bible).

## Go14. Thomas the disciple/apostle

Matthew 10:3; Mark 3:18; Luke 6:15; John 11:16; 14:5; 20:24-29; 21:2; Acts 1:13

**p75** Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) Luke 6:15; John 11:16

**p5** John 1:23-31, 33-40; 16:14-30; 20:11-17,19-20,22-25 (47 verses) (early 3rd century) John 20:24

**Papias** (95-110 A.D.) “If, then, any one who had attended on the elders came, I asked minutely after their sayings,-what Andrew or Peter said, or what was said by Philip, or by Thomas, or by James, or by John, or by Matthew, or by any other of the Lord’s disciples: which things Aristion and the presbyter John, the disciples of the Lord, say.” *From the Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord* ch.1 p.153

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 54.19 p.127 “And after eight days, on the next First-day, the disciples were assembled again within, and Thomas with them.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) mentions Philip, Thomas, Levi, and others. *Stromata* book 4 ch.9 p.422

**Tertullian** (c.213 A.D.) “For Thomas, who was so long incredulous, said: ‘Lord, we know not whither Thou goest; and how can we know the way? Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me.” *Against Praxeas* ch.24 p.620

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) discusses Thomas and John 20:21. *Fragment 3* p.240

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “And therefore he did not merely say, ‘Unless I see, I will not believe; ‘but he added, ‘Unless I put my hand into the print of the nails, and lay my hands upon His side, I will not believe.’ These words were spoken by Thomas, who deemed it possible that the body of the soul might be seen by the eye of sense, resembling in all respects its former appearance,” *Origen Against Celsus* book 2 ch.61 p.456

**Novatian** (250-254/257 A.D.) “Christ alone declared this word out of the consciousness of His divinity; and if, finally, the Apostle Thomas, instructed in all the proofs and conditions of Christ’s divinity, says in reply to Christ, ‘My Lord and my God;’ and if, besides, the Apostle Paul says, ‘Whose are the fathers, and of whom Christ came according to the flesh, who is over all, God blessed for evermore,’ writing in his epistles;” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.13 p.622

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Also in the same: ‘The Lord said to Thomas, Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands: and be not faithless, but believing. Thomas answered and said unto Him, My Lord and my God. Jesus saith unto him, Because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they who have not seen, and yet have believed.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 second part ch.6 p.518

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) tells after the resurrection, when Thomas did not believe, Jesus said to put his finger in Jesus’ side. *Dialogue on the True Faith* fifth part b 2 p.151

**Among heretics**

The ***First Form of the Gospel of Thomas*** (shorter Greek version) (188-235 A.D.) ch.13 p.127 mentions Thomas

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (before 188 A.D.) book 9 ch.29 p.189 “In short, among the Parthians—as Thomas, who is preaching the Gospel amongst them, has written to us—not many now are addicted to polygamy; nor among the Medes do many throw their dead to dogs; nor are the Persians pleased with intercourse with their mothers, or incestuous marriages with their daughters; nor do the Susian women practise the adulteries that were allowed them; nor has Genesis [i.e. fate] been able to force those into crimes whom the teaching of religion restrained.”

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.61 p.93 mentions Thomas

***Acts of Thomas*** (early form) (pre-Nicene) p.535 mentions Simon Peter, Andrew his brother, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas, Matthew, James of Alphaeus, Simon the Cananaean, and Judas of James. (Judas of James is not in the Bible).

## Go15. James son of Zebedee the disciple/apostle

Matthew 4:21-22

James the Lord’s brother is a different person. James son of Alphaeus is a different person.

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 5.44 p.51 “And when he [Jesus] went on from thence, he saw other two brothers, James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, in the ship with Zebedee their father, mending their nets; and Jesus called them. And they immediately forsook the ship and their father Zebedee, and followed him.”

Tatian’s *Diatessaron* (c.172 A.D.) section 30 line 26-51 p.90 James and John request to be on Jesus’ right and left.

**Irenaeus** (182-188 A.D.) discusses how heretics focus on numbers in the scripture. He does not mention the types of heretics, but he is probably thinking of Gnostics in general. “Soter is a name of five letters; Pater, too, contains five letters; *Agape* (love), too, consists of five letters; and our Lord, after blessing the five loaves, fed with them five thousand men. Five virgins were called wise by the Lord; and, in like manner, five were styled foolish. Again, five men are said to have been with the Lord when He obtained testimony from the Father,-namely, Peter, and James, and John, and Moses, and Elias.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.24.4 p.394-395

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “For it is neither penniless, nor homeless, nor brotherless people that the Lord calls to life, since He has also called rich people; but, as we have said above, also brothers, as Peter with Andrew, and James with John the sons of Zebedee, but of one mind with each other and Christ.” *Who is the Rich Man that Shall Be Saved* ch.25 p.598

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Even there was it demonstrated to us, that both ‘dear pledges,’ and handicrafts, and trades, are to be quite left behind for the Lord’s sake; while James and John, called by the Lord, do leave quite behind both father and ship; while Matthew is roused up from the toll-booth; while even burying a father was too tardy a business for faith.” *On Idolatry* ch.12 p.68

**Origen** (225-254 A.D.) “And that when seen He [Jesus] did not appear in like fashion to all those who saw Him, but according to their several ability to receive Him, will be clear to those who notice why, at the time when He was about to be transfigured on the high mountain, He did not admit all His apostles (to this sight), but only Peter, and James, and John, because they alone were capable of beholding His glory on that occasion, and of observing the glorified appearance of Moses and Elijah, and of listening to their conversation, and to the voice from the heavenly cloud.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 2 ch.64 p.457

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “That this person was called John, therefore, and that this was the writing of a John, I do not deny. And I admit further, that it was also the work of some holy and inspired man. But I could not so easily admit that this was the apostle, the son of Zebedee, the brother of James, and the same person with him who wrote the Gospel which bears the title *according to John*, and the catholic epistle. But from the character of both, and the forms of expression, and the whole disposition and execution of the book, I draw the conclusion that the authorship is not his.” *From the Two Books on Promises* ch.4 p.83

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) mentions James “The slaying of the Apostle James.” *An Exposition of the Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles* Section q p.167

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) “Thus James, in the second place, being of Herod apprehended, was beheaded with the sword. Thus Peter, the first of the apostles, having been often apprehended, and thrown into prison, and treated with ignominy, was last of all crucified at Rome.” *Canonical Epistle* canon 9 p.273

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions James the apostle being killed by Herod. “Now about that time” (it is clear that he means the time of Claudius) “Herod the King stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the Church. And he killed James the brother of John with the sword.” *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 2 ch.9.1 *NPNF2* p.110.

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) “But there were two Jameses: one called the Just, who was thrown from the pinnacle of the temple and was beaten to death with a club by a fuller, and another who was beheaded.” *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 2 ch.1.4 *NPNF2* p.104.

**Among heretics**

**Gnostic? Heretics.** Irenaeus (182-188 A.D.) discusses how heretics focus on numbers in the scripture. He does not mention the types of heretics, but he is probably thinking of Gnostics in general. “Soter is a name of five letters; Pater, too, contains five letters; *Agape* (love), too, consists of five letters; and our Lord, after blessing the five loaves, fed with them five thousand men. Five virgins were called wise by the Lord; and, in like manner, five were styled foolish. Again, five men are said to have been with the Lord when He obtained testimony from the Father,-namely, Peter, and James, and John, and Moses, and Elias.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.24.4 p.394-395

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Peter to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date ) ch.4.1 p.216 mentions James and Peter.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.57 p.92 mentions James and John sons of Zebedee.

The Sethian Gnostic ***Apocryphon of John*** (c.150-185 A.D.) ch.95 p.107 mentions James the son of Zebedee.

***Acts of Thomas*** (early form) (pre-Nicene) p.535 mentions Simon Peter, Andrew his brother, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas, Matthew, James of Alphaeus, Simon the Cananaean, and Judas of James. (Judas of James is not in the Bible).

## Go16. [Samaritan] Woman at the well

John 4

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 21.8-48 p.76-77 quotes verbatim the encounter with the Samaritan woman in John

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Samaritan woman, and while at a distance, cured the son of the centurion by a word, saying, ‘Go thy way, thy son liveth.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.22.3 p.391

**Tertullian** (c.207 A.D.) “thirsty with the Samaritan woman, wept over Lazarus, was troubled even unto” *Against Praxeas* ch.27 p.624

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “Thus, in the Gospel of John, the woman of Samaria, when conversing with the Lord at the well, says, ‘No doubt Thou art greater,’ etc.; and again, ‘Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; but ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship.’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.35 p.408

Tertullian (213 A.D.) mentions the Samaritan woman. *On Monogamy* ch.8 p.65

Tertullian (208-220 A.D.) mentions the Samaritan woman. *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.11 p.85

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “manner, our Saviour said to the Samaritan woman, ‘The hour is coming, when’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 6 ch.70 p.605

## Go17. Mary Magdalene

Matthew 27:56,61; 28:1; Mark 15:40,47; 16:1,9; Luke 8:2; 24:10; John 20:11

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) mentions Mary Magdalene. Luke 8:2; 24:10

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Mark 16:1,9

**p5** John 1:23-31, 33-40; 16:14-30; 20:11-17,19-20,22-25 (47 verses) (early 3rd century) John 20:11

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 53 p.125 “And on the First-day on which he rose, he [Jesus] appeared first unto Mary Magdalene, from whom he had cast out seven demons.”

**Tertullian** (c.203 A.D.) “Socrates’ own demon; but of seven spirits as in the case of the Magdalene; and of a legion in number, as in the Gadarene.” *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.25 p.206

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “dawn towards the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary,” *Origen Against Celsus* book 2 ch.70 p.460

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) mentions Mary Magdalene and the other Mary in his *Letter to Bishop Basilides* canon 1 p.98

## Go18. Jesus’ 72/70 disciples

Luke 10:1-17

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 15.15 p.67 mentionst he seventy that Jesus sent out.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “For [He [our Lord] made choice of no such other number of disciples; but] after the twelve apostles, our Lord is found to have sent seventy others before Him.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.21.1 p.389

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Barnabas (and he was one of the seventy, and a fellow-worker of Paul), who speaks in these word and quotes the *Epistle of Barnabas* vol.1 p.147. *Stromata* book 2 ch.20 p.372

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) says that Barnabas was one of the seventy disciples and a co-worker with Paul. Fragment 4 p.579 (*Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 6 ch.2.2).

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “He [Christ] chose also seventy other missionaries besides the twelve. Now why, if the twelve followed the number of the twelve fountains of Elim, should not the seventy correspond to the like number of the palms of that place?” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.24 p.387

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) “First, twelve, and afterwards, seventy-two, those sent to preach the Gospel. Mark and Luke were from among the seventy-two, who along with the apostle Paul preached the gospel.” *Dialogue on the True Faith* part 1 ch.5 (d) p.42

**Council of Neocaesarea** (c.315 A.D.) canon 14 p.85 (implied) “the chorepiscopi, however, are indeed after the pattern of the Seventy; and a tallow-servants, on account of their devotion to the poor, they have the honour of making the oblation.”

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) discusses the 70 disciples. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 2 ch.1.4 p.104

## Go19. Martha

Luke 10:38-42

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 13.30-35 p.64 “And while they were going in the way they entered into a certain village; and a woman named Martha entertained him in her house. And she had a sister named Mary, and she came and sat at the feet of our Lord, and heard his sayings. But Martha was disquieted by much serving; and she came and said unto him, My Lord, givest thou no heed that my sister left me alone to serve? speak to her that she help me. Jesus answered and said unto her, Martha, Martha, thou art solicitous and impatient on account of many things: but what is sought is one thing. But Mary hath chosen for herself a good portion, and that which shall not be taken from her.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “Such also was what the Lord said to Martha, who was occupied with many things, and distracted and troubled with serving; while she blamed her sister, because, leaving serving, she set herself at His feet, devoting her time to learning: ‘Thou art troubled about many things, but Mary hath chosen the good part, which shall not be taken away from her.’” *Who is the Rich Man That Shall Be Saved* ch.10 p.594

**Tertullian** (c.213 A.D.) “Again, when Martha in a later passage acknowledged Him to be the Son of God, she no more made a mistake than Peter and Nathanael had; and yet, even if she had made a mistake, she would at once have learnt the truth: for, behold, when about to raise her brother from the dead, the Lord looked up to heaven, and, addressing the Father, said-as the Son, of course: ‘Father, I thank Thee that Thou always hearest me; it is because of these crowds that are standing by that I have spoken *to Thee*, that they may believe that Thou hast sent me.’” *Against Praxeas* ch.23 p.618

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “And what more fitting home for Mary, who chose the good part, which was not taken away from her, and for Martha, who was cumbered for the reception of Jesus, and for their brother, who is called the friend of the Saviour, than Bethany, the House of obedience?” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 6 ch.24 p.371

Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) “and then goes on to tell of the supper in Bethany six days before the passover, at which Martha served and Lazarus was at table.” *Commentary on John* book 10 ch.15 p.393

## Go20. Zacchaeus

Luke 19:1-9

*Tatian’s* ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 31 p.91 tells the story of Zacchaeus

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “But that possessions distributed to the poor do annul former covetousness, Zaccheus made evident, when he said, ‘Behold, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have defrauded any one, I restore fourfold.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.12.5 p.477

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “also His conversation with Zaccheus the publican; also about the Pharisee and the publican, who were praying in the temple at the same time; also the ten lepers, whom He cleansed in the way simultaneously; also how He ordered the lame and the blind to be gathered to the wedding from the lanes and streets; also the parable of the judge who feared not God, whom the widow’s importunity led to avenge her cause; and about the fig-tree in the vineyard which produced no fruit.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.14.3 p.439

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “He bids Zaccheus and Matthew, the rich tax-gathers, entertain Him hospitably.” *Who is the Rich Man Who Shall be Saved* ch.13 p.594

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “Now, although Zacchaeus was probably a Gentile, he yet from his intercourse with Jews had obtained a smattering of their Scriptures, and, more than this, had, without knowing it, fulfilled the precepts of Isaiah: ‘Deal thy bread,’ said the prophet, ‘to the hungry, and bring the poor that are cast out into thine house.’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.37 p.412

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “And the sycamine of Egypt is utterly destroyed; not, however, that one which Zaccheus climbed that he might be able to see my Lord.” *Commentary on Psalm 77 or 78* ch.47 p.171

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) mentions Zacchaeus. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 77 homily 1 ch.5 p.372

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “And when the Lord praised Zacchaeus, He answered and said ‘This day is salvation come to this house, forasmuch as he also is a son of Abraham.’” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 62 ch.4 p.359

**Pontius** (after 248 A.D.) “But as, by the extent of the space beyond, the view was not attainable to the confused crowd, persons who favoured him had climbed up into the branches of the trees, that there might not even be wanting to him (what happened in the case of Zacchaeus), that he was gazed upon from the trees.” *Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.18 p.274

**Among heretics**

**Valentinus** and **Marcion** according to Irenaeus (182-188 A.D.) in *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.8.3 p.327

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.72 p.96 mentions Zacchaeus

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.20 p.82 (implied) mentions Zacchaeus who was with Pater. It is implied but never stated that this is he same Zacchaeus. (One argue whether this should be implied or else just partial.)

## Go21. Judas betrayed Jesus

Matthew 26:47-48; 27:3; Mark 14:43-44; Luke 22:47-48; John 18:2-3; Acts 1:16

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 18:3-5

**p4 + p64 + p67** Luke 1:58-59; 1:62-2:1,6-7; 3:8-4:2,29-32,34-35; 5:3-8; 5:30-6:16; Matthew 26:7-8,10,14-15,22-23,31-33; Matthew 3:9,15; 5:20-22,25-28 -95 verses (c.150-175 A.D.) mentions Judas planning to betray Jesus. Matthew 26:14-15

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Matthew 26:14-16

**p37** Matthew 26:19-52 (225-275 A.D.) tells at the Last Supper that Judas would betray Jesus. Matthew 26:25

**p69** – Luke 22:40,45-48,58-61 (3rd century A.D.) mentions Jesus betraying Judas Luke 22:48

**0171** Matthew 10:17-23,25-32; Luke 22:44-50,52-56,61,63-64 (ca.300 A.D.) Luke 22:48 Jesus said that Judas betrayed Him with a kiss.

**Papias of Hierapolis (disciple of John)** (95-110 A.D.) “And these things are credible to believers. And Judas the traitor, says he, “not believing, and asking, …” fragment 4 vol.1 p.154 from *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.32

***Evarestus’ Martyrdom of Polycarp*** (c.169 A.D.) ch.6 p.40 (implied) briefly mentions that the servant who betrayed Polycarp might undergo the punishment of Judas himself.

*Tatian’s* ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 8.23 p.56 Jesus Judas betrayed Jesus.

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) vol.8 ch.4 p.757 says that Judas betrayed Jesus.

Melito of Sardis (170-177/180 A.D.) vol.8 ch.5 p.757 “Bitter were thy nails, and sharp; bitter thy tongue, which though didst whet; bitter *was* Judas, to whom thou gavest hire; bitter thy false witnesses, whom thou stirrest up; bitter thy gall, which though preparedst; bitter thy vinegar, which thou madest; bitter thy hands, filled with blood. Thou slewest thy Lord…”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) mentions “Judas, which was made guide to them that took Jesus. For he was numbered with us; … Let his habitation be desolate, and let no man dwell therein; and, His bishopric let another take;” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.12.1 p.429-430

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) says all agree that Judas was a traitor. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.20.4 p.388-389

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “of nature, since also Judas was chosen along with them. But they were capable of becoming apostles on being chosen by Him who foresees even ultimate issues. Matthias, accordingly, who was not chosen along with them, on showing himself worthy of becoming an apostle, is substituted for Judas. *Stromata* book 6 ch.13 p.504

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) says that Judas betrayed Jesus. *Answer to the Jews* ch.10 p.165

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “‘Woe,’ says He, ‘to that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed!’ Now it is certain that in this *woe* must be understood the imprecation and threat of an angry and incensed Master, unless Judas was to escape with impunity after so vast a sin.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.41 p.419

**Asterius Urbanus** (c.232 A.D.) “And thus they died, and finished their life like the traitor Judas.” from book 2 p.336

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) says that Jesus was betrayed by Judas *Against the Heresy of One Noetus* ch.18 p.230

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) mentions that Judas treacherously betrayed Jesus. *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 1 ch.13 p.304. See also *Origen Against Celsus* (225-253/254 A.D.) book 2 ch.11 p.435

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.14 p.661 man, besides other things, is subsequently overthrown by envy, and strives to do everything that is harsh and hostile against David. That Judas, who was chosen among the apostles, who was always of one mind and faithful in the house of God, himself subsequently betrayed God.”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “For neither can Judas be thought worthy by his perfidy and treachery wherewith he wickedly dealt concerning the Saviour,” *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 74 ch.2 p.390

**Therapius of Bulla** [in Zeugitana] at *The Seventh Council of Carthage* p.571 (258 A.D.) said: He who concedes and betrays the Church’s baptism to heretics, what else has he been to the spouse of Christ than a Judas?

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) says that Judas betrayed Jesus with a kiss. *Commentary on Luke* ch.48 p.116

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) teaches that Judas betrayed Jesus. Dialogue on the True Faith part 1 814a ch.16 p.58

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) discusses Acts chapter 1 and the “death and reprobation of Judas” *An Exposition of the Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles* ch. “b” vol.6 p.166

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) mentions that Judas betrayed Jesus with a kiss. *Fragment 3* p.281

**Lactantius** (315-325/350 A.D.) “And thus Judas, induced by a bribe, delivered up to the Jews the Son of God.” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.18 p.119

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) “and before them Judas, who, though he followed the Saviour, afterwards became a traitor and an apostate.” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Epistle 2.5 p.298. See also *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers Second Series* vol.4 p.84.

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) calls Judas a traitor. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 6 ch.10 p.40 and book 6 ch.10 p.42 where Jeuda betrayed Jesus.

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.60 p.93 (partial) mentions that Matthias replaced Judas.

## Go22. The High Priest Caiaphas tried Jesus

Matthew 26:57-67; Acts 4:27

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 18:14,28

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 49 p.118-119 discusses the chief priest Caiaphas questioning Jesus.

Melito of Sardis (170-177/180 A.D.) (partial) “the Judas you hired is bitter for you [ungrateful Israel], the Herod you followed is bitter for you, the Caiaphas you believed is bitter for you” *On Pascha* part 93 p.63

**Irenaeus of Lyons**(182-188 A.D.) mentions priest Caiaphas, Annas, and Herod the King. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.19.7 p.387

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) (implied) “For in the person of Pilate ‘the heathen raged,’ and in the person of Israel ‘the people imagined vain things;’ ‘the kings of the earth’ in Herod, and the rulers in Annas and Caiaphas, were gathered together against the Lord, and against His anointed.’” *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* ch.20 p.559

Tertullian “rulers in Annas and Caiaphas, were gathered together against the Lord” *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* ch.20 p.559

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “And He who knew what manner of man Judas was, is betrayed by Judas. And He, who formerly was honoured by him as God, is condemned by Caiaphas.” *Against the Heresy of One Noetus* ch.18 p.230

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “And the high priest arose, and said to Him, Answerest thou nothing to what these witness against thee? But Jesus held His peace.’ And that He returned no answer when falsely accused, the following is the statement: ‘And Jesus stood before the governor; and he asked Him, saying, Art Thou the King of the Jews? And Jesus said to him, Thou sayest. And when He was accused of the chief priests and elders, He answered nothing.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 preface p.395

**Peter of Alexandria** fragments (306,285-311 A.D.) “Then led they Jesus from Caiaphas unto the hall of judgment: and it was early; fragment 5 ch.1.7 p.282

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) (implied) Caiaphas was the High Priest when Jesus was tried. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.10.4 p.97

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.44 p.89 (partial) mentions Caiaphas the high priest asking for proof of Jesus (after Jesus had risen). No mention of a trial though.

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.53 p.91 (partial) mentions Caiaphas. No mention of a trial though.

## Go23. Herod tried Jesus

Matthew 26:57-67; Acts 4:27

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 18:14,28

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 50.5-10 p.120 discusses Jesus’ trial before Herod.

Melito of Sardis (170-177/180 A.D.) (partial) “the Judas you hired is bitter for you [ungrateful Israel], the Herod you followed is bitter for you, the Caiaphas you believed is bitter for you” *On Pascha* part 93 p.63

**Irenaeus of Lyons**(182-188 A.D.) mentions priest Caiaphas, Annas, and Herod the King. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.19.7 p.387

Irenaeus of Lyons(182-188 A.D.) discusses both Herod and Pontius Pilate. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.12.5 p.431

**Tertullian** (c.213 A.D.) mentions both Herod and Pontius Pilate in the trial against Jesus. *Against Praxeas* ch.28 p.625

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “For in the person of Pilate ‘the heathen raged,’ and in the person of Israel ‘the people imagined vain things;’ ‘the kings of the earth’ in Herod, and the rulers in Annas and Caiaphas, were gathered together against the Lord, and against His anointed.’” *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* ch.20 p.559

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) mentions that Jesus was sent to Herod gratuitously by Pilate. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.42 p.420

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) says that Herod and Pilate presided over Jesus. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.6 p.441

**Origen** (246-248 A.D.) says that Herod seems to joined in the vote for Jesus to die. *Commentary on Matthew* book 13 ch.2 p.477

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) (implied) discusses what if Jesus only suffered in appearance. “If He suffered in appearance, and not in reality, Herod sat in judgment only in appearance; …. Even His blood was poured out in appearance; the Evangelists preached the Gospel in appearance; Christ came from Heaven in appearance, and He ascended in appearance. The salvation of mankind was also in appearance, and not in truth. Why then does Christ say, ‘I am the truth?’” *Dialogue on the True Faith* fifth part ch.851a p.149

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says that Herod himself did not pass sentence, but let the people do it. *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.18 p.119-120

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says Herod the Tetrarch and Pontius Pilate tried Jesus. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.45 p.240

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Ignatius** (after 117 A.D.) (implied) “He [Jesus] also lived a holy life, and healed every kind of sickness and disease among the people, and wrought signs and wonders for the benefit of men; and to those who had fallen into the error of polytheism He made known the one and only true God, His Father, and underwent the passion, and endured the cross at the hands of the Christ-killing Jews, under Pontius Pilate the governor and Herod the king.” *Epistle to the Magnesians (Latin form)* ch.11 p.64

**Among heretics**

***Gospel of Peter*** (180-190 A.D.) *ANF* vol.9 ch.1 p.7 (implied) mentions Herod trying Jesus.

## Go24. Pontius Pilate sentenced Jesus

Luke 23:4-25; John 18:28-19:26

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 18:28-49

p90 (175 A.D.) John 18:36-19:7 – (partial) Jesus was on trial before Pontius Pilate (Pilate does not sentence Jesus until John 19:16) John 18:37-19:6

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Acts 13:28; 4:27

**Ignatius** (-107/116 A.D.) Jesus was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, truly crucified, died, and raised from the dead. *Ignatius’ Letter to the Trallians* ch.9 p.70

*Letter of Ignatius to the Smyrnaeans* ch.1 p.86 (-107/116 A.D.) says that Jesus was truly of the seed of David, Son of God, truly born of a virgin, baptized by John, and nailed for us under Pontius Pilate and Herod the tetrarch.

Ignatius (-107/116 A.D.) Jesus was under the time of the government of Pontius Pilate. *Ignatius’ Letter to the Magnesians* ch.11 p.64

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) Jesus Christ crucified under Pontius Pilate. “…and we reasonably worship Him, having learned that He is the Son of the true God Himself, and holding Him in the second place, and the prophetic Spirit in the third, and we will prove.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.13 p.166-167

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) Jesus was made man and crucified under Pontius Pilate. *Second Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.6 p.190

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 49-51 p.119-122 discusses Pilate questioning Jesus and having him crucified.

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 ch.4 p.757 says Jesus was condemned by Pilate.

Melito of Sardis (170-177/180 A.D.) (partial) says that Pilate washed his hand. *On Pascha* part 92 p.62.

**Irenaeus Of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) says that Jesus “united man through Himself to God” suffered under Pontius Pilate, and rose again. Jesus is the Judge of those who are judged. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.4.2 p.417

Irenaeus Of Lyons(182-188 A.D.) (partial) mentions the Gnostics [as well as Christians said Jesus lived among them under Pontius Pilate. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.25.6 p.353

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) quotes 1 Timothy 6:13 and mentions Pontius Pilate. Fragment 4 p.579 (*Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 6 ch.14)

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) mentions Pontius Pilate. in *Tertullian’s Apology* ch.21 p.35 as well as in *On the Veiling of Virgins* ch.1 vol.4 p.27

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) mentions Jesus being brought before Pilate. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.42 p.420

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) says that Herod and Pilate presided over Jesus. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.6 p.441

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) mentions Caiaphas, Herod, and Jesus being scourged by Pilate. *Against the Heresy of One Noetus* ch.18 p.230

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) says that the crowds would have influenced Pilate to condemn Jesus. It also mentions his hostility to Herod and their apparent friendship. *Origen’s Commentary on Matthew* book 12 ch.1 p.449-450.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “finally seized Him [Jesus] and delivered Him to Pontius Pilate, who was then the procurator of Syria on behalf of the Romans, demanding with violent and obstinate urgency His crucifixion and death.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 7 ch.13 p.468

Peter of Alexandria (306,285-311 A.D.) (partial) mentions Pilate. *The Canonical Epistle* Canon 9 p.273

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) mentions after Judas betrayed Jesus, that the Jews took Jesus before Pontius Pilate. *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.18 p.119. He mentions Herod in ch.18 p.120.

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says Herod the Tetrarch and Pontius Pilate tried Jesus. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.45 p.240

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) (partial) mentions Pilate. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.9.3 p.96 and book 1 ch.10.1 p.96.

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Ignatius** (after 117 A.D.) (implied) “He [Jesus] also lived a holy life, and healed every kind of sickness and disease among the people, and wrought signs and wonders for the benefit of men; and to those who had fallen into the error of polytheism He made known the one and only true God, His Father, and underwent the passion, and endured the cross at the hands of the Christ-killing Jews, under Pontius Pilate the governor and Herod the king.” *Epistle to the Magnesians (Latin form)* ch.11 p.64

**Among heretics**

*Gospel of Peter* (180-190 A.D.) *ANF* vol.9 ch.1 p.7 (partial) mentions Pontius Pilate without saying he sentenced him.

## Go25. Barabbas

Mt 27:16-20; Mk 15:7-11

Luke 23:18-19

(partial) Acts 3:14

*Tatian’s* ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 50.28 p.121 mentions Barabbas.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (c.160-202 A.D.) “but they chose Barabbas the robber who had been taken for murder:” *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.95.

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “said it should, through His not speaking. Then Barabbas, the most abandoned” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.42 p.420

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “That the judge would, without any hesitation, have set Him at liberty if He had offered a defence, is clear from what is related of him when he said, ‘Which of the two do ye wish that I should release unto you, Barabbas or Jesus, who is called Christ?’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 Preface ch.2 p.395

## Go26. John the Baptist was beheaded

Matthew 14:1-12; Mark 6:14-29; Luke 9:7-9

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 18.6-21 p.71-72 gives verbatim the details in the gospels of the execution of John the Baptist.

**Tertullian** (918-220 A.D.) “That person himself, at the close of the law and the prophets, and called not a prophet, but a messenger, is, suffering an ignominious death, beheaded to reward a dancing-girl.” *Scorpiace* ch.8 p.640

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “And Herod, too, said, 'John whom I beheaded, he is risen from the dead; 'so that he appears not to have known what was said about Christ, as reported in the Gospel, 'Is not this the son of the carpenter, is not His mother called Mary, and His brothers James, and Joseph, and Simon, and Judas? And His sisters, are they not all with us?” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 6 ch.7 p.357

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) says that John the Baptist was beheaded. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.24.4 p.49

## Go27. Annas the former high priest

John 18:13,24 Annas was high priest from 6 to 15 A.D.

Annas in Acts 23:2; 24:1 was a different person. He was high priest from 47-59 A.D.

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (died 170 A.D.) section 48.46-48 p.118 “Then they took Jesus, and bound him, and brought him to Annas first; because he was the father in law of Caiaphas, who was chief priest that year. And Caiaphas was he that counselled the Jews, that it was necessary that one man should die instead of the people.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “For if this were true, the high priest Caiaphas, and Annas, and the rest of the chief priests, arid doctors of the law, and rulers of the people, would have been the first to believe in the Lord, agreeing as they did with respect to that relationship; and even before them should have been Herod the king.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.19.7 p.387

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “For in the person of Pilate 'the heathen raged,' and in the person of Israel 'the people imagined vain things;' 'the kings of the earth' in Herod, and the rulers in Annas and Caiaphas, were gathered together against the Lord, and against His anointed.'” *The Resurrection of the Flesh* ch.20 p.559

**Hippolytus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “Therefore the whole number of venerable and honourable priests put in trust of this most excellent law was fifty-six, Hanan (i.e. Annas) and Caiaphas being excepted.” Fragment 1

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “The Divine Scripture says, moreover, that he passed the entire time of his ministry under the high priests Annas and Caiaphas,” *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 10 ch.2 p.&&&

## Go28. John the Baptist ate locusts and wild honey

Matthew 3:4; Mark 1:6

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “For when John remained by the Jordan, and preached the baptism of repentance, wearing only a leathern girdle and a vesture made of camels' hair, eating nothing but locusts and wild honey, men supposed him to be Christ; but he cried to them, 'I am not the Christ, but the voice of one crying; for He that is stronger than I shall come, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear.'” *Dialogue with Trypho, the Jew* ch.88 p.244

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (died 172 A.D.) &&&

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) says that John the Baptist ate locusts and wild honey. *The Instructor* book 2 ch.13 p.266

**Origen** (233-244 A.D.) says that John the Baptist ate clean locusts and wild honey. *Homilies on Luke* homily 11 ch.5 p.46

## Go29. Judas hanged himself

Matthew 27:5-6; Acts 1

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (died 172 A.D.) section 51.9-10 p.122 says that Judas went and hanged himself.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (c.160-202 A.D.) “For Judas, being one of Christ’s disciples, agreed with the Jews and covenanted with them, when he saw they desired to kill Him, because he had been reproved by Him: and he took the thirty *staters* of the province, and betrayed Christ unto them: and then, repenting of what he had done, he gave the silver back again to the rulers of the Jews, and hanged himself. But they, thinking it not right to cast it into their treasury, because it was the price of blood, bought with it the ground that was a certain potter’s for the burial of strangers.” *Proof of Apostolic Teaching* ch.81

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “-and that, having thrown the money down in the temple, he departed, and went and hanged himself. But if this covetous Judas," *Origen Against Celsus* book 2 ch.11 p.435

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (c.318-325 A.D.) “Judas - "3. that betrayed the Lord, seeing that he was condemned, repented and returned the money to the chief priests and elders, saying, I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood? 4. And they said to him, What is that to us? see thou to that. 5. And he cast down the money in the Temple and went and hanged himself. 6. And the chief priests took the money and said, It is not lawful to put them in the treasury, for it is (481) the price of blood. 7. And they took counsel, and bought with them the potters' field to bury strangers in: 8. Wherefore that field is called the field of blood unto this day. 9. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet saying, And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value, 10. and gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me."” *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 10 ch.4

## Go30. Jesus’ twelve disciples

***Apology of Aristides*** (&&&)

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) &&&

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.)

**Origen** (25-253/254 A.D.)

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Two Epistles on Virginity*** (pseudo-Clement)

**Akhmin Apocalypse of Peter** (Greek) (135,100-150 A.D.) no.5 p.245 mentions the twelve disciples after they prayed with Jesus.

# Individuals AFTER THE GOSPELS

## N1. Matthias

Acts 1:20

(partial) Psalm 109:8

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) refers to Acts 1 and Matthias. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.20.2 p.388

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “of nature, since also Judas was chosen along with them. But they were capable of becoming apostles on being chosen by Him who foresees even ultimate issues. Matthias, accordingly, who was not chosen along with them, on showing himself worthy of becoming an apostle, is substituted for Judas. *Stromata* book 6 ch.13 p.504

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “chosen Matthias by lot as the twelfth, into the place of Judas, they obtained the promised power of the Holy Ghost for the gift of miracles and of utterance; and after first bearing witness to the faith in Jesus Christ throughout Judaea, and rounding churches (there), they next went forth into the world and preached” *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.20 p.252

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “Let us, then, see how clearly Basilides, simultaneously with Isidorus, and the entire band of these (heretics), not only absolutely belies Matthias, but even the Saviour Himself.” *Refutation of all Heresies* book 7 ch.8 p.103

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “the apostles, was enabled to behold, and along with him the twelve (Matthias having been substituted in room of Judas);” *Origen Against Celsus* book 2 ch.65 p.457

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) &&&

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) “in this chapter we have also the section on the substitution of Matthias,” *An Exposition of the Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles* section B p.166

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “His apostles were at that time eleven in number, to whom were added Matthias,” *The Manner in Which the Persecutors Died* ch.2 p.301

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Matthias. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 2 ch.1.1 p.103 and book 1 ch.12.3 p.99.

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.60 p.93 mentions that Matthias replaced Judas.

## N2. James the Lord’s brother

Acts 15:13-18; 1 Corinthians 15:7

Note that no mention is made of James never drinking alcohol or having his hair cut from birth except in Eusebius quoting what Hegesippus wrote.

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) (implied) Acts 12:2

**Hegesippus** (170-180 A.D.) discusses at length James the Lord’s brother. *Five Books of Commentaries on the Acts of the Church* section 1 p.762-763

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) discusses Peter, James, and the Council of Jerusalem. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.12.14 p.435

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) said the James the Just [The Lord’s brother) was made bishop of Jerusalem. Fragment 4 p.579 (*Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 6 ch.2.1)

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) mentions the holy apostles, Peters, James, John, and Paul. *Stromata* book 1 ch.1 p.301

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) briefly mentions John and James reputed to be pillars. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.3 p.348

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) (partial) discusses how the Naaseni believe James the brother of the Lord handed down secret teachings to Mariamne. Hippolytus implicitly accepts that James was the brother of the Lord here, but gives no indication that he was godly. *The Refutation of All Heresies* book 5 ch.2 p.48

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) quotes 1 Corinthians 15:4-8 referring to James *Origen Against Celsus* book 2 ch.63 p.456. He also discusses the brothers of Jesus in his *Commentary on Matthew* 10 ch.17 p.424

***Treatise On Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.12 p.673 mentions James and Simon [Peter] speaking to the church in the Acts of the Apostles.

*Treatise On Rebaptism* (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.12 p.674 quotes Acts 15:13-17 “as James says in the Acts of the Apostles”.

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) mentions James and Paul and circumcision. *An Exposition of the Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles* “EE” p.168

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions James, the Savior’s brother. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.12 p.96

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Peter to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) preface p.215 positively mentions James.

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Clement to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) preface p.218 and ch.19p.212 mentions James

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions James the Lord’s brother. homily 11 ch.35 p.291.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 p.75 positively narrates stories about James.

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.67 p.95; book 4 ch.55 p.142 mentions James [the Lord’s brother] the bishop of Jerusalem.

## N3. The Ethiopian eunuch

Acts 8:26-40

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “But again: Whom did Philip preach to the eunuch of the queen of the Ethiopians, returning from Jerusalem, and reading Esaias the prophet,” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.8 p.433

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “For this reason, also, Philip, when he had discovered the eunuch…” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.23.2 p.494

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “The Spirit had enjoined Philip to proceed to that road: the eunuch himself, too, was not found idle, nor as one who was suddenly seized with an eager desire to be baptized; but, after going up to the temple for prayer’s sake, being intently engaged on the divine Scripture, was thus suitably discovered-to whom God had, unasked, sent an apostle, which one, again, the Spirit bade adjoin himself to the chamberlain’s chariot. The Scripture which *he was reading* falls in opportunely with his faith:” *On Baptism* ch.18 p.678

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “John, we shall add, lest this should be called a mere unsupported assertion, what is said in the Acts about the eunuch of the queen of the Ethiopians and Philip.” *Origen’s Commentary on John* 1 ch.15 p.305

***Treatise on Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.4 p.669 “Just as the Ethiopian eunuch, when he was returning from Jerusalem and reading the prophet Isaiah, and was in doubt, having at the Spirit’s suggestion heard the truth from Philip the deacon, believed and was baptized; and when he had gone up out of the water, the Spirit of the Lord took away Philip, and the eunuch saw him no more.”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) &&&

**Pontius’ *Life and Passion of Cyprian*** (258 A.D.) ch.3 p.268 “For although in the Acts of the Apostles the eunuch is described as at once baptized by Philip, because he believed with his whole heart, this is not a fair parallel.”

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) “l. “That the Lord helps the good and the believing on the way to salvation, as is shown from the instance of the eunuch.” *An Exposition of the Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles* section L p.167

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions the Ethiopian eunuch. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 2 ch.1.13 p.105

## N4. Stephen the martyr

Acts 7:59-60

***Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum*** (177 A.D.) says that the Christians were like Stephen, who even prayed for those who inflicted tortures on them. p.784

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) says that Stephen say Jesus standing on the right hand of God. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.12.13 p.435

**Tertullian** (c.213 A.D.) “‘He sitteth at the Father’s right hand’ -not the Father at His own. He is seen by Stephen, at his martyrdom by stoning, still sitting at the right hand of God where He will continue to sit, until the Father shall make His enemies His footstool.” *Against Praxeas* ch.30 p.627

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) mentions the martyrdom of Abel, Stephen, and others in *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.62 p.215

**Origen** (235 A.D.) mentions Stephen the martyr speaking to Jesus. *Origen On Prayer* part 1 ch.14 p.57. See also ibid part 1 ch.6.5 p.35

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “And this we see done in the case of Stephen, who, when he was slain by the Jews with violence and stoning, did not ask for vengeance for himself, but for pardon for his murderers, saying, ‘Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 9 ch.16 p.488

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) “The rising and slanderous information of the Jews against Stephen, and his address …”*An Exposition of the Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles* section H p.166

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) “Thus first Stephen, pressing on His footsteps, suffered martyrdom, being apprehended in Jerusalem by the transgressors, and being brought before the council, he was stoned, and glorified for the name of Christ, praying with the words, ‘Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.’” *Canonical Epistle* canon 9 p.273

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Cornelius, of Caesarea in Palestine, Peter, and later the persecution of Stephen and still later Agabus. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 2 ch.3.3 p.107

## N5. Cornelius the centurion who was saved

Acts 10:24-48

p45 Chester Beatty I – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) (partial) tells part of the story of Cornelius in Acts 10:10-23, 31-41; 11:2-13

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Cornelius the centurion, and those Gentiles with him, to whom the word of God” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.12.7 p.432

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “spirit’s egress as of the Holy Spirit’s ingress? Finally, granting that upon the centurion Cornelius, even *before baptism*, the honourable gift of the Holy Spirit, together with the gift of prophecy besides, had hastened to descend, we” *On Fasting* ch.8 vol.4 p.107

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “And there was none other (sent) but the Word. And that He was sent Peter testifies, when he says to the centurion Cornelius: 'God sent His Word unto the children of Israel by the preaching of Jesus Christ. This is the God who is Lord of all.'” *Against the Heresy of One Noetus* ch.13 p.228

**Origen** “Cornelius, suggesting to him “to send to Joppa, to Simon surnamed Peter,” Peter” *Origen Against Celsus* book 2 ch.1 p.429

Origen (233/234 A.D.) (partial) mentions Cornelius the centurion. *Origen On Prayer* ch.27.13 p.101

***Treatise On Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.15 p.646 (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “Cornelius the centurion before they were baptized with water.”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “so that in the house of Cornelius the centurion, the Holy Ghost had descended upon the Gentiles who were there, fervent in the warmth of their faith,” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 71 p.378

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “Thus, for instance, Cornelius the centurion, when he prayed, had a claim to be heard.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 4 p.456

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) Acts section O p.167 “Of Cornelius, and what the angel said to him. See also what was”

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) &&&

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Cornelius, of Caesarea in Palestine, Peter, and later the persecution of Stephen and still later Agabus. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 2 ch.3.3 p.107

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions Cornelius. homily 20 ch.13 p.343. See also ibid homily 1 ch.15 p.227.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 10 ch.55 p.206 mentions Cornelius the Centurion

## N6. Saul of Tarsus persecuted the church

Acts 9:1-3

Paul wrote about this with regret in Galatians 1:13; 1 Corinthians 15:9; Philippians 3:6; and 1 Timothy 1:13.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “But again, we allege the same against those who do not recognise Paul as an apostle: that they should either reject the other words of the Gospel which we have come to know through Luke alone, and not make use of them; or else, if they do receive all these, they must necessarily admit also that testimony concerning Paul, when he (Luke) tells us that the Lord spoke at first to him from heaven: ‘Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me? I am Jesus Christ, whom thou persecutest;’ and then to Ananias, saying regarding him: ‘Go thy way; for he is a chosen vessel unto Me, to bear My name among the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.15.1 p.439

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “But how Paul, an apostle, from being a persecutor, who first of all shed the blood of the church, though afterwards he exchanged the sword for the pen, and turned the dagger into a plough, being *first* a ravening wolf of Benjamin, then himself supplying food as did Jacob, -how he, (I say, ) speaks in favour of martyrdoms, now to be chosen by himself also, when, rejoicing over the Thessalonians, he says, ‘So that we glory in you in the churches of God, for your patience and faith in all your persecutions and tribulations, in which ye endure a manifestation of the righteous judgment of God, that ye may be accounted worthy of His kingdom, for which ye also suffer!” *Scorpiace* ch.13 p.646

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “To Saul, when still a persecutor it is said, ‘Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me? “and, “I am Jesus whom thou persecutest.’” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 1 ch.12 p.304

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says that Saul “persecuted” the church *Origen On Prayer* ch.24.2 p.81

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Nor did he [Peter] despise Paul because he had previously been a persecutor of the Church, but admitted the counsel of truth, and easily yielded to the lawful reason which Paul asserted, furnishing thus an illustration to us both of concord and of patience, that we should not obstinately love our own opinions, but should rather adopt as our own those which at any time are usefully and wholesomely suggested by our brethren and colleagues, if they be true and lawful.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 70 ch.3 p.377

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) (implied) says that Paul persecuted the church. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 2 ch.1.9 p.104

## N7. Paul was a godly apostle

Acts 15:22; Galatians 1:1; 2 Peter 3:15-16; Titus 1:1

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) (implied) contains most of Paul’s writings

**p32 (=P. Rylands 5)** Titus 1:1-15; 2:3-8 (21 verses) (150-200 A.D.) Titus 1:1 “Paul, a servant of God and an apostle of Jesus Christ”

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Acts 9:23-25

**p65** 1 Thessalonians 1:3-2:1; 2:6-13 (225-275 A.D.) Paul says he is an apostle in 1 Thessalonians 2:6

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Calls the writings of Paul scripture. 2 Peter 3:15-16

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) Paul was imprisoned seven times and was stoned. *1 Clement* ch.5 p.6

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) says to the Corinthians, “Take up the epistle of the blessed Apostle Paul.” And refers to 1 Corinthians 3:13. *1 Clement* ch.47 vol.1 p.18 (See also vol.9 p.243)

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) “I do not, as Peter and Paul issue commandments unto you. They were apostles; I am but a condemned man;…” *Letter of Ignatius to the Romans* ch.4 p.75

Ignatius (-107/116 A.D.) Paul wrote a letter to the Ephesians. *Ignatius’ Letter to the Ephesians* ch.12 p.55

**Polycarp** (100-165 A.D.) “For neither I, not any other such one, can come up to the wisdom of the blessed and glorified Paul. He, when among you, accurately and stedfastly taught the word of truth in the presence of those who were then alive. And when absent from you [Philippians] he wrote you a letter, which, if you carefully study, you will find to be the means of building you up in that faith…” *Letter of Polycarp to the Philippians* ch.3 p.33.

**Dionysius of Corinth** (170 A.D.) speaks of the churches planted by Peter and Paul: Romans and Corinthians Fragment 3 *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.765

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) quotes 1 Corinthians 1:18 as being by Paul. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.3:5 p.320

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) refers to Paul and Barnabas in Lystra and Lycia in Acts 14:15-17 *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.12.8 p.434

*Epitaph of Abercius* (190-210 A.D.) (partial) mentions Paul and then the epitaph breaks off.

**Caius** (190-217 A.D.) (implied) discusses Paul going to Rome and the letters of Paul. *Muratorian Canon* ch.3.2,3 p.603

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) mentions Paul the apostle. *Stromata* book 1 ch.1 p.301

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) says “the blessed Paul” wrote and quotes 1 Corinthians 14:20. *The Instructor* book 1 ch.6 p.217. See also *The Instructor* book 1 ch.5 p.214 and *Fragments from Cassiodorus* (fragment 1) ch.1 p.572

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) quotes 1 Timothy 4:8, saying it was by Paul in *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.9 p.196

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) quotes 1 Thessalonians 2:6-7 by the blessed Paul. *The Instructor* book 1 ch.5 p.214

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) stresses the authorship of Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Revelation, many of Paul’s letters in *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.5 p.350.

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) 1 Thessalonians 4:12 was by Paul to the Thessalonians. *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.66 p.219. See also *Commentary on Proverbs* p.173

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “But your god is your belly, and rewards are your laws. Paul the apostle suggests this”*Instructions of Commodianus* ch.31 p.209

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “But it is not the appropriate time to describe at present the truly venerable and divine contents of the Gospels, or the mind of Christ-that is, the wisdom and the word-contained in the writings of Paul.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 3 ch.21 p.472

Origen (239-242 A.D.) mentions Paul a wise man. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 7 ch.6.1 p.105

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions the apostle Paul. *Origen On Prayer* ch.6.5 p.35

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) (implied) “since Paul also, the apostle whom the Lord called a chosen vessel unto Him, laid down in his epistle: 'I marvel that ye are so soon removed from Him that called you into the grace of Christ, unto another gospel: which is not another; but there be some that trouble you, and would pervert the Gospel of Christ” *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 22 ch.3 p.301

**Firmilian** (c.246-258 A.D.) in his letter to Cyprian mentions that Gnostics defame the blessed apostles Peter and Paul the Lord. *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 74 p.391

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) quotes 1 Corinthians 15:41 as by Paul. *The books on Nature* ch.3 p.86

**Hermias** (3rd century) “Paul the blessed apostle, my beloved brethren, writing to the Corinthians who inhabit Laconian Greece, spake saying, ‘The wisdom of this world is folly in the sight of God’ [1 Cor 3:19], and he said not amiss.” *Satire on Greek Philosophers* ch.1 p.1

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) refers to many of Paul’s letters as scripture such as Galatians 1 (Paul sent to the Galatians) on *Dialog of the True Faith* first part p.44 and quoting Ephesians 2:11-13 as by the apostle to the Ephesians in *Dialog of the True Faith* first part p.99.

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) The apostle Paul was blessed. *Commentary on the Apocalypse* ch.11.7 p.354. See also ibid ch.6 p.344

**Phileas** **of Thmuis** (martyred 306/307 A.D.) mentions “the word of the Apostle Paul, the most blessed seer” *Letter of Phileas to Meletius of Lycopolis* vol.6 p.164

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) mentions Paul being called to the apostleship. *An Exposition of the Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles* M. vol.6 p.167

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) quotes 1 Corinthians 7:34 as by “the blessed Paul” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 1 ch.1 p.311

**Hesychius of Egypt, Pachomius, Phileas, Theodorus** (martyred 311 A.D.) &&&

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) mentions “the blessed Paul”. *Athanasius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.5.2 p.6

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) says that we should have not only deeds but also “godly patience”. *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Epistle 1 ch.3 p.292

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) shows that Paul was an apostle of God. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 2 ch.1.4 p.104

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Acts of Paul and Thecla*** (before 207 A.D.) p.487 shows that Paul was very godly.

**pseudo-Hippolytus** (after 236 A.D.) positively mentions Paul. *Discourse on the End of the World* ch.11 p.244

**Among heretics**

**Mani** (262-278 A.D.) positively mentions Paul. *Disputation with Manes* ch.13 p.188

Marcionite heretic **Megethius** (c.300 A.D.) (implied) a self-labeled follower of Marcion, in his debate with Adamantius accepts Paul as an apostle and his letters are scripture. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.15d, 6 p.42-43

Marcionite heretic Megethius (c.300 A.D.) says that Paul was greater than Marcion. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.809a p.47

pseudo-Methodius (after 312 A.D.) “Paul, the interpreter of the divine oracle” and quote 2 Corinthians 5:19. *Oration Concerning Simeon and Anna*

## N8. Barnabas, companion of Paul

Acts 13:2; 14:1-3; 15:22; Galatians 2:1

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Galatians 2:1

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Acts 9:27; 11:24-25

Note that the author of the *Epistle of Barnabas* never claimed to be the Barnabas in the Bible.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) refers to Paul and Barnabas in Lystra and Lycia in Acts 14:15-17. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.12.8 p.434. See also book 3 ch.12.14 p.435

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Barnabas (and he was one of the seventy, and a fellow-worker of Paul), who speaks in these word and quotes the *Epistle of Barnabas* vol.1 p.147. *Stromata* book 2 ch.20 p.372

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) says that Barnabas was one of the seventy disciples and a co-worker with Paul. Fragment 4 p.579 (*Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 6 ch.2.2). He quotes from the *Epistle of Barnabas* as by the apostle (*Stromata* book 2 ch.6 p.354 and *Stromata* book 2 ch.7 p.355) according to vol.1 p.137

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) Barnabas, too, who in person preached the word along with the apostle in the” *Stromata* book 5 ch.10 p.459

**Tertullian** (208-220 A.D.) mentions Barnabas, “a man sufficiently accredited by God” *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.20 p.97

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “Moreover, in the Epistle to the Galatians, Paul states that Peter, still from fear of the Jews, ceased upon the arrival of James to eat with the Gentiles, and ‘separated himself from them, fearing them that were of the circumcision;’ and the rest of the Jews, and Barnabas also, followed the same course. And certainly it was quite consistent that those should not abstain from the observance of Jewish usages who were sent to minister to the circumcision, when they who “seemed to be pillars” gave the right hand of fellowship to Paul and Barnabas, in order that, while devoting themselves to the circumcision, the latter might preach to the Gentiles.’ *Origen Against Celsus* book 2 ch.1 p.429

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “surname Mark, whom Barnabas and Paul attached to themselves as companion,” *From the Books on the Promises* ch.5 p.83

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) “his association with the apostles by the instrumentality of Barnabas.” *An Exposition of the Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles* s, w vol.6 P.167

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Barnabas with Paul. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 2 ch.1.4 p.104

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions Barnabas. homily 1 ch.9 p.225.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.13 p.80 positively mentions the preaching of Barnabas.

## N9. Silas, companion of Paul

Acts 15:22,27-34,40; 16:19,25,29; 17:4,10,14,15; 18:5; 2 Corinthians 1:19; 1 Thessalonians 1:1; 2 Thessalonians 1:1; 1 Peter 5:12

Note Silas is called Silvanus in the KJV outside of Acts

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. We have sent therefore Judas and Silas” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.12.14 p.436

**Asterius Urbanus** (c.242 A.D.) “Nor will they be able to boast that Agabus, or Judas, or Silas, or the daughters” fragment 9 p.337

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “his chains; and that Paul, having been bound in the stocks along with Silas” *Origen Against Celsus* book 2 ch.34 p.445

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions Silas. *Origen On Prayer* ch.12.2 p.47

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “night Paul and Silas prayed and gave thanks to God, and the prisoners heard” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.14 p.537

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) Epistle “and Silas were dragged before the magistrates at Thessalonica, were dismissed”

Peter of AlexandriaEpistle “brethren immediately sent away Paul and Silas by night unto Berea.”

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “Neither can they [false prophets] boast of Agabus, or Judas, or Silas, or the daughters of Philip, or Ammia in Philadelphia, or Quadratus, or any others not belonging to them.” *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 5 ch.17.3 p.234

## N10. Apollos

Acts 18:24-28; 19:1; 1 Corinthians 1:12; 3:4-6; 4:6; 16:12; Titus 3:13

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.)

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Take up the epistle of the blessed Apostle Paul. What did he write to you [the Corinthian church] at the time when the Gospel first began to be preached? Truly, under the inspiration of the Spirit, he wrote to you concerning himself, and Cephas, and Apollos, because even then parties had been formed among you.” 1 Clement ch.47 vol.1 p.18

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “But these words were written to the Corinthians in regard of the circumstances of that particular time; seeing that schisms and dissensions were agitated among them, while one attributes *everything* to Paul, another to Apollos.” *On Baptism* ch.14 p.676

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “epistle: ‘All things are yours; whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.7 p.444

**Origen** (235-245 A.D.) mentions Apollos. *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 5 ch.13.3 p.56

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “In fine, the Apostle Paul also apprehended this agreement of unity, with the distinction of persons notwithstanding: for in writing to the Corinthians he said, ‘I have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase. Therefore neither is he that planteth anything, nor he that watereth, but God who gives the increase. Now he that planteth and he that watereth are one.’ And who does not perceive that Apollos is one person and Paul another, and that.” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.27 p.637-638

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) (Adamantius is speaking) “Again Paul says, … [‘Indeed I belong to Paul’; and another, ‘I belong to Apollo [Apollos]’; are you not ordinary men” footnote 179 says that the bracketed quotation is not found in Rufinus’ Latin translation “but was almost certainly written by our author.” *Dialogue on the True Faith* Fifth Part 22c p.178

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) “And concerning Apollos, an eloquent man and a believer.” *An Exposition of the Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles* section AA p.168.

## N11. Paul was in prison/bonds

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “indicating with all diligence both places, and cities, and number of days, until they went up to Jerusalem; and what befell Paul there, how he was sent to Rome in bonds; the name of the centurion who took him in charge; and the signs of the ships, and how they made shipwreck; and the island upon which they escaped, and how they received kindness there, Paul healing the chief man of that island; and how they sailed from thence to Puteoli, and from that arrived at Rome; and for what period they sojourned at Rome.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.14.1 p.437

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “When Agabus, making use of corresponding action too, had foretold that bonds awaited Paul, the disciples, weeping and entreating that he would not venture upon going to Jerusalem, entreated in vain.” *Scorpiace* ch.15 p.648

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) (implied) “Of this same thing in the Acts of the Apostles: ‘But about the middle of the night Paul and Silas prayed and gave thanks to God, and the prisoners heard them.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.14 p.537

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) “and of the cure of the damsel having a spirit of divination, on account of which the masters of the damsel cast Paul into prison; and of the earthquake and miracle which happened there; and how the jailer believed and was baptized forthwith that same night with all his house.” *An Exposition of the Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles* section X p.167

Peter of Alexandria (306,285-311 A.D.) (partial) “Paul underwent many persecutions” *The Canonical Epistle* Canon 10 p.274

## N12. Paul was persecuted besides prison

Acts 13:50; 14:19; 16:22-23; 17:5

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Owing to envy, Paul also obtained the reward of patient endurance, after being seven times thrown into captivity, compelled to flee, and stoned. After preaching both in the east and west, he gained the illustrious reputation due to his faith, having taught righteousness to the whole world, and come to the extreme limit of the west, and suffered martyrdom under the prefects.” *1 Clement* ch.5 p.6

**Tertullian** (ca.208 A.D.) “Nay, Paul too, who had submitted to deliverance from persecution by being let down from the wall, as to do so was at this time a matter of command, refused in like manner now at the close of his ministry, and after the injunction had come to an end, to give in to the anxieties of the disciples, eagerly entreating him that he would not risk himself at Jerusalem, because of the sufferings in store for him which Agabus had foretold; but doing the very opposite, it is thus he speaks, ‘What do ye, weeping and disquieting my heart?’” *On Fleeing Persecution* ch.6 p.120

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Let them also follow the example of the Apostle Paul, who, after often-repeated imprisonment, after scourging, after exposures to wild beasts, in everything continued meek and humble; and even after his rapture to the third heaven and paradise, he did not proudly arrogate anything to himself when he said, ‘Neither did we eat any man’s bread for nought, but wrought with labour and travail night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you.’” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 5 ch.2 p.683

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) (implied) “After that, however, Paul is stoned there by the neighbouring people.” section V p.167

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) says Paul “was brought in the peril of death, having endured many evils, and making his boast in his numerous persecutions and afflictions, in the same city was also beheaded;” *Canonical Epistle* Canon 9 p.273

## N13. Timothy the individual (not just the book)

***The Muratorian Canon*** (190-217 A.D.) ch.3 p.603 mentions that Paul wrote to seven churches in his epistles, Corinthians (2 letters), Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Galatians, Thessalonians (2 letters), Romans. Wrote Philemon, Titus, two letters to Timothy.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) quotes 1 Timothy 6:20,21 as by the Apostle to Timothy. Then he says, “Convicted by this utterance, the heretics reject the Epistles to Timothy.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.11 p.359.

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) “‘Use a little wine’, says the apostle to Timothy, who drank water, ‘for thy stomach’s sake;’” *The Instructor* book 2 ch.2 p.242

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) “‘Thou, O Timothy,’ he says, ‘from a child hast known the holy letters, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith that is in Christ Jesus.’” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.9 p.196

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Similarly, concerning Onesiphorus, does he also write to Timothy: ‘The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy in that day;’” *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* ch.23 p.562

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “He [Paul] therefore made some concession, as was necessary, for a time; and this was the reason why he had Timothy circumcised,” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.3 p.433.

**Hippolytus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “For it is not to no purpose that the blessed apostle exhorts Timothy, and says, ‘O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called; which some professing have erred concerning the faith.’” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.1 p.204

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “As Paul could not benefit those who were Jews according to the flesh, without, when reason shows it to be necessary, circumcising Timothy, and when it appears the natural course getting himself shaved and making a vow, and, in a word, being to the Jews a Jew that he might gain the Jews-so also it is not possible for one who is responsible for the good of many to operate as he should by means of that Christianity only which is in secret.” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 1 ch.9 p.302

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “For if the Apostle Paul, writing to Timothy, said, ‘Let no man despise thy youth,’ how much rather must it he said by your colleagues to you, ‘Let no man despise thy age?” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 64 ch.3 p.366

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “And abridging in a short space his announcement, he [Paul] thus says to Timothy: ‘That thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the Church of the living God.’ [1/2 of 1 Timothy 3:15]” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the first chapter verse 16 (second time) p.345

**Phileas of Thmuis** (martyred 306/307 A.D.) “And thou wert not persuaded to delay such procedure or restrain thy purpose readily even by the word of the Apostle Paul, the most blessed seer, and the man who put on Christ, who is the Christ of all of us no less; for he, in writing to his dearly-beloved son Timothy, says: ‘Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men’s sins.’” *Letter to Meletius of Lycopolis* ch.164

**Pamphilus** (309 A.D.) “Of the teaching of Timothy, and of the coming of Paul into Macedonia according to revelation.” *An Exposition of the Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles* section X p.167

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) “For they did not assent to their impiety; as I have again heard from their fellow-ministers, they will be reckoned amongst the confessors, as also he who hath after the example of Timothy ordered his life,” *Canonical Epistle* canon 14 p.278

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Ignatius** (after 117 A.D.) “Such, then, are ye, having been taught by such instructors, Paul the Christ-bearer, and Timothy the most faithful.” *Epistle to the Ephesians* ch.6 p.52 (long version)

**Among Heretics**

**Megethius** (c.300 A.D.) “But he does not speak of these, but concerning Silvanus and Timothy.” In Adamantius *Dialogue on the True Faith* part 1 ch.6 p.44

## N14. James [the disciple] was beheaded / slain

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “And of this James, Clement also relates an anecdote worthy of remembrance in the seventh book of the Hypotyposes, from a tradition of his predecessors. He says that the man who brought him to trial, on seeing him bear his testimony, was moved, and confessed that he was a Christian himself. Accordingly, he says, they were both led away together, and on the way the other asked James to forgive him. And he, considering a little, said, 'Peace be to thee' and kissed him. And so both were beheaded together.” Fragment 2 (p.579) from *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 2 ch.2 p.&&&

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “That Peter is struck, that Stephen is overwhelmed *by stones*, that James is slain as is a victim at the altar, that Paul is beheaded has been written in their own blood.” *Scorpiace* ch.15 p.648

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) “r. The slaying of the Apostle James. \*Also the apprehension of Peter by Herod, and the account of the manner in which the angel by divine command delivered him from his bonds, and how Peter, after showing himself to the disciples by night, quietly withdrew.”

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) “Thus James, in the second place, being of Herod apprehended, was beheaded with the sword.” *Canonical Epistle* canon 9 p.273

## N15. Peter was in Rome

1 Peter 5:13 (implied)

Ignatius of Lyons (100-107/116 A.D.) (partial, does not say they commanded from Rome) “I do not, as Peter and Paul, issue commandments unto you. They were apostles; I am but a condemned man;…” *Ignatius’ Epistle to the Romans* (both Greek and Latin) ch.4.3 p.75

**Dionysius of Corinth** (c.170 A.D.) “Therefore you also have by such admonition joined in close union *the churches* that were planted by Peter and Paul, that of the Romans and that of the Corinthians: for both of them went to our Corinth, and taught us in the same way as they taught you when they went to Italy; and having taught you, they suffered martyrdom at the same time.” ch.3 p.765

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (180-188 A.D.) “Matthew also issued a written Gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect, while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome, and laying the foundations of the Church. After their departure, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, did also hand down to us in writing what had been preached by Peter.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.1.1 p.414

**Caius** (190-217 A.D.) ch.1 p.601 “For they say that all those of the first age, and the apostles themselves, both received and taught those things which these *men* now maintain; and that the truth of Gospel preaching was preserved until the times of Victor, who was the thirteenth bishop in Rome from Peter, and that from his successor Zephyrinus the truth was falsified. And perhaps what they allege might be credible, did not the Holy Scriptures, in the first place, contradict them. And then, besides, there are writings of certain brethren older than the times of Victor, which they wrote against the heathen in defence of the truth, and against the heresies of their time: I mean Justin and Miltiades, and Tatian and Clement, and many others, in all which divinity is ascribed to Christ.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “He says that the Gospels containing the genealogies were written first, and that the Gospel according to Mark was composed in the following circumstances:-Peter having preached the word publicly at Rome, and by the Spirit proclaimed the Gospel, those who were present, who were numerous, entreated Mark, in as much as he had attended him from an early period, and remembered what had been said, to write down what had been spoken.” From *Eusebius’ Church History* book 2 ch.2 p.&&&

**Tertullian** (&&&) &&&

**Hippolytus of Portus** (225-235/236 A.D.) (implied) “But he afterwards abjured the faith, and attempted these (aforesaid practices). And journeying as far as Rome, he [Simon Magus] fell in with the Apostles; and to him, deceiving many by his sorceries, Peter offered repeated opposition.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 6 ch.15 p.81

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) &&&

**Peter of Alexandria** (306-311 A.D.) “Thus James, in the second place, being of Herod apprehended, was beheaded with the sword. Thus Peter, the first of the apostles, having been often apprehended, and thrown into prison, and treated with ignominy, was last of all crucified at Rome. Likewise also, the renowned Paul having been oftentimes delivered up and brought in peril of death, having endured many evils, and making his boast in his numerous persecutions and afflictions, in the same city was also himself beheaded; who, in the things in which he gloried, in these also ended his life;” *Canonical Letter* canon 9 p.273

**Lactantius** (c.321-c.325 A.D.) “And while Nero reigned, the Apostle Peter came to Rome, and, through the power of God committed unto him, wrought certain miracles, and, by turning many to the true religion, built up a faithful and stedfast temple unto the Lord. When Nero heard of those things, and observed that not only in Rome, but in every other place, a great multitude revolted daily from the worship of idols, and, condemning their old ways, went over to the new religion, he, an execrable and pernicious tyrant, sprung forward to raze the heavenly temple and destroy the true faith. He it was who first persecuted the servants of God; he crucified Peter, and slew Paul: nor did he escape with impunity; for God looked on the affliction of His people; and therefore the tyrant, bereaved of authority, and precipitated from the height of empire, suddenly disappeared, and even the burial-place of that noxious wild beast was nowhere to be seen.” *The Manner in Which the Persecutors Died* ch.2 p.301-302

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “And Peter makes mention of Mark in his first epistle which they say that he wrote in Rome itself, as is indicated by him, when he calls the city, by a figure, Babylon, as he does in the following words: ‘The church that is a Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you; and so doth Marcus my son.’” *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 2 ch.15.2 p.116

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Clement of Alexandria** (after 220 A.D.) “Mark, the follower of Peter, while Peter publicly preached the Gospel at Rome before some of Caesar's equites, and adduced many testimonies to Christ, in order that thereby they might be able to commit to memory what was spoken, of what was spoken by Peter wrote entirely what is called the Gospel according to Mark.” Fragment 1 from Cassiodorus. Comments on the First Epistle of Peter

## Teachings on New Testament Individuals not on the list

**1. Agabus** (only 3 writers: Tertullian, Asterius Urbanus, Pamphilus)

**2. Alphaeus** (only 2 writers: Papias, *Diatessaron*)

**3. Anacletus** (only 2 writers: Irenaeus, Tertullian)

**4. Antipas** (only 1 writer: Tertullian. p115)

**5. Aquila and or Prisca/Priscilla in Acts** Acts 18:2,18,26; Romans 16:3; 1 Corinthians 16:19; 2 Timothy 4:19 (only 3 writers: Tertullian, Origen, Pamphilus. After Nicea: Hegemonius. Among heretics partial the Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement*)

**6. Bartholomew** (no writers. Among heretics the Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement*)

**7. Berean(s)** (no writers)

**8. Caesar’s household** (no writers)

**9. Cleopas** (only 3 writers: *Diatessaron*, Origen, *Treatise on Rebaptism*)

**10. Crispus** (only 1 writer: Tertullian)

**11. Demas** (only 2 writers: Irenaeus, Adamantius)

**12. Epaphroditus** (only 2 writers: Irenaeus, Cyprian)

**13. Euodia and Synteche** (no writers)

**14. Eutychus** (no writers)

**15. Felix** (only 2 writers: Tertullian, Pamphilus)

**16. Festus** (only 1 writer: Pamphilus)

**17. Gamaliel** (only 2 writers: Origen, Pamphilus. Among heretic the Ebionite Recognitions of Clement)

**18. Herod killed James the disciple** (only 1 writer: Peter of Alexandria)

**19. Holy apostles** (only 2 writers: Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus)

**20. Hymenaeus or Alexander, who opposed Paul** 1 Tim 1:20; 2 Tim 2:17 (only 2 writers: Tertullian, Alexander of Alexandria. After Nicea: Hegemonius/Archelaus, Athanasius of Alexandria. Among heretics Mani.)

**21. James son of Alphaeus** (only 2 writers: Papias, Diatessaron)

**22.** **James and John request to be on Jesus’ right and left** (only 1 writer: *Diatessaron*)

**23. Jezebel in Revelation** (only 1 writer: Tertullian)

**24. Joanna** (only 1 writer: *Diatessaron*)

**25. Joseph [of Arimathea** (only 2 writers: *Diatessaron*, Tertullian. Corrupt: Ignatius [Latin version])

**26. Judas hanged himself** (Matthew 27:5-6; Acts 1) (only 3 writers: Diatessaron, Irenaeus, Origen. After Nicea: Hegemonius/Archelaus)

**27. Linus** (only 2 writers: Irenaeus, Tertullian)

**28. Lydia** (only 1 writer: Pamphilus)

**29. Malchus** (only1 2 writers: Tatian’s *Diatessaron*, Tertullian)

**30. Nicodemus** (only 3 writers: *Diatessaron* section 32.28 p.93, Tertullian, Origen)

**31. Paul bore the marks of Jesus** (only 1 writer: Adamantius)

**32. Paul was a chosen instrument** (only 1 writer: Adamantius)

**33. Paul rebuked / disputed with Peter** (only 3 writers: Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian)

**34. Paul was shipwrecked** (only 3 writers: Irenaeus, Cyprian, Pamphilus)

**35. Peter denied Christ** (1 writer: *Diatessaron*)

**36. Philip the Tetrarch** (only 1 writer: Origen)

**37. Quirinius** (only 1 writer: Diatessaron)

**38. Rhoda** (only 1 writer: Origen)

**39. Salome** (only 3 writers: Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Papias)

**40. Susanna [who followed Jesus]** (only 1 writer: *Diatessaron*)

**41. Simon of Cyrene** (only 3 writers: *Diatessaron*, Irenaeus, Origen)

**42. Simon the Zealot** (no writers. Among heretic the Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* mentions Simon the Canaanite)

**43. Sosthenes** (only 2 writers: Minucius Felix, Origen)

**44. Syzygus/loyal yokefellow** (no writers)

**45. Thaddeus** (only 1 writer: Papias)

**46. The woman Lydia** (only 1 writer: Pamphilus)

**47. Thief/robber in Paradise** (only 3 writers: Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen)

**48. Titus [the individual, not just the book]** (only 3 writers: Irenaeus, the *Muratorian Canon*, Tertullian)

**49. Tychicus** (no writers)

**50. Zenas** (no writers)

# Experiencing God

## X1. God/Christ lives inside of Christians

John 14:23; 1 John 4:12,15

Romans 9:10-18 Spirit of Christ lives in us; Christ lives in us.

(implied Holy Spirit dwells in us) 1 Corinthians 6:19

(implied, because accept all believers) Romans 8:9-11

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 14:23

**p9** – 1 John 4:11-12, 14-16 (3rd century A.D.) God lives in us. 1 John 4:12,15

**p27** – Romans 8:8-12,17-22 (3rd century A.D.) the Spirit of god lives in us. Romans 8:9-10

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) “if we are not in readiness to die into His passion, His life is not in us.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Magnesians* ch.5 p.61

***Epistle of Barnabas*** ch.16 p.147 (c.70-130 A.D.) “in our habitation God truly dwells in us.”

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 2 tenth commandment ch.2 p.27 mentions “the Holy Spirit which dwells in you” Also book 2 fifth commandment ch.1 p.23

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) quotes 2 Corinthians 13:5 that Christ Jesus is in us. *The Instructor* book 3 ch.3 p.276

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) says that God “sent forth His Holy Spirit into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father.” *Tertullian Against Marcion* book 5 ch.4 p.437

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) says that Christ lives in believers in *Origen’s Commentary on John* ch.6 p.300.

Origen (233/234 A.D.) quotes John 14:23. *Origen On Prayer* ch.23.1 p.77. See also ibid ch.23.2 p.77.

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says Christ lives in us. *Origen’s Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.12 p.153

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) quotes John 14:23 about the Comforter living in us. *Treatise Concerning the Trinity* ch.28 p.639

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “As the sun shines spontaneously, as the day gives light, as the fountain flows, as the shower yields moisture, so does the heavenly Spirit infuse itself in us.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 1 ch.14 p.279

**Lucius** and the brethren to Cyprian of Carthage (246-256 A.D.) “… as being certain of the heavenly rewards, and of the crown of martyrdom, and of the kingdom of God, from the prophecy which, being filled with the Holy Spirit, you have pledged to us in your letter.” Letter 78 p.406

## X2. Our bodies are God’s temple/temples

1 Corinthians 6:19 (individual)

(partial) Hebrews 3:6 we are God’s house

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) 1 Corinthians 3:16-17; 6:19; 2 Corinthians 6:16; Ephesians 2:21

p13 Hebrews 2:14-5:5; 10:8-22; 10:29-11:13; 11:28-12:17 (225-250 A.D.) (partial) Hebrews 3:6 We are God’s house

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) says that God dwells in us, that we may be His temples. *Letter of Ignatius to the Ephesians* ch.15 p.56

***Epistle of Barnabas*** ch.4 p.139 (c.70-130 A.D.) says that we are temples of God.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) says that our bodies are temples of God. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.6.2 p.532

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) says that are bodies are temples of God in *Stromata* book 7 ch.13 p.547. See also Stromata book 7 ch.11 p.541

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) says that our bodies are temples of God in *Treatise on the Soul* ch.53 p.230

Tertullian (208-220 A.D.) discusses how our body is God’s temple. *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.7 p.79-80 and ch.15 p.90

Tertullian (198-240 A.D.) says we are the Temple of God. *On Modesty* ch.16 p.91

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “‘For you are the temple of the living God’ if ‘the Spirit of God lives in you.’” *Homilies on Leviticus* homily 6 ch.5.2 p.125

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) says that our bodes are temples of the Holy Spirit. *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 59.3 p.355

Cyprian of Carthage (c/246-256 A.D.) “For as our bodies are members of Christ, and we are each a temple of God,…'” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 51 ch.27 p.334

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says our body is a temple of God. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.66 p.251

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Acts of Paul and Thecla*** (before 207 A.D.) p.487 “blessed are they that have kept the flesh chaste, for they shall become a temple of God:”

**Pseudo-Clement *Two Epistles on Virginity*** (3rd century A.D.) Letter 1 ch12 p.60 “He who acts thus ‘is a temple of the Holy Spirit of God.’”

**Among heretics**

The Encratite heretic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) says that the bodies of believers are temples of God. *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.15 p.71

## X3. Christians escape corruption

***Martyrdom of Polycarp*** (c.169 A.D.) ch.14 p.42 “Thy martyrs, in the cup of thy Christ, to the resurrection of eternal life, both of soul and body, through the incorruption [imparted] by the Holy Ghost.”

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “in the language of the apostle, ‘this corruptible (and dissoluble) must put on incorruption,’ in order that those who were dead, having been made alive by the resurrection, and the parts that were separated and entirely dissolved having been again united, each one may, in accordance with justice, receive what he has done by the body, whether it be good or bad.” *On the Resurrection of the Dead* ch.18 p.159

***Epistle to Diognetus*** (c.130-200 A.D.) ch.6 p.27 “Christians dwell as sojourners in corruptible [bodies], looking for an incorruptible dwelling in the heavens.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “impossible that the bodies of men, after they have been dissolved, and like seeds resolved into earth, should in God’s appointed time rise again and put on incorruption.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.19 p.169

***Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum*** (177 A.D.) “after having endured divers contests and gained grand victories, should receive the great crown of incorruption.”

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “When thou shalt have put off the mortal, and put on incorruption” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.7 p.91

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “this mortal body shall put on immortality, and this corruptible shall put on incorruption;” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.10.3 p.331

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) says that God causes believers to posses incorruption. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.7.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “He that soweth to his flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.7 p.417

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) speaks of the “incorruptible crown” in *To the Martyrs* ch.3 p.694

**Hippolytus of Portus** (225-235/6 A.D.) “Wherefore I preach to this effect: Come, all ye kindreds of the nations, to the immortality of the baptism. I bring good tidings of life to you who tarry in the darkness of ignorance. Come into liberty from slavery, into a kingdom from tyranny, into incorruption from corruption.” *Discourse on the Holy Theophany* ch.8 p.237

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “We shall arise again to Him, who have been devoted to Him. And they shall be incorruptible,”*Instructions of Commodianus* ch.44 p.212

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “about the creation it is said that it is delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God.” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 1 ch.24 p.311-312

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Therefore until this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal receive immortality, and the Spirit lead us to God the Father, whatsoever are the disadvantages of the flesh are common to us with the human race.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 7 ch.8 p.478

**Theonas of Alexandria** (282-300 A.D.) “and they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible.” *Letter to the Chief Chamberlain* ch.2 p.159

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “But now life inherits that which is mortal, that death may be swallowed up of life unto victory, and that which is corruptible appear the possession of incorruption; being made free from death and sin, and become the slave and subject of immortality, that the body may become the possession of incorruption, and not incorruption of the body.” *Discourse on the Resurrection* part 2 ch.6 p.374

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says Christians escape corruption. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.61 p.248

**Among heretics**

**Bardaisan/Bardesan** (154-224/232 A.D.) “For lust is one thing, and love is another; and friendship is one thing, and good-fellowship another; and we ought without any difficulty to understand that the false counterfeit of affection which is called lust, even though there be in it the enjoyment of the moment, is nevertheless widely different from true affection, whose enjoyment is for ever, incorruptible and indestructible.” *Books of Laws of Diverse Countries* p.726

## X4. Believers are set free

(Set free from Egypt or slavery is not counted here.)

Psalm 118:5; 119:32; 146:7; Luke 4:18; John 8:32,36; Romans 6:18; 8:2; 2 Corinthians 3:17; Galatians 5:1; James 1:25

1 Peter 2:16 (implied)

Revelation 1:5 freed us from our sins by His blood

**p18** Revelation 1:4-7 (4 verses) (300 A.D.) Revelation 1:5

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “…set us free from the slavery of the devil as from the hand of Pharaoh, and sealed our souls with his own spirit, and the members of our body with his blood” *On Pascha* stanza 67 p.55. See also *On Pascha* part 103 p.65

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Therefore, when man has been liberated, ‘what is written shall come to pass, Death is swallowed up in victory. O death sting?’ This could not be said with justice, if that man, over whom death did first obtain dominion, were not set free. For his salvation is death’s destruction. When therefore the Lord vivifies man, that is, Adam, death is at the same time destroyed.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.23.7 p.457

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) says believers are set free. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.38

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) “Such was the influence of pleasure. Man, that had been free by reason of simplicity, was found fettered to sins. The Lord then wished to release him from his bonds, and clothing Himself with flesh-O divine mystery!-vanquished the serpent, and enslaved the tyrant death; and, most marvellous of all, man that had been deceived by pleasure, and bound fast by corruption, had his hands unloosed, and was set free. O mystic wonder! The Lord was laid low, and man rose up; and he that fell from Paradise receives as the reward of obedience something greater [than Paradise]-namely, heaven itself.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.11 p.203

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Our members, therefore, will no longer be subject to the law of death, because they cease to serve that of sin, from *both* which they have been set free.” *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* ch.46 p.579

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “For the death of Christ reduced to impotence those powers which war against the human race, and it set free from sin by a power beyond our words the life of each believer.” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 1 ch.37 p.316-317

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “When, however, they come to the water of salvation and to the sanctification of baptism, we ought to know and to trust that there the devil is beaten down, and the man, dedicated to God, is set free by the divine mercy.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 75 ch.15 p.402

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) “for they gave themselves up to be afflicted for the name of Christ, even though in their dungeon they enjoyed much consolation from their brethren; which, indeed, they shall return many fold, desiring to be set free from that most bitter captivity of the devil, especially remembering Him who said: ‘The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor; He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised; to preach the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of recompense unto our God.’” *Canonical Epistle* canon 2 p.269-270

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “The creation, then, after being restored to a better and more seemly state, remains, rejoicing and exulting over the children of God at the resurrection; for whose sake it now groans and travails, waiting itself also for our redemption from the corruption of the body, that, when we have risen and shaken off the mortality of the flesh, according to that which is written, ‘Shake off the dust, and arise, and sit down, O Jerusalem,’ and have been set free from sin, it also shall be freed from corruption and be subject no longer to vanity, but to righteousness.” *Discourse on the Resurrection* part 1 ch.8 p.366

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) mentions Christ dying to set us free form our sins. Like the Passover lamb, he shed His blood on the cross. *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.2 p.128-129

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) “He is the Mediator between God and man; He is the resurrection and the salvation of all; He is the Guide of the erring, the Shepherd of men who have been set free, the life of the dead, the charioteer of the cherubim, the standard-bearer of the angels, and the King of kings, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* letter 3 addition to the codex p.302

## X5. God renews us

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) quotes Psalm 51 as by David. *1 Clement* ch.18 vol.1 p.10

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.6 p.140 “Since, therefore, having renewed us by the remission of our sins, He [the Lord] hath made us after another pattern,”

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 1 vision third ch.12 p.17 “For the Lord had compassion on you, and renewed your spirit, and ye laid aside your infirmities.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) (implied) “We must meet, therefore, those who say, that even though it be the special handiwork of God, and beyond all else valued by Him, it would not immediately follow that it has the promise of the resurrection. Yet is it not absurd, that that which has been produced with such circumstance, and which is beyond all else valuable, should be so neglected by its Maker, as to pass to nonentity? Then the sculptor and painter, if they wish the works they have made to endure, that they may win glory by them, renew them when they begin to decay; but God would so neglect His own possession and work, that it becomes annihilated, and no longer exists. Should we not call this labour in vain? As if a man who has built a house should forthwith destroy it, or should neglect it, though he sees it falling into decay, and is able to repair it: we would blame him for labouring in vain; and should we not so blame God? But not such a one is the Incorruptible,-not senseless is the Intelligence of the universe. Let the unbelieving be silent, even though they themselves do not believe. But, in truth, He has even called the flesh to the resurrection, and promises to it everlasting life.” *On the Resurrection* ch.8 p.297

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) (partial, does not say us) “For the latter is He after whom and by whom the Father will renew both the heaven and the earth;” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.113 p.255

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “respect to Him. For the knowledge of God renews man. And when he says,” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.12.4 p.538

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) quotes Psalm 51. *Stromata* book 1 ch.1 p.301

**Hippolytus of Portus** (225-234/5 A.D.) “This is the Spirit that David sought when he said, “Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me.” *Discourse on the Holy Theophany* ch.9 p.237

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “in prayer we say, ‘Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me,’ so that we may behold Him with that ‘pure heart’ to which alone is granted the privilege of seeing Him.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 7 ch.45 p.629

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “by the sacrament of baptism, the filth of the old man is washed away by them, that they pardon the former mortal sins, that they make sons of God by heavenly regeneration, and renew to eternal life by the sanctification of the divine layer.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 74 ch.17 p.394-395

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “joints by God, the Creator and Perfect Artificer, who will then renew the flesh…” *Discourse on the Resurrection* ch.14 p.376

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “After these things God will renew the world, and transform the righteous into the forms of angels, that, being presented with the garment of immortality, they may serve God for ever; and this will be the kingdom of God, which shall have no end.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.72 p.255

## X6. We are children of light

Ephesians 5:8-13; Philippians 2:15-16; 1 Thessalonians 5:5-7; 1 John 2:9-10

**Ignatius of Antioch** (c.100-117 A.D.) “Wherefore, as children of light and truth, flee from division and wicked doctrines; but where the shepherd is, there do ye as sheep follow.” *Ignatius’ Letter to the Philadelphians* [Greek] ch.2 p.79-80

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 40.20 p.104 “Walk so long as ye have light, test the darkness overtake you; for he that walketh in the darkness knoweth not whither he goeth. So long as ye have light, believe the light, that ye may be the children of the light.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “And, ‘For ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord; walk honestly as children of the light, not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in anger and jealousy. And such were some of you; but ye have been washed, but ye have been sanctified in the name of our Lord.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.37.4 p.519

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) says we are children of light. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.10 p.198

**Tertullian** (c.213 A.D.) “For it was only right that Christians should shine in the world as ‘children of light,’ adoring and invoking Him who is the One God and Lord as ‘the light of the world.’” *Against Praxeas* ch.13 p.608

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “He is transfigured, His face also shines as the sun, that He may be manifested to the children of light, who have put off the works of darkness, and put on the” *Commentary on Matthew* book 12 ch.37 p.470

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “without the strongest rebuke, ‘The children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light.’” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 72 ch.19 p.384

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) “For ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord: walk as children of light (for the fruit of the light is in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth), proving what is acceptable unto the Lord.” *Canonical Epistle* canon 2 p.18

Methodius (270-311/312 A.D.) (partial) “And the stars, which the dragon touched with the end of his tail, and drew them down to earth, are the bodies of heresies; for we must say that the stars, which are dark, obscure, and falling, are the assemblies of the heterodox; since they, too, wish to be acquainted with the heavenly ones, and to have believed in Christ, and to have the seat of their soul in heaven, and to come near to the stars as children of light.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* Discourse 8 ch.10 p.338

**Among corrupt and spurious works**

**pseudo-Ignatius** (after 117 A.D.) “Wherefore, as children of light and truth, avoid the dividing of your unity, and the wicked doctrine of the heretics, from whom ‘a defiling influence has gone forth into all the earth.’” *Ignatius’ Letter to the Philadelphians* [Latin version] ch.2 p.79-80

**Among heretics**

The Gnostic **Marcus** according to Irenaeus (182-188 A.D.) “declared to the children of light, that regeneration which has been wrought out by Him who appeared as the *Episemon* in regard to that number.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.14.6 338

## X7. God strengthens us

(Not referring to marriage or strengthened by reading the word)

Ephesians 3:16

2 Thessalonians 2:17 Father and Son strengthen us

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Many women also, being strengthened by the grace of God, have performed numerous” *1 Clement* ch.55 p.20

**Ignatius** (-107/116 A.D.) “He who became a perfect man inwardly strengthening me.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Smyrnaeans* ch.4 p.88

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) second part commandment twelfth ch.6 p.30 “the Lord strengthening me”

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) (partial, refers to military strengthening, not spiritual) “the Romans began to increase in power, God strengthening them” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.27 p.105

**Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum** (177 A.D.) “yet they remained alive in prison, destitute indeed of care from man, but strengthened by the Lord, and invigorated both in body and soul, and they animated and consoled the rest.”

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) (partial, does not say by God) “Now is was necessary that man should in the first instance be created; and having been created, should receive growth; and having received growth, should be strengthened, should abound” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.38.3 p.522

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “do all things through Him who strengthens me.” (Philippians 4:11b-13) *Stromata* book 4 ch.16 p.427

**Hippolytus of Portus** (225-234/5 A.D.) “And in an agony He sweats blood, and is strengthened by an angel, who Himself strengthens those who believe on Him, and taught men to despise death by His work.” *Against the Heresy of One Noetus* ch.18 p.230

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “Our faith, therefore, is directed to God through His Son, who strengthens it in us;” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.8 p.642

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says that God strengthens us.. *Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.4.27 p.167

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “or this is He who strengthened their hearts and minds, who marked out the Gospel sacraments,” *Treatise Concerning the Trinity* ch.29 p.640

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Whence the Lord exhorts and strengthens us to contempt of death” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 11 ch.5 p.499

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “His mercy the Lord will every day more and more arm and adorn every one of us with greater abundance and readiness, and will confirm and strengthen us by the strength of His power” Letter 25 ch.5 p.304

**Dionysius of Alexandri**a (246-265 A.D.) “And of Eusebius I speak as one whom the Lord strengthened from the beginning, and qualified for the task of discharging energetically the services due to the confessors who are in prison, and of executing the perilous office of dressing out and burying the bodies of those perfected and blessed martyrs.” Part II Epistle 1 ch.3 p.97

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, that He would grant you, according to the riches of His glory, to be strengthened I with might by His Spirit in the inner man” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 8 ch.8 p.337

## X8. We are friends of Christ

John 15:15

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “But straightway a flame was kindled in my soul; and a love of the prophets, and of those men who are friends of Christ, possessed me; and whilst revolving his words in my mind, I found this philosophy alone to be safe and profitable.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.8 p.198

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) “familiar friend and fellow-heir of Christ” as well as “friend of Christ” in *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.11 p.204

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) (partial, God) “I regard as showing who is and who is not the friend of God” *Stromata* book 4 ch.6 p.414

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “And if then, unlike the multitudes whom He sends away, we wish to hear Jesus and go to the house and receive something better than the multitudes, let us become friends of Jesus, so that as His disciples we may come to Him when He goes into the house, and having come may inquire about the explanation of the parable, whether of the tares of the field, or of any other.” *Commentary on Matthew* book 10 ch.1 p.414

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) “when we are about to eat the three loaves which we ask from Jesus, who wishes to be our friend; for with hands that are defiled and unwashed and impure, we ought not to partake of the loaves.” *Commentary on Matthew* book 11 ch.8 p.437

Origen (233/234 A.D.) (Partial) says we are friends of God. *Origen’s Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.7 p.147

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “you are friends as well as witnesses of Christ” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 20 ch.3 p.298

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “as if carried away by some charm, and by an eager longing for all the virtues, and prefer the friendship of Christ to all that is in the world” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.5 p.435

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) (partial, God) “the perfection of a happy life is the knowledge of God of all the word and friendship with Him accomplished by piety,” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 15 ch.3 p.7

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 9 ch.3 p.183. (implied) says that we are friends of God’s Son.

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.26 p.84 (partial) says that we are friends of the Creator.

## X9. Pure in heart will see God

Matthew 5:8

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Matthew 21:13,16; Acts 13:34-35 (Psalms, Isaiah)

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) quotes Matthew 5:8. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.9.2 p.472 and book 4 ch.20.5 p.489.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) quotes Matthew 5:8. *Stromata* book 2 ch.11 p.359; book 4 ch.6 p.416

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) quotes Matthew 5:8 as by the Lord Jesus. *Origen Against Celsus* book 6 ch.4 p.575; book 7 ch.32 p.624

Origen (239-242 A.D.) quotes Matthew 5:8 that the pure in heart will see God. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 3 ch.7.1 p.60

**Cyprian of Carthage** (C.246-258 A.D.) quotes Matthew 5:8. Letters of Cyprian Letter 45 ch.2 p.323

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) quotes Matthew 5:8. *Treatise Concerning the Trinity* ch.28 p.639-640.

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (partial) an impure soul is hateful to God. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.62 p.248

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Acts of Paul and Thecla*** (before 207 A.D.) p.487 quotes Matthew 5:8.

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) boo 2 ch.22 p.103 and book 3 ch.27 p.121 quote Matthew 5:8.

## X10. None shall separate us from God’s love

Romans 8:35a

**p27** (&&&)

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “work, and such activity ‘shall not be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.’” *Stromata* book 4 ch.14 p.426

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “And therefore he afterward says: ‘Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation, or distress, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?” *Scorpiace* ch.13 p.646-647

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Moreover the apostle: ‘Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?’” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 25 ch.4 p.303

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “For observe that he [Paul] says, firstly: ‘Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 preface ch.3 p.396

## X11. The Lord disciplines or corrects us

Isaiah 26:16; Hebrews 12:5-11

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Hebrews 12:5

**p13** Hebrews 2:14-5:5; 10:8-22; 10:29-11:13; 11:28-12:17 (225-250 A.D.) Hebrews 12:5

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “For who the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth.’ (He quotes Proverbs 3:12 and Hebrews 12:6. *1 Clement* vol.1 ch.56 p.20. See also ibid ch.56 p.20

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) “since God is good, He corrects us, that we may be admonished by His Holy chastisement.” *1 Clement* ch.56 vol.1 p.20

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “and merciful, to those who love and fear Him; for He is a chastener” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.3 p.90

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “And to prove that example corrects, he says directly to the purpose: ‘A clever man, when he seeth the wicked punished, will himself be severely chastised, for the fear of the Lord is the source of wisdom.’” *Stromata* book 1 ch.27 p.339

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) “while He reproves, corrects, and teaches as a shepherd His flock.” *The Instructor* book 1 ch.9 p.230. The Lord chastises us in *The Instructor* book 1 ch.7 p.224-225.

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) says the Lord disciplines us. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.9 p.195

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Nay, He teaches us to give thanks and rejoice, over and above, at being thought worthy of divine chastisement. ‘Whom I love,’ saith He, ‘I chasten’” *Of Patience* ch.11 p.714

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “righteousness, but the Father doing good to those who have been disciplined by the righteousness of the Son. This is after the kingdom of the Son; then the” *Origen’s Commentary on John 1* ch.40 p.318

Origen (239-242 A.D.) says that the Lord disciplines us. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 2 ch.5.4 p.53

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “And from Solomon we have received the mandates of wisdom, warning us: 'My son, despise not thou the discipline of the Lord, nor faint when thou art rebuked of Him: for whom the Lord loveth He correcteth.'” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 2 ch.1 p.430

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “Let us urgently pray and groan with continual petitions. For know, beloved brethren, that I was not long ago reproached with this also in a vision, that we were sleepy in our prayers,…” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 7 ch.5 p.286

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “That the sinner is to be publicly reproved. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 third part ch.77 p.552

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says that God corrects us when needed with stripes and blows. *The Divine Institutes* book 5 ch.23 p.160

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) quotes all of Hebrews 12:6 about God chastening us. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 13 ch.3 p.12

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.56 p.113 says that the Lord disciplines us.

**The Secret Book of James** *The Gnostic Bible* p.347. (implied) “Accept correction from me [Jesus] and save yourselves. I am mediating for you with the father, and he will forgive you many things.”

## X13. Please the Lord

1 Corinthians 7:32; 2 Corinthians 5:9; 12:1; 14:18; Galatians 1:10; 6:8; Ephesians 5:10; Philippians 4:18; 1 Colossians 1:10; 3:2; Thessalonians 2:4; 4:1; Hebrews 11:5-6

(implied) Romans 8:8

Isaiah 56:4 “To the eunuchs who keep my Sabbaths, who choose what pleases me...”

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “The Lord, brethren, stands in need of nothing; and He desires nothing of any one, except that confession be made to Him. For, says the elect David, ‘I will confess unto the Lord ; and that will please Him more than a young bullock that hath horns and hoofs. Let the poor see it, and be glad.’” *1 Clement* ch.52 p.19 See also vol.9

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “…but count it impious not to speak the truth in all things, which also we know is pleasing to God,” *Second Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.4 p.189

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “and they do please God, ordering their conversation in all” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.4.2 p.417

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “For it is pleasing to God to lead decorum from the tongue to our actions. Filthy speech is the way to effrontery; and the end of both is filthy conduct.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.23 p.378

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “This abstinence, however, he [Daniel] used in order to please God by humiliation,” *Treatise on the Soul* ch.48 p.226

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “Now, when shall we be able to please God except whilst we are in this flesh?” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.10 p.451

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “For the Church of God, e.g., which is at Athens, is a meek and stable body, as being one which desires to please God, who is over all things; whereas the assembly of the Athenians is given to sedition, and is not at all to be compared to the Church of God in that city.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 3 ch.30 p.476

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says we are to please the Lord.. *Origen On Prayer* ch.19.3 p.69

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “And because we may not hate, and we please God more by rendering no return for wrong, we exhort you…” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 5 ch.25 p.465

Pontius (after 248 A.D.) “Such things ought they to do, he was accustomed to say, who desire to please God. And thus running through the examples of all good men, by always imitating those who were better than others he made himself also worthy of imitation.” *Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.3 p.268

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “to care for the things of the Lord and to please God, is much better than to” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 3 ch.13 p.322

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.33 p.86 says to please the Lord.

## X14. Glory in the Lord

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) which is written (for the Holy Spirit saith), “Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, neither let the rich man glory in his riches; but let him that glorieth glory in the Lord, in diligently seeking Him, and doing judgment and righteousness” *1 Clement* ch.13 vol.1 p.8

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “O ye countries of the nations, bring to the Lord glory and honour, bring to the Lord glory in His name.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.73 p.235

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “heavenly host, praising God, and saying, Glory in the highest to God, and on earth peace, to men of good will.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 10.3 p.425

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) But if human wisdom, as it remains to understand, is the glorying in knowledge, hear the law of Scripture: ‘Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, and let not the mighty man glory in his might; but let him that glorieth glory in the Lord.’ *The Instructor* book 1 ch.6 p.218-219

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “So by Jeremiah likewise did He say: “Let not the rich man glory in his riches but let him that glorieth even glory in the Lord.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.15 p.369

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “leaving us to gather how the joy preached to us through the birth of Jesus Christ is glory in the highest to God; they humbled themselves even to the ground, and then returned to their place of rest, to glorify God in the highest through Jesus Christ.” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 1 ch.13 p.304

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “He is a confessor; for this cause he ought the more to stand on the side of the Lord’s Gospel, since he has by the Gospel attained glory from the Lord.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 1 ch.21 p.428

## X15. Seek wisdom from God or His word

Proverbs 9:1-6; 10:1; 13:1; Ephesians 1:17; James 1:5

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Ephesians 1:17

***Epistle to Diognetus*** ch.12 p.30 “But he who combines knowledge with fear, and seeks after life, plants in hope, looking for fruit. Let your heart be your wisdom; and let your life be true knowledge inwardly received. Bearing this tree and displaying its fruit, thou shalt always gather in those things which are desired by God,”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “This is the generation of them that seek the Lord, that seek the face of the God of Jacob.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.36 p.

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “But all these things will every one understand who seeks the wisdom of God” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.38 p.110

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “For if thou call on wisdom and knowledge with a loud voice, and seek it as treasures of silver, and eagerly track it out, thou shalt understand godliness and find divine knowledge.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.4 p.305

**Hippolytus of Portus** (345-345/6 A.D.) “He asks of wisdom, who seeks to know what is the will of God. And he will show himself prudent who is sparing of his words on that which he has come to learn.” *Commentary on Proverbs* p.173

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) says to “learn from Holy Scriptures” *Against the Heresy of One Noetus* ch.9 p.227

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** book 8 ch.34 p.174 “For those things which are kept in secret, and are hidden within the senses of Wisdom, as in a royal treasury, are laid open to none but those who have learned of Him, with whom these things are sealed and laid up.”

## X16. Be peaceful, kind, or good

Matthew 5 (peacemakers)

Ephesians 4:31-32; Philippians 4:8; Hebrews 12:14; 1 Peter 3:11

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Hebrews 12:14

**p49** Ephesians 4:16-29; 4:31-5:13 (225-275 A.D.) Be kind and compassionate, forgiving one another. Ephesians 4:31-32

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Seek peace and pursue it. 1 Peter 3:11

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Let us be kind one to another after the pattern of the tender mercy and benignity of our Creator.” It goes on to say we should be kind-hearted and peaceful. ch.14 vol.1 p.8 (See also vol.9 p.233)

**Ignatius of Antioch**(-107/116 A.D.) says to “be meek in response to wrath, humble in opposition to boasting, … and for their cruelty, manifest your gentleness. While we take care not to imitate their conduct, let us be found their brethren in all true kindness; and let us seek to be followers of the Lord…” *Letter of Ignatius to the Ephesians* ch.10 p.55

***Didache*** vol.7 ch.2.7 p.378 (before 125 A.D.) “Thou shalt not hate any man”

***Epistle of Barnabas*** ch.18 p.148 (c.70-130 A.D.) says we are to meek and peaceable.

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) quotes Luke 6:36 about how we are to be kind and merciful as our Father is kind and merciful. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.15 p.167-168

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) Book 1 vision Third ch.12 p.17 “And He [the Lord] will shows you other things, if you continue at peace with each other with all your heart.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) quotes Galatians 6 about the fruit of the spirit. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.11.1 p.537

**Clement of Alexandria**: (193-217/220 A.D.) “Put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness, meekness, long-suffering. *Stromata* book 4 ch.5 p.419

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) says that Christ wishes us to be gentle, and in Him joyful. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.53 p.214. See also ibid ch.58 p.214.

**Origen** (239-242 A.D.) teaches were are to show mercy, kindness, humility, and patience. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 7 ch.3.1 p.101

**Cyprian of Carthage** (256 A.D.) mentions that priestly concord is maintained by them in gentleness and patience. *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 72 ch.26 p.386

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Clement to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.17 p.221 (implied) mentions that the president (Clement) should “be careful of the cares of all.”

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 2 ch.27 p.105 says blessed are the peacemakers. It also says that the way of God is the way of Peace in book 2 ch.25 p.104.

**Bardaisan/Bardesan** (154-224/232 A.D.) says that we are to be kind. *The Book of Laws of Divers Countries* p.726

## X17. Be strong / strengthened

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Many women also, being strengthened by the grace of God, have performed numerous” *1 Clement* ch.55 p.20. In both vol.1 and vol.9

**Ignatius** (-107/116 A.D.) “He who became a perfect man inwardly strengthening me.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Smyrnaeans* ch.4 p.88

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 2 commandment fifth p.23-24 “Be strong, then, in these commandments, and put on power,”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “hands and enfeebled knees. Be comforted, ye faint in soul: be strong, fear not.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.69 p.233

**Evarestus** (c.169 A.D.) “Now, as Polycarp was entering into the stadium, there came to him a voice from heaven, saying, ‘Be strong, and show thyself a man, O Polycarp!’ No one saw who it was that spoke to him; but those of our brethren who were present heard the voice.” *Martyrdom of Polycarp* ch.9 p.41

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Now is was necessary that man should in the first instance be created; and having been created, should receive growth; and having received growth, should be strengthened, should abound” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.38.3 p.522

Irenaeus (182-188 A.D.) “of this book to know Thee, that Thou art God alone, to be strengthened in Thee,” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.6.4 p.419

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201/205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) preface p.699 “If ancient illustrations of faith which both testify to God’s grace and tend to man’s edification are collected in writing, so that by the perusal of them, as if by the reproduction of the facts, as well God may be honoured, as man may be strengthened; why should not new instances be also collected, that shall be suitable for both purposes”

*Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas* (c.201/205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) ch.3.1 p.702 Perpetua has a vision where Pomponius the deacon comes to the prison to encourage her.

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “For fortitude is strengthened by infirmities, and calamity is very often the discipline of virtue; in addition, strength both of mind and of body grows torpid without the exercise of labour. Therefore all your mighty men whom you announce as an example have flourished illustriously by their afflictions. And thus God is neither unable to aid us, nor does He despise us, since He is both the ruler of all men and the lover of His own people. But in adversity He [God] looks into and searches out each one; He weighs the disposition of every individual in dangers, even to death at last; He investigates the will of man, certain that to Him nothing can perish. Therefore, as gold by the fires, so are we declared by critical moments.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.38 p.197

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “Ye do not worship the gods whom they themselves falsely announce; ye worship the priests themselves, fearing them vainly. But if thou art strong in heart, flee at once from the shrines of death.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.19 p.206

**Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum** (177 A.D.) p.780 “yet they remained alive in prison, destitute indeed of care from man, but strengthened by the Lord, and invigorated both in body and soul, and they animated and consoled the rest.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “‘Thou, therefore, be strong,” says Paul, “in the grace that is in Christ Jesus. And the things which thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also.’” *Stromata* book 1 ch.1 p.299

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “do all things through Him who strengthens me.” (Philippians 4:11b-13) *Stromata* book 4 ch.16 p.427

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201/205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) preface p.699 “If ancient illustrations of faith which both testify to God’s grace and tend to man’s edification are collected in writing, so that by the perusal of them, as if by the reproduction of the facts, as well God may be honoured, as man may be strengthened; why should not new instances be also collected, that shall be suitable for both purposes”

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “merit of a plenary grace! Then must the devil be understood to be stronger for” *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* ch.34 p.569

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “For, says Isaiah, ‘they shall see the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God.’ What glory, and what excellency? ‘Be strong, ye weak hands, and ye feeble knees:’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.10 p.357

**Asterius Urbanus** (c.232 A.D.) (implied) “I did in such manner that the church rejoiced and was strengthed in the truth, while the adversaries were forthwith routed, and the opponents put to grief.” *The Exordium* p.335

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “And again, ‘Thou therefore, my son, be strong in the grace that is in Christ” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.1 p.204

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “Of those, then, who seek to enter in, those who are not able to enter will not be able to do so, because the gates of Hades prevail against them; but in the case of those against whom the gates of Hades will not prevail, those seeking to enter in will be strong, being able to do all things, in Christ Jesus, who strengtheneth them.” *Commentary on Matthew* book 12 ch.12 p.457

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “are cowardly in heart; be strong; fear not. Lo, our God shall return judgment;” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.12 p.621

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Let patience be strong and stedfast in the heart; and neither is the sanctified” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 9 ch.14 p.488

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “And of Eusebius I speak as one whom the Lord strengthened from the beginning, and qualified for the task of discharging energetically the services due to the confessors who are in prison, and of executing the perilous office of dressing out and burying the bodies of those perfected and blessed martyrs.” Epistle 1 *To Domitus and Didumus* ch.3 p.97

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “that He would grant you, according to the riches of His glory, to be strengthened with might by His Spirit in the inner man;” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 8 ch.8 p.337

**Theophilus** (events c.315 A.D.) (implied) “And, when many were strengthened by his words…” *Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon* (events c.315 A.D.) p.690

Anatolius of Cappadocia (270-280 A.D.) (partial, encouragement but not inner strengthening) “For we believe that nothing is impossible to your power of prayer, and to your faith. Strengthened, therefore, by this confidence, we shall set bashfulness aside, and shall enter this most deep and unforeseen sea of the obscurest calculation, in which swelling questions and problems surge around us on all sides.” *Paschal Canon of Anatolius of Alexandria* ch.1 p.146

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “saying: “Be strong, ye hands that are relaxed; and ye weak knees, be comforted.” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.15 p.115

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) “brethren who are with you. I pray that ye may be strong in the Lord, beloved,” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Letter 1 ch.14 p.296

## X18. God’s people mourn

2 Corinthians 7:9,11

**Clement of Rome** (96/98A.D.) “Ye mourned over the transgressions of your neighbours: their deficiencies you” *1 Clement* ch.2 vol.1 p.5. See also vol.9.

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.7 p.141 “people fast and mourn in sackcloth and ashes.”

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) “pierced this Christ shall mourn as I have shown has been declared by the” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.118 p.258

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “shall also come again, and then your twelve tribes shall mourn. For if you had” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.126 p.263

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “those men [Marcosian Gnostics] are really worthy of being mourned over, who promulgate such a kind of religion,” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.16.3 p.341

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “For He called all men that mourn; and granting forgiveness to those who had been” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.9.3 p.423

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) (partial) “And, again, He likens the kingdom of heaven to children sitting in the market-places and saying, ‘We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned, and ye have not lamented;’” *The Instructor* book 1 ch.5 p.212

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “And yet the innocent can find no pleasure in another’s sufferings: he rather mourns that a brother has sinned so heinously as to need a punishment so dreadful.” *The Shows* ch.19 p.87

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “To give unto them that mourn in Sion, beauty (or glory) for ashes, and the oil” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.14 p.367

**Hippolytus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “Daniel was mourning three weeks of days. I ate no pleasant bread, neither came” Visions of Daniel ch.23 p.182

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “Art thou not ashamed without restraint to lament thy sons, like the Gentiles? Thou tearest thy face, thou beatest thy breast, thou takest off thy garments; and dost thou not fear the Lord, whose kingdom thou desirest to behold? Mourn as it is right, but do not do wrong on their behalf.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.73 p.217

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.9 p.659 “with all your heart, in fasting, and weeping, and mourning; and rend your hearts, and not your garments;”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Considering His love and mercy, we ought not to be so bitter, nor cruel, nor inhuman in cherishing the brethren, but to mourn with those that mourn, and to weep with them that weep, and to raise them up as much as we can by the help and comfort of our love; neither being too ungentle and pertinacious in repelling their repentance; nor, again, being too lax and easy in rashly yielding communion.” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 51 ch.19 p.332

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) “have no permission to approach God? but only to weep and mourn, as I call to” *Oration and Panegyric to Origen* argument 16 p.37

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) Ecclesiastes follows; namely, ‘It is better to go to the house of mourning than to go to the house of feasting.’ *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* ch.2.25 p.114

Dionysius of Alexandria (246-265 A.D.) “And now certainly all things are turned to mourning, and all men are in grief,” Epistle 12 ch.1 p.108

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) “For to sympathize with the sorrow and affliction of those who sorrow and mourn for those who in the contest have been overcome by the great strength of the evil-contriving devil, whether it be for parents, or brethren, or children, hurts no one.” *Canonical Epistle* canon 11 p.276

## X19. Fear/reverence of the Lord/God

The fear of the Lord is Wisdom. Job 28:28; Psalm 111:10a; Proverbs 1:7; 9:10

Leviticus 19:14,32; 25:!7,36,43; Deuteronomy 4:10; 5:29; 6:2,13,24; 8:6; 10:12,20; 13:4; 4:23; 17:19; 28:58; 31:12, 31:13; Joshua 4:24; 24:14; 1 Samuel 12:14; 12:242 Samuel 23:3; 1 Kings 18:12; 2 Kings 4:1; 17:28; 17:32-41; 1 Chronicles 16:25; 16:30; 2 Chronicles 19:7,9; Nehemiah 1:11; 5:9; 5:15; 7:2; Psalm 2:11; 5:7; 15:4; 19:9; 22:23; 22:25; 25:14; 33:8; 33;18; 34:7; 34:9; 34:11; 40:3; 52:6; 66:16; 67:7; 89:7; 96:4; 96:9; 102:15; 103:11; 103:13; 103:17; 111:5; 112:1; 115:11; 115:13; 118:4; 128:1; 128:4; 130:4; 135:20; 145:19; Proverbs 1:29; 2:5; 3:7; 8:13; 22:4; 23:17; 24:21; Ecclesiastes 3:14; 5:7; 8:12; 12:13; Isaiah 29:23; 33:6; 50:10a; Jeremiah 32:39; 32:40; Hosea 3:5; Jonah 1:9; Haggai 1:12; Malachi 1:6; 3:5; 4:2; Matthew 10:28; Luke 1:50; 12:5; Acts 10:35; 13:16; 13:26; 2 Corinthians 7:1; 7:117:15; Ephesians 5:21; 6:5; 1 Peter 2:17; Revelation 11:18; 14:7; 15:4

(Implied) Genesis 22:12; Deuteronomy 25:18; Job 1:1; 1:8; 2:3; Psalm 25:12; 36:1 55:19; 76:8; 85:9; 86:11; 119:74; 119:120; 119:63; 119:74; 147:11; Proverbs 10:27; 14:2; 14:16; 28:14; 31:30; 14:26; 14:27; 15:16; 15:33; 16:6; 19:23; Ecclesiastes 7:18; Isaiah 41:5; 50:10; 57:11; Jeremiah 5:22; Jonah 1:16; Malachi 2:5; 3:16; Luke 18:4; 23:40; Acts 9:31; 10:22; 19:17; Romans 3:18; Philippians 2:12

(Implied) Exodus 20:20; 1 Samuel 11:7 2 Chronicles 14:14; 17:10; 20:29; Job 6:14; Psalm 114:7; Proverbs 13:13; Isaiah 2:10; 2:19; 2:21

In the apocrypha in Sirach 3:17 “Those who fear the Lord prepare their hearts”

**p115** (=Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 4499) 119 verses of Revelation. 2:1-3,13-15,27-29; 3:10-12; 5:8-9; 6:5-6; 8:3-8,11-13; 9:1-5,7-16,18-21; 10:1-4,8-11; 11:1-5,8-15,18-19; 12:1-5,8-10,12-17; 13:1-3,6-16,18; 14:1-3,5-7,10-11,14-15,18-20; 15:1,4-7 (middle to late 3rd century) Revelation 14:7

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “the Holy Ghost thus addresses us: Come, ye children, hearken unto Me; I will teach you the fear of the Lord” *1 Clement* ch.22 vol.1 p.11 (See also vol.9 p.235)

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) “For this reason righteousness and peace are now far departed from you, inasmuch as every one abandons the fear of God, and is become blind in His faith, neither walks in the ordinances of His appointment, nor acts a part becoming a Christian, but walks after his own wicked lusts, resuming the practice of an unrighteous and ungodly envy, by which death itself entered into the world.” *1 Clement* ch.3 p.6

***Didache*** vol.7 ch.3.9-10 p.378 (before 125 A.D.) Teach your son and daughter the fear of God.

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.19 p.148 says “Thou shalt not slay the child by procuring abortion; nor, again, shalt thou destroy it after it is born. Thou shalt not withdraw thy hand from thy son, or from thy daughter, but from their infancy thou shalt teach them the fear of the Lord.”

**Polycarp’s** ***Letter to the Philippians*** (100-155 A.D.) ch.4 p.34 say wives are to train children up in the knowledge and fear of God.

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “But before all let faith and the fear of God have rule in thy heart, and then shalt thou understand these things. When thou shalt have put off the mortal, and put on incorruption, then shall thou see God worthily.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* part 1 ch.7 p.91

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) says that faith and the fear of God should rule in your heart, then you will understand. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.7 p.91

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “For ‘the fear of the LORD,’ it is said, ‘is the beginning of wisdom.’” *Stromata* book 7 ch.12 p.543

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “And to prove that example corrects, he says directly to the purpose: ‘A clever man, when he seeth the wicked punished, will himself be severely chastised, for the fear of the Lord is the source of wisdom.’” *Stromata* book 1 ch.27 p.339

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “There is no fear of God before their eyes.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.27 p.340

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “He both knows and admires. Godliness adds length of life; and the fear of the Lord adds days.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.12 p.359-360

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “‘To another, faith by the same Spirit’; this will be ‘the spirit of religion and the fear of the Lord.’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.8 p.446

**Novatian** (250/254-257 A.D.) “while the Holy Spirit dwelt affluently in Christ. For truly Isaiah, prophesying this, said: ‘And the Spirit of wisdom and understanding shall rest upon Him, the Spirit of counsel and might, the Spirit of knowledge and piety; and the Spirit of the fear of the Lord shall fill Him.’” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.29 p.641

**Theonas of Alexandria** (282-300 A.D.) “Discharge the official duties to which you are severally appointed with the utmost fear of God and affect to your prince, and perfect carefullness.” *Epistle of Theonas to Lucianus, the Chief Chamberlain* ch.11 p.159.

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*** (70-135 A.D.) Gad “speaketh not against any man, because the fear of the Most High”

***Acts of Paul and Thecla*** (before 207 A.D.) p.487 “blessed are they that have the fear of God,”

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Protoevangelium of James*** (145-248 A.D.) ch.24 p.367 “fear our Lord Jesus Christ”

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.71 p..96 speaks positively of fearing God. See also ibid book 5 ch.13 p.143.

## X20. We adore/glory in the cross

Galatians 6:14

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “And again: “God forbid that I should glory in anything save in the cross of Christ, by whom the world is crucified to me, and I unto the world.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.3.5 p.320

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “If any of you think we render superstitious adoration of the cross, in that adoration he is a sharer with us…Every stake fixed in an upright position is a portion of the cross; we render our adoration, if you will have it so, to a god entire and complete.” *Apology* ch.16 p.31

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “who both believes and knows these things, should glory in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ,” *Commentary on Matthew* book 12 ch.18 p.461. See also book 12 ch.27 p.465

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “6. Paul proclaims in a loud and lofty voice, “But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 2 ch.6 p.431

## X21. God’s holy people

1 Peter 2:9

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “yet if ye turn to Me with your whole heart, and say, Father! I will listen to you, as to a holy people.’ And in another place He speaks thus: ‘Wash you, and become clean; put” *1 Clement* ch.8 p.7. See also vol.9.

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.14 p.146 “a holy people for Himself. The prophet therefore declares, ‘I, the Lord Thy God,”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “But we are not only a people, but also a holy people, as we have shown” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.119 p.258-259

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “and put strong men down, the holy people likewise; and his yoke shall be directed as a wreath [round their neck]; deceit shall be in his hand,” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.25.4 p.554

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) “And that this race was to become an holy people was declared in the Twelve Prophets by Hosea, thus: *I* will call that which was not (my) people, my people; and her that was not beloved, beloved. It shall come to pass that in the place where it was called not my people, there shall they be called sons of the Living God.” *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.93

Minucius Felix (210 A.D.) (partial) speaks of a holy man. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.1 p.173

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “As, then, the people was precious to the Lord, so also is the entire holy people; he also who is converted from the Gentiles, who was prophesied under the” *Stromata* book 6 ch.6 p.491

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) speaks of us as God’s holy people. *The Instructor* book 1 ch.6 p.217

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “Let the hidden, the final, the holy people be longed for; and, indeed, let it be unknown by us where it abides, acting by nine of the tribes and a half ...;” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.42 p.211

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) mentions that “the day of the Antichrist will not come until there is a falling away first. The Antichrist will destroy the holy people.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 6 ch.47 p.595

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “it would to pass that He would gather to Himself a holy people from those who were guilty.” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.26 p.128

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Ignatius of Antioch** (c.100-117 A.D.) “not received the prophecy which speaks thus concerning us: ‘The people shall be called by a new name, which the Lord shall name them, and shall be a holy people.’” *Epistle to the Magnesians* [Latin version] ch.10 p.63

## X22. Speaking of shame

Daniel 12:2

**2 Corinthians 4:2** “Rather, we have renounced secret and shameful ways; we do not use deception, nor do we distort the word of God. On the contrary, by setting forth the truth plainly we commend ourselves in every man’s conscience in the sight of God.”

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “and especially to that shameful and detestable sedition, utterly abhorrent to the elect of God, which a few rash and self-confident persons have kindled to such a pitch of frenzy, that your venerable and illustrious name, worthy to be universally loved, has suffered grievous injury.” *1 Clement* ch.1 p.5

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) “But as for me, I [Ignatius] am ashamed to be counted one of them [the martyrs]; for indeed I am not worthy, as being the very last of them, and one born out of due time.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Romans* ch.9 p.77

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) ch.14 p.521 “But if we say that the flesh is the Church and the spirit Christ, then he that hath shamefully used the flesh hath shamefully used the Church.”

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 simultude 9 ch.14 p.49 “Those who bear His name with their whole heart. He Himself, accordingly, became a foundation to them, and supports them with joy, because they are not ashamed to bear His name.’”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “Say, our brethren, to them that hate you and detest you, that the name of the Lord has been glorified. He has appeared to your joy, and they shall be ashamed.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.85 p.242

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) ch.30.2-5 p.89 “When a man invites thee to a feast, do not go and sit at the head of the room; lest there 3 be there a man more honourable than thou, and he that invited you come and say unto thee, Give the place to this man: and thou be ashamed when thou risest and 4 takest another place. But when thou art invited, go and sit last; so that when he that invited thee cometh, he may say unto thee, My friend, go up higher: and 5 thou shalt have praise before all that were invited with thee. For every one that exalteth himself shall be abased; and every one that abaseth himself shall be exalted.”

**Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum (Lyons)** (177 A.D.) “for they felt no shame that they had been overcome, for they were not possessed of human reason; but their defeat only the more inflamed their range, and governor and people, like a wild beast, showed a like unjust hatred of us, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, ‘He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still.’” [Revelation 22:11] vol.8 p.783

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “For those who are ashamed to be saved must of necessity perish. I therefore counsel them to open their eyes and see: for, 1o! light is given abundantly to us all to see thereby; and if, when light has arisen upon us, any one close his eyes so as not to see, into the ditch he must go.” *Discourse in the Presence of Antoninus Caesar* p.751

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “For not only did they refute one another, but some, too, even stultified their own teachings; so that their reputation has issued in shame and folly, for they are condemned by men of understanding.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.3 p.111

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (c.160-202 A.D.) says that Adam and Eve were naked and were not ashamed. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.14.

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) “restraining abstinence from all shameful things and all unrighteous deeds, and purity of the souls is the keeping faith towards God entire,” *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.2.

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) “and you shall put to shame all who inculcate falsehood”. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.1.

**Minucius Felix** (c.210 A.D.) “For although nothing which comes into existence as an inviolable gift of God is corrupted by any agency, yet we abstain, lest any should think either that we are submitting to demons, to whom libation has been made, or that we are ashamed of our religion.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.38 p.197

**Caius** (190-217 A.D.) ch.1 p.601 “And how are they not ashamed to utter these calumnies against Victor, knowing well that Victor excommunicated Theodotus the tanner, the leader and father of this God-denying apostasy, who first affirmed that Christ was a mere man?”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “For those who engage in such practices in public will scarcely behave with modesty to any at home. Their want of shame in public attests their unbridled licentiousness in private.” *The Instructor* book 2 ch.3 p.276

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) speaks of shame. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.3 p.184

**Tertullian** (c.203 A.D.) “whose shame and fear it testifies by its own blushes and paleness. The soul, therefore, is (proved to be) corporeal from this inter-communion of susceptibility.” *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.5 p.185

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “He gets his sceptre where he first got his humanity; his power where he got the breath of life. Thither we lift our eyes, with hands outstretched, because free from sin; with head uncovered, for we have nothing whereof to be ashamed; finally, without a monitor, because it is from the heart we supplicate. Without ceasing, for all our emperors we offer prayer.” *Apology* ch.30 p.42

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “Plainly, you ought yourself to blush with shame for having given him a fictitious existence.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.21 p.382

**Hippolytus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “The ungodly said, … Let us condemn him [Christ] with a shameful death, for by his own saying he shall be respected.’” *Expository Treatise Against the Jews* ch.9 p.220

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “Art thou not ashamed, O fool, who adore such pictures? Seek one God who will allow you to live after death.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.14 p.205

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “All this had to be said; it is part of our demonstration that our good actions, and also the sins of those who stumble, are embodied in the Gospel, either to everlasting life or to reproach and everlasting shame.” *Commentary on John* book 1 ch.12 p.304

Origen (239-242 A.D.) speaks of “dishonor and eternal shame”. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 10 ch.5.3 p.136

Origen (233/234 A.D.) speaks of shame. *Origen On Prayer* ch.29.12 p.119

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.2 p.658 (partial, not idolators) “to such a folly of madness as to have no reverence either for God or man? Among them, shamelessly, and without any law of ordination, the episcopate is sought after; but among us in its own Sees, and in those of the throne delivered to it by God, it is renounced.”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 AD.) “their garments, lest they walk naked, and they see their shame.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 third book ch.16 p.538

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) “And have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them; for it is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret.” Canonical Epistle canon 2 p.18

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “Love is altogether and for ever on the alert, and casts about to do some good even to one who is unwilling to receive it. And many a time the man who shrinks from it under a feeling of shame, and who declines to accept services of kindness on the ground of unwillingness to become troublesome to others,” Letter 14 ch.110

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) calls Christ the “Word of God” “The Word of god experiences some passion if the Godhead feels shame. … Because you stated that it is shame to say that the Word assumed flesh. But the Godhead does not feel shame; it does not grasp at *glory*; nor does it experience desire. These thing are passions, but the godhead is not susceptible to passions.” (Adamantius is speaking) *Dialogue on the True Faith* Fourth Part d14 p.144-145.

Adamantius (c.300 A.D.) quotes part of 1 Corinthians 1:24 as “The Apostle says”; John 1:3 as by “John the Evangelist”; Jeremiah 1:15 (Septuagint) as by Jeremiah, Psalm 118:73 (Septuagint) as by David, Genesis 2:7 as Genesis , and then says, “If then the Scriptures show that the Word of God moulded Man into a living creature, how is it that God accepts what is considered shameful (For you people claim that the Godhead can feel a sense of shame!), while you on your side disparage something higher and even more glorious?” *Dialogue on the True Faith* fourth part d 15 p.147. See also ibid first part ch.610c p.80, and ibid fifth part ch.20 b p.175 and ibid fourth part ch.424a p.129 on Genesis 1:2.

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) speaks of shame and Jupiter trying to commit incest with his mother. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 5 ch.910 p.493; book 5 ch.23 p.498.

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “Wherefore let it shame the Jews that they do not perceive the deep things of the Scriptures, thinking that nothing else than outward things are contained in the law and the prophets;” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 9 ch.1 p.345

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) “And these [the lapsed] indeed will reap more shame and ignominy than all others, even as he who laid the foundation and was not able to finish it;” *Canonical Epistle* canon 10 p.274

Methodius (270-311/312 A.D.) “and they are not ashamed to run counter to the Spirit, but, as though born for this purpose, they kindle up the smouldering and lurking passion, fanning and provoking it; and therefore he [Paul the apostle], cutting off very sharply these dishonest follies and invented excuses, and having arrived at the subject of instructing them how men should behave to their wives,” *Banquet of The Ten Virgins* discourse 3 ch.10 p.320

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) “4. exactly as the first of men created, the one who was named Adam in Hebrew, is described in the Holy Scriptures as having at the beginning had his mind to God-ward in a freedom unembarrassed by shame, and as associating with the holy ones in that contemplation of things perceived by the mind which he enjoyed in the place where he was—the place which the holy Moses called in figure a Garden.” *Athanasius Against the Heathen* part 1 ch.2.4 p.5

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “that is, not to veil any shameful deed within the secrets of conscience.” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.17 p.119

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “They shall be ashamed and confounded, all of them who oppose themselves to Thee, and shall go to confusion.’” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.44 p.239

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) “The dead received their life, the souls were sent back again into the world, and that because the Lord had conquered hell, had trodden down death, had covered the enemy with shame; therefore was it that the souls came forth from Hades, and the dead appeared upon the earth.” Letter 4 ch.6 p.301

**Sentences of Sextus** no.174 “The sins of those who are ignorant are the shame of those who have taught them.”

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “O seed of the shameless Canaan, and not of Judah the devout!” *Oration on Psalms* ch.3 p.395

**Among heretics**

The Encratite heretic Tatian (c.172 A.D.) “Is it not shameful that fratricide is honoured by you who look on the statues of Polynices and Eteocles, and that you have not rather buried them with their maker Pythagoras?” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.34 p.79

The Sethian Gnostic ***Apocryphon of John*** (c.150-185) ch.18 p.115 mentions shame.

***The Nag Hammadi Apocalypse of Peter*** (3rd century A.D.) “The root of their error he shall pluck out, and he shall put it to shame so that it shall be manifest in all the impudence which it has assumed to itself.”

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 3 ch.30 p..122 speaks of the shame of Simon [magus].

## X23. Put unrighteousness/adversary to shame

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “and sick from being healthy, is depicted [by Job] as a good example, putting the Tempter to shame, blessing his Creator” *Stromata* book 4 ch.5 p.412

**Tertullian** (ca.208 A.D.) “Thus even injustice is employed, that righteousness may be approved in putting unrighteousness to shame. *On Fleeing Persecution* ch.2 p.117

Tertullian (partial) “It must therefore be accounted an eternal attribute, inbred in God, and everlasting, and on this account worthy of the Divine Being, putting to shame for ever the benevolence of Marcion’s god, subsequent as he is to (I will not say) all beginnings and times, but to the very malignity of the Creator, if indeed malignity could possibly have been found in goodness.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 2 ch.3 p.299

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) Hippolytus (222-235/236 A.D.) “beasts,-that in this, too, the honour-hating demon might be put to shame. For,”

**Phileas of Thmuis** (martyred 306/307 A.D.) “went on some died under their tortures putting the adversary to shame” *Letter to the People of Thmuis* ch.3 p.163

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) “The dead received their life, the souls were sent back again into the world, and that because the Lord had conquered hell, had trodden down death, had covered the enemy with shame; therefore was it that the souls came forth from Hades, and the dead appeared upon the earth.” Letter 4 ch.6 p.301

## X24. Do not be ashamed of the cross/Christ

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) says not to be ashamed of Christ. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.10 p.199

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “we are neither ashamed of Christ-for we rejoice to be counted His disciples” *Apology* ch.21 p.34

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) evil. “For whosoever,” says He, “shall be ashamed of me, of him will I also be ashamed.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.21 p.382

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “if any one is ashamed of the cross of Christ, he is ashamed of the dispensation on account of which these powers were triumphed over; and it is fitting that he, who both believes and knows these things, should glory in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ,” *Commentary on Matthew* book 12 ch.18 p.461

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) (implied) “His precepts, ‘Whosoever shall be ashamed of me, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 3 ch.28 p.445

## X25. Flesh and spirit war against each other

Romans 7:23 (implied)

Romans 8:6-8 (implied)

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) “For it is well that they should be cut off from the lusts that are in the world, since ‘every lust warreth against the spirit;’ and ‘neither fornicators, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, shall inherit the kingdom of God,’ nor those who do things inconsistent and unbecoming.” *Letter to the Philippians* ch.5 p.40

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “‘But I say, Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh,’ counsels the apostolic command; ‘for the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh. These, then, are contrary’” *Stromata* book 4 ch.8 p.420

**Tertullian** (213 A.D.) “‘The flesh,’ saith (the apostle), ‘lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh.’ But what will the flesh ‘lust’ after, except what is more *of* the flesh?” *On Monogamy* ch.1 p.59

**Origen** (225-254 A.D.) “For it is impossible for man, who is a compound being, in which ‘the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh,’ to keep the feast with his whole nature; for either he keeps the feast with his spirit and afflicts the body, which through the lust of the flesh is unfit to keep it along with the spirit, or else he keeps it with the body, and the spirit is unable to share in it.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.23 p.648

Origen (235 A.D.) “For since on earth we are encompassed by the flesh that wars against the spirit, and whose thought is inmity to God and cannot in any way be brought into subjection to the law of God, we are in temptation.” *Origen On Prayer* ch.29.1 p.113

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “For this is He who ‘desireth against the flesh,’ because ‘the flesh resisteth against the Spirit.’” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.29 p.641

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “What are those carnal things which beget death, and what are the spiritual things which lead to life. Paul to the Galatians: ‘The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh: for these are contrary the one to the other, that ye cannot do even those things which ye wish.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.64 p.551

**Among heretics**

The **Gnostic Book of Baruch** according to Hippolytus (222-235/236 A.D.) “obscured the precepts of Baruch, and caused his own peculiar injunctions to be hearkened unto. For this reason the soul is arrayed against the spirit, and the spirit against the soul.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 5 ch.21 p.72

## X26. Seek the Lord / God

1 Chronicles 28:9; Deuteronomy 4:29

**Clement of Rome** (96/98A.D.) “Let us therefore, brethren, be of humble mind, laying aside all haughtiness, and pride, and foolishness, and angry feelings; and let us act according to that which is written (for the Holy Spirit saith, 'Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, neither let the rich man glory in his riches; but let him that glorieth glory in the Lord, in diligently seeking Him, and doing judgment and righteousness'), being especially mindful of the words of the Lord Jesus which He spake, teaching us meekness and long-suffering.” *1 Clement* ch.13 (vol.1) p.8 (vol.9 is the same)

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? or who shall stand in His holy place? He that is clean of hands and pure of heart: who has not received his soul in vain, and has not sworn guilefully to his neighbour: he shall receive blessing from the Lord, and mercy from God his Saviour. This is the generation of them that seek the Lord, that seek the face of the God of Jacob.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.36 p.212

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “He shall receive blessing from the Lord, and mercy from God his Saviour. This is the generation of them that seek the Lord, that seek the face of the God of Jacob.'” *Stromata* book 7 ch.10 p.539

Clement of Alexandria (195 A.D.) “Seek God, and your soul shall live. He who seeks God is busying himself about his own salvation. Hast thou found God?-then thou hast life. Let us then seek, in order that we may live.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.10 p.201

**Origen** (225-254 A.D.) “We shall be satisfied with quoting on the present occasion some verses from the Psalms 34, to the following effect: 'They that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 6 ch.54 p.598

***Treatise on Rebaptism*** ch.12 p.674 “Therefore also the residue of men, that is, some of the Jews and all the Gentiles upon whom the name of the Lord is called, may and of necessity must seek the Lord, because that very invocation of the name affords them the opportunity, or even imposes on them the necessity, of seeking the Lord.”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Likewise in the thirty-third Psalm: 'O taste and see how sweet is the Lord. Blessed is the man that hopeth in Him. Fear the Lord God, all ye His saints: for there is no want to them that fear Him. Rich men have wanted and have hungered; but they who seek the Lord shall never want any good thing.'” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 1 ch.22 p.514

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “And the Lord moreover promises and says, 'Take no thought, saying, 'What shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewithal shall we be clothed? For after all these things do the nations seek. And your Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and alI these things shall be added unto you.'” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 4 ch.21 p.453

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “And therefore Christ the divine, … -bade us abandon and disregard all these things of which you speak, and not waste our thoughts upon things which have been removed far from our knowledge, but, as much as possible, seek the Lord of the universe with the whole mind and spirit;” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.60 p.457

**Lactantius** (c.303-c.325 A.D.) “Whoever, therefore, is anxious to observe the obligations to which man is liable, and to maintain a regard for his nature, let him raise himself from the ground, and, with mind lifted up, let him direct his eyes to heaven: let him not seek God under his feet, nor dig up from his footprints an object of veneration, for whatever lies beneath man must necessarily be inferior to man; but let him seek it aloft, let him seek it in the highest place: for nothing can be greater than man, except that which is above man. But God is greater than man: therefore He is above, and not below; nor is He to be sought in the lowest, but rather in the highest region. Wherefore it is undoubted that there is no religion wherever there is an image.” *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.19 p.67-68

Lactantius (c.303-c.325 A.D.) “For on this account he is called *anthropos*, because he looks upward. But he looks upward who looks up to the true and living God, who is in heaven; who seeks after the Maker and Parent of his soul, not only with his perception and mind, but also with his countenance and eyes raised aloft. But he who enslaves himself to earthly and humble things, plainly prefers to himself that which is below him.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.25 p.230

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “’In the midst of the Church I will praise thee?’ And He proceeds: ‘The poor shall (510) eat and be satisfied, and they that seek the Lord shall praise him - their heart shall live for ever.’” *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 10 ch.27.

## X28. There is sin unto death

1 John 5:16b

**Clement of Alexandria** (192-217/220 A.D.) “John, too, manifestly teaches the differences of sins, in his larger Epistle, in these words: ‘If any man see his brother sin a sin that is not unto death, he shall ask, and he shall give him life: for these that sin not unto death,’ he says. ‘For there is a sin unto death: I do not say that one is to pray for it. All unrighteousness is sin; and there is a sin not unto death.’” *Stromata* book 2 ch.15 p.362

**Tertullian** (208-220 A.D.) “Jeremiah had been prohibited by God to deprecate (Him) on behalf of a people which was committing mortal sins. ‘Every unrighteousness is sin; and there is a sin unto death. … But we know that every one who hath been born of God sinneth not -to wit, ‘the sin which is unto death.’” *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.19 p.97

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) (implied) “passed over to these *followers of Callistus*, and served to crowd his school. This one propounded the opinion, that, if a bishop was guilty of any sin, if even *a sin* unto death, he ought not to be deposed.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 9 ch.7 p.131

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “for sins which are ‘not unto death’, or, as the law has described them in the Book of Numbers, not ‘death-bringing.’” *Commentary on Matthew* book 13 ch.30 p.492

Origen (235 A.D.) “they comport themselves as if through their prayer for such as have dared to commit these crimes, even the sin unto death were forgiven. They do not read the text: There is a sin unto death; for that I say not that any man ask.” *Origen On Prayer* ch.28.10 p.112-113

# NOT OF THIS WORLD

## n1. We need to repent and come to God

Just “confessing” can mean testifying about God and is not counted here.

Ezekiel 18:23;32

Matthew 3:2; 3:8,11; 4:17; 11:20; 21:32

Mark 1:4,15; 6:12

Luke 3:3,5,8; 5:32; 15:7,10; 16:30; 24:37

Acts 2:38; 3:19; 5:31; 8:22; 11:18; 13:24; 17:30; 19:4; 20:21; 26:20

Romans 2:4

2 Corinthians 7:9,10

2 Timothy 2:25

Hebrews 6:1,6

2 Peter 3:9

Revelation 2:5,16; 2:21,22; 3:3; 3:19; 9:20,21; 16:9,11

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) 2 Corinthians 7:9-10

**p4** Luke 1:58-59; 1:62-2:1,6-7; 3:8-4:2,29-32,34-35; 5:3-8; 5:30-6:16. (c.150-175 A.D.) mentions repenting. Luke 3:8; 5:32

**p47 (= Chester Beatty III)** (c.250-300 A.D.) 31% of Revelation. Revelation 9:20-11:3; 11:5-16:15; 16:17-17:2 (implied) mentions with disapproval people who would not repent of their wickedness. Revelation 9:20

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) ch.8 p.7 mentions repentance and God commanding us to repent, be washed, and become clean.

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) “To all them that repent, the Lord grants forgiveness, if they turn in penitence to the unity of God, and to communion with the bishop.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Philadelphians* ch.8 p.84

***Didache*** (=*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*) (before 125 A.D.) (implied) “And reprove one another, not in anger, but in peace, as ye have *it* in the Gospel; but to every one that acts amiss against another, let no one speak, nor let him hear aught from you until he repent.” ch.15 p.381

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.5 p.139 “But when He chose His own apostles who where to preach His Gospel, [He did so from among those] who were sinners above all sin, that He might show He came ‘not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.’”

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) vol.7 ch.17 p.522 “Let us therefore repent from the whole heart, that no one of us perish by the way.”

*2 Clement* (120-140 A.D.) ch.8 p.519 “As long, therefore, as we are upon earth, let us practise repentance, for we are as clay in the hand of the artificer. For as the potter, if he make a vessel, and it be distorted or broken in his hands, fashions it over again; but if he have before this cast it into the furnace of fire, can no longer find any help for it: so let us also, while we are in this world, repent with our whole heart of the evil deeds we have done in the flesh, that we may be saved by the Lord, while we have yet an opportunity of repentance.”

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) “I am deeply grieved, therefore, brethren, for him (Valens) and his wife; to whom may the Lord grant true repentance! And be ye then moderate in regard to this matter, and ‘do not count such as enemies,’ but call them back as suffering and straying members, that ye may save your whole body.” *Polycarp’s Letter to the Philippians* ch.11 p.35

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 Similitude 7 p.38 speaks of people repenting of their sins. See also book 3 Similitude 9 ch.31 p.53, ch.32 p.54, Similitude 8 ch.5 p.41, and many other places too.

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “And if it is the flesh that is the sinner, then on its account alone did the Saviour come, as He says, ‘I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.’ Since, then, the flesh has been proved to be valuable in the sight of God, and glorious above all His works, it would very justly be saved by Him.” *On the Resurrection* ch.8 p.297

**Evarestus** (c.169 A.D.) “And on their giving him leave, he stood and prayed, being full of the grace of God, so that he could not cease for two full hours, to the astonishment of them that heard him, insomuch that many began to repent that they had come forth against so godly and venerable an old man.” *Martyrdom of Polycarp* ch.7 p.40

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 4 p.49 quotes Matthew 3:4-18.

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “*The standing of the Lord* -the patience of the Deity, by which He bears with sinners that they may come to repentance.” Fragment 9 p.761

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “all, but expressly to the people, says: “Seek ye the Lord while He may be found, call ye upon Him while He is near: let the wicked forsake his ways, and the unrighteous man his thoughts: and let him return unto the Lord his God, and he will find mercy, for He will abundantly pardon.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.11 p.114

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) says to come to repentance and cease from sin. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.41.3 p.525

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) says that God still pities us and urges us to repentance. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.10 p.197. See also ibid ch.1 p.172.

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) discusses our repentance in *Stromata* book 2 ch.19 p.369

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) has a whole Treatise *On Repentance*

Tertullian (208-220 A.D.) mentions the repentance of the Christian who sinned. *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.3 p.71 and ch.15 p.90

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “How prompt in pardoning David on his confession of his sin -preferring, indeed, the sinner’s repentance to his death, of course because of His gracious attribute of mercy.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.11 p.452

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) (implied) quotes Revelation 11:3 and said that Elijah was to come before the manifestation of Christ from heaven. There will be signs and wonders so that people will be put to shame and turn in repentance. *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.46 p.213

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) says to be penitent. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.49 p.212

**Origen** (235-245 A.D.) discusses repentance in detail. Among other this, “for we men who repent need his kindness, but those of us who persist in sins need his severity” *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 4 ch.4.2 p.35

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.9 p.659 says that Scripture cries that we are to repent and then quotes Ezekiel 18:30.

*Treatise Against Novatian* (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.18 p.663 says that heaven, the angels, and Christ rejoice over our repentance.

***Treatise on Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.1 p.667 “I Observe that it has been asked among the brethren what course ought specially to be adopted towards the persons of those who, although baptized in heresy, have yet been baptized in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and subsequently departing from their heresy, and fleeing as supplicants to the Church of God, should repent with their whole hearts, and only now perceiving the condemnation of their error, implore from the Church the help of salvation.”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “But although those things which we have spoken of severely afflicted us and our spirit, yet your rigour and the severity that you have used, according to the proper discipline, moderates the so heavy load of our grief, in that you rightly restrain the wickedness of some, and, by your exhortation to repentance, show the legitimate way of salvation.” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 29 ch.1 p.307

**Roman Clergy** to Cyprian (250-251 A.D.) “The Church stands in faith, notwithstanding that some have been driven to fall by very terror, whether that they were persons of eminence, or that they were afraid, when seized, with the fear of man: these, however, we did not abandon, although they were separated from us, but exhorted them, and do exhort them, to repent, if in any way they may receive pardon from Him who is able to grant it; test, haply, if they should be deserted by us, they should become worse.” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 2 ch.2 p.280

**Caldonius** (250-251 A.D.) “in that they now let go their possessions and homes, and, repenting, follow Christ” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 18 p.297

**Celerinus** to Lucian (c.248-256 A.D.) “For I believe that Christ, according to their repentance and the works which they have done towards our banished colleagues who came from you-by whom themselves you will hear of their good works,-that Christ, I say, will have mercy upon them, when you, His martyrs, beseech Him.” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 20 ch.2 p.298

**Moyses et al.** (250 A.D.) “words of true penitence” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 25 ch.7 p.304

**Firmilian** to Cyprian (256 A.D.) “Moreover, *we do this* that some remedy may be sought for by repentance for lapsed brethren, and for those wounded by the devil after the saving laver, not as though they obtained remission of sins from us, but that by our means they may be converted to the understanding of their sins, and may be compelled to give fuller satisfaction to the Lord.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 74 ch.4 p.391

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “And as they saw that the conversion and repentance of such might be acceptable to Him who desires not at all the death of the sinner, but rather his repentance, they proved their sincerity, and received them, and brought them together again, and assembled with them, and had fellowship with them in their prayers and at their festivals.” Letter 3 (To Fabius of Antioch) ch.10 p.100

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) mentions repentance and the parable of he fig tree. *Canonical Epistle* canon 3 p.270

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “But neither did this law rule mankind, for men did not obey it, although zealously preached by Noah. But, after they began to be surrounded and drowning by the waters, they began to repent, and to promise that they would obey the commandments. Wherefore with scorn they are rejected as subjects; that is, they are contemptuously told that they cannot be helped by the law; the Spirit answering them back and reproaching them because they had deserted those men whom God had commanded to help them, and to save them, and make them glad; such as Noah and those with him. ‘Even to you, O rebellious,’ said he, ‘I come, to bring help to you who are destitute of prudence, and who differ in nothing from dry trees, and who formerly did not believe me when I preached that you ought to flee from present things.’” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 10 ch.3 p.349

**Council of Ancyra** (314 A.D.) Canons 1 to 10 p.63-67 are solely concerned with the amount of time a repentant sinner should be a hears, prostrator, and communicate in prayers only, until they can return to full communion.

**Council of Neocaesarea** (c.315 A.D.) canons 1-3,4 p.79-80,81 discuss the time of penance for repentant sinners.

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) speaks of our need to repent. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.7.3 p.40

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says that God commands people to repent because He desires that all men be cleansed from the sins. *The Divine Institutes* book 6 ch.13 p.178

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says we need to repent. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.67 p.251

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions the need for repentance. homily 1 ch.7 p.224

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 10 ch.45 p.205 is a chapter on people needing to repent. See also ibid book 10 ch.44 p.205 and book 3 ch.50 p.127.

The Encratite Gnostic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “But matter desired to exercise lordship over the soul; and according to their free-will these gave laws of death to men; but men, after the loss of immortality, have conquered death by submitting to death in faith; and by repentance a call has been given to them, according to the word which says, ‘Since they were made a little lower than the angels.’” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.15 p.71

## n2. Love God / the Lord

Loving the truth and loving scripture are not included here.

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Let him who has love in Christ keep the commandments of Christ. Who can describe the [blessed] bond of the love of God? What man is able to tell the excellence of its beauty, as it ought to be told? The height to which love exalts is unspeakable. Love unites us to God. Love covers a multitude of sins. Love beareth all things, is long-suffering in all things.” *1 Clement* ch.49 vol.1 p.18. See also vol.9.

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) “Let us then draw near to Him with holiness of spirit, lifting up pure and undefiled hands unto Him, loving our gracious and merciful Father, who has made us partakers in the blessings of His elect.” *1 Clement* ch.29 p.13

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) “…ye love nothing but God only.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Ephesians* ch.9 p.53

***Didache*** (=*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*) (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.1 p.377 First love God. ch.5 p.378 do not forsake the commandments of the Lord.

***Epistle of Barnabas*** ch.6 p.140 (c.70-130 A.D.) mentions us loving the Lord.

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) “He [Paul], when among you, accurately and stedfastly taught the word of truth in the presence of those who were then alive. And when absent from you [Philippians], he wrote you a letter, which, if you carefully study, you will find to be the means of building you up in that faith which has been given you, and which, being followed by hope, and preceded by love towards God, and Christ, and our neighbour, ‘is the mother of us all.’” *Polycarp’s Letter to the Philippians* ch.3 p.33

***Epistle to Diognetus*** (c.130-200 A.D.) ch.10 p.29 “Or, how will you love Him who has first so loved you? And if you love Him, you will be an imitator of His kindness. And do not wonder that a man may become an imitator of God.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) (implied) “He overthrew also the tables of the money-changers in the temple, and exclaimed, ‘Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye pay tithe of mint and rue, but do not observe the love of God and justice.’” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.17 p.203

***Evarestus’ Martyrdom of Polycarp*** (c.169 A.D.) ch.2 p.39 mentions the love we have towards God.

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 34 no.28 p.96 “The first of all the commandments is, Hear, O 28 Israel; The Lord our God, the Lord is one: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy thought, and with all thy 29, strength.”

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “those who love Him speak of Him thus: ‘Father, and God of Truth.’”. *Discourse to Antonius Caesar* p.751

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “but He [God] is good and kind, and merciful, to those who love and fear Him;” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.3 p.90

**Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum** (177 A.D.) p.779 (implied) “For he was a man who had contained the full measure of love towards God and his neighbours.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “It is therefore better and more profitable to belong to the simple and unlettered class, and by means of love to attain to nearness to God, than, by imagining ourselves learned and skilful, to be found [among those who are] blasphemous against their own God, inasmuch as they conjure up another God as the Father.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.26.1 p.397

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “whether he will receive reverence, and fear, and love the Lord.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.16.5 p.482

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) “Now, that we may not suffer ought of this kind, we must needs hold the rule of the faith without deviation, and do the commandments of God, believing in God and fearing Him as Lord and loving Him as Father.” *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.3

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) (implied) “For we have received the Lord of the Law, the Son of God; and by faith in Him we learn to love God with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourselves.” *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.95

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) we are to love and obey God’s commandments. *Stromata* book 2 ch.12 p.360

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) “For he that is fired with ardour and admiration for righteousness, being the lover of One who needs nothing, needs himself but little, having treasured up his bliss in nothing but himself and God, where is neither moth, robber, nor pirate, but the eternal Giver of good. With justice, then, have you been compared to those serpents who shut their ears against the charmers.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.10 p.202

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) quotes Deuteronomy 6:4 *An Answer to the Jews* ch.2 p.152

Tertullian (c.213 A.D.) “For *he* [Praxeas] was the first to import into Rome from Asia this kind of heretical pravity, a man in other respects of restless disposition, and above all inflated with the pride of confessorship simply and solely because he had to bear for a short time the annoyance of a prison; on which occasion, even ‘if he had given his body to be burned, it would have profiled him nothing,’ not having the love of God, whose very gifts he has resisted and destroyed.” *Against Praxeas* ch.1 p.597

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) says we are commanded to love God. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 2 ch.13 p.308

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (c.240 A.D.) (implied) “the same David says, “I will love Thee, O Lord, my strength” *Excerpts from Theodotus* ch.52 p.49

**Commodianus** (240 A.D.) “Be pleasing to the hymned chorus, and to an appeased Christ with ardent love fervently offer your savour to Christ.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.60 p.215

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “by the gift of God, on those who have lived a pure and blameless life, and who have felt a single and undivided love for the God of all things,” *Origen Against Celsus* book 3 ch.81 p.496

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “For that which is, according to what it is, can neither be declared by human discourse, nor received by human ears, nor gathered by human perceptions. For if ‘the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him, neither eye hath seen, nor ear hath heard, nor the heart of man, nor even his mind has perceived;’ what and how great is He Himself who promises these things, in understanding which both the mind and nature of man have failed!” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.7 p.616-617

***Treatise on Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.13 p.675 “‘Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, and with all thy mind, and with all thy thought; and thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.’”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Of this same thing in Deuteronomy: ‘The Lord your God proveth you, that He may know if ye love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 book 3 ch.18 p.539

**Moyses et al.** to Cyprian (250 A.D.) “For to this battle our Lord, as with the trumpet of His Gospel, stimulates us when He says, ‘He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me: and he that loveth his own soul more than me is not worthy of me. And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me.’” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 25 ch.4 p.303

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “The others were the most venerable and aged Mercuria, and Dionysia, who had been the mother of many children, and yet did not love her offspring better than her Lord.” *Epistle 3* To Fabius bishop of Antioch ch.6 p.99

**Theonas of Alexandria** (282-300 A.D.) “ye may discharge the duties of your office religiously and piously-that is, in the love of Christ-and despise all transitory objects for the sake of His eternal promises, which in truth surpass all human comprehension and understanding,”

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) “But I declare what the scripture says: ‘No one can’, it says, ‘serve two lords; for either the one he will hold hate and love the other, or he will hold to the one, and hate the other. You cannot serve God and mammon.” [Matthew 6:24; Luke 16:13] (Adamantius is speaking) *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.28 p.74

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “To adore God as the highest existence, as the Lord of all things that be, as occupying the highest place among all exalted ones, to pray to Him with respectful submission in our distresses, to cling to Him with all our senses, so to speak, to love Him, to look up to Him with faith,-is this an execrable and unhallowed religion, full of impiety and of sacrilege, polluting by the superstition of its own novelty ceremonies instituted of old?” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.25 p.419

**Methodius** (c.260-311/312 A.D.) “Now the breastband, the girdle which gathers together and keeps firm the purpose of the soul to chastity, is love to God, which our Captain and Shepherd, Jesus, who is also our Ruler and Bridegroom, O illustrious virgins, commands both you and me to hold fast unbroken and sealed up even to the end; for one will not easily find anything else a greater help to men than this possession, pleasing and grateful to God.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 4 ch.6 p.325

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) quotes Deuteronomy 6:4 (Love the Lord your God with…” in *Athanasius Against the Heathen* ch.46 p.28

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “But with respect to God, who is one only, inasmuch as He sustains the twofold character both of Father and Lord, we are bound both to love Him, inasmuch as we are sons, and to fear Him, inasmuch as we are servants.” T*he Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.4 p.103-104

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) “the apostle Paul, ‘Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him.’” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Letter 1 ch.5 p.293

**Among heretics**

The Encratite Gnostic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “And these things severally it is possible for him to perceive who does not conceitedly reject those most divine explanations which in the course of time have been consigned to writing, and make those who study them great lovers of God.” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.12 p.70

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 3 ch.10 p.240 Peter says, “But we also can easily show many passages from them [the Scriptures] that He who made the world alone is God, and that there is none other besides Him. But if any one shall wish to speak otherwise, he also shall be able to produce proofs from them at his pleasure. For the Scriptures say all manner of things, that no one of those who inquire ungratefully may find the truth, but *simply* what he wishes to find, the truth being reserved for the grateful; now gratitude is to preserve our love to Him who is the cause of our being.”

The Ebionite *Clementine Homilies* (-188 A.D.- uncertain date ) homily 2 ch.42 p.237 (implied) “But I do not think, my dear Clement, that any one who possesses ever so little love to God and ingenuousness, will be able to take in, or even to hear, the things that are spoken against Him.”

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 3 ch.71 p.133 shows we need to obey God.

## n3. Obey God

Luke 10:27; John 1:15,23; 1 John 2:15,17

Acts 5:32 (implied) those who obey Him.

Do what Jesus says Luke 6:46-49

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Romans 8:28; Hebrews 4:6

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 14:15,23

p45 Chester Beatty I – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) (partial, do what Christ says) Luke 6:46

**p13** Hebrews 2:14-5:5; 10:8-22; 10:29-11:13; 11:28-12:17 (225-250 A.D.) (implied) Hebrews 4:6,11 mentions not to disobey

**p65** 1 Thessalonians 1:3-2:1; 2:6-13 (225-275 A.D.) Paul praised the Thessalonians for their love and endurance in 1 Thessalonians 1:3

p49 Ephesians 4:16-29; 4:31-5:13 (225-275 A.D.) (partial) says to live a life of love (does not say God though) Ephesians 5:2

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. We are to obey the gospel. 1 Peter 4:17

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) says to love god … is the greatest commandment. Luke 10:27

**0232** 2 John 1-9 (ca.300 A.D.) (implied) says what God commanded us. 2 John 4,6

**p40** – Romans 1:24-27; 1:31-2:3; 3:21-4:8; 6:2-5,16; 9:17,27 (3rd century A.D.) mentions our obedience to God Romans 6:16

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Wherefore let us yield obedience to His excellent and glorious will;” *1 Clement* ch.8 p.7 . See also ibid ch.1 vol.1 p.5 (See also vol.9 p.231); ch.2 vol.1 p.5 (See also vol.9 p.231-232).

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) “It is therefore befitting that you should in every way glorify Jesus Christ, who hath glorified you, that by a unanimous obedience…” *Letter of Ignatius to the Ephesians* ch.2 p.50

*Letter of Ignatius to the Philadelphians* ch.1 p.79 (-107/116 A.D.) “For he in harmony with the commandments [of God], even as he harp is with its strings.”

***Didache*** (=*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*) (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.1 p.377 First love God. ch.5 p.378 do not forsake the commandments of the Lord.

***Epistle of Barnabas*** ch.4 p.139 (c.70-130 A.D.) says to keep God’s commandments.

**Polycarp’s** ***Letter to the Philippians*** (100-155 A.D.) ch.4 p.34 “and let us teach, first of all, ourselves to walk in the commandments of the Lord.”

Polycarp’s *Letter to the Philippians* (100-155 A.D.) ch.9 p.35 says “yield obedience to the word of righteousness”

***Epistle to Diognetus*** ch.12 p.29 (c.130-200 A.D.) speaks of us loving God

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 2 second commandment ch.4 p.22 says to keep God’s commandments. See also book 3 similitude 1 p.31 and book 2 commandment eighth p.25

***Evarestus’ Martyrdom of Polycarp*** (c.169 A.D.) ch.22 p.41 says, “We wish you, brethren, all happiness, while you walk according to the doctrine of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.”

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) speaks of those who love God. *Discourse to Antonius Caesar* p.751

Melito of Sardis (170-177/180 A.D.) says “those who love him speak of Him thus; ‘Father, and God of Truth’” in his discourse ch.1 *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.751 See also p.755

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “I do not disbelieve, but I believe, obedient to God” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.14 p.93

**Irenaeus of Lyons**(182-188 A.D.) says we are to obey God. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.20.1 p.487

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “God desires obedience” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.17.1 p.482

Irenaeus of Lyons(182-188 A.D.) says that sons who disobey their earthly fathers are disinherited. Likewise, those who disobey God are disinherited and cease to be His sons. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.41.3 p.525

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) ch.6 vol.7 p.518 “For if we do the will of Christ, we shall find rest; otherwise, nothing shall deliver us from eternal punishment, if we disobey His commandments.”

**Polycrates of Ephesus** (130-196 A.D.) “…knowing that I wore *these* grey hairs not in vain, but have always regulated my conduct in *obedience* to the Lord Jesus.” *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.774

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) we are to love and obey God’s commandments. *Stromata* book 2 ch.12 p.360

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) speaks of our good obedience. *The Instructor* ch.4 p.211. He speaks of our obedience in ibid ch.1 p.209.

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) says to obey God. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.9 p.196

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) says we are to obey God by the liberty of our will. *Exhortation to Chastity* ch.2 p.51

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) says we are commanded to love God. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 2 ch.13 p.308

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength,” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.25 p.391

***Martyrdom of the Holy Martyrs*** (before 250 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.1) ch.1 p.305 “To obey the commands of our Saviour Jesus Christ is worthy neither of blame nor condemnation,”

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) teaches we are to obey God’s precepts. *de Principiis* book 3 ch.1.15 [Greek] p.316

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Of this same thing in Deuteronomy: ‘The Lord your God proveth you, that He may know if ye love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 book 3 ch.18 p.539

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) quotes Deuteronomy 6:4 (Love the Lord your God with…” in *Athanasius Against the Heathen* ch.46 p.28

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says we are to obey God in a great many places. One place is *The Divine Institutes* book 6 ch.9 p.172

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) speaks about “obedience to our Lord”. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.67 p.251

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “Walk aft her LORD your God,… and keep His commandments.” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 13 ch.13 p.31

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Clement to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.17 p.221 (implied, unclear whether Christ or the local church leader) “Do you therefore strive to live in affection towards him, and in kindliness towards one another, and to obey him, in order that both he may be comforted and you may be saved.”

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) says we need to obey God. homily 13 ch.16 p.303

## n4. Follow Jesus or His example

Following God is not included here.

John 10:4-5; 1 John 2:6

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 10:4-5

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) John 10:4-5

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. We are to follow in Jesus’ steps in 1 Peter 2:21

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) says that Jesus humbling Himself was an example given to us. *1 Clement* ch.16 p.9

**Ignatius** (-107/116 A.D.) prays that the Ephesians would all seek to be like Jesus.” *Ignatius’ Letter to the Ephesians* ch.1 p.49

**Polycarp’s** ***Letter to the Philippians*** (100-155 A.D.) ch.10 p.35 says to follow the example of the Lord.

*Tatian’s* ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 23.45 p.80 says to follow Jesus.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Whosoever doth not bear his cross (Stauros), and follow after me, cannot be my disciple;” and again, ‘Taking up the cross, follow me;’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.3 5 p.320

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) “For truly the first thing is to deny one’s self and to follow Christ; and those who do this are borne onward to perfection, having fulfilled all their Teacher’s will” fragment

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Salvation, accordingly, is the following of Christ: ‘For that which is in Him is life. ‘Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth My words, and believeth on Him that sent Me, hath eternal life, and cometh not into condemnation, but hath passed from death to life.’” *The Instructor* book 1 ch.6 p.216

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “If you wish to be the Lord’s disciple, it is necessary you ‘take your cross, and follow the Lord:’” *On Idolatry* ch.12 p.68

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “‘do justly, and to love mercy, and to be ready to follow the Lord thy God?’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.36 p.410

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “Only, if one wishes to be healed, let him follow Jesus.” *Commentary On Matthew* 14 ch.15 p.505

Origen (235 A.D.) says we are to follow Jesus. *Exhortation to Martyrdom* book 3 ch.12 p.152. ibid book 5 ch.36 p.179.

Origen (c.250 A.D.) (implied) says we are to be imitators of Paul, as he imitated Christ. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 15 homily 2 ch.5 p.67

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “let those who follow the Lord humbly and peacefully and silently tread in His” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 6 ch.4 p.284-285. See also *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 55 ch.1 p.347

**Moyses et al.** to Cyprian (250 A.D.) “For to this battle our Lord, as with the trumpet of His Gospel, stimulates us when He says, ‘He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me: and he that loveth his own soul more than me is not worthy of me. And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me.’” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 25 ch.4 p.303

**Caldonius** to Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “they now let go their possessions and homes, and, repenting, follow Christ.” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 18 ch.1 p.297

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “I have become the torch-bearer of the unapproachable lights, and I join with their company in the new song of the archangels, showing forth the new grace of the Church; for the Word says that the company of virgins always follow the Lord, and have fellowship with Him wherever He is.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 6 ch.5 p.331

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (c.318 A.D.) “For just as for them who walk after His example, the prize is life everlasting, so for those who walk the opposite way, and not that of virtue, there is great shame, and peril without pardon in the *day of judgment*, because although they knew the way of truth their acts were contrary to their knowledge.” *Athanasius Against the Heathen* ch.47.4 p.30

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

pseudo-Clement ***Two Epistles on Virginity*** (3rd century A.D.) ch.7 vol.8 p.57 “Those, therefore, who imitate Christ, imitate Him earnestly. For those who have ‘put on Christ’ in truth, express His likeness in their thoughts, and in their whole life, and in all their behaviour…”

## n5. Bear/Take up the cross [and follow Christ]

Matthew 10:38; 16:24; Mark 8:34; 10:21; Luke 9:23; 14:27

*Tatian’s* ***Diatessaron*** (died c.172 A.D.) section 13 lines 25-26 p.64 quotes Matthew 10:38.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “said to the disciples, “If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow Me. For whosoever will save his life, shall lose” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.18.4 p.447

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “If, however, He was Himself not to suffer, but should fly away from Jesus, why did He exhort His disciples to take up the cross and follow Him,” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.18.5 p.447

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) says of a believer: “He, bearing about the cross of the Saviour, will follow the Lord’s footsteps, as God, having become holy of holies.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.20 p.370

**Tertullian** (c.203 A.D.) “[Christ] died according to the scriptures and according to the same scriptures he was buried. … Christ descended into hell, that we might ourselves have to descend thither. … you must take up the cross and bear it after your Master…” *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.55 p.231

**Origen** (225-254) “And perhaps this man refers to us, who because of Jesus take up the cross of Jesus, but Jesus Himself takes it upon Himself; for there are, as it were, two” *Commentary on Matthew* 12 ch.24 p.511

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says to take up the cross. *Origen’s Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.12 p.152-153

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “In the Gospel the Lord speaks, and says: ‘He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that taketh not his cross and followeth me, is not worthy of me.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 11 ch.6 p.500

**Moyses, Maximum, and Nicostratus** (250 A.D.) mention you should take up your cross and follow Christ. Letter 25.4 vol.5 p.303.

## n6. Struggle to live a victorious life

1 Corinthians 15:57; 1 John 5:4; Revelation 2:7,11,17,26; 3:5,12,21; 15:2

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “How beautiful is the spectacle to God when a Christian does battle with pain; when he is drawn up against threats, and punishments, and tortures; when, mocking the noise of death, he treads under foot the horror of the executioner; when he raises up his liberty against kings and princes, and yields to God alone, whose he is; when, triumphant and victorious, he tramples upon the very man who has pronounced sentence against him! For he has conquered who has obtained that for which he contends.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.37 p.196

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) But let him go and put himself under the Word as his trainer, and Christ the President of the contest; and for his prescribed food and drink let him have the New Testament of the Lord; and for exercises, the commandments; and for elegance and ornament, the fair dispositions, love, faith, hope, knowledge of the truth, gentleness, meekness, pity, gravity: so that, when by the last trumpet the signal shall be given for the race and departure hence, as from the stadium of life, he may with a good conscience present himself victorious before the Judge who confers the rewards, confessedly worthy of the Fatherland on high, to which he returns with crowns and the acclamations of angels.” *Who is the Rich Man that Shall be Saved* ch.3 p.592

**Tertullian** (ca.208 A.D.) “You find in the Revelation its edict, setting forth the rewards by which He incites to victory-those, above all, whose is the distinction of conquering in persecution, in very deed contending in their victorious struggle not against flesh and blood, but against spirits of wickedness.” *On Fleeing Persecution* ch.1 p.116

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “Could it have come to pass without divine assistance, that Jesus, desiring during these years to spread abroad His words and teaching, should have been so successful, that everywhere throughout the world, not a few persons, Greeks as well as Barbarians, learned as well as ignorant, adopted His doctrine, so that they struggled, even to death in its defence, rather than deny it, which no one is ever related to have done for any other system?” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.26 p.407.

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) “But they have no power over those who ‘have put on the whole armour of God,’ who have received strength to ‘withstand the wiles of the devil,’ and who are ever engaged in contests with them, knowing that ‘we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.34 p.652.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “are as praiseworthy in maintaining the peace of Christ, as they have been victorious in their combat with the devil.” Treatise 1 ch.22 p.428

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) says that we triumph in Christ. *Dialogue on the True Faith* ch.20 p.105

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “let us boldly engage with the enemy whom we know, that victorious and triumphant over our conquered adversary, we may obtain from the Lord that reward of valour which He Himself has promised.” *The Divine Institutes* book 7 at the very end p.223

Lactantius (315-315/330 A.D.) “Therefore God acted with the greatest foresight in placing the subject-matter of virtue in evils which He made for this purpose, that He might establish for us a contest, in which He would crown the victorious with the reward of immortality.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.29 p.233

## n7. Put on the armor of God/righteousness

Ephesians 6:11-18

2 Corinthians 6:7 (implied) weapons of righteousness

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Ephesians 6:10-18

**Polycarp’s** ***Letter to the Philippians*** (100-155 A.D.) ch.4 p.34 says to arm ourselves with the armor of righteousness.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) says to put on the armor of the Lord. *Stromata* book 4 ch.22 p.435

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) mentions the armor of peace. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.11 p.204

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “Again, when in the preceding verse he bids us ‘put on the whole armour of God, that we may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil,’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.18 p.469

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) (implied) “if thou castest off the armour of the devil, and puttest on the breastplate of faith” *Discourse on the Holy Theophany* ch.10 p.237

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) quotes Ephesians 6:11-12 in *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.34 p.652

Origen (233/234 A.D.) (partial) says to put on the armor or justice. *Origen’s Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.43 p.186

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) speaks of putting on the armor. *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 55 ch.8 p.350

**Moyses, Maximum, and Nicostratus** (248-257 A.D.) mentions putting on the armor in detail. *Letter to Cyprian 25* ch.5 p.304.

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) refers to Ephesians 6:13,18 that the apostle says to put on the armor of God. *Dialogue on the True Faith in God* first part p.61-62

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “For it is necessary, as I said, that we should be tried. Let us not then, O my soul, let us not give in to the Evil One; but putting on’ the whole armour of God,’ which is our protection, let us have ‘the breastplate of righteousness, and your feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel (of peace). Above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.” *Discourse on the Resurrection* part 2 ch.2 p.372

**Among heretics**

Marcionite heretic **Megethius** (c.300 A.D.) a self-labeled follower of Marcion, in his debate with Adamantius mentions us having the armor of God. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.19 p.61-62

## n8. Faithful Christians still get sick

Galatians 4:13; Philippians 2:25-27; 1 Timothy 5:23

**Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum** (177 A.D.) p.780-781 “with difficulty on account of the feebleness of the body, yet he was strengthened by the eagerness of his spirit, on account of his earnest desire to bear his testimony. His body, indeed, was already dissolved through old age and disease, yet the life was preserved in him, that Christ might triumph through him.”

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “If thy brother should be weak--I speak of the poor man--do not empty-handed visit such an one as he lies ill. Do good under God; pay your obedience by your money. Thence he shall be restored; or if he should perish, let a poor man be refreshed, who has nothing wherewith to pay you, but the Founder and Author of the world on his behalf. Or if it should displease thee to go to the poor man, always hateful, send money, and something whence he may recover himself. And, similarly, if thy poor sister lies upon a sick-bed, let your matrons begin to bear her victuals. God Himself cries out, Break thy bread to the needy. There is no need to visit with words, but with benefits.” Instructions of Commodianus ch.71 p.216

Commodianus (c.240 A.D.) writes to believers who are poor in health. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.72 p.217

**Origen** (233-234 A.D.) mentions Christians getting sick. *Origen On Prayer* part 1 ch.11.2 p.44

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “and may be assisted by their privilege with God, if they should be seized with any misfortune and peril of sickness, should, without waiting for my presence, before any presbyter who might be present, or if a presbyter should not be found” Letter 12 ch.1 p.293

**Pontius** (258 A.D.) “Still, if it seem well, let me glance at the rest. Afterwards there broke out a dreadful plague, and excessive destruction of a hateful disease invaded every house in succession of the trembling populace, carrying off day by day with abrupt attack numberless people, every one from his own house. All were shuddering, fleeing, shunning the contagion, impiously exposing their own friends, as if with the exclusion of the person who was sure to die” *Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.9 p.270

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “stick and thrust it through his bowels and heart, and slew him. Why should I mention the multitudes of those who had to wander about in desert places and upon the mountains, and who were cut off by hunger, and thirst, and cold, and sickness, and robbers, and wild beasts? The survivors of such are the witnesses” Part 2 Epistle 3 – To Fabius Bishop of Antioch ch.1.9 p.100

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) twice mentions plague breaking out in a city. Christians helped care for the sick and dying, even as they got sick and died themselves. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* &&&

## n9. Suffer persecution or martyrdom

Mark 8:35; 16:2; Romans 8:36-37; 12:14; 1 Thessalonians 3:2-4; 2 Thessalonians 1:4; Hebrews 10:32-33; 1 Peter 1:6; 5:9-10; Revelation 9:20-11:3; 11:5-16:15

All who want to live a godly life will be persecuted. 2 Timothy 3:12

**p87** Philemon 13-15, 24 (part), 25b (c.125 A.D.) (implied) Paul was in chains for the gospel.

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Romans 8:36-37; 12:14

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) (implied) John 12:25

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) (implied) John 12:25

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Mark 8:35

**p13** Hebrews 2:14-5:5; 10:8-22; 10:29-11:13; 11:28-12:17 (225-250 A.D.) Hebrews 10:32-33

**p115** (=Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 4499) 119 verses of Revelation. 2:1-3,13-15,27-29; 3:10-12; 5:8-9; 6:5-6; 8:3-8,11-13; 9:1-5,7-16,18-21; 10:1-4,8-11; 11:1-5,8-15,18-19; 12:1-5,8-10,12-17; 13:1-3,6-16,18; 14:1-3,5-7,10-11,14-15,18-20; 15:1,4-7 (middle to late 3rd century) Revelation 2:13

**p47 (= Chester Beatty III)** (c.250-300 A.D.) 31% of Revelation. Revelation 9:20-11:3; 11:5-16:15; 16:17-17:2 mentions persecution and says this calls for faithful endurance on the part of the saints. Revelation 12:17; 13:7,10

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Teaches that we will suffer persecution. 1 Peter 1:6; 5:9-10

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Peter, through unrighteous envy, endured not one or two, but numerous labours and when he had at length suffered martyrdom, departed to the place of glory due to him.” *1 Clement* ch.5 p.6

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) says Christian should “Labour together with one another; strive in company together; run together; suffer together; sleep together; and awake together, as the stewards, and associates, and servants of God. Please ye Him under who ye fit, and from whom ye receive your wages. Let none of you be found a deserter. Let your baptism endure as your arms.” *Ignatius to Polycarp* ch.6 p.95

Ignatius (-107/116 A.D.) “I write to the Churches, and impress on them all, that I shall willingly die for God, unless ye hinder me. I beseech of you not to show an unseasonable good-will towards me. Suffer me to become food for the wild beasts, through whose instrumentality it will be granted me to attain to God. I am the wheat of God, and let me be ground by the teeth of the wild beasts, that I may be found the pure bread of Christ. Rather entice the wild beasts, that they may become my tomb, and may leave nothing of my body; so that when I have fallen asleep [in death], I may be no trouble to any one. Then shall I truly be a disciple of Christ, when the world shall not see so much as my body. Entreat Christ for me, that by these instruments” *Ignatius’ Letter to the Romans* ch.4 p.75

Ignatius(-107/116 A.D.) Ignatius said he was not yet perfect. But as he contemplated his martyrdom he looked forward to being perfect. *Letter of Ignatius to the Philadelphians* ch.5 p.82

Ignatius(-107/116 A.D.) (partial) *Letter of Ignatius to the Smyrnaeans* ch.4 p.88 “he who is near to the sword is near to God; he that is among the wild beast is in company with God; provided only he be so in the name of Jesus Christ.” [Does not mention a witness though.] *Letter of Ignatius to the Smyrnaeans* ch.4 p.88

*2 Clement* (c.150 A.D.) vol.7 ch.5 p.518 “For the Lord saith, ‘Ye shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves.’ And Peter answer and said unto Him, ‘What, the, if the wolves shall tear in pieces the lambs?’ Jesus said unto Peter, ‘The lambs have no cause after they are dead to fear the wolves; and in like manner, fear not yet them that kill you, and can do nothing more unto you; but fear Him who, after you are dead, has power over both soul and body to cast them into hell-fire.”

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.7 p.142 “Those who wish to behold Me [Jesus], and lay hold of My kingdom, must through tribulation and suffering obtain Me.’”

*Epistle of Barnabas* (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.20 p.149 “are those who persecute the good, those who hate truth, those who love falsehood,”

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) mentions Ignatius, Zosimus, Rufus, and others, Paul, and the rest of the apostles who have suffered for the Lord. *Letter to the Philippians* ch.9 p.35

***Epistle to Diognetus*** (c.130-200 A.D.) ch.5 p.27 “They [Christians] love all men, and are persecuted by all. They are unknown and condemned; they are put to death, and restored to life.”

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) Book 3 Similitude ninth ch.28 p.53 mentions the rewards for those who have suffered for the name of Christ.

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “you can kill, but not hurt us.” *First Apology of Justin* ch.2 p.163.

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) “Now it is evident that no one can terrify or subdue us who have believed in Jesus over all the world. For it is plain that, though beheaded, and crucified, and thrown to wild beasts, and chains, and fire, and all other kinds of torture, we do not give up our confession; but the more such things happen, the more do” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.110 p.254

***Apology of Aristides*** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) ch.15 p.277 (implied) “They [Christians] are ready to sacrifice their lives for the sake of Christ;”

**Evarestus** (c.169 A.D.) “The proconsul then said to him, ‘I have wild beasts at hand; to these will I cast thee, except thou repent.” But he answered, “Call them then, for we are not accustomed to repent of what is good in order to adopt that which is evil; and it is well for me to be changed from what is evil to what is righteous.’” *Martyrdom of Polycarp* ch.11 p.41

*Evarestus’ Martyrdom of Polycarp* (c.169 A.D.) ch.10-12 p.41 shows that Polycarp would rather die than swear by the fortune of Caesar.

*Evarestus’ Martyrdom of Polycarp* (c.169 A.D.) ch.2 p.39 tells of others who endured torturing and death for Christ.

**Tatian’s *Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) &&&

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) (implied) says Christians were brought up with the teachings of “Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; pray for them that persecute you;.” *A Plea for Christians* ch.11 p.134

***Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum*** (177 A.D.) is an entire work on the persecution and martyrdom of some Christians. *ANF* vol.8 p.778-784.

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) mentions that the pious are now being persecuted. *Apology Addressed to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* p.758

**Hegesippus** (170-180 A.D.) tells how James the brother of the Lord was martyred. *Concerning the Martyrdom of James, the Brother of the Lord* ch.1 p.763

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “mention, but blaspheme; yes, and they persecuted, and do daily persecute, those” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.30 p.121

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Wherefore the Church does in every place, because of that love which she cherishes towards God, send forward, throughout all time, a multitude of martyrs to the Father;” Irenaeus Against Heresies book 4 ch.33.9 p.508

**Polycrates of Ephesus** (130-196 A.D.) mentions that Polycarp was a bishop and martyr at Smyrna and Thraseas of Eumenia was both a bishop and martyr, who is also buried at Smyrna. Bishop and martyr Sagaris is buried at Laodicea. *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.774

***Passion of the Scillitan Martyrs*** (180-202 A.D.) tells of Christians martyred by the Romans. *ANF* vol.9 p.285

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201-205 A.D.) ch.6.1 p.704 martyrdom of Perpetua, Saturninus, and others. Perpetua sang psalms.

*Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas* (c.201-205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) ch.2.1 p.701 shows that Perpetua is grieved that her father will not rejoice over her death for Christ.

*Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas* (c.201/205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) (Perpetua had just given birth a few days before) “1. The day of their victory shone forth, and they proceeded from the prison   
into the amphitheatre, as if to an assembly, joyous and of brilliant countenances; if perchance shrinking, it was with joy, and not with fear. Perpetua followed with placid look, and with step and gait as a matron of Christ, beloved of God; casting down the luster of her eyes from the gaze of all. Moreover, Felicitas, rejoicing that she had safely brought forth, so that she might fight with the wild beasts; from the blood and from the midwife to the gladiator, to wash after childbirth with a second baptism. And when they were brought to the gate, and were constrained to put on the clothing-the men, that of the priests of Saturn, and the women, that of those who were consecrated to Ceres-that noble-minded woman resisted even to the end with constancy. For she said, “We have come thus far of our own accord, for this reason, that our liberty might not be restrained. For this reason we have yielded our minds, that we might not do any such thing as this: we have agreed on this with you.” Injustice acknowledged the justice; the tribune yielded to their being brought as simply as they were. Perpetua sang psalms, already treading under foot the head of the Egyptian; Revocatus, and Saturninus, and Saturus uttered threatenings against the gazing people about this martyrdom. When they came within sight of Hilarianus, by gesture and nod, they began to say to Hilarianus, “Thou judgest us,” say they, “but God will judge thee.” At this the people, exasperated, demanded that they should be tormented with scourges as they passed along the rank of the venatores. And they indeed rejoiced that they should have incurred any one of their Lord’s passions.  
2. But He who had said, “Ask, and ye shall receive,” gave to them when they asked, that death which each one had wished for. For when at any time they had been discoursing among themselves about their wish in respect of their martyrdom, Saturninus indeed had professed that he wished that he might be thrown to all the beasts; doubtless that he might wear a more   
glorious crown. Therefore in the beginning of the exhibition he and Revocatus made trial of the leopard, and moreover upon the scaffold they were harassed by the bear. Saturus, however, held nothing in greater abomination than a bear; but he imagined that he would be put an end to with one bite of a leopard. Therefore, when a wild boar was supplied, it was the huntsman rather who had supplied that boar who was gored by that same beast, and died the day after the shows. Saturus only was drawn out; and when he had been bound on the floor near to a bear, the bear would not come forth from his den. And so Saturus for the second time is recalled unhurt.”

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “How beautiful is the spectacle to God when a Christian does battle with pain; when he is drawn up against threats, and punishments, and tortures; when, mocking the noise of death, he treads under foot the horror of the executioner; when he raises up his liberty against kings and princes, and yields to God alone, whose he is; when, triumphant and victorious, he tramples upon the very man who has pronounced sentence against him! For he has conquered who has obtained that for which he contends. What soldier would not provoke peril with greater boldness under the eyes of his general? For no one receives a reward before his trial, and yet the general does not give what he has not: he cannot preserve life, but he can make the warfare glorious. But God’s soldier is neither forsaken in suffering, nor is brought to an end by death. Thus the Christian may seem to be miserable; he cannot be really found to be so. You yourselves extol unfortunate men to the skies; Mucius Scaevola, for instance, who, when he had failed in his attempt against the king, would have perished among the enemies unless he had sacrificed his right hand. And how many of our people have borne that not their right hand only, but their whole body, should be burned-burned up without any cries of pain, especially when they had it in their power to be sent away! Do I compare men with Mucius or Aquilius, or with Regulus? Yet boys and young women among us treat with contempt crosses and tortures, wild beasts, and all the bugbears of punishments, with the inspired patience of suffering. And do you not perceive, O wretched men, that there is nobody who either is willing without reason to undergo punishment, or is able without God to bear tortures?” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.37 p.196

**Apollonius of Ephesus** (c.210 A.D.) &&&

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) mentions confessing to God and martyrs in *Stromata* book 4 ch.4 p.412.

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “Accordingly they persecute us, not from the supposition that we are wrong-doers, but imagining that by the very fact of our being Christians we sin against life in so conducting ourselves, and exhorting others to adopt the like life.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.11 p.423

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) tells of a Roman soldier who imprisoned and killed by the Romans because he was a Christian. *The Chaplet* ch.1 p.93

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “But all the predictions have been fulfilled concerning martyrdoms which were to happen, and were to receive the recompenses of their reward from God. ‘See,’ says Isaiah, ‘how the righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart; and just men are taken away, and no man considereth.’ When does this more frequently happen than in the persecution of His saints?” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.21 p.381-382

**Asterius Urbanus** (c.232 A.D.) speaks of believers being persecuted by the Jews and put to death by the wicked. *The Exordium* book 2 p.336.

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) It is better to die by the hand of wicked man that to die and fall into the hands of God. *Commentary on Susannah* ch.23 p.193

**Commodianus** (c.240) “Since, O Son, thou desirest martyrdom, hear.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.62 p.215. See also ibid ch.58 p.214.

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240 A.D.) “For no one becomes a martyr unless he is persecuted; nor appears righteous, unless being wronged, he takes no revenge;…” *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.63 p.50

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “experience that they are defeated and overpowered by the martyrs for the truth,” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.44 p.655

Origen (235 A.D.) (implied) has an entire book *Exhortation to Martyrdom.* Especially see ibid book 3 ch.15 p.156 about martyrs.

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says to take up the cross. *Origen On Prayer* ch.29.4 p.115

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says we will have many tribulations. *Origen On Prayer* ch.29.3 p.114-115

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) says the Lord exhorts us to martyrdom. *Treatise Concerning the Trinity* ch.25 p.636

Novatian (250/4-256/7 A.D.) mentions the dungeons and chains and being trod underfoot for Christ. *Novatian Concerning the Trinity* ch.29 p.640

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) mentions how some were wounded in the Decian persecution yet afterwards, in a second encounter, persevered bravely, and did not fear to give up their life and to shed their blood. ch.6 p.659

***Treatise On Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.11 p.673 “And this is not contrary to the former discussion, because there is left therein time for the correction of many things which are bad, and because certain things are conceded to the very name only of our Lord; while martyrdom cannot be consummated except in the Lord and by the Lord Himself, and therefore nobody can confess Christ without His name, nor can the name of Christ avail any one for confession without Christ Himself.”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “And although we have not yet shed our blood, we are prepared to shed it.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 25 p.304

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “In persecutions, earth is shut up, but heaven is opened; Antichrist is threatening, but Christ is protecting; death is brought in, but immortality follows; the world is taken away from him that is slain, but paradise is set forth to him restored; the life of time is extinguished, but the life of eternity is realized. What a dignity it is, and what a security, to go gladly from hence, to depart gloriously in the midst of afflictions and tribulations; in a moment to close the eyes with which men and the world are looked upon, and at once to open them to look upon God and Christ!” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 11 ch.13 p.507

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “Thus, at the very beginning of the world, the righteous Abel was the first to be slain by his brother; and Jacob was driven into exile, and Joseph was sold, and king Saul persecuted the merciful David; and king Ahab endeavoured to oppress Elias, who firmly and bravely asserted the majesty of God.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 11 ch.11 p.503

**Roman Church Leaders** &&&

**Firmilian** to Cyprian of Carthage (250-251 A.D.) “About two-and-twenty years ago, in the times after the Emperor Alexander, there happened in these parts many struggles and difficulties, either in general to all men, or privately to Christians. … So that from this also a severe persecution arose against us of the Christian name; and this after the long peace of the previous age arose suddenly, and with its unusual evils was made more terrible for the disturbance of our people. Serenianus was then governor in our province, a bitter and terrible persecutor. … that persecution was not over the whole world, but was local –” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 74 ch.10 p.392-393

**Celerinus** (c.246-258 A.D.) in his letter to Lucian mentions being tortured for Christ in *Letter 20* cp.298

**Moyses et al. to Cyprian** (250 A.D.) speaks of martyrdom in chapters 2,3,4,5.*Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 25 p.303-304

**Lucian of Antioch** (c.246-258 A.D.) in his letter to Celerinus briefly mentions the Christian martyrs. *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 21 ch.2 p.299

**Nemesianus et al** to Cyprian of Carthage (246-256 A.D.) discusses martyrdom and suffering for Christ. *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 77 ch.2,3 p.405

**Lucius** and the brethren to Cyprian of Carthage (246-256 A.D.) says “being certain of heavenly rewards, and of the crown of martyrdom … being filled with the Holy Spirit” *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 78 p.406

**Felix** &&&

**Pontius** (258 A.D.) gives a eulogy to the martyr Cyprian. *The Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.1 p.267

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) in Part 2 letter 10.8 p.106 speaks of the threatenings, perils, and persecutions, and the persecution of Decius and Sabinus. He also mentions being a soldier and martyr for Christ in Letter 3 ch.5 p.99

Dionysius of Alexandria (246-265 A.D.) mentions that many Christians who fled persecution to Arabia and were carried off by Saracens. Some were ransomed and other not. *Letter2* ch.11 p.100

**Pierius** (275 A.D.) “There was read a book by Pierius the presbyter, who, they say, endured the conflict for Christ, along with his brother Isidorus.” Fragment 2 p.157

**Theonas of Alexandria** (282-300 A.D.) “the storms of persecution, and its truth and grandeur have only become always the more and more illustrious, so that now, peace being granted to the churches by our gracious prince, the works of Christians are shining even in sight of the unbelieving, and God your Father, who is in heaven, is glorified thereby;” *Letter to Lucianus, the Chief Chamberlain* ch.1 p.158

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) “quotes Romans 8:36 as by Paul. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.21 p.64.

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) (martyrdom)

**Phileas** **of Thmuis** (martyred 306/307 A.D.) goes into detail about Christians who were tortured and killed for their faith in Christ *Letter of Phileas to the People of Thmuis* ch.3 p.163

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-310/311 A.D.) “Thus first Stephen, pressing on His footsteps, suffered martyrdom, being apprehended in Jerusalem by the transgressors, and being brought before the council, he was stoned, and glorified for the name of Christ, praying with the words, ‘Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.’ Thus James, in the second place, being of Herod apprehended, was beheaded with the sword.” *Canonical Epistle* Canon 9 p.273

**Hesychius of Egypt, Pachomius, Phileas, Theodorus** (martyred 311 A.D.) discusses their imprisonment for the faith. ch.1

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “Would it not, then, be absurd to forbid marriage unions, seeing that we expect that after us there will be martyrs, and those who shall oppose the evil one, for whose sake also the Word promised that He would shorten those days?” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 2 ch.2 p.314

***Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon*** (events c.315 A.D.) p.690 “and [Habib] ministered and read the Scriptures, and encouraged and strengthened many by his words, and admonished them to stand fast in the truth of their belief, and not to be afraid of the persecutors; and gave them directions.”

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) “when the youths and young maidens that are in Christ despise this life and practise to die?” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.28.1 p.51

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) mentions martyrs for the deity of Christ. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.56.2 p.66

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Next day an edict was published, depriving the Christians of all honours and dignities; ordaining also that, without any distinction of rank or degree, they should be subjected to tortures, and that every suit at law should be received against them; while, on the other hand, they were debarred from being plaintiffs in questions of wrong, adultery, or theft; and, finally, that they should neither be capable of freedom, nor have right of suffrage.” *Manner in Which the Persecutors Died* ch.13 p.305-306

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) speaks about persecution of Christians. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.53 p.243-244

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) speaks of martyrdom of Christians. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.66 p.250

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) is one place that speaks of martyrdom of Christians *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1.1 p.81

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Acts of Paul and Thecla*** (before 207 A.D.) p.490 (implied) showed Paul being beaten and the governor trying to burn Thecla and throwing her to the wild beasts.

**Among heretics**

The ***First Form of the Gospel of Thomas*** (shorter Greek version) (188-235 A.D.) ch.68 p.134 Jesus told the disciples they would be persecuted.

The Ebionite ***Protoevangelium of James*** (145-248 A.D.) ch.23 p.366 Zecharias [Zechariah] father of John the Baptists, says, “I am god’s martyr”.

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Clement to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.14 p.221 mentions suffering persecution

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) shows that Christians are persecuted. homily 12 ch.29 p.298

Marcionite heretic **Megethius** (c.300 A.D.) a self-labeled follower of Marcion, in his debate with Adamantius mentions that the world persecutes us because we are alien to the world. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.8e p.46. He also says we are to pray for those who persecute us in ch.21 p.63

## n10. No sorcery, witchcraft, or magic

Leviticus 19:26,31;20:6-8;27; Deuteronomy 18:9-14; Jeremiah 27:9; Ezekiel 13:18; Micah 5:12; Revelation 9:21

(implied) Acts 19:19

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) says that when the star of Christ shone in the heaven, every kind of magic was destroyed and every bond of wickedness disappeared. *Letter of Ignatius to the Ephesians* ch.19 p.57

***Didache*** vol.7 ch.2.1-4 p.377 (before 125 A.D.) Do not commit murder, adultery, corrupt boys, magic, witchcraft, “murder a child by abortion, nor kill that which is begotten”, covet, bear false witness.

*Didache* (=Teaching of the Twelve Apostles) vol.7 ch.5 p.379 (before 125 A.D.) The way of death is cursings, murder, adulteries, fornication, lusts, magic arts, idolatries, witchcraft, filthy talking, jealousies,

***Apology of Aristides*** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) p.275 mentions unrighteous things the gods did, such as slaying one another, practicing sorceries, adultery, thefts, and intercourse with males.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) teaches against sorcery in *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.11.4 p.502. He is against witchcraft and refers to Galatians 5:19 in *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.11.1 p.537

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) teaches against divining, fortune-tellers, incantations, and soothsayers. *The Instructor* book 3 ch.4 p.278

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) mentions astrology as wrong along with assassins, poisoners, pimps, and sorcerers *Apology* ch.43 p.49

Tertullian (208-220 A.D.) speaks against sorcery. *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.19 p.95

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) speaks against astrology. *Refutation of All Heresies* book 6 ch.28-42 p.30-40

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes scripture against adulteries, fornications, idolatries, sorceries, murders, hatreds, strifes, heresies, drunkenness in *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 book 3 ch.64 p.551. Ch.65 p.551 also mentions thieves, cheaters, robbers.

**Council of Elvira** (306/307 A.D.) (implied) says to excommunicate people who murder by using sorcery or magic. Canon 6

**Council of Ancyra** (314 A.D.) says those who practiced divination or sorceries, and repent shall be prostrators for three years, plus two years of prayer without oblation. canon 24 p.74.

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) Against magic. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.11.6 p.42

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) speaks against witchcraft and magic. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.48.3 p.62

**Lactantius** (c.33-320/325 A.D.) “But our religion is on this account firm, and solid, and unchangeable, because it teaches justice, because it is always with us, because it has its existence altogether in the soul of the worshipper, because it has the mind itself for a sacrifice. In that religion nothing else is required but the blood of animals, and the smoke of incense, and the senseless pouring out of libations; but in this of ours, a good mind, a pure breast, an innocent life: those rites are frequented by unchaste adulteresses without any discrimination, by impudent procuresses, by filthy harlots; they are frequented by gladiators, robbers, thieves, and sorcerers, who pray for nothing else but that they may commit crimes with impunity.” *The Divine Institutes* book 5 ch.20 p.157

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**Akhmin Apocalypse of Peter** (Greek) (135,100-150 A.D.) says that after death sorcerers are hung on a fiery wheel.

**Leucius Charinus** (second century) “Thou that rejoicest in gold and delightest thyself with ivory and jewels, when night falleth, canst thou behold what thou lovest? thou that art vanquished by soft raiment, and then leavest life, will those things profit thee in the place whither thou goest? And let the murderer know that the condign punishment is laid up for him twofold after his departure hence. Likewise also thou poisoner, sorcerer, robber, defrauder, sodomite, thief, and as many as are of that band, ye shall come at last, as your works do lead you, unto unquenchable fire, and utter darkness, and the pit of punishment, and eternal threatenings.” *Acts of John* ch.36

## n11. Exorcism or casting out devils

Luke 8:28-33; Acts 16:18

Matthew 9:33; 11:18; 17:14-20; 4:24; 8:16,28,33; 9:32; 12:22; 7:22; 8:31; 9:34; 10:8; 12:24,27,28; Mark 1:32,34,39; 3:15,22; 5:12,16,18; 6:13; 7:26,29,30; 9:38; 16:9,17; Luke 4:33,35,41; 7:33; 8:2,27,29-30,32,33,35-36,38; 9:1,42,49; 10:17; 11:14-15,18,19,20; 13:32; John 8:48-49,52; 10:21; 7:20; 10:20;

**p4 + p64 + p67** Luke 1:58-59; 1:62-2:1,6-7; 3:8-4:2,29-32,34-35; 5:3-8; 5:30-6:16; Matthew 26:7-8,10,14-15,22-23,31-33; Matthew 3:9,15; 5:20-22,25-28 -95 verses (c.150-175 A.D.) Mentions Jesus driving out a demon. Luke 4:34-35

**0189** (late second or early third century) Act 5:3-21 (19 verses) Acts 5:16

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Mark 5:2; 7:25-26,29,30; more?

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) Jesus cast out an unclean spirit in Luke 4:34-36; Luke 8:28-33

**Justin Martyr** (c.135-165 AD.) “And again, in other words, He said, ‘I give unto you power to tread on serpents, and on scorpions, and on *scolopendras*, and on all the might of the enemy.’ And now we, who believe on our Lord Jesus, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, when we exorcise all demons and evil spirits, have them subjected to us.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.76 p.236

Justin Martyr (c.150 A.D.) “For numberless demoniacs throughout the whole world, and in your city, many of our Christian men exorcising them in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, have healed and do heal, rendering helpless and driving the possessing devils out of the men, though they could not be cured by all the other exorcists, and those who used incantations and drugs.” *Second Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.6 p.190

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 53 p.125 “And on the First-day on which he rose, he [Jesus] appeared first unto Mary Magdalene, from whom he had cast out seven demons.”

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “the fact, that even to this day the possessed are sometimes exorcised in the in the name of the living and true God; and these spirits of error themselves confess that they are demons who also formerly inspired these [pre-Christian Greek] writers.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.8 p.97

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Who would save you, I mean, from the attacks of those spirits of evil, which without reward or hire we exorcise?” *Apology* ch.37 p.45

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “But as for demons, that is, your genii, we have been in the habit of exorcising them, not of swearing by them, and thereby conferring on them divine honour.” *Apology* ch.32 p.43

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240 A.D.) ch.15 p.45 mentions Jesus cleansing the demonic.

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “their prayers to God, and in the exorcising of demons, the words, ‘God of Abraham, and God of Isaac, and God of Jacob,’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 4 ch.33 p.511

***Treatise On Rebaptism*** (254-256 A.D.) ch.8 p.671 “He [Jesus] understood the hearts and thoughts of all men; because He cured and healed weaknesses, and vices, and diseases, with very great power; because He bestowed remissions of sins, with manifest attestation; because He expelled demons at His bidding;”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Oh, would you but hear and see them [pagan idols] when they are adjured by us, and tortured with spiritual scourges, and are ejected from the possessed bodies with tortures of words, when howling and groaning at the voice of man and the power of God, feeling the stripes and blows, they confess the judgment to come! Come and acknowledge that what we say is true; and since you say that you thus worship gods, believe even those whom you worship. Or if you will even believe yourself, he - i.e., the demon-who has now possessed your breast, who has now darkened your mind with the night of ignorance, shall speak concerning yourself in your hearing.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 5 ch.15 p.462

**Confessors to Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) was written by Lucianus, who was both an exorcist and reader. *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 16 p.296

**Firmilian to Cyprian of Carthage** (250-251 A.D.) “For on a sudden there appeared unto her one of the exorcists, a man approved and always of good conversation in respect of religious discipline; who, stimulated by the exhortation also of very many brethren who were themselves strong and praiseworthy in the faith, raised himself up against that wicked spirit to overcome it;” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 74 ch.10 p.393

Crescens of Cirta at the **Seventh Council of Carthage** (258 A.D.) p.567 says, “all heretics and schismatics who wish to come to the Catholic church, shall not be allowed to enter without they have first been exorcised and baptized;”

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “But the works of the Nicolaitanes were in that time false and troublesome men, who, as ministers under the name of Nicolaus, had made for themselves a heresy, to the effect that what had been offered to idols might be exorcised and eaten, and that whoever should have committed fornication might receive peace on the eighth day.” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the second chapter verse 6 p.346

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) “For if after the Cross all idolatry was overthrown, while every manifestation of demons is driven away by this Sign and Christ alone is worshipped and the Father known through Him, and, while gainsayers are put to shame, He daily invisibly wins over the souls of these gainsayers, —how, one might fairly ask them, is it still open to us to regard the matter as human, instead of confessing that He Who ascended the Cross is Word of God and Saviour of the World?” *Athanasius Against the Heathen* ch.1.5 p.4

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions exorcising devils. homily 8 ch.10 p.270

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 10 ch.66 p.209 mentions Peter expelling demons in Jesus’ name.

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.6 p.78 says that Jesus expelled demons. See also ibid book 2 ch.70 p.116.

## n12. Live a worthy life

Note that taking the Lord’s supper unworthily (1 Corinthians 11:27-32) is a separate topic not included here.

Worthily can also mean acknowledging the proper worth of something, and that is not included here.

Matthew 10:37-38; Ephesians 4:1; Philippians 1:27; Colossians 1:10; 1 Thessalonians 2:12; 2 Thessalonians 1:5b,11

Partial 1 Timothy 5:17 (church leaders)

Hebrews 10:38 (world not worthy of them)

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Take heed, beloved, lest His many kindnesses lead to the condemnation of us all. [For thus it must be] unless we walk worthy of Him, and with one mind do those things which are good and well-pleasing in His sight.” *1 Clement* ch.21 p.11

**Presbyters (Papias?)** (95-110 A.D.) “As the presbyters say, then those who are deemed worthy of an abode in heaven shall go there, others shall enjoy the delights of Paradise, and others shall possess the splendour of the city;”

**Ignatius of Antioch** (100-107/116 A.D.) says that we are worthy. *Epistle to the Smyrnaeans* ch.9 p.90

Ignatius of Antioch (100-107/116 A.D.) “For your justly renowned presbytery, worthy of God, is fitted as exactly to the bishop as the strings are to the harp.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Ephesians* ch.4 p.50

***Didache*** (=*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*) (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.15 p.381 “1. Appoint, therefore, for yourselves, bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek, and not lovers of money”

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) “If we please Him in this present world, we shall receive also the future world, according as He has promised to us that He will raise us again from the dead, and that if we live worthily of Him, “we shall also reign together with Him,” provided only we believe.” *Letter of Polycarp to the Philippians* ch.5 p.34

Polycarp (100-155 A.D.) “Knowing, then, that “God is not mocked,” we ought to walk worthy of His commandment and glory.” *Letter of Polycarp to the Philippians* ch.5 p.34

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (100-150 A.D.) ch.9 p.142-143 (implied) “For [the Scripture] saith, “And Abraham circumcised ten, and eight, and three hundred men of his household.” What, then, was the knowledge given to him in this? Learn the eighteen first, and then the three hundred. The ten and the eight are thus denoted-Ten by I, and Eight by H. You have [the initials of the, name of] Jesus. And because the cross was to express the grace [of our redemption] by the letter T, he says also, “Three Hundred.” He signifies, therefore, Jesus by two letters, and the cross by one. He knows this, who has put within us the engrafted gift of His doctrine. No one has been admitted by me to a more excellent piece of knowledge than this, but I know that ye are worthy.”

***Epistle to Diognetus*** (c.130-200 A.D.) ch.11 p.29 “I minister the things delivered to me to those that are disciples worthy of the truth.”

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 similitude eighth ch.11 p.43 “Because the Lord, having had compassion on all men, has sent me [the angel of repentance] to give repentance, although some are not worthy of it on account of their works; but the Lord, being long-suffering, desires those who were called by His Son to be saved.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “Thus some which have appeared worthy of God never die; but others are punished so long as God wills them to exist and to be punished.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.5 p.197

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “But before all let faith and the fear of God have rule in thy heart, and then shalt thou understand these things. When thou shalt have put off the mortal, and put on incorruption, then shall thou see God worthily.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* part 1 ch.7 p.91

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “And it [Deuteronomy] enjoined love to God, and taught just dealing towards our neighbour, that we should neither be unjust nor unworthy of God, who prepares man for His friendship through the medium of the Decalogue, and likewise for agreement with his neigbbour,-matters which did certainly profit man himself; God, however, standing in no need of anything from man.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.13.3 p.481

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “‘Let us therefore respect those who are over us, and reverence the elders; let us honour the young, and let us teach the discipline of God.’ For blessed is he who shall do and teach the Lord’s commands worthily; and he is of a magnanimous mind, and of a mind contemplative of truth.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.17 p.429

**Tertullian** (ca.208 A.D.) *On Fleeing Persecution* than Me, is not worthy of Me; and he who takes not up his cross and follows Me,”

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240 A.D.) “God made us, having previously no existence. For if we had a previous existence, we must have known where we were, and how and why we came hither. But if we had no pre-existence, then God is the sole author of our creation. As, then, He made us who had no existence, so also, now that we are made, He saves us by His own grace, if we show ourselves worthy and susceptible.” *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.17 p.45

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “*Our object is*, that the reader, not only when made acquainted with the overthrow of those who have presumed to establish heresies, may regard with scorn their idle *fancies*, but also, when brought to know the power of the truth, may be placed in the way of salvation, by reposing that faith in God which He so worthily deserves.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 9 ch.26 p.139

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) “that they who have wrestled worthily may be also crowned worthily by Him, by the illustrious Arbiter” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.46 p.213

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) [To the Jews] “Isaiah said that ye were of hardened heart. Ye look upon the law which Moses in wrath dashed to pieces; and the same Lord gave to him a second law. In that he placed his hope; but ye, half healed, reject it, and therefore ye shall not be worthy of the kingdom of heaven.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.38 p.210

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “For it is inconsistent with the fitness of things that a polluted heart should look upon God; for that must be itself pure which would worthily behold that which is pure.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 6 ch.69 p.605

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says we be worthy and mortify our members. *Origen On Prayer* ch.26.3 p.87

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “learn what, according to the authority of Scripture, the discipline of the Church requires of them, that they ought to be humble and modest and peaceable, that they should maintain the honour of their name, so that those who have achieved glory by what they have testified, may achieve glory also by their characters, and in all things seeking the Lord’s approval, may show themselves worthy, in consummation of their praise, to attain a heavenly crown.” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 5 ch.1 p.282

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “yet is their hope full of immortality; and having been a little chastised, they shall be greatly rewarded: for God proved them, and found them worthy of Himself. *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 80 ch.2 p.407

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “let us do nothing but what is worthy of God and Christ, even as the apostle arouses and exhorts us, saying: ‘If ye be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God; occupy your minds with things that are above, not with things which are upon the earth. For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God. But when Christ, who is your life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with Him in glory.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 10 ch.14 p.495

**Moyses et al.** to Cyprian (250 A.D.) “He [Jesus] says, ‘He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me: and he that loveth his own soul more than me is not worthy of me. And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me.’” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 25 ch.4 p.303

**Pontius’ *Life and Passion of Cyprian*** (258 A.D.) ch.14 p.272 “(implied) A gentle custody, however, had him in charge when taken and placed for one night in the officer’s house; so that we, his associates and friends, were as usual in his company. The whole people in the meantime, in anxiety that nothing should be done throughout the night without their knowledge, kept watch before the officer’s door. The goodness of God granted him at that time, so truly worthy of it, that even God’s people should watch on the passion of the priest.”

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) (implied, worthy of scripture) “6. “A time to keep, and a time to cast away.” A time to keep the Scripture against the unworthy, and a time to put it forth for the worthy.” *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* ch.3.6 p.114

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) People who are sincere, and have a genuine concern for others, desired to live as worthy a life as possible in the world. They therefore cherish a high and noble faith in God, and so gain for themselves something perfectly and gloriously good.” (Adamantius is speaking) *Dialogue on the True Faith* First part 803.1 p.35

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “For consider what confidence Seth had towards God, and Abel, and Enos [Enosh], and Enoch, and Methuselah, and Noah, the first lovers of righteousness, and the first of the first-born children who are written in heaven, being thought worthy of the kingdom, as a kind of first-fruits of the plants for salvation, coming out as early fruit to God.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 7 ch.5 p.333

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) “(implied) its not being meet to approach those who have become unbelieving and unworthy of the faith;” *Commentary on Acts* ch.bb

Peter of Alexandria (306,285-311 A.D.) (partial) “And if it bear fruit, well; and if not, then alter mat thou shall cut it down.” Keeping this before their eyes, and showing forth fruit worthy of repentance, after so long an interval of time, they will be profiled.” Canonical Letter canon 3 p.270

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Therefore he ought to be mindful of his nature and condition, and always to strive and aim at things above. And whoever shall do this, he will be judged altogether wise, he just, he a man: he, in short, will be judged worthy of heaven” *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.19 p.68

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

pseudo-Justin Martyr (168-200 A.D.) “do not think that anything incredible has taken place if a man sprung from a godly line, and who lived worthily of the godliness of his fathers, was chosen by God to be honoured with this great gift and to be set forth as the first of all the prophets.” *Justin’s Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.11 p.278

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 3 ch.37 p.124 says that God gives eternal reword to the worthy.

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.6 p.94 implies that we should live a worthy life. See also ibid book 2 ch.68 p.116,

## n13. Mortify earthly nature/deeds of the body

Colossians 3:5; Galatians 5:24; Ephesians 4:22

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “not laying aside God’s handiwork, but the lusts of the flesh, and receiving the Holy Spirit; as the apostle says in the Epistle to the Colossians: [3:5] ‘Mortify, therefore, your members which are upon the earth.’ And what these are he himself explains: ‘Fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, evil concupiscence; and covetousness, which is idolatry.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.12.3 p.538

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “Mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth; fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, and concupiscence, and covetousness, which is idolatry: for which things’ sake cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience,’ cries the apostle.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.11 p.288

**Tertullian** (208-220 A.D.) “He demonstrates, too, to the Colossians what ‘members’ they are to ‘mortify’ upon” *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.17 p.93

**Origen** (235-245 A.D.) says to put to death our sinful nature. *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 15 ch.6.2 p.164. See also homily 16 ch.1.2 p.167

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) “desire ‘to mortify our members that are upon the earth, fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, evil concupiscence;’ and we use every effort to ‘mortify the deeds of the flesh.’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 5 ch.49 p.565

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says we be worthy and mortify our members. *Origen On Prayer* ch.26.3 p.87

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth; putting off” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 51 ch.27 p.334

## n14. Be clothed with/in Christ

Romans 13:14; Galatians 3:27

Revelation 3:18 (partial) (does not say Christ)

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “For the divine apostle most beautifully counsels us to put on Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the lusts of the flesh.” This is an allusion to Romans 13:14. *The Instructor* book 3 ch.11 p.285

**Tertullian** (ca.208 A.D.) “You [Christians] are Christ-clothed,” *On Fleeing Persecution* ch.10 p.122

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Buy for yourself white raiment, that you who had been naked according to Adam, and were before frightful and unseemly, may be clothed with the white garment of Christ.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 8 ch.14 p.480

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “so that that old nakedness being covered, they may all bear the garments of Christ robed in the sanctification of heavenly grace.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 11 ch.3 p.497

**Phileas** (martyred c.307 A.D.) “even by the word of the Apostle Paul, the most blessed seer, and the man who put on Christ, who is the Christ of all of us no less;” *Phileas to Meletius of Lycopolis* vol.6 p.164

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

pseudo-Clement ***Two Epistles on Virginity*** (3rd century A.D.) ch.7 vol.8 p.57 “Those, therefore, who imitate Christ, imitate Him earnestly. For those who have ‘put on Christ’ in truth, express His likeness in their thoughts, and in their whole life, and in all their behaviour…”

**Among heretics**

**X** The ***First Form of the Gospel of Thomas*** (shorter Greek version) (188-235 A.D.) ch.37 p.130 says that spiritually we are to be naked and not clothed with anything.

## n15. You cannot serve two masters

Matthew 6:24b; Luke 16:13b

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) vol.7 ch.6 p.518 “Now the Lord declares, ‘No servant can serve two masters.’”

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 10.1 p.59 “No man can serve two masters; and that because it is necessary that he hate one of them and love the other, and honour one of them and despise the 2 other. Ye cannot serve God and possessions.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “that [text] which says, “Ye cannot serve two masters,” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.8 p.421

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “And what the saying, ‘No man can serve two masters, God and Mammon?’” *Stromata* book 4 ch.6 p.414

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “What the two masters are who, He says, cannot be served,” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.33 p.402

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “had imagined that they could serve two masters, his head alone uncovered, the” *The Chaplet* ch.1 p.93

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “the Lord! For no one can serve two masters.” *The Shows* ch.26 p.90

**Origen** (235-245 A.D.) says you cannot serve two masters. *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 7 ch.3.2 p.72.

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) quotes Matthew 6:24. *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.3 p.640

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “conclude that there are two masters. How, then, according to the Scriptures,” *Concerning the Trinity*

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “He says that he has done what another has actually committed; and although it is written, ‘Ye cannot serve two masters,’ he has served an earthly master in that he has obeyed his edict; he has been more obedient to human authority than to God.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 3 ch.27 p.444

Julianus of Marcelliana at the **Seventh Council of Carthage** (258 A.D.) p.571 (implied) says, “If a man can serve two masters, God and mammon, baptism also can serve two masters, the Christian and the heretic.”

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) quotes Matthew 6:24 (God and Mammon). Adamantius quotes all of this right after Megethius quotes just part of it. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part 821a p.74

**Among heretics**

The Encratite heretic Tatian (c.172 A.D.) “incontinence, he exhibits a man who will attempt to serve two masters-God by the *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* fragment 1 p.82

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 5 ch.9 p.144 quotes Matthew 6:24

## n16. Martyrs are blessed

**Evarestus** (c.169 A.D.) “Now, the blessed Polycarp suffered martyrdom on the second day of the month” *Martyrdom of Polycarp* ch.21 p.43

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) has an entire chapter on the blessedness of the martyr. *Stromata* book 4 ch.7 p.416-419

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) wrote an entire work to the blessed martyrs. *To the Martyrs*

Tertullian (205 A.D.) “Who, pray, are these so blessed conquerors, but martyrs in the strict sense of the word?” *Scorpiace* ch.12 p.646

**Origen** (239-242 A.D.) teaches that martyrs are blessed. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 4 ch.7.2 p.75

Origen (233/234 A.D.) (implied) mentions blessed martyrs. *Origen’s Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.29 p.170-171

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “The blessed martyrs have written to me” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 11 ch.1 p.292

**Celerinus** (c.246-258 A.D.) in his letter to Lucian (implied) “Yet I beseech, beloved of the Lord, that if, first of all, you are washed in that sacred blood, and have suffered for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ before my letters find you in this world,… So may He crown you whose name you have confessed.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 20 ch.1 p.298

**Pontius** (258 A.D.) “Now also a messenger came to him from the city from Xistus, the good and peace-making priest, and on that account most blessed martyr.” *Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.14 p.272

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) the bodies of those perfected and blessed martyrs. For even up to the present

**Phileas of Thmuis** (martyred 306/307 A.D.) “are given us in the divine and holy Scriptures, the blessed martyrs who lived” *Letter of Phileas to Thmuis* ch.1 p.160

## n17. Losing your life and finding it

Matthew 16:25

*Tatian’s* ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 27.46-47 p.80 quotes Jesus on those who lose their life will save it.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “‘For he that loveth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life shall find it,’ if we only join that which is mortal of us with the immortality of God.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.6 p.413-414

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “He,” says Jesus, “who will value his own life also more than me, is not worthy of me,” -that is, he who will rather live by denying, than die by confessing, me; and “he who findeth his life shall lose it; but he who loseth it for my sake shall find it.” *Scorpiace* ch.11 p.644

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “‘He that loseth his life for My sake shall find it.’” *Commentary on Matthew* book 20 ch.20 p.462

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246--258 A.D.) “Of this same thing in the Gospel according to John: “He who loveth his life shall lose it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall find it to life eternal.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 third part ch.16 p.538

## n18. Believers are servants of God

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) the early believers prayed the God’s servants would speak His word with boldness in Acts 4:29,31; 9:27 (preaching fearlessly); 14:3

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) (implied) “The good servant receives the bread of his labour with confidence; the lazy and slothful cannot look his employer in the face. It is requisite, therefore, that we be prompt in the practice of well-doing; for of Him are all things.” *1 Clement* (*ANF* vol.1) ch.34 p.14

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) says Christian should “Labour together with one another; strive in company together; run together; suffer together; sleep together; and awake together, as the stewards, and associates, and servants of God. Please ye Him under who ye fit, and from whom ye receive your wages. Let none of you be found a deserter. Let your baptism endure as your arms.” *Ignatius to Polycarp* ch.6 p.95

Ignatius of Antioch (-107/116 A.D.) “Take ye heed, then, to have but one Eucharist. For there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup to [show forth] the unity of His blood; one altar; as there is one bishop, along with the presbytery and deacons, my fellow-servants; that so, whatsoever ye do, ye may do it according to [the will of] God.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Philadelphians* ch.4 p.81

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) “In like manner should the deacons be blameless before the face of His righteousness, as being the servants of God and Christ, and not of men. They must not be slanderers, double-tongued, or lovers of money, but temperate in all things, compassionate, industrious, walking according to the truth of the Lord, who was the servant of all.” *Letter to the Philippians* ch.4 p.34

**Evarestus** (c.169 A.D.) “When, therefore, ye have yourselves read this Epistle, be pleased to send it to the brethren at a greater distance, that they also may glorify the Lord, who makes such choice of His own servants.” *Martyrdom of Polycarp* ch.20 p.43

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) ch.20 vol.9 p.256 “But let it not even trouble your mind, that we see the unrighteous possessed of riches and the servants of God straitened.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “And again, in another prophecy it is said: ‘And it shall come to pass after this, I will pour out My Spirit on all flesh, and on My servants, and on My handmaids, and they shall prophesy.’” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.87 p.243

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 Similitude 5 ch.4 p.35 says, “‘Every one who is the servant of God, and has his Lord in his heart, asks of him understanding, and receives it, and opens up every parable; and the words of the Lord become known to him which are spoken in parables.” But those who are weak and slothful in prayer, hesitate to ask anything from the Lord.”

*Shepherd of Hermas* (c.115-155 A.D.) part 3 Similitude 6 ch.2 p.36-37 “‘This,’ he answered, ‘is the angel of luxury and deceit: he wears out the souls of the servants of God, and perverts them from the truth, deceiving them with wicked desires, through which they will perish; for they forget the commandments of the living God, and walk in deceits and empty luxuries; and they are ruined by the angel, some being brought to death, others to corruption:’”

***Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum*** (Lyons) (177 A.D.) “The servants of Christ who sojourn in Vienna and Lugdunum of Gaul to the brethren throughout Asia and Phrygia, who have the same faith and hope of redemption as ourselves, peace, grace, and glory from God the Father, and from Christ Jesus our Lord. … Then at last the holy Witnesses suffered tortures beyond all description, Satan striving eagerly that some of the evil reports might be acknowledged by them.” vol.8 p.778,779

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “‘Well done,’ He says, ‘good and faithful servant: because thou hast been faithful in little, I will appoint thee over many things; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.’ The Lord Himself thus promises very much. 3. As, therefore, He has promised to give very much to those who do now bring forth fruit, according to the gift of His grace, but not according to the changeableness of ‘knowledge;’ ‘for the Lord remains the same, and the same Father is revealed;’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.11.2-3 p.474

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** “For ‘in the last days, saith the Lord, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh; and their sons and their daughters shall prophesy. And upon my servants and my handmaidens will I pour out of my Spirit; and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams.’” (c.201/205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) preface p.699

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “For sometimes He calls us children, sometimes chickens, sometimes infants, and at other times sons, and ‘a new people,’ and ‘a recent people.’ ‘And my servants shall be called by a new name” *The Instructor* book 1 ch.5 p.212

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) says that believers are God’s servants. *Stromata* book 1 ch.27 p.346

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Satan will not be at liberty to do anything against the servants of the living God unless the Lord grant leave,” *Fleeing Persecution* ch.2 p.117

Tertullian (198-202 A.D.) “and yet is He the only Blessed One. Let us servants, therefore, follow our Lord” *Of Patience* ch.8 p.712

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) (implied) “For whatever is unrighteous ought to be foreign to the servants of God.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.33 p.403

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) mentions God giving His servants an “everlasting kingdom, that is, they shall possess the endless enjoyment of good.” *Fragment 3* ch.7.25 p.190. See also “everlasting live in ch.12.2 p.190

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) in discussing the three youths in the fire says, See how even the fire appears intelligent, as if it recognised and punished the guilty. For it did not touch the servants of God, but it consumed the unbelieving and impious Chaldeans. *Scholia on Daniel* ch.3 no.47 p.188

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) (implied) “till we have sealed the servants of our God on their foreheads” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 1 ch.1 p.297

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) (implied) Moreover, the order of reason, and the authority of the faith in the disposition of the words and in the Scriptures of the Lord, admonish us after these things to believe also on the Holy Spirit, once promised to the Church, and in the appointed occasions of times given. For He was promised by Joel the prophet, but given by Christ. ‘In the last days,’ says the prophet, ‘I will pour out of my Spirit upon my servants and my handmaids.’ *Concerning the Trinity* ch.29 p.640

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.2 p.658 “For your ears are closed, and your hearts darkened, seeing that ye admit no light from spiritual and saving warnings; as Isaiah says, ‘The servants of God are blinded.’”

***Treatise on Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.15 p.676 “their old men shall dream dreams: and upon my servants, and upon my handmaidens,”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “we count your glory our glory, whose times have been brightened by such a felicity, that it should be the fortune of our day to see the proved servants of God and Christ’s soldiers crowned.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 24 ch.2 p.302

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “2. But that, being first severely beaten with clubs, and ill-used, you have begun by sufferings of that kind, the glorious firstlings of your confession, is not a matter to be execrated by us. For a Christian body is not very greatly terrified at clubs, seeing all its hope is in the Wood. The servant of Christ acknowledges the sacrament of his salvation: redeemed by wood to life eternal, he is advanced by wood to the crown.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 76 ch.2 p.403

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “God the Father ordained His Son to be adored; and the Apostle Paul, mindful of the divine command, lays it down, and says: ‘God hath exalted Him, and given Him a name which is above every name, that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things heavenly, and things earthly, and things beneath.” And in the Apocalypse the angel withstands John, who wishes to worship him, and says: ‘See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren. Worship Jesus the Lord.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 9ch.24 p.491

**Pontius** (258 A.D.) “he [Cyprian] was instructing God’s servants, as opportunity was given, in the exhortations of the Lord, and was animating them to tread under foot the sufferings of this present time by the contemplation of a glory to come hereafter.” *Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.14 p.272

**Roman Church leaders** to Cyprian (250-251 A.D.) “We have been informed by Crementius the sub-deacon, who came to us from you, that the blessed father Cyprian has for a certain reason withdrawn; ‘in doing which he acted quite rightly, because he is a person of eminence, and because a conflict is impending,’ which God has allowed in the world, for the sake of cooperating with His servants in their struggle against the adversary,” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 2 ch.1 p.280

**Celerinus** to Cyprian (250-251 A.D.) “This, however, continually happens to the servants of God, especially to those who are appointed for the confession of Christ.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 20 ch.1 p.298

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “‘The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which He gave to him to show to His servants quickly; and He sent and signified it by His angel to His servant John,’” *From the Two Books of Promises* ch.4 p.83

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “Grant pardon, O King Supreme, to those who persecute Thy servants; and in virtue of Thy benign nature, forgive those who fly from the worship of Thy name and the observance of Thy religion.” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.31 p.421

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “His servants things which must shortly come to pass, and signified it.” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the first chapter verse 1 p.344

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) “In these things, then, they have shown themselves the servants of God, inasmuch as they have hated, trodden under foot, and despised money, and have thus fulfilled what is written: ‘The ransom of a man’s life are his riches.’” *Canonical Epistle* canon 12 p.277

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) (implied) “And consider whether it was not for these very things that David entreated God, grieving that he thought of those things which he did not will: ‘O cleanse Thou me from my secret faults. Keep Thy servant also from presumptuous sins.’” *A Synopsis of the Discourse on the Resurrection* ch.1 p.371

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “But with respect to God, who is one only, inasmuch as He sustains the twofold character both of Father and Lord, we are bound both to love Him, inasmuch as we are sons, and to fear Him, inasmuch as we are servants.” T*he Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.4 p.103-104

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “For the prophet Jeremiah says: ‘I sent to you my servants the prophets; I sent them before the morning light; but ye did not hearken, nor incline your ears to hear, when I spake unto you: let every one of you turn from his evil way, and from your most corrupt affections; and ye shall dwell in the land which I gave to you and to your fathers for ever. Walk ye not after strange gods, to serve them; and provoke me not to anger with the works of your hands, that I should destroy you.’” [Jeremiah 25:4-6] *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.11 p.109

**Among heretics**

The Encratite heretic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “moon were made for us: how, then, can I adore my own servants? How can I speak” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.4 p.66

## n19. We must persevere

1 Thessalonians 1:3; 2 Thessalonians 3:5; James 1:3-4; Revelation 2:3; 3:10

**p13** Hebrews 2:14-5:5; 10:8-22; 10:29-11:13; 11:28-12:17 (225-250 A.D.) (implied) Hebrews 10:19 we must persevere to be saved

**p115** (=Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 4499) 119 verses of Revelation. 2:1-3,13-15,27-29; 3:10-12; 5:8-9; 6:5-6; 8:3-8,11-13; 9:1-5,7-16,18-21; 10:1-4,8-11; 11:1-5,8-15,18-19; 12:1-5,8-10,12-17; 13:1-3,6-16,18; 14:1-3,5-7,10-11,14-15,18-20; 15:1,4-7 (middle to late 3rd century) Revelation 2:3

**Polycarp**(100-165 A.D.) says we should return to the word and be “watching unto prayer” and “persevering in fasting” *Letter to the Philippians* ch.7 p.34

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 tenth Similitude ch.2 p.54 “He answered, ‘I also know that you neither have done nor will do anything improper, and therefore I speak these words to you, that you may persevere.”

*Tatian’s* ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 13.7-8 p.63 says we must persevere.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “may, in the exercise of His grace, confer immortality on the righteous, and holy, and those who have kept His commandments, and have persevered in His love, some from the beginning [of their Christian course], and others from [the date of] their repentance, and may surround them with everlasting glory.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.10.1 p.331

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) only those who endure to the end are to be saved.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.9 p.423

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) said “no one is a Christian but he who perseveres even to the end.” *The Prescription Against Heretics* ch.3 p.244

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “For, whereas he thought to involve the noble youth in an unhallowed punishment, he exhibited him as a double martyr for Christ, inasmuch as he had both striven nobly for his own immortal soul, and persevered manfully in labours also in behalf of that noble and blessed maiden.” *The Story of a Maiden of Corinth, and a Certain Magistrianus* p.241

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) (implied) says that we must endure to inherit the land. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 36 homily 2 ch.4 p.96.

*Treatise Against Novatian* (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.6 p.659 (partial) mentions how some were wounded in the Decian persecution yet afterwards, in a second encounter, persevered bravely, and did not fear to give up their life and to shed their blood.”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “For those shall not be forsaken by the aid and assistance of the Lord, who meekly, humbly, and with true penitence have persevered in good works; but the divine, remedy will be granted to them also.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 12 ch.2 p.293

**Moyses, Maximum, and Nicostratus** (248-257 A.D.) say we should “persevere in the faith of truth” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 25.1 p.302

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “And those who hold out and continue for a very long time, and persevere even on to the fourth watch, which is also the time at which our Saviour manifested Himself walking upon the sea to those who were then on the deep, we receive as noble and laborious disciples.” *letter 5 To Bishop Basilides* canon 1 p.95

**Victorinus of Petau** (304 A.D.) “To be sweet in the mouth is the reward of the preaching of the speaker, and is most pleasant to the hearers; but it is most bitter both to those that announce it, and to those that persevere in its commandments through suffering.” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the tenth chapter verse 10 p.353

Theophilus (events c.315 A.D.) (partial) “and [Habib] ministered and read the Scriptures, and encouraged and strengthened many by his words, and admonished them to stand fast in the truth of their belief, and not to be afraid of the persecutors; and gave them directions.” *Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon* p.690

## n20. We are the light of the world

*Tatian’s* ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 8.41 p.56 says we must persevere.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “But He is the Creator, who does also through Christ prepare lights in the world, [namely] those who believe from among the Gentiles. And He says, ‘Ye are the light of the world;’ that is, as the stars of heaven.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.7.3 p.470

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) (implied) “Had they also known the truth, all would have bounded on to the way, and there would have been no choice. But our faith, being the light of the world, reproves unbelief.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.11 p.423

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “*You* are a light of the world, and a tree ever green.” *On Idolatry* ch.15 p.71

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “And if our actions are worthy of Him who taught His disciples, ‘Ye are the light of the world,’ and of the Word, who says, ‘The light shineth in darkness,’ then we shall be light to those who are in darkness we shall give wisdom to those who are without it, and we shall instruct the ignorant.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 7 ch.51 p.632

## n21. We wrestle against the devil or sin

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 2 commandment twelfth ch.5 p.29 “‘He [the devil] cannot,’ says he, ‘hold sway over the servants of God, who with all their heart place their hopes in Him. The devil can wrestle against these, overthrow them he cannot. If, then, ye resist him, he will be conquered, and flee in disgrace from you.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “For peace and freedom are not otherwise won, than by ceaseless and unyielding struggles with our lusts. For these stout and Olympic antagonists are keener than wasps, so to speak; and Pleasure especially, not by day only, but by night, is in dreams with witchcraft ensnaringly plotting and biting.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.20 p.373

**Tertullian** (ca.208 A.D.) “You find in the Revelation its edict, setting forth the rewards by which He incites to victory-those, above all, whose is the distinction of conquering in persecution, in very deed contending in their victorious struggle not against flesh and blood, but against spirits of wickedness.” *On Fleeing Persecution* ch.1 p.116

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) (partial) “These were the ingenious arts of ‘spiritual wickednesses,’ wherewith we also, my brethren, may fairly expect to have ‘to wrestle,’ as necessary for faith, that the elect may be made manifest, (and) that the reprobate may be discovered.” *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.39 p.262

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “Let the spirit hold convene with the flesh about the common salvation, thinking no longer of the troubles of the prison, but of the wrestle and conflict for which they are the preparation.” *To the Martyrs* ch.4 p.695

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “But they have no power over those who ‘have put on the whole armour of God,’ who have received strength to ‘withstand the wiles of the devil,’ and who are ever engaged in contests with them, knowing that ‘we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.34 p.652

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says we wrestle against sin. *Origen On Prayer* ch.29.2 p.114

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “are as praiseworthy in maintaining the peace of Christ, as they have been victorious in their combat with the devil.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 1 ch.22 p.428

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “The Apostle Paul teaches us to be armed and prepared, saying, ‘We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against powers, and the princes of this world and of this darkness, against spirits of wickedness in high places. Wherefore put on the whole armour, that ye may be able to withstand in the most evil day, that when ye have done all ye may stand; having your loins girt about with truth, and having put on the breastplate of righteousness; and your feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace; taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked one; and the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.’” *Letters of Cyprian* letter 55 ch.8 p.350

**Methodius of Olympus** (270-311/312 A.D.) that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil; ‘casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of Christ,’ ‘for we wrestle not against flesh and blood;’ for that which I do, I allow not; for what I would, that do I not: but what I hate, that do I. *A Synopsis of the Discourse on the Resurrection* ch.2 p.371

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “For you know how crafty that wrestler and adversary of ours is, and also often violent, as we now see that he is. He employs all these things which are able to entice as snares,” *The Workmanship of God* ch.1 p.281

## n22. Keep away from works of darkness

Ephesians 5:11a

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) (implied) “They know not, neither have they understood; they walk on in darkness: all the foundations of the earth shall be shaken. I said, Ye are gods, and are all children of the Most High. But ye die like men, and fall like one of the princes. Arise, O God! judge the earth, for Thou shalt inherit all nations.’” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.124 p.262

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 35 no.23 p.97 “And Jesus addressed them again, and said, I am the light of the world; and he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall find the light of life.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “For the apostle decrees that, ‘putting off the works of darkness, we should put on the armour of light, walking honestly as in the day, not spending our time in rioting and drunkenness, in chambering and wantonness.’” *The Instructor* book 2 ch.4 p.248

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “What, moreover, used (the Spirit) to teach? That there must be no communicating with the works of darkness.” *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.21 p.98

**Origen** (198-220 A.D.) “He is transfigured, His face also shines as the sun, that He may be manifested to the children of light, who have put off the works of darkness, and put on the armour of light, and are no longer the children of darkness or night, but have become the sons of day, and walk honestly as in the day;” *Commentary on Matthew* book 12 ch.37 p.470

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “let us therefore cast away the works of darkness, and let us put upon us the armour of light.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 10 ch.10 p.494

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “And again: ‘He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness even until now, and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because that darkness hath blinded his eyes.’ Whosoever hates, says he, his brother, walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth. For he goeth unconsciously to Gehenna, in ignorance and blindness; he is hurrying into punishment, departing, that is, from the light of Christ, who warns and says, ‘I am the light of the world. He that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 10 ch.11 p.494

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) “And have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them; for it is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret.” *Canonical Epistle* canon 2 p.18

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (c.318 A.D.) “For as if a man, when the sun is shining, and the whole earth illumined by his light, were to shut fast his eyes and imagine darkness where no darkness exists, and then walk wandering as if in darkness, often falling and going down steep places, thinking it was dark and not light,—for, imagining that he sees, he does not see at all;—so, too, the soul of man, shutting fast her eyes, by which she is able to see God, has imagined evil for herself, and moving therein, knows not that, thinking she is doing something, she is doing nothing.” *Athanasius Against the Heathen* part 1 ch.7.4 p.7

## n23. We are aliens awaiting our eternal home

(implied) John 15:19

Philippians 3:20; Hebrews 11:13; 13:13-14; 1 Peter 1:17; 2:11

(partial) Philippians 3:14

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Philippians 3:20; Hebrews 11:13; 13:13-14

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) (implied) John 15:19

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. We are strangers here on earth and aliens. 1 Peter 1:17; 2:11

p16 Philippians 3:10-17; 4:2-8 (late 3rd century) (partial, not aliens or citizenship) Philippians 3:14 says we eagerly look forward to the prize for which God has called us Heavenward in Christ Jesus.

**Ignatius** (-107/116 A.D.) “by Christ Jesus, apart from whom we do not possess the true life.” *Ignatius’ Letter to the Trallians* ch.9 p.70

***Epistle to Diognetus*** (c.130-200 A.D.) ch.6 p.27 “To sum up all in one word – what the soul is in the body, that are Christians in the world. … The soul dwells in the body, yet is not of the body; and Christians dwell in the world, yet are not of the world.” See also ibid ch.5 p.27

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 Similitude 1 p.31 (implied) says that we live in a strange land, for our city is far away.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) says the elect dwell on earth as sojourners, but not because we are aliens to the world by nature, as the Gnostic Basilides says. *Stromata* book 4 ch.26 p.440

**Origen** (235-245 A.D.) says that we are aliens on this world. *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 7 ch.2.2 p.72

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) says to seek citizenship in heaven. *Origen Against Celsus* book 2 ch.5 p.432

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) quotes Philippians 3:20 about our citizenship in heaven. He also says that we will sit with Christ in the heavenly places. *Commentary on Matthew* book 10 ch.15 p.422.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes 2 Peter 2:11-12, which says we are strangers in this world. letter 6.3 p.284

Pontius (258 A.D.) (partial) “For while the continency of the Holy Spirit restrains him from carnal desires, he lays aside the conversation of the former man, and even among his fellow-citizens, or, I might almost say, among the parents themselves of his earthly life, he is a stranger.” *Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.11 p.271

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) says not to set our “hopes on this alien world” *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 4 ch.4 p.324

Methodius (270-311/312 A.D.) “The Church, then, stands upon our faith and adoption, under the figure of the moon, until the fullness of the nations come in, labouring and bringing forth natural men as spiritual men; for which reason too she is a mother. For just as a woman receiving the unformed seed of a man, within a certain time brings forth a perfect man, in the same way, one should say, does the Church conceive those who flee to the Word, and, forming them according to the likeness and form of Christ, after a certain time produce them as citizens of that blessed state.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 8 ch.6 p.337

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Acts of Paul and Thecla*** (before 207 A.D.) p.487 (implied) “blessed are they that have kept aloof from this word, for they shall be called upright: blessed are they that have wives as not having them, for they shall receive God for their portion:”

**Among heretics**

Marcionite heretic **Megethius** (c.300 A.D.) is disputing with Adamantius, discusses believers being “aliens” in the world. *Dialogue on the True Faith* 1st part ch.820a 27 p.77

## n24. Don’t be bitter

This is an attitude, and does not include bitterness of death or bitter tortures.

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 2 commandment 5 ch.2 p.23 “Now, of folly is begotten bitterness, and of bitterness anger, and of anger frenzy. This frenzy, the product of so many evils, ends in great and incurable sin.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) (implied) “And a vast multitude in your nation are convicted of being of this kind, imbibing doctrines of bitterness and godlessness, but spurning the word of God.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.120 p.259

**Irenaeus** (182-188 A.D.) (implied) in discussing Peter’s encounter with Simon quotes Peter as saying, “in this matter, for thy heart is not right in the sight of God; for I perceive that thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.23.1 p.347

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “But rather, he says, “Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord: looking diligently, lest there be any fornicator or profane person, as Esau, who for one morsel surrendered his birth-right; and lest any root of bitterness springing up trouble you, and thereby many be defiled.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.20 p.432

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) “Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil-speaking, be put away from you, with all malice: and be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, as God in Christ hath forgiven you.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.294

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil-speaking, be put away from you, with all malice: but be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God in Christ hath forgiven you.” *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* ch.45 p.578

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (c.240 A.D.) “Now the Lord with His precious blood redeems us, freeing us from our old bitter masters, that is, our sins, on account of which the spiritual *powers* of wickedness ruled over us.” *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.20 p.45

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “And this net has been cast into the sea-the wave-tossed life of men in every part of the world, and which swims in the bitter affairs of life. And before our Saviour Jesus Christ this net was not wholly filled; for the net of the law and the prophets had to be completed by Him who says, ‘Think not that I came to destroy the law and the prophets, I came not to destroy but to fulfil.’” *Commentary on Matthew* book 10 ch.12 p.420

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.1 p.657 “lo, there appeared opposed to me another enemy, and the adversary of his own paternal affection-the heretic Novatian-who not only, as it is signified in the Gospel, passed by the prostrate wounded man, as did the priest or the Levite, but by an ingenious and novel cruelty rather would slay the wounded man, by taking away the hope of salvation, by denying the mercy of his Father, by rejecting the repentance of his brother. Marvellous, how bitter, how harsh, how perverse are many things! But one more easily perceives the straw in another’s eye than the beam in one’s own.”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes, Paul, apostle to the Ephesians on “Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, in which ye were sealed in the day of redemption. Let all bitterness, and wrath, and indignation, and clamour, and blasphemy, be taken away from you” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 book 3 ch.7 p.534. See also Letter 51 ch.19 p.532.

Arnobius of Sicca (297-303 A.D.) (partial) “In our opinion, however, that which is good naturally, does not require to be either corrected or reproved; nay more, it should not know what evil is, if the nature of each kind would abide in its own integrity, for neither can two contraries be implanted in each other, nor can equality be contained in inequality, nor sweetness in bitterness.” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.50 p.453

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “For the present we restrain its sprouts, such as evil imaginations, ‘lest any root of bitterness springing up trouble’ us, not suffering its leaves to unclose and open into shoots; while the Word, like an axe, cuts at its roots which grow below. But hereafter the very thought of evil will disappear.” *Discourse on the Resurrection* ch.5 p.365

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “But since few make use of this heavenly benefit and gift, because the truth lies hidden veiled in obscurity; and it is either an object of contempt to the learned because it has not suitable defenders, or is hated by the unlearned on account of its natural severity, which the nature of men inclined to vices cannot endure: for because there is a bitterness mingled with virtues, while vices are seasoned with pleasure, offended by the former and soothed by the latter, they are borne headlong, and deceived by the appearance of good things, they embrace evils for goods,-I have believed that these errors should be encountered, that both the learned may be directed to true wisdom, and the unlearned to true religion.” *The Divine Institutes* book 1 preface p.9

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) “Two very bad things are ill-will and unbelief, both of which are contrary to righteousness; for ill-will is opposed to charity, and unbelief to faith; just in the same way as bitterness is opposed to sweetness, darkness to light, evil to good, death to life, falsehood to truth. Those, therefore, who abound in these vices that are repugnant to virtue, are in a manner dead; for the malignant and the unbelieving hate charity and faith, and they who do this are the enemies of God.” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Letter 5 ch.1 p.299

**Among heretics**

The Sethian Gnostic ***Apocryphon of John*** (c.150-185 A.D.) ch.18 p.115 mentions callousness and bitterness.

## n25. Believers are transformed [now]

Future physical transformation is not counted here.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (c.160-202 A.D.) “so great is the transformation which faith In Christ the Son of God effects for those who believe on Him.” *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.61.

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) “And the whole Christ is not divided: ‘There is neither barbarian, nor Jew, nor Greek, neither male nor female, but a new man; transformed by God’s Holy Spirit.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.11 p.203.

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “For we regard as worldly those, who hope in the earth and carnal lusts. ‘Be not conformed,’ says the apostle, ‘to this world: but be ye transformed in the renewal of the mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect, will of God.’” *Stromata* book 2 ch.9 p.357

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “He who is the nobly-born sought, by means of His own subjection, to declare the slave free; He transformed the man into adamant who was dissolved into dust and made the food of the serpent, and declared Him who hung on the tree to be Lord over the conqueror, and thus through the tree He is found victor. 2. For they who know not now the Son of God incarnate,” homily *on the Paschal Supper* ch.7.1-2 p.239

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “And therefore *their* word ran swiftly and speedily, or rather the word of *God* through their instrumentality, transformed numbers of persons who had been sinners both by nature and habit, whom no one could have reformed by punishment, but who were changed by the word, which moulded and transformed them according to its pleasure.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 3 ch.68 p.491

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes Romans 12:1-2. *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 76 ch.3 p.403-404

Methodius (270-311/312 A.D.) (partial) “Moreover, man also having been appointed by the original order of things to inhabit the world, and to rule over all that is in it, when he is immortal, will never be changed from being a man into the form either of angels or any other; for neither do angels undergo a change from their original form to another. For Christ at His coming did not proclaim that the human nature should, when it is immortal, be remoulded or transformed into another nature, but into what it was before the fall.” *Discourse on the Resurrection* part 1 ch.10 p.366-267

## n26. The Kingdom of God is within you

Luke 17:21

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) Christ said that the Kingdom of God is within you. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.35 p.409

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “But if the kingdom of heaven and the kingdom of God are the same thing in reality, if not in idea, manifestly to those to whom it is said, ‘The kingdom of God is within you,’ to them also it might be said, ‘The kingdom of heaven is within you;’ and most of all because of the repentance from the letter unto the spirit; since ‘When one turn to the Lord, the veil over the letter is taken away. But the Lord is the Spirit.’” *Commentary on Matthew* book 10 ch.14 p.422

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Also in the Gospel according to Luke: ‘The kingdom of God is within you.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.52 p.547

Peter of Alexandria (306,285-311 A.D.) (partial, kingdom of heaven) “Moreover, we hear both also preaching, in the first place, not only repentance, but the kingdom of heaven, which, as we have learned, is within us;” *Canonical Epistle* canon 5 p.271

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (c.318 A.D.) “Which very thing the Saviour declared and confirmed, when He said: ‘The kingdom of God is within you’” *Athanasius Against the Heathen* part 2 ch.31 p.20

## n27. Walk in newness of life

Romans 6:1-4,14

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 commandment 9 ch.14 p.48 “For all these things I gave thanks to the Lord, because He had pity on all that call upon His name; and sent the angel of repentance to us who sinned against Him, and renewed our spirit; and when we were already destroyed, and had no hope of life, He restored us to newness of life.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “again says in the same Epistle: ‘Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized in Christ Jesus were baptized in His death? that like as Christ rose from the dead, so should we also walk in newness of life.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.16.9 p.444

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) “We have become a consecrated offering to God for Christ’s sake: we are the chosen generation, the royal priesthood, the holy nation, the peculiar people, who once were not a people, but are now the people of God; who, according to John, are not of those who are beneath, but have learned all from Him who came from above; who have come to understand the dispensation of God; who have learned to walk in newness of life.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.4 p.189

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Buried with Him, then, we have been, through the baptism into the death, in order that, as Christ hath risen again from the dead, so we too may walk in newness of life.” *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.17 p.93

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “much rather when a man, having laid off all about him that belongs to death, walks in the newness of life which belongs to Him, the Son, while here.” *Commentary on John* book 1 ch.25 p.312

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “But the image of the heavenly is the resurrection from the dead, and incorruption, in order that ‘as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we also should walk in newness of life.’” *Discourse on the Resurrection* part 1 ch.13 p.368

## n28. Some are worthy of martyrdom

**Ignatius of Antioch** (100-107/116 A.D.) “Pray ye for the Church which is in Syria, whence I am led bound to Rome, being the last of the faithful who are there, even as I have been thought worthy to be chosen to show forth the honour of God.” *Epistle to the Ephesians* ch.21 p.58 [both Greek and Latin]

**Evarestus** (c.169 A.D.) “I give Thee thanks that Thou hast counted me, worthy of this day and this hour, that I [Polycarp] should have a part in the number of Thy martyrs, in the cup of thy Christ, to the resurrection of eternal life, both of soul and body, through the incorruption [imparted] by the Holy Ghost.” *Martyrdom of Polycarp* ch.14 p.42

**Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum** (177 A.D.) vol.8 p.779 “But in an exceeding degree did the whole wrath of mob, general, and soldiers fall on Sanctus, a deacon from Vienna, and on Maturus, a newly-enlightened but noble combatant, and on Attalus, a native of Pergamus, who had always been the Pillar and foundation of the church there, and on Blandina, through whom Christ showed that the things that to men appear mean and deformed and contemptible, are with God deemed worthy of great glory, on account of love to Him,-a love which is not a mere boastful appearance, but shows itself in the power which it exercises over the life.”

**Hippolytus** (222-234/235 A.D.) “For, whereas he thought to involve the noble youth in an unhallowed punishment, he exhibited him [the martyr Magistranus] as a double martyr for Christ, inasmuch as he had both striven nobly for his own immortal soul, and persevered manfully in labours also in behalf of that noble and blessed maiden. Wherefore also he was deemed worthy of double honour with Christ, and of the illustrious and blessed crowns by His goodness.” Fragment 3 form other writings p.241

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) (implied) says that martyrdom is for some, but not all. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 67 homily 2 ch.1 p.161

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “And although I know that very many of those have been maintained by the vow and by the love of the brethren, yet if there be any who are in want either of clothing or maintenance, let them be supplied, with whatever things are necessary, as I formerly wrote to you, while they were still kept in prison,-only let them know from you and be instructed, and learn what, according to the authority of Scripture, the discipline of the Church requires of them, that they ought to be humble and modest and peaceable, that they should maintain the honour of their name, so that those who have achieved glory by what they have testified, may achieve glory also by their characters, and in all things seeking the Lord’s approval, may show themselves worthy, in consummation of their praise, to attain a heavenly crown. For there remains more than what is yet seen to be accomplished, since it is written ‘Praise not any man before his death;’ and again, ‘Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.’” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 5 ch.2 p.283

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “And again, where the sacred Scripture speaks of the tortures which consecrate God’s martyrs, and sanctify them in the very trial of suffering: ‘And if they have suffered torments in the sight of men, yet is their hope full of immortality; and having been a little chastised, they shall be greatly rewarded: for God proved them, and found them worthy of Himself. As gold in the furnace hath He tried them, and received them as a sacrifice of a burnt-offering, and in due time regard shall be had unto them.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 80 ch.2 p.407

**Pontius** (258 A.D.) (implied) “And thus, therefore, the judge reads from his tablet the sentence which lately in the vision he had not read,-a spiritual sentence, not rashly to be spoken,-a sentence worthy of such a bishop and such a witness; a glorious sentence, wherein he was called a standard-bearer of the sect, and an enemy of the gods, and one who was to be an example to his people; and that with his blood discipline would begin to be established. Nothing could be more complete, nothing more true, than this sentence. For all the things which were said, although said by a heathen, are divine.” *Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.17 p.273

## n29. Trust God

Trust God: Psalm 52:7; Proverbs 23:4-5; Luke 12:16-21

**Aristides** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) “For they [the Christians] know and trust in God, the Creator of heaven and of earth, in whom and from whom are all things, to whom there is no other god as companion, from whom they received commandments which they engraved upon their minds and observe in hope and expectation of the world which is to come. Wherefore they do not commit adultery nor fornication, nor bear false witness, nor embezzle what is held in pledge, nor covet what is not theirs. They honour father and mother, and show kindness to those near to them; and whenever they are judges, they judge uprightly.” *Apology of Aristides* ch.15 p.277

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) part 2 similtude 12 ch.6 p.30 “Trust God, then, ye who on account of your sins have despaired of life, and who add to your sins and weigh down your life; for if ye return to the Lord with all your heart, and practise righteousness the rest of your days, and serve Him according to His will, He will heal your former sins, and you will have power to hold sway over the works of the devil.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Since, therefore, Abraham was a prophet and saw in the Spirit the day of the Lord's coming, and the dispensation of His suffering, through whom both he himself and all who, following the example of his faith, trust in God, should be saved, he rejoiced exceedingly.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.5.5 p.467

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “’For except ye believe,’ says the Lord, ‘ye shall die in your sins.’ And again: ‘He that believeth hath everlasting life.’ ‘Blessed are all they that put their trust in Him.’ For trusting is more than faith. For when one has believed that the Son of God is our teacher, he trusts that his teaching is true.” *Stromata* book 5 ch.12 p.464

**Tertullian** (c.208 A.D.) “Why do you not rather on this, the side of constancy and trust in God, say, I do my part; I depart not; God, if He choose, will Himself be my protector?” *Fleeing Persecution* ch.5 p.119

Tertullian (c.205 A.,D.) “Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity;' meditating (as they do) day and night in the law of the Lord, because 'it is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in man; better to hope in the Lord than in man.'” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 2 ch.19 p.312

**Origen** (225-254 A.D.) “And applying yourself thus to the divine study, seek aright, and with unwavering trust in God, the meaning of the holy Scriptures, which so many have missed.” *Letter to Gregory* ch.3 p.394

**Cyprian of Carthage** (250 or 257 A.D.) “Moreover, he [Paul] added the comparison of the present time and of the future glory, saying, 'The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the coming glory which shall be revealed in us.' Of which brightness, when we consider the glory, it behoves us to bear all afflictions and persecutions; because, although many are the afflictions of the righteous, yet those are delivered from them all who trust in God.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 80 ch.3 p.407

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions “trust in the Lord” and “trust in God” *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 2 ch.9 p.&&&

**Lactantius** (c.320-.325 A.D.) “Let the Romans go and boast in their Mutius or Regulus,-the one of whom gave himself up to be slain by the enemy, because he was ashamed to live as a captive; the other being taken by the enemy, when he saw that he could not escape death, laid his hand upon the burning hearth, that he might make atonement for his crime to the enemy whom he wished to kill, and by that punishment received the pardon which he had not deserved. Behold, the weak sex [female Christians] and fragile age endure to be lacerated in the whole body, and to be burned: not Of necessity, for it is permitted them to escape if they wished to do so; but of their own will, because they put their trust in God.” *The Divine Institutes* book 5 ch.13 p.149

**Among heretics**

**Tatian** (died 172 A.D.) (implied) “But, just as he who dines with a robber, though he may not be a robber himself, partakes of the punishment on account of his intimacy with him, so he who is not bad but associates with the bad, having dealings with them for some supposed good, will be punished by God the Judge for partnership in the same object. Why is he who trusts in the system of matter not willing to trust in God? For what reason do you not approach the more powerful Lord, but rather seek to cure yourself, like the dog with grass, or the stag with a viper, or the hog with river-crabs, or the lion with apes?” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.18 p.&&&

## Teachings on Experience not on the list

**1. Greater joy of 1 repentant than 99 who need no repentance** (Luke 15:7) (Only 1 writer: Cyprian of Carthage)

**2. God refines us** (no writers)

**3. Do not love the world like Demas** (only 1 writer)

**4. I am hidden with Christ in God** (only 2 writers)

**5. Mourn/weep with those who mourn/weep** (only 1 writer)

**6. Worship the Creator, not any creature** (only 2 writers: Habib the deacon and Athanasius of Alexandria)

**7. Believers must stand firm to the end** (no writers)

**8. Be willing to suffer shame for Christ** (only 2 writers: Clement of Alexandria, Origen)

**9. We are crucified with Christ** (only 2 writers)

**10. God will not let anyone be tempted beyond what they can bear** (only 2 writers: Origen, Cyprian)

**11. We are united with the Lord** (only 2 writers: Irenaeus, Cyprian)

**12. Must forgive to be forgiven** (only 1 writer: Origen)

**13. We are purified by faith** (only 2 writers: Irenaeus, *Rebaptism*)

**14. Woe when all speak well of you** Luke 6:26 (only 1 writer: Origen)

**15. God prunes us** (only 2 writers: Clement of Alexandria, Origen)

**Christians are to be brave or courageous** (not analyzed yet)

**Slayers of Christians think they are serving God** (not analyzed yet)

**Do not love the world** (not analyzed yet)

**Christians are children of Abraham** (not analyzed yet)

**Don’t destroy/overthrow people’s faith** (not analyzed yet)

**We are to be like children** (not analyzed yet. At least 2 writers)

**God purifies us** (not analyzed yet. At least 3 writers)

**Bless people’s home with peace** (not analyzed yet)

**Celebrate certain days** (not analyzed yet)

**Visions or dreams** (not analyzed yet. At least 1 writer)

**Holy detachment** Philippians 1:20-26 (not analyzed yet)

**We have no temptation except what is common to man** (not analyzed yet. At least 2 writers: Origen, Cyprian)

**Temptations of the flesh** (not analyzed yet)

# PRAYER AND FASTING

## Pr1. Prayer to God is important

Matthew 6:9-13; Mark 11:25; 1 Thessalonians 5:25; James 5:13,17,18

(partial) Matthew 26:26 (Jesus prayed in Gethsemane)

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Hebrews 13:18

**p4 + p64 + p67** Luke 1:58-59; 1:62-2:1,6-7; 3:8-4:2,29-32,34-35; 5:3-8; 5:30-6:16; Matthew 26:7-8,10,14-15,22-23,31-33; Matthew 3:9,15; 5:20-22,25-28 -95 verses (c.150-175 A.D.) Mention of fasting and prayer. Luke 5:33-35

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 18:1

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) While Jesus prayed heaven was opened in Luke 3:21

p45 Chester Beatty I – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) (partial Matthew 26:36; Acts 14:23

**p30** - 1 Thessalonians 4:12-13,16-17; 5:3,8-10,12-18,25-28; 2 Thessalonians 1:1-2; 2:1,9-11 (25 verses) (ca.225 A.D.) Paul asks the Thessalonians to pray for “us”. 1 Thessalonians 5:25

**p115** (=Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 4499) 119 verses of Revelation. 2:1-3,13-15,27-29; 3:10-12; 5:8-9; 6:5-6; 8:3-8,11-13; 9:1-5,7-16,18-21; 10:1-4,8-11; 11:1-5,8-15,18-19; 12:1-5,8-10,12-17; 13:1-3,6-16,18; 14:1-3,5-7,10-11,14-15,18-20; 15:1,4-7 (middle to late 3rd century) Revelation 8:3

p53 Matthew 26:29-40; Acts 9:33-10:1 (c.260 A.D.) (partial) Jesus prayed in the Garden of Gethsemane in Matthew 26:36

p37 Matthew 26:19-52 (225-275 A.D.) (partial) Jesus prayed in Gethsemane in Matthew 26:36

**0171** Matthew 10:17-23,25-32; Luke 22:44-50,52-56,61,63-64 (ca.300 A.D.) (implied) Luke 22:44 Jesus prayed and his sweat was like drops of blood.

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. We should be self-controlled so that we can pray. 1 Peter 4:7; Jude 20

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Jonah proclaimed destruction to the Ninevites; but they, repenting of their sins, propitiated God by prayer, and obtained salvation, although they were aliens [to the covenant] of God.” *1 Clement* ch.8 p.7 See also vol.9.

***Ignatius*** *to the Ephesians* (-107/116 A.D.) ch.10 p.53 “And pray ye without ceasing in behalf of other men.”

Ignatius of Antioch (-107/116 A.D.) “Be mindful of me in your prayers, that I may attain to God” *Epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians* ch.14 p.65

***Didache*** (=*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*) (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.3 p.378 says do not come near for prayer to God with an evil conscience.

*The Didache* (before 125 A.D.) ch.8.2 p.379 (partial) gives the Lord’s prayer.

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.19 p.148 “Thou shalt not go to prayer with an evil conscience.”

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) vol.7 ch.2 p.517 says that “we should sincerely offer up our prayers to God”

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) Book 3 Similitude fifth ch.4 p.35 discusses those who are weak and slothful in prayer.

*Shepherd of Hermas* (c.115-155 A.D.) Book 3 Similitude second p.32 says the rich should “refresh” the poor and assist them in their necessities. The poor man can pray for the rich.

*Shepherd of Hermas* (c.115-155 A.D.) book 1 vision 5 p.18 (partial) mentions praying at home.

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) says that God has made [us] a house of prayer and adoration. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.86 p.242

***Evarestus’ Martyrdom of Polycarp*** (c.169 A.D.) ch.7 p.40 asked to pray for an hour without being disturbed before they took him to his death.

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) says Christians were brought up with the teachings of “Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; pray for them that persecute you; that ye may be the sons of your Father who is in heaven, who causes His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the just and the unjust.” *A Plea for Christians* ch.11 p.134

***Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum*** (177 A.D.) p.782 “and through here [Blandina] presenting the spectacle of one suspended on something like a cross, and through her earnest prayers, she inspired the combatants with great eagerness:”

**Claudius Apollinaris** (177, 160-180 A.D.) (implied) mentions that God gave the Roman army victory in a battle in answer to our prayers. *from an unknown book* p.772

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “*The smelling of the Lord* -His delight in the prayers or works of the saints. In Genesis: ‘And the Lord smelled an odour of sweetness.’” *From the Oration on our Lord’s Passion* fragment 8 p.760.

**Hegesippus** (170-180 A.D.) “James the Lord’s brother, succeeds to the government of the Church, in conjunction with the apostle. He has been universally called the Just, from the days of the Lord down to the present time…. He alone, I say, was wont to go into the temple: and he used to be found kneeling on his knees, begging forgiveness for the people – so that the skin of his knees became horny like that of a camel, by reason of his constantly bending the knee in adoration to God, and begging forgiveness for the people.” *Concerning the Martyrdom of James, the Brother of the Lord, from book 5* ch.1 p.762.

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “pray to the Lord thy God urgently that he may have mercy upon you, and blot out your sins.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.12 p.115

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) alludes to Revelation 8:3. He says that everywhere incense is offered to God’s name, and that John says in the Apocalypse that incense is the prayer of the saints. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.17.6 p.484

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201/205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) ch.2.3 p.701 “After a few days, while we were all praying,”

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “A great many, even some of your own people, know all those things that the demons themselves confess concerning themselves, as often as they are driven by us from bodies by the torments of our words and by the fires of our prayers.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.27 p.190

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “Continue in prayer, watching thereunto with thanksgiving.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.294

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) has an entire work called *Tertullian On Prayer* p.681-691 where he goes through each clause of the Lord’s Prayer.

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “When He recommends perseverance and earnestness in prayer, He sets before us the parable of the judge who was compelled to listen to the widow, owing to the earnestness and importunity of her requests.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.36 p.409

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “And when He had taken the book, the four beasts and four-and-twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having harps and golden vials full of incense, which is the prayers of the saints.” *Interpretation by Hippolytus of the Visions of Nebuchadnezzar* ch.20 p.181

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240 A.D.) said the Savior showed that prayer is stronger than faith. *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.15 p.45

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “Thou art become a penitent; pray night and day; yet from thy Mother *the Church* do not far depart, and the Highest will be able to be merciful to thee.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.49 p.212

***Martyrdom of the Holy Martyrs*** (before 250 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.1) ch.4 p.306 “Through prayer we can be saved on account of our Lord Jesus Christ,”

**Origen** (235 A.D.) quotes Psalm 109:4 (= Hebrews 7:21) “...But I am a man of prayer.” *Origen On Prayer* part 1 ch.15.1 p.58

Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) says, “God therefore will give the good gift, the perfect purity in celibacy and chastity, to those who ask Him with the whole soul, and with faith, and in prayers without ceasing.” *Origen’s Commentary on Matthew* book 14 ch.25 p.512

Origen (233/234 A.D.) has an entire work: *Origen On Prayer*

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) says that Christ is invoked in prayers as a mediator. *Concerning the Trinity* ch.14 p.623

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.18 p.663 says, “Let there be first in your hand that prayer full of confession.”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Let there be the divine reading [of God’s Word] in the hands, the Lord’s thoughts in the mind; let constant prayer never cease at all; let saving labour persevere. Let us be always busied in spiritual actions, that so often as the enemy approaches, however often he may try to come near, he may find the breast closed and armed against him.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 10 ch.16 p.495

**Celerinus** (c.246-258 A.D.) in his letter to Lucian mentions a fellow believer’s “holy prayers” in *Letter 20* p.298

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) asks for prayer. *Oration and Panegyric to Origen* argument 19 p.38

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “And this is the first form of that freedom from falling into temptation, which He also counsels the weaker disciples to make the subject of their prayers; that, namely, which concerns the approach of temptation: for it must needs be that offences come, but yet those to whom they come ought not to fall into the temptation.” *Commentary on Luke 22:42, etc.* p.117

**Anatolius** (270-280 A.D.) “For we believe that nothing is impossible to your power of prayer, and to your faith.” p.146

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) mentions daily prayer to the Supreme Ruler. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.26 p.419

Arnobius of Sicca (297-303 A.D.) “should never cease to feel and to return thanks; that it should throughout the whole of life fall on bended knee, and offer supplication with never-ceasing prayers. For Thou art the first cause; in Thee created things exist, and Thou art the space in which rest the foundations of all things, whatever they be. Thou art illimitable, unbegotten, immortal, enduring for aye, God Thyself alone,” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book1 ch.31 p.421

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) in discussing Revelation 6 says that our gifts are the prayers we offer. *Commentary on the Apocalypse of the Blessed John* ch.9 p.351

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) mentions the gift of the Holy Ghost and baptism of the Holy Ghost conferred by means of the prayer of Paul at Ephesus. *An Exposition of the Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles* BB. vol.6 p.168

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) “when He [Christ] teaches us ‘to pray that we enter not into temptation;’ and again in His prayer, He says to His Father, ‘and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.’” *Canonical Epistle* canon 9 p.273

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “Therefore, also, it stands nearer *to God* within the Holy of holies, and before the veil, with undefiled hands, like incense, offering up prayers to the Lord, acceptable as a sweet savour; as also John indicated, saying that the incense in the vials of the four-and-twenty elders were the prayers of the saints.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 5 ch.8 p.328

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Let us therefore with exultation celebrate the triumphs of God, and oftentimes with praises make mention of His victory; let us in our prayers, by night and by day, beseech Him to confirm for ever that peace which, after a warfare of ten years,” *Manner in Which the Persecutors Died* ch.52 p.322

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Acts of Paul and Thecla*** (before 207 A.D.) p.490 shows Paul and others praying for Thecla.

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Peter to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.5 p.217 “we all rose up, and prayed to the Father and God of all, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.”

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Clement to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.15 p.221 gives an analogy of the church is like a ship, “and let all pray to God for a prosperous voyage.”

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions earnestly praying. homily 7 ch.4 p.268

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.71 p.96 says that they spent the night in prayer.

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 6 ch.1 (implied) says that Peter went to the garden to pray.

**Bardaisan/Bardesan** (154-224/232 A.D.) mentions “to pray for what is good for every one with whom he is acquainted.” *The Book of the Laws of Diverse Countries* p.725

**X** The ***First Form of the Gospel of Thomas*** (shorter Greek version) (188-235 A.D.) ch.14 p.128 “Jesus said to them [the disciples], ‘If you fast, you will give rise to sin for yourselves; and if you pray, you will be condemned; and if you give alms, you will do harm to your spirits.”

***The Valentinian Letter of Peter to Philip*** (c.300 A.D.) *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* p.434 the apostles especially pray to the Father, and later to the Son.

***Acts of Thomas*** (early form) (pre-Nicene) p.537,538 prays to “My Lord and my God”.

## Pr2. Pray to the Father

(Jesus praying to the Father is not included here, but the Lord’s prayer is included.)

Matthew 6:9; Luke 11:2

***Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.10 p.380 “We thank Thee, holy Father, for Thy holy name which Thou”

*The Didache* (before 125 A.D.) ch.8.2 p.379 gives the Lord’s prayer.

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) quotes Isaiah. “But Thou, O Lord, our Father, deliver us: from the beginning Thy name is upon us.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.25 p.206-207

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “For this reason also He [the Lord] has taught us to say in prayer, ‘And forgive us our debts;’ since indeed He is our Father, whose debtors we were, having transgressed His commandments. But who is this Being? Is He some unknown one, and a Father who gives no commandment to any one? Or is He the God who is proclaimed in the Scriptures, to whom we were debtors, having transgressed His commandment? Now the commandment was given to man by the Word.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.17.1 p.544-545

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “All that remains therefore now, in such a celebration of the Word as this, is that we address to the Word our prayer. Prayer to the Paedagogus. Be gracious, O Instructor, to us Thy children, Father, Charioteer of Israel, Son and Father, both in One, O Lord.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.295

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) “And the Lord says in His prayer, ‘Our Father, who art in heaven.’ And the heavens belong to Him, who created the world.” *The Instructor* book 1 ch.8 p.228

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) has an entire work called *Tertullian On Prayer* p.681-691 where he goes through each clause of the Lord’s prayer.

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “‘But as for me, in my prayer unto Thee, O Lord, I said, Father, forgive them,’ namely the Gentiles, because it is the time for favour with Gentiles.” *Expository Treatise Against the Jews* ch.3 p.219-220

**Origen**(225-253/254 A.D.) says we should pray to the Word of God, and still more to His Father. *Origen Against Celsus* book 5 ch.15 p.548

Origen (233/234 A.D.) quotes “our Father, who are in heaven.” *Origen On Prayer* ch.22.1 p.72. See also ibid ch.8.2 p.38 and ch.14.6 p.57

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “sacrifices and our prayers, not ceasing to give thanks to God the Father, ...” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 57 ch.4 p.353

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes the Lord’s prayer. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 4 ch.7 p.449

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Peter to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.5 p.217 “we all rose up, and prayed to the Father and God of all, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.”

***Valentinian Letter of Peter to Philip*** (c.300 A.D.) stanza 133 *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* p.434 “Then, when the apostles had come together, and had thrown themselves upon their knees, they prayed thus saying, ‘Father, Father, Father of the light, who possesses the incorruptions, hear us just as [thou hast] [take pleasure] in thy holy child Jesus Christ.”

**The Secret Book of James** *The Gnostic Bible* p.347. “Invoke the father, pray to go frequently, and he will be generous with you.”

## Pr3. Pray to Jesus

Acts 7:59; Revelation 22:20

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Acts 7:59

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “All that remains therefore now, in such a celebration of the Word as this, is that we address to the Word our prayer. Prayer to the Paedagogus. Be gracious, O Instructor, to us Thy children, Father, Charioteer of Israel, Son and Father, both in One, O Lord.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.295

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) (implied) says that the Antichrist will come claiming “I am Christ, whom ye always pray to; and, indeed, the original ones who were deceived”*Instructions of Commodianus* ch.41 p.211

**Origen**(225-253/254 A.D.) says we should pray to the Word of God, and still more to His Father. *Origen Against Celsus* book 5 ch.15 p.548

**(mixed) Origen** (235 A.D.) mentions Stephen the martyr speaking to Jesus. *Origen On Prayer* part 1 ch.14 p.57. But then he says we should pray to the Father alone, not the Son in *Origen On Prayer* part 1 ch.14 p.57-58

Origen (239-242 A.D.) “Let us pray fervently to Jesus Christ our Lord together with His Father.” *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 12 ch.5.2 p.153

Origen (c.250 A.D.) (implied) says it is not right to pray to the Father separate from Jesus. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 15 homily 1 ch.1 p.41

**Novatian** (250/254-256/7 A.D.) “If Christ is only man, why is a man invoked in prayers as a Mediator” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.14 p.623

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “But I and my colleagues, and all the brotherhood, send this letter to you in the stead of us, dearest brother; and setting forth to you by our letter our joy, we express the faithful inclination of our love here also in our sacrifices and our prayers, not ceasing to give thanks to God the Father, and to Christ His Son our Lord; and as well to pray as to entreat, that He who is perfect, and makes perfect, will keep and perfect in you the glorious crown of your confession, who perchance has called you back for this purpose, that your glory should not be hidden, if the martyrdom of your confession should be consummated away from home.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 57 ch.4 p.353

**Theophilus** (events c.315 A.D.) “And, when he [Habib] was arrived at the place where they were going to burn him, he stood up and prayed, as did all those who came out with him; and he said, ‘O King Christ, since Thine is this world, and Thine the world to come, behold and see, that, while I might have fled from these afflictions, I did not flee, in order that I might not fall into the hands of Thy justice: may this fire, in which I am to be burned, serve me for a recompense before thee, so that I may be delivered from the fire that is not quenched; and receive thou my spirit into Thy presence, through the Divine Spirit, O glorious Son of the adorable Father!’” *Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon* p.694

**Among heretics**

***The Valentinian Letter of Peter to Philip*** (c.300 A.D.) *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* p.434 they prayed to the Father, and to the Son.

## Pr4. Pray at all times or in any place

1 Thessalonians 5:17; Hebrews 13:15; Psalm 86:3b

Examples: Acts 1:14; 16:25; Romans 1:10; Ephesians 6:18; Colossians 1:9; 4:12; 2 Thessalonians 1:11; 2 Timothy 1:3

**p30** - 1 Thessalonians 4:12-13,16-17; 5:3,8-10,12-18,25-28; 2 Thessalonians 1:1-2; 2:1,9-11 (25 verses) (ca.225 A.D.) says to pray without ceasing. 1 Thessalonians 5:17

**Polycarp’s** ***Letter to the Philippians*** (100-155 A.D.) ch.7 p.34 mentions watching unto prayer and persevering in fasting.

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 2 commandment 9 p.26 “Wherefore do not cease to make request of your soul.” Also “glorifying God at all times” in book 2 commandment 5 ch.2 p.23

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 33.18-24 p.94 “And he spake unto them a parable also, that they should pray at all times, and not be slothful: There was a judge in a city, who feared not God, nor was ashamed for men: and there was a widow in that city; and she came unto him, and said, Avenge me of mine adversary. And he would not for a long time: but afterwards he said within himself, If of God I have no fear, and before men I have no shame; yet because this widow vexeth me, I will avenge her, that she come not at all times, and annoy me.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) mentions praying at all times. *Stromata* book 6 ch.12 p.503

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) “Continue in prayer, watching thereunto with thanksgiving.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.294

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) *Tertullian On Prayer* ch.23-25 p.689-690 says we are to pray in every place. ch.22 says “to pray at every time and every place”. Ch.25 also says that it is also not unprofitable to have certain times for prayer too.

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “When He recommends perseverance and earnestness in prayer, He sets before us the parable of the judge who was compelled to listen to the widow, owing to the earnestness and importunity of her requests.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.36 p.409

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) says that penitents should pray night and day. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.49 p.212-213

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) speaks of prayers without ceasing. *Origen’s Commentary on Matthew* book 14 ch.25 p.512. See also *Homilies on Exodus* homily 11 p.359

Origen (233/234 A.D.) “says the Lord, and, I will, therefore, that men pray in every place.” *Origen On Prayer* ch.31.4 p.133

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says we should pray always. *Origen On Prayer* ch.10.2 p.42 and ch.12.1 p.46

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says to pray in any place. *Origen On Prayer* ch.31.1 p.130 and ibid ch.2.2 p.17.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Let us urgently pray and groan with continual petitions. For know, beloved brethren, that I was not long ago reproached with this also in a vision, that we were sleepy in our prayers,…” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 7 ch.5 p.286

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “Let there be the divine reading [of God’s Word] in the hands, the Lord’s thoughts in the mind; let constant prayer never cease at all; let saving labour persevere. Let us be always busied in spiritual actions, that so often as the enemy approaches, however often he may try to come near, he may find the breast closed and armed against him.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 10 ch.16 p.495

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “should never cease to feel and to return thanks; that it should throughout the whole of life fall on bended knee, and offer supplication with never-ceasing prayers. For Thou art the first cause; in Thee created things exist, and Thou art the space in which rest the foundations of all things, whatever they be. Thou art illimitable, unbegotten, immortal, enduring for aye, God Thyself alone,” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book1 ch.31 p.421

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Let us therefore with exultation celebrate the triumphs of God, and oftentimes with praises make mention of His victory; let us in our prayers, by night and by day, beseech Him to confirm for ever that peace which, after a warfare of ten years, He has bestowed on His own;” *Manner in Which the Persecutors Died* ch.52 p.322

## Pr5. Pray daily

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201-205 A.D.) ch.2.3 (vol.3) p.701 “But I trusted that my prayer would bring help to his suffering; and I prayed for him every day until we passed over into the prison of the camp, for we were to fight in the camp-show.”

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) says to pray night and day.*Instructions of Commodianus* ch.49 p.212

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) (implied) says to pray every morning as Daniel and Jeremiah did. *On Prayer* ch.12.2 p.47

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Depart from such, I entreat you, and acquiesce in our counsels, who daily pour out for you continual prayers to the Lord,” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 39 ch.6 p.318

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “Is Apollo whether called Delian or Clarian Didymean, Philesian, or Pythian, to be reckoned divine, who either knows not the Supreme Ruler, or who is not aware that He is entreated by us in daily prayers? And although he knew not the secrets of our hearts, and though he did not discover what we hold in our inmost thoughts, yet he might either know by his ear, or might perceive by the very tone of voice which we use in prayer, that we invoke God Supreme, and that we beg from Him what we require.” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.26 p.419

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Whom we supplicate with daily prayers, that He may especially guard thee whom He has wished to be the guardian of the world: then that He may inspire thee with a disposition by which thou mayest always continue in the love of the divine name.” *The Divine Institutes* book 7 ch.26 p.222

&&& others too

**Among heretics**

**The Secret Book of James** *The Gnostic Bible* p.347. “Invoke the father, pray to go frequently, and he will be generous with you.”

## Pr6. Praise God

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “O Lord, Thou shalt open my mouth, and my lips shall show forth Thy praise.” *1 Clement* ch.19 p.10

**Ignatius of Antioch** (c.100-117 A.D.) “Take heed, then, often to come together to give thanks to God, and show forth His praise.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Ephesians* [Greek] ch.13 p.55

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.6 p.141 “‘I will confess to thee in the Church in the midst of my brethren; and I will praise thee in the midst of the assembly of the saints.’”

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) ch.9 p.519 “Let us therefore give Him praise, not with the mouth only, but also with the heart, that He may accept us as sons. For the Lord has said, ‘Those are my brethren who do the will of my Father.’”

**Evarestus** (c.169 A.D.) Polycarp says, “‘Among whom may I be accepted this day before Thee as a fat and acceptable sacrifice, according as Thou, the ever-truthful God, hast fore-ordained, hast revealed beforehand to me, and now hast fulfilled. Wherefore also I praise Thee for all things, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee, along with the everlasting and heavenly Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, with whom, to Thee, and the Holy Ghost, be glory both now and to all coming ages. Amen.’” *Martyrdom of Polycarp* ch.14 p.42

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “Offer unto God the sacrifice of praise, and pay thy vows unto the Most High, and call upon Me in the day of trouble,” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.22 p.205

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “Prophecy also agrees with it. David accordingly says, ‘*Praise, O children, the* Lord; *praise the name of the* Lord.’” *The Instructor* book 1 ch.5 p.212

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) “This, too, He has been promised to the Father: ‘I will declare Thy name to my brethren; in the midst of the Church will I praise Thee.’” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.11 p.203

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “and elsewhere, ‘Sacrifice to God a sacrifice of praise, and render to the Highest thy vows.’” *An Answer to the Jews* ch.5 p.156

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “in which, according to the twenty-first Psalm, the brethren of Christ or children of God would ascribe glory to God the Father, in the person of Christ Himself addressing His Father; ‘I will declare Thy name unto my brethren; in the midst of the congregation will I sing praise unto Thee.’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.22 p.341

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “and the souls of the righteous, in order that they might praise God together with them.” Fragment 9 p.239

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240 A.D.) “Those around Sedrach, Misak, and Abednago in the furnace of fire say as they praise God, ‘Bless, ye heavens, the Lord; praise and exalt Him for ever;’ then, ‘Bless, ye angels, the Lord;’ then, ‘Bless the Lord, all ye waters that are above heaven.’ … Bless the Lord, all ye that worship *Him*; praise and confess the God of gods, for His mercy is for ever.” *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.1 p.43

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “God alone has commanded us to offer to Him the hymn of praise.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.35 p.210

**Origen** (225-254 A.D.) “It is probable, therefore, that since at the birth of Jesus ‘a multitude of the heavenly host,’ as Luke records, and as I believe, ‘praised God, saying, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will towards men,’ the evil spirits on that account became feeble, and lost their strength, the falsity of their sorcery being manifested, and their power being broken; this overthrow being brought about not only by the angels having visited the terrestrial regions on account of the birth of Jesus, but also by the power of Jesus Himself, and His innate divinity.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.60 p.418

Origen (233/234 A.D.) “And Paul, as is told in the Acts of the Apostles, at Philippi at midnight praying with Silas praised God so that they that were in prison heard them.” *Origen On Prayer* ch.12 p.47

Origen (233/234 A.D.) Adore God in prayer. *Origen On Prayer* ch.33.1 p.137; 33.2 p.138

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says we should praise. *Origen On Prayer* ch.14.2 p.54

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.18 p.663 Let us, then, with the whole strength of our faith, give praise to God; let us give our full confession, since the powers of heaven rejoice over our repentance, all the angels rejoice, and Christ also rejoices,”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Offer to God the sacrifice of praise, and pay your vows to the Most High.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 book 1 ch.16 p.512

**Lucius** and the brethren to Cyprian (254-257 A.D.) “as you manifested to us that candid and blessed breast of yours which we have ever known, and in accordance with its largeness have uttered praises to God with us, not as much as we deserve to hear, but as much as you are able to utter.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 78 ch.2 p.406

**Pontius** (258 A.D.) “For his discourse concerning this was usually, that if he had read of any one being set forth with the praise of God, he would persuade us to inquire on account of what doings he had pleased God.” *Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.3 p.268

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) “But let us commit the praises and hymns in honour of the King and Superintendent of all things, the perennial Fount of all blessings,” *Oration and Panegyric to Origen* argument 4 p.24

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Therefore, if it be a pleasure to hear melodies and songs, let it be pleasant to sing and hear the praises of God. This is true pleasure, which is the attendant and companion of virtue.” *The Divine Institutes* book 6 ch.21 p.188

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Ignatius of Antioch** (c.100-117 A.D.) “Take heed, then, often to come together to give thanks to God, and show forth His praise.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Ephesians* [Latin version] ch.13 p.55

**pseudo-Hippolytus** (after 235 A.D.) “And the one hundred and fiftieth ends with these words,’ Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord.’” *On Psalm 1* ch.4 p.200

**Among heretics**

**Marcus** according to Irenaeus (182-188 A.D.) “For this reason, too, David said: ‘Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings Thou hast perfected praise;’ and again: ‘The heavens declare the glory of God.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.14.8 p.338

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Peter to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.5 p.217 “we all rose up, and prayed to the Father and God of all, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.”

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.19 p.82 says to sing praises to God.

## Pr7. Thankfulness/gratitude to God

2 Chronicles 5:13; 7:3,6; 20:21; 32:2; Psalm 95:2; 100:4-5

John 6:11; Acts 27:35; Romans 1:21; 14:6; 16:4; 1 Corinthians 10:30; 11:24; 15:57; 16:4-8,34-41; 2 Corinthians 2:14; 9:15; Philippians 1:3; 4:6; Colossians 3:15; 1 Thessalonians 3:9; 5:18; 2 Thessalonians 1:3; Hebrews 12:28

(implied) 1 Thessalonians 4:3

Come before God with thanksgiving Psalm 95:2; 110:4

Thanks God when times are tough. Dan 2:23;

Always give thanks Ephesians 5:20; 1 Thessalonians 5:18

Thank God every day 1 Chr 23:30 (Levites)

Give thanks before eating Matthew 14:19; 15:36; 26:26-27; Mark 6:41; 8:6; 14:22-23; Luke 9:16; 22:17,19; 24:30; John 6:11,23; 1 Corinthians 11:24; 1 Timothy 4:3-4

Offer God a sacrifice of thanksgiving Leviticus 7:12-15; 7:12; 22:29; Psalm 50:14,23; 56:12; 107:22; 116:17

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Philippians 4:6

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 6:11,23

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) John 6:11

**p65** 1 Thessalonians 1:3-2:1; 2:6-13 (225-275 A.D.) 1 Thessalonians 2:13

**Clement of Rom**e (96-98 A.D.) “Let every one of you, brethren, give thanks to God in his own order, living” *1 Clement* ch.41 vol.1 p.16

*Letter of* ***Ignatius*** *to the Ephesians* ch.13 p.55 (-107/116 A.D.) says we should give thanks to God.”

***Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.10 p.380 “We thank Thee, holy Father, for Thy holy name which Thou”

*The Didache* (before 125 A.D.) ch.8.2 p.379 gives the Lord’s prayer.

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) “Let us also become of the number of them that give thanks, that have served God…” ch.18 p.522

*2 Clement* (120-140 A.D.) vol.9 ch.1 p.317 (partial) speaks of how great are the benefits we owe Christ.

**Evarestus** (c.169 A.D.) Polycarp prayed to God, “I give thee thanks that Thou hast counted me worthy of this day and this hour, that I should have a part in the number of Thy martyrs, in the cup of thy Christ, to the resurrection of eternal life, both of soul and body, through the incorruption [imparted] by the Holy Ghost.” *Martyrdom of Polycarp* ch.14 p.42

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 commandment 7th ch.39 “And for this give thanks to the Lord,”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “but to use it for ourselves and those who need, and with gratitude to Him to offer thanks by invocations and hymns for our creation, and for all the means of health, and for the various qualities of the different kinds of things, and for the changes of the seasons; and to present before Him petitions for our existing again in incorruption through faith in Him.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.13 p.166

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “and give thanks to God who made thee, and gave thee the mind of the free, that thou mightest shape thy conduct even as thou wilt.” *Discourse in the Presence of Antoninus Caesar* p.754

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “For life does not arise from us, nor from our own nature; but it is bestowed according to the grace of God. And therefore he who shall preserve the life bestowed upon him, and give thanks to Him who imparted it, shall receive also length of days for ever and ever” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.34.3 p.411

***Passion of the Scillitan Martyrs*** (180-202 A.D.) *ANF* vol.9 p.285 “Speratus said: We give thanks to God.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “And the form of his prayer is thanksgiving for the past, for the present, and for the future as already through faith present.” *Stromata* book 7 ch.12 p.546

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) “Continue in prayer, watching thereunto with thanksgiving.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.294

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Nay, He teaches us to give thanks and rejoice, over and above, at being thought worthy of divine chastisement. ‘Whom I love,’ saith He, ‘I chasten’” *Of Patience* ch.11 p.714

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “For they [the sacred Scriptures] say in one place, ‘Give thanks to the God of gods, for His mercy endureth for ever. Give thanks to the Lord of lords, for His mercy endureth for ever;’ and in another, ‘God is King of kings, and Lord of lords.’ For Scripture distinguishes between those gods which are such only in name and those which are truly gods, whether they are called by that name or not; and the same is true in regard to the use of the word ‘lords.’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.4 p.641

Origen (233/234 A.D.) quotes 1 Timothy that “supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for all men,” *Origen On Prayer* ch.14.2 p.54

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says we should be thankful Nazirites *Origen On Prayer* ch.14.2 p.54. See also ibid ch.13.2 p.51.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “We give thanks, O Lord God omnipotent,” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 first part ch.20 p.540

**Felix**, Jader, Polianus, and the rest of the martyrs to Cyprian of Carthage (246-256 A.D.) “…And we have given and do give thanks to God the Father Almighty through His Christ,” *Letter 79* p.406

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) “Ingratitude appears to me to be a dire evil; a dire evil indeed, yea, the direst of evils. For when one has received some benefit, his failing to attempt to make any return by at least the oral expression of thanks, where aught else is beyond his power, marks him out either as an utterly irrational person, or as one devoid of the sense of obligations conferred, or as a man without any memory.” *Oration and Panegyric to Origen* argument 3 p.23

**Theonas of Alexandria** (282-300 A.D.) mentions giving thanks to Almighty God for our salvation. *Letter to Lucianus the Chief Chamberlain* ch.1 p.157.

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “For as these make use of what they have received, and give thanks, so God, in whose sight you shall have done that which is good, will b oth approve of it and reward your piety.” *The Divine Institutes* book 6 ch.13 p.179

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Acts of Paul and Thecla*** (before 207 A.D.) p.491 “And the women shouted aloud, and with one mouth returned thanks to God, saying: There is one God, *the God* of Thecla;”

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 3 ch.10 p.240 Peter says, “gratitude is to preserve our love to Him who is the cause of our being.”

The Ebionite *Clementine Homilies* (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions being thankful. homily 1 ch.22 p.228

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.18 p.82. mentions being thankful to God.

## Pr8. Confess to God

This is confessing sins to God. Confessing or testifying our faith before men is not counted here.

“Public confession”, if it does not mention God also, is not counted here.

1 John 1:9; James 5:16; Psalms 32:5; 38:18

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “For [the Scripture] saith in a certain place, “Thou shalt raise me up, and I shall confess unto Thee;” *1 Clement* ch.26 p.12

***Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) ch.14.1 p.381 “But every Lord’s day do ye gather yourselves together, and break bread, and give thanksgiving after having confessed your transgressions, that your sacrifice may be pure.”

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.19 p.148-149 says to confess your sins.

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) vol.7 ch.8 p.519 “so let us also, while we are in this world, repent with our whole heart of the evil deeds we have done in the flesh, that we may be saved by the Lord, while we have yet an opportunity of repentance. For after we have gone out of the world, no further power of confessing or repenting will there belong to us.”

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 1 first vision ch.1 p.9 “I then bent down on my knees, and began to pray to the Lord and to confess my sins.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “David writes, ‘They who sow,’ then, ‘in tears, shall reap in joy;’ those, namely, who confess in penitence.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.13 p.361

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “and gave free forgiveness to David on his confessing his sins against the house of Uriah;” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 2 ch.17 p.310-311

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “I, O Lord, baptize with the baptism of repentance, and I cannot baptize those who come to me unless they first confess fully their sins. Be it so then that I baptize Thee [Jesus], what hast Thou to confess? Thou art the Remover of sins, and wilt Thou be baptized with the baptism of repentance?” *Discourse on the Holy Theophany* ch.4 p.236

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “Do thou implore of Him; do thou prostrate confess to Him: He will grant all things whose also are all our things. The camp being replaced, beware of sinning further; do not wander long as a soldier through caves of the wild beasts. Let it be sin to thee to cease from unmeasured doing.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.52 p.213

**Origen** (225-254 A.D.) “Now, what words of flattery and piteous walling are contained in the Holy Scriptures when the sinner says in his prayers to God, ‘I have acknowledged my sin, and mine iniquity have I not hid. I said, I will confess my transgression to the Lord,’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 3 ch.63 p.489

Origen (233/234 A.D.) has an entire chapter discussing us asking God to forgive our sins. *Origen On Prayer* ch.28 p.106-113

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.18 p.663 “Let us, then, with the whole strength of our faith, give praise to God; let us give our full confession, since the powers of heaven rejoice over our repentance, all the angels rejoice, and Christ also rejoices, who once again with full and merciful moderation exhorts us, laden with sins, overwhelmed with crimes, to cease from wickedness, saying, ‘Turn ye, and return from your impieties, and your iniquities shall not be to you for a punishment.’”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Thus, moreover, John also in his epistle warns us, and says, ‘If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us; but if we confess our sins, the Lord is faithful and just to forgive us our sins.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 4 ch.22 p.453

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “For it must needs be that the soul which is not sprinkled with the words of Christ, as with salt, should stink and breed worms, as King David, openly confessing with tears in the mountains, cried out, ‘My wounds stink and are corrupt,’ because he had not salted himself with the exercises of self-control, and so subdued his carnal appetites, but self-indulgently had yielded to them, and became corrupted in adultery.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 1 ch.1 p.311

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “For being desirous of promoting our life and salvation in accordance with His own goodness, in that circumcision He hath set before us repentance, that if we lay open our hearts,-that is if we confess our sins and make satisfaction to God,-we shall obtain pardon, which is denied to those who are obstinate and conceal their faults, by Him who regards not the outward appearance, as man does, but the innermost secrets of the heart.” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.17 p.119

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “But we, even though there is no offence of ours, yet ought to confess to God, and to entreat pardon for our faults, and to give thanks even in evils. Let us always offer this obedience to our Lord.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.67 p.251

## Pr9. Forgive us as we forgive others

Matthew 6:12a

***The Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) ch.8.2 p.379 gives the Lord’s prayer.

*Tatian’s* ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 9.35 p.58 quotes Matthew 6:1-18.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “For this reason also He [the Lord] has taught us to say in prayer, ‘And forgive us our debts;’ since indeed He is our Father, whose debtors we were, having transgressed His commandments.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.17.1 p.544

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) discusses this part of the Lord’s prayer in *Tertullian On Prayer* ch.7 p.683-684.

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “And this the parable [of the unmerciful servant] wishes to teach us by representing that even when forgiveness has been granted by God to us of the sins in respect of which we have received remission, exaction will be demanded even after the remission, unless we forgive the sins of those who have wronged us, so that there is no longer left in us the least remembrance of the wrong that was done.” *Commentary on Matthew* book 14 ch.6 p.497

Origen (233/234 A.D.) quotes this part of the Lord’s prayer. *Origen On Prayer* ch.28.1 p.106. See also ibid ch.18.1 p.65.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Our Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven so in earth. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And suffer us not to be led into temptation; but deliver us from evil. Amen.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 4 ch.7 p.&449

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “In the Gospel, in the daily prayer: ‘Forgive us out debts, even as we forgive our debtors.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 third part ch.21 p.54`

## Pr10. Not into temptation

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “The final clause, therefore, is consonant, and interprets the sense of ‘Lead us not into temptation;’ for this *sense* is, “But convey us away from the Evil one. *Tertullian On Prayer* ch.8 p.684

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) has an entire chapter discussing us asking God not ot lead us into temptation. *Origen On Prayer* ch.29 p.113-126. See also ibid ch.18.1 p.65.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Our Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven so in earth. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And suffer us not to be led into temptation; but deliver us from evil. Amen.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 4 ch.7 p.&449

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “enter not into temptation; the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak;” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 4 ch.26 p.454

**Dionysius of Alexandria** “But I suppose that He refers to this entering not into temptation, when He speaks in the prophet’s words of being delivered out of the afflictions. … And again, He taught them to pray that they might not fall into temptation, when He said, ‘And lead us not into temptation;’ which means, ‘Suffer us not to fall into temptation.’” *Commentary on Luke* ch.22:46 p.119

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) He says: “Pray that ye enter not into temptation: for there shall be a great’” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the seventh chapter verse 2 p.352

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) “when He [Christ] teaches us ‘to pray that we enter not into temptation;’ and again in His prayer, He says to His Father, ‘and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.’;” *Canonical Epistle* canon 9 p.273

## Pr11. Deliver us from evil

***The Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) ch.8.2 p.379 gives the Lord’s prayer.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “what follows, ‘But deliver us from the wicked one,’ that is, do not lead us into temptation by giving us up to the wicked one,” *Fleeing Persecution* ch.2 p.117

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) has an entire chapter discussing us asking God delivering us from evil. *Origen On Prayer* ch.30 p.117-129. See also ibid ch.29.1 p.13

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Our Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven so in earth. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And suffer us not to be led into temptation; but deliver us from evil. Amen.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 4 ch.7 p.449

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “into temptation; but deliver us from evil. Amen.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 4 ch.27 p.455

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) they should be delivered from the evil, He added, “But deliver us from evil.” Commentary on Luke ch.3

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) Epistle temptation, but deliver us from evil.”

## Pr12. The Lord’s Prayer

Matthew 6:9-13; Luke 11:2-4

***Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) ch.8.2 p.379 “Neither pray as the hypocrites; but as the Lord commanded in His Gospel, thus pray:” and then recites the Lord’s prayer.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “For this reason also He [the Lord] has taught us to say in prayer, ‘And forgive us our debts;’ since indeed He is our Father, whose debtors we were, having transgressed His commandments. But who is this Being? Is He some unknown one, and a Father who gives no commandment to any one? Or is He the God who is proclaimed in the Scriptures, to whom we were debtors, having transgressed His commandment? Now the commandment was given to man by the Word.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.17.1 p.544-545

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “And the Lord says in His prayer, ‘Our Father, who art in heaven.’ And the heavens belong to Him, who created the world.” *The Instructor* book 1 ch.8 p.228

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) has an entire work called *Tertullian On Prayer* p.681-691 where he goes through each clause of the Lord’s prayer.

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) discusses the Lord’s Prayer. *Origen On Prayer* ch.18-30 p.65-129

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes the Lord’s prayer. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 4 ch.7 p.449

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) discusses “your kingdom come” in the Lord’s prayer. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 4 ch.13 p.450-451

## Pr13. Lift up hands to God

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.)” stretch forth your hands to God Almighty, beseeching Him to be merciful unto you,” *1 Clement* ch.2 p.5

*Minucius Felix* (210 A.D.) “I hear the common people, when they lift their hands to heaven, say nothing else but *Oh God*, and *God is great*, and *God is true*, and *if God shall permit*. Is this the natural discourse of the common people, or is it the prayer of a confessing Christian?” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.18 p.183

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “For God hears continually all the inward converse. So also we raise the head and lift the hands to heaven, and set the feet in motion at the closing utterance of the prayer, following the eagerness of the spirit directed towards the intellectual essence;” *Stromata* book 7 ch.7 p.534

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “He [the Emperor] gets his sceptre where he first got his humanity; his power where he got the breath of life. Thither we lift our eyes, with hands outstretched, because free from sin; with head uncovered, for we have nothing whereof to be ashamed; finally, without a monitor, because it is from the heart we supplicate. Without ceasing, for all our emperors we offer prayer.” *Apology* ch.30 p.42

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “we say, Whoever has clean hands, and therefore lifts up holy hands to God, and by reason of being occupied with elevated and heavenly things, can say, ‘The lifting up of my hands is as the evening sacrifice,’ let him come to us; and whoever has a wise tongue through meditating on the law of the Lord day and night, and by ‘reason of habit has his senses exercised to discern between good and evil,’ let him have no reluctance in coming to the strong and rational sustenance which is adapted to those who are athletes in piety and every virtue.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 3 ch.60 p.488

Origen (233/234 A.D.) in speaking of the position of prayer says, “.. the lifting up of my hands, as evening sacrifice.” *Origen On Prayer* ch.31.1 p.130

Origen (233/234 A.D.) speaks of “extending one’s hands” in prayer. *Origen On Prayer* ch.32.2 p.131. See also ibid chc.2.2 p.17.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “And again in the Psalms, ‘Let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice.’ But we celebrate the resurrection of the Lord in the morning. 17. And because we make mention of His passion in all sacrifices (for the Lord’s passion is the sacrifice which we offer), we ought to do nothing else than what He did. For Scripture says, ‘For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show forth the Lord’s death till He come.’ As often, therefore, as we offer the cup in commemoration of the Lord and of His passion, let us do what it is known the Lord did.” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 62 ch.16 p.363

## Pr14. Bless or pray for your persecutors

Bless those who persecute you. Romans 12:14

Repay evil with blessing. 1 Peter 3:9

Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you. Matthew 5:44

Love your enemies, bless those who curse you; pray for those who mistreat you. Luke 6:27-28

Example of Stephen: Acts 7:60

Example of Jesus: Luke 23:34

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Romans 12:14

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. 1 Peter 3:9

***Didache*** vol.7 ch.1.5 p.377 (before 125 A.D.) Bless, pray for, and fast for your enemies. *Didache* ch.2.7 p.378 (before 125 A.D.) “Thou shalt not hate any man”

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) “Pray for all the saints. Pray also for kings, and potentates, and princes, and for those that persecute and hate you, and for the enemies of the cross, that your fruit may be manifest to all, and that ye may be perfect in Him.” *Letter to the Philippians* ch.12 p.36

***Epistle to Diognetus*** ch.5 p.27 (c.130-200 A.D.) says Christians are reviled, but they bless; they are insulted, and repay the insult with honor. They are punished as evil-doers, but they do good.

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “Pray for your enemies, and love them that hate you, and bless them that curse you, and pray for them that despitefully use you.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.15 p.167

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) &&&

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) says Christians were brought up with the teachings of “Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; pray for them that persecute you; that ye may be the sons of your Father who is in heaven, who causes His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the just and the unjust.” *A Plea for Christians* ch.11 p.134

***Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum*** (177 A.D.). says that the Christians were like Stephen, who even prayed for those who inflicted tortures on them. “Then they pleaded for all, but accused none; they absolved all, they bound none; and they prayed for those who inflicted the tortures, even as Stephen the perfect Witness, ‘Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.’ But if he prayed for those who stoned him, how much more for the brethren!” p.784

**Hegesippus** (170-180 A.D.) says that when James was dying he prayed that God our Father forgive them, they know not what they do. *Commentaries on the Acts of the Church* book 1 ch.1 vol.8 p.763

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “And the Gospel says: ‘Love your enemies, and pray for them that despitefully use you. For if ye love them who love you, what reward have ye?” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.14 p.115

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “and not only not to injure their neighbours, nor to do them any evil, but also, when themselves wickedly dealt with, to be long-suffering, and to show kindness towards those [that injured them], and to pray for them, that by means of repentance they might be saved-so that we should in no respect imitate the arrogance, lust, and pride of others.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.32.1 p.408

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) reminds us that Jesus said to love our enemies, “bless them that curse us, and pray for them that despitefully use us.” turn the other cheek, and let others take your cloak also. *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.293

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “‘praying for all,’ even for our personal enemies” *Tertullian On Prayer* ch.3 p.682.

Tertullian (198-202 A.D.) “while Christ says, ‘Love your personal enemies, and bless your cursers, and pray for your persecutors, that ye may be sons of your heavenly Father.’” *Of Patience* ch.6 p.711

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) says to love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you. *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.35 p.652

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “and the Son of God instilling the likeness of God the Father, says in His Gospel: ‘Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, and pray for them which persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven, who maketh His sun to rise on the good and on the evil, and sendeth rain upon the just and on the unjust.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 10 ch.16 p.495

**Pontius** (258 A.D.) says that Cyprian prayed for salvation for those who persecuted Christians. Pontius’ *Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.9 p.270

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) /(implied) David, instead of destroying Saul, prayed for him. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.12 p.55

Adamantius (c.300 A.D.) (implied) says that Jeremiah prayed for his enemies. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.12 p.55

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “For why, indeed, have our writings deserved to be given to the flames? our meetings to be cruelly broken up, in which prayer is made to the Supreme God, peace and pardon are asked for all in authority, for soldiers, kings, friends, enemies, for those still in life, and those freed from the bondage of the flesh; in which all that is said is such as to make *men* humane, gentle, modest, virtuous, chaste, generous in dealing with their substance, and inseparably united to all embraced in our brotherhood?” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 4 ch.36 p.488

&&&**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) &&&

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “we ought on this account to love every man; and therefore we are bound not only to abstain from the infliction of injury, but not even to avenge it when inflicted on us, that there may be in us complete harmlessness. And on this account God commands us to pray always even for our enemies.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.65 p.250

**Among heretics**

Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188-) (implied) gives an example of praying for persecutors. homily 3 ch.19 p.342

Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (211-231 A.D.) &&&

Marcionite heretic **Megethius** (c.300 A.D.) a self-labeled follower of Marcion, in his debate with Adamantius says “But our Good Lord says [Matt.5:44]: ‘Love your enemies, and pray for those who persecute you’” *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.12 p.54

## Pr15. Pray for rulers and those in authority

Praying for everyone is not included here.

1 Timothy 2:1-3

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) “Pray for all the saints. Pray also for kings, and potentates, and princes, and for those that persecute and hate you, and for the enemies of the cross, that your fruit may be manifest to all, and that ye may be perfect in Him.” *Letter to the Philippians* ch.12 p.36

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) tells the emperor that they pray that with his kingly power he be found to possess also sound judgment. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.17 p.168

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “Moreover, concerning subjection to authorities and powers, and prayer for them” and quotes 1 Timothy 2:2b. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.14 p.115.

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) “Accordingly, honour the king, be subject to him, and pray for him with loyal mind; for if you do this, you do the will of God.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.11 p.92

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) mentions offering prayers for the emperor and the stability of the Roman Empire. *Apology* ch.32 p.42-43

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “Without ceasing, for all our emperors we offer prayer.” *Apology* ch.30 p.42

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “So all the more we pray for the imperial well-being, as those who seek it at the hands of Him who is able to bestow it.” *To Scapula* ch.2 p.106

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “He took upon Himself the holy flesh by the holy virgin, and prepared a robe which He wove for Himself, like a bridegroom, in the sufferings of the cross, … The web-beam, therefore, is the passion of the Lord upon the cross, and the warp on it is the power of the Holy Spirit, and the woof is the holy flesh (woven) by the Spirit, and the thread is the grace by which the love of Christ binds and unites the two in one, and the combs or (rods) are the Word; and the workers are the patriarchs and prophets who weave the fair, long, perfect tunic for Christ; and the Word passing through these, like the combs or (rods), completes through them that which His Father willeth.” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.4 p.205

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) quotes 1 Timothy 2:12 saying to pray for kings and those in authority. Pray for the king’s soldiers that they may slay as many of the enemy as they can. *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.73 p.668

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “For why, indeed, have our writings deserved to be given to the flames? our meetings to be cruelly broken up, in which prayer is made to the Supreme God, peace and pardon are asked for all in authority, for soldiers, kings, friends, enemies” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 4 ch.36 p.488

&&&**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) &&&

**Among heretics**

**Bardaisan/Bardesan** (154-224/232 A.D.) gives analogies that the commands God gives us are not unreasonable, such that we should have to be a strong man, a king, or a mariner. *The Book of the Laws of Diverse Countries* p.725

## Pr16. Incense of the prayers of the saints

Revelation 5:8; 8:3-4

**p115** (=Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 4499) 119 verses of Revelation. 2:1-3,13-15,27-29; 3:10-12; 5:8-9; 6:5-6; 8:3-8,11-13; 9:1-5,7-16,18-21; 10:1-4,8-11; 11:1-5,8-15,18-19; 12:1-5,8-10,12-17; 13:1-3,6-16,18; 14:1-3,5-7,10-11,14-15,18-20; 15:1,4-7 (middle to late 3rd century) Revelation 8:3-4

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Now John, in the Apocalypse, declares that the ‘incense’ is ‘the prayers of the saints.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.17.6 p.484

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Wherefore we ought to offer to God sacrifices not costly, but such as He loves. And that compounded incense which is mentioned in the Law, is that which consists of many tongues and voices in prayer, or rather of different nations and natures, prepared by the gift vouchsafed in the dispensation for 'the unity of the faith,' and brought together in praises, with a pure mind, and just and right conduct, from holy works and righteous prayer.” *Stromata* book 7 ch.6 p.532

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) (partial) “For as much, then, as there is but one Son of man whose advent is placed between the two issues of catastrophe and promise, it must needs follow that to that one Son of man belong both the judgments upon the nations, and the prayers of the saints. He who thus comes in midway so as to be common to both issues, will terminate one of them by inflicting judgment on the nations at His coming; and will at the same time commence the other by fulfilling the prayers of His saints: so that if (on the one hand) you grant that the coming of the Son of man is (the advent) of *my Christ*, then, when you ascribe to Him the infliction of the judgments which precede His appearance, you are compelled also to assign to Him the blessings which issue from the same.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.39 p.416

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “And He came and took the book out of the right hand of Him that sat upon the throne. And when He had taken the book, the four beasts and four-and-twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having harps and golden vials full of incense, which is the prayers of the saints. And they sing a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by Thy blood.’” *Interpretation of Daniel* ch.20 p.181

**Origen** (239-242 A.D.) quotes Revelation 5:8 *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 7 ch.4.1 p.102

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Also in the Apocalypse: “And I saw in the midst of the throne, and of the four living creatures, and in the midst of the elders, a Lamb standing as if slain, having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God sent forth throughout all the earth. And He came and took the book from the right. hand of God, who sate on the throne. And when He had taken the book, the four living creatures and the four and twenty elders cast themselves before the Lamb, having every one of them harps and golden cups full of odours of supplications, which are the prayers of the saints; and they sang a new song, saying,…” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 second book ch.15 p.522

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “Therefore, also, it stands nearer *to God* within the Holy of holies, and before the veil, with undefiled hands, like incense, offering up prayers to the Lord, acceptable as a sweet savour; as also John indicated, saying that the incense in the vials of the four-and-twenty elders were the prayers of the saints.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 5 ch.8 p.328

## Pr17. Pray that God’s kingdom come

***The Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) ch.8.2 p.379 gives the Lord’s prayer.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) has a whole chapter on “thy kingdom come, thy will be done.” “Even if it had not been prescribed in the Prayer that we should ask for the advent of the kingdom, we should, unbidden, have sent forth that cry, hastening toward the realization of our hope.” *Tertullian On Prayer* ch.5 p.683

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) discusses “thy kingdom come. *Origen On Prayer* ch.25.2 p.86 and ch.25.5 p.88-89

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes the Lord’s prayer. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 4 ch.7 p.449

## Pr18. Pray for others / intercessory prayer

Christ making intercession for us is not counted here. Intercessions that are not related to prayer are not counted here.

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Let us then also pray for those who have fallen into any sin, that meekness and humility may be given to them, so that they may submit, not unto us, but to the will of God.” *1 Clement* ch.56 p.20

**Ignatius** (c.100-117 A.D.) “I commend the Churches, in which I pray for a union both of the flesh and spirit of Jesus Christ, the constant source of our life, and of faith and love, to which nothing is to be preferred, but especially of Jesus and the Father, in whom, if we endure all the assaults of the prince of this world, and escape them, we shall enjoy God.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Magnesians* ch.1 p.59

Ignatius of Antioch (-107/116 A.D.) “And do ye also pray for me, who have need of your love, along with the mercy of God, that I may be worthy of the lot for which I am destined, and that I may not be found reprobate.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Trallians* ch.12 p.72

Ignatius of Antioch (100-107/116 A.D.) “Entreat Christ for me…” *Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans* ch.4 p.75 (the Latin version has “Entreat the Lord for me”)

***Didache*** vol.7 ch.1.5 p.377 (before 125 A.D.) Bless, pray for, and fast for your enemies. *Didache* ch.2.7 p.378 (before 125 A.D.) “Thou shalt not hate any man”

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) “Pray for all the saints. Pray also for kings, and potentates, and princes, and for those that persecute and hate you, and for the enemies of the cross, that your fruit may be manifest to all, and that ye may be perfect in Him.” *Letter to the Philippians* ch.12 p.36

**Justin Martyr** (c.136-165 A.D.) “And in addition to all this we pray for you, that Christ may have mercy upon you.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.96 p.247

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 Similitude 2 p.32 “‘Listen,’ he said: ‘The rich man has much wealth, but is poor in matters relating to the Lord, because he is distracted about his riches; and he offers very few confessions and intercessions to the Lord, and those which he does offer are small and weak, and have no power above. But when the rich man refreshes the poor, and assists him in his necessities, believing that what he does to the poor man will be able to find its reward with God-because the poor man is rich in intercession and confession, and his intercession has great power with God-then the rich man helps the poor in all things without hesitation; and the poor man, being helped by the rich, intercedes for him, giving thanks to God for him who bestows gifts upon him.”

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) says Christians were brought up with the teachings of “Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; pray for them that persecute you; that ye may be the sons of your Father who is in heaven, who causes His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the just and the unjust.” *A Plea for Christians* ch.11 p.134

***Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum*** (177 A.D.). says that the Christians were like Stephen, who even prayed for those who inflicted tortures on them. “Then they pleaded for all, but accused none; they absolved all, they bound none; and they prayed for those who inflicted the tortures, even as Stephen the perfect Witness, ‘Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.’ But if he prayed for those who stoned him, how much more for the brethren!” p.784

**Hegesippus** (170-180 A.D.) says that when James was dying he prayed that God our Father forgive them, they know not what they do. *Commentaries on the Acts of the Church* book 1 ch.1 vol.8 p.763

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “Moreover, concerning subjection to authorities and powers, and prayer for them” and quotes 1 Timothy 2:2b. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.14 p.115.

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) “Accordingly, honour the king, be subject to him, and pray for him with loyal mind; for if you do this, you do the will of God.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.11 p.92

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “We do indeed pray that these men may not remain in the pit which they themselves have dug, but separate themselves from a Mother of this nature, and depart from Bythus, and stand away from the void, and relinquish the shadow; and that they, being converted to the Church of God, may be lawfully begotten, and that Christ may be formed in them, and that they may know the Framer and Maker of this universe, the only true God and Lord of all. We pray for these things on their behalf, loving them better than they seem to love themselves. For our love, inasmuch as it is true, is salutary to them, if they will but receive it.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.25.7 p.460

***Epitaph of Abercius*** (190-210 A.D.) (implied) asks others to pray for him.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “For there is an instruction of the perfect, of which, writing to the Colossians, he says, ‘We cease not to pray for you, and beseech that ye may be filled with the knowledge of His will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding; that ye may walk worthy of the Lord to all pleasing; being fruitful in every good work, and increasing in the knowledge of God; strengthened with all might according to the glory of His power.’” *Stromata* book 5 ch.10 p.458

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “‘praying for all,’ even for our personal enemies” *Tertullian On Prayer* ch.3 p.682.

Tertullian (198-202 A.D.) “while Christ says, ‘Love your personal enemies, and bless your cursers, and pray for your persecutors, that ye may be sons of your heavenly Father.’” *Of Patience* ch.6 p.711

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “‘But as for me, in my prayer unto Thee, O Lord, I said, Father, forgive them,’ namely the Gentiles, because it is the time for favour with Gentiles.” *Expository Treatise Against the Jews* ch.3 p.219-220

**Origen** (225-254 A.D.) “For every prayer, and supplication, and intercession, and thanksgiving, is to be sent up to the Supreme God through the High Priest, who is above all the angels, the living Word and God. And to the Word Himself shall we also pray and make intercessions, and offer thanksgivings and supplications to Him, if we have the capacity of distinguishing between the proper use and abuse of prayer.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 5 ch.4 p.544

Origen (233/234 A.D.) speaks of four kinds of prayer: supplications, prayers [meaning praise to Origen], intercessions, and thanksgivings. *Origen On Prayer* ch.20.2 p.70. See also ibid ch.13.2 p.51

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “With mutual prayers, let us by turns cherish, guard, arm one another; let us pray for the lapsed, that they may be raised up; let us pray for those who stand, that they may not be tempted to such a degree as to be destroyed; let us pray that those who are said to have fallen may acknowledge the greatness of their sin, and may perceive that it needs no momentary nor over-hasty cure; let us pray that penitence may follow also the effects of the pardon of the lapsed; that so, when they have Understood their own crime, they may be willing to have patience with us for a while, and no longer disturb the fluctuating condition of the Church, lest they may seem themselves to have inflamed an internal persecution for us, and the fact of their unquietness be added to the heap of their sins.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 30 ch.6 p.310

**Pontius** (258 A.D.) says that Cyprian prayed for salvation for those who persecuted Christians. Pontius’ *Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.9 p.270

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) “To those also who entreat that the prayers and supplications of faith should be made either in behalf of those who have been punished by imprisonment, and have been delivered up by hunger and thirst, or for those who out of prison have by the judges been tortured with whippings and scourgings, and afterwards have been overcome by the infirmity of the flesh, it is right to give our consent.” *Canonical Epistle* Canon 11 p.276

**Among heretics**

**Bardaisan/Bardesan** (154-224/232 A.D.) “And, as he is able to avoid doing these things, so is he able to love, and to bless, and to speak the truth, and to pray for what is good for every one with whom he is acquainted; and if he be in health, and capable *of working*, he is able also to give of that which he has; moreover, to support with strength of body him that is sick and enfeebled-this also he can do.” *Book of Laws of Divers Countries* p.725

Marcionite heretic **Megethius** (c.300 A.D.) a self-labeled follower of Marcion, in his debate with Adamantius says we are to love our enemies and pray for those who persecute us. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.12 p.54

## Pr19. Pray for God’s mercy for us

Asking Jesus on earth for mercy is not counted here.

Psalm 4:1; 41:4; Luke 18:1

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Wherefore, let us yield obedience to His excellent and glorious will; and imploring His mercy and loving-kindness, while we forsake all fruitless labours, and strife, and envy, which leads to death, let us turn and have recourse to His compassions.” *1 Clement* ch.9 p.7

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) “And do ye also pray for me, who have need of your love, along with the mercy of God, that I may be worthy of the lot for which I am destined, and that I may not be found reprobate.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Trallians* ch.12 p.72

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “And while neither they nor you are persuaded by us, but strive earnestly to cause us to deny the name of Christ, we choose rather and submit to death, in the full assurance that all the good which God has promised through Christ He will reward us with. And in addition to all this we pray for you, that Christ may have mercy upon you.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.96 p.247

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “And another, Joel, spoke in agreement with these: ‘Gather the people, sanctify the congregation, assemble the elders, gather the children that are in arms; let the bridegroom go forth of his chamber, and the bride out of her closet, and pray to the Lord thy God urgently that he may have mercy upon you, and blot out your sins.’” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.12 p.115

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202/203 A.D.) “But our true ‘treasure’ is where what is allied to our mind is, since it bestows the communicative power of righteousness, showing that we must assign to the habit of our old conversation what we have acquired by it, and have recourse to God, beseeching mercy.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.6 p.415

**Origen** (225-254 A.D.) “And how can he bless those whom he praises as having done well, as he does the house of Onesiphorus in these words: ‘The Lord give mercy to the house of Onesiphorus; for he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain: but, when he was in Rome, he sought me out very diligently, and found me. The Lord grant to him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day.’” *de Principiis* [Greek] book 3 ch20 p.324-325

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “And what I did, these thirteen letters sent forth at various times declare to you, which I have transmitted to you; in which neither counsel to the clergy, nor exhortation to the confessors, nor rebuke, when it was necessary, to the exiles, nor my appeals and persuasions to the whole brotherhood, that they should entreat the mercy of God, were wanting to the full extent that, according to the law of faith and the fear of God, with the Lord’s help, nay poor abilities could endeavour.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 14 ch.2 p.294

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “But that he [the believer] may obtain the favour of God, and be free from every stain, let him always implore the mercy of God, and pray for nothing else but pardon for his sins, even though he has none.” *The Divine Institutes* book 6 ch.25 p.193

## Pr20. Fasting to God is good

Matthew 6:16; Acts 13:2; 14:23

We fast not for tradition. Zech 7:5, not for show. Mt 6:16-18, but to worship. Acts 13:2-3

Fast to pray for help. Isa 58:3-9; *Acts 14:23; Ps 35:13; Neh 1:4; Esth 4:3,16; 1 Ki 21:27; Ezr 8:23*2Sm12:16,22 and for individual and corporate repentance. *Neh 9:1; Dan 9:3; Joel 1:14; 2:12-5; Jonah 3:5*

**p4 + p64 + p67** Luke 1:58-59; 1:62-2:1,6-7; 3:8-4:2,29-32,34-35; 5:3-8; 5:30-6:16; Matthew 26:7-8,10,14-15,22-23,31-33; Matthew 3:9,15; 5:20-22,25-28 -95 verses (c.150-175 A.D.) Mention of fasting and prayer. Luke 5:33-35

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Acts 14:23

***Didache*** vol.7 ch.1.5 p.377 (before 125 A.D.) Bless, pray for, and fast for your enemies.

*Didache* ch.2.7 p.378 (before 125 A.D.) “Thou shalt not hate any man” ch.8 p.379 mentions fasting on the fourth day and preparation day, not the second and fifth day.

***2 Clement*** vol.7 ch.16 p.255 (120-140 A.D.) says that alms are good as repentance from sin. Alms is better than fasting, which is better than prayer. (2 Clement is not following the Bible here.)

**Polycarp**(100-165 A.D.) says we should return to the word and be “watching unto prayer” and “persevering in fasting” *Letter to the Philippians* ch.7 p.34

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 Similitude fifth p.33-35 discusses the spiritual benefits of fasting vs. fasting with no spiritual benefit.

*Tatian’s* ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 9.39 p.588 (implied) mentions that we should fast in secret.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Now fastings signify abstinence from all evils whatsoever, both in action and in word, and in thought itself. As appears, then, righteousness is quadrangular;” *Stromata* book 6 ch.12 p.503

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) wrote an entire work *On Fasting* vol.4 p.106-114.

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) mentions fasting instituted among the Israelites. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.12 p.362-363

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (c.240 A.D.) says that we should fast from food, but also fast from worldly things. *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.14 p.44

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “but devoting ourselves to prayer and fasting, may be successful as we pray for the sufferer, and by our own fasting may thrust out the unclean spirit from him.” *Commentary on Matthew* book 13 ch.7 p.479

Origen (233/234 A.D.) quotes Tobit 12:8 about the value of fasting. *Origen On Prayer* ch.11.1 p.43

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Although I know, brethren beloved, that from the fear which we all of us owe to God, you also are instantly urgent in continual petitions and earnest prayers to Him, still I myself remind your religious anxiety, that in order to appease and entreat the Lord, we must lament not only in words, but also with fastings and with tears, and with every kind of urgency.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 7 ch.1 p.285

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) says that fasting is good. *5 Epistle to Bishop Basilides* p.94. He discusses it more in the same epistle p.95.

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) mentions that Christians fast rigorously *Commentary on the Creation of the World* p.341

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) mentions that Christians fast according to tradition. *The Canonical Epistle* Canon 15 p.278

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (implied) says that Christians “continued in fasting and prayer” *The Manner in Which the Persecutors Died* ch.11 p.305

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Acts of Paul and Thecla*** (before 207 A.D.) p.489 “And Paul was fasting with Onesiphorus and his wife, and his children, in a new tomb, as they were going from Iconium to Daphne.”

*Acts of Paul and Thecla* (before 207 A.D.) p.487 (implied) says that Thecla fasted for three days and three nights.

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions fasting. homily 9 ch.10 p.277

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 7 ch.37 p.164 mentions fasting to God.

The ***First Form of the Gospel of Thomas*** (shorter Greek version) (188-235 A.D.) ch.27 p.129 “[Jesus said], If you do not fast as regards the world, you will not find the kingdom. If you do not observe the Sabbath as a Sabbath, you will not see the father.”

**X** The ***First Form of the Gospel of Thomas*** (shorter Greek version) (188-235 A.D.) ch.14 p.128 “Jesus said to them [the disciples], ‘If you fast, you will give rise to sin for yourselves; and if you pray, you will be condemned; and if you give alms, you will do harm to your spirits.”

## Pr21. Pray in secret

Matthew 6:6

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “And if ‘thou prayest in the closet,’ as the Lord taught,” *Stromata* book 1 ch.6 p.307. See also *The Instructor* book 3 ch.21 p.291

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) says that we are to pray in secret. *Tertullian On Prayer* ch.1 p.681

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “And if Celsus would have us to lead armies in defence of our country, let him know that we do this too, and that not for the purpose of being seen by men, or of vainglory. For ‘in secret,’ and in our own hearts, there are prayers which ascend as from priests in behalf of our fellow-citizens.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.74 p.668

Origen (233/234 A.D.) (implied) discusses at length not abandoning secrecy, but abiding there. *Origen On Prayer* ch.20.2 p.70

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says do not pray to be seen by men. *Origen On Prayer* ch.19.1 p.67 and ch.20.1 p.70

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Moreover, in His teaching the Lord has bidden us to pray in secret-in hidden and remote places, in our very bed-chambers-which is best suited to faith, that we may know that God is everywhere present, and hears and sees all, and in the plenitude of His majesty penetrates even into hidden and secret places,” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 4 ch.4 p.448

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date ) homily 3 ch.55 p.248 “And to those who believe, as the Scriptures say, that He does not see all things, He said, ‘Pray in secret, and your Father, who seeth secret things, will rewards you.”

## Pr22. Pray together (two or three)

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “Then we all rise together and pray, and, as we before said, when our prayer is ended, bread and wine and water are brought, and the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings, according to his ability, and the people assent, saying Amen;” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.67 p.186

**Origen** (c.225-253/254 A.D.) (implied) “it is a logical consequence of the harmony being from God, that the name and the deed should enjoy the agreement with a view to prayer, as is indicated in the word, ‘unless it be by agreement.’ Then the Word repeating that the agreeing of two on the earth is the same thing as the agreeing with Christ, adds, ‘For where two or three are gathered together in My name.’” *Commentary on Matthew* book 14 ch.1 p.494

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “But the Lord speaks concerning His Church, and to those also who are in the Church He speaks, that if they are in agreement, if according to what He commanded and admonished, although only two or three gathered together with unanimity should pray-though they be only two or three-they may obtain from the majesty of God what they ask. ‘Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in my name, I,’ says He, ‘am with them; ‘that is, with the simple and peaceable-with those who fear God and keep God’s commandments.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 1 ch.12 p.425

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) “Therefore, being mindful of the many labours and distresses which for the name of Christ they have sustained, since they have themselves also repented, and have bewailed that which was done by them through their being betrayed by the languor and mortification of the body; and since, besides this, they testify that in their life they have as it were been aliens from their city, let us pray together with them and entreat for their reconciliation, together with other things that are befitting, through Him who is ‘our Advocate with the Father, and makes propitiation for our sins.’” *Canonical Epistle* canon 11 p.276

## Pr23. Persist/persevere in prayer

Luke 18:1-8

Praying without ceasing and praying night and day are not included here.

Praying continually is not included here, but praying continually for one specific person or thing is.

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 33.18-24 p.94 “And he spake unto them a parable also, that they should pray at all times, and not be slothful: There was a judge in a city, who feared not God, nor was ashamed for men: and there was a widow in that city; and she came unto him, and said, Avenge me of mine adversary. And he would not for a long time: but afterwards he said within himself, If of God I have no fear, and before men I have no shame; yet because this widow vexeth me, I will avenge her, that she come not at all times, and annoy me.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “also His conversation with Zaccheus [Zacchaeus] the publican; also about the Pharisee and the publican, who were praying in the temple at the same time; also the ten lepers, whom He cleansed in the way simultaneously; also how He ordered the lame and the blind to be gathered to the wedding from the lanes and streets; also the parable of the judge who feared not God, whom the widow’s importunity led to avenge her cause; and about the fig-tree in the vineyard which produced no fruit.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.14.3 p.439

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201-205 A.D.) ch.2.3 (vol.3) p.701 “But I trusted that my prayer would bring help to his suffering; and I prayed for him every day until we passed over into the prison of the camp, for we were to fight in the camp-show.”

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “When He recommends perseverance and earnestness in prayer, He sets before us the parable of the judge who was compelled to listen to the widow, owing to the earnestness and importunity of her requests.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.36 p.409

**Hippolytus** (222-235/236 A.D.) discusses Luke 18:2-5 in *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.56 p.216

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Depart from such, I entreat you, and acquiesce in our counsels, who daily pour out for you continual prayers to the Lord,” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 39 ch.6 p.318

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) (partial) “Let not us, then, who are in Christ-that is, always in the lights cease from praying even during night. Thus the widow Anna, without intermission praying and watching, persevered in deserving well of God, as it is written in the Gospel: ‘She departed not,’ it says, ‘from the temple, serving with fastings and prayers night and day.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 4 ch.36 p.457

## Teachings on Prayer not on the list

**1. Pray for wisdom/understanding** (only 2 writers: *Shepherd of Hermas*, Methodius. Partial: Athanasius of Alexandria)

**2. Ask/pray in faith** (only 2 writers: *Shepherd of Hermas*, Origen)

**3. Do not pray as the hypocrites do** (only 1 writer: *Didache*)

**4. Precious privilege to converse with God** (only 2 writers: *Perpetua and Felicitas*, Gregory Thaumaturgus)

**5. Jesus prayed Father forgive them** (only 2 writers: *Diatessaron*, Irenaeus. After Nicea Hegemonius/Archelaus)

**6. Pray for your spouse** (no writers)

**7. Pray for your kids** (no writers)

**8. Pray for your parents** (no writers)

**9. Pray in the Spirit** (Ephesians 6:18) (no writers)

**10. Christians known to turn to the east in prayer** (only 3 writers: Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen. Partial: Lactantius)

**11. No vain repetition in prayer** (Matthew 6:7) (only 1 writer: Origen)

**12. Some prayers anger God or are detestable** (Psalm 80:4: Proverbs 28:9) (no writers)

**Divergences**

**1. Pray for the lapsed** (many for, 1 against. For: Cyprian, others. Against: Novatian)

**Pray that God’s message be honored**. 2 Thessalonians 3:1 (not analyzed yet)

**Pray for suffering Christians** (not analyzed yet. At least 1 writer: Peter of Alexandria)

**John the Baptist taught his disciples to pray** (not analyzed yet. At least 1 writer: Tertullian)

# Individual Practice

## In1. Be godly

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Let us cleave, therefore, to those who cultivate peace with godliness, and” *1 Clement* ch.15 p.9

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.10 p.143”David, however, comprehends the knowledge of the three doctrines, and speaks in like manner: ‘Blessed is the man who hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly,’”

***2 Clement*** (150 A.D.) ch.10 p.519-520 “but forsake every wicked tendency, which would lead us into transgression; and flee from ungodliness, lest evils overtake us.”

***Mathetes to Diognetus*** (c.130-200 A.D.) ch.6 p.27 “Christians are known indeed to be in the world, but their godliness remains invisible.”

*Shepherd of Hermas* (c.115-155 A.D.) book 1 vision 3 ch.5 p.14 (partial) “teachers, and deacons, who have lived in godly purity, and have acted as bishops”

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “who hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.40 p.176

**Evarestus** (c.169 A.D.) “You threaten me with fire that can burn for an hour, and after a little while is extinguished, but are ignorant of the fire of the coming judgment and of eternal punishment, reserved for the ungodly.” *Martyrdom of Polycarp* ch.11 p.41

**Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum** (177 A.D.) “of his brethren, undertaking to prove that there is nothing ungodly or impious”

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “the rest of the prophets, so that the writings which belong to us godly people” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.30 p.106

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) speaks of “godly edifying which is in faith” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 preface p.315.

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “here also does the apostle likewise say: “For the wrath of God shall be revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of those men who hold back the truth in unrighteousness.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.27.4 p.500

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) (implied) speaks of godliness. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.1. “For godliness is obscured and dulled by the soiling and staining of the flesh;” ch.2.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “He both knows and admires. Godliness adds length of life; and the fear of the Lord adds days.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.12 p.359-360

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) says we should be godly. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.10 p.196

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men,” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.13 p.457

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-234/256 A.D.) (implied) “And Paul in like manner: ‘For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth of God in unrighteousness.’” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.64 p.218

***Martyrdom of the Holy Martyrs*** (before 250 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.1) ch.1 *ANF* vol.1 p.305 “In the time of the lawless partisans of idolatry, wicked decrees were passed against the godly Christians in town and country, to force them to offer libations to vain idols; and accordingly the holy men, having been apprehended, were brought before the prefect of Rome, Rusticus by name. And when they had been brought before his judgment-seat, said to Justin, “Obey the gods at once, and submit to the kings.”

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “‘For all that will to live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution.’” *Commentary on Matthew* book 10 ch.18 p.425

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Of this also in the first Psalm: ‘Therefore the ungodly shall not rise up in judgment, nor sinners in the council of the righteous.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 Third book Testimonies ch.31 p.543

Dionysius of Alexandria (246-265 A.D.) (partial) “And this most godly Dioscorus is with us at present, tarrying for a greater conflict and a more lengthened contest.” Epistle 2 - To Novatus ch.7 p.97

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) “He commanded His disciples, when their enemies persecuted them, to fly from city to city, and not of their own accord to give themselves up to the tormentors, lest they should be the cause of bringing the guilt of much blood upon their heads, irritating them as it were to inflict punishment upon godly men. And he brings forward the example of the apostles, of Stephen, of James, and the chiefs of the order, Peter and Paul.” *Canonical Epistle* canon 9 p.273

Peter of Alexandria (306,285-311 A.D.) “obeying him who says, ‘Follow after righteousness, godliness, faith, love, patience, meekness. Fight the good fight of faith…” He quotes all of 1 Timothy 6:11-12. *The Canonical Epistle* canon 14 p.278

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “For it is not allowed to him to destroy those whose thoughts and looks are upwards. And the stars, which the dragon touched with the end of his tail, and drew them down to earth, are the bodies of heresies; for we must say that the stars, which are dark, obscure, and falling, are the assemblies of the heterodox; since they, too, wish to be acquainted with the heavenly ones, and to have believed in Christ, and to have the seat of their soul in heaven, and to come near to the stars as children of light. But they are dragged down, being shaken out by the folds of the dragon, because they did not remain within the triangular forms of godliness, falling away from it with respect to an orthodox service. Whence also they are called the third part of the stars, as having gone astray with regard to one of the three Persons of the Trinity. As when they say, like Sabellios, that the Almighty Person of the Father Himself suffered; or as when they say, like Artemas, that the Person of the Son was born and manifested only in appearance; or when they contend, like the Ebionites, that the prophets spoke of the Person of the Spirit, of their own motion. For of Marcion and Valentinus, and those about Elkesaios and others, it is better not even to make mention.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 8 ch.10 p.338

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “for as He is a most indulgent Father towards the godly, so is He a most upright Judge against the ungodly.” *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.1 p.10

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) says that we should have not only deeds but also “godly patience”. *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Epistle 1 ch.3 p.292

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) “do not think that anything incredible has taken place if a man sprung from a godly line, and who lived worthily of the godliness of his fathers, was chosen by God to be honoured with this great gift and to be set forth as the first of all the prophets.” *Justin’s Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.11 p.278

## In2. Keep the commandments of Christ/God

(Only times after the resurrection are counted, not times before that.)

1 John 3:22-24

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Let him who has love in Christ keep the commandments of Christ.” *1 Clement* ch.49 p.18. See also vol.9 ch.18.

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) “Blessed are we, beloved, if we keep the commandments of God in the harmony of” *1 Clement* ch.50 p.18

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 1 first vision ch.3 p.10 “that He [God] may bestow on them the blessing which He has promised them, with much glory and joy, if only they shall keep the commandments of God which they have received in great faith.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “sons of God, and keep the commandments of Christ.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.123 p.261

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “enter into life, keep the commandments.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.12.5 p.476

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “It is then very manifest to us, that a kiss is not love. For the love meant is the love of God. ‘And this is the love of God,’ says John, ‘that we keep His commandments;’ not that we stroke each other on the mouth.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.11 p.291

**Tertullian** (213 A.D.) (implied) says to do the will of God. *On Monogamy* ch.14 p.77

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the saints of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus.” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.60 p.217

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Also in the same place: ‘If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments….’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 third part ch.1 p.532

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Hippolytus** (after 235 A.D.) “while knowledge enlightens us, and wisdom shines brightly in our souls; and a ‘song of psalmody,’ when, while good action takes the lead, according to the word, ‘If thou desire wisdom, keep the commandments, and the Lord shall give her unto thee,’ we understand wisdom at the same time, and are deemed worthy by God to know the truth of things, till now kept hid from us; and a ‘psalm of song,’ when, by revolving with the light of wisdom some of the more abstruse questions pertaining to morals, we first become prudent in action, and then also able to tell what, and when, and how action is to be taken.” *On the Psalms* ch.7 p.201

## In3. Submit to God

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Let us then also pray for those who have fallen into any sin, that meekness and humility may be given to them, so that they may submit, not unto us, but to the will of God.” *1 Clement* ch.56 p.20

**Ignatius of Antioch** (100-107/116 A.D.) “Now it becomes you also not to treat your bishop too familiarly on account of his youth, but to yield him all reverence, having respect to the power of God the Father, as I have known even holy presbyters do, not judging rashly, from the manifest youthful appearance [of their bishop], but as being themselves prudent in God, submitting to him, or rather not to him, but to the Father of Jesus Christ, the bishop of us all.” *Letter to the Magnesians* [Greek] ch.3 p.60

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “Admitting, therefore, the proof which events happening as predicted afford, I do not disbelieve, but I believe, obedient to God, whom, if you please, do you also submit to, believing Him, lest if now you continue unbelieving, you be convinced hereafter, when you are tormented with eternal punishments;” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.14 p.93

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “For this is what Paul says concerning these men: ‘For they, being ignorant of God’s righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves to the righteousness of God.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.12.4 p.476

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “And the same apostle owns that he bears witness to the Jews, ‘that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge. For, being ignorant of God’s righteousness, and seeking to establish their own, they have not submitted themselves to the righteousness of God.’ For they did not know and do the will of the law; but what they supposed, that they thought the law wished.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.9 p.357

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “I have here a very wide gulf of expunged Scripture to leap across; however, I alight on the place where the apostle bears record of Israel ‘that they have a zeal of God’-their own God, of course- ‘but not according to knowledge. For,’ says he, ‘being ignorant of (the righteousness of) God, and going about to establish their own righteousness, they have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God; for Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth.’ Hereupon we shall be confronted with an argument of the heretic, that the Jews were ignorant of the superior God, since, in opposition to him, they set up their own righteousness-that is, the righteousness of their law-not receiving Christ, the end (or finisher) of the law.” Five *Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.14 p.460

**Origen** (225-254 A.D.) “But the Christian-the true Christian, I mean-who has submitted to God alone and His Word, will suffer nothing from demons, for He is mightier than demons.” *Origen Against Celsus book* 8 ch.36 p.653

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “For God, as I have shown in the beginning, does not need a name, since He is alone; nor do the angels, inasmuch as they are immortal, either suffer or wish themselves to be called gods: for their one and only duty is to submit to the will of God, and not to do anything at all except at His command” *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.17 p.65

## In4. Worship God in spirit and truth

John 4:24b

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) quotes John 4:24b *Irenaeus Against Heresies* Fragment 37 p.574

**Tertullian** (c.213 A.D.) quotes John 4:24a, and adds “For Spirit has a bodily substance of its own kind, in its own form.” *Against Praxeas* ch.7 p.602

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “He, treating of Deity, stated to His true disciples the doctrine regarding God; and we, discovering traces of such teaching in the Scripture narratives, take occasion from such to aid our theological conceptions, hearing it declared in one passage, that ‘God is light, and in Him there is no darkness at all;’ and in another, ‘God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth.’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 2 ch.71 p.460

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) quotes all of John 4:24. *Treatise Concerning the Trinity* ch.6 p.616

## In5. Depart from evil

(Departing from evil people is not included here.)

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “What man is he that desires life, and loves to see good days? Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile. Depart from evil, and do good; seek peace, and pursue it.” *1 Clement* ch.22 p.11

***Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.3 p.378 “My child, flee from every evil thing.”

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 2 Commandment Third p.21 “‘And whosoever shall hear this commandment, and depart from that great wickedness falsehood, shall live to God.’”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “And again, ‘Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips that they speak no guile; depart from evil, and do good; seek peace, and pursue it.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.36.2 p.515

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-220 A.D.) “Wherefore also this is enjoined on us: “Cease from your own works, from your old sins; ‘Learn to do well’; ‘Depart from evil, and do good;’ ‘Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity.’ This is my new covenant written in the old letter.” *The Instructor* book 1 ch.11 p.234

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “Well, is the precept different in the Creator’s teaching? “Take away the evil from you, depart from it, and be doing good.’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.14 p.461

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “Now, the injunctions to “depart from evil, and to do good,” do not refer either to *corporeal evils* or *corporeal blessings*, as they are termed by some, nor to external things at all, but to blessings and evils of a *spiritual* kind; since he who departs from such evils, and performs such virtuous actions, will, as one who desires the true life, come to the enjoyment of it;” *Origen Against Celsus* book 6 ch.54 p.598

## In6. Do not provoke God

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “own sins; a people that provoketh Me to anger to My face.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.49 p.179

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Whoever shall attempt to do aught with presumption, provokes God,” *Stromata* book 2 ch.19 p.369

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) “Lord, and have provoked the Holy One of Israel to anger.” *The Instructor* book 1 ch.9 p.229

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “quite forsaken God, and have provoked unto indignation the Holy One of Israel” *An Answer to the Jews* ch.3 p.154

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “it was foretold that He should denounce against him: ‘Ye have forsaken the Lord, and have provoked the Holy One of Israel to anger’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.6 p.325

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “Jacob provoked the Spirit of the Lord to anger. These are their pursuits.” *Against the Heresy of One Noetus* ch.15 p.229

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “are not gods; they have provoked Me to anger with their idols: and I will move” *Origen Against Celsus* book 2 ch.78 p.464

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “And therefore I ask that you will grant my desire, and that you will grieve with me at the (spiritual) death of my sister, who in this time of devastation has fallen from Christ; for she has sacrificed and provoked our Lord, as seems manifest to us.” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 20 ch.2 p.298

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “It is called a contempt when God is provoked, because idols are worshipped” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the thirteenth chapter verse 13 p.357

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Walk ye not after strange gods, to serve them; and provoke me [God] not to anger with” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.11 p.109

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Hippolytus** (after 236 A.D.) (implied) speaks of not provoking God. *Discourse on the End of the World* ch.5 p.243

## In7. Do not worship any images or idols

Exodus 20:4; Deuteronomy 5:8; 27:15; Psalm 31:6; Psalm 97:7; Jon 2:8 (implied); Acts 14:15

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) 1 Corinthians 5:10-11

***Epistle of Barnabas*** ch.14 p.146 (c.70-130 A.D.) “And Moses understood that hey [the Israelites] had again made molten images; and he threw the tables out of his hands, and the tables of the testament of the Lord were broken.” (It does not say they sinned by worshipping a calf, though they did. The main point for Barnabas was the image.

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) in *A Plea for Christians* ch.34 p.147 “So that, if we were to regard the various forms of matter as gods, we should seem to be without any sense of the true God, because we should be putting the things which are dissoluble and perishable on a level with that which is eternal.” See also ibid ch.15 p.135.

Athenagoras (177 A.D.) asks and answers the question “are we to come and worship images?” *A Plea for Christians* ch.15 p.135

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “‘There are, however, persons who say: It is for the honour of God that we make the image: in order, that is, that we may worship the God who is concealed from our view. But they are unaware that God is in every country, and in every place, and is never absent, and that there is not anything done and He knoweth it not. Yet thou, despicable man! within whom He is, and without whom He is, and above whom He is, hast nevertheless gone and bought thee wood from the carpenter’s, and it is carved and made into an image insulting to God. To this thou offerest sacrifice, and knowest not that the all-seeing eye seeth thee, and that the word of truth reproves thee, and says to thee: How can the unseen God be sculptured? Nay, it is the likeness of thyself that thou makest and worshippest. Because the wood has been sculptured, hast thou not the insight to perceive that it is *still* wood, or *that the stone* is *still* stone? The gold also the workman taketh according to its weight in the balance. And when thou hast had it made into an image, why dose thou weigh it? Therefore thou art a lover of gold, and not a lover of God.” Fragment 1 p.754

Melito of Sardis (170-177/180 A.D.) vol.8 ch.1 p.753 says we are to serve God and not images. He discusses this in more detail on p.755 saying that men are despicable who worship images.

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) quotes Exodus 20:3 “And concerning piety He [God] says, ‘Thou shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them: for I am the Lord thy God.’” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.9 p.114

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) (partial) “They style themselves Gnostics. They [Carpocratians] also possess images, some of them painted, and others formed from different kinds of material; while they maintain that a likeness of Christ was made by Pilate at that time when Jesus lived among them. They crown these images, and set them up along with the images of the philosophers of the world that is to say, with the images of Pythagoras, and Plato, and Aristotle, and the rest. They have also other modes of honouring these images, after the same manner of the Gentiles.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.25.6 p.351

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “But do you think that we conceal what we worship, if we have not temples and altars? And yet what image of God shall I make, since, if you think rightly, many himself is the image of God? What temple shall I build to Him, when this whole world fashioned by His work cannot receive Him/”*The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.32 p.193

Minucius Felix (210 A.D.) criticizes the heathens for idolatry and praying to images. “Thus they invoke their deity, they supplicate their images, they implore their Genius, that is, their demon; and it is safer to swear falsely by the genius of Jupiter than by that of a king. Crosses, moreover, we neither worship not wish for...” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.29 p.191

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “And if Moses commanded men to make not an image to represent God by art, …” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.2 p.274

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “The law… teaches wisdom, by abstinence from sensible images.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.18 p.365

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “Numa the king of the Romans was a Pythagorean, and aided by the precepts of Moses, prohibited from making an image of God in human form, and of the shape of a living creature.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.15 p.316

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) “Why, then, foolish and silly men (for I will repeat it), have you, defaming the supercelestial region, dragged religion to the ground, by fashioning to yourselves gods of earth, and by going after those created objects, instead of the uncreated Deity, have sunk into deepest darkness? The Parian stone is beautiful, but it is not yet Poseidon. The ivory is beautiful, but it is not yet the Olympian Zeus. Matter always needs art to fashion it, but the deity needs nothing. Art has come forward to do its work, and the matter is clothed with its shape; and while the preciousness of the material makes it capable of being turned to profitable account, it is only on account of its form that it comes to be deemed worthy of veneration. Thy image, if considered as to its origin, is gold, it is wood, it is stone, it is earth, which has received shape from the artist’s hand. But I have been in the habit of walking on the earth, not of worshipping it. For I hold it wrong to entrust my spirit’s hopes to things destitute of the breath of life. We must therefore approach as close as possible to the images. How peculiarly inherent deceit is in them, is manifest from their very look. For the forms of the images are plainly stamped with the characteristic nature of demons.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.4 p.188-189

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) “And let our seals be either a dove, or a fish, or a ship scudding before the wind, or a musical lyre, which Polycrates used, or a ship’s anchor, which Seleucus got engraved as a device; and if there be one fishing, he will remember the apostle, and the children drawn out of the water. For we are not to delineate the faces of idols, we who are prohibited to cleave to them; nor a sword, nor a bow, following as we do, peace; nor drinking-cups, being temperate.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.11 p.285-286

Clement of Alexandria (c.195A.D.) “For we are expressly prohibited from exercising a deceptive art: ‘For thou shalt not make,” says the prophet, “the likeness of anything which is in heaven above or in the earth beneath.’” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.4 p.189

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “For it is the privilege of the dead also to be thus crowned, as they too straightway become idols, both by their dress and the service of deification, which (deification) is with us a second idolatry.” *The Chaplet* (*de Corona*) ch.10 p.98

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “but nothing is more impure than idols.” *The Chaplet* (*de Corona*) ch.10 p.99. See also *On Idolatry* ch.4 p.62-63; *The Shows* ch.13 p.85

Tertullian (205 A.D.) writes that certain Christian prisoners knew “that they must resist idolatry to the death.” *Scorpiace* ch.8 p.640

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) Talks about idolatry *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.65 p.219

***Martyrdom of the Holy Martyrs*** (before 250 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.1) ch.1 p.305 (implied) “wicked decrees were passed against the godly Christians in town and country, to force them to offer libations to vain idols,”

**Origen** (235-245 A.D.) teaches we should not worship idols *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 7 ch.3.1 p.71

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) (implied) “But if he thinks his statement, that ‘they were never held in any reputation or account,’ to be proved, because no remarkable event in their history is found recorded by the Greeks, we would answer, that if one will examine their polity from its first beginning, and the arrangement of their laws, he will find that they were men who represented upon earth the shadow of a heavenly life, and that amongst them God is recognised as nothing else, save He who is over all things, and that amongst them no maker of images was permitted to enjoy the rights of citizenship. For neither painter nor image-maker existed in their state, the law expelling all such from it; that there might be no pretext for the construction of images,-an art which attracts the attention of foolish men, and which drags down the eyes of the soul from God to earth. There was, accordingly, amongst them a law to the following effect: ‘Do not transgress the law, and make to yourselves a graven image, any likeness of male or female; either a likeness of any one of the creatures that are upon the earth, or a likeness of any winged fowl that flieth under the heaven, or a likeness of any creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, or a likeness of any of the fishes which are in the waters under the earth.’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 4 ch.31 p.510

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) says to have no graven images, without specifying images of idols or the true God. *Origen Against Celsus* book 7 ch.64 p.636

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions a difference between bowing to and worshipping idols, but both are bad. *Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.2.6 p.146

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) discusses how adultery, murder, taking money under bad circumstances, and idol worship are doing wrong. *Dialogue on the True Faith* Fourth Part ch.10 p.139

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) says not to worship any idols. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.39 p.423-424

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) mentions not worshipping an image. *Commentary on the Apocalypse of the Blessed John* ch.13.13 p.357

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) (implied) The gold and silver metals did not sin, when they used to make idols. *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 2 ch.5 p.315

Methodius (c.270-311/312 A.D.) “And those artificers who, to the destruction of men, make images in human form, not perceiving and knowing their own Maker, are blamed by the Word, which says, in the Book of Wisdom, a book full of all virtue, ‘his heart is ashes, his hope is more vile than earth, and his life of less value than clay; forasmuch as he knew not his Maker, and Him that inspired into him an active soul, and breathed in a living spirit;’ that is, God, the Maker of all men; therefore, also, according to the apostle, He ‘will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth.’” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 2 ch.7 p.316

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) says not to worship any idols. *Against the Heathen* ch.23-24 p.16-17. See also ibid ch.14 p.11-12 and ch.21.1 p.15

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) said not to worship graven images. *Athanasius Against the Heathen* part 1 ch.11.1 p.10

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “For the likeness of a man appears to be necessary at that time when he is far away; and it will become superfluous when he is at hand. But in the case of God, whose spirit and influence are diffused everywhere, and can never be absent, it is plain that an image is always superfluous.” *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.2 p.42

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “What madness is it, then, either to form those objects which they themselves may afterwards fear, or to fear the things which they have formed? But, they say, we do not fear the images themselves, but those beings after whose likeness they were formed, and to whose names they are dedicated. You fear them doubtless on this account, because you think that they are in heaven; for if they are gods, the case cannot be otherwise. Why, then, do you not raise your eyes to heaven, and, invoking their names, offer sacrifices in the open air? Why do you look to walls, and wood, and stone, rather than to the place where you believe them to be? What is the meaning of temples and altars? what, in short, of the images themselves, which are memorials either of the dead or absent? For the plan of making likenesses was invented by men for this reason, that it might be possible to retain the memory of those who had either been removed by death or separated by absence. In which of these classes, then, shall we reckon the gods? If among the dead, who is so foolish as to worship them? If among the absent, then they are not to be worshipped, if they neither see our actions nor hear our prayers. But if the gods cannot be absent,-for, since they are divine, they see and hear all things, in whatever part of the universe they are,-it follows that images are superfluous, since the gods are present everywhere, and it is sufficient to invoke with prayer the names of those who hear us. But if they are present, they cannot fail to be at hand at their own images. It is entirely so, as the people imagine, that the spirits of the dead wander about the tombs and relics of their bodies. But after that the deity has begun to be near, there is no longer need of his statue.” *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.2 p.41.

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “But if it appears that these religious rites are vain in so many ways as I have shown, it is manifest that those who either make prayers to the dead, or venerate the earth, or make over their souls to unclean spirits, do not act as becomes men, and that they will suffer punishment for their impiety and guilt, who, rebelling against God, the Father of the human race, have undertaken inexpiable rites, and violated every sacred law.” *The Divine Institutes* book 3 ch.18 p.67

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “I have shown that the religious rites of the gods are vain in a threefold manner: In the first place, because those images which are worshipped are representations of men who are dead; and that is a wrong and inconsistent thing, that the image of a man should be worshipped by the image of God, for that which worships is lower and weaker *than that which is worshipped*: then that it is an inexpiable crime to desert the living in order that you may serve memorials of the dead, who can neither give life nor light to any one, for they are themselves without it: and that there is no other God but one, to whose judgment and power every soul is subject. In the second place, that the sacred images themselves, to which most senseless men do service, are destitute of all perception, since they are earth. But who cannot understand that it is unlawful for an upright animal to bend itself that it may adore the earth? which is placed beneath our feet for this purpose, that it may be trodden upon, and not adored by us, who have been raised from it, and have received an elevated position beyond the other living creatures, that we may not turn ourselves again downward, nor cast this heavenly countenance to the earth, but may direct our eyes to that quarter to which the condition of their nature has directed, and that we may adore and worship nothing except the single deity of our only Creator and Father, who made man of an erect figure, that we may know that we are called forth to high and heavenly things.” *The Divine Institutes* book 3 ch.18 p.67

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says not to work for any idols. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.51 p.246

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “I have taught, as I imagine, that the honours paid to gods are not only, impious, but also vain, either because they were men whose memory was consecrated after death; or because the images themselves are insensible and deaf, inasmuch as they are formed of earth, and that it is not right for man, who ought to look up to heavenly things, to subject himself to earthly things; or because the spirits who claim to themselves those acts of religious service are unholy and impure, and on this account, being condemned by the sentence of God, fell to the earth, and that it is not lawful to submit to the power of those to whom you are superior, if you wish to be a follower of the true God.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.30 p.233

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) (implied) says that setting up statues is bad. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 2 ch.6 p.17

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* &&&

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 9 ch.7 p.276 teaches against worshipping any images of idols.

The Ebionite *Clementine Homilies* (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 9 ch.2 p.275 says do not “commit adultery” with worthless lifeless images.

The Ebionite *Clementine Homilies* (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 9 ch.15 p.278 in speaking about idols that could allegedly move says, “even maggots move, but they are not calls gods.”

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.30 p.85 speaks of one setting up an altar to demons, offering blood sacrifices. The fifth giant set up an idol to worship.

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 4 ch.20 p..33 shows we are not to worship any images.

## In8. Do not worship other gods

Deuteronomy 4:24; 27:15; Psalm 97:7

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) 1 Corinthians 8:1-6; 5:10-11

**Ignatius** of Antioch (-107/116 A.D.) “…Jesus Christ, by whom, if we are not in readiness to die into His passion, His life is not in us.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Magnesians* ch.5 p.61

***Didache*** (=*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*) vol.7 ch.5 p.379 (before 125 A.D.) The way of death is cursings, murder, adulteries, fornication, lusts, magic arts, idolatries, witchcraft, filthy talking, jealousies,

***The Apology of Aristides*** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) ch.15 p.277 “And they are ready to sacrifice their lives for the sake of Christ;”

*The Apology of Aristides* (125 or 138-161 A.D.) ch.15 p.277 “For they know of God, the Creator and Fashioner of all things through the only-begotten Son and the Holy Spirit; and beside Him they worship no other God.”

***Mathetes to Diognetus*** (c.130-200 A.D.) ch.2 p.23 says not to worship idols.

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) tells the emperor that to God alone we render worship, but in other things we gladly serve him. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.17 p.168

***Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum*** (177 A.D.). tells of the suffering of Christians who endured persecution rather than sacrifice. It calls Christians who succumbed to torture and sacrificed “abortions”. p.778-780

***Theophilus to Autolycus*** (168-181/188 A.D.) book 2 ch.34 p.108 And they [God’s laws] taught us to refrain from unlawful idolatry, and adultery, and murder, fornication, theft, avarice, false swearing, wrath, …”

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) says that just has a king does not allow any other kings under him, so God does not allow any to be worshipped under him. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.11 p.92

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (c.160-202 A.D.) says we should love our neighbors as ourselves. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.95.

*The* ***Passion of the Scillitan Martyrs*** (180-202 A.D.) *ANF* vol.9 p.285 they died rather than submitting to sacrificing to the Emperor.

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) has a whole chapter on why Christians will have nothing to do with anything connected to idol worship. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.38 p.196-197 . He speaks about Christians being killed for this in ch.37 p.196

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) teaches that idol worship is wrong. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.2 p.172

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) wrote an entire work called *On Idolatry*. “The principal crime of the human race, the highest guilt charged upon the world, the whole procuring cause of judgment, is idolatry.” *On Idolatry* ch.1 p.61

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) says not to sacrifice to other gods. *Apology* ch.37 p.41

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) says to avoid the worship of temples and the oracles of demons. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.35 p.209-210. See also ibid ch.2 p.203.

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “But when the souls of those who die for the Christian faith depart from the body with great glory, they destroy the power of the demons, and frustrate their designs against men.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.44 p.655

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says we must not worship any other god. *Origen’s Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.5 p.145

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.5 p.659 speaks of the Christians being persecuted during the Decian persecution. Some were “wounded” (i.e. denied the faith) but in a second encounter persevered so bravely and remained unconquered after that.

**Moyses, Maximum, and Nicostratus** (248-257 A.D.) mention martyrs and ask what can be more glorious or blessed than to confess the Lord God, in death itself, before his very executioners. Letter 25.1 p.302.

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) says that an older man, Apollonius was burned to death rather than utter impious things. *Letter 3 p.98*

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) says not to worship other gods. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.2 p.434 and book 2 ch.5 p.435

**Phileas** **of Thmuis** (martyred 306/307 A.D.) mentions the tortures and deaths of martyrs. See also, “He that sacrificeth to other gods,’ it is said, ‘shall be utterly destroyed.’” *Letter of Phileas to the People of Thmuis* ch.2,3 p.162-163

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) mentions people dying instead of worshipping idols. *The Canonical Epistle* Canon 2 p.269-270

Council of Ancyra (314 A.D.) (partial) discusses people who were tortured violently instead of sacrificing to the Roman gods. canon 3 p.63.

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) has an entire work against all other Gods. But see specifically *Athanasius Against the Heathen* ch.8-9 p.7-9 and ch.45 p.28.

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (implied) “All wisdom of man consists in this alone, the knowledge and worship of God:… Having overthrown all false religions, and having refuted all the arguments,...” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.30 p.100

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (implied) “…death for God is glorious, and that this is a victory on our side, if, having overcome the torturers, we lay down our life in behalf of the faith and religion,” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.54 p.244. [The early martyrs were killed, not for worshipping the true God per se, but for refusing to worship other gods also.]

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) They were told to remove the foreign gods from their midst. *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 1.6 p.9-10

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) (implied) says to worship Him [God] only. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 4 ch.21 p.31

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) “he [God] bids us by his law to believe in Him alone as God, and to ascribe the honor of worship to Him only,” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 13 ch.18 p.68

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) “and sinks with the common people of Athens into the lowest depth of their God-detested idolatry;” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 13 ch.14 p.59

**Among heretics**

The Encratite heretic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) says he would rather die than deny God, and show himself false and ungrateful. *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.4 p.66

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) teaches that Christians should not worship other gods. homily 9 ch.7 p.276

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.35 p.87 says to worship God alone.

## In9. Do not make/invent idols/ images to worship

**Melito of Sardis** (170-/177/180 A.D.) (implied) “So also will it be at the last time: there shall be a flood of fire, and the earth shall be burnt up, together with its mountains; and mankind shall be burnt up, along with the idols which they have made, and the carved images which they have worshipped;” *Discourse to Antonius Caesar* ch.1 p.751

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) (implied) “For these are not gods, but idols, as we have already said, the works of men’s hands and unclean demons. And such may all those become who make them and put their trust in them!” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.10 p.92

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) “The senseless earth is dishonoured by the makers of images, who change it by their art from its proper nature, and induce men to worship it; and the makers of gods worship not gods and demons, but in my view earth and art, which go to make up images. For, in sooth, the image is only dead matter shaped by the craftsman's hand.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.4 p.186

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) in discussing the ten commandments, says, “The second word intimated that men ought not to take and confer the august power of God (which is the name, for this alone were many even yet capable of learning), and transfer His title to things created and vain, which human artificers have made.” *Stromata* book 6, ch.16 p.512

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) explains how we are not to help manufacture idols either. *On Idolatry* ch.8 p.65

Tertullian (208-220 A.D.) “Of how deep guilt, then, adultery-which is likewise a matter of fornication, in accordance with its criminal function-is to be accounted, the Law of God first comes to hand to show us; if it is true, (as it is), that after interdicting the superstitious service of alien gods, and the making of idols themselves,” *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.5 p.77

**Hippolytus** (222-234/235 A.D.) “Under Egypt he meant the world, and under things made with hands its idolatry, and under the shaking its subversion and dissolution. And the Lord, the Word, he represented as upon a light cloud, referring to that most pure tabernacle, in which setting up His throne, our Lord Jesus Christ came into the world to shake error.” Fragment 2 on Isaiah (from Theodoret) p.176

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) (implied) “In the law, the Lord of heaven, and earth, and sea has commanded, saying, Worship not vain gods made by your own hands out of wood or gold, lest my wrath destroy you for such things. The people before Moses, unskilled, abiding without law, and ignorant of God, prayed to gods that perished, after the likenesses of which they fashioned vain idols. The Lord having brought the Jews out of the land of Egypt, subsequently imposed on them a law; and the Omnipotent enjoined these things, that they should serve Him alone, and not those idols.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.2 p.203

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “In Exodus also: ‘Thou shalt not make to thee an idol, nor the likeness of anything.’” *Treatises of Cyprian Treatise* 11 ch.12.1 (Exhortation to Martyrdom) p.498

**Methodius** (c.270-311/312 A.D.) “Or how did gold, or silver, or brass, and, to take it collectively, the whole of the workable earth, injure those who, ungratefully towards their Creator, make a wrong use of them by turning parts of them into various kinds of idols? And if any one should supply wool from that which had been stolen to the weaving art, that art, regarding this one thing only, manufactures the material submitted to it, if it will receive the preparation, rejecting nothing of that which is serviceable to itself, since that which is stolen is here not to be blamed, being lifeless. And, therefore, the material itself is to be wrought and adorned, but he who is discovered to have abstracted it unjustly should be punished.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 2 ch.5 p.315

Methodius (c.270-311/312 A.D.) (implied) “And those artificers who, to the destruction of men, make images in human form, not perceiving and knowing their own Maker, are blamed by the Word, which says, in the Book of Wisdom, a book full of all virtue, ‘his heart is ashes, his hope is more vile than earth, and his life of less value than clay; forasmuch as he knew not his Maker, and Him that inspired into him an active soul, and breathed in a living spirit;’ that is, God, the Maker of all men; therefore, also, according to the apostle, He ‘will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth.’” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 2 ch.7 p.316

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) “But it is now time to say how they came down to the madness of idolatry, that you may know that the invention of idols is wholly due, not *to* good but to evil.” *Against the Heathen* ch.7.5 p.7

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) (partial) “But that the soul is made immortal is a further point in the Church’s teaching which you must know, to show how the idols are to be overthrown.” *Athanasius Against the Heathen* ch.33 p.21

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) (implied) Make no idols. *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 1.6 p.9-10

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) (partial) “every material, costly though it be, is unworthy to form His [God’s] image; and every art unskilled to conceive a similitude; no likeness of Him was ever seen or conceived, or may without impiety be represented.” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 8 ch.8 p.13. See also ibid book 8 ch.9 p.18.

**Among Jews**

**Flavius Josephus** (110 A.D.) “The first commandment teaches us that there is but one God, and that we ought to worship him only; - The second commands us not to make the image of any living creature to worship it; -the third,….” *Antiquities of the Jews* book 3 ch.5.5 p.71

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**Akhmin Apocalypse of Peter** (Greek) (135,100-150 A.D.) (implied) says that idol makers are whipped with whips of fire (Ethiopic) or beaten with rods (Akhmin)

## In10. Stars have no influence on people

(implied) Isaiah 47:13; Jeremiah 10:2

***Didache*** (=Teaching of the Twelve Apostles) vol.7 ch.3.4 p.378 (before 125 A.D.) Do not observe omens, be an enchanter, astrologer, or look at these things.

Theophilus of Antioch (161-181/188 A.D.) (partial) mentions Aratus in *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.8 p.97. He mentions that he looked at the sphaerography of the world’s circle in *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.2 p.111.

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “‘Neither let any one either take comfort from, or apologize for what happens from fate. Let what happens be of the disposition of fortune, yet the mind is free; and therefore man’s doing, not his dignity, is judged. For what else is fate than what God has spoken of each one of us? Who, since He can foresee our constitution, determines also the fates for us, according to the deserts and the qualities of individuals. Thus in our case it is not the star under which we are born that is punished, but the particular nature of our disposition is blamed.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.36 p.195

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) distinguished between astronomy and astrology, and taught that astrology was wrong. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.6 p.191. See also *Stromata* book 6 ch.16 p.513

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) mentions astrology as wrong along with assassins, poisoners, pimps, and sorcerers *Apology* ch.43 p.49

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) says that astrology is wrong. *On Idolatry* ch.9 p.65

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240 A.D.) says that stars do not exert influence, but they show what is, what will be, and what has become. *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.55 p.49

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) knew a lot about Chaldean astrology and he taught that it was wrong. Hippolytus’ *Refutation of All Heresies* book 4 ch.3 p.24-27

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) One reason Hippolytus gave that astrology was wrong is that it should be from the time of conception, not birth. Hippolytus’ *Refutation of All Heresies* book 4 ch.3 p.25

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) Did everyone born at the same time as Alexander of Macedon have the same fate? How about Plato? How about soldiers in battle? Hippolytus’ *Refutation of All Heresies* book 4 ch.3 p.27

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) If those born under Virgo are destined to have fair (light) complexions, how about Ethiopians (blacks) born under the sign of Virgo? Hippolytus’ *Refutation of All Heresies* book 4 ch.6 p.27

**Origen** (235-245 A.D.) tells us not to follow “the deliriums of the astrologers” *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 27 ch.4.2 p.256

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) discusses astrology “to crush falsehood”. *The Banquet of the*

*Ten Virgins* discourse 8 ch.14 p.341

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) (partial) says some people wrongly think the stars are gods who influence lower gods. *Athanasius Against the Heathen* part 1 ch.9.1 p.8

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) (implied) speaks against astrology. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 6 ch.7 p.35

**Among heretics**

**X Marcion** (c.172 A.D.) according to Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “The Marcionites are very strongly addicted to astrology; nor do they blush to get their livelihood by help of the very stars which were made by the Creator (whom they depreciate). We must here also treat of the quality of the (new) revelation; whether Marcion’s supreme god has become known *in a way worthy of him*, so as to secure the proof of his existence: and *in the way of truth*, so that he may be believed to be the very being who had been already proved to have been revealed in a manner worthy of his character.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 1 ch.18 p.284

**Bardaisan/Bardesan** (154-224/232 A.D.) has a lengthy discussion of astrology and how the predictions or tendencies are flat wrong in many places. *The Book of the Laws of Diverse Countries* p.729-732

**X The Elchasaites** according to Hippolytus (222-235/236 A.D.) taught that Jesus was the Son of God, on astronomy, and water baptism. *Refutation of All Heresies* book 9 ch.8-12 p.131-131.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) speaks against astrology. homily 14 ch.11 p.308. See also ibid homily 14 ch.5 p.306.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 9 ch.12 p.185 “Therefore the astrologers being ignorant of such mysteries, think that these things happen by the courses of heavenly bodies: hence also, I their answers to those who go to them to consult them as to future things, they are deceived in very many instances.”. book 1 ch.32 p.86 also claims that Abraham was an astrologer who renounced astrology to follow God. See also ibid book 9 ch.12 p.185 and 9 ch.19 p.187.

## In11. Don’t be in/subject to bondage [to sin]

Bondage under the law, under men, or under tyrants is not included here.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “For the Lord vindicated Abraham's posterity by loosing them from bondage and calling them to salvation, as He did in the case of the woman whom He healed, saying openly to those who had not faith like Abraham, "Ye hypocrites,(2) doth not each one of you on the Sabbath-days loose his ox or his ass, and lead him away to watering? And ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound these eighteen years, be loosed from this bond on the Sabbath-days?"” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.8.1 p.471

**Clement of Alexandria** (293-217/220 A.D.) “who, under the pretence of poetry corrupting human life, possessed by a spirit of artful sorcery for purposes of destruction, celebrating crimes in their orgies, and making human woes the materials of religious worship, were the first to entice men to idols; nay, to build up the stupidity of the nations with blocks of wood and stone,--that is, statues and images,--subjecting to the yoke of extremest bondage the truly noble freedom of those who lived as free citizens under heaven by their songs and incantations.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.1 p.172

Clement of Alexandria (192-202 A.D.) “God hath not given us the spirit of bondage again to fear; but of power, and love, and of a sound mind.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.7 p.418

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Though it seems to be liberty, yet it will come to be found bondage. In the world everything is nominal, and nothing real. For even then, as ransomed by Christ, you were under no bondage to man; and now, though man has given you liberty, you are the servant of Christ. If you think freedom of the world to be real, so that you even seal it with a crown, you have returned to the slavery of man, imagining it to be freedom; you have lost the freedom of Christ, fancying it is slavery.” *The Chaplet* ch.13 p.101-102

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “Do you see, beloved, how the prophet spake beforetime of the purifying power of baptism? For he who comes down in faith to the layer of regeneration, and renounces the devil, and joins himself to Christ; who denies the enemy, and makes the confession that Christ is God; who puts off the bondage, and puts on the adoption,--he comes up from the baptism brilliant as the sun,(20) flashing forth the beams of righteousness, and, which is indeed the chief thing, he returns a son of God and joint-heir with Christ.” *Discourse on the Holy Theophany* ch.10 p.237

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240 A.D.) “Having set free the spirit of bondage, which produces fear, and advanced by love to adoption, he now reverences from love Him whom he feared before.” ch.19 p.45

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “The words of Paul are as follow: ‘For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.17 p.421

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “In the midst of the banquet he sighs, although he drinks from a jewelled goblet; and when his luxurious bed has enfolded his body, languid with feasting, in its yielding bosom, he lies wakeful in the midst of the down; nor does he perceive, poor wretch, that these things are merely gilded torments, that he is held in bondage by his gold, and that he is the slave of his luxury and wealth rather than their master. And oh, the odious blindness of perception, and the deep darkness of senseless greed!” *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 1 ch.10 p.279

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “Our meetings to be cruelly broken up,(10) in which prayer is made to the Supreme God, peace and pardon are asked for all in authority, for soldiers, kings, friends, enemies, for those still in life, and those freed from the bondage of the flesh;(11) in which all that is said is such as to make men humane,(12) gentle, modest, virtuous, chaste, generous in dealing with their substance, and inseparably united to all embraced in our brotherhood?” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* ch.36 p.488

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “For it is our duty to prefer and to set forward the best things, who have received, above the earth-born, a commanding and voluntary mind, and one free from all necessity, so as to make choice like masters of the things which please us, not being in bondage to fate or fortune. And so no man would be master of himself and good, unless selecting the human example of Christ, and bringing himself to the likeness of Him, he should imitate Him in his manner of life.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* ch.13 p.340

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (c.318 A.D.) “4. And that it was in order to the sacrifice for bodies such as His own that the Word Himself also assumed a body, to this, also, they refer in these words: ‘Forasmuch then as the children are the sharers in blood and flesh, He also Himself in like manner partook of the same, that through death He might bring to naught Him that had the power of death, that is, the devil; and might deliver them who, through fear of death, were all their lifetime subject to bondage.’” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.10 p.41

**Lactantiu**s (c.303-c.325 A.D.) (implied) “And the king of the Egyptians endeavouring to follow them as they fled, the sea returning to its place, he was cut off, with all his people. And this deed so illustrious and so wonderful, although for the present it displayed to men the power of God, was also a foreshadowing and figure of a greater deed, which the same God was about to perform at the last consummation of the times, for He will free His people from the oppressive bondage of the world.” *The Divine Institutes* book 7 ch.15 p.212

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) “But now, after all this bondage to death and corruption of the manhood, God hath visited His creature, which He formed after His own image and similitude; and this He hath done that it might not for ever be the sport of death. Therefore God sent down from heaven His incorporeal Son to take flesh upon Him in the Virgin's womb; and thus, equally as thou, was He made man; to save lost man, and collect all His scattered members.” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Epistle 3 ch.5 p.300

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (c.318-325 A.D.) “Now listen to Isaiah prophesying in the clearest words thus about Christ, as one to be sent by God to men as their Redeemer and Saviour, and coming to preach forgiveness to those in bondage of spirit, and recovery of sight to the blind. For here again the prophet teaches that the Christ has been anointed not with a prepared unguent, but with the spiritual and divine anointing of His Father's Divinity, conferred not by man but by the Father.” *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 4.

Eusebius of Caesarea c.318-325 A.D.) “Wherefore also they might justly be called enemies of God and impious, who ruined all human life, and from whom never any save only our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ provided the way of escape for all men, by preaching to all alike, Greeks and Barbarians, a cure for their ancestral malady, and deliverance from their bitter and inveterate bondage.” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 4 ch.10

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**Pseudo-Gregory Thaumaturgus** (after 265 A.D.) “And again: "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God. For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father."” Fragment 10 p.43

**Pseudo-Methodius** (after 312 A.D.) “ Christ, the Son of God, by the command of the Father, became conversant with the visible creature, in order that, by overturning the dominion of the tyrants, the demons, that is, He might deliver our souls from their dreadful bondage, by reason of which our whole nature, intoxicated by the draughts of iniquity, had become full of tumult and disorder, and could by no means return to the remembrance of good and useful things.” p.399

**Apostolic Constitutions** (&&&) ch.39 p.476 “and how God still took care of and did not reject mankind, but called them from their error and vanity to the acknowledgment of the truth at various seasons, reducing them from bondage and impiety unto liberty and piety, from injustice to righteousness, from death eternal to everlasting life.”

## In12. Do not get drunk

Ephesians 5:18; Titus 1:7

(implied) Titus 2:3

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Ephesians 5:18

**p32 (=P. Rylands 5)** Titus 1:1-15; 2:3-8 (21 verses) (150-200 A.D.) Titus 1:7. See also implied in Titus 2:3

**p47 (= Chester Beatty III)** (c.250-300 A.D.) 31% of Revelation. Revelation 9:20-11:3; 11:5-16:15; 16:17-17:2 (implied) says the kings of the earth committed adultery with Babylon and were intoxicated with the wine of her adulteries.

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Speaks against lust, drunkenness, and idolatry. 1 Peter 4:3

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) tells us to be holy, avoid all evil-speaking, impure embraces and with drunkenness. *1 Clement* ch.30 p.13

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 Similitude 6 ch.5 p.38 mentions sins including luxurious living, in being a drunkard, and being a liar.

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) (implied) “But this noble husband of hers,-while he ought to have been rejoicing that those actions which formerly she unhesitatingly committed with the servants and hirelings, when she delighted in drunkenness and every vice, she had now given up, and desired that he too should give up the same,-when she had gone from him without his desire, brought an accusation against her, affirming that she was a Christian.” *Second Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.2 p.188

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “the drunk and raging Bacchus; and of Apollo fearing and fleeing from Achilles,” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.9 p.91

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) quotes 1 Corinthians 6:10 about no drunkards. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.27.4 p.520

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) says do not get drunk. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.31 p.192.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) says that mixing wine with water is fine and healthy. He then has a lengthy passage on the evils of drunkenness. *The Instructor* book 2 ch.2 [title On Drinking] p.242-246

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) “A night spent over drink invites drunkenness, rouses lust, and is audacious in deeds of shame.” *The Instructor* book 2 ch.4 p.248.

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) “Noah’s intoxication was recorded in writing, that, with the clear and written description of his transgression before us, we might guard with all our might against drunkenness.” *The Instructor* book 2 ch.2 p.246.

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) (implied) is against getting drunk. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.10 p.200

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) said it is good to abstain from wine, but Paul told Timothy to take some wine out of medical necessity in 1 Timothy 5:23. *Tertullian On Fasting* ch.9 vol.4 p.108

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) quotes Ephesians 5:18 “Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.18 p.468

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) (implied) mentions that the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of the adulteries of Babylon. Treatise on Christ and Antichrist ch.36 p.211

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) (implied) says he prefers a beast to a drunkard. He calls those who are proud of their drinking fools.*Instructions of Commodianus* ch.77 p.218

**Origen** (235-245 A.D.) mentions the sin of getting drunk. *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 20 ch.3.3 p.227

Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) speaks against drunkards. *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 6 ch.37 p.379.

Origen (233/234 A.D.) (implied) shows drunkenness as bad. *Origen On Prayer* ch.19.3 p.69

Origen (c.250 A.D.) Don’t be a robber, drunkard, reviler, or lie with another man. *Homilies on Psalms* homily 73.3.6 p.212

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “For this is He who ‘desireth against the flesh,’ because ‘the flesh resisteth against the Spirit.’ This is He who restrains insatiable desires, controls immoderate lusts, quenches unlawful fires, conquers reckless impulses, repels drunkenness, checks avarice, drives away luxurious revellings, links love, binds together affections, keeps down sects, orders the rule of truth, overcomes heretics, turns out the wicked, guards the Gospel, Of this says the same apostle: ‘We have not received the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God.’” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.29 p.641

Novatian (250/4-256/7 A.D.) mentions people who “have the sound of Christianity” but still get drunk. *On Jewish Meats* ch.6 p.649

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes scripture against adulteries, fornications, idolatries, sorceries, murders, hatreds, strifes, heresies, drunkenness in *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 book 3 ch.64 p.551. Ibid ch.65 p.551 also mentions thieves, cheaters, robbers.

**Gergory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) “Moreover, a good name is more pleasant to the mind than oil to the body; and the end of life is better than the birth, and to mourn is more desirable than to revel, and to be with the sorrowing is better than to be with the drunken. For this is the fact, that he who comes to the end of life has no further care about alight around him.” *Metaphrase of Ecclesiastes* ch.7 p.13

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “Laughter has a twofold madness; because madness begets laughter, and does not allow the sorrowing for sins; and also because a man of that sort is possessed with madness, in the confusing of seasons, and places, and persons. For he flees from those who sorrow. ‘And to mirth, What doest thou? ‘Why dost thou repair to those who are not at liberty to be merry? Why to the drunken, and the avaricious, and the rapacious? And why this phrase, ‘as wine?’ Because wine makes the heart merry; and it acts upon the poor in spirit. The flesh, however, also makes the heart merry, when it acts in a regular and moderate fashion.” *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* ch.2 p.112

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) (implied) “Is not this, then, impious, and perfectly sacrilegious, to give that as an honour which, if you take too eagerly, you know not what you are doing, you are ignorant of what you are saying, and at last are reviled, and become infamous as a drunkard, a luxurious and abandoned fellow?” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 7 ch.30 p.530

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “And therefore it is ordered that a virgin shall not taste of this vine, so that she may be sober and watchful from the cares of life, and may kindle the shining torch of the light of righteousness for the Word. ‘Take heed to yourselves,’ says the Lord, ‘lest at any time your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and cares of this life, and so that day come upon yon unawares, as a snare.’” *Banquet of The Ten Virgins* discourse 5 ch.5 p.327

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) speaks against gluttony and drunkenness. *Against the Heathen* ch.5 p.6

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says “the soul, be says, is also subject to pain and grief, and loses its senses through drunkenness, whence it is evidently frail and mortal.” *The Divine Institutes* book 7 ch.12 p.209

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) says not do get drunk. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 8 ch.8 p.14. This is also implied in ibid book 15 preface p.3

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) (implied) “Moreover, not even on the birthdays of children did it permit us to celebrate a feast and make pretexts for drunkenness; but it directed the very beginning of education to be temperate , and commanded us to instruct children in the learning that relates to the laws,…” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 8 ch.8 p.14

**Among heretics**

The Encratite heretic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “to build his heresy, asserting that wine is not to be drunk, since it was” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* fragment 10 p.82-83

**Bardaisan/Bardesan** (154-224/232 A.D.) drunkenness is wrong. “For there are those who *once* were profligates and drunkards; and, when the admonition of good counsels reached them, they became pure and sober, and spurned their bodily appetites.” *The Book of the Laws of Diverse Countries* p.729

Bardaisan/Bardesan (154-224/232 A.D.) speaks of profligates and drunkards. *The Book of the Laws of Diverse Countries* p.727

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) (implied) shows that being a drunkard is wrong. homily 3 ch.60 p.249

## In13. Eating meat is fine

Matthew 14:17-21; 15:29-38; Mark 7:15-23; John 21:10-13; Acts 10:12-13; Romans 14:14

Colossians 2:21 (implied)

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Romans 14:3,17,21-23

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 21:5-9

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Acts 10:10-11; 11:7

**p28** – John 6:8-12, 17-22 (3rd century A.D.) miracle of Jesus feeding the 5,000. Eating meat (fish) is OK John 6:8-11

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) in *The Resurrection of the Dead* ch.8 p.153 says that eating animal meat is fine, but cannibalism is wrong.

***Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum*** (177 A.D.) says that the Christian Alcibiades only ate bread and water. However, when he was put in prison, it was revealed to him that he was not doing right in “refusing to use the creatures of God, and in leaving an example which might be a stumbling-block to others.” p.784

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (c.160-202 A.D.) people could eat meat after the flood. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.22

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) discusses Peter’s vision in Acts 10:10-15 and says “The use of them is accordingly indifferent to us. ‘For not what entereth into the mouth defileth the man,’ but the vain opinion respecting uncleanness. For God, when He created man, said, ‘All things shall be to you for meat.’” *The Instructor* book 2 ch.1 p.241

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “whereas faith, free in Christ, owes no abstinence from particular meats to the Jewish Law even, admitted as it has been by the apostle once for all to the whole range of the meat-market -(the apostle, I say), that detester of such as, in like manner as they prohibit marrying, so bid us abstain from meats created by God.” *On Fasting* ch.2 p.103

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “For He [God] bestowed His blessing on matrimony also, as on an honourable estate, for the increase of the human race; as He did indeed on the whole of His creation, for wholesome and good uses. Meats and drinks are not on this account to be condemned, because, when served up with too exquisite a daintiness, they conduce to gluttony; nor is raiment to be blamed, because, when too costlily adorned, it becomes inflated with vanity and pride. So, on the same principle, the estate of matrimony is not to be refused, because, when enjoyed without moderation, it is fanned into a voluptuous flame. There is a great difference between a cause and a fault, between a state and its excess.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 1 ch.29 p.294

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “And, similarly, if thy poor sister lies upon a sick-bed, let your matrons begin to bear her victuals. God Himself cries out, Break thy bread to the needy. There is no need to visit with words, but with benefits. It is wicked that thy brother should be sick through want of food. Satisfy him not with words. He needs meat and drink.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.71 p.217

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) alludes to Luke 24:42,43 where Jesus ate a broiled fish after He rose from the dead. *Origen’s Commentary on Matthew* book 11 ch.2 p.432. See Also *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.30 p.650

Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) Eating meat is OK. *Origen’s Commentary on Matthew* book 11 ch.12 p.441

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) says that we hunt and eat animals. *Origen Against Celsus* book 4 ch.78 p.532

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) has an entire work on eating meat prohibited to Jews is fine: *On Jewish Meats*. You can specifically see ch.5 p.648.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Paul, in the first to the Corinthians: ‘Meat commendeth us not to God; neither if we eat shall we abound, nor if we eat not shall we want.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 third part ch.60 p.550

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) taught that all meat was OK to eat. *Canonical Epistle 1* p.18

**Alexander of Lycopolis** (301 A.D.) (implied) is against the Manichaeans who say marriage is bad, having children is bad, and it is wrong to eat living things [meat]. *Of the Manichaeans* ch.25 p.251

**Council Of Ancyra** canon 14 p.69 (314 A.D.) says that even clergy who wish to abstain from flesh should at least taste it, and if they want to abstain afterwards that is fine. But if they disdain to take flesh at all, then they should be removed from their office. See also canon 7 p.66

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) God gave us some animals for food. *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.9 p.58

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) says that all foods are OK for us to eat. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.4 p.87

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 4 ch.16 (implied) “For as long as the measure of nature is kept, and legitimate moderation is preserved, the mercy of God does not give them liberty to enter into men. But when either the mind falls into impiety, or the body is filled with immoderate meat or drink,”

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 7 ch.6 is spoken ironically about luxury, and so is not counted.

**Bardaisan/Bardesan** (154-224/232 A.D.) Eating meat is fine. *The Book of the Laws of Diverse Countries* p.728

## In14. Do not be a glutton or slave of your belly

Philippians 3:19a; Proverbs 28:7

**p46 Chester Beatty II** - 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews.(100-150 A.D.) Philippians 3:19a

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 1 vision 3 ch.9 p.16 “For some through the abundance of their food produce weakness in their flesh, and thus corrupt their flesh; while the flesh of others who have no food is corrupted, because they have not sufficient nourishment. And on this account their bodies waste away. This intemperance in eating is thus injurious to you who have abundance and do not distribute among those who are needy.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “neither are they adorned with works of righteousness; but, as I have already observed, they have adopted the lives of swine and of dogs, giving themselves over to filthiness, to gluttony, and recklessness of all sorts. Justly, therefore, did the apostle call all such ‘carnal’ and ‘animal,’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.8.4 p.534

**Apollonius of Ephesus** (c.211 A.D.) (implied) “This is he who taught the dissolution of marriage; who inculcated fasting; who called Peruga and Tymius, small towns of Phrygia, Jerusalem, because he wished to collect thither people from all parts; who set up exactors of money; who craftily contrives the taking of gifts under the name of voluntary offerings; who grants stipends to those who publish abroad his doctrine, that by means of gluttony the teaching of the doctrine may prevail.” *Concerning Montanism* ch.1 p.775

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) quotes Philippians 3:19 and reiterates that destruction awaits those who worship filling their belly. *The Instructor* book 2 ch.1 p.242

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) says we are not to be slaves of the belly. *On Patience* ch.16 p.717

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) (partial, because says not what he believes but what Brachmans believe) “And they say that all men are captive to their own congenital struggles, viz., sensuality and in chastity, gluttony, anger, joy, sorrow, concupiscence, and such like. And he who has reared a trophy over these, alone goes to God;” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 1 ch.21 p.22

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) But your god is your belly, and rewards are your laws. Paul the apostle suggests this” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.31 p.209

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) refers to covetousness and deifying the belly. *Commentary on Matthew* book 11 ch.12 p.441

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) “we will say that they are such as are supplied by covetousness, and are the result of base love of gain, and are taken up from love of pleasure, and from deifying the belly which is treated with honour, when it, with its appetites, and not reason, rules our souls. But as for us who know that some” &&&

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says not to be a glutton. *Origen On Prayer* ch.19.3 p.69

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) says that the belly and the palate are two great destroyers of salvation. *On the Jewish Meats* ch.6 p.649

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes Philippians 3:19-21 including people whose god is their belly. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 book 3 ch.11 p.536

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) “But the sluggard and the idler become scoffers, and make the house decay; and misusing all things for the purposes of their own gluttony, like the ready slaves of money, for a small price they are content to do all that is base and abject.” *Metaphrase of Ecclesiastes* ch.10 p.16

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) speaks against gluttony and drunkenness. *Against the Heathen* ch.5 p.6

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Give me one who is grasping, covetous, and tenacious; I will presently restore him to you liberal, and freely bestowing his money with full hands. Give me a man who is afraid of pain and death; he shall presently despise crosses, and fires, and the bull of Phalaris. Give me one who is lustful, an adulterer a glutton; you shall presently see him sober, chaste, and temperate. Give me one who is cruel and bloodthirsty: that fury shall presently be changed into true clemency.” *The Divine Institutes* book 3 ch.26 p.96

**Among heretics**

The Encratite heretic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “Yet this man, who professed to despise death, was so afraid of death, that he endeavoured to inflict on Justin, and indeed on me, the punishment of death, as being an evil, because by proclaiming the truth he convicted the philosophers of being gluttons and cheats.” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.19 p.73

**Bardesan** (154-224/232 A.D.) (implied) “From Nature comes a supply *of nourishment* sufficient for the bodies of all *creatures*; and from Fate comes the want of sustenance, and *consequent* suffering in those bodies; and so, again, from the same Fate comes gluttony and unnecessary luxury.”

## In15. Vanity, or avoid vain things

Ecclesiastes; Jeremiah 2:5; Ephesians 4:17; 2 Peter 2:18

**p46** Chester Beatty II – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Ephesians 4:17

**p49** Ephesians 4:16-29; 4:31-5:13 (225-275 A.D.) Ephesians 4:17

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. 2 Peter 3:18

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “These things, beloved, we write unto you, not merely to admonish you of your duty, but also to remind ourselves. For we are struggling on the same arena, and the same conflict is assigned to both of us. Wherefore let us give up vain and fruitless cares, and approach to the glorious and venerable rule of our holy calling.” *1 Clement* ch.7 vol.1 p.7

**Ignatius of Antioch** (100-107/116 A.D.) “prisoner, I learn not to desire anything worldly or vain.” *Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans* ch.4 p.75 (the Latin version has the same)

***Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) “that which is evil; from whom meekness and endurance are far, loving vanities,”

***Epistle to Diognetus*** (c.130-200 A.D.) ch.4 p.26 “I suppose then, that you are sufficiently convinced that the Christians properly abstain from the vanity and error common to both Jews and Gentiles], and from the busy-body spirit and vain boasting of the Jews;”

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.4 p.139 “may find no means of entrance, let us flee from every vanity, let us utterly hate the works of the way of wickedness.”

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) vol.7 ch.19 p.523 “For sometimes while we are practising evil things we do not perceive it on account of the double-mindedness and unbelief that is in our breasts, and we are ‘darkened in our understanding’ by our vain lusts.”

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) “and truth, as those who have forsaken the vain, empty talk and error of the multitude” *Letter to the Philippians* ch.2 p.33

Polycarp (100-155 A.D.) “Let us be zealous in the pursuit of that which is good, keeping ourselves from causes of offence, from false brethren, and from those who in hypocrisy bear the name of the Lord, and draw away vain men into error.” *Epistle to the Philippians* ch.6 p.34

Polycarp (100-155 A.D.) (partial) “Wherefore, forsaking the vanity of many, and their false doctrines, let us” *Epistle to the Philippians* ch.7 p.34

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 2 commandment ninth p.26 “Cleanse, therefore, your heart from all the vanities of this world,”

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) (partial) “of heart: who has not received his soul in vain, and has not sworn guilefully to his neighbor” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.36 p.212

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “But it is impossible for him to continue unless he rise again. For if no resurrection were to take place, the nature of men as men would not continue. And if the nature of men does not continue, in vain has the soul been fitted to the need of the body and to its experiences; in vain has the body been lettered so that it cannot obtain what it longs for, obedient to the reins of the soul, and guided by it as with a bridle; in vain is the understanding, in vain is wisdom, and the observance of rectitude, or even the practice of every virtue, and the enactment and enforcement of laws,-to say all in a word, whatever is noble in men or for men’s sake, or rather the very creation and nature of men. But if vanity is utterly excluded from all the works of God, and from all the gifts bestowed by Him, the conclusion is unavoidable, that, along with the interminable duration of the soul, there will be a perpetual continuance of the body according to its proper nature.” *The Resurrection of the Dead* ch.15 p.157

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “These are the gods who lead vain men astray, From whose mouth streams of deadly poison flow.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.36 p.109

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) “For all these, having fallen in love with vain and empty reputation, neither themselves knew the truth, nor guided others to the truth:” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.3 p.111

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “and with a reprobate mind spend all their labour on vanity. And he also judges the Gentiles…” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.33.1 p.506

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “And that deceitful serpent, devouring the understanding part of man through vanity, has the soul as its hole, filling all with deadly poisons; and injecting his own venom of deception, this pander of a dragon has changed women into harlots.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.2 p.272

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “how your faith abandons itself more to vanities than to verities [truths].” *To the Nations* book 1 ch.8 p.116

Tertullian (207-208 A.D.) (implied) “that is, of course, from their riches, in the pomps and vanities of the world.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.&&&

**Hippolytus** (222-235/236 A.D.) quotes Romans 1:20-27. *Refutation of All Heresies* book 5 ch.2 p.49-50

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “Worship not vain gods made by your own hands out of wood or gold, lest my wrath” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.2 p.203

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) (implied) “Besides, our wise men have such a contempt for all sensible objects, that sometimes they speak of all material things as vanity: thus, ‘For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him that subjected the same in hope;’ at other times as vanity of vanities, ‘Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher, all is vanity.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 7 ch.50 p.631

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.2 p.657 “Why, therefore, shouldst thou be lifted up with vain things? Thou wilt gain loss rather than profit.”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) says that Isaiah taught that evildoers trust in vanity. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.48 p.546

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) “But even as property acquired by violence is a most hurtful as well as impious possession, so the man who lusteth after money never finds satisfaction for his passion, nor good-will from his neighbours, even though he may have amassed the greatest possible wealth. For this also is vanity. But goodness greatly rejoiceth those who hold by it, and makes them strong, imparting to them the capacity of seeing through all things.” *Metaphrase of Ecclesiastes* ch.5 p.12

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “And by madness and folly he designates all the labours of men, and the vain and silly pleasure they have in them. Distinguishing these, therefore, and their measure, and blessing the true wisdom, he has added: ‘For what man is there that shall come after counsel?’” *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* ch.2.12 p.112

**Theonas Of Alexandria** (282-300 A.D.) “For if we seek our own glory, we set our desire upon a vain and perishing object, and one which leads ourselves on to death.” *Epistle of Theonas to Lucians, the Chief Chamberlain* ch.1 p.158

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “For while, as just men and upholders of righteousness, you should have subdued pride and arrogance, by the evils of which we are all uplifted and puffed up with empty vanity; you not only hold that these evils arise naturally, but-and this is much worse-you have also added causes by which vice should increase, and wickedness remain incorrigible.” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.29 p.442

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) (implied) “but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened;” *Banquet of The Ten Virgins* discourse 8 ch.14 p.340

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (c.318 A.D.) Mentions the vanity of idols. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.14.4 p.44

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “For I desire, O Emperor Constantine, now that I have proved the emptiness of these things, and brought to light the impious vanity of men, to assert the majesty of the one God, undertaking the more useful and greater duty of recalling men from crooked paths, and of bringing them back into favour with themselves, that they may not, as some philosophers do, so greatly despise themselves, nor think that they are weak and useless, and of no account, and altogether born in vain.” *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.1 p.40

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “How much better is it to despise vanities, and to turn to God, to maintain” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.25 p.230

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Ignatius of Antioch** (100-107/116 A.D.) “I rejoice, therefore, over you, that ye do not give heed to vanity, and love nothing according to the flesh, but according to God.” *Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians* (Latin version) ch.9 p.53

## In16. Virtue of prudence

**Ignatius of Antioch** (100-107/116 A.D.) (implied) “And why are we not all prudent, since we have received the knowledge of God, which is Jesus Christ? Why do we foolishly perish, not recognising the gift which the Lord has of a truth sent to us?” *Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians* [Greek] ch.17 p.56

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.6 p.140 “For the prophet says, ‘Who shall understand the parable of the Lord, except him who is wise and prudent, and who loves his Lord?’”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “Then I replied, ‘You have inquired most discreetly and most prudently,…’” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.87 p.243

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “shall understand these things? prudent, and he shall know them?” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.38 p.110

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “called prudence, in others temperance, and in others manliness or righteousness.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.20 p.323

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) (implied) “within you for the exercise of prudence in investigating the truth of reports,” *To the Nations* ch.7 p.114-115

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “least may tend to become so; prudent instead of foolish, or be on the way to become such” *Origen Against Celsus* book 2 ch.79 p.464

Origen (233/234 A.D.) (implied) mentions prudence. *Origen’s Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.8 p.144

***Treatise on Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.1 p.667 “prudence and constancy: and, being gifted with the arrogance of heretics, whose”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “to be prudent, what else, beloved brethren, befits us, than to use foresight and” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 1 ch.1 p.421

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) “For it is thus (he [Origen] used to say) that the heavenly virtues will ripen in the soul: to wit, prudence, which first of all is able to judge of those very motions in the mind at once from the things themselves,” *Oration and Panegyric to Origen* argument 9 p.31

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “But to the earnest, and powerful, and intelligent, and prudent, such as philosophers ought to be-and how much more so, therefore, the gods! – these things are not only not disagreeable and irksome, but ever the most delightful, and by far the most welcome of all.” Section 5 *That to Work is Not a Matter of Pain and Weariness to God* p.89

**Theonas of Alexandria** (282-300 A.D.) “servant should be faithful and prudent, so that his lord may rejoice that he has” *Epistle of Theonas to Lucianus the Chief Chamberlain* ch.4 p.159

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “Dispel the darkness now, and, returning to the light of the mind, look more closely and see what that is which is going on, if only you retain your right, and are not beyond the reach of the reason and prudence given to you.” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 6 ch.14 p.512

**Victorinus** (martyred 304 A.D.) “I think that these are the four virtues, to wit, prudence, fortitude, justice, temperance, which are associated with one another.” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the 21st and 22nd chapters verse 16 p.359

Peter of Alexandria (306,285-311 A.D.) (partial) “But upon those who have used dissimulation like David, who reigned himself to be mad to avoid death, being not mad in reality; and those who have not nakedly written down their denial of the faith, but being in much tribulation, as boys endowed with sagacity and prudence amongst foolish children, have mocked the snares of their enemies,” *Canonical Epistle* Canon 5 p.271

**Methodius** (c.270-311/312 A.D.) (implied) “way to heaven. Now five of them were prudent and wise; and five were foolish and” *Banquet of The Ten Virgins* discourse 6 ch.2 p.329

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “contrary, imprudence? On the same principle, he [the Greek philosopher Chrysippus] says, why do the foolish men not” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.29 p.233

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Hippolytus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “pertaining to morals, we first become prudent in action, and then also able to tell what, and when, and how action is to be taken.” *Doubtful fragment on Psalm 1* ch.7 p.201

**Among heretics**

**Manes** according to Archelaus (262-278 A.D.) written down by Hegemonius (c.351 A.D.) “designations of the soul,-namely, intelligence, reflection, prudence,” (Archelaus is telling Turbo what Manes believes.) *Disputation with Manes* ch.9 p.185

## In17. Work hard, don’t be lazy

Proverbs 6:6-11; 12:11,24,27; 15:19; 18:9; 21:25; Ecc 11:6; Colossians 3:23; 1 Thessalonians 5:14; 2 Thessalonians 3:6-12; Titus 3:14

Implied Proverbs 31:17

Partial Proverbs 22:29

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “The good servant receives the bread of his labour with confidence; the lazy and slothful cannot look his employer in the face. It is requisite, therefore, that we be prompt in the practice of well-doing; for of Him are all things.” *1 Clement* (*ANF* vol.1) ch.34 p.14

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 1 third vision ch.11 p.17 “Because your spirit is now old and withered up, and has lost its power in consequence of your infirmities and doubts. For, like elderly men who have no hope of renewing their strength, and expect nothing but their last sleep, so you, weakened by worldly occupations, have given yourselves up to sloth, and have not cast your cares upon the Lord. Your spirit therefore is broken, and you have grown old in your sorrows.”

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) (implied) “yet all who are not blinded in their judgment of these matters by vice or sloth,” *On the Resurrection of the Dead* ch.17 p.158

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-203 A.D.) “I; and noble natures, when they have received such training, become still better than before both in other respects, but especially in productiveness, as is the case with the other creatures. Wherefore it is mid, ‘Go to the ant, thou sluggard, and become wiser than it, which provideth much and, varied food in the harvest against the inclemency of winter.’ Or go to the bee, and learn how laborious she is; for she, feeding on the whole meadow, produces one honey-comb.” *Stromata* book.1 ch.6 p.307

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) says not to be a sluggard. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.8 p.194

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) (implied) “no vices; I give quarter to no lethargy, no slothful encrustation. I apply the” *On the Pallium* ch.5 p.11

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “The charge, that ‘if any would not work, neither should he eat,’ is in strict accordance with the precept of Him who ordered that ‘the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn should not be muzzled.’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.16 p.464

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “Therefore begin thou to put away thy former doings. Shun luxuries, since labour is threatening arms. With all thy virtue thou must obey the king’s command, if thou wishest to attain the last times in-gladness. He is a good soldier, always wait for things to be enjoyed. Be unwilling to flatter thyself; absolutely put away sloth, that thou mayest daily be ready for what is set before thee, Be careful beforehand; in the morning revisit the standards, When thou seest the war, take the nearest contest. This is the king’s glory, to see the soldiery prepared. The king is present; desire that ye may fight beyond his hope. He makes ready gifts. He gladly looks for the victory, and assigns you to be a fit follower.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.53 p.213

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) (implied) speaks against sloth. *Origen On Prayer* ch.28.7 p.110

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “but as far as my feeble powers suffice with my full strength, and with a discourse gathered from the Lord’s lessons, the slothfullness of a luxurious disposition must be restrained, and he who has begun to be already a man of God and of Christ, must be found worthy of God and of Christ.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 7 ch.1 p.469

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “Lo, virgins depart in peace, safe with their glory, not fearing the threats of the coming Antichrist, and his corruptions and his brothels. Boys escape the peril of their unstable age, and in happiness attain the reward of continence and innocence. Now the delicate matron does not fear the tortures; for she has escaped by a rapid death the fear of persecution, and the hands and the torments of the executioner. By the dread of the mortality and of the time the lukewarm are inflamed, the slack are nerved up, the slothful are stimulated, the deserters are compelled to return, the heathens are constrained to believe, the ancient congregation of the faithful is called to rest, the new and abundant army is gathered to the battle with a braver vigour, to fight without fear of death when the battle shall come, because it comes to the warfare in the time of the mortality.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 7 ch.15 p.472-473

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) “But the sluggard and the idler become scoffers, and make the house decay; and misusing all things for the purposes of their own gluttony, like the ready slaves of money, for a small price they are content to do all that is base and abject.” *Metaphrase of Ecclesiastes* ch.10 p.16

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) has a whole chapter on the importance of work. In it he says, for example, “And then he adds this further sentence of threatening: ‘The lazy procrastinator is ever wrestling with miseries.’ And the prophet teaches us the same lesson in a more solemn fashion, and declares that deeds done according to the standard of virtue are truly worthy of God, and that the man who gives no heed to these is accursed: ;For cursed be he that doeth the works of the Lord carelessly.’” *Extant fragments* fragment 5 p.89

**Theonas of Alexandria** (282-300 A.D.) “Discharge the official duties to which you are severally appointed with the utmost fear of God and affect to your prince, and perfect carefullness.” *Epistle of Theonas to Lucianus, the Chief Chamberlain* ch.11 p.159. He also says more things in ch.3 and 4 p.159,160.

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “wisdom and addicted to nothing slothful or luxurious, but should excel, and set” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 1 ch.1 p.311

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “But when they give themselves up to perpetual sloth, and undertake no exercise of virtue, and pass their whole life in the practice of speaking, in what light ought they to be regarded rather than as triflers? For wisdom, unless it is engaged on some action on which it may exert its force, is empty and false;” *The Divine Institutes* book 3 ch.16 p.84

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) “I entreat you, but read the prophecies of the sacred writers. And if any slothfullness or old hereditary superstition prevents you from reading the prophecies of the holy men through which you can be instructed regarding the one only God,” *Justin*’*s Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.36 p.288

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 3 ch.54 p.122 “It behoves, therefore, the good to love that *way* above all things, that is, above riches, glory, rest, parents, relatives, friends, and everything in the world. But he who perfectly loves this possession of the kingdom of heaven, will undoubtedly cast away all practice of evil habit, negligence, sloth, malice, anger, and such like. For if you prefer any of these to it, as loving the vices of your own lust more than God, you shall not attain to the possession of the heavenly kingdom; for truly it is foolish to love anything more than God. For whether they be parents, they die; or relatives, they do not continue; or friends, they change.”

## In18. It’s bad to be a hypocrite

Matthew 15:3 “you hypocrites!”;

Jesus likewise called the Pharisees snakes and a brood of vipers condemned to Hell in Matthew 23:33; hypocrites (Matthew 23:29)

***Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) ch.2 p.378 “Thou shalt not be covetous, nor rapacious, nor a hypocrite, nor evil”

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 Similitude 9 ch.18 p.50 “hypocrites, and the blasphemers, and the waverers, and those who commit wickedness of different kinds.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “and [Jesus] exclaimed, ‘woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! Because ye pay tithe or mint and rue, but do not observe the love of God and justice. We whited sepulchers! Appearing beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men’s bones.’” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.17 p.203. mixed from two different times in Jesus’ life in Matthew 23 and Luke 11.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “applies, which says: ‘Thou hypocrite, first cast the beam out of thine eye,’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.30.3 p.503

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “that they do not come to the task for the sake of receiving worldly things, having ascertained that they who are consecrated to Christ are given to communicate the necessaries of life. But let such be dismissed as hypocrites.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.1 p.300

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) “Again, therefore, some venomous and false hypocrites, who plotted against righteousness, He once called ‘a brood of vipers.’ But if one of those serpents even is willing to repent, and follows the Word, he becomes a man of God. Others he figuratively calls wolves, clothed in sheep-skins, meaning thereby monsters of rapacity in human form. And so all such most savage beasts, and all such blocks of stone, the celestial song has transformed into tractable men.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.1 p.172

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “but these dispositions have been wont to sprout from the seed of hypocrites, whose friendship with the devil is indivisible, whose repentance never faithful.” *On Repentance* ch.5 p.661

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “‘hypocrites,’ because they could ‘discern the face of the sky and the earth, but could not distinguish this time, when of course He [Jesus] ought to have been recognized,” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.29 p.399

**Hippolytus of Portus** (225-235/236 A.D.) “people, when they were indignant at the cure on the Sabbath-day: ‘Ye hypocrites,’” *The Visions of Daniel and Nebuchadnezzar* ch.18 p.181

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “Saviour’s reproving words described them, as hypocrites to John’s baptism,” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 6 ch.13 p.362

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Also in the same place: ‘When thou doest an alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the streets and in the synagogues, that they may be glorified of men. Verily I say unto you, They have fulfilled their reward.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 third book Testimonies ch.40 p.545

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) “That the participation of the Holy Ghost was not given for money, nor to hypocrites, but to saints by faith;” *An Exposition of the Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles* vol.6 section K p.167

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Acts of Paul and Thecla*** (before 207 A.D.) p.487 (implied) “As Paul was going up to Iconium after the flight from Antioch, his fellow-travellers were Demas and Ermogenes, full of hypocrisy; and they were importunate with Paul, as if they loved him.”

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) (implied) speaks against hypocrites. homily 11 ch.28 p.290

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Clement to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.14 p.221 negatively mentions hypocrites.

## In19. Rule of faith / truth

Ignatius of Antioch (-107/116 A.D.) (partial) “Study, therefore, to be established in the doctrines of the Lord and the apostles, that so all things, whatsoever ye do, may prosper both in the flesh and spirit; in faith and love; in the Son, and in the Father, and in the Spirit;” *Epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians* ch.13 p.64

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “The disciple of the Lord therefore desiring to put an end to all such doctrines, and to establish the rule of truth in the Church, that there is one Almighty God, who made all things by His Word, both visible and invisible; showing at the same time, that by the Word, through whom God made the creation.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.11.1 p.426

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) “Now, that we may not suffer ought of this kind, we must needs hold the rule of the faith without deviation, and do the commandments of God, believing in God and fearing Him as Lord and loving Him as Father.” *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.3

**Polycrates of Ephesus** (130-196 A.D.) “These all kept the passover on the fourteenth. day *of the month*, in accordance with the Gospel, without ever deviating from it, but keeping to the rule of faith.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God’ -what you are commanded to do by the rule of faith.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.15 p.427

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Now, with regard to this rule of faith-that we may from this point acknowledge what it is which we defend-it is, you must know, that which prescribes the belief that there is one only God, and that He is none other than the Creator of the world, who produced all things out of nothing through His own Word, first of all sent forth;” *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.13 p.249.

Tertullian (c.213 A.D.) “That this rule of faith has come down to us from the beginning of the gospel, even before any of the older heretics, much more before Praxeas, *a pretender* of yesterday,” *Against Praxeas* ch.2 p.598

Tertullian (208-220 A.D.) “this is the first rule which the apostles, on the authority of the Holy Spirit, send out to those who were already beginning to be gathered to their side out of the nations: ‘It has seemed (good),’ say they, ‘to the Holy Spirit and to us to cast upon you no ampler weight than (that) of those (things) from which it is necessary that abstinence be observed; from sacrifices, and from fornications, and from blood: by abstaining from which ye act rightly, the Holy Spirit carrying you.’” *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.12 p.85

Tertullian (213 A.D.) (partial) mentions the new law for Christians. *On Monogamy* ch.14 p.71

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “‘Then the assembly believed them.’ It becomes us, then, to be steadfast in every duty, and to give no heed to lies, and to yield no obsequious obedience to the persons of rulers, knowing that we have to give account to God; but if we follow the truth, and aim at the exact rule of faith, we shall be well-pleasing to God.” fragment 6 *On Susannah* no.41 p.193

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) (implied) “To Those Who Resist the Law of Christ the Living God.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.26 p.207

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “The Rule of truth requires that we should first of all things believe on God the Father and Lord Omnipotent; that is, the absolutely perfect Founder of all things,” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.1 p.611

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “And knowing, concerning you, that you have settled this matter, concerning which there is now a question, according to the rule of truth and the wisdom of Christ; we have exulted with great joy,” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 74 ch.2 p.390

## In20. Have self-control

1 Corinthians 5:10-11; Titus 1:8; 2:5,6; 1 Peter 1:13; 4:7; 5:8; 2 Peter 1:6

(implied) 1 Corinthians 7:37

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) 1 Corinthians 5:10-11

**p32 (=P. Rylands 5)** Titus 1:1-15; 2:3-8 (21 verses) (150-200 A.D.) Titus 1:8; 2:5; 2:6 be self-controlled

**p115** (=Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 4499) (c.250-300 A.D.) 119 verses of Revelation. 2:1-3,13-15,27-29; 3:10-12; 5:8-9; 6:5-6; 8:3-8,11-13; 9:1-5,7-16,18-21; 10:1-4,8-11; 11:1-5,8-15,18-19; 12:1-5,8-10,12-17; 13:1-3,6-16,18; 14:1-3,5-7,10-11,14-15,18-20; 15:1,4-7 (middle to late 3rd century) Revelation 2:3

**p15** 1 Corinthians 7:18-8:4 (late 3rd century) (implied) 1 Corinthians 7:37

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Mentions self-control. 1 Peter 1:13; 4:7; 5:8; 2 Peter 1:6; Jude 20

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “May God, who seeth all things, and who is the Ruler of all spirits and the Lord of all flesh-who chose our Lord Jesus Christ and us through Him to be a peculiar people- grant to every soul that calleth upon His glorious and holy Name, faith, fear, peace, patience, long-suffering, self-control, purity, and sobriety, to the well-pleasing of His Name, through our High Priest and Protector, Jesus Christ, by whom be to Him glory, and majesty, and power, and honour, both now and for evermore. Amen.” *1 Clement* ch.58 p.21

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) vol.7 ch.15 p.521 mentions self-control

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 2 commandment 5 ch.2 p.23 mentions those with complete faith having the gift of patience, which is mighty and strong

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “Those, then, who are forbidden to look at anything more than that for which God formed the eyes, which were intended to be a light to us, and to whom a wanton look is adultery, the eyes being made for other purposes, and who are to be called to account for their very thoughts, how can any one doubt that such persons practise self-control?” *A Plea for Christians* ch.32 p.146

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) quotes Galatians 6 about the fruit of the spirit. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.11.1 p.537

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) says we are the exercise self-command in *Who is the Rich Man That Shall Be Saved?* ch.26 p.598

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) speaks of self-restraint. *Stromata* book 2 ch.20 p.374

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “Confessing the Lord in our whole life; possessing piety in the soul, and extending self-control to the body. For it is pleasing to God to lead decorum from the tongue to our actions.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.23 p.378

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “And let us take heed in regard to each sin, as if we were descending into some gate of death if we sin; but when we are lifted up from the gates of death let us declare all the praises of the Lord in the gates of the daughter of Zion; as, for example, in one gate of the daughter of Zion-that which is called self-control-we will declare by our self-control the praises of God; and in another which is called righteousness, by righteousness we will declare the praises of God; and, generally, in all things whatsoever of a praiseworthy character with which we are; occupied, in these we are at some gate of the daughter of Zion, declaring at each gate some praise of God.” *Origen’s Commentary on Matthew* book 12 ch.13 p.458

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “For it must needs be that the soul which is not sprinkled with the words of Christ, as with salt, should stink and breed worms, as King David, openly confessing with tears in the mountains, cried out, ‘My wounds stink and are corrupt,’ because he had not salted himself with the exercises of self-control, and so subdued his carnal appetites, but self-indulgently had yielded to them, and became corrupted in adultery.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 1 ch.1 p.311

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Thus there is no contrary without another contrary. For how could there be any perception of justice, unless there were injuries? or what else is justice, but the removal of injustice? In like manner, the nature of fortitude cannot be understood, except by placing beside it cowardice, or the nature of self-control except by intemperance. Likewise, in what manner would there be prudence, unless there were the contrary, imprudence?” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.29 p.232-233

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Acts of Paul and Thecla*** (before 207 A.D.) p.492 mentions self-control.

**Among heretics**

**The Encratites** according to Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) The Encratites (meaning self-controlled) came from Saturninus and Marcion. Encratites were against marriage, and some among them were against animal food [meat]. Tatian, a hearer of Justin [Martyr] was the one who introduced this blasphemy. Tatian was novel in denying the salvation of Adam. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.28.1 p.353

Bardaisan/Bardesan (154-224/232 A.D.) (partial, angels, not people) “In like manner, too, those other *angels*, who did the will of their Lord, were, by reason of their self-control, raised to higher rank, and sanctified, and received noble gifts.” *Book of Laws of Divers Countries* p.725

## Teachings on Individual Practice not on the list

**1. Without holiness no one will see the Lord.** (only 1 writer: Clement of Alexandria)

**2. Did not need to keep Sabbaths prior to Moses**. (only 2 writers: Justin Martyr, Tertullian)

**3. If meat cause to offend.** (only 2 writers: Origen, Cyprian)

**4. Quench the devil’s darts.** (only 3 writers: Tertullian, Cyprian, Methodius)

**5. Love fulfills the law.** (only 3 writers: Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Adamantius)

**6. Don’t have partiality.** (only 3 writers: Hegesippus, Clement of Alexandria, Arnobius)

**7. Don’t get tattooed** (no writers)

**8. Honor the aged** (only 1 writer: Clement of Rome)

**9. Be kind to animals.** (only 1 writer: Clement of Alexandria)

**10. If a man will not work, let him not eat.** 2 Thessalonians 3:10 (only 2 writers: *Didache*, Tertullian)

**11. Do not eat strangled animals.** Acts 15:29; 21:25 (no writers. Ebionite heretics)

**12. Don’t fellowship/consort with demons.** (only 3 writers: Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen)

**13. Reprove in gentleness.** Galatians 6:1 (only 1 writer: Cyprian of Carthage)

**14. Be holy** (Clement of Rome, Clement of Alexandria. Among heretics: *Recognitions of Clement*)

**15. Burn your magic books** (only 1 writer: Athanasius of Alexandria)

**16. Holy kiss / Kiss of peace** (1 Th 5:26) (only 3 writers: Athenagoras, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, p30)

**17. Where words are many sin is not absent** (only 3 writers: Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Cyprian)

**Do not provoke others.** (not analyzed yet. So for 1 writer: Theonas of Alexandria)

**Share with those who are persecuted.** Hebrews 10:33 (not analyzed yet)

**Quarrelling about words ruins those who listen.** 2 Timothy 2:14 (not analyzed yet)

**They’ll know we are Christians by our love** (not analyzed yet)

**Divergences**

**1. Divergence: Stars as signs of people’s destiny** (&&&)

# Loving Others

## Lo1. Love all / your neighbor as yourself

Leviticus 19:18b; Mark 12:31; Luke 10:27a

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Hebrews 13:1; Romans 13:9

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) (partial, love each other) John 15:12,17

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) Luke 10:27a

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Luke 10:27-36

**p9** – 1 John 4:11-12, 14-16 (3rd century A.D.) God loves us. 1 John 4:11-12

***Clement of Rome*** (96-98 A.D.) “Let us be kind one to another after the pattern of the tender mercy and benignity of our Creator.” *1 Clement* ch.14 p.8

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) (partial) commends the Corinthian church for not being a respecter of persons. *1 Clement* ch.1 p.5

***Didache*** (=Teaching of the Twelve Apostles) vol.7 ch.1.5 p.377 (before 125 A.D.) First love the Lord your God, and second, love your neighbor as yourself.

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.19 p.148 “Thou shalt love thy neighbour more than thine own soul”

***Epistle to Diognetus*** ch.5 p.27 (c.130-200 A.D.) “[Christians] love all men, and are persecuted by all. They are reviled, and bless; they are insulted, and repay the insult with honour;”

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 28.46 p.87 Jesus tells the rich young ruler to love your neighbor as yourself.

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “the divine word gives us instructions, in order that ‘we may lead a quiet and peaceable life. And it teaches us to render all things to all, honour to whom honour, fear to whom fear, tribute to whom tribute; to owe no man anything, but to love all.’” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.14 p.115

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) says to love your neighbor as yourself. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.12.3 p.476

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) speaks of the Noah after the flood that if a man sheds someone’s blood, then his own blood should be shed. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.22

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) The greatest commandment is “Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all they soul, and with all thy strength…. The second in order, and not any less than this, He says, is ‘Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.” *Who is the Rich Man That Shall Be Saved?* 27,28 p.599.

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) says to love our neighbor as yourself. *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.292

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) says to love your neighbor as yourself. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.10 p.202

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Are we to paint ourselves out that our neighbours may perish? Where, then, is (the command), ‘Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself?’” *On the Apparel of Women* book 2 ch.2 p.19

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) speaks of the precept of “your loving your neighbour as yourself” and that we are to love our enemy and the stranger. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 1 ch.23 p.288. See also book 5 ch.4 p.437

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) says to love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you. *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.35 p.652

Origen (233/234 A.D.) (partial) says to love your neighbors. *Origen On Prayer* ch.11.2 p.144

***Treatise on Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.13 p.675 “‘Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, and with all thy mind, and with all thy thought; and thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.’”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.248-256 A.D.) quotes Mark 12:29-31, including “love your neighbor as yourself” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 4 ch.28 p.455.

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) says to love your neighbor as yourself. letter 6 ch.5 p.285

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) discusses 1 Corinthians 13. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 ch.3 p.533

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “ignorant of wars, who maintain concord with all, who are friendly even to their enemies, who love all men as brethren, who know how to restrain their anger, and” *The Divine Institutes* Book 5 ch.10 p.146

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says to love your enemies. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.65 p.250

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) say to love your neighbor, as well as your enemies. Clothe the naked, help widows and orphans. *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 1.6 p.9

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) says to love your neighbor and everyone as yourself. homily 12 ch.26 p.298.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) ch.6.13 p.156 says to love your neighbor as ourselves.

## Lo2. Have affection towards others (besides your family)

1 Corinthians 4:17; 16:7, 19-20; 2 Corinthians 2:13; Philippians 1:8-9; 4:1

Romans 16:3-16; Ephesians 6:21 (implied); 2 Timothy 1:14 (implied)

1 Corinthians 16:18; Philemon 17,20 Refreshing someone’s spirit

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Send back speedily to us in peace and with joy these our messengers to you: … that they may the sooner announce to us the peace and harmony we so earnestly desired and long for [among you], and that we may the more quickly rejoice over the good order re-established among you.” 1 Clement ch.19 vol.1 p.21

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) “For if I in this brief space of time, have enjoyed such fellowship with your bishop-“. *Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians* (Greek version) ch.5 p.51

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “When I consider and mentally review my remembrance of Octavius, my excellent and most faithful companion, the sweetness and charm of the man so clings to me, that I appear to myself in some sort as if I were returning to past times,… it is bound up in my heart and in my most intimate feelings.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.1 p.173

**Cyprian of Carthage** (250 A.D.) “and when he [Celerinus] spoke sweetly and often of your love to me, in his words I heard you. I rejoice very greatly when such things are brought to me from you by such men as he. In a certain manner I am also there with you in prison.”

**Celerinus** (250 A.D.) “Celerinus to Lucian, greeting. In writing this letter to you, my lord and brother, I have been rejoicing and sorrowful, - rejoicing in that I had heard that you had been tried on behalf of the name of our Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour,… but sorrowful, in that from the time when I was in your company I have never been able to receive your letters.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 20 ch.1 p.298

**Lucian** (250 A.D.) “I [Lucian] have received your [Celerinus’] letter, most dearly beloved lord and brother, in which you have so laden me with expressions of kindness, that by reason of your so burdening me I was almost overcome with such excessive joy;…” *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 21 ch.1 p.299

**Pontius** (258 A.D.) “This man [Caecilius] he [Cyprian] loved with entire honour and all observance, regarding him with an obedient veneration, not only as the friend and comrade of his soul, but as the parent of his new life.” (Caecilius brought Cyprian to Christ). *The Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.4 p.268

## Lo3. Forgive others/enemies

Matthew 5:44; Luke 6:27-30,35; Colossians 3:13

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Colossians 3:13

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) Jesus said to love your enemies and turn the other cheek. Luke 6:27-29,35

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Luke 6:27-30,35

**p49** Ephesians 4:16-29; 4:31-5:13 (225-275 A.D.) Be kind and compassionate, forgiving one another. Ephesians 4:31-32

**p. Antinoopolis** – Matthew 6:10-12 (3rd century A.D.) forgive others as God forgave you. Matthew 6:10-12

0232 2 John 1-9 (ca.300 A.D.) (partial) love one another, walk in love. 2 John 5,6

***The Didache*** vol.7 ch.1.5 p.377 (before 125 A.D.) Bless, pray for, and fast for your enemies.

***The Apology of Aristides*** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) p.277 “they [Christians] appeal to those who injure them, and try to win them as friends; they are eager to do good to their enemies; they are gentle and easy to be entreated.”

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) “If then we entreat the Lord to forgive us, we ought also ourselves to forgive [others];” *Letter to the Philippians* ch.6 p.34

***Epistle to Diognetus*** ch.5 p.27 (c.130-200 A.D.) “[Christians] love all men, and are persecuted by all. They are reviled, and bless; they are insulted, and repay the insult with honour;”

*Epistle to Diognetus* ch.6 p.27 (c.130-200 A.D.) Christians likewise love those that hate them.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) quotes Luke 6:35 (love your enemies…) saying Jesus said it. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.96 p.247. See also *First Apology of Justin Martyr* (c.150 A.D.) ch.14 p.167

Justin Martyr (c.150 A.D.) pray for your enemies. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.14 p.167

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 9 no.5-6 p.57 quotes Matthew 5:33-42 about turning the other cheek. It quotes Matthew 6:14 about forgiveness in section 9 no.38 p.58.

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) has any entire chapter (174 English words) on loving our enemies who hate us. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.14 p.114

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “This also does likewise meet [the case] of those who maintain that He [Jesus] suffered only in appearance. Fir if He did not truly suffer, no thanks to Him, since there was no suffering at all; and when we shall actually begin to suffer, He will seem as leading us astray, exhorting us to endure buffeting, and to turn the other check, if He did not himself before us in reality suffer the same;… but exhorting us to endure what He did not endure Himself.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.18.6 p.447

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) quotes Luke 17:3-4 and says we are to forgive your brother even seven times in a day. *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.293. See also *Stromata* book 4 ch.16 p.427 and *Stromata* book 4 ch.14 p.326.

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) says to forgive others. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.10 p.202

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “If we are enjoined, then, to love our enemies, as I have remarked above, whom have we to hate? If injured, we are forbidden to retaliate, lest we become as bad ourselves: who can suffer injury at our hands? *Apology* ch.37 p.45

Tertullian (208-220 A.D.) says to forgive others. *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.2 p.76

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) mentioned forgiving those who sin against you. *Origen’s Commentary on Matthew* book 14 ch.5 p.496-497

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) says to love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you. *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.35 p.652

Origen (233/234 A.D.) (implied) gives the example of Stephen forgiving others. *Origen On Prayer* ch.14.6 p.57

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes Matthew 6:12 as in the Gospel. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.22 p.541

**Theonas of Alexandria** (282-300 A.D.) mentions that if injury is done to him, then look to Christ. As Christ forgave others, he should forgive the injury. *Letter of Theonas, Bishop of Alexandria, to Lucianus, the Chief Chamberlain* ch.9 p.151

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) says to forgive whatever you have against someone. homily 3 ch.19 p.242. See also ibid homily 12 ch.26 p.298 and homily 11 ch.12 p.289.

Marcionite heretic Megethius (c.300 A.D.) (partial) a self-labeled follower of Marcion, in his debate with Adamantius says we are to love our enemies and pray for those who persecute us. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.12 p.54

## Lo4. Do to others as you would them do to you

Matthew 7:12; Luke 6:31

Partial Leviticus 19:33-34

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) Jesus . Luke 6:31

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Luke 6:31

***Didache*** (=*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*) (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.1.5 p.377 “First love the Lord your God, and second, love your neighbor as yourself; and whatsoever though wouldst should not occur to thee, though also to another do not do.”

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “And they [Old Testament holy prophets] also taught us to refrain from unlawful idolatry, and adultery, and murder, fornication, theft, avarice, false swearing, wrath, and every incontinence and uncleanness; and that whatever a man would not wish to be done to himself, he should not do to another; and thus he who acts righteously shall escape the eternal punishments, and be thought worthy of the eternal life from God.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.34 p.108

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye likewise to them.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.292

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “‘And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise.’ In this command is no doubt implied its counterpart: ‘And as ye would not that men should do to you, so should ye also not do to them likewise.’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.16 p.372

Tertullian (205 A.D.) also mentions “As ye would that men should do to you, do ye likewise so to them.” *Scorpiace* ch.10 p.643

**Among heretics**

**Tatian** (c.172 A.D.)

**Bardaisan/Bardesan** (154-224/232 A.D.) says, “we refrain from everything which is wrong, and which we should not like to have done to ourselves” *The Book of the Laws of Diverse Countries* p.725

## Lo5. Do not get revenge

Romans 12:19; Leviticus 19:18; 1 Peter 3:19

Romans 12:17 Don’t repay evil for evil

(implied) Matthew 5:38-46; Luke 3:27-36

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Romans 12:17-19

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Do no seek revenge. 1 Peter 3:19

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) (implied) If you are to love your enemies, and help them, that implies cannot get revenge. Luke 6:27-35

Ignatius (-107/116 A.D.) (partial) says that no one should cherish a grudge against their neighbor. *Ignatius’ Letter to the Trallians* ch.8 p.69

***Epistle to Diognetus*** ch.5 p.27 (c.130-200 A.D.) “[Christians] love all men, and are persecuted by all. They are reviled, and bless; they are insulted, and repay the insult with honour;”

*Theophilus to Autolycus* (168-181/188 A.D.) book 2 ch.36 p.109 (partial) says that Sibyl speaks of revenge and bloody wars. He does not specifically say Christians are not to seek revenge though.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) has a chapter on why revenge in wrong in *On Patience* ch.10 p.713-714

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240 A.D.) “For no one becomes a martyr unless he is persecuted; nor appears righteous, unless being wronged, he takes no revenge;…” *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.63 p.50

**Theonas of Alexandria** (282-300 A.D.) mentions that if injury is done to him, then look to Christ. As Christ forgave others, he should forgive the injury. *Letter of Theonas, Bishop of Alexandria, to Lucianus, the Chief Chamberlain* ch.9 p.151

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “we have learned from His [Christ’s] teaching and His laws that evil ought not to be requited with evil, that it is better to suffer wrong than to inflict it, that we should rather shed our own blood than stain our hands and our conscience with that of another…” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.6 p.415

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says a Christian must “not take upon himself his revenge, but reserve it for the judgment of God.” *The Divine Institutes* book 6 ch.18 p.183. See also book 5 ch.21 p.158 says “we remit vengeance to God”

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says not to avenge injury. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.65 p.250

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-315 A.D.) “let us begin our deliberations from this point, that it is never right either to do wrong, or to return wrong, or when evil-entreated to retaliate by rendering evil.” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 13 ch.7 p.14

## Lo6. Don’t hold a grudge

1 Corinthians 13:5b

Simply using the word “grudge” is not counted here.

**Ignatius** (100-107/116 A.D.) “Let no one of you cherish any grudge against his neighbour.” *Ignatius’ Letter to the Trallians* [Greek] ch.8 p.69

***The Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) ch.2 p.377 “Thou shalt not forswear thyself, thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not speak, evil, thou shalt bear no grudge.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “He never cherishes resentment or harbours a grudge against any one, though deserving of hatred for his conduct. For he worships the Maker, and loves him, who shares life, pitying and praying for him on account of his ignorance.” *Stromata* book 7 c h.11 p.540

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) (implied) “But the true gods, and those who are worthy to have and to wear the dignity of this name, neither conceive anger nor indulge a grudge, nor do they contrive by insidious devices what may be hurtful to another party.” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.23 p.418

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Ignatius** (100-107/116 A.D.) “Let no one of you cherish any grudge against his neighbour.” *Ignatius’ Letter to the Trallians* [long version] ch.8 p.69

## Lo7. Do not murder

Matthew 5:21; Mark 10:19; Exodus 20:13; Deuteronomy 5:17

(implied) Matthew 30:30-32;37

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Romans 13:9

**p4 + p64 + p67** Luke 1:58-59; 1:62-2:1,6-7; 3:8-4:2,29-32,34-35; 5:3-8; 5:30-6:16; Matthew 26:7-8,10,14-15,22-23,31-33; Matthew 3:9,15; 5:20-22,25-28 -95 verses (c.150-175 A.D.) shows that murder is bad. Mt15:21

**p20** - James 2:19-3:2 (6 out of 96 letters of 3:3; 3:4-9 (3rd century A.D.) teaches we are not to disobey any of the law, including adultery and murder. James 2:11

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Do not be a thief or murderer. 1 Peter 4:15

**p77** (Matthew 23:30-39) (200 A.D.) (implied) Matthew 23:30-32 mentions taking part in the sin of the murder of the prophets. See also Matthew 30:37 says that Jerusalem killed the prophets.

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) (implied) Cain was wrong to murder. *1 Clement* ch.4 p.6

***Didache*** vol.7 ch.2.1-4 p.377 (before 125 A.D.) Do not commit murder, adultery, corrupt boys, magic, witchcraft, “murder a child by abortion, nor kill that which is begotten”, covet, bear false witness.

*Didache* vol.7 ch.5 p.379 (before 125 A.D.) The way of death is cursings, murder, adulteries, fornication, lusts, magic arts, idolatries, witchcraft, filthy talking, jealousies,

***Apology of Aristides*** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) p.275 speaks of unrighteous things of slaying one another, adultery, thefts, intercourse with males.

*Epistle of Barnabas* (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.20 p.149 (partial) rebukes people who are murderers of children.

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) Some Christians own slaves, but even their slaves would not invent the lie that their Christian masters were murderers. *A Plea for Christians* ch.35 p.147

***Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum*** (177 A.D.) (implied) vol.8 p.781 For while those who confessed what they really were, were imprisoned simply as Christians, no other accusation being brought against them, those who denied were detained as murderers and profligates.”

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “they were grasped by tyrannical sin” and then lists various sins including “by adultery, by lust, by license, by love of money, by murder,…” *On Pascha* stanza 50 p.50

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “And they [God’s laws] taught us to refrain from unlawful idolatry, and adultery, and murder, fornication, theft, avarice, false swearing, wrath, …” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.34 p.108

***Passion of the Scillitan Martyrs*** (180-202 A.D.) *ANF* vol.9 p.285 says Christians are not to murder.

**Maximus of Jerusalem** (185-196 A.D.) speaks of sins of adultery, theft, and murder. fragment 1 vol.8 p.769

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) do not kill, commit adultery, or bear false witness. *Stromata* book 2 ch.7 p.354

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) (implied) shows that murder is wrong. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.3 p.183

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “In our case, murder being once for all forbidden, we may not destroy even the foetus [fetus] in the womb, while as yet the human being derives blood from other parts of the body for its sustenance. To hinder a birth is merely a speedier man-killing.; nor does it matter whether you take away a life that is born, or destroy one that is coming to the birth. That is a man which is going to be one; you have the fruit already in its seed.” *Tertullian’s Apology* ch.9 p.25

Tertullian (208-220 A.D.) says we are not to murder in *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.12 p.85-86. He say we are not to kill in *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.5 p.78.

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) says that Naaman the Syrian was dipped seven times because of the seven deadly sins, such as “idolatry, blasphemy, murder, adultery, fornication, false-witness, and fraud.” *Five Books Against Marcion book* 4 ch.9 p.356

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “And John says, ‘Without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever maketh and loveth a lie; for your part is in the hell of fire.’” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.65 p.219

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) says not to murder. *Origen On Prayer* ch.25.9 p.112

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes scripture against adulteries, fornications, idolatries, sorceries, murders, hatreds, strifes, heresies, drunkenness in *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 book 3 ch.64 p.551. ibid ch.65 p.551 also mentions thieves, cheaters, robbers.

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) discusses how adultery, murder, taking money under bad circumstances, and idol worship are doing wrong. *Dialogue on the True Faith* Fourth Part ch.10 p.139

**Council of Elvira** (306/307 A.D.) says to kick people out of communion for various types of murder in canons 2, 5, 6

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) was against thefts, quarrels, and murders. *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 8 ch.16 p.342

**Council of Ancyra** (314 A.D.) says that those who willfully murder shall not be allowed to have communion until the end of their life. canon 22 p.74. However, for involuntary manslaughter they can be restored after seven years. Canon 23 p.74

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) mentions murder as wrong. *Athanasius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.5.1 p.6

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says not to murder in *The Divine Institutes* book 6 ch.20 p.186-187

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) says that murder is wrong. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 2 ch.6 p.19

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

Akhmin ***Apocalypse of Peter*** (135,100-150 A.D.) *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.9 ch.124p.146 (implied) speaks of the punishment for murderers.

**Leucius Charinus** (second century) “Thou that rejoicest in gold and delightest thyself with ivory and jewels, when night falleth, canst thou behold what thou lovest? thou that art vanquished by soft raiment, and then leavest life, will those things profit thee in the place whither thou goest? And let the murderer know that the condign punishment is laid up for him twofold after his departure hence. Likewise also thou poisoner, sorcerer, robber, defrauder, sodomite, thief, and as many as are of that band, ye shall come at last, as your works do lead you, unto unquenchable fire, and utter darkness, and the pit of punishment, and eternal threatenings.” *Acts of John* ch.36

**Among heretics**

**Bardaisan/Bardesan** (154-224/232 A.D.) says that while the Brahmans in India are forbidden to kill at all, other non-Brahman Indians “commit impurity, kill, and do other bad things”. *The Book of Laws of Diverse Countries* p.730

**Mani** (262-278 A.D.) says that murder is evil. *Disputation with Manes* ch.17 p.191

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) shows we should not murder. homily 7 ch.4 p.268.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 9 ch.20 (implied) mentions that while the Brahmans of India do not murder, commit adultery or worship idols, other Indians do. See also ch.4.36 p.142.

***Acts of Thomas*** (early form) (pre-Nicene) p.537 says some bad children will do theft and murder..

## Lo8. Abortion is evil/murder

Exodus 21:22-23

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) (partial) “Let us consider, then, brethren, of what matter we were made, - who and what manner of beings we came into the world, as it were out of a sepulchre, and from utter darkness. He who made us and fashioned us, having prepared His bountiful gifts for us before we were born, introduced us into His world.” 1 Clement vol.1 ch.38 p.15

***Didache*** vol.7 ch.2.1-4 p.377 (before 125 A.D.) “You shall not murder a child by abortion nor kill one who has been born.

*Didache* vol.7 ch.5 p.379 (before 125 A.D.) The way of death is cursings, murder, adulteries, fornication, lusts, magic arts, idolatries, witchcraft, filthy talking, jealousies,

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.19 p.148 says “Thou shalt not slay the child by procuring abortion; nor, again, shalt thou destroy it after it is born. Thou shalt not withdraw thy hand from thy son, or from thy daughter, but from their infancy thou shalt teach them the fear of the Lord.”

***Epistle to Diognetus*** (c.130-200 A.D.) Christians do not commit abortion [literally “casting away fetuses”] or infanticide. *Epistle to Diognetus* ch.5 p.26

*Epistle to Diognetus* ch.5 p.27 (c.130-200 A.D.) “[Christians] marry, as do all [others]; they beget children; but they do not destroy their offspring (literally cast away foetuses]. They have a common table, but not a common [bed].

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “We say that those women who use drugs to bring on abortion commit murder. And we also say they will have to give an account to God for abortion. So on what basis could we commit murder? For it does not belong to the same person to regard the very fetus in the womb as a created being…” *A Plea for Christians* ch.35 p.147

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “There are some women who, by drinking medical preparations, extinguish the source of the future man in their very bowels, and thus commit a parricide before they bring forth.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.30 p.192

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) (implied) says it is even wrong to cause an abortion in animals and eat the fetus. *Stromata* book 2 ch.18 p.368

Clement of Alexandria (197-202 A.D.) (partial) “And they say that the embryo is perfected exactly in the sixth month, that is, in one hundred and eighty days in addition to the two and a half, as Polybus the physician relates in his book *On the Eighth Month*, and Aristotle the philosopher in his book *On Nature*” *Stromata* book 6 ch.16 p.512

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “In our case, murder being once for all forbidden, we may not destroy even the foetus [fetus] in the womb, while as yet the human being derives blood from other parts of the body for its sustenance. To hinder a birth is merely a speedier man-killing.; nor does it matter whether you take away a life that is born, or destroy one that is coming to the birth. That is a man which is going to be one; you have the fruit already in its seed.” *Tertullian’s Apology* ch.9 p.25

Tertullian (c.203 A.D.) says “The law of Moses, indeed, punishes with due penalties the man who shall cause abortion, inasmuch as there exists already the rudiment of a human being, which has imputed to it even now the condition of life and death, since it is already liable to the issues of both, although, by living still I the mother, it for the most part shares its own state with the mother.” *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.37 p.218

Tertullian (c.203 A.D.) “Accordingly, among surgeons’ tools there is a certain instrument, which is formed with a nicely-adjusted flexible frame for opening the *uterus* first of all, and keeping it open; it is further furnished with an annular blade, by means of which the limbs within the womb are dissected with anxious but unfaltering care; its last appendage being a blunted or covered hook, wherewith the entire foetus is extracted by a violent delivery. There is also (another instrument in the shape of) a copper needle or spike, by which the actual death is managed in this furtive robbery of life: they give it, from its infanticide function, the name of *embryosthaktus*, the slayer of the infant, which was of course alive. Such apparatus was possessed both by Hippocrates, and Asclepiades, and Erasistratus, and Herophilus, that dissector of adults, and the milder Soranus himself, who all knew well enough that a living being had been conceived, and pitied this most luckless infant state, which had first to be put to death, to escape being tortured alive.” *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.25 p.206

Tertullian (c.207 A.D.) speaks of Gentiles “being decimated” by abortions. *Tertullian To His Wife* book 1 ch.5 p.41,42

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) mentions chemical abortion as wrong. *On Exhortation to Chastity* ch.12 p.57

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) says, “When women, reputed believers, began to resort to drugs for producing sterility, and to gird themselves round, so to expel what was being conceived on account of their not wishing to have a child either by a slave or by any paltry fellow, for the sake of their family and excessive wealth. Behold, into how great impiety that lawless *one* has proceeded, by inculcating adultery and murder at the same time!” *The Refutation of All Heresies* book 9.7 p.131

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240 A.D.) “an ancient said that the embryo is a living thing; for that the soul entering into the womb after it has been by cleansing prepared for conception, and introduced by one of the angels who preside over generation,… He [the ancient writer] cited as a proof to all, how, when the angels give glad tidings to the barren, they introduce souls before conception. And in the Gospel ‘the babe leapt’ as a living thing.” *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.50 p.49

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “the womb of his wife was hit by a blow of his heel. And, in the miscarriage that soon followed, the offspring was brought forth, the fruit of a father’s murder.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 49 p.326

**Council Of Ancyra** (314 A.D.) “Concerning women who commit fornication, and destroy that which they have conceived, or who are employed in making drugs for abortion, a former decree excluded them [from the church] until the hour of death, and to this some have assented. Nevertheless, being desirous to use somewhat greater lenity, we have ordained that they fulfil ten years [of penance], according to the prescribed degrees.” canon 21 p.73

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (implied) Therefore the soul is not air conceived in the mouth, because the soul is produced much before air can be conceived in the mouth. For it is not introduced into the body after birth, as it appears to some philosophers, but immediately after conception, when the divine necessity has formed the offspring in the womb, for it so lives within the bowels of its mother,… In short, there must be a miscarriage if the living young within shall die.” *On the Workmanship of God* ch.17 p.297

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “All children the Law ordered to be reared; and forbade women to cause abortion or to destroy what is begotten; but if discovered, she would be guilty of child murder, for destroying life, and diminishing the human race.” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 8 ch.8 p.14

**Among Jewish Writers**

**Philo of Alexandria** taught that the image of God is present from formation and front that time abortion is homicide (*On Special Law*s 3.19 or 3.108-115).

**Josephus** spoke against abortion. *Against Apion* book 2.202.

**Among Greek philosophers**

**X Plato** recommended abortion to reduce population. *Plato’s Republic* book 5 ch.9

**X Aristotle** recommended abortion. Pol. book 7 ch.14.1

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Akhmin Apocalypse of Peter*** (135,100-150 A.D.) *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.9 ch.25 p.146 “And near that place [in Hell] I saw another strait place in to which the gore and the filth of those who were being punished ran down and became there as it were a lack: and there sat women having the gore up to their necks, and over against them sat many children who were born to them out of due time, crying; and there came forth from them sparks of fire and smote the women in the eyes: and these were the accursed who conceived and caused abortion.” In addition, Clement of Alexandria also quotes this in *Eclog*. 48.

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 4 ch.11 p.255 says that a woman who destroys what is in her womb has a child murdered.

## Lo9. Care for the sick

Matthew 25:36,39,43,44

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) Jesus healed the sick in Luke 7:2-1.

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “deposited with the president [emcee], who succours the orphans and widows and those who, through sickness or any other cause, are in want, and those who are in bonds and the strangers sojourning among us, and in a word takes care of all who are in need.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.67 p.186

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “And now, as we have also previously remarked, attending to one’s own wants is an exercise free of pride,-as, for example, putting on one’s own shoes, washing one’s own feet, and also rubbing one’s self when anointed with oil. To render one who has rubbed you the same service in return, is an exercise of reciprocal justice; and to sleep beside a sick friend, help the infirm, and supply him who is in want, are proper exercises.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.10 p.284

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) mentions that Christian women visit the sick. *On the Apparel of Women* book 2 ch.11 p.24

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “And, similarly, if thy poor sister lies upon a sick-bed, let your matrons begin to bear her victuals. God Himself cries out, Break thy bread to the needy. There is no need to visit with words, but with benefits. It is wicked that thy brother should be sick through want of food. Satisfy him not with words. He needs meat and drink.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.71 p.217. See also ibid ch.78 p.218.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “diligently take care of the widows, and of the sick, and of all the poor.” Letter 35 ch.314

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes the parable of the sheep and the goats in Matthew 19:17-21. *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 12 book 3 ch.2 p.532

**Roman Church Leaders to Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “who are unable to maintain themselves, or those who are in prisons or are excluded from their own dwellings, these ought in all cases to have some to minister to them. Moreover, catechumens when seized with sickness ought not to be deceived, but help is to be afforded them.” Letter 2

**Pontius’ *Life and Passion of Cyprian*** (258 A.D.) ch.9 p.270 says that when a dreadful plague broke out he encouraged Christians to not just help their own “with the needed attentions of love” but also others.

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “Certainly very many of our brethren, while, in their exceeding love and brotherly-kindness, they did not spare themselves, but kept by each other, and visited the sick without thought of their own peril, and ministered to them assiduously, and treated them for their healing in Christ, died from time to time most joyfully along with them, lading themselves with pains derived from others, and drawing upon themselves their neighbours’ diseases, and willingly taking over to their own persons the burden of the sufferings of those around them.”

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “Just as though, in the fast which prepares for the Easter celebration, one should offer food to an other who was dangerously ill, and say,” In truth, my friend, it were fitting and good that you should bravely hold out like us, and partake of the same things,” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* Book 3 ch.12 p.321

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Also to undertake the care and support of the sick, who need some one to assist them, is the part of the greatest kindness, and of great beneficence;”. *The Divine Institutes* book 6 ch.12 p.177.

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says to take care of the sick and practice hospitality. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.65 p.250

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Clement to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.9 p.220 “visit the sick”

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) shows caring for those who are sick. homily 3 ch.69 p.251.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) ch.4.7 p.136 (implied) gives an example of caring for the sick.

## Lo10. Practice hospitality

Aliens were to be treated well in Leviticus 19:33-34

Matthew 25:38,40; Romans 12:13; 16:23; Hebrews 13:1-2; 1 Peter 4:9; 3 John 8,10

Bishops are to be hospitable in 1 Timothy 3:2 and Titus 1:8.

Widows were commended for being hospitable in 1 Timothy 5:10.

Preparing the guest room for Paul Philemon 22

Hospitality was mentioned with the sheep and the goats in Mt 25:31-46

Publius of Malta was very hospitable toward Paul in Acts 28:7.

Entertaining angels unawares Hebrews 13:2

Abraham, entertained angels in Genesis 18:1-15, and Lot in Genesis 19

Manaoh entertained an angel in Judges 13:2-23.

Job 31:32; Ezekiel 16:39 not showing hospitality to a stranger is a sin.

We should show hospitality to those doing God’s work in k 10:1-12; Acts 16:15; 17:7; 18:7; 21:4-8,16; 28:7,14; 3 John 5-8

Job was hospitable in Job 31:32

The rich man was inhospitable to Lazarus in Luke 16:19-25

Hospitality and inhospitality are shown in Judges 19:11-28

Rebecca and Laban showed hospitality to Abraham’s servant in Genesis 24:15-31

Manaoh entertain

But no hospitality to heretics in 2 John 10-11.

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Romans 12:13; Hebrews 13:1

**p32 (=P. Rylands 5)** Titus 1:1-15; 2:3-8 (21 verses) (150-200 A.D.) Titus 1:8 elders must be hospitable

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Practice hospitality. 1 Peter 4:9

**Clement of Rome** ch.1 vol.1 p.5. also vol.9 p.229 (96-98 A.D.) praises the hospitality of the Corinthian church.

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) ch.10 p.7 gives us the example of Abraham, to whom a son was born on account of his faith and hospitality.

***The Apology of Aristides*** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) ch.14 p.277 says that Christians take the stranger under their roof.

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.3 p.138 (implied) “clothe the naked when thou seest him, bring the homeless into thy house, not despise the humble if thou behold him, and not [turn away] from the members of thine own family.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “deposited with the president, who succours the orphans and widows and those who, through sickness or any other cause, are in want, and those who are in bonds and the strangers sojourning among us, and in a word takes care of all who are in need.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.67 p.186

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 2 8th commandment p.25 says to help the widows, look after the orphans and the needy and being hospitable.

*Tatian’s* ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 43.43-58 p.110-111 in the parable of the sheep and the goats mentions that the sheep take in strangers.

***Theophilus*** *to Autolycus* (168-181/188 A.D.) book 3 ch.12 p.114 “Deal out thy bread to the hungry, and bring the houseless poor to thy home. When thou seest the naked, cover him, and hide not thyself from thine own flesh” [i.e. help relatives too]. Do these because of God’s command to the Israelites after they were strangers in Egypt book 3 ch.10 p.114

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Deal thy bread to the hungry willingly, and lead into thy house the roofless stranger.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.17.3 p.483

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) tells about the sheep and the goats in *Who Is the Rich Man That Shall Be Saved* ch.30 p.599-600. See also *Stromata* (193-202 A.D.) book 2 ch.9 p.357 and *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.294

**Tertullian** (c.207 A.D.) mentions that it is hard for a Christian wife married to an unbelieving husband to show hospitality to a traveling Christian. *Tertullian to His Wife* book 2 ch.4 p.46

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) (implied) castigates “But if the churlishness and inhospitality” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.24 p.388

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) mentions Luke 14:12-14 and reminds us to call the poor, weak, blind, and lame to your banquets. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 Third book ch.2 p.532

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “hospitality is a principal virtue, as the philosophers also say;” *The Divine Institutes* book 6 ch.12 p.176.

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says to take care of the sick and practice hospitality. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.65 p.250

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) speaks highly of showing hospitality to strangers. homily 3 ch.69 p.251.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) ch.4.3 p.145 and ch.5.23 p.148 (implied) gives an example of hospitality.

## Lo11. Love covers a multitude of sins

James 5:20b; 1 Peter 4:8

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Loves covers a multitude of sins. 1 Peter 4:8

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) ch.49 p.18 says “Love unites us to God. Love covers a multitude of sins.” Then he quotes parts of 1 Corinthians 13.

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) vol.7 ch.16 p.522 quotes that love covers a multitude of sins.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) quotes James 5:20b: “Love covers a multitude of sins.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.18 p.429. See also *Stromata* book 2 ch.16 p.362.

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) “Love covers a multitude of sins.” *Who is the Rich Man That Shall Be Saved?* ch.38 p.602

**Tertullian** (205 A.D.) says that love covers a multitude of sins. *Scorpiace* ch.6 p.639

## Lo12. Love fulfills the law

Romans 13:8; 13:10; Galatians 5:14

Galatians 6:2 (partial)

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “And Paul in like manner declares, ‘Love is the fulfilling of the law.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.2 p.476

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “‘Love is,’ then ‘the fulfilling of the law;’ like as Christ, that is the presence of the Lord who loves us;” *Stromata* book 4 ch.18 p.430

**Tertullian** (207-208 A.D.) quotes all of Galatians 5:14 in *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.4 p.437

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) “You shall love your neighbor as yourself. Love works no evil to one’s neighbour. Love therefore is the fulfillment of Law.” *Dialogue on the True Faith* second part e17 p.97

## Lo13. Show mercy/pity to others

Luke 6:36

God showing mercy or pity is not included here.

Saying someone ought be pitied because of their errors, but nothing beyond that is not counted here either. Asking God for mercy or to take pity on someone else is not counted here either.

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.20 p.149 “[In this way, too, ] are those who persecute the good, those who hate truth, those who love falsehood, those who know not the reward of righteousness, those who cleave not to that which is good, those who attend not with just judgment to the widow and orphan, those who watch not to the fear of God, [but incline] to wickedness, from whom meekness and patience are far off; persons who love vanity, follow after a reward, pity not the needy, labour not in aid of him who is overcome with toil; who are prone to evil-speaking, who know not Him that made them, who are murderers of children, destroyers of the workmanship of God; who turn away him that is in want, who oppress the afflicted, who are advocates of the rich, who are unjust judges of the poor, and who are in every respect transgressors.”

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “Zachariah: ‘Thus saith the Lord Almighty, Execute true judgment, and show mercy and compassion every man to his brother; and oppress not the widow, nor the fatherless, nor the stranger; and let none of you imagine evil against his brother in your heart, saith the Lord Almighty.’” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.12 p.115

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Execute true judgment, and show mercy and compassion each one to his brother. And oppress not the widow, and the orphan, and the proselyte, and the poor;” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.17.3 p.483

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Not even he himself who shows mercy ought to know that he does show mercy; for in this way he will be sometimes merciful, sometimes not. And when he shall do good by habit, he will imitate the nature of good, and his disposition will be his nature and his practice.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.22 p.435

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “‘Be merciful,’ says the Lord, ‘that you may receive mercy; forgive, that you may be forgiven.’” *Stromata* book 2 ch.18 p.367

**Tertullian** (208-220 A.D.) says we are to show mercy. *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.6 p.79

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “If thou desirest, when praying, to be heard from heaven, break the chains from the lurking-places of wickedness; or if, pitying the poor, thou prayest by thy benefits, doubt not but what thou shalt have asked may be given to the petitioner.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.79 p.218

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “show mercy, and not to persecute him whom he did persecute.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 2 ch.20 p.440

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “sustain wrong, easy to show mercy, of one mind and one heart in fraternal peace.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 2 ch.23 p.436. See also *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 third part ch.1 p.531

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “And since there was in them no trace of justice, the offices of which are humanity, equity, pity, they now began to rejoice in a proud and swollen inequality, and made themselves higher than other men, by a retinue of attendants, and by the sword, and by the brilliancy of their garments.” *The Divine Institutes* book 5 ch.6 p.141

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says to show pity to others. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.65 p.250

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “We might learn from religion faith, purity, and mercy” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.60 p.247

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) ch.5.13 p.146 gives an example of showing mercy to others,

## Lo14. Visit those in prison

Matthew 25:36,39,43-44, Hebrews 13:3

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “For God, who stands in need of nothing, takes our good works to Himself for this purpose, that He may grant us a recompense of His own good things, as our Lord says: ‘Come, ye blessed of My Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you. For I was an hungered, and ye gave Me to eat: I was thirsty, and ye gave Me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took Me in: naked, and ye clothed Me; sick, and ye visited Me; in prison, and ye came to Me.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.18.6 p.486

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “Respecting liberality He said: ‘Come to me, ye blessed, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was an hungry, and ye gave Me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave Me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took Me in; naked, and ye clothed Me; sick, and ye visited Me; in prison, and ye came unto Me.’ And when have we done any of these things to the Lord?” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.293

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “But when He [Jesus] forbids thinking about what answer to make at a judgment-seat, He is preparing His own servants *for what awaited them*, He gives the assurance that the Holy Spirit will answer *by them*; and when He wishes a brother to be visited in prison, He is commanding that those about to confess be the object of solicitude; and He is soothing their sufferings when He asserts that God will avenge His own elect.” *Scorpiace* ch.11 p.644-645

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Then shall the King say unto them who shall be at His right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world: for I was hungry, and ye gave me to eat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me to drink: I was a stranger, and ye received me: naked, and ye clothed me: sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer, and say unto Him, Lord, when saw we Thee hungry, and fed Thee?” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 second part ch.30 p.528

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Clement to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.9 p.220 says to visit them in prison

## Lo15. Love your enemies

Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you. Matthew 5:44

Love your enemies, bless those who curse you; pray for those who mistreat you. Luke 6:27-28

***The Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.1 p.377 “And of these sayings the teaching is this: Bless them that curse you, and pray for your enemies, and fast for them that persecute you. For what thank *is there*, if ye love them that love you? Do not also the Gentiles do the same? But do ye love them that hate you; and ye shall not have an enemy.”

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) ch.13 p.254 quotes loosely Luke 6:32 as the Lord is speaking. “No thank have ye, if ye love them which love you, but ye have thank, if ye love your enemies and them which hate you.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) quotes Luke 6:35 (love your enemies…) saying Jesus said it. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.96 p.247. See also *First Apology of Justin Martyr* (c.150 A.D.) ch.14 p.167

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 9 ch.12 p.59 “Ye have heard that it was said, Love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy: but I say unto you, Love your enemies, and pray for those that curse you, and deal well with those that hate you, and pray for those who take you with violence and persecute you; that ye may be sons of your heavenly Father, who maketh his sun to rise on the good and the evil, and sendeth down his rain on the righteous and the unrighteous.”

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “‘I say unto you, Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; pray for them that persecute you; that ye may be the sons of your Father who is in heaven, who causes His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the just and the unjust.’” *A Plea for Christians* ch.11 p.134

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “And the Gospel says: ‘Love your enemies, and pray for them that despitefully use you. For if ye love them who love you, what reward have ye?” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.14 p.115

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) ““

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “How great also is benignity! ‘Love your enemies,’ it is said, ‘bless them who curse you, and pray for them who despitefully use you,’ and the like; to which it is added, ‘that ye may be the children of your Father who is in heaven,’ in allusion to resemblance to God.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.14 p.426

**Tertullian** (198-202 A.D.) “while Christ says, ‘Love your personal enemies, and bless your cursers, and pray for your persecutors, that ye may be sons of your heavenly Father.’” *Of Patience* ch.6 p.711

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “‘But I say unto you which hear’ (displaying here that old injunction, of the Creator: ‘Speak to the ears of those who lend them to you’), ‘Love your enemies, and bless those which hate you, and pray for them which calumniate you.’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.16 p.370

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) says to love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you. *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.35 p.652

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “But I say unto you, Love your enemies, and pray for them which persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven, who maketh His sun to rise on the good and on the evil, and sendeth rain upon the just and on the unjust.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 10 ch.15 p.495

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) “The Saviour’s ‘Love your enemies’ is not new but required in the Prophets:” [Matthew 5:44; Luke 6:27]

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (partial) “ignorant of wars, who maintain concord with all, who are friendly even to their enemies, who love all men as brethren, who know how to restrain their anger, and” *The Divine Institutes* Book 5 ch.10 p.146

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says to love your enemies. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.65 p.250

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) say to love your neighbor, as well as your enemies. Clothe the naked, help widows and orphans. *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 1.6 p.9

**Among heretics**

The Marcionite heretic **Megethius** (c.300 A.D.) “But our Good Lord says [Matt.5:44]: ‘Love your enemies, and pray for those who persecute you’.” *Dialogue on the True Faith* ch.12 p.54

## Lo16. Turn the other cheek

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) Jesus said to love your enemies and turn the other cheek. Luke 6:27-29,35

***The Didache*** vol.7 ch.2.7 p.378 (before 125 A.D.) “Thou shalt not hate any man” If one gives you a blow on one cheek, turn to him the other also. ch.1 p.377

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) If a man strikes you on one cheek, offer the other, and if someone wants to take away your clock, let him. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.16 p.168.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) reminds us that Jesus said to love our enemies, “bless them that curse us, and pray for them that despitefully use us.” turn the other cheek, and let others take your cloak also. *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.293

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) says Christians are to off the other side to those who smite us on one side of the face and when they take out coat give them likewise our cloak. *A Plea for Christians* ch.1 p.129

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “This also does likewise meet [the case] of those who maintain that He [Jesus] suffered only in appearance. Fir if He did not truly suffer, no thanks to Him, since there was no suffering at all; and when we shall actually begin to suffer, He will seem as leading us astray, exhorting us to endure buffeting, and to turn the other check, if He did not himself before us in reality suffer the same;… but exhorting us to endure what He did not endure Himself.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.18.6 p.447

## Lo17. Don’t be a people pleaser

Galatians 1:10; Ephesians 6:6; Colossians 3:22

Ignatius of Antioch (-107/116 A.D.) (partial) “For it is not my desire to act towards you as a man-pleaser,(4) but as pleasing God, even as also ye please Him.” *Epistle of Ignatius the Romans* ch.4 p.74

***2 Clement*** (c.150 A.D.) ch.13 p.520-521 “Let us blot out from us our former sins, and repenting from the soul let us be saved; and let us not become(15) men-pleasers, nor let us desire to please only one another,(16) but also the men that are without, by our righteousness, that the Name be not blasphemed on account of us.(1)”

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) (implied) “And those that do good it teaches not to boast, lest they become men-pleasers.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.14 p.115

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) quotes all of Colossians 3:18-25, all of Colossians 4:1, and then all of Colossinas 3:11. *Stromata* book 4 ch.8 p.420-421

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes the last 9 out of 20 words of Galatians 1:10. *Epistles of Cyprian* epistle 54 ch.8 p.341

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes the first part of Ephesians 6:6. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.72 p.552

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Apostolic Constitutions*** (3rd-5th century, compiled c.390 A.D.) ch.21 p.405 “Be gentle, gracious, mild, without guile, without falsehood; not rigid, not insolent, not severe, not arrogant, not unmerciful, not puffed up, not a man-pleaser, not timorous, not double-minded, not one that insults over the people that are under thee, not one that conceals the divine laws and the promises to repentance, not hasty in thrusting out and expelling, but steady, not one that delights in severity, not heady.”

***Apostolic Constitutions*** (3rd-5th century, compiled c.390 A.D.) ch.20 p.404 “Seek for that which is lost, that is, do not suffer that which desponds of its salvation, by reason of the multitude of its offences, utterly to perish.”

## Lo18. Don’t show partiality

James 2:1-4

***1 Clement*** (96-98 A.D.) vol.1 ch.1 p.5 “And who did not rejoice over your perfect and well-grounded knowledge? For ye did all things without respect of persons, and walked in the commandments of God,…”.

*1 Clement* (96-98 A.D.) vol.1 ch.50 p.18 “Who is fit to be found in it, except such as God has vouchsafed to render so? Let us pray, therefore, and implore of His mercy, that we may live blameless in love, free from all human partialities for one above another.”

**Hegesippus** (170-180 A.D.) “showest partiality to none. Do thou, therefore, persuade the people not to”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “I charge thee," he says, writing to Timothy, “before God, and Christ Jesus, and the elect angels, that thou observe these things, without preferring one before another, doing nothing by partiality.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.1 p.300

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Deeds of true heart-goodness are not due by us to emperors alone. We never do good with respect of persons; for in our own interest we conduct ourselves as those who take no payment either of praise or premium from man, but from God, who both requires and remunerates an impartial benevolence. We are the same to emperors as to our ordinary neighbors. For we are equally forbidden to wish ill, to do ill, to speak ill, to think ill of all men. The thing we must not do to an emperor, we must not do to any one else: what we would not do to anybody, a fortiori, perhaps we should not do to him whom God has been pleased so highly to exalt.” *Apology* ch.37 p.44

**Arnobius** (297-303 A.D.) “should not wish ill to one party, and be favourable to the success of another; but, as becomes great minds, should weigh all in a just balance, and show kindness impartially to all.” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 6 ch.2 p.507

## Lo19. Cruelty is bad

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**Ignatius of Antioch** (106-117 A.D.) “Be ye meek in response to their wrath, humble in opposition to their boasting: to their blasphemies return your prayers; in contrast to their error, be ye stedfast in the faith; and for their cruelty, manifest your gentleness. While we take care not to imitate their conduct, let us be found their brethren in all true kindness;” *Letter to the Ephesians* ch.10 p.54

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) (implied) (implied) “For if we patiently endure all things contrived against us by wicked men and demons, so that even amid cruelties unutterable, death and torments, we pray for mercy to those who inflict such things upon us, and do not wish to give the least retort to any one, even as the new Lawgiver commanded us:” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.18 p.203

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “Thus we call one another, to your envy, brethren: as being men born of one God and Parent, and companions in faith, and as fellow-heirs in hope. You, however, do not recognise one another, and you are cruel in your mutual hatreds; nor do you acknowledge one another as brethren, unless indeed for the purpose of fratricide.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.31 p.193

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “But what reason is there in going to prayer with hands indeed washed, but the spirit foul?-inasmuch as to our hands themselves spiritual purities are necessary, that they may be ‘lifted up pure’ from falsehood, from murder, from cruelty, from poisonings, from idolatry, and all the other blemishes which, conceived by the spirit, are effected by the operation of the hands.” *Tertullian On Prayer* ch.13 p.685

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “Certainly God lives, who makes the dead to live, that He may give worthy rewards to the innocent and to the good; but to the fierce and impious, cruel hell.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.26 p.208

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “Moreover, we are to despise ingratiating ourselves with kings or any other men, not only if their favour is to be won by murders, licentiousness, or deeds of cruelty, but even if it involves impiety towards God, or any servile expressions of flattery and obsequiousness, which things are unworthy of brave and high-principled men, who aim at joining with their other virtues that highest of virtues, patience and fortitude.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.65 p.664

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “yourself also look upon yourself. For either you are swollen with pride, or greedy with avarice, or cruel with anger, or prodigal with gambling, or flushed with intemperance, or envious with jealousy, or unchaste with lust, or violent with cruelty;” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 5 ch.10 p.460

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) (implied) “Moreover, it has been reported to us that a thing has happened in your country which is surely incredible, and which, if done at all, is altogether the work of unbelievers, and impious men, and men who know not the very name of the Lord; to wit, that some have gone to such a pitch of cruelty and inhumanity, as to be detaining by force certain captives who have made their escape.” *Canonical Epistle* canon 6 p.19

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Give me one who is lustful, an adulterer a glutton; you shall presently see him sober, chaste, and temperate. Give me one who is cruel and bloodthirsty: that fury shall presently be changed into true clemency. Give me a man who is unjust, foolish, an evil-doer; forthwith he shall be just, and wise, and innocent: for by one laver all his wickedness shall be taken away.” *The Divine Institutes* book 3 ch.26 p.96

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (211-231 A.D.) book5 ch.33 p.151 teaches that we should not be cruel.

## Lo20. Must not poison others

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***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.20 p.149 “But the way of darkness is crooked, and full of cursing; for it is the way of eternal death with punishment, in which way are the things that destroy the soul, viz., idolatry, over-confidence, the arrogance of power, hypocrisy, double-heartedness, adultery, murder, rapine, haughtiness, transgression, deceit, malice, self-sufficiency, poisoning, magic, avarice, want of the fear of God.”

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) mentions astrology as wrong along with assassins, poisoners, pimps, and sorcerers *Apology* ch.43 p.49

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) speaks of sins such as murder, poisoning, paederasty [homosexuality with boys]. *Commentary on Matthew* book 13 ch.30 p.492

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) (implied) “As if it were all lawful, as if it were all becoming, as if he who does not rob were suffering loss and wasting his own property, thus every one hastens to the rapine. Among thieves there is at any rate some modesty in their crimes. They love pathless ravines and deserted solitudes; and they do wrong in such a way, that still the crime of the wrong-doers is veiled by darkness and night. Avarice, however, rages openly, and, safe by its very boldness, exposes the weapons of its headlong craving in the light of the market-place. Thence cheats, thence poisoners, thence assassins in the midst of the city, are as eager for wickedness as they are wicked with impunity.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 5 ch.11 p.461

**Arnobius** (297-303 A.D.) (implied) “Did He send souls hither for this reason, that they which had been but now sincere and of blameless virtue should learn as men to feign, to dissemble, to lie, to cheat,(7) to deceive, to entrap with a flatterer's abjectness; to conceal one thing in the heart, express another in the countenance; to ensnare, to beguile(9) the ignorant with crafty devices, to seek out poisons by means of numberless arts suggested by bad feelings, and to be fashioned(10) with deceitful changeableness to suit circumstances?” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.39 p.449

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “those rites are frequented by unchaste adulteresses without any discrimination, by impudent procuresses, by filthy harlots; they are frequented by gladiators, robbers, thieves, and sorcerers, who pray for nothing else but that they may commit crimes with impunity. For what can the robber ask when he sacrifices, or the gladiator, but that they may slay? what the poisoner, but that he may escape notice?” *The Divine Institutes* book 5 ch.20 p.157

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) speaks against [evil] tyrants, sorcerers, and poisoning. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 2 ch.6 p.18

**Among heretics**

**Bardaisan/Bardesan** of Syria (154-224/232 A.D.) says, “For a man is not found fault with for being tall or short in his stature, or white or black, or because his eyes are large or small, or for any bodily defect whatsoever; but he is found fault with if he steal, or lie, or practice deceit, or poison *another*, or be abusive, or do any other such-like things.” *The Book of the Laws of Diverse Countries* p.727

# Speech

## Sp1. Have pure speech

Partial Matthew

Proverbs 4:24; 15:2; Luke 6:45; 1 Corinthians 5:10-11; Ephesians 4:29; James 3:2-12

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) 1 Corinthians 5:10-11

**p32 (=P. Rylands 5)** Titus 1:1-15; 2:3-8 (21 verses) (150-200 A.D.) Titus 2:7-8, in everything set an example, … soundness of speech

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Luke 6:45

**p49** Ephesians 4:16-29; 4:31-5:13 (225-275 A.D.) Ephesians 4:29,31; 5:4

**p20** - James 2:19-3:2 (6 out of 96 letters of 3:3; 3:4-9 (3rd century A.D.) says we need to tame our tongue James 3:2

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) tells us to be holy, avoid all evil-speaking, impure embraces and with drunkenness. *1 Clement* ch.30 p.13

***Didache*** (=Teaching of the Twelve Apostles)vol.7 ch.5 p.379 (before 125 A.D.) The way of death is cursings, murder, adulteries, fornication, lusts, magic arts, idolatries, witchcraft, filthy talking, jealousies,

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 2 8th commandment p.25 warns us against lies, backbiting, and all slander “These are the deeds that are most wicked in the life of men.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) speaks against empty talk and scandalous speech. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.28.2 p.501

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) has a whole chapter on purity of speech in *The Instructor* book 2 ch.7 p.250-251.

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “For it is pleasing to God to lead decorum from the tongue to our actions. Filthy speech is the way to effrontery; and the end of both is filthy conduct.” *Stromata* ch.23 p.378

**Tertullian** (208-220 A.D.) quotes Ephesians 4:29 about pure speech. *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.17 p.93

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) says we should have pure speech. *On Patience* ch.8 p.712

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “that pure speech might proceed from pure mouths” fragment 1 *Scholia on Daniel* ch.1.8 p.185

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “discusses Romans 12:14, Matthew 12:21; Ephesians 4:29 in *Commentary on the Letter to the Romans* book 6 ch.14 p.215

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Christ gave us an example, “He was reviled, reviled not again; when He suffered, threatened not,… *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 9 ch.9 p.486

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “That we must not swear. That we are not to curse.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 third book p.528

**Among heretics**

The Encratite heretic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “You have, too, contrived the art of rhetoric to serve injustice and slander, selling the free power of your speech for hire, and often representing the same thing at one time as right, at another time as not good.” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.1 p.65

## Sp2. No filthy talk

Ephesians 4:29

***Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) ch.3 p.378 “My child, be not a lustful one; for lust leadeth the way to fornication; neither a filthy talker, nor of lofty eye; for out of all these adulteries are engendered.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) quotes Ephesians 4:29a (13/22 words quoted). *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.37 .4 p.519

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) quotes Ephesians 4:29a (11/22 words quoted). *The Instructor* book 2 ch.6 p.250

**Tertullian** (208-220 A.D.) quotes Ephesians 4:29a (9/22 words quoted). *On Modesty* ch.17 p.93

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes all of Ephesians 4:29 (no foul speech) as by the apostle. *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 41 ch.2 p.320

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes all of Ephesians 4:29 (no foul speech) *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.13 p.537

## Sp3. If we deny Christ He will deny us

2 Timothy 2:12b; Matthew 10:32-33

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “On martyrdom the Lord hath spoken explicitly, and what is written in different places we bring together. ‘But I say unto you, Whosoever shall confess in Me before men, the Son of man also shall confess before the angels of God; but whosoever shall deny Me before men, him will I deny before the angels.’” *Stromata* book 4 ch.9 p. 421

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) speaks about if we deny Christ He will deny us. *Scorpiace* ch.9 p.642

Tertullian (198-240 A.D.) Jesus will deny everyone who denies [Him] *de Corona* ch.11 p.100

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; there is laid up for me the crown which the Lord will give me on that day’ -doubtless of his suffering. Admonition enough did he for his part also give in preceding passages: ‘It is a faithful saying: For if we are dead with Christ, we shall also live with Him; if we suffer, we shall also reign with Him; if we deny Him, He also will deny us; if we believe not, yet He is faithful: He cannot deny Himself.’” *Scorpiace* ch.13 p.647

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) speaks about if we deny Christ He will deny us before the Father. *Origen Against Celsus* ch.2.13 p.437. See also *Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.2.10 p.150

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) speaks about if we deny Christ He will deny us. *Letters of Cyprian* letter 30 p.310

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) quotes Matthew 10:33. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.15 p.58.

## Sp4. Forsake lies

Ephesians 4:25; Proverbs 6:16-17a;10:18a;12:19-20,22a; 17:4f,7; 19:f,9f,22f; 21:6; 26:28a

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Ephesians 4:25

**p49** Ephesians 4:16-29; 4:31-5:13 (225-275 A.D.) do not lie to your neighbor because we are all members of one body. Ephesians 4:25

**Clement of Rome** ch.27 (96-98 A.D.) “He who has commanded us not to lie, shall much more Himself not lie; for nothing is impossible with God, except to lie.”

**Polycarp’s** ***Letter to the Philippians*** (100-155 A.D.) ch.11 p.35 says we should be chaste, truthful, and avoid every form of evil [1 Thessalonians 5:22]

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “…but count it impious not to speak the truth in all things, which also we know is pleasing to God,” *Second Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.4 p.189

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 1 vision 2 ch.8 p.15-16 (implied) mentions virtues we should have of self-restraint, simplicity, guilelessness, chastity, intelligence, and love. Book 3 similitude 6 ch.5 also speaks against sins such a being a drunkard and lying.

***Passion of the Scillitan Martyrs*** (180 A.D.) *ANF* vol.9 p.285 says Christians are not to bear false witness.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Wherefore, putting away lying, speak every man truth.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.18 p.321.

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) do not kill, commit adultery, or bear false witness. *Stromata* book 2 ch.7 p.354

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) says not to be a false witness. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.10 p.202

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) quotes Ephesians 4:25 “‘Putting away lying,’ (says he) ‘speak every man truth with his neighbour;’” *Tertullian Against Marcion* book 5 ch.18 p.468

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) (implied) says Christians should not adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness. *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.39 p.650

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 67 ch.8 p.372 “what else ought we,… to do than forsake human errors and lies, and continue in the truth of God, keeping the Lord’s precepts.”

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “that we must not lie.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 third book heads p.530

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) don’ commit perjury. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.64 p.249

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (implied) don’t be a false witness. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.64 p.249

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Peter to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.4.4 p.216 “And in addition to all these things, if I shall lie, I shall be accursed living and dying, and shall be punished with everlasting punishment.”

**Bardaisan/Bardesan** (154-224/232 A.D.) no stealing, lying, hating, or deception. *The Book of the Laws of Diverse Countries* p.725,727

## Sp5. Don’t swear false oaths / swear falsely

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Moreover, this impious opinion of theirs with respect to actions-namely, that it is incumbent on them to have experience of all kinds of deeds, even the most abominable-is refuted by the teaching of the Lord, with whom not only is the adulterer rejected, but also the man who desires to commit adultery; and not only is the actual murderer held guilty of having killed another to his own damnation, but the man also who is angry with his brother without a cause: who commanded [His disciples] not only not to hate men, but also to love their enemies; and enjoined them not only not to swear falsely, but not even to swear at all; and not only not to speak evil of their neighbours, but not even to style any one 'Raca' and 'fool; '[declaring] that otherwise they were in danger of hell-fire; and not only not to strike, but even, when themselves struck, to present the other cheek [to those that maltreated them]; and not only not to refuse to give up the property of others, but even if their own were taken away, not to demand it back again from those that took it; and not only not to injure their neighbours, nor to do them any evil, but also, when themselves wickedly dealt with, to be long-suffering, and to show kindness towards those [that injured them], and to pray for them, that by means of repentance they might be saved-so that we should in no respect imitate the arrogance, lust, and pride of others.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.32.1 p.408

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “But I [God] commanded them, Let none of you bear malice in his heart against his neighbour, or love a false oath.'” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.293

**Tertullian** (198-217 A.D.) (implied) “Then, too, among you, people far more readily swear a false oath in the name of all the gods, than in the name of the single genius of Caesar. *Apology* ch.28 p.41

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Of this same matter, according to Matthew: '(Again, ye have heard that it was said to them of old, Thou shalt not swear falsely, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths.)” Treatises of Cyprian Treatise 12 part 3 ch.12 p.536-537

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) “God, and for him that worshipped not. For as the unrighteous man and the good, the man who sweareth a false oath, and the man who avoids swearing altogether,” *Metaphrase of Ecclesiastes* ch.9 p.15

## Sp6. Do not swear oaths

Matthew 5:34-37; James 5:12

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) quotes Matthew 5:34f (12/16 words quoted) and all of Matthew 5:35. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.16 p.168

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 9:20-21 p.58 quotes all of Matthew 5:47-48 except replacing “great” with “inquire for the good”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) quotes Matthew 5:34f (12/16 words quoted) and all of Matthew 5:35. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.2.5 p.464. See also ibid for Matthew 5:35 book 4 ch.36.5 p.516 and ibid book 4 ch.3.2 p.465

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) quotes a fourth of Matthew 5:36. *The Instructor* book 3 ch.3 p.275

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) quotes James 5:12m (not 18 9 not 5 words quoted) *Stromata* book 7 ch.11 p.542

**Tertullian** (207-220 A.D.) quote Matthew 5:37f (7/17 words quoted) in *On the Flesh of Christ* ch.23 p.541

Tertullian (208-220 A.D.) quoted three-fourths of Matthew 5:37. *Against Praxeas* ch.9 p.604

**Origen** (c.233-234 A.D.) quotes Matthew 5:34. *Origen’s Exhortation to Martyrdom* part 2 ch.7 p.146. See also ibid part 2 ch.7 p.147.

Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) quotes Matthew 5:34-35. *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 6 ch.23 p.370. See also ibid book 10 ch.16 p.393

Origen (c.240, 235-245 A.D.) quotes Matthew 5:34. *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 5 ch.12 p.53

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes Matthew 5:34-37 about not swearing. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.12 p.536. See also ibid Treatise 2 ch.16 p.434

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) quotes Matthew 5:37. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 13.

## Sp7. Don’t use flattery (on others)

Proverbs 2:28f; 28:23; 29:5; 1 Thessalonians 2:5,6,7

Romans 16:18 (implied)

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) (implied) “For we have come, not to flatter you by this writing, nor please you by our address, but to beg that you pass judgment, after an accurate and searching investigation, not flattered by prejudice or by a desire of pleasing superstitious men, nor induced by irrational impulse or evil rumours which have long been prevalent, to give a decision which will prove to be against yourselves.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.2 p.163

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “deceives that of others. ‘Moreover, a false flattery disgracefully caresses’” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.29 p.191

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) quotes 1 Thessalonians 2:5,6,7 as by the apostle. *Stromata* book 1 ch.1 p.300.

**Tertullian** (c.203 A.D.) “when, however, with the deliberate aim after evil, of which we have just spoken, they assume a flattering and captivating style, they show themselves proportionately vain, and deceitful, and obscure, and wanton, and impure.” *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.47 p.225

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “flattery, not by proper influence. And what can be more direct flattery than not” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 1 ch.27 p.292

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) He is a good soldier, always wait for things to be enjoyed. Be unwilling to flatter thyself; absolutely put away sloth, that thou mayest daily be ready for what is set before thee,” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.53 p.213

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “Moreover, we are to despise ingratiating ourselves with kings or any other men, not only if their favour is to be won by murders, licentiousness, or deeds of cruelty, but even if it involves impiety towards God, or any servile expressions of flattery and obsequiousness, which things are unworthy of brave and high-principled men, who aim at joining with their other virtues that highest of virtues, patience and fortitude.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.55 p.660

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “115. That flattery is pernicious. In Isaiah: “They who call you blessed, lead you into error, and trouble the paths of your feet.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 third part ch.115 p.556

Seventh Council of Carthage (258 A.D.) p.570 (partial) “Faustus of Timida Regia said: Let not them who are in favour of heretics flatter themselves. He who interferes with the baptism of the Church on behalf of heretics, makes them Christians, and us heretics.’”

Gregory Thaumaturgus (240-265 A.D.) (partial) “puerile *or* bordering on flattery, or things offending by excess of” *Oration and Panegyric to Origen* ch.18 p.38

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) (implied) “set forth all things with undisguised truth and without flattery: you will learn in detail from what fathers, from what mothers they” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.37 p.422

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (implied) “They have all given themselves to one and the same pursuit and art, that they may be able cautiously to deceive, to fight treacherously, to contend in flattery, each to pretend that he is a good man, to lie in wait, as if all were enemies to all.” But which of these things can be laid to the charge of our people, with whom the whole of religion consists in living without guilt and without spot?” *The Divine Institutes* book 5 ch.9 p.145

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says not to flatter others. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.47 p.241.

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) (implied) “and on account of which they have been expelled by us, they do not at all confess to them, but they either pass them over in silence, or throwing a veil over them, by feigned words and writings they deceive them. Concealing, therefore, their pestilent doctrine by their specious and flattering discourse, they circumvent the more simple-minded and such as are open to fraud, nor do they spare in the meanwhile to traduce our piety to all.” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Epistle 1 ch.2 p.292

**Among heretics**

The Encratite Gnostic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) (implied) “It would better become them, moreover, not to pay court to kings unbidden, nor to flatter men at the head of affairs, but to wait till the great ones come to them.” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.3 p.66

## Sp8. Slandering people is bad

Leviticus 19:16; Psalm 15:3; 31:13; 38:20; 41:6; Proverbs 10:18f; 30:10; Jeremiah 6:28; Ezekiel 36:3; Matthew 15:19; Mark 7:22; 2 Corinthians 12:31; Ephesians 4:31; Colossians 3:8; Titus 3:2; James 4:11; 1 Peter 2:1

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Thou sittest, and speakest against thy brother; thou slanderest” *1 Clement* ch.35 p.14. See also vol.9 ch.35.

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) “Teach the widows to be discreet as respects the faith of the Lord, praying continually for all, being far from all slandering, evil-speaking, false-witnessing, love of money, and every kind of evil; knowing that they are the altar of God, that He clearly perceives all things, and that nothing is hid from Him, neither reasonings, nor reflections, nor any one of the secret things of the heart.” *Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians* ch.4 p.34

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 2 8th commandment p.25 warns us against lies, backbiting, and all slander “These are the deeds that are most wicked in the life of men.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “against thy brother; thou slanderest thine own mother’s son.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.22 p.205

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “They, too, are the source from which it has happened that the lying slanders on” fragment 2 From the apology addressed to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus p.759

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) says do not be a slanderer. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.2 p.89

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “should be of godly behaviour, should not be slanderers, not enslaved to much” *Stromata* book 4 ch.20 p.432.

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) “And let not men, therefore, spend their time in barbers’ shops and taverns, babbling nonsense; and let them give up hunting for the women who sit near, and ceaselessly talking slander against many to raise a laugh.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.11 p.289

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) (partial, Jesus, not just people) “However, that you may not slander His patience, nor fasten on Him any charge of dissimulation, nor deny Him to be the Son of David,” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.36 p.411

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) (implied) “And he habituates himself to a very cynical mode of life, and almost in nothing differs from Marcion, as appertaining both to his slanders, and the regulations enacted concerning marriage.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 10 ch.14 p.146

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “observe no order, but angry and vindictive men slander those whom they hate, as” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.40 p.413

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Thou satest and spakest against thy brother, and slanderedst thine own mother’s” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 41 ch.320

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “If I shut my ears against detraction and slanders, and open them to the word of God,…” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 5 ch.4 p.327

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) “The rising and slanderous information of the Jews against Stephen, and his address …”*An Exposition of the Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles* section H p.166

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) “But thou oughtest rather to have pursued a safer and more auspicious course, and not to have mitten rashly and slanderously, that they seem from the beginning, and always, to have been in error about the Passover, which you cannot prove, whatever charge you may wish to bring against those who, at the present time, have erred with a grievous wandering, having fallen away from the commandment of the law concerning the Passover and other things.” *On the Sojourning of Christ with Us* ch.6 p.282

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) “But the audacity of men, having regard not to what is expedient and becoming, but to what is possible for it, began to do the contrary; whence, moving their hands to the contrary, it made them commit murder, and led away their hearing to disobedience, and their other members to adultery instead of to lawful procreation; and the tongue, instead of right speaking, to slander and insult and perjury; the hands again, to stealing and striking fellow-men; and the sense of smell to many sorts of lascivious odours; the feet, to be swift to shed blood, and the belly to drunkenness and insatiable gluttony” *Against the Heathen* ch.5.1 p.6

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) (implied) “we should give occasion to those who wish to slander us to charge us with fraud,” *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.13 p.279

**Among heretics and spurious works**

Akhmin ***Apocalypse of Peter*** (135,100-150 A.D.) in *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.9 ch.27 p.146 “27. And near those there were again women and men gnawing their own lips, and being punished and receiving a red-hot iron in their eyes: and these were they who blasphemed and slandered the way of righteousness.”

The Encratite Gnostic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “How is it then that you, who have so many poetesses whose productions are mere trash, and innumerable courtezans, and worthless men, are not ashamed to slander the reputation of our women?” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.34 p.79

## Sp9. Do not be a gossip or chatterer

Note that while slander and backbiting are forms of gossip, they alone are not counted here; this refers to all gossip.

Proverbs 11:13; 16:28f; 17:9f; 18:8; 20:19; 26:20,22; 2 Corinthians 12:20; 3John 10; Romans 1:29; 1 Timothy 5:13

(partial) 1 Peter 2:1; 3:16

(partial) Matthew 12:36

p72 (=Bodmer 7,8) All of 1,2 Peter, Jude 191 verses (ca.300 A.D.) (partial) Rid yourself of slander. 1 Peter 2:1; 3:16

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) (partial) says do not be a slanderer. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.2 p.89

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) (implied) “Let spectacles, therefore, and plays that are full of scurrility and of abundant gossip, be forbidden.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.11 p.289

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) “But the man of God, who croaks not, nor chatters, but speaks rationally and instructs lovingly, alas, they persecute; and while he is inviting them to cultivate righteousness, they try inhumanly to slay him, neither welcoming the grace which, comes from above, nor fearing the penalty.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.10 p.201

**Tertullian** (205 A.D.) “you: if only none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evil-doer, or as a busybody in other men’s matters; yet (if any man suffer) as a Christian, let him not be ashamed, but let him glorify God on this behalf.” *Scorpiace* ch.12 p.645

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) has an entire chapter on gossip. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.76 p.218

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) Gregorian chides Euboulios for seeming to be a “chatterer”, asking for amusement rather than for truth. *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 11 ch.3 p.353

## Sp10. Confess your sins to others

James 5:16

***The Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) ch.4.14 p.381 “In the church thou shalt acknowledge thy transgressions, and thou shalt not come near for thy prayer with an evil conscience. This is the way of life.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) (implied) “Such are the words and deeds by which, in our own district of the Rhone, they have deluded many women, who have their consciences seared as with a hot iron. Some of them, indeed, make a public confession of their sins; but others of them are ashamed to do this, and in a tacit kind of way, despairing of [attaining to] the life of God, have, some of them, apostatized altogether; while others hesitate between the two courses, and incur that which is implied in the proverb, ‘neither without nor within; ‘possessing this as the fruit from the seed of the children of knowledge.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.13.7 p.336

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) I [John the Baptist], O Lord [Jesus], baptize with the baptism of repentance, and I cannot baptize those who come to me unless they first confess fully their sins. Be it so then that I baptize Thee, what hast Thou to confess? Thou art the Remover of sins, and wilt Thou be baptized with the baptism of repentance?” *Discourse on the Holy Theophany* ch.4 p.236

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “Mark, again, does not record any words of reproof as having been used by John to those who came to him, being all the country of Judaea and all of them of Jerusalem, who were baptized by him in the Jordan and confessed their sins.” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 6 ch.14 p.363

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “we should mutilate the rights and sacrament of that same truth, and say to those who come to us and repent, that they had obtained remission of sins when they confess that they have sinned, and are for that reason come to seek the pardon of the Church!” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 72 ch.20 p.384

## Sp11. Don’t boast about yourself

Jeremiah 9:23; 1 Corinthians 1:31; 2 Corinthians 10:17; Galatians 6:14; Ephesians 2:9; James 4:13-14; Proverbs 17:17a; 20:14; 25:14; 27:1-2

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) (partial – for the word of God) 1 Corinthians 1:31; 2 Corinthians 10:17; Galatians 6:14

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Let him that is pure in the flesh not grow proud of it, and boast, knowing that it was another who bestowed on him the gift of continence.” *1 Clement* ch.38 vol.1 p.15

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) “If any one can continue in a state of purity, to the honour of Him who is Lord of the flesh, let him so remain without boasting. If he begins to boast, he is undone; and if he reckon himself greater than the bishop, he is ruined.” *Epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp* ch.5 (Greek) p.95

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “And those that do good it teaches not to boast, lest they become men-pleasers. For it says: 'Let not your left hand know what your right hand doeth.'” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.14 p.115

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Anything like boasting in one's own praise is hateful, although we cannot *in reality* boast but only be grateful for whatever we do not ascribe to man's virtue but declare to be the gift of God; so that now we sin not is the beginning of the work of faith, whereas that we sinned before was the result of human error.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 1 ch.4 p.276

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) “Since certainly 'grace and truth came by Jesus Christ,' whence also by grace we are saved, according to that word of the apostle, 'and that not of yourselves, nor of works, Lest any man should boast;' by the will of God, 'the Word was made flesh,' and 'was found in fashion as a man.'” Fragment 2 p.280

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D. “If any one can continue in a state of purity, to the honour of Him who is Lord of the flesh, let him so remain without boasting. If he begins to boast, he is undone; and if he reckon himself greater than the bishop, he is ruined.” *Epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp* ch.5 (Latin, identical to the Greek) p.95

## Sp12. Don’t be a reviler

Bless when reviled is not counted here.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, not effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God."” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.27.4 p.500

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) “Now to these statements I would answer that we revile no one, for we believe that ‘revilers will not inherit the kingdom of God.’ And we read, ‘Bless them that curse you; bless, and curse not;’ also, ‘Being reviled, we bless.’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.41 p.654

Origen (c.250 A.D.) Don’t be a robber, drunkard, reviler, or lie with another man. *Homilies on Psalms* homily 73.3.6 p.212

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “From abuse and revilings also I entreat you to abstain, for "revilers do not attain the kingdom of God;"(6) and the tongue which has confessed Christ should be preserved sound and pure with its honour.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 6 ch.5 p.285

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “If any one reviles, he [the just man] must answer him with a blessing; he himself must never revile, that no evil word may proceed out of the mouth of a man who reverences the good Word.” *The Divine Institutes* book 6 ch.18 p.183

## Sp13. Bless those who revile/curse you

Matthew 5:44; Luke 6:28; Romans 12:14

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) quotes Matthew 46:44 and Luke 6:28 about blessing those who curse you. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.15 p.167

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 8:12-15a p.57-58 quotes all of Matthew 5:43-46, replacing “just and unjust “with “righteous and unrighteous”

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) quoted Luke 6:28a (4/9 words quoted; Matthew 5:44a (8/14 words quoted), Matthew 5:45 (full quote). Later he quotes Matthew 5:44-45 (= Luke 6:27-28). *A Plea for Christians* ch.11 p.134.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) quotes all of Matthew 5:44 about blessing those who curse you. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.17 p.447

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “The ingenuous among the philosophers will then with propriety be taken up in a friendly exposure both of their life and of the discovery of new dogmas, not in the way of our avenging ourselves on our detractors (for that is far from being the case with those who have learned to bless those who curse, even though they needlessly discharge on us words of blasphemy), but with a view to their conversion; if by any means these adepts in wisdom may feel ashamed, being brought to their senses by barbarian demonstration; so as to be able, although late, to see clearly of what sort are the intellectual acquisitions for which they make pilgrimages over the seas.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.1 p.347

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) quotes all of Matthew 5:44 and half of 5:45. *Stromata* book 4 ch.14 p.426.

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “There is clearly described the perfect righteousness, fulfilled both in practice and contemplation. Wherefore we are "to bless those who persecute us. Bless, and curse not.” (Romans 12:14) *Stromata* book 4 ch.16 p.427.

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) quoted Matthew 5:44-45 and Luke 6:27-28. *The Instructor* book 1 ch.8 p.227 See also ibid book 3 ch.12 p.293.

**Tertullian** (c.197 A.D.) quotes the last 8/9 of Matthew 5:44 and all of Matthew 5:45. *Of Patience* ch.6 p.711

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) says to bless those who revile you. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 36 homily 4 ch.3 p.133

Origen (c.250 A.D.) “Now to these statements I would answer that we revile no one, for we believe that ‘revilers will not inherit the kingdom of God.’ And we read, ‘Bless them that curse you; bless, and curse not;’ also, ‘Being reviled, we bless.’” See (Romans 12:14). *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.41 p.654

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes all of Matthew 5:43-48. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 9 ch.5 p.485. See also ibid Treatise 10 ch.15 p.495 and Treatise 12 part 3 ch.49 p.546.

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) quote Matthew 5:44 and Luke 6:27. *Dialogue on the True Faith* second part 15b p.94 (Adamantius is speaking)

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “If any one reviles, he [the just man] must answer him with a blessing; he himself must never revile, that no evil word may proceed out of the mouth of a man who reverences the good Word.” *The Divine Institutes* book 6 ch.18 p.183

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) quotes all of Matthew 5:43 and the first half of Matthew 5:44. *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 1 ch.6 p.8

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) quotes not 8 4 not 13 words of Matthew 5:44 and all of Matthew 5:45. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 13 ch.7 p.18

## Sp14. Do not murmur

Exodus 15:24; 16:2; 16:7-9; 16:12; 17:3 (all implied)

Numbers 14:2; 17:5; Jn 6:43; Jde 1:16

***The Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) ch.3 p.378 “My child, be not a murmurer, since it leadeth the way to blasphemy.;”

***Tatian’s Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) (implied) “The Jews therefore murmured against him because of his saying, I am the bread 36 which came down from heaven. And they said, Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? then how saith this man, I came down from 37, 38 heaven? Jesus answered and said unto them, Murmur not one with another.”

Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum (177 A.D.) p.783 (partial) “Alexander uttered no groan or murmur of any kind, but conversed in his heart with God;”

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) (implied) “they murmured against Moses and Aaron "Would that we had been smitten to the heart by the Lord, and perished in the land of Egypt, when we were wont to sit over our jars of flesh and eat bread unto the full! How leddest thou us out into these deserts, to kill this assembly by famine’?” *On Fasting* ch.5 p.105

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) (implied) “The form of it which He uses- ‘He that despiseth you, despiseth me’ -the Creator had also addressed to Moses: ‘Not against thee have they murmured, but against me.’” [Numbers 14:27] *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.24 p.388

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) “The above condition is expressed in the words "If you withdraw your bonds and protests and murmuring utterance," for he that is content with what comes to pass becomes free from every bond, and does not protest against God for ordaining what He wills for our discipline, and does not even in the secrecy of his thoughts murmur inaudibly; for they who murmur thus, not daring to abuse Providence roundly for what occurs with voice and soul but desiring as it were to escape the observation even of the Lord of All in their discontent, are like bad domestics who rail, but not openly, against their masters' orders.” *On Prayer* ch.10.1 p.13

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “That we must never murmur, but bless God concerning all things that happen.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.14 p.537

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “Also in the Epistle of Paul to the Philippians: ‘But doing all things for love, without murmurings and revilings, that ye may be without complaint, and spotless sons of God.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 third book testimonies ch.14 p.537

**Among corrupt of spurious works**

**Pseudo-Methodius** (after 312 A.D.) “They also that err in spirit shall come to understanding, and they that murmured shall learn obedience, and the stammering tongues shall learn to speak peace.” *Oration on Psalms* ch.4 p.396

***Apostolic Constitutions*** (3rd-5th century, compiled c.390 A.D.) book 3 p.432 “Minister therefore with a kind mind, not murmuring nor mutinying; for ye do not do it on the account of man, but on the account of God, and shall receive from Him the reward of your ministry in the day of your visitation.”

## Teachings on Practice Not on the List

**1. Without holiness no one will see the Lord** (only 1 writer: Clement of Alexandria)

**2. Did not need to keep Sabbaths prior to Moses** (only 2 writers: Justin Martyr, Tertullian)

**3. If meat causes to offend** (only 2 writers: Origen, Cyprian)

**4. Quench the devil’s darts** (only 3 writers: Tertullian, Cyprian, Methodius)

**5. Love fulfills the law** (only 3 writers: Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Adamantius)

**6. Don’t have partiality** (only 3 writers: Clement of Alexandria, Hegesippus, Arnobius. Partial: Tertullian, Origen)

**7. Honor the aged** (only 1 writer: Clement of Rome. Partial: Clement of Alexandria)

**8. Be kind/clement to animals** (only 1 writer: Clement of Alexandria)

**9. Don’t get tattooed** (no writers)

**10. Know we are Christians by our love** (not analyzed yet)

**11. Do not eat strangled animals** Acts 15:29; 21:25 (not analyzed yet. Among heretics: *Recognitions of Clement*)

**12. Share with those who are persecuted** Hebrews 10:33 (not analyzed yet)

**13. Submit to others** (not analyzed yet)

**14. If a man will not work, let him not eat** 2 Thessalonians 2:12 (only 2 writers: *Didache*, Tertullian)

**15. Reprove in gentleness** Galatians 6:1 (only 1 writer: Cyprian)

**16. Constant talking** Prov 10:8,10f19; 17:28; 18:2; 20:19f (not analyzed yet)

**17. Use true words** Proverbs 22:17a, 19a, 22f; 15:4a, 25a (not analyzed yet)

**18. Carefully chose your words** Proverbs 13:3a; 15:28; 16:23a; 21:23 (not analyzed yet)

**19. Use fitting words** Proverbs 10:32a; 12:25; 15:1a,4a,23; 16:2; 35:22,26 (not analyzed yet)

**20. Do not be a false witness** Proverbs 21:17f; 14:5f, 25f; 19:5a,28a; 21:28; 25:18 (not analyzed yet)

**21. Do not mock** Proverbs 13:1f; 14:6a; 15:12; 17:5a; 19:29a; 21:11a; 22:10; 24:9f; 30:17 (not analyzed yet. Tertullian)

**22. Do not quarrel** Proverbs 13:10; 15:18; 17:14,19; 19:13; 20:3; 21:9; 19; 22:10; 25:24; 26:1,20-21; 27:15 (not analyzed yet)

**23. Do not deceive** Proverbs 7:19-20; 12:2; 15:4f; 25:23 (not analyzed yet)

**24. Do not talk harshly** Proverbs 10:31f-32; 12:18a; 13:3f; 14:3a; 15:1f,28f; 17:4a; 19:1,28f (not analyzed yet)

**25. Don’t talk foolishly** Proverbs 14:7; 15:2f,7-14; 18:66-7 (not analyzed yet)

**26. Speak wise words** Proverbs 10:13a,31a; 14:3f; 15:2a,7a; 16:10,21f,23f; 20:15 (not analyzed yet)

**27. Speak few words** Proverbs 10:19; 11)12f; 13:3a; 17:27a (not analyzed yet)

**28. Helpful and encouraging words** Proverbs 10:11a,20a,21a; 12:14a,18f; 15:4a; 18:4,20-21 (not analyzed yet)

**29. Do not provoke others** (not analyzed yet. 1 writer so far: Theonas of Alexandria)

**30. Quarrelling about words ruins those who listen** 2 Timothy 2:14 (not analyzed yet)

**31. Don’t swear by God** (not analyzed yet)

**32. Don’t complain / grumble** (only 2 writers: Cyprian, Theonas of Alexandria)

# PEACE AND CONTENTMENT

## Pc1. Have peace

1 Peter 3:11 Let him seek peace and pursue it.

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Seek peace and pursue it. 1 Peter 3:11

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Let us be kind one to another after the pattern of the tender mercy and benignity of our Creator.” It goes on to say we should be kind-hearted and peaceful. ch.14 vol.1 p.8 (See also vol.9 p.233)

***Didache*** (=*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*) (before 125 A.D.) (implied) “And reprove one another, not in anger, but in peace, as ye have *it* in the Gospel; but to every one that acts amiss against another, let no one speak, nor let him hear aught from you until he repent.” ch.15 p.381

***Epistle of Barnabas*** ch.18 p.148 (c.70-130 A.D.) says we are to meek and peaceable.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “heavenly host, praising God, and saying, Glory in the highest to God, and on earth peace, to men of good will.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 10.3 p.425

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) quotes Galatians 6 about the fruit of the spirit. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.11.1 p.537

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “But rather, he says, “Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord: looking diligently, lest there be any fornicator or profane person, as Esau, who for one morsel surrendered his birth-right; and lest any root of bitterness springing up trouble you, and thereby many be defiled.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.20 p.432

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) Also in Malachi: ‘My covenant of life and peace was with Levi; and I gave him fear, that he should fear me, that he should go from the face of my name. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 2 ch.5 p.517

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “let those who follow the Lord humbly and peacefully and silently tread in His” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 6 ch.4 p.284-285. See also *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 55 ch.1 p.347

## Pc2. The peace of God

Philippians 4:7

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “‘And let the peace of God rule in your hearts, to which ye are called in one body; and be thankful.’ [Colossians 3:15] For there is no obstacle to adducing frequently the same Scripture in order to put Marcion to the blush, if perchance he be persuaded and converted; by learning that the faithful ought to be grateful to God the Creator, who hath called us, and who preached the Gospel in the body.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.8 p.421

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “so by the self-same law of heavenly effect, to earth-that is, to our flesh -as it emerges from the font, after its old sins flies the *dove* of the Holy Spirit, bringing us the peace of God, sent out from the heavens where is the Church, the typified ark.” *On Baptism* ch.8 p.673

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “From his brave deeds he is often called a son, whether, from his works shining before men, of light, or from his possessing the peace of God which passes all understanding, of peace, or, once more, from the help which wisdom brings him, a child of wisdom; for wisdom, it says, is justified of her children.” *Commentary on John* book 2 ch.1 p.322

Origen (233-234 A.D.) mentions “the peace of God, which surpasseth all understanding, and be tranquil in the thought that they that leave the body live with the Lord of all things!” *Exhortation to Martyrdom* part 1 ch.2 p.143

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “But these latter will fall away at once from the peace of God and from peace with themselves, and both in this world and after death they will abide with the spirits of blood-guiltiness.” *On the Reception of the Lapsed* (exegetical fragment 7) p.120

## Pc3. God is the God of peace

Romans 15:33; 16:20; Philippians 4:9; 1 Thessalonians 5:23; Heb 13:20

1 Corinthians 14:33 (implied) “God is the author of peace”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “And for this cause does the apostle, explaining himself, make it clear that the saved man is a complete man as well as a spiritual man; saying thus in the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, ‘Now the God of peace sanctify you perfect (perfectos); and may your spirit, and soul, and body be preserved whole without complaint to the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.6.1 p.532

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “Let us sing, nor ever cease, To the God of peace above.” *A Hymn to Christ the Savior by Clement of Alexandria* *ANF* p.296

**Tertullian** (c.208 A.D.) “Come, now, tell me how that passage (in the Epistle) to the Thessalonians--which, because of its clearness, I should suppose to have been written with a sunbeam--is understood by our heretics, who shun the light of Scripture: ‘And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly.’” *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* ch.47 p.581

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “What shall I say of anger, of discord, of strife, which things ought not to be found in a Christian? Let there be patience in the breast, and these things cannot have place there; or should they try to enter, they are quickly excluded and depart, that a peaceful abode may continue in the heart, where it delights the God of peace to dwell.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 9 ch.19 p.488

## Pc4. Don’t worry about tomorrow / lilies of the field

Matthew 6:25-34

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 10 no.6-8 p.59 quotes Matthew 6:27-34 and Luke 12:12,29. Jesus teaches on the lilies of the field.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “The Lord Himself, therefore, dividing His precepts into what relates to the body, the soul, and thirdly, external things, counsels us to provide external things on account of the body; and manages the body by the soul, and disciplines the soul, saying, “Take no thought for your life what ye shall eat; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on; for the life is more than meat, and the body more than raiment.” And He adds a plain example of instruction: “Consider the ravens: for they neither sow nor reap, which have neither storehouse nor barn; and God feedeth them.” ‘Are ye not better than the fowls?’ Thus far as to food. Similarly He enjoins with respect to clothing, which belongs to the third division, that of things external, saying, ‘Consider the lilies, how they spin not, nor weave. But I say unto you, that not even Solomon was arrayed as one of these.’” *The Instructor* book 2 ch.11 p.263

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) (implied) quotes all of Matthew 6:31. *The Stromata* book 4 ch.6 p.415.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “But even now you have the Lord’s sayings, as examples taking away from you all excuse. For what is it you say? ‘I shall be in need.’ But the Lord calls the needy ‘happy.’ ‘I shall have no food.’ But ‘think not,’ says He, ‘about food;’ and as an example of clothing we have the lilies. ‘My work was my subsistence.’ Nay, but ‘all things are to be sold, and divided to the needy.’” *On Idolatry* ch.12 p.68

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “whose ‘ravens, too, neither sow nor reap, nor gather into storehouses, and are yet fed’ by Himself; whose ‘lilies and grass also toil not, nor spin, and yet are clothed’ by Him; whose ‘Solomon, moreover, was transcendent in glory, and yet was not arrayed like’ the humble flower.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.29 p.397

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) quotes Matthew 6:25m (mid 1/6 quote), 6:26 (full quote), 6:27a (half quote) “And these precepts of our Lord, ‘Take no thought what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink. Behold the fowls of the air, or behold the ravens: for they sow not, neither do they reap; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. How much better are ye than they! And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field;’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 7 ch.24 p.620

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/254-256/257 A.D.) ch.5 p.659 quotes all of Matthew 6:27-28 as by the Lord in the gospel.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) (implied) quoted all of Matthew 6:26. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.11 p.535-536

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) (implied) quotes Matthew 6:31. *Treatise of Cyprian* Treatise 4 ch.21 p.453

## Pc5. Lose your life for My sake to find it

Matthew 10:39

(implied) John 12:25

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 13.23-29a p.64 quotes all of Matthew 10:36-42

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) quotes Matthew 10:39m (13 not 2 2 words quoted); John 12:25a (8/21 words quoted). *Stromata* book 4 ch.6 p.413

**Tertullian** (205 A.D.) quotes all of Matthew 10:39. *Scorpiace* ch.11 p.644

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) quotes a Matthew 10:39f (9/17 words quoted). *Origen’s Commentary on Matthew* book 12 ch.20 p.462

## Pc6. be peacemakers or seek peace

Matthew 5:9; James 3:18; Psalm 34:14

Having peace and praying for peace are not included here.

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile. Depart from evil, and do good; seek peace, and pursue it.” *1 Clement* ch.22 p.22

***The Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) ch.4.3 p.378 “3. Thou shalt not long for division, but shalt bring those who contend to peace. Thou shalt judge righteously, thou shalt not respect persons in reproving for transgressions.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (192-202 A.D.) (implied) “If these things have been adduced by me with too great asperity, in order to effect the salvation which follows from your correction; they have been spoken also, says the Instructor, by me: ‘Since he who reproves with boldness is a peacemaker.’” *Stromata* book 3 ch.12 p.292

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) (partial) “These, moreover, are the proverbs of ‘Solomon,’ that is to say, the ‘peacemaker,’ who, in truth, is Christ the Saviour.” *On Proverbs* p.172

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “*Blessed are the peacemakers*.... ‘ To the man who is a peacemaker in either sense there is in the Divine oracles nothing crooked or perverse, for they are all plain to those who understand.’” *Commentary on Matthew* book 2 ch.1 p.413

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “I beg also that there may be no lack, on your parts, of wisdom and carefulness to preserve peace” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 4 ch.2 p.282

## Pc7. We rejoice when afflicted

Matthew 5:11-12; Luke 6:22-23; Colossians 1:24; Hebrews 10:34; James 1:2-4; 1 Peter 4:13

Rejoice in suffering the Philippian Jailer

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Colossians 1:24

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Says to rejoice in suffering. 1 Peter 4:13

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) says to rejoice when we are persecuted, because great is our reward in heaven. Luke 6:23

**Evarestus** (c.169 A.D.) “While he spoke these and many other like things, he was filled with confidence and joy, and his countenance was full of grace, so that not merely did it not fall as if troubled by the things said to him, but, on the contrary, the proconsul was astonished, and sent his herald to proclaim in the midst of the stadium thrice, “Polycarp has confessed that he is a Christian.’” *Martyrdom of Polycarp* ch.12 p.41

***Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum*** (177 A.D.) in a graphic way tells of the joy of the testimony of those who were being tortured on p.781.

Tertullian (205 A.D.) quotes as “the marrow of the Scriptures” 1 Peter 2:20 and 1 Peter 4:12. “For, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ’s sufferings, do ye rejoice; that, when His glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy.” *Scorpiace* ch.12 p.645

Tertullian (205 A.D.) “As also in his Epistle to the Romans: “And not only so, but we glory in tribulations also, being sure that tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope; and hope maketh not ashamed.” *Scorpiace* ch.13 p.646

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “who having put off form Himself the principalities and powers, made a show of them openly, triumphing over them by His cross. And we are taught to rejoice when we suffer afflictions” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 6 ch.37 p.378

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201/205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) ch.6.1 p.704 “And they indeed rejoiced that they should have incurred any one of their Lord’s”

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201-205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) ch.6.3 p.705 Perpetua was in ecstasy after she was in prison after being gored by the cow.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Paul also testifies similar things, and speaks, saying: “We glory in the hope of the glory of God. And not only so, but we glory in tribulations also; knowing that tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope;” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 11 ch.9 p.501

**Pontus’ *Life and Passion of Cyprian*** (c.258 A.D.) discusses “glorious gore” yet Cyprian attained even to the perfect crown by the consummation of the Lord; so that in that very city in which he had in such wise lived, and in which he had been the first to do many noble deeds, he also was the first to decorate the insignia of his heavenly priesthood with glorious gore. What shall I do now? Between joy at his passion, and grief at still remaining, my mind is divided in different directions, and twofold affections are burdening a heart too limited for them. Shall I grieve that I was not his associate? But yet I must triumph in his victory. Shall I triumph at his victory? Still I grieve that I am not his companion.”

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265A.D.) “But we had also to bear by ourselves alone those ills with which they outraged us, and we had at the same time to sustain our part in those things which they either did to each other or suffered at each other’s hands; while again we rejoiced deeply in that peace of Christ which He imparted to us alone.” Epistle 12 ch.2 p.108

**Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon** vol.8 p.694 (events c.315 A.D.) says that the Christians rejoiced after Habib was tortured when he was about to be burned, “as he had not turned aside nor quitted his post”

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Acts of Paul and Thecla*** (before 207 A.D.) p.489 (implied) “in the place where he sat and taught her in the prison; and he ordered her too to be brought to the tribunal. And she came, exulting with joy.”

## Pc8. We rejoice – besides being afflicted

Luke 10:20; John 16:22,24; 17:13; Acts 16:34; Philippians 3:1; 1 Thessalonians 5:16; 2 Corinthians 2:3

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Philippians 3:1

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 16:22 no one will be able to take the joy from them.

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) says to rejoice because our names are written in heaven. Luke 10:20

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Luke 10:20; Acts 16:34

**p30** - 1 Thessalonians 4:12-13,16-17; 5:3,8-10,12-18,25-28; 2 Thessalonians 1:1-2; 2:1,9-11 (25 verses) (ca.225 A.D.) “Rejoice always” 1 Thessalonians 5:16

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) at the very end of his letter mentions wanting to rejoice at hearing of the unity of the Corinthians when his messengers return. *1 Clement* ch.59 p.21

**Ignatius of Antioch**(-107/116 A.D.) says he rejoiced exceedingly in the passion of Jesus. *Letter of Ignatius to the Philadelphians* preface p.79

Ignatius of Antioch(-107/116 A.D.) “May I have joy of you for ever!” *Ignatius’ Letter to Polycarp* ch.6 p.95

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.4 p.139 “that we may rejoice in His ordinances.”

**Polycarp’s** ***Letter to the Philippians*** (100-155 A.D.) ch.1 p.33 says he greatly rejoiced with the Philippians because they follow the example of true love. Then he says, “In whom, though now ye see Him not, ye believe, and believing, rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory”

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) in book 2 commandment 5 ch.2 p.23 says “joyful, rejoicing, free from care, glorifying God at all times.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “there is joy afforded to those who expect the immortality promised by Him.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.42 p.177

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 15.36 p.67 quotes Lk 10:20.

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “And that we should be kindly disposed, not only towards those of our own stock, as some suppose, Isaiah the prophet said: ‘Say to those that hate you, and that cast you out, Ye are our brethren, that the name of the Lord may be glorified, and be apparent in their joy.’” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.14 p.115

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “in order that both the sower and the reaper may rejoice together in the kingdom” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.25.3 p.496

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “And they shall come and rejoice in Mount Zion, and shall come to what is good, and into a land of wheat, and wine, and fruits, of animals and of sheep;” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.34.3 p.564

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201-205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) ch.2.4 p.701 tells of the joy of Dinocrates in heaven, though he died of cancer when he was seven years old.

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “And at this his arrival I cannot express in words with how great and with how impatient a joy I exulted, since the unexpected presence of a man so very dear to me greatly enhanced my gladness.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.2 p.173

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “He rejoices in good things present, and is glad on account of those promised, as if they were already present.” *Stromata* book 7 ch.7 p.536

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) “Isaac only bore the wood of the sacrifice, as the Lord the wood of the cross. And he laughed mystically, prophesying that the Lord should fill us with joy, who have been redeemed from corruption by the blood of the Lord.” *The Instructor* book 1 ch.5 p.215 and 1 ch.5 p.213.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “If we rejoice with the world, there is reason to fear that with the world we shall grieve too. But when the world rejoices, let us grieve; and when the world afterward grieves, we shall rejoice. Thus, too, Eleazar [Lazarus] in Hades, (attaining refreshment in Abraham’s bosom) and the rich man, (on the other hand, set in the torment of fire) compensate, by an answerable retribution, their alternate vicissitudes of evil and good.” *On Idolatry* ch.13 p.69

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “rejoice in the Lord; for He hath clothed me with the garment of salvation and with the tunic of joy, as a bridegroom.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.11 p.361

**Asterius Urbanus** (c.232 A.D.) “I did in such manner that the church rejoiced and was strengthed in the truth, while the adversaries were forthwith routed, and the opponents put to grief.” *The Exordium* p.335

**Hippolytus of Portus** (223-234/5 A.D.) “Ye died with Christ; and ye will live with Christ. Hear ye, and rejoice;” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.31 p.210

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) says to be joyful. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.58 p.214.

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “Some trust in chariots and some in horses, but we will rejoice in the name” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 1 ch.42 p.320

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “for these pleasures, so as to rejoice in our food.” *On Jewish Meats* ch.5 p.649

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “‘Rejoice with me; for my sheep which was lost is found. I say,’ says He,”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) says that we will rejoice with greater joy for having escaped “earthly contacts”. *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 1 ch.6 p.277

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) speaks of the joy of seeing other believers. *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 80 ch.1 p.407

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “For unity and peace and concord afford the greatest pleasure not only to men who believe and know the truth, but also to heavenly angels themselves, to whom the divine word says it is a joy when one sinner repents and returns to the bond of unity.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 74 ch.2 p.390

**Lucian** to Celerinus (c.246-258 A.D.) “whereby I know how you love the faith, and how zealous you are for Christ’s discipline, in which I know and rejoice that you are actively occupied.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 21 ch.1 p.299

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265A.D.) “rejoice exceedingly at the peace which has been restored beyond all expectation.” Epistle 5 Which is the first on the subject of baptism addressed to Stephen, bishop of Rome p.101

Dionysius of Alexandria (246-265 A.D.) “at which it is proper to begin their rejoicing over our Lord’s rising from the dead.” 5. *Letter to Bishop Basilides* Canon I p.95

**Anatolius** (270-280 A.D.) “as He Himself also says: ‘Rejoice with Me; for I have found the sheep which I had lost.’” *Paschal Canon* ch.10 p.149

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) says to sing joyfully to God. *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 4 ch.3 p.323

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “I indeed rejoice that all things which are esteemed blessings turn out prosperously to you, but only on conditions of their changing nothing of your state of mind.” *On the Workmanship of God* ch.1 p.281

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “We might learn from religion faith, purity, and mercy” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.60 p.247

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) discusses our religion as good. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.4.10 p.88

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Methodius** (after 312 A.D.) “And those below, joining in harmony with the joyous hymns of heaven, cried: ‘Hosanna in the highest, Hosanna to the Son of David.’” *Oration on the Psalms* ch.2 p.395

***Acts of Paul and Thecla*** (before 207 A.D.) p.487 (implied) “And Paul having gone into the house of Onesiphorus, there was great joy, and bending of knees, and breaking of bread,”

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.25 p.84 mentions rejoicing when someone finds the truth.

***The Valentinian Letter of Peter to Philip*** (c.300 A.D.) *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* p.434 speaks of gladness.

## Pc9. Be content with what you have

(implied) Matthew 6:25-34

Romans 12:10; 1 Peter 5:5

Hebrews 13:5

1 Timothy 6:6-8

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Hebrews 13:5

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Content with the provision God had made for you, and carefully attending to His words, ye were inwardly filled with His doctrine,…” *1 Clement* ch.2 p.5

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) speaks against covetousness in *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.11.3 p.538. He speaks against emulation and refers to Galatians 5:19 in *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.11.1 p.537

**Clement of Alexandria**: (193-202 A.D.) “ye who, while still in the body, like the just men of old, enjoy impassibility and tranquility of soul. *Stromata* book 4 ch.5 p.419

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) mentions repudiating covetousness and love of money, and being patient when you have a business loss. “Willingly, therefore, let us lose things earthly, let us keep things heavenly.” *On Patience* ch.7 p.711-712.

**Novatian (**250/4-256/7 A.D.) quotes all of 1 Timothy 6:8. On Jewish Meats ch.6 p.649.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes 1 Timothy 6:7-10 (full quote) as the first to Timothy. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.61 p.550

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) covetousness is a great evil. *Canonical Epistle* canon 2 p.18

## Pc10. No selfish ambition

Galatians 5:26; Philippians 2:3; James 3:14-16

Galatians 3:16 envy and self-seeking

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Galatians 5:26; Philippians 2:3

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “and if we follow the way of truth, casting away from us all unrighteousness and iniquity, along with all covetousness, strife, evil practices, deceit, whispering, and evil-speaking, all hatred of God, pride and haughtiness, vainglory and ambition.” *1 Clement* ch.35 p.14

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “For they have heard in the commandment that ‘the broad and wide way leadeth to destruction, and many there are who go in by it.’ It is not of anything else that the assertion is made, but of profligacy, and love of women, and love of glory, and ambition, and similar passions.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.6 p.415

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Valentinus had expected to become a bishop, because he was an able man both in genius and eloquence. Being indignant, however, that another obtained the dignity by reason of a claim which confessorship had given him, he broke with the church of the true faith. Just like those (restless) [human] spirits which, when roused by ambition, are usually inflamed with the desire of revenge, he applied himself with all his might to exterminate the truth; and finding the clue of a certain old opinion, he marked out a path for himself with the subtlety of a serpent.” *Against the Valentinians* ch.4 p.505

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) (partial) in numerus places speaks against pride in *Five Books Against Marcion*.

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “forbids ambition to His disciples: ‘Whoever of you will be the chiefest, shall’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 7 ch.23 p.620

&&&***Treatise on Rebaptism*** (254-257 A.D.) &&&

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Thence arises hatred, thence proceeds animosity. Jealousy inflames avarice, in that one cannot be content with what is his own, while he sees another more wealthy. Jealousy stirs up ambition, when one sees another more exalted in honours.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 10 ch.6 p.492

**Pontius** (258 A.D.) “-the contempt of this world’s ambition, than which nothing is more” *Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.2 p.268

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (implied) “for if you should hear them arguing against avarice, against lust and ambition,” *The Divine Institutes* book 3 ch.15 p.84

## Pc11. Do not envy or be jealous

Matthew 20:9-16 (implied) parable of the workers in the vineyard

Luke 15:25-31 (implied) parable of the prodigal son

James 3:14-16

1 Timothy 6:4

Galatians 3:16 envy and self-seeking

Do not be conceited, envying or gloating over others. Galatians 5:20-26; Mark 7:22; Romans 1:29b; 1 Corinthians 13:4; Titus 3:3; 1 Peter 2:1; Proverbs 3:31; 23:17; 24:1,17. Envy is unhealthy. Proverbs 14:30; Job 5:2.

No dissensions, jealousy, or quarreling. Romans 13:13; 1 Corinthians 3:3; 2 Corinthians 12:20

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Romans 13:9

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. No hypocrisy or envy. 1 Peter 2:1

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) mentions sins of emulation, envy, strife and sedition, persecution and disorder, war and captivity in *1 Clement* ch.3 p.5. He also speaks of ungodly envy in *1 Clement* ch.3 p.6 and warns against it in *1 Clement* ch.4 vol.9 p.230

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) “On account of envy, Aaron and Miriam had to make their abode without the camp. Envy brought down Dathan and Abiram alive to Hades, through the sedition which they excited against God’s servant Moses.” *1 Clement* ch.4 *ANF* vol.1 p.6

**Ignatius** (-107/116 A.D.) “Do not let envy find a dwelling place among you;” *Ignatius’ Letter to the Romans* ch.7 p.76

***The Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.5.1 p.379 “And the way of death is this: First of all it is evil and full of curse: murders, adulteries, lusts, fornications, thefts, idolatries, magic arts, witchcrafts, rapines, false witnessings, hypocrisies, double-heartedness, deceit, haughtiness, depravity, self-will, greediness, filthy talking, jealousy, over-confidence, loftiness, boastfulness;”

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 eighth Similitude ch.7 p.42 “And they who gave in their branches green and cracked were always faithful and good, though emulous of each other about the foremost places, and about fame: now all these are foolish, in indulging in such a rivalry.”

***2 Clement*** vol.9 ch.3 p.229-230 (120-140 A.D.) says we are to love one another, by not committing adultery, speaking evil of one another, or cherishing envy.

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “For what is the use of that baptism which cleanses the flesh and body alone? Baptize the soul from wrath and from covetousness, from envy, and from hatred; and, lo! the body is pure. For this is the symbolic significance of unleavened bread, that you do not commit the old deeds of wicked leaven.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.14 p.201.

**Evarestus** (c.169 A.D.) (implied) “But when the adversary of the race of the righteous, the envious, malicious, and wicked one, perceived the impressive nature of his martyrdom, and [considered] the blameless life he had led from the beginning, and how he was now crowned with the wreath of immortality, having beyond dispute received his reward,” *Martyrdom of Polycarp* ch.17 p.42

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “Do you, therefore, show me yourself, whether you are not an adulterer, or a fornicator, or a thief, or a robber, or a purloiner; whether you do not corrupt boys; whether you are not insolent, or a slanderer, or passionate, or envious, or proud, or supercilious; whether you are not a brawler, or covetous, or disobedient to parents; and whether you do not sell your children; for to those who do these things God is not manifest, unless they have first cleansed themselves from all impurity.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.2 p.89

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.)hatreds, contentions jealousies, wraths, emulations, animosities, irritable speeches, dissensions, heresies, envyings, drunkenness, carousings, and such like; of which I warn you, as also I have warned you, that they who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.” *Against Heresies* book 5 ch.11.1 p.537

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) “This commandment the man kept not, but was disobedient to God, being led astray by the angel who, for the great gifts of God which He had given to man, was envious and jealous of him, and both brought himself to nought and made man sinful, persuading him to disobey the commandment of God.” *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.16

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “For ye are yet carnal; for whereas there is among you envy and strife, are ye not carnal, and walk as men?” Which things are the choice of those men who are sinners.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.4 p.450. See also *Stromata* book 4 ch.6 p.415.

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) “Let us not be desirous of vainglory, provoking one another, envying one another.” (Galatians 5:25-26) *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.294. See also *The Instructor* book 1 ch.6 p.218.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “It betakes itself for refuge to the veil of the head as to a helmet, as to a shield, to protect its glory against the blows of temptations, against the dam of scandals, against suspicions and whispers and emulation; (against) envy also itself.” *On the Veiling of Virgins* ch.15 p.36

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222/235/6 A.D.) “And the ‘left’ indicates envy, robberies, and the like.” *Hippolytus’ Commentary on Proverbs* ch.11 p.172

**Julius Africanus** (235-245 A.D.) (implied) “And when Antipater was treacherously slain through envy of his great good fortune, his son Herod succeeded him, who was afterwards appointed king of Judea under Antony and Augustus by a decree of the senate.” *Letter to Aristides* ch.4 p.127

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (c.240 A.D.) “there are those calling themselves Gnostics who are envious of those in their own house more than strangers.” *Excerpts from Theodotus* ch.28 p.47

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “In desiring, thence thou perishest, whilst thou art burning with envy of thy neighbour. Thou extinguishest thyself, when thou inflamest thyself within.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.64 p.215-216

Commodianus (c.240 A.D.) says not to be jealous. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.63 p.215

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “while with Jesus there were not only at the time we speak of, the twelve disciples, but many more at all times, who, becoming a band of temperate men, speak in the following terms of their former lives: ‘For we ourselves also were sometimes foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful, and hating one another. But after that the kindness and love of God our Saviour towards man appeared, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which He shed upon us richly,’ we became such as we are.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.64 p.425

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “So that he [humanity] might receive as a consequence both worthy rewards and a deserved punishment, having in his own power that which he might choose to do, by the tendency of his mind in either direction: whence, therefore, by envy, mortality comes back upon him; seeing that, although he might escape it by obedience, he rushes into it by hurrying to be God under the influence of perverse counsel.” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.1 p.612

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.14 p.661 “Saul, that once good man, besides other things, is subsequently overthrown by envy, and strives to do everything that is harsh and hostile against David.”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Error deceives as the adversary rages more and more; senselessness lifts up, envy inflames, covetousness makes blind, impiety depraves, pride puffs up, discord exasperates, anger hurries headlong.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 1 ch.16 p.426

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “And he who is not haughty in prosperity, obtains glory for his humility; and he who is disposed to the mercifulness of cherishing the poor, obtains the retribution of a heavenly treasure; and he who knows not to be jealous, and who with one heart and in meekness loves his brethren, is” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 10 ch.15 p.495

**Pontius** (258 A.D.) “Who was there to restrain the ill blood arising from the envenomed malignity of envy, with the sweetness of a wholesome remedy?” *Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.7 p.269

**Nemesianus of Thubunae** (258 A.D.) at *The Seventh Council of Carthage* p.566 quotes Galatians 5:19-21 about no jealousies in the context of church unity and division.

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) “And it became clear to me also how great is the envy which follows a man from his neighbours, like the sting of a wicked spirit; and *I saw* that he who receives it, and takes it as it were into his breast, has nothing else but to eat his own heart, and tear it, and consume both soul and body, finding inconsolable vexation in the good fortune of others.” *Metaphrase of Ecclesiastes* ch.4 p.11

**Theonas of Alexandria** (282-300 A.D.) “let there be no jealousy among you or contentiousness, which might bring you into all manner of confusion and division” *Letter of Theonas, Bishop of Alexandria, to Lucianus, the Chief Chamberlain* ch.8 p.161

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) (implied) “Of the healing in (the name of) Christ of the man lame from his birth; and of the discourse of Peter, in which he reasons and sympathizes and counsels with respect to his salvation. And here we have \* the interposition of the chief priests through jealousy of what had taken place, and their judgment on the miracle, and Peter’s confession of the power and grace of Christ.” *An Exposition of Acts* section D vol.6 p.166

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “I said that the beginning of evil was envy, and that it arose from man’s being distinguished by God with higher honour. Now evil is disobedience to the commandment of God.” *Concerning Free Will* p.363

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “Is not this a kind of malice and of greed? is it not a species of base envy, to wish their own fortunes only to rise,-those of others to be lowered, and to be trodden down in despised lowliness?” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.36 p.422

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) in talking about the devil says, “From which it appears that the source of all evils is envy. For he envied his predecessor” *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.9 p.52

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) (implied) “But if even you from malic and envy hesitate to admit our true testimony, …” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 15 ch.61 p.52

**Among heretics**

**Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) (implied) “But your [Greek pagans’] proceedings are full of envy and abundant stupidity.” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.32 p.78

The Sethian Gnostic ***Apocryphon of John*** (c.150-185 A.D.) ch.18 p.115 shows that envy and jealousy are wrong as well as pride.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 7 ch.2 p.157 speaks of the evil of envy.

Revised Valentinian ***Tripartite Tract*** (200-250 A.D.) part 2 ch.14 p.96 (implied) shows that envy and being jealous are bad.

## Pc12. No rivalry

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “when the blessed Moses also, ‘a faithful servant in all his house,’ noted down in the sacred books all the injunctions which were given him, and when the other prophets also followed him, bearing witness with one consent to the ordinances which he had appointed? For, when rivalry arose concerning the priesthood, and the tribes were contending among themselves as to which of them should be adorned with that glorious title, he commanded the twelve princes of the tribes to bring him their rods, each one being inscribed with the name of the tribe.” *1 Clement* ch.43 p.16

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 eighth Similitude ch.7 p.42 “And they who gave in their branches green and cracked were always faithful and good, though emulous of each other about the foremost places, and about fame: now all these are foolish, in indulging in such a rivalry.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “It therefore follows, that every one of those who undertake to promote the good of their neighbours, ought to consider whether he has betaken himself to teaching rashly and out of rivalry to any; if his communication of the word is out of vainglory; if the only reward he reaps is the salvation of those who hear, and if he speaks not in order to win favour: if so, he who speaks by writings escapes the reproach of mercenary motives.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.1 p.300

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “What we are ourselves, that also the Scriptures are (and have been) from the beginning. Of them we have our being, before there was any other way, before they were interpolated by you. Now, inasmuch as all interpolation must be believed to be a later process, for the express reason that it proceeds from rivalry which is never in any case previous to nor home-born with that which it emulates, it is as incredible to every man of sense that we should seem to have introduced any corrupt text into the Scriptures, existing, as we have been, from the very first, and being the first, as it is that they have not in fact introduced it who are both later in date and opposed (to the Scriptures). One man perverts the Scriptures with his hand, another their meaning by his exposition. For although Valentinus seems to use the entire volume, he has none the less laid violent hands on the truth only with a more cunning mind and skill than Marcion. Marcion expressly and openly used the knife, not the pen, since he made such an excision of the Scriptures as suited his own subject-matter.” *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.28 p.256

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) quotes Philippians that some preach Christ out of envy and rivalry, but others out of good will. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.20 p.472

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) says no enmity or dissension. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 77 homily 4 ch.8 p.333

**Alexander of Lycopolis** (301 A.D.) “And there being no rule nor law by which a solution may be obtained of the things which are called in question, but, as in other matters, this ambitious rivalry running out into excess, there is nothing to which it does not cause damage and injury.” *Of the Manichaeans* ch.1 p.241

**Among heretics**

**Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “I have seen men weighed down by bodily exercise, and carrying about the burden of their flesh, before whom rewards and chaplets are set, while the adjudicators cheer them on, not to deeds of virtue, but to rivalry in violence and discord; and he who excels in giving blows is crowned.” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.23 p.75

## Pc13. No strife / striving in the flesh

Contention is included, but striving in the sense of working hard is not included here.

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Why are there strifes, and tumults, and divisions, and schisms, and wars among you? Have we not [all] one God and one Christ? Is there not one Spirit of grace poured out upon us? … Why do we divide and tear to pieces the member of Christ, and raised up strife against our own body, and have reached such a height of madness as to forget that ‘we are members one of another?’” *1 Clement* ch.46 p.17

**Ignatius of Antioch** (106-117 A.D.) “Let not then any one deceive you, as indeed ye are not deceived, inasmuch as ye are wholly devoted to God. For since there is no strife raging among you which might distress you, ye are certainly living in accordance with God’s will.” *Epistle of Ignatus to the Ephesians* [Greek version] ch.8 p.52

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 eighth similitude ch.7 p.42 (implied) “But if any one relapse into strife, he will be east out of the tower, and will lose his life.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “For we ought not to strive; neither has He desired us to be imitators of wicked men, but He has exhorted us to lead all men, by patience and gentleness, from shame and the love of evil.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.16 p.168

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) “These have conquered me-the divinity of the instruction, and the power of the Word: for as a skilled serpent-charmer lures the terrible reptile from his den and causes it to flee, so the Word drives the fearful passions of our sensual nature from the very recesses of the soul; first driving forth lust, through which every ill is begotten-hatreds, strife, envy, emulations, anger, and such like.” *Greek Theogony Exposed* ch.5 (no page number)

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) (implied) quoted approvingly from the Sibyl “Then rose among mankind fierce strife and hate.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.31 p.106

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “‘For when envying and strife,’ he [Paul] says, ‘and dissensions are among you, are ye not carnal, and walk as men?’ That is, that the Spirit of the Father was not yet with them, on account of their imperfection and shortcomings of their walk in life.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 34 ch.38.2 p.521

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “For ye are yet carnal; for whereas there is among you envy and strife, are ye not carnal, and walk as men?” Which things are the choice of those men who are sinners.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.4 p.450. See also *Stromata* book 4 ch.6 p.415 and *Stromata* book 5 ch.1 p.445

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Some persons wonder that those whom they had known to be unsteady, worthless, *or* wicked before they bore this name, have been suddenly converted to virtuous courses; and yet they better know how to wonder (at the change) than to attain to it; others are so obstinate in their strife as to do battle with their own best interests, which they have it in their power to secure by intercourse with that hated name.” *To the Nations* book 1 ch.4 p.112

**Hippolytus** (222-235/236 A.D.) (implied) “Because iniquity is opposed to righteousness, Esau is excited to strife, and meditates death deceitfully, saying in his heart, ‘Let the days of the mourning for my father come on, and I will slay my brother Jacob.’” Fragment 3 p.169

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “Twice dost thou sin against God, if thou extendest strifes to thy brother; whence thou shalt not avoid sin following thy former courses.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.47 p.212

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “For the word is used by our Paul in writing to the Corinthians, who were Greeks, and not yet purified in their morals: ‘I have fed you with milk, not with meat; for hitherto ye were not able to bear it, neither yet now are ye able, for ye are yet carnal: for whereas there is among you envying and strife, are ye not carnal, and walk as men?’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 3 ch.53 p.485

***Treatise on Rebaptism*** (254-257 A.D.) ch.1 p.667 “For everything which is both doubtful and ambiguous, and is established in opinions differing *among those* of prudent and faithful men, if it is judged to be against the ancient and memorable and most solemn observance of all those holy and faithful men who have deserved well, ought assuredly to be condemned; since in a matter once arranged and ordained, whatever that is which is brought forward against the quiet and peace of the Church, will result in nothing but discords, and strifes, and schisms.”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these; adulteries, fornications, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, murders, hatred, variance, emulations, wraths, strife, seditions, dissensions, heresies, envyings, drunkenness, revellings, and such like: of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in times past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 4 ch.16 p.452

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “What shall I say of anger, of discord, of strife, which things ought not to be found in a Christian? Let there be patience in the breast, and these things cannot have place there; or should they try to enter, they are quickly excluded and depart, that a peaceful abode may continue in the heart, where it delights the God of peace to dwell.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 9 ch.19 p.488

Dionysius of Alexandria (246-265 A.D.) (partial) “I learned this besides, that this custom is not now first of all imported among the Africans alone; but moreover, long before, in the times of former bishops, among most populous churches, and that when synods of the brethren of Iconium and Synades were held, it also pleased as many as possible, I should be unwilling, by overturning their judgments, to throw them into strifes and contentious.” Letter 7 p.103

**Alexander of Lycopolis** (301 A.D.) (implied) “And by these the formation of morals is hindered and rendered obscure; for those do not attain unto certain verity of discourse who wish to become the heads of the sects, and the common people is to a greater degree excited to strife and contention.” *Of the Manichaeans* ch.1 p.241

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “and do not hesitate, for the sake of their conjectures, to raise and bring up questions that cause much strife,-bade us abandon and disregard all these things of which you speak, and not waste our thoughts upon things which have been removed far from our knowledge, but, as much as possible, seek the Lord of the universe with the whole mind and spirit;” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.60 p.457

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (c.318 A.D.) (implied) “2. Who, that sees the so-called gods at irreconcilable strife among themselves at Troy on account of the Greeks and Trojans, will fail to recognise their feebleness, in that because of their mutual jealousies they egged on even mortals to strife?” *Athanasius Against the Heathen* ch.12.2 p.11

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “But some, enticed by the prediction of false prophets, concerning whom both the true prophets and he himself had foretold, fell away from the knowledge of God, and left the true tradition. But all of these, ensnared by frauds of demons, which they ought to have foreseen and guarded against, by their carelessness lost the name and worship of God. For when they are called Phrygians, or Novarians, or Valentinians, or Marcionites, or Anthropians, or Arians, or by any other name they have ceased to be Christians, who have lost the name of Christ, and assumed human and external names. Therefore it is the Catholic Church alone which retains true worship. This is the fountain of truth, this is the abode of the faith, this is the temple of God; into which if any one shall not enter, or from which if any shall go out, he is estranged from the hope of life and eternal salvation. No one ought to flatter himself with persevering strife. For the contest is respecting life and salvation, which, unless it is carefully and diligently kept in view, will be lost and extinguished. But, however, because all the separate assemblies of heretics call themselves Christians in preference to others, and think that theirs is the Catholic Church, it must be known that the true Catholic Church is that in which there is confession and repentance, which treats in a wholesome manner the sins and wounds to which the weakness of the flesh is liable.” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.30 p.133-134.

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “For the pantomime is a school of corruption, in which things which are shameful are acted by a figurative representation, that the things which are true may be done without shame. These spectacles are viewed by youths, whose dangerous age, which ought to be curbed and governed, is trained by these representations to vices and sins. The circus, in truth, is considered more innocent, but there is greater madness in this, since the minds of the spectators are transported with such great madness, that they not only break out into revilings, but often rise to strifes, and battles, and contentions. Therefore all shows are to be avoided, that we may be able to maintain a tranquil state of mind. We must renounce hurtful pleasures, lest, charmed by pestilential sweetness, we fall into the snares of death.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.63 p.240

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Ignatius** (after 117 A.D.) “Wherefore Paul exhorts as follows: ‘The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle towards all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves.’” *Epistle to the Ephesians* (longer version) ch.10 p.54

## Pc14. Do not covet

Exodus 20:17; Deuteronomy 5:21; Proverbs 28:16; Micah 2:2; Lk 12:15; Romans 7:7; 13:9; 1 Corinthians 6:10; Ephesians 5:3; Colossians 3:5; Hebrews 13:5; James 4:2; 2 Peter 2:14

(implied) Jeremiah 22:17; Acts 20:33

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “and if we follow the way of truth, casting away from us all unrighteousness and iniquity, along with all covetousness, strife, evil practices, deceit, whispering, and evil-speaking, all hatred of God, pride and haughtiness, vainglory and ambition.” *1 Clement* ch.35 p.14. See also col.9 ch.35.

***Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.2.1-4 p.377 Do not commit murder, adultery, corrupt boys, magic, witchcraft, “murder a child by abortion, nor kill that which is begotten”, covet, steal, bear false witness. See also *Didache* ch.5 p.379.

***Epistle of Barnabas*** ch.19 p.148 (c.70-130 A.D.) says we are not to covet what is our neighbor’s or be avaricious.

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) “abstaining from all wrath, respect of persons, and unjust judgment; keeping far off from all covetousness,” *Letter to the Philippians* ch.6 p.34

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “For what is the use of that baptism which cleanses the flesh and body alone? Baptize the soul from wrath and from covetousness, from envy, and from hatred; and, lo! the body is pure. For this is the symbolic significance of unleavened bread, that you do not commit the old deeds of wicked leaven.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.14 p.201.

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “How can it possibly be other than unjust for the soul to be judged by itself in respect of things towards which in its own nature it feels no appetite, no motion, no impulse, such as licentiousness, violence, covetousness, injustice, and the unjust acts arising out of these?” *On the Resurrection of the Dead* ch.21 p.160

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “But the monsters of the deep and the birds of prey are a similitude of covetous men and transgressors.” *To Autolycus* book 2 ch.16 p.101

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “and the apostle says, “Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, not effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.27.4 p.500

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “not laying aside God’s handiwork, but the lusts of the flesh, and receiving the Holy Spirit; as the apostle says in the Epistle to the Colossians: [3:5] ‘Mortify, therefore, your members which are upon the earth.’ And what these are he himself explains: ‘Fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, evil concupiscence; and covetousness, which is idolatry.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.12.3 p.538

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) (implied) says a godly person does not desire the possessions of others. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.36 p.195

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “‘Take heed, therefore, of covetousness. For a man’s life does not consist in the abundance of those things which he possesses. For what shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?’” *Stromata* book 4 ch.6 p.415

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “If we think over the rest of faults, tracing them from their generations, let us begin with covetousness, ‘a root of all evils,’ wherewith, indeed, some having been ensnared, ‘have suffered shipwreck about faith.’ Albeit covetousness is by the same apostle called *idolatry*.” *On Idolatry* ch.11 p.67

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) says not to desire other men’s things. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.48 p.212

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “as the Apostle says, ‘If any one that is named a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, etc., with such an one not to eat;’” *Commentary on Matthew* book 13 ch.30 p.492

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Error deceives as the adversary rages more and more; senselessness lifts up, envy inflames, covetousness makes blind, impiety depraves, pride puffs up, discord exasperates, anger hurries headlong.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 1 ch.16 p.426. See also Treatise 8 ch.10 p.479

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) “‘For fornication,’ it says, ‘and covetousness *are things* on account of which the wrath of God cometh upon the children of disobedience. Be not ye therefore partakers with them.’” *Canonical Epistle* canon 2 p.18

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) observed, “And sorrowful also is the solicitude connected with covetousness: it does not so much gratify those who are successful in it, as it pains those who are unsuccessful; while the day is spent in laborious anxieties, and the night puts sleep to flight from the eyes, with the cares of making gain. Vain, therefore, is the zeal of the man who looks to these things.” *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* ch.2 verse 22 p.113

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “And is there a man with any sense of reason who thinks that the world was established because of them, and not rather that it was set up as a seat and home, in which every *kind of* wickedness should be committed daily, all evil deeds be done, plots, impostures, frauds, covetousness, robberies, violence, impiety, *all that is* presumptuous, indecent, base, disgraceful, *and* all the other evil deeds which men devise over all the earth with guilty purpose, and contrive for each other’s ruin?” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.43 p.450-451

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “Therefore was it said, I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet’” *Discourse on the Resurrection* part 3 ch.2 A Synopsis of Some Apostolic Words from the Same Discourse ch.1 p.371

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “He will not steal, nor will he covet anything at all belonging to another.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.64 p.249

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) speaks against covetousness. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 8 ch.12 p.26

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 6 ch.10 p.155 says not to covet.. See also ibid homily 1 ch.18 p.227.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 1 ch.18 p.227 says we are not to covet.

## Pc15. Be humble or not proud

Matthew 5:5; 20:24-28; Luke 14:8-10; Romans 12:10; 1 Corinthians 13:4; James 4:6; 1 Peter 3:8; 5:5-6; Prov 3:34

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) 1 Corinthians 13:4

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) Luke 14:8-10

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Matthew 20:24-28; Luke 14:8-10

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Be humble and not proud. 1 Peter 3:8; 5:5-6

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Moreover, ye were all distinguished by humility, and were in no respect puffed up with pride but yielded obedience rather than extorted it, and were more willing to give than to receive.” *1 Clement* ch.2 p.5. He also speaks against pride in *1 Clement* ch.30 p.13

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) says we are to praise God, not ourselves and not have arrogance. *1 Clement* ch.30 vol.1 p.13

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) says to “be meek in response to wrath, humble in opposition to boasting, … and for their cruelty, manifest your gentleness. While we take care not to imitate their conduct, let us be found their brethren in all true kindness; and let us seek to be followers of the Lord…” *Letter of Ignatius to the Ephesians* ch.10 p.55

Ignatius of Antioch (110-117 A.D.) “Let not [high] place puff any one up: for that which is worth all is faith and love, to which nothing is to be preferred. But consider those who are of a different opinion with respect to the grace of Christ which has come unto us, how opposed they are to the will of God. They have no regard for love; no care for the widow, or the orphan, or the oppressed; of the bond, or of the free; of the hungry, or of the thirsty.” *Epistle to the Smyrnaeans* ch.6 (Greek) p.89

***Didache*** (=*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*) (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.5 p.379 mentions haughtiness as part of the way of death. We should be meek.

*Didache* (before 125 A.D.) ch.3 p.378 “My child, be not a lustful one; for lust leadeth the way to fornication; neither a filthy talker, nor of lofty eye; for out of all these adulteries are engendered.”

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 Similitude ninth ch.22 p.51 has an entire short chapter on those who were punished for being vain, exalting themselves. “empty confidence is a great demon.”

***Tatian’s Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 8.29 p.56 quotes the Sermon on the mount, including “Blessed are the humble: for they shall inherit the earth.” (Matthew 5:5)

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “as Esaias also says, ‘There shall come forth a rod from the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise from his root; and the Spirit of God shall rest upon Him: the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and piety, and the spirit of the fear of God, shall fill Him. He shall not judge according to glory, nor reprove after the manner of speech; but He shall dispense judgment to the humble man, and reprove the haughty ones of the earth.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.9.3 p.423

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) “Not according to opinion shall he judge, and not according to speech shall he reprove: but he shall judge judgment for the humble, and shew mercy to the humble of the earth.” *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.59

**Clement of Alexandria**: (193-202 A.D.) “Put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness, meekness, long-suffering. *Stromata* book 4 ch.5 p.419

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “No one, assuredly, is ‘poor in spirit,’ except he be humble. Well, who is humble, except he be patient?’ *On Patience* ch.6 p.714

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) speaks against pride and arrogance *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.33 p.404

**Commodianus** (240 A.D.) says we are to be humble. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.48 p.212

**Origen** (c.240 A.D.) speaks against being proud. *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 12 ch.8 p.121-122

Origen (239-242 A.D.) teaches were are to show mercy, kindness, humility, and patience. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 7 ch.3.1 p.101

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says not to be proud. *Origen On Prayer* ch.29.5 p.116

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.13 p.661 quotes Matthew 23:12 and discussing that we should not speak loftily and arrogantly. God gives grace to the humble. God destroys the proud but does not forsake the memory of the lowly.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “For, meek and humble in all things, as befits the servants of God, we ought to accommodate ourselves to the times, and to provide for quietness, and to have regard to the people.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 4 ch.2 p.282

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) says that pride and anger are bad. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.19 p.441

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “First of all, because He, who had come in humility that He might bring assistance to the humble and men of low degree, and might hold out to all the hope of safety, was to suffer by that kind of punishment by which the humble and low usually suffer, that there might be no one at all who might not be able to imitate Him.” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.26 p.128

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “For humility is dear and lovely in the sight of God;” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.67 p.151

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions “ungoverned pride” *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.2.19 p.84

**Among heretics**

The Sethian Gnostic ***Apocryphon of John*** (c.150-185 A.D.) ch.18 p.115 shows that envy, jealousy are wrong as well as pride.

Revised Valentinian ***Tripartite Tract*** (200-250 A.D.) part 2 ch.14 p.96 (implied) says that aeons should be humble and not proud.

## Pc16. Don’t be wise in your own eyes

Proverbs 3:7; 26:5,12; 28:11; Isaiah 5:21

(implied) Proverbs 3:5

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) “For the Scripture saith, “Woe to them who are wise to themselves, and prudent in their own sight!”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “Woe unto them that are wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight! Woe unto those that are mighty among you, who drink wine, who are men of strength, who mingle strong drink! who justify the wicked for a reward, and take away justice from the righteous!” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.133 p.266

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “The liars and the proud, too, He threatens; the former thus: ‘Woe to them that call bitter sweet, and sweet bitter;’ and the latter: ‘Woe unto them that are wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight.’” *The Instructor* book.3 ch.12 p.293

**Tertullian** (207-220 A.D.) “I now turn to another class, who are equally wise in their own conceit.” *On the Flesh of Christ* ch.10 p.530

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “Be not wise in your own conceits.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.14 p.461

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “And again ‘Let no man deceive himself. If any man think that he is wise among you, let him become a fool to this world, that he may be wise. For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God. For it is written, Thou shall rebuke the wise in their own craftiness.’ And again: ‘The Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wise, that they are foolish.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 third part ch.69 p.552

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) “martyrdom lest the devil should boast and seem ‘to be wise in his own conceit’” Canonical Epistle

## Pc17. Don’t be conceited

Psalm 36:2; Isaiah 16:6 (implied); Jeremiah 48:29; Rom 11:25; Gal 5:26; Rom 11:25; 1 Tim 3:6; 6:4; 2 Tim 3:4

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) (implied) “Foolish and inconsiderate men, who have neither wisdom(16) nor instruction, mock and deride us, being eager to exalt themselves in their own conceits.” *1 Clement* ch.39 (*ANF* vol.1) p.15

**Ignatius of Antioch** (100-1-7/116 A.D.) “If, therefore, ye also put away conceit, arrogance, disdain, and haughtiness, it will be your privilege to be inseparably united to God, for ‘He is nigh unto those that fear Him.’” *Epistle to the Trallians* ch.7 .68

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) (implied) “Let us then run over, if you choose, the opinions of the philosophers, to which they give boastful utterance, respecting the gods; that we may discover philosophy itself, through its conceit making an idol of matter; although we are able to show, as we proceed, that even while deifying certain demons, it has a dream of the truth.” *Second Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.5 p.190

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) (implied) “Now there can be no greater conceit than this, that any one should imagine he is better and more perfect than He who made and fashioned him, and imparted to him the breath of life, and commanded this very thing into existence.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.27.1 p.397

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) (implied) “As, then, philosophy has been brought into evil repute by pride and self-conceit, so also ghosts by false ghosts called by the same name; of which the apostle writing says, ‘O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding the profane and vain babblings and oppositions of science (gnosis) falsely so called; which some professing, have erred concerning the faith.’” *Stromata* book 2 ch.11 p.359

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “Be not wise in your own conceits.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.14 p.461

Tertullian (207-220 A.D.) (implied) “I now turn to another class, who are equally wise in their own conceit.” *On the Flesh of Christ* ch.10 p.530

Tertullian (c.213 A.D.) (implied) speaks of the “most conceited Monarchians” *Against Praxeas* ch.10 p.604

**Hippolytus** (222-235/2365 A.D.) (implied) “And again, the king [Nebuchadnezzar] --who was puffed up, as it seems, in his own conceit, and plumed himself on the power of his ancestors--is shown the vicissitude to which affairs are subject, and the end destined for all the kingdoms of earth, with the view of teaching him to lay aside his pride in himself, and understand that there is nothing stable among men,” Exegetical fragments *The interpretation by Hippolytus, (bishop) of Rome, of the visions of Daniel and Nebuchadnezzar* ch.2.31 p.187

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “For even if it be the case that gifts are bestowed to profit withal and not merely according to the proportion of faith, yet it would seem to be the part of a God who loves men and who sees before what harm must come from the rise of self-opinion or conceit, not to bestow sufficiency even on the worthy.” *Origen’s Commentary on John* ch.20 p.368

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) (implied) “Wherefore do you applaud yourself in those vain and silly conceits, as if you were withheld from good works by fear and solicitude for the future?” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 8 ch.13 p.479

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) (implied) “except only the productions of the atheists, who, in their conceits, lapse from the general intelligence of man, and deny that there is either a God or a providence.” *Panegyric to Origen* Argument 13 p.34

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) (implied) “Of what kind, my opponents ask, what, when? If you were free from presumption, arrogance, and conceit, you might have learned long ago from this teacher [the Lord].” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* ch.63 p.458

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) (implied) “impelled to war down and subdue the adversary who was exulting; for this they earnestly contended, that he might not seem "to be wise in his own conceit,"(4) on account of those things in which by reason of his subtlety they appeared to be inferior to him, even though it” *Canonical Epistle* Canon 11 p.275

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “for he dishonours it in that he is lifted up with pride, cleansing the outside of the cup and platter, that is, the flesh and the body, but injuring the heart by conceit and ambition. Nor when any one is conceited of riches is he desirous of honouring chastity; he dishonours it more than all, preferring a little gain to that to which nothing is comparable of those things that are in this life esteemed.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 11 ch.1 p.351

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318-325 A.D.) (implied) “For the more He is mocked among the unbelieving, the more witness does He give of His own Godhead; inasmuch as He not only Himself demonstrates as possible what then mistake, thinking impossible, but what men deride as unseemly, this by His own goodness He clothes with seemliness, and what men, in their conceit of wisdom, laugh at as merely human, He by His own power demonstrates to be divine,” *On the Incarnation of the Word* ch.2 p.37

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “'First then of the love of God thousands of examples are supplied by the constant and uninterrupted purity of their whole course of life, such as their abstinence from oaths, their freedom from falsehood, their belief that the Deity is the cause of all good and of no evil: examples too of their love of virtue, in their freedom from the love of money, of glory, of pleasure, in their continence, their endurance, also their frugality, simplicity, contentedness, their freedom from conceit, their obedience to law, their steadfastness, and all qualities of like character to these: examples also are seen of their love of man in good-will, equality, and community of interests surpassing all description, about which nevertheless it will not be out of season to say a few words.” *Preparation for the Gospel* ch.18

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Discourse on the End of the World*** (pseudo-Hippolytus) (after 235 A.D.) ch.9 p.244 “But being possessed of a vain conceit, and failing to read the Scriptures carefully, and not being of an upright mind, they will seek for a name which they shall be unable to find. For these things must first be; and thus the son of perdition--that is to say, the devil--must be seen.”

**Among heretics**

The Encratite Gnostic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “And these things severally it is possible for him to perceive who does not conceitedly reject those most divine explanations which in the course of time have been consigned to writing, and make those who study them great lovers of God.” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.12 p.70

## Pc18. We should be patient

Galatians 5:22; James 5:8

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “May God, who seeth all things, and who is the Ruler of all spirits and the Lord of all flesh-who chose our Lord Jesus Christ and us through Him to be a peculiar people- grant to every soul that calleth upon His glorious and holy Name, faith, fear, peace, patience, long-suffering, self-control, purity, and sobriety, to the well-pleasing of His Name, through our High Priest and Protector, Jesus Christ, by whom be to Him glory, and majesty, and power, and honour, both now and for evermore. Amen.” *1 Clement* ch.58 p.21

**Ignatius of Antioch** (100-107/116 A.D.) “For it was needful for me to have been stirred up by you in faith, exhortation, patience, and long-suffering.” *Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians* ch.3 p.50

***Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.3 p.378 “But be thou meek, since the meek shall inherit the earth. Be long-suffering and pitiful and guileless and gentle and good and always trembling at the words which thou has heard.”

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.2 p.137 “Fear and patience, then, are helpers of our faith; and long-suffering and continence are things which fight on our side.”

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) “But may the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ Himself, who is the Son of God, and our everlasting High Priest, build you up in faith and truth, and in all meekness, gentleness, patience, long-suffering, forbearance, and purity;” *Letter to the Philippians* ch.12 p.35

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 2 commandment fifth ch.1 p.23 (implied) “Now, if anger be mingled with patience, the patience is polluted, and its prayer is not then useful to God.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “For we ought not to strive; neither has He desired us to be imitators of wicked men, but He has exhorted us to lead all men, by patience and gentleness, from shame and the love of evil.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.16 p.168

**Evarestus** (c.169 A.D.) “And truly, who can fail to admire their nobleness of mind, and their patience, with that love towards their Lord which they displayed?” *Martyrdom of Polycarp* ch.2 p.39

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 16.48 “And that which was sown in good ground is he that heareth my word in a pure and good heart, and understandeth it, and holdeth to it, and bringeth forth fruit with patience, and produceth either a hundredfold or sixtyfold or thirty.”

**Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum** (177 A.D.) (implied) “But when the tyrannical tortures were rendered by Christ of no avail through the patience of the blessed,”

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “To those who by patient continuance in well-doing seek immortality, He will give life everlasting, joy, peace, rest, and abundance of good things, which neither hath eye seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive.” *Theophilus ot Autolycus* book 1 ch.14 p.93

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) quotes Galatians 6 about the fruit of the spirit. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.11.1 p.537

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “And, in truth, faith is discovered, by us, to be the first movement towards salvation; after which fear, and hope, and repentance, advancing in company with temperance and patience, lead us to love and knowledge.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.6 p.354

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “Put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness, meekness, long-suffering. *Stromata* book 4 ch.5 p.419

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) (implied) “By which examples He very manifestly checked those who had been evil-disposed, and hindered those who were daring like deeds; and others He brought to a foundation of patience; others He stopped from wickedness; and others He cured by the contemplation of what is like, bringing them over to what is better.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.8 p.282

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) has an entire work entitled: *On Patience*.

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “But how Paul, ... As also in his Epistle to the Romans: ‘And not only so, but we glory in tribulations also, being sure that tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope; and hope maketh not ashamed.’ [Romans 5:3-5a]’” [Romans 8:17-39] *Scorpiace* ch.13 p.646

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “Then, again, with respect to the opposite sensations,-I mean meekness, patience, mercy, and the very parent of them all, goodness,-why do you form your opinion of the divine displays of these (from the human qualities)?” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 2 ch.16 p.310

**Hippolytus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “So that we ought not to anticipate the counsel of God, but exercise patience and prayer, that we fall not on such times.” *Scholia on Daniel* ch.7.7 p.189

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240 A.D.) “Worldly food is, then, the former life and sins; but the divine food is faith, hope, love, patience, knowledge, peace, temperance. For “blessed are they that hunger and thirst after” God’s “righteousness; for they shall be filled.” [Mt 5:6]” *Excerpts from Theodotus* ch.14.3 p.45

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “Righteousness and goodness, peace and true patience, and care concerning one’s deeds, make to live after death. But a crafty mind, mischievous, perfidious, evil, destroys itself by degrees, and delays in a cruel death.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.28 p.208

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.)“treasuring up for thyself wrath on the day of judgment and of the revelation of the just judgment of God, who will render to every one according to his work: to those who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory and immortality, eternal life;” [both Greek and Latin] *de Principiis* book 3 ch.1.5 p.306

Origen (239-242 A.D.) teaches were are to show mercy, kindness, humility, and patience. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 7 ch.3.1 p.101

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “Him also, when he sets forth the virtue of patience, saying: ‘His voice shall not be heard in the streets; a bruised reed shall He not destroy, and the smoking flax shall He not quench.’” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.9 p.618

**Cyprian of Carthage** (256 A.D.) mentions that priestly concord is maintained by them in gentleness and patience. *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 72 ch.26 p.386

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “Among you there is always a clamorous and complaining impatience; with us there is a strong and religious patience, always quiet and always grateful to God.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 5 ch.19 p.463

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “What shall I say of anger, of discord, of strife, which things ought not to be found in a Christian? Let there be patience in the breast, and these things cannot have place there; or should they try to enter, they are quickly excluded and depart, that a peaceful abode may continue in the heart, where it delights the God of peace to dwell.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 9 ch.19 p.488

**Moyses et al. to Cyprian** “a crime; but shame, modesty, patience, discipline, humility, and subjection,” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 25 ch.6 p.304

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) “And by his own virtue he created in us a love at once for the beauty of righteousness the golden face of which in truth was shown to us by him; and for prudence, which is worthy of being sought by all; and for the true wisdom, which is most delectable; and for temperance, the heavenly virtue which forms the sound constitution of the soul, and brings peace to all who possess it; and for manliness, that most admirable grace; and for patience, that virtue peculiarly ours; and, above all, for piety, which men rightly designate when they call it the mother of the virtues.” *Panegyric to Origen* Argument 12 p.33

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “but he takes up his name again, and says: ‘I John, who also am your brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos for the Word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ.’” *From the Two Books on Promises* ch.4 p.83

**Theonas of Alexandria** (282-300 A.D.) “Be clothed with patience and courtesy.” *Letter of Theonas, Bishop of Alexandria, to Lucianus, the Chief Chamberlain* ch.2 p.159

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience.”] In the first” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the second chapter verse 2 p.346

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) “obeying him who says, ‘Follow after righteousness, godliness, faith, love, patience, meekness. Fight the good fight of faith…” He quotes all of 1 Timothy 6:11-12. *The Canonical Epistle* canon 14 p.278

**Lactantius** (c.303-325 A.D.) “For religion is to be defended, not by putting to death, but by dying; not by cruelty, but by patient endurance; not by guilt, but by good faith: for the former; belong to evils, but the latter to goods; and it is necessary for that which is good to have place in religion, and not that which is evil.” *The Divine Institutes* book 5 ch.20 p.157

Lactantius (c.303-325 A.D.) “Therefore the supreme Father ordered Him [Christ] to descend to the earth, and to put on a human body, that, being subject to the sufferings of the flesh, He might teach virtue and patience not only by words, but also by deeds.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.43 p.239

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) “And show forth the fruit of charity, not in words only, but also in deeds, that is, in all godly patience for God’s sake.” *On the Soul and Body and Passion of the Lord* ch.2 p.299

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 3 ch.49 p.127 says to bear with evil men patiently.

## Pc19. Don’t let the sun go down on your anger

Ephesians 4:26

Partial Matthew 5:22

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Ephesians 4:26

**p4 + p64 + p67** Luke 1:58-59; 1:62-2:1,6-7; 3:8-4:2,29-32,34-35; 5:3-8; 5:30-6:16; Matthew 26:7-8,10,14-15,22-23,31-33; Matthew 3:9,15; 5:20-22,25-28 -95 verses (c.150-175 A.D.) (partial) says we are not to be angry at our brother. Matthew 5:22

**p49** Ephesians 4:16-29; 4:31-5:13 (225-275 A.D.) quotes Ephesians 4:26

Ignatius of Antioch (-107/116 A.D.) (partial) says to “be meek in response to wrath, humble in opposition to boasting, … and for their cruelty, manifest your gentleness. While we take care not to imitate their conduct, let us be found their brethren in all true kindness; and let us seek to be followers of the Lord…” *Letter of Ignatius to the Ephesians* ch.10 p.55

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) “It is declared then in these Scriptures, ‘Be ye angry, and sin not,’ and, ‘Let not the sun go down upon your wrath.’ Happy is he who remembers this, which I believe to be the case with you.” *Letter to the Philippians* ch.12 p.35

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “And let not the sun,’ says the Scripture, ‘go down upon your wrath.’” *Stromata* book 5 ch.5 p.450.

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) “Let not the sun go down upon your wrath; neither give place to the devil.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.294

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Ever if we *must* be angry, our anger must not be maintained beyond sunset, as the apostle admonishes. But how rash is it either to pass a day without prayer, while you refuse to make satisfaction to your brother; or else by perseverance in anger, to lose your prayer?” *Tertullian On Prayer* ch.11 p.685. See also *On Patience* ch.12 p.712.

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) quotes Ephesians 4:26 “Be ye angry, and sin not;’ ‘Let not the sun go down upon your wrath.’” *Tertullian Against Marcion* book 5 ch.18 p.468

Commodianus (c.240 A.D.) (partial) says do not be angry with your brother without cause. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.80 p.218

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-528 A.D.) “Of this same thing to the Ephesians: ‘Be ye angry, and sin not. Let not the sun set upon your wrath.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 third part ch.8 p.535

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) says not to let the sun go down on your anger. *Dialogue on the True Faith* part 1 ch.13 p.56

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (partial) says we are commanded “to be reconciled before the setting of the sun.” *Treatise on the Anger of God* ch.21 p.277

**Among heretics**

Marcionite heretic **Megethius** (c.300 A.D.) quotes Ephesians 4:26 as from the good God. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.13 p.55

## Pc20. Be gentle or meek

Matthew 5:5; Galatians 5:23; Philippians 4:5

**Ignatius of Antioch**(-107/116 A.D.) says to “be meek in response to wrath, humble in opposition to boasting, … and for their cruelty, manifest your gentleness. While we take care not to imitate their conduct, let us be found their brethren in all true kindness; and let us seek to be followers of the Lord…” *Letter of Ignatius to the Ephesians* ch.10 p.55

***Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.3 p.378 “But be thou meek, since the meek shall inherit the earth. Be long-suffering and pitiful and guileless and gentle and good and always trembling at the words which thou has heard.”

***The Apology of Aristides*** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) p.277 “they [Christians] appeal to those who injure them, and try to win them as friends; they are eager to do good to their enemies; they are gentle and easy to be entreated.”

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) “But may the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ Himself, who is the Son of God, and our everlasting High Priest, build you up in faith and truth, and in all meekness, gentleness, patience, long-suffering, forbearance, and purity;” *Polycarp’s Letter to the Philippians* ch.12 p.35

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “For we ought not to strive; neither has He desired us to be imitators of wicked men, but He has exhorted us to lead all men, by patience and gentleness, from shame and the love of evil.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.16 p.168

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, goodness, benignity, faith, meekness, continence, chastity: against these there is no law.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.11.1 p.547

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “For on whom will I look, but on him who is mild and gentle, and trembleth at my word” *Stromata* book 2 ch.19 p.369

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) But let him go and put himself under the Word as his trainer, and Christ the President of the contest; and for his prescribed food and drink let him have the New Testament of the Lord; and for exercises, the commandments; and for elegance and ornament, the fair dispositions, love, faith, hope, knowledge of the truth, gentleness, meekness, pity, gravity: so that, when by the last trumpet the signal shall be given for the race and departure hence, as from the stadium of life, he may with a good conscience present himself victorious before the Judge who confers the rewards, confessedly worthy of the Fatherland on high, to which he returns with crowns and the acclamations of angels.” *Who is the Rich Man that Shall be Saved* ch.3 p.592

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) says that Christ wishes us to be gentle, and in Him joyful. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.53 p.214. See also ibid ch.58 p.214.

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “And the name of Jesus can still remove distractions from the minds of men, and expel demons, and also take away diseases; and produce a marvellous meekness of spirit and complete change of character, and a humanity, and goodness, and gentleness in those individuals who do not feign themselves to be Christians for the sake of subsistence or the supply of any mortal wants, but who have honestly accepted the doctrine concerning God and Christ, and the judgment to come.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.67 p.427

Origen (c.250 A.D.) speaks of being gentle. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 15 homily 1 ch.6 p.47

**Cyprian of Carthage** (256 A.D.) mentions that priestly concord is maintained by them in gentleness and patience. *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 72 ch.26 p.386

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “Looking forward to which, the blessed Apostle Paul writes to Timothy, and warns him that a bishop must not be ‘litigious, nor contentious, but gentle and teachable.’” [2 Timothy 2:24] *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 73 ch.10 p.389

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “Concerning Moses, moreover, we find it said in the Scriptures, ‘Now the man Moses was very meek;’” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 51 ch.16 p.331

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “For why, indeed, have our writings deserved to be given to the flames? our meetings to be cruelly broken up, in which prayer is made to the Supreme God, peace and pardon are asked for all in authority, for soldiers, kings, friends, enemies, for those still in life, and those freed from the bondage of the flesh; in which all that is said is such as to make *men* humane, gentle, modest, virtuous, chaste, generous in dealing with their substance, and inseparably united to all embraced in our brotherhood?” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 4 ch.36 p.488

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “for he [the apostle] says, ‘The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance;’ which, on account of their great pleasantness, the prophet calls figs. Micah also says, “They shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree; and none shall make them afraid.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 10 ch.5 p.350

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “For when those defenders of false gods, who are rebellious against the true God, persecute His name in us, we resist not either in deed or in word, but with meekness, and silence, and patience, we endure whatever cruelty is able to contrive against us. For we have confidence in God, from whom we expect that retribution will hereafter follow.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.53 p.243-244

## Pc21. We’ll have tribulation, but Jesus has overcome

John 16:33f

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) Section 46.18 “This have I [Jesus] said unto you, that in me ye may have peace. And in the world trouble shall overtake you: but be of good courage; for I have overcome the world.”

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) quotes John 16:33f. *Origen Against Celsus* book 6 ch.69 p.600

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes John 16:33f. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 11 ch.11 p.502

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “For after saying, ‘In the world ye shall have tribulation,’ He added, ‘But be of good cheer, I have overcome the world.’” *An Exposition of Luke 22:46* p.119

Alexander of Alexandria (313-326 A.D.) (partial) “destroyed, though all the world should seek to make war with it; but it is victorious over every most impious revolt of the heretics who rise up against it. For her Goodman hath confirmed our minds by saying, ‘Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world.’” *Letter 1 to Alexnder bishop of Constantinople* ch.12 p.296

## Teachings on peace and contentment not on the list

**1. Have peace with God.** Isa 27:5; Rom 5:1; Eph 2:14-15. (only 1 writer: Tertullian *Five Books Against Marcion*)

**2. The LORD is peace.** Jdg 6:24

**3. God gives us peace.** Ps 4:8; 29:11

**4. The peace of Christ.** John 14:27; Eph 2:14; Col 1:20; 3:15; Isa 9:6 (only 2 writers: Cyprian and Dionysius of Alexandria)

**5. Christ preached peace.** Eph 2:7 (no writers)

**6. The Gospel of peace.** Gal 1:3 (only 3 writers: Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian. Also On the End of the World and on AntiChrist by Pseudo-Hippolytus)

**7. The mind of the Spirit is peace.** Rom 8:6 (no writers)

**8. Walk in the path of peace.** Mal 2:6 (implied); Lk 1:79 (no writers)

**9. The bond of peace.** Eph 4:3

**10. Live in peace with others.** Prov 16:7; Rom 12:18; 14:19; 1 Cor 7:15 (implied), 1 Cor 16:11 (partial) 1 Cor 13:11; 1 Thess 5:13; Tt 3:2; Mk 9:50 (no writers)

**11. There is no peace for the wicked.** Isa 57:21 (no writers)

**12. Pray for the peace of Jerusalem.** Ps 122:6-8 (no writers)

**13. Slaves obey masters** (not analyzed yet.) (So far 1 writer: Clement of Alexandria)

**14. Don’t speak peace ot people but have malice in your heart.** Ps 28:3 (no writers)

**15. There is a time for war and a time for peace.** Ecc 3:8

**16. Counselors of peace have joy.** Prov 12:20 (no writers)

**17. Discipline can bring peace.** Heb 12:11 (no writers)

# MONEY

## Mo1. Heavenly treasure; don’t fear earthly loss

Treasure in heaven. Matthew 6:19-21,24; 19:23; Luke 12:15-21; 1 Timothy 6:19; Revelation 3:11

(implied) Romans 8:18

Do not be afraid to lose your earthly treasures for God. Hebrews 10:34; Matthew 6:19-21; Luke 2:15-18,33-34; Acts 4:32-37.

p13 Hebrews 2:14-5:5; 10:8-22; 10:29-11:13; 11:28-12:17 (225-250 A.D.) (partial) Hebrews 11:35

Crown of righteousness 2 Timothy 4:8

crown of life James 1:12; Revelation 2:10b

Paul’s crown is people saved through Him 1 Thessalonians 2:19; Philippians 4:1

But crowns can be lost or taken away Revelation 3:11

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) (implied) Romans 8:18

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Luke 12:15,21; Luke 12:33

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) Luke 12:15,21,33

**Ignatius** (-107/116 A.D.) There are two kinds of coinage, God’s and Satan’s. What kind of treasure are you trying to store up? *Ignatius’ Letter to the Magnesians* ch.5 p.61

Ignatius (-107/116 A.D.) “Only let us be found in Christ Jesus unto the true life. Apart form Him, let nothing attract you, for whom I bear about these bonds, these spiritual jewels, …” *Ignatius’ Letter to the Ephesians* ch.11 p.54

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.4 p.138 (implied) says we should hate the error of the present time to set our love on the world to come.

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) ch.6 vol.7 p.518 “Let us reckon that it is better to hate the things present, since they are trifling, and transient, and corruptible; and to love those which are to come, as being good and incorruptible.” Also ch.5 vol.9 p.252 and ch.20 vol.7 p.523

***Epistle to Diognetus*** ch.5 p.26-27 (c.130-200 A.D.) says that Christian dwell in their own countries, but simply as sojourners. Every foreign land is to them as their native country, and every land of their birth as a land of strangers. …They pass their days on earth, but they are citizens of heaven.”

*Shepherd of Hermas* (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 2nd Similitude p.32 (partial) says that while the rich many may have riches on earth and be poor in matters relating to the Lord, he can lay up wealth by helping the poor.

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) reminds us we are to take no thought as to what we eat or wear on earth, for our treasure is in heaven. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.15 p.168

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 9 no.42 p.58 “Lay not up treasure on earth, where moth and worm corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasure in heaven, where moth and worm do not corrupt, nor thieves break through nor steal: for where your treasure is, there also will your heart be.”

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “To those who by patient continuance in well-doing seek immortality, He will give life everlasting, joy, peace, rest, and abundance of good things, which neither hath eye seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.14 p.93

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) says to take no care to money. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.27.4 p.500

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) (partial) says to give monetarily to God. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.18.4 p.485

&&&***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201/205 A.D.) &&&

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared to the glory which shall be revealed in us.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.7 p.417. See also *Stromata* book 4 ch.6 p.415.

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) discusses Hebrews 11:26,27. Moses esteemed the reproach of Christ better than the treasures of Egypt. *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.292

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Willingly, therefore, let us lose things earthly, let us keep things heavenly.” *On Patience* ch.7 p.711-712.

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) Origen quotes 2 Corinthians 4:17-18. *Origen Against Celsus* book 6 ch.19 p.582

Origen (235 A.D.) says the joys of heaven are better than our present suffering. *Exhortation to Martyrdom* book 7 ch.49 p.194-195

Origen (233/234 A.D.) talks of our treasure. *Origen’s Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.35 p.182. See also ch.2 p.142.

Origen (c.250 A.D.) (implied) “But would that one could do what was said for perfection: ‘Get up, sell all your possessions, and give alms to the destitute, and you will have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me.’” (Matthew 19:21). *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 75 homily 1 ch.5 p.233.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Then they sold houses and farms, and gladly and liberally presented to the apostle the proceeds to be dispensed to the poor; selling and alienating their earthly estate, they transferred their lands thither where they might receive the fruits of an eternal possession, and there prepared homes where they might being an eternal habitation.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 8 ch.25 p.483

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “26. But in us unanimity is diminished in proportion as liberality of working is decayed. Then they used to give for sale houses and estates; and that they might lay up for themselves treasures in heaven, presented to the apostles the price of them, to be distributed for the use of the poor. But now we do not even give the tenths from our patrimony; and while our Lord bids us sell, we rather buy and increase our store. Thus has the vigour of faith dwindled away among us; thus has the strength of believers grown weak. And therefore the Lord, looking to our days, says in His Gospel, ‘When the Son of man cometh, think you that He shall find faith on the earth?’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 1 ch.26 p.429

**Pontius** (258 A.D.) (implied) says that when Cyprian distributed the purchase money of entire estates for the poor, he realized two benefits: contempt of this world’s ambition, and observing the mercy that God preferred even to his sacrifices. *The Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.2 p.268

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) says we should be like Paul spoke of when they accepted the taking of their goods with joy. *Letter 3* ch.2 p.98

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) Jesus told the rich young ruler “Sell everything you have, and give to the poor; and you will have treasure in heaven.’” [Luke 18:18-22; Matthew 19:16-21; Mark 10:17-21] *Dialogue on the True Faith* second part ch.832a p.97

**Lactantius** (c.303-325 A.D.) “Since we have completed the seven courses of the work which we undertook, and have advanced to the goal, it remains that we exhort all to undertake wisdom together with true religion, the strength and office of which depends on this, that, despising earthly things, and laying aside the errors by which we were formerly held while we served frail things, and desired frail things, we may be directed to the eternal rewards of the heavenly treasure. And that we may obtain these, the alluring pleasures of the present life must as soon as possible be laid aside, which soothe the souls of men with pernicious sweetness.” *The Divine Institutes* book 7 ch.27 p.222

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says that we are to despise money, and rather have things transferred to heavenly treasures. *The Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.65 p.250

**Among heretics**

The Encratite Gnostic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “the Saviour’s words, “Lay not up treasure on earth, where moth and rust corrupt;” *Tatian*’*s Address to the Greeks* fragment 2 p.82

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Clement to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.9 p.200 “Therefore all of you present your previsions in common to all your brethren in God, knowing that, giving temporal things, you shall receive eternal things. Much more feed the hungry, and give drink to the thirsty, and clothing to the naked; visit the sick; showing yourselves to those who are in prison, help them as ye are able, and receive strangers into your houses with alacrity.”

## Mo2. Offering money/possessions to God

(implied) John 12:5-8; Romans 12:8; 2 Corinthians 8:3-15; 9:2-7

2 Corinthians 8:2-3

p87 Philemon 13-15, 24 (partial) (part), 25b (c.125 A.D.) (implied) Paul was in chains for the gospel. Taking care of Paul’s needs

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) 2 Corinthians 8-9

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) (implied) John 12:5-8

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) says that things, such as offerings, should not be done thoughtlessly but at their appointed times. *1 Clement* ch.40 p.16

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) quotes 8 no.22 p.57 quotes Matthew 5:13-25a.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** “Now we make offering to Him, not as though He stood in need of it, but rendering thanks for His gift, and thus sanctifying what has been created. For even as God does not need our possessions, so do we need to offer something to God; as Solomon says: “He that hath pity upon the poor, lendeth unto the Lord.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.18.6 p.486

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) (implied) “But would that one could do what was said for perfection: ‘Get up, sell all your possessions, and give alms to the destitute, and you will have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me.’” (Matthew 19:21). *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 75 homily 1 ch.5 p.233.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) (implied) “and unity of Christ, attempt to establish a throne for themselves, and to assume the primacy, and to claim the right of baptizing and of offering. How can they complete what they do” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 75 ch.8 p.399-400

**Lucius and the Brethren to Cyprian** “And thus, O brother most longed-for, we have received what you sent to us from Quirinus and from yourself, a sacrifice from every clean thing. Even as Noah offered to God, and God was pleased with the sweet savour, and had respect unto his offering, so also may He have respect unto yours, and may He be pleased to return to you the reward of this so good work. But I beg that you will” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 78 ch.3 p.406

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) “that a certain poor and lowly woman, who was with the rich and powerful that were contributing largely and richly out of their wealth, alone and by herself cast in a small, yea, the very smallest offering, which was, however, all the while her whole substance, and received the testimony of having presented the largest oblation. For, as I judge, the sacred word has not set up the large” *Panegyric to Origen* Argument 3 p.23

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “shall be white as snow; and they shall always be employed in the sight of the Almighty, and shall make offerings to their Lord, and serve Him for ever. At the same time shall take place that second and public resurrection” *The Divine Institutes* book 7 ch.26 p.221

## Mo3. Freely you have received, so freely give

Matthew 10:8

**Tatian’s *Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 12.44-49a p.63 quotes Matthew 10:5f (14/20 words quoted, then Matthew 10:6-10 (full quote).

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) quotes Matthew 10:8 as by the Lord. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.4.3 p.321

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) quotes all of Matthew 10:8 as by the Lord. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.9.2 p.472

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes Matthew 10:8 as in the Gospel according to Matthew. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.79 p.552

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes one-fourth of Matthew 10:8. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.100 p.555

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (c.318-325 A.D.) quotes all of Matthew 10:8 in *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 3 ch.7 p.18

## Mo4. Give in secret

Matthew 6:1-4

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) (implied) “‘Take no thought, therefore, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall put on; for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of these things. But seek ye the kingdom of heaven, and all these things shall be added unto you. For where his treasure is, there also is the mind of a man.’ And, ‘Do not these things to be seen of men; otherwise ye have no reward from your Father which is in heaven.’” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.16 p.168

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 9.22 p.58 quotes Matthew 6:1-4

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) (implied) “And those that do good it teaches not to boast, lest they become men-pleasers. For it says: ‘Let not your left hand know what your right hand doeth.’” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.12 p.115

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “And, ‘When thou doest thine alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.30.3 p.504

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “‘If thou doest alms,’ it is said, ‘let no one know it; and if thou fastest, anoint thyself, that God alone may know,’ and not a single human being.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.22 p.435

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “If God Himself, He is as capable of beholding whatever is done in secret, as He is just to remunerate what is done for His sole honour. In fine, He enjoins us not to trumpet forth any one of those things which will merit reward in His sight, nor get compensation for them from men. But if we are prohibited from letting ‘our left hand know’ when we bestow the gift of a single halfpenny, or any eleemosynary bounty whatever,” *On the Veiling of Virgins* ch.13 p.35

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) mentions giving in secret. *Origen On Prayer* ch.19.2 p.68

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “In the Gospel according to Matthew: ‘Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth, that thine alms may be in secret; and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall render to thee.’ Also in the same place: ‘When thou doest an alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the streets and in the synagogues, that they may be glorified of men. Verily I say unto you, They have fulfilled their reward.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.40 p.545

## Mo5. Cannot serve both God and Mammon

Matthew 6:24b; Luke 16:13b

***2 Clement*** vol.7 ch.3 p.229-230 (120-140 A.D.) says we cannot serve both God and mammon [money].

Tatian’s *Diatessaron* (c.172 A.D.) section 10.2 p.59 (partial) “Ye cannot serve God and possessions.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) says that you cannot serve God and mammon. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.18.1 p.421

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “poor? And what the saying, “No man can serve two masters, God and Mammon?” *Stromata* book 4 ch.12 p.543. See also *Stromata* book 4 ch.6 p.414 and book 6 ch.12 p.543.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “If we cannot serve God and mammon, can we be redeemed both by God and by mammon?” *Fleeing Persecution* ch.12 p.123

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “What the two masters are who, He says, cannot be served, on the ground that while one is pleased the other must needs be displeased, He Himself makes clear, when He mentions God and mammon.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.33 p.402

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “Wherefore we do not render the honour supposed to be due to those who. according to Celsus, are set over the affairs of this world; for ‘no man can serve two masters,’ and we ‘cannot serve God and mammon,’ whether this name be applied to one or more.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.56 p.661

Cyprian of Carthage **(**c.246-258 A.D.) (partial) quotes 1 Timothy 6:10, substituting “covetousness” for “money”. He mentions that when you are fearing your wealth might be diminished, you do not realize that you yourself are being diminished when you love mammon more than your own soul. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 8 ch.10 p.479

Julianus of Marcelliana at the **Seventh Council of Carthage** (258 A.D.) p.571 (implied) says, “If a man can serve two masters, God and mammon, baptism also can serve two masters, the Christian and the heretic.”

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) quotes Matthew 6:24 (God and Mammon). Adamantius quotes all of this right after Megethius quotes just part of it. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part 821a p.74

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) “and yet the Lord says, ‘What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?’ and again, ‘Ye cannot serve God and mammon.’” *Canonical Epistle* canon 12 p.277

## Mo6. Do not love money

Psalm 62:10 “Don’t set your heart on money”

Matthew 6:19-21,24; (partial) Luke 9:3; (partial) Luke 10:4; Hebrews 13:5; 1 Timothy 6:10; 1 Peter 5:2

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Hebrews 13:5

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Do not be greedy for money. 1 Peter 5:2

p75 (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) (partial) Luke 10:4

***2 Clement*** vol.7 ch.3 p.229-230 (120-140 A.D.) says we cannot serve both God and mammon [money].

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) discusses that we should not love money. *Polycarp’s Letter to the Philippians* ch.4 p.34

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.20 p.149 “But the way of darkness is crooked, and full of cursing; for it is the way of eternal death with punishment, in which way are the things that destroy the soul, viz., idolatry, over-confidence, the arrogance of power, hypocrisy, double-heartedness, adultery, murder, rapine, haughtiness, transgression, deceit, malice, self-sufficiency, poisoning, magic, avarice, want of the fear of God.”

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) (implied) discusses the bad angel of luxury and deceit that wears out the souls of the servants of God and perverts them from the truth. book 1 ch.6 p.15 also mentions people who because of their riches and business deny the Lord. *Shepherd of Hermas* book 3 Similitude sixth p.37

*Tatian’s* ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 10.1 p.39 quotes Matthew 6:24-25

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) (implied) gives an example of the evil of being “overcome by the love of money”. *A Plea for Christians* ch.29 p.145

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) says no infamy is greater than a man who worships his riches, yet forsakes Him who gave those riches. *From the Discourse to Caesar* ch.1 *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.751

Melito of Sardis (170-177/180 A.D.) “they were grasped by tyrannical sin” and then lists various sins including “by adultery, by lust, by license, by love of money, by murder,…” *On Pascha* stanza 50 p.50

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “And they [Old Testament holy prophets] also taught us to refrain from unlawful idolatry, and adultery, and murder, fornication, theft, avarice, false swearing, wrath, and every incontinence and uncleanness; and that whatever a man would not wish to be done to himself, he should not do to another; and thus he who acts righteously shall escape the eternal punishments, and be thought worthy of the eternal life from God.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.34 p.108

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) says that you cannot serve God and mammon. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.18.1 p.421

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “choosing rather to become an addition to the error of others, than to trust themselves; in that they know nothing of what they fear. Thus avarice has been consecrated in gold and silver; thus the form of empty statues has been established; thus has arisen Roman superstition.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.24 p.187

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) (implied) shows we should not love riches. *Stromata* book 4 ch.6 p.414

Clement of Alexandria (197-217/220 A.D.) “There is a persecution which arises from without, from men assailing the faithful, either out of hatred, or envy, or avarice, or through diabolic agency. But the most painful is internal persecution, which proceeds from each man’s own soul being vexed by impious lusts, and diverse pleasures, and base hopes, and destructive dreams; when, always grasping at more, and maddened by brutish loves, and inflamed by the passions which beset it like goads and stings, it is covered with blood, (to drive it on) to insane pursuits, and to despair of life, and to contempt of God.” *Who is the Rich Man That Shall Be Saved* ch.25 p.598

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “[God] bearing with the most ungrateful nations, adoring *as they do* the toys of the arts and the works of their own hands, persecuting His Name together with His family; *bearing with* luxury, avarice, iniquity, malignity, waxing insolent daily:” *On Patience* ch.2 p.708

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) (implied) says to not lust for gain. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.64 p.216

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “For some, because of impotence of soul, having a tendency to slip into any sin whatever, although they may not be wholly in the grasp of any form of sin, as the sickly are, are only weak; but others who, instead of loving God ‘with all their soul and all their heart and all their mind,’ love money, or a little glory, or wife, or children, are suffering from something worse than weakness, and are sickly.” *Commentary on Matthew* book 10 ch.24 p.430

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “This is He who restrains insatiable desires, controls immoderate lusts, quenches unlawful fires, conquers reckless impulses, repels drunkenness, checks avarice, drives away luxurious revellings, links love, binds together affections, keeps down sects, orders the rule of truth, overcomes heretics, turns out the wicked, guards the Gospel, Of this says the same apostle: “We have not received the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God.” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.29 p.641

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “and while the light of truth has departed thence, the deep and profound darkness of avarice has blinded your carnal heart. You are the captive and slave of your money; you are bound with the chains and bonds of covetousness; and you whom Christ had once loosed, are once more in chains. You keep your money, which, when kept, does not keep you.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 8 ch.13 p.479

Julianus of Marcelliana at the **Seventh Council of Carthage** (258 A.D.) p.571 (implied) says, “If a man can serve two masters, God and mammon, baptism also can serve two masters, the Christian and the heretic.”

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) says we should not love sordid gain. *Canonical Epistle* canon 2 p.18

**Theonas of Alexandria** (282-300 A.D.) Let all the lust of avarice be put from you, which serves the cause of idolatry rather than the religion of Christ. No filthy lucre, no duplicity, can befit the Christian who embraces the simple and unadorned Christ.” *Letter of Theonas, Bishop of Alexandria, to Lucianus, the Chief Chamberlain* ch.2 p.159

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) says not to do things for filthy lucre, and you cannot follow God and Mammon. *The Canonical Epistle* Canon 12 p.276-277

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “No one will exhibit filial affection to parents, no one will pity an infant or an old man; avarice and lust will corrupt all things. There will be slaughter and bloodshed. There will be wars, and those not only between foreign and neighbouring states, but also intestine wars. States will carry on wars among themselves, every sex and age will handle arms.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.71 p.253

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (implied) says that we are to despise money, and rather have things transferred to heavenly treasures. *The Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.65 p.250

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

Akhmin *Apocalypse of Peter* (135,100-150 A.D.) in *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.9 ch.29 p.146 (partial) “And in a certain other place there were pebbles sharper than sword or any spit, red-hot, and women and men in tattered and filthy raiment rolled about on them in punishment; and these were the rich who trusted in their riches and had no pity for orphans and widows, and despised the commandment of God.”

## Mo7. Love of money root of all evils

1 Timothy 6:10

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) simply quotes the first half of this verse in his letter to the Philippians. *Polycarp’s Letter to the Philippians* ch.4 p.34

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) quotes this verse mentioning that the love of money is the root of all evils, and relates this to covetousness. *The Instructor* book 2 ch.3, p.248

**Tertullian** (192-202 A.D.) “covetousness, ‘a root of all evils,’ wherewith, indeed, some having been ensnared, ‘have suffered shipwreck about faith.’” *On Idolatry* ch.11 p.67. See also *Of Patience* ch.7 p.711.

**Novatian** (250-258 A.D.) has a very interesting interpretation in *On Jewish Meats* ch.6 p.649. What evil takes away, money allows to be restored, so that the path of sin may be re-trodden. For example, if drinking or using prostitutes takes away a person’s money, but more money enables the man to keep on sinning.

**Cyprian of Carthage (**c.246-258 A.D.) quotes 1 Timothy 6:10, substituting “covetousness” for “money”. He mentions that when you are fearing your wealth might be diminished, you do not realize that you yourself are being diminished when you love mammon more than your own soul. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 8 ch.10 p.479

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

pseudo-Clement ***Two Epistles on Virginity*** (3rd century A.D.) ch.8 p.57 lists many sins, including “the love of money (which is the root of all evils);”

## Mo8. God’s house not a den of robbers / thieves

Matthew 21:12-13; Mark 11:15-17; Luke 19:45-46

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) vol.7 ch.14 p.521 “but if we shall not do the will of the Lord, we shall come under the Scripture which saith, ‘My house became a den of robbers.’”

**Justin Martyr** (c.136-165 A.D.) “For He appeared distasteful to you when He cried among you, ‘It is written, My house is the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves!’ He [Jesus] overthrew also the tables of the money-changers in the temple, and exclaimed, ‘Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!” *Dialogue with Trypho, the Jew* ch.17 p.203

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 32.1 p.92 “And when Jesus entered Jerusalem, he went up to the temple of God, and found 2 there oxen and sheep and doves. And when he [Jesus] beheld those that sold and those that bought, and the money-changers sitting, he made for himself a scourge of rope, and drove them all out of the temple, and the sheep and the oxen, and the money-changers; and he threw down their money, and upset their tables, and the seats of them that sold the doves; and he was teaching, and saying unto them, Is it not written, My house is a house of prayer for all peoples? and ye have made it a den for robbers. And he said unto those that sold the doves, Take this hence, and make not my Father’s house a house of merchandise.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “For He who uttered them was Truth, and did truly vindicate His own house, by driving out of it the changers of money, who were buying and selling, saying unto them: ‘It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.2.6 p.464

**Tertullian** (208-220 A.D.) (implied) “She [the church] has none to whom to make such a promise; and if she have had, she does not make it; since even the earthly temple of God can sooner have been called by the Lord a ‘den of robbers,’ than of adulterers and fornicators.” *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.1 p.74

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “And He entered into the temple and began to cast out those that sold, saying to them, It is written, My house shall be a house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of robbers.’” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 10 no.15 p.392

Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) “He [Jesus] wished to make the Church no longer a den of robbers, but the house of His Father. ... To this house of the Father of Jesus, as being the house of prayer.” *Commentary on John* book 10 ch.19 p.400

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Also in the same place: ‘Ye have made my Father’s house a house of merchandise; and ye have made the house of prayer a den of thieves.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.100 p.555

## Mo10. Strive for godliness, not gain

Mark 8:36; Luke 9:25; 1 Timothy 6:5

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Luke 10:20; Acts 16:34 (Matthew 8:36)

p75 (c.175-225 A.D.) (Luke 9:25)

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) “following after not godliness but gain; and for this reason the divine judgment”

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for it? Lay up treasure, therefore, in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.15 p.167

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “Such is the wickedness of the world-of those who worship and fear that which has no sensation. Many of them, too, who are crafty, either for the sake of gain, or for vainglory, or for dominion over the multitude, both themselves worship, and incite those who are destitute of understanding to worship, that which has no sensation.” *Discourse in the Presence of Antonius Pius* ch.1 p.752

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “But he that speaks through books, consecrates himself before God, crying in writing thus: Not for gain, not for vainglory, not to be vanquished by partiality, nor enslaved by fear nor elated by pleasure; but only to reap the salvation of those who read, which he does, not at present participate in, but awaiting in expectation the recompense which will certainly be rendered by Him, who has promised to bestow on the labourers the reward that is meet.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.1 p.301

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “but a man will in no way be profited if he shall gain the whole world. Now he gains the world, I think, to whom the world is not crucified; and to whom the world is not crucified, to that man shall be the loss of his own life.” *Commentary on Matthew* book 12 no.27 p.467

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Why do you watch in loneliness over your riches? why for your punishment do you heap up the burden of your patrimony, that, in proportion as you are rich in this world, you may become poor to God? Divide your returns with the Lord your God; share your gains with Christ; make Christ a partner with you in your earthly possessions, that He also may make you a fellow-heir with Him in His heavenly kingdom.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 8 ch.13 p.479

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) Covetousness is a great evil; and it is not possible in a single letter to set forth those scriptures in which not robbery alone is declared to be a thing horrible and to be abhorred, but in general the grasping mind, and the disposition to meddle with what belongs to others, in order to satisfy the sordid love of gain. And all persons of that spirit are excommunicated from the Church of God.” *Canonical Epistle* Canon 2 p.18

**Malchion** (270 A.D.) “and thus supposing that gain is godliness.” *Against Paul of Samosata* ch.169

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) “For they have sustained the loss and sacrifice of their goods that they might not hurt or destroy their soul, which others for the sake of filthy lucre have not done; and yet the Lord says, ‘What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?’” and again, ‘Ye cannot serve God and mammon.’” *Canonical Epistle* Canon 12 p.276-277

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “For the precepts of righteousness are distasteful to the wicked, and to those who lead an unholy life. Wherefore they, whose sins were brought to light and forbidden, most cruelly tortured and slew them. They, therefore, who had no desire for gain, had neither the inclination nor the motive for deceit. Why should I say that some of them were princes, or even kings, upon whom the suspicion of covetousness and fraud could not possibly fall, and yet they proclaimed the one God with the same prophetic foresight as the others?” *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.4 p.13

## Mo11. No stealing

1 Corinthians 5:10-11; Ephesians 4:28; Titus 1:7,11; 1 Peter 4:15

**p32 (=P. Rylands 5)** Titus 1:1-15; 2:3-8 (21 verses) (150-200 A.D.) Titus 1:7,11

**p46 (=Chester Beatty II)** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) 1 Corinthians 5:10-11

**p49** Ephesians 4:16-29; 4:31-5:13 (225-275 A.D.) do not steal. Ephesians 4:26

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Do not be a thief or murderer. 1 Peter 4:15

***Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.2.1-4 p.377 Do not commit murder, adultery, corrupt boys, magic, witchcraft, “murder a child by abortion, nor kill that which is begotten”, covet, steal, bear false witness. See also *Didache* ch.5 p.379.

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) (implied) Stealing in the church is at least as old as Polycarp publicly calling out the presbyter Valens. *Polycarp’s Letter to the Philippians* 11:1-4 p.35.

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 2 8th commandment p.25 No theft, lying, robbery, false witness, … vainglory, boastfulness. Helping widows, orphans needy, rescuing servants of God, being hospitable, respecting the aged, admonishing sinners.

***Apology of Aristides*** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) p.275 speaks of unrighteous things of slaying one another, adultery, thefts, intercourse with males.

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) mentions sins such as adultery, fornication, theft, robbery, and corrupters of boys. *Letter to Autolycus* book 1 ch.2 p.89

*Theophilus to Autolycus* (168-181/188 A.D.) book 2 ch.34 p.108 And they [God’s laws] taught us to refrain from unlawful idolatry, and adultery, and murder, fornication, theft, avarice, false swearing, wrath, …”

***Passion of the Scillitan Martyrs*** (180 A.D.) *ANF* vol.9 p.285 says Christians are not to commit theft.

**Maximus of Jerusalem** (185-196 A.D.) speaks of sins of adultery, theft, and murder. fragment 1 vol.8 p.769

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) says we are to abstain from “fraudulent practices”. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.32 p.193

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) quotes Pauline Ephesians saying let him who stole steal no more. *Stromata* book 1 ch.18 p.321. See also *Stromata* book 4 ch.6 p.415.

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “It is therefore said, ‘Son, be not a liar; for falsehood leads to theft.’ Nevertheless the thief possesses really, what he has possessed himself of dishonestly, whether it be gold, or silver, or speech, or dogma.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.20 p.324

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) says don’t steal. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.10 p.202

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) (implied) says we should have a just [accurate] bag of weights. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.6 p.191

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) says not to steal. *An Answer to the Jews* ch.2 p.152.

Tertullian (208-220 A.D.) (implied) says not to be a thief. *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.18 p.94

***Instructions of Commodianus*** (c.240 A.D.) ch.26 p.207 mentions the wrongs of wars, wicked frauds, thefts, bloodshed,

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) says Christians should not be a part of adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness. *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.39 p.650

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says we are not to steal. *Origen On Prayer* ch.29.5 p.115

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes scripture against adulteries, fornications, idolatries, sorceries, murders, hatreds, strifes, heresies, drunkenness in *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 book 3 ch.64 p.551. Ch.65 p.551 also mentions thieves, cheaters, robbers.

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) discusses how adultery, murder, taking money under bad circumstances, and idol worship are doing wrong. *Dialogue on the True Faith* Fourth Part ch.10 p.139. See also second part 15b p.94.

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) (implied) ridicules gods of theft and adultery. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 4 ch.28 p.485

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) was against thefts, quarrels, and murders. *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 8 ch.16 p.342

**Lactantius** (c.33-320/325 A.D.) “But our religion is on this account firm, and solid, and unchangeable, because it teaches justice, because it is always with us, because it has its existence altogether in the soul of the worshipper, because it has the mind itself for a sacrifice. In that religion nothing else is required but the blood of animals, and the smoke of incense, and the senseless pouring out of libations; but in this of ours, a good mind, a pure breast, an innocent life: those rites are frequented by unchaste adulteresses without any discrimination, by impudent procuresses, by filthy harlots; they are frequented by gladiators, robbers, thieves, and sorcerers, who pray for nothing else but that they may commit crimes with impunity.” *The Divine Institutes* book 5 ch.20 p.157

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says not to steal. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.64 p.249.

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**Leucius Charinus** (second century) “Thou that rejoicest in gold and delightest thyself with ivory and jewels, when night falleth, canst thou behold what thou lovest? thou that art vanquished by soft raiment, and then leavest life, will those things profit thee in the place whither thou goest? And let the murderer know that the condign punishment is laid up for him twofold after his departure hence. Likewise also thou poisoner, sorcerer, robber, defrauder, sodomite, thief, and as many as are of that band, ye shall come at last, as your works do lead you, unto unquenchable fire, and utter darkness, and the pit of punishment, and eternal threatenings.” *Acts of John* ch.36

**Among heretics**

**Bardaisan/Bardesan** (154-224/232 A.D.) no stealing, lying, hating, or deception. *The Book of the Laws of Diverse Countries* p.725,727

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 9 ch.6 p.184 says that people committing fraud, iniquity, and other crimes become a friend of the prince of this world and of all demons.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 7 ch.4 p.268 speaks against stealing.

***Acts of Thomas*** (early form) (pre-Nicene) p.537 says some bad children will grow up and do thefts, murders, adulteries, and fornications.

**Mandaean Book of John** “No wolf leaps into our fold, and they need not fear the fierce lion, they need not fear the wind, or the thief that cannot enter our place. A thief cannot enter their folds, and they need not fear the iron knife.” *The Mandaean Book of John* stanza 10 p.31

## Mo12. Don’t rob others

Leviticus 6:2-4; 19:13; Ezekiel 22:29

Romans 2:22 (partial)

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “Nor, again, is the prohibition of theft, or of the desire of having more, applicable to souls, for they do not need those things, through the need of which, by reason of natural indigence or want, men are accustomed to steal or to rob, such as gold, or silver, or an animal, or something else adapted for food, or shelter, or use; for to an immortal nature everything which is desired by the needy as useful is useless.” *On the Resurrection of the Dead* ch.23 p.161

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “Thus, when men at first for a little desire money, covetousness begins to grow as the passion increases, and finally the fall into avarice takes place. And after this, when blindness of mind has succeeded passion, and the hostile powers, by their suggestions, hurry on the mind, money is now no longer desired, but stolen, and acquired by force, or even by shedding human blood. Finally, a confirmatory evidence Of the fact that vices of such enormity proceed from demons, may be easily seen in this, that those individuals who are oppressed either by immoderate love, or incontrollable anger, or excessive sorrow, do not suffer less than those who are bodily vexed by devils.” *de Principis* (Greek) book 3 ch.2.2 p.330

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “As if it were all lawful, as if it were all becoming, as if he who does not rob were suffering loss and wasting his own property, thus every one hastens to the rapine. Among thieves there is at any rate some modesty in their crimes. They love pathless ravines and deserted solitudes; and they do wrong in such a way, that still the crime of the wrong-doers is veiled by darkness and night. Avarice, however, rages openly, and, safe by its very boldness, exposes the weapons of its headlong craving in the light of the market-place. Thence cheats, thence poisoners, thence assassins in the midst of the city, are as eager for wickedness as they are wicked with impunity.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 5 ch.11 p.461

**Lactantius** (318-325 A.D.) “Let the desire of gain be broken when we have that which is enough. For what madness is it to labour in heaping up those things which must pass to others, either by robbery, or theft, or by proscription, or by death?” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.62 p.268

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) (implied) “And even in Hades we believe there are Two paths of destiny, one for the just, The other for the ungodly. If men say The earth shall hide them both alike for ever, Go rob, and steal, all right and wrong confound: Be not deceived; in Hades judgement waits, Which God will execute, the Lord of all,” *Preparation for the Gospel*

## Mo13. Don’t cheat/defraud others

Leviticus 19:13; 1 Samuel 12:3; Psalm 10:7; Mark 10:19; 1 Corinthians 6:7-8; 2 Corinthians 7:2; 1 Thessalonians 4:6; James 5:4

**Hippolytus** (222-234/235 A.D.) (implied) “This Simon being an adept in sorceries, both making a mockery of many, partly according to the art of Thrasymedes, in the manner in which we have explained above,(5) and partly also by the assistance of demons perpetrating his villainy, attempted to deify himself. (But) the man was a (mere) cheat, and full of folly, and the Apostles reproved him in the Acts.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 6 ch.1 p.74

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) (implied) “They are ever sighing, and groaning, and grieving; and since envy is never put off by the envious, the possessed heart is rent without intermission day and night. Other ills have their limit; and whatever wrong is done, is bounded by the completion of the crime. In the adulterer the offence ceases when the violation is perpetrated; in the case of the robber, the crime is at rest when the homicide is committed; and the possession of the booty puts an end to the rapacity of the thief; and the completed deception places a limit to the wrong of the cheat.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 10 ch.7 p.493

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) (implied) “They [bad bishops] sought to possess money in hoards, they seized estates by crafty deceits, they increased their gains by multiplying usuries.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 3 ch.1 p.438

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) (partial) “Crimes are everywhere common; and everywhere in the multiform character of sin, the pernicious poison acts by means of degraded minds. One man forges a will, another by a capital fraud makes a false deposition; on the one hand, children are cheated of their inheritances, on the other, strangers are endowed with their estates. The opponent makes his charge, the false accuser attacks, the witness defames, on all sides the venal impudence of hired voices sets about the falsification of charges, while in the meantime the guilty do not even perish with the innocent.” *Treatises of Cyprian Treatise* 1 ch.10 p.278

**Arnobius** (297-303 A.D.) (implied) “Did He send souls hither for this reason, that they which had been but now sincere and of blameless virtue should learn as men to feign, to dissemble, to lie, to cheat,(7) to deceive, to entrap with a flatterer's abjectness; to conceal one thing in the heart, express another in the countenance; to ensnare, to beguile(9) the ignorant with crafty devices, to seek out poisons by means of numberless arts suggested by bad feelings, and to be fashioned(10) with deceitful changeableness to suit circumstances?” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.39 p.449

**Lactantius** (318-325 A.D.) “But if God takes no trouble, nor occasions trouble to another, why then should we not commit crimes as often as it shall be in our power to escape the notice of men? and to cheat the public laws? Wherever we shall obtain a favourable opportunity of escaping notice, let us take advantage of the occasion: let us take away the property of others, either without bloodshed or even with blood, if there is nothing else besides the laws to be reverenced.” *A Treatise on the Anger of God* ch.8 p.264

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-315 A.D.) “Moreover, if any one should cheat in regard to measures or weights, or in an unfair and fraudulent sale, and if one steal another's property, and take up what he did not lay down, for all these there are penalties, not merely such as in other nations but more severe.” *Preparation for the Gospel* ch.8

## Mo14. No bribes

We should hate receiving bribes Proverbs 15:27; 17:23; Psalm 15:5; Exodus 23:8; Deuteronomy 16:19; Ecclesiastes 7:7; 1 Samuel 12:3; Isaiah 1:23; Amos 5:12; 2 Chronicles 19:7

because they can corrupt our hearts Deuteronomy 16:19; Proverbs 15:27; 28:16; Psalm 15:5; Ecclesiastes 7:7; Isaiah 5:13; 1 Samuel 4:3-4

Proverbs 25:21; Psalm 26:10; Job 36:18; 1 Samuel 8:3

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “The man who walks in righteousness, speaks in the right way, hates sin and unrighteousness, and keeps his hands pure from bribes, stops the ears from hearing the unjust judgment of blood closes the eyes from seeing unrighteousness: he shall dwell in the lofty cave of the strong rock.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.70 p.234

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “In this way, too, Samuel, who judged the people so many years, and bore rule over Israel without any pride, in the end cleared himself, saying, ‘I have walked before you from my childhood even unto this day: answer me in the sight of God, and before His anointed; whose ox or whose ass of yours have I taken, or over whom have I tyrannized, or whom have I oppressed? or if I have received from the hand of any a bribe or [so much as] a shoe, speak out against me, and I will restore it to you.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.26.4 p.497-498

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) (implied) “Be your safeguard wisdom, not a bribe. For you will not have at once complete security from the people also, should you buy off the interference of the soldiers. Therefore all you need for your protection is to have both faith and wisdom: if you do not make use of these, you may lose even the deliverance which you have purchased for yourself; while, if you do employ them, you can have no need of any ransoming.” *Fleeing Persecution* ch.14 p.125

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) (implied) “And inasmuch as *Zephyrinus* was accessible to bribes, and covetous, *Callistus*, by luring him through presents, and by illicit demands, was enabled to seduce him into whatever course of action he pleased. And so it was that Callistus succeeded in inducing Zephyrinus to create continually disturbances among the brethren, while he himself took care subsequently, by knavish words, to attach both factions in good-will to himself.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 9 ch.6 p.128

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) (partial) “It is related of the priestess of Apollo, that she at times allowed herself to be influenced in her answers by bribes; but our prophets were admired for their plain truthfullness, not only by their contemporaries, but also by those who lived in later times.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.46 p.656

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “We are constrained to have more love for what we shall be, by being allowed to know and to condemn what we were. Neither for this purpose is it necessary to pay a price either in the way of bribery or of labour; so that man’s elevation or dignity or power should be begotten in him with elaborate effort; but it is a gratuitous gift from God, and it is accessible to all.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 1 ch.14 p.279

**Theonas of Alexandria** (282-300 A.D.) “Be it far from you that you should sell the privilege of access to the emperor to any one for money, or that you should by any means place a dishonest account of any affair before your prince, won over either by prayers or by bribes. Let all the lust of avarice be put from you, which serves the cause of idolatry rather than the religion of Christ. No filthy lucre, no duplicity, can befit the Christian who embraces the simple and unadorned Christ.” Letter ch.2 p.159

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “who, if they sit as judges, corrupted by a bribe, either destroy the innocent or set free the guilty without punishment; who grasp at the heaven itself by sorceries, as though the earth would not contain their wickedness. These crimes, I say, and more than these, are plainly committed by those who are worshippers of the gods.” *The Divine Institutes* book 5 ch.9 p.145

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) (implied) “should any one acting as a judge take bribes, the penalty is death.” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 8 ch.8 p.15

## Mo15. No usury / lending to needy with interest

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “He shall spare the poor and needy, and shall save the souls of the needy: He shall redeem their souls from usury and injustice, and His name shall be honourable before them.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.34 p.211

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Respecting imparting and communicating, though much might be said, let it suffice to remark that the law prohibits a brother from taking usury: designating as a brother not only him who is born of the same parents, but also one of the same race and sentiments, and a participator in the same word; deeming it right not to take usury for money, but with open hands and heart to bestow on those who need.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.18 p.366

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “Ezekiel, in which He says of the before-mentioned just man, ‘He hath not given his money upon usury, nor will he take any increase’ -meaning the redundance of interest, which is usury. The first step was to eradicate the fruit of the money lent, the more easily to accustom a man to the loss, should it happen, of the money *itself*, the interest of which he had learnt to lose.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.17 p.372-373

Tertullian (198-202 A.D.) (partial) “For men were of old wont to require ‘eye for eye, and tooth for tooth’ and to repay with usury ‘evil with evil;’ for, as yet, patience was not on earth, because faith was not either.” *Of Patience* ch.6 p.711

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “The Highest says, He. does not prove of the gifts of the wicked. Thou shalt break forth upon the wretched when thou shalt have gained a place. One gives gifts that he may make another of no account; or if thou hast lent on usury, taking twenty-four per cent, thou wishest to bestow charity that thou mayest purge thyself, as being evil, with that which is evil.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.65 p.216

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) speaks against lending at interest. *Origen On Prayer* ch.24.5 p.83

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Also in Deuteronomy: ‘Thou shalt not lend to thy brother with usury of money, and with usury of victuals.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.48 p.546

**Council of Elvira** canon 20 (306/307 A.D.) “If any clergy are found engaged in usury, let them be censured and dismissed. If a layman is caught practicing usury, he may be pardoned if he promises to stop the practice. If he continues this evil practice, let him be expelled from the church.”

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “He will not steal, nor will he covet anything at all belonging to another. He will not give his money to usury, for that is to seek after gain from the evils of others; nor, however, will he refuse to lend, if necessity shall compel any one to borrow.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.64 p.249

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “If he has lent money, he must not take usury.” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 8 ch.8 p.15

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

Akhmin ***Apocalypse of Peter*** (135,100-150 A.D.) *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.9 ch.30 p.146 (implied) “And in another great lake, full of pitch and blood and mire bubbling up, there stood men and women up to their knees: and these were the usurers and those who take interest on interest.”

## Mo16. Hoarding is bad

Matthew 6:19-20; Lk 12:18

Luke 12:33 (implied)

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “Lay not up for yourselves treasure upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where robbers break through; but lay up for yourselves treasure in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.15 p.160

**Tatian’s *Diatessaron*** (c.177 A.D.) Section 28 no.38-40. “And he gave them this parable: The ground of a 37 rich man brought forth abundant produce: and he pondered within himself, and 38 said, What shall I do, since I have no place to store my produce? And he said, I will do this: I will pull down the buildings of my barns, and build them, and make 39 them greater; and store there all my wheat and my goods.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “"Lay not up for yourselves, therefore, treasures on the earth, where moth and rust destroy, and thieves break through and steal,"[3] says the Lord, in reproach perchance of the covetous, and perchance also of those who are simply anxious and full of cares, and those too who indulge their bodies.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.5 p.415

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) “O foolish trouble ! O silly craze for display ! They squander meretriciously wealth on what is disgraceful; and in their love for ostentation disfigure God's gifts, emulating the art of the evil one. The rich man hoarding up in his barns, and saying to himself, "Thou hast much goods laid up for many years; eat, drink, be merry," the Lord in the Gospel plainly called "fool." "For this night they shall take of thee thy soul; whose then shah those things which thou hast prepared be?” *The Instructor* book 2 ch.13 p.269

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “In the midst of the banquet he sighs, although he drinks from a jewelled goblet; and when his luxurious bed has enfolded his body, languid with feasting, in its yielding bosom, he lies wakeful in the midst of the down; nor does he perceive, poor wretch, that these things are merely gilded torments, that he is held in bondage by his gold, and that he is the slave of his luxury and wealth rather than their master. And oh, the odious blindness of perception, and the deep darkness of senseless greed! although he might disburden himself and get rid of the load, he rather continues to brood over his vexing wealth,--he goes on obstinately clinging to his tormenting hoards. From him there is no liberality to dependents, no communication to the poor.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 1 ch.11 p.279

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) (implied) “They [bad bishops] sought to possess money in hoards, they seized estates by crafty deceits, they increased their gains by multiplying usuries.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 3 ch.1 p.438

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “And again: "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth, where moth and rust do corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal. But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal. For where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also."” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 8 ch.7 p.478

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) (implied) “And it is a great matter also not to be engrossed by such anxieties: for the poor man, even should he be a slave, and unable to fill his belly plentifully, enjoys at least the kind refreshment of sleep; but the lust of riches is attended by sleepless nights and anxieties of mind. And what could there be then more absurd, than with much anxiety and trouble to amass wealth, and keep it with jealous care, if all the while one is but maintaining the occasion of countless evils to himself? And this wealth, besides, must needs perish some time or other, and be lost, whether he who has acquired it has children or not;” *Metaphrase of Ecclesiastes* ch.4 p.12

**Lactantius** (c.318-325 A.D.) “They employ anger against their equals in age: hence disagreements, hence banishments, hence wars have arisen contrary to justice. They use desire for the amassing of riches: hence frauds, hence robberies, hence all kinds of crimes have originated. They use lust only for the enjoyment of pleasures: hence debaucheries, hence adulteries, hence all corruptions have proceeded.” *The Divine Institutes* book 6 ch.19 p.185

## Teachings on money not on the list

**1. The deceitfulness of wealth** (no writers)

**2. The rich fall into temptation** (not analyzed yet.) (So far 1 writer: Cyprian)

**3. Repay debts promptly** (Prov 3:27-28) (not analyzed yet.)

**4. A man’s riches can ransom his life** Proverbs 13:8 (not analyzed yet.) (So far 1 writer: Peter of Alexandria)

**5. Corban was not right** Mark 7:13 (only 3 writers: *Diatessaron*, Origen, Cyprian)

**6. Leaving an inheritance is OK** (Proverbs 19:14) (only 2 writers: Cyprian of Carthage, Lactantius)

**7. Some think godliness a means to gain** (only 1 writer: Malchion)

**8. Give money/offerings to the church** (no writers)

**9. Give cheerfully** (not analyzed yet)

**10. Give what you have decided** (not analyzed yet)

**11. Wealth is fleeting** (not analyzed yet. 1 writer so far: Origen)

**12. Everything belongs to God** (not analyzed yet)

**13 Tithes** (not analyzed yet)

**14. Don’t store up treasure on earth** (not analyzed yet)

**15. We leave this earth with empty hands** (not analyzed yet. So far Gregory Thaumaturgus)

**16. The rich have already received their reward / consolation.** Luke 6:24 (only 2 writers: Irenaeus and Tatian’s *Diatessaron*.)

**17. Whoever loves money never has enough.** Ecclesiastes 5:10.

**18.** God loves both the rich and the poor. (only 1 writer)

**19. It is fine to give daughters an inheritance.** Numbers 27:7 Job 42:15 (no writers)

**20. If not put God’s house first, then making money is like putting it in a pocket with holes in it** (no writers)

**21. Do not rob God** (no writers)

**22. Don’t wear yourself out to get rich.** Prov 23:4 (no writers)

The rich has already received their reward / consolation (2 writers)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.14.2 p.438 | Lk 6:24f (9/10 quote); 6:25m (11 not 2 1 word quoted); 6:26 (full quote) |
| *Tatian's Diatessaron* section 8:37-40 p.56 | Lk 6:24-26 (full quote); Lk 6:27a (5/14 words quoted) | Tatian (c.172 A.D.) |

# THE POOR

## Po1. Help the poor

Proverbs 21:13; 22:9; 31:9,20; Luke 14:13; Acts 9:36; 10:4; 24:17; Romans 15:26; Galatians 2:10; James 2:15-16; 1 John 3:17

(implied) 1 Corinthians 13:3

p66 Bodmer II papyri - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) (partial, costly perfume) John 12:5-8

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Matthew 21:34-35; Luke 12:33

**Clement of Rome** 96-98 A.D.) “Let the rich man provide for the wants of the poor” *1 Clement* ch.38 vol.1 p.15 (See also vol.9 p.240). See also ibid ch.15 vol.1 p.9 (See also vol.9 p.233).

***The Apology of Aristides*** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) p.277 “they [Christians] abstain from all unlawful conversation and from all impurity; they despise not the widow, nor oppress the orphan; and he that has, gives ungrudgingly for the maintenance of him who has not.”

***2 Clement*** vol.9 ch.16 p.255 (120-140 A.D.) says that alms are good as repentance from sin. Alms is better than fasting, which is better than prayer. (2 Clement is not following the Bible here.)

***Epistle to Diognetus*** (c.130-200 A.D.) ch.10 p.29 “On the contrary he who takes upon himself the burden of his neighbour; he who, in whatsoever respect he may be superior, is ready to benefit another who is deficient; he who, whatsoever things he has received from God, by distributing these to the needy, becomes a god to those who receive [his benefits]: he is an imitator of God.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “And we should communicate to the needy, and do nothing for glory, He said, ‘Give to him that asketh, and from him that would borrow turn not away.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.15 p.167. See also *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.15 p.202

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) Book 3 Similitude second p.32 says the rich should “refresh” the poor and assist them in their necessities. The poor man can pray for the rich.

&&&Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) &&&

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Deal thy bread to the hungry willingly, and lead into thy house the roofless stranger.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.17.3 p.483. Also see *Against Heresies* book 4 ch.30.3 p.504

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) says we should give alms *Stromata* book 2 ch.27 p.340

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) says renunciation of wealth and bestowing it on the poor and needy was not a new thing. *Who Is the Rich Man That Shall Be Saved?* ch.11 p.594

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) mentioned buying poor slaves, helping poor people, and loving each other. *Apology* ch.38 p.46. See also *To Serapion* ch.4 p.107.

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “This, however, was not the case with my God, for He always and everywhere enjoined that the poor, and the orphan, and the widow should be protected, assisted, refreshed; thus by Isaiah He says: ‘Deal thy bread to the hungry, and them that are houseless bring into thine house; when thou seest the naked, cover him.’ By Ezekiel also He thus describes the just man: ‘His bread will he give to the hungry, and the naked will he cover with a garment.’ That teaching was even then a sufficient inducement to me to do to others what I would that they should do unto me.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.16 p.372

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “If thy brother should be weak--I speak of the poor man--do not empty-handed visit such an one as he lies ill. Do good under God; pay your obedience by your money. Thence he shall be restored; or if he should perish, let a poor man be refreshed, who has nothing wherewith to pay you, but the Founder and Author of the world on his behalf. Or if it should displease thee to go to the poor man, always hateful, send money, and something whence he may recover himself. And, similarly, if thy poor sister lies upon a sick-bed, let your matrons begin to bear her victuals. God Himself cries out, Break thy bread to the needy. There is no need to visit with words, but with benefits.” Instructions of Commodianus ch.71 p.216

Commodianus (c.240 A.D.) says to feed others. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.78 p.218

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) says the help the poor. *Origen On Prayer* ch.11.4 p.45

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “in respect of doing those things which are required for the religious administration. In the meantime let the poor be taken care of as much and as well as possible; but especially those who have stood with unshaken faith and have not forsaken Christ's flock, that, by your diligence, means be supplied to them to enable them to bear their poverty, so that what the troublous time has not effected in respect of their faith, may not be accomplished by want in respect of their afflictions. Let a more earnest care, moreover, be bestowed upon the glorious confessors. And although I know that very many of those have been maintained by the vow(1) and by the love of the brethren, yet if there be any who are in want either of clothing or maintenance, let them be supplied, with whatever things are necessary, as I formerly wrote to you, while they were still kept in prison,--only let them know from you and be instructed, and learn what, according to the authority of Scripture, the discipline of the Church requires of them, that they ought to be humble and modest and peaceable, that they should maintain the honour of their name, so that those who have achieved glory by what they have testified, may achieve glory also by their characters, and in all things seeking the Lord's approval, may show themselves worthy, in consummation of their praise, to attain a heavenly crown.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 5 ch.2 p.283

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) to presbyters and deacons. “I request that you will diligently take care of the widows, and of the sick, and of all the poor. Moreover, you may supply the expenses for strangers, if any should be indigent, from my own portion, which I have left with Rogatianus, our fellow-presbyter; which portion, lest it should be all appropriated, I have supplemented by sending to the same by Naricus the acolyte another share, so that the sufferers may be more largely and promptly dealt with.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 35 ch.1 p.314

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “you have always flourished in His Church, … watchfullness in helping those that suffer, mercy in cherishing the poor, constancy in defending the truth,…” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 76 p.403

**Pontius’ *Life and Passion of Cyprian*** (258 A.D.) ch.15 p.273 (implied) says that Cyprian sold his gardens once. When they were restored to him, he would have sold them again for the use of the poor.

**Council of Neocaesarea** (315 A.D.) mentions the chorepiscopi, who are devotion to the poor. cannot be a presbyter before they are 30 years old. Canon 14 p.85

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) mentions to help the poor. *The Divine Institutes* book 6 ch.12 p.178.

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “To ransom captive is a great work of pity, and also to visit and comfort the sick who are in poverty. If the helpless or strangers die, we should not permit them to lie unburied.” *The Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.65 p.250.

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “If one disregards a suppliant, when it is in his power to help him, he is responsible.” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 8 ch.8 p.15

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**Akhmin Apocalypse of Peter** (Greek) (135,100-150 A.D.) (implied) speaks of the punishments for various sins, including the rich who neglect the poor, and those who give alms hypocritically.

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Clement to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.9 p.200 “Therefore all of you present your previsions in common to all your brethren in God, knowing that, giving temporal things, you shall receive eternal things. Much more feed the hungry, and give drink to the thirsty, and clothing to the naked; visit the sick; showing yourselves to those who are in prison, help them as ye are able, and receive strangers into your houses with alacrity.”

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 3 ch.69 p.251 says to give food and drink to the poor.

## Po2. Don’t oppress the poor or afflicted

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (100-150 A.D.) ch.20 p.149 “But the way of darkness(2) is crooked, and full of cursing; for it is the way of eternal(3) death with punishment, in which way are the things that destroy the soul, viz., idolatry, over-confidence, the arrogance of power, hypocrisy, double-heartedness, adultery, murder, rapine, haughtiness, transgression,(4) deceit, malice, self-sufficiency, poisoning, magic, avarice,(5) want of the fear of God. [In this way, too,] are those who persecute the good, those who hate truth, those who love falsehood, those who know not the reward of righteousness, those who cleave not to that which is good, those who attend not with just judgment to the widow and orphan, those who watch not to the fear of God, [but incline] to wickedness, from whom meekness and patience are far off; persons who love vanity, follow after a reward, pity not the needy, labour not in aid of him who is overcome with toil; who are prone to evil-speaking, who know not Him that made them, who are murderers of children, destroyers of the workmanship of God; who turn away him that is in want, who oppress the afflicted, who are advocates of the rich, who are unjust judges of the poor, and who are in every respect transgressors.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “But why have you burnt up my vineyard? and why is the spoil of the poor found in your houses? Why do you wrong my people, and put to shame the countenance of the humble?'” *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew* ch.133 p.266

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “Thou shalt not wrest the judgment of the poor in his cause. From every unjust matter keep thee far. The innocent and righteous thou shalt not slay; thou shalt not justify the wicked; and thou shalt not take a gift, for gifts blind the eyes of them that see and pervert righteous words."**”** *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.9 p.114

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “oppress not the widow nor the orphan, the proselyte nor the poor, and let none of you treasure up evil against his brother in your hearts, and love not false swearing.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.36.5 p.514

## Po3. Feed the hungry

Isaiah 58:7; Ezekiel 18:7,16; Matthew 25:35-44

Proverbs 25:21; Romans 12:20 (implied, enemy)

**Ignatius of Antioch** (110-117 A.D.) (implied) “Let not [high] place puff any one up: for that which is worth all is faith and love, to which nothing is to be preferred. But consider those who are of a different opinion with respect to the grace of Christ which has come unto us, how opposed they are to the will of God. They have no regard for love; no care for the widow, or the orphan, or the oppressed; of the bond, or of the free; of the hungry, or of the thirsty.” *Epistle to the Smyrnaeans* ch.6 (Greek) p.89

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.3 p.138 “and give cheerfully thy bread to the hungry, and show compassion to the soul that has been humbled.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “For who hath required this at your hands? But loose every bond of wickedness, tear asunder the tight knots of violent contracts, cover the houseless and naked deal thy bread to the hungry.' What kind of things are taught through the prophets from [the person of] God, you can now perceive.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.37 p.175

**Tatian’s *Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 43.43 p.110 “But when the Son of man cometh in his glory, and all his pure angels with him, then shall he sit on the throne of his glory: and he will gather before him all the nations, and separate them the one from the other, like the shepherd who separateth the sheep from the goats; and will set the sheep on his right, and the goats on his left. Then shall the King say to those that are at his right, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundations of the world: I hungered, and ye gave me to eat; and I thirsted, and ye gave me to drink; and I was a stranger, and ye took me in; and I was naked, and ye clothed me; and I was sick, and ye visited me; and I was in prison, and ye cared for me. Then shall those righteous say unto him, Our Lord, when saw we thee hungry, and fed thee? or thirsty, and gave thee to drink? And when saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked, and clothed thee? And when saw we thee sick, or imprisoned, and cared for thee? The King shall answer an d say unto them, Verily I say unto you, What Arabic, ye did to one of these my brethren, the little ones, ye did unto me. Then shall he say unto those that are on his left also, Depart from me, ye cursed, 54 into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his hosts: I hungered, and ye fed me not; and I thirsted, and ye did not give me to drink; and I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; and I was naked, and ye clothed me not; and I was sick, and im- prisoned, and ye visited me not. Then shall those also answer and say, Our Lord, when saw we thee an hungered, or athirst, or naked, or a stranger, or sick, or imprisoned, and did not minister unto thee? Then shall he answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, When ye did it not unto one of these little ones, ye did it not unto me also. And these shall go away into eternal punishment: but the righteous into eternal life.”

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-188 A.D.) “Deal out thy bread to the hungry, and bring the houseless poor to thy home. When thou seest the naked, cover him, and hide not thyself from thine own flesh. Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily, and thy righteousness shall go before thee.'” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.12 p.114-115

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “'This is the fast which I have chosen, saith the Lord. Loose every band of wickedness, dissolve the connections of violent agreements, give rest to those that are shaken, and cancel every unjust document. Deal thy bread to the hungry willingly, and lead into thy house the roofless stranger. If thou hast seen the naked, cover him, and thou shalt not despise those of thine own flesh and blood (*domesticos seminis tui*). Then shall thy morning light break forth, and thy health shall spring forth more speedily; and righteousness shall go before thee, and the glory of the LORD shall surround thee: and whilst thou an yet speaking, I will say, Behold, here I am.'” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.17.3 p.481

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Since, then, it is the will of God that he, who is obedient to the commands and repents of his sins should be saved, and we rejoice on account of our salvation, the Lord, speaking by the prophets, appropriated our joy to Himself; as speaking lovingly in the Gospel He says, 'I was hungry, and ye gave Me to eat: I was thirsty, and ye gave Me to drink. For in as much as ye did it to one of the least of these, ye did it to Me.'” *Stromata* book 2 ch.16 p.363-364

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) “Let the oppressed go free, and tear every unjust bond. Break thy bread to the hungry; and lead the houseless poor into thy house. If thou see the naked cover him.'” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.&&&

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “'Deal their bread to the hungry; bring the outcast into their house; cover the naked, when they see him; nor hide themselves from their own flesh and kin:' 'keep their tongue from evil, and their lips from speaking guile: depart from evil, and do good; seek peace, and pursue it:' be angry, and sin not; that is, not persevere in anger, or be enraged: 'walk not in the counsel of the ungodly; nor stand in the way of sinners; nor sit in the seat of the scornful.'” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 2 ch.19 p.312

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “This, however, was not the case with my God, for He always and everywhere enjoined that the poor, and the orphan, and the widow should be protected, assisted, refreshed; thus by Isaiah He says: ‘Deal thy bread to the hungry, and them that are houseless bring into thine house; when thou seest the naked, cover him.’ By Ezekiel also He thus describes the just man: ‘His bread will he give to the hungry, and the naked will he cover with a garment.’ That teaching was even then a sufficient inducement to me to do to others what I would that they should do unto me.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.16 p.372

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Then shall the King say unto them who shall be at His right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world: for I was hungry, and ye gave me to eat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me to drink: I was a stranger, and ye received me: naked, and ye clothed me: sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer, and say unto Him, Lord, when saw we Thee hungry, and fed Thee? thirsty, and gave Thee to drink? And when saw we Thee a stranger, and received Thee? naked, and clothed Thee? And when saw we Thee sick, and in prison, and came unto Thee? And the King, answering, shall say unto them, Verily I say unto you, In as far as ye have done it to the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 book 2 ch.30 p.528

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) (only in vol.9 not in vol.1 so not counted) “Those of us in affliction save, on the lowly take pity; the fallen raise; upon those in need arise; the sick heal; the wandering ones of Thy people turn; fill the hungry; redeem those of us in bonds; raise up those that are weak; comfort the faint-hearted; let all the nations know that Thou art God alone and Jesus Christ Thy Son, and we are Thy people and the sheep of Thy pasture.” ch.59 (vol.1) p.21

***Sentences of Sextus*** (before 253 A.D.) sentence 379 “If you, from your whole heart, give your bread to the hungry, the gift is small, but the willingness is great with God.”

## Po4. Invite the poor to eat with us

Luke 14:12-14

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “Deal out thy bread to the hungry, and bring the houseless poor to thy home. When thou seest the naked, cover him, and hide not thyself from thine own flesh.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.12 p.114

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “All things of the following kind we have known through Luke alone (and numerous actions of the Lord we have learned through him, which also all [the Evangelists] notice): the multitude of fishes which Peter's companions enclosed, when at the Lord's command they cast the nets;(7) the woman who had suffered for eighteen years, and was healed on the Sabbath-day;(8) the man who had the dropsy, whom the Lord made whole on the Sabbath, and how He did defend Himself for having performed an act of healing on that day; how He taught His disciples not to aspire to the uppermost rooms; how we should invite the poor and feeble, who cannot recompense us;” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* bool 3 ch.14.3 p.438

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “2. And for this reason the Lord declared, ‘When thou makest a dinner or a supper, do not call thy friends, nor thy neighbours, nor thy kinsfolk, lest they ask thee in return, and so repay thee. But call the lame, the blind, and the poor, and thou shall be blessed, since they cannot recompense thee, but a recompense shall be made thee at the resurrection of the just.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.33.1 p.562

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “This, however, was not the case with my God, for He always and everywhere enjoined that the poor, and the orphan, and the widow should be protected, assisted, refreshed; thus by Isaiah He says: ‘Deal thy bread to the hungry, and them that are houseless bring into thine house; when thou seest the naked, cover him.’ By Ezekiel also He thus describes the just man: ‘His bread will he give to the hungry, and the naked will he cover with a garment.’ That teaching was even then a sufficient inducement to me to do to others what I would that they should do unto me.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.16 p.372

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “The brother oppressed with want, nearly languishing away, cries out at the splendidly fed, and with distended belly. What sayest thou of the Lord's day? If he have not placed himself before, call forth a poor man from the crowd whom thou mayest take to thy dinner.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.61 p.215

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Of this same thing in the Gospel according to Luke: ‘When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends, nor brethren, nor neighbours, nor the rich; lest haply they also invite thee again, and a recompense be made thee. But when thou makest a banquet, call the poor, the weak, the blind, and lame: and thou shalt be blessed; because they have not the means of rewarding thee: but thou I shalt be recompensed in the resurrection of the I just.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 third part ch.1 p.532

## Po5. Blessed are the poor / poor in Spirit

Matthew 5:3

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) “and once more, ‘Blessed are the poor, and those that are persecuted for righteousness’ sake, for theirs is the kingdom of God.’” *Polycarp’s Letter to the Philippians* ch.2 p.33

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 8.27 p.56 quotes Matthew 5:3. “Then he [Jesus] lifted up his eyes unto them, and opened his mouth, and taught them, and said, Blessed are the poor in spirit: for the kingdom of heaven is theirs.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “righteousness itself,’ they are blessed. ‘And blessed are the poor,’ whether ‘in” *Stromata* book 4 ch.6 p.413

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) says that Blessed are the poor in spirit. *Who is the Rich Man That Will Be Saved* ch.17 p.596

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “"Blessed are the needy, because theirs is the kingdom of heaven.’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.16 p.367

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) (partial) “No one, assuredly, is ‘poor in spirit,’ except he be humble. Well, who is humble, except he be patient?’ *On Patience* ch.6 p.714

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “His mouth and taught them saying, Blessed are the poor in spirit,’ etc.” *Commentary on Matthew* book 11 ch.4 p.433

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) (implied) “And it is a great matter also not to be engrossed by such anxieties: for the poor man, even should he be a slave, and unable to fill his belly plentifully, enjoys at least the kind refreshment of sleep; but the lust of riches is attended by sleepless nights and anxieties of mind. And what could there be then more absurd, than with much anxiety and trouble to amass wealth, and keep it with jealous care, if all the while one is but maintaining the occasion of countless evils to himself? And this wealth, besides, must needs perish some time or other, and be lost, whether he who has acquired it has children or not;” *Metaphrase of Ecclesiastes* ch.4 p.12

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (211-231 A.D.) book 2 ch.28 p.105 says the poor are blessed.

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.30 p.85; book 4 ch.29 p.141

## Po6. Help widows

Leviticus 24:22; Deuteronomy 24:17,19-21; 14:29; 26:12-13; 27:19; Jer 22:3; 7:6; Zech 7:10

Psalm 94:6; 146:9; Mal 3:5

Evil people do not help orphans and widows Isa 1:23

1 Timothy 5:3; James 1:27

(partial) Exodus 22:21-22

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) says to deliver the oppressed, judge the fatherless and see that the widow has justice. *1 Clement* ch.8 vol.1 p.7 also vol.9 p.231

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) says that we should have regard for love, care for the widow and orphan, and the oppressed. *Ignatius to the Smyrnaeans* ch.6 p.89

Ignatius (-107/116 A.D.) Do not neglect widows. *Ignatius’ Letter to Polycarp* ch.4 p.94

***Epistle of Barnabas*** ch.20 p.149 (c.70-130 A.D.) (implied) criticizes “those who attend not with just judgment to the widow and orphan”

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) “And let the presbyters be compassionate and merciful to all, bringing back those that wander, visiting all the sick, and not neglecting the widow, the orphan, or the poor,” *Letter of Polycarp to the Philippians* ch.6 p.40

***The Apology of Aristides*** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) p.277 “they [Christians] abstain from all unlawful conversation and from all impurity; they despise not the widow, nor oppress the orphan; and he that has, gives ungrudgingly for the maintenance of him who has not.”

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 2 8th commandment p.25 says to help the widows, look after the orphans and the needy and being hospitable.

*Shepherd of Hermas* (c.115-155 A.D.) Book 3 Similitude ninth ch.57 p.52 mentions the rewards for bishops that protected the widows and those in want.

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) We are not to be lovers of gifts, nor hunters after revenge, nor fail in doing judgment for orphans or the widow. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.27 p.208

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “Zachariah: ‘Thus saith the Lord Almighty, Execute true judgment, and show mercy and compassion every man to his brother; and oppress not the widow, nor the fatherless, nor the stranger; and let none of you imagine evil against his brother in your heart, saith the Lord Almighty.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.12 p.115

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) “Moreover, concerning the righteousness which the law enjoined, confirmatory utterances are found both with the prophets and in the Gospels, because they all spoke inspired by one Spirit of God. Isaiah accordingly spoke thus: ‘Put away the evil of your doings from your souls; learn to do well, seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.’” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.12 p.134

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) (partial) “Deal out thy bread to the hungry, and bring the houseless poor to thy home. When thou seest the naked, cover him, and hide not thyself from thine own flesh” [i.e. help relatives too]. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.12 p.114

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “And oppress not the widow, and the orphan, and the proselyte, and the poor; and let none image evil against your brother in his heart.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.17.3 p.483

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “Judge for the orphan, and justify the widow.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.292

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “This, however, was not the case with my God, for He always and everywhere enjoined that the poor, and the orphan, and the widow should be protected, assisted, refreshed; thus by Isaiah He says: ‘Deal thy bread to the hungry, and them that are houseless bring into thine house; when thou seest the naked, cover him.’ By Ezekiel also He thus describes the just man: ‘His bread will he give to the hungry, and the naked will he cover with a garment.’ That teaching was even then a sufficient inducement to me to do to others what I would that they should do unto me.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.16 p.372

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says to help widows. *Origen On Prayer* ch.28.4 p.108

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “That every widow that is approved ought to be honored. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 heads p.529

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “That widows and orphans ought to be protected. *Treatises of Cyprian* Heads p.530

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) to presbyters and deacons. “I request that you will diligently take care of the widows, and of the sick, and of all the poor. Moreover, you may supply the expenses for strangers, if any should be indigent, from my own portion, which I have left with Rogatianus, our fellow-presbyter; which portion, lest it should be all appropriated, I have supplemented by sending to the same by Naricus the acolyte another share, so that the sufferers may be more largely and promptly dealt with.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 35 ch.1 p.314

**Roman Clergy to Cyprian of Carthage (**250-251 A.D.) says that those who help the widows or bedridden will be like those in the parable who are appointed over ten cities. Letter 2 ch.3 p.281

**Pontius’ *Life and Passion of Cyprian*** (258 A.D.) ch.3 p.268 says that no widow left Cyprian without receiving something.

**Lactantius** (c.303-c320/325 A.D.) “For God, to whom everlasting mercy belongs, on this account commands that widows and orphans should be defended and cherished,” *The Divine Institutes* book 6 ch.12 p.177

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) say to love your neighbor, as well as your enemies. Clothe the naked, help widows and orphans. *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 1.6 p.9

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

Akhmin ***Apocalypse of Peter*** (135,100-150 A.D.) *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.9 ch.29 p.146 (implied) “And in a certain other place there were pebbles sharper than sword or any spit, red-hot, and women and men in tattered and filthy raiment rolled about on them in punishment; and these were the rich who trusted in their riches and had no pity for orphans and widows, and despised the commandment of God.”

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Clement to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.8 p.219 mentions helping widows and orphans.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 3 ch.71 p.251 says to help widows and orphans.

## Po7. Help orphans / fatherless

Leviticus 24:22; Deuteronomy 24:17,19-21; 14:29; 26:12-13; 27:19; Jer 22:3; 7:6; Zech 7:10

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**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “Judge for the orphan, and justify the widow.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.292

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) quotes Psalm 82:3,4 about defending the fatherless and needy, and doing justice to the humble and poor. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.14 p.365

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “This, however, was not the case with my God, for He always and everywhere enjoined that the poor, and the orphan, and the widow should be protected, assisted, refreshed; thus by Isaiah He says: ‘Deal thy bread to the hungry, and them that are houseless bring into thine house; when thou seest the naked, cover him.’ By Ezekiel also He thus describes the just man: ‘His bread will he give to the hungry, and the naked will he cover with a garment.’ That teaching was even then a sufficient inducement to me to do to others what I would that they should do unto me.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.16 p.372

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “That widows and orphans ought to be protected. *Treatises of Cyprian* Heads p.530

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) to presbyters and deacons. “I request that you will diligently take care of the widows, and of the sick, and of all the poor. Moreover, you may supply the expenses for strangers, if any should be indigent, from my own portion, which I have left with Rogatianus, our fellow-presbyter; which portion, lest it should be all appropriated, I have supplemented by sending to the same by Naricus the acolyte another share, so that the sufferers may be more largely and promptly dealt with.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 35 ch.1 p.314

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## Po8. Clothe the naked

Isaiah 58:7; Matthew 25:35-44

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.3 p.138 “To us He saith, ‘Behold, this is the fast that I have chosen, saith the Lord, not that a man should humble his soul, but that he should loose every band of iniquity, untie the fastenings of harsh agreements, restore to liberty them that are bruised, tear in pieces every unjust engagement, feed the hungry with thy bread, clothe the naked when thou seest him, bring the homeless into thy house, not despise the humble if thou behold him, and not [turn away] from the members of thine own family.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “Deal thy bread to the hungry, and lead the homeless poor under thy dwelling; if thou seest the naked, clothe him; and do not hide thyself from thine own flesh” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.15 p.202

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 43.46-50 p.110 “Then shall the King say to those that are at his right, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundations of the world: I hungered, and ye gave me to eat; and I thirsted, and ye gave me to drink; and I was a stranger, and ye took me in; and I was naked, and ye clothed me; and I was sick, and ye visited me; and I was in prison, and ye cared for me.”

**Irenaeus** (182-188 A.D.) “For God, who stands in need of nothing, takes our good works to Himself for this purpose, that He may grant us a recompense of His own good things, as our Lord says: ‘Come, ye blessed of My Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you. For I was an hungered, and ye gave Me to eat: I was thirsty, and ye gave Me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took Me in: naked, and ye clothed Me; sick, and ye visited Me; in prison, and ye came to Me.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.18.6 p.486

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “Respecting liberality He said: ‘Come to me, ye blessed, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was hungry, and ye gave Me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave Me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took Me in; naked, and ye clothed Me; sick, and ye visited Me; in prison, and ye came unto Me.’ And when have we done any of these things to the Lord?” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.293

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “This, however, was not the case with my God, for He always and everywhere enjoined that the poor, and the orphan, and the widow should be protected, assisted, refreshed; thus by Isaiah He says: ‘Deal thy bread to the hungry, and them that are houseless bring into thine house; when thou seest the naked, cover him.’ By Ezekiel also He thus describes the just man: ‘His bread will he give to the hungry, and the naked will he cover with a garment.’ That teaching was even then a sufficient inducement to me to do to others what I would that they should do unto me.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.16 p.372

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “Lead yourselves in a righteous path, unstained by jealousy. In thy riches make thyself gentle to those that are of little account. Give of thy labour, clothe the naked.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.63 p.215

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “Tobias himself says, ‘Because I remembered God with all my heart; and the Most High gave me grace and beauty in the eyes of Nemessarus, and I was his purveyor; and I went into Media, and left in trust with Gabael, the brother of Gabrias, at Ragi, a city of Media, ten talents of silver.’ And he adds, as if he were a rich man, ‘In the days of Nemessarus I gave many alms to my brethren. I gave my bread to the hungry, and my clothes to the naked: and if I saw any of my nation dead, and cast outside the walls of Nineve, I buried him; and if king Senachereim [Sennacherib] had slain any when he came fleeing from Judea, I buried them privily (for in his wrath he killed many).’” *Letter of Origen to Africanus* ch.13 p.391

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Then shall the King say unto them who shall be at His right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world: for I was hungry, and ye gave me to eat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me to drink: I was a stranger, and ye received me: naked, and ye clothed me: sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer, and say unto Him, Lord, when saw we Thee hungry, and fed Thee?” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 2 ch.30 p.528

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “in respect of doing those things which are required for the religious administration. In the meantime let the poor be taken care of as much and as well as possible; but especially those who have stood with unshaken faith and have not forsaken Christ's flock, that, by your diligence, means be supplied to them to enable them to bear their poverty, so that what the troublous time has not effected in respect of their faith, may not be accomplished by want in respect of their afflictions. Let a more earnest care, moreover, be bestowed upon the glorious confessors. And although I know that very many of those have been maintained by the vow(1) and by the love of the brethren, yet if there be any who are in want either of clothing or maintenance, let them be supplied, with whatever things are necessary, as I formerly wrote to you, while they were still kept in prison,--only let them know from you and be instructed, and learn what, according to the authority of Scripture, the discipline of the Church requires of them, that they ought to be humble and modest and peaceable, that they should maintain the honour of their name, so that those who have achieved glory by what they have testified, may achieve glory also by their characters, and in all things seeking the Lord's approval, may show themselves worthy, in consummation of their praise, to attain a heavenly crown.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 5 ch.2 p.283

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) say to love your neighbor, as well as your enemies. Clothe the naked, help widows and orphans. *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 1.6 p.9

## Teachings on the poor not on the list

**1. Being kind to the poor is lending to God.** Proverbs 19:17 (only 2 writers: Commodianus, Cyprian of Carthage)

**2. If a man will not work let him not eat.** (not analyzed yet)

**3. A poor just person is better than a rich false one.** (only 1 writer: Origen)

**4. The poor you will always have among you**. (not analyzed yet.)

# Church Assembling Together

## Ca1. Calling ourselves Christians

Acts 11:26b; 1 Peter 4:16; Acts 26:27-29

Isaiah 62:2 (partial) also hints at a change when it says the God’s people will be called by a new name.

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. (ca.300 A.D.) 1 Peter 4:16

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “For this reason righteousness and peace are now far departed from you, inasmuch as every one abandons the fear of God, and is become blind in His faith, neither walks in the ordinances of His appointment, nor acts a part becoming a Christian, but walks after his own wicked lusts, resuming the practice of an unrighteous and ungodly envy, by which death itself entered into the world.” *1 Clement* ch.3 p.6

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) “Let your children be partakers of true Christian training; let them learn of how great avail humility is with God-how much the spirit of pure affection can prevail with Him-how excellent and great His fear is, and how it saves all those who walk in it with a pure mind.” *1 Clement* ch.21 p.11

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) “But now reflect who those are that have perverted you, and lessened the renown of your far-famed brotherly love. It is disgraceful, beloved, yea, highly disgraceful, and unworthy of your Christian profession, that such a thing should be heard of as that the most stedfast and ancient Church of the Corinthians should, on account of one or two persons, engage in sedition against its presbyters.” *1 Clement* ch.47 p.18

**Ignatius**, disciple of the Apostle John (100-116/117 A.D.) “Therefore, having become His disciples, let us learn to live according to the principles of Christianity. For whosoever is called by any other name besides this, is not of God.” *Epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians* ch.10 p.63.

Ignatius (100-116/117 A.D.) Ignatius asked the Ephesian believers to pray, “that I may be found in the lot of the Christians of Ephesus, who have always been of the same mind with the apostles through the power of Jesus Christ.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Ephesians* ch.11 p.54.

Ignatius (100-116/117 A.D.) “The tree is made manifest by its fruit; so those that profess themselves to be Christians shall be recognized by their conduct.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Ephesians* ch.14 p.55.

***Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.12 p.381 (implied) “2. If he who cometh is a wayfarer, assist him as far as ye are able; but he shall not remain with you, except for two or three days, if need be. 3. But if he willeth to abide with you, being an artisan, let him work and eat; but if he hath no trade, 4. according to your understanding see to it that, as a Christian, he shall not live with you idle.”

***Epistle to Diognetus*** (c.130-200 A.D.) ch.6 p.26 uses the word “Christian” 15 times (not counting chapter titles). One place is “To sum up all in one word-what the soul is in the body, that are Christians in the world. The soul is dispersed through all the members of the body, and Christians are scattered through all the cities of the world. The soul dwells in the body, yet is not of the body; and Christians dwell in the world, yet are not of the world.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “For we are accused of being Christians, and to hate what is *excellent* (Chrestian) is unjust. Again, if any of the accused deny the name, and say that he is not a Christian, you acquit him, as having no evidence against him as a wrong-doer; but if any one acknowledge that he is a Christian, you punish him on account of this acknowledgment. Justice requires that you inquire into the life both of him who confesses and of him who denies, that by his deeds it may be apparent what kind of man each is. For as some who have been taught by the Master, Christ, not to deny Him, give encouragement to others when they are put to the question, so in all probability do those who lead wicked lives give occasion to those who, without consideration, take upon them to accuse all the Christians of impiety and wickedness. And this also is not right.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.4 p.164

Justin Martyr (c.150 A.D.) “Jesus Christ; from whom also we have the name of Christians.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.12 p.166

Justin Martyr (c.150 A.D.) “And let those who are not found living as He taught, be understood to be no Christians, even though they profess with the lip the precepts of Christ; for not those who make profession, but those who do the works, shall be saved, according to His word: ‘not every one who saith to Me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of My Father which is in heaven. For whosoever heareth Me, and doeth My sayings, heareth Him that sent Me. And many will say unto Me, Lord, Lord, have we not eaten and drunk in Thy name, and done wonders? And then will I say unto them, Depart from Me, ye workers of iniquity. Then shall there be wailing and gnashing of teeth, when the righteous shall shine as the sun, and the wicked are sent into everlasting fire. For many shall come in My name, clothed outwardly in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly being ravening wolves. By their works ye shall know them. And every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire.’ And as to those who are not living pursuant to these His teachings, and are Christians only in name, we demand that all such be punished by you.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.16 p.168

Justin Martyr (c.150 A.D.) “For in the Jewish war which lately raged, Barchochebas [bar Cochba], the leader of the revolt of the Jews, gave orders that Christians alone should be led to cruel punishments, unless they would deny Jesus Christ and utter blasphemy.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.31 p.171

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) “But this noble husband of hers,-while he ought to have been rejoicing that those actions which formerly she unhesitatingly committed with the servants and hirelings, when she delighted in drunkenness and every vice, she had now given up, and desired that he too should give up the same,-when she had gone from him without his desire, brought an accusation against her, affirming that she was a Christian. And she presented a paper to thee, the Emperor, requesting that first she be permitted to arrange her affairs, and afterwards to make her defence against the accusation, when her affairs were set in order. And this you granted. And her quondam husband, since he was now no longer able to prosecute her, directed his assaults against a man, Ptolemaeus, whom Urbicus punished, and who had been her teacher in the Christian doctrines. And this he did in the following way. He persuaded a centurion- who had cast Ptolemaeus into prison, and who was friendly to himself-to take Ptolemaeus and interrogate him on this sole point: whether he were a Christian? And Ptolemaeus, being a lover of truth, and not of a deceitful or false disposition, when he confessed himself to be a Christian, was bound by the centurion, and for a long time punished in the prison And, at last, when the man came to Urbicus, he was asked this one question only: whether he was a Christian? And again, being conscious of his duty, and the nobility of it through the teaching of Christ, he confessed his discipleship in the divine virtue. For he who denies anything either denies it because he condemns the thing itself, or he shrinks from confession because he is conscious of his own unworthiness or alienation from it, neither of which cases is that of the true Christian. And when Urbicus ordered him to be led away to punishment, one Lucius, who was also himself a Christian, seeing the unreasonable judgment that had thus been given, said to Urbicus: “What is the ground of this judgment? Why have you punished this man, not as an adulterer, nor fornicator. nor murderer, nor thief, nor robber, nor convicted of any crime at all, but who has only confessed that he is called by the name of Christian?” *Second Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.2 p.188-189

**Evarestus** (c.169 A.D.) “And when the proconsul yet again pressed him, and said, ‘Swear by the fortune of Caesar,’ he answered, ‘Since thou art vainly urgent that, as thou sayest, I should swear by the fortune of Caesar, and pretendest not to know who and what I am, hear me declare with boldness, I am a Christian. And if you wish to learn what the doctrines of Christianity are, appoint me a day, and thou shalt hear them.’” *Martyrdom of Polycarp* ch.10 p.41

***Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum*** (177 A.D.) vol.8 p.779 “He was also eager to serve his neighbour in any way, he was very zealous for God, and he was fervent in spirit. Such being the character of the man, he could not bear that judgment should be thus unreasonably passed against us, but was moved with indignation, and requested that he himself should be heard in defence of his brethren, undertaking to prove that there is nothing ungodly or impious amongst us. On this, those who were round the judgment-seat cried out against him, for he was a man of distinction; and the governor, not for a moment listening to the just request thus made to him, merely asked him if he himself were a Christian. And on his confessing in the clearest voice that he was, he also was taken up into the number of the Witnesses, receiving the appellation of the Advocate of the Christians,”

*Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum* (177 A.D.) vol.8 p.780 “For while we were all afraid, and especially her mistress in the flesh, who was herself one of the combatants among the Witnesses, that she would not be able to make a bold confession on account of the weakness of her body, Blandina was filled with such power, that those who tortured her one after the other in every way from morning till evening were wearied and tired, confessing that they had been baffled, for they had no other torture they could apply to her; and they were astonished that she remained in life, when her whole body was torn and opened up, and they gave their testimony that one only of the modes of torture employed was sufficient to have deprived her of life, not to speak of so many excruciating inflictions. But the blessed woman, like a noble athlete, recovered her strength in the midst of the confession; and her declaration, ‘I am a Christian, and there is no evil done amongst us, ‘brought her refreshment, and rest, and insensibility to all the sufferings inflicted on her. // Sanctus also nobly endured all the excessive and *superhuman* tortures which man could possibly devise against him; for the wicked hoped, on account of the continuance and greatness of the tortures, to hear him confess some of the unlawful practices. But he opposed them with such firmness that he did not tell them even his own name, nor that of his nation or city, nor if he were slave or free; but in answer to all these questions, he said in Latin, ‘I am a Christian.’ This was the confession he made repeatedly, instead of giving his name, his city, his race, and indeed in reply to every question that was put to him; and other language the heathens heard not from him. Hence arose in the minds of the governor and the torturers a determined resolution to subdue him; so that, when every other means failed, they at last fixed red-hot plates of brass to the most delicate parts of his body. And these indeed were burned, but he himself remained inflexible and unyielding, firm in his confession, being bedewed and strengthened by the heavenly fountain of the water of life which issues from the belly of Christ. But his body bore witness to what had happened: for it was all wounds and weals, shrunk and torn up, and had lost externally the human shape. In him Christ suffering wrought great wonders, destroying the adversary, and showing for an example to the rest that there is nothing fearful where there is the Father’s love, and nothing painful where there is Christ’s glory. For the wicked after some days again tortured the Witness, thinking that, since his body was swollen and inflamed, if they were to apply the same tortures they would gain the victory over him, especially since the parts of his body could not bear to be touched by the hand, or that he would die in consequence of the tortures, and thus inspire the rest with fear. Yet not only did no such occurrence take place in regard to him, but even, contrary to every expectation of man, his body unbent itself and became erect in the midst of the subsequent tortures, and resumed its former appearance and the use of its limbs, so that the second torture turned out through the grace of Christ a cure, not an affliction. // Among those who had denied was a woman of the name of Biblias. The devil, thinking that he had already swallowed her, and wishing to damn her still more by making her accuse falsely, brought her forth to punishment, and employed force to constrain her, already feeble and spiritless, to utter accusations of atheism against us. But she, in the midst of the tortures, came again to a sound state of mind, and awoke as it were out of a deep sleep; for the temporary suffering reminded her of the eternal punishment in Gehenna, and she contradicted the accusers of Christians, saying, ‘How can children be eaten by those who do not think it lawful to partake of the blood of even brute beasts? ‘And after this she confessed herself a Christian, and was added to the number of Witnesses. // But when the tyrannical tortures were rendered by Christ of no avail through the patience of the blessed, the devil devised other contrivances-confinement in the darkest and most noisome cells of the prison, the stretching of the feet on the stocks, even up to the fifth hole, and the other indignities which attendants stirred up by wrath and full of the devil are wont to inflict on the imprisoned. The consequence was, that very many were suffocated in prison, as many at least as the Lord, showing His glory, wished to depart in this way. For there were others who were tortured so bitterly, that it seemed impossible for them to survive even though they were to obtain every kind of attention; and yet they remained alive in prison, destitute indeed of care from man, but strengthened by the Lord, and invigorated both in body and soul, and they animated and consoled the rest. But the new converts who had been recently apprehended, and whose bodies had not previously been tortured, could not endure the confinement, but died in the prison.”

*Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum* (177 A.D.) “vol.8 p.781 For while those who confessed what they really were, were imprisoned simply as Christians, no other accusation being brought against them, those who denied were detained as murderers and profligates.”

*Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum* (177 A.D.) vol.8 p.782 “Attalus also was vehemently demanded by the mob; for he was a man of mark, He entered the lists a ready combatant on account of his good conscience, since he had been truly practised in the Christian discipline, and had always been a Witness of the truth among us. He was led round the amphitheatre, a tablet going before him, on which was written in Latin, ‘This is Attalus the Christian; ‘and the people swelled with indignation against him.”

*Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum* (177 A.D.) vol.8 p.782-783 “Present at the examination of these was one Alexander, a native of Phrygia, a physician by profession. He had lived for many years in Gaul, and had become well known to all for his love to God and his boldness in proclaiming the truth, for he was not without a share of apostolic grace. He stood near the judgment-seat, and, urging by signs those who had denied to confess, he looked to those who stood round the judgment-seat like one in travail. But the mobs, enraged that those who had formerly denied should now confess, cried out against Alexander as if he were the cause of this change. Then the governor summoned him before him, and inquired of him who he was; and when Alexander said he was a Christian, the governor burst into a passion, and condemned him to the wild beasts. And on the next day he entered the amphitheatre along with Attalus; for the governor, wishing to gratify the mob, again exposed Attalus to the wild beasts. These two, after being tortured in the amphitheatre with all the instruments devised for that purpose, and having undergone an exceedingly severe contest, at last were themselves sacrificed. Alexander uttered no groan or murmur of any kind, but conversed in his heart with God; but Attalus, when he was placed on the iron chair, and all the pans of his body were burning, and when the fumes from his body were borne aloft, said to the multitude in Latin, ‘Lo! this which ye do is eating men. But as for us, we neither eat men nor practise any other wickedness.”

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) mentions that we are called Christians in *A Plea for Christians* ch.2 p.130

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “And as regards thyself, seeing that thy sentiments respecting the Christians are not only the same as theirs, but even much more generous and wise, we are the more persuaded that thou wilt do all that we ask of thee.” Fragment 2 from *The Apology addressed to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* vol.8 p.758

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) Even though he is mocked by being called a Christian, Theophilus has a whole chapter on what it means that they are called Christians. Here is what he says. “And about your laughing at me and calling me ‘Christian,’ you know not what you are saying. First, because that which is anointed is sweet and serviceable, and far from contemptible. For what ship can be serviceable and seaworthy, unless it be first caulked [anointed]? Or what castle or house is beautiful and serviceable when it has not been anointed? And what man, when he enters into this life or into the gymnasium, is not anointed with oil? And what work has either ornament or beauty unless it be anointed and burnished? Then the air and all that is under heaven is in a certain sort anointed by light and spirit; and you are unwilling to be anointed with the oil of God? Wherefore we are called Christians on this account, because we are anointed with the oil of God.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.12 p.92. See also ibid book 1 ch.1 p.89.

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) And therefore it is proved that all others have been in error; and that we Christians alone have possessed the truth, in as much as we are taught by the Holy Spirit, who spoke in the holy prophets, and foretold all things. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.33 p.107

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201-205 A.D.) ch.1.2 p.700 Perpetua chose to die rather than give up being called a Christian.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) uses the word “Christian” 11 times. Here is one place: “Thus God and the Father are truly one and the same; He who was announced by the prophets, and handed down by the true Gospel; whom we Christians worship and love with the whole heart, as the Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things therein.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.10.5 p.426

***Passion of the Scillitan Martyrs*** (c.180-202 A.D.) *ANF* vol.9 p.285 “Saturninus said: I will not lend mine ears to thee, when thou beginnest to speak evil things of our sacred rites; but rather swear thou by the genius of our lord the Emperor. Speratus said: The empire of this world I know not; but rather I serve that God, *whom no man hath seen, nor with these eyes can see*. I have committed no theft; but if I have bought anything I pay the tax; because I know my Lord, the King of kings and Emperor of all nations. Saturninus the proconsul said to the rest: Cease to be of this persuasion. Speratus said: It is an ill persuasion to do murder, to speak false witness. Saturninus the proconsul said: Be not partakers of this folly. Cittinus said: We have none other to fear, save only our Lord God, who is in heaven. Donata said: Honour to Caesar as Caesar: but fear to God. Vestia said: I am a Christian. Secunda said: What I am, that I wish to be. Saturninus the proconsul said to Speratus: Dost thou persist in being a Christian? Speratus said: I am a Christian. And with him they all agreed. Saturninus the proconsul said: Will ye have a space to consider? Speratus said: In a matter so straightforward there is no considering. Saturninus the proconsul said: What are the things in your chest? Speratus said: Books and epistles of Paul, a just man. Saturninus the proconsul said: Have a delay of thirty days and bethink yourselves. Speratus said a second time: I am a Christian. And with him they all agreed. Saturninus the proconsul read out the decree from the tablet: Speratus, Nartzalus, Cittinus, Donata, Vestia, Secunda and the rest having confessed that they live according to the Christian rite, since after opportunity offered them of returning to the custom of the Romans they have obstinately persisted, it is determined that they be put to the sword. Speratus said: We give thanks to God. Nartzalus said: To-day we are martyrs in heaven; thanks be to God. Saturninus the proconsul ordered it to be declared by the herald: Speratus, Nartzalus, Cittinus, Veturius, Felix, Aquilinus, Laetantius, Januaria, Generosa, Vestia, Donata and Secunda, I have ordered to be executed. They all said: Thanks be to God. And so they all together were crowned with martyrdom; and they reign with the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.”

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201/205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) vol.3 ch.2.2 p.701 “Then they came to me, and my father immediately appeared with my boy, and withdrew me from the step, and said in a supplicating tone, ‘Have pity on your babe.’ And Hilarianus the procurator, who had just received the power of life and death in the place of the proconsul Minucius Timinianus, who was deceased, said, ‘Spare the grey hairs of your father, spare the infancy of your boy, offer sacrifice for the well-being of the emperors.’ And I replied, ‘I will not do so.’ Hilarianus said, ‘Are you a Christian? ‘And I replied, ‘I am a Christian.’ And as my father stood there to cast me down *from the faith*, he was ordered by Hilarianus to be thrown down, and was beaten with rods. And my father’s misfortune grieved me as if I myself had been beaten, I so grieved for his wretched old age. The procurator then delivers judgment on all of us, and condemns us to the wild beasts, and we went down cheerfully to the dungeon.”

*Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas* (c.201-205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) ch.1.2 p.700 Perpetua told her father that she could not be called by any other name except a Christian. She gave thanks to the Lord and was baptized.

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “since it is not less wicked to be ignorant of, than to offend the Parent of all, and the Lord of all. And although ignorance of God is sufficient for punishment, even as knowledge of Him is of avail for pardon, yet if we Christians be compared with you, although in some things our discipline is inferior, yet we shall be found much better than you. For you forbid, and yet commit, adulteries; we are born *men* only for our own wives: you punish crimes when committed; with us, even to think of crimes is to sin: you are afraid of those who are aware of what you do; are even afraid of our own conscience alone, without which we cannot exist: finally, from your numbers the prison boils over; but there is no Christian there, unless he is accused on account of his religion, or a deserter.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.35 p.195

Minucius Felix (210 A.D.) “How beautiful is the spectacle to God when a Christian does battle with pain; when he is drawn up against threats, and punishments, and tortures; when, mocking the noise of death, he treads under foot the horror of the executioner; when he raises up his liberty against kings and princes, and yields to God alone, whose he is; when, triumphant and victorious, he tramples upon the very man who has pronounced sentence against him! For he has conquered who has obtained that for which he contends. What soldier would not provoke peril with greater boldness under the eyes of his general? For no one receives a reward before his trial, and yet the general does not give what he has not: he cannot preserve life, but he can make the warfare glorious. But God’s soldier is neither forsaken in suffering, nor is brought to an end by death. Thus the Christian may seem to be miserable; he cannot be really found to be so. You yourselves extol unfortunate men to the skies; Mucius Scaevola, for instance, who, when he had failed in his attempt against the king, would have perished among the enemies unless he had sacrificed his right hand. And how many of our people have borne that not their right hand only, but their whole body, should be burned-burned up without any cries of pain, especially when they had it in their power to be sent away! Do I compare men with Mucius or Aquilius, or with Regulus? Yet boys and young women among us treat with contempt crosses and tortures, wild beasts, and all the bugbears of punishments, with the inspired patience of suffering. And do you not perceive, O wretched men, that there is nobody who either is willing without reason to undergo punishment, or is able without God to bear tortures?” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.37 p.196

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “Virtue is a will in conformity to God and Christ in life, rightly adjusted to life everlasting. For the life of Christians, in which we are now trained, is a system of reasonable actions-that is, of those things taught by the Word-an unfailing energy which we have called faith.” *The Instructor* book 1 ch.13 p.235

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “Accordingly they persecute us, not from the supposition that we are wrong-doers, but imagining that by the very fact of our being Christians we sin against life in so conducting ourselves, and exhorting others to adopt the like life.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.11 p.423

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) speaks of the pious Christian. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.12 p.206

**Tertullian** (205 A.D.) “For he who confesses himself to be what he is, that is, a Christian, confesses that likewise by which he is it, that is, Christ. Therefore he who has denied that he is a Christian, has denied in Christ, by denying that Christ is in him, while He denies that he is in Christ, he will deny Christ too.” *Scorpiace* ch.9 p.642

Tertullian (205 A.D.) “Therefore it will be to no purpose to say, ‘Though I shall deny that I am a Christian, I shall not be denied by Christ, for I have not denied Himself.’ For even so much will be inferred from that denial, by which, seeing he denies Christ in him by denying that he is a Christian, he has denied *Christ* Himself also.” *Scorpiace* ch.9 p.642

Tertullian (208-220 A.D.) speaks of us as Christians. *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.1 p.75 and *On Monogamy* (213 A.D.) ch.16 p.72.

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) The more often we are mown down by you, the more in number we grow. The blood of Christians is seed.” *Apology* ch.50 vol.3 p.55

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) (implied) “Because, after all, the earliest Christians are found on the side of the Creator, not of Marcion, all nations being called to His kingdom, from the fact that God set up that kingdom from the tree (of the cross), when no Cerdon was yet born, much less a Marcion.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.21 vol.3 p.339

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “…and great facts and records of the Christian religion…” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.4 p.349

**Asterius Urbanus** (c.232 A.D.) fragment 5 p.337 (implied) “And has not the falsity of this also been made manifest already? For it is now upwards of thirteen years since the woman died, and there has arisen neither a partial nor a universal war in the world. Nay, rather there has been steady and continued peace to the Christians by the mercy of God.”

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “For we observe that our discourse has been serviceable not only for a refutation of heresies, but also in reference to those who entertain these opinions. Now these, when they encounter the extreme care evinced by us, will even be struck with admiration of our earnestness, and will not despise our industry and condemn Christians as fools when they discern the opinions to which they themselves have stupidly accorded their belief. And furthermore, those who, desirous of learning, addict themselves to the truth, will be assisted by our discourse to become, when they have learned the fundamental principles of the heresies, more intelligent not only for the easy refutation of those who have attempted to deceive them, but that also, when they have ascertained the avowed opinions of the wise men, and have been made acquainted with them, that they shall neither be confused by them as ignorant persons would, nor become the dupes of certain individuals acting as if from some authority; nay, more than this, they shall be on their guard against those that are allowing themselves to become victims to these delusions.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 4 ch.45 p.42

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) “And of all men, we Christians alone are those who in the third gate celebrate the mystery” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 5 ch.4 p.58

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “The law is our field; whoever does good in it, assuredly the Ruler Himself will afford a true repose, for the tares are burned with fire. If, therefore, you think that under one they are delaying, you are wrong. I designate you as barren Christians; cursed was the fig-tree without fruit in the word of the Lord, and immediately it withered away. Ye do not works; ye prepare no gift for the treasury, and yet re thus vainly think to deserve well of the Lord.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.55 p.213

Commodianus (c.240 A.D.) “It is not right in God that a faithful Christian woman should be adorned. Dost thou seek to go forth after the fashion of the Gentiles, O thou who art consecrated to God? God’s heralds, crying aloud in the law, condemn such to be unrighteous women, who in such wise adorn themselves. Ye stain your hair; ye paint the opening of your eyes with black; ye lift up your pretty hair one by one on your painted brow; ye anoint your cheeks with some sort of ruddy colour laid on; and, moreover, earrings hang down with very heavy weight. Ye bury your neck with necklaces; with gems and gold ye bind hands worthy of God with an evil presage. Why should I tell of your dresses, or of the whole pomp of the devil?” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.60 p.215

***Martyrdom of the Holy Martyrs*** (before 250 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.1) ch.2 p.305 “Not so; because the God of the Christians is not circumscribed by place; but being invisible, fills heaven and earth,”

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “Since, then, he [Celsus] babbles about the public law, alleging that the associations of the Christians are in violation of it, we have to reply,” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.1 p.397

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) “Moreover, since he frequently calls the Christian doctrine a secret system (of belief), we must confute him on this point also, since almost the entire world is better acquainted with what Christians preach than with the favourite opinions of philosophers. For who is ignorant of the statement that Jesus was born of a virgin, and that He was crucified, and that His resurrection is an article of faith among many, and that a general judgment is announced to come, in which the wicked are to be punished according to their deserts, and the righteous to be duly rewarded? And yet the mystery of the resurrection, not being understood, is made a subject of ridicule among unbelievers.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.7 p.399

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) “And there are still preserved among Christians traces of that Holy Spirit which appeared in the form of a dove. They expel evil spirits, and perform many cures, and foresee certain events, according to the will of the Logos.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.46 p.415

Origen (233/234 A.D.) (implied) speaks of us following “the Christian way of life” *Origen’s Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.2 p.150

**Novatian** (250-254/257 A.D.) (implied) mentions that some claim the name of Christian falsely. “Nor yet are there wanting, among such things, those who, although they have claimed to themselves the sound of the Christian name, afford instances and teachings of intemperance; whose vices have come even to that pitch, that while fasting they drink in the early morning, not thinking it Christian to drink after meat, unless the wine poured into their empty and unoccupied veins should have gone down directly after sleep: for they seem to have less relish of what they drink if food be mingled with the wine.” *On Jewish Meats* ch.6 p.649

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.8 p.659 (implied) calls Novatians unbelievers, not Christians. “Then shall it be fulfilled that He says, ‘I also will deny them.’ But whom will the Lord Christ chiefly deny, if not all of you heretics, and schismatics, and strangers to His name? For ye who were some time Christians, but now are Novatians, no longer Christians, have changed your first faith by a subsequent perfidy in the calling of your name.”

***Treatise On Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.4 p.669 (implied) “Because the Holy Scripture has affirmed that they who should believe in Christ, must needs be baptized in the Spirit; so that these also may not seem to have anything less than those who are perfectly Christians;”

*Treatise On Rebaptism* (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.11 p.673 (implied) “He must needs be brought to confession by us before men, which cannot be done without Him, and without veneration of His name. And therefore both ought to stand by the confessor, sound, and sincere, and uncontaminated, and inviolated, without any choice being made of the confessor himself, whether he is righteous or a sinner, and a perfect Christian or an imperfect one, who has not feared to confess the Lord at his own greatest peril.”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “We must endure and persevere, beloved brethren, in order that, being admitted to the hope of truth and liberty, we may attain to the truth and liberty itself; for that very fact that we are Christians is the substance of faith and hope.” *Treatises of Cyprian*. Treatise 9 ch.13 p.487

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “Why is he who does not altogether trust in Christ named and called a Christian? The name of Pharisee is more fitting for you.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 8 ch.12 p.479

**Firmilian of Caesarea** to Cyprian (256 A.D.) “So that from this also a severe persecution arose against us of the Christian name; and this after the long peace of the previous age arose suddenly, and with its unusual evils was made more terrible for the disturbance of our people.” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 74 ch.10 p.392

Firmilian of Caesarea to Cyprian (256 A.D.) “But if this unity which cannot be separated and divided at all, is itself also among heretics, why do we contend any more? Why do we call them heretics and not Christians? Moreover, since we and heretics have not one God, nor one Lord, nor one Church, nor one faith, nor even one Spirit, nor one body, it is manifest that neither can baptism be common to us with heretics, since between us there is nothing at all in common.” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 74 ch.26 p.397

**Seventh Council of Carthage** (258 A.D.) p.568 “Another Secundinus of Carpi said: Are heretics Christians or not? If they are Christians, why are they not in the Church of God? If they are not Christians, how come they to make Christians? Or whither will tend the Lord’s discourse, when He says, ‘He that is not with me is against me, and he who gathereth not with me scattereth?’ Whence it appears plain that upon strange children, and on the offspring of Antichrist, the Holy Ghost cannot descend only by imposition of hands, since it is manifest that heretics have not baptism.”

**Pontius**’ *Life and Passion of Cyprian of Carthage (258 A.D.)* ch.7 p.269 (implied) “By whom were the blaspheming Gentiles to be overcome by retorting upon themselves the accusations which they heap upon us? By whom were Christians of too tender an affection, or, what is of more importance, of a too feeble faith in respect of the loss of their friends, to be consoled with the hope of futurity? Whence should we so learn mercy? whence patience?”

Pontius *(258 A.D.)* (partial) “There, as he sat moistened after his long journey with excessive perspiration (the seat was by chance covered with linen, so that even in the very moment of his passion he might enjoy the honour of the episcopate), one of the officers (“Tesserarius “), who had formerly been a Christian, offered him his clothes, as if he might wish to change his moistened garments for drier ones; and he doubtless coveted nothing further in respect of his proffered kindness than to possess the now blood-stained sweat of the martyr going to God.” *Life and Passion of Cyprian of Carthage* ch.16 p.273

**Gregory of Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) “Now, as regards those who have been enrolled among the barbarians, and have accompanied them in their irruption in a state of captivity, and who, forgetting that they were from Pontus, and Christians, have become such thorough barbarians, as even to put those of their own race to death by the gibbet or strangulation, and to show their roads or houses to the barbarians, who else would have been ignorant of them, it is necessary for you to debar such persons even from being auditors in the public congregations, until some common decision about them is come to by the saints assembled in council, and by the Holy Spirit antecedently to them.” *Canonical Epistle* canon 7 p.19

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “And while the attention of all was directed to them, before any could lay hold of them, they ran quickly up to the bench of judgment and declared themselves to be Christians, and made such an impression that the governor and his associates were filled with fear; and those who were trader trial seemed to be most courageous in the prospect of what they were to suffer, while the judges themselves trembled. These, then, went with a high spirit from the tribunals, and exulted in their testimony, God Himself causing them to triumph gloriously.” Letter 3 ch.8 p.100

Dionysius of Alexandria (246-265 A.D.) “Moreover, I testified openly that I worshipped the only true God and none other, and that I could neither alter that position nor ever cease to be a Christian.” Epistle 10 ch.4 p.105. See also Epistle 10 ch.4 p.104.

**Theonas of Alexandria** (282-300 A.D.) “For just the more completely that the emperor himself. though not yet attached to the Christian religion, has entrusted the care of his life and person to these same Christians as his more faithful servants, so much the more careful ought ye to be, and the more diligent and watchful in seeing to his safety and in attending upon him, so that the name of Christ may be greatly glorified thereby, and His faith extended daily through you who wait upon the emperor.” *Letter to Lucianus* ch.1 p.158-159

**Alexander of Lycopolis** (301 A.D.) “Chapter I.-The Excellence of the Christian Philosophy; The Origin of Heresies Amongst Christians. [new paragraph] The philosophy of the Christians is termed simple. But it bestows very great attention to the formation of manners, enigmatically insinuating words of more certain truth respecting God; the principal of which, so far as any earnest serious purpose in those matters is concerned, all will have received when they assume an efficient cause, very noble and very ancient, as the originator of all things that have existence. For Christians leaving to ethical students matters more toilsome and difficult, as, for instance, what is virtue, moral and intellectual; and to those who employ their time in forming hypotheses respecting morals, and the passions and affections, without marking out any element by which each virtue is to be attained, and heaping up, as it were, at random precepts less subtle-the common people, hearing these, even as we learn by experience, make great progress in modesty, and a character of piety is imprinted on their manners, quickening the moral disposition which from such usages is formed, and leading them by degrees to the desire of what is honourable and good.” *Of the Manichaeans* ch.1 p.241

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “It is almost three hundred years -something less or more-since we Christians began to exist, and to be taken account of in the world.” See also book 1 ch.1 p.413 for “Christian people” and book 1 ch.3 p.414 for “Christian religion” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.13 p.417

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) (implied) asks Megethius that if he could show who Paul was, would Megethius become a Christian. Megethius says that he already is a Christian, but Adamantius denies that Megethius is one. Here are the quotes. “AD. If now I should show that he [Paul] was not present [at the crucifixion], but even persecuted the members of the Church after this, would you become a Christian?” “MEG. But surely I *am* a Christian?” “AD. How can you be a Christian when you did not condescend to bear the name of Christian? You do not call yourself a Christian, but a Marcionite.” *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.8e p.46

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) in discussing Jesus’ promised rewards in Revelation 2, says, “The hidden manna is immortality; the white gem is adoption to be the son of God; the new name written on the stone is “Christian.” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the second chapter ch.17 p.347

Victorinus of Petau (martyred 304 A.D.) “For it is not enough for a tree to live and to have no fruit, even as it is not enough to be called a Christian and to confess Christ, but not to have Himself in our work, that is, not to do His precepts.” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the third chapter ch.2 p.347. For “Christian people” see *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the fifth chapter no.8,9 p.350.

**Council of Elvira** (306/307 A.D.) canon 12 “Parents and other Christians who give up their children to sexual abuse are selling others’ bodies, and if they do so or sell their own bodies, they shall not receive communion even at death.”

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) “confessing themselves Christians” *Canonical Epistle* canon 8 p.272

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “If we must understand by pearls the glorious and divine teachings, and by swine those who are given up to impiety and pleasures, from whom are to be withheld and hidden the apostle’s teachings, which stir men up to piety and faith in Christ, see how you say that no Christians can be converted from their impiety by the teachings of the apostles. For they would never cast the mysteries of Christ to those who, through want: of faith, are like swine.” *Extracts from the Work on Things Created* ch.1 p.379

**Council of Ancyra** (314 A.D.) (implied) “Those who have fled and been apprehended, or have been betrayed by their servants; of those who have been otherwise despoiled of their goods, or have endured tortures, or been forced to receive something which their persecutors violently thrust into their hands, or meat [offered to idols], continually professing that they were Christians; and who, … always give evidence of grief at what has happened; these persons, inasmuch as they are free from sin, are not to be repelled from the communion;” canon 3 p.64

**Theophilus** (events c.315 A.D.) “Habib said: ‘We are Christians: …’” *Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon* p.692

Theophilus (events c.315 A.D.) “And the Christians were rejoicing forasmuch as he had not turned aside nor quitted his post; but the pagans were threatening him for refusing to sacrifice.” *Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon* p.694

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “But all of these, ensnared by frauds of demons, which they ought to have foreseen and guarded against, by their carelessness lost the name and worship of God. For when they are called Phrygians, or Novarians, or Valentinians, or Marcionites, or Anthropians, or Arians, or by any other name they have ceased to be Christians, who have lost the name of Christ, and assumed human and external names.” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.30 p.133

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “The mother of Galerius, a woman exceedingly superstitious, was a votary of the gods of the mountains. Being of such a character, she made sacrifices almost every day, and she feasted her servants on the meat offered to idols: but the Christians of her family would not partake of those entertainments; and while she feasted with the Gentiles, they continued in fasting and prayer. On this account she conceived ill-will against the Christians, and by woman-like complaints instigated her son, no less superstitious than herself, to destroy them. So, during the whole winter, Diocletian and Galerius held councils together, at which no one else assisted; and it was the universal opinion that their conferences respected the most momentous affairs of the empire. The old man long opposed the fury of Galerius, and showed how pernicious it would be to raise disturbances throughout the world and to shed so much blood; that the Christians were wont with eagerness to meet death; and that it would be enough for him to exclude persons of that religion from the court and the army. Yet he could not restrain the madness of that obstinate man.” *Manner in Which the Persecutors Died* ch.11 p.305

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Next day an edict was published, depriving the Christians of all honours and dignities; ordaining also that, without any distinction of rank or degree, they should be subjected to tortures, and that every suit at law should be received against them; while, on the other hand, they were debarred from being plaintiffs in questions of wrong, adultery, or theft; and, finally, that they should neither be capable of freedom, nor have right of suffrage. A certain person tore down this edict, and cut it in pieces, improperly indeed, but with high spirit, saying in scorn, ‘These are the triumphs of Goths and Sarmatians.’ Having been instantly seized and brought to judgment, he was not only tortured, but burnt alive, in the forms of law; and having displayed admirable patience under sufferings, he was consumed to ashes.” *Manner in Which the Persecutors Died* ch.13 p.305-306

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) “For it becomes us as Christians to turn with aversion from all who speak or think against Christ, as the adversaries of God and the destroyers of souls, and ‘not even to wish them Godspeed, lest at any time we become partakers of their evil deeds,’ as the blessed John enjoins.” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Epistle 1 ch.6 p.298.

Alexander of Alexandria (321 A.D.) “at another time they cast approbium and infamy upon the Christian religion,” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Epistle 1 ch.1 p.291.

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) calls us Christians. *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 1.5 p.8

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) calls us Christians. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 6 ch.10 p.38

Eusebius of Caesarea(318-325 A.D.) (implied) “If any one should assert that all those who have enjoyed the testimony of righteousness, from Abraham himself back to the first man, were Christians in fact if not in name, he would not go beyond the truth. For that which the name indicates, that the Christian man, through the knowledge and the teaching of Christ, is distinguished for temperance and righteousness, … - all that was zealously practiced by them not less than by us. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.3.6 p.82. See also book 1 ch.3.10 p.86

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Acts of Paul and Thecla*** (before 207 A.D.) p.488 calls us Christians.

pseudo-Clement ***Two Epistles on Virginity*** (3rd century A.D.) Epistle 1 ch.6 p.57 “Does thou wish to be a Christian? Imitate Christ in everything.”

**Among heretics**

**The Gnostic Basilides** according to Clement of Alexandria (192-217/220 A.D.) “Basilides, in the twenty-third book of the *Exegetics*, respecting those that are punished by martyrdom, expresses himself in the following language: ‘For I say this, Whosoever fall under the afflictions mentioned, in consequence of unconsciously transgressing in other matters, are brought to this good end by the kindness of Him who brings them, but accused on other grounds; so that they may not suffer as condemned for what are owned to be iniquities, nor reproached as the adulterer or the murderer, but because they are Christians; which will console them, so that they do not appear to suffer. *Stromata* book 4 ch.12 p.424

Valentinian ***Gospel of Philip*** (c.150-4th century) *The Gnostic Bible* p.260 “When we were Jews we were orphans with only a mother. When we turned Christian we had a father and a mother.”

**Naasenes** (222-235/236 A.D.) called themselves Christians according to Hippolytus in *Refutation of All Heresies* book 5 ch.4 p.58.

**Bardesan** (154-224/232 A.D.) “‘And what shall we say of the new race of us Christians, whom Christ at His advent planted in every country and in every region? for, lo! wherever we are, we are all called after the one name of Christ-Christians. On one day, the first of the week, we assemble ourselves together, and on the days of the readings we abstain from *taking* sustenance.’” *The Book of the Laws of Diverse Countries* *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.733

Marcionite heretic **Megethius** (c.300 A.D.) a self-labeled follower of Marcion, in his debate with Adamantius calls himself a Christian. Adamantius denies that he is one though. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.8e p.46

**Marinus** (c.300 A.D.) a follower of Bardesanes, says, “The teaching of Christians stands by faith and the Scriptures, so we must convince or be convinced from Scriptures.” *Dialogue on the True Faith* Fourth part 12 p.144

## Ca2. Church(es) of God

Church of God Acts 20:28; 1 Corinthians 1:2; 10:32; 11:22; 2 Corinthians 1:1; Galatians 1:13; 1 Timothy 3:5;

Church of the Living God 1 Timothy 3:15

Churches of God 1 Corinthians 11:16; 1 Thessalonians 2:!4; 2 Thessalonians 1:4

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) Church of God at Rome greeting the Church of God at Corinth ch.1 vol.1 p.5. also vol.9 p.229

**Ignatius** (-107/116 A.D.) “I salute you from Smyrna, together with the Churches of God which are with me, who have refreshed me in all things,” *Letter to the Trallians* [Greek] ch.12 p.72

**Evarestus** (c.169 A.D.) “The Church of God which sojourns at Smyrna, to the Church of God sojourning in Philomelium, and to all the congregations of the Holy and Catholic Church in every place: Mercy, peace, and love from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied.” *Martyrdom of Polycarp* preface p.39

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “In the Revelation of John, again, the order of these times is spread out to view, which ‘the souls of the martyrs’ are taught to wait for beneath the altar, whilst they earnestly pray to be avenged and judged: (taught, I say, to wait), in order that the world may first drink to the dregs the plagues that await it out of the vials of the angels, and that the city of fornication may receive from the ten kings its deserved doom, and that the beast Antichrist with his false prophet may wage war on the Church of God; and that, after the casting of the devil into the bottomless pit for a while, the blessed prerogative of the first resurrection may be ordained from the thrones; and then again, after the consignment of him to the fire, that the judgment of the final and universal resurrection may be determined out of the books.” *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* ch.25 p.563

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) *Origen Against Celsus* book 3 ch.51 p.485. He says that those vanquished by licentiousness or other sins are lost and dead to God. They can come back, as though risen from the dead, but cannot hold a post or work in the church of God after their lapse.

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) “We are not to credit these men, nor go out from the first and the ecclesiastical tradition; nor to believe otherwise than as the churches of God have by succession transmitted to us.” Origen, Commentary on Matthew (post A.D. 244).

***Treatise On Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.1 p.667 tells of people who fled to the church of God, and speaks of the Holy mother church.

**Seventh Council of Carthage** (258 A.D.) p.568 “Another Secundinus of Carpi said: Are heretics Christians or not? If they are Christians, why are they not in the Church of God? If they are not Christians, how come they to make Christians? Or whither will tend the Lord’s discourse, when He says, ‘He that is not with me is against me, and he who gathereth not with me scattereth?’ Whence it appears plain that upon strange children, and on the offspring of Antichrist, the Holy Ghost cannot descend only by imposition of hands, since it is manifest that heretics have not baptism.”

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) Covetousness is a great evil; and it is not possible in a single letter to set forth those scriptures in which not robbery alone is declared to be a thing horrible and to be abhorred, but in general the grasping mind, and the disposition to meddle with what belongs to others, in order to satisfy the sordid love of gain. And all persons of that spirit are excommunicated from the Church of God.” *Canonical Epistle* Canon 2 p.18

**Malchion** (270 A.D.) “both bishops and presbyters and deacons, together with the churches of God, send greeting to our brethren beloved in the Lord.” *Against Paul of Samosata* preface p.169

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “filled with joyfulness the churches of God that are everywhere amongst the nations.” *Oration on Psalms* ch.1 p.394

## Ca3. Church(es) of Christ

Church of Christ Romans 16:16 (no other verses)

(implied) Matthew 16:18 (Jesus spoke of my church)

(implied) Christ is the head of the church Ephesians 5:23

**Julius Africanus** (235-245 A.D.) “Church of Christ against the exact truth, so as that a lie should be contrived” *Genealogy in the Holy Gospels* (=*Epistle to Aristides)* ch.1 p.125

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “we preserve both the doctrine of the Church of Christ and the grandeur of the divine promise, proving also the possibility of its accomplishment not by mere assertion, but by arguments; knowing that although heaven and earth, and the things that are in them, may pass away, yet His words regarding each individual thing, being, as parts of a whole, or species of a genus, the utterances of Him who was God the Word,” *Origen Against Celsus* book 5 ch.22 p.552-553

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.13 p.661 “the Church of Christ-would have bewailed the sins of his neighbors as his own”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Also, the sacrament of the Passover contains nothing else in the law of the Exodus than that the lamb which is slain in the figure of Christ should be eaten in one house. God speaks, saying, ‘In one house shall ye eat it; ye shall not send its flesh abroad from the house.’ The flesh of Christ, and the holy of the Lord, cannot be sent abroad, nor is there any other home to believers but the one Church. This home, this household of unanimity, the Holy Spirit designates and points out in the Psalms, saying, ‘God, who makes men to dwell with one mind in a house.’ in the house of God, in the Church of Christ, men dwell with one mind, and continue in concord and simplicity:” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 1 ch.8 p.424

**Seventh Council of Carthage** (85 bishops) (258 A.D.) p.572 Clarus of Mascula said, “power without, nor have the Church of Christ, are able to baptize no one with his baptism.”

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “they could see churches of Christ established by their means among all nations, and Christian people throughout the whole world bearing one common name: they could give assurance that the attacks of rulers and kings from time to time against the Church of Christ will avail nothing to cast it down, strengthened as it is by God. If so many things were proclaimed by the Hebrew divines, and if their fulfilment is so clear to us all to-day, who would not marvel at their inspiration?” *Demonstration of the Gospel* ch.1

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.65 p.250 “And consider this other thing, that in proportion as there is labour and danger in ruling the Church of Christ, so much greater is the reward.”

## Ca4. The Church is the body of Christ

1 Corinthians 12:27; Ephesians 4:12; 5:23

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) ch.14 p.254 “I think not that ye are ignorant that the living church is the body of Christ (for the Scripture, saith, ‘God created man male and female;’ the male is Christ, the female the church,) and that the Books and the Apostles teach that the church is not of the present, but from the beginning.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “and who look to their own special advantage rather than to the unity of the Church; and who for trifling reasons, or any kind of reason which occurs to them, cut in pieces and divide the great and glorious body of Christ,” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.33.7 p.508

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “And since the omnipotent God Himself ‘gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ,” *Stromata* book 4 ch.21 p.433

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “As, however, he says elsewhere, that the Church is the body of Christ, so here also (the apostle) declares that he ‘fills up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in his flesh for His body’s sake, which is the Church.’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.19 p.471

Tertullian (208-220 A.D.) (partial) speaks of our flesh in Christ. *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.6 p.79-80

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “Now, from the text, ‘Ye are the body of Christ, and members each in his part,’ we see that even though the harmonious fitting of the stones of the temple appear to be dissolved and scattered,” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 10 no.20 p.400

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “It is plain, therefore, that to John, armed as he was with superior virtue, this was not necessary, although the body of Christ, which is the Church, adorned with His members, ought to respond to its position.” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the tenth chapter no.3 p.353

## Ca5. We are the flock of Christ

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) calls us the flock of Christ. *1 Clement* ch.57 p.20

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Now, what are these sheep’s clothing’s, but the external surface of the Christian profession? Who are the ravening wolves but those deceitful senses and spirits which are lurking within to waste the flock of Christ? Who are the false prophets but deceptive predictors of the future? Who are the false apostles but the preachers of a spurious gospel? Who also are the Antichrists, both now and evermore, but the men who rebel against Christ? Heresies, at the present time, will no less rend the church by their perversion of doctrine, than will Antichrist persecute her at that day by the cruelty of his attacks, except that persecution make seven martyrs, (but) heresy only apostates.” *Prescription Against heretics* ch.4 p.245

Tertullian (208-220 A.D.) says we are the flock of Christ. *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.7 p.80 and ch.18 p.94.

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) says we are Christ’s sheep. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 77 homily 7.6 p.373

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.14 p.661-662 “And indeed the Lord had foretold that many should come as ravening wolves in the skins of sheep. Who are those ravening wolves but such as conspire with treacherous intent to waste the flock of Christ?”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “We ought to remember by what name Christ calls His people, by what title He names His flock. He calls them sheep, that their Christian innocence may be like that of sheep; He calls them lambs, that their simplicity of mind may imitate the simple nature of lambs. Why does the wolf lurk under the garb of sheep? why does he who falsely asserts himself to be a Christian, dishonour the flock of Christ? To put on the name of Christ, and not to go in the way of Christ, what else is it but a mockery of the divine name, but a desertion of the way of salvation;” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 10 ch.12 p.494

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) says that we are Christ’s sheep. homily 3 ch.52 p.248

## Ca6. Learn from prior church writers/councils

Learning from Bible authors or the council in Acts are not included here

Acts 15

**Here is a partial list of who referenced whom**

**Clement of Rome:** Dionysius of Corinth, Irenaeus of Lyons, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen

**Elders (Papias disciple of John?):** Irenaeus

**Ignatius:** Origen, Martyrdom of Ignatius, Polycarp, Melito of Sardis, Cyprian of Carthage, Celerinus, Eusebius of Caesarea, Apostolic Constitutions

**Quadratus:** Asterius Urbanus

***Epistle of Barnabas*:** Clement of Alexandria

**Polycarp:** Ignatius, Evarestus, Melito of Sardis, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian

**Evarestus:** Irenaeus of Lyons

***Shepherd of Hermas*:** Clement of Alexandria, X Tertullian, Origen

**Polycarp disciple of Ignatius:** Irenaeus of Lyons, Tertullian, Eusebius of Caesarea

**Justin Martyr:** Hegesippus, Melito of Sardis, Irenaeus of Lyons, Caius, Tertullian, Methodius, Encratite Tatian, Eusebius of Caesarea

**Melito of Sardis:** Caius

**Theophilus of Antioch:** Lactantius

**Irenaeus of Lyons, disciple of Polycarp:** Caius, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Anatolius

**Minucius Felix:** Lactantius

**Clement of Alexandria:** Anatolius

**Tertullian:** Cyprian of Carthage, Lactantius

**Hippolytus disciple of Irenaeus:** Anatolius

**Julius Africanus:** Origen

**Origen:** Julius Africanus, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Anatolius, X Methodius

**Novatian:** *X Treatise Against Novatian, X Treatise on Rebaptism*, X Cyprian of Carthage, X Council of Carthage

**Cyprian of Carthage:** Firmilian, Pontius, Lactantius

**Dionysius of Alexandria:** | Dionysius of Rome, Athanasius of Alexandria after Nicea

**Dionysius of Rome:** | Dionysius of Alexandria, Athanasius of Alexandria after Nicea

**Dionysius of Corinth** (170 A.D.) mentions Clement [of Rome] “We passed this holy Lord’s day, in which we read your letter, from the constant reading of which we shall be able to draw admonition, even as from the reading of the former one you sent us written through Clement.” Fragment 2 *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.765

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) mentions Justin [Martyr]. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.6.2 p.468

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) the order of the bishops of Rome: Linus, Anacletus, Clement, Evaristus (Evarestus). Alexander, Sixtus, Telephorus, Hyginus, Pius, Anicetus, Soter, and finally, in the time of Irenaeus, Eleutherius. He mentions Clement writing to the Corinthians. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.3.3 p.416

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) mentions that Polycarp wrote a letter to the Philippians. Irenaeus also says that he personally saw Polycarp. “But Polycarp also was not only instructed by apostles, and converses with many who had seen Christ, but was also, by apostles in Asia, appointed bishop to the Church in Smyrna, whom I also saw in my early youth, for he tarried [on earth] a very long time, and, when a very old man, gloriously and most nobly suffering martyrdom, departed this life, …” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.3.4 p.416

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) mentions the elders, disciples of the apostles. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.3

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “Truly has Justin remarked: That before the Lord’s appearance Satan never dared to blaspheme God, inasmuch as he did not yet know his own sentence, because it was contained in parables and allegories; but that after the Lord’s appearance, when he had clearly ascertained from the words of Christ and His apostles that eternal fire has been prepared for him as he apostatized from God of his own free-will,” (This is from a lost work of Justin Martyr that is also quoted in Eusebius.) *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.26.2 p.555

Polycrates of Ephesus (130-196 A.D.) (partial) “…have gone to their rest, who shall rise again in the day of the coming of the Lord, when He cometh with glory from heaven and shall raise again all the saints.” *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.773 [It does not actually we can learn from them, except implicitly by their example.]

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201-205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) preface p.699 learn from past writings

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) refers to Clement [of Rome in *1 Clement*] *Stromata* book 4 ch.15 p.429

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) refers to “the apostle Clement” [Clement of Rome] writing to the Corinthians. *Stromata* book 4 ch.17 p.428 and ch.18 p.429

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “The apostle Clement [of Rome]” and then alludes to 1 Clement. *Stromata* book 4 ch.17 p.428

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) refers to “the apostle Barnabas” and quotes from the *Epistle of Barnabas* p.137. *Stromata* book 2 ch.6 p.354

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “Again, he commands to eat that which parts the hoof and ruminates; ‘intimating,’ says [the Epistle of] Barnabas, ‘that we ought to cleave to those who fear the Lord, and meditate in their heart on that portion of the word which they have received, to those who speak and keep the Lord’s statutes, to those to whom meditation is a work of gladness, and who ruminate on the word of the Lord.” *Stromata* book 5 ch.8 p.456

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) refers to Hermas in *Stromata* book 1 ch.17 p.319

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) mentions Polycarp in Smyrna and Clement in Rome. *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.32 p.258

Tertullian (208-220 A.D.) says of *The Shepherd of Hermas* “if it had not been hapitually judged by every council of Churches (even of your own); itself adulterous” *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.10 p.85

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “Nor shall we hear it said of us from any quarter, that we have of our own mind fashioned our own materials, since these have been already produced, both in respect of the opinions and their refutations, in carefully written volumes, by so many eminently holy and excellent men, not only those who have lived before us, but those also who were contemporary with the heresiarchs themselves: for instance Justin, philosopher and martyr; Miltiades, the sophist of the churches Irenaeus, that very exact inquirer into all doctrines; our own Proculus, the model of chaste old age and Christian eloquence.” *Against the Valentinians* ch.5 p.525

**Asterius Urbanus** (c.232 A.D.) mentions the church apologist Quadratus fragments 9,10 p.337

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) mentions Irenaeus’ *Refutation of All Heresies*. *Refutation of All Heresies* book 6 ch.50 p.99. He refers to Appollinarius in *Scholia on Daniel* ch.2.31 p.186

**Origen** (239-242 A.D.) refers positively to the Shepherd [of Hermas]. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 13 ch.3.3 p.164

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) (partial) speculates that Celsus took something from the *Epistle of Barnabas*. *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.63 p.424

Origen (233-244 A.D.) quotes from Ignatius of Antioch. *Homilies on Luke* homily 6.4 p.24-25

&&&**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “” &&&

**Firmilian of Caesarea** to Cyprian (256 A.D.) &&&

&&&**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.)

**Anatolius** (270-280 A.D.) refers to Hippolytus, Clement, and Origen, “the most erudite of all” *Paschal Canon* ch.1 p.146. He refers to Irenaeus in ch.10 p.149.

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) mentions Justin [Martyr] of Neapolis as “a man not far removed either from the times or from the virtues of the apostles”. *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 2 ch.6 p.374.

Methodius (270-311/312 A.D.) mentions Justin [Martyr] of Neapolis in *Discourse on the Resurrection* part 2 ch.6 p.374

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) “For although the sacred and inspired Scriptures are sufficient to declare the truth,—while there are other works of our blessed teachers compiled for this purpose, if he meet with which a man will gain some knowledge of the interpretation of the Scriptures, and be able to learn what he wishes to know,—still, as we have not at present in our hands the compositions of our teachers, we must communicate in writing to you what we learned from them,—the faith, namely, of Christ the Saviour; lest any should hold cheap the doctrine taught among us, or think faith in Christ unreasonable.” *Athanasius Against the Heathen* part 1 ch.1.3 p.4

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) refers to *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* in *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.11 p.23. He refers to *Theophilus to Autolycus* in *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.23 p.39.

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) refers to Minucius Felix, Tertullian, and Cyprian in *The Divine Institutes* book 5 ch.1 p.136

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Dionysius [of Rome] Against the Sabellians. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 7 ch.18 p.25

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) mention Clement [of Alexandria and his *Hypotyposes*. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.12.3 p.99. See also book 2 ch.9.1 p.110-111

Eusebius of Caesarea (326-339/340 A.D.) refers to Clement [of Alexandria] and his *Hypotyposes*. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 2 ch.1.3-4 p.104.

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) refers to Claudius Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis, and Tertullian. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 5 ch.5.4 p.220

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) talks about Clement of Alexandria *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 5 ch.11 p.225-226

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) discusses Rhodo, who studied under Tatian, and wrote an apology against Marcion, and the sects derived from him. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 5 ch.13 p.227

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) says that Irenaeus in his your was a hearer of Polycarp. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 5 ch.5.8-9 p.220

**Among heretics**

**Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) mentions “And the most admirable Justin [Martyr] has rightly denounced them as robbers.”. *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.18 p.73. See also ibid ch.19 p.73

## Ca7. Christians met together on Sunday

1 Corinthians 16:2 – collection on the first day

Acts 20:7 - met to break bread and hear Paul’s preaching

partial (Lord’s day) Revelation 1:10. Christians needed no other explanation to know which day that was.

p46 Chester Beatty II – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) (partial) They collected money on the first day of the week. 1 Corinthians 16:2

There has been a false claim by Seventh Day Adventists that Christians did not worship on Sunday until a decree of Constantine. This false claim was in the pamphlet *Authorized Questions on the Sabbath and Sunday* and the radio program *Voice of Prophets*.

**Ignatius of Antioch** (106-117 A.D.) “If, therefore, those who were brought up in the ancient order of things have come to the possession of a new hope, no longer observing the Sabbath, but living in the observance of the Lord’s Day, on which also our life has sprung up again by Him and by His death” (Ignatius was a disciple of John the Apostle) *Letter of Ignatius to the Magnesians* ch.9 p.62

*Letter of Ignatius to the Ephesians* ch.5 p.51 (-107/116 A.D.) “He, therefore, that does not assemble with the Church, has even by this manifested his pride, and condemned himself.”

***Didache*** (=*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*) (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.14 p.381 (implied) “But every Lord’s day do ye gather yourselves together, and break bread, and give thanksgiving after having confessed your transgressions, that your sacrifice may be pure.”

***Epistle of Barnabas*** ch.10 p.143 (c.70-130 A.D.) (implied) says that Christians keep the “eighth day” [i.e. Sunday] because that is the day Jesus rose from the dead. He later ascended into the heavens.

*Epistle to Diognetus* ch.4 p.26 (c.130-200 A.D.) (partial) mentions how we are not to follow Jewish meats, the Sabbaths, circumcision, new moons, etc.

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “But Sunday is the day on which we all hold our common assembly, because it is the first day on which God, having wrought a change in the darkness and matter, made the world; and Jesus Christ our Saviour on the same day rose from the dead. For He was crucified on the day before that of Saturn (Saturday); and on the day after that of Saturn, which is the day of the Sun, having appeared to His apostles and disciples, He taught them these things, which we have submitted to you [Emperor Adrian] also for your consideration.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.67 p.186

Dionysius of Corinth (170 A.D.) (partial) “We passed this holy Lord’s day, in which we read your letter, from the constant reading of which we shall be able to draw admonition, even as from the reading of the former one you sent us written through Clement.” fragment 2 vol.8 p.765 [All knew which this “Lord’s day” was.]

Irenaeus of Lyons (180-188 A.D.) (second-hand) is mentioned in the eponymous work *Questions and Responses to Orthodoxy* “This [custom], of not bending the knee upon Sunday, is a symbol of the resurrection, through which we have been set free, by the grace of Christ, from sins, and from death, which has been put to death under Him. Now this custom took its rise from apostolic times, as the blessed Irenaeus, the martyr and bishop of Lyons, declares in his treatise *On Easter*, in which he makes mention of Pentecost also; upon which [feast] we do not bend the knee, because it is of equal significance with the Lord’s day, for the reason already alleged concerning it.” (The footnote says that Sunday here probably refers to Easter Sunday.) *ANF* vol.1 *Fragments of Irenaeus* fragment 7 p.569-570.

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) (partial, the Lord’s Day is the eighth day) “And the Lord’s day Plato prophetically speaks of in the tenth book of the *Republic*, in these words: ‘And when seven days have passed to each of them in the meadow, on the eighth they are to set out and arrive in four days.’” *Stromata* book 5 ch.14 p.466

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) says that while Jewish feasts were the Sabbath and purification, Christians made Sunday their day of rest/festivity. *Ad Nationes* book 2 ch.13 p.123

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “We are a body knit together as such by a common religious profession, by unity of discipline, and by the bond of a common hope. We meet together as an assembly and congregation, that, offering up prayer to God as with united force, we may wrestle with Him in our supplications.” *Apology* ch.39 p.46. See also *Apology* ch.16 p.31.

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) &&&

Cyprian of Carthage (c.253-258 A.D.) (partial) “For in respect of the observance of the eighth day in the Jewish circumcision of the flesh, a sacrament was given beforehand in shadow and in usage; but when Christ came, it was fulfilled in truth. For because the eighth day, that is, the first day after the Sabbath, was to be that on which the Lord should rise again, and should quicken us, and give us circumcision of the spirit, the eighth day, that is, the first day after the Sabbath, and the Lord’s day, went before in the figure; which figure ceased when by and by the truth came, and spiritual circumcision was given to us.” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 58 ch.4 p.354

Anatolius (270-280 A.D.) (partial) “the Lord’s resurrection, which took place on the Lord’s day, will lead us to celebrate it on the same principle; yet this should be done so as that the beginning of Easter…” *Paschal Canon* ch.16 vol.6 p.151

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “On this day also, on account of the passion of the Lord Jesus Christ, we make either a station to God, or a fast. On the seventh day He rested from all His works, and blessed it, and sanctified it. On the former day we are accustomed to fast rigorously, that on the Lord’s day we may go forth to our bread with giving of thanks. And let the *parasceve* become a rigorous fast, lest we should appear to observe any Sabbath with the Jews, which Christ Himself, the Lord of the Sabbath, says by His prophets that ‘His soul hateth;’ which Sabbath He in His body abolished, although, nevertheless, He had formerly Himself commanded Moses that circumcision should not pass over the eighth day, which day very frequently happens on the Sabbath, as we read written in the Gospel.” *On the Creation of the World* p.341-342

**Council of Elvira** (306-307 A.D.) (21 undisputed canons) “If anyone who lives in the city does not attend church services for three Sundays, let that person be expelled for a brief time in order to make the reproach public.” Canon 21.

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) discusses the fourth day and that Jesus suffered on the sixth day [Friday] for us. Then he says, “But the Lord’s day we celebrate as a day of joy, because on it He rose again, on which day we have received it for a custom not even to bow the knee. *The Canonical Epistle* Canon 15 p.278. This is also in *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers* vol. 14 p.601.

Methodius (270-311/312 A.D.) (partial mentions the eight day) “His own Son to reveal to the prophets His own future appearance in the world by the flesh, in which the joy and knowledge of the spiritual eighth day shall be proclaimed, … before the Church was espoused to the Word, received the divine seed, and foretold the circumcision of the spiritual eight day.”

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “These men, moreover, thought that it was necessary to reject all the epistles of the apostle, whom they called an apostate from the law; and they used only the so-called Gospel according to the Hebrews and made small account of the rest. The Sabbath and the rest of the discipline of the Jews they observed just like them, but at the same time, like us, they celebrated the Lord’s days as a memorial of the resurrection of the Saviour. Wherefore, in consequence of such a course they received the name of Ebionites,”. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 3 ch.27 p.159-160

**From corrupt and spurious sources**

(Alleged but untrue) Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) “Both custom and reason challenge from us that we should honor the Lord’s day, seeing on that day it was that our Lord Jesus completed his resurrection from the dead.” (We have no evidence of Theophilus ever saying this. This was claimed to be by Theophilus in the writings by Justin Edwards’ *Sabbath Manual* p.114.)

(Alleged but untrue) An SDA source says: “First-day writers assert that Irenaeus says that the Lord’s day was the Christian Sabbath. They profess to quote from him these words: ‘On the Lord’s day every one of us Christians keeps the Sabbath, meditating on the law and rejoicing in the works of God.’ While I do not know who claimed Irenaeus said this, the SDA source is correct in asserting that we have no quote of Irenaeus ever saying this.

(Alleged but untrue) *Dake’s Study Bible* claims Irenaeus said: “The Mystery of the Lord’s Resurrection may not be celebrated on any other day than the Lord’s Day, and on this alone should we observe the breaking off of the Paschal Feast.” (We have no evidence of Irenaeus ever saying this.)

**Among heretics**

**Bardaisan/Bardesan** (154-224/232 A.D.) says that we [Christians] meet on the first day of the week. *The Book of the Laws of Diverse Countries* p.733

**Secular Sources**

(no confirmation or denial) Pliny the Younger (c.117 A.D.) (governor and persecutor of Christians in 112 A.D. writing to Emperor Trajan) “They [Christians] were in the habit of meeting on a certain fixed day before it was light, when they sang in alternate verses a hymn to Christ, as to a god, and bound themselves by a solemn oath, not to do any wicked deeds…” Some have surmised that “a certain fixed day” was Sunday, but there is no evidence from Pliny that this was for, or against, being Sunday.

## Ca8. Practice water baptism

Mark 16:16; Luke 3:21; John 3:22; 4:1; Acts 2:38; 10:47-48; 1 Peter 3:21

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Hebrews 10:22

**p4 + p64 + p67** Luke 1:58-59; 1:62-2:1,6-7; 3:8-4:2,29-32,34-35; 5:3-8; 5:30-6:16; Matthew 26:7-8,10,14-15,22-23,31-33; Matthew 3:9,15; 5:20-22,25-28 -95 verses (c.150-175 A.D.) says that Jesus was baptized too. Luke 3:21

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:21; John 3:22; 4:1

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Relates water baptism to Noah’s ark. 1 Peter 3:21

**p40** – Romans 1:24-27; 1:31-2:3; 3:21-4:8; 6:2-5,16; 9:17,27 (3rd century A.D.) (implied) those who are baptized are baptized into Christ’s death. Romans 6:3

*Letter of* ***Ignatius*** *to the Smyrnaeans* ch.8 p.90 (-107/116 A.D.) says it is not lawful to baptize or celebrate a love feasts without the bishop. So he presumably thought it fine with a bishop.

***Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.7 p.379 “baptize into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in living water. But if thou have not living water, baptize into other water; and if thou canst not in cold, in warm. But if thou have not either, pour out water thrice upon the head into the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.”

***Epistle of Barnabas*** ch.11 p.144 (c.70-130 A.D.) discusses the water [of baptism] and the cross.

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) vol.7 ch.6 p.519 “how can we hope to enter into the royal residence of God unless we keep our baptism holy and undefiled? Or who shall be our advocate, unless we be found possessed of works of holiness and righteousness?”

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 Similitude 9 p.49 (implied) speaks of people having life when they receive the seal of the Son of God, which is descending down into the water.

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) in his *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.61 p.182-183 discusses water baptism.

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) “What need, then, have I of circumcision, who have been witnessed to by God? What need have I of that other baptism, who have been baptized with the Holy Ghost?” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.29 p.208-209

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 55.4-7 p.128 quotes the end of Matthew and Mark about go and baptizing.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (c.160-202 A.D.) mentions baptism. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.3

Irenaeus of Lyons(182-188 A.D.) Heretics have been instigated by Satan to deny “that baptism which is regeneration to God, and thus to a renunciation of the whole [Christian] faith.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.21.1 p.345

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201/205 A.D.) ch.4 p.705 (implied) “when Saturus was bathed in his own blood after a bite from a leopard “the people shouted out to him as he was returning, the testimony of his second baptism, ‘Saved and washed, saved and washed.’”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “And such as is the union of the Word with baptism, is the agreement of milk with water; for it receives it alone of all liquids, and admits of mixture with water, for the purpose of cleansing, as baptism for the remission of sins.” *The Instructor* book 1 ch.6 p.222. See also *The Instructor* book 1 ch.6 p.216.

**Tertullian** (198-220 AD.) has an entire work called *On Baptism*. In one place Tertullian says, “But now that faith has been enlarged, and is become a faith which believes in His nativity, passion, and resurrection, there has been an amplification added to the sacrament, viz., the sealing act of baptism; the clothing, in some sense, of the faith which before was bare, and which cannot exist now without its proper law. For the *law* of baptism has been *imposed*, and the formula prescribed: ‘Go,’ *He* saith, ‘teach the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the son, and of the Holy Spirit.’” *On Baptism* ch.13 p.676

Tertullian (208-220 A.D.) says that even laymen can baptize when bishops, priests, or deacons are not present. *On Baptism* ch.17 p.&&&

Tertullian (208-220 A.D.) mentions baptism. *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.17 p.93

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) discusses water baptism. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.10 p.449 Tertullian alludes to 1 Corinthians 15:29 and says that the Apostle mentioned baptism for the dead solely to more firmly insist on the resurrection of the body.

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) says to baptize in the name of the “Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. He briefly mentions Cornelius. *Against the Heresy of One Noetus* ch.14 p.228

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) Hippolytus discusses who can become a true Christian. “For he who comes down in faith to the laver of regeneration and renounces the devil, and joins himself to Christ; who denies the enemy and makes the confession that Christ is God; who puts off the bondage and puts on the adoption, --he comes up from the baptism brilliant as the sun,...” In *Discourse on the Holy Theophany*, ch.10 p.237

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240 A.D.) “And is not baptism itself, which is the sign of regeneration, an escape from matter, by the teaching of the Saviour…” *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.5 p.43

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) says we are buried in Christ through baptism. *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 1 ch.25 p.312. See also in many other places.

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions water baptism. *Origen On Prayer* ch.5.1 p.27

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) says that Baptism restores to us salvation. *Treatise Concerning the Trinity* ch.10 p.620

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.3 p.658 says to baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.

***Treatise on Rebaptism*** (254-257 A.D.) “baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.” ch.7 p.671

*Treatise on Rebaptism* (254-257 A.D.) ch.5 p.669-670 On speaking of Cornelius said, “And there will be no doubt that men may be baptized with the Holy Ghost without water, - as thou observest that these were baptized before they were baptized with water; that the announcements of both John and of our Lord Himself were satisfied, - forasmuch as they received the grace of the promise both without the imposition of the apostle’s hands and without the [baptismal] laver, which they attained afterwards. And their hearts being purified, God bestowed upon them at the same time, in virtue of their faith, remission of sins; so that the subsequent baptism conferred upon them this benefit alone, that they received also the invocation of the name of Jesus Christ, that nothing might appear to be wanting to the integrity of their service and faith.”

*Treatise On Rebaptism* (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.3 p.669 “may not sometimes be such as are not imperfect, but, as it were, entire and complete. For when by imposition of the bishop’s hands the Holy Spirit is given to every one that believes, as in the case of the Samaritans, after Philip’s baptism, the apostles did to them by laying on of hands; in this manner also they conferred on them the Holy Spirit. And that this might be the case, they themselves prayed for them, for as yet the Holy Spirit had not descended upon any of them, but they had only been baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. Moreover, our Lord after His resurrection, when He had breathed upon His apostles, and had said to them, “Receive ye the Holy Ghost,”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) taught that a person has to be baptized in the church; baptism by heretics is not considered “legitimate”. *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 70 p.377

Cyprian of Carthage (256 A.D.) “For the Lord after His resurrection, sending His disciples, instructed and taught them in what manner they ought to baptize, saying, ‘All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’ He suggests the Trinity, in whose sacrament the nations were to be baptized. Does Marcion then maintain the Trinity? Does he then assert the same Father, the Creator, as we do? Does he know the same Son, Christ born of the Virgin Mary, who as the Word was made flesh, who bare our sins, who conquered death by dying, who by Himself first of all originated the resurrection of the flesh, and showed to His disciples that He had risen in the same flesh? Widely different is the faith with Marcion, and, moreover, with the other heretics nay, with them there is nothing but perfidy, and blasphemy, and contention, which is hostile to holiness and truth. How then can one who is baptized among them seem to have obtained mission of sins, and the grace of the divine mercy, by his faith, when he has not the truth of the faith itself?” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 72 ch.3 p.380-381

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) said that baptizing infants soon after birth was better than waiting for the eighth day. *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 58 p.353-354.

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) strongly emphasized baptism (even of infants), and one can see the doctrine of baptismal regeneration in his writings. Yet in discussing Cornelius he even said, “For we find also, in the Acts of the Apostles, that this is maintained by the apostles, and kept in the truth of the saving faith, so that when, in the house of Cornelius the centurion, the Holy Ghost had descended upon the Gentiles who were there, fervent in the warmth of their faith, and believing in the Lord with the whole heart; and when, filled with the Spirit, they blessed God in divers tongues, still none the less the blessed Apostle Peter, mindful of the divine precept and the Gospel, commanded that those same men should be baptized who had already been filled with the Holy Spirit, that nothing might seem to be neglected to the observance by the apostolic instruction in all things of the law of the divine precept and Gospel.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 71 p.378

**Firmilian** (c.246-258 A.D.) in his letter to Cyprian mentions discusses water baptism in *Letter 74* p.390

Novatus of Thamaguda at the **Seventh Council of Carthage** (258 A.D.) p.566 under Cyprian says that “all the Scriptures give witness concerning the saving baptism”

The Seventh Council of Carthage (258 A.D.) p.565 discusses water baptism of heretics.

**Pontius** (258 A.D.) (implied) “the eunuch is described as at once baptized by Philip” *Life and Passion of Cyprian* (258 A.D.) ch.3 p.268

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) letter 6.1 (to Sixtus, Bishop) p.102 says that baptism cleanses us.

&&&**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) &&&

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) (implied) Moreover, they ask that their reproach may be taken away-that is, that they may be cleansed from their sins: for the reproach is the original sin which is taken away in baptism, and they begin to be called Christian men, which is, ‘Let thy name be called upon us.’” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the first chapter (16) p.346

Victorinus of Petau (martyred 304 A.D.) “15. ‘And His voice as it were the voice of many waters.’] The many waters are understood to be many peoples, or the gift of baptism that He sent forth by the apostles, saying: “Go ye, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the first chapter p.345

**Council of Elvira** (306/307 A.D.) in the 21 undisputed canons refers to baptized men and women seven times in canons 1, 2, 4, 9, and 10. It refers to an unbaptized woman one time.

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) mentions the people baptized in Acts 10. *An Exposition of the Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles* O,X. vol.6 p.167

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) (implied) “…in the same way, one should say, does the Church conceive those who flee to the Word, and, forming them according to the likeness and form of Christ, after a certain time produce them as citizens of that blessed state. Whence it is necessary that she should stand upon the laver [of baptism\ bringing forth those who are washed in it.” *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 8 ch.6 p.337

**Council of Ancyra** (314 A.D.) says those who sacrificed to the Roman gods before they are baptized are cleansed. canon 12 p.68.

**Council of Neocaesarea** (c.315 A.D.) canon 6 p.82 says that a pregnant woman can be baptized at any time. Her baptism has no effect on her unborn child.

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “which He bare; that as He saved the Jews by undergoing circumcision, so He might save the Gentiles also by baptism-that is, by the pouring forth of the purifying dew. Then a voice from heaven was heard: “Thou art my Son,” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.15 p.115

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) (implied) tells of the Christian woman Potomiaena who was martyred. A Roman soldier named Basilides led her to her death, but he drove back her insulters. She said that after her departure she would pray for him and he would receive a reward for his kindness. Not long afterwards, Basilides told other soldiers he could not swear because he was a Christian. At first they thought he was joking, but he said he saw Potomiaena at night three days after her martyrdom. The brothers came and talked with him in prison, and gave him the seal of the Lord (i.e. water baptism). [Of course there was no permission to immerse him in a prison. Then he was beheaded.] *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 6 ch.5 p.252

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Acts of Paul and Thecla*** (before 207 A.D.) p.490 “And when she had finished her prayer, she turned and saw a ditch full of water, and said: Now it is time to wash myself. And she threw herself in, saying: In the name of Jesus Christ I am baptized on my last day.”

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) teaches water baptism. homily 7 ch.8 p.269. See also ibid homily 3 ch.73 p.251.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 6 ch.9 has a chapter on the necessity of baptism. See also ch.1.18 p.82 and ch.1.69 p.95.

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) discussed the **Elchasaites** [Elkasite Ebionites] and their teaching that Jesus was the Son of God, on astrology, and water baptism. *Refutation of All Heresies* book 9 ch.8-12 p.131-133.

Revised Valentinian ***Tripartite Tract*** (200-250 A.D.) part 2 ch.15 p.99 mentions baptism

## Ca9. Baptize in the name of the Father, Son, Holy Spirit

Matthew 28:19

***Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.7 p.379 quotes it as, “Having first said all these things, baptize into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in living water. [i.e. running water]. But if thou have not living water, baptize into other water; and if thou canst not in cold, in warm. But if thou have not either, pour out water thrice upon the head into the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “And again, giving to the disciples the power of regeneration unto God, He [Jesus] said to them, ‘Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.17.1 p.444.

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) says to baptize in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.3

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) slightly paraphrases this verse as follows: “He [Jesus] commanded the eleven others, on His departure to the Father, to ‘go and teach *all* nations, who were to be baptized into the Father, and into the Son, and into the Holy Ghost.” *On Prescription Against Heretics* ch.20 p.252.

Tertullian says it slightly differently in *On Baptism* ch.13 p.676 “God, *He* [Jesus] saith, ‘teach the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.”

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) quotes it as “Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.” *Against the Heresy of One Noetus* ch.14 p.228

**Origen** (239-242 A.D.) says we baptize in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 7 ch.4.1 p.103

***A Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.3 p.658 “Go ye and preach the Gospel to the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. That is, that that same Trinity which operated figuratively in Noah’s days through the dove, now operates in the Church spiritually through the disciples.”

***Treatise on Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.7 p.671 “Go ye, teach the nations; baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.”

**Seventh Council of Carthage** (258 A.D.) p.567 Munnulus of Girba said, “… even especially in the Trinity of baptism, as our Lord says, ‘Go ye and baptize the nations, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.”

Seventh Council of Carthage (258 A.D.) p.569 Vincentius of Thibaris said, “Go ye and teach the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.”

**Victorinus of Petau** (-307 A.D.) quotes it as “He [Jesus] sent forth the apostles, saying: ‘Go ye, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the first chapter no.15 p.345

**Lucian of Antioch** (c.300-311 A.D.) quotes Matthew 28:19 about baptizing. “as also our Lord Jesus Christ commanded his disciples, saying, ‘Go ye, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the son, and of the Holy Ghost;’ clearly of the Father who is really a Father, and of a Son who is really a son, and of the Holy Ghost who is really a Holy Ghost; these names being assigned not vaguely nor idly, but indicating accurately the special personality, order, and glory of those named, so that in Personality they are three, but in harmony one.” *Creed of Lucian of Antioch* in *The Creeds of Christendom* by Philip Schaff vol.2 p.27

***Letter of the Council of Arles I to Pope Silvester*** (Aug. 314 A.D.) p.392 “being baptized in the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, … But if, on being questioned as to the Creed, he does not give the Trinity in answer,…”

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) says to baptize in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. homily 11 ch.26 p.290

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.63 p.94 says to be baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

## Ca10. Observe the Lord’s Supper

Matthew 26:20-30; Mark 14:12-26; Luke 22:1-23; John 13:1-30; 1 Corinthians 11:17-34

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) 1 Corinthians 11:17-34

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) Luke 22:4-23

**p37** Matthew 26:19-52 (225-275 A.D.) describes the Last Supper. Matthew 26:20-29

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) “Take ye heed, then, to have but one Eucharist. For there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup to [show forth] the unity of His blood; one altar; as there is one bishop, along with the presbytery and deacons, my fellow-servants; that so, whatsoever ye do, ye may do it according to [the will of] God.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Philadelphians* ch.4 p.81

***Didache*** (=*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*) (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.9-10 p.379-380 discusses taking the Lord’s supper. However, he calls it “Thanksgiving” in two places, but never calls it the Eucharist.

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) explains how they partake of the Lord’s Supper in *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.65 p.185.

***Irenaeus of Lyons*** (182-188 A.D.) fragment 37 p.574 says “…that He may exhibit this sacrifice, both the bread the body of Christ, and the cup the blood of Christ, in order that the receivers of these antitypes [*antitopon]* may obtain remission of sins and life eternal.

**Clement of Alexandria** (197-217/220 A.D.) “‘Eat ye my flesh,’ He [Jesus] says, ‘and drink my blood.’ Such is he suitable food which the Lord ministers, and He offers He flesh and pours forth His blood, and nothing is wanting for the children’s growth. O Amazing mystery! … Hear it also in the following way. The flesh figuratively represents to us the Holy Spirit; for the flesh was created by Him. The blood points out to us the Word, for as rich blood the Word has been infused with life.” *The Instructor* book 1 ch.6 p.220.

Clement of Alexandria (198-220 A.D.) “Elsewhere the Lord, in the Gospel according to John, brought this out by symbols, when He said: ‘Eat ye my flesh, and drink my blood;’ describing distinctly by metaphor the drinkable properties of faith and the promise, by means of which the Church, like a human being consisting of many members, is refreshed and grows, is welded together and compacted of both,-of faith, which is the body, and of hope, which is the soul; as also the Lord of flesh and blood. For in reality the blood of faith is hope, in which faith is held as by a vital principle. And when hope expires, it is as if blood flowed forth; and the vitality of faith is destroyed.” *The Instructor* book 1 ch.6 p.219

Clement of Alexandria (197-217/220 A.D.) “And since the Word is the gushing fountain of life, and has been called a river of olive oil, Paul, using appropriate figurative language, and calling Him milk, adds: ‘I have given you to drink; ‘ for we drink in the word, the nutriment of the truth. In truth, also liquid food is called drink; and the same thing may somehow be both meat and drink, according to the different aspects in which it is considered, just as cheese is the solidification of milk or milk solidified; for I am not concerned here to make a nice selection of an expression, only to say that one substance supplies both articles of food. Besides, for children at the breast, milk alone suffices; it serves both for meat and drink. ‘I,’ says the Lord, ‘have meat to eat that ye know not of. My meat is to do the will of Him that sent Me.’ You see another kind of food which, similarly with milk, represents figuratively the will of God. Besides, also, the completion of His own passion He called catachrestically ‘a cup,’ when He alone had to drink and drain it. Thus to Christ the fulfilling of His Father’s will was food; and to us infants, who drink the milk of the word of the heavens, Christ Himself is food. Hence seeking is called sucking; for to those babes that seek the Word, the Father’s breasts of love supply milk. (new paragraph) Further, the Word declares Himself to be the bread of heaven. ‘For Moses,’ He says, ‘gave you not that bread from heaven, but My Father giveth you the true bread from heaven. For the bread of God is He that cometh down from heaven, and giveth life to the world. And the bread which I will give is My flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.’ Here is to be noted the mystery of the bread, in as much as He speaks of it as flesh, and as flesh, consequently, that has risen through fire, as the wheat springs up from decay and germination; and, in truth, it has risen through fire for the joy of the Church, as bread baked. But this will be shown by and by more clearly in the chapter on the resurrection. But since He said, “And the bread which I will give is My flesh,” and since flesh is moistened with blood, and **blood is figuratively termed wine**, we are bidden to know that, as bread, crumbled into a mixture of wine and water, seizes on the wine and leaves the watery portion, so also the flesh of Christ, the bread of heaven absorbs the blood; that is, those among men who are heavenly, nourishing them up to immortality, and leaving only to destruction the lusts of the flesh. (new paragraph) Thus in many ways the **Word is figuratively described, as meat, and flesh, and food, and bread, and blood, and milk**. The Lord is all these, to give enjoyment to us who have believed on Him. Let no one then think it strange, when we say that the **Lord’s blood is figuratively represented as milk. For is it not figuratively represented as wine?** ‘Who washes,’ it is said, ‘His garment in wine, His robe in the blood of the grape.’” *The Instructor* book 1 ch.6 p.220-221

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) (partial) describes how Jesus observed the Last Supper. *Stromata* book 1 ch.10 p.310

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “This she [the Church] seals with the water (or baptism), arrays with the Holy Ghost, feeds with the Eucharist, cheers with martyrdom, and against such a discipline thus (maintained) she admits no gainsayer.” *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.36 p.261

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) (implied) is against Gnostics who deny their Eucharist to any who are married. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.34 p.405

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) mentions the sacramental food in *Commentary on Genesis* 49:12-15 p.168

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) the bread of the Eucharist is a symbol of gratitude to God. *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.58 p.661

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions the Lord’s Supper as the Eucharist. *Origen On Prayer* ch.5.1 p.27

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “That the Eucharist is to be received with fear and honour.” *Treatises of Cyprian Treatise 12 Third book* heads p.530

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “Also, the sacrament of the Passover contains nothing else in the law of the Exodus than that the lamb which is slain in the figure of Christ should be eaten in one house. God speaks, saying, ‘In one house shall ye eat it; ye shall not send its flesh abroad from the house.’ The flesh of Christ, and the holy of the Lord, cannot be sent abroad, nor is there any other home to believers but the one Church. This home, this household of unanimity, the Holy Spirit designates and points out in the Psalms, saying, ‘God, who maketh men to dwell with one mind in a house.’ in the house of God, in the Church of Christ, men dwell with one mind, and continue in concord and simplicity:” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 1 ch.8 p.424

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) as that the cup which is offered in remembrance of Him should be offered mingled with wine. For when Christ says, ‘I am the true vine.’ the blood of Christ is assuredly not water, but wine; neither can His blood by which we are redeemed and quickened appear to be in the cup, when in the cup there is no wine whereby the blood of Christ is shown forth, which is declared by the sacrament and testimony of all the Scriptures.” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 62.2 p.359

**Moyses, Maximum, and Nicostratus** (250 A.D.) speak of communion. Letter 25.7 vol.5 p.304.

**Firmilian** (c.246-258 A.D.) in his letter to Cyprian speaks of the Eucharist (Lord’s Supper) in *Letter 74* p.393

Caecilius of Bilta at the **Seventh Council of Carthage** (258 A.D.) (implied) “In addition to all these things, there is also this evil, that the priests of the devil dare to celebrate the Eucharist; or else let those who stand by them say that all these things concerning heretics are false.” p.566

Gregory Thaumaturgus (240-265 A.D.) (partial) “Himself. But let this word of ours be taken primarily as an eucharistic address in honour of this sacred personage, [Cyprian]” *Panegyric to Origen* Argument 4 p.24

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) discusses the Lord’s Supper. *Letter 9* p.103

Dionysius of Alexandria (246-265 A.D.) sent some of the Eucharist (consecrated bread and wine) to a dying person who had denied the faith under persecution but had repented. *Letter 3 - to Bishop Fabian* ch.10 p.101

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) Partake of the body and blood of Christ. *Canonical Epistle* Canon 8 p.272

**Council of Ancyra** (314 A.D.) says deacons who have sacrificed to the Emperor are not allowed to bring forth the bread and cup anymore. canon 2 p.63.

**Council of Neocaesarea** (c.315 A.D.) canon 8 p.85 discusses that country presbyters can administer the bread and cup in the city only when the city presbyters are absent.

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) says they celebrate the Eucharist. homily 11 ch.36 p.292

## Ca11. Calling the Lord’s Supper the Eucharist

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) “Take ye heed, then, to have but one Eucharist. For there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup to [show forth] the unity of His blood; one altar; as there is one bishop, along with the presbytery and deacons, my fellow-servants: that so, whatsoever ye do, ye may do it according to [the will of] God.” *Ignatius’ Letter to the Philadelphians* [Greek] ch.4 p.81

*Didache* (=*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*) (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.9-10 p.379-380 (No Eucharist, thanksgiving) discusses taking the Lord’s supper. However, he calls it “Thanksgiving” in two places, but never calls it the Eucharist.

**Justin Martyr** (150 A.D.)”And this food is called among us the Eucharist, of which no one is allowed to partake but the man who believes that the things which we teach are true, and who has been washed with the washing that is for the remission of sins, and unto regeneration, and who is so living as Christ has enjoined.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.66 p.285.

Justin Martyr (150 A.D.) says that Christians everywhere take “the bread of the Eucharist, and also the cup of the Eucharist” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.41 p.215

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) But if this indeed do not attain salvation, then neither did the Lord redeem us with His blood, nor is the cup of the Eucharist the communion of His blood, nor the bread which we break the communion of His body. For blood can only come from veins and flesh, and whatsoever else makes up the substance of man, such as the Word of God was actually made. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.2.1 p.528

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) But our opinion is in accordance with the Eucharist, and the Eucharist in turn establishes our opinion. For we offer to Him His own, announcing consistently the fellowship and union of the flesh and Spirit. For as the bread, which is produced from the earth, when it receives the invocation of God, is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two realities, earthly and heavenly; so also our bodies, when they receive the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, having the hope of the resurrection to eternity. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.18.5 p.486

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Both must therefore test themselves: the one, if he is qualified to speak and leave behind him written records; the other, if he is in a right state to hear and read: as also some in the dispensation of the Eucharist, according to custom enjoin that each one of the people individually should take his part. One’s own conscience is best for choosing accurately or shunning.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.1 p.300

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “He remembers his Father, God; he returns to Him when he has been satisfied; he receives again the pristine ‘garment,’-the condition, to wit, which Adam by transgression had lost. The ‘ring’ also he is then Wont to receive for the first time, wherewith, after being interrogated, he publicly seals the agreement of faith, and thus thenceforward feeds upon the ‘fatness’ of the Lord’s body, -the Eucharist, to wit.” *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.9 p.83

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “If, however, you deny that divorce is in any way permitted by Christ, how is it that you on your side destroy marriage, not uniting man and woman, nor admitting to the sacrament of baptism and of the eucharist those who have been united in marriage anywhere else, unless they should agree together to repudiate the fruit of their marriage, and so the very Creator Himself?” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.34 p.405

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “This (heretic) alleged that there resided in him the mightiest power from invisible and unnameable places. And very often, taking the Cup, as if offering up the Eucharistic prayer, and prolonging to a greater length than usual the word of invocation, he would cause the appearance of a purple, and sometimes of a red mixture, so that his dupes imagined that a certain Grace descended and communicated to the potion a blood-red potency. The knave, however, at that time succeeded in escaping detection from many; but now, being convicted (of the imposture), he will be forced to desist from it.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 6 ch.34 p.92

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “We are much more concerned lest we should be ungrateful to God, who has loaded us with His benefits, whose workmanship we are, who cares for us in whatever condition we may be, and who has given us hopes of things beyond this present life. And we have a symbol of gratitude to God in the bread which we call the Eucharist.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.57 p.661

Origen (239-242 A.D.) mentions the Eucharist. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 9 ch.5.5 p.126

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions the “Eucharist” *Origen On Prayer* ch.5.1 p.27

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “But now indeed peace is necessary, not for the sick, but for the strong; nor is communion to he granted by us to the dying, but to the living, that we may not leave those whom we stir up and exhort to the battle unarmed and naked, but may fortify them with the protection of Christ’s body and blood. And, as the Eucharist is appointed for this very purpose that it may be a safeguard to the receivers, *it is needful* that we may arm those whom we wish to be safe against the adversary with the protection of the Lord’s abundance. For how do we teach or provoke them to shed their blood in confession of His name. if we deny to those who are about to enter on the warfare the blood of Christ? Or how do we make them fit for the cup of martyrdom, if we do not first admit them to drink, in the Church, the cup of the Lord by the right of communion?” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 53 ch.2 p.337

**Firmilian of Caesarea** to Cyprian (256 A.D.) Firmilian is criticizing apparently Priscilla and the Montanists. “But that woman, who previously by wiles and deceitfullness of the demon was attempting many things for the deceiving of the faithful, among other things by which she had deceived many, also had frequently dared this; to pretend that with an invocation not to be contemned she sanctified bread and celebrated the Eucharist, and to offer sacrifice to the Lord, not without the sacrament of the accustomed utterance; and also to baptize many, making use of the usual and lawful words of interrogation, that nothing might seem to be different from the ecclesiastical rule. 11. What, then, shall we say about the baptism of this woman, by which a most wicked demon baptized through means of a woman?” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 74 ch.10-11 p.393

Caecilius of Bilta at the **Seventh Council of Carthage** (258 A.D.) p.566 “In addition to all these things, there is also this evil, that the priests of the devil dare to celebrate the Eucharist; or else let those who stand by them say that all these things concerning heretics are false.”

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) calls the Lord’s Supper the Eucharist. homily 11 ch.36 p.292

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.63 p.94 “At last, however, I warned them, that before we should go forth to the Gentiles, to preach to them the knowledge of God the Father, they should themselves be reconciled to God, receiving His Son; for I showed them that in no way else could they be saved, unless through the grace of the Holy Spirit they hasted to be washed with the baptism of threefold invocation, and received the Eucharist of Christ the Lord, whom alone they ought to believe concerning those things which He taught, that so they might merit to attain eternal salvation; but that otherwise it was utterly impossible for them to be reconciled to God, even if they should kindle a thousand altars and a thousand high altars to Him.”

## Ca12. Mention of Easter/Pascha[l]

From Wikipedia: The word for Easter in almost all languages comes from the Greek word *Pascha*, which comes from the Hebrew *Pesach*, meaning Passover. The main exceptions are the Slavic languages and English. Slavic languages call this festival the “Great Night” or “Great Day”. The English word Easter came from the month of the German calendar called Eostre-monath. The name for the month came from the Anglo-Saxon goddess Eostre, similar to how the names January, March, and June came from Roman deities.

**Melito/Meleto of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) was a Quartodecimian who wrote an entire work on Easter called *On Pascha*.

**Theophilus of Caesarea** (180 A.D.) “We would have you know, too, that in Alexandria also they observe *the festival* on the same day as ourselves. For the *Paschal* letters are sent from us to them, and from them to us: so that we observe the holy day in unison and together.” *From His Epistle on the Question of the Passover, Written in the Name of the Synod of Caesarea.* *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.774

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) wrote a treatise on Easter. “This [custom] of not bending the knee upon Sunday, is a symbol of the resurrection, through which we have been set free, by the grace of Christ, from sins, and from death, which has been put to death under Him. Now this custom took its rise from apostolic times, as the blessed Irenaeus, the martyr and bishop of Lyons, declares in his treatise *On Easter*, in which he makes mention of Pentecost also; upon which [feast] we do not bend the knee, because it is of equal significance with the Lord’s day, for the reason already alleged concerning it.” fragment 7 *Questions and Responses of Orthodoxy*.

**Polycrates of Ephesus** (130-196 A.D.) (implied) was a was temporarily excommunicated by the bishop of Rome for being a Quartodecimian.

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) (partial) mentions the paschal feast, but it is in the context of the Old Testament Passover and ambiguous whether or not it also refers to Easter. *Stromata* book 2 ch.11 p.359

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “We rejoice in the same privilege also from Easter to Whitsunday.” *The Chaplet* (= *de Corona*) ch.3 p.94

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/6 A D.) criticizes Quartodecimians who think Easter should be celebrated at the same time the Jews celebrate Passover. *The Refutation of All Heresies* book 8 ch.11 p.123 “And certain other (heretics), contentious by nature, (and) wholly uniformed as regards knowledge, as well as in their manner more (than usually) quarrelsome, combine (in maintaining) that Easter should be kept on the fourteenth day of the first month, according to the commandment of the law, on whatever day (of the week) it should occur. (But in this) they only regard what has been written in the law, that he will be accursed who does not so keep (the commandment) as it is enjoined. They do not, however, attend to this (fact), that the legal enactment was made for Jews, who in times to come should kill the real Passover. And this (paschal sacrifice, in its efficacy,) has spread unto the Gentiles, and is discerned by faith, and not now observed in letter (merely). They attend to this one commandment, and do not look unto what has been spoken by the apostle: “For I testify to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to keep the whole law.” In other respects, however, these consent to all the traditions delivered to the Church by the Apostles.”

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) says that we assemble at Easter. “They will assemble together at Easter, that day of ours most blessed; and let them rejoice, who ask for divine entertainments.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.75 p.218

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) discusses Christian’s celebrating the Lord’s day, the Preparation, the Passover, and Pentecost. “Again, he who considers that “Christ our Passover was sacrificed for us,” and that it is his duty to keep the feast by eating of the flesh of the Word, never ceases to keep the paschal feast; for the *pascha* means a “Passover,” and he is ever striving in all his thoughts, words, and deeds, to pass over from the things of this life to God, and is hastening towards the city of God. And, finally, he who can truly say, “We are risen with Christ,” and “He hath exalted us, and made us to sit with Him in heavenly places in Christ,” is always living in the season of Pentecost;” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.22 p.647

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) mentions Easter. “Know, then, that I have made Saturus a reader, and Optatus, the confessor, a sub-deacon; whom already, by the general advice, we hade made next to the clergy, in having entrusted to Saturus on Easter-day, once and again, the reading; and when with the teach-presbyters we were carefully trying readers – in appointing Optatus from among the readers to be a teacher of the hearers;…” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 23 p.301 See also letters 39 and 54.

**Firmilian** (c.246-258 A.D.) “But that they who are at Rome do not observe those things in all cases which are handed down from the beginning, and vainly pretend the authority of the apostles; any one may know also from the fact, that concerning the celebration of Easter, and concerning many other sacraments of divine matters, he may see that there are some diversities among them, and that all things are not observed among them alike, which are observed at Jerusalem, just as in very many other provinces also many things are varied because of the difference of the places and names.” *Letter 74* ch.6 p.391

**Anatolius** (270-280 A.D.) discusses when Easter should be celebrated. *Paschal Canon* ch.10 p.146-147.

Anatolius (270-280 A.D.) “For these make up the best proved accounts according to their calculation, and determine a certain beginning or certain end for the Easter season, so as that the Paschal festival shall not be celebrated before the eleventh day before the Kalends of April, i.e., 24th March, nor after the moon’s twenty-first, and the eleventh day before the Kalends of May, i.e., 21st April. But we hold that these are limits not only not to be followed, but to be detested and overturned. For even in the ancient law it is laid down that this is to be seen to, viz., that the Passover be not celebrated before the transit of the vernal equinox, at which the last of the autumnal *term* is overtaken, on the fourteenth day of the first month, which is one calculated not by the beginnings of the day, but by those of the moon.” *Paschal Canon* ch.15 p.150-151

Malchion (270 A.D.) (partial) says the evil Paul of Samosata did on the Paschal festival. “and preparing women to sing psalms in honour of himself in the midst of the Church. in the great day of the Paschal festival” *Letter written by Malchion in the name of the Synod of Antioch against Paul of Samosata* ch.2 p.170

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “but judging it better than burning. Just as though, in the fast which prepares for the Easter celebration, one should offer food to an other who was dangerously ill, and say,” In truth, my friend, it were fitting and good that” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* book 3 ch.12 p.321

***Letter of the Council of Arles I to Pope Silvester*** (Aug. 314 A.D.) p.391 mentions the pascha of the Lord and bishops.

## Ca13. Footwashing

John 13:5,14; 1 Timothy 5:10

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Now in the last days, when the fulness of the time of liberty had arrived, the Word Himself did by Himself ‘wash away the filth of the daughters of Zion,’ when He washed the disciples’ feet with His own hands.” *Against All Heresies* book 4 ch.22.1 p.493

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “It was on this day, then, that both the consecration of the unleavened bread and the preparation for the feast took place. Whence John naturally describes the disciples as already previously prepared to have their feet washed by the Lord.” Greek fragment 11 p.581

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “No one’s table or roof did He [Jesus] despise: indeed, Himself ministered to the washing of the disciples’ feet; not sinners, not publicans, did He repel;” *Of Patience* ch.3 p.708

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) mentions the time Christ washed his disciples’ feet. *de Corona* ch.8 p.98

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “Again, when He washed the disciples’ feet, He declared Himself in these words to be their Master and Lord: ‘You call Me Master and Lord, and you say well, for so I am.’” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 1 ch.23 p.309

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Let them imitate the Lord, who at the very time of His passion was not more proud, but more humble. For then He washed His disciples’ feet, saying, ‘If I, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye ought also to wash one another’s feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you.’” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 5 ch.2 p.283

## Ca14. Sing hymns to God, the Father, or Jesus

(implied) Matthew 26:30; (implied) Mark 14:26

Acts 16:25; Revelation 5:9-10

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Ephesians 5:19

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) “taking up the song of God in unison, ye may with one voice sing to the Father” *Letter of* ***Ignatius*** *to the Ephesians* ch.4 p.51

Ignatius of Antioch (-107/116 A.D.) “together in love, ye may sing praise to the Father, through Christ Jesus” Ignatius *Letter to the Romans* ch.2 p.74

**Justin Martyr** *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.73 p.235 “to you, that you may perceive what has been said. It is thus: ‘Sing unto the Lord a new song; sing unto the Lord, all the earth. Sing unto the Lord, and bless His name; show forth His salvation from day to day. Declare His glory among the nations, His wonders among all people. For the Lord is great, and”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) quotes from Psalms and mentions singing a new hymn to God *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.9.1 p.471

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) composed a hymn which has: “Unto God their hymn of praise, Jesus Christ!” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.296

Clement of Alexandria (193-217-220 A.D.) “The lyre, according to its primary signification, may by the psalmist be used figuratively for the Lord; according to its secondary, for those who continually strike the chords of their souls under the direction of the Choir-master, the Lord. And if the people saved be called the lyre, it will be understood to be in consequence of their giving glory musically, through the inspiration of the Word and the knowledge of God, being struck by the Word so as to produce faith. You may take music in another way, as the ecclesiastical symphony at once of the law and the prophets, and the apostles along with the Gospel, and the harmony which obtained in each prophet, in the transitions of the persons.” *Stromata* book 6 ch.11 p.500

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) goes into great detail about early Christian worship. “After manual ablution, and the brining in of lights, each is asked to stand forth and sing, as he can, a hymn to God, either one from the holy Scriptures or one of his own composing,” *Apology* ch.39 p.47

Tertullian (204/205 A.D.) “So that with this agrees also the prophecy of Malachi: 'I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord; neither will I accept your offerings: for from the rising of the sun, even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place sacrifice shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering' -such as the ascription of glory, and blessing, and praise, and hymns. Now, inasmuch as all these things are also found amongst you, and the sign upon the forehead,” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.22 p.341

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) mentions the 100th psalm begins, “‘I will sing of mercy and judgment, O Lord,’ embraces the life of the saint in fellowship with God. And the one hundred and fiftieth ends with these words,” Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord.’” *On the Psalms* ch.4 p.200. See also David sang hymns in *Commentary on Psalm 1* p.199

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “For we sing hymns to the Most High alone, and His Only-begotten, who is the Word and God; and we praise God and His Only-begotten, as do also the sun, the moon, the stars, and all the host of heaven.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.67 p.665

Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) “Father written on their foreheads. And I heard a voice from heaven as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder. And the voice which I heard was as the voice of harpers harping with their harps; and they sing a new song before the throne and before the four beasts and the elders, and no one could learn the song but the hundred and forty-four thousand who had been purchased” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 1 ch.1 p.297

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says to sing to God. *Origen On Prayer* ch.2.4 p.20

**Gregory of Thaumaturgus** (246-265 A.D.) *Oration and Panegyric to Origen* argument 16 p.38 says that for sadness over Origen’s death, like men of old in the Psalms, he has no heart to sing hymns.

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) *Two Books on the Promises* ch.1.1 p.81 before arguing against the view of Nepos, mentions the delightful efforts of Nepos in Psalmody.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes Revelation 5:6-10 about them singing to Christ in Heaven. *Treatises of Cyprian - Treatise 12* second book ch.15 p.522

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “Also in the sixty-seventh Psalm: ‘Sing unto God, sing praises unto His name” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 book 2 ch.6 p.517

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) says to sing the hymn of praise to God alone. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.35 p.210

**Malchion** (270 A.D.) (implied) says that Malchion put a stop to the songs sung to the Lord and had them sing songs honoring himself. *Letter written by Malchion in the name of the Synod of Antioch against Paul of Samosata* ch.2 p.170

**Victorinus of Petau** in Austria (martyred 304 A.D.) “8,9. “Twenty-four elders and four living creatures, having harps and phials, and singing a new song. The proclamation of the Old Testament associated with the New, points out the Christian people singing a new song, that is, bearing their confession publicly. It is a new thing that the Son of God should become man. It is a new thing to ascend into the heavens with a body. It is a new thing to give remission of sins to men. It is a new thing for men to be sealed with the Holy Spirit. It is a new thing to receive the priesthood of sacred” *Commentary on the Apocalypse of the Blessed John* From the fifth chapter no.8,9 p.350

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) mentions singing a hymn to God. *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 11 ch.2 p.351

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) talks about singing to God in *The Divine Institutes* book 6 ch.20 p.186

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions us singing hymns to God in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 3 ch.6 p.11

&&&Lucian (160 A.D.) “It is impossible to pipe without a pipe or to psalm without a lyre or to ride without a horse.”

Philostratus (317 A.D.) “Now those who come to the Pythian festival are, they say, escorted with sound of pipe and song and lyre, and are honoured with shows of comedies and tragedies; and then last of all they are presented...”

http://www.ahnog.us/music

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) ch.1.19 p.82 mentions singing hymns to God.

## Ca15. Musical choir

Nehemiah 12:31-42

**Ignatius of Antioch** (100-107/116 A.D.) “Wherefore it is fitting that ye should run together in accordance with the will of your bishop, which thing also ye do. For your justly renowned presbytery, worthy of God, is fitted as exactly to the bishop as the strings are to the harp. Therefore in your concord and harmonious love, Jesus Christ is sung. And do ye, man by man, become a choir, that being harmonious in love, and taking up the song of God in unison, ye may with one voice sing to the Father through Jesus Christ, so that He may both hear you, and perceive by your works that ye are indeed the members of His Son. It is profitable, therefore, that you should live in an unblameable unity, that thus ye may always enjoy communion with God.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Ephesians* [Greek] ch.4 p.50-51

***To Diognetus*** (c.130 A.D.) ch.12 p.30 “and salvation is manifested, and the Apostles are filled with understanding, and the Passover of the Lord advances, and the choirs are gathered together, and are arranged in proper order, and the Word rejoices in teaching the saints,-by whom the Father is glorified: to whom be glory for ever. Amen.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) “The union of many in one, issuing in the production of divine harmony out of a medley of sounds and division, becomes one symphony following one choir-leader and teacher, the Word, reaching and resting in the same truth, and crying Abba, Father. This, the true utterance of His children, God accepts with gracious welcome-the first-fruits He receives from them.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.9 p.197

Malchion (270 A.D.) (partial) says that Malchion put a stop to the songs sung to the Lord and had them sing songs honoring himself. *Letter written by Malchion in the name of the Synod of Antioch against Paul of Samosata* ch.2 p.170

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “But if one wishes to hear the choir of the apostles as well, he will find the same harmony of song. For the others sang beforehand the divine plan in a mystical manner; but these sing an interpretation of what has been mystically announced by the former. Oh, concordant harmony, composed by the Divine Spirit! Oh, the comeliness of those who sing of the mysteries *of God*? Oh. that I also may join in these songs in my prayer. Let us then also sing the like song, and raise the hymn to the Holy Father, glorifying in the Spirit Jesus, who is in His bosom. Shun not, man, a spiritual hymn, nor be ill-disposed to listen to it. Death belongs not to it; a story of salvation is our song. Already I seem to taste better enjoyments, as I discourse on such subjects as these; and especially when there is before me such a flowering meadow, that is to say, our assembly of those who unite in singing and hearing the divine mysteries.” *Concerning Free Will* ch.1 p.356

## Ca16. Cheer up/encourage other believers

Romans 1:12; Philippians 2:19; 1 Thessalonians 5:11,14; Hebrews 3:13

Examples: Acts 15:31-32; 16:40; 18:27; 20:2

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Hebrews 13:22,24

*Letter of* ***Ignatius*** *to the Magnesians* ch.1 p.59 (-107/116 A.D.) “Having been informed of your godly love, so well-ordered, I rejoiced greatly, and determined to commune with you in the faith of Jesus Christ… I commend the churches”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) quotes 1 Thessalonians 5:13-15, 19-22 and Romans 12:8-13 including “warn them who are unruly, comfort the feeble-minded, support the weak, be patient toward all men. … him that showeth mercy, with cheerfullness. Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.294

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) has a 3-page book *To the Martyrs* (p.693-695). He mentions relatives accompanying the martyrs as far as the prison gate. ch.2 p.693

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “We add a few instances to encourage students to pay more attention to such points.” *Commentary on John* book 6 ch.24 p.371

**Cyprian of Carthage** (250 A.D.) encourages **Moyses, Maximum, and Nicostratus** and they write back saying they were encouraged. Letters 24 and 25 vol.5 p.304.

***Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon*** (events c.318 A.D.) vol.8 p.690 “and [Habib] ministered and read the Scriptures, and encouraged and strengthened many by his words, and admonished them to stand fast in the truth of their belief, and not to be afraid of the persecutors; and gave them directions.”

## Ca17. Correct other believers

1 Corinthians 14:20; 1 Thessalonians 5:14

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) 1 Corinthians 14:20

2 Timothy 4:2

***1 Clement*** (96-98 A.D.) ch.56 p.20 “Let us receive correction, beloved, on account of which no one should feel displeased. Those exhortations by which we admonish one another are both good [in themselves] and highly profitable, for they tend to unite us to the will of God.”

***Didache*** (=*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*) (before 125 A.D.) (implied) “And reprove one another, not in anger, but in peace, as ye have *it* in the Gospel; but to every one that acts amiss against another, let no one speak, nor let him hear aught from you until he repent.” ch.15 p.381

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “Such of our brethren as transgress, we must not punish, but rebuke. ‘For he that spareth the rod hateth his son.’” (Proverbs 13:24) *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.293 “warn them who are unruly” ibid ch.12 p.294.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “who also “thought that they knew somewhat, whereas they knew not yet anything, as they ought to know.” When they raise the objection that the churches were rebuked, let them suppose that they were also corrected; let them also remember those (churches), concerning whose faith and knowledge and conversation the apostle “rejoices and gives thanks to God,” which nevertheless even at this day, unite with those” *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.27 p.256

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “that all good men ought willingly to hear rebuke.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 Third book heads p.530

**The Seventh Council of Carthage** (258 A.D.) p.565 under Cyprian condemns the letter sent by Stephen, bishop of Rome

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) wrote some bad illustrations of the Trinity, which after correction form Dionysius of Rome, he agreed were not appropriate: Son the plant, Father the gardener, Son the boat, the Father the boat builder, a plant and what it sprouted from. *Epistle to Dionysius Bishop of Rome* book 1 ch.6 p.92

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) corrects the followers of Origen. *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 2 ch.5 p.373

## Ca18. Shun alleged believers persisting in sin

Matthew 18:17 (partial)

1 Corinthians 5:5-13

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) 1 Corinthians 5:11

***Didache*** (=*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*) (before 125 A.D.) (implied) “And reprove one another, not in anger, but in peace, as ye have *it* in the Gospel; but to every one that acts amiss against another, let no one speak, nor let him hear aught from you until he repent.” ch.15 p.381

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.19 p.148 “Thou shalt not commit fornication: thou shalt not commit adultery: thou shalt not be a corrupter of youth. Thou shalt not let the word of God issue from thy lips with any kind of impurity. Thou shalt not accept persons when thou reprovest any one for transgression.”

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (died c.172 A.D.) section 27 lines 16-17 p.85 (partial) quotes Matthew 18:17.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) says to separate (*non conversari*) with evildoers and fornicators *Stromata* book 3 ch.18 p.401.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “But it will be said that some of us, too, depart from the rules of our discipline. In that case, however, we count them no longer Christians;” *Apology* ch.46 p.51

Tertullian (213 A.D.) speaks of separating from those in sin. *On Monogamy* ch.15 p.71

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) says that we are not to communicate or eat with a person defiled by sins. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.9 p.356

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “That we must depart from him who lives irregularly and contrary to discipline. *Treatises of Cyprian Treatise 12* Third book heads p.529

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) *Epistles of Cyprian* has many letters on dealing with the lapsed, and allowing them back into communion only after they have repented and after a period of time.

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) specifically mentions whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, injurious, proud, boasters of themselves, inventors of evil things, we should separate from. *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 67 ch.9 p.372

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) says to excommunicate those who sinned. *Canonical Epistle* canon 2 p.18

Gregory Thaumaturgus (240-265 A.D.) says to excommunicate the covetous. *Canonical Epistle* canon 4 p.18

## Ca19. Holy church(es)

**Ignatius of Antioch** (100-107/116 A.D.) “Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the holy Church which is at Tralles, in Asia, beloved of God, the Father of Jesus Christ, elect, and worthy of God, possessing peace through the flesh, and blood, and passion of Jesus Christ, who is our hope, through our rising again to Him, which also I salute in its fulness, and in the apostolical character, and wish abundance of happiness.” *Epistle of Ignatius to the Trallians* [Greek version] intro. p.66

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 1 vision first ch.3 p.10 “has created His holy Church, which He has blessed, lo! He removes the heavens and the mountains, the hills and the seas, and all things become plain to His elect, that He may bestow on them the blessing which He has promised them, with much glory and joy, if only they shall keep the commandments of God which they have received in great faith.”

**Evarestus** (c.169 A.D.) “The Church of God which sojourns at Smyrna, to the Church of God sojourning in Philomelium,(1) and to all the congregations(2) of the Holy and Catholic Church in every place:” *Martyrdom of Polycarp* intro p.&&&

**Apollonius of Ephesus** (c.211 A.D.) “and moreover uttered blasphemy against the Lord and the apostles and the holy Church.” Ch.3 p.&&&

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “And as in the sea there are islands, some of them habitable, and well-watered, and fruitful, with havens and harbours in which the storm-tossed may find refuge, -so God has given to the world which is driven and tempest-tossed by sins, assemblies -we mean holy churches -in which survive the doctrines of the truth, as in the island-harbours of good anchorage; and into these run those who desire to be saved, being lovers of the truth, and wishing to escape the wrath and judgment of God. And as, again, there are other islands, rocky and without water, and barren, and infested by wild beasts, and uninhabitable, and serving only to injure navigators and the storm-tossed, on which ships are wrecked, and those driven among them perish, -so there are doctrines of error -I mean heresies -which destroy those who approach them.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.14 p.100

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “‘Now’ this spiritual ‘body,’ the holy Church, ‘is not for fornication.’ Nor are those things which belong to heathen life to be adopted by apostasy from the Gospel.” *Stromata* book 7 ch.14 p.549

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “which we have the promise of (Christ’s) holy church;” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.4 p.437

**Hippolytus** (222-234/235 A.D.) “To Him be the glory and the power, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, in the holy Church both now and ever, and even for evermore. Amen.” *Against the Heresy of One Noetus* ch.18 p.231

**Apollonius of Ephesus** (c.210 A.D.) “Themison … moreover uttered blasphemy against the Lord and the apostles and the holy church.” *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.776

**Alexander of Cappadocia** (233-251 A.D.) “Asclepiades-who, in regard to the right faith, is most eminently qualified for the office-has undertaken the episcopate of your holy church of Antioch.” *Letters of Alexander* *ANF* vol.6 Letter 1 p.154

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “What I have said on the text, ‘They believe the Scripture and the word which Jesus had said unto them,’ may lead us to understand, after discussing the subject of faith, that the perfection of our faith will be given us at the great resurrection from the dead of the whole body of Jesus which is His Holy Church.” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 10 ch.27 p.407

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “On which matter, although you yourselves hold thereupon the truth and certainty of the Catholic rule, yet since you have thought that of our mutual love we ought to be consulted, we put forward our opinion, not as a new one, but we join with you in equal agreement, in an opinion long since decreed by our predecessors, and observed by us,-judging, namely, and holding it for certain that no one can be baptized abroad outside the Church, since there is one baptism appointed in the holy Church.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 69 ch.1 p.375

**Firmilian to Cyprian** (250-251 A.D.) “Nor do we remember that this at any time began among us, since it has always been observed here, that we knew none but one Church of God, and accounted no baptism holy except that of the holy Church.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 74 ch.19 p.395

**Seventh council of Carthage** (258 A.D.) p.567 “Theogenes of Hippo Regius said: According to the sacrament of God’s heavenly grace which we have received, we believe one baptism which is in the holy Church.”

**Hymenaeus of Jerusalem** (c.268 A.D.) in the opening speaks of the “holy church” (*Letter of Hymenaeus* (= *Letter of Six Bishops*)

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) “has by divine grace been preserved in the most holy church of Ephesus,” fragment 2 (from the Paschal Chronical) p.283

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Ignatius** (after 117 A.D.) “Cast ye out that which defiles you, who are of the most holy Church of the Ephesians, which is so famous and celebrated throughout the world.” Epistle to the Ephesians (Latin version) ch.8 p.52

**Among heretics**

Gnostic **Ophites and Sethians** according to Irenaeus (-188 A.D.) “The father and son thus both had intercourse with the woman (whom they also call the mother of the living). When, however, she could not bear nor receive into herself the greatness of the lights, they declare that she was filled to repletion, and became ebullient on the left side; and that thus their only son Christ, as belonging to the right side, and ever tending to what was higher, was immediately caught up with his mother to form an incorruptible Aeon. This constitutes the true and holy Church, which has become the appellation, the meeting together, and the union of the father of all, of the first man, of the son, of the second man, of Christ their son, and of the woman who has been mentioned.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.30.2 p.354-355

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Peter to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) starts off with “Peter to James, the lord and bishop of the holy church, under the Father of all, through Jesus Christ,…” It end with “prayed to the Father and God of all, to whom be glory for ever. Amen” ch.5 p.217. See also ibid Intro p.215.

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Clement to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.1 p.218 speaks of the (universal) church. “The holy church of the Hebrews, and the churches everywhere”

## Ca20. Catechumens (members in training)

Galatians 6:6 “those who have been instrusted” are catechumens in Greek.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “For when the Greeks, having arrested the slaves of Christian catechumens, then used force against them, in order to learn from them some secret thing [practised] among Christians, these slaves, having nothing to say that would meet the wishes of their tormentors, except that they had heard from their masters that the divine communion was the body and blood of Christ, and imagining that it was actually flesh and blood, gave their inquisitors answer to that effect.” Fragment 13 from Oecumenius p.570

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201-205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) ch.1.1 p.699 mentions the male catechumens Revocatus, Saturninus, Secundulus, and the female catechumens Felicitas and Vivia Perpetua.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “But he who culls what is useful for the advantage of the catechumens, and especially when they are Greeks (and the earth is the Lord’s, and the fullness thereof), must not abstain from erudition, like irrational animals; but he must collect as many aids as possible for his hearers.” *Stromata* book 6 c h.11 p.500

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “That is the case with all, from catechumens to confessors and martyrs,” *The Chaplet* ch.2 p.94

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) (partial) “Now, when Marcion wholly prohibits all carnal intercourse to the faithful (for we will say nothing about his catechumens), and when he prescribes repudiation of all engagements” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.7 p.443

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “For if any sinful catechumen is marked with punishment, let him live in the signs *of Christianity*, although not without loss.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.46 p.212

**Origen** (239-242 A.D.) mentions catechumens and deacons in *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 5 ch.4.1 p.82

**Cyprian of Carthage** (246-256 A.D.) “the truth of the Gospel declaration, object to us the case of catechumens;” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 72 ch.22 p.385

**Roman Church Leaders** to Cyprian (c.246-258 A.D.) “who are unable to maintain themselves, or those who are in prisons or are excluded from their own dwellings, these ought in all cases to have some to minister to them. Moreover, catechumens when seized with sickness ought not to be deceived, but help is to be afforded them.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 2 ch.3 p.281

**Pontius** (258 A.D.) “when our fathers have given such honour even to lay-people and catechumens who have obtained martyrdom,” *Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.1 p.267

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) “Weeping takes place without the gate of the oratory; and the offender standing there ought to implore the faithful as they enter to offer up prayer on his behalf. Waiting on the word, again, takes place within the gate in the porch, where the offender ought to stand until the catechumens *depart*, and thereafter he should go forth. For let him hear the Scriptures and doctrine, it is said, and then be put forth, and reckoned unfit for the privilege of prayer. Submission, again, is that one stand within the gate of the temple, and go forth along with the catechumens. Restoration is that one be associated with the faithful, and go not forth with the catechumens; and last of all comes the participation in the holy ordinances.” *Canonical Epistle* Canon 11 p.20

**Council of Elvira** (306/307 A.D.) canon 11 “If a female catechumen marries a man in the knowledge that he deserted his former wife without cause, she may not be baptized for five years unless she becomes seriously ill.”

**Council of Neocaesarea** (315 A.D.) says that if a catechumen falls into sin, he is to become a “kneeler”. canon 5 p.81

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Peter to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.2 p.215 “telling their catechumens that this is my meaning.”

The Ebionite *Epistle of Clement to James* (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.13 p.220 (partial, Catechists, teachers of catechumens) “the catechists must therefore be learned, and unblameable, of much experience, and approved, a you will know that Clement is, who is to be your instructor after me.”

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions “catechists”. homily 3 ch.71 p.251

**Marcion** according to Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) mentions Marcion’s catechumens. “Now, when Marcion wholly prohibits all carnal intercourse to the faithful (for we will say nothing about his catechumens), and when he prescribes repudiation of all engagements before marriage, whose teaching does he follow, that of Moses or of Christ?” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.7 p.443

Note the Mo2 “Offer money/possessions to God” is under Money.

## Teachings on Church Assembling Together not on the list

**1. The Church is the Israel of God** 1 Peter 2:9 (only 2 writers: Justin Martyr, Origen)

**2. Taking the bread and cup unworthily** 1 Corinthians 11:27-32 (only 3 writers: Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Cyprian)

**3. We are a peculiar people** Titus 2:14 (only 2 writers: Clement of Rome, Clement of Alexandria)

**4. Be thankful for other believers** (Romans 1:8; 1 Corinthians 1:4-6; Philippians 1:3; Colossians 1:3-5; 1 Thessalonians 1:2; 1 Thessalonians 1:3; 2 Thessalonians 2:13; Philemon 4. 2 Timothy 1:3 (implied)) (no writers prior to Nicea.)

**5. Mention of Love-feasts** (Lord’s Supper) (only 2 writers: Ignatius of Antioch, Origen)

**6. Baptism of infants** (only 1 writer: Cyprian)

**7. Refuge in the Church** (only 2 writers: Theophilus of Antioch, Felix of Gurgites at the Seventh Council of Carthage)

**8. The Church can never be destroyed** (only 1 writer: Alexander of Alexandria)

**9. Binding and loosing / bind and loose** (only 2 writers: Tertullian, Origen)

**10. We are a royal priesthood** 1 Peter 2:9 (only 2 writers: Clement of Alexandria, Victorinus of Petau)

**11. Women keep silence in the churches** 1 Corinthians 14:34 (only 3 writers: Tertullian, Cyprian, Adamantius)

**12. Lent** (only 2 writers: Tertullian, Peter of Alexandria)

**13. Description of a church service** (only 3 writers: *Didache*, *To Diognetus*, Tertullian. Gnostic Naaseni)

**14. Acknowledge people’s hard work** (Romans 16:6; 12a; 12b; 1 Thessalonians 5:12-13) (not analyzed yet)

**15. Acknowledge people’s faithfulness** (Ephesians 6:21; Colossians 4:9) (not analyzed yet)

**Divergences**

**1. Divergence: Timing of Easter** (Quartodecimians believed it should coincide with Passover)

**2. Divergence: Give the Eucharist to even the lapsed who are about to die.** (2 for, 1 against. For: Dionysius of Alexandria, Council of Ancyra. Against: Council of Elvira)

# Church Leadership

## C1. Christ the head of the church

Ephesians 5:23

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “He might possess the supremacy, and, taking to Himself the pre-eminence, as well as constituting Himself Head of the Church” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.16.6 p.443

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) says that the head of the Church is the savior. *Stromata* book 5 ch.6 p.453

**Tertullian** (200-240 A.D.) Jesus is the head of the church. *de Corona* ch.14 p.102

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) quotes Ephesians 5:23. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.18 p.469

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “Therefore, since Christ is the Head of the Church, so that Christ and the Church form one body, the ointment descended from the head to the beard of Aaron, -the symbols of the perfect man,-and this ointment in its descent reached to the very skirt of his garment.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 6 ch.79 p.609

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* fragment vol.6 ch.2.14 p.113

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (c.318 A.D.) says that Christ is the Head of the Church. *Athanasius Against the Heathen* ch.41 p.26.

## C2. Concept of one universal church

Ephesians 4:3-5; 1 Corinthians 12:13

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Ephesians 4:3-5

p49 Ephesians 4:16-29; 4:31-5:13 (225-275 A.D.) (partial) do not lie to your neighbor because we are all members of one body. Ephesians 4:25

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) (partial) “The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you, and with all everywhere that are the called of God through Him, …” *1 Clement* ch.59 p.21

**Ignatius** (-107/116 A.D.) “that He might setup a standard for all ages, through His resurrection, to all His holy and faithful [followers], whether among Jews or Gentiles, in the one body of His church.” *Ignatius’ Letter to the Smyrnaeans* ch.1 p.86

***Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) (vol.7) ch.10 p.380 “Remember, Lord, Thy church, to deliver it from all evil and to make it perfect in Thy love, and gather it from the four winds, sanctified for Thy kingdom which thou has prepared for it;”

***2 Clement*** vol.9 ch.14 p.254-255 (120-140 A.D.) says that the church was from the beginning. We have to belong to this church to be saved. See also vol.7 ch.14 p.521

***Epistle to Diognetus*** ch.6 p.27 (c.130-200 A.D.) says that as the soul is to the body, Christians are to the world. It mentions “the church” is enriched through the Son in ch.11 p.29

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 1 third vision ch.4 p.12 mentions the church as the first created.

**Evarestus** (c.169 A.D.) “The Church of God which sojourns at Smyrna, to the Church of God sojourning in Philomelium, and to all the congregations of the Holy and Catholic Church in every place: Mercy, peace, and love from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied.” *Martyrdom of Polycarp* preface p.39

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 23.37-38 p.79-80 “on this rock I will build my church.”

*Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum* (177 A.D.). (partial) “The servants of Christ who sojourn in Vienna and Lugdunum of Gaul to the brethren throughout Asia and Phrygia, who have the same faith and hope of redemption as ourselves, peace, grace, and glory from God the Father, and from Christ Jesus our Lord. p.778

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “For indeed the Lord’s salvation and his truth were prefigured in the people, and the decrees of the Gospel were proclaimed in advance by the law. Thus the people was a type, like a preliminary sketch, and the law was the writing of an analogy. The Gospel is the narrative and fulfillment of the law, and the church is the repository of reality.” *On Pascha* p.47

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “She (the church) also believes these points [of doctrine] just as if she had but one soul.... For the churches which have been planted in Germany do not believe or hand down anything different nor do those in Spain nor those in Gaul, nor those in the East nor those in Egypt nor those in Libya, nor ...” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.10.2 p.331

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) “Wherefore the Church beareth much fruit of the redeemed”. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.94.

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201-205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) preface p.699 “agency of the Church”

**Serapion of Antioch** (191/200-210) &&&

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) (implied) “So the Church is full of those, as well chaste women as men, who all their life have contemplated the death which rouses up to Christ.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.7 p.419

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) says there is one God, one baptism, and one church. *On Baptism* ch.15 p.676

Tertullian (213 A.D.) “stands before you a monogamist in spirit, having one Church as His spouse,” *On Monogamy* ch.5 p.62. See also Tertullian on modesty (208-220 A.D.) ch.13 p.87; ch.21 p.92.

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “it once for all, we are one Church.” *On the Veiling of Virgins* ch.2 p.28

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) speaks of Christ and His church (singular). *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.25 p.343

**Asterius Urbanus** (c.232 A.D.) “Church universal under heaven” *The Exordium* book 2 p.336

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) mentions the church as a life in the sea. *Commentary on Proverbs* p.174

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240 A.D.) (implied) speaks of the Church. *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.22 p.45

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) But a devout man restrains it, governing rightly. The swarms [flock] are rejoiced under suitable kings; in such there is hope, and the entire Church lives. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.9 p.216

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “Again, if God set in the Church apostles and prophets and evangelists (gospellers), pastors and teachers, we must first enquire what was the office of the evangelist,” *Commentary on John* book 1 ch.5 p.299

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) says that Christians are in the Church everywhere, and are being perfected and completed. *Treatise Concerning the Trinity* ch.29 p.641

***Treatise On Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.1 p.667 tells of people who fled to the church of God, and speaks of the Holy mother church.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “But how can he agree with any one who does not agree with the body of the Church itself, and with the universal brotherhood?” *Treatise of Cyprian* Treatise 1 ch.12 p.425

**Roman Church Leaders** to Cyprian (250-251 A.D.) “and the whole Church, which itself also with the deepest anxiety keeps watch over all who call on the name of the Lord.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 2 ch.3 p.281

Munnulus of Girba at the **Seventh Council of Carthage** (258 A.D.) p.567 says, “our Mother the Catholic Church”

Sedatus of Tuburno at the Seventh Council of Carthage (258 A.D.) p.568 says, “the single and true baptism of the Church”

Lucius of Ausafa at the Seventh Council of Carthage (258 A.D.) p.571 under Cyprian says that there is “one Spirit, and one church”

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) speaks of one universal church. *Metaphrase of Ecclesiastes* ch.1 p.9

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) says that all Christians are a part of one body. letter 5 p.101

**Malchion** (270 A.D.) “the Church Catholic, and that, as we trust, by the providence of God-namely, the” *Against Paul of Samosata* ch.5 p.170

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) “But if we are called ‘Catholic’ because we have a truly universal existence is this wrong?” *Dialogue on the True Faith* part 1 809a p.47

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “that they are called seven, and that the Catholic Church is one.” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the first chapter verse 16 p.345

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) The woman in Revelation 12:1-6 is the church. *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* book 8 ch.5 p.336

***Letter of the Council of Arles I to Pope Silvester*** (Aug. 314 A.D.) p.389 mentions Pope Silvester and the one mother church.

**Theophilus** (events c.315 A.D.) “Domitianus and of all the other emperors who likewise also raised a persecution against the Church, and put a great many to death,…” *Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon* p.695

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “For when they are called Phrygians, or Novarians, or Valentinians, or Marcionites, or Anthropians, or Arians, or by any other name they have ceased to be Christians, who have lost the name of Christ, and assumed human and external names. Therefore it is the Catholic Church alone which retains true worship.” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.30 p.133

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) “Since the body of the Catholic Church is one, and it is commanded in Holy Scripture that we should keep the bond of unanimity and peace” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Letter 2 ch.1 p.296

Alexander of Alexandria (313-326 A.D.) mentions people who are anathematized from the Catholic Church and refers to 2 John. *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Epistle 1.6 p.298

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) speaks of the “church” *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1.1 p.81

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) “they could see churches of Christ established by their means among all nations, and Christian people throughout the whole world bearing one common name: they could give assurance that the attacks of rulers and kings from time to time against the Church of Christ will avail nothing to cast it down, strengthened as it is by God. If so many things were proclaimed by the Hebrew divines, and if their fulfilment is so clear to us all to-day, who would not marvel at their inspiration?” *Demonstration of the Gospel* ch.1

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Clement to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.1 p.218 speaks of the (universal) church. “The holy church of the Hebrews, and the churches everywhere”

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) speaks of just one [true] church. homily 3 ch.68 p.250

Revised Valentinian ***Tripartite Tract*** (200-250 A.D.) part 1 ch.3 p.63 (implied) said the church was from the beginning.

## C3. Tradition of the apostles or the church

Ephesians 2:20

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Ephesians 2:20

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Mentions the apostles. 2 Peter 3:21; Jude 17

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “And thus preaching through countries and cities, they appointed the first-fruits [of their labours], having first proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons of those who should afterwards believe. Nor was this any new thing, since indeed many ages before it was written concerning bishops and deacons. For thus saith the Scripture a certain place, ‘I will appoint their bishops in righteousness, and their deacons in faith.’” (This is Isaiah 60:17 in the Septuagint, except that Clement has altered the text according to footnote 10 p.16) *1 Clement* ch.42 p.16

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) “Our apostles also knew, through our Lord Jesus Christ, and there would be strife on account of the office of the episcopate. For this reason, therefore, inasmuch as they had obtained a perfect fore-knowledge of this, they appointed those [ministers] already mentioned, and afterwards gave instructions, that when these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed them in their ministry” *1 Clement* ch.44 p.17

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) Clement believed in episcopal succession, i.e. apostolic succession of bishops. In other words, one way we know that the Christian church is correct vs. other groups, is that the apostles appointed bishops who appointed bishops, etc. *1 Clement* ch.44 p.17

***Epistle to Diognetus*** ch.11 p.29 (c.130-200 A.D.) mentions the tradition of the apostles.

*Epistle to Diognetus* ch.11 p.29 (c.130-200 A.D.) says, “and the faith of the gospels is established, and the tradition of the Apostles is preserved”

**Hegesippus** (170-180 A.D.) drew up a list of the succession of bishops of Rome. It included Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherus. Then Hegesippus says, “Therefore was the Church called a virgin, for she was not as yet corrupted by worthless teaching. Thebulis it was who, *displeased* because he was not made bishop, first began to corrupt her by stealth. …” Then he mentions Simon, the Marcionists, Valentinians, Basilidians, Saturnilians, and other Gnostics. *Concerning His Journey to Rome, and the Jewish Sects* vol.8 p.764. From *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 4 ch.22 p.198-200

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “But, again, when we refer to them [heretics] to that tradition which originates from the apostles [and] which is preserved by means of the successions of presbyters in the Churches, they object to tradition, saying that they themselves are wiser not merely than the presbyters, but even than the apostles, because they have discovered the unadulterated truth.” Irenaeus Against Heresies book 3 ch.2.2 p.415

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “True knowledge is [that which consists in] the doctrine of the apostles, and the ancient constitution of the Church throughout all the world, and the distinctive manifestation of the body of Christ according to the successions of the bishops, by which they have handed down that Church which exists in every place, and has come even unto us, being guarded and preserved without any forging of Scriptures, by a very complete system of doctrine, and neither receiving addition nor [suffering] curtailment [in the truths which she believes]; and [it consists in] reading [the word of God] without falsification, and a lawful and diligent exposition in harmony with the Scriptures, both without danger and without blasphemy; and [above all, it consists in] the pre-eminent gift of love, which is more precious than knowledge, more glorious than prophecy, and which excels all the other gifts [of God].” Irenaeus, Against Heresies book 4, ch.33.8 p.508

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “The blessed apostles, then having founded and built up the Church, committed into the hands of Linus the office of the episcopate. Of this Linus, Paul makes mention in the Epistles to Timothy. To him succeeded Anacletus; and after him, in the third place form the apostles, Clement was allotted the bishopric..” Ther eis more on the “bishopric” succession at Rome too. Irenaeus Against Heresies book 3 ch.3.3 p.416

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “But Polycarp also was not only instructed by apostles, and conversed with many who had seen Christ, but was also, by apostles in Asia, appointed bishop of the Church in Smyrna…. To these things all the Asiatic Churches testify, as do also those men who have succeeded Polycarp down to the present time, - a man who was of much greater weight, and a more stedfast witness of truth, than Valentinus, and Marcion, and the rest of the heretics.” Irenaeus Against Heresies book 3 ch.3.4 p.416.

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D>) “For, prior to Valentinus, those who follow Valentinus had no existence; nor did those from Marcion exist before Marcion; nor, in short, had any of those malignant-minded people, whom I have above enumerated, any being previous to the initiators and inventors of their perversity.” Irenaeus Against Heresies book 3 ch.4.3 p.417.

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) “Now faith occasions this for us; even as the Elders, the disciples of the Apostles, have handed down to us.”. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.3.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) in discussing heretics says, “The liars, then, in reality are not those who for the sake of the scheme of salvation conform, nor those who err in minute points, but those who are wrong in essentials, and reject the Lord, and as far as in them lies deprive the Lord of the truth teaching; who do not quote or deliver the Scriptures in a manner worthy of God and of the Lord; for the deposit rendered to God, according to the teaching of the Lord by His apostles, is the understanding and the practice of godly tradition.” *Stromata* book 6 ch.15 p.506

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) quotes from the Epistle of Barnabas vol.1 p.147. *The Stromata* book 2 ch.20 p.372.

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) speaks of the apostolic injunction to flee from “the prince of the power of the air” who works in the children of disobedience,” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.1 p.173

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) “And that you may still be more confident, that repenting thus truly there remains for you a sure hope of salvation, listen to a tale, which is not a tale but a narrative, handed down and committed to the custody of memory, about the Apostle John. For when, on the tyrant’s death, he returned to Ephesus from the isle of Patmos, he went away, being invited, to the contiguous territories of the nations, here to appoint bishops, there to set in order whole Churches, there to ordain such as were marked out by the Spirit.” Who is the Rich Man That Shall be Saved? ch.42 p.603

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) mentions the tradition of the blessed doctrine, derived directly from the holy apostles, Peter, James, John, and Paul. *Stromata* book 1 ch.1 p.301

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “But if there be any (heresies) which are bold enough to plant themselves in the midst Of the apostolic age, that they may thereby seem to have been handed down by the apostles, because they existed in the time of the apostles, we can say: Let them produce the original records of their churches; let them unfold the roll of their bishops, running down in due succession from the beginning in such a manner that [that first bishop of theirs] bishop shall be able to show for his ordainer and predecessor some one of the apostles or of apostolic men,--a man, moreover, who continued steadfast with the apostles. …To this test, therefore will they be submitted for proof by those churches, who, although they derive not their founder from apostles or apostolic men (as being of much later date, for they are in fact being founded daily), yet, since they agree in the same faith, they are accounted as not less apostolic because they are akin in doctrine…Then let all the heresies, when challenged to these two tests by our apostolic church, offer their proof of how they deem themselves to be apostolic. But in truth they neither are so, nor are they able to prove themselves to be what they are not. Nor are they admitted to peaceful relations and communion by such churches as are in any way connected with apostles, inasmuch as they are in no sense themselves apostolic because of their diversity as to the mysteries of the faith.” Tertullian, Prescription against the Heretics ch.32 p.258

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “Because, after all, the earliest Christians are found on the side of the Creator, not of Marcion, all nations being called to His kingdom, from the fact that God set up that kingdom from the tree (of the cross), when no Cerdon was yet born, much less a Marcion.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.21 p.339

Tertullian (200-240 A.D.) refers to Justin Martyr and Irenaeus. *Against Valentinus* ch.5 p.506

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) discusses believing according to the tradition of the apostles. *Against the Heresy of One Noetus* ch.17 p.230

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) quotes *1 Clement* ch.55 as by “the faithful Clement” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 6 ch.36 p.366

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Our Lord, whose precepts and admonitions we ought to observe, describing the honour of a bishop(3) and the order of His Church, speaks in the Gospel, and says to Peter: “I say unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.” Thence, through the changes of times and successions, the ordering of bishops and the plan of the Church flow onwards; so that the Church is founded upon the bishops, and every act of the Church is controlled by these same rulers.” Epistles of cyprian Epistle 26 ch.1 p.305

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “Therefore the power of remitting sins was given to the apostles, and to the churches which they, sent by Christ, established, and to the bishops who succeeded to them by vicarious ordination.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 74 ch.16 p.394

**Firmilian of Caesarea** to Cyprian (256 A.D.) “Therefore the power of remitting sins was given to the apostles, and to the churches which they, sent by Christ, established, and to the bishops who succeeded to them by vicarious ordination.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 74 ch.16 p.394

**Lucian of Antioch** (c.300-311 A.D.) “in accordance with evangelic and apostolic tradition” *Creed of Lucian of Antioch* in *The Creeds of Christendom* by Philip Schaff vol.2 p.26

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “For when they are called Phrygians, or Novarians, or Valentinians, or Marcionites, or Anthropians, or Arians, or by any other name they have ceased to be Christians, who have lost the name of Christ, and assumed human and external names. Therefore it is the Catholic Church alone which retains true worship.” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.30 p.133

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (329-339/340 A.D.) “It is my purpose to write an account of the successions of the holy apostles, as well as of the times which have elapsed from the days of our Saviour to our own; and to relate the many important events which are said to have occurred in the history of the Church; and to mention those who have governed and presided over the Church in the most prominent parishes, and those who in each generation have proclaimed the divine word either orally or in writing... When Nero was in the eighth year of his reign, Annianus succeeded Mark the evangelist in the administration of the parish of Alexandria...Linus ...was Peter’s successor in the episcopate of the church there...Clement also, who was appointed third bishop of the church at Rome.” Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History book 1 ch.1 p.81-82.

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) speaks of the memory of succession of the apostles. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.1 p.81-82

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

*The Letter of Ignatius to the Trallians* ch.7 p.69 (Latin version) discusses apostolic succession, but the shorter Greek version is considered authentic instead of the Latin version. The Greek version mentions none of this.

## C4. Priesthood of all believers

1 Peter 2:9; Exodus 19:6; Revelation 1:6; 5:10

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “and [Christ] made us a new priesthood, and a people everlasting for himself” *On Pascha* stanza 68 p.55

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) David had been appointed as a priest by God, although Saul persecuted him. For all of the righteous possess the priestly rank.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.8.3 p.471

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “In the preceding book, I have shown that all the disciples of the Lord are Levites and priests, … but they are blameless.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.34.3 p.564

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) “We have become a consecrated offering to God for Christ’s sake: we are the chosen generation, the royal priesthood, the holy nation, the peculiar people, who once were not a people, but are now the people of God;” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.4 p.189

Clement of Alexandria (c.818-217/220 A.D.) “The spiritual man is, then, the truly kingly man. He is the sacred high priest of God.” *Stromata* book 7 ch.7 p.533

Clement of Alexandria (198-217/220 A.D.) “‘But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood.’ That we are a chosen race by the election of God is abundantly clear. He says royal, because we are called to sovereignty and belong to Christ; and priesthood on account of the oblation which is made by prayers and instructions, by which are gained the souls which are offered to God.” *Fragments from Cassiodorus* (fragment 1) p.572

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Vain shall we be if we think that what is not lawful for priests is lawful for laics [laity]. Are not even we laics priests? It is written: “A kingdom also, and priests to His God and Father, hath He made us.” *Exhortation to Chastity* ch.7 p.54

Tertullian (213 A.D.) “At all events, priests we are called by Christ;” *On Monogamy* ch.7 p.64-65.

Tertullian (213 A.D.) “Jesus, the Father’s Highest and Great Priest, clothing us from His own store -inasmuch as they ‘who are baptized in Christ have put on Christ’ -has made ‘priests to God His Father,’ according to John.” *On Monogamy* ch.7 p.66

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “We are the true adorers and the true priests, who, praying in spirit, sacrifice, in spirit, prayer,” *Tertullian On Prayer* ch.28 p.690

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “As for him who affirms that we are ‘the priesthood of the cross’ we shall claim him as our co-religionist.” *To the Nations* book 1 ch.12 p.122

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) mentions we are a royal priesthood. *Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.1.5 p.144

Origen (233/234 A.D.) (partial) says we are a kingdom of priests. *Origen’s Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.5 p.155

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Also in the Apocalypse: … “Worthy art Thou, O Lord, to take the book, and to open its seals: for Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us with Thy blood from every tribe, and people, and nation; and Thou hast made us a kingdom unto our God, and hast made us priests, and they shall reign upon the earth.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 ch.15 p.522

Alexander of Cappadocia (233-251 A.D.) (partial) “For, indeed, wherever there are found persons capable of profiting the brethren, such persons are exhorted by the holy bishops to address the people. *ANF* vol.6 p.154

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “And He made us a kingdom and priests unto God and His Father.”] That is to say, a Church of all believers; as also the Apostle Peter says: ‘A holy nation, a royal priesthood.’” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the first chapter verse 6 p.344

Victorinus of Petau (martyred 304 A.D.) “The phial [vial] signifies *the* Confession, and the race of the new Priesthood.” *Commentary on Revelation* ch.5 8,9

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Ignatius** (after 116A.D.) “Blessed, then, are ye who are God-bearers, spirit-bearers, temple-bearers, bearers of holiness, adorned in all respects with the commandments of Jesus Christ, being “a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people,’ on whose account I rejoice exceedingly, and have had the privilege, by this Epistle, of conversing with “the saints which are at Ephesus, the faithful in Christ Jesus.’” Long version of the *Letter to the Ephesians* ch.9 p.53

**pseudo-Methodius** (after 312 A.D.) “Hail, thou people of the Lord, thou chosen generation, thou royal priesthood, thou holy nation, thou peculiar people-show forth His praises who hath called you out of darkness into His marvellous light; and for His mercies glorify Him.” *Oration of Simeon and Anna* ch.13 p.393

## C5. The Church/Christians should have unity

John 17:3; 20-21,23; 1 Corinthians 3:1-10; 12:12-29; Ephesians 4:3-5

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Ephesians 4:3-5

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 17:3

**p18???** (fourth century) Acts 4:32 (implied)

**Clement of Rome** ch.2 vol.1 p.5. also vol.9 p.230 (96-98 A.D.) praised the Corinthian church for in the past not having factions or schisms.

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) “Why are there strifes, and tumults, and divisions, and schisms, and wars among you? Have we not [all] one God and one Christ? Is there not one Spirit of grace poured out upon us? … Why do we divide and tear to pieces the member of Christ, and raised up strife against our own body, and have reached such a height of madness as to forget that ‘we are members one of another?’” *1 Clement* ch.46 p.17

**Ignatius** (-107/116 A.D.) “Therefore in your concord and harmonious love, Jesus Christ is sung. And do ye, man by man, become a choir, that being harmonious in love, and taking up the song of God in unison, ye may with one voice sing to the Father through Jesus Christ, so that He may both hear you, and perceive by your works that ye are indeed the members of His Son. It is profitable, therefore, that you should live in an unblameable unity, that thus ye may always enjoy communion with God.” I*gnatius’ Letter to the Ephesians* ch.4 p.50-51

*Letter of Ignatius to the Magnesians* ch.6 p.61 (-107/116 A.D.) “Let nothing exist among you that may divide you; but be ye united with your bishop, and those that preside over you, as a type and evidence of your immortality.”

*Ignatius to the Smyrnaeans* ch.9 p.90 (-107/116 A.D.) mentions the Catholic church.

***Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) (implied) “Thou shalt not long for division, but shalt ring those who contend to peace.”

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.19 p.148 “Thou shalt not make a schism, but thou shalt pacify those that contend by bringing them together.”

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) part 3 Simultude 9 ch.31 p.53-54 (implied) “And heal and take away from you those wicked schisms, that if the Lord of the flocks come, He may rejoice concerning you. And He will rejoice, if He find all things sound, and none of you shall perish. But if He find any one of these sheep strayed, woe to the shepherds! And if the shepherds themselves have strayed, what answer will they give Him for their flocks?”

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 47 no.19-44 quotes John 17:1-26.

***Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum*** (177 A.D.). “The servants of Christ who sojourn in Vienna and Lugdunum of Gaul to the brethren throughout Asia and Phrygia, who have the same faith and hope of redemption as ourselves, peace, grace, and glory from God the Father, and from Christ Jesus our Lord. p.778

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) says that God will judge those who start schisms, and who look to their own special advantage rather than to the unity of the church. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.32.7 p.508 See also *Against Heresies* book 1 ch.10.1,2 p.330-331.

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) (implied) “But [it has, on the other hand, been shown], that the preaching of the Church is everywhere consistent, and continues in an even course, and receives testimony from the prophets, the apostles, and all the disciples-as I have proved-through [those in] the beginning, the middle, and the end, and through the entire dispensation of God, and that well-grounded system which tends to man’s salvation, namely, our faith; which, having been received from the Church, we do preserve, and which always, by the Spirit of God, renewing its youth, as if it were some precious deposit in an excellent vessel, causes the vessel itself containing it to renew its youth also.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.21.1 p.451

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “that there should be no divisions and dissensions in the church,’ seeing that they, whether Paul or others, preached the same things.” *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.26 p.255-256.

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) (implied) “We hold communion with the apostolic churches because our doctrine is in no respect different *from theirs*. This is our witness of truth.” *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.21 p.252-253

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (c.240 A.D.) (implied) “Our Pantaenus used to say, that prophecy utters its expressions indefinitely for the most part, and uses the present for the future, and again the present for the past. Which is also seen here. For ‘He hath set’ is put both for the past and the future. For the future, because, on the completion of this period, which is to run according to its present constitution, the Lord will come to restore the righteous, the faithful, in whom He rests, as in a tent, to one and the same unit; for all are one body, of the same race, and have chosen the fame faith and righteousness.” *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.55 p.49

**Origen** (239-242 A.D.) speaks of the importance of unity and not having schisms, heresies, or dissensions. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 9 ch.1.2 p.117

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.10 p.660 quotes 1 Corinthians 11:17 and 3:3 and discusses why Novatian should want to break this unity of believers.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) mentioned maintaining the unity of the Lord in *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 69 p.376

**Maximus** (c.246-258 A.D.) in his letter to Cyprian mentions the division that was healed in *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 49 p.326

**Firmilian** (c.246-258 A.D.) in his letter to Cyprian discusses the importance of unity in *Letter 74* p.390

Firmilian (c.246-258 A.D.) in his letter to Cyprian mentions the “unity of love” in *Letter 74* ch.23 p.396

Nemesianus of Thubunae at the **Seventh Council of Carthage** (258 A.D.) p.566 quotes Ephesians 4:3-6 as keeping the unit of the Spirit and One God.

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) in Part 2 letter 6 p.102 says the church rightly repulses “Novatian, who has rent the church” and for his teaching.

&&&**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) (implied) *Dialogue on the True Faith* ch.&&&

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “All are made with divine nature with one accord accepted in the same faith” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.12 p.438

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) fragment 1 p.280 says that since Meletius does not act for the common good, hold no communion with him until Peter meets with Meletius.

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) “Since the body of the Catholic Church is one, and it is commanded in Holy Scripture that we should keep the bond of unanimity and peace” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Letter 2 ch.1 p.296

## C6. Excommunicate or separate from heretics

2 Timothy 3:1-5

No hospitality to heretics 2 John 10-11

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) “Keep yourselves from those evil plants which Jesus Christ does not tend, because they are not the planting of the Father…. Do not err, my brethren. If any man follows him that makes a schism in the Church, he shall not inherit the kingdom of God.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Philadelphians* ch.3 p.80

**Caius** (190-217 A.D.) ch.2.1 p.601 mentions that Victor excommunicated Theodotus the Tanner, who said that Christ was a mere man.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) gives an example of how seriously we should take the truth by separating completely from all relations with heretics. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.2.3 p.416. Book 3 ch.4 p.452 uses the term “excommunicated” for corrupt teaching.

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.217-220 A.D.) quotes 1 Timothy 6:3f (8/9 quotes), all of 6:4 and 6:5a (4/9 quote) *The Stromata* book 1 ch.8 p.309

**Asterius Urbanus** (c.232 A.D.) speaks of examining Montanists, rejecting them as heretical, expelled them from the Church and debarring them from communion. fragment 2 p.336

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes Titus 3:10,11 as ty Titus and 1 John 2:19 as in the Epistle of John, to separate from heretics. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 book 3 ch.78 p.552

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes most of 1 Timothy 6:3-5, including “If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to the wholesome words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to His doctrine, he is proud, knowing nothing: from such withdraw thyself.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 73 ch.3 p.387. Ditto in Epistle 39.6 p.318.

**Roman presbyters and deacons** (248-257 A.D.) says to “repel” heretics. *Epistles of Cyprian*. Epistle 30.2 p.309.

**Firmilian** (c.246-258 A.D.) in his letter to Cyprian mentions excommunicating heretics in *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle *74* ch.23 p.396

**Euchratius** Bishop of Thenae at *The Seventh Council of Carthage* (258 A.D.) “Thus the false and wicked baptism of heretics must be rejected by us, and refuted with all detestation, from whose mouth is expressed poison, not life, not celestial grace, but blasphemy against the Trinity.”

Dativus of Badis at *The Seventh Council of Carthage* (258 A.D.) “We, as far as in us lies, do not hold communion with heretics, unless they have been baptized in the Church, and have received remission of their sins.” (p.567)

Gregory Thaumaturgus (240-265 A.D.) (partial) says to excommunicate the covetous. (no mention of heretics though.) *Canonical Epistle* canon 4 p.18

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) in Part 2 letter 8 p.102 says the church rightly repulses “Novatian, who has rent the church” and for his teaching.

Dionysius of Alexandria (246-265 A.D.) says to excommunicate heretics as Paul says. *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* ch.3.7 p.114

**Malchion** (270 A.D.) mentions excommunicating Paul of Samosata and appointing another bishop in his place. Malchion *Against Paul of Samosata* 1.5 p.170

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) fragment 1 p.280 says that since Meletius does not act for the common good, hold no communion with him until Peter meets with Meletius.

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (implied) “But some, enticed by the prediction of false prophets, concerning whom both the true prophets and he himself had foretold, fell away from the knowledge of God, and left the true tradition. But all of these, ensnared by frauds of demons, which they ought to have foreseen and guarded against, by their carelessness lost the name and worship of God. For when they are called Phrygians, or Novarians, or Valentinians, or Marcionites, or Anthropians, or Arians, or by any other name they have ceased to be Christians, who have lost the name of Christ, and assumed human and external names. Therefore it is the Catholic Church alone which retains true worship. This is the fountain of truth, this is the abode of the faith, this is the temple of God; into which if any one shall not enter, or from which if any shall go out, he is estranged from the hope of life and eternal salvation. No one ought to flatter himself with persevering strife. For the contest is respecting life and salvation, which, unless it is carefully and diligently kept in view, will be lost and extinguished. But, however, because all the separate assemblies of heretics call themselves Christians in preference to others, and think that theirs is the Catholic Church, it must be known that the true Catholic Church is that in which there is confession and repentance, which treats in a wholesome manner the sins and wounds to which the weakness of the flesh is liable.” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.30 p.133-134.

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) mentions excommunicating heretics. *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Epistle 1.5 vol.6 p.298. See also Epistle 2 ch.1 vol.6 p.297

Alexander of Alexandria (313-326 A.D.) (implied) “To these Arius and Achilles opposing themselves, and those who with them are the enemies of the truth, have been expelled from the Church, as being aliens from our holy doctrine, according to the blessed Paul, who says, ‘If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed; even though he feign himself an angel from heaven.’” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Epistle 1 ch.13 p.296

Alexander of Alexandria (313-326 A.D.) (implied by example) “For ye yourselves are taught of God, nor are ye ignorant that this doctrine, which hath lately raised its head against the piety of the Church, is that of Ebion and Artemas; nor is it aught else but an imitation of Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, who, by the judgment and counsel of all the bishops, and in every place, was separated from the Church.” *Letter 1 - to Alexander of Constantinople* ch.9 p.294

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) says we should excommunicate heretical people. homily 11 ch.35 p.291

## C7. Churches should greet other churches

Romans 16:16

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Romans 16:16

**p18** Revelation 1:4-7 (4 verses) (300 A.D.) John greeted the seven churches in Revelation 1:4

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) Church of God at Rome greeting the Church of God at Corinth ch.1 vol.1 p.5. also vol.9 p.229

***Ignatius*** *to the Smyrnaeans* ch.11 p.91 (-107/116 A.D.) tells the Smyrnaean Church to send delegates to fellowship with the church at Antioch.

**Dionysius of Corinth** (170 A.D.) wrote a letter to the Spartans and Athenians, a letter to the Nicomedians against Marcion, and a letter to the Gortynians in Crete. *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.765

Dionysius of Corinth (170 A.D.) mentions the Roman Church sending the Corinthian church a letter through Clement. *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.765

***Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum*** (177 A.D.). “The servants of Christ who sojourn in Vienna and Lugdunum of Gaul to the brethren throughout Asia and Phrygia, who have the same faith and hope of redemption as ourselves, peace, grace, and glory from God the Father, and from Christ Jesus our Lord. p.778

**Theophilus of Caesarea** (180 A.D.) “Endeavor also to send abroad copies of our epistle among all the churches. *From His Epistle on the Question of the Passover, Written in the Name of the Synod of Caesarea.* *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.774

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) gives an example of Clement of Rome writing a “powerful letter” to the Corinthian church, “exhorting them to peace, renewing their faith, and declaring the tradition which it had lately received from the apostles.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.3.3 p.416

**Serapion of Antioch** (200-210 A.D.) “That ye may see also that the proceedings of this lying confederacy … I have sent you letters of the most blessed Claudius Apollinarius” *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.775

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Cyprian to the presbyters and deacons, and to the whole people, his brethren in the Lord, greeting.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 33 p.312

**Roman church leaders to Cyprian** (250/251 A.D.) “To Father Cyprian , the presbyters and deacons abiding at Rome, greeting.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 30 ch.1 p.308

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) says he wrote letters against the Sabellian heresy in his letter 6 (to Sixtus) p.102.

**Malchion** (270 A.D.) “together with the churches of God, send greetings to our brethren beloved in the Lord.” *Against Paul of Samosata* preface p.169

## C8. Church leaders should accept each other

(implied) John 13:20; (implied) Romans 15:7; 2 John 9-10

(implied, because accept all believers) Romans 15:7

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) (implied, we all should accept each other) John 13:20

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) not only warns against divisive leaders, but he also advises how the leaders of sedition can be reconciled back to the body. *1 Clement* ch.54 p.19. also ch.44 p.17

**Ignatius** (-107/116 A.D.) wrote many letters to other churches, commending their leaders.

*Letter of Ignatius to the Ephesians* ch.21 p.58 (-107/116 A.D.) tells the Ephesian Christian to love Polycarp, even as Ignatius loves them.

**Dionysius of Corinth** (170 A.D.) mentions the Roman Church sending the Corinthian church a letter through Clement. *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.765

**Serapion of Antioch** (200-210 A.D.) “That ye may see also that the proceedings of this lying confederacy … I have sent you letters of the most blessed Claudius Apollinarius” *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.775

**Cyprian of Carthage** (256 A.D.) mentions that priestly concord is maintained by them in gentleness and patience. *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 72 ch.26 p.386

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) wrote an entire letter (Epistle 51 p.327-328 commending the character of the fellow-priest Cornelius against the schismatic Novatian.

Cyprian of Carthage (248-257 A.D.) writes to Moyses, Maximum, and Nicostratus and other Roman confessors and they write back Letters 24 and vol.5 p.303-304.

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) (implied) wrote approvingly to the bishop of Antioch Letters 4 and 5 p.97-101

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Epistle 4 p.299 was an letter of Alexander of Alexandria to Aeglon of Cynopolis.

## C9. Must be worthy of being a bishop/priest

**Ignatius of Antioch** (100-107/116 A.D.) “For your justly renowned presbytery, worthy of God, is fitted as exactly to the bishop as the strings are to the harp. Therefore in your concord and harmonious love, Jesus Christ is sung.” *Epistle to the Ephesians* ch.4 p.50 [both Greek and Latin

***Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) ch.15.1 vol.7 p.381 “Appoint, therefore, for yourselves, bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek, and not lovers of money, and truthful and proved; for they also render to you the service of prophets and teachers.”

**Tertullian** (200-240 A.D.) (implied) mentions that it is too easy for heretics to become bishops, readers, deacons, presbyters. *On Prescription Against Heretics* ch.41 p.263

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) (implied) “In like manner, also, in comparing the council of the Church of God with the council in any city, you would find that certain councillors of the Church are worthy to rule in the city of God, if there be any such city in the whole world; whereas the councillors in all other places exhibit in their characters no quality worthy of the conventional superiority which they appear to enjoy over their fellow-citizens.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 3 ch.30 p.476

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Neither do we observe that this was regarded by the apostles only in the ordinations of bishops and priests, but also in those of deacons, of which matter itself also it is written in their Acts: ‘And they twelve called together,’ it says, ‘the whole congregation of the disciples, and said to them;’ which was done so diligently and carefully, with the calling together of the whole of the people, surely for this reason, that no unworthy person might creep into the ministry of the altar, or to the office of a priest. For that unworthy persons are sometimes ordained, not according to the will of God, but according to human presumption, and that those things which do not come of a legitimate and righteous ordination are displeasing to God, God Himself manifests by Hosea the prophet, saying, ‘They have set up for themselves a king, but not by me.’” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 67 ch.4 p.371

## C10. Remove leaders fallen in gross sin/heresy

(implied, if remove any Christian from the church that includes leaders) 1 Corinthians 5:9-11; 2 John 9-11 (implied)

***Polycarp’s Letter to the Philippians*** ch.11 p.35 (100-165 A.D.) speaks of Valens “who was once a presbyter among you” and his wife who were financially dishonest.

**Council of Elvira** (306/307 A.D.) mentions priests (flamens) who host public games in Canons 2, 3

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) discusses leaders who fall away and as such are not lawful to remain in sacred ministry. *The Canonical Epistle* Canon 10 p.274

**Council of Ancyra** (314 A.D.) Sometimes deacons should be removed is they were unmarried as deacons and married afterwards canon 10 p.67

Council of Ancyra (314 A.D.) clergy, presbyter, and deacons refuse to eat any meat, … let them be removed.

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* ch.1.13 p.296 speaks of enemies of the truth who have been expelled from the church. Then he mentions the blessed Paul and refers to Galatians 1:8-9.

## C11. Obey authority of godly church leaders

1 Thessalonians 5:12-23; Hebrews 13:7,17

(partial) 1 Peter 5:2-3

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Hebrews 13:7,17

p30 - 1 Thessalonians 4:12-13,16-17; 5:3,8-10,12-18,25-28; 2 Thessalonians 1:1-2; 2:1,9-11 (25 verses) (ca.225 A.D.) (partial) 1Th 5:12 says “…to recognize those who labor among you, and are over you in the Lord and admonish you.” (NKJV) 1 Thessalonians 5:12

**Clement of Rome** ch.1 vol.1 p.5. also vol.9 p.229 (96-98 A.D.) “obedient to those who had rule over you, and giving all fitting honour to the presbyters among you.”

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) ch.43 p.16 and ch.46 p.17 show that as we follow Christ, as soldiers follow a general, we are to obey our church leaders. (See also vol.9 ch.43 p.242 and ch.57 p.246)

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) ch.44 p.17 Clement believed in episcopal succession. In other words, one way we know that the Christian church is correct vs. other groups, is that the apostles appointed bishops who appointed bishops, etc.

**Ignatius** (-107/116 A.D.) Be subject to the bishop and the presbytery. *Ignatius’ Letter to the Ephesians* ch.2 p.50 also ch.6 p.51

Ignatius (-107/116 A.D.) Do not set yourselves up in opposition to the bishop, in order that we may be subject to God. *Ignatius’ Letter to the Ephesians* ch.5 p.51

Ignatius (-107/116 A.D.) Look upon your bishop as you would the Lord himself. *Ignatius’ Letter to the Ephesians* ch.6 p.51-52. See also *Letter to the Magnesians* ch.13 p.64

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) “Wherefore it is needful to abstain from all these things, being subject to the presbyters and deacons, as unto God and Christ.” Polycarp’s Letter to the Philippians ch.4 p.34

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “watch against the snares of the devil, and, taking care for you own salvation, be diligently on your guard against this death-bearing fallacy.” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 5 p.317.

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “Keep discipline, lest haply the Lord be angry, and ye perish from the right way, when His anger shall quickly burn against you. And what shall Christ and our Lord and Judge think, when He sees His virgin, dedicated to Him, and destined for His holiness, lying with another?” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 61 ch.1 p.357

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “Nor let them think that the way of life or of salvation is still open to them, if they have refused to obey the bishops and priests.” This is in regard to obstinately refusing to cease from adultery. *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 61 ch.4 p.358

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) shows that we are to obey leaders in the church. homily 11 ch.36 p.292

## C12. Reject unchristian church leader authority

1 Timothy 6:3-5; 2 Timothy 3:1-5; Titus 1:14; 2 John 9-11 (implied)

(partial) 1 Timothy 4:1-4

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) after stressing obedience to church leaders, then says, “Let us rather offend those men who are foolish, and inconsiderate, and lifted up, and who glory in the pride of their speech, than [offend] God.” *1 Clement* ch.21 p.11

**Ignatius** (-107/116 A.D.) “Do not err, my brethren. If any man follows him that makes a schism in the Church, he shall not inherit the kingdom of God.” *Ignatius’ Letter to the Philadelphians* ch.3 p.80

**Caius** (190-217 A.D.) ch.1.2 p.601 mentions the heretic Cerinthus and the resurrection of us and the future kingdom of Christ.

**Serapion of Antioch** (200-210 A.D.) “That ye may see also that the proceedings of this lying confederacy … I have sent you letters of the most blessed Claudius Apollinarius” *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.775

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.1 p.657 says we are to beware of dogs and evil workers (reference to Philippians 3:2). He applies this to Novatian, whom he says is like the story of the Good Samaritan except that Novatian would kill the wounded man rather than help him.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) says we should “not to mingle in sacrilegious communion with profane and polluted priests, but maintain the sound and sincere constancy of your faith with religious fear.” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 67 ch.9 p.372

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) mentions repulsing Novatian, who rent the church and drew away some to impiety and blasphemies. Mentions the impious doctrine of God not being merciful. In *Letter 8* to Dionysius of Rome p.103.

**Nemesianus of Thubunae** at *The Seventh Council of Carthage* (258 A.D.) “That the baptism which heretics and schismatic bestow is not the true one, is everywhere declared in the Holy Scriptures, since there very leading men are false Christs and false prophets,…” (p.566)

**The Seventh Council of Carthage** (258 A.D.) p.565 under Cyprian condemns the letter sent by Stephen, bishop of Rome

**Caecilius of Bilta** at *The Seventh Council of Carthage* (258 A.D.) wrote “For thus it is written: ‘One faith, one hope, one baptism;’ not among heretics, where there is no hope, and the faith is false, … the faithless gives faith; the wicked bestows pardon of sins; and Antichrist baptizes in the name of Christ…” (p.565-566)

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) fragment 1 p.280 says that since Meletius does not act for the common good, hold no communion with him until Peter meets with Meletius.

&&&There are many more references besides these too.

## C13. Church leaders are shepherds

John 21:15-17; 1 Peter 5:2

**Ignatius** **of Antioch** (100-107/116 A.D.) (implied) “Wherefore, as children of light and truth, flee from division and wicked doctrines; but where the shepherd is, there do ye as sheep follow. For there are many wolves that appear worthy of credit, who, by means of a pernicious pleasure, carry captive those that are running towards God; but in your unity they shall have no place.” *Letter to the Philadelphians* ch.2 p.79-80

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (115-140 A.D.) part 3 Simultude 9 ch.31 p.53-54 “And heal and take away from you those wicked schisms, that if the Lord of the flocks come, He may rejoice concerning you. And He will rejoice, if He find all things sound, and none of you shall perish. But if He find any one of these sheep strayed, woe to the shepherds! And if the shepherds themselves have strayed, what answer will they give Him for their flocks?”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “But in pity for our weakness, the continual dispensations of Providence work, as the care of shepherds towards the sheep, and of a king towards his subjects; we ourselves also conducting ourselves obediently towards our superiors, who take the management of us, as appointed, in accordance with the commission from God with which they are invested.” *Stromata* book 7 ch.7 p.535

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “But if God rebukes whom He loves, and rebukes him for the very purpose of amending him, brethren also, and especially priests, do not hate, but love those whom they rebuke, that they may mend them; since God also before predicted by Jeremiah, and pointed to our times, when he said, “And I will give you shepherds according to my heart: and they shall feed you with the food of discipline?” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 2 ch.1 p.430

**Roman Church leaders** to Cyprian (250-251 A.D.) “Since, moreover, it devolves upon us who appear to be placed on high, in the place of a shepherd, to keep watch over the flock; if we be found neglectful, it will be said to us, as it was said to our predecessors also, who in such wise negligent had been placed in charge, that ‘we have not sought for that which was lost, and have not corrected the wanderer, and have not bound up that which was broken, but have eaten their milk, and been clothed with their wool; ‘“ *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 2 ch.1 p.280

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 3 ch.66 p.131 mentions the pastor, presbyters, and deacons.

## C14. Ordination [of elders/bishops]

Ordaining of Christ, Old Testament priests, or ordaining in the sense of commanding are not included here. Ordaining of deacons or ordination of all things is not included here either.

Titus 1:5

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “And that you may still be more confident, that repenting thus truly there remains for you a sure hope of salvation, listen to a tale, which is not a tale but a narrative, handed down and committed to the custody of memory, about the Apostle John. For when, on the tyrant’s death, he returned to Ephesus from the isle of Patmos, he went away, being invited, to the contiguous territories of the nations, here to appoint bishops, there to set in order whole Churches, there to ordain such as were marked out by the Spirit.” Who is the Rich Man That Shall be Saved? ch.42 p.603

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Their ordinations, are carelessly administered, capricious, changeable. At one time they put *novices* in office; at another time, men who are bound to some secular employment; at another, persons who have apostatized from us, to bind them by vainglory, since they cannot by the truth. Nowhere is promotion easier than in the camp of rebels, where the mere fact of being there is a foremost service. And so it comes to pass that to-day one man is their bishop, to-morrow another; to-day he is a deacon who to-morrow is a reader; to-day he is a presbyter who tomorrow is a layman.” *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.41 p.263

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.2 p.658 “Among them, shamelessly, and without any law of ordination, the episcopate is sought after; but among us in its own Sees, and in those of the throne delivered to it by God, it is renounced.”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Neither do we observe that this was regarded by the apostles only in the ordinations of bishops and priests, but also in those of deacons, of which matter itself also it is written in their Acts: ‘And they twelve called together,’ it says, ‘the whole congregation of the disciples, and said to them;’ which was done so diligently and carefully, with the calling together of the whole of the people, surely for this reason, that no unworthy person might creep into the ministry of the altar, or to the office of a priest. For that unworthy persons are sometimes ordained, not according to the will of God, but according to human presumption, and that those things which do not come of a legitimate and righteous ordination are displeasing to God, God Himself manifests by Hosea the prophet, saying, ‘They have set up for themselves a king, but not by me.’” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 67 ch.4 p.371

**Firmilian of Caesarea** to Cyprian (254-257 A.D.) “Therefore the power of remitting sins was given to the apostles, and to the churches which they, sent by Christ, established, and to the bishops who succeeded to them by vicarious ordination.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 74 ch.16 p.394

Seventh Council of Carthage (c.258 A.D.) (partial, of Novatianists) p.566 “Novatus of Thamugada said: Although we know that all the Scriptures give witness concerning the saving baptism, still we ought to declare our faith, that heretics and schismatics who come to the Church, and appear to have been falsely baptized, ought to be baptized in the everlasting fountain; and therefore, according to the testimony of the Scriptures, and according to the decree of our colleagues, men of most holy memory, that all schismatics and heretics who are converted to the Church must be baptized; and moreover, that those who appeared to have been ordained [by the Novatianists or heretics] must be received among lay people.”

**Pontius** (258 A.D.) “A crowded fraternity was besieging the doors of the house, and throughout all the avenues of access an anxious love was circulating. Possibly that apostolic experience might then have happened to him, as he desired, of being let down through a window, had he also been equal to the apostle in the honour of ordination.” *Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.5 p.269

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “One of the brethren who come together to the church, who for some time has been esteemed as a believer, and who before my ordination, and, if I am not deceived, before even the episcopate of Heraclas himself, had been a partaker of the assembly of the faithful,” Letter 9 p.103

**Phileas of Thmuis** (martyred 306/307 A.D.) “By them it has been established and settled that it is not lawful for any bishop to celebrate ordinations in other parishes than his own; a law which is exceedingly important and wisely devised.” *Letter of Phileas to Meletius of Lycopolis* p.163

## C15. Bishop(s)

Acts 20:28; Philippians 1:1

**p8** (4th century) Acts 6:1-6

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Philippians 1:1

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Elders are Shepherds. Christ is the Chief Shepherd 1 Peter 5:4

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) mentions the office of the episcopate, bishops, deacons, that we should obey bishops and presbyters *1 Clement* ch.42 p.16; ch.47 p.18, ch.57 p.20. office of the episcopate in ch.44 p.16-17.

**Ignatius** (-107/116 A.D.) “Take ye heed, then, to have but one Eucharist. For there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup to [show forth] the unity of His blood; one altar; as there is one bishop, along with the presbytery and deacons, my fellow-servants; that so, whatsoever ye do, ye may do it according to [the will of] God.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Philadelphians* ch.4 p.81

Ignatius (died 107 or 116 A.D.) “But the Spirit proclaimed these words: Do nothing without the bishop; keep your bodies as the temples of God; love unity; avoid divisions; be the followers of Jesus Christ, even as He is of His Father” *Letter to the Philadelphians* ch.7 p.83

Ignatius (-107/116 A.D.) “For your justly renowned presbytery, worthy of God, is fitted as exactly to the bishop as the strings are to the harp.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Ephesians* ch.4 p.50

Ignatius of Antioch (-107/116 A.D.) mentions bishops, presbytery, and deacons. *Epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians* ch.13 p.64

***Didache*** (=*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*) (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.15 p.381 “1. Appoint, therefore, for yourselves, bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek, and not lovers of money”

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 1 vision 3 ch.5 p.14 “teachers, and deacons, who have lived in godly purity, and have acted as bishops”

**Polycarp**(100-165 A.D.) “being subject to the presbyters and deacons, as unto God and Christ.” *Letter to the Philippians* ch.5 p.34

***Evarestus’ Martyrdom of Polycarp*** (c.169 A.D.) ch.16 p.42 mentions the elect, and that Polycarp was an “apostolic and prophetic teacher, and bishop of the Catholic Church which is in Smyrna.”

**Dionysius of Corinth** (170 A.D.) “Through the resources which ye have sent from the beginning, ye Romans, keep up the custom of the Romans handed down by the fathers, which your blessed Bishop” ch.1 p.765

***Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum*** (177 A.D.) “Now the blessed Pothinus, who had been entrusted with the service of the bishopric in Lugdunum, was also dragged before the judgment-seat.” p.780

**Hegesippus** (170-180 A.D.) drew up a list of the succession of bishops of Rome. It included Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherus. Then Hegesippus says, “Therefore was the Church called a virgin, for she was not as yet corrupted by worthless teaching. Thebulis it was who, *displeased* because he was not made bishop, first began to corrupt her by stealth. …” Then he mentions Simon, the Marcionists, Valentinians, Basilidians, Saturnilians, and other Gnostics. *Concerning His Journey to Rome, and the Jewish Sects* vol.8 p.764. From *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 4 ch.22 p.198-200

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Take heed, therefore, both to yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost has placed you as bishops, to rule the Church of the Lord, which He has acquired for Himself through His own blood.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.14.2 p.438

**Polycrates of Ephesus** (130-196 A.D.) mentions that Polycarp was a bishop and martyr at Smyrna and Thraseas of Eumenia was both a bishop and martyr, who is also buried at Smyrna. Bishop and martyr Sagaris is buried at Laodicea. *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.774

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201-205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) ch.4.3 p.703 Called Optatus the bishop “their father”

**Serapion of Antioch** (200-210 A.D.) “brotherhood throughout the world, I have sent you letters of the most blessed Claudius Apollinarius, who was made bishop of Hierapolis in Asia.” fragments vol.8 p.775

**Caius** ch.2 p.602 (190-217 A.D.) “was the thirteenth bishop in Rome from Peter, and that from his successor Zephyrinus the truth was falsified. And perhaps what they allege might be”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “And that you may still be more confident, that repenting thus truly there remains for you a sure hope of salvation, listen to a tale, which is not a tale but a narrative, handed down and committed to the custody of memory, about the Apostle John. For when, on the tyrant’s death, he returned to Ephesus from the isle of Patmos, he went away, being invited, to the contiguous territories of the nations, here to appoint bishops, there to set in order whole Churches, there to ordain such as were marked out by the Spirit.” Who is the Rich Man That Shall be Saved? ch.42 p.603

**Tertullian** (213 A.D.) but monogamy is imposed upon bishops alone, (tell me), pray, whether *they* alone are to be pronounced *Christians* upon whom is conferred the entirety of discipline? *On Monogamy* ch.12 p.69. See also ibid ch.11 p.67.

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “But when persons in authority themselves-I mean the very deacons, and presbyters, and bishops-take to flight, how will a layman be able to see with what view it was said, Flee from city to city?” *Fleeing Persecution* ch.11 p.122

Tertullian (200-240 A.D.) mentions that it is too easy for heretics to become bishops, readers, deacons, presbyters. *On Prescription Against Heretics* ch.41 p.263

**Asterius Urbanus** (c.232 A.D.) spirit-those men so highly reputed as men and bishops-namely, Zoticus of the village of Comana, and Julian of Apamea, whose mouths Themison and his followers bridled, and prevented the false and seductive spirit from being confuted by them. *The Exordium* ch.4 p.236-237

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) (implied) “passed over to these *followers of Callistus*, and served to crowd his school. This one propounded the opinion, that, if a bishop was guilty of any sin, if even *a sin* unto death, he ought not to be deposed.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 9 ch.7 p.131

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “Exercise the mystery of Christ, O deacons, with purity; therefore, O ministers, do the commands of your Master;” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.68 p.216

**Alexander of Cappadocia** (233-251 A.D.) “For, indeed, wherever there are found persons capable of profiting the brethren, such persons are exhorted by the holy bishops to address the people. *ANF* vol.6 p.154

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) mentions bishop, presbyters in *Origen’s Commentary on Matthew* book 14 ch.22 p.509-510

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions bishops and deacons. *Origen On Prayer* ch.28.4 p.108

***Treatise On Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.4 p.669 mentions the bishop’s imposition of hands to bestow the Holy Spirit.

*Treatise On Rebaptism* (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.1 p.668 (partial) mentions that the Holy Spirit is received at the bishop’s hands [at baptism]. However, in ch.4 p.669 he says that if one died before getting baptized by the bishop’s hands, they are still considered saved.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “a large number of bishops, whom their faith and the divine protection had preserved in soundness and safety, we met together; and the divine Scriptures being brought forward on both sides, we balance the decision with wholesome moderation,…” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 51 ch.6 p.328

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “Looking forward to which, the blessed Apostle Paul writes to Timothy, and warns him that a bishop must not be ‘litigious, nor contentious, but gentle and teachable.’” [2 Timothy 2:24] *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 73 ch.10 p.389

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “Thence through the changes of times and successions, the ordering of bishops and the plan of the Church flow onwards;” *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 26 ch.1 p.305

**Moyses, Maximum, and Nicostratus to Cyprian of Carthage (**250 A.D.) mention the bishop. Letter 25 ch.5 vol.5 p.304 and presbyters in Letter 25.6 p.304.

**Cornelius to Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) mentions presbyters (ch.1), bishops (ch.2), Nicephorus the acolyte and the clergy (ch.3). *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 45 p.323

**Firmilian of Caesarea** to Cyprian (256 A.D.) “Therefore the power of remitting sins was given to the apostles, and to the churches which they, sent by Christ, established, and to the bishops who succeeded to them by vicarious ordination.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 75[74]:16

**The Seventh Council of Carthage** (258 A.D.) p.565 under Cyprian of Carthage (partial) says that it is Jesus Christ and only Jesus Christ who judges bishops in their conduct on earth.

**Pontius** (258 A.D.) “But what did he as bishop in respect of the poor, whom as a catechumen he had loved? Let the priests of piety consider, or those whom the teaching of their very rank has trained to the duty of good works, or those whom the common obligation of the Sacrament has bound to the duty of manifesting love.” *The Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.6 p.269

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) mentions deacons and Hierax a bishop. Letter 8 ch.1 p.109

**Malchion** (270 A.D.) “To Dionysius and Maximus, and to all our fellows in the ministry throughout the world, both bishops and presbyters and deacons, and to the whole Catholic Church under heaven,” *Against Paul of Samosata* preface p.169

&&&**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) “If a man enjoys his vocabulary, speak well; if truly on behalf of him by whom all the world exists, on whose account the Catholic speaks, whom in accordance to your appellation is to be seen fault? Show to me if you may any man judged by name; but I show that not only bishops are bestowed the appellation of a surname, not in the least disciples, indeed, not in the least apostles.” (Adamantius is speaking) *Dialogue on the True Faith* part 5 ch.9 p.&&&

**Council of Elvira** (306/307 A.D.) mentions bishops, elders, and deacons in Canon 19

**Phileas** **of Thmuis** (martyred 306/307 A.D.) “By them it has been established and settled that it is not lawful for any bishop to celebrate ordinations in other parishes” *Letter of Phileas to Meletius of Lycopolis* p.163

**Council of Ancyra** (314 A.D.) discusses presbyters in canon 1 and deacons and bishops in canon 2 p.63.

***Letter of the Council of Arles I to Pope Silvester*** (Aug. 314 A.D.) p.390 mentions the Holy Spirit, the glory of God and angels.

**Theonas of Alexandria** (282-300 A.D.) “Bishop Theonas to Lucianus, the Chief Chamberlain of Our Most Invincible Emperor.” *Letter of Theonas to Lucianus the Chief Chamberlain* title p.158

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “For when Valentinus, and Cerinthus, and Ebion, and others of the school of Satan, were scattered abroad throughout the world, there assembled together to him from the neighbouring provinces all the bishops, and compelled him himself also to draw up his testimony.” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the eleventh chapter verse 1 p.353-354

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) gravely accuses those of folly who decree that the dignity of the sacred ministry can be retained by a bishop who has repudiated his bishopric. “For if according to the sentence of the aforesaid canon, a bishop who has been absent”

**Council of Neocaesarea** (315 A.D.) Canon 13 p.85 “Country presbyters may not make the oblation in the church of the city when the bishop of presbyters of the city are present; nor may they give the Bread or the Cup with prayer.”

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) “For ye yourselves are taught of God, nor are ye ignorant that this doctrine, which hath lately raised its head against the piety of the Church, is that of Ebion and Artemas; nor is it aught else but an imitation of Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, who, by the judgment and counsel of all the bishops, and in every place, was separated from the Church.” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Letter 1 ch.9 p.294

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) &&& *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book &&&

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Tertullian**(-207 A.D.) lists the first bishops of Rome: Peter, Linus, Cletus, Anacletus, Clement, Evaristus, Sixtus Sextus, Alexander, Telesphorus, Peter, Hyginus, Hermas his brother, Anicetus. *Five Books in Reply to Marcion* book 3 p.156

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Peter to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.5 p.217 starts off with “Peter to James, the lord and bishop of the holy church, under the Father of all, through Jesus Christ,…” It end with “prayed to the Father and God of all, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.”

The Ebionite *Epistle of Peter to James* (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.4.3 p.216 mentions the bishop.

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Clement to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.6-7 p.219 discusses bishops in ch.6 and presbyters/elders in ch.7. See also ibid ch.2 p.218.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions bishops and elders. homily 8 ch.5 p.269

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 3 ch.66 p.132 mentions making Zacchaeus a bishop. It mentions bishops, presbyters, and deacons in ibid book 3 ch.66 p.131.

&&&***Nag Hammadi Apocalypse of Peter*** (3rd century A.D.) p.&&& “And there shall be others of those who are outside our number who name themselves bishop and also deacons, as if they have received their authority from God.”

Marcionite heretic **Megethius** (c.300 A.D.) a self-labeled follower of Marcion, in his debate with Adamantius says that Marcion was his bishop. Marcion lived earlier so he obviously means he claims to follow Marcion, not that he personally knew him. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.809a p.48

## C16. The episcopate [office of bishop]

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) mentions the office of the episcopate, bishops, deacons, that we should obey bishops and presbyters *1 Clement* ch.42 p.16; ch.47 p.18, ch.57 p.20. office of the episcopate in ch.44 p.16-17. See also vol.9

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “committed into the hands of Linus the office of the episcopate. Of this Linus, Paul makes mention in the Epistles to Timothy. To him succeeded Anacletus; and” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.3.3 p.416

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “-and that they at first were believers in the doctrine of the Catholic Church, in the church of Rome under the episcopate of the blessed Eleutherus,” *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.30 p.257

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) (partial because only in italics) “And withal, after such audacious acts, they, lost to all shame, attempt to call themselves a Catholic Church! And some, under the supposition that they will attain prosperity, concur with them. During the *episcopate* of this *one*, second baptism was for” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 9 ch.7 p.131

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “And as he selects for the episcopate a man who has been once married rather than he who has twice entered the married state,” *Origen Against Celsus* book 3 ch.48 p.483

**Alexander of Cappadocia** (233-251 A.D.) “Narcissus salutes you, who held the episcopate in this district before me,” *Letters of Alexander* letter 2 p.154

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.1 p.657 “Among them, shamelessly, and without any law of ordination, the episcopate is sought after; but among us in its own Sees, and in those of the throne delivered to it by God, it is renounced.”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) mentions the episcopate in 32 places. Here is one of them: “in the duty of your episcopate” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 25 ch.5 p.304. See also ibid Letter 51 ch.24 p.334.

**Pontius** *(258 A.D.)* (implied) “There, as he sat moistened after his long journey with excessive perspiration (the seat was by chance covered with linen, so that even in the very moment of his passion he might enjoy the honour of the episcopate), one of the officers (“Tesserarius”), who had formerly been a Christian, offered him his clothes, as if he might wish to change his moistened garments for drier ones; and he doubtless coveted nothing further in respect of his proffered kindness than to possess the now blood-stained sweat of the martyr going to God.” *Life and Passion of Cyprian of Carthage* ch.16 p.273

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “before even the episcopate of Heraclas himself, had been a partaker of the assembly of the faithful, when he had been concerned in the baptism of those who”

## C17. Elders/presbyters

Acts 11:30; 14:23; 15:2; 20:17; 1 Timothy 3:1-3; 3:8; Titus 1:5; James 5:14; 1 Peter 5:1

Old Testament, Jewish or non-Christian elders are not included here.

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Philippians 1:1

**p32** (=P. Rylands 5) Titus 1:1-15; 2:3-8 (21 verses) (150-200 A.D.) Titus 1:5,7 “Appoint elders/bishops”

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Elders are Shepherds. Christ is the Chief Shepherd 1 Peter 5:4

**p8** (4th century) Acts 6:1-6

**Clement** of Rome (96-98 A.D.) mentions the office of the episcopate, bishops, deacons, that we should obey bishops and presbyters [elders]. *1 Clement* ch.42 p.16; ch.47 p.18, ch.57 p.20. office of the episcopate in ch.44 p.16-17.

**Ignatius** (-107/116 A.D.) “Take ye heed, then, to have but one Eucharist. For there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup to [show forth] the unity of His blood; one altar; as there is one bishop, along with the presbytery and deacons, my fellow-servants; that so, whatsoever ye do, ye may do it according to [the will of] God.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Philadelphians* ch.4 p.81

Ignatius of Antioch (-107/116 A.D.) mentions bishops, presbytery, and deacons. *Epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians* ch.13 p.64

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) vol.7 ch.17 p.522 mentions being admonished by the elders/presbyters [of the church].

**Polycarp**(100-165 A.D.) “being subject to the presbyters and deacons, as unto God and Christ.” *Letter to the Philippians* ch.5 p.34

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) mentions presbyters. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.26.5 p.498

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201-205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) ch.4.3 p.703 Optatus the bishop and Aspasius the presbyter

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Ministerial service is rendered to parents by children, to rulers by subjects. Similarly, also, in the Church, the elders attend to the department which has improvement for its object; and the deacons to the ministerial.” *Stromata* book 7 ch.7 p.523

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) “Innumerable commands such as these are written in the holy Bible appertaining to chosen persons, some to presbyters, some to bishops, some to deacons, others to widows, of whom we shall have another opportunity of speaking. Many things spoken in enigmas, many in parables, may benefit such as fall in with them.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.294

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “But when persons in authority themselves-I mean the very deacons, and presbyters, and bishops-take to flight, how will a layman be able to see with what view it was said, Flee from city to city?” *Fleeing Persecution* ch.11 p.122

Tertullian (208-220 A.D.) speaks of presbyters and deacons. *On Monogamy* ch.11 p.67

Tertullian (200-240 A.D.) mentions that it is too easy for heretics to become bishops, readers, deacons, presbyters. *On Prescription Against Heretics* ch.41 p.263

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) mentions bishop, presbyters in *Origen’s Commentary on Matthew* book 14 ch.22 p.509-510

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) mentions the clergy, bishop, presbyters, deacons, confessors, and laity (ch.5) . *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 51 ch.5 p.328

**Cornelius to Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) mentions presbyters (ch.1), bishops (ch.2), Nicephorus the acolyte and the clergy (ch.3). *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 45 p.323

**Malchion** (270 A.D.) To Dionysius and Maximus, and to all our fellows in the ministry throughout the world, both bishops and presbyters and deacons, and to the whole Catholic Church under heaven, *Against Paul of Samosata* preface p.169

**Council of Elvira** (306/307 A.D.) mentions bishops, elders, and deacons in canon 19

**Council of Ancyra** (314 A.D.) discusses presbyters in canon 1 and deacons and bishops in canon 2 p.63.

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Clement to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.6-7 p.219 discusses bishops in ch.6 and presbyters/elders in ch.7.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions elders. homily 3 ch.71 p.257

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions bishops and elders. homily 8 ch.5 p.269

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 3 ch.66 p.131 mentions the pastor, presbyters, and deacons.

## C18. Deacons

Acts 6:2-6; 1 Timothy 3:1-2; 1 Timothy 3:8; Titus 1:5; Philippians 1:1; 1 Peter 5:4

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Philippians 1:1

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Elders are Shepherds. Christ is the Chief Shepherd 1 Peter 5:4

**p8** (4th century) Acts 6:1-6

**Clement** of Rome (96-98 A.D.) mentions the office of the episcopate, bishops, deacons, that we should obey bishops and presbyters [elders]. *1 Clement* ch.42 p.16; ch.47 p.18, ch.57 p.20. office of the episcopate in ch.44 p.16-17.

**Ignatius** (-107/116 A.D.) “Take ye heed, then, to have but one Eucharist. For there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup to [show forth] the unity of His blood; one altar; as there is one bishop, along with the presbytery and deacons, my fellow-servants; that so, whatsoever ye do, ye may do it according to [the will of] God.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Philadelphians* ch.4 p.81

Ignatius of Antioch (-107/116 A.D.) mentions bishops, presbytery, and deacons. *Epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians* ch.13 p.64

***Didache*** (=*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*) (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.15 p.381 “1. Appoint, therefore, for yourselves, bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek, and not lovers of money, and truthful and proved; for they also render to you the service of prophets and teachers.”

**Polycarp**(100-165 A.D.) “being subject to the presbyters and deacons, as unto God and Christ.” *Letter to the Philippians* ch.5 p.34

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 1 vision 3 ch.5 p.14 “teachers, and deacons, who have lived in godly purity, and have acted as bishops”

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “Then we all rise together and pray, and, as we before said, when our prayer is ended, bread and wine and water are brought, and the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings, according to his ability, and the people assent, saying Amen; and there is a distribution to each, and a participation of that over which thanks have been given, and to those who are absent a portion is sent by the deacons.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.67 p.186

***Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum*** (177 A.D.) p.779 “But in an exceeding degree did the whole wrath of mob, general, and soldiers fall on Sanctus, a deacon from Vienna,”

**Hegesippus** (170-180 A.D.) “On my arrival at Rome, I drew up a list of the succession *of bishops* down to Anicetus, whose deacon was Eleutherus.” *Concerning His Journey to Rome, and the Jewish Sects* vol.8 p.764. From *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 4 ch.22 p.198-200

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “And still further, Stephen, who was chosen the first deacon by the apostles, and who, of all men, was the first to follow the footsteps of the martyrdom of the Lord, being the first that was slain for confessing Christ, speaking boldly among the people, and teaching them, says:” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.12.10 p.434

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201/205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) ch.1.2 p.700 the deacons Tertius and Pomponius ministered to Perpetua.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Ministerial service is rendered to parents by children, to rulers by subjects. Similarly, also, in the Church, the elders attend to the department which has improvement for its object; and the deacons to the ministerial.” *Stromata* book 7 ch.7 p.523

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) “Innumerable commands such as these are written in the holy Bible appertaining to chosen persons, some to presbyters, some to bishops, some to deacons, others to widows, of whom we shall have another opportunity of speaking. Many things spoken in enigmas, many in parables, may benefit such as fall in with them.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.294

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “But when persons in authority themselves-I mean the very deacons, and presbyters, and bishops-take to flight, how will a layman be able to see with what view it was said, Flee from city to city?” *Fleeing Persecution* ch.11 p.122

Tertullian (208-220 A.D.) speaks of presbyters and deacons. *On Monogamy* ch.11 p.67

Tertullian (200-240 A.D.) mentions that it is too easy for heretics to become bishops, readers, deacons, presbyters. *On Prescription Against Heretics* ch.41 p.263

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “About the time of this man, bishops, priests, and deacons, who had been twice married, and thrice married, began *to be allowed* to retain their place among the clergy.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 9 ch.7 p.131

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “Exercise the mystery of Christ, O deacons, with purity; therefore, O ministers, do the commands of your Master;” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.68 p.216

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “And you will say the like in the case of him who seeks the office of a bishop for the sake of glory with men, or of flattery from men, or for the sake of the gain received from those who, coming over to the word, give in the name of piety; for a bishop of this kind at any rate does not ‘desire a good work,’ nor can he be without reproach, nor temperate, nor sober-minded, as he is intoxicated with glory and intemperately satiated with it. And the same also you will say about the elders and deacons.” *Commentary on Matthew* book 11 ch.15

Origen (239-242 A.D.) mentions catechumens and deacons in *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 5 ch.4.1 p.82

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions bishops and deacons. *Origen On Prayer* ch.28.4 p.108

***Treatise on Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.4 p.669 “Just as the Ethiopian eunuch, when he was returning from Jerusalem and reading the prophet Isaiah, and was in doubt, having at the Spirit’s suggestion heard the truth from Philip the deacon,”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) mentions the clergy, bishop, presbyters, deacons, confessors, and laity (ch.5) . *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 51 ch.5 p.328

**Cornelius to Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) mentions presbyters (ch.1), bishops (ch.2), Nicephorus the acolyte and the clergy (ch.3). *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 45 p.323

***Seventh Council of Carthage*** (c.258 A.D.) preface p.565 “When, in the kalends of September, a great many bishops from the provinces of Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania, had met together at Carthage, together with the presbyters and deacons, and a considerable part of the congregation who were also present;”

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) mentions deacons and Hierax a bishop. Letter 8 ch.1 p.109

**Malchion** (270 A.D.) To Dionysius and Maximus, and to all our fellows in the ministry throughout the world, both bishops and presbyters and deacons, and to the whole Catholic Church under heaven, *Against Paul of Samosata* preface p.169

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “Behold the seven horns of the Lamb, the seven eyes of God -the seven eyes are the seven spirits of the Lamb; seven torches burning before the throne of God, seven golden candlesticks, seven young sheep, the seven women in Isaiah, the seven churches in Paul, seven deacons, seven angels, seven trumpets, seven seals to the book, seven periods of seven days with which Pentecost is completed, the seven weeks in Daniel, also the forty-three weeks in Daniel; with Noah, seven of all clean things in the ark; seven revenges of Cain, seven years for a debt to be acquitted, the lamp with seven orifices, seven pillars of wisdom in the house of Solomon.” *On the Creation of the World* p.342

**Council of Elvira** (306/307 A.D.) mentions bishops, elders, and deacons in Canon 19

**Phileas of Thmuis** (martyred 306/307 A.D.) “But when all these bishops and presbyters and deacons had suffered martyrdom in the prison at Alexandria, he at once entered Alexandria.” *Letter of Phileas to Meletius of Lycopolis* p.164

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) “G. Of the election of the seven deacons.” p.166

**Council of Ancyra** (314 A.D.) discusses presbyters in canon 1 and deacons and bishops in canon 2 p.63.

**Council of Neocaesarea** (c.315 A.D.) canon 15 p.86 says there ought to be exactly seven deacons in a church as in the Book of Acts, regardless of how large the church is.

**Theophilus** (events c.315 A.D.) “Now Habib, who was of the village of Telzeha and had been made a deacon, went secretly into the churches which were in the villages, and ministered and read the Scriptures, and encouraged and strengthened many by his words,” *Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon* vol.8 p.690

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) “Sarapion, Parammon, Zosimus, and Irenaeus, the deacons, have gone over to the party of Arius, and have preferred to be deposed with them;” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* letter 3 p.299

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Clement to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.12 p.220 mentions “deacons of the church”.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 3 ch.66 p.131 mentions the pastor, presbyters, and deacons.

&&&***Nag Hammadi Apocalypse of Peter*** (3rd century A.D.) p.&&& “And there shall be others of those who are outside our number who name themselves bishop and also deacons, as if they have received their authority from God.”

## C19. Teachers [in the church]

Pasters or elders who also teach are not counted here. Old Testament teachers are also not counted here. Evil teachers are not counted here.

Acts 13:1; 1 Corinthians 12:28-29; Ephesians 4:11; Titus 2:3; Hebrews 5:12

James 3:1 (implied)

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 1 ch.5 p.&&& “Those square white stones which fitted exactly into each other, are apostles, bishops, teachers, and deacons, who have lived in godly purity, and have acted as bishops and teachers and deacons chastely and reverently to the elect of God.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) paraphrases the first part of 1 Corinthians 12:28. “For in the Church," it is said, "God hath set apostles, prophets, teachers," and all the other means through which the Spirit works;” *Irenaeus against Heresies* book 1 ch.24.1 p.458

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) quotes 15/24 words of 1 Corinthians 12:28a. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.26.5 p.498

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) quotes Ephesians 4:11f (4/5 quoted); 4:12 (full quote) “God gave to the Church, some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.1 p.302. See also ibid book 4 ch.21 p.433 (full quote)

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) quotes all of Hebrews 5:12-24 and the first half of 6:1. *Stromata* book 5 ch.10 p.459. See also ibid book 6 ch.8 p.494

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) quotes Titus 2:3m (1 not 1 9 not 1 words quoted) 2:4-5 (full quote). *Stromata* book 4 ch.20 p.432

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) paraphrased 1 Corinthians 12:28a. “Again, if God set in the Church apostles and prophets and evangelists (gospellers), pastors and teachers, we must first enquire what was the office of the evangelist,” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 1 ch.5 p.298

Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) quotes the first half of 1 Corinthians 12:28. *Origen’s Commentary on Matthew* book 11 ch.15 p.445.

Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) (implied) quotes 23/32 words of Hebrews 5:12f. *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 1 ch.20 p.307. See also *Origin Against Celsus* book 3 ch.53 p.485

Origen (239-242 A.D.) (implied) quotes Hebrews 5:12. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 7 ch.10.2 p.107.

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “This is He who places prophets in the Church, instructs teachers, directs tongues, gives powers and healings, does wonderful works, often discrimination of spirits, affords powers of government, suggests counsels, and orders and arranges whatever other gifts there are of charismata; and thus make the Lord's Church everywhere, and in all, perfected and completed.” *Treatise on the Trinity* ch.29 p.641

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) quotes the first three-fifths of 1 Corinthians 12:28. “For the apostle says: "And he placed in the Church indeed, first, apostles; secondly, prophets; thirdly, teachers,"(2) and the rest.” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the tenth chapter p.353

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) “Having had ourselves the advantage of the method and model received from our fathers and teachers, we attempt, in a modest way, to give these in this exposition of the chapters, entreating your forgiveness for the rashness of such an endeavour in us who are young in point both of years and of study,(2) and looking to have the indulgences of every one who reads this writing in prayer on our behalf.” *An Exposition of Acts* p.166.

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) “And though I could say much more, brethren beloved, I purposely omit to do so, as deeming it to be burdensome at great length to call these things to the remembrance of teachers who are of the same mind with myself.” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Letter 9 p.294.

**Among Corrupt or Spurious works**

**pseudo-Clement** (3rd century A.D.) “And they hearken not to that which the Scripture has said: "Let not many be teachers among you, my brethren, and be not all of you prophets.” *Two Epistles on Virginity* Epistle 1 ch.11 p.59

## C20. A gospel preacher is worthy of his wages

Matthew 10:10; Luke 10:7

**The Didache** (c.60-120 A.D.) ch.13 p.381 quotes half of Matthew 10:10.

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 12:50a p.63 quotes the last 16/18 words of Matthew 10:10.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) quotes the last 16/18 words of Matthew 10:10. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.8.3 p.471

**Tertullian** (205 A.D.) quotes Matthew 10:10 / Luke 6:23. *Scorpiace* ch.9 p.641

**Origen** (233-244 A.D.) quotes Matthew 10:10. *Homilies on Luke* homily 23 ch.3 p.98

## C21. Priests [in the church]

Pagan priests, Old Testament priests, Jesus our High Priest, and the priesthood of all believers are not included here. Only Christian clergy are counted here.

No Bible verses

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) “Nor is there any one in the Church greater than the bishop, who ministers as a priest to God for the salvation of the whole world.” *Epistle of Ignatius to the Smyrnaeans* [Greek] ch.9 p.90

**Polycrates of Ephesus** (130-196 A.D.) “John, moreover, who reclined on the Lord’s bosom, and who became a priest wearing the mitre, and a witness and a teacher-he rests at Ephesus.” p.&&&

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Of giving it, the chief priest (who is the bishop) has the right: in the next place, the presbyters and deacons, yet not without the bishop’s authority, on account of the honour of the Church, which being preserved, peace is preserved.” *On Baptism* ch.17 p.677

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “And thus, from that time forward, every number (of persons) who may have combined together into this faith is accounted ‘a Church,’ from the Author and Consecrator (of the Church). And accordingly ‘the Church,’ it is true, will forgive sins: but (it will be) the Church of the Spirit, by means of a spiritual man; not the Church which consists of a number of bishops. For the right and arbitrament is the Lord’s, not the servant’s; God’s Himself, not the priest’s.” *On Modesty* ch.21 p.99-100

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “*Now such disciples as these* passed over to these *followers of Callistus*, and served to crowd his school. This one propounded the opinion, that, if a bishop was guilty of any sin, if even *a sin* unto death, he ought not to be deposed. About the time of this man, bishops, priests, and deacons, who had been twice married, and thrice married, began *to be allowed* to retain their place among the clergy.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 9 ch.7 p.131

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) mentions [Christian] priests. *Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.5.42 p.186

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Now he repents, who, remembering the divine precept, with meekness and patience, and obeying the priests of God, deserves well of the Lord by his obedience and his righteous works.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 13 ch.1 p.293

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “Do you frequently be urgent in supplications, and assist my prayers by yours, that the Lord’s mercy favouring us may soon restore both the priest safe to his people, and the martyr for a reader with the priest. I bid you, beloved brethren in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, ever heartily farewell.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 32 ch.2 p.312

***Seventh Council of Carthage*** (258 A.D.) p.567 “Crescens of Cirta said: In such an assembly of most holy fellow-priests, as the letters of our most beloved Cyprian to Jubaianus and also to Stephen have been read, containing in them so much of the holy testimonies which descend from the divinely made Scriptures,”

**Pontius** (258 A.D.) “Although Cyprian, the devout priest and glorious witness of God, composed many writings whereby the memory of his worthy name survives;” *The Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.1 p.267

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “The tenfold number signifies the decalogue [Ten commandments], and the hundredfold sets forth the crown of virginity: for he who shall have kept the undertaking of virginity completely, and shall have faithfully fulfilled the precepts of the decalogue, and shall have destroyed the untrained nature or impure thoughts within the retirement of the heart, that they may not rule over him, this is the true priest of Christ, and accomplishing the millenary number thoroughly, is thought to reign with Christ; and truly in his case the devil is bound.” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the twentieth chapter verse 6 p.359

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) “Alexander, to the priests and deacons, Alexandria and Mareotis, being present to them present, brethren beloved in the Lord, sends greeting:” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Letter 3 p.299

## C22. Sub-deacons

* (not in Scripture)

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.)“I received a letter sent to me form you by Crementius the sub-deacon *“Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 3 ch.1 p.281

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) Letter 14.3 p.194 and Letter 23 p.301 sub-deacons and readers

**Roman Church Leaders to Cyprian** (250-251 A.D.) “We have been informed by Crementius the sub-deacon” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 2 ch.1 p.280

**Lucius and the rest of the Martyrs to Cyprian** (257 A.D.)“you sent to us by Herennianus the sub-deacon” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 78 ch.1 p.405

**Felix et al. to Cyprian** (257 A.D.) “We reply to your salutation, dearest brother, by Herennianus the sub-deacon” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 79 p.406

## C23. Godly authority besides the Bible

Authority of God, Father, Jesus, the Holy Spirit, or every believer is not included here.

Authority of the prophets and apostles is not included here.

Authority to preach the gospel is not included here.

Authority of parents over children, a husband over a wife, or a boss over a laborer are not included here

Authority of a governing authority or master over a slave are not included here

Secular authorities over secular facts are not included here either.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “But when persons in authority themselves-I mean the very deacons, and presbyters, and bishops-take to flight, how will a layman be able to see with what view it was said, Flee from city to city?” *Fleeing Persecution* ch.11 p.122

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “Of giving it, the chief priest (who is the bishop) has the right: in the next place, the presbyters and deacons, yet not without the bishop’s authority, on account of the honour of the Church, which being preserved, peace is preserved.” *On Baptism* ch.17 p.677

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “It is the authority of the Church, and the honour which has acquired sanctity through the joint session of the Order, which has established the difference between the Order and the laity.” *On Exhortation to Chastity* ch.7 p.54

***Treatise on Rebaptism*** (250-258 A.D.) ch.15 p.676 “or if by chance baptism is given by any one in the name of Jesus Christ, we ought to supplement it, guarding the most holy invocation of the name of Jesus Christ, as we have most abundantly set forth; guarding, moreover, the custom and authority which so much claim our veneration for so long a time and for such great men.”

*Treatise on Rebaptism* (250-258 A.D.) ch.1 p.667 “And therefore some things were talked about as having been written and replied on this new question, wherein both sides endeavoured with the greatest eagerness to demolish what had been written by their antagonists. In which kind of debate, as it appears to me, no controversy or discussion could have arisen at all if each one of us had been content with the venerable authority of all the churches, and with becoming humility had desired to innovate nothing, as observing no kind of room for contradiction. For everything which is both doubtful and ambiguous, and is established in opinions differing *among those* of prudent and faithful men, if it is judged to be against the ancient and memorable and most solemn observance of all those holy and faithful men who have deserved well, ought assuredly to be condemned; since in a matter once arranged and ordained, whatever that is which is brought forward against the quiet and peace of the Church, will result in nothing but discords, and strifes, and schisms.”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “When, then, such and so great examples, and many others, are precedents whereby the priestly authority and power by the divine condescension is established, what kind of people, think you, are they who, being enemies of the priests, and rebels against the Catholic Church, are frightened neither by the threatening of a forewarning Lord, nor by the vengeance of coming judgment?” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 54 ch.5 p.340

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “In your return the dignity of his confession has not been abridged in the bishop, but the priestly authority has rather increased; so that a priest is assisting at the altar of God, who exhorts the people to take up the arms of confession, and to submit to martyrdom, that Antichrist is near, prepares the soldiers for the battle, not only by the urgency of his speech and his words, but by the example of his faith and courage.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 57 ch.2 p.352-353

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “We have read your letter, dearest brother, in which you intimated concerning Victor, formerly a presbyter, that our colleague Therapius, rashly at a too early season, and with over-eager haste, granted peace to him before he had fully repented, and had satisfied the Lord God, against whom he had sinned; which thing rather disturbed us, that it was a departure from the authority of our decree, that peace should be granted to him before the legitimate and full time of satisfaction, and without the request and consciousness of the people-no sickness rendering it urgent, and no necessity compelling it.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 58 ch.1 p.353

Firmilian to Cyprian (250-251 A.D.) (partial) “And in this respect I am justly indignant at this so open and manifest folly of Stephen, that he who so boasts of the place of his episcopate, and contends that he holds the succession from Peter, on whom the foundations of the Church were laid, should introduce many other rocks and establish new buildings of many churches; maintaining that there is baptism in them by his authority.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 74 ch.17 p.394

**Anatolius** (270-280 A.D.) “so far as regards this matter, with the authority of some, namely, the successors of Peter and Paul, who have taught all the churches in which they sowed the spiritual seeds of the Gospel,” *The Paschal Canon of Anatolius* ch.10 p.149

&&&Anatolius (270-280 A.D.) “Following their example up to the present time all the bishops of Asia-as themselves also receiving the rule from an unimpeachable authority, to wit, the evangelist John, who leant on the Lord’s breast, and drank in instructions spiritual without doubt-were in the way of celebrating the Paschal feast, without question, every year, whenever the fourteenth day of the moon had come, and the lamb was sacrificed by the Jews after the equinox was past;” *The Paschal Canon* ch.10 p.1&&&

&&&**Phileas of Thmuis** (307 A.D.) “And when they discovered the object of Meletius’s passion and what it was that he sought, hastening to him, and looking with an evil eye on the episcopal authority of the blessed Peter, that the aim and desire of Meletius might be made patent, they discovered to Meletius certain presbyters, then in hiding, to whom the blessed Peter had given power to act as parish-visitors. And Meletius recommending them to improve the opportunity given them for rectifying their error, suspended them for the time, and by his own authority ordained two persons in their place, namely, one in prison and another in the mines.” *Letter of Phileas to Meletius of Lycopolis* &&&

&&&**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-310/311 A.D.) “Peter, to the brethren beloved and established in the faith of God, peace in the Lord. Since I have found out that Meletius acts in no way for the common good,-for neither is he contented with the letter of the most holy bishops and martyrs,-but, invading my parish, hath assumed so much to himself as to endeavour to separate from my authority the priests, and those who had been entrusted with visiting the needy; and, giving proof of his desire for pre-eminence, has ordained in the prison several unto himself; now, take ye heed to this, and hold no communion with him, until I meet him in company with some wise and discreet men, and see what the designs are which he has thought upon.” Fragment 1 p.&&&

## Teaching on the church leadership not on the list

**1. Acolytes** (not analyzed yet)

**2. Let not many become teachers** James 3:1 (only 2 writers: Tertullian and Origen)

**3. Bishops should have but one wife.** (only 2 writers: Tertullian (208-220 A.D.) *On Monogamy* ch.12 p.69 and Origen (225-254 A.D.) *Commentary on Matthew*

**4. Chorepiscopai (rural bishops/circuit-riders)** (no writers)

**5. Deaconsesses** (no writers) (After Nicea: Council of Chalcedon canon 14 p.278)

**6. Don’t lord over the flock** 2 Corinthians 1:24; 2 Peter 5:3 (not analyzed yet)

**7. Don’t let new converts be elders** (not analyzed yet)

**8. Don’t muzzle an ox while treading grain** (only 3 writers: Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen. After Nicea: Hegemonius/Archelaus)

**9. No “bishop of bishops”** (only 1 writer: *Seventh Council of Carthage* Proemium p.565)

**10. Readers** (not analyzed yet)

**11. Shepherds should heal God’s sick sheep** (not analyzed yet) (So far 1 writers: Cyprian)

**12. Ordaining deacons** (not analyzed yet) Acts 6:6

**13. No elder accusations unless 2 or 3 witnesses** 1 Tim 5:19 (Cyprian partial)

**14. Publicly rebuke sinning elders** 1 Tim 5:20 (Hippolytus, Cyprian)

# Family and Marriage

## fm1. Honor marriage, no extra-marital relations

Matthew 5:27-28; Romans 13:9; Hebrews 12:16; 13:4; James 2:11

Matthew 5:31-32; 19:9; Mark 10:11-12; Luke 16:18; (Divorce)

(implied) Revelation 17:2 (kings of the earth committed adultery with Babylon)

James 3:4 (implied)

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Hebrews 12:16; 13:4; Romans 13:9

**p4 + p64 + p67** Luke 1:58-59; 1:62-2:1,6-7; 3:8-4:2,29-32,34-35; 5:3-8; 5:30-6:16; Matthew 26:7-8,10,14-15,22-23,31-33; Matthew 3:9,15; 5:20-22,25-28 -95 verses (c.150-175 A.D.) shows that adultery is wrong. Matthew 5:27-28

**p49** Ephesians 4:16-29; 4:31-5:13 (225-275 A.D.) says not to have a hint of sexual immorality. Ephesians 5:3

**p47 (= Chester Beatty III)** (c.250-300 A.D.) 31% of Revelation. Revelation 9:20-11:3; 11:5-16:15; 16:17-17:2 (implied) says the kings of the earth committed adultery with Babylon and were intoxicated with the wine of her adulteries.

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) Luke 16:18

**p100** (300 A.D.) (James 3:13-4:4; 4:9-5:1 (20 verses) (implied) quotes James 4:4 where James rebukes people as “adulterers and adulteresses”

**p133** (3rd century) 1 Timothy 3:13-4:8 (12 verses) (implied) quotes 1 Timothy 4:3

**p20** - James 2:19-3:2 (6 out of 96 letters of 3:3; 3:4-9 (3rd century A.D.) teaches we are not to disobey any of the law, including adultery and murder. James 2:11

**p40** – Matthew 2:13-16; 2:22-3:1; 11:26-27; 12:4-5; 24:3-6,12-15 (3rd century A.D.) threat of [Hell]fire Matthew 3:10,12

***Ignatius*** *to Polycarp* ch.5 p.95 (-107/116 A.D.) says that sisters should be satisfied with their husbands, both in flesh and spirit. Brothers should love their wives even as the Lord the church. If one continues in a state of purity let it be without boasting. But it becomes both men and women to marry.

***Didache*** vol.7 ch.2.1-4 p.377 (before 125 A.D.) Do not commit murder, adultery, corrupt boys, etc.

*Didache* (before 125 A.D.) ch.3 p.378 “My child, be not a lustful one; for lust leadeth the way to fornication; neither a filthy talker, nor of lofty eye; for out of all these adulteries are engendered.”

*Didache* ch.5 p.379 (before 125 A.D.) The way of death is cursings, murder, adulteries, fornication, lusts, … filthy talking, etc,

***Apology of Aristides*** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) ch.13 p.275 speaks of unrighteous things of slaying one another, adultery, thefts, intercourse with males.

*The Apology of Aristides* (125 or 138-161 A.D.) ch.15 p.277 They [Christians] do not commit adultery nor fornication, nor bear false witness, nor cover the things of others; they honour father and mother, and love their neighbours; they judge justly, and they would never do to others what they would not wish to happen to themselves.”

***Epistle of Barnabas*** ch.10 p.143 (c.70-130 A.D.) teaches that we are not to be an adulterer or a corrupter.

***2 Clement*** vol.9 ch.3 p.229-230 (120-140 A.D.) says we are to love one another, by not committing adultery, speaking evil of one another, or cherishing envy.

***Polycarp*** (100-165 A.D.) “In like manner, let the young men also be blameless in all things, being especially careful to preserve purity, and keeping themselves in, as with a bridle, from every kind of evil. For it is well that they should be cut off from the lusts that are in the world, since ‘every lust warreth against the spirit;’ and ‘neither fornicators, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, shall inherit the kingdom of God,’ nor those who do things inconsistent and unbecoming.” (quotes 1 Corinthians 6:9) *Polycarp’s Letter to the Philippians* ch.4 p.34

***Epistle to Diognetus*** ch.5 p.26-27 (c.130-200 A.D.) “[Christians] marry, as do all [others]; they beget children; but they do not destroy their offspring (literally cast away foetuses]. They have a common table, but not a common [bed].

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 1 vision 2 ch.8 p.15-16 (partial) mentions virtues we should have of self-restraint, simplicity, guilelessness, chastity, intelligence, and love. Book 2 fourth commandment p.21 also discusses the evil of adultery.

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) discusses how Christians are chaste in *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.14,15 p.167

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “But we are so far from practicing promiscuous intercourse, that it is not lawful among us to indulge even a lustful look.” and then quotes Matthew 5:28 *A Plea for Christians* ch.32 p.146

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “they were grasped by tyrannical sin” and then lists various sins including “by adultery, by lust, by license, by love of money, by murder,…” *On Pascha* stanza 50 p.50

***Theophilus*** *to Autolycus* (168-181/188 A.D.) book 3 ch.13 p.115 has an entire chapter (184 English words) on chastity, and not even looking with lust. He says not to divorce your wife, except for the cause of fornication in book 3 ch.13 p.114.

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) mentions sins such as adultery, fornication, theft, robbery, and corrupters of boys. *Letter to Autolycus* book 1 ch.2 p.89

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) discusses how we should not commit fornication. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.27.3 p.506

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “not laying aside God’s handiwork, but the lusts of the flesh, and receiving the Holy Spirit; as the apostle says in the Epistle to the Colossians: ‘Mortify, therefore, your members which are upon the earth.’ And what these are he himself explains: ‘Fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, evil concupiscence; and covetousness, which is idolatry.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.12.3 p.538

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) says fornication is wrong. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.41, 96

**Maximus of Jerusalem** (185-196 A.D.) speaks of sins of adultery, theft, and murder. fragment 1 vol.8 p.769

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) speak against adulterers. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.38 p.197

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) mentions marriage and celibacy. *Stromata* book 2 ch.23 p.377-378

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) do not kill, commit adultery, or bear false witness. *Stromata* book 2 ch.7 p.354

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) says don’t commit adultery. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.10 p.202

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) (partial) quotes 1 Corinthians 7:38,35 and says that marriage is good, but celibacy is better. *Stromata* book 4 ch.23 p.436-437

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “The Christian confines himself to the female sex. … The Christian husband has nothing to do with any but his own wife. *Apology* ch.46 p.51

Tertullian (213 A.D.) says that marriage is good. *On Monogamy* ch.1 p.59; ch.9 p.66

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) mention’s Job’s covenant with his eyes not to look lustfully upon a woman. *Commentary on Proverbs* p.173,174.

**Origen** (c.240 A.D.) speaks against adultery, homosexuality, and atheism. *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 12 ch.11 p.124

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says we should not commit adultery. *Origen On Prayer* ch.28.9 p.112

Origen (233/234 A.D.) says we should not commit adultery and fornication. *Origen On Prayer* ch.28.10 p.112

Origen (c.250 A.D.) speaks about being pure and against fornication and homosexuality. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 73.3.6 p.212

Origen (c.250 A.D.) says that in the Old Testament women who committed fornication would be stoned, but the daughter of a priest would be burned with fire. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 77.8.9 p.393

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes scripture against adulteries, fornications, idolatries, sorceries, murders, hatreds, strifes, heresies, drunkenness in *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 book 3 ch.64 p.551. Ch.65 p.551 also mentions thieves, cheaters, robbers.

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) speaks of fornication as wrong, but marriage relations are fine. *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* ch.12 p.321

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) discusses how adultery, murder, taking money under bad circumstances, and idol worship are doing wrong. *Dialogue on the True Faith* Fourth Part ch.10 p.139

**Alexander of Lycopolis** (301 A.D.) (implied) is against the Manichaeans who say marriage is bad, having children is bad, and it is wrong to eat living things [meat]. *Of the Manichaeans* ch.25 p.251

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) *Commentary on the Apocalypse of the Blessed John* ch.2 6 p.346; ch.2 14-16 p.346-347

**Council of Elvira** (306/307 A.D.) discusses church discipline for adultery and fornication in Canons 9, 12, 13, 18

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) mentions that the evil Jews turned aside to idolatry and fornication. Fragment 5.1 ch.4 p.281

**Council of Ancyra** (314 A.D.) says that a man or woman who commits adultery and repents can be restored to the church after seven years have passed. canon 20 p.73.

**Council of Neocaesarea** (c.315 A.D.) canon 1 p.79 mention removal from office and penance for a presbyter or elder who commits fornication or adultery.

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) speaks against adultery. *Athanasius Against the Heathen* part 1 ch.5.1 p.6

**Lactantius** (c.33-320/325 A.D.) “But our religion is on this account firm, and solid, and unchangeable, because it teaches justice, because it is always with us, because it has its existence altogether in the soul of the worshipper, because it has the mind itself for a sacrifice. In that religion nothing else is required but the blood of animals, and the smoke of incense, and the senseless pouring out of libations; but in this of ours, a good mind, a pure breast, an innocent life: those rites are frequented by unchaste adulteresses without any discrimination, by impudent procuresses, by filthy harlots; they are frequented by gladiators, robbers, thieves, and sorcerers, who pray for nothing else but that they may commit crimes with impunity.” *The Divine Institutes* book 5 ch.20 p.157

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) discusses adultery, saying sex outside of marriage is prohibited. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.66 p.250

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) says God forbids fornication *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 1.6 p.9

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) discusses no sexual relations outside of marriage. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 8 ch.8 p.14

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**Akhmin Apocalypse of Peter** (Greek) (135,100-150 A.D.) speaks of the punishments for various sins, including women who adorn themselves for adultery, men who have adulterous relationships with them. It separately refers to women who have premarital sex.

pseudo-Clement ***Two Epistles on Virginity*** (3rd century A.D.) refers to the first half of Hebrews 13:4 about “the bed has not been defiled.” First Epistle (allegedly by Clement) ch.4 p.56

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Protoevangelium of James*** (145-248 A.D.) *TOB* p.389 (implied) emphasize what as scandal it was for a woman to get pregnant outside of marriage.

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Clement to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.2 p.218; ch.8 p.219 speak of being chaste.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 3 ch.68 p.250 says no fornication. See also homily 3 ch.8 p.240 and homily 8 ch.19 p.274.

The Sethian Gnostic *Apocryphon of John* (c.150-185 A.D.) ch.28 p.121 (partial) says that evil aeons committed adultery with the aeon Sophia.

**Justin’s *Book of Baruch*** (188-235 A.D.) *Gnostic Bible* p.129. (implied) “But Naas disobeyed. He approached Eve and seduced her and debauched her, which is a transgression, and he approached Adam and played with him as a boy, which is a transgression.”

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 9 ch.20 (implied) mentions that while the Brahmans of India do not murder, commit adultery or worship idols, other Indians do.

X **Tatian the Encratite Gnostic** was against marriage according to Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.). *Stromata* book 3 ch.12 p.396

**Mani** (262-278 A.D.) says that fornication is evil. *Disputation with Manes* ch.17 p.191

***Acts of Thomas*** (early form) (pre-Nicene) p.537 says some bad children will grow up to do adulteries and fornication.

## fm2. No divorce, except for unfaithfulness

Matthew 5:31-32; 19:9; Mark 10:11-12; Luke 16:18; Romans 7:2,3; 1 Corinthians 7:10,11

(partial) 1 Corinthians 7:10-11; 39

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) (partial) A wife must not separate from her husband. But if she does, then she must remain unmarried or else be reconciled. 1 Corinthians 7:10-11

p15 1 Corinthians 7:18-8:4 (late 3rd century) (partial) 1 Corinthians 7:39

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) Luke 16:18

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) Divorce changes the saying of our Father Adam, This is now bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh. *1 Clement* ch.6 p.6

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) quotes Matthew 5:28,29,32 saying that whosoever marries a divorced woman commits adultery. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.15 p.167

Justin Martyr (c.150 A.D.) gives an example of a pagan, unfaithful couple, where the wife became a Christian. After repeatedly trying to persuade her husband to live a chaste, faithful life, she divorced him. *Second Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.2 p.188-189

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 2 fourth commandment p.21 says that one should not marry another if their spouse is “put away”. However, Hermas is unusual in that it also adds that if the wife separates because she sins, and she repents and wants to be remarried with her husband, the husband sins if he does not take her back.

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) quotes Matthew 19:9 and says that divorce is not permitted. He adds that even if the ex-wife later died, he still could not marry again, because he is a “cloaked adulterer”. *A Plea for Christians* ch.33 p.146-147

***Theophilus*** *to Autolycus* (168-181/188 A.D.) book 3 ch.13 p.115 says the divorce is not allowed, save for the cause of fornication.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) (in Latin) says that they should not separate. If they do, they should be reconciled or not marry (others). *Stromata* book 3 ch.17 p.400-401

**Tertullian** (c.207 A.D.) also wrote that divorce is not allowed except for fornication. *Tertullian to His Wife* book 2 ch.2 p.45

Tertullian (c.207 A.D.) discusses Paul’s teaching on being married to an unbeliever. No one, after attaining the faith, should turn away from his wife, even though she is in some sense an alien and stranger. *Tertullian to His Wife* book 2 ch.2 p.45

Tertullian (213 A.D.) says we should not divorce. *On Monogamy* ch.9 p.66

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) quotes and discussing Matthew 19:6 about not divorcing. *Origen’s Commentary on Matthew* book 14 ch.16 p.506.

Origen(c.227-240 A.D.) quotes and discusses Matthew 5:2 about no divorce except for adultery. *Origen’s Commentary on Matthew* book 14 ch.24 p.510-511.

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) in discussing marriage says, “On this account He [God] has commanded that the wife shall not be put away unless convicted of adultery, and that the bond of the conjugal compact shall never be dissolved, unless unfaithfullness have broken it.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.66 p.250

## fm3. Remarriage OK after death of spouse

Romans 7:1-3; 1 Corinthians 7:8-9,39; 1 Timothy 5:14

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) 1 Corinthians 7:39

**p15** 1 Corinthians 7:18-8:4 (late 3rd century) 1 Corinthians 7:39

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 2 fourth commandment ch.4 p.22 says that there is no sin in remarrying after a spouse has died. However, there is greater glory to God to remain single.

**(partial not) Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) (Athenagoras could mean no remarriage of widowers or widows, or else no remarriage after divorce, even after the ex-spouse died. The second meaning is indicated by “deprives himself” and “dissolving”) “For we bestow our attention; not on the study of words, but on the exhibition and teaching of actions,-that a person should either remain as he was born, or be content with one marriage; for a second marriage is only a specious adultery. ‘For whosoever puts away his wife,’ says He, ‘and marries another, commits adultery;’ not permitting a man to send her away whose virginity he has brought to an end, nor to marry again. For he who deprives himself of his first wife, even though she be dead, is a cloaked adulterer, resisting the hand of God, because in the beginning God made one man and one woman, and dissolving the strictest union of flesh with flesh, formed for the intercourse of the race.” *A Plea for Christians* ch.33 p.146-147

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) (implied) “Now that the Scripture counsels marriage, and allows no release from the union, is expressly contained in the law, “Thou shalt not put away thy wife, except for the cause of fornication; “and it regards as fornication, the marriage of those separated while the other is alive.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.23 p.379

**Tertullian** (c.207 A.D.) mentions the good of a widow staying single, but adds if they marry, they are to marry in the Lord. *Tertullian to His Wife* book 2 ch.1 p.44

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) says that celibacy after a spouse has died is best, but remarriage was allowed to us as a concession. *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 3 ch.12 p.321

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) on Matthew 14 ch.22 vol.9 p.509-510 (partial) implies that regarding church leaders second marriage is not OK.

## fm4. No homosexuality

Romans 1:26-27; 1 Corinthians 6:9-11; Leviticus 20:13

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) (implied) 1 Corinthians 6:9-11

**p40** – Romans 1:24-27; 1:31-2:3; 3:21-4:8; 6:2-5,16; 9:17,27 (3rd century A.D.) speaks against female and male homosexuality in Romans 1:26-27

Note that if only boys are mentioned, this is counted as Partial, because while teens could be of marriageable age, they could be younger too.

Athenagoras &&&

*Didache* vol.7 ch.2.1-4 p.377 (before 125 A.D.) (partial) Do not commit murder, … corrupt boys

***The Apology of Aristides*** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) p.275 mentions unrighteous things the gods did, such as slaying one another, practicing sorceries, adultery, thefts, and intercourse with males.

*Epistle of Barnabas* (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.10 p.143 (partial) says we are not be a corrupter of boys or like unto such.”

**Polycarp’s** ***Letter to the Philippians*** (100-155 A.D.) ch.5 p.34 echoes Paul that “neither fornicators, effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, shall inherit the kingdom of God.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) (implied) in giving examples of evil among the Greek gods says, “And imitating Jupiter and other gods in sodomy and shameless intercourse with woman, might we not bring as our apology the writings of Epicurus and the poets? But because we persuade men to avoid such instruction, and all who practise them and imitate their examples,…”. *Second Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.12 p.192

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) spoke of how bad it was that in that culture even males committed shocking abominations with males. *A Plea for Christians* ch.34 p.147

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) In listing bizarre, terrible, and dissolute things mentions a male going to bed with a male. and incest. *On Pascha* ch.53 p.51

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) (partial) mentions sins such as adultery, fornication, theft, robbery, and corrupters of boys. *Letter to Autolycus* book 1 ch.2 p.89

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) quotes 1 Corinthians 6:9,10 in *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.27.4 p.500

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) writes against homosexuality. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.28 p.191

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) (partial) Some Greek poets called Zeus a nefarious scoundrel. He had “adulteries of all sorts, and debauching of boys. For your gods did not even abstain from boys,… Let such gods as these be worshipped by your wives, and let them pray that their husband be such as these – so intemperate; that emulating them in the same practices, they may be like the gods. Such gods let your body be trained to worship, that they may grow up to be men with the accursed likeness of fornication on them received from the gods.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.2 p.180

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) (partial) says that Plato thought it a virtue to be a lover of boys. *Stromata* book 1 ch.11 p.311

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) says adult paederasty is unclean. *Stromata* book 2 ch.7 p.355

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) mentions sins of adultery and “thou shalt not seduce boys” in *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.10 p.202. See also *The Instructor* book 3 ch.8 p.282

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) (partial) says people should not seduce boys. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.10 p.202

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “The Christian confines himself to the female sex. … The Christian husband has nothing to do with any but his own wife. *Apology* ch.46 p.51

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) (partial) rails against ravishers of virgins and boy-polluters. *Tertullian’s Apology* ch.11 p.28

Tertullian (c.203 A.D.) (partial) Plato taught the only souls that went to mansions above were those that cultivated a love for boys. Tertullian remarks, “So great is the privilege which impurity obtains at the hands of philosophers!” *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.54 p.230

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) discusses Sodom and euphemistically says that it represents that which is unseemly. *Origen Against Celsus* book 7 ch.49 p.631

Origen (c.240 A.D.) speaks against adultery, homosexuality, and atheism. *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 12 ch.11 p.124

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) (partial) speaks of sins such as murder, poisoning, paederasty [homosexuality with boys]. *Commentary on Matthew* book 13 ch.30 p.492

Origen (233/234 A.D.) quotes Romans 1:22 etc. against homosexuality. *Origen On Prayer* ch.29.12 p.119

Origen (c.250 A.D.) Don’t be a robber, drunkard, reviler, or lie with another man. *Homilies on Psalms* homily 73.3.6 p.212

**Cyprian** of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) (implied) speaks of the evil and immodest things people do in secret, such as “men with frenzied lusts rushing upon men” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 1 ch.10 p.278

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) (implied) severely chastises Greek philosophical writers, who lie with boys, declare that people are beasts, and exalt the stars of heaven. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.64 p.432

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) mentions Noah’s flood, the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, and [male’s] fruitless desire for men *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 5 ch.5 p.327

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) quotes Romans 1 about no homosexuality. *The Incarnation* ch.1.5 p.39

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) (partial) refers to Romans 1 speaking of “vile passions”. *Against the Heathen* ch.19 p.14

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) speaks against sodomy. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 2 ch.6 p.19. See also ibid book 13 ch.20 p.30

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) “The intercourse of males it [the law] abhors; and should any one attempt it, the penalty is death.” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 8 ch.8 p.14

Clement of Alexandria &&&

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Akhmin Apocalypse of Peter*** (Greek) (135,100-150 A.D.) (implied) saying 31. “And other men and women were being hurled down from a great cliff and reached the bottom, and again were driven by those who were set over them to climb up upon the cliff, and thence were hurled down again, and had no rest from this punishment: and these were they who defiled their bodies acting as women; and the women who were with them were those who lay with one another as a man with a woman.”

**Leucius Charinus** (second century) “Thou that rejoicest in gold and delightest thyself with ivory and jewels, when night falleth, canst thou behold what thou lovest? thou that art vanquished by soft raiment, and then leavest life, will those things profit thee in the place whither thou goest? And let the murderer know that the condign punishment is laid up for him twofold after his departure hence. Likewise also thou poisoner, sorcerer, robber, defrauder, sodomite, thief, and as many as are of that band, ye shall come at last, as your works do lead you, unto unquenchable fire, and utter darkness, and the pit of punishment, and eternal threatenings.” *Acts of John* ch.36

*Revelation of Peter* &&&

*Sibylline Oracles* &&&

*Testament of Jacob* &&&

**Among heretics and apocryphal books**

*Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.28 p.77 (partial) “paederasty is condemned by the Barbarians, but by the Romans, who endeavour to collect herds of boys like grazing horses, it is honoured with certain privileges.”

Bardaisan/Bardesan (154-224/232 A.D.) (partial) says that in Gaul some many took youthful boys as wives. *The Book of the Laws of Diverse Countries* p.731,732

**Elchasites** according to Hippolytus of Portus (before 235 A.D.) “If, therefore, (my) children, one shall have intercourse with any sort of animal whatsoever, or a male, or a sister, or a daughter, or hath committed adultery, or been guilty of fornication, and is desirous of obtaining remission of sins, from the moment that he hearkens to this book let him be baptized a second time in *the* name of the Most High God, and in *the* name of His Son, the Mighty King. And *by baptism* let him be purified and cleansed,…” *The Refutation of All Heresies* book 9 ch.10 p.132

Justin’s *Book of Baruch* (188-235 A.D.) *Gnostic Bible* p.129. (partial, could be ambiguous) “But Naas disobeyed. He approached Eve and seduced her and debauched her, which is a transgression, and he approached Adam and played with him as a boy, which is a transgression.”

*Gospel of Judas* &&&

## fm5. No incestual relations

Leviticus 20:17-19

1 Cor 5:1-3 (implied)

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) says Christians are falsely accused of being atheists, cannibals, and incestuous. *A Plea for Christians* ch.3 p.130

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) In listing bizarre, terrible, and dissolute things mentions a male going to bed with a male. and incest. *On Pascha* ch.53 p.51

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) says that Christians were falsely accused of incest and cannibalism. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.4 p.112

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) “Why, then, do Epicurus and the Stoics teach incest and sodomy, with which doctrines they have filled libraries, so that from boyhood this lawless intercourse is learned?” *Theophilus ot Autolycus* book 3 ch.6 p.112

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “And of the incestuous banqueting, the plotting of demons has falsely devised an enormous fable against us, to stain the glory of our modesty, by the loathing excited by an outrageous infamy,” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.31 p.192

**Clement of Alexandria** (183-203 A.D.) “teaching us that children of the same mothers ought not to enter into matrimony.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.23 p.377

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) (implied) mentions the evil of Persians having incest with their sisters. *The Instructor* book 1 ch.7 p.223

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Then, further, wherever you are-at home, abroad, over the seas-your lust is an attendant, whose general indulgence, or even its indulgence in the most limited scale, may easily and unwittingly anywhere beget children, so that in this way a progeny scattered about in the commerce of life may have intercourse with those who are their own kin, and have no notion that there is any incest in the case. A persevering and stedfast chastity has protected us from anything like this: keeping as we do from adulteries and all post-matrimonial unfaithfulness, we are not exposed to incestuous mishaps.” *Apology* ch.9 p.26

**Cyprian** of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) (implied) speaks of “incestuous abominations” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 1 ch.8 p.277

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) says incest is wrong. in *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 1 ch.2 p.311

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) (implied) speaks of Jupiter shamefully trying to commit incest with his mother. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 5 ch.910 p.493; book 5 ch.23 p.498.

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) after speaking of pagans killing their spouses says, “who either strangle the sons born from themselves, or if they are too pious, expose them, who restrains their incestuous passions neither from a daughter, nor sister, nor mother, …” *The Divine Institutes* book 5 ch.9 p.144,145

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (implied) says that Jupiter committed adulteries and incest. *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.10 p.20

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) (implied) speaks against the Persian practice of marrying their sisters. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 1 ch.2 p.6

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**Pseudo-Clement *Two Epistles on Virginity*** (3rd century A.D.) Letter 2 ch11 p.64 tells of Amnon and his sister Tamar, and concludes “it is not proper or right for us to associate with sisters”

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 19 ch.19 p.336 says that incestual relations are evil.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 9 ch.20 p.117 (implied) shows that incest is bad. See also ibid book 10 ch.38 p.202.

**Elchasites** according to Hippolytus of Portus (before 235 A.D.) “If, therefore, (my) children, one shall have intercourse with any sort of animal whatsoever, or a male, or a sister, or a daughter, or hath committed adultery, or been guilty of fornication, and is desirous of obtaining remission of sins, from the moment that he hearkens to this book let him be baptized a second time in *the* name of the Most High God, and in *the* name of His Son, the Mighty King. And *by baptism* let him be purified and cleansed,…” *The Refutation of All Heresies* book 9 ch.10 p.132

## fm6. Do not lust (sexually)

Lust for power, revenge, money, gain, and material things are not considered here.

Lust of the flesh is included here.

Matthew 5:28

**p64** (150-175 A.D.)

**p72** (=Bodmer 7 and 8) (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses.(implied) says the lost Gentiles were in lust, lewdness, and drunkenness. 1 Peter 4:3.

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Seeing, therefore, that we are the portion of the Holy One, let us do all those things which pertain to holiness, avoiding all evil-speaking, all abominable and impure embraces, together with all drunkenness, seeking after change, all abominable lusts, detestable adultery, and execrable pride.” *1 Clement* ch.30 p.13

***The Didache*** (=*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*) (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.3.3 p.378 “3. My child, be not a lustful one; for lust leadeth the way to fornication; neither a filthy talker, nor of lofty eye; for out of all these adulteries are engendered.”

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) “For it is well that they should be cut off from the lusts that are in the world, since ‘every lust warreth against the spirit;’ and ‘neither fornicators, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, shall inherit the kingdom of God,’ nor those who do things inconsistent and unbecoming.” *Polycarp’s Letter to the Philippians* ch.5 p.34

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 2 commandment eighth p.25 “‘Are there, sir,’ said I, ‘any other evil deeds?’ ‘There are,’ says he; ‘and many of them, too, from which the servant of God must restrain himself-theft, lying, robbery, false witness, overreaching, wicked lust, deceit, vainglory, boastfulness, and all other vices like to these.’”

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “Concerning chastity, He [Christ] uttered such sentiments as these: ‘Whosoever looketh upon a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart before God.’” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.15 p.167

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) “These have conquered me-the divinity of the instruction, and the power of the Word: for as a skilled serpent-charmer lures the terrible reptile from his den and causes it to flee, so the Word drives the fearful passions of our sensual nature from the very recesses of the soul; first driving forth lust, through which every ill is begotten-hatreds, strife, envy, emulations, anger, and such like.” *Greek Theogony Exposed* ch.5 (no page number)

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “And concerning chastity, the holy word teaches us not only not to sin in act, but not even in thought, not even in the heart to think of any evil, nor look on another man’s wife with our eyes to lust after her” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.13 p.115

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “but, turning aside to voluptuousness, and lust, and abominable actions, they stand self-condemned when they are tried by their own doctrine.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.32.2 p.408

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) (implied) “In the scenic games also the madness is not less, but the debauchery is more prolonged: for now a mimic either expounds or shows forth adulteries; now nerveless player, while he feigns lust, suggests it; the same actor disgraces your gods by attributing to them adulteries, sighs, hatreds; the same provokes your tears with pretended sufferings, with vain gestures and expressions. Thus you demand murder, in fact, while you weep at it in fiction.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.37 p.196

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) says we should not lust. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.10 p.202

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) “For hence wild impulses and burning lusts and fiery habits are kindled; and young men inflamed from within become prone to the indulgence of vicious propensities; so that signs of injury appear in their body, the members of lust coming to maturity sooner than they ought. The breasts and organs of generation, inflamed with wine, expand and swell in a shameful way, already exhibiting beforehand the image of fornication; and the body compels the wound of the soul to inflame, and shameless pulsations follow abundance, inciting the man of correct behaviour to transgression; and hence the voluptuousness of youth overpasses the bounds of modesty. And we must, as far as possible, try to quench the impulses of youth by removing the Bacchic fuel of the threatened danger; and by pouring the antidote to the inflammation, so keep down the burning soul, and keep in the swelling members, and allay the agitation of lust when it is already in commotion. And in the case of grown-up people, let those with whom it agrees sometimes partake of dinner, tasting bread only, and let them abstain wholly from drink; in order that their superfluous moisture may be absorbed and drunk up by the eating of dry food. For constant spitting and wiping off perspiration, and hastening to evacuations, is the sign of excess, from the immoderate use of liquids supplied in excessive quantity to the body. And if thirst come on, let the appetite be satisfied with a little water. For it is not proper that water should be supplied in too great profusion; in order that the food may not be drowned, but ground down in order to digestion; and this takes place when the victuals are collected into a mass, and only a small portion is evacuated.” *The Instructor* book 2 ch.2 p.243

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “The Christian husband has nothing to do with any but his own wife. Democritus, in putting out his eyes, because he could not look on women without lusting after them, and was pained if his passion was not satisfied, owns plainly, by the punishment he inflicts, his incontinence. But a Christian with grace-healed eyes is sightless in this matter; he is mentally blind against the assaults of passion.” *Apology* ch.46 p.51

Tertullian (200-240 A.D.) Don’t look at a woman lustfully. *Treatise on the Soul* ch.58 p.235

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “That we should ‘abstain from fornication,’ not from marriage; that every one ‘should know how to possess his vessel in honour.’ In what way? ‘Not in the lust of concupiscence, even as the Gentiles.’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.15 p.462

Tertullian (213 A.D.) speaks against sexual lust. *On Monogamy* ch.1 p.59. See also *Tertullian on Modesty* (2808-220 A.D.) ch.16 p.91.

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) mention’s Job’s covenant with his eyes not to look lustfully upon a woman. *Commentary on Proverbs* p.173,174.

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “In reply to which, we say that, as if, while Jesus teaches continence, and says, ‘Whosoever looketh upon a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart,’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 3 ch.44 p.482

Origen (250 A.D.) speaks against looking at a woman with desire. *Homilies on Isaiah* Isaiah 5.2 p.79-80

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “To have overcome lust is the palm of continency. To have resisted against anger, against injury, is the crown of patience. It is a triumph over avarice to despise money.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 10 ch.16 p.495

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “‘let us therefore cast away the works of darkness, and let us put upon us the armour of light. Let us walk honestly, as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness, not in lusts and wantonness, not in strifes and jealousy.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 10 ch.10 p.494

**Pontius** (258 A.D.) “For he thought that the heart might then become what it ought to be, and the mind attain to the full capacity of truth, if he trod under foot the lust of the flesh with the robust and healthy vigour of holiness.” *Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.2 p.267

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) (implied) “And the end of both is death. The fool is proved above all things by his finding no satisfaction in any lust. But the discreet man is not held captive by these passions.” *Metaphrase of Ecclesiastes* ch.6 p.13

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “In truth, to those who occupy their minds with the distractions of life, life becomes a painful thing, which, as it were, wounds the heart with its goads, that is, with the lustful desires of increase.” *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* ch.2.22 p.113

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “23. Men, though prone to lust, and inclined, through weakness of character, to *yield to* the allurements of sensual pleasures, still punish adultery by the laws, and visit with the penalty of death those whom they find to have possessed themselves of others rights by forcing the marriage-bed.” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 4 ch.23 p.483

Victorinus of Petau (died 304 A.D.) (partial) “Says Daniel: ‘He shall not know the lust of women, although before he was most impure, and he shall know no God of his fathers: for he will not be able to seduce the people of the circumcision, unless he is a judge of the law.’” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the 17th chapter verse 16 p.358

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “Lest, however, we should seem prolix in collecting the testimonies of the prophets, let us again point out how chastity succeeded to marriage with one wife, taking away by degrees the lusts of the flesh, until it removed entirely the inclination for sexual intercourse engendered by habit.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 1 ch.3 p.312

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (c.318 A.D.) “4. But others, straining impiety to the utmost, have deified the motive of the invention of these things and of their own wickedness, namely, pleasure and lust, and worship them, such as their Eros, and the Aphrodite at Paphos.” *Athanasius Against the Heathen* ch.9.4 p.8

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Give me one who is grasping, covetous, and tenacious; I will presently restore him to you liberal, and freely bestowing his money with full hands. Give me a man who is afraid of pain and death; he shall presently despise crosses, and fires, and the bull of Phalaris. Give me one who is lustful, an adulterer a glutton; you shall presently see him sober, chaste, and temperate. Give me one who is cruel and bloodthirsty: that fury shall presently be changed into true clemency. Give me a man who is unjust, foolish, an evil-doer; forthwith he shall be just, and wise, and innocent: for by one laver all his wickedness shall be taken away.” *The Divine Institutes* book 3 ch.26 p.96

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Venus having been subject to the lusts of gods and men, when she reigned in Cyprus, invented the practice of courtesanship, and commanded women to make traffic of themselves, that she might not alone be infamous. Were the virgins themselves, Minerva and Diana, chaste?” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.9 p.227

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (implied) “What of the stage? Is it more holy,-on which comedy converses on the subject of debaucheries and amours, tragedy of incest and parricide? The immodest gestures also of players, with which they imitate disreputable women, teach the lusts, which they express by dancing.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.63 p.249

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) shows that a husband and wife raising kids is fine, but celibacy is better than marriage. But he implies that we should not lust. *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 1.9 p.13

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Clement to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.7 p.214 says that lust is bad.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 4 ch.30 p.141 says we are not to lust.

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 10 ch.44 p.244 (implied) shows that carnal lusts are bad.

The Sethian Gnostic ***Apocryphon of John*** (c.150-185 A.D.) ch.22 p.117 (implied) says that the [evil] serpent brought lust.

**Bardesanes** (154-224/232 A.D.) “For lust is one thing, and love is another; and friendship is one thing, and good-fellowship another; and we ought without any difficulty to understand that the false counterfeit of affection which is called lust, even though there be in it the enjoyment of the moment, is nevertheless widely different from true affection, whose enjoyment is for ever, incorruptible and indestructible.’” *Books and Laws of Diverse Countries* p.726

The heretic **Manes** (262-278 A.D.) (implied) “Now, with respect to paradise, it is not called a *cosmos*. The trees that are in it are lust and other seductions, which corrupt the rational powers of those men. And that tree in paradise, by which men know the good, is Jesus Himself, *or* the knowledge of Him in the world.” (Manes is speaking) *Disputation with Manes* ch.10 p.726

## fm7. We should be pure

Ephesians 5:3-4; Matthew 5:28

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Ephesians 5:3-4

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Let us then draw near to Him with holiness of spirit, lifting up pure and undefiled hands unto Him, loving our gracious and merciful Father,” *1 Clement* ch.29 p.12

**Ignatius of Antioch** (100-107/116 A.D.) (implied) “Not that I have found any division among you, but exceeding purity.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Philadelphians* ch.3 p.80

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.19 p.148 “Thou shalt not commit fornication: thou shalt not commit adultery: thou shalt not be a corrupter of youth. Thou shalt not let the word of God issue from thy lips with any kind of impurity. Thou shalt not accept persons when thou reprovest any one for transgression.”

**Polycarp’s** ***Letter to the Philippians*** (100-155 A.D.) ch.11 p.35 says we should be chaste, truthful, and avoid every form of evil [1 Thessalonians 5:22]

*Epistle to Diognetus* (c.130-200 A.D.) ch.5 p.26-27 (partial) says Christians do not destroy their offspring, have a common table but not a common bed (or unclean), and surpass the laws by their lives.

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 2 commandment Fourth ch.1 “Attend, therefore, and refrain from this thought; for where purity dwells, there iniquity ought not to enter the heart of a righteous man.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) says we should not look lustfully. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.15 p.167

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) &&&

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) (implied) “for why should not the king himself lead the way to all good things, and persuade the people under his rule to behave with purity, and to know God in truth, and in his own person set before them the patterns of all things excellent-since thus it becomes him to do? For it is a shameful thing that a king, however badly he may conduct himself, should *yet* judge and condemn those who do amiss.” *Discourse in the Presence of Antonius Caesar* *ANF* vol.8 p.754

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) says that we are not only to be chaste, but not to think evil or look upon another’s wife. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.13 p.115

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) (implied) “For the Church alone sustains with purity the reproach of those who suffer persecution for righteousness’ sake, and endure all sorts of punishments, and are put to death because of the love which they bear to God,” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.33.9 p.508

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) discusses modesty of clothes in *The Instructor* book 2 ch.4 p.263-267. *The Instructor* book 3 ch.11 p.289-290 is also very clear.

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) says we are to be pure for prayer” *Stromata* book 7 c h.12 p.545

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) has an entire chapter on woman’s dress in *Tertullian On Prayer* ch.20 p.687.

Tertullian (208-220 A.D.) (implied) does not say pure, but rather sanctification and honor. *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.17 p.92

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “If thou practisest adultery no more, and committest not murder, and servest not idols; if thou art not overmastered by pleasure; if thou dost not suffer the feeling of pride to rule thee; if thou cleanest off the filthiness of impurity, and puttest off the burden of sin; if thou castest off the armour of the devil, and puttest on the breastplate of faith,” *Discourse on the Holy Theophany* ch.10 p.237

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) discusses how women should dress modestly. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.49 p.214

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “For it is inconsistent with the fitness of things that a polluted heart should look upon God; for that must be itself pure which would worthily behold that which is pure.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 6 ch.69 p.605.

Origen (224-254 A.D.) (implied) “if Jesus, desiring to manifest to the human race the power which He possesses to heal souls, should have selected notorious and wicked men, and should have raised them to such a degree of moral excellence, that they, became a pattern of the purest virtue to all who were converted by their instrumentality to the Gospel of Christ?” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.63 p.425

Origen (c.250 A.D.) speaks about being pure and against fornication and homosexuality. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 73.3.6 p.212

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “That the sin of fornication is grievous.” *Treatise of Cyprian* Treatise 12 Heads p.529

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes scripture against adulteries, fornications, impurities, idolatries, sorceries, murders, hatreds, strifes, heresies, drunkenness in *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 book 3 ch.64 p.551. ch.65 p.551 also mentions thieves, cheaters, robbers.

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) “we also give heed to the other virtues, in order that we may not approach our God in unworthiness and impurity, but with all virtue and wisdom” *Panegyric to Origen* Argument 12 p.33

**Theonas of Alexandria** (282-300 A.D.) (implied) “Therefore you ought to strive to the utmost of your power not to fall into a base or dishonorable, not to say an absolutely flagitious way of thinking, let the name of Christ be thus blasphemed even by you.” *ANF* vol.6 p.159

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “Was it for this He sent souls, that, forgetting their importance and dignity *as* divine, they should acquire gems, precious stones, pearls, at the expense of their purity; should entwine their necks with these, pierce the tips of their ears, bind their foreheads with fillets, seek for cosmetics to deck their bodies, darken their eyes with henna; nor, though in the forms of men, blush to curl their hair with crisping-pins, to make the skin of the body smooth, to walk with bare knees, and with every other *kind of* wantonness, both to lay aside the strength of their manhood, and to grow in effeminacy to a woman’s habits and luxury?” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.41 p.450

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “Now Paul, when summoning all persons to sanctification and purity,” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 3 ch.10 p.320

**Athanasius of Alexandria**(318 A.D.) says that we are to be pure in heart. *Against the Heathen* ch.2 p.4

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) “young men practice holy chastity.” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.48.2 p.62

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) said similar. “But if He had not assumed a human body, He would not have been able to practice what He taught, - that is, not to be angry, not to desire riches, not to be inflamed with lust, not to fear pain, to despise death. These things are plainly virtues, but they cannot be done without flesh. Therefore He assumed a body on this account, tat, since He taught that the desires of the flesh must be overcome, He might in person first practice it, that no one might allege the frailty of the flesh as an excuse.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.50 p.242.

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 2 ch.28 p.105 says we should be pure in heart.

**Bardesan** (154-224/232 A.D.) “And there are those who once behaved with purity and sobriety; and when they turned away from right admonition, and dared to set themselves against the commands of Deity and of their teachers, they fell from the way of truth, and became profligates and revellers.” *The Book of Laws of Diverse Countries* p.727

## fm8. We should be modest

(Modesty explicitly referring to only humbleness is not included here.)

Ephesians 5:3-4; Matthew 5:28

Job 31:1 Job made a covenant with his eyes not to look lustfully at a girl

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Ephesians 5:3-4

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) (implied) “And of the incestuous banqueting, the plotting of demons has falsely devised an enormous fable against us, to stain the glory of our modesty, by the loathing excited by an outrageous infamy,” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.31 p.192

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) discusses modesty of clothes in *The Instructor* book 2 ch.4 p.263-267. *The Instructor* book 3 ch.11 p.289-290 is also very clear.

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201/205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) ch.6.3 p.705 “Perpetua is first led in. She was tossed, and fell on her loins; and when she saw her tunic torn from her side, she drew it over her as a veil for her middle, rather mindful of her modesty than her suffering.”

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) has an entire chapter on woman’s dress in *Tertullian On Prayer* ch.20 p.687.

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) discusses how women should dress modestly. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.49 p.214. See also ch.59 p.214.

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) women should be modest without gold, pearls, or costly jewelry. *Origen on Prayer* ch.2.2 p.18. See also ibid ch.3 p.18

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Let chaste and modest virgins avoid the dress of the unchaste, the manners of the immodest, the ensigns of brothels, the ornaments of harlots.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 2 ch.12 p.433

**Theonas of Alexandria** (282-300 A.D.) talking to Lucianus (a man) “You should also all be elegant and tidy in person and attire, yet, at the same time, not in such wise as to attract notice by extravagance of affectation, lest Christian modesty by scandalized.” *Letter of Theonas, Bishop of Alexandria, to Lucianus, the Chief Chamberlain* ch.8 p.160

**Alexander of Lycopolis** (301 A.D.) “even as we learn by experience, make great progress in modesty, and a character of piety is imprinted on their manners, quickening the moral disposition which from such usages is formed, and leading them by degrees to the desire of what is honourable and good.” *Of the Manichaeans* ch.1 p.241

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “and as if we do not daily see those who have cut them away from themselves become more wanton, and, neglecting all the restraints of chastity and modesty, throw themselves headlong into filthy vileness, making known abroad their shameful deeds.” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 5 ch.11 p.494. See also book 3 ch.15 p.468

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (implied) “For when a woman is destitute of modesty, chastity, and fidelity, she must of necessity be without virtue.” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.3 p.103

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (implied) “What of the stage? Is it more holy,-on which comedy converses on the subject of debaucheries and amours, tragedy of incest and parricide? The immodest gestures also of players, with which they imitate disreputable women, teach the lusts, which they express by dancing.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.63 p.249

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Acts of Paul and Thecla*** (before 207 A.D.) p.489 (implied) shows God miraculously covering Thecla after she is stripped.

**Among heretics**

“(The **Docetae** maintain) that God is the primal (Being), as it were a seed of a fig-tree, which is altogether very diminutive in size, but infinite in power. (This seed constitutes, according to the Docetae,) a lowly magnitude, incalculable in multitude, (and) labouring under no deficiency as regards generation. (This seed is) a refuge for the terror-stricken, a shelter of the naked, a veil for modesty, (and) the sought-for produce, to which He came in search (for fruit), he says, three times, and did not discover (any).” According to Hippolytus (222-235/236 A.D.) *Refutation of All Heresies* book 8 ch.1 p.177

## fm9. Do not watch lewd shows

(implied) Job 31:1; Prov 6:25; Matthew 5:28; 2 Peter 2:14

Philippians 4:8-9

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Then, again, at every heathen festival celebrated in honour of the idols, these men are the first to assemble; and to such a pitch do they go, that some of them do not even keep away from that bloody spectacle hateful both to God and men, in which gladiators either fight with wild beasts, or singly encounter one another. Others of them yield themselves up to the lusts of the flesh with the utmost greediness, maintaining that carnal things should be allowed to the carnal nature, while spiritual things are provided for the spiritual.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.6.3 p.324

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) says Christians are to stay away from the gladiatorial games and “scenic games” with “feign lust”. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.37 p.196

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) discusses staying away from feast of revelry in *The Instructor* book 2 ch.14 p.248-249. See also *The Instructor* book 3 ch.1 p.289 and *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.290.

Tertullian (208-220 A.D.) (implied) speaks against watching lewd shows. *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.7 p.81

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “gladiators, to whom men prostitute their souls, women too their bodies,” *The Shows* ch.22 p.88

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) was against “shows where adultery is learned.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 1 ch.8 p.277

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) says not to celebrate to play of immorality *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.64 p.432

Arnobius of Sicca (297-303 A.D.) speaks against “shameful sports and scurrilous plays” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 4 ch.35-36 p.487-488

**Among heretics**

Tatian (c.172 A.D.) (partial) was against stage plays. *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.24 p.75

## fm10. Do not watch violent shows

(implied) Job 31:1; Prov 6:25; Matthew 5:28; 2 Peter 2:14

Philippians 4:8-9

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Philippians 4:8-9

**p16** Philippians 3:10-17; 4:2-8 (late 3rd century) Philippians 4:8

***Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum*** (177 A.D.) p.783 (implied) “After all these, on the last day of the gladiatorial shows, Blandina was again brought in along with Ponticus, a boy of about fifteen years of age. These two had been taken daily to the amphitheatre to see the tortures which the rest endured, and force was used to compel them to swear by the idols of the heathen; but on account of their remaining stedfast, and setting all their devices at nought, the multitude were furious against them, so as neither to pity the tender years of the boy nor to respect the sex of the woman. Accordingly they exposed them to every terror, and inflicted on them every torture, repeatedly trying to compel them to swear. But they failed in effecting this; for Ponticus, encouraged by his sister, so plainly indeed that even the heathens saw that it was she that encouraged and confirmed him, after enduring nobly every kind of torture, gave up the ghost; while the blessed Blandina, last of all, after having like a noble mother encouraged her children, and sent them on before her victorious to the King, trod the same path of conflict which her children had trod, hastening on to them with joy and exultation at her departure, not as one thrown to the wild beasts, but as one invited to a marriage supper.”

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “For when they know that we cannot endure even to see a man put to death, though justly; who of them can accuse us of murder or cannibalism? Who does not reckon among the things of greatest interest the contests of gladiators and wild beasts, especially those which are given by you? But we, deeming that to see a man put to death is much the same as killing him, have abjured such spectacles.” *A Plea for Christians* ch.35 p.147

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “we are forbidden so much as to witness the shows of gladiators, lest we become partakers and abettors of murders. But neither may we see the other spectacles, lest our eyes and ears be defiled.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.15 p.115

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Then, again, at every heathen festival celebrated in honour of the idols, these men are the first to assemble; and to such a pitch do they go, that some of them do not even keep away from that bloody spectacle hateful both to God and men, in which gladiators either fight with wild beasts, or singly encounter one another. Others of them yield themselves up to the lusts of the flesh with the utmost greediness, maintaining that carnal things should be allowed to the carnal nature, while spiritual things are provided for the spiritual.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.6.3 p.324

*Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas* (c.201/205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) ch.6.3 p.705 (partial) “loudly, and she herself placed the wavering right hand of the youthful gladiator”

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) says Christians are to stay away from the gladiatorial games and “scenic games” with “feign lust”. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.37 p.196

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) (implied) “He, therefore, never surrenders himself to the rabble that rules supreme over the theatres, and gives no admittance even in a dream to the things which are spoken, done, and seen for the sake of alluring pleasures.” *Stromata* book 7 ch.7 p.644

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) renounced going to spectacles. *Apology* ch.38 p.46. He wrote an entire work called *The Shows* or *De Spectaculis*.

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “gladiators, to whom men prostitute their souls, women too their bodies,” *The Shows* ch.22 p.88

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “Thou art going to vain shows with the crowd of the evil one, where Satan is at work in the circus with din.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.57 p.214

Origen(225-253/254 A.D.) (partial) refers to 1 Corinthians 8:4,11 and says that we cannot go to idol feasts. *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.24 p.648.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “And now, if you turn your eyes and your regards to the cities themselves, you will behold a concourse more fraught with sadness than any solitude. The gladiatorial games are prepared, that blood may gladden the lust of cruel eyes. The body is fed up with stronger food, and the vigorous mass of limbs is enriched with brawn and muscle, that the wretch fattened for punishment may die a harder death. Man is slaughtered that man may be gratified, and the skill that is best able to kill is an exercise and an art. Crime is not only committed, but it is taught. What can be said more inhuman,-what more repulsive?” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 1 ch.7 p.277

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) ridicules pagan games and shows. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 7 ch.33 p.531

Arnobius of Sicca (297-303 A.D.) speaks against “shameful sports and scurrilous plays” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 4 ch.35-36 p.487-488

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says that public shows have a more powerful corrupting influence on the mind and ought to be avoided by the wise. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.62 p.248. See also *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.20 p.68

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “those rites are frequented by unchaste adulteresses without any discrimination, by impudent procuresses, by filthy harlots; they are frequented by gladiators, robbers, thieves, and sorcerers, who pray for nothing else but that they may commit crimes with impunity. For what can the robber ask when he sacrifices, or the gladiator, but that they may slay? what the poisoner, but that he may escape notice?” *The Divine Institutes* book 5 ch.20 p.157

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) was against gladiatorial shows. “For the pantomime is a school of corruption, in which things which are shameful are acted by a figurative representation, that the things which are true may be done without shame. These spectacles are viewed by youths, whose dangerous age, which ought to be curbed and governed, is trained by these representations to vices and sins. The circus, in truth, is considered more innocent, but there is greater madness in this, since the minds of the spectators are transported with such great madness, that they not only break out into revilings, but often rise to strifes, and battles, and contentions. Therefore all shows are to be avoided, that we may be able to maintain a tranquil state of mind. We must renounce hurtful pleasures, lest, charmed by pestilential sweetness, we fall into the snares of death.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.63 p.240

**Among heretics**

**Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “I have seen men weighed down by bodily exercise, and carrying about the burden of their flesh, before whom rewards and chaplets are set, while the adjudicators cheer them on, not to deeds of virtue, but to rivalry in violence and discord; and he who excels in giving blows is crowned. These are the lesser evils; as for the greater, who would not shrink from telling them? Some, giving themselves up to idleness for the sake of profligacy, sell themselves to be killed; and the indigent barters himself away, while the rich man buys others to kill him. And for these the witnesses take their seats, and the boxers meet in single combat, for no reason whatever, nor does any one come down into the arena to succour. Do such exhibitions as these redound to your credit? He who is chief among you collects a legion of blood-stained murderers, engaging to maintain them; and these ruffians are sent forth by him, and you assemble at the spectacle to be judges, partly of the wickedness of the adjudicator, and partly of that of the men who engage in the combat.” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.23 p.75

Tatian (c.172 A.D.) “You slaughter animals for the purpose of eating their flesh, and you purchase men [gladiators] to supply a cannibal banquet for the soul,…” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.23 p.75

## fm11. Do not kill/expose infants

***Didache*** vol.7 ch.2.1-4 p.377 (before 125 A.D.) “You shall not murder a child by abortion nor kill one who has been born.

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.19 p.148 says “Thou shalt not slay the child by procuring abortion; nor, again, shalt thou destroy it after it is born. Thou shalt not withdraw thy hand from thy son, or from thy daughter, but from their infancy thou shalt teach them the fear of the Lord.”

***Epistle to Diognetus*** (c.130-200 A.D.) Christians do not commit abortion [literally “casting away fetuses”] or infanticide. *Epistle to Diognetus* ch.5 p.26

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “We also teach that it is wrong to expose an infant. For those who expose them are guilty of child murder.” *A Plea for Christians* ch.35 p.147

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “Rather they [evildoers] expose children who are born at home. Yet, they take up the young of birds. So they prefer irrational creatures to rational ones.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.4 p.279

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “because although you are forbidden by the laws to slay new-born infants, it so happens that no laws are evaded with more impunity or greater safety, with the deliberate knowledge of the public, and the suffrages of this entire age.” *To the Nations* book 1 ch.15 p.123

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) after speaking of pagans killing their spouses says, “who either strangle the sons born from themselves, or if they are too pious, expose them, who restrains their incestuous passions neither from a daughter, nor sister, nor mother, …” *The Divine Institutes* book 5 ch.9 p.144,145

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says not to kill infants. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.64 p.249

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) (implied) speaks against the murder of children [presumably including infants]. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 2 ch.6 p.19

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**Akhmin Apocalypse of Peter** (Greek) (135,100-150 A.D.) speaks of the punishments for various sins, including women who kill their infants will have their breast milk congeal into flesh-eating animals.

## fm12. Cherish and nurture our family

1 Corinthians 7:33-34; Titus 2:4

(implied) Ephesians 6:1-4

**p32 (=P. Rylands 5)** Titus 1:1-15; 2:3-8 (21 verses) (150-200 A.D.) Titus 2:4 young women should love their husbands and children

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) (implied) Ephesians 6:1-4

**p15** 1 Corinthians 7:18-8:4 (late 3rd century) 1 Corinthians 7:25-35

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) says to let our children be partakers of true Christian training. *1 Clement* ch.21 p.11

***Didache*** vol.7 ch.3.9-10 p.378 (before 125 A.D.) Teach your son and daughter the fear of God.

***Epistle of Barnabas*** ch.19 p.148 (c.70-130 A.D.) says we should teach our sons and daughters the fear of the Lord.

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) says wives are to train children up in the knowledge and fear of God. *Letter to the Philippians* ch.4 p.34

***Epistle to Diognetus*** ch.5 p.26-27 (c.130-200 A.D.) “[Christians] marry, as do all [others]; they beget children; but they do not destroy their offspring (literally cast away foetuses). They have a common table, but not a common [bed].

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 Similitude 5 p.35 (implied) tells us the things we should observe with our children and all our house that we will be blessed.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) wives submit to husbands, husbands for wives, love one another and children be obedient. *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.294.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “And that fathers ought not to be bitter against their children. *Treatises of Cyprian* Heads p.529

## fm13. Having kids is fine within marriage

(implied) Ephesians 6:1-4; Titus 2:4

**p32 (=P. Rylands 5)** Titus 1:1-15; 2:3-8 (21 verses) (150-200 A.D.) Titus 2:4 young women should love their husbands and children

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) (implied) Ephesians 6:1-4

**p104** (beginning of the 2nd century) Mt 21:34-37; 43,44,45? (implied) In Mt 21:37 the vineyard owner sent his son.

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Thou shalt know also that thy seed shall be great, and thy children like the grass of the field.” *1 Clement* ch.56 p.20.

**Polycarp’s** ***Letter to the Philippians*** (100-155 A.D.) ch.4 p.34 says that parents should train up their children, implying that having children is fine.

***Epistle to Diognetus*** ch.5 p.26-27 (c.130-200 A.D.) “[Christians] marry, as do all [others]; they beget children; but they do not destroy their offspring (literally cast away foetuses]. They have a common table, but not a common [bed].

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) says that when Christians marry, it is to bring up children. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.29 p.172

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201-205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) ch.1.1 p.699 (implied) Perpetua was a wife and mother, and Felicitas was pregnant. This implies that having children was fine.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “but he surpasses men, who, disciplined by marriage, procreation of children, and care for the house,…” *Stromata* book 7 ch.12 p.543

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) shows that marriage is fine. *The Instructor* book 3 ch.8 p.281 Also *Exhortation to the Heathen* (c.195 A.D.) ch.11 p.203.

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) (implied) “parents in all things; for this is well pleasing to the Lord. Fathers, provoke not your children to anger, lest they be discouraged.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.8 p.420

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) mentions that the Creator gave people permission to marry in *Tertullian Against Marcion* book 4 ch.38 p.414.

Tertullian (c.203 A.D.) “Now we allow that life begins with conception, because we contend that the soul also begins from conception; life taking its commencement at the same moment and place that the soul does. Thus, then, the processes which act together to produce separation by death, also combine in a simultaneous action to produce life. If we assign priority to (the formation of) one of the natures, and a subsequent time to the other, we shall have further to determine the precise times of the semination, according to the condition and rank of each. And that being so, what time shall we give to the seed of the body, and what to the seed of the soul? Besides, if different periods are to be assigned to the seminations then arising out of this difference in time, we shall also have different substances. For although we shall allow that there are two kinds of seed-that of the body and that of the soul-we still declare that they are inseparable, and therefore contemporaneous and simultaneous in origin. Now let no one take offence or feel ashamed at an interpretation of the processes of nature which is rendered necessary (by the defence of the truth). Nature should be to us an object of reverence, not of blushes. It is lust, not natural usage, which has brought shame on the intercourse of the sexes. It is the excess, not the normal state, which is immodest and unchaste: the normal condition has received a blessing from God, and is blest by Him: 'Be fruitful, and multiply, (and replenish the earth.)' Excess, however, has He cursed, in adulteries, and wantonness, and chambering.” *A Treatise on the Soul* ch. 27 p.207-208

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) (implied) “Therefore you are an unfair and traitorous father, unless you faithfully consult for your children, unless you look forward to preserve them in religion and true piety. You who are careful rather for their earthly than for their heavenly estate, rather to commend your children to the devil than to Christ, are sinning twice, and allowing a double and twofold crime, both in not providing for your children the aid of God their Father, and in teaching your children to love their property more than Christ.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 8 ch.19 p.481

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) Adamantius says that procreating children in lawful marriage is fine. *Dialogue on the True Faith* Fourth part ch.10 p.138

**Alexander of Lycopolis** (301 A.D.) (implied) is against the Manichaeans who say marriage is bad, having children is bad, and it is wrong to eat living things [meat]. *Of the Manichaeans* ch.25 p.251

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) speaks of fornication as wrong, but marriage relations are fine. *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* book 3 ch.12 p.321 Also book 3 ch.7 p.316

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) speaks of “lawful procreation” *Athanasius Against the Heathen* part 1 ch.5.1 p.6

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) Let lust be subject to procreation. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.62 p.248

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) shows that a husband and wife raising kids is fine, but celibacy is better than marriage. But he implies that we should not lust. *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 1.9 p.13

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) (implied) shows that having kids to raise in the Lord is fine. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 8 ch.8 p.14

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Protoevangelium of James*** (145-248 A.D.) ch.1 *TOB* p.385 (implied) discusses why Joachim was sad, since he was childless and Abraham and many other righteous people had children.

**X** Marcion of Pontus forbade marriage according to Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) in *Five Books against Marcion* book 1 ch.29 p.293-294

**Bardaisan/Bardesan** (154-224/232 A.D.) producing children is fine, but he also emphasized being pure. *The Book of the Laws of Diverse Countries* p.726

***X Acts of Thomas*** (early form) (pre-Nicene) p.537 teaches it is better not to be married and better not to have children.

## fm14. Train your kids in the Lord

Deuteronomy 6:4-9; Psalm 78:4; Proverbs 22:6; Ephesians 6:4

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Let your children be partakers of true Christian training; let them learn of how great avail humility is with God-how much the spirit of pure affection can prevail with Him-how excellent and great His fear is, and how it saves all those who walk in it with a pure mind.” *1 Clement* ch.21 p.11

***Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) ch.3 vol.7 p.378 “Thou shalt not remove thy hand from thy son or from thy daughter, but from *their* youth shalt teach *them* the fear of God.”.

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.19 p.148 “Thou shalt not withdraw thy hand from thy son, or from thy daughter, but from their infancy though shalt teach them the fear of the Lord.”

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 Similitude 5 p.35 (implied) tells us the things we should observe with our children and all our house that we will be blessed.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217 A.D.) (implied) “To speak briefly, therefore, the Lord acts towards us as we do towards our children. ‘Has though children? Correct them,’ is the exhortation of the book of Wisdom.” *The Instructor* book 1 ch.9 p.228. See also *The Instructor* book 1 ch.9 p.230.

Theodotus the probable Montanist (ca.240 A.D.) (partial) quotes half of Proverbs 13:24 (about disciplining your son) in *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.9 p.44

Origen (239-242 A.D.) (partial) mentions raising your children. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 13 ch.3.2 p.163

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Therefore you are an unfair and traitorous father, unless you faithfully consult for your children, unless you look forward to preserve them in religion and true piety. You who are careful rather for their earthly than for their heavenly estate, rather to commend your children to the devil than to Christ, are sinning twice, and allowing a double and twofold crime, both in not providing for your children the aid of God their Father, and in teaching your children to love their property more than Christ.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 8 ch.19 p.481

Council of Elvira (306/307 A.D.) canon 12 (partial) “Parents and other Christians who give up their children to sexual abuse are selling others’ bodies, and if they do so or sell their own bodies, they shall not receive communion even at death.”

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Avoid unlawful services, and serve the living God. Abstain from adultery and impurity; bring up a pure generation of children; do not kill: for the Immortal will be angry with every one who may sin.” *Treatise on the Anger of God* ch.22 p.278

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “Moreover, not even on the birthdays of children did it permit us to celebrate a feast and make pretexts for drunkenness; but it directed the very beginning of education to be temperate , and commanded us to instruct children in the learning that relates to the laws,…” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 8 ch.8 p.14. See also ibid ch.12 p.17, p.17

## fm15. We should honor our parents

Exodus 20:12; Deuteronomy 5:16

Mark 7:10-13 (Corban)

(implied) Ephesians 6:1-2

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) (implied) Ephesians 6:1-2

**Aristides** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) “For they [the Christians] know and trust in God, the Creator of heaven and of earth, in whom and from whom are all things, to whom there is no other god as companion, from whom they received commandments which they engraved upon their minds and observe in hope and expectation of the world which is to come. Wherefore they do not commit adultery nor fornication, nor bear false witness, nor embezzle what is held in pledge, nor covet what is not theirs. They honour father and mother, and show kindness to those near to them; and whenever they are judges, they judge uprightly.” *Apology of Aristides* ch.15 p.277

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 1 vision 2 ch.2 p.11 (implied) mentions people sinning wickedly by betraying their parents.

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) mentions the command to honor your father and mother. *A Plea for Christians* ch.23 p.161

Tatian’s *Diatessaron* (c.172 A.D.) (partial) quotes all of Matthew 15:2-4.

***Theophilus*** *to Autolycus* (168-181/188 A.D.) book 3 ch.9 p.114 We should honor our father and mother.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) says Jesus taught we should honor our father and mother (Matthew 15:3f,4) *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.9.3 p.473

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) says we are to honor our father and mother. *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.292

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “Children, obey your parents in all things; for this is well pleasing to the Lord. Fathers, provoke not your children to anger, lest they be discouraged.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.8 p.420

**Tertullian** (200-240 A.D.) Honor your father and mother. *On Monogamy* ch.7 p.64

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes Matthew 15:4 that we should honor our parents. *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 72 ch.21 p.384

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “That we must obey parents.” *Treatises of Cyprian Treatise 12* Third book heads p.529

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “It is ordained the honour of parents to be next to that of God;” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 8 ch.8 p.15

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**Akhmin Apocalypse of Peter** (Greek) (135,100-150 A.D.) says that after death those who did not honor their parents fall into a stream of fire repeatedly.

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 13 ch.4 p.300 says we should honor our parents.

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 6 ch.6 p.154 (partial) says we should love our parents.

## fm16. Do not love family more than Jesus

(implied) Matthew 10:21

Luke 8:20-21,29

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) (partial) When Jesus’ mother and brothers came, He said that his mother and brothers are those who hear the Word of God and do it. Luke 8:20-21

**0171** Matthew 10:17-23,25-32; Luke 22:44-50,52-56,61,63-64 (ca.300 A.D.) (implied) Matthew 10:21 family members will betray Christians.

p15 1 Corinthians 7:18-8:4 (late 3rd century) (partial) 1 Corinthians 7:32-35

**p138** (3rd century) Luke 18:13-17,25-30 (implied) quotes Luke 18:29 about not loving family more than Jesus.

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 13 no.20-21 quotes Luke 12:51-53.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) quotes Matthew 19:29; Luke 18:29-30 in *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.33.2 p.562

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) says we are to love Christ more. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.96

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201-205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) ch.2.1 p.700-701 (implied) Perpetua would not give up Christ even though her father implored her.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) quotes Matthew 19:29 saying such a person is blessed. *Stromata* book 4 ch.4 p.412

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) “do not destroy each other, nor are they near doing so. For from the same feeling and disposition, and on the ground of the same rule, one loving his enemy may hate his father, in as much as he neither takes vengeance on an enemy, nor reverences a father more than Christ. For by the one word he extirpates hatred and injury, and by the other shamefacedness towards one’s relations, if it is detrimental to salvation. If then one’s father, or son, or brother, be godless, and become a hindrance to faith and an impediment to the higher life, let him not be friends or agree with him, but on account of the spiritual enmity, let him dissolve the fleshly relationship.” *Who is the Rich Man That Shall Be Saved* p.597. See also *Stromata* book 7 ch.12 p.543

**Tertullian** (ca.208 A.D.) “than Me, is not worthy of Me; and he who takes not up his cross and follows Me,” *On Fleeing Persecution* ch.7 p.120

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “If that was wanting to the apostles, I know not in the faith of what things it was, that, roused by one word of the Lord, *one* left the toll-booth behind for ever; *another* deserted father and ship, and the craft by which he gained his living; *a third*, who disdained his father’s obsequies, fulfilled, before he heard it, that highest precept of the Lord, ‘He who prefers father or mother to me, is not worthy of me.’” *On Baptism* ch.12 p.675

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) quotes Luke 12:53. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.29 p.399

**Origen** (235 A.D.) speaks of loving God more than our family. *Exhortation to Martyrdom* book 5 ch.37 p.187 and ibid book 3 ch.16 p.157 and book 3 ch.18 p.159 and book 3 ch.14 p.145.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “In the Gospel the Lord speaks, and says: ‘He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that taketh not his cross and followeth me, is not worthy of me.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 11 ch.6 p.500

**Moyses, Maximum, and Nicostratus** (250 A.D.) “For to this battle our Lord, as with the trumpet of His Gospel, stimulates us when He says, “He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me: and he that loveth his own soul more than me is not worthy of me. And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 25 ch.4 vol.5 p.303.

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) (implied) “that slaves choose to be tortured by their masters as they please, wives be divorced, children to be disinherited by their parents, rather than be unfaithful to Christ and cast off the oaths of the warfare of salvation?” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.5 p.435

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite *Epistle of Peter to James* (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.4.3 p.216 (partial) “But otherwise, though he were my son or my brother, or my friend, or otherwise in any way pertaining to me by kindred, if he be unworthy, that I will not vouchsafe the favour to him, as is not meet;”

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 6 ch.6 has a whole chapter that we are to love God more than our own parents. It also says the same in book 3 ch.54 p.128. See also book 2 ch.28-29 p.105.

## fm17. Celibacy is better than marriage

1 Corinthians 7:1-9; 25-35

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) 1 Corinthians 7:1-9; 25-35

**p15** 1 Corinthians 7:18-8:4 (late 3rd century) 1 Corinthians 7:25-35

***Ignatius*** *to Polycarp* ch.5 p.95 (-107/116 A.D.) says that sisters should be satisfied with their husbands, both in flesh and spirit. Brothers should love their wives even as the Lord the church. If one continues in a state of purity let it be without boasting. But it becomes both men and women to marry.

*&&&****Tatian’s Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) &&&

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) quotes 1 Corinthians 7:38,35 and says that marriage is good, but celibacy is better. *Stromata* book 4 ch.23 p.436-437

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) in *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* ch.27 p.564-565 uses Revelation 3:4 and 14:4 to show that virginity (for men) is a higher calling than marriage.

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) taught that chastity is a special gift from God, and not for everyone. *Origen’s Commentary on Matthew* book 14 ch.25 p.511-512.

Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) says, “God therefore will give the good gift, the perfect purity in celibacy and chastity, to those who ask Him with the whole soul, and with faith, and in prayers without ceasing.” *Origen’s Commentary on Matthew* book 14 ch.25 p.512

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) discusses 1 Corinthians 7:32 and mentions virginity (for both men and women) as the glory of the church in *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 2 ch.4-5 p.431-432.

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) has a whole work the *Banquet of the Ten Virgins*. Among others things it says, “Consider besides how, in addition to the words already quoted, he commends the state of virginity as a gift of God.” *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* ch.14 p.322

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) shows that a husband and wife raising kids is fine, but celibacy is better than marriage. But he implies that we should not lust. *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 1.9 p.13

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Acts of Paul and Thecla*** (before 207 A.D.) p.487 (implied) “blessed are they that have kept aloof from this word, for they shall be called upright: blessed are they that have wives as not having them, for they shall receive God for their portion:”

**Among heretics**

***X Acts of Thomas*** (early form) (pre-Nicene) p.537 teaches it is better not to be married and better not to have children.

## fm18. Don’t betray others in family

Matthew 10:21 (implied); Mk 13:12 (implied)

**0171** Mt 10:21

**Tatian’s *Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 13.1-12a p.63-64 quotes all of Matthew 10:16-26; Mt 10:27m (6 not 10 4 words quoted); Mk 10:11-13 (full quote)

**Tertullian** (200-220 A.D.) Mt 10:21 (full quote); Mt 10:22f (7/16 words quoted); Mark 13:12 (full quote); Mk 13:13f (7/16 words quoted) *Scorpiace* ch.11 p.644

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) quotes all of Matthew 10:17-23. *Exhortation to Martyrdom* part 5 ch.34 p.174.

**Moyses et al. to Cyprian** (251 A.D.) “Mt 10:17m (not 19 6 not 8 words quoted); 10:21a (5/16 words quoted); 10:22f (7/16 words quoted);” *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 25 ch.4 p.303

## fm19. Eve was Adam’s bone or flesh

Genesis 2:23a

1 Corinthians 11:8 (implied)

Ephesians 5:28-29 (partial)

**Clement of Rome** (96-08 A.D.) “Envy has alienated wives from their husbands, and changed that saying of our father Adam, ‘This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh.’” *1 Clement* ch.6 p.6. See also volume 9.

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “Therefore said Adam to Eve, ‘This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh.’ And besides, he prophesied, saying, ‘For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they two shall be one flesh;’ which also itself has its fulfilment in ourselves.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.28 p.105

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “For, inasmuch as Adam straightway predicted that ‘great mystery of Christ and the church,’ when he said, ‘This now is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they two shall become one flesh,’ he experienced the influence of the Spirit.” *Treatise on the Soul* ch.11 p.191

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) discusses how Eve being “bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh” is an allegory of the Lord and His church. *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 3 ch.1 p.316-317.

Methodius (270-311/312 A.D.) “first man himself acknowledges that he has both bones and flesh; for when he saw the woman brought to him: ‘This is now,’ he cried, ‘bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh.’ And again: ‘She shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of man.’” *Discourse on the Resurrection* part 1 ch.2 p.364

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) said Adam and Eve were one flesh. *The Incarnation* ch.2.6 p.37

## fm20. Two become one flesh

Genesis 2:23; Ephesians 5:31

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “Therefore said Adam to Eve, ‘This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh.’ And besides, he prophesied, saying, ‘For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they two shall be one flesh;’” Theophilus t*o Autolycus* book 2 ch.28 p.105

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “But I prefer to assign this usage as a testimony to Scripture. For when two are made into one flesh through the marriage-tie, the ‘flesh of flesh and bone of bones’ is called the *woman* of him of whose substance she begins to be accounted by being made his *wife*.” *On the Veiling of Virgins* ch.5 p.30

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “And in another passage the same Paul says: ‘For it is written, For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother and shall be joined to his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery; but I speak concerning Christ and the Church.’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 4 ch.49 p.520

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “For when the Apostle Paul says, ‘For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they two shall be one flesh.’” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 48 ch.1 p.325

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) quotes both Genesis 2:23 and Ephesians 5:31. *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 3 ch.1 p.317

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) quotes Matthew 19:4 where Jesus refers to Genesis the two becoming one flesh. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.2.6 p.37

**Among heretics**

The Gnostic ***Exegesis of the Soul*** “In this marriage once they join they become a single life. As the prophet said about the first man and woman, They will become a single flesh.” *The Gnostic Bible* p.410

## Teachings on Family not on the list

**1. God will judge adulterers** Hebrews 12:4 (only 1 writer: Clement of Alexandria)

**2. Do not curse your father or mother** (only 2 writers: Irenaeus of Lyons, Cyprian of Carthage)

**3. Worse than an infidel if not take care of own family** 1 Timothy 5:4,8 (only 1 writer: Cyprian of Carthage)

**4. Christians should not marry unbelievers** (only 2 writers: Tertullian, Cyprian of Carthage. Council of Elvira partial)

**5. Stay with unbelieving spouse** (only 3 writers: Irenaeus of Lyons, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian)

**6. Wives obey husbands** Ephesians 5:22-24; 2 Peter 3:1 (no writers. Clement of Rome partial)

**7. Love your kids** (only 1 writer: Clement of Alexandria)

**8. Do not exasperate your kids** (only 1 writer: Clement of Alexandria)

**9. Men should not wear women’s clothing** (only 1 writer: Clement of Alexandria)

**10. Don’t abandon spouse to become a monk or nun** (no writers)

**11. Don’t break vows to God of celibacy** 1 Timothy 5:11-13 (After Nicea: John Chrysostom)

**12. Take care of your parents** (Matthew 15:3-6; 1 Timothy 5:4,8 (only 2 writers: Origen and Cyprian of Carthage)

**13. Let the children come to Jesus** Lk 18:16-17 (p138) (no writers)

**14. A raped woman did not sin** (3 Pre-Nicene writers: Tertullian, Gregory Thaumaturgus, and Council of Ancyra. After Nicea Optatus of Milevis, Augustine of Hippo *City of God*)

**15. Don’t rob your parents** (Prov 28:24) (no writers)

**16. Treat your kids fairly** (no writers)

**17. Pray for your children** (not analyzed yet)

**18. Pray for your spouse** (not analyzed yet)

**19. Pray for your parents** (not analyzed yet)

**20. Children should obey parents** (Origen, not analyzed yet)

**21. Do not go to horse races or theatres** (Origen *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 76 homily 1.2 p.240, not analyzed yet)

**22. X Discipline is primarily by the father** (not analyzed yet)

**Don’t be an angry man** (Prov 29:23) (not analyzed yet)

**Don’t be a quarrelsome wife** (Prov 25:24) (not analyzed yet)

**Be a good example to your kids** (not analyzed yet)

**Show your kids what is right** (not analyzed yet)

**Children are a reward** (not analyzed yet)

**Wife’s behavior can win to Christ unbelieving husband** 1 Peter 3:1f; 1 Cor 7:13-16 (Clement of Alexandria) (not analyzed yet)

**Wives submit to their husbands** 1 Pet 3:1,5-6 (not analyzed yet)

**Rebuke older, younger men as fathers, brothers** 1 Tim 5:1 (not analyzed yet)

**Rebuke older, younger women as mothers, sisters** 1 Tim 5:2 (not analyzed yet)

**Honor most widows** 1 Tim 5:3 (not analyzed yet)

**It is bad to spoil children** (not analyzed yet)

**Examples of undisciplined kids going rotten** (not analyzed yet)

**Chaste conduct** 1 Pet 3:2 (Clement of Alexandria) (not analyzed yet. Clement of Alexandria)

**Don’t have gaudy adornment** 1 Pet 3:3-4 (Cyprian) (not analyzed yet. Clement of Alexandria)

**Husbands honor your wives** 1 Pet 3:7 (not analyzed yet, but no quotes)

# Government and LAws

## Gv1. Honor the king or government

Proverbs 24:21; Matthew 22:17-21; Luke 20:22-25; Romans 13:1-5; 1 Peter 2:17

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Romans 13:1-5

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Obey kings and governors. 1 Peter 2:13-14. Honor the king. 1 Peter 2:17

***Evarestus’ Martyrdom of Polycarp*** (c.169 A.D.) ch.10 p.41 Christians should give due honor to the authorities which are ordained of God.

***Theophilus*** *to Autolycus* (168-181/188 A.D.) book 1 ch.11 p.92 says to honor the king and be subject to him.

The **Scillitan Martyr** Donata (180-202 A.D.) “Honour to Caesar as Caesar: but fear to God.” *The Passion of the Scillitan Martyrs* vol.9 p.285

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) says we are to honor the king, but not worship him. *On Idolatry* ch.15 p.71. See also *To Serapion* ch.2 p.105-106.

**Origen** (233-244 A.D.) (implied) quoted all of Romans 13:7. *Homilies on Luke* homily 35 ch.12 p.149

**Theonas of Alexandria** (282-300 A.D.) has an entire letter about giving honorable service to the Emperor *Letter of Theonas, Bishop of Alexandria, to Lucianus, the Chief Chamberlain* p.158-161

**Among heretics**

&&&**Mani** (262-278 A.D.). *Archelaus’ Disputation with Manes* ch.&&& p.&&&

## Gv2. Obey government [when not against God]

Romans 13:1-5; 1 Peter 2:17

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Romans 13:1-5

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Obey kings and governors. 1 Peter 2:13-14. Honor the king. 1 Peter 2:17

***Epistle to Diognetus*** ch.5 p.27 (c.130-200 A.D.) says Christians obey the prescribed laws, and even surpass the laws by their lives.

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) tells the emperor that to God alone we render worship, but in other things we gladly serve him. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.17 p.168

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) says that Christians are to be obedient and loyal to the Roman government. This was at a time when the Roman Emperor was persecuting Christians. *A Plea for Christians* ch.3 p.130

***Theophilus*** *to Autolycus* (168-181/188 A.D.) book 1 ch.11 p.92 says to honor the king and be subject to him.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) says we are to obey the governing powers when they are not against God. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.24.1 p.552

**Tertullian** (205 A.D.) *Scorpiace* ch.14 p.647 says to obey the governing powers, but not as an opportunity for avoiding martyrdom.

**Theonas of Alexandria** (282-300 A.D.) says that ever command of the Emperor which does not offend God should be considered as coming from God Himself. *Letter of Theonas, Bishop of Alexandria, to Lucianus, the Chief Chamberlain* ch.2 p.159

**Among heretics**

&&&**Mani** (262-278 A.D.). *Archelaus’ Disputation with Manes* ch.&&& p.&&&

## Gv3. Do not aid in persecuting Christians

1 Corinthians 13:7 (always protects)

**p46** Chester Beatty II – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) 1 Corinthians 13:7

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “For what shall we say, brethren? Was Daniel cat into the den of lions by such as feared God? Were Ananias, and Azariuas, and Nishael shut up in a furnace of fire by those who observed the great and glorious worship of the Most High? Far from us be such a thought!” *1 Clement* ch.45 p.17. See also vol.9

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) says to deliver the oppressed, judge the fatherless and see that the widow has justice. This is not limited to Christians, but obviously includes Christians. *1 Clement* ch.8 vol.1 p.7 also vol.9 p.231

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 2 8th commandment p.25 (implied) We should be rescuing servants of God

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) (implied) says that those who persecute Christians, unless they repent, shall not inherit anything on the holy mountain. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.26 p.207

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “But for us who are called Christians you have not in like manner cared; but although we commit no wrong-nay, as will appear in the sequel of this discourse, are of all men most piously and righteously disposed towards the Deity and towards your government-you allow us to be harassed, plundered, and persecuted, the multitude making war upon us for our name alone. We venture, therefore, to lay a statement of our case before you-and you will team from this discourse that we suffer unjustly, and contrary to all law and reason-and we beseech you to bestow some consideration upon us also, that we may cease at length to be slaughtered at the instigation of false accusers. For the fine imposed by our persecutors does not aim merely at our property, nor their insults at our reputation, nor the damage they do us at any other of our greater interests. These we hold in contempt, though to the generality they appear matters of great importance;” *A Plea for Christians* ch.1 p.129

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) (implied) says that if someone suicidally presents himself before the persecutors, then he shares in the crime of the persecutor. So by implication one who aids in getting a martyr killed shares in the crime. *Stromata* book 4 ch.10 p.423

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) (implied) “But who has ever suffered harm from our assemblies? We are in our congregations just what we are when separated from each other; we are as a community what we are individuals; we injure nobody, we trouble nobody.” *Apology* ch.39 p.47

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “the Christian does no harm even to his foe.” *Apology* ch.46 p.51

Tertullian (205 A.D.) (partial) “It remains for us, … to review the modern Christian system, as though being also from God, it might be different *from what preceded*, and besides, therefore, opposed thereto in its code of rules likewise, so that its Wisdom knows not to murder her own sons! Evidently, in the case of Christ both the divine nature and the will and the sect are different *from any previously known*!” *Scorpiace* ch.9 p.641

&&&**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.)

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) says that people who bound those who had escaped should not be considered Christians. He does not differentiate between Christians and non-Christians. *Canonical Epistle* Canons 6-8 p.19.

**Council of Ancyra** (314 A.D.) canons 8 and 9 p.66-67 says that those who apostatized cannot take communion for four years. However, it is worse for those who not only apostatized, but forced other Christians to apostasize too. They cannot receive communion for six years on top of the four years.

## Gv4. Pay taxes

Mark 12:14-17; Luke 20:22-25; Romans 13:6-7

(implied) Matthew 17:24-27 (Temple tax)

We pay taxes. Romans 13:6-7; Matthew 17:24-27;22:15-21; Mark 12:13-17; Luke 20:22-25

**p46 Chester Beatty II – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews** (100-150 A.D.) Romans 13:6-7

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Mark 12:14-17

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) tells the emperor we should pay the taxes appointed by him, both ordinary and extraordinary. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.17 p.168

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 25.4-7 p.82 Peter asks Jesus about paying taxes to Caesar.

***Theophilus*** *to Autolycus* (168-181/188 A.D.) book 3 ch.14 p.115 says to render all things to all, including tribute to whom tribute.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) refers to Romans 13:6 and says we are to pay tribute to the government *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.24.1 p.552

The **Scillitan Martyr** Speratus (180-202 A.D.) said they have not done wrong, paid heed to the Emperor, committed no theft, and pay their taxes. *The Passion of the Scillitan Martyrs* *ANF* vol.9 p.285

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) says on civil government we must render to Caesar the things which are Caesar’s; and unto God the things which are God’s.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.293. See also *The Instructor* book 2 ch.1 p.241

**Tertullian** (205 A.D.) we are bid to “pay tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, that is, the things which are Caesar’s to Caesar, and the things which are God’s to God; but man is the property of God alone.” *Scorpiace* ch.14 p.647-648. See also *On Idolatry* ch.15 p.70.

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “‘Render unto Caesar the things which be Caesar’s, and unto God the things which be God’s.’ What will be ‘the things which are God’s?’ Such things as are like Caesar’s *denarius*-that is to say, His image and similitude. That, therefore, which he commands to be ‘rendered unto God,’ the Creator, is *man*, who has been stamped with His image, likeness, name, and substance. Let Marcion’s god look after his own mint. Christ bids the *denarius* of man’s imprint to be rendered to His Caesar, (His Caesar I say,) not the Caesar of a strange god. The truth, however, must be confessed, this god has not a *denarius* to call his own!” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.38 p.413

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) discusses giving to Caesar the things that are Caesars in *Origen’s Commentary on Matthew* book 13 ch.10 p.481

Origen (233-244 A.D.) says we are to pay taxes and honor to those whom they are due. *Homilies on Luke* homily 23 ch.6 p.99-100.

## Gv5. Citizens of Heaven

Philippians 3:20 “But our citizenship is in heaven.”

**p46** Chester Beatty II – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) (partial – for the word of God) Philippians 3:20

***Epistle to Diognetus*** ch.5 p.26-27 (c.130-200 A.D.) says that Christian dwell in their own countries, but simply as sojourners. Every foreign land is to them as their native country, and every land of their birth as a land of strangers. …They pass their days on earth, but they are citizens of heaven.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) “Who, that may become a son of God, prefers to be in bondage? Or who is he that pursues his way to Erebus, when it is in his power to be a citizen of heaven, and to cultivate Paradise, and walk about in heaven and partake of the tree of life and immortality, and, cleaving his way through the sky in the track of the luminous cloud, behold, like Elias, the rain of salvation?” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.10 p.198

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) (implied) says that heaven is our country. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.10 p.202

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “In this way also ‘shall strength be made perfect in weakness,’ -saving what is lost, reviving what is dead, healing what is stricken, curing what is faint, redeeming what is lost, freeing what is enslaved, recalling what has strayed, raising what is fallen; and this from earth to heaven, where, as the apostle teaches the Philippians, ‘we have our citizenship, from whence also we look for our Saviour Jesus Christ, who shall change our body of humiliation, that it may be fashioned like unto His glorious body’ -of course after the resurrection, because Christ Himself was not glorified before He suffered. These must be ‘the bodies’ which he ‘beseeches’ the Romans to ‘present’ as ‘a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God.’” *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* ch.47 p.580

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “But we do confess that a kingdom is promised to us upon the earth, although before heaven, only in another state of existence; inasmuch as it will be after the resurrection for a thousand years in the divinely-built city of Jerusalem, ‘let down from heaven,’ which the apostle also calls ‘our mother from above;’ or citizenship, is in heaven, he predicates of it that it is really a city in heaven.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.25 p.342

*Instructions of Commodianus* (c.240 A.D.) ch.22 p.206 (partial) “And yet, on the other hand, He has sent out His mandates, that they who forsake their altars shall become inhabitants of heaven.”

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) says to seek citizenship in heaven. *Origen Against Celsus* book 2 ch.5 p.432

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) quotes Philippians 3:20 about our citizenship in heaven. He also says that we will sit with Christ in the heavenly places. *Commentary on Matthew* book 10 ch.15 p.422.

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “The Church, then, stands upon our faith and adoption, under the figure of the moon, until the fullness of the nations come in, labouring and bringing forth natural men as spiritual men; for which reason too she is a mother. For just as a woman receiving the unformed seed of a man, within a certain time brings forth a perfect man, in the same way, one should say, does the Church conceive those who flee to the Word, and, forming them according to the likeness and form of Christ, after a certain time produce them as citizens of that blessed state.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 8 ch.6 p.337

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) says we are citizens of the kingdom of heaven *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 1.6 p.11

## Gv6. Christians should not be in lawsuits

1 Corinthians 6:1-8

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) ““for we have learned, not only not to return blow for blow, nor to go to law with those who plunder and rob us, but to those who smite us on one side of the face to offer the other side also, and to those who take away our coat to give likewise our cloak.” A Plea for Christians ch.1 p.129

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “For in the first Epistle to the Corinthians the divine apostle says: ‘Dare any of you, having a matter against the other, go to law before the unrighteous, and not before the saints? Know ye not that the saints shall judge the world?’” *Stromata* book 7 ch.14 p.547

&&&**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.)

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “But those, moreover, whom you consider rich, who add forests to forests, and who, excluding the poor from their neighbourhood, stretch out their fields far and wide into space without any limits, who possess immense heaps of silver and gold and mighty sums of money, either in built-up heaps or in buried stores,-even in the midst of their riches those are torn to pieces by the anxiety of vague thought, lest the robber should spoil, lest the murderer should attack, test the envy of some wealthier neighbour should become hostile, and harass them with malicious lawsuits.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 1 ch.12 p.279

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (246-265 A.D.) “For though we have not received all that we ought, we are nevertheless going away, leaving behind us what is noble and dear with you and beside you, and taking in exchange only what is inferior. For all things melancholy will now meet us in succession,-tumult and confusion instead of peace, and an unregulated life instead of one of tranquillity and harmony, and a hard bondage, and the slavery of market-places, and lawsuits, and crowds, instead of this freedom; and neither pleasure nor any sort of leisure shall remain to us for the pursuit of nobler objects.” *Oration and Panegyric to Origen* ch.16 p.

Arnobius of Sicca (297-303 A.D.) (partial) mentions lawsuits in three places, but does not say whether or not Christians should avoid them. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* ch.1, ch.2.

## Gv7. Officials ought to be just

Leviticus 19:15; Romans 13:3-4

(partial) 1 Peter 3:13

**p46 Chester Beatty II – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.)** Romans 13:3-4

p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8) (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. (partial) 1 Peter 3:13

***Didache*** (=*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*) (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.5 p.379 mentions “lawless judges of the poor” as part of the way of death.

***Epistle of Barnabas*** ch.20 p.149 (c.70-130 A.D.) (implied) criticizes “unjust judges of the poor”

***The Apology of Aristides*** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) ch.14 p.277 (implied) says that Christians judge justly.

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) said that as different people in the Roman Empire had different religions, it should “comport with your justice” to tolerate Christians too. *A Plea for Christians* ch.2 p.130

**Theophilus** **of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) says that the king is appointed by God to judge justly; because his government is committed to him by God. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.11 p.92. We should not wrest judgment from the poor, or justify the wicked in book 3 ch.9 p.114.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) says that magistrates “having laws as a clothing of righteousness whenever they act in a just and legitimate manner, shall not be called in question for their conduct, nor be liable to punishment. But whatsoever they do to the subversion of justice, iniquitously, and impiously, and illegally, and tyrannically, in these things shall they also perish; for the just judgment of God comes equally upon all,…” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.24.2 p.552

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) says of evil rulers “who had pronounced false judgment, condemning the innocent, and letting the guilty go free;” *Letter from Origen to Africanus* ch.7 p.388

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) (implied) “the prophet Micah will prove when he says: ‘If it has been announced to thee, O man, what is good, or what does the Lord require of thee, except to do justice and to love mercy?’” [in both Latin and Greek] *de Principiis* book 3 ch.1.6 p.305

**Theonas of Alexandria** (282-300 A.D.) tells Lucianus to be watchful for the safety of the non-Christian Emperor. “He who has charge of the private moneys of the emperor ought to keep everything in an exact reckoning.” *Letter of Theonas, Bishop of Alexandria, to Lucianus, the Chief Chamberlain* ch.2,4 p.159

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says that people ought to have just laws. These just laws will not [completely] suppress crimes, but will check licentiousness. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.59 p.247.

## Gv8. Disobey or change unjust laws

Leviticus 19:15 (implied); Acts 4:19; 5:29

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) says to deliver the oppressed, judge the fatherless and see that the widow has justice. *1 Clement* ch.8 vol.1 p.7 also vol.9 p.231

***The Apology of Aristides*** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) ch.15 p.277 (partial) says that Christians should judge justly.

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) specifically asked the emperor to repeal unjust laws persecuting Christians. *A Plea for Christians* ch.1,2 p.129-130

**Polycrates of Ephesus** (196 A.D.) “I … have read through all Holy Scripture, am not frightened at the things which are said to terrify us. For those who are greater than I have said, ‘We ought to obey God rather than men. [Acts 4:19, 5:29]’” *Epistle to Victor and the Roman Church* vol.8 p.774

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “‘Then the assembly believed them.’ It becomes us, then, to be steadfast in every duty, and to give no heed to lies, and to yield no obsequious obedience to the persons of rulers, knowing that we have to give account to God; but if we follow the truth, and aim at the exact rule of faith, we shall be well-pleasing to God.” fragment 6 *On Susannah* no.41 p.193

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) says we should disobey evil laws. *Origen’s Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.26 p.166

&&&**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.), Celerinus, Roman clergy

**Theophilus** (events c.315 A.D.) “goes about and ministers secretly in every place, and resists the command of the emperors, and is not afraid.*Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon* p.690

Theophilus(events c.315 A.D.) (implied) would disobey the law to worship Zeus.*Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon* p.692

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Acts of Paul and Thecla*** (before 207 A.D.) p.489-490 Thecla and Paul refused the governor’s command to stop preaching Christ.

## Gv9. Providence, or God governing the world

Isaiah 46:10

(partial) Luke 12:24

p45 Chester Beatty I – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) (partial) Luke 12:24

p75 (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) (partial) Luke 12:24

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) mentions the providence of the Lord raising up plants from seeds. *1 Clement* ch.24 p.12. He also implied the providence of God in ch.20 p.10-11.

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 1 vision first ch.3 p.10 “the earth upon the waters, and by His own wisdom and providence”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) (implied) “and do not questions continually arise to them about His [God’s] unity and providence?” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.1 p.194

**Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum** (177 A.D.) “Upon this a grand dispensation of God’s providence took place, and the immeasurable mercy of Jesus was made” *Letter of the Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum* ch.781

**Aristides** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) speaks of the providence of God and says that the mover and controller of the universe is God. *Apology of Aristides* (Greek version) ch.1 p.262.

**Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) says Aristotle placed an absurd limit on Providence. *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.2-3 p.65-66

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) in *A Plea for Christians* ch.24 p.142 “For this is the office of the angels, - to exercise providence for God over the things created and ordered by Him;”

Athenagoras (177 A.D.) “that it is incumbent on those who admit God to be the Maker of this universe, to ascribe to His wisdom and rectitude the preservation and care of all that has been created if they wish to keep to their own principles; and with such views to hold that nothing either in earth or in heaven is without guardianship or providence, but that; on the contrary, to everything, invisible and visible alike, small and great, the attention of the Creator reaches; for all created things require the attention of the Creator, and each one in particular, according to its nature and the end for which it was made:” *Resurrection of the Dead* ch.18 p.158-159

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) says that God exercises a providence over all things. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.25.1 p.459

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) says that God exercised his providence when Christ came. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.22.2 p.494

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “Now we also confess that God exists, but that He is one, the creator, and maker, and fashioner of this universe; and we know that all things are arranged by His providence, but by Him alone.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.9 p.113

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) mentions “divine providence” *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.13 p.279

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) mentions Providence. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.20 p.184

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Some by divine providence meet with the knowledge of God.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.1 p.300

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) God is the cause of divine providence. *Stromata* book 1 ch.5 p.509

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) (implied) says that God governs everything. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.5 p.191

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “His hand, His eye, His labour, His purpose, His wisdom, His providence, and” *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* ch.6 p.549

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “*This*, therefore, the providence of God has ordered throughout its” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 2 ch.15 p.309

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) in describing the error of the Epicureans says that they denied providence or fate. *The Refutation of All Heresies* book 1 ch.19 p.21

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) says that God governs the world. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.35 p.209

**Alexander of Cappadocia** (233-251 A.D.) mentions “the providence and supervision of the Master [God]” an Epistle to the People of Antioch *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.6 p.154

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) says things happen by Providence, not chance. *Origen Against Celsus* book 4 ch.75 p.530.

Origen (c.240 A.D.) mentions providence. *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 12 ch.11 p.124

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions providence. *Origen On Prayer* ch.5.1 p.27

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions providence.. *Origen’s Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.34 p.275

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “And His providence has had or has its course among men, not only individually,” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.8 p.617

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.2 p.658 “in that ark, to wit, which as fashioned, by the providence of God, under Noah before the deluge,”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “And, indeed, of God’s providence, neither by our wish nor desire, nay, although” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 39 ch.1 p.317

**Moyses, Maximum, and Nicostratus** (248-257 A.D.) mention the torture and dying of Christian martyrs. *Letter to Cyprian 25* ch.3 p.303.

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) speaks of the providential judgment of God. *Metaphrase of Ecclesiastes* ch.8 p.15. He calls God the King and superintendent of all things. *Oration and Panegyric to Origen* argument 4 p.24

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) in Part 2 letter 10.3 p.104 mentions the “marvelous disposition of Providence” of God, and “God’s Providence” in letter 10.3 p.104.

**Malchion** (270 A.D.) “the Church Catholic, and that, as we trust, by the providence of God-namely, the” *Against Paul of Samosata* ch.5 p.170

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) discusses God’s divine Providence. *Dialogue on the True Faith* fourth part ch.11 p.141

**Alexander of Lycopolis** (301 A.D.) (implied) discussed that God commands matter and it involuntarily does His will. *Of the Manichaeans* ch.11 p.245.

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “God is the Supreme Being” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.26 p.419. Later he also speaks of providence.

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “creatures had eyes within and without, shows the spiritual providence which both” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the fourth chapter verses 7-10 p.349

Victorinus of Petau (martyred 304 A.D.) “of God in providence; yet, as far as my small capacity shall be able, I will” *On the Creation of the World* ch.343

Peter of Alexandria (306,285-310/311 A.D.) (partial) “The Magi, then as now having been despoiled and divided for a prey, humbly, and in the guise of suppliants, adore the Child, … when they were no longer willing to return to the Assyrian king, being forbidden to do so by Providence.” *Canonical Epistle* Canon 13 p.277

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “of angels, they were made by God, in His providence, for the care of the” *Discourse on the Resurrection* part 2 ch.7 p.370

**Athanasius** (318 A.D.) says the Providence extends to the Universe in *Against the Heathen* ch.2 p.5. See also *Incarnation of the Word* ch.14 p.44 and ch.1 p.36

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) (partial) mentions how idolators who sacrificed shipwrecked people, tried to frustrate the kindness of providence. *Against the Heathen* ch.25 p.17

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) prominently emphasizes the providence of God. One of many places where he discusses the providence of God is *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.9 p.17-18.

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) discusses providence. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.1 p.224

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) . *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.47 p.241.

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions the “providence of God”. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 6 ch.6 p.11. See also ibid book 14 ch.26 p.48.

Eusebius of Caesarea(318-325 A.D.) mentions that some Christians had endured persecution by the “Providence of God” *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 6 ch.8.7 p.255

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) refers to “heavenly providence” *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 3 ch.2 p.106

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) says God is “governing and ordering (all) solely by the power of His own will.” *Theophania* ch.22 p.4

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) speaks of “divine providence”. *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.36 p.288

***Acts of Paul and Thecla*** (before 207 A.D.) p.491 mentions the providence of God

**Among heretics**

The Encratite Gnostic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “I could laugh at those also who in the present day adhere to his tenets, -people who say that sublunary things are not under the care of Providence; and so, being nearer the earth than the moon, and below its orbit, they themselves look after what is thus left uncared for; and as for those who have neither beauty, nor wealth, nor bodily strength, nor high birth, they have no happiness, according to Aristotle.” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.2 p.66

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.21 p.82 mentions Divine Providence as well as book 8 ch.34 p.174

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions providence. homily 2 ch.36 p.236 and homily 8 ch.11 p.272.

## Gv10. Christ is king, or kingdom of Christ

John 1:49; 18:36; Revelation 11:15

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 1:49; 18:36

**p49** Ephesians 4:16-29; 4:31-5:13 (225-275 A.D.) mentions the kingdom of Christ. Ephesians 5:5

**p47 (= Chester Beatty III)** (c.250-300 A.D.) 31% of Revelation. Revelation 9:20-11:3; 11:5-16:15; 16:17-17:2 mentions the kingdom of Christ. Revelation 11:15

**p90** (175 A.D.) John 18:36-19:7 – Jesus spoke of his kingdom in John 18:36

p114 (Hebrews 1:7-12) (6 verses) (3rd century A.D.) Hebrews 1:9 (Partial does not say king or kingdom) “your throne”

**p115** (=Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 4499) 119 verses of Revelation. 2:1-3,13-15,27-29; 3:10-12; 5:8-9; 6:5-6; 8:3-8,11-13; 9:1-5,7-16,18-21; 10:1-4,8-11; 11:1-5,8-15,18-19; 12:1-5,8-10,12-17; 13:1-3,6-16,18; 14:1-3,5-7,10-11,14-15,18-20; 15:1,4-7 (middle to late 3rd century) Revelation 11:15 Kingdom of Christ

**p78** (300 A.D.) Jude 4-5,7-8 Jude 4-5 “Jesus Christ our only Sovereign and Lord”

**p18** Revelation 1:4-7 (300 A.D.) (implied) “firstborn from the dead.”

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) mentions the kingdom of Christ. *1 Clement* ch.50 p.18

***Epistle of Barnabas*** ch.8 p.142 (c.70-130 A.D.) “And why was the wool [placed] upon the wood? Because by wood Jesus holds His kingdom, so that [through the cross] those believing on Him shall live for ever.”

***2 Clement*** vol.7 ch.12 p.520 (120-140 A.D.) “For the Lord Himself, being asked by one when His kingdom would come,”

***Epistle to Diognetus*** ch.7 p.27 (c.130-200 A.D.) “sends his son, who is also a king, so sent He Him; as God”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) says that Jesus is the “absolute Judge of all”, and His an everlasting kingdom.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.46 p.217

Justin Martyr (c.150 A.D.) says Christ “reigns”. *The First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.42 p.177

***Evarestus’ Martyrdom of Polycarp*** (c.169 A.D.) ch.9 p.41 “Eighty and six years have I served Him, and He never did me any injury: how then can I blaspheme my King and Saviour?”

**Tatian’s *Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) &&&

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) Jesus Christ is King. p.756 discourse ch.4 *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.756 The King of Israel was slain in ch.5 p.757

Melito of Sardis (170-177/180 A.D.) mentions that Jesus is our king. *On Pascha* stanza 103 p.66

**Hegesippus** (170-180 A.D.) mentions Christ and His kingdom. *Five Books of Commentaries on the Acts of the Church* section 1 p.763

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) says that Christ is a king whose kingdom has no end. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.9.3 p.423

**Caius** (190-217 A.D.) ch.1.2 p.601 says Cerinthus claimed that the kingdom of Christ would be on this earth.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) says Christ the Savior, Redeemer, and King. *Fragments from Cassiodorus* ch.3 p.576

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) calls Christ a king. *An Answer to the Jews* ch.13 p.169

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) speaks of Christ’s kingdom. *de Corona* ch.14 p.102

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) says that the Magi adored Christ as their God and King. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.13 p.332

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) says that the Son is the King of all in heaven because He was born the Word. He is King of all on earth because He was made man. He is King of those under the earth, because He preached to the souls of the saints. He is Judge of all. *Fragments from Commentaries* *Scholia on Daniel* ch.7.14 p.189

***Instructions of Commodianus*** (c.240 A.D.) ch.52 p.213 (implied) “So Christ is fought against, even as Caesar is obeyed. Seek the refuge of the king, if thou hast been a delinquent. Do thou implore of Him; do thou prostrate confess to Him: He will grant all things whose also are all our things. The camp being replaced, beware of sinning further; do not wander long as a soldier through caves of the wild beasts. Let it be sin to thee to cease from unmeasured doing.”

**Julius Africanus** (235-245 A.D.) says that Christ is King, and the High Priest of His Father. *Epistle to Aristides* ch.1 p.125.

**Origen** (235 A.D.) “There the Lord answers them that wish for a higher honour in sitting on the right and on the left of Jesus in His kingdom, saying: Can you drink the chalice that I shall drink?” *Exhortation to Martyrdom* part 5 ch.28 p.168

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) mentions his King, referring to Christ. *Treatise Concerning the Trinity* ch.17 p.626

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “In the second of Kings: ‘And the word of the Lord came to Nathan, saying, Go and tell my servant David, Thus saith the Lord, Thou shall not build me an house to dwell in; but it shall come to pass, when thy days shall be fulfilled, and thou shall sleep with thy fathers, I will raise up thy seed after thee who shall come from thy loins, and I will establish His kingdom. He shall build me a house in my name, and I will set up His throne for ever; and I will be to; Him a Father, and He shall be to me a Son; and His house shall obtain confidence, and His kingdom for ever in my sight.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 book 2 ch.11 p.520

Moyses, Maximum, and Nicostratus (248-257 A.D.) (partial) mention us sitting with Christ sitting on His throne. *Letter to Cyprian 25* ch.4 p.303.

**Firmilian** (c.246-258 A.D.) in his letter to Cyprian says that we are espoused to Christ; and the King has greatly desired thy beauty (Psalm 45:11) *Letter 74* p.394

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) mentions Christ’s reign. *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the first chapter veers 5 p.344

**Lucian of Antioch** (c.300-311 A.D.) refers to Jesus as “...God of God, King of King, Lord of Lord” *Creed of Lucian of Antioch* in *The Creeds of Christendom* by Philip Schaff vol.2 p.26

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “For not on that account is the Son of God called king, because for our sakes He was made man,” *Oration on Psalms* ch.5 p.396

Methodius (270-311/312 A.D.) says that Christ is the King. *Orations on the Psalms* ch.5 p.397

**Theophilus** (events c.315 A.D.) “And, when he [Habib] was arrived at the place where they were going to burn him, he stood up and prayed, as did all those who came out with him; and he said, ‘O King Christ, since Thine is this world, and Thine the world to come, behold and see, that, while I might have fled from these afflictions, I did not flee, in order that I might not fall into the hands of Thy justice: may this fire, in which I am to be burned, serve me for a recompense before thee, so that I may be delivered from the fire that is not quenched; and receive thou my spirit into Thy presence, through the Divine Spirit, O glorious Son of the adorable Father!’” *Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon* vol.8 p.694

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) mentions Christ our Savior and King. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.51.1 p.64

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) Christ is the King forever. *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Epistle 5.7 p.302

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says that during the Millennium Christ will come to judge, will rule over all, and is an everlasting king. *The Divine Institutes* book 7 ch.24-25 p.219-220. See also *The Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.47 p.241.

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions that Christ is King of all created things. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.2.5 p.82

**Among heretics**

**Tatian** (c.172 A.D.)

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.52 p.91 speaks of the Kingdom of Christ.

**Elkesaites (Ebionites)** (before 236 A.D.) baptized in the named of the Most High God, and in the name of His Son, the Mighty King. (in Hippolytus’ *Refutation of All Heresies* book 19 ch.10 p.132)

## Gv11. The Kingdom of heaven

*Epistle to Diognetus* (c.130-200 A.D.) ch.10 p.29 (partial, in heaven, not of heaven) “whom He sent His only-begotten Son, to whom He has promised a kingdom in heaven, and will give it to those who have loved Him.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “Jordan, having come, put an end to his prophesying and baptizing, and preached also Himself, saying that the kingdom of heaven is at hand, and that He must suffer many things from the Scribes and Pharisees, and be crucified, and on the third day rise again, and would appear again in Jerusalem, and would again eat and drink with His disciples;” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.51 p.221

***Tatian’s Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 17 p.69 “And he set forth to them another parable, and said The kingdom of heaven is like a man who sowed good seed in his field;…”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (c.160-202 A.D.) “For over against Jerusalem, on the mount which is called (the Mount) of Olives, after He was risen from the dead, He assembled His disciples, and expounded to them the things concerning the kingdom of heaven; and they saw that He ascended, and they saw how the heavens were opened and received Him.” *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.84. See also ibid ch.1.

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) (implied) “Unless, perchance – since there is no doubt as to the existence of providence-you think that it is a subject of inquiry, whether the celestial kingdom is governed by the power of one or by the rule of many; and this matter itself does not involve much trouble in opening out, to one who considers earthly empires, for which the examples certainly are taken from heaven.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.18 p.182-183

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “And again, ‘For your Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things.’ ‘But seek first the kingdom of heaven, and its righteousness,’” *Stromata* book 4 ch.6 p.415

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) “No one will be so impressed by the exhortations of any of the saints, as he is by the words of the Lord Himself, the lover of man. For this, and nothing but this, is His only work-the salvation of man.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.9 p.196

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) mentions the kingdom of heaven. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.1 p.172 and ch.9 p.196.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) mentions the kingdom of Heaven in *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.13 p.249.

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “‘Blessed are the needy’ (for no less than this is required for interpreting the word in the Greek), ‘because theirs is the kingdom of heaven.’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.14 p.365. See also ibid book 3 ch.25 p.344.

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) in his concluding address says, “And thou shalt receive the kingdom of heaven, thou who, whilst thou didst sojourn in *this* life, didst know the Celestial King. And thou shalt be a companion of the Deity, and a co-heir with Christ,” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 10 ch.30 p.153

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “In that he placed his hope; but ye, half healed, reject it, and therefore ye shall not be worthy of the kingdom of heaven.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.38 p.210

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “The account, therefore, of the entire and whole life is exacted by that which is called the kingdom of heaven which is likened to a king, when ‘we must all stand before the judgment-sent of Christ that each one may receive the things done in the body according to what he hath done, whether good or bad;’” *Commentary on Matthew* book 14 ch.8 p.499

***Treatise On Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.3 p.668 “that the Lord said in the Gospel: ‘Except a man be born again of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.’”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.248-256 A.D.) “to rejoice with the righteous and the friends of God in the kingdom of heaven, with the pleasure of immortality given to us-to receive there what neither eye hath seen, nor ear heard, neither hath entered into the heart of man!” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 55 ch.10 p.350

Sedatus of Tuburbo at the **Seventh Council of Carthage** (258 A.D.) p.567-568 “Wherefore we must endeavour with all peaceful powers, that no one infected and stained with heretical error refuse to receive the single and true baptism of the Church, by which whosoever is not baptized, shall become an alien from the kingdom of heaven.”

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) “But if the Kingdom of Heaven is good, the grain of mustard seed, and all the other products that the good Kingdom of God resembles, must be good, too.” *Dialogue on the True Faith* second part ch.20 p.107.

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) “Moreover, we hear both also preaching, in the first place, not only repentance, but the kingdom of heaven, which, as we have learned, is within us;” *Canonical Epistle* canon 5 p.271

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “since it is not given to all to attain that undefiled state of being a eunuch for the sake of the kingdom of heaven,” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 2 ch.7 p.319

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (c.318 A.D.) “providence over the Universe; having faith and piety towards Whom, my Christ-loving friend, be of good cheer and of good hope, because immortality and the kingdom of heaven is the fruit of faith and devotion towards Him, if only the soul be adorned according to His [Christ’s] laws.” *Athanasius Against the Heathen* ch. 47.4 p.30

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “He [God] will receive the just man who confesses, and exalt him in His heavenly kingdom in proportion to his humility!” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.67 p.251

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) says we are citizens of the kingdom of heaven *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 1.6 p.11

**Among heretics**

The ***First Form of the Gospel of Thomas*** (shorter Greek version) (188-235 A.D.) ch.20 p.128 “The disciples said to Jesus, ‘Tell us what the kingdom of heaven is like.’”

***A Naasene Sermon*** (188-235 A.D.) mentions the kingdom of heaven. *TGB* p.489

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 2 ch.2 p.239 mentions the kingdom of heaven.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.55 p.92 “whosoever shall not obtain the baptism of Jesus shall not only be deprived of the kingdom of heaven, but shall not be without peril at the resurrection of the dead, even though he be fortified by the prerogative of a good life and an upright disposition.”

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 10 ch.2 p.193 mentions the perpetuity of the heavenly kingdom.

**Mani** (262-278 A.D.) mentions the kingdom of heaven and says he is the paraclete. *Disputation with Manes* ch.13 p.187

The Ebionite ***Two Epistle on Virginity*** (3rd century A.D.) ch.4 p.56 speaks of “like the holy angels, in work pure and holy, and ‘in the holiness’ of the Spirit of God’, and that he may serve God Almighty through Jesus Christ for the sake of the kingdom of Heaven.”

Marcionite heretic **Megethius** (c.300 A.D.) a self-labeled follower of Marcion, in his debate with Adamantius “But the good Lord says [Mt.10:33] : “Permit the children to come to me; for such is the kingdom of heaven”. *“Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.16 p.58

## Teachings on Government not on the list

**1. Government bears the sword not in vain** (only 2 writers: Irenaeus of Lyons, Tertullian)

**2. Government should give religious liberty** (only 3 writers: Tertullian, Lactantius, Athenagoras)

**3. Desire and pray for peace in the world** (not analyzed yet)

**X Women should not be secular leaders** (only 1 writer: Lactantius taught women should not fight in wars or be secular leaders)

Don’t put others to death for religion (not analyzed yet. 1+ writers: Lactantius)

**Lactantius** (c.303-325 A.D.) “For religion is to be defended, not by putting to death, but by dying; not by cruelty, but by patient endurance; not by guilt, but by good faith: for the former; belong to evils, but the latter to goods; and it is necessary for that which is good to have place in religion, and not that which is evil.” *The Divine Institutes* book 5 ch.20 p.157

**Divergences**

**1. Divergence: Military service can be OK.** (4½ for 1½ against. For: Clement of Alexandria (implied), Tertullian (half), Commodianus, Adamantius, Lactantius. Against: Tertullian (half), Origen (implied), After Nicea: Hegemonius/Archelaus)

# KERYGMATIC AND IRENIC EVANGELISM

## Ke1. Preach the gospel to others

(Mentioning the Preacher, the author of Ecclesiastes, is not counted.)

Luke 7:22; 8:1; 9:6,60; 2 Timothy 4:2; Titus 1:3

The word “preach” is used 118 times in the New Testament

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Romans 10:14

**p32** (=P. Rylands 5) Titus 1:1-15; 2:3-8 (21 verses) (150-200 A.D.) Titus 1:3 mentions preaching

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) Jesus and the disciples went through the cities and villages preaching and bringing glad tidings of the kingdom of God. Luke 8:1; 7:22; 9:60

p38 Acts 18:27-19:6,12-16. (early 3rd century) (partial) Paul proved in public debate that Jesus was the Christ. Acts 18:28

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Matthew 26:13; Luke 9:60

**p65** 1 Thessalonians 1:3-2:1; 2:6-13 (225-275 A.D.) Paul preached the gospel of God in 1 Thessalonians 2:9

**p129** (250 A.D.) 1 Cor 7:36-39;8:10;9:3,14-17;9:27-10:6. 1 Cor 9:13

**p70** – Matthew 2:13-16; 2:22-3:1; 11:26-27; 12:4-5; 24:3-6,12-25 (3rd century A.D.) (implied) says the gospel of the kingdom will be preached. Matthew 24:14

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) (implied) mentions Paul preaching in the east and west. *1 Clement* ch.5 p.6. He also mentions Noah, a preacher of righteousness.

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) “And let us also love the prophets, because they too have proclaimed the Gospel, and placed their hope in Him, and waited for Him;” *Letter of Ignatius to the Philadelphians* ch.5 p.82

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.1 p.137 says that the entire point of his letter is “to communicate to you some portion of what I have myself received”

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) (implied) speaks of the apostles who preached the gospel to us. *Polycarp’s Letter to the Philippians* ch.6 p.34

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 Similitude 9 ch.8 p.51 speaks of apostles and teachers preaching to the whole world.

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “The Lawgiver is present, yet you do not see Him; to the poor the Gospel is preached, the blind see, yet you do not understand. You have now need of a second circumcision, though you glory greatly in the flesh. The new law requires you to keep perpetual sabbath, and you, because you are idle for one day, suppose you are pious, not discerning why this has been commanded you: and if you eat unleavened bread, you say the will of God has been fulfilled.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.12 p.200

***Tatian’s Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 41.44-48 p.107“But first must my gospel be preached unto all nations. And when they bring you into the synagogues before the rulers and the authorities, be not anxious beforehand how ye shall answer for yourselves, or what ye 47, shall say: because it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Spirit.”

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) (implied) Athenagoras’ entire work is an example of preaching the gospel.

**Hegesippus** (170-180 A.D.) (implied) tells how James the Lord’s brother preached about Jesus. *Five Books of Commentaries* ch.1 p.762-763

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) exhorts Antoninus Caesar to learn of God. *Discourse in the Presence of Antoninus Caesar* ch.1 p.751

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) is enthusiastically and boldly preaching the gospel to others. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.7 p.91

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) has a complete section of a gospel presentation in *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.10.1 p.330-331

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) answers Cacelius’ objections and preaches the truth of God to Caecilius. He goes into great detail about how the stars show the glory of God, their author and Parent. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.17 p.182

**Caius** (190-217 A.D.) (implied) “the truth of Gospel preaching was preserved until the times of Victor” *Against the Heresy of Artemon* p.601

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “Mark, the follower of Peter, while Peter publicly preached the Gospel at Rome before some of Caesar’s equites…” *Fragments of Cassiodorus* 1 p.573

**Tertullian** (205 A.D.) mentions preaching to others in numerous places. One place he mentions preachers of the Gospel in *Scorpiace* ch.8 p.640

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) quotes Philippians that some preach Christ out of envy and rivalry, but others out of good will. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.20 p.472

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) preaches to brother Theophilus about the grace of God through the Word of God. Treatise on Christ and Antichrist ch.1-2 p.204-205.

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) “for when the three score and two weeks are fulfilled, and Christ is come, and the Gospel is preached in every place, the times being then accomplished, there will remain only one week, the last, in which Elias will appear, and Enoch, and in the midst of it the abomination of desolation will be manifested.” *Commentary on the Prophet Daniel* ch.2.22 p.182

**Julius Africanus** (235-245 A.D.) “For who does not know that most holy word of the apostle also, who, when he was preaching and proclaiming the resurrection of our Saviour, and confidently affirming the truth, said with great fear, ‘If any say that Christ is not risen, and we assert and have believed this, and both hope for and preach that very thing, we are false witnesses of God, in alleging that He raised up Christ, whom He raised not up?’” *Genealogy in the Holy Gospels* (=*Epistle to Aristides)* ch.1 p.125

***Martyrdom of the Holy Martyrs*** (before 250 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.1) ch.1 p.305 “Rusticus the prefect said, ‘Are those the doctrines that please you, you utterly wretched man?’ Justin said, ‘Yes, since I adhere to them with right dogma.’ Rusticus the prefect said, ‘What is the dogma?’ Justin said, ‘That according to which we worship the God of the Christians, whom we reckon to be one from the beginning, the maker and fashioner of the whole creation, visible and invisible; and the Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who had also been preached beforehand by the prophets as about to be present with the race of men,’”

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) mentions making disciples of all nations in *Origen’s Commentary on Matthew* book 2 ch.18 p.426

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) (implied) “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; because He has anointed me, He has sent me to preach the Gospel to the poor.”

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.3 p.658 quotes Matthew 28:19 and discusses Christ’s command to preach the gospel to the nations.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “But with us, according to our faith and the given rule of divine preaching” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 51 ch.27 p.334

**Euchratius of Thenae** at *The Seventh Council of Carthage* (258 A.D.) quotes Matthew 28:18 “Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.” p.568

Donatus of Cibaliana at *The Seventh Council of Carthage* (258 A.D.) p.570 (implied) “When a revelation of the truth is made, let error give place to truth; because Peter also, who previously circumcised, yielded to Paul when he preached the truth.”

&&&**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) (implied)

Dionysius bishop of Rome (259-269 A.D.) (partial) “For I have heard that some who preach and teach the word of God among you are teachers of this opinion,” *Against the Sabellians* ch.1 p.365

&&&Pierius of Alexandria (275 A.D.) (partial, does not say gospel) “In saying this, Paul, without disguise, preaches celibacy.” p.&&&

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) mentions Paul preaching the gospel. *Dialogue on the True Faith* p.43.

Adamantius (c.300 A.D.) “First, twelve, and afterwards, seventy-two, those sent to preach the Gospel. Mark and Luke were from among the seventy-two, who along with the apostle Paul preached the gospel.” Part 1 ch.5 d p.42.. See also part 1 ch.6 p.43.

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “For the Lord says, “This Gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world for a testimony to all nations, and then shall come the end.” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the Sixth chapter 1.2 p.350-351

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) (implied) Paul preached the gospel in Iconium *An Exposition of the Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles* “U” p.167

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-310/311 A.D.) “especially remembering Him who said: ‘The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor; He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised; to preach the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of recompense unto our God.’” *Canonical Epistle* canon 2 p.270

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) speaks of us cooperating with Jesus in preaching salvation to others. *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 3 ch.8 p.319-320

**Theophilus** (events c.315 A.D.) Habib preached the gospel to the governor. *Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon* p.692

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) (implied) has a whole work preaching to pagans called *Against the Heathen*. He also says “persuading not only those close at hand, but simply the entire world, to worship one and the same Lord, and through Him God, even His Father. *The Incarnation* ch.1.46 p.62

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “For there is no one so uncivilized, and of such an uncultivated disposition, who, when he raises his eyes to heaven, although he knows not by the providence of what God all this visible universe is governed, does not understand from the very magnitude of the objects, from their motion, arrangement, constancy, usefulness, beauty, and temperament, that there is some providence, and that that which exists with wonderful method must have been prepared by some greater intelligence. And for us, assuredly, it is very easy to follow up this part as copiously as it may please us.” *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.2 p.11

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) “These things in part have I written in this epistle, thinking it burdensome to write out each accurately, even as I said before, because they escape not your religious diligence. Thus do we teach, thus do we preach.” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* letter 1 ch.13 p.296

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) says the gospel is to be preached to Greeks and Barbarians. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 1 ch.21 p.30

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) says we are to proclaim the divine Word. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.1.7 p.87

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) says that Christ preached the gospel to the poor. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.3 p.86

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Acts of Paul and Thecla*** (before 207 A.D.) p.487,488 Paul preached the gospel boldly.

**Among heretics**

***The Valentinian Letter of Peter to Philip*** (c.300 A.D.) *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* p.437 the apostles preached to others.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) shows that they preached the gospel. homily 7 ch.11 p.270. See also ibid homily 1 ch.11 p.225-226.

## Ke2. Bold proclamation of truth

Jeremiah 7; Luke 3:18-19; John 6:53-60; 8:54-56; Acts 4:8-13; 4:29,31; 5:42; 9:27,28; 13:46; 14:3; 28:31; Galatians 2:14-15; (implied) 1 Peter 4:11a

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Galatians 2:14-15

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 8:54-56

**p4 + p64 + p67** Luke 1:58-59; 1:62-2:1,6-7; 3:8-4:2,29-32,34-35; 5:3-8; 5:30-6:16; Matthew 26:7-8,10,14-15,22-23,31-33; Matthew 3:9,15; 5:20-22,25-28 -95 verses (c.150-175 A.D.) Luke 3:18-19

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-19

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) the early believers prayed the God’s servants would speak His word with boldness in Acts 4:29,31; 9:27 (preaching fearlessly); 14:3

**p72 (=Bodmer 7,8)** All of 1,2 Peter, Jude 191 verses (ca.300 A.D.) (implied) speak as speaking the very words of God. 1 Peter 4:11

**p38** Acts 18:27-19:6,12-16. (early 3rd century) Acts 18:28

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “Allow me here to lift up my voice boldly in loud and audible outcry, pleading as I do before philosophic princes.” *A Plea for Christians* ch.11 p.134

***Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum*** (177 A.D.) p.779 “For while we were all afraid, and especially her mistress in the flesh, who was herself one of the combatants among the Witnesses, that she would not be able to make a bold confession on account of the weakness of her body, Blandina was filled with such power, that those who tortured her one after the other in every way from morning till evening were wearied and tired, confessing that they had been baffled, for they had no other torture they could apply to her; and they were astonished that she remained in life, when her whole body was torn and opened up, and they gave their testimony that one only of the modes of torture employed was sufficient to have deprived her of life, not to speak of so many excruciating inflictions. But the blessed woman, like a noble athlete, recovered her strength in the midst of the confession; and her declaration, ‘I am a Christian, and there is no evil done amongst us, ‘brought her refreshment, and rest, and insensibility to all the sufferings inflicted on her.”

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) is enthusiastically and boldly preaching the gospel to others. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.7 p.91

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) mentions Peter speaking with boldness. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.12.4 p.431

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) answers Cacelius’ objections and preaches the truth of God to Caecilius. He goes into great detail about how the stars show the glory of God, their author and Parent. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.17 p.182

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) (partial) “And he struggles against fears boldly, trusting in God.” *Stromata* book 7 ch.11 p.540-542 has an entire chapter on boldness of living.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “All these things are signs of God’s impending wrath, which we must needs publish and proclaim in every possible way; and in the meanwhile we must pray it may be only local. Sure are *they* to experience it one day in its universal and final form, who interpret otherwise these samples of it.” *The Scapula* ch.3 p.106

***Martyrdom of the Holy Martyrs*** (before 250 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.1) p.305-306 The entire work is a bold proclamation of truth int he face of death.

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) If you mean one who approves of virtue, and turns away from vice, and welcomes what is better, then know, that with the greatest boldness will we declare our opinions to the children, *Origen Against Celsus* book 3 ch.58 p.487

&&&**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) &&&

***Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon*** p.692 (events c.315 A.D.) in his trial before his death says that Zeus was an idol. And that the governor was right to say that Habib insulted Zeus.

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Acts of Paul and Thecla*** (before 207 A.D.) p.487,488 Paul preached the gospel boldly.

**Among heretics**

**Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “For what reason, men of Greece, do you wish to bring the civil powers, as in a pugilistic encounter, into collision with us? And, if I am not disposed to comply with the usages of some of them, why am I to be abhorred as a vile miscreant? Does the sovereign order the payment of tribute, I am ready to render it. Does my master command me to act as a bondsman and to serve, I acknowledge the serfdom. Man is to be honoured as a fellow-man; God alone is to be feared,-He who is not visible to human eyes, nor comes within the compass of human art. Only when I am commanded to deny Him, will I not obey, but will rather die than show myself false and ungrateful.” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.4 p.66

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) shows how Peter and others boldly proclaimed the truth. homily 8 ch.1-2 p.270

***Acts of Thomas*** (early form) (pre-Nicene) p.537 Thomas boldly speaks to the king and his guests.

***The Valentinian Letter of Peter to Philip*** (c.300 A.D.) *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* p.434 the apostles had boldness.

## Ke3. Quoting God’s word to unbelievers

(While Satan can be considered an unbeliever, quoting God’s word to Satan is not counted.)

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **O.T. Book** | **Author** | **Dates B.C.** | **Quotes and References** |
| Genesis | Moses | ca.1407 B.C. | Mk 9:16; 10:6,8; Acts 3:25; 7:3,7; Romans 4:17,18; 9:7,9,12; 1 Corinthians 6:16; 15:45; 2 Corinthians 4:6; Galatians 3:6,8,16; 4:30; Ephesians 5:31; Hebrews 4:4; 6:14; James 3:23 |
| Exodus | Moses | ca.1407 B.C. | Mk 7:10; 10:19; 12:26; Luke 2:23; 18:20; ~John 6:31; 19:36; Acts 7:28,32,34,40; 23:5; Romans 9:15,17; 13:9; 1 Cor10:7; 2 Cor8:15; Heb8:5;9:20; 12:20; Jms2:11 (2 times) |
| Leviticus | Moses | ca.1407 B.C. | Matthew 5:38,43; 15:4; 19:19; 22:39; Mark 7:10; 12:31; Luke 2:24; 10:27; Romans 10:5; 13:9; Galatians 3:12; 5:14; James 2:8; 1 Peter 1:16 |
| Numbers | Moses | ca.1407 B.C. | 2 Tm 2:19 (LXX) ~John 19:36 |
| Deuteronomy | Moses (mostly) | ca.1407 B.C. | Matthew 4:4,7,10; 5:38; 6:13; 15:4; 18:16; 19:19; 22:37; Mark 7:10; 10:19; 12:30; Luke 4:4,8,12; 10:27; 18:20; Acts 3:23; 7:37; Romans 10:6-7,8,19; 11;8; 12:19; 13:9; 15:10; 1 Corinthians 9:9; Galatians 3:10,14; Ephesians 6:3; Hebrews 1:6; 10:30 (2 times); 12:21,29; 13:5; James 2:11 (2 times) |
| Joshua | Joshua | ca.1377 B.C. | ~Heb11; James 2:25 |
| 1,2 Samuel | anon. Samuel? | 1050-1004 B.C. | Romans 15:9; 2 Corinthians 6:18; Hebrews 1:5 |
| 1,2 Kings | anonymous | c.950-550 B.C. | Romans 11:3,4 |
| 1,2 Chron. | anon. Ezra? | c.950-550 B.C. | Hebrews 1:5 |
| Nehemiah | Nehemiah | 445-430 B.C. | ~Ezra 2:2; ~John 6:31 |
| Job | anonymous | perhaps 2100 | Romans 11:35; 1 Corinthians 3:19 |
| Psalms | David & others | ca.1050 B.C. | Matthew 4:6; 8:2; 13:35; 21:9,16,42; 22:44; 23:39; 27:46; Mark 11:9; 12:11,36; 15:34; Luke 4:11; 13:35; 19:38; 20:17,43; John 2:17; 6:31,45; 10:34; 12:13; 13:18; 15:25; 19:24,36; Acts 1:20 (2 times); 2:28,35; 4:11,26; 13:33,35; Romans 2:6; 3:12,13 (2 times),14,18; 4:8; 10:18; 11:10; 15:3,9,11; 1 Corinthians 3:20; 10:26; 15:27; 2 Corinthians 4:13; 9:9; Ephesians 4:8,26; Hebrews 1:5,7,9,12,13; 2:8,12; 3:11,15; 4:3,7; 5:5,6; 7:17,21; 10:7,30; 13:6; 1 Peter 2:7; 3:12; Revelation 2:27; 19:15 |
|  | Psalm 137 | after 587 B.C. |  |
| Proverbs | Solomon, Agur, | c.971-931 B.C. | Romans 2:6; 12:20; Hebrews 12:6,13; James 4:6; 1 Peter 4:18; 5:5; 2 Peter 2:22 |
| Ecclesiastes | Solomon | after 967 B.C. | - (Romans 3:12 similar concept) |
| Isaiah | Isaiah | 696-622 B.C. | Matthew 3:3; 4:16; 8:17; 12:21; 13:14-15; 21:13; 24:29; Mark 1:3; 4:12; 7:6,7; 9:48; 11:17; 13:25; Luke 3:4-6; 4:19; 8:10; 19:46; 22:37; John 1:23; 12:40; Acts 7:50; 8:33; 13:34,47; 28:27; Romans 2:24; 3;17; 9:20,28,29,33; 15:12,21; 10:15,16,20, 21; 11:8; 14:11; 1 Corinthians 2:9,16; 14:21; 15:32,54; 2 Corinthians 6:2,17; Galatians 4:27; Hebrews 2:13 (2 times); 1 Peter 1:25; 2:6,8,22; 3:14 |
| Jeremiah | Jeremiah | 627/6-587 B.C. | Matthew 2:18; 21:14; Mark 11:17; Luke 19:46; 23:30; 2 Corinthians 10:17; Hebrews 9:12; 10:16,17 |
| Ezekiel | Ezekiel | 7/593-571 B.C. | Romans 2:24; 2 Corinthians 6:17 |
| Daniel | Daniel | 606-536 B.C. | Matthew 24:15; Mark 13:14; Revelation 4:14 |
| Hosea | Hosea | c.790-710 B.C. | Matthew 2:15; 9:13; 12:7; Luke 23:30; Romans 9:25,26; 1 Corinthians 15:55 |
| Joel | Joel | 900;587;400? | Acts 2:21; Romans 10:13 |
| Amos | Amos | 760 earthquake | Acts 7:43; 15:16-18 |
| Micah | Micah | before 722 B.C. | Matthew 2:6; 10:36; 10:35-36 |
| Habbakuk | Habbakuk | c.697-598 B.C. | Ac 13:41; Romans 1:17; Galatians 3:11; Hebrews 10:38 |
| Haggai | Haggai | 520-515 B.C. | Hebrews 12:26 |
| Zechariah | Zechariah | 520-515 B.C. | Mk 14:27; John 12:15; 19:37 |
| Malachi | Malachi | 538; 450-430 | Mk 1:2; Luke 7:27; Romans 9:13 |

Matthew 5:21,38; 15:4; 19:19; 22:32; Matthew 26:31;

Matthew 11:10; 19:4-5; John 10:34

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) John 10:34 quoting Psalm 82:6 to the Jews.

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 10:34-38

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.)

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) relates scripture to disproving the Gnostics. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.10.3 p.331

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) quotes part of Isaiah 40:18,25 as by Isaiah in *Five Books Against Marcion* book 1 ch.4 p.273.

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) quotes 1 Timothy 4:10 in *Origen Against Celsus* book 3 ch.49 p.484

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) quotes Scipture to the various heretics throught *Dialogue on the True Faith in God*.

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “Have the well-known words never rung in your ears, that the wisdom of man is foolishness with God?” (1 Corinthians 3:19) *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.7 p.435

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) quotes scripture to non-believers in many places, including quoting Colossians 2:15 as by Paul in *Incarnation of the Word* ch.45.5 p.61

## Ke4. Sharing personal testimonies

Acts 15:12-13; 26:2-29; Hebrews 11

p46 Chester Beatty II – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) (partial – For the word of God) Hebrews 11

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Acts 15:12-13

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) shared how he came to Christ. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.3-8 p.195-199

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 1 first vision ch.1 p.9 tells of his personal story before his dream.

**Evarestus’ *Martyrdom of Polycarp***(c.169 A.D.) the entire work is the personal testimony of Polycarps arrest, trial and martyrdom.

**Christians of Vienna & Lugdhunum** (177 A.D.)

**Hegesippus** (170-180 A.D.) shares the personal testimony of James the Lord’s brother. *Hegesippus’ Five Books* ch.1 p.762-763.

***Passion of the Scillitan Martyrs*** (180-202 A.D.) the martyrs share their faith. *ANF* vol.9 p.285

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) tells of the personal testimony. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.2 p.173

**Cyprian** of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) discusses his sinful life before he came to Christ. *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 1 ch.4 p.276

**Caldonius to Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) mentions is situation before martyrdom *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 18 p.299

**Celerinus to Lucian** (c.246-258 A.D.) mentions his situation before martyrdom *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 20 p.298

**Lucian to Celerinus** (c.246-258 A.D.) mentions his situation before martyrdom *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 21 p.299

**Moyses, Maximum, and Nicostratus** (248-257 A.D.) tells of their situation in suffering for the Lord. *Letter to Cyprian 25* p.302-303.

**Pontius’ *Life and Passion*** *of Cyprian* (258 A.D.) p.267-274 speaks all about Cyprian’s life.

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (254-265 A.D.) shared about his own personal testimony. *Oration and Panegyric to Origen* argument 5 p.25-26

Gregory Thaumaturgus (254-265 A.D.) wrote an entire book praising the life of Origen. *Oration and Panegyric to Origen* argument 15 p.36

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) shares a lot of his flight and the persecutions of others. Letters 1 to 3 p.96-101

**Theophilus’ *Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon*** (events c.315 A.D.)

**Among heretics**

**Ebionites** (before 188 A.D.)

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 14 ch.2 p.305 has Clement and others sharing their testimonies.

## Ke5. Creative allegories or metaphors

James 3:4-6; 2 Timothy 2:20-21

**p20** - James 2:19-3:2 (6 out of 96 letters of 3:3; 3:4-9 (3rd century A.D.) gives the example of ships and the tongue. James 3:4-6

**p35** – Matthew 25:12-15,20-23 (3rd century A.D.) Jesus told parables in Matthew 25:12-15, 20-23

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) gives the analogy of the phoenix bird of Arabic in *1 Clement* ch.25 p.12.

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) compares heresy to eating a different kind of herbage [vegetables], and heretics mix the truth of Christ with their own poison. *Letter of Ignatius to the Trallians* ch.6 p.68

***Epistle of Barnabas*** ch.4 p.139 (c.70-130 A.D.) calls Satan “the black one”

***Epistle to Diognetus*** ch.6 p.27 (c.130-200 A.D.) says that as the soul is to the body Christians are to the world.

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 1 third vision ch.3 p.14 is one of many allegories of the church.

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) in *A Plea for Christians* ch.16 p.136 “If, therefore, the world is an instrument in tune, and moving in well-measured time, I adore the Being who gave it harmony, and strikes its notes, and sings the accordant strain, and not the instrument. For at the musical contests and adjudicators do not pass by the lute-players and crown the lutes.”

Athenagoras (177 A.D.) that “to the good that is in God, which belongs of necessity to Him, and co-exists with Him, as colour with body.” *A Plea for Christians* ch.24 p.142

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) has an analogy of a pure life. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.2 p.89

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) “And as in the sea there are islands, some of them habitable, and well-watered, and fruitful, with havens and harbours in which the storm-tossed may find refuge, -so God has given to the world which is driven and tempest-tossed by sins, assemblies -we mean holy churches -in which survive the doctrines of the truth, as in the island-harbours of good anchorage; and into these run those who desire to be saved, being lovers of the truth, and wishing to escape the wrath and judgment of God. And as, again, there are other islands, rocky and without water, and barren, and infested by wild beasts, and uninhabitable, and serving only to injure navigators and the storm-tossed, on which ships are wrecked, and those driven among them perish, -so there are doctrines of error -I mean heresies -which destroy those who approach them.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.14 p.100

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Error, indeed, is never set forth in its naked deformity, lest, being thus exposed, it should at once be detected. But it is craftily decked out in an attractive dress, so as, by its outward form, to make it appear to the inexperienced (ridiculous as the expression may seem) more true than the truth itse.f One far superior to me has wells aid, in reference to this point, ‘A clever imitation in glass casts contempt, as it were, on that precious jewel the emerald (which is most highly esteemed by some), unless it come under the eye of one able to test and expose the counterfeit.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 Preface p.315. See also the illustration of the gems used to make a picture of a king rearranged to make a picture of a fox in book 1 ch.9 p.330.

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) mentions that mice nest in the very mouths of their idol gods. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.24 p.187

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) compares seekers of truth to birds that use their feet to get the best food.. *Stromata* book 2 ch.1 p.347-348

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) “Truth, darting her light to the most distant parts, casts her rays all around…” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.1 p.171

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) “the celestial Word… What then, does this instrument-the Word of God, the Lord, the New Song-desire? To open the eyes of the blind, and unstop the ears of the deaf, and to lead the lame or the erring to righteousness, to exhibit God to the foolish, to put a stop to corruption, to conquer death, to reconcile disobedient children to their father.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.1 p.172

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) extensively describes the cold, cruel, barbarous region around the Euxine [Black] Sea, and says the worst thing out of that area was the heretic Marcion. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 1 ch.1 p.271-272

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240 A.D.) as the fire has two powers: to produce/ mature, and to consume/destroy, so God does these two. *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.25 p.46

Theodotus the probable Montanist (ca.240 A.D.) “As, then, the magnet, repelling other matter, attracts iron alone by reason of affinity; so also books, though many read them, attract those alone who are capable of comprehending them.” For the word of truth is to some ‘foolishness,’ and to others a ‘stumbling block;’ but to a few ‘wisdom.’” *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.27 p.46

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) mentions drawing out with the fury of charybdis. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.30 p.208-209

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “Of those, then, who seek to enter in, those who are not able to enter will not be able to do so, because the gates of Hades prevail against them; but in the case of those against whom the gates of Hades will not prevail, those seeking to enter in will be strong, being able to do all things, in Christ Jesus, who strengtheneth them. Of those, then, who seek to enter in, those who are not able to enter will not be able to do so, because the gates of Hades prevail against them; but in the case of those against whom the gates of Hades will not prevail, those seeking to enter in will be strong, being able to do all things, in Christ Jesus, who strengtheneth them. And in like manner each one of those who are the authors of any evil opinion has become the architect of a certain gate of Hades; but those who co-operate with the teaching of the architect of such things are servants and stewards, who are the bond-servants of the evil doctrine which goes to build up impiety. And though the gates of Hades are many and almost innumerable, no gate of Hades will prevail against the rock or against the church which Christ builds upon it. Notwithstanding, these gates have a certain power by which they gain the mastery over some who do not resist and strive against them; but they are overcome by others who, because they do not turn aside from Him who said, ‘I am the door,’ have rased [razed] from their soul all the gates of Hades. And this also we must know that as the gates of cities have each their own names, in the same way the gates of Hades might be named after the species of sins; so that one gate of Hades is called ‘fornication,’ through which fornicators go, and another ‘denial,’ through which the deniers of God go down into Hades. And likewise already each of the heterodox and of those who have begotten any ‘knowledge which is falsely so called,’ has built a gate of Hades-Marcion one gate, and Basilides another, and Valentinus another. “ *Commentary on Matthew* book 12 ch.12 p.457

Origen (c.250 A.D.) Explains that the king bee is in charge of the supply of honey, like our Savior and Lord of all the prophet bees. Mosess bee, Isaiah bee, Jeremiah bee, or the rest fothe prophet bees have made honey under [his] direction. But heresies make wax. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 67 homily 1 ch.8 p.153.

Origen (239-242 A.D.) speaks of honey from the bees of the prophets. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 7 ch.4.2 p.103

Origen (c.250 A.D.) says that during the Egyptian plague of blood the Egyptian were thirsty, though they were next to a river. Yet later the Israelites had enough water, even though they wer ein the desert. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 77 homily 7.2 p.364

Origen (c.250 A.D.) “says that Satan is the “anti-bridegroom who wanted to corrupt Eve. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 67:27 p.174

Origen (c.250 A.D.) God is like a powerful man awakened and befuddled with wine. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 77.9.2 p.400. See Psalm 77:65b.

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “He [God] has lifted up the loftiest mountains to peak, he has thrown down valleys into the depths, He has smoothly leveled the plains…” *Treatise Concerning the Trinity* ch.1 p.611

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “As the sun shines spontaneously, as the day gives light, as the fountain flows, as the shower yields moisture, so does the heavenly Spirit infuse itself in us.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 1 ch.14 p.279

**Roman presbyters and deacons** (248-257 A.D.) mentions driving the ship of the church’s safety among the rocks. *Epistles of Cyprian*. Letter 30.2 p.309.

**Lucian to Celerinus** (c.246-258 A.D.) calls Emperor Decius “the great serpent himself, the pioneer of Antichrist” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 21 p.299

**Moyses et al. to Cyprian of Carthage (**246-256 A.D.) “For your letter has shone upon us as a calm I the midst of a tempest, and as the longed-for tranquility in the midst of a troubled sea, and as repose in labours, as health in dangers and pains, as in the densest darkness, the bright and glowing light.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 25 p.303.

**Theognostus of Alexandria** (260 A.D.) [Jesus] “is an emanation from the substance of the Father, this substance of the Father suffering the while no partition. For as the sun remains the same and suffers no diminution from the rays that are poured out by it, so neither did the substance of the Father undergo any change in having the Son as an image of itself.” *From His Seven Books of Hypotyposes of Outlines* ch.1 p.155

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “The plant that springs from the root is something distinct from that whence it grows up; and yet it is of one nature with it. And the river which flows from the fountain is something distinct from the fountain. For we cannot call either the river a fountain, or the fountain a river. Nevertheless we allow that they are both one according to nature, and also one in substance; and we admit that the fountain may be conceived of as father, and that the river is what is begotten of the fountain.” *On the One Substance* p.120

Dionysius of Alexandria (246-265 A.D.) Letter 4 *Epistle to Dionysius Bishop of Rome* ch.7 p.93 says that God is the spring or source of all good things, and the son is a river flowing out of Him. The word is an emanation of the mind.

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (254-265 A.D.) wrote, “For they [philosophers] are like men caught in a swamp stretching over some wide impassable plain, which, when they have once fallen into it, allows them neither to retrace their steps nor to cross it and effect their saety, but keeps them down in it soil until they meet their end;” *Oration and Panegyric to Origen* argument 14 p.35

**Alexander of Lycopolis** (301 A.D.) “but it were better, that just as in a lyre which sounds out of tune, by the addition of harmony, everything is brought into concord; so the divine virtue when intermixed with that unordered motion, which, according to them, is matter, should add a certain order to it in the place of its innate disorder” *Of the Manichaeans* ch.18 p.248.

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) has unusual allegories of procreating within and outside of marriage. *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 10 ch.4-5 p.314-315.

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) says that the truth of things manifests itself brightly like the sun by the doctrine of Christ. *Against the Heathen* ch.1.8 p.4

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) compares the cross and its effect to a sunrise. *On the Incarnation* ch.29 p.51

Alexander of Alexandria (313-326 A.D.) has a number of metaphors of a king in chains, a city in ruin, a general taken captive, an army scattered abroad, the helmsman [of a boat] is shaken off, and a vessel is submerged to describe our fallen nature. *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Epistle 5 ch.3 p.300

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) compares some wicked people tyo “landsnails”. *Athanasius Against the Heathen* part 1 ch.9.2 p.8

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says that when Christ stretched forth His hands on the cross, “He measured out the world, that even then He might show that a great multitude, … was about to come under His wings.” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.26 p.129.

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “From afar they raise their voices like torches, and they cry out, as from some lofty and conspicuous watch-tower, admonishing us where to walk and how to direct the course of our work steadily and safely. … and having plucked like flower from a meadow the appropriate passages from ancient writers,…” *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.1.3 p.81

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) “He acts like a physician who, having neglected to give help while the sick man was yet alive, attempts after dath to devise certain contrivances for curing the dead man.” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 15 ch.4 p.12

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Clement to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.14 p.220 has an elaborate metaphor where he3 says to let God be your shipmaster.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 9 ch.10 p.185 says that the cause of sin is like being smeared with pitch and the demons kindle the fire.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 9 ch.15 p.278 in speaking about idols that could allegedly move says, “even maggots move, but they are not calls gods.”

## Ke6. Quoting poetry to share truth

Quoting poetry in the Bible, and merely mentioning non-Biblical poets is not counted here. Rather, this refers to quoting non-Biblical poetry to show truth.

Acts 17:28

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) quotes from Plato’s Timaeus “He placed him crosswise in the universe”. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.60 p.183

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) quotes Homer (*The Iliad* 20 p.131) in *A Plea for All Christians* ch.18 p.137

**Meleto of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) *On Faith* p.756=757 is very poetic, though it did not have rhyme or meter.

**Theophilus** *to Autolycus* (168-181/188 A.D.) refers to the Sibyl and quotes some of her poetry to show even Greek thought contained the idea of a supreme God. He also quotes Greek poets, acknowledging that they contradict themselves in book 2 ch.8 p.97. See also book 2 ch.36 p.108-109 and book 2 ch.2 p.94.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) quotes Homer in *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.9.4 p.330

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) Poetic hymn. Clement quotes Homer (*The Iliad* 5 p.739) as well as other poets in *Stromata* book 2 ch.20 p.374

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) quotes Homer’s *Odyssey* ch.16 p.294 (Oehler’s translation) in *On the Pallium* ch.4 p.9

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) quotes Homer in *Refutation of All Heresies* book 9 ch.4 p.126

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) quotes from Callimachus Hymn 1 on Jupiter’s tomb in *Origen Against Celsus* book 3 ch.43 p.481. He also quote from Homer’s *Iliad* 9.319,320 in *Origen Against Celsus* book 3 ch.68 p.491.

**Anatolius** (270-280 A.D.) refers to Homer’s description of Discord and quotes from Homer’s *Iliad*. *Fragments of the Books on Arithmetic* p.152

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) quotes Orpheus. *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.5 p.13.

&&&**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) &&&

**Among heretics**

Homer: Tatian?

## Ke7. Promises of heaven or God’s love

Philippians 3:14

Luke 10:20; John 3:16b; 1 Corinthians 2:9; Revelation 19-21

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) 1 Corinthians 2:9

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 3:16b; 10:28

**p30** - 1 Thessalonians 4:12-13,16-17; 5:3,8-10,12-18,25-28; 2 Thessalonians 1:1-2; 2:1,9-11 (25 verses) (ca.225 A.D.) mentions God the Father in 1 Thessalonians 4:13,17; 5:9-10

**p47 (= Chester Beatty III) 31% of Rev. Revelation 9:10- etc.** (c.250-300 A.D.) gives many promises to the righteous and threats to the unrighteous in Revelation 19-21.

**p16** Philippians 3:10-17; 4:2-8 (late 3rd century) mentions the prize to which we are called Heavenward in Christ Jesus in Philippians 3:14

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) Let us therefore earnestly strive to be found in the number of those that wait for Him, in order that we may share in His promised gifts.” *1 Clement* vol.1 ch.35 p.14 and vol.9 ch.35 p.239

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) “The eye hath not seen,” etc. [1 Corinthians 2:9] *1 Clement* ch.34 p.14

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.6 p.141 “For we ought to perceive that to govern implies authority, so that one should command and rule. If, therefore, this does not exist at present, yet still He has promised it to us. When? When we ourselves also have been made perfect [so as] to become heirs of the covenant of the Lord.”

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) vol.7 ch.11 p.521 “Wherefore, my brethren, let us not be of a double mind, but let us hope and endure, that we also may obtain the reward. For He is faithful who has promised that He will bestow on every one a reward according to his works.”

*2 Clement* (120-140 A.D.) vol.7 ch.11 p.521 “No one can utter of speak ‘what the Lord hath prepared’ for His elect.”

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) “If we please Him in this present world, we shall receive also the future world, according as He has promised to us that He will raise us again from the dead, and that if we live worthily of Him, “we shall also reign together with Him,” provided only we believe.” *Letter of Polycarp to the Philippians* ch.5 p.34

***Epistle to Diognetus*** ch.10 p.29 (c.130-200 A.D.) “privilege of looking upwards to Himself, whom He formed after His own image, to whom He sent His only-begotten Son, to whom He has promised a kingdom in heaven, and will give it to those who have loved Him. And when you have attained this”

***Evarestus’ Martyrdom of Polycarp*** ch.2 p.39 (c.169 A.D.) quotes 1 Corinthians 2:9 that no eye has seen the good things laid up for those who love Him.

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “there is joy afforded to those who expect the immortality promised by Him.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.42 p.177

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 1 vision first ch.3 p.10 “has created His holy Church, which He has blessed, lo! He removes the heavens and the mountains, the hills and the seas, and all things become plain to His elect, that He may bestow on them the blessing which He has promised them, with much glory and joy, if only they shall keep the commandments of God which they have received in great faith.”

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) mentions our hope in heaven. *A Plea for Christians* ch.31 p.146

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) quotes poetry from the Sibyl that for those who reject God, “every ye shall daily burn in flames”, while those who worship God shall live in the blooming realms of bliss and feast “on sweet food from starry heaven.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.36 p.109. See also book 1 ch.7 p.91

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) quotes 1 Corinthians 2:9 about no eye has seen. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.14 p.91-93

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201-205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) ch.1.3 p.700 Perpetua was given a vision of the glories of heaven and terrors of “falling off the ladder”

**Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum** (177 A.D.) “They, moreover, were doubly punished. For the confessors were lightened by the joy of their testimony and their hope in the promises, and by their love to Christ, and by the Father’s Spirit.” p.781

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “who fashioned man, and gave promise of the inheritance of the earth to the fathers, who brought it (the creature) forth [from bondage] at the resurrection of the just, and fulfils the promises for the kingdom of His Son; subsequently bestowing in a paternal manner those things which neither the eye has seen, nor the ear has heard, nor has [thought concerning them] arisen within the heart of man,” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.36.3 p.567

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) says the righteous will have everlasting glory. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.10.1 p.331

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “He rejoices in good things present, and is glad on account of those promised, as if they were already present.” *Stromata* book 7 ch.7 p.535. He also quotes 1 Corinthians 2:9 in *Stromata* book 2 ch.4 p.350.

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) quotes “no eye has seen, no ear has heard…” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.10 p.198

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “We are not in any great perturbation or alarm about the persecutions we suffer from the ignorance of men; for we have attached ourselves to this sect, fully accepting the terms of its covenant, so that, as men whose very lives are not their own, we engage in these conflicts, our desire being to obtain God’s promised rewards, and our dread lest the woes with which He threatens an unchristian life should overtake us.” *To Scapula* ch.1 p.105

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) Now, when he adds of “the inward man” also, that it “is renewed day by day,” he demonstrates both issues here-the wasting away of the body by the wear and tear of its trials, and the renewal of the soul by its contemplation of the promises.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.11 p.455

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) quotes 1 Corinthians 2:9 “no eye has heard…” *Against Plato and the Cause of the Universe* ch.3 p.223

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) mentions the joys of heaven. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.26-27 p.208

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “events no more than the fathers and the prophets did; and yet it is truly said of them that “what to other generations was not revealed was now revealed to the Apostles and prophets, that the Gentiles were fellow-heirs and members of the same body, and partakers in the promise of Christ.” For, in addition to knowing” *Origen’s Commentary on John* 6 ch.2 p.351-352.

**Novatian** “He it is who effects with water the second birth as a certain seed of divine generation, and a consecration of a heavenly nativity, the pledge of a promised inheritance, and as it were a kind of handwriting of eternal salvation; who can make us God’s temple, and fit us for His house; who solicits the divine hearing for us with groanings that cannot be uttered; filling the offices of advocacy, and manifesting the duties of our defence,-an inhabitant given for our bodies and an effector of their holiness.” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.29 p.641

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Christ the Lord also promises that we shall be such, when, that we may be with Him, and that we may live with Him in eternal mansions, and may rejoice in heavenly kingdoms,” *Treatise 7* ch.22 p.474

Cyprian of Carthage (c.248-256 A.D.) “to rejoice with the righteous and the friends of God in the kingdom of heaven, with the pleasure of immortality given to us-to receive there what neither eye hath seen, nor ear heard, neither hath entered into the heart of man!” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 55 ch.10 p.350

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “Hence also the prophet Isaiah proclaims, saying, “Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee.” Now these promises, it is evident to every one, will be fulfilled after the resurrection.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 3 ch.5 p.318

**Theonas of Alexandria** (282-300 A.D.) “patience, ye may discharge the duties of your office religiously and piously-that is, in the love of Christ-and despise all transitory objects for the sake of His eternal promises, which in truth surpass all human comprehension and understanding,” *Letter to Lucianus, the Chief Chamberlain* ch.9 p.161

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “Moreover, being clothed with the sun intimates the hope of resurrection and the glory of the promise. And the moon intimates the fall of the bodies of the saints under the obligation of death, which never can fail.” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* ch.12 verse 1 p.355

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) quotes “no eye has seen” *The Incarnation* ch.57 p.67

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “For if the hope of immortality is taken away, which God promises to those who continue in His religion,…” *The Divine Institutes* book 6 ch.9 p.172

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Desire also is reckoned among vices; but if it desires those things which are of the earth, it is a vice; on the other hand, if it desires heavenly things, it is a virtue. For he who desires to obtain justice, God, perpetual life, everlasting light, and all those things which God promises to man, will despise these riches, and honours, and commands, and kingdoms themselves.” *The Divine Institutes* book 6 ch.17 p.182

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) mentions that the saved can be “united in a most blissful relationship with God.” *A Treatise on the Anger of God* ch.23 p.279

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) Mentions the rewards of our labor [on earth]. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.66 p.250

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) quotes 1 Corinthians 2:9 as by the apostle Paul “no eye has heard…” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Epistle 1 ch.5 p.293

**Among heretics**

***The Valentinian Letter of Peter to Philip*** (c.300 A.D.) *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* p.436 speaks of salvation with a promise. It also says that Jesus is the author of [our] life.

## Ke8. Threats of Hell or God’s wrath

Matthew 3:10,12; 25:41-44; Luke 10:15; John 8:23-24; 15:6; Romans 1:18; 9:22; Revelation 19-21

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Romans 9:22

**p30** - 1 Thessalonians 4:12-13,16-17; 5:3,8-10,12-18,25-28; 2 Thessalonians 1:1-2; 2:1,9-11 (25 verses) (ca.225 A.D.) mentions God the Father in 1 Thessalonians 5:3,9; 2 Thessalonians 2:9-11

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 8:24-23; 15:6

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Matthew 25:41-44 speaks of the goats on the left. Luke 10:15

**p13** Hebrews 2:14-5:5; 10:8-22; 10:29-11:13; 11:28-12:17 (225-250 A.D.) Hebrews 10:29 threat of severe punishment

**p67** Matthew 3:9,15; 5:20-22,25-28 (c.150-175 A.D.) Matthew 5:20-22

**p4** (c.150-175 A.D.) Luke 3:9

**p101** Mt 3:10b-12a; 3:16b-4:3 (6.5 verses) (3d century) Mt 10:12a

**p47 (= Chester Beatty III)** 31% of Rev. Revelation 9:10- etc. (c.250-300 A.D.) gives many promises to the righteous and threats to the unrighteous in Revelation 19-21.

**p70** – Matthew 2:13-16; 2:22-3:1; 11:26-27; 12:4-5; 24:3-6,12-15 (3rd century A.D.) threat of [Hell]fire Matthew 3:10,12

**0171** Matthew 10:17-23,25-32; Luke 22:44-50,52-56,61,63-64 (ca.300 A.D.) Matthew 10:28 be afraid of one who can destroy both body and soul in Hell.

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) vol.7 ch.6 p.518 says that without doing the will of Christ, nothing shall deliver us from eternal punishment.

***Evarestus’ Martyrdom of Polycarp*** (c.169 A.D.) ch.21 p.41 “Thou threatenest me with fire which burneth for an hour, and after a little is extinguished, but art ignorant of the fire of the coming judgment and of eternal punishment, reserved for the ungodly. But why tarriest thou? Bring forth what thou wult.”

*Evarestus’ Martyrdom of Polycarp* ch.2 p.39 (c.169 A.D.) mentions the ternal fire that shall not be quenched.

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) mentions the punishment of ungodly. *A Plea for Christians* ch.31 p.146

**Theophilus of Antioch** “Therefore, upon you burning fire shall come, And ever ye shall daily burn in flames,” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.36 p.109. See also book 1 ch.14 p.93

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) says that the angels who transgressed and the ungodly and profane among men will go into everlasting fire. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.10.1 p.330-331

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201-205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) ch.1.3 p.700 Perpetua was given a vision of the glories of heaven and terrors of “falling off the ladder”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “‘For honey drops from the lips of a woman who is an harlot; who, speaking to please, lubricates thy throat. But at last thou wilt find it bitterer than bile, and sharper than a two-edged sword. For the feet of folly lead those who practise it to hell after death.’” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.11 p.287

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “All these things are signs of God’s impending wrath, which we must needs publish and proclaim in every possible way; and in the meanwhile we must pray it may be only local. Sure are *they* to experience it one day in its universal and final form, who interpret otherwise these samples of it.” *To Scapula* ch.3 p.106

&&&**Hippolytus** (222-234/235 A.D.) &&&

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240 A.D.) discusses how God burns the chaff with unquenchable fire. *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.25 p.46

***Instructions of Commodianus*** (240 A.D.) ch.28 p.208 “Dost thou, last of all, hope to laugh at the God of heaven and the Ruler of the sky, by whom all things were made? Thou ragest, thou art mad, and now thou takest away the name of God, from whom, moreover, thou shalt not escape; and He will award punishments according to your deeds. Now I would have you be cautious that thou come not to the burning of fire. Give thyself up at once to Christ, that goodness may attend thee.”. See also ibid ch.80 p.218.

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) speaks of God’s wrath and Hell. However, Origen did not think anyone, even demons, stayed in Hell forever. *Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.3.18 p.159

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.16 p.662 “because the death of sinners is evil, and in hell there is no repentance.”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “For God, as He is merciful, so He exacts obedience to His precepts, and indeed carefully exacts it; and as He invites to the banquet, so the man that hath not a wedding garment He binds hands and feet, and casts him out beyond the assembly of the saints. He has prepared heaven, but He has also prepared hell. He has prepared places of refreshment, but He has also prepared eternal punishment. He has prepared the light that none can approach unto, but He has also prepared the vast and eternal gloom of perpetual night.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 30 ch.7 p.311

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) mentions Gehenna and Lazarus and the rich man. *Dialogue on the True Faith* p.89

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) &&& *Arnobius Against the Heathen* ch.&&&

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) says that those who do not believe in Christ are in “great shame and peril” *Athanasius Against the Heathen* part 3 ch.47.4 p.30

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “For he who is without virtue, who is overpowered by desire and wicked lusts, is not, *as the poet feigned*, in subjection to Cupid, but to everlasting death.” *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.11 p.20

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

Akhmin ***Apocalypse of Peter*** (135,100-150 A.D.) *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.9 p.145-147 is an entire book on the punishments of the wicked.

**Among heretics**

The Encratite heretic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “It would be an excellent thing if your continuance in unbelief should receive a check; but, however that may be, let our cause remain confirmed by the judgment pronounced by God. Laugh, if you please; but you will have to weep hereafter.” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.32 p.78

Tatian (c.172 A.D.) “so he who boasted of the Magian Ostanes will be delivered up in the day of consummation as fuel for the eternal fire. And you, if you do not cease from your laughter, will gain the same punishment as the jugglers.” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.17 p.72

The Ebionite ***Epistle of Peter to James*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) ch.4.4 p.216 “And in addition to all these things, if I shall lie, I shall be accursed living and dying, and shall be punished with everlasting punishment.”

**Mani** (262-278 A.D.) threatens with eternal fire. *Disputation with Manes* ch.13 p.187

## Ke9. Mortal life is fleeting/short

Job 14:1-2; Psalm 62:9; 103:13-16; Isaiah 40:6,7; (partial 1 Corinthians 7:31); James 1:10-11; 1 Peter 1:23-24

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “What shall I cry? All flesh is grass, and all the glory of man as” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.50 p.220

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “For if the children begotten of men who are mortal and short-lived make an appearance even until now, and men have not ceased to be born,” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.3 p.94

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) quotes Isaiah 40:6,7 about all flesh is grass. *Stromata* book 4 ch.26 p.439

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “eyes also to that which elevates it. “All flesh is grass.” *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* ch.10 p.552

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “‘all flesh is grass, and all the glory of flesh, as it were, a flower of grass. The grass withereth, and its flower falleth; but the word of the Lord abideth for ever.’” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 6 ch.5 p.76

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) says this life of glass is mortal. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.26 p.207

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “Now I think that He [Jesus] commanded the multitudes to sit down on the grass because of what is said in Isaiah, ‘All flesh is grass;’” *Commentary on Matthew* book 11 ch.3 p.433

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.248-256 A.D.) quotes Isaiah 40:6,7 that all flesh is as grass. *The Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 book 3 ch.38 p.548

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) “For the nature of created things, inasmuch as it is brought into being out of nothing, is of a fleeting sort, and weak and mortal, if composed of *itself* only” Athanasius Against the Heathen ch.41.2 p.26

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “These things are not indeed false, but they are all referred to the body. For to be frugal, or constant, or cautious, or calm, or grave, or severe, are virtues indeed, but virtues which relate to this short life.” *The Divine Institutes* book 6 ch.14 p.179

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) quotes Job 14:1a (6/8 words)as “Holy Scripture” to show that we only have a short time to live. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 14 ch.25 p.45

## Ke10. Martyrs blood is a testimony

Hebrews 10:36-39; Revelation 6:10-11

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Hebrews 10:36-39

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) (partial) mentions that those near to the sword are near to God. [Does not mention a witness though.] *Letter of Ignatius to the Smyrnaeans* ch.4 p.88

***Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum*** (177 A.D.) speaks of the witness of the martyrs. p.782

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) says it is a spectacle to God when a Christian does battle with pain. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.37 p.196

**Clement of Alexandria** (193/217-202 A.D.) “But we have exhibited before our eyes every day abundant sources of martyrs that are burnt, impaled, beheaded. All these the fear inspired by the law,-leading as a paedagogue to Christ, trained so as to manifest their piety by their blood.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.20 p.374

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) speaks of the martyr’s death as a testimony. *To the Nations* ch.1 p.108-109

**Asterius Urbanus** (c.232 A.D.) “But as they have been refuted in all their allegations, and are thus at a loss what to say, they try to take refuge in their martyrs. For they say that they have many martyrs, and that this is a sure proof of the power of their so-called prophetic spirit. But this allegation as it seems, carries not a whit more truth with it than the others. For indeed some of the other heresies have also a great multitude of martyrs; but yet certainly we shall not on that account agree with them, neither shall we acknowledge that they have truth in them. And those first heretics, who from the heresy of Marcion are called Marcionites, allege that they have a great multitude of martyrs for Christ. But yet they do not confess Christ Himself according to truth. Hence, also, whenever those who have been called to martyrdom for the true faith by the Church happen to fall in with any of those so-called martyrs of the Phrygian heresy, they always separate from them, and die without having fellowship with them, because they do not choose to give their assent to the spirit of Montanus and the women. And that this is truly the case, and that it has actually taken place in our own times at Apamea, a town on the Maeander, in the case of those who suffered martyrdom with Caius and Alexander, natives of Eumenia, is clear to all.” Fragment 6 from Book 3 p.337

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “This is He who in the apostles gives testimony to Christ; in the martyrs shows forth the constant faithfullness of their religion;” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.29 p.641

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) discusses the testimony of martyrs in rather gory detail. *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 8 p.288

**Moyses et al. to Cyprian of Carthage (**246-256 A.D.) mentions that the immortalities (not called deaths) of martyrs should be proclaimed. They are a “the promised testimony in the presence of the Father.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 25.3 p.303.

**Pontius’ *Life and Passion*** *of Cyprian* (258 A.D.) p.267-274, the entire work is a witness of the martyrdom of Cyprian.

Dionysius of Alexandria (246-265 A.D.) (partial) tells a lot about martyrs, but never actually says they were a witness for non-Christians. Letters 1 to 3 p.96-101

***Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon*** vol.8 p.691 (events c.315 A.D.) (implied) went to the chief of the band of attendants of the governor and announced that he was the fugitive Christian they were looking for. He did this for the name of Christ.

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) goes for arguments to appealing to looking at the example of the young women and men and martyrs. *On the Incarnation* ch.25 p.49-50

## Ke11. Use of Catena of 3 or more verses

Hebrews 1:5-13; Romans 3:10-18

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) (partial – For the word of God) Hebrews 1:5-13

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) Clement uses a catena from Hebrews in *1 Clement* ch.36 vol.1 p.14-15

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.6 p.140 quotes from Isaiah 50:6,7; then Isaiah 50:8, then Isaiah 50:9; then Isaiah 50:7; then Psalm 118:22,24

*Epistle of Barnabas* (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.9 p.142 quotes from half of Psalm 18:44, then Isaiah 33:13; Jeremiah 4:4; Isaiah 1:23; and Isaiah 1:10.

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) vol.7 ch.13 p.520-521 quotes Acts 5:41; Isaiah 52:5; and Ezek 36:20-23 with only a small amount of text between them.

**Polycarp’s** ***Letter to the Philippians*** (100-155 A.D.) ch.2 p.33 quotes 1 Peter 3:9; Matthew 7:1; Luke 6:37; Luke 6:36; Matthew 7:2 (=Luke 6:38); Matthew 5:3,10

***Epistle to Diognetus*** (c.130-200 A.D.) ch.5 p.27 quotes from 2 Corinthians 10:3; Philippians 3:20; 2 Corinthians 6:9, then 10, 2 Corinthians 4:12.

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) has a catena of Isaiah 52:5; Isa 3:9ff; Isa 5:18,20; Matthew 21:13. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.17 p.203

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) has a catena of Isaiah 41:4; Isa 44:6; Isa 43:10,11; Isa 46:1 in *A Plea for Christians* ch.9 p.133

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “For the Lord was a lamb, like the ram which Abraham saw caught in the bush Sabec. But this bush represented the cross, and that place Jerusalem, and the lamb the Lord bound for slaughter. … For as a ram was He bound, says he concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, and as a lamb was He shorn, and as a sheep was He led to the slaughter, and as a lamb was He crucified; and He carried the cross on His shoulders when He was led up *to the hill* to be slain, as was Isaac by his father. But Christ suffered, and Isaac did not suffer: for he was *but* a type of Him who should suffer. Yet, even when serving only for a type of Christ, he smote men with astonishment and fear.” *Catena on Genesis* p.759

**Theophilus** of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) has a catena of Isaiah 42:5; Isa 45:12; Isa 45:28; Jer 10:12,13; Jer 51:17,18; Psalm 14:1,3; Hab 2:18.*Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.35 p.108.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) quotes from John 1:29,15,16; Genesis 49:18; Isa 12:2; Psalm 98:2; Lam 4:20 (Septuagint), John 1:14. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.10.2 p.424. See also book 3 ch.16.3 p.441

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) quotes Romans 6:3-4, then Romans 5:6-10, then Romans 8:34; then Romans 6:9; then Romans 8:11; then 1 Peter 2:23. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.16.9 p.444

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) quotes 2 Timothy 2:14,16,17; 1 Corinthians 3:1,20; Jeremiah 9:23,24; 2 Corinthians 1:9,10;Colosians 2:4,8. *Stromata* book 1 ch.11 p.311

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) has a catena of John 1:23; Isa 40:3; Isa 54:1. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.1 p.174. See also a catena of 15 verses in ibid ch.8 p.94

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) quotes 1 King 19:4,6; Luke 10:4; half of Proverb 8:8. *The Instructor* book 3 ch.7 p.281

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) has a catena of various verses in Galatians 5-6 in *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.4 p.437-438.

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) has an interesting organization of his argument against Marcion. In *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.11-12-p.452-455, starting with a reference to 2 Corinthians 1:3, he seems to be going more or else sequentially up through 2 Corinthians 5:17, before skipping over to 2 Corinthians 11:2-13:10. Then starting in chapter 13 p.456-458, he more or less sequentially goes through Romans 1:16-3:19, before skipping over to Romans 7:4-8:3.

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) quotes Matthew 9:9; Matthew 4:21,22; Luke 9:59,60, and Matthew 10:37 one almost right after the other. *On Baptism* ch.12 p.675

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) has a catena of Revelation 20:6; Matthew 132:43; Matthew 25:24; Revelation 22:15; Isaiah 66:24 and 1 Thessalonians 4:12. *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.65-66 p.218-219

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240) ch.11-12 p.44 proves his points by quoting one right after the other 2 Corinthians 4:18; Matthew 6:33,32; 27; Luke 12:25; Matthew 12:44.

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) quotes right after each other Psalm 148:5; John 1:26; Matthew 18:20; Matthew 28:20; 1 Corinthians 6:17 and Matthew 12:24. *Origen Against Celsus* book 2 ch.9 p.433-434

Origen (233/234 A.D.) uses Rom 1:22-29; *Origen On Prayer* ch.29.12 p.119

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) proves his points by quoting Isaiah 66:2; 45:7; Romans 1:20; 1 Timothy 1:26; Romans 11:33; and Genesis 1:31 in *Treatise Concerning the Trinity* ch.3 p.614.

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.2 p.657 has a catena of Revelation 3:17; John 10:1; John 10:8; Isa 30:1

***Treatise on Rebaptism*** (254-257 A.D.) has a catena of Matthew 3:1; Acts 1:4,5; Acts 11:15-17; Acts 15:7,8 ch.2 p.668

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes in succession Luke 11:23; 1 John 2:18,19; Matthew 18:27; Song of Songs 6:9; Song of Songs 4:12. *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 75 ch.5 p.397

**Moyses, et al. to Cyprian** (250 A.D.) proves his point by quoting in succession Matthew 10:37,38; 5:10-12; 10:18 or 21:22; Revelation 3:21; and Romans 8:35. *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 25 ch.4 p.303

**Firmilian of Caesarea** to Cyprian (256 A.D.) quotes 2 Corinthians 11:2; Psalm 45:11; Song of Songs 4:8; Song of Songs 5:1; Luke 11:23; Song of Songs 4:12-13; 1 Peter 3:21. *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 74 ch.14 p.393-394

Nemesianus of Thubunae at the **Seventh Council of Carthage** (85 bishops) (258 A.D.) p.566 “That the baptism which heretics and schismatics bestow is not the true one, is everywhere declared in the Holy Scriptures, since their very leading men are false Christs and false prophets, as the Lord says by Solomon:” and quotes Proverbs 9:12 (Septuagint). Then he quotes Proverbs 9:19; John 3:5; Ephesians 4:3-6; John 3:6; and Galatians 5:19-21 to prove the point that heretics who repent should be rebaptized.

&&&**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) &&&

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) quotes in order Acts 10:36; Genesis 9:25-26; Luke 12:46; Isaiah 52:7; Isaiah 2:3-4. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.810d p.52-53

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) has a catena of John 1:17; Ephesians 2:8,9; John 1:14; Philippians 2:7; 2 Corinthians 8:9 in Fragment 2 *On the Godhead* p.280

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) has a catena of 1 Corinthians 7:38; Matthew 22:30; Matthew 19:12 in *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* book 3 ch.7 p.316

Theophilus (events c.315) (partial, not right after each other) answers the governor’s questions by quoting Romans 8:18, and quoting Matthew 10:39 and Matthew 7:6 as Scripture to prove his points. *Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon* p.694.

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) has a long catena of Galatians 3:13; Deuteronomy 21:23; Ephesians 2:14; John 12:32; Ephesians 2:2. *On the Incarnation* ch.25 p.49-50

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) has a catena of Deuteronomy 28:66; Jeremiah 11:19; Psalm 22:16; Isaiah 11:10. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.35 p.55

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) has a catena of Isaiah 7:14; Matthew 1:23; Isaiah 45:14-16; Jeremiah 17:9 (LXX), Isaiah 19:20; Numbers 24:17. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.44 p.239

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) as a catena of Ecclesiasticus 3:22 (apocrypha), 1 Corinthians 2:9; Genesis 15:5; Ecclesiasticus 1:2: Isaiah 53:8; *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Epistle 1 ch.5 p.293

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) has a catena of Psalm 132:11; Psalm 58:26; Psalm 71:8; Psalms 71:1,17; Micah 5:2. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 3 ch.1 p.4

## Ke12. Cross / Christ a stumbling block to Jews

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “‘But we preach Jesus Christ crucified; to the Jews a stumbling-block,’ because, though knowing prophecy, they did not believe the event: ‘to the Greeks, foolishness; ‘for those who in their own estimation are wise, consider it fabulous that the Son of God should speak by man and that God should have a Son, and especially that that Son should have suffered. Whence their preconceived idea inclines them to disbelieve.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.18 p.320

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “The very ‘stumbling-block’ which he declares Christ to be ‘to the Jews,’ points unmistakably to the Creator’s prophecy respecting Him, when by Isaiah He says: ‘Behold I lay in Sion a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence.’ This rock or stone is Christ.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.5 p.439

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “For the preaching of Jesus Christ as crucified is the ‘foolishness’ of preaching, as Paul also perceived, when he said, ‘But we preach Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness; but to them who are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and wisdom of God.’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.13 p.402

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world? Since indeed, in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe. Because the Jews desire signs, and the Greeks seek for wisdom: but we preach Christ crucified, to the Jews indeed a stumbling-block, and to the Gentiles foolishness; but to them that are called, Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.69 p.551-552

## Ke13. We want non-believers to get saved (6+)

Generally blessing people is not counted here.

Romans 10:1

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) (partial, because vol.1 only, not vol.9) “Let us then also pray for those who have fallen into any sin, that meekness and humility may be given to them, so that they may submit, not unto us, but to the will of God. For in this way they shall secure a fruitful and perfect remembrance from us, with sympathy for them, both in our prayers to God, and our mention of them to the saints.” *1 Clement* ch.56 p.20

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.17 p.147 “As far as was possible, and could be done with perspicuity, I cherish the hope that, according to my desire, I have omitted none of those things ar present which bear upon your salvation.”

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) (implied) “I pray you by Jesus Christ to love, and that you would all seek to be like him.” *Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians* ch.1 p.49

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “Then I continued, ‘I purpose to quote to you Scriptures, not that I am anxious to make merely an artful display of words; for I possess no such faculty, but God’s grace alone has been granted to me to the understanding of His Scriptures, of which grace I exhort all to become partakers freely and bounteously, in order that they may not, through want of it, incur condemnation in the judgment which God the Maker of all things shall hold through my Lord Jesus Christ.’” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.58 p.225

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “It was necessary clearly to prove, that, as their very opinions and regulations exhibit them, those who are of the school of Valentinus derive their origin from such mothers, fathers, and ancestors, and also to bring forward their doctrines, with the hope that perchance some of them, exercising repentance and returning to the only Creator, and God the Former of the universe, may obtain salvation, and that others may not henceforth be drown away by their wicked, although plausible, persuasions, imagining that they will obtain from them the knowledge of some greater and more sublime mysteries.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.31.3 p.358

*Treatise Against Novatian* (250/4-256/7 A.D.) (partial, referring to the lapsed) ch.1 p.657 says we are to beware of dogs and evil workers (reference to Philippians 3:2). He applies this to Novatian, whom he says is like the story of the Good Samaritan except that Novatian would kill the wounded man rather than help him.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “For we indeed desire that all may be made alive; and we pray that, by our supplications and groans, they may be restored to their original state. But if certain lapsed ones claim to be the Church, and if the Church be among them and in them, what is left but for us to ask of these very persons that they would deign to admit us into the Church?” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 26 ch.1 p.305

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) (implied) “Also at the sacrifices we must first pray for the common salvation, and then for ourselves, for we are made for fellowship; and he who esteems this higher than his private interest would be most acceptable to God.” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 8 ch.8 p.14

**Among heretics**

&&&**Ebionites** ?

## Ke14. Make disciples

Matthew 18:19

***The Didache*** (c.60-120 A.D.) ch.7 p.379 quotes half of Matthew 28:19.

Tatian’s *Diatessaron* (c.172 A.D.) Section 55 no.4-7 p.128 (partial) “Then said Jesus unto them, I have been given all authority in heaven and earth; and as my Father hath sent me, so I also send you. Go now into all the world, and preach my gospel in all creation; and teach all the peoples, and baptized them in the name of the Father and the Son and the holy Spirit…”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) quotes all of Matthew 28:19 except for the word “then” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.17.1 p.444

**Tertullian** (198-217/220 A.D.) quotes the first part of Matthew 28:19a. *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.8 p.247

**Origen** (246-248 A.D.) quotes Matthew 28:19m that we should make disciples. (not 2 4 not 14 words quoted). *Origen’s Commentary on Matthew* book 10 ch.18 p.426

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/254-256/257 A.D.) ch.3 p.658 quotes all of Matthew 28:19.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes Matthew 28:18-19 *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 72 ch.5 p.380. See also Epistle 62 ch.18 p.363

***The Seventh Council of Carthage*** (258 A.D.) p.567 quotes all of Matthew 28:19. See also p.569.

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) quotes half Matthew 28:18. *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the first chapter p.346

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) quotes 11/20 words of Matthew 28:19a. *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 1 ch.3 p.6 See also ch.7 p.17.

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) quotes 6/20 words of Matthew 28:19a. *The Church History of Eusebius* book 3 ch.5.2 p.138

# PARABLES

## Pa1. Jesus or us speaking in parables

Jesus spoke 39 parables.

**p35** – Matthew 25:12-15,20-23 (3rd century A.D.) Jesus told parables in Matthew 25:12-15, 20-23

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 similitude 5 ch.4 p.35 “I prayed him much that he would explain to me the similitude of the field, and of the master of the vineyard, and of the slave who staked the vineyard, and of the sakes, and of the weeds that were plucked out of the vineyard, and of the son, and of the friends who were fellow-councillors, for I knew that all these things were a kind of parable.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) discusses Christ speaking in parables in *Stromata* book 6 ch.15 p.506 and book 6 ch.16 p.507

**Origen** (235-245 A.D.) mention the gospel parables. *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 12 ch.13.2 p.127

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) “Why speakest thou to us in parables, … the parable of the tares in the field.” *Commentary on Matthew* book 11 ch.4 p.433

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes the parable of the sheep and the goats in Matthew 19:17-21. *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 12 book 3 ch.2 p.532

## Pa2. Parable of the sheep and the goats

Matthew 25:31-46; Luke 10:15

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Matthew 25:41-44 speaks of the goats on the left. Luke 10:15

*Tatian’s* ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 43.43-58 p.110-111 in the parable of the sheep and the goats says the goats go away to eternal punishment, but the righteous [sheep] to eternal life.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “But inasmuch as one and the same Lord has pointed out that the whole human race shall be divided at the judgment, ‘as a shepherd divideth the sheep from the goats,’ and that to some He will say, ‘Come, ye blessed of My Father, receive the kingdom which has been prepared for you,’ but to others, ‘Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which My Father has prepared for the devil and his angels,’ one and the same Father is manifestly declared [in this passage], ‘making peace and creating evil things,’ preparing fit things for both; as also there is one Judge sending both into a fit place, as the Lord sets forth in the parable of the tares and the wheat, where He says, ‘As therefore the tares are gathered together, and burned in the fire, so shall it be at the end of the world.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.40.2 p.524

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) tells about the sheep and the goats in *Who Is the Rich Man That Shall Be Saved* ch.30 p.599-600. See also *Stromata* (193-202 A.D.) book 2 ch.9 p.357 and *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.294

**Origen** (233-244 A.D.) tells of the parable of the sheep and the goats. *Homilies on Luke* homily 35 ch.10 p.147

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “And these [the goats] shall go away into everlasting burning, but the righteous into life eternal.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 second book ch.30 p.528

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes the parable of the sheep and the goats in Matthew 19:17-21. *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 12 book 3 ch.2 p.532

## Pa3. Parable of the prodigal son

Luke 15:11-32

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 26-12-33 p.83-84

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) discusses in detail the prodigal son. Fragment 11 (from Macarius Chrysocephalus) ch.4-5 p.583

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “That most gentle father, likewise, I will not pass over in silence, who calls his prodigal son home, and willingly receives him repentant after his indigence, slays his best fatted calf, and graces his joy with a banquet. Why not? He had found the son whom he had lost; he had felt *him* to be all the dearer of whom he had *made a gain*. Who is that father to be understood by us to be? God, surely: no one is so truly a Father; no one so rich in paternal love. He, then, will receive you, His own son, back, even if you have squandered what you had received from Him, even if you return naked-just because you *have* returned; and will joy more over your return than over the sobriety of the other; but *only* if you heartily repent-if you compare your own hunger with the plenty of your Father’s ‘hired servants’-if you leave behind you the swine, that unclean herd-if you again seek your Father, offended though He be, saying, ‘I have sinned, nor am worthy any longer to be called Thine.’” *On Repentance* ch.8 p.663

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “That prodigal son also the father’s patience receives, and clothes, and feeds, and makes excuses for, in the presence of the angry brother’s *im*patience.” *On Patience* ch.12 p.715

**Origen** (233-244 A.D.) (implied) briefly mentions “the prodigal son”. *Homilies on Luke* homily 38 ch.5 p.158

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (254-265 A.D.) discusses the prodigal son. *Panegyric to Origen* argument 16 p.37-38

## Pa4. Parable of the wheat and tares

Matthew 13:24-30

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 17 lines 1-7 p.69-70 quotes the parable of the wheat and tares.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) quotes the parable of the what and the tares. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.40.2-3 p.524

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) discusses the parable of the wheat and tares. *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.31 p.258

**Hippolytus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “But he [Callistus, heretic and bishop of Rome] asserted that likewise *the* parable of the tares is uttered in reference to this *one*: ‘Let the tares grow along with the wheat;’ or, in other words, let those who in the Church are guilty of sin *remain in it*.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 9 ch.7 p.131

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “Of the seed of the tares, who stand mingled in the Church. When the times of the harvest are filled up, the tares that have sprung up are separated from the fruit, because God had not sent them. The husbandman separates all those collected tares. The law is our field; whoever does good in it, assuredly the Ruler Himself will afford a true repose, for the tares are burned with fire. If, therefore, you think that under one they are delaying, you are wrong.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.55 p.213

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) tells the parable of the wheat and the tares. *Origen’s Commentary on Matthew* book 10 ch.12 p.420

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) discusses the parable of the wheat and the tares in the gospel. *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the seventh chapter verse 2 p.352

**Among heretics**

Naasene Gnostic ***Gospel of Thomas*** &&&

## Pa5. Faith/kingdom of Heaven as a mustard seed

Matthew 13:31; 17:19-21; Mark 4:31; Luke 13:19; 17:5-6

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 24.46 p.81 “Verily I say unto you, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say to this mountain, Remove hence; and it shall remove; and nothing shall overcome you.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) in discussing the heretic Marcus shows how Marcus misuses the parable of the Mustard seed. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.13.2 p.334

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “Observe that, by means of the grain of mustard seed in the parable, the heavenly doctrine is denoted which is sown like seed in the world, as in a field, [seed] which has an inherent force, fiery and powerful.” Fragment 31

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) Learning, then, is also obedience to the commandments, which is faith in God. And faith is a power of God, being the strength of the truth. For example, it is said, “If ye have faith as a grain of mustard, ye shall remove the mountain.’ And again, ‘According to thy faith let it be to thee.’ And one is cured, receiving healing by faith; and the dead is raised up in consequence of the power of one believing that he would be raised.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.11 p.358

**Tertullian** (205/206 A.D.) “‘The kingdom of God,’ says He, ‘is like a grain of mustard-seed which a man took and cast into his garden.’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.30 p.400

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “Under the inspiration of this Paul also said, ‘If I have all faith so as to remove mountains;’ for he, who has all faith, which is as a grain of mustard seed, removes not one mountain only, but also several analogous to it; for although faith is despised by men and appears to be something very little and contemptible; yet when it meets with good ground, that is the soul, which is able fittingly to receive such seed, it becomes a great tree, so that no one of those things which have no wings, but the birds of heaven which are winged spiritually, are able to lodge in the branches of faith so great.” *Commentary on Matthew* Book 13 ch.5 p.478

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) “he removes who has all faith which is as a grain of mustard-seed; and nothing shall be impossible to him who has so great faith.” *Commentary on Matthew* book 13 ch.7 p.479

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Also in Isaiah: ‘And if ye do not believe, neither shall ye understand.’ Also in the Gospel according to Matthew: ‘O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?’ Also in the same place: ‘If you have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say to this mountain, Pass over from here to that place, and it shall pass over; and nothing shall be impossible unto you.’ Also according to Mark: ‘All things whatsoever ye pray and ask for, believe that ye shall receive them, and they shall be yours.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.42 p.545

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) “When, again the Saviour says, ‘The Kingdom of heaven is like a grain of mustard seed’, or ‘leaven’, or ‘a drag-net’, [Matthew 13:31,33,47] ... But if the Kingdom of Heaven is good, the grain of mustard seed, and all the other products that the good Kingdom of God resembles, must be good too.” (Adamantius is speaking) *Dialogue on the True Faith* Second Part ch.20 p.107

**Among heretics**

The Gnostic heretic **Marcus**, according to Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) misuses the parable of the Mustard seed. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.13.2 p.334

The ***First Form of the Gospel of Thomas*** (shorter Greek version) (188-235 A.D.) ch.20 p.128 says faith is like a mustard seed.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 5 ch.2 p.143 says that kingdom of Heaven is like a mustard seed.

## Pa6. Parable of the persistent/importune widow

Luke 18:1-8

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 33.18-24 p.94 “And he spake unto them a parable also, that they should pray at all times, and not be slothful: There was a judge in a city, who feared not God, nor was ashamed for men: and there was a widow in that city; and she came unto him, and said, Avenge me of mine adversary. And he would not for a long time: but afterwards he said within himself, If of God I have no fear, and before men I have no shame; yet because this widow vexeth me, I will avenge her, that she come not at all times, and annoy me.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “also His conversation with Zaccheus the publican; also about the Pharisee and the publican, who were praying in the temple at the same time; also the ten lepers, whom He cleansed in the way simultaneously; also how He ordered the lame and the blind to be gathered to the wedding from the lanes and streets; also the parable of the judge who feared not God, whom the widow’s importunity led to avenge her cause; and about the fig-tree in the vineyard which produced no fruit.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.14.3 p.439

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “The widow kept asking to be heard by the judge, because she was not admitted; but when her suit was heard, thenceforth she was silent.” *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.11 p.249

Tertullian (c.207/208 A.D.) “When He recommends perseverance and earnestness in prayer, He sets before us the parable of the judge who was compelled to listen to the widow, owing to the earnestness and importunity of her requests.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.36 p.409

**Hippolytus** (222-235/236 A.D.) discusses Luke 18:2-5 in *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.56 p.216

Origen (233/234 A.D.) (partial) mentions the unjust judge. *Origen on Prayer* ch.10.2 p.42

## Pa7. Parable of the barren fig tree

Luke 13:6-9

&&&Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 27.36 p.&&& “And he spake unto them this parable: A man had a fig tree planted in his vineyard; and he came and sought fruit thereon, and found none. So he said to the husbandman, Lo, three years do I come and seek fruit on this fig tree, and find none: cut it down; why doth it render the ground unoccupied? The husbandman said unto him, My lord, leave it this year also, that I may dig about it, and dung it; then if it bear fruit--! and if not, then cut it down in the coming year.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “also His conversation with Zaccheus the publican; also about the Pharisee and the publican, who were praying in the temple at the same time; also the ten lepers, whom He cleansed in the way simultaneously; also how He ordered the lame and the blind to be gathered to the wedding from the lanes and streets; also the parable of the judge who feared not God, whom the widow’s importunity led to avenge her cause; and about the fig-tree in the vineyard which produced no fruit.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.14.3 p.439

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “But the multitude, not perceiving the beauty of the many pearls of the law, and all the knowledge, ‘in part,’ though it be, of the prophets, suppose that they can, without a clear exposition and apprehension of these, find in whole the one precious pearl, and behold ‘the excellency of the knowledge of Christ,’ in comparison with which all things that came before such and so great knowledge, although they were not refuse in their own nature, appear to be refuse. This refuse is perhaps the ‘dung’ thrown down beside the fig tree by the keeper of the vineyard, which is the cause of its bearing fruit.” *Origen’s Commentary on Matthew* book 10 ch.9 p.418

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) mentions repentance and the parable of the fig tree. *Canonical Epistle* canon 3 p.270

## Pa8. Parable of the Good Samaritan

Luke 10:25-37

&&&Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 34.30 p.&&& tells the story of the good Samaritan.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) (implied) “there we may have also an Advocate, the Lord commending to the Holy Spirit His own man, who had fallen among thieves, whom He Himself compassionated, and bound up his wounds, giving two royal *denaria*; ”*Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.17.3 p.445

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “He did not, in the same way with the Jews, specify the blood-relation, or the fellow-citizen, or the proselyte, or him that had been similarly circumcised, or the man who uses one and the same law. But He introduces one on his way down from the upland region from Jerusalem to Jericho, and represents him stabbed by robbers, cast half-dead on the way, passed by the priest, looked sideways at by the Levite, but pitied by the vilified and excommunicated Samaritan; who did not, like those, pass casually, but came provided with such things as the man in danger required, such as oil, bandages, a beast of burden, money for the inn-keeper, part given now, and part promised. 'Which,' said He, 'of them was neighbour to him that suffered these things?'” *Who is the Rich Man that Shall Be Saved?* ch.28 p.599

**Origen** (233-244 A.D.) discusses the parable of the Good Samaritan. *Homilies on Luke* homily 34 ch.2 p.138

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.1 p.657 says we are to beware of dogs and evil workers (reference to Philippians 3:2). He applies this to Novatian, whom he says is like the story of the Good Samaritan except that Novatian would kill the wounded man rather than help him.

## Pa9. Parable of the lost sheep

Luke 15:1-7; Matthew 15:12-14

Just referring to the lost sheep of Israel is not included here.

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (died.172 A.D.) section 26 lines 4-8 p.83 tells the parable of the lost sheep.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) in discussing the Valentinian Gnostics, refers to the parables of the ninety-nine sheep and the lost coin. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.8.4 p.327

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) (implied) “All therefore speak falsely who disallow his (Adam’s) salvation, shutting themselves out from life for ever, in that they [Encratites] do not believe that the wsheep which had perished has been found.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.23.8 p.457

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “What meaning for us have those themes of the Lord’s parables? Is not the fact that a woman has lost a drachma, and seeks it and finds it, and invites her female friends to share her joy, an example of a restored sinner? There strays, withal, one little ewe of the shepherd’s; but the flock was not more dear than the one: that one is earnestly sought; the one is longed for instead of all; and at length she is found, and is borne back on the shoulders of the shepherd himself; for much had she toiled in straying.” *On Repentance* ch.8 p.663

**Methodius** (c.270-311/312 A.D.) discusses the parable of the lost sheep. *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 3 ch.5 p.318

**Among heretics**

**Valentinian Gnostics** according to Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) have novel interpretations of the parables of the ninety-nine sheep and the lost coin. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.8.4 p.327

## Pa10. Parable of the lost coin

Luke 15:8-13

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (died.172 A.D.) section 26 lines 9-12 p.83 tells the parable of the lost coin.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) in discussing the Valentinian Gnostics, refers to the parables of the ninety-nine sheep and the lost coin. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.8.4 p.327. See also ibid book 1 ch.16.1 p.341.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “What meaning for us have those themes of the Lord’s parables? Is not the fact that a woman has lost a drachma, and seeks it and finds it, and invites her female friends to share her joy, an example of a restored sinner? There strays, withal, one little ewe of the shepherd’s; but the flock was not more dear than the one: that one is earnestly sought; the one is longed for instead of all; and at length she is found, and is borne back on the shoulders of the shepherd himself; for much had she toiled in straying.” *On Repentance* ch.8 p.663

**Methodius** (c.260-311/312 A.D.) “”For it is necessary to come cleansed and adorned to the feast, arrayed, as by a decorator, in the discipline and exercise of virtue. For the mind being cleansed by laborious exercises from the distracting thoughts which darken it, quickly perceives the truth; as the widow in the Gospels found the piece of money after she had swept the house and cast out the dirt, that is, the passions which obscure and cloud the mind, which increase in us from our luxuriousness and carelessness. *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* Discourse 9 ch.4 p.346

**Among heretics**

**Marcosian Gnostics** according to Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “In the same way [Marcosian Gnostics] they oracularly declare, that one power having departed also from the Duodecad, has perished; and this was represented by the woman who lost the drachma, and, lighting a lamp, again found it.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.16.1 p.341

**Valentinian Gnostics** according to Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) have novel interpretations of the parables of the ninety-nine sheep and the lost coin. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.8.4 p.327

## Pa11. Lazarus and the rich man

Lazures who was raised from the dead is different and not included here.

Luke 16:19-31

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) Luke 16:19-31

*Tatian’s* ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 29 p.88 in Lazarus and the rich man, says if they will not listen to Moses and the prophets, then they will not believe someone who rose from the dead.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “The Lord has taught with very great fullness, that souls not only continue to exist, not by passing from body to body, but that they preserve the same form [in their separate state] as the body had to which they were adapted, and that they remember the deeds which they did in this state of existence, and from which they have now ceased,-in that narrative which is recorded respecting the rich man and that Lazarus who found repose in the bosom of Abraham. In this account He states that Dives knew Lazarus after death, and Abraham in like manner, and that each one of these persons continued in his own proper position, and that [Dives] requested Lazarus to be sent to relieve him-[Lazarus], on whom he did not [formerly] bestow even the crumbs [which fell] from his table. [He tells us] also of the answer given by Abraham, who was acquainted not only with what respected himself, but Dives also, and who enjoined those who did not wish to come into that place of torment to believe Moses and the prophets, and to receive the preaching of Him who was to rise again from the dead. By these things, then, it is plainly declared that souls continue to exist that they do not pass from body to body, that they possess the form of a man, so that they may be recognised, and retain the memory of things in this world; moreover, that the gift of prophecy was possessed by Abraham, and that each class of souls] receives a habitation such as it has deserved, even before the judgment.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.34.1 p.411

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “What means the parable of Lazarus, by showing the image of the rich and” *Stromata* book 4 ch.6 p.414

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) discusses Lazarus and the rich man. He said, “the rich man was punished in Hades, being made partaker of the fire.” *The Instructor* book 2 ch.11 p.264.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “If we rejoice with the world, there is reason to fear that with the world we shall grieve too. But when the world rejoices, let us grieve; and when the world afterward grieves, we shall rejoice. Thus, too, Eleazar [Lazarus] in Hades, (attaining refreshment in Abraham’s bosom) and the rich man, (on the other hand, set in the torment of fire) compensate, by an answerable retribution, their alternate vicissitudes of evil and good.” *On Idolatry* ch.13 p.69

Tertullian (198-240 A.D.) discusses Lazarus and the rich man. *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.7 p.287

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “Thus it happens that the rich man in hell has a tongue and poor (Lazarus) a finger and Abraham a bosom.” *Treatise on the Soul* ch.9 p.189

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “Now in the ease of Lazarus, (which we may take as) the palmary instance of a” *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* ch.53 p.586

**Origen** (235-245 A.D.) “For this reason too Abraham is seen by the one who is punished, and the *rich man in torments who raised up his eyes see Abraham* – though *he sees far off*, he sees – *and Lazarus in his bosom*.” homily *on 1 Kings 28* ch.9 p.332.

Origen (239-242 A.D.) mentions Lazarus and the rich man. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 9 ch.4.2 p.124

Origen (239-242 A.D.) (implied) refers to Luke 16:22. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 1 ch.2.4 p.28

**Novatian** (250-254/257 A.D.) “For, moreover, preferring Lazarus in his very hunger and in his sores themselves, and with the rich man’s dogs, He restrained the destroyers of salvation, the belly and the palate, by examples.” *On Jewish Meats* ch.6 p.649

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Whence also that rich sinner who implores help for Lazarus, then laid in Abraham’s bosom, and established in a place of comfort, while he, writhing in torments, is consumed by the heats of burning flame, suffers most punishment” *Letters of Cyprian* letter 54 ch.3 p.340

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “And again: ‘Remember that thou hast received thy good things in this life. and likewise Lazarus evil things. But now he is besought, and thou grievest.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.61 p.550

**Methodius** (after 312 A.D.) “Whence, also, in Hades, as in the case of Lazarus and the rich man,” *Discourse on the Resurrection* ch.19 p.377

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) mentions Gehenna and Lazarus and the rich man. *Dialogue on the True Faith* second part 828a 10e p.87-88.

## Teaching on kerygmatic and irenic evangelism not on the list

**1. There are seven planets [Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn]** (only 3 writers: Clement of Alexandria, Lactantius, Eusebius of Caesarea. Among heretics the Naaseni. Also Josephus the Jew in *Antiquities of the Jews* book 3 ch.7.7 p.75)

**2. Parable of the wineskins** Mt 9:16-17 (only 3 writers: *Diatessaron*, Irenaeus, Tertullian. After Nicea Hegemonius/Archelaus. Among heretics: Megethius)

**3. Parable of the sower** Mt 13:5-8; Mk 4:3-8; Lk 8:1-15 (p75, only 3 Christian writers: Justin Martyr, *Diatessaron* section 16.22-52 p.68-69, Hippolytus. Also Naaseni Gnostics, first form of the Gospel of Thomas)

**4. Parable of the king’s banquet** Luke 14:15-24 (only 3 writers: *Diatessaron* section 30.10-30 p.89-90; Irenaeus, Tertullian)

**5. Parable of the dishonest steward** Lk 16:1-12 (only 3 writers: *Diatessaron*, Tertullian, Origen)

**6. Parable of the unmerciful servant** (only 3 writers: *Diatessaron*, Origen, Cyprian of Carthage)

**7. Parable of the workers in the vineyard** Mt 20:1-16 (Tatian’s *Diatessaron* section 29.27-42 p.88-89; Irenaeus alludes to it as “the parable of the laborers sent into the vineyard” book 1 ch.1.2 p.317)

**Parable of the two houses** Mt 7:24-27; Lk 6:47-49 (not analyzed yet. So far Tatian’s *Diatessaron* section 10.46-48 p.60)

**Parable of the yeast** Mt 13:33; Lk 13:20-21 (not analyzed yet. So far Tatian’s *Diatessaron* section 17.13-14 p.70)

**Parable of the hidden treasure** Mt 13:44 (not analyzed yet. So far Tatian’s *Diatessaron* section 10.37 p.61)

**Parable of the pearl of great price** Mt 13:45-46 (not analyzed yet So far Tatian’s *Diatessaron* section 17.28-29 p.70)

**Parable of the fishing net** Mt 13:47-50 (not analyzed yet So far Tatian’s *Diatessaron* section17.30-31 p.70)

**Parable of the unforgiving servant** Mt 18:23-25 (not analyzed yet. Tatian’s *Diatessaron*)

**Parable of the two sons** Mt 21:28-32 (not analyzed yet So far Tatian’s *Diatessaron* section 33.35-39 p.94)

**Parable of the wicked vine growers** Mt 21:33-46; Mk 12:1-12; Lk 20:9-19 (not analyzed yet So far Tatian’s *Diatessaron* section 33.40-55 p.94-95. Also Aphrahat)

**Parable of the wedding banquet** Mt 22:1-14 (only 2 writers: Irenaeus, Methodius)

**Parable of the two servants** Mt 24:45-51; Lk 12:42-48 (not analyzed yet. Tatian’s *Diatessaron*)

**Parable of the ten virgins** Mt 25:1-13 (not analyzed yet. Tatian’s *Diatessaron*)

**Parable of the talents** Mt 25:14-30 (only 2 writers: Tatian’s *Diatessaron* and Origen)

**Parable of the secretly growing seed** Mk 4:26-29 (not analyzed yet. So far Tatian’s *Diatessaron* section 16.49-52 p.69)

**Parable of the doorkeeper** Mk 13:34-37 (not analyzed yet. Tatian’s *Diatessaron*)

**Parable of the two debtors** Lk 7:41-43 (not analyzed yet. Tatian’s *Diatessaron*)

**Parable of the friend at midnight** Lk 11:5-8 (not analyzed yet. Tatian’s *Diatessaron*)

**Parable of the rich fool** Lk 12:13-21 (not analyzed yet. *Diatessaron* section 28.33-41 p.87, Tertullian *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4)

**Parable of the unfinished tower and the king’s war** Lk 14:28-33 (not analyzed yet)

**Parable of the servant’s reward** Lk 17:7-10 (not analyzed yet. Tatian’s *Diatessaron*)

**Parable of the Pharisee and the tax collector** Luke 18:9-14 (not analyzed yet. *Diatessaron* section 32.16-21 p.92-93 Tertullian *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4)

**Parable of the ten minas** Lk 19:11-27 (not analyzed yet. *Diatessaron* section 31.36-47 p.91-92 )

**Parable of the rich man and his barns** (only two writers: Tatina’s *Diatessaron*, Clement of Alexandria)

# APOLOGETIC EVANGELISM

## Ap1. Answering questions of others

Mark 10:17-21; Luke 12:14-17; John 3:4-15; 9:1; Acts 8:34-35; 1 Corinthians 7

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) 1 Corinthians 7

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 9:1

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Mark 12:14-17 Jesus answered the Herodians’ question on paying taxes.

p28 John 6:8-12,17-22 (11 verses) (late 3rd century) (partial) Jesus answers a question about how the will get enough food by having the people sit down. He does not directly answer the question, and it is not a theological question.

p38 or 0162 or 0200 or 0232 &&&

**0171** Mt 10:17-23,25-32; Lk 22:44-50,52-56,61,63-64 (ca.300 A.D.) Mark 10:17

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Always have an answer for the hope that is within you. 1 Peter 3:15

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) answers Trypho’s question in *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.25-26 p.207

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) answers questions such as “Show me your God” and “Explain the appearance of God.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.2,3 p.89. He answers that “God ought not to be contained in a place, such as walking in Paradise in book 2 ch.22 p.103.

**Serapion of Antioch** (191/200-210 A.D.) &&&

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) Caecilius asks questions about the resurrection in *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.2 p.178, and Octavius answer them in *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.24 p.194.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (255 A.D.) writes a letter answering the question of the Numidian bishops. *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 69.3 p.375.

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) the Marcionite Megethius asks Adamantius about “gospels” vs. gospel” and Adamantius answer. *Dialogue on the True Faith* part 1 ch.6 p.43

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) &&& *Arnobius Against the Heathen* ch.&&&

**Theophilus** (events c.315) answers the governor’s questions by quoting Romans 8:18, and quoting Matthew 10:39 and Matthew 7:6 as Scripture to prove his points. *Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon* p.694.

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) “You are wondering, perhaps, for what possible reason, having proposed to sepak of the Incarnation of the Word, we are at present treating of the origin of mankind.” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.4,5 .1 p.38

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (326-339/340 A.D.) explains about the genealogies of Jesus in Matthew and Luke. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.7 p.91-94

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Narrative of Zosimus*** (before 240 A.D.) &&&

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 19 ch.1-4 p.330-331 answers a number of questions that Somon Magus poses to him. However, Peter refuses to answer certain other questions about the devil. See also homily 16 ch.8 p.314.

The Ebionite *Clementine Homilies* (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 16 ch.19 p.316 answers questions from Simon Magus.

**Hermetic Gnostics** (c.150-4th century) &&&

**Bardaisan/Bardesan** (154-224/232 A.D.) answers the question of others of why God did not make everyone righteous. *The Book of the Laws of Diverse Countries* p.723

**Manes** (262-278 A.D.) quotes John 6:38 in answering the question of Archelaus. *Disputation with Manes* ch.47 p.223

**Marinus** (c.300 A.D.) a Bardasene, answers Adamantius’ questions in disputing with Adamantius. *Dialogue on the True Faith* 3rd part ch.8 p.117

***The Valentinian Letter of Peter to Philip*** (c.300 A.D.) *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* p.436 Peter answered questions and asked Socratic questions.

## Ap2. Answering alleged contradictions

Romans 6:1-2

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Rom 6:1-2

&&&

&&&**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) &&&

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) “So this is something you much know. If something out of Scripture is held up as a contradiction, we must not assume a contradiction, knowing that either we do not understand or that a scribal mistake has occurred. For example, …” and then he discusses the scribal error of when Rehoboam began to reign. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 77 homily 1 ch.1 p.288

**Novatian** (250/254-257 A.D.) answers why scripture uses “parables” in mentioning bodily parts such as arms and eyes when referring to God. *Concerning the Trinity* ch.6 p.615-616

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) *Dialogue on the True Faith* section &&&

**Athanasius** (c.318 A.D.) &&&

&&&Others too

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (326-339/340 A.D.) explains the genealogies on Matthew and Luke. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.7.1-14 p.91-93.

## Ap3. Answering false moral accusations

**Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum** (177 A.D.) ch.779 “also by the soldiers, falsely accused us of Thyestean banquets and Oedipodean connections, and other crimes which it is lawful for us neither to mention nor think of;”

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “Three things are alleged against us: atheism, Thyestean feasts, Oedipodean intercourse. But if these charges are true, spare no class: proceed” *A Plea for Christians* ch.3 p.130

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “For if one should speak of cannibalism, in these spectacles the children of Thyestes and Tereus are eaten; and as for adultery, both in the case of men and of gods, whom they celebrate in elegant language for honours and prizes, this is made the subject of their dramas. But far be it from Christians to conceive any such deeds;” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.15 p.115

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) answers the false accusation that Christians commit incest. He throws back at the what Persian royalty did. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.31 p.192-193.

**Tertullian** (c.217 A.D.) “How much more would this be the case in such (mysteries as are ascribed to us), which, if divulged, could not fail to bring down instant punishment from the prompt resentment of men! Since, therefore, the Christians are not their own betrayers, it follows that it must be strangers. Now I ask, how could strangers obtain knowledge of us, when even true and lawful mysteries exclude every stranger from witnessing them, unless illicit ones are less exclusive?” *To the Nations* book 1 ch.7 p.115

## Ap4. Using questions

Haggai 1:4,5,9; 2:11-13; Malachi 3:7,8

Matthew 15:3-6; Mark 12:35-37; Luke 6:33-34,38,41,42,46; 13:3-5; John 10:34; 11:9

Romans 3:1,9,27; 4:1; 6:1,15; 7:1, 13; 9:19,20,22; 10:14,19; 11:1,7,11

Rhetorical questions, where no answer was expected. Luke 17:17; John 8:10

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) 6:1; 9:19,20,22; 10:14,19; 11:1,7,11

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 10:34; 11:9

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Mark 11:30 Jesus asked a question back at the elders. Luke 6:33-34,39,41,46

**Green’s Collection #425** Romans 9:18-21 some Romans 10 (early 3rd century) Romans 9:22

**0171** Mt 10:17-23,25-32; Lk 22:44-50,52-56,61,63-64 (ca.300 A.D.) Mark 10:18

**0312** (3rd/4th century) Luke 5:23-24,30-31; 7:9,17-18. Quotes Luke 5:13 where Jesus asks a rhetorical question.

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) quotes Psalm 2:7,8 and Hebrews 1:b6 and asks who are the enemies of God. *1 Clement* ch.36 p.15

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) asks why we are not all prudent. *Letter of Ignatius to the Ephesians* ch.17 p.56

***Epistle of Barnabas*** ch.6 p.140 (c.70-130 A.D.) asks repeatedly what God says.

***Epistle to Diognetus*** ch.2 p.25 (c.130 A.D.) asks why idolators dread a stone, similar to what we walk on, and brass, like vessels people commonly use.

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 1 Vision First ch.2 p.10 asks many questions of the lady he sees in a vision.

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) In the splendour of the saints before the morning star have I begotten Thee. The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.’ Who does not admit, then, that Hezekiah is no priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek? And who does not know that he is not the redeemer of Jerusalem?” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.83 p.240. See also the *First Apology of Justin* (c.150 A.D.) ch.5 p.164

***Evarestus’ Martyrdom of Polycarp*** (c.169 A.D.) ch.9 p.41 Polycarp asks rhetorically how he can blaspheme his King and Savior.

*&&&Tatian’s* ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) &&&

***Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum*** p.780 (177 A.D.) rhetorically asks how Christians can be cannibals when they will not even consume the blood of beasts.

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) asks is it not absurd to call Christians atheists. *A Plea for Christians* ch.3 p.131

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) uses rhetorical questions. *From the Catena on Genesis* ch.1 *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.751,753

**Rhodon** (c.180 A.D.) “On asking him, “Where do you get proof of this? or how are you able to assert that there is *only* one first principle? tell us,”-he said that the prophecies refuted themselves, because they had uttered nothing at all that was true: for that they were discordant and false, and self-contradictory. As to the question, “How does it appear that there is one first principle? “he said he could not tell, only he was impelled to that belief. On my thereupon conjuring him to speak the truth, he solemnly declared that he was expressing his real sentiments; and that he did not know” how” there could be one uncreated God, but that he believed the fact. Here I burst into laughter and rebuked him, because he professed to be a teacher, and yet was unable to confirm *by arguments* what he taught.” vol.8 p.766

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) rhetorically asks who the physician is, saying it is God. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.7 p.91

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “For how stands the case? Suppose there arise a dispute relative to some important question among us, should we not have recourse to the most ancient Churches with which the apostles held constant intercourse, and learn from them what is certain and clear in regard to the present question? For how should it be if the apostles themselves had not left us writings? Would it not be necessary, [in that case,] to follow the course of the tradition which they handed down to those to whom they did commit the Churches? *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.4.1 p.417

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) For that Aeon, whose type they declare Judas to be, after being separated from her Enthymesis, was restored or recalled [to her former position]; but Judas was deprived [of his office], and cast out, while Matthias was ordained in his place, according to what is written, “And his bishopric let another take.” They ought therefore to maintain that the twelfth Aeon was cast out of the Pleroma, and that another was produced, or sent forth to fill her place; if, that is to say, she is pointed at in Judas. Moreover, they tell us that it was the Aeon herself who suffered, but Judas was the betrayer, [and not the sufferer.] Even they themselves acknowledge that it was the suffering Christ, and not Judas, who came to [the endurance of] passion. How, then, could Judas, the betrayer of Him who had to suffer for our salvation, be the type and image of that Aeon who suffered? *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.22.2 p.390

**Maximus of Jerusalem** (185-196 A.D.) asks questions in his dialog on evil. *From the Book Concerning Matter* 1 (*ANF* vol.8) p.768

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “For what can possibly be so manifest, so confessed, and so evident, when you lift your eyes up to heaven, and look into the things which are below and around, than that there is some Deity of most excellent intelligence, by whom all nature is inspired, is moved, is nourished, is governed?” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.17 p.182

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) asks three questions in a row. *Stromata* book 6 ch.11 p.501

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) rhetorically asks if John is not a voice of exhortation. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.1 p.174

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “if so be it be the actual body of a god. If, however, there arises a question of…” *To the Nations* book 1 ch.12 p.122

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) in one chapter alone rhetorically asks 25 questions in *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.20 p.378-380.

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) rhetorically asks how Christ could be before all things, if Christ were not the first-born of every creature. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.19 p.470. See also *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.18 p.469.

**Asterius Urbanus** (c.232 A.D.) “let them answer us in the name of God, and tell us, O friends, whether there is any one among those who began to speak from Montanus and the women onward that was persecuted by the Jews or put to death by the wicked? There is not one.” fragment 3 p.336

**Hippolytus of Portus** (225-234/5 A.D.) rhetorically asks with all the witnesses, why we would need more witnesses prior to Noah. *Refutation of All Heresies* book 10 ch.26 p.149

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “Now the question here before us, is why the light of men should not be the light of other creatures also, and we have seen that to speak of the light of men by no means excludes the possibility that the light may be that of other beings besides man, whether inferior to him or like him, Now a name is given to God; He is said to be the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob. He, then, who infers from the saying, “The life was the light of men,” that the light is for no other than for men, ought also to conclude that the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob is the God of no one else but these three patriarchs.” *Origen’s Commentary on John* 2 ch.16 p.335-336

**Cyprian of Carthage** (255 A.D.) “What, then, can be their deservings in the sight of God, on whom punishments are divinely denounced?” Then Cyprian answers. *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 75 ch.10 p.400

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (254-265 A.D.) mentions the Socratic method. *Oration and Panegyric to Origen* argument 7 p.29. See also *Metaphrase of the Book of Ecclesiastes* ch.9 p.15

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) asks rhetorically who can believe that everything in nature move with “unregulated impetus.” *From the Books on Nature* ch.3 p.86

**Dionysius bishop of Rome** (259-269 A.D.) “Oh reckless and rash men! Was then ‘the first-born of every creature’ something made? *Dionysius of Rome Against the Sabellians* (*ANF* vol.7) ch.2 p.365

**Malchion** (270 A.D.) rhetorically asks why he should hesitate to name Artemans [spiritual] father. *Letter written by Malchion in the name of the Synod of Antioch against Paul of Samosata* ch.2 p.170

**Anatolius** (270-280 A.D.) rhetorically asks, “What is mathematics?” and then answers the question. *Fragments of the Books on Arithmetic* p.152

**Alexander of Lycopolis** (301 A.D.) rhetorically asks how matter could be unordered motion, and show why this is impossible. *Of the Manichaeans* ch.6 p.243.

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “That pine which is regularly born into the sanctuary of the Great Mother, is it not in imitation of that tree beneath which Attis mutilated and unmanned himself, which also, they relate, the goddess consecrated to relieve her grief? That erecting of *phalli* and *fascina*, which Greece worships and celebrates in rites every year, does it not recall the deed by which Liber paid his debt? Of what do those Eleusinian mysteries and secret rites contain a narrative?” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 5 ch.39 p.504

**Phileas of Thmuis** (martyred 306/307 A.D.) rhetorically asks Meletius how he will justify these things. *Letter of Phileas to Meletius of Lycopolis* p.164

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) rhetorically asks how could iron, used for good in agriculture, be used for murderous battles. *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 2 ch.5 p.315

***Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon*** p.692 (events c.315 A.D.) used questions to confound the governor.

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) uses questions in many places, including *Incarnation of the Word* ch.18.4 p.46

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) “Of whose birth did a star in the skies forerun, to announce to the world him that was born? For when Moses was born, he was hid by his parents: … But of Christ’s birth the witness was not man, but a star in that heaven whence He was descending.” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.38.5 p.55.

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) “But if the works [of God] cry aloud and shew it clearly, why do they choose to deny the life so manifestly due to the Resurrection? For even if they be maimed in their intelligence, yet even with the external senses men may see the unimpeachable power and Godhead of Christ.” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.32.2 p.53.

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) asks many questions about the ancient Biblical prophets in *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.4 p.13.

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) rhetorically asks how it could be wonderful for someone to write false accusations against him and the pious laity. *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* ch.8 p.294.

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “who among the Peripatetics gives us any confirmation of these doctrines?” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 15 ch.6 p.13. See also ibid book 6 ch.7 p.22

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) asks eight rhetorical questions in a row in *Theophania* ch.7-14 p.3

**Among heretics**

**Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) asks the Greeks rhetorically what noble thing have they produced by their philosophy, implying there is nothing. *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.2 p.65

In the Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 3 ch.40 p.124 Peter uses questions in his debate with Simon the magician.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 11 ch.15 p.287 uses questions to expose inconsistency.

**Bardaisan/Bardesan** (154-224/232 A.D.) uses questions in *The Book of the Laws of Diverse Countries* p.724

Marcionite heretic **Megethius** (c.300 A.D.) in disputing with Adamantius, rhetorically asks what Ezekiel meant. *Dialogue on the True Faith* 1st part ch.23 p.66

**Marinus** (c.300 A.D.) a Bardesene, uses questions in disputing with Adamantius. “Well now, will you, while I ask some questions?” *Dialogue on the True Faith* 3rd part ch.9 p.118

**Among heretics**

***The Valentinian Letter of Peter to Philip*** (c.300 A.D.) *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* p.436 Peter answered questions and asked Socratic questions.

## Ap5. Nature witnesses to God

Psalm 19; Romans 1:18-20

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) says the heavens declare the glory of God. *1 Clement* ch.27 vol.1 p.12 (See also vol.9 p.237)

***The Apology of Aristides*** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) ch.1 p.263 says he looked at the movement of the universe was not by chance, he determined that the mover was God.

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “The glory and honour of the orderly arrangement of the world belongs of right not to matter, but to God” *A Plea for Christians* ch.15 p.135

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “Then again, an earthly king is believed to exist, even though he be not seen by all; for he is recognised by his laws and ordinances, and authorities, and forces, and statues; and are you unwilling that God should be recognised by His works and mighty deeds?” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.5 p.90

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) answers Cacelius’ objections and preaches the truth of God. He goes into great detail about how the stars show the glory of God, their author and Parent. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.17 p.182

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) describes in detail how the numbers in nature witness to God. *Stromata* book 6 ch.16 p.513 and book 2 ch.20 p.371.

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) discusses the overpowering majesty of God in creation in *Refutation of All Heresies* book 4 ch.43 p.40.

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) “Good, yea, very good, are all the works of our God and Saviour-all of them that eye seeth and mind perceiveth, all that reason interprets and hand handles, all that intellect comprehends and human nature understands. For what richer beauty can there be than that of the circle of heaven? And what form of more blooming fairness than that of earth’s surface? And what is there swifter in the course than the chariot of the sun? And what more graceful car than the lunar orb? And what work more wonderful than the compact mosaic of the stars? And what more productive of supplies than the seasonable winds? And what more spotless mirror than the light of day? And what creature more excellent than man? Very good, then, are all the works of our God and Saviour.” *On the Holy Theophany* ch.1 p.234

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240 A.D.) quotes Psalm 19:1 as the heavens declare the glory of God. *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.51 p.49

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) (implied) “For the visible holds the highest relationship with the invisible, as the Apostle says, ‘The invisible is perceived from the creation of the world through the things that were made.’ Therefore, just as ‘the visible and invisible,’ earth and heaven, soul and flesh, body and spirit have mutually this kinship and this world is a result of their union, so also we must believe that Holy Scripture results from the visible and invisible just as from a body the letter, … They serve as models and shadows of the celestial things.” *Homilies on Leviticus* homily 5 ch.3 p.89

**Novatian** (250/254-257 A.D.) “And since by the gaze of our eyes we cannot see Him, we rightly learn of Him from the greatness, and the power, and the majesty of His works. ‘For the invisible things of Him,’ says the Apostle Paul, ‘from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by those things which are made, even His eternal power and godhead; so that the human mind, learning hidden things from those that are manifest, from the greatness of the works which it should behold, might with the eyes of the mind consider the greatness of the Architect. Of whom the same apostle, ‘Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only God, be honour and glory.’” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.3 p.614

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) argues that just as a house or any object cannot exist without a maker, so the universe cannot exist without god. *From the Books on Nature* fragment 2 p.85

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) shows that nature witnesses to God. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.58-59 p.456

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) appeals to the order and harmony in the universe and evidence of God in *Against the Heathen* ch.38.2 p.24. He also discusses Romans 1:20 in *Against the Heathen* ch.35-38 p.23-24, ch.27.5-7 p.18, and ch.35.3 p.23.

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “And it was no difficult task, indeed, to refute the falsehoods of a few men who entertained perverse sentiments by the testimony of communities and tribes, who on this one point had no disagreement. For there is no one so uncivilized, and of such an uncultivated disposition, who, when he raises his eyes to heaven, although he knows not by the providence of what God all this visible universe is governed, does not understand from the very magnitude of the objects, from their motion, arrangement, constancy, usefulness, beauty, and temperament, that there is some providence, and that that which exists with wonderful method must have been prepared by some greater intelligence. And for us, assuredly, it is very easy to follow up this part as copiously as it may please us.” *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.2 p.11

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) shows that the order and determinism of nature is a witness of one God. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.1 p.224-225

## Ap6. Appeal to science

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) says that thought it is hard to believe that we were born from a small drop. Since that is true we should not be incredulous about the resurrection. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.19 p.169

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) in *The Resurrection of the Dead* ch.5 p.151 shows that God has adapted his creatures through their diet and describes digestion. He does a pretty good job until he speaks of the digestion that takes place in the liver.

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “Neither does God have care alone for the universe as a whole, but also for its parts. Britain is deficient in sunshine, but it is refreshed by the warmth of the sea that flows around it. The river Nile tempers the dryness of Egypt; the Euphrates cultivates Mesopotamia; the river Indus makes up for the want of rains, and is said both to sow and to water the East. Now if, on entering any house, you should behold everything refined, well arranged, and adorned, assuredly you would believe that a master presided over it, and that he himself was much better than all those excellent things. So in this house of the world, when you look upon the heaven and the earth, its providence, its ordering, its law, believe that there is a Lord and Parent of the universe far more glorious than the stars themselves, and the parts of the whole world.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.18 p.182

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) Now the high priest’s robe is the symbol of the world of sense. The seven planets are represented by five stones and the two carbuncles, for Saturn and the Moon. The former is southern, and moist, and earthy, and heavy; the latter arial, whence she is called by some Artemis, as if Aerotomos (cutting the air); and the air is cloudy.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.6 p.453.

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) The seven planets are thought by pagans to be seven gods. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.5 p.190

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240 A.D.) “For scientific knowledge is necessary both for the training of the soul and for gravity of conduct; making the faithful more active and keen observers of things. For as there is no believing without elementary instructin, so neither is there comprehension without science.” ch.28 p.47

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) appeals to nature. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 77 homily 2.7 p.317

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) appeals to the complexity of nature to speak against the foolish philosophy of atoms. *From the Books on Nature* book 3 p.86

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) shows how we could not be made without divine help. *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* book 2 ch.6 p.315-316

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) appeals to science. *Against the Heathen* part 3 ch.36-38 p.23-24 and ch.27.5-7 p.18

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) has an entire book, *On the Workmanship of God*, describing the marvelous job God did. Here is a small example. “What shall I say of the hands, the ministers of reason and wisdom? Which the most skilful Creator made with a flat and moderately concave bend, that if anything was to be held, it might conveniently rest upon them, and terminated them in the fingers; in which it is difficult to explain whether the appearance or the usefulness is greater. For the perfection and completeness of their number, and the comeliness of their order and gradation, and the flexible bending of the equal joints, and the round form of the nails, comprising and strengthening the tips of the fingers with concave coverings, lest the softness of the flesh should yield in holding any object, afford great adornment.” *On the Workmanship of God* ch.10 p.291-292

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says that the theory of atoms cannot replace God as the cause of all, because what min would they have? If they are smooth, they cannot stick together. If they are hooked and angular, then they are divisible and can be cut off. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.36 p.236

**Among heretics**

Bardesan/Bardesanes of Syria (154-224/232 A.D.) (partial, this is not necessarily Bardesanes’ view) “poverty, and sickness and health, and blemishes of the body, come to them through the governance of those stars which are called the Seven; and that they are, *in fact*, governed by them. But there are others who affirm the opposite of these things,-how that this art is a lying invention of the astrologers;” *Book of the Laws of Divers Countries* 727

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) explains why the original [four] elements cannot be God. homily 1 ch.24 p.267

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 8 ch.18 p.170 says the foolishness of Greeks who claim everything was made of atoms. If everything were, it would fall apart at once.

## Ap7. First Cause (cosmological argument)

Prior to Christ the Greek philosophers, Parmenides, Plato, and Aristotle had arguments similar to the cosmological argument.

See also the related topic that God created everything.

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “For each of those things [idols] to which divinity is ascribed is conceived of as having existed from the first. For, if they have come into being, having previously had no existence, as those say who treat of the gods, they do not exist. For, a thing is either uncreated and eternal, or created and perishable.” *A Plea for Christians* ch.18 p.137

Athenagoras (177 A.D.) (partial) speaks of God and the first principles of the universe. *A Plea for Christians* ch.9 p.133

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) (partial) mentions that Gnostics taught that a divine mother was the first cause which had no beginning. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.2.1 p.317

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) says that God is the first cause in many places. In one place, Clement says that God is the producer of the beginning, “the first principle of the department of action, as He is good, or morals; as He is mind, on the other hand, He is the first principle of reasoning and of judgment.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.25 p.439. See also *Stromata* book 2 ch.4 p.350.

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) calls the Father the timeless and unoriginated First Principle *Stromata* book 7 ch.1 (=ch.50 on-line) *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.3 p.523

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) (partial gives Aristotle’s view and “first cause” is in the gloss) “As regards, however, the Deity, the Originator of all those glorious objects in creation, (the nature of) this (First Cause)-even to one conducting his speculations by a more prolonged inquiry than that concerning (the soul)-is more difficult to know than the soul itself. The definition, however, which Aristotle furnishes of the Deity is, I admit, not difficult to ascertain, but it is impossible to comprehend the meaning of it” Refutation of All Heresies book 7 ch.7 p.102

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “lest he should resemble those who mistakenly apply the name of God to lifeless matter, or who drag down the title of “the Good” from the First Cause, or from virtue and excellence, and apply it to blind Plutus, and to a healthy and well-proportioned mixture of flesh and blood and bones, or to what is considered to be noble birth.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.24 *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.4 p.406

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) discusses that God is the first cause, and every created thing has a cause. *Work on Things Created* p.380

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “should never cease to feel and to return thanks; that it should throughout the whole of life fall on bended knee, and offer supplication with never-ceasing prayers. For Thou art the first cause; in Thee created things exist, and Thou art the space in which rest the foundations of all things, whatever they be. Thou art illimitable, unbegotten, immortal, enduring for aye, God Thyself alone,” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book1 ch.31 *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.6 p.421

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) (implied) says that some such as Epicureans wrongly think “everything had its purpose in itself”. Others such as Plato wrongly think that God is a “mechanic” who could only make things out of pre-existing matter. However, God created the matter too, for God made all things and He made out of nothing. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.2 p.36-37

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) says God is the first cause. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 1 ch.8 p.13

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) says that all things were created through Christ. He says that the first cause of all was the pre-existent Word. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.2.3 p.82

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) “He who is above all that is good, the same is the (efficient) Cause of all, and is beyond all comprehension; and that on this account He cannot be described, enounced, or named;” *Theophania* ch.21 p.4

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite *Clementine Homilies* (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 3 ch.10 p.240 (partial) Peter says, “gratitude is to preserve our love to Him who is the cause of our being.”

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 8 ch.34 p.174 (partial) “But those who speak of nature instead of God, and declare that all things were made by nature, do not perceive the mistake of the name which they use. For if they think that nature is irrational, it is most foolish to suppose that a rational creature can proceed from an irrational creator. But if it is Reason, that is, Logos by which it appears that all things were made, they change the name without purpose, when they make statements concerning the reason of the Creator.”

## Ap8. Only One is supreme

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) refers to the Sibyl and quotes some of her poetry to show even Greek thought contained the idea of a supreme God. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.36 p.108-109

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “It is essential, certainly, that the providence which manages all, be both supreme and good. For it is the power of both that dispenses salvation-the one correcting by punishment, as supreme, the other showing kindness in the exercise of beneficence, as a benefactor.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.27 p.340

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “because that is God which is supreme; but nothing else can be supreme than that which is unique; and that cannot possibly be unique which has anything equal to it;” *Tertullian Against Hermogenes* ch.4 p.479

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “That supremacy, then, which we ascribe to God in consideration of His essence, and not because of His name, ought, as we maintain, to be equal in both the beings who consist of that substance for which the name of God is given; because, in as far as they are called gods (*i.e.* supreme beings, on the strength, of course, of their unbegotten and eternal, and therefore great and supreme essence), in so far the attribute of being the great Supreme cannot be regarded as less or worse in one than in another great Supreme. If the happiness, and sublimity, and perfection of the Supreme Being shall hold good of Marcion’s god, it will equally so of ours; and if not of ours, it will equally not *hold* of Marcion’s. Therefore two supreme beings will be neither equal nor unequal: not equal, because the principle which we have just expounded, that the Supreme Being admits of no comparison with Himself, forbids it; not unequal, because another principle meets us respecting the Supreme Being, that He is capable of no diminution.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 1 ch.7 p.276

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “inculcate piety to the Supreme Being; and they promote those whose lives in the” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.74 p.668

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) “Then this knowledge, making known to us their nature, and the offices to which they are severally appointed, will not permit us to pray with confidence to any other than to the Supreme God, who is sufficient for all things, and that through our Saviour the Son of God, who is the Word, and Wisdom, and Truth, and everything else which the writings of God’s prophets and the apostles of Jesus entitle Him.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 5 ch.5 p.544

Seventh Council of Carthage (partial) p.570 “Saturninus of Thucca said: The Gentiles, although they worship idols, do yet know and confess a supreme God as Father and Creator.”

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) calls to God as “O Supreme Creator of things invisible.” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.31 p.421

Arnobius of Sicca (297-303 A.D.) mentions daily prayer to the Supreme Ruler. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.26 p.419

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says that if God is perfect in excellence, there can be only one. *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.3 p.11-13

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) says that God is Supreme. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 5 ch.4 p.8. He mentions the One Supreme God in *Preparation for the Gospel* book10 ch.1 p.2 and ibid book 8 ch.1 p.2.

## Ap9. Appeal to historians

Jasher (Upright one) Joshua 10:13; 2 Samuel 1:18

Wars of the Lord Numbers 21:14

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) speaks about Herodotus and Alexander [the Great] son of Philip. *A Plea for Christians* ch.28 p.143-144

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) used the historian Hesiod to show the world has a Creator. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.6 p.96. He mentions Berosus the Chaldean in book 3 ch.29 p.121

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) refers to Josephus in talking about Moses. Fragment 23 p.573

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) appeals to Flavius Josephus and Antoninus Julianus. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.33 p.194

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) mentions the *History of the Jews* by Flavius Josephus the Jew. *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.334

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) refers to Berosus (the Chaldean/Babylonian historian) *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.328

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) appeals to Ikesius and Berosus (the Babylonian). *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.5 p.190

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) appeals to the Greek Diodorus, Thallus, Cassian Severus, and Cornelius Nepos. *Apology* ch.10 p.26

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) Manetho the Egyptian, and Berosus the Chaldean, and Hieromus the Phoenician king of Tyre; their successors too, Ptolemy the Mendesian, and Demetrius Phalereus, and King Juba, and Apion, and Thallus, and their critic the Jew Josephus, the native vindicator of the ancient history of his people, who either authenticates or refutes the others. Also the Greek censors’ lists must be compared, and the dates of events ascertained, that the chronological connections may be opened up, and thus the reckonings of the various annals be made to give forth light. We must go abroad into the histories and literature of all nations.” *Apology* ch.19 p.33

**Julius Africanus** (235-245 A.D.) mentions the Babylonian historian Berosus. *Five Books of the Chronology of Julius Africanus* ch.13.1 p.133. He refers to Herodotus in ch.13.6 p.134

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) refers to Greek historians, historians of the Phoenicians, and Flavius Josephus. *Origen Against Celsus* book 4 ch.10 p.501. He refers to Herodotus in *Origen Against Celsus* book 5 ch.34 p.538 and book 5 ch.36 p.559

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) “And to so great a reputation among the people for righteousness did this James rise, that Flavius Josephus, who wrote the “Antiquities of the Jews” in twenty books, when wishing to exhibit the cause why the people suffered so great misfortunes that even the temple was razed to the ground, said, that these things happened to them in accordance with the wrath of God in consequence of the things which they had dared to do against James the brother of Jesus who is called Christ.” *Commentary on Matthew* book 10 no.17 p.424

&&&Origen (*Prayer* or *Exhortation to Martyrdom*)

&&&**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) &&&

**Anatolius** (270-280 A.D.) refers to historians Josephus, Musaeus, and mention the seventy translators of the Septuagint. *Paschal Canon* ch.3 p.147

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) refers to Varrus. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 5 ch.8 p.493

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) mentions the historians/chroniclers Homer and Hesiod *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.5 p.14

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) mentions the ancient historians Diodorus, Thallus, Nepos, Cassius, Varro, and Maro. *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.13 p.24

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) appeals to historians in many places including Philo of Byblos in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 1 ch.9 p.17 and Diodorus in his *Histories* in ibid book 2 ch.2 p.11

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) mentions at length Josephus Flavius in *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.5.3 p.88. Eusebius quotes the “Testimonium Flavium” in book 1 ch.11.7-9 p.98

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) quotes from Philo as “So far Philo” in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 8 ch.7 p.10.

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) quotes from Josephus in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 8 ch.8 p.10-11.

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) refers to Alexander Polyhistor, Philo, and Flavius Josephus. *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.9 p.277

pseudo-Justin Martyr (168-200 A.D.) mentions Berossus the Babylonian historian and his daughter. *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.37 p.288

**Among heretics**

The Encratite Gnostic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) mentions that the Babylonian priest Berosus, born in the time of Alexander, mentions Nebuchodonosor [Nebuchadnezzar] who fought the Phoenicians and the Jews. *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.36 p.80

## Ap10. Using chronology in apologetics

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) says that the cited utterances of David (all of Psalms 1 and 2) were given 1,500 years before Christ became a man. Justin is mistaken here; it was a little over 1,000 years. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.42 p.177

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) discusses Hebrew vs. Greek chronology in *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.16-23 p.116-118

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) gives an intertwined chronology of the Hebrews, Greeks, Egyptians, and Romans *Stromata* book 1 ch.21-24 p.324-336

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) discusses Jewish chronology. *Refutation of All Heresies* book 10 ch.26-27 p.148-149.

**Julius Africanus** (235-245 A.D.) has an entire book on Hebrew and Greek Chronology. *ANF* vol.6 p.130-138

**Anatolius** (270-280 A.D.) uses Hebrew and Roman calendars to calculate the exact day of Easter.

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) uses chronology in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 9 ch.21 p.19.

Eusebius of Caesarea (326-339/340 A.D.) explains who was the Roman emperor when various events happened. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.7 p.96

Eusebius of Caesarea (326-339/340 A.D.) explains who the high priests were when things happened. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.10 p.96-97

Eusebius of Caesarea (326-339/340 A.D.) compares the dates to Antony and Cleopatra. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.4.2 p.88.

## Ap11. Moses is older than Homer

The prophets are older than the majority of Greek writers, and Moses (1445 B.C.) is older than Homer, about 1000 B.C. But some of the prophets were younger than Homer.

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) first speaks critically of the Greek poets, and then says that the prophet Moses was older than all writers. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.54 p.181

Athenagoras (177 A.D.) (partial) says that Homer and other poets are of a recent date, only about 400 years before Herodotus. *A Plea for Christians* ch.17 p.136

**Theophilus of Antioch**(168-181/188 A.D.) says that the writings of Moses are before the birth of Jupiter and the Trojan war in *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.23 p.118. He also says that Scripture is older than the other writers in book 3 ch.20 p.117.

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) (implied) “The time, then, ye men of Greece, is now come, that ye, having been persuaded by the secular histories that Moses and the rest of the prophets were far more ancient than any of those who have been esteemed sages among you, abandon the ancient delusion of your forefathers, and instead read the divine histories of the prophets, and ascertain from them the true religion;” *Justin’s Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.35 p.287

**Clement of Alexandria** (197-217/220 A.D.) “And Homer and Hesiod are much more recent than the Trojan war; and after them the legislators among the Greeks are far more recent, Lycurgus and Solon, and the seven wise men, and Pherecydes of Syros, and Pythagoras the great, who lived later, about the Olympiads, as we have shown. We have also demonstrated Moses to be more ancient, not only than those called poets and wise men among the Greeks,” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.325

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) (partial) briefly mentions Homer. *The Chaplet* ch.13 p.102

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) says that the writings of Moses and the prophets are older not only than Plato, but even of Homer and the invention of letters. *Origen Against Celsus* book 6 ch.7 p.576 also book 4 ch.21 p.505

Methodius (270-311/312 A.D.) (partial) briefly mentions Homer. “For since the children of the wise have said that our life is a festival, and that we have come to exhibit in the theatre the drama of truth, that is, righteousness, the devil and the demons plotting and striving against us, it is necessary for us to look upwards and to take our flight aloft, and to flee from the blandishments of their tongues, and from their forms tinged with the outward appearance of temperance, more than from the Sirens of Homer.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 8 ch.1 p.334

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (implied) “Him the prophets, filled with the inspiration of the Divine Spirit, proclaimed; of whom especially Solomon in the book of Wisdom, and also his father [David], the writer of divine hymns-both most renowned kings, who preceded the times of the Trojan war by a hundred and eighty years -testify that He was born of God. His name is known to none, except to Himself and the Father, as John teaches in the Revelation.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.42 p.238

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “Now this was the time in which the very latest of the Hebrew prophets were prophesying, who lived more than six hundred years after the Trojan War, and not less than fifteen hundred years after the age of Moses: and this will be manifest to you when presently going through the records of the chronology.” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 10 ch.4 p.10. See also book 10 ch.9 p.21,23

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) &&& *Chronicon* ch.&&&

**Among heretics**

The Encratite Gnostic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) argues that Moses older not only of Homer, but also of Linus, Philammon, Thmayris, Orpheus, Epimenides of Crete, etc. Linus was Hercules’ teacher, who preceded the Trojan war by one generation. *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.41 p.81

# POLEMIC EVANGELISM

## Pm1. Be on guard against error

**Ignatius** (100-107/116 A.D.) “Not that I know there is anything of this kind among you; but I put you on your guard, inasmuch as I love you greatly, and foresee the snares of the devil.” *Ignatius’ Letter to the Trallians* [Greek] ch.8 p.69

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 similitude 5 ch.3 p.34 “First of all, be on your guard against every evil word, and every evil desire, and purify your heart from all the vanities of this world.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “For we forewarn you to be on your guard, lest those demons whom we have been accusing should deceive you, and quite divert you from reading and understanding what we say.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.14 p.167

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Or, again, what inexperienced person can with ease detect the presence of brass when it has been mixed up with silver? “Lest, therefore, through my neglect, some should be carried off, even as sheep are by wolves, while they perceive not the true character of these men, -because they outwardly are covered with sheep’s clothing (against whom the Lord has enjoined us to be on our guard), and because their language resembles ours, while their sentiments are very different,-I have deemed it my duty (after reading some of the *Commentaries*, as they call them, of the disciples of Valentinus, and after making myself acquainted with their tenets through personal intercourse with some of them) to unfold to thee, my friend, these portentous and profound mysteries, which do not fall within the range of every intellect, because all have not sufficiently purged their brains.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 preface p.315

**Caius** (190-217 A.D.) ch.3 p.602 (implied) “But as to those men who abuse the arts of the unbelievers to establish their own heretical doctrine, and by the craft of the impious adulterate the simple faith of the divine Scriptures, what need is there to say that these are not near the faith? For this reason is it they have boldly laid their hands upon the divine Scriptures, alleging that they have corrected them. And that I do not state this against them falsely, any one who pleases may ascertain. For if any one should choose to collect and compare all their copies together, he would find many discrepancies among them.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “‘For hatred,’ says Solomon, ‘raises strife, but instruction guardeth the ways of life;’” *Stromata* book 1 ch.6 p.307

**Tertullian** (205 A.D.) “But from the mouth of every prophet in succession, sound forth also utterances of the same God, augmenting the same law of His by a renewal of the same commands, and in the first place announcing no other duty in so special a manner as the being on guard against all making and worshipping of idols;” *Scorpiace* ch.2 p.635

**Asterius Urbanus** (c.232 A.D.) “for they were mindful of the Lord’s distinction and threatening, whereby He warned them to be on their guard vigilantly against the coming of the false prophets.” from Book 1 p.335-336

**Hippolytus** (222-235/236 A.D.) (implied) “Callistus corroborated the heresy of these *Noetians*, but we have *already* carefully explained the details of his life. And *Callistus* himself produced likewise a heresy, and derived its starting-points from these *Noetians*,-namely, so far as he acknowledges that there is one Father and God, viz., the Creator of the universe, and that this (God) is spoken of, and called by the name of Son, yet that in substance He is one Spirit. For Spirit, as the Deity, is, he says, not any *being* different from the Logos, or the Logos from the Deity; therefore this one person, (according to Callistus,) is divided nominally, but substantially not so. He supposes this one Logos to be God, and affirms that there was *in the case of the Word* an incarnation.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 10 ch.23 *ANF* vol.5 p.148

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “But since those against whom Jesus would have us to be on our guard give themselves out as the Christ-which is not a claim put forth by sorcerers-and since He says that even some who lead wicked lives will perform miracles in the name of Jesus, and expel demons out of men, sorcery in the case of these individuals, or any suspicion of such, is rather, if we may so speak, altogether banished, and the divinity of Christ established, as well as the divine mission of His disciples; seeing that it is possible that one who makes use of His name, and who is wrought upon by some power, in some way unknown, to make the pretence that he is the Christ, should seem to perform miracles like those of Jesus, while others through His name should do works resembling those of His genuine disciples.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 2 ch.49 p.450

Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) (partial) “to what he wished, not observing that he accuses the prophet of a want of manners, by making him, when asked about one thing, answer about another; for this is a fault to be guarded against in conversation.” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 6 ch.15 p.365

***Treatise on Rebaptism*** (250-258 A.D.) ch.15 p.676 “or if by chance baptism is given by any one in the name of Jesus Christ, we ought to supplement it, guarding the most holy invocation of the name of Jesus Christ, as we have most abundantly set forth; guarding, moreover, the custom and authority which so much claim our veneration for so long a time and for such great men.”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “For it is not persecution alone that is to be feared; nor those things which advance by open attack to overwhelm and cast down the servants of God. Caution is more easy where danger is manifest, and the mind is prepared beforehand for the contest when the adversary avows himself. The enemy is more to be feared and to be guarded against, when he creeps on us secretly; when, deceiving by the appearance of peace, he steals forward by hidden approaches, whence also he has received the name of the Serpent. That is always his subtlety; that is his dark and stealthy artifice for circumventing man. Thus from (he very beginning of the world he deceived; and flattering with lying words, he misled inexperienced souls by an incautious credulity.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 1 ch.1 p.421

**Roman church leaders** to Cyprian (250-251 A.D.) “that they might not deservedly forfeit the honour of martyrdom, if, on the occasion of martyrdom, they had wished to be betrayers of the Gospel. For he who does not guard what he has, in that condition whereon he possesses it, by violating the condition whereon he possesses it, loses what he possessed.” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 30 ch.4 p.309

**Lucius and the brethren** to Cyprian (254-257 A.D.) “seeing that you have always flourished in His Church, guarding the tenor of the faith, keeping firmly the Lord’s commands” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 76 ch.1 p.403

Venantius of Timisa at the **Seventh Council of Carthage** (258 A.D.) “Shall we guard her incorrupt and inviolate, or shall we betray her integrity and chastity to adulterers and corrupters? For he who makes the Church’s baptism common to heretics, betrays the spouse of Christ to adulterers.”

&&&**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (254-265 A.D.) “And besides all his other patient and laborious efforts, how shall I in words give any account of what he [Origen] did for us, in instructing us in theology and the devout character? and how shall I enter into the real disposition of the man, and show with what judiciousness and careful preparation he would have us familiarized with all discourse about the Divinity, guarding sedulously against our being in any peril with respect to what is the most needful thing of all, namely, the knowledge of the Cause of all things?” *Oration and Panegyric to Origen* argument 13 p.&&&

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “In order, therefore, that the virgin may not, when guarding against those sins which are in their own nature evil, be defiled by those which are like them and akin to them, conquering the one and being conquered by the other, that is, decorating herself with textures of different cloths, or with stones and gold, and other decorations of the body, things which intoxicate the soul;” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 5 ch.6 p.327-328

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Be on guard against error” *The Divine Institutes* vol.7 p.133

## Pm2. Debate and argument in witnessing

John 8:13-19; 10:34-39; Acts 15:2; Romans 7:1-4; 9:19-22

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Romans 9:19-22

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 10:34-38

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Paul and Barnabas were in sharp dispute and debate with Judaizers. Acts 15:2.

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) John 8:13-19; 10:34-39

**p38** Acts 18:27-19:6,12-16. (early 3rd century) Acts 18:28

**Aristides** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) “The Barbarians then, inasmuch as they did not comprehend God, erred with the elements; and they began to serve created things instead of the Creator of them, and on this account they made likenesses and they enclosed them in temples; and lo! they worship them and guard them with great precaution, that their gods may not be stolen by robbers; and the Barbarians have not understood that whatsoever watches must be greater than that which is watched; and that whatsoever creates must be greater than that whatever is created: if so be then that their gods are too weak for their own salvation, how will they furnish salvation to mankind?” *Apology of Aristides* ch.3 p.&&&

**Justin Martyr** (15-165 A.D.) &&& *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew*

&&&Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.)

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) wants his listeners to “be acquainted with the argumentative grounds also of our faith.” *A Plea for Christians* ch.18 p.132

Athenagoras (177 A.D.) “though we are able to demonstrate what we apprehend and justly believe, namely that there is one God, with proofs and reason accordant with truth?” *A Plea for Christians* ch.7 p.131

**Rhodon** (c.180 A.D.) (Against Marcion and Apelles) vol.8 p.766

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) has five books called *Irenaeus Against Heresies*

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “It was necessary clearly to prove, that, as their very opinions and regulations exhibit them, those who are of the school of Valentinus derive their origin from such mothers, fathers, and ancestors, and also to bring forward their doctrines, with the hope that perchance some of them, exercising repentance and returning to the only Creator, and God the Former of the universe, may obtain salvation, and that others may not henceforth be drown away by their wicked, although plausible, persuasions, imagining that they will obtain from them the knowledge of some greater and more sublime mysteries.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.31.3 p.358

**Maximus of Jerusalem** (185-196 A.D.) very logically argues that God is neither the author of evil nor the receptacle of evil. From the *Book Concerning Matter* (*ANF* vol.8) p.767-772

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) has an entire work argument against the bad and contradictory religion of the Greeks. *Hortatory Address to the Greeks*

**Serapion of Antioch** (200-210 A.D.) argue against Marcion. vol.8 p.775

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) makes the argument that if eternal gods could have unlimited children, then there would be too many gods. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.23 p.187

**Apollonius of Ephesus** (c.210 A.D.) (against Montanists)

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Now demonstration differs from syllogism; in as much as the point demonstrated is indicative of one thing, being one and identical; as we say that to be with child is the proof of being no longer a virgin. But what is apprehended by syllogism, though one thing, follows from several; as, for example, not one but several proofs are adduced of Pytho having betrayed the Byzantines, if such was the fact. And to draw a conclusion from what is admitted is to *syllogize*; while to draw a conclusion from what is true is to *demonstrate*.” *Stromata* book 8 ch.3 p.559

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) uses argument and debate. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.10 p.197-202

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) says that apes are smart enough not to worship images and ornaments, so don’t deceive yourself and show yourself inferior to apes. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.4 p.188

**Tertullian** (c.213 A.D.) has many works, including *Against Praxeas* and *Against Hermogenes*.

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) has a very long work: *Five Books Against Marcion*.

**Asterius Urbanus** (c.232 A.D.) debates against Montanus. (Montanists) from Book 1 vol.7 p.335

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) debates against false beliefs in *Refutation of All Heresies*. An example is his opposition to Marcion in *Refutation of All Heresies* book 7 ch.18 p.112.

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) mentions that Celsus is tautological. *Origen Against Celsus* book 2 ch.5 p.431

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) wrote an entire work against Sabellians called *Treatise Concerning the Trinity*.

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) is an entire treatise against Novatian and Novatianists, who say that those who did the Roman sacrifices have lost their salvation forever, never to be regained.

***Treatise on Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) is an entire treatise against Novatian and Novatianists, who say that those who did the Roman sacrifices have lost their salvation forever, never to be regained.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) gives an argument on why Novatianist baptism is invalid in *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 74 ch.3 p.398.

**Firmilian to Cyprian** (256 A.D.) speaks against Marcion, Cerdo, Apelles, Valentinus, and Basilides in *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 74 ch.5 p.391. He speaks against Cataphrygians, including Montanus and Priscilla, and all other heretics, in ibid ch.7 p.392.

**Seventh Council of Carthage** (258 A.D.) p.565 Caecilius of Bilta gives logical arguments why the baptism by heretics is not valid.

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) argues why things cannot happen from random reasons. *From the Books on Nature* ch.3 p.86

**Dionysius of Rome** (259-269 A.D.) “Now truly it would be just to dispute against those who, b y dividing and rending the monarchy, which is the most august announcement of the Church of God, into, as it were, three powers, and distinct substances (*hypostases*),…” *Against the Sabellians* ch.1 p.365

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) *Dialogue on the True Faith* (the entire work)

Adamantius (c.300 A.D.) makes the point that if the God of Christ and the Creator are different, then the Creator would have no claim or even reason to punish Judas. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.16 p.59

Adamantius (c.300 A.D.) answering Megethius “You and your party argue quite illogically. If you could prove your theories well and good, but if you are hunting for an argument not yet refuted, then your reasoning is irreverent.” Dialogue on the Frist Faith first part 920a 27 p.71

Adamantius (c.300 A.D.) refers to Ephesians 3:8-9. “If indeed this was the dispensation or plan of the unsearchable riches of Christ hidden from eternity, and this is the mystery which Paul brings to light the dispensation hidden in Him and who says that the unsearchable riches of Christ come from none other than the God who created all things, is an apostle of the Creator of all things.” (Adamantius is answering Eutropius) *Dialogue on the True Faith* Second part ch. 870a p.105

**Alexander of Lycopolis** (301 A.D.) rhetorically asks how matter could be unordered motion, and show why this is impossible. *Of the Manichaeans* ch.6 p.243.

&&&**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book &&&

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) “So one can fairly refute the Jews by these and by other arguments from the Divine Scriptures.” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.41.8 p.58

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) “Dionysius is worshipped among them because he has taught men drunkenness but the true Savior and Lord of all, for teaching temperance, is mocked by these people.” *Incarnation* ch.49.3 p.63

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says that since Greeks say gods are strong, and women are weaker and more feeble, then “there are no gods, since there are females also among the gods.” *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.16 p.29

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) Mentions the rewards of our labour [on earth]. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.66 p.250

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) “By saying these things, and by unfolding the divine Scriptures, we have often refuted them [Arians].” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Letter 2 ch.5 p.298

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) uses debate in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 4 ch.2 p.5.

**Among heretics**

**Mani** (262-278 A.D.) tries to show that Archelaus contradicts himself. *Disputation with Manes* ch.28 p.200-201

Marcionite heretic **Megethius** (c.300 A.D.) a self-labeled follower of Marcion, says he will give “exact proof”. *Dialogue on the True Faith* 1st part ch.26 p.70

Marcionite heretic Megethius (c.300 A.D.) says he is debating Adamantius *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.1 803 2 p.36-37

Marcionite heretic Megethius (c.300 A.D.) is said by Adamantius: “You and your party argue quite illogically. If you could prove your theories well and good, but if you are hunting for an argument not yet refuted, then your reasoning is irreverent.” Dialogue on the Frist Faith first part 920a 27 p.71

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions a debate with Peter and Simon Magus. homily 11 ch.31 p.291

## Pm3. Showing misconceptions/contradictions

(Not just saying it is wrong, but proving it is wrong, following the ramifications, appeal to others, etc.)

Luke 6:2-5; John 10:34-38; Galatians 2:14

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Galatians 2:14

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 10:34-38

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) Luke 6:2-4

***Epistle to Diognetus*** ch.2 p.25 (c.130-200 A.D.) asks why idolators dread a stone, similar to what we walk on, and brass, like vessels people commonly use.

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) shows why it is it is a perversion to say that the special sign in Isaiah 7:14 referred to a firstborn son born the usual, non-special way. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.84 p.2241

***Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum*** p.780 (177 A.D.) rhetorically asks how Christians can be cannibals when they will not even consume the blood of beasts.

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) discusses the birth and sepulchre of Zeus on Crete. *The Resurrection of the Dead* ch.30 p.145

Athenagoras (177 A.D.) asks is it not absurd to call Christians atheists. *A Plea for Christians* ch.3 p.131

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) rhetorically asks how people can worship gold and silver as gods when we do with those as we please. *Discourse to Antoninus Caesar* ch.1 *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.751

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) mentions sibyl’s saying, that if the gods begat and were immortal, then there would be so many gods that mortals would have no room to stand. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.3 p.94

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) “But also concerning the origin of the world, they uttered contradictory and absurd opinions. First, some of them, as we before explained, main-mined that the world is uncreated. And those that said it was uncreated and self-producing contradicted those who propounded that it was created. For by conjecture and human conception they spoke, and not knowing the truth. And others, again, said that there was a providence, and destroyed the positions of the former writers. Aratus, indeed, says:” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.6 p.96

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) mentions Jupiter’s tomb in Crete, while the rest of the gods, possibly, were not worthy of tombs. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.10 p.92

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) sets out to refute heretics in *Irenaeus Against Heresies* preface p.315.

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) For that Aeon, whose type they declare Judas to be, after being separated from her Enthymesis, was restored or recalled [to her former position]; but Judas was deprived [of his office], and cast out, while Matthias was ordained in his place, according to what is written, “And his bishopric let another take.” They ought therefore to maintain that the twelfth Aeon was cast out of the Pleroma, and that another was produced, or sent forth to fill her place; if, that is to say, she is pointed at in Judas. Moreover, they tell us that it was the Aeon herself who suffered, but Judas was the betrayer, [and not the sufferer.] Even they themselves acknowledge that it was the suffering Christ, and not Judas, who came to [the endurance of] passion. How, then, could Judas, the betrayer of Him who had to suffer for our salvation, be the type and image of that Aeon who suffered? *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.22.2 p.390

**Maximus of Jerusalem** (185-196 A.D.) says he shows the consequences of believing wrong on matter and evil. *From the Book Concerning Matter* 1 (*ANF* vol.8) p.768

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) shows the contradictions among Greek poets, philosophers, and other writers. *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.1-7 p.273-276

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “And what are the sacred rites of Jupiter? His nurse is a she-goat, and as an infant he is taken away from his greedy father, lest he should be devoured; and clanging uproar is dashed out of the cymbals of the Corybantes, lest the father should hear the infant’s wailing. Cybele of Dindymus-I am ashamed to speak of it-who could not entice her adulterous lover, who unhappily was pleasing to her, to lewdness, because she herself, as being the mother of many gods, was ugly and old, mutilated him, doubtless that she might make a god of the eunuch. On account of this story, the Galli also worship her by the punishment of their emasculated body. Now certainly these things are not sacred rites, but tortures. What are the very forms and appearances (of the gods)? do they not argue the contemptible and disgraceful characters of your gods? Vulcan is a lame god, and crippled; Apollo, smooth-faced after so many ages; Aesculapius well bearded, notwithstanding that he is the son of the ever youthful Apollo; Neptune with sea-green eyes; Minerva with eyes bluish grey; Juno with ox-eyes; Mercury with winged feet; Pan with hoofed feet; Saturn with feet in fetters; Janus, indeed, wears two faces, as if that he might walk with looks turned back; Diana sometimes is a huntress, with her robe girded up high; and as the Ephesian she has many and fruitful breasts; and when exaggerated as Trivia, she is horrible with three heads and with many hands. What is your Jupiter himself? Now he is represented in a statue as beardless, now he is set up as bearded; and when he is called Hammon, he has horns; and when Capitolinus, then he wields the thunderbolts; and when Latiaris, he is sprinkled with gore; and when Feretrius, he is not approached; and not to mention any further the multitude of Jupiters, the monstrous appearances of Jupiter are as numerous as his names. Erigone was hanged from a noose, that as a virgin she might be glowing among the stars. The Castors die by turns, that they may live. Aesculapius, that he may rise into a god, is struck with a thunderbolt. Hercules, that he may put off humanity, is burnt up by the fires of Oeta.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.21 p.185. For clearing up misconceptions see ch.28 p.10; ch.30 p.192-192; ch.31 p.192

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) shows the ridiculousness of worshipping Greek gods and the mysteries. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.2 p.175

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) Theocritus said after Alexander of Macedon died, “Men, keep your hearts up as long as you see the gods dying sooner than men.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.10 p.199

**Origen** Chapter XLIII. He next says of us, that ‘we ridicule those who worship Jupiter, because his tomb is pointed out in the island of Crete; and yet we worship him who rose from the tomb, although ignorant of the grounds on which the Cretans observe such a custom.’ Observe now that he thus undertakes the defense of the Cretans, and of Jupiter, and of his tomb, alluding obscurely

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) shows how absurd it is for people to believe all matter was created and moves by itself. *From the Books on Nature* ch.3 p.86

**Alexander of Lycopolis** (301 A.D.) rhetorically asks how matter could be unordered motion, and show why this is impossible. *Of the Manichaeans* ch.6 p.243.

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) in answering the charge the gods were currently punishing mankind because Christians did not worship them, sarcastically asks if it was because of modern Christians that the ancient wars of Xerxes and Alexander occurred. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.5 p.415

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) says that if someone says man does not have free will but is governed by unavoidable necessities of fate, then they are impious against God, making him the cause and author of human evils. *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 8 ch.16 p.342

***Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon*** (events c.315 A.D.) p.692 “Habib said: But this Zeus is an idol, the work of men. It is very well for thee to say that I insult him. But, if the carving of him out of wood and the fixing of him with nails proclaim aloud concerning him that he is made, how sayest thou to me that I insult him? Since lo! His insult is from himself, and against himself.”

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) “In denying this they make a double mistake: either in denying the Creator to be maker of all things, if evil had an independent subsistence and being of its own; or again, if they mean that He is maker of all things, they will of necessity admit Him to be maker of evil also. For evil, according to them, is included among existing things. But this must appear paradoxical and impossible.” *Against the Heathen* ch.6.1-2 p.6

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “And it was no difficult task, indeed, to refute the falsehoods of a few men who entertained perverse sentiments by the testimony of communities and tribes, who on this one point had no disagreement. For there is no one so uncivilized, and of such an uncultivated disposition, who, when he raises his eyes to heaven, although he knows not by the providence of what God all this visible universe is governed, does not understand from the very magnitude of the objects, from their motion, arrangement, constancy, usefulness, beauty, and temperament, that there is some providence, and that that which exists with wonderful method must have been prepared by some greater intelligence. And for us, assuredly, it is very easy to follow up this part as copiously as it may please us.” *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.2 p.11

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) argues that if the Oracle of Delphi spoke of God as without a mother, and Jupiter and the other gods had mothers, then the real God is not one of the Greek gods. *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.7 p.17

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) points out that “Lucretius, forgetting what he asserted, and what dogma he defended, wrote these verses:” *The Divine Institutes* book 7 ch.12 p.208

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) shows that if there was a time when Jesus was not, the Father was not always the Father. *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* ch.6 p.293

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “moreover of Pyrrho, and those who introduce the ‘suspension of judgement,’ and all the rest, whose opinions have been refuted in the preceding discourse, we have seen that they stand in opposition alike to the doctrines of the Hebrews and of Plato and to the truth itself, and moreover have received their refutation by means of their own weapons.” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 15 preface p.4

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) says Greek philosophers not only contradict each other, they don’t even stay in line with their own opinions. *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.7 p.276

**Among heretics**

**Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) points out the contradiction of the [Cretan] tomb of Olympian Zeus being among the Greeks. *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.27 p.76

**Mani** (262-278 A.D.) tries to show that Archelaus contradicts himself. *Disputation with Manes* ch.28 p.200-201

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 11 ch.31 p.291 shows contradictions in the teaching of Simon Magus.

## Pm4. Morality vs. evil in other religions

Leviticus 20:2-5

***The Apology of Aristides*** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) p.270 mentions that Greek gods did many wicked and demeaning things. Jupiter changed into various animals to debauch mortal women.

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) mentions shortcomings of the Greco-Roman gods. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.25 p.171 and ch.31 p.173

Justin Martyr (probably, but anonymous) (c.150 A.D.) “But since, next to Homer, Hesiod wrote his *Works and Days*, who will believe his driveling theogony? For they say that Chronos, the son of Ouranos,… Jupiter … Neptune, … Pluto ravished Proserpine, … Ceres … Europa … Minerva … Diana.” *Discourse to the Greeks* ch.2 p.271

Justin Martyr (probably, but anonymous) (c.138-165 A.D.) “why are you, being a Greek, indignant at your son when he imitates Jupiter, and rises against you and defrauds you of your own wife? Why do you count him your enemy, and yet worship one that is like him? And why do you blame your wife for living in unchastity, and yet honour Venus with shines?” *Discourse to the Greeks* ch.4 p.272

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) Why worship Greek gods? Saturn was a cannibal, Jupiter was an adulterer, even with his own daughter. Mars is the “pest of mortals”, some gods got wounded, and Osiris was torn limb from limb. Atys was mutilated, Aesculapius was struck by a thunderbolt from Zeus. *Theophilus Letter to Autolycus* book 1 ch.9 p.91

*Theophilus to Autolycus* (168-181/188 A.D.) book 1 ch.10 p.92 has an entire chapter on the absurdities of Greco-Roman idolatry.

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) discusses the immorality of Greek gods extensively. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.33 p.194

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) speaks in detail about Zeus, Athena and other gods and goddesses. *Stromata* book 7 ch.4 p.528-530

**Tertullian** (198-240 A.D.) “You turn your back in horror, indeed, on outcasts and exiles, on the poor and weak, on the obscurely born and the low-lived;(15) but yet you honour, even by legal sanctions,(16) unchaste men, adulterers, robbers, and parricides. Must we regard it as a subject of ridicule or indignation, that such characters are believed to be gods who are not fit to be men?” *To the Nations* book 2 ch.7 p.136

&&&**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) &&&

&&&**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.)

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “What say you, ye holy and pure guardians of religion? Have the gods, then, sexes; and are they disfigured by those parts, the very mention of whose names by modest lips is disgraceful? What, then, now remains, but to believe that they, as unclean beasts, are transported with violent passions, rush with maddened desires into mutual embraces, and at last, with shattered and ruined bodies, are enfeebled by their sensuality?” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 3 ch.10 p.466

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) says “the idolatry of the Greeks is shewn to be full of all ungodliness, and that its introduction has been not for the good, but for the ruin, of human life;” *Against the Heathen* ch.29 p.19

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) mentions that ancient Romans had human sacrifices to Jupiter Latiarius. *Against the Heathen* ch.25 p.17

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) mentions that worshippers of Saturn burned to death people in sacrifices. Proserpine was incestuously carried away by her uncle. *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.21 p.34-35

**Among heretics**

The Encratite Gnostic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) It is not Christians who eat human flesh. Rather, Pelops was said to be a supper for the gods, Kronos devours his children, and Zeus swallows Metis. *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.25 p.76

## Pm5. Do not judge/condemn others

Matthew 7:1-5; Luke 6:37; Romans 2:1; 14:4,7,13; 1 Corinthians 4:3

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) Luke 5:37

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Luke 6:35-41

**p40** – Romans 1:24-27; 1:31-2:3; 3:21-4:8; 6:2-5,16; 9:17,27 (3rd century A.D.) says we are not to judge others. Romans 1:1-3

**Polycarp** (100-155 A.D.) says that the Lord taught, “Judge not, that ye be not judged” *Letter to the Philippians* ch.2 p.33

Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 10.13 p.59 quotes Matthew 7:1, not to judge others.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “goods which are not his. And therefore has the Lord said: “Judge not, that ye be” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.30.3 p.504

**Clement of Alexandria** (193/217/220 A.D.) “find some one of those who have power with God to save. “Judge not, then, that” *Who is the Rich Man That Shall Be Saved?* ch.33 p.600

**Tertullian** (198-202 A.D.) “says, ‘Judge not, lest ye be judged,’” *Of Patience* ch.10 p.713

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “so vast an age? ‘Judge not, and ye shall not be judged; condemn not, and ye…’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.17 p.373

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “not declare it, according to the precept, ‘Judge not that ye be not judged’” *Commentary on Matthew* book 13 ch.30 p.493

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.12 p.661 quotes Romans 14:4 and says we are not to judge another man’s servant.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “In the Gospel according to Luke: “Judge not, that ye be not judged: condemn” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 third part ch.21 p.541

## Pm6. Do not throw pearls before swine

Matthew 7:6

**Clement of Alexandria** (198-202 A.D.) “But those who possess the Holy Spirit ‘search the deep things of God,’ -that is, grasp the secret that is in the prophecies. ‘To impart of holy things to the dogs’ is forbidden, so long as they remain beasts. For never ought those who are envious and perturbed, and still infidel in conduct, shameless in barking at investigation, to dip in the divine and clear stream of the living water.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.2 p.348. He also has a direct quote of Matthew 7:6 in *Stromata* book 1 ch.12 p.312.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “On the contrary, this *precept* is rather to be looked at carefully: ‘Give not the holy thing to the dogs, nor cast your pearls before swine;’ and, ‘Lay not hands easily on *any*; share not other men’s sins.’” *On Baptism* ch.18 p.677

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “in accordance with the Lord’s saying, “Not to cast one’s pearls before swine,” *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.25 p.255. See also *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.41 p.263 and *Tertullian to His Wife* (c.207 A.D.) book 2 ch.5 p.46.

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) (implied, because Hippolytus is discussing the beliefs of the Phrygians. He acknowledges that Jesus said this, but it is unclear what his interpretation is.) “This, he says, is what (Jesus) asserts: ‘Throw not that which is holy unto the dogs, nor pearls unto the swine.’” *The Refutation of All Heresies* book 5 ch.3 p.55.

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) quotes the first half of Matthew 7:6, and discusses it, then the second half of Matthew 7:6 and then discusses that. *Commentary on Matthew* book 10 ch.8 p.418

**Moyses, Maximum, and Nicostratus** to Cyprian (250 A.D.) “For we observe that you have both rebuked with fitting censure, and worthily, those who, unmindful of their sins, had, with hasty and eager desire, extorted peace from the presbyters in your absence, and those who, without respect for the Gospel, had with profane facility granted the *holiness* of the Lord unto dogs, and pearls to swine;” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 25 ch.5 p.304

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “And we are, moreover, bidden to keep what is holy within our own knowledge, and not expose it to be trodden down by swine and dogs, since the Lord speaks, saying, ‘Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 5 ch.1 p.458. See also Treatise 12 part 3 ch.50 p.546.

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes Matthew 7:6 “Also in the Gospel according to Matthew: ‘Give not that which is holy to dogs; neither case ye your pearls before the swine, lest perchance they trample them down with their feet, and turn again and crush you.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.50 p.546

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) quotes Matthew 7:6. *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* Discourse 4 ch.6 p.324

Methodius (270-311/312 A.D.) quotes Matthew 7:6 and says why Origen’s allegorical interpretation is wrong. “If we must understand by pearls the glorious and divine teachings, and by swine those who are given up to impiety and pleasures, from whom are to be withheld and hidden the apostle’s teachings, which stir men up to piety and faith in Christ, see how you say that no Christians can be converted from their impiety by the teachings of the apostles. For they would never cast the mysteries of Christ to those who, through want: of faith, are like swine.” *Extracts from the Work on Things Created* ch.1 p.379

**Theophilus** (events c.315 A.D.) says not to cast holy things to dogs or cast pearls before swine. *Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon* vol.8 p.694

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Two Epistles Concerning Virginity*** (3rd century A.D.) Second Epistle ch.7 p.62 quotes Matthew 7:6.

**Among heretics**

***A Naasene Sermon*** (188-235 A.D.) says not to cast what is holy to the dogs or pearls to swine. *TGB* p.490

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 3 ch.1 p.117 “Him by whom he has been sent, and from whom he has received commandment not to throw the pearls of His words before swing and dogs, who striving against them with arguments and sophisms, roll them in the mud of carnal understandings, and by their barkings and base answers break and weary the preachers of God’s word.”

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 2 ch.3 p.98 says not to cast our pearls before swine. No mention of dogs though.

Elchesites (partial, does not mention swine) according to Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) “Inasmuch as (Elchesai) considers, then, that it would be an insult to reason that these mighty and ineffable mysteries should be trampled under foot, or that they should be committed to many, he advises that as valuable pearls they should be preserved, expressing himself thus: ‘Do not recite this account to all men, and guard carefully these precepts” *The Refutation of All Heresies* book 9 ch.12 p.133

## Pm7. Don’t give what is holy to the dogs

Matthew 7:6

***Didache*** (=*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*) (120-150 A.D.) ch.9 p.380 “for concerning this also the Lord hath said, Give not that which is holy to the dogs.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (198-202 A.D.) “But those who possess the Holy Spirit ‘search the deep things of God,’ -that is, grasp the secret that is in the prophecies. ‘To impart of holy things to the dogs’ is forbidden, so long as they remain beasts. For never ought those who are envious and perturbed, and still infidel in conduct, shameless in barking at investigation, to dip in the divine and clear stream of the living water.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.2 p.348. He also has a direct quote of Matthew 7:6 in *Stromata* book 1 ch.12 p.312.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “On the contrary, this *precept* is rather to be looked at carefully: ‘Give not the holy thing to the dogs, nor cast your pearls before swine;’ and, ‘Lay not hands easily on *any*; share not other men’s sins.’” *On Baptism* ch.18 p.677

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “in accordance with the Lord’s saying, ‘Not to cast one’s pearls before swine,’” *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.25 p.255. See also *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.41 p.263 and *Tertullian to His Wife* (c.207 A.D.) book 2 ch.5 p.46.

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) (implied, because Hippolytus is discussing the beliefs of the Phrygians. He acknowledges that Jesus said this, but it is unclear what his interpretation is.) “This, he says, is what (Jesus) asserts: ‘Throw not that which is holy unto the dogs, nor pearls unto the swine.’” *The Refutation of All Heresies* book 5 ch.3 p.55.

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “He [Jesus] said, ‘Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast your pearls before the swine.’” *Commentary on Matthew* book 10 ch.8 p.418

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “And we are, moreover, bidden to keep what is holy within our own knowledge, and not expose it to be trodden down by swine and dogs, since the Lord speaks, saying, ‘Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 5 ch.1 p.458.

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes Matthew 7:6 “Also in the Gospel according to Matthew: ‘Give not that which is holy to dogs; neither case ye your pearls before the swine, lest perchance they trample them down with their feet, and turn again and crush you.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.50 p.546

**Moyses, Maximum, and Nicostratus** to Cyprian (250 A.D.) “For we observe that you have both rebuked with fitting censure, and worthily, those who, unmindful of their sins, had, with hasty and eager desire, extorted peace from the presbyters in your absence, and those who, without respect for the Gospel, had with profane facility granted the *holiness* of the Lord unto dogs, and pearls to swine;” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 25 ch.5 p.304

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) quotes Matthew 7:6. *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* Discourse 4 ch.6 p.324

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**Theophilus** (events c.315 A.D.) says not to cast holy things to dogs or cast pearls before swine. *Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon* vol.8 p.694

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**Among heretics**

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**Manes** (262-278 A.D.) Manes says, “For it is not meet to give the holy things to dogs.” Fragment Archelaus’ *Disputation with Manes* in Cyril of Jerusalem *Catechisms* ch.6 no.27-29 *ANF* vol.6 p.234

## Pm8. Beware of wolves/false prophets

Matthew 7:15-16; 24:24

**Ignatius of Antioch** (c.100-117 A.D.) “For there are many wolves that appear worthy of credit, who, by means of a pernicious pleasure, carry captive those that are running towards God; but in your unity they shall have no place.” *Epistle of Ignatius to the Philadelphians* [Greek] ch.2 p.80

***Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) (vol.7) ch.16 p.382 (implied) “For in the last days false prophets and corrupters shall be multiplied, and the sheep shall be turned into wolves, and love shall be turned into hate; for when lawlessness increaseth, they shall hate and persecute and betray one another”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “For he said, ‘Many shall come in My name, clothed outwardly in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.’ And, ‘There shall be schisms and heresies.’ And, ‘Beware of false prophets, who shall come to you clothed outwardly in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.’ And, ‘Many false Christs and false apostles shall arise, and shall deceive many of the faithful.’ There are, therefore, and there were many, my friends, who, coming forward in the name of Jesus, taught both to speak and act impious and blasphemous things; and these are called by us after the name of the men from whom each doctrine and opinion had its origin.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.35 p.212

*Tatian’s* ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 10.34 p.60 says to beware of false prophets and wolves.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “‘Lest, therefore, through my neglect, some should be carried off, even as sheep are by wolves, while they perceive not the true character of these men, -because they outwardly are covered with sheep’s clothing (against whom the Lord has enjoined us to be on our guard), and because their language resembles ours, while their sentiments are very different,-I have deemed it my duty (after reading some of the *Commentaries*, as they call them, of the disciples of Valentinus, and after making myself acquainted with their tenets through personal intercourse with some of them) to unfold to thee, my friend, these portentous and profound mysteries, which do not fall within the range of every intellect, because all have not sufficiently purged their brains.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 Preface ch.2 p.315

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “For the saving Word is called ‘wholesome,’ He being the truth; and what is wholesome (healthful) remains ever deathless. But separation from what is healthful and divine is impiety, and a deadly malady. These are rapacious wolves hid in sheep-skins, men-stealers, and glozing soul-seducers, secretly, but proved to be robbers; striving by fraud and force to catch us who are unsophisticated and have less power of speech.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.8 p.309

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) “Again, therefore, some venomous and false hypocrites, who plotted against righteousness, He once called ‘a brood of vipers.’ But if one of those serpents even is willing to repent, and follows the Word, he becomes a man of God. Others he figuratively calls wolves, clothed in sheep-skins, meaning thereby monsters of rapacity in human form. And so all such most savage beasts, and all such blocks of stone, the celestial song has transformed into tractable men.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.1 p.172

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Now, what are these sheep’s clothing’s, but the external surface of the Christian profession? Who are the ravening wolves but those deceitful senses and spirits which are lurking within to waste the flock of Christ? Who are the false prophets but deceptive predictors of the future? Who are the false apostles but the preachers of a spurious gospel? Who also are the Antichrists, both now and evermore, but the men who rebel against Christ? Heresies, at the present time, will no less rend the church by their perversion of doctrine, than will Antichrist persecute her at that day by the cruelty of his attacks, except that persecution make seven martyrs, (but) heresy only apostates.” *Prescription Against heretics* ch.4 p.245

**Origen** (239-242 A.D.) says to watch out for heretics like foxes. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 2 ch.5.1 p.52

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.14 p.661-662 “And indeed the Lord had foretold that many should come as ravening wolves in the skins of sheep. Who are those ravening wolves but such as conspire with treacherous intent to waste the flock of Christ?”

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “We ought to remember by what name Christ calls His people, by what title He names His flock. He calls them sheep, that their Christian innocence may be like that of sheep; He calls them lambs, that their simplicity of mind may imitate the simple nature of lambs. Why does the wolf lurk under the garb of sheep? why does he who falsely asserts himself to be a Christian, dishonour the flock of Christ? To put on the name of Christ, and not to go in the way of Christ, what else is it but a mockery of the divine name, but a desertion of the way of salvation;” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 10 ch.12 p.494

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.)quotes Matthew 7:15-16; Luke 6:35; Matthew 15:19. *Dialogue on the True Faith* First part ch.28 821c p.75

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “That just as hunters take by a sheep the wolves that devour sheep, even so the Chief Shepherd, offering Himself as man to the spiritual wolves and those who destroy the soul, may make His prey of the destroyers by means of that Adam who was once preyed on by them.” *Oration on Psalms* ch.6 p.397

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Doubtless the crafty man wished to conceal the wolf under the skin of a sheep, that he might ensnare the reader by a deceitful title.” *The Divine Institutes* book 5 ch.3 p.139

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions to watch out for “fierce wolves”. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.1.2 p.81

**Among corrupt of spurious books**

**pseudo-Ignatius of Antioch** (c.100-117 A.D.) “For there are many wolves in sheep’s clothing, who, by means of a pernicious pleasure, carry captive those that are running towards God; but in your unity they shall have no place.” *Epistle of Ignatius to the Philadelphians* [Latin version] ch.2 p.80

## Pm9. Calling other beliefs delusion(s)

2 Thessalonians 2:11; Isaiah 66:4

Romans 1:25 (partial) lie

*&&&****2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) &&&

Athenagoras (177 A.D.) (partial) mentions the absurdity of [pagan] theology. *A Plea for Christians* ch.26 p.143

Minucius Felix (210 A.D.) (partial) says Saturn, Serapis, & Jupiter were demons the pagans worshipped. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.27 p.190

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) “I wish to show thoroughly what like these gods of yours are, that now at length you may abandon your delusion, and speed your flight back to heaven. “For we also were once children of wrath, even as others; but God, being rich in mercy, for the great love wherewith He loved us, when we were now dead in trespasses, quickened us together with Christ.’” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.2 p.178

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) calls idolatry the “delusion of men”. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.4 p.187

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “and “the sending of the strong delusion,” on those who despise and mock, as well as upon those who are ignorant of Him;” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.16 p.464

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) (implied) says that Marcion was “mutilating or misinterpreting the Scriptures, and introducing, above all, apocryphal mysteries and blasphemous fables.” *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* ch.63 p.594

**Asterius Urbanus** (c.232 A.D.) says that Theodotus “was given over to the Spirit of delusion.” From Book 2 p.336

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “For we observe that our discourse has been serviceable not only for a refutation of heresies, but also in reference to those who entertain these opinions. Now these, when they encounter the extreme care evinced by us, will even be struck with admiration of our earnestness, and will not despise our industry and condemn Christians as fools when they discern the opinions to which they themselves have stupidly accorded their belief. And furthermore, those who, desirous of learning, addict themselves to the truth, will be assisted by our discourse to become, when they have learned the fundamental principles of the heresies, more intelligent not only for the easy refutation of those who have attempted to deceive them, but that also, when they have ascertained the avowed opinions of the wise men, and have been made acquainted with them, that they shall neither be confused by them as ignorant persons would, nor become the dupes of certain individuals acting as if from some authority; nay, more than this, they shall be on their guard against those that are allowing themselves to become victims to these delusions.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 4 ch.45 p.42

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “either from superstition or some other form of delusion, went as far as they could in degrading the Divine Being to the level of brute beasts.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.53 p.659

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes 2 Thessalonians 210-12 that God should send them strong delusion and they believe a lie. *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 54 ch.13 p.343

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (254-265 A.D.) “he [the philosopher] declares to be the truth, and holds that all else which is maintained by other philosophers is simply delusion and folly, though he himself does not more satisfactorily establish his own positions by argument, that do all the others severally defend their peculiar tenets;” *Oration and Panegyric to Origen* argument 14 p.35

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) calls pagan beliefs delusion. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.3 p.434 He also mentions “empty delusions”

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) mentions the teachings of poets, philosophers and delusion of the demons. *The Incarnation of the Word* ch.48 p.63

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “In Ennius Africanus thus speaks: ‘If it is permitted any one to ascend to the regions of the gods above, the greatest gate of heaven is open to me alone.’ Because, in truth, he extinguished and destroyed a great part of the human race. Oh how great the darkness in which you were involved, O Africanus, or rather O poet, in that you imagined the ascent to heaven to be open to men through slaughters and bloodshed! And Cicero also assented to this delusion.” *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.18 p.31

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “But these are the delusions of those who, concealing themselves under the names of the dead, lay snares for the living. Therefore, whether the impending danger can be avoided, they wish it to appear that they averted it, having been appeased; or if it cannot be avoided, they contrive that it may appear to have happened through disregard of them.” *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.17 p.66

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) calls pagan beliefs superstitious delusions in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 2 ch.5 p.26.

**Among heretics**

Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.40 “who love the truth, almost all would have been involved in impious delusion.”

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) “Since, therefore, God knew that the first men remembered the old delusion of their forefathers, whereby the misanthropic demon contrived to deceive them when he said to them, 'If ye obey me in transgressing the commandment of God, ye shall be as gods,' calling those gods which had no being, in order that men, supposing that there were other gods in existence, might believe that they themselves could become gods.” *Justin’s Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.21 p.281

## Pm10. Humor or wit in witnessing

(Dark humor, puns, etc.)

Acts 26:29

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) uses a pun. It says the people slaughtered to Mercury were human, or rather inhuman sacrifices. *Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.30 p.192

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “But if you enter the penetralia of the enclosure, and, in haste to behold something better, seek the image that is the inhabitant of the temple, and if any priest of those that offer sacrifice there, looking grave, and singing a paean in the Egyptian tongue, remove a little of the veil to show the god, he will give you a hearty laugh at the object of worship. For the deity that is sought, to whom you have rushed, will not be found within, but a cat, or a crocodile, or a serpent of the country, or some such beast unworthy of the temple, but quite worthy of a den, a hole, or the dirt. The god of the Egyptians appears a beast rolling on a purple couch.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.2 p.272

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Now, how much further need I go in recounting your gods-because I want to descant on the character of such as you have adopted? It is quite uncertain whether I shall laugh at your absurdity, or upbraid you for your blindness. For how many, and indeed what, gods shall I bring forward? Shall it be the greater ones, or the lesser? The old ones, or the novel? The male, or the female? The unmarried, or such as are joined in wedlock? The clever, or the unskilful? The rustic or the town ones? The national or the foreign? For the truth is, there are so many families, so many nations, which require a catalogue (of gods), that they cannot possibly be examined, or distinguished, or described.” *Tertullian To the Nations* book 2 ch.12 p.140

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) uses wit in his argument. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.80 p.218

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “For do the bodies of the deities feel parching thirst, and is it necessary that their dryness be tempered by some moisture? Are they accustomed, as men are, to combine eating and drinking? In like manner, also, after the solid food of cakes and pottages, and victims slain in honour of them, do they drench themselves, and make themselves merry with very frequent cups of wine, that their food may be more easily softened, and thoroughly digested? Give, I beg, to the immortal gods to drink; bring forth goblets, bowls, ladles, and cups; and as they stuff themselves with bulls, and luxurious feasts, and rich food,-lest some piece of flesh hastily gulped down should stick in passing through the stomach, run up, hasten, give pure wine to Jupiter, the most excellent, the supreme, lest he be choked. He desires to break wind, and is unable; and unless that hindrance passes away and is dissolved, there is very great danger that his breathing will be stopped and interrupted, and heaven be left desolate without its rulers.” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 7 ch.29 p.529-530

Arnobius of Sicca (297-303 A.D.) “For suppose that it had occurred to us, moved either by suitable influence or violent fear of you, to worship Minerva, for example, with the rights you deem sacred, and the usual ceremony: if, when we prepare sacrifices, and approach to make *the offerings* appointed for her on the flaming altars, all the Minervas shall fly thither, and striving for the right to that name, each demand that the offerings prepared be given to herself; what drawn-out animal shall we place among them, or to whom shall we direct the sacred offices which are our duty? For the first one of whom we spoke will perhaps say: ‘The name Minerva is mine, mine the divine majesty, who bore Apollo and Diana, and by the fruit of my womb enriched heaven with deities, and multiplied the number of the gods.’ ‘Nay, Minerva,’ the fifth will say, ‘are you speaking, who, being a wife, and so often a mother, have lost the sanctity of spotless purity? Do you not see that in all temples the images of Minervas are those of virgins, and that all artists refrain from giving to them the figures of matrons? Cease, therefore, to appropriate to yourself a name not rightfully yours. For that I am Minerva, begotten of father Pallas, the whole band of poets bear witness, who call me Pallas, the surname being derived from my father.’ The second will cry on hearing this: ‘What say you? Do you, then, bear the name of Minerva, an impudent parricide, and one defiled by the pollution of lewd lust, who, decking yourself with rouge and a harlot’s arts, roused upon yourself even your father’s passions, full of maddening desires? Go further, then, seek for yourself another name for this belongs to me, whom the Nile, greatest of rivers, begot from among his flowing waters, and brought to a maiden’s estate from the condensing of moisture. But if you inquire into the credibility of the matter, I too will bring as witnesses the Egyptians, in whose language I am called Neith, as Plato’s *Timaeus* attests.’ What, then, do we suppose will be the result? Will she indeed cease to say that she is Minerva, who is named Coryphasia, either to mark her mother, or because she sprung forth from the top of Jove’s head, bearing a shield, and girt with the terror of arms? *Or are we to suppose* that she who is third will quietly surrender the name? and not argue and resist the assumption of the first *two* with such words as these: ‘Do you thus dare to assume the honour of my name, O Sais, sprung from the mud and eddies of a stream, and formed in miry places? Or do you usurp another’s rank, who falsely say that you were born a goddess from the head of Jupiter, and persuade very silly men that you are reason? Does he conceive and bring forth children from his head? That the arms you bear might be forged and formed, was there even in the hollow of his head a smith’s workshop? *were there anvils*, hammers, furnaces, bellows, coals, and pincers? Or if, as you maintain, it is true that you are reason, cease to claim for yourself the name which is mine; for reason, of which you speak, is not a certain form of deity, but the understanding of difficult questions.’ If, then, as we have said, five Minervas should meet us when we essay to sacrifice, and contending as to whose this name is, each demand that either fumigations of incense be offered to her, or sacrificial wines poured out from golden cups; by what arbiter, by what judge, shall we dispose of so great a dispute? or what examiner will there be, what umpire of so great boldness as to attempt, with such personages, either to give a just decision, or to declare their causes not founded on right? Will he not rather go home, and, keeping himself apart from such matters, think it safer to have nothing to do with them, test he should either make enemies of the rest, by giving to one what belongs to all, or be charged with folly for yielding to all what should be the property of one?” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 4 ch.16 p.480-481. See also ibid boo 4 ch.4 p.477 and book 4 ch.13 p.480.

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “A noble and wise sentiment. But he ridiculously added this: that there is this gold in the temples, as there are doll presented to Venus by the virgin; which perhaps he may have despised on account of their smallness. For he did not see that the very images and statues of the gods, wrought in gold and ivory by the hand of Polycletus, Euphranor, and Phidias, were nothing more than large dolls, not dedicated by virgins, to whose sports some indulgence may be granted, but by bearded men. Therefore Seneca deservedly laughs at the folly even of old men. We are not (he says) boys twice, as is commonly said, but are always so.” *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.4 p.45

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) uses humor in witnessing. homily 10 ch.16-17 p.282

## Pm11. Harsh rebuke in witnessing

(Satanic, evil, going to Hell, etc.)

Matthew 3:8-10; Luke 6:24-26; John 8:44,55; 9:41; Galatians 1:6-9; Philippians 3:2

Jesus and Paul commanded us to rebuke people in Luke 17:3; 1 Timothy 5:20; Titus 1:13; 2:15

2 Timothy 4:2 says, “Preach the Word; be prepared in season and out of season; correct, rebuke and encourage – with great patience and careful instruction.” (NIV)

John the Baptist called some of the people who came out to see him a “brood of vipers” in Luke 3:7.

Jesus likewise called the Pharisees snakes and a brood of vipers condemned to Hell in Matthew 23:33; hypocrites (Matthew 23:29)

Paul harshly rebuked Elymas, who was opposing the Gospel, in Acts 13:10-12.

Paul spoke harshly about Judaizers, even calling them dogs, in Philippians 3:2

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Galatians 1:6-8

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John

**p77** (200 A.D.) - Matthew 23:30-39. Matthew 23:33

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) Luke 6:24-26

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) has harsh rebuke of Elymas the sorcerer, calling him “a child of the devil and an enemy of everything that is right.” Acts 13:10-12

**p78** (300 A.D.) Jude 4-5,7-8 Jude 4-5 strong rebuke

**Polycarp** (155 A.D.) bravely told his killers before he was burned to death. “You threaten me with fire that can burn for an hour, and after a little while is extinguished, but are ignorant of the fire of the coming judgment and of eternal punishment, reserved for the ungodly.” *Concerning the Martyrdom of Polycarp* ch.11 p.41

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “those who charge us with atheism, and that because they have not even the dreamiest conception of what God is, and are doltish and utterly unacquainted with natural and divine things…” *A Plea for Christians* ch.13 p.134

**Rhodon** (c.180 A.D.) vol.8 p.766 “On my thereupon conjuring him to speak the truth, he solemnly declared that he was expressing his real sentiments; and that he did not know” how” there could be one uncreated God, but that he believed the fact. Here I burst into laughter and rebuked him, because he professed to be a teacher, and yet was unable to confirm *by arguments* what he taught.”

**Tatian’s *Diatessaron*** (177 A.D.) Jesus harshly rebukes the Pharisees. &&&

**Meleto/Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “Ungrateful Israel, come to trial with me [God] concerning your ingratitude” *On Pascha* stanza 87 p.61

**Theophilus** (168-181/188 A.D.) “I am silent about the temples of Antinous, and of the others whom you call gods. For when related to sensible persons, they excite laughter. They who elaborated such a philosophy regarding either the non-existence of God, or promiscuous intercourse and beastly concubinage, are themselves condemned by their own teachings. Moreover, we find from the writings they composed that the eating of human flesh was received among them; and they record that those whom they honour as gods were the first to do these things.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.8 p.113

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Since this, however, was so, they certainly did not speak to them in accordance with their old belief. For they, who told them to their face that they were the slayers of the Lord,” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.12.5 p.431

**Serapion of Antioch** (200-210 A.D.) “That ye may see also that the proceedings of this lying confederacy to which is given the name of New Prophecy, is abominated among the whole brotherhood throughout the world,” (*ANF* vol.8) ch.1 p.775

**Apollonius of Ephesus** (211 A.D.) “We declare to you, then, that these first prophetesses, as soon as they were filled with the spirit, left their husbands. Of what falsehood, then, were they guilty in calling Prisca a maiden!” *Concerning Montanism* ch.2 (*ANF* vol.8) p.775

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “How much more truly do dumb animals naturally judge concerning your gods? Mice, swallows, kites, knew that they have no feeling : they gnaw them, they trample on them, they sit upon them; and unless you drive them off, they build their nests in the very mouth of your god. Spiders, indeed, weave their webs over his face, and suspend their threads from his very head. You wipe, cleanse, scrape, and you protect and fear those whom you make;” *Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.24 p.187

Minucius Felix (210 A.D.) says Saturn, Serapis, and Jupiter were demons they worshipped. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.27 p.190

Minucius Felix (210 A.D.) uses dirty language in refuting other religions. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.28 p.191

**Caius** (190-217 A.D.) says that heretics boldly falsified scripture. ch.3 p.602 “But as to those men who abuse the arts of the unbelievers to establish their own heretical doctrine, and by the craft of the impious adulterate the simple faith of the divine Scriptures, what need is there to say that these are not near the faith? ... And as to the great audacity implied in this offence, it is not likely that even they themselves can be ignorant of that. For either they do not believe that the divine Scriptures were dictated by the Holy Spirit, and are thus infidels; or they think themselves wiser than the Holy Spirit, and what are they then but demoniacs? Nor can they deny that the crime is theirs, when the copies have been written with their own hand; ... And some of them did not even think it worth while to corrupt them; but simply denying the law and the prophets for the sake of their lawless and impious doctrine, trader pretexts of grace, they sunk down to the lowest abyss of perdition.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) (implied) “Denunciation is vehement speech. And He employs denunciation as medicine, by Isaiah, saying, “Ah, sinful nation, lawless sons, people full of sins, wicked seed!’ And in the Gospel by John He says, ‘Serpents, brood of vipers.’ Accusation is censure of wrong-doers. This mode of instruction He employs by David, when He says: “The people whom I knew not served me, and at the hearing of the ear obeyed me. Sons of strangers lied to me, and halted from their ways.’ And by Jeremiah: ‘And I gave her a writing of divorcement, and covenant-breaking Judah feared not.’ And again: ‘And the house of Israel disregarded Me; and the house of Judah lied to the Lord.’” *The Instructor* book 1 ch.9 p.229-230

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) “But senseless wood and stone, and rich gold, care not a whit for either savoury odour, or blood, or smoke, by which, being at once honoured and fumigated, they are blackened; no more do they for honour or insult. And these images are more worthless than any animal. I am at a loss to conceive how objects devoid of sense were deified, and feel compelled to pity as miserable wretches those that wander in the mazes of this folly: for if some living creatures have not all the senses, as worms and caterpillars, and such as even from the first appear imperfect, as moles and the shrew-mouse, which Nicander says is blind and uncouth; yet are they superior to those utterly senseless idols and images.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.4 p.186. See also ibid ch.1 p.172 and ch.10 p.198.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “In short, all heresies, when thoroughly looked into, are detected harbouring dissent in many particulars even from their own founders. The majority of them have not even churches. Motherless, houseless, creedless, outcasts, they wander about in their own essential worthlessness.” *On Prescription Against Heretics* ch.42 p.264

Tertullian (c.213 A.D.) speaks of the “most conceited Monarchians” *Against Praxeas* ch.10 p.604

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “Nothing, however, in Pontus is so barbarous and sad as the fact that Marcion was born there, fouler than any Scythian, more roving than the wagon-life of the Sarmatian, more inhuman than the Massagete, more audacious than an Amazon, darker than the could, (of Pontus) colder than its winter, more brittle than its ice, more deceitful than the Iser, more craggy than Caucasus. Nay more, the true Prometheus, Almighty God, is mangled by Marcion’s blasphemies.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 1 ch.1 p.272

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “Fie on Marcion’s sponge! But indeed it is superfluous to dwell on what he has erased, when he may be more effectually confuted from that which he has retained.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.4 p.435

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “What Pontic mouse [Marcion] ever had such gnawing powers as he who has gnawed the Gospels to pieces? Verily, O Euxine, thou hast produced a monster more credible to philosophers than to Christians.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 1 ch.1 p.272

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “Marcion, I pity you; your labour has been in vain. For the Jews Christ who appears in your Gospel is mine.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.43 p.423

**Asterius Urbanus** (c.232 A.D.) “challenged the maddening and insidious and seductive spirit, being themselves cajoled and misled by him” fragment 2 p.336

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “I think I have omitted no opinion found in this earthly and groveling Wisdom, I perceive that the solicitude expended by us on these subjects has not been useless. For we observe that our discourse has been serviceable not only for a refutation of heresies, but also in reference to those who entertain these opinions. Now these, when they encounter the extreme care evinced by us, will even be struck with admiration of our earnestness, and will not despise our industry and condemn Christians as fools when they discern the opinions to which they themselves have stupidly accorded their belief. And furthermore, those who, desirous of learning, addict themselves to the truth, will be assisted by our discourse to become, when they have learned the fundamental principles of the heresies, more intelligent not only for the easy refutation of those who have attempted to deceive them, but that also, when they have ascertained the avowed opinions of the wise men, and have been made acquainted with them, that they shall neither be confused by them as ignorant persons would, nor become the dupes of certain individuals acting as if from some authority; nay, more than this, they shall be on their guard against those that are allowing themselves to become victims to these delusions.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 4 ch.45 p.42

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) “And the wretched and baneful Sethians …” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 10 ch.7 p.143

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “On the ground that it is not in conformity with right reason (to suppose) that images, fashioned by the most worthless and depraved of workmen, and in many instances also provided by wicked men, can be (regarded as) gods.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.5 p.398

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.1 p.657 “lo, there appeared opposed to me another enemy, and the adversary of his own paternal affection-the heretic Novatian-who not only, as it is signified in the Gospel, passed by the prostrate wounded man, as did the priest or the Levite, but by an ingenious and novel cruelty rather would slay the wounded man, by taking away the hope of salvation, by denying the mercy of his Father, by rejecting the repentance of his brother. Marvellous, how bitter, how harsh, how perverse are many things! But one more easily perceives the straw in another’s eye than the beam in one’s own. … Let not the abrupt madness of this perfidious heretic move or disturb us however,”

*&&&****Treatise on Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) &&&

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Men imitate the gods whom they adore, and to such miserable beings their crimes become their religion.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 1 ch.8 p.277

**Caecilius of Bilta at the Seventh Council of Carthage** (258 A.D.) p.565 “not among heretics, where there is no hope, and the faith if false, where all things are carried on by lying; where a demoniac exorcises; where one whose mouth and words send forth a cancer put the sacramental interrogation; the faithless gives faith; the wicked bestows pardon of sins; and Antichrist baptizes in the name of Christ”

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “For since of the doctrine, which lately has been set on foot at Ptolemais, a city of Pentapolis, impious and full of blasphemy against Almighty God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; full of unbelief and perfidy towards His only begotten Son...” *Letter to Stephen of Rome* ch.3 p.102

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) “However, let the Apostle [Paul] come forward to reprove your dishonesty.” *Dialogue on the True Faith* Second Part 831a p.95

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) &&& *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book &&&

**Lucian of Antioch** (c.300-311 A.D.) “And if any one, contrary to the right faith of the Scriptures, teaches and says there has been a season or time or age before the Son of God was begotten, let him be accursed.” *Creed of Lucian of Antioch* in *The Creeds of Christendom* by Philip Schaff vol.2 p.27-28

Lucian of Antioch (c.300-311 A.D.) anathematizes all heretical false doctrine. *Creed of Lucian of Antioch* in *The Creeds of Christendom* by Philip Schaff vol.2 p.27

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “This man, in truth, who overthrew his own arguments by his character, or censured his own character by his arguments, a weighty censor and most keen accuser against himself, at the very same time in which a righteous people were impiously assailed, vomited forth three books against the Christian religion and name; professing, above all things, that it was the office of a philosopher to remedy the errors of men, and to recall them to the true way, that is, to the worship of the gods, by whose power and majesty, as he said, the world is governed;” *The Divine Institutes* book 5 ch.2 p.137

&&&**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) &&&

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (c.318-325 A.D.) in speaking of the Egyptian religion says, “These are in very truth mad sophistry-schools of unbelieving men, and gambling houses of pure fraud.” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 2 ch.3 p.12

**Among heretics**

The Encratite Gnostic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “How is it then that you, who have so many poetesses whose productions are mere trash, and innumerable courtezans, and worthless men, are not ashamed to slander the reputation of our women?” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.34 p.75

## Pm12. Calling people names

Amos 4:1 cows of Bashan

Psalm 22:12-13

Matthew 15:3 “you hypocrites!”;

Matthew 23:25,33; Luke 3:7; 11:40

Philippians 3:2 dogs

John 8:55; 1 John 5:10; Revelation 3:9 “liar”

Revelation 2:9 “a synagogue of Satan”

Partial Ezekiel 36:18 (The *Expositor’s Bible Commentary* volume 6 p.921 says this word, *gillulim*, is a favorite word of Ezekiel’s for idols. It might be derived from the word *gel*, for dung, and thus Ezekiel is calling the idols “dung-things”.)

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Philippians 3:2

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 8:55

**p77** (200 A.D.) - Matthew 23:30-39. Matthew 23:33

**p45 Chester Beatty I** – 833 verses (4 gospels plus Acts) (200-225 A.D.) Luke 11:40 “you foolish people”‘ Acts 10:12 “You are a child of the devil and an enemy of everything that is right!”

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; John 8:55

***Epistle to Diognetus*** ch.4 p.26 (c.130-200 A.D.) says that philosophers believe vain and silly things and called the philosophers deceivers.

*&&&****Tatian’s Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) &&&

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “O fools! ye worship serpents, dogs, and cats, Birds, and the creeping things of earth and sea, images made with hands, statues of stone, And heaps of rubbish by the wayside placed.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.33 p.107

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “For, joining the buffooneries of Anaxilaus to the crafitiness of the *magi*, as they are called, he is regarded by his senseless and cracked-brain followers as working miracles by these means.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.13.1 p.334

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “Since this, however, was so, they certainly did not speak to them in accordance with their old belief. For they [the apostles], who told them [the Jews] to their face that they were the slayers of the Lord,” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.12 p.432

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “Then let Socrates the Athenian buffoon see to it, confessing that he knew nothing, although boastful in the testimony of a most deceitful demon; let Arcesilaus also, and Carneades, and Pyrrho, and all the multitude of the Academic philosophers, deliberate; let Simonides also for ever put off the decision of his opinion. We despise the bent brows of the philosophers, whom we know to be corrupters, and adulterers, and tyrants, and ever eloquent against their own vices.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.38 p.197

**Caius** (190-217 A.D.) ch.3 p.602 (from Eusebius) “For either they [heretics] do not believe that the divine Scriptures were dictated by the Holy Spirit, and are thus infidels; or they think themselves wiser than the Holy Spirit, and what are they but demoniacs?”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) quotes Romans 1:22 “fools”. *Stromata* book 1 ch.27 p.340

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) “And in the Gospel by John He says, “Serpents, brood of vipers.” *The Instructor* book 1 ch.9 p.229

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) “He once called ‘a brood of vipers.’” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.1 p.172

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) “Why, then, foolish and silly men (for I will repeat it), have you, defaming the supercelestial region, dragged religion to the ground, by fashioning to yourselves gods of earth, and by going after those created objects, instead of the uncreated Deity, have sunk into deepest darkness?” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.4 p.188

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “What Pontic mouse [Marcion] ever had such gnawing powers as he who has gnawed the Gospels to pieces? Verily, O Euxine, thou hast produced a monster more credible to philosophers than to Christians.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 1 ch.1 p.272

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) calls those Elchasai confused “silly people”. *The Refutation of All Heresies* book 9 ch.9 p.132

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) “For we observe that our discourse has been serviceable not only for a refutation of heresies, but also in reference to those who entertain these opinions. Now these, when they encounter the extreme care evinced by us, will even be struck with admiration of our earnestness, and will not despise our industry and condemn Christians as fools when they discern the opinions to which they themselves have stupidly accorded their belief. And furthermore, those who, desirous of learning, addict themselves to the truth, will be assisted by our discourse to become, when they have learned the fundamental principles of the heresies, more intelligent not only for the easy refutation of those who have attempted to deceive them, but that also, when they have ascertained the avowed opinions of the wise men, and have been made acquainted with them, that they shall neither be confused by them as ignorant persons would, nor become the dupes of certain individuals acting as if from some authority; nay, more than this, they shall be on their guard against those that are allowing themselves to become victims to these delusions.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 4 ch.45 p.42

Hippolytus of Portus (22-235/236 A.D.) “But the Word was not subject to the law in such wise as the sycophants fancy, since He is the law Himself; neither did God need sacrifices of purification, for He purifieth and sanctifieth all things at once in a moment.” Fragments on Luke ch.2 verse 22 p.194

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) calls heretics fools and babies. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.6 p.204

**Origen** (233-244 A.D.) “But surely the Lord is not diminished, nor does he decrees. Rather, we create other images in ourselves instead of the Savior’s image. Instead of being the image of the Word, … we assume the form of the devil. Then we can be called ‘serpents’ and ‘a generation of vipers.’” When we are venomous, cruel, or wily, we have taken on the character of the lion, the snake, or the fox. When we are prone to pleasure, we are like the goat.” *Homilies on Luke* homily 8 ch.3 p.34

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) “For in our judgment all are intoxicated who address themselves to inanimate objects as to God. And why do I say ‘intoxicated? ‘‘Insane’ would be the more appropriate word for those who hasten to temples and worship images or animals as divinities. And they too are not less insane who think that images, fashioned by men of worthless and sometimes most wicked character, confer any honour upon genuine divinities.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 3 ch.76 p.494

Origen (233/234 A.D.) quotes Matthew 3:7 about brood of vipers. *Origen On Prayer* ch.27.12 p.100

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.1 p.657 “Let not the abrupt madness of that perifidious heretic move or disturb us however, … the apostle has taught that these same dogs must be shunned, as we read, for he says, ‘Beware of dogs, beware of evil workers,” (Philippians 3:2)

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “the Lord says in His Gospel, “O generation of vipers, how can ye, being evil, speak good things?” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 54 ch.3 p.339-340

**Lucian to Celerinus** (c.246-258 A.D.) calls Emperor Decius “the great serpent himself, the pioneer of Antichrist” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 21 p.299

**Cornelius** (246-256 A.D.) calls Novatian (unnamed) a wily and subtle man in Letter 45.1 p.322. He mentions “the poisoned cunning of the malignant man, as if of a serpent” in Letter 45.2 p.323. *Epistles of Cyprian*.

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “But if they are liars, declare yourselves what is the truth, and disclose the unassailable mystery. And how can it be done when the services of men of letters are set aside? For what is there which can be said about. the immortal gods that has not reached men’s thoughts from what has been written by men on these subjects?” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 4 ch.17 p.&&&

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) calls heretics of the school of Satan and says this is what we gladly know by Scripture. *Commentary on the Apocalypse* 2.18 p.347

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) “But just as they who have fallen flat creep in the slim like land-snails, so the most impious of mankind, having fallen lower and lower from the idea of God, then set up as gods men, and the forms of men, some still living, others even after their death.”*Against the Heathen* ch.9.2 p.18

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (c.318-325 A.D.) says demons “how easily deceive silly souls” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 5 ch.2 p.4

**Among heretics**

**Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “How is it then that you, who have so many poetesses whose productions are mere trash, and innumerable courtezans, and worthless men, are not ashamed to slander the reputation of our women?” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.34 p.79

**The Secret Book of James** *The Gnostic Bible* p.346. “You wretches! You losers! You pretenders to truth! You falsifiers of knowledge! You sinners against the spirit!”

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) says “blind Pharisee” homily 11 ch.29 p.290

## Po13. Ridicule or sarcasm

1 Kings 18:27; Galatians 5:12

2 Corinthians 11:21

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Galatians 5:12

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “laugh out of the uncleanness of Jupiter with his own children. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.4 p.164

***Theophilus*** *to Autolycus* (168-181/188 A.D.) book 3 ch.8 p.115 “I am silent about the temples of Antinous, and of the others whom you call gods. For when related to sensible persons, they excite laughter. They who elaborated such a philosophy regarding either the non-existence of God, or promiscuous intercourse and beastly concubinage, are themselves condemned by their own teachings. Moreover, we find from the writings they composed that the eating of human flesh was received among them; and they record that those whom they honour as gods were the first to do these things.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “3. I well know, my dear friend, that when thou hast read through all this, thou wilt indulge in a hearty laugh over this their inflated wise folly! But those men are really worthy of being mourned over, who promulgate such a kind of religion, and who so frigidly and perversely pull to pieces the greatness of the truly unspeakable power, and the dispensations of God in themselves so striking, by means of Alpha and Beta, and through the aid of numbers.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.3 p.317

**Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) ridicules the Greek idols *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.10 p.69

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) You, however, do not recognise one another, and you are cruel in your mutual hatreds; nor do you acknowledge one another as brethren, unless indeed for the purpose of fratricide. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.31 p.193

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) says that he laughs at the claim of killing the Egyptian god Apis. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.4 p.186. In discussing human sacrifices to demons to avert evil, he says, “Philanthropic, assuredly, the demons appear from these example; and how shall those who revere the demons not be correspondingly pious?” See also ch.3 p.183 and ch.10 p.199.

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) “Thou makest Zeus venerable, O Homer; and the nod which thou dost ascribe to him is most reverend. But show him only a woman’s girdle, and Zeus is exposed, and his locks are dishonoured. To what a pitch of licentiousness did that Zeus of yours proceed, who spent so many nights in voluptuousness with Alcmene? For not even these nine nights were long to this insatiable monster. But, on the contrary, a whole lifetime were short enough for his lust; that he might beget for us the evil-averting god. Hercules, the son of Zeus-a true son of Zeus-was the offspring of that long night, who with hard toil accomplished the twelve labours in a long time, but in one night deflowered the fifty daughters of Thestius, and thus was at once the debaucher and the bridegroom of so many virgins. It is not, then, without reason that the poets call him a cruel wretch and a nefarious scoundrel. It were tedious to recount his adulteries of all sorts, and debauching of boys. For your gods did not even abstain from boys, one having loved Hylas, another Hyacinthus, another Pelops, another Chrysippus, and another Ganymede. Let such gods as these be worshipped by your wives, and let them pray that their husbands be such as these-so temperate; that, emulating them in the same practices, they may be like the gods. Such gods let your boys be trained to worship, that they may grow up to be men with the accursed likeness of fornication on them received from the gods. But it is only the male deities, perhaps, that are impetuous in sexual indulgence. “The female deities stayed each in the house, for shame,” says Homer; the goddesses blushing, for modesty’s sake, to look on Aphrodité when she had been guilty of adultery. But these are more passionately licentious, bound in the chains of adultery; Eos having disgraced herself with Tithonus, Selene with Endymion, Nereis with Aeacus, Thetis with Peleus, Demeter with Jason, Persephatta with Adonis. And Aphrodité having disgraced herself with Arês, crossed over to Cinyra and married Anchises, and laid snares for Phaethon, and loved Adonis. She contended with the ox-eyed Juno; and the goddesses un-robed for the sake of the apple, and presented themselves naked before the shepherd, that he might decide which was the fairest.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* (top ¼)

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Others of your writers, in their wantonness, even minister to your pleasures by vilifying the gods. Examine those charming farces of your Lentuli and Hostilii, whether in the jokes and tricks it is the buffoons or the deities which afford you merriment; such farces I mean as Anubis the Adulterer, and Luna of the masculine gender, and Diana under the lash, and the reading the will of Jupiter deceased, and the three famishing Herculeses held up to ridicule. Your dramatic literature, too, depicts all the vileness of your gods. The Sun mourns his offspring cast down from heaven, and you are full of glee; Cybele sighs after the scornful swain, and you do not blush; you brook the stage recital of Jupiter’s misdeeds, and the shepherd judging Juno, Venus, and Minerva. Then, again, when the likeness of a god is put on the head of an ignominious and infamous wretch, when one impure and trained up for the art in all effeminacy, represents a Minerva or a Hercules, is not the majesty of your gods insulted, and their deity dishonored? Yet you not merely look on, but applaud. You are, I suppose, more devout in the arena, where after the same fashion your deities dance on human blood, on the pollutions caused by inflicted punishments, as they act their themes and stories, doing their turn for the wretched criminals, except that these, too, often put on divinity and actually play the very gods.” *Apology* ch.15 p.30

Tertullian (c.203 A.D.) “I shall only laugh at all, if indeed I ought to laugh at the man who fancied that he was going to persuade us that Saturn dreamt before anybody else; which we can only believe if Aristotle, (who would fain help us to such an opinion), lived prior to any other person. Pray forgive me for laughing.” *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.46 p.225

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) sarcastically asks if Christians are a third race, like some dog-faced race. *Tertullian to the Nations* book 1 ch.8 p.116

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) in speaking of Roman gods, said “let one consecrate his own life to his God, and another that of a goat.” *Apology* ch.24 p.39. See also ibid ch.24 p.39 about Cybele.

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “Now, if you explain this simply of Solomon, you will send me into a fit of laughter.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.20 p.339

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “You may, I assure you, more easily find a man born without a heart or without brains, like Marcion himself, than without a body, like Marcion’s Christ.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.10 p.360

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “The proof of the perfect goodness is, that man, after his rescue, should be delivered from the domicile and power of the malignant deity unto the protection of the most good and merciful God. Poor dupe of Marcion, fever is hard upon you; and your painful flesh produces a crop of all sorts of briers and thorns. Nor is it only to the Creator’s thunderbolts that you lie exposed, or to wars, and pestilences, and His other heavier strokes, but even to His creeping insects. In what respect do you suppose yourself liberated from His kingdom when His flies are still creeping upon your face? If your deliverance lies in the future, why not also in the present, that it may be perfectly wrought?” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 1 ch.24 p.290

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “O tardy messengers! O sleepy despatches! through whose fault Cybele had not an earlier knowledge of the imperial decease, that the Christians might have no occasion to ridicule a goddess so unworthy. Jupiter, again, would surely never have permitted his own Crete to fall at once before the Roman Fasces, forgetful of that Idean cave and the Corybantian cymbals, and the sweet odour of her who nursed him there. Would he not have exalted his own tomb above the entire Capitol, that the land which covered the ashes of Jove might rather be the mistress of the world? Would Juno have desired the destruction of the Punic city, beloved even to the neglect of Samos, and that by a nation of Aeneadae?” *Apology* ch.25 p.39

**Hippolytus of Portus** “These statements, however, and others similar to them, are rather deserving of laughter than serious consideration.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 4 ch.6 p.27

**Cyprian of Carthage** (254 A.D.) “Unless all these, who are in communion with me, as you have written, are polluted with the pollution of my lips, and have lost the hope of eternal life by the contagion of my communion. Pupianus alone, sound, inviolate, holy, modest, who would not associate himself with us, shall dwell alone in paradise and in the kingdom of heaven.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 78 ch.7 p.374

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) says that even a spider is wiser than people who believe atoms came about spontaneously. *From the Books on Nature* ch.2 p.86

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) “How is it then that Christ said concerning Lazarus, ‘Where have you laid him?’ Perhaps He was ignorant of where he lay!” *Dialogue on the True Faith* First Part ch.17 p.60

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) sarcastically asks if it was because of modern Christians that the ancient wars of Xerxes and Alexander occurred. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.5 p.415

Arnobius of Sicca (297-303 A.D.) “For do the bodies of the deities feel parching thirst, and is it necessary that their dryness be tempered by some moisture? Are they accustomed, as men are, to combine eating and drinking? In like manner, also, after the solid food of cakes and pottages, and victims slain in honour of them, do they drench themselves, and make themselves merry with very frequent cups of wine, that their food may be more easily softened, and thoroughly digested? Give, I beg, to the immortal gods to drink; bring forth goblets, bowls, ladles, and cups; and as they stuff themselves with bulls, and luxurious feasts, and rich food,-lest some piece of flesh hastily gulped down should stick in passing through the stomach, run up, hasten, give pure wine to Jupiter, the most excellent, the supreme, lest he be choked. He desires to break wind, and is unable; and unless that hindrance passes away and is dissolved, there is very great danger that his breathing will be stopped and interrupted, and heaven be left desolate without its rulers.” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 7 ch.29 p.529-530

Arnobius of Sicca (297-303 A.D.) “For suppose that it had occurred to us, moved either by suitable influence or violent fear of you, to worship Minerva, for example, with the rights you deem sacred, and the usual ceremony: if, when we prepare sacrifices, and approach to make *the offerings* appointed for her on the flaming altars, all the Minervas shall fly thither, and striving for the right to that name, each demand that the offerings prepared be given to herself; what drawn-out animal shall we place among them, or to whom shall we direct the sacred offices which are our duty? For the first one of whom we spoke will perhaps say: ‘The name Minerva is mine, mine the divine majesty, who bore Apollo and Diana, and by the fruit of my womb enriched heaven with deities, and multiplied the number of the gods.’ ‘Nay, Minerva,’the fifth will say, ‘are you speaking, who, being a wife, and so often a mother, have lost the sanctity of spotless purity? Do you not see that in all temples the images of Minervas are those of virgins, and that all artists refrain from giving to them the figures of matrons? Cease, therefore, to appropriate to yourself a name not rightfully yours. For that I am Minerva, begotten of father Pallas, the whole band of poets bear witness, who call me Pallas, the surname being derived from my father.’ The second will cry on hearing this: ‘What say you? Do you, then, bear the name of Minerva, an impudent parricide, and one defiled by the pollution of lewd lust, who, decking yourself with rouge and a harlot’s arts, roused upon yourself even your father’s passions, full of maddening desires? Go further, then, seek for yourself another name for this belongs to me, whom the Nile, greatest of rivers, begot from among his flowing waters, and brought to a maiden’s estate from the condensing of moisture. But if you inquire into the credibility of the matter, I too will bring as witnesses the Egyptians, in whose language I am called Neith, as Plato’s *Timaeus* attests.’ What, then, do we suppose will be the result? Will she indeed cease to say that she is Minerva, who is named Coryphasia, either to mark her mother, or because she sprung forth from the top of Jove’s head, bearing a shield, and girt with the terror of arms? *Or are we to suppose* that she who is third will quietly surrender the name? and not argue and resist the assumption of the first *two* with such words as these: ‘Do you thus dare to assume the honour of my name, O Sais, sprung from the mud and eddies of a stream, and formed in miry places? Or do you usurp another’s rank, who falsely say that you were born a goddess from the head of Jupiter, and persuade very silly men that you are reason? Does he conceive and bring forth children from his head? That the arms you bear might be forged and formed, was there even in the hollow of his head a smith’s workshop? *were there anvils*, hammers, furnaces, bellows, coals, and pincers? Or if, as you maintain, it is true that you are reason, cease to claim for yourself the name which is mine; for reason, of which you speak, is not a certain form of deity, but the understanding of difficult questions.’ If, then, as we have said, five Minervas should meet us when we essay to sacrifice, and contending as to whose this name is, each demand that either fumigations of incense be offered to her, or sacrificial wines poured out from golden cups; by what arbiter, by what judge, shall we dispose of so great a dispute? or what examiner will there be, what umpire of so great boldness as to attempt, with such personages, either to give a just decision, or to declare their causes not founded on right? Will he not rather go home, and, keeping himself apart from such matters, think it safer to have nothing to do with them, test he should either make enemies of the rest, by giving to one what belongs to all, or be charged with folly for yielding to all what should be the property of one?” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 4 ch.16 p.480-481

One might question Arnobius’ commitment to respecting the idols of other religions.

Arnobius of Sicca (297-303 A.D.) (implied) ridicules gods of theft and adultery. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 4 ch.28 p.485

Arnobius of Sicca (297-303 A.D.) also mentions the goddess Pallona. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 4 ch.4 p.477

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “what a derision of rites is this? Who would not laugh … Who can refrain from laughter at hearing of the goddess Muta? …and a thousand other fictions, so that they who regarded these as objects of worship may be said to be more foolish than the Egyptians, who worship certain monstrous and ridiculous images.” *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.21 p.34

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) quotes Lucretius 3.1056 sand says, “Which verse I am never able to read without laughter. For this was not said respecting Socrates or Plato, who are esteemed as kings of philosophers, but concerning a man who, though of sound mind and vigorous health, raved more senselessly than any one diseased.” *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.21 p.34

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) uses sarcasm “wonderful people” in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 4 ch.2 p.5.

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) “wonderful physical theories” of philosophy, and then he shows their contradictions. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 2 ch.6 p.19

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) calls the ridiculous Greek poets “wonderful sages”. *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.6 p.275

**Among heretics**

***Tatian’s Address to the Greeks*** (c.172 A.D.) ch.2 p.66 says that “he could laugh” at those who adhere to the tenets of Diogenes. “I could laugh at those also who in the present day adhere to his tenets, -people who say that sublunary things are not under the care of Providence; and so, being nearer the earth than the moon, and below its orbit, they themselves look after what is thus left uncared for; and as for those who have neither beauty, nor wealth, nor bodily strength, nor high birth, they have no happiness, according to Aristotle.” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.2 p.66

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 7 ch.6 p.158 “Peter” uses sarcasm about his great wealth in joking with Clement

**Manes** (262-278 A.D.) “so that the said Marcellus verily, who at present has put himself, like one who has surrendered himself prisoner, under the doctrine of Archelaus, may not, like the dumb animals, which are destitute of intellect and understand not what they do, be fatally smitten to the ruin of his soul, in consequence of any failure in the possession of further facilities for setting about the right observance of divine worship.” (Manes is speaking) *Disputation with Manes* ch.13 p.187

## Po14. Calling other beliefs fables

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “So that all the authors and poets, and those called philosophers, are wholly deceived; and so, too, are they who give heed to them. For they plentifully composed fables and foolish stories about their gods, and did not exhibit them as gods, but as men, and men, too,of whom some were drunken, and others fornicators and murderers.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.7 p.96

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D. ) “In like manner do these persons patch together old wives’ fables, and then endeavour, by violently drawing away from their proper connection, words, expressions, and parables whenever found, to adapt the oracles of God to their baseless fictions.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.8.1 p.326

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) mentions others with their own fables. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.20 p.184

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “Wherefore also the Egyptians, in the purifications practised among them, do not allow the priests to feed on flesh; but they use chickens, as lightest; and they do not touch fish, on account of certain fables, but especially on account of such food making the flesh flabby.” *Stromata* book 7 ch.6 p.532

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) “These I would instance as the prime authors of evil, the parents of impious fables and of deadly superstition, who sowed in human life that seed of evil and ruin-the mysteries.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.2 p.175

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “When, therefore, the philosophers have ingeniously composed their physical (theology) out of their own conjectures, when the poets have drawn their mythical from fables, and the (several) nations have forged their gentile (polytheism) according to their own will, where in the world must truth be placed? In the conjectures? Well, but these are only a doubtful conception. In the fables? But they are at best an absurd story.” *To the Nations* book 2 ch.1 p.109

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “which are objects of worship with the Persian magi, the Egyptian hierophants, and the Indian gymnosophists. The very superstition of the crowd, inspired by the common idolatry, when ashamed of the names and fables of their ancient dead borne by their idols,” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 1 ch.13 p.280

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “Then he [the heretic Justinus] brings forward (these) fables for the purpose of persuasion, in order that they who are conversant with the incalculable trifling of these books may have some consolation in the details of these legends.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 5 ch.18 p.69

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “For in the picture at Samos Juno represents matter, and Jupiter god. Now it is on account of these, and of countless other similar fables, that we would not even in word call the God of all things Jupiter, or the sun Apollo, or the moon Diana.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 4 ch.48 p.519

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “And are we to suppose that the wisdom of man was made up by these atoms, as the myth of Hesiod tells us that Pandora was fashioned by the gods?” *From the Books on Nature* ch.4 p.89

&&&**Alexander of Lycopolis** (301 A.D.) ““

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “He [Saturn] was, *they say*, just in his rule. First, from this very circumstance he is not now a god, inasmuch as he has ceased to be. In the next place, he was not even just, but impious not only towards his sons, whom he devoured, but also towards his father, whom he is said to have mutilated. And this may perhaps have happened in truth. But men, having regard to the element which is called the heaven, reject the whole fable as most foolishly invented; though the Stoics, (according to their custom) endeavour to transfer it to a physical system, whose opinion Cicero has laid down in his treatise concerning the Nature of the Gods. They held, he says, that the highest and ethereal nature of heaven, that is, of fire, which by itself produced all things, was without that part of the body which contained the productive organs. Now this theory might have been suitable to Vesta, if she were called a male. For it is on this account that they esteem Vesta to be a virgin, inasmuch as fire is an incorruptible element; and nothing can be born from it, since it consumes all things, whatever it has seized upon.” *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.12 p.24

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (partial) “This is plainly incredible; but there is a certain reason why it is thus related, and he who is ignorant of this rejects it as a fable.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.14 p.228

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) calls pagan beliefs “fables” in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 2 ch.4 p.16.

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 10 ch.15 p.196 calls the Greek stories “fables”.

## Po15. Calling other beliefs superstition

***Epistle to Diognetus*** ch.4 p.26 (c.130-200 A.D.) “But as to their [Jews’] scrupulosity concerning meats, and their superstition as respects the Sabbaths, and their boasting about circumcision, and their fancies about fasting and new moons, which are utterly ridiculous and unworthy of notice, I do not think that you required to learn anything from me.” (The author apparently forgot to notice that these were commanded in Old Testament times. However, he would still agree they are not to be followed today.)

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “For we have come, not to flatter you by this writing, nor please you by our address, but to beg that you pass judgment, after an accurate and searching investigation, not flattered by prejudice or by a desire of pleasing superstitious men, nor induced by irrational impulse or evil rumours which have long been prevalent, to give a decision which will prove to be against yourselves.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.2 p.163

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “As I have pointed out in the preceding book, the apostle did, in the first place, instruct the Gentiles to depart from the superstition of idols, and to worship one God,” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.24.1p.495

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “choosing rather to become an addition to the error of others, than to trust themselves; in that they know nothing of what they fear. Thus avarice has been consecrated in gold and silver; thus the form of empty statues has been established; thus has arisen Roman superstition.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.24 p.187

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “Let the pipe be resigned to the shepherds, and the flute to the superstitious who are engrossed in idolatry.” *The Instructor* book 2 ch.4 p.248

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) “These I would instance as the prime authors of evil, the parents of impious fables and of deadly superstition, who sowed in human life that seed of evil and ruin-the mysteries.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.2 p.175

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Certainly, when first it clothes this wisdom which renounces superstitions with all their vanities, then most assuredly is the Mantle, above all the garments in which you array your gods and goddesses, an august robe; and, above all the caps and tufts of your Salii and Flamines, a sacerdotal attire. Lower your eyes, I advise you, (and) reverence the garb, on the one ground, meantime, (without waiting for others,) of being a renouncer of your error.” *On the Pallium* ch.4 p.10-11

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “which are objects of worship with the Persian magi, the Egyptian hierophants, and the Indian gymnosophists. The very superstition of the crowd, inspired by the common idolatry, when ashamed of the names and fables of their ancient dead borne by their idols,” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 1 ch.13 p.280

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240 A.D.) “so also, when Scripture is read, one is helped to faith, another to morality, and a third is freed from superstition by the knowledge of things.” *Excepts from Theodotus* ch.28 p.47

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “We have already said many things of an abominable superstition, and yet we follow up the subject, lest we should be said to have passed anything over. And the worshippers worshipped their Ammydates after their manner. He was great to them when there was gold in the temple.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.18 p.206

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “either from superstition or some other form of delusion, went as far as they” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.53 p.659

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “And such the apostle fitly rebuked, as ‘obeying the superstitions of angels, puffed up by their fleshly mind; not holding Christ the head,’” *On Jewish Meats* ch.5 p.649

&&&**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “The persecution with us did not commence with the imperial edict, but preceded it by a whole year. And a certain prophet and poet, an enemy to this city, whatever else he was, had previously roused and exasperated against us the masses of the heathen, inflaming them anew with the fires of their native superstition.” Letter 3 ch.1 p.&&&

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “To adore God as the highest existence, as the Lord of all things that be, as occupying the highest place among all exalted ones, to pray to Him with respectful submission in our distresses, to cling to Him with all our senses, so to speak, to love Him, to look up to Him with faith,-is this an execrable and unhallowed religion, full of impiety and of sacrilege, polluting by the superstition of its own novelty ceremonies instituted of old?” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.25 p.&&&

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “Even though the floods of the nations and the vain superstitions of heretics should revolt against their true faith, they are overcome, and shall be dissolved as the foam, because Christ is the Rock by which, and on which, the Church is founded.” *Commentary on The Apocalypse* from the 21st and 22nd chapters no.16 p.360

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (c.318 A.D.) “What defence, then, what proof that these are real gods, can they offer who hold this superstition?” *Athanasius Against the Heathen* ch.18 p.13

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (partial) “For many, pertinaciously adhering to vain superstitions, harden themselves” *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.1 p.10-11

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) calls other beliefs superstitions. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.23 p.229

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) calls pagan beliefs superstitious delusions in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 2 ch.5 p.26.

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) speaks of superstitious errors. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 6 ch.6 p.16

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) “I entreat you, but read the prophecies of the sacred writers. And if any slothfullness or old hereditary superstition prevents you from reading the prophecies of the holy men through which you can be instructed regarding the one only God,” *Justin*’*s Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.36 p.288

**Among heretics**

**Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “sometimes Apollo; a solitary accuser of all the gods, an epitome of superstition, a vituperator of heroic deeds, an actor of murders, a chronicler of adultery, a storehouse of madness,” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.22 p.75

## Po16. False teaching or heresy is poison

The poison of envy and the poison of licentiousness are not included here.

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) compares heresy to eating a different kind of herbage [vegetables], and heretics mix the truth of Christ with their own poison. *Letter of Ignatius to the Trallians* ch.6 p.68

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “All these, and many more vain things, ye serve, Worshipping things disgraceful even to name: These are the gods who lead vain men astray, From whose mouth streams of deadly poison flow. But unto Him in whom alone is life, Life, and undying, everlasting light; Who pours into man’s cup of life a Sweeter than sweetest honey to his taste,- Unto Him bow the head, to Him alone, And walk in ways of everlasting peace.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.36 p.109

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “It will therefore be incumbent upon thee, and all others who give their attention to this writing, and are anxious about their own salvation, not readily to express acquiescence when they hear abroad the speeches of these men: for, speaking things resembling the [doctrine of the] faithful, as I have already observed, not only do they hold opinions which are different, but absolutely contrary, and in all points full of blasphemies, by which they destroy those persons who, by reason of the resemblance of the words, imbibe a poison which disagrees with their constitution, just as if one, giving lime mixed with water for milk, should mislead by the similitude of the colour; as a man superior to me has said, concerning all that in any way corrupt the things of God and adulterate the truth, ‘Lime is wickedly mixed with the milk of God.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.17.4 p.445

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) (partial) “And that deceitful serpent, devouring the understanding part of man through vanity, has the soul as its hole, filling all with deadly poisons; and injecting his own venom of deception, this pander of a dragon has changed women into harlots.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.2 p.272

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Marcion, indeed, [went] with the two hundred sesterces which he had brought into the church, and, when banished at last to a permanent excommunication, they scattered abroad the poisons of their doctrines.” *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.30 p.257

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “Our heretic must now cease to borrow poison from the Jew-’the asp,’ as the adage runs, ‘from the viper’ -and henceforth vomit forth the virulence of his own disposition, as when he alleges Christ to be a phantom.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.8 p.327

**Cyprian of Carthage** (256 A.D.) “If the Patripassians, Anthropians, Valentinians, Apelletians, Ophites, Marcionites, and other pests, and swords, and poisons of heretics for subverting the truth, confess the same Father, the same Son, the same Holy Ghost, the same Church with us, they may also have one baptism if they have also one faith.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 72 ch.4 p.380

Cornelius (246-256 A.D.) (partial) calls Novatian (unnamed) a wily and subtle man in Letter 45.1 p.322. He mentions “the poisoned cunning of the malignant man, as if of a serpent” in Letter 45.2 p.323. *Epistles of Cyprian*.

Euchratius Bishop of Thenae at ***The Seventh Council of Carthage*** (258 A.D.) “Thus the false and wicked baptism of heretics must be rejected by us, and refuted with all detestation, from whose mouth is expressed poison, not life, not celestial grace, but blasphemy against the Trinity.” Ap&&&

## Teachings on Evangelism methods not on the list

**1. Genesis 3:15 refers to Christ** (only 2 writers: Irenaeus and Cyprian)

**2. Heresy is like gangrene** (only 2 writers: Origen, Lactantius. After Nicea: Athanasius of Alexandria)

**3. Mentioned that Mercury was a thief** (only 2 writers: Arnobius and Lactantius. After Reformation Erasmus)

**4. Numbers 24:7 refers to Christ** (only 2 writers: Athanasius and Eusebius)

# REFUTE GNOSTIC-TYPE TEACHING

## Gn1. The Creator is good

Just saying God/ the Lord/ Christ is good is not counted here.

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “All these the great Creator and Lord of all has appointed to exist in peace and harmony; while He does good to all, but most abundantly to us who have fled for refuge to His compassions through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory and majesty for ever and ever. Amen.” *1 Clement* ch.20 p.11

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) “Let us be kind one to another after the pattern of the tender mercy and benignity of our Creator.” It goes on to say we should be kind-hearted and peaceful. ch.14 vol.1 p.8 (See also vol.9 p.233)

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) “and let us look stedfastly to the Father and Creator of the universe, and cleave to His mighty and surpassingly great gifts and benefactions, of peace. Let us contemplate Him with our understanding, and look with the eyes of our soul to His long-suffering will. Let us reflect how free from wrath He is towards all His creation.” *1 Clement* ch.19 p.10

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) (partial) God is “The Creator and Father of all worlds, the Most Holy, alone knows their amount and their beauty.” *1 Clement* ch.35 vol.1 p.14

Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) (partial) “great Creator and Lord of all has appointed to exist in peace and harmony; while He does good to all, but most abundantly to us who have fled for refuge to His compassions through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory and majesty for ever and ever.” *1 Clement* ch.20 p.11

Justin Martyr (c.150 A.D.) (partial) “But these words Father, and God, and Creator, and Lord, ant Master, are not names, but appellations derived from His good deeds and functions. *Second Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.6 p.190

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) (partial) “He the Creator, incorruptible” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.36 p.109

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) (implied) “In like manner do those men, filled with a satanic spirit, bring innumerable accusations against our Creator, who has both given to us the spirit of life, and established a law adapted for all; and they will not admit that the judgment of God is just.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.26.2 p.555

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) (implied) “Those persons who feign the existence of another Father beyond the Creator, and who term him the good God, do deceive themselves; for they introduce him as a feeble, worthless, and negligent being, not to say malign and full of envy, inasmuch as they affirm that our bodies are not quickened by him.” Irenaeus Against Heresies book 5 ch.4.1 p.530

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) (partial) “-[all these arguments, I say, ] will in like manner apply against those who are of the school of Marcion, and Simon, and Menander, or whatever others there may be who, like them, cut off that creation with which we are connected from the Father.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.31.1 p.407

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “Here it is to be noted that He proclaims His Father to be good, and to be the Creator. And that the Creator is just, is not disputed: And again he says,’ My Father sends rain on the just, and on the unjust.’” *The Instructor* book 1 ch.8 p.228

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) (implied) “As, then, the whole family runs back to God the Creator; so also all the teaching of good things, which justifies, does to the Lord, and leads and contributes to this.” *Stromata* book 6 ch.7 p.493

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) (implied) “Great, in all conscience, must be the blindness of our heretics which leaves them to argue in such a way that they either insist on the belief of another God supremely good, on the ground of their thinking the Creator to be the author of evil, or else they set up Matter with the Creator, in order that they may derive evil from Matter, not from the Creator.” *Against Hermogenes* ch.10 p.482

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “For it was He who used to speak in the prophets-the Word, the Creator’s Son. ‘I am present, while it is the hour, upon the mountains, as one that brings glad tidings of peace, as one that publishes good tidings of good.’ So one of the twelve (minor prophets), Nahum: ‘For behold upon the mountain the swift feet of Him that brings glad tidings of peace.’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.13 p.364

**Novatian** (250-258 A.D.) “as the Renewer and Creator of those who are dead in their sins, He may be attested by this goodness of mercy granted to those that believe.” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.7 p.617

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) “If the God of the Jews created humanity, how - or rather for what cause does the Good God, or that other, evil *one*, hold power over humanity? For out of either of the two, the Creator is revealed to be good to a greater degree.” (Adamantius is speaking *Dialogue on the True Faith* section 1 ch.3b

Adamantius (c.300 A.D.) (alternate translation) “Since the God of the Jews has created humanity, how and why do the Good God and the Evil One exercise power over them? Whatever way we look at it, the Demiurge appears to be good: if he willingly yields to the two others the rulership over those who belong to him. The Demiurge will of necessity be good,…” (Adamantius is speaking *Dialogue on the True Faith* section 1 ch.3b p.38

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “Or is there any truer religion-*one* more serviceable, powerful, and -than to have learned to know the supreme God, to know *how* to pray to God Supreme, who alone is the source and fountain of all good, the creator, founder, and framer of all that endures, by whom all things on earth and all in heaven are quickened, and filled with the stir of life, and without whom there would assuredly be nothing to bear any name, and *have any* substance?” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.2 p.434

Arnobius of Sicca (297-303 A.D.) “O greatest, O Supreme Creator of things invisible! O Thou who art Thyself unseen, and who art incomprehensible! Thou art worthy, Thou art verily worthy-if only mortal tongue may speak of Thee-that all breathing and intelligent nature should never cease to feel and to return thanks; that it should throughout the whole of life fall on bended knee, and offer supplication with never-ceasing prayers.” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.31 p.421

Victorinus of Petau (martyred 304 A.D.) (partial) “And *in* that he says that the sun is not necessary in the city, *he* shows, evidently, that the Creator as the immaculate light shines in the midst of it, whose brightness no mind has been able to conceive, nor tongue to tell.” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the 21th and 22th chapters no.16 p.359

**Methodius** (260-312 A.D.) “So, after beholding such things as these, I began to inquire whence they arise, and what is their origin, and who is the author of such devices against men, whence came their discovery, and who is the teacher of them. Now to dare to say that God was the author of these things was impossible; for surely it could not even be said that they have from Him their substance, or their existence. For how were it possible to entertain these thoughts of God? For He is good, and the Creator of what is excellent, and to Him belongs nothing bad. Nay, it is His nature to take no pleasure in such things; but He forbids their roduction, and rejects those who delight in them, but admits into His presence those who avoid them. And how could it be anything but absurd to call God the maker of these things of which He disapproves? For He would not wish them not to be, if He had first been their creator; and He wishes those who approach Him to be imitators of Him.” *Concerning Free Will* p.357

Methodius (270-311/312 A.D.) (partial) “joints by God, the Creator and Perfect Artificer, who will then renew the flesh…” *Discourse on the Resurrection* ch.14 p.376

**Athanasius** (318 A.D.) “inasmuch as He [the Creator] is good, He did not leave them destitute of the knowledge of Himself, .. For what profit to the creatures if they knew not their Maker?” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.11 p.42

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “For in that book which is entitled the Complete Treatise, after an enumeration of the evils concerning which we have spoken, he added these things: ‘But when these things thus come to pass, then He who is Lord, and Father, and God, and the Creator of the first and one God, looking upon what is done, and opposing to the disorder His own will, that is, goodness, and recalling the wandering and cleansing wickedness, partly inundating it with much water, and partly burning it with most rapid fire, and sometimes pressing it with wars and pestilences, He brought His world to its ancient state and restored it.’” *The Divine Institutes* book 7 ch.19 p.215

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 8 ch.58 p.181 (implied) “Hence I think it ridiculous when men judge of the power of God in natural ways, and think that this is possible and that impossible to Him, or this greater and that less, while they are ignorant of everything; who, being unrighteous men, judge the righteous God; unskilled, judge the contriver; corrupt, judge the incorruptible; creatures, judge the Creator.” See also book 2 ch.14 p.101.

**X Most Gnostics** would be against this.

**X** The Marcionite **Megethius** debating Adamantius (c.300 A.D.) (implied) “This very fact shows that the Creator God is not good; For he opposed Himself!” *Dialogue on the truth Faith* First part 14 p.57

## Gn2. Do not call matter evil

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Irenaeus (182-188 A.D.) (partial) “If, however, they say that Judas was a type of the Enthymesis, not as separated from the Aeon, but of the passion entwined with her, neither in this way can the number twelve be regarded as a [fitting] type of the number three. For in the one case Judas was cast away, and Matthias was ordained instead of him; but in the other case the Aeon is said to have been in danger of dissolution and destruction, and [there are also] her Enthymesis and passion: for they markedly distinguish Enthymesis from the passion; and they represent the Aeon as being restored, and Enthymesis as acquiring form, but the passion, when separated from these, as becoming matter.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.20.5 p.388

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Great, in all conscience, must be the blindness of our heretics which leaves them to argue in such a way that they either insist on the belief of another God supremely good, on the ground of their thinking the Creator to be the author of evil, or else they set up Matter with the Creator, in order that they may derive evil from Matter, not from the Creator.” *Against Hermogenes* ch.10 p.482

&&&**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) &&& *Refutation of All Heresies* book &&&

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “But to maintain that matter, dwelling among mortal things, is the cause of evils, is in our opinion not true.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 4 ch.66 p.527

&&&**Alexander of Lycopolis** (301 A.D.) “Such was he whom they call Manichaeus, a Persian by race, my instructor in whose doctrine was one Papus by name, and after him Thomas, and some others followed them. They say that the man lived when Valerian was emperor, and that he served under Sapor, the king of the Persians, and having offended him in some way, was put to death. Some such report of his character and reputation has come to hie from those who were intimately acquainted with him. He laid down two principles, God and Matter. God he called good, and matter he affirmed to be evil. But God excelled more in good than matter in evil.” *Of the Manichaeans* ch.2 p.&&&

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “God made the world, as Plato thought, but he does not show why He made it. Because He is good, he says, and envying no one, He made the things which are good. But we see that there are both good and evil things in the system of nature. Some perverse person may stand forth, such as that atheist Theodorus was, and answer Plato: Nay, because He is evil, He made the things which are evil. How will he refute him? If God made the things which are good, whence have such great evils burst forth, which, for the most part, even prevail over those which are good? They were contained, he says, in the matter.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.68 p.251

**Among heretics**

**X Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “But now this they can by no means effect, for they have not the power; but they make war by means of the lower matter against the matter that is like themselves. Should any one wish to conquer them, let him repudiate matter.” *Address of Tatian* to the Greeks ch.16 p.76

**X Most Gnostics** would be against this.

**X *The Nag Hammadi Apocalypse of Peter*** (3rd century A.D.) &&&

## Gn3. Avoid Docetic belief – not suffer in flesh

**Ignatius** (-107/116 A.D.) says that those who say Christ only seemed to suffer they are without God. “Flee, therefore, those evil offshoots” *Ignatius’ Letter to the Trallians* ch.10-11 p.69-70

**Polycarp’s** ***Letter to the Philippians*** (100-155 A.D.) ch.7 p.34 said that whoever did not acknowledge Christ coming in the flesh is the antichrist.

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) says that the Son of God came in the flesh ch.5 p.140 , He was to be manifested in the flesh ch.6 p.141; and the judge of the living and the dead suffered ch.7 p.141. He was to offer in sacrifice for our sins, as the type established in Isaac when he was offered on the alter. ch.7 p.141

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “This also does likewise meet [the case] of those who maintain that He [Jesus] suffered only in appearance. Fir if He did not truly suffer, no thanks to Him, since there was no suffering at all; and when we shall actually begin to suffer, He will seem as leading us astray, exhorting us to endure buffeting, and to turn the other check, if He did not himself before us in reality suffer the same;… bu exhorting us to endure what He did not endure Himself.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.18.6 p.447

**Serapion of Antioch** (200-210 A.D.) speaks against the Docetae. *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.775

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) discusses the Encratites, Ophians, other Gnostics, and the Docetae [who deny Jesus really being the flesh] in *Stromata* book 7 ch.17 p.555

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) refuted the ideas of Docetism in many places in *Five Books Against Marcion*. One place is book 5 ch.4 p.438 where Christ’s flesh was “real and substantial”, and mentions the scars.

Tertullian (207-220 A.D.) Has an entire work *On the Flesh of Christ*. In ch.6 Tertullian asks how could Christ appear, if His body were not flesh.

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) discusses the beliefs of the Docetics in *Refutation of All Heresies* book 8 ch.1-4 p.117-120

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) says that certain heretics claimed Jesus only suffered in appearance, not reality. *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.16 p.438 and book 2 ch.25 p.442

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) says not to believe the Christ of the heretics, who came only in appearance, not in reality. *Treatise Concerning the Trinity* ch.10 p.619

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “They say, like Sabellios [Sabellius] that the Almighty Person of the Father Himself suffered.” Methodius mentions Artemas, Ebionites, Marcion, Valenintus, Elkaisites. Jesus did not only come in appearance. *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* book 8 ch.10 p.338

Methodius (c.260-312 A.D.) “He [the Son of God] did not then take the form of a servant uselessly, but to raise it up and save it. For He truly was made man, and died, and not in mere appearance, but that He might truly be shown to be the first begotten from the dead, changing the earthy into the heavenly, and the mortal into the immortal.” *Discourse on the Resurrection* part 1 ch.13 p.368

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) (implied) says that Jesus did not just come in appearance. *The Incarnation* ch.1.8 p.40

**Among heretics**

**X Most Gnostics** would be against this.

## Gn4. The heretic Cerinthus

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) Cerinthus believed the world was made by a power separated from God and Jesus was not born of a virgin. Ebionites use only the Gospel according to Matthew, repudiate Paul, practice circumcision, are very Judaic, and adore Jerusalem as the house of God. They believe the world was made by God. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.26.2 p.352. See also *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.33.4 p.507

**Caius** (190-217 A.D.) ch.1.2 p.601 mentions the heretic Cerinthus and the resurrection of us and the future kingdom of Christ.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) mentions Ebion coming from Cerinthus. However, Cerinthus believed the world was made by angels, and Ebion said the world was made by God. *Against All Heresies* ch.3 p.651 He also mentions that that the followers of Hebion follow the Jewish law in *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.33 p.259 and ch.10 p.248.

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222/235/6 A.D.) has a chapter on the Ebionaeans (Ebionites). He says they are similar to Cerinthus and Carpocrates, except the Ebionites acknowledge that the world was made by God. They live according to the law, and say Jesus was justified by living according to the law. If anyone else had completed fulfilled the law, they would have been Christ too. When they themselves can completely fulfill the law, that they can become Christs too. *The Refutation of all Heresies* book 7 ch.22 p.114.

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “*Then, a little further on, he speaks of the Revelation of John as follows*:-Now some before our time have set aside this book, and repudiated it entirely, criticising it chapter by chapter, and endeavouring to show it to be without either sense or reason. They have alleged also that its title is false; for they deny that John is the author. Nay, further, they hold that it can be no sort of revelation, because it is covered with so gross and dense a veil of ignorance. They affirm, therefore, that none of the apostles, nor indeed any of the saints, nor any person belonging to the Church, could be its author; but that Cerinthus, and the heretical sect founded by him, and named after him the Cerinthian sect, being desirous of attaching the authority of a great name to the fiction propounded by him, prefixed that title to the book.” *Two Books on Promises* ch.3 p.82

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) mentions “Valentinus and Cerinthus and Ebion, and others of the school of Satan” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the eleventh chapter no.1 p.353. See also *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the twenty first and twenty second chapters no.16 p.360.

**Among heretics**

**X Follower of Cerinthus** would be against this.

**X Cerinthus** used part of the Gospel of Matthew according to Epiphanius of Salamis (360-403 A.D.). *The Panarion* section 2 ch.28,5,1 p.109

## Gn5. Nicolaitans

Revelation 2:15

**p115** (=Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 4499) 119 verses of Revelation. 2:1-3,13-15,27-29; 3:10-12; 5:8-9; 6:5-6; 8:3-8,11-13; 9:1-5,7-16,18-21; 10:1-4,8-11; 11:1-5,8-15,18-19; 12:1-5,8-10,12-17; 13:1-3,6-16,18; 14:1-3,5-7,10-11,14-15,18-20; 15:1,4-7 (middle to late 3rd century) Revelation 2:15

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) describes Nicolaitans as libertines, or trying to be both spiritual and immoral. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.26.3 p.352 and book 3 ch.11.1 p.426

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) criticizes the Nicholaus and his followers. *Stromata* book 2 ch.20 p.373 and *Stromata* book 3 ch.4 p.385.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “John, however, in the Apocalypse is charged to chastise those ‘who eat things sacrificed to idols,’ and ‘who commit fornication.’ There are even now another sort of Nicolaitans. Theirs is called the Gaian heresy.” *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.33 p.259

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “Let us see, then, whether it be a just one: not as if we aimed at destroying the happiness of sanctity, as do certain Nicolaitans in their maintenance of lust and luxury,” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 1 ch.29 p.293-294

**Hippolytus of Portus** (225-234/5 A.D.) “He, as one of the seven (that were chosen) for the diaconate, was appointed by the Apostles. (But Nicolaus) departed from correct doctrine, and was in the habit of inculcating indifferency of both life and food.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 7 ch.24 p.115

**Origen** (233-244 A.D.) quotes Revelation 2:15m (not 1 8 not 2 words quoted) about the Nicolaitans. *Homilies on Luke* homily 13 ch.5 p.54

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) discusses the Nicolaitans. *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the second chapter verse14-16 p.346

Victorinus of Petau (martyred 304 A.D.) “6. “This thou hast also, that thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitanes.”] But because thou thyself hatest those who hold the doctrines of the Nicolaitanes, thou expectest praise. Moreover, to hate the works of the Nicolaitanes, which He Himself also hated, this tends to praise. But the works of the Nicolaitanes were in that time false and troublesome men, who, as ministers under the name of Nicolaus, had made for themselves a heresy, to the effect that what had been offered to idols might be exorcised and eaten, and that whoever should have committed fornication might receive peace on the eighth day.” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the second chapter verse 6 p.&&&

**Among heretics**

**X Follower of Nicolaus** would be against this.

## Gn6. Simon Magus and his heresy/error

(partial) Acts 8:9-23, 18-24 (Does not say whether or not he persisted though)

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) mentions Menander, disciple of Simon the Sorcerer. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.26 p.171

Justin Martyr (c.150 A.D.) a Samaritan Christian himself, says that Simon was from the Samaritan village of Gitto. He says he had a disciple, Menander, a Samaritan from the town of Capparetaea, started his own heresy after Simon. Justin says that Simon later went to Rome, performed magic, and there a statue was built honoring him. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.26 p.171

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) tells how Simon was honored in the city of Rome during the time of Claudius Caesar. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.56 p.182

**Hegesippus** (170-180 A.D.) listed 11 heresies of the following: Simon, Cleobius, Doritheus, Gorthaeus, Masbothaeus, Menandrianists [Menander], Marcionists [Marcion], Carpocratians [Carpocrates], Valentinians [Valentinus], Basilidians [Basilides], Saturnilians [Saturnilus]. *Concerning His Journey to Rome* (*ANF* vol.8) p.764. From *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 4 ch.22 p.198-200

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) discusses Cerdo and his successor Marcion. He also discusses Valentinus, Simon the Sorcerer, and Simon’s disciple Menander. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.4 p.417. See also ibid book 4 ch.33.3 p.507

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) mentions the heretical followers of Simon the Magician. *Stromata* book 2 ch.11 p.359

**Tertullian** (c.203 A.D.) mentions the transmigration philosophy, taught by Simon the Sorcerer and Carpocrates, fabricating a story in *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.35 p.216.

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) mentions Simon the Magician. *Tertullian’s De Fuga Persecution* ch.12 p.123 and *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.23-25 p.215-216. See also *Tertullian’s Apology* ch.13 p.29 and *On Idolatry* ch.9 p.66

Tertullian (200-240 A.D.) discusses Hebion [Ebion] and Simon. *On Prescription Against Heretics* ch.10 p.248

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) discusses at length the heresy of Simon Magus *The Refutation of All Heresies* book 6 ch.2,4-15 p.74,75-81.

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) discusses the heresies of Simon and Valentinus. *Refutation of All Heresies* book 4 ch.51 p.45

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) mentions Simon the Samaritan Magician, but does not say if he persisted or not. *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.57 p.421-422.

***Treatise On Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.16 p.676 mentions Simon Magus, and Peter telling him he was perishing. He says heretics get their origin from Simon Magus. (Does not say how Simon Magus persisted though.)

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) says that Simon Magus blew his Christianity apart. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.12 p.438

Pamphilus (martyred 309 A.D.) (partial) mentions Simon Magus being baptized and being a hypocrite. However, Pamphilus does not say if he persisted in his heresy or not. *An Exposition of the Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles* J,K. vol.6 p.167

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (326-339/340 A.D.) discusses Simon the sorcerer. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 2 ch.1.10 p.104-105

**Among heretics**

**X Follower of Simon (SImonians)** would be against this.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.19 p.82 speaks against the error and hypocrisy of Simon Magus.

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) ch.1.51 p.91 says Simon claim to be virgin-born of Rachel.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 2 ch.15 p.231 talks extensively against Simon Magus.

## Gn7. Against Carpocrates (from Simon)

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Moreover, those also will be confuted who belong to Simon and Carpocrates,” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.31 p.407

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) refutes Carpocrates and Epiphanius. *Stromata* book 3 ch.2 p.382.

**Tertullian** (c.203 A.D.) mentions the transmigration philosophy, taught by Simon the Sorcerer and Carpocrates, fabricating a story in *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.35 p.216.

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) has an entire chapter refuting Carpocrates *Refutation of All Heresies* book 7 ch.20 p.113-114

**Among heretics**

**X Follower of Carpocrates** would be against this.

## Gn8. Against the Gnostic Menander/Meander, Simon Magus’ disciple

A Greek comic poet named Menander (230 B.C.) is a different person.

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) mentions Menander, disciple of Simon the Sorcerer. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.26 p.171

**Hegesippus** (170-180 A.D.) listed 11 heresies of the following: Simon, Cleobius, Doritheus, Gorthaeus, Masbothaeus, Menandrianists [Menander], Marcionists [Marcion], Carpocratians [Carpocrates], Valentinians [Valentinus], Basilidians [Basilides], Saturnilians [Saturnilus]. *Concerning His Journey to Rome* (*ANF* vol.8) p.764. From *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 4 ch.22 p.198-200

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Arising among these men, Saturninus (who was of that Antioch which is near Daphne) and Basilides laid hold of some favourable opportunities, and promulgated different systems of doctrine-the one in Syria, the other at Alexandria. Saturninus, like Menander, set forth one father unknown to all, who made angels, archangels, powers, and potentates.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.24.1 p.348-349

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) discusses Cerdo and his successor Marcion. He also discusses Valentinus, Simon the Sorcerer, and Simon’s disciple Menander. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.4 p.417. See also ibid book 4 ch.33.3 p.507

**Tertullian** (c.203 A.D.) “Saturninus, the disciple of Menander, who belonged to Simon’s sect, introduced this opinion: he affirmed that man was made by angels.” *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.23 p.203

Tertullian (c.203 A.D.) mentions Menander the Samaritan heretic in *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.50 p.227-228

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “But one Saturnilus, who flourished about the same period with Basilides, but spent his time in Antioch, (a city) of Syria, propounded opinions akin to whatever (tenets) Menander (advanced). He asserts that there is one Father, unknown to all-He who had made angels, archangels, principalities, (and) powers; and that by certain angels, seven (in number), the world was made, and all things that are in it. And (Saturnilus affirms) that man was a work of angels.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 7 ch.16 p.109

**Among heretics**

**X Follower of Menander** would be against this.

## Gn9. Against Marcion

(partial) 1 John 4:2; 2 John 7 (Does not specifically mention Marcion or Gnostics though)

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) says the devils put forward Marcion of Pontus. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.58 p.182

**Dionysius of Corinth** (170 A.D.) wrote in a lost work refuting Marcion, according to Eusebius vol.8 preface p.765

**Hegesippus** (170-180 A.D.) listed 11 heresies of the following: Simon, Cleobius, Doritheus, Gorthaeus, Masbothaeus, Menandrianists [Menander], Marcionists [Marcion], Carpocratians [Carpocrates], Valentinians [Valentinus], Basilidians [Basilides], Saturnilians [Saturnilus]. *Concerning His Journey to Rome* (*ANF* vol.8) p.764 From *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 4 ch.22 p.198-200

**Rhodon** (c.180 A.D.) mentions the heretics Apelles, Potitus, Basilicus, and Marcion. *Rhodon fragment* *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.766.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) The Encratites (meaning self-controlled) came from Saturninus and Marcion. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.28.1 p.353

Irenaeus mentions Cerdo, and his successor Marcion. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.4 p.417

**The Muratorian Canon** (190-217 A.D.) p.604 is against Arsinous, Valentinus, Miltiades, Marcion, and Basilides as rejected.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) uses the term Gnostic in a positive sense, but he “co-opts” the name, because Orthodox Christians are the true Gnostics. *Stromata* book 2 ch.11 p.359 and book 4 ch.22 p.434-435. However, Clement is against Basilides, Valentinus in *Stromata* book 2 ch.8 p.355-356. Clement is against Marcionites in *Stromata* book 3 ch.3 p.383.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “On this false principle it was that Marcion actually chose to believe that He was a phantom, denying to Him the reality of a perfect body.” *Treatise on the Soul* ch.17 p.197

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “Marcion, I pity you; your labour has been in vain. For the Jesus Christ who appears in your Gospel is mine.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.43 p.423

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) has the entire work: *Tertullian’s Five Books Against Marcion.* “For indeed the notorious Philumena persuaded Apelles and the other seceders from Marcion rather to believe that Christ did really carry about a body of flesh; not derived to Him, however, from birth, but one which He borrowed from the elements. Now, as Marcion was apprehensive that a belief of the fleshly body would also involve a belief of birth, undoubtedly He who seemed to be man was believed to be verily and indeed born.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.11 p.330

**Asterius Urbanus** (c.232 A.D.) speaks of the heresy of Marcion and Marcionites. They alleged “a great multitude of martyrs for Christ, yet they do not confess Christ Himself according to the truth.” fragment 6 p.337

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) discusses Marcion and other heretics. *Refutation of All Heresies* book 7 ch.17-19 p.110-113

**Julius Africanus** (235-245 A.D.) mentions the followers of Marcion. *Five Books of the Chronology of Julius Africanus* ch.18.4 p.137.

**Origen** (c.240 A.D.) speaks against Marcion, Basilides, and Valentinus. *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 10 ch.5 p.99

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) mentions Apelles the disciple of Marcion in *Origen Against Celsus* book 5 ch.54 p.567.

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) “Of those, then, who seek to enter in, those who are not able to enter will not be able to do so, because the gates of Hades prevail against them; but in the case of those against whom the gates of Hades will not prevail, those seeking to enter in will be strong, being able to do all things, in Christ Jesus, who strengtheneth them.Of those, then, who seek to enter in, those who are not able to enter will not be able to do so, because the gates of Hades prevail against them; but in the case of those against whom the gates of Hades will not prevail, those seeking to enter in will be strong, being able to do all things, in Christ Jesus, who strengtheneth them. And in like manner each one of those who are the authors of any evil opinion has become the architect of a certain gate of Hades; but those who co-operate with the teaching of the architect of such things are servants and stewards, who are the bond-servants of the evil doctrine which goes to build up impiety. And though the gates of Hades are many and almost innumerable, no gate of Hades will prevail against the rock or against the church which Christ builds upon it. Notwithstanding, these gates have a certain power by which they gain the mastery over some who do not resist and strive against them; but they are overcome by others who, because they do not turn aside from Him who said, ‘I am the door,’ have rased from their soul all the gates of Hades. And this also we must know that as the gates of cities have each their own names, in the same way the gates of Hades might be named after the species of sins; so that one gate of Hades is called ‘fornication,’ through which fornicators go, and another ‘denial,’ through which the deniers of God go down into Hades. And likewise already each of the heterodox and of those who have begotten any ‘knowledge which is falsely so called,’ has built a gate of Hades-Marcion one gate, and Basilides another, and Valentinus another. “ *Commentary on Matthew* book 12 ch.12 p.457

Origen (239-242 A.D.) speaks against Marcion and Valentinus, calling them heretics. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 7 ch.3.1 p.101 and homily 7 ch.4.2 p.103

Origen (239-242 A.D.) speaks against Marcion. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 8 ch.2.3 p.112-113

Origen (c.250 A.D.) says that the Marcionites are wrong in denying “in David and an inheritance in the seed of Jesse. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 77 homily 9 ch.5 p.404

**Cyprian of Carthage** (256 A.D.) “it is no pleasure to speak of that which one either dreads or is ashamed to know, let us examine in the meantime about Marcion alone” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 72 ch.5 p.380

**Firmilian** (c.246-258 A.D.) in his letter to Cyprian mentions the heretics Marcion, Valentinus, Cerdo, Apelles, Basilides in *Letter 74* p.390

Saturninus of Thucca at the **Seventh Council of Carthage** (258 A.D.) p.579 (partial) mentions Marcion and those who approve of Marcion’s baptism. (No mention of other heresies coming from Marcion though.)

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) *Dialogue on the True Faith* disputes against Megethius in part 1 p.35-76. He disputes against the Marcionite Marcus in the second part p.77-109.

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “They say, like Sabellios [Sabellius] that the Almighty Person of the Father Himself suffered.” Methodius mentions Artemas, Ebionites, Marcion, Valentinus, Elkaisites. Jesus did not only come in appearance. *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* book 8 ch.10 p.338

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (partial) “For when they are called Phrygians, or Novarians, or Valentinians, or Marcionites, or Anthropians, or Arians, or by any other name they have ceased to be Christians, who have lost the name of Christ, and assumed human and external names. Therefore it is the Catholic Church alone which retains true worship.” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.30 p.133

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) (implied) discusses Rhodo, who studied under Tatian, and wrote an apology against Marcion, and the sects derived from him. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 5 ch.13 p.227

**Among heretics**

**X** Marcionite heretic **Megethius** (c.300 A.D.) a self-labeled follower of Marcion, in his debate with Adamantius says that Marcion was his bishop. Marcion lived earlier so he obviously means he claims to follow Marcion, not that he personally knew him. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.809a p.48

## Gn10. Dispute against Valentinian Gnostics

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “with whom we have nothing in common, since we know them to be atheists, impious, unrighteous, and sinful, and confessors of Jesus in name only, instead of worshippers of Him. Yet they style themselves Christians, just as certain among the Gentiles inscribe the name of God upon the works of their own hands, and partake in nefarious and impious rites.) Some are called Marcians [Marcion], and some Valentinians, and some Basilidians, and some Saturnilians, and others by other names” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.35 p.212

**Hegesippus** (170-180 A.D.) mentions Simon, the Marcionists, Valentinians, Basilidians, Saturnilians, and other Gnostics. *Concerning His Journey to Rome, and the Jewish Sects* vol.8 p.764. From *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 4 ch.22 p.198-200

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Such, then, is their system, which neither the prophets announced, nor the Lord taught, nor the apostles delivered, but of which they boast that beyond all others they have a perfect knowledge. They gather their views from other sources than the Scriptures [literally readings from things unwritten]; and, to use a common proverb, they strive to weave ropes of sand, while they endeavour to adapt with an air of probability to their own peculiar assertions the parables of the Lord, the sayings of the prophets, and the words of the apostles, in order that their scheme may not seem altogether without support. In doing so, however, they disregard the order and the connection of the Scriptures, and so far as in them lies, dismember and destroy the truth.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.8.1 p.326. Irenaeus is referring to the Valentinians who based their system on unwritten things besides scripture.

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) mentions Cerdo, his successor Marcion, Valentinus, Simon the Sorcerer, his disciple Menander in *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.4 p.417. He also mentions Valentinus in ibid book 5 ch.15.4 p.543

**The Muratorian Canon** (190-217 A.D.) p.604 is against Arsinous, Valentinus, Miltiades, Marcion, and Basilides as rejected.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) writes against Basilides and Valentinus many places including *Stromata* book 2 ch.8 p.355 and Heracleon of the Valentinians in *Stromata* book 4 ch.9 p.422.

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) teaches against the Valentinians and followers of Basilides in *Stromata* book 1 ch.1 p.381.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) mentions Valentinus and Marcion in *The Prescription Against Heretics* ch.7 p.246

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) mentions Valentinus having two deities. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 1 ch.5 p.274

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) discusses the heresies of Simon and Valentinus. *Refutation of All Heresies* book 4 ch.51 p.45

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) mentions by name Basilides, Valentinus, and Marcion as those who have fallen away from the doctrines of God and the words of the church and a true mind. *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 11 ch.23 p.463.

Origen (c.240 A.D.) speaks against Marcion, Basilides, and Valentinus. *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 10 ch.5 p.99. See also *Homilies on Psalms* homily 77homily 9 ch.6 p.404.

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) “Of those, then, who seek to enter in, those who are not able to enter will not be able to do so, because the gates of Hades prevail against them; but in the case of those against whom the gates of Hades will not prevail, those seeking to enter in will be strong, being able to do all things, in Christ Jesus, who strengtheneth them. Of those, then, who seek to enter in, those who are not able to enter will not be able to do so, because the gates of Hades prevail against them; but in the case of those against whom the gates of Hades will not prevail, those seeking to enter in will be strong, being able to do all things, in Christ Jesus, who strengtheneth them. And in like manner each one of those who are the authors of any evil opinion has become the architect of a certain gate of Hades; but those who co-operate with the teaching of the architect of such things are servants and stewards, who are the bond-servants of the evil doctrine which goes to build up impiety. And though the gates of Hades are many and almost innumerable, no gate of Hades will prevail against the rock or against the church which Christ builds upon it. Notwithstanding, these gates have a certain power by which they gain the mastery over some who do not resist and strive against them; but they are overcome by others who, because they do not turn aside from Him who said, ‘I am the door,’ have rased from their soul all the gates of Hades. And this also we must know that as the gates of cities have each their own names, in the same way the gates of Hades might be named after the species of sins; so that one gate of Hades is called ‘fornication,’ through which fornicators go, and another ‘denial,’ through which the deniers of God go down into Hades. And likewise already each of the heterodox and of those who have begotten any ‘knowledge which is falsely so called,’ has built a gate of Hades-Marcion one gate, and Basilides another, and Valentinus another. “ *Commentary on Matthew* book 12 ch.12 p.457

Origen (239-242 A.D.) speaks against Marcion and Valentinus, calling them heretics. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 7 ch.3.1 p.101 and homily 7 ch.4.2 p.103

**Cyprian of Carthage** (256 A.D.) “If the Patripassians, Anthropians, Valentinians, Apelletians, Ophites, Marcionites, and other pests, and swords, and poisons of heretics for subverting the truth, confess the same Father, the same Son, the same Holy Ghost, the same Church with us, they may also have one baptism if they have also one faith.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 72 ch.4 p.380

**Firmilian** (c.246-258 A.D.) in his letter to Cyprian mentions the heretics Marcion, Valentinus, Cerdo, Apelles, Basilides. *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 74 ch.2 p.390

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) debated against the Valentinian Droserius in *Dialogue on the True Faith* fourth part p.124-133.

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) mentions “Valentinus and Cerinthus and Ebion, and others of the school of Satan” *Commentary on the Apocalypse of the Blessed John* p.353

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “They say, like Sabellios [Sabellius] that the Almighty Person of the Father Himself suffered.” Methodius mentions Artemas, Ebionites, Marcion, Valentinus, Elkaisites. Jesus did not only come in appearance. *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* book 8 ch.10 p.338

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “For when they are called Phrygians, or Novarians, or Valentinians, or Marcionites, or Anthropians, or Arians, or by any other name they have ceased to be Christians, who have lost the name of Christ, and assumed human and external names. Therefore it is the Catholic Church alone which retains true worship.” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.30 p.133

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) mentions Jesus Christ the only-begotten son, but not in a corporeal manner, or by excision or division as Sabellius and Valentinus taught. *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Epistle 1 ch.12 p.295

**Among heretics**

**X Valentiinians** would be against this.

## Gn11. Against the Valentinian Gnostic Heracleon

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “But if, in truth, vacuity was produced, then its producer Valentinus is also a vacuum, as are likewise his followers. If, again, it was not produced, but was generated by itself, then that which is really a vacuum is similar to, and the brother of, and of the same honour with, that Father who has been proclaimed by Valentinus; while it is more ancient, and dating its existence from a period greatly anterior, and more exalted in honour than the remaining Aeons of Ptolemy himself, and Heracleon, and all the rest who hold the same opinions.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.4.1 p.363

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) writes Heracleon of the Valentinians in *Stromata* book 4 ch.9 p.422.

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/246 A.D.) “And from this (system), not from the Gospels, Valentinus, as we have proved, has collected the (materials of) heresy-I mean his own (heresy)-and may (therefore) justly be reckoned a Pythagorean and Platonist, not a Christian. Valentinus, therefore, and Heracleon, and Ptolemaeus, and the entire school of these (heretics), as disciples of Pythagoras and Plato, (and) following these guides, have laid down as e fundamental principle of their doctrine the arithmetical system. For, likewise, according to these (Valentinians), the originating cause of the universe is a Monad, unbegotten, imperishable, incomprehensible, inconceivable, productive, and a cause of the generation of all existent things.” *Against All Heresies* book 6 ch.24 p.85

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “We have presented all these statements as to the Saviour’s sayings and doings at Capernaum in order to refute Heracleon’s interpretation of our passage, ‘Hence He is not said to have done or to have spoken anything there.’” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 10 ch.9 p.386

&&&**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.)

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) mentions Ptolemy, Secundus, and Valentinus, Heracleon *Against All Heresies* ch.4 p.652

**Among heretics**

**X Valentinian followers of Heracleaon** would be against this.

## Gn12. Dispute against Sethian/Ophite Gnostics

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) wrote against the Ophites p.354 and Sethians p.354

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) discusses the Encratites, Ophians, and other Gnostics in *Stromata* book 7 ch.17 p.555

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “And the wretched and baneful Sethians …” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 10 ch.7 p.143

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) wrote against the Sethians in *Refutation of All Heresies* book 5 ch.14-17 p.64-69, also p.142 and Ophites p.74,124.

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) wrote against the Ophites. *Refutation of All Heresies* book 5 ch.6 p.58

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) wrote against the Ophites. p.584,586,590

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “For if we and heretics have one faith, we may also have one grace. If the Patripassians, Anthropians, Valentinians, Apelletians, Ophites, Marcionites, and other pests, and swords, and poisons of heretics for subverting the truth, confess the same Father, the same Son, the same Holy Ghost, the same Church with us, they may also have one baptism if they have also one faith.” *Epistles of Cyprian Letter* 72 ch.4 p.380

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) discusses the Sethites/Sethians. *Against All Heresies* ch.2 p.651

**Among heretics**

**X Sethians** would be against this.

## Gn13. Against the Gnostic heretic Apelles

There was also a Greek painter named Apelles, who was a different person.

Note that Hegesippus (170-180 A.D.) lists 11 heresies and Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) lists even more, but they did not mention Apelles or the Naaseni.

**Rhodon** (c.180 A.D.) mentions the heretics Apelles, Potitus, Basilicus, and Marcion. *Rhodon fragment* *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.766.

Rhodon (c.180 A.D.) says that Apelles prided himself on the strictness of his life. Apelles taught there is only one first principle. *Rhodon fragment* vol.8 p.766

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) (partial) lumps followers of Marcion together, and Apelles was from Marcion. “-[all these arguments, I say, ] will in like manner apply against those who are of the school of Marcion, and Simon, and Menander, or whatever others there may be who, like them, cut off that creation with which we are connected from the Father.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.31.1 p.407

**Tertullian** (c.203 A.D.) “Saturninus, the disciple of Menander, who belonged to Simon’s sect, introduced this opinion: he affirmed that man was made by angels. A futile, imperfect creation at first, weak and unable to stand, he crawled upon the ground like a worm, because he wanted the strength to maintain an erect posture; but afterwards having, by the compassion of the Supreme Power (in whose image, which had not been fully understood, he was clumsily formed), obtained a slender spark of life, this roused and righted his imperfect form, and animated it with a higher vitality, and provided for its return, on its relinquishment of life, to its original principle. Carpocrates, indeed, claims for himself so extreme an amount of the supernal qualities, that his disciples set their own souls at once on an equality with Christ (not to mention the apostles); and sometimes, when it suits their fancy, even give them the superiority-deeming them, forsooth, to have partaken of that sublime virtue which looks down upon the principalities that govern this world. Apelles tells us that our souls were enticed by earthly baits down from their super-celestial abodes by a fiery angel, Israel’s God; and ours, who then enclosed them firmly within our sinful flesh. The hive of Valentinus fortifies the soul with the germ of *Sophia*, or Wisdom; by means of which germ they recognise, in the images of visible objects, the stories and Milesian fables of their own aeons.” *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.23 p.203

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “For indeed the notorious Philumena persuaded Apelles and the other seceders from Marcion rather to believe that Christ did really carry about a body of flesh; not derived to Him, however, from birth, but one which He borrowed from the elements. Now, as Marcion was apprehensive that a belief of the fleshly body would also involve a belief of birth, undoubtedly He who seemed to be man was believed to be verily and indeed born.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.11 p.330

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) has an entire chapter on Apelles. “But Apelles, a disciple of this *heretic*, [Marcion] was displeased at the statements advanced by his preceptor, as we have previously declared, and by another theory supposed that there are four gods. And the first of these he [the heretic Apelles] alleges to be the ‘Good Being,’ whom the prophets did not know, and Christ to be His Son. And the second *God, he affirms* to be the Creator of the universe, and Him he does not wish to be a God. And the third *God, he states* to be the fiery one that was manifested; and the fourth to be an evil one. And *Apelles* calls these angels; and by adding (to their number) Christ likewise, he will assert Him to be a fifth *God*. But *this heretic* is in the habit of devoting his attention to a book which he calls ‘Revelations’ of a certain Philumene, whom he considers a prophetess. And he affirms that Christ did not receive his flesh from the Virgin, but from the adjacent substance of the world. In this manner he composed his treatises against the law and the prophets, and attempts to abolish them as if they had spoken falsehoods, and had not known God. And *Apelles*, similarly with Marcion, affirms that the different sorts of flesh are destroyed.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 10 ch.16 p.147

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) mentions Apelles the disciple of Marcion in *Origen Against Celsus* book 5 ch.54 p.567.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “But as no heresy at all, and equally no schism, being without, can have the sanctification of saving baptism, why has the bitter obstinacy of our brother Stephen broken forth to such an extent, as to contend that sons are born to God from the baptism of Marcion; moreover, of Valentinus and Apelles, and of others who blaspheme against God the Father; and to say that remission of sins is granted in the name of Jesus Christ where blasphemy is uttered against the Father and against Christ the Lord God?” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 73 ch.7 p.388. See also ibid Letter 79 ch.5 p.391

Cyprian of Carthage (256 A.D.) “If the Patripassians, Anthropians, Valentinians, Apelletians, Ophites, Marcionites, and other pests, and swords, and poisons of heretics for subverting the truth, confess the same Father, the same Son, the same Holy Ghost, the same Church with us, they may also have one baptism if they have also one faith.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 72 ch.4 p.380

**Firmilian** (c.246-258 A.D.) in his letter to Cyprian mentions the heretics Marcion, Valentinus, Cerdo, Apelles, Basilides. “Apelles, also consented to his [Marcion’s] blasphemy, added many other new and more important matters hostile to faith and truth.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 74 ch.5 p.391

**Among heretics**

**X Follower fo Apelles** would be against this.

## Gn14. Against the Gnostic Heretic Basilides

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “with whom we have nothing in common, since we know them to be atheists, impious, unrighteous, and sinful, and confessors of Jesus in name only, instead of worshippers of Him. Yet they style themselves Christians, just as certain among the Gentiles inscribe the name of God upon the works of their own hands, and partake in nefarious and impious rites.) Some are called Marcians [Marcion], and some Valentinians, and some Basilidians, and some Saturnilians, and others by other names” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.35 p.212

**Hegesippus** (170-180 A.D.) listed 11 heresies of the following: Simon, Cleobius, Doritheus, Gorthaeus, Masbothaeus, Menandrianists [Menander], Marcionists [Marcion], Carpocratians [Carpocrates], Valentinians [Valentinus], Basilidians [Basilides], Saturnilians [Saturnilus]. *Concerning His Journey to Rome* (*ANF* vol.8) p.764. From *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 4 ch.22 p.198-200

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Arising among these men, Saturninus (who was of that Antioch which is near Daphne) and Basilides laid hold of some favourable opportunities, and promulgated different systems of doctrine-the one in Syria, the other at Alexandria. Saturninus, like Menander, set forth one father unknown to all, who made angels, archangels, powers, and potentates.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.24.1 p.348-349

**Caius** (190-217 A.D.) p.604 “Those are rejected too who wrote the new *Book of Psalms* for Marcion, together with Basilides and the founder of the Asian Cataphrygians.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “The adherents of Basilides are in the habit of calling the passions appendages: … But against this dogma we shall argue subsequently, when we treat of the soul.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.20 p.372-373.

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) teaches against the Valentinians and followers of Basilides in *Stromata* book 1 ch.1 p.381.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “His very flesh; contending with Marcion and Basilides that it possessed no reality,” *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* ch.2 p.546

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “But one Saturnilus, who flourished about the same period with Basilides, but spent his time in Antioch, (a city) of Syria, propounded opinions akin to whatever (tenets) Menander (advanced). He asserts that there is one Father, unknown to all-He who had made angels, archangels, principalities, (and) powers; and that by certain angels, seven (in number), the world was made, and all things that are in it. And (Saturnilus affirms) that man was a work of angels.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 7 ch.16 p.109

**Origen** (c.240 A.D.) speaks against Marcion, Basilides, and Valentinus. *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 10 ch.5 p.99

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) “Of those, then, who seek to enter in, those who are not able to enter will not be able to do so, because the gates of Hades prevail against them; but in the case of those against whom the gates of Hades will not prevail, those seeking to enter in will be strong, being able to do all things, in Christ Jesus, who strengtheneth them.Of those, then, who seek to enter in, those who are not able to enter will not be able to do so, because the gates of Hades prevail against them; but in the case of those against whom the gates of Hades will not prevail, those seeking to enter in will be strong, being able to do all things, in Christ Jesus, who strengtheneth them. And in like manner each one of those who are the authors of any evil opinion has become the architect of a certain gate of Hades; but those who co-operate with the teaching of the architect of such things are servants and stewards, who are the bond-servants of the evil doctrine which goes to build up impiety. And though the gates of Hades are many and almost innumerable, no gate of Hades will prevail against the rock or against the church which Christ builds upon it. Notwithstanding, these gates have a certain power by which they gain the mastery over some who do not resist and strive against them; but they are overcome by others who, because they do not turn aside from Him who said, ‘I am the door,’ have rased from their soul all the gates of Hades. And this also we must know that as the gates of cities have each their own names, in the same way the gates of Hades might be named after the species of sins; so that one gate of Hades is called ‘fornication,’ through which fornicators go, and another ‘denial,’ through which the deniers of God go down into Hades. And likewise already each of the heterodox and of those who have begotten any ‘knowledge which is falsely so called,’ has built a gate of Hades-Marcion one gate, and Basilides another, and Valentinus another. “ *Commentary on Matthew* book 12 ch.12 p.457

Origen (239-242 A.D.) is against the heretic Basilides. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 8 ch.2.3 p.112-113 and homily 7 ch.4.2 p.103. See also *Homilies on Psalms* homily 77 homily 9 ch.6 p.250.

**Among heretics**

**X Follows of Basilides** would disagree.

## Gn15. Dispute against Encratite Gnostics

(partial) 1 Timothy 4:3

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) The Encratites (meaning self-controlled) came from Saturninus and Marcion. Encratites were against marriage, and some among them were against animal food [meat]. Tatian, a hearer of Justin [Martyr] was the one who introduced this blasphemy. Tatian was novel in denying the salvation of Adam. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.28.1 p.353

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) discusses the Encratites, Ophians, and other Gnostics in *Stromata* book 7 ch.17 p.555

Clement of Alexandria(193-202 A.D.) in discussing other religions besides Christianity writes, “The Indian gymnosophists are also in the number, and the other barbarian philosophers. And of these there are two classes, some of them called Sarmanae, and others Brahmins. And those of the Sarmanae who are called Hylobii neither inhabit cities, nor have roofs over them, but are clothed in the bark of trees, feed on nuts, and drink water in their hands. Like those called Encratites in the present day, they know not marriage nor begetting of children. (para) Some, too, of the Indians obey the precepts of Buddha; *Stromata* book 1 ch.5 p.316.

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) mentions that Tatian was against marriage. *Stromata* book 3 ch.12 p.396

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) has a short chapter on Tatian. Tatian was a pupil of Justin Martyr but had different views. He said there were aeons, similar to Valentinus, believed “marriage is destruction” and Adam was not saved. *The Refutation of All Heresies* book 8 ch.9 p.122 and book 8 ch.13 p.124

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) refers to heretical groups such as two groups of Ebionites and Encratites *Origen Against Celsus* book 5 ch.65 p.571

Origen (233/234 A.D.) (implied) write against Tatian, the Encratite Gnostic. *Origen On Prayer* ch.24.5 p.83-84

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) mentions Tatian, a brother-heretic. He was a disciple of Justin Martyr, but after Justin’s death he had different opinions, and like Valentinus. *Against All Heresies* ch.7 p.654

**Among heretics**

**X Encratites** would disagree.

**X Tatian** would disagree.

## Gn16. Against the Encratite Saturninus/Saturnilus

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “with whom we have nothing in common, since we know them to be atheists, impious, unrighteous, and sinful, and confessors of Jesus in name only, instead of worshippers of Him. Yet they style themselves Christians, just as certain among the Gentiles inscribe the name of God upon the works of their own hands, and partake in nefarious and impious rites.) Some are called Marcians [Marcion], and some Valentinians, and some Basilidians, and some Saturnilians, and others by other names” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.35 p.212

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Arising among these men, Saturninus (who was of that Antioch which is near Daphne) and Basilides laid hold of some favourable opportunities, and promulgated different systems of doctrine-the one in Syria, the other at Alexandria. Saturninus, like Menander, set forth one father unknown to all, who made angels, archangels, powers, and potentates. The world, again, and all things therein, were made by a certain company of seven angels. Man, too, was the workmanship of angels, a shining image bursting forth below from the presence of the supreme power;” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.24.1 p.348-349

**Hegesippus** (170-180 A.D.) listed 11 heresies of the following: Simon, Cleobius, Doritheus, Gorthaeus, Masbothaeus, Menandrianists [Menander], Marcionists [Marcion], Carpocratians [Carpocrates], Valentinians [Valentinus], Basilidians [Basilides], Saturnilians [Saturnilus]. *Concerning His Journey to Rome* (*ANF* vol.8) p.764. From *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 4 ch.22 p.198-200

**Tertullian** (c.203 A.D.) “Some suppose that they [souls] came down from heaven, with as firm a belief as they are apt to entertain, when they indulge in the prospect of an undoubted return thither. Saturninus, the disciple of Menander, who belonged to Simon’s sect, introduced this opinion: he affirmed that man was made by angels. A futile, imperfect creation at first, weak and unable to stand, he crawled upon the ground like a worm, because he wanted the strength to maintain an erect posture; but afterwards having, by the compassion of the Supreme Power (in whose image, which had not been fully understood, he was clumsily formed), obtained a slender spark of life, this roused and righted his imperfect form, and animated it with a higher vitality, and provided for its return, on its relinquishment of life, to its original principle.” *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.23 p.203

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “But one Saturnilus, who flourished about the same period with Basilides, but spent his time in Antioch, (a city) of Syria, propounded opinions akin to whatever (tenets) Menander (advanced). He asserts that there is one Father, unknown to all-He who had made angels, archangels, principalities, (and) powers; and that by certain angels, seven (in number), the world was made, and all things that are in it. And (Saturnilus affirms) that man was a work of angels.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 7 ch.16 p.109

**Among heretics**

**X Follower of Saturninus** would disagree.

## Gn17. Dispute against other Gnostics

(partial) 1 John 4:7

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) mentions Menander, disciple of Simon the Sorcerer. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.26 p.171. He also mentioned Simon Magus.

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) “with whom we have nothing in common, since we know them to be atheists, impious, unrighteous, and sinful, and confessors of Jesus in name only, instead of worshippers of Him. Yet they style themselves Christians, just as certain among the Gentiles inscribe the name of God upon the works of their own hands, and partake in nefarious and impious rites.) Some are called Marcians [Marcion], and some Valentinians, and some Basilidians, and some Saturnilians, and others by other names” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.35 p.212

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) (probably by Justin) “For does not the word say, ‘Let Us make man in our image, and after our likeness?’ What kind of man? Manifestly He means fleshly man, For the word says, ‘And God took dust of the earth, and made man.’ It is evident, therefore, that man made in the image of God was of flesh. Is it not, then, absurd to say, that the flesh made by God in His own image is contemptible, and worth nothing? But that the flesh is with God a precious possession is manifest, first from its being formed by Him, if at least the image is valuable to the former and artist; and besides, its value can be gathered from the creation of the rest of the world. For that on account of which the rest is made, is the most precious of all to the maker.” *On the Resurrection* ch.7 p.297

**Hegesippus** (170-180 A.D.) mentions Simon, the Marcionists, Valentinians, Basilidians, Saturnilians, and other Gnostics. *Concerning His Journey to Rome, and the Jewish Sects* vol.8 p.764. From *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 4 ch.22 p.198-200

**Rhodon** (c.180 A.D.) mentions the heretics Apelles, Potitus, Basilicus, and Marcion. *Rhodon fragment* p.766.

Rhodon (c.180 A.D.) says that Apelles prided himself on the strictness of his life. Apelles taught there is only one first principle. *Rhodon fragment* vol.8 p.766

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “I do this, in order that thou, obtaining an acquaintance these things, mayest in turn explain them to all those with whom thou art connected, and exhort them to avoid such an abyss of madness and of blasphemy against Christ. I intend, then, to the best of my ability, with brevity and clearness to set for the opinions of those who are now promulgating heresy.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 Preface p.315-316.

Irenaeus of Lyons mentions Cerdo, his successor Marcion, Valentinus, Simon the Sorcerer, his disciple Menander in *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.4 p.417

**Caius** (190-217 A.D.) ch.1.2 p.601 mentions the heretic Cerinthus and the resurrection of us and the future kingdom of Christ.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) writes against Basilides and Valentinus in *Stromata* book 2 ch.8 p.355

**Tertullian** (c.203 A.D.) mentions Carpocrates the libertine Gnostic in *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.25 p.216

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) mentions Marcion, Tatian, and Pythagorean heretics all in one sentence *Tertullian On Fasting* ch.15 vol.4 p.112

Tertullian (c.203 A.D.) mentions Apelles (the heretic, not the painter) in *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.36 p.217

Tertullian (c.203 A.D.) mentions Menander the Samaritan heretic in *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.50 p.227-228

Tertullian mentions Valentinus and Marcion in *The Prescription Against Heretics* ch.7 p.246

**Asterius Urbanus** (c.232 A.D.) speaks against Marcion and the Marcionites in fragment 6 p.337.

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) mentions the Naasani Gnostics. *Refutation of All Heresies* book 5 ch.1-3 p.47

Translation of Hipppolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.)Chapter III.-Further Exposition of the Heresy of the Naaseni; Profess to Follow Homer; Acknowledge a Triad of Principles; Their Technical Names of the Triad; Support These on the Authority of Greek Poets; Allegorize Our Saviour’s Miracles; The Mystery of the Samothracians; Why the Lord Chose Twelve Disciples; The Name Corybas, Used by Thracians and Phrygians, Explained; Naasseni Profess to Find Their System in Scripture; Their Interpretation of Jacob’s Vision; Their Idea of the ‘Perfect Man; ‘The ‘Perfect Man’ Called ‘Papa’ By the Phrygians; The Naasseni and Phrygians on the Resurrection; The Ecstasis of St. Paul; The Mysteries of Religion as Alluded to by Christ; Interpretation of the Parable of the Sower; Allegory of the Promised Land; Comparison of the System of the Phrygians with the Statements of Scripture; Exposition of the Meaning of the Higher and Lower Eleusinian Mysteries; The Incarnation Discoverable Here According to the Naasseni. Refutation of All Heresies book 5 table of contents. (written by the translator, not Hippolytus, but a good summary of what Hippolytus knew of Naaseni beliefs)

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) mentions the Naaseni Gnostics and their gospel inscribed “according to the Egyptians”. *The Refutation of All Heresies* book 5.2 p.49

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) mentions the Gnostic heresy of Justin and the Gnostic Book of Baruch. *Refutation of All Heresies* book 5 ch.20-23 p.69-73

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) mentions by name Basilides, Valentinus, and Marcion as those who have fallen away from the doctrines of God and the words of the church and a true mind. *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 11 ch.23 p.463.

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) speaks of Basilides, Valentinus and Marcion as teaching the things of man as the things of God in *Commentary on Matthew* book 12 ch.23 p.463

Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) “And here I wonder how the dissentients can connect the two Testaments with two different Gods. These words, were there no others, are enough to convict them of their error. For how can John be the beginning of the Gospel if they suppose he belongs to a different God, if he belongs to the demiurge, and, as they hold, is not acquainted with the new deity? *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 1 ch.14 p.305

Origen (233/234 A.D.) write against Gnostics in general. *Origen On Prayer* ch.29.12 p.119-120

***Treatise On Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.17 p.677 criticizes the Preaching of Paul which claims Christ sinned.

**Firmilian** (c.246-258 A.D.) in his letter to Cyprian mentions the heretics Marcion, Valentinus, Cerdo, Apelles, Basilides in *Letter 74* p.390

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) disputes against Marcionites, Bardasenes, Valentinians and Gnostics in Generaal in *Dialog on the True Faith*.

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) mentions “Valentinus and Cerinthus and Ebion, and others of the school of Satan” *Commentary on the Apocalypse of the Blessed John* p.353

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Tertullian** (after 200 A.D.) mentions the Gnostics Marcus, Colorbasus. *Against All Heresies* ch.v p.653 and Cerdo ch.6

pseudo-Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) mentions Ptolemy, Secundus, and Valentinus, Heracleon *Against All Heresies* ch.4 p.652

pseudo-Tertullian mentions Cerdo, Marcion, Lucian, and Apelles. *Against All Heresies* ch.6 p.653

pseudo-Tertullian mentions Tatian, pupil of Justin Martyr, Cataproclans, Cataeschinetans. *Against All Heresies* ch.7 p.654

pseudo-Tertullian mentions Blastus, Cataphrygians, Cataproclans, Cataeschinetans and two Theodotus’ in *Against All Heresies* ch.7-8 p.654

pseudo-Tertullian mentions Dositheus the proto-Gnostic, as the first to repudiate the prophets *Against All Heresies* ch.1 p.649.

pseudo-Tertullian mentions Saturninus *Against All Heresies* ch.1 p.649.

pseudo-Tertullian describes the heresy of the Gnostics Basilides and Nicolaus (Nicolatians) in *Against All Heresies* ch.1 p.649-650.

pseudo-Tertullian mentions the Ophites. *Against All Heresies* ch.2 p.650

pseudo-Tertullian mentions the Cainites and Sethites. *Against All Heresies* ch.2 p.651

pseudo-Tertullian mentions Carpocrates, Cerinthus, and Ebion. *Against All Heresies* ch.3 p.651

pseudo-Tertullian mentions the Gnostics Marcion, Lucan, Apelles. *Against All Heresies* ch.v p.653 and Cerdo ch.6

pseudo-Tertullian mentions the Cataphrygians (Montanists) *Against All Heresies* ch.7 p.654

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.54 p.91 speaks against Dositheus.

**X Various Gnostics** would disagree.

## Gn18. The [Gnostic] Demiurge is false

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**Irenaeus** (182-188 A.D.) “By means of specious and plausible words, they [Gnostics] cunningly allure the simple-minded to inquire into their system; but they nevertheless clumsily destroy them, while they initiate them into their blasphemous and impious opinions respecting the Demiurge; and these simple ones are unable, even in such a matter, to distinguish falsehood from truth.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 preface ch.1 p.315

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) speak against the Demiurge. “Ptolemy remembered perfectly well the prattle of his boyhood, that apples grew in the sea, and fishes on the tree; after the same fashion, he assumed that nut-trees flourished in the skies. The Demiurge does his work in ignorance, and therefore perhaps he is unaware that trees ought to be planted only on the ground.” *Against the Valentinians* ch.20 p.514

**Hippolytus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “And from this (source), they [the Docetae] allege, was generated the Great Archon, regarding whom Moses converses, saying that He is a fiery Deity and Demiurge, who also continually alters the forms of all (Aeons) into bodies. And the (Docetae) allege that these are the souls for whose sake the Saviour was begotten, and that He points out the way through which the souls will escape that are (now) overpowered (by darkness).” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 10 ch.12 p.146

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “For the same Mark says: ‘The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as it is written in Isaiah the prophet, Behold I send my messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way. The voice of one crying m the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make His paths straight.’ And here I must wonder how the dissentients can connect the two Testaments with two different Gods. These words, were there no others, are enough to convict them of their error. For how can John be the beginning of the Gospel if they suppose he belongs to a different God, if he belongs to the demiurge, and, as they hold, is not acquainted with the new deity?” *Commentary on John* book 1 ch.14 p.304-305

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) speaks against Megethius’s idea of the Demiurge. *Dialogue on the True Faith* second part ch.18 p.99-100.

&&&**Alexander of Lycopolis** (301 A.D.) in refuting the Manichaeans, discusses their beliefs about the Demiurge. *Of the Manichaeans* ch.3-4 p.&&&

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (c.318-325 A.D.) says the demiurge is false in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 7 ch.20 p.26 and ibid book 6 ch.11 p.39

**Among heretics**

**X** Revised Valentinian ***Tripartite Tract*** (200-250 A.D.) part 2 ch.11 p.87 teaches on the Demiurge.

**X** Marcionite heretic **Megethius** (c.300 A.D.) explains there are three first principles: the good god, the Demiurge, and the evil one. *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.2 p.37-38.

**X Many other Gnostics** would disagree.

## Gn19. The [Gnostic] Ogdoad is false

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**Irenaeus** (182-188 A.D.) “Such are the thirty Aeons in the erroneous system of these men; and they are described as being wrapped up, so to speak, in silence, and known to none [except these professing teachers]. Moreover, they declare that this invisible and spiritual Pleroma of theirs is tripartite, being divided into an Ogdoad, a Decad, and a Duodecad. And for this reason they affirm it was that the ‘Saviour’-for they do not please to call Him ‘Lord’-did no work in public during the space of thirty years, thus setting forth the mystery of these Aeons.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.1.3 p.317

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) speaks against the Valentinian system. Specifically, “had the title Ogdoada, after the precedent of the primeval Ogdoad.” *Against the Valentinians* ch.20 p.514

**Hippolytus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “Valentinus, however, and the adherents of this school, though they agree in asserting that the originating principle of the universe is t*he* Father, still they are impelled into the adoption of a contrary opinion *respecting Him*. For some of them *maintain* that (the Father) is solitary and generative; whereas others *hold* the impossibility, (in His as in other cases,) of procreation without a female. They therefore add Sige as *the* spouse of this *Father*, and style *the Father* Himself Bythus. From this *Father* and His spouse some *allege* that there have been six projections,-viz., Nous and Aletheia, Logos and Zoe, Anthropos and Ecclesia,-and that this constitutes the procreative Ogdoad. And *the Valentinians maintain* that those *are the first* projections which have taken place within the limit, *and* have been again denominated ‘*those* within the Pleroma; ‘and the second are ‘those without the Pleroma’; and the third, ‘those without the Limit.’ Now the generation of these constitutes the Hysterema *Acamoth*. And he asserts that what has been generated from an Aeon, *that exists* in *the* Hysterema *and* has been projected (beyond the Limit), is the Creator. But *Valentinus* is not disposed *to affirm what is thus generated* to be primal Deity, but speaks in detractive terms both of Him and the things made by Him. And (he asserts) that Christ came down from within the Pleroma for the salvation of the spirit who had erred. This spirit, (according to the Valentinians,) resides in our inner man; and they say that this *inner man* obtains salvation on account of this indwelling *spirit*.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 10 ch.9 p.144

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “Moreover, if any one would wish to become acquainted with the artifices of those sorcerers,… They say also that the beginnings of the Ogdoad are derived from this.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 6 ch.31 p.587

**Among heretics**

**X Many Gnostics** would disagree.

## Gn20. The [Gnostic] Pleroma is false

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**Irenaeus** (182-188 A.D.) “Such are the thirty Aeons in the erroneous system of these men; and they are described as being wrapped up, so to speak, in silence, and known to none [except these professing teachers]. Moreover, they declare that this invisible and spiritual Pleroma of theirs is tripartite, being divided into an Ogdoad, a Decad, and a Duodecad. And for this reason they affirm it was that the ‘Saviour’-for they do not please to call Him ‘Lord’-did no work in public during the space of thirty years, thus setting forth the mystery of these Aeons.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.1.3 p.317

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “He [Paul] does not say this with any thought of an erratic Aeon, or of any other power which departed from the Pleroma, or of Prunicus, but of the Jerusalem which has been delineated on [God’s] hands.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.35.2 p.566

**Clement of Alexandria** (198-202 A.D.) “Or, finally, suppose, trusting to their [the Valentinians’] knowledge, they dared (but this also were impossible for them), on learning the excellence that is in the Pleroma, to conspire against man.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.8 p.356

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) describes and speaks against the Pleroma in *Against the Valentinians* ch.24 p.515

**Hippolytus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “Valentinus, however, and the adherents of this school, though they agree in asserting that the originating principle of the universe is t*he* Father, still they are impelled into the adoption of a contrary opinion *respecting Him*. For some of them *maintain* that (the Father) is solitary and generative; whereas others *hold* the impossibility, (in His as in other cases,) of procreation without a female. They therefore add Sige as *the* spouse of this *Father*, and style *the Father* Himself Bythus. From this *Father* and His spouse some *allege* that there have been six projections,-viz., Nous and Aletheia, Logos and Zoe, Anthropos and Ecclesia,-and that this constitutes the procreative Ogdoad. And *the Valentinians maintain* that those *are the first* projections which have taken place within the limit, *and* have been again denominated ‘*those* within the Pleroma; ‘and the second are ‘those without the Pleroma’; and the third, ‘those without the Limit.’ Now the generation of these constitutes the Hysterema *Acamoth*. And he asserts that what has been generated from an Aeon, *that exists* in *the* Hysterema *and* has been projected (beyond the Limit), is the Creator. But *Valentinus* is not disposed *to affirm what is thus generated* to be primal Deity, but speaks in detractive terms both of Him and the things made by Him. And (he asserts) that Christ came down from within the Pleroma for the salvation of the spirit who had erred. This spirit, (according to the Valentinians,) resides in our inner man; and they say that this *inner man* obtains salvation on account of this indwelling *spirit*.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 10 ch.9 p.144

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “He [the heretic Heracleon] considers the temple to be the Holy of Holies, into which none but the High-Priest enters, and there I believe he says that the spiritual go; while the court of the temple, where the levites also enter, is a symbol of these psychical ones who are saved, but outside the Pleroma.” *Commentary on John* book 10 ch.19 p.399

**Among heretics**

**X** Revised Valentinian ***Tripartite Tract*** (200-250 A.D.) part 2 ch.6 p.71 teaches on pleromas (plural). It also teaches on the Pleroma (singular) in *Tripartite Tract* part 1 ch.6 p.72.

**X *The Valentinian Letter of Peter to Philip*** (c.300 A.D.) *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* p.434 speaks of the truth of the Pleroma and aeons. On p.435 it speaks of the archons.

**X Many other Gnostics** would disagree.

# Against PAGAN RELIGIONS

## Pg1. Speaking against human sacrifice

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “Which precept, however, you have not observed; nay, you sacrificed your children to demons. And you were commanded to keep Sabbaths, that you might retain the memorial of God.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.19 p.204

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) (partial) “And I will inquire of you, my friend, how many Jupiters exist. For there is, firstly, Jupiter surnamed Olympian, then Jupiter Latiaris, and Jupiter Cassius, and Jupiter Tonans, and Jupiter Propator, and Jupiter Pannychius, and Jupiter Poliuchus, and Jupiter Capitolinus; and that Jupiter, the son of Saturn, who is king of the Cretans, has a tomb in Crete, but the rest, possibly, were not thought worthy of tombs.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* part 1 ch.10 p.92

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “And these things assuredly come down from the teaching of your gods. For Saturn did not expose his children, but devoured them. With reason were infants sacrificed to him by parents in some parts of Africa, caresses and kisses repressing their crying, that a weeping victim might not be sacrificed. Moreover, among the Tauri of Pontus, and to the Egyptian Busiris, it was a sacred rite to immolate their guests, and for the Galli to slaughter to Mercury human, or rather inhuman, sacrifices. The Roman sacrificers buried living a Greek man and a Greek woman, a Gallic man and a Gallic woman; and to this day, Jupiter Latiaris is worshipped by them with murder; and, what is worthy of the son of Saturn, he is gorged with the blood of an evil and criminal man.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.30 p.192

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “But, indeed, the world has held it lawful for Diana of the Scythians, or Mercury of the Gauls, or Saturn of the Africans, to be appeased by human sacrifices; and in Latium to this day Jupiter has human blood given him to taste in the midst of the city; and no one makes it a matter of discussion, or imagines that it does not occur for some reason, or that it occurs by the will of his God, without having value.” *Scorpiace* ch.7 p.640

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “and how it is an act of impiety to do away with those laws which, for example, prevail in the Tauric Chersonese, regarding the offering up of strangers in sacrifice to Diana, or among certain of the Libyan tribes regarding the sacrifice of children to Saturn. Moreover, this inference follows from the dictum of Celsus, that it is an act of impiety on the part of the Jews to do away with those ancestral laws which forbid the worship of any other deity than the Creator of all things.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 5 ch.27 p.555

&&&**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “of the Magi of Egypt prevailed on him to abandon that course, urging him to slay and persecute those pure and holy men as adversaries and obstacles to their accursed and abominable incantations. For there are, indeed, and there were men who, by their simple presence, and by merely showing themselves, and by simply breathing and uttering some words, bare been able to dissipate the artifices of wicked demons. But he put it into his mind to practise the impure rites of initiation, and detestable juggleries, and execrable sacrifices, and to slay miserable children, and to make oblations of the offspring of unhappy fathers, and to divide the bowels of the newly-born, and to mutilate and cut up the creatures made by God, as if by such means they would attain to blessedness.” *Letter 11 (Letter to Hermammon)* ch.2 p.&&&

&&&**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “But some have been led by this time to such a pitch of irreligion and folly as to slay and to offer in sacrifice to their false gods even actual men, whose figures and forms the gods are. Nor do they see, wretched *men, that* the victims they are slaying are the patterns of the gods they make and worship, and to whom they are offering the men.” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.24 p.&&&

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) was against human sacrifice. “And even the ancient Romans used to worship Jupiter Latiarius, as he was called, with human sacrifices, and some in one way, some in another, but all without exception committed and incurred the pollution: they incurred it by the mere perpetration of the murderous deeds, while they polluted their own tempted by filling them with the smoke of such sacrifices.” *Athanasius Against the Heathen* part 1 ch.23.2 p.16

**Lactantius** (303-320/325 A.D.) “We have spoken of the gods themselves who are worshipped; we must now speak a few words respecting their sacrifices and mysteries. Among the people of Cyprus, Teucer sacrificed a human victim to Jupiter, and handed down to posterity that sacrifice which was lately abolished by Hadrian when he was emperor. There was a law among the people of Tauris, a fierce and inhuman nation, *by which it was ordered* that strangers should be sacrificed to Diana; and this sacrifice was practised through many ages. The Gauls used to appease Hesus and Teutas with human blood. Nor, indeed, were the Latins free from this cruelty, since Jupiter Latialis is even now worshipped with the offering of human blood.” *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.21 p.34

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) speaks of the error of human sacrifice. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.22,23 p.229

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (c.318-325 A.D.) speaks extensively against the evils of human sacrifices. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 4 ch.15 p.20, book 4 ch.16 p.20-21, book 4 ch.16 p.24, and book 4 ch.19 p.29

**Among heretics**

The Encratite Gnostic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “Wherefore, having seen these things, and moreover also having been admitted to the mysteries, and having everywhere examined the religious rites performed by the effeminate and the pathic, and having found among the Romans their Latiarian Jupiter delighting in human gore and the blood of slaughtered men, and Artemis not far from the great city sanctioning acts of the same kind, and one demon here and another there instigating to the perpetration of evil,-retiring by myself, I sought how I might be able to discover the truth.” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.29 p.77

## Pg2. Dispute against the Magi / Zoroastrians

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) speaks against the Hadran, the image of Zaradusht, a Persian Magus. The Magi practiced magic and there was an unclean spirit. discourse *to Antonius Caesar* in *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.753

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) mentions the Magi in *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.27 p.189

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) refers to Zoroaster and his teaching in *Stromata* book 5 ch.14 p.469

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) says that Persian noble sons practiced incest and sex with courtesans. *The Instructor* book 1 ch.7 p.223

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) discusses the errors of the Magi. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.4 p.188

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) is against the Persian religion. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.3 p.184

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) (partial) *On Idolatry* ch.9 p.65-66 has a whole chapter on though astrology is wrong, and the Magi were astrologers who came to worship Christ, they were to “go home by a different way than they came. He is not so much criticizing the Magi as much as the astrology the Magi practiced though.

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) says the Persians deify luminous bodies. *Refutation of All Heresies* book 4 ch.43 p.40

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) discusses the Magi. *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.24 p.406; *Origen Against Celsus* book 6 ch.80 p.609-610

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) refers to Zoroaster. *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.16 p.406

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) spoke against the Magi and Zoroastrianism. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 4 ch.12 p.479

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) (implied) in speaking against the gods of all the other peoples mentions how the Scythians reject the gods of the Persians, and the Persians reject the gods of the Syrians. *Against the Heathen* ch.23 p.16

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) (patrial, no mention of Magi or Zoroaster) speaks against the gods of the Egyptians, Persians, Syrians, Scythians, Thracians, Arabs, Indians, and Phoenicians. *Against the Heathen* ch.23 p.16

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “subject of these beings. For Plato attempted even to explain their natures in his “Banquet; “and Socrates said that there was a demon continually about him, who had become attached to him when a boy, by whose will and direction his life was guided. The art also and power of the Magi altogether consists in the influences of these; invoked by whom they deceive the sight of men with deceptive” *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.15 p.64

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (c.318-325 A.D.) speaks against many religions including “the magi and Zoroaster” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 5 ch.4 p.6

**Among heretics**

The Encratite Gnostic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) Greeks considered incest with a mother and son unlawful, but the Persian Magi thought it most becoming according to *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.28 p.76-77

**Bardaisan**/Bardesan (154-224/232 A.D.) says that Persians practiced incest. *The Book of the Laws of Diverse Countries* p.731,732

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.33 p.86 (partial) says the Egyptians learned to be circumcised and were of purer observance than the others (Persians, Arabians, and Brachmans [Brahmans]).

## Pg3. Against Mithras / a sun-god

**Justin Martyr** (150 A.D.) “Which wicked devils have imitated in the mysteries of Mithras…” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.66 p.185

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) mentions a believe of those who follow Mithras that he was begotten of a rock. He says the prophecy in Daniel was imitated by them, as well as Isaiah’s words. “For they contrived that the words of righteousness be quoted also by them.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.70 p.233-234

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) “He, having been by profession a grammarian, assumed the character of the sun-god, as Aristus of Salamis relates.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.4 p.187

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “For washing is the channel through which they are initiated into some sacred rites-of some notorious Isis or Mithras. The gods themselves likewise they honour by washings.” *On Baptism* ch.5 p.671

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “The very superstition of the crowd, inspired by the common idolatry, when ashamed of the names and fables of their ancient dead borne by their idols, has recourse to the interpretation of natural objects, and so with much ingenuity cloaks its own disgrace, figuratively reducing Jupiter to a heated substance, and Juno to an aërial one (according to the literal sense of the Greek words); Vesta, in like manner, to fire, and the Muses to waters, and the Great Mother to the earth, mowed as to its crops, ploughed up with lusty arms, and watered with baths. Thus Osiris also, whenever he is buried, and looked for to come to life again, and with joy recovered, is an emblem of the regularity wherewith the fruits of the ground return, and the elements recover life, and the year comes round; as also the lions of Mithras are philosophical sacraments of arid and scorched nature.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 1 ch.13 p.280-281

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) (implied) “But it seems to me, that to quote the language of Celsus upon these matters would be absurd, and similar to what he himself [Celsus] has done, when, in his accusations against Christians and Jews, he quoted, most inappropriately, not only the words of Plato; but, dissatisfied even with these, he adduced in addition the mysteries of the Persian Mithras, and the explanation of them. Now, whatever be the case with regard to these,-whether the Persians and those who conduct the mysteries of Mithras give false or true accounts regarding them,-why did he select these for quotation, rather than some of the other mysteries, with the explanation of them? For the mysteries of Mithras do not appear to be more famous among the Greeks than those of Eleusis, or than those in Aegina, where individuals are initiated in the rites of Hecate. But if he must introduce barbarian mysteries with their explanation, why not rather those of the Egyptians, which are highly regarded by many, or those of the Cappadocians regarding the Comanian Diana, or those of the Thracians, or even those of the Romans themselves, who initiate the noblest members of their senate? But if he deemed it inappropriate to institute a comparison with any of these, because they furnished no aid in the way of accusing Jews or Christians, why did it not also appear to him inappropriate to adduce the instance of the mysteries of Mithras?” *Against Celsus* book 6 ch.22 p.583

## Pg4. Dispute Druid or other European myths

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) (partial) mentions the Egyptians, Chaldeans, Druids among the Gauls, Samanaeans among the Bactrians, and Magi among whom Christ was foretold. *Stromata* book 1 ch.15 p.316 [He does not criticize them here though.]

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) in the context of talking about why Christianity is reasonable vs. insane religious practices, mentioned that the Syrias [Syrians] exhale the odors of their death, and the Gauls fail to wash away (their blood) in the Rhone River. [The Gauls followed the Druid religion.] *To the Nations* book 1 ch.17 p.125

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) mentions Anaxagoras, Anaximenes, Archelaus (262-278 A.D.), Aristotle, Chrysippus, Democritus, Ecphantus, Empedocles, Epicurus, Hippo, Leucippus, Pythagoras, Thales, Heraclitus, Parmenides, Plato, Socrates, Stoics, Zeno, Brahmins/Brachmans, Celtic Druids, Hesiod. *The Refutation of All Heresies* Contents p.9.

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) Speaks of the errors of the Druids. *Refutation of All Heresies* book 1 ch.21 p.22

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) refers to Druids. *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.16 p.403

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says that the Gauls used to appease Hesus and Teutas with human blood. Even the early Latins had human sacrifices. *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.21 p.34

**Among heretics**

**Bardaisan**/Bardesan (154-224/232 A.D.) mentions the religious morals of the Brahmans of India, other Indians, the circumcision of the Arabians, the Persians, and the Gauls. *The Book of the Laws of Diverse Countries* p.730

Bardaisan/Bardesan (154-224/232 A.D.) mentions polyandry in Britain *The Book of the Laws of Diverse Countries* p.731

## Pg5. Dispute against Indian Bra[c]hmans

The Jewish scholar **Philo of Alexandria** (20 B.C. to 20 A.D.) writes positively of the gymnosophists of India. *Every Good Man is Free* ch.XI (72) p.689

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Qui autem propier odium adversus carnem susceptum a conjugali conjunctione, et eorum qui conveniunt ciborum participatione, liberari desiderant, indocti sunt et impii, et absque ratione continentes, sicut aliae genres plurimae. Brachmanes quidem certe neque animatum comedunt, neque vinum bibunt; sed aliqui quidera ex iis quotidie sicut nos cibum capiunt; nonnulli autem ex iis tertio quoque die, ut ait Alexander Polyhistor in *Indicis*; mortem autem contemnunt, et vivere nihili faciunt; credunt enim esse regenerationem: aliqui autem colunt Herculem et Pana. Qui autem ex Indis vocantur Semnoi, hoc est, *venerandi*, nudi totam vitam transigunt: ii veritatem exercent, et futura praedicunt, et colunt quamdam pyramidera, sub qua existimant alicujus dei ossa reposita. Neque vero Gymnosophistae, nec qui dicuntur Semnoi, utuntur mulieribus, hoc enim praeter naturam et iniquum esse existimant; qua de causa seipsos castos conservant. Virgines autem sunt etiam mulieres, qua: dicuntur Semnai, hoc est, *venerandae*. Videntur autem observare coelestia, et per eorum significationem quae dam futura praedicere.” *Stromata* book 3 ch.7 p.392

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) is against Indian religion. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.2 p.178

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) mentions Indian Brahmins and Gymnosophists *Apology* ch.42 p.49

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) discusses the Indian gymnosophists in *Five Books Against Marcion* book.1 ch.13 p.280

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) mentions Anaxagoras, Anaximenes, Archelaus (262-278 A.D.), Aristotle, Chrysippus, Democritus, Ecphantus, Empedocles, Epicurus, Hippo, Leucippus, Pythagoras, Thales, Heraclitus, Parmenides, Plato, Socrates, Stoics, Zeno, Brahmins/Brachmans, Celtic Druids, Hesiod. *The Refutation of All Heresies* Contents p.9. See also book 1 p.21-22

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) refers to Indian philosophers called Brahmans. *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.24 p.406

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) mentions the inconsistencies of Arabian, Syrian, Egyptian, Phoenician, Persian, and Indian religions. *Against the Heathen* ch.25 p.17

**Among heretics**

**Bardaisan**/Bardesan (154-224/232 A.D.) mentions the religious morals of the Brahmans of India, other Indians, the circumcision of the Arabians, the Persians, and the Gauls. *The Book of the Laws of Diverse Countries* p.730

Bardaisan/Bardesan (154-224/232 A.D.) knew of suttee. He wrote, “The Hindoos when they die, are all of them burnt with fire, and many of their wives are burnt along with them alive.” *The Book of the Laws of Diverse Countries* *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.732

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 9 ch.20 p.187 mentions the customs and errors of the Brahmans and others of India. While the Brahmans do not murder, commit adultery or worship idols, other Indians do.

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.33 p.86 (partial) says the Egyptians leaned to be circumcised and were of purer observance than the others (Persians, Arabians, and Brachmans [Brahmans]).

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) speak against Zoroastrians. homily 9 ch.4-5 p.275-276

The Ebionite *Clementine Homilies* (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) claims that the Persian kings committed incest and cohabited in view of all. homily 19 ch.19 p.336

## Pg6. Dispute Chaldean/Babylonian religion

***The Apology of Aristides*** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) ch.3 p.265 “The Chaldeans, then, not knowing God went astray after the elements and began to worship the creation more than their creator.”

***Theophilus to Autolycus*** (168-181/188 A.D.) book 2 ch.33 p.107 shows why the Old Testament prophets were true and the Egyptian and Chaldean prophets were in error.

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) mentions Eleusians worship Ceres, Phrygians Mater, the Epidaurians Aesculapius, the Chaldeans Belus (Bel), the Syrians Astarte, the Taurians Diana, the Gauls Mercurius, the Romans all deities. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.6 p.176

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) is against the Egyptian myths. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.5 p.190

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) (partial) mentions the Egyptians, Chaldeans, Druids among the Gauls, Samanaeans among the Bactrians, and Magi among whom Christ was foretold. *Stromata* book 1 ch.15 p.316 [He does not criticize them here though.]

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) says that after the gospel, there are not sophists, Chaldeans, enchanters, diviners, or magicians except that they will be punished. *On Idolatry* ch.9 p.66

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) speaks of the errors of the Chaldeans. *Refutation of All Heresies* book 4 ch.7-8 p.27-28

**Julius Africanus** (235-245 A.D.) mentions the follows of the Chaldeans. prophet. *Five Books of the Chronology of Julius Africanus* ch.1 p.131.

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “After this, it seemed proper to Celsus to term the Chaldeans a most divinely-inspired nation from the very earliest times, from whom the delusive system of astrology” *Origen Against Celsus* book 6 ch.80 p.609.

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (c.318 A.D.) “or even the Egyptians and Chaldees, men that mind magic and are superstitious beyond nature and savage in their ways,” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.51.2 p.64

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Plato and many others of the philosophers, since they were ignorant of the origin of all things, and of that primal period at which the world was made, said that many thousands of ages had passed since this beautiful arrangement of the world was completed; and in this they perhaps followed the Chaldeans, who, as Cicero has related in his first book respecting divination, foolishly say that they possess comprised in their memorials four hundred and seventy thousand years; in which matter, because they thought that they could not be convicted, they believed that they were at liberty to speak falsely. But we, whom the Holy Scriptures instruct to the knowledge of the truth, know the beginning and the end of the world, respecting which we will now speak in the end of our work, since we have explained respecting the beginning in the second book. Therefore let the philosophers, who enumerate thousands of ages from the beginning of the world, know that the six thousandth year is not yet completed, and that when this number is completed the consummation must take place,” *The Divine Institutes* book 7 ch.14 p.211

**Among heretics**

**Bardaisan**/Bardesan (154-224/232 A.D.) mentions the astrology of the Egyptians and Chaldeans. *The Book of the Laws of Diverse Countries* p.729

## Pg7. Against Egyptian religion

***The Apology of Aristides*** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) p.272-273 mentions idols believed by the simple Egyptians.

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) discusses the false beliefs about Osiris. *A Plea for Christians* ch.28 p.144

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) shows why the Old Testament prophets were true and the Egyptian and Chaldean prophets were in error. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.33 p.107

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) mentions Apis the ox and Egyptian religion in *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.28 p.191. See also ibid ch.29 p.191

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) discusses the errors of the Egyptians where they worship the sun, crocodile, sphinx, etc. *Stromata* book 5 ch.7 p.454

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) speaks against the Egyptian religion. *The Instructor* book 2 ch.2 p.272.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) speaks of the Egyptians’ “ridiculous superstition” *Apology* ch.24 p.39

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) speaks of Isis and Egyptians with their dog-headed friend. *Apology* ch.6 p.23

Tertullian (200-240 A.D.) speaks against Egyptian religion. *To the Nations* 2.3 p.132

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) speaks against Egyptian religion. *Refutation of All Heresies* book 4 ch.44 p.41

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) says the Egyptian priests abstained from swine, goats, sheep, oxen, and fish. Pythagorean abstained from beans. *Origen Against Celsus* book 5 ch.49 p.565

**Alexander of Lycopolis** (301 A.D.) mentions the foolishness of the Egyptian religion that worships a crocodile. *Of the Manichaeans* ch.14 p.246.

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) speaks against Egyptian religion. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book ch.43 p.425; book 3 ch.15 p.468; book 2 ch.73 p.462.

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (c.318 A.D.) “or even the Egyptians and Chaldees, men that mind magic and are superstitious beyond nature and savage in their ways,” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.51.2 p.64. See also *Athanasius Against the Heathen* ch.9.3 p.8

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) mentions the inconsistencies of Arabian, Syrian, Egyptian, Phoenician, Persian, and Indian religions. *Against the Heathen* ch.25 p.17

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) conjectures how the errors of the Egyptian, Macedonian, Carthaginian, Latin, Sabin, Roman, and Athenian religions got started. *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.15 p.27

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “and a thousand other fictions, so that they who regarded these as objects of worship may be said to be more foolish than the Egyptians, who worship certain monstrous and ridiculous images.” *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.21 p.34

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) speaks against Egyptian religion. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 2 ch.3 p.12

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.35 p.87 discusses the error of Apis and other Egyptian idols.

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.33 p.86 (partial) says the Egyptians leaned to be circumcised and were of purer observance than the others (Persians, Arabians, and Brachmans [Brahmans]).

## Pg8. Against the religion of Scythians

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “And why should I speak of Atys mutilated, or of Adonis wandering in the wood, and wounded by a boar while hunting; or of Aesculapius struck by a thunderbolt; or of the fugitive Serapis chased from Sinope to Alexandria; or of the Scythian Diana, herself, too, a fugitive, and a homicide, and a huntress, and a passionate lover of Endymion? Now, it is not we who publish these things, but your own writers and poets.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.9 p.92

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) mentions “Scythians myths” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.3 p.184

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) says that the Sauromatae, a tribe of Scythians, worship a saber according to Ikesius in *Mysteries*. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.5 p.190

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) (implied) “But, indeed, the world has held it lawful for Diana of the Scythians, or Mercury of the Gauls, or Saturn of the Africans, to be appeased by human sacrifices; and in Latium to this day Jupiter has human blood given him to taste in the midst of the city; and no one makes it a matter of discussion, or imagines that it does not occur for some reason, or that it occurs by the will of his God, without having value.” *Scorpiace* ch.7 p.640

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “And although the Scythians may call Pappaeus the supreme God, yet we will not yield our assent to this; granting, indeed, that there is a Supreme Deity, although we do not give the name Pappaeus to Him as His proper title, but regard it as one which is agreeable to the demon to whom was allotted the desert of Scythia, with its people and its language.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 5 ch.46 p.564

&&&**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) ““ *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book &&&ch.&&&

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) shows the mutual inconsistences of the religion of the Phoenicians, Egyptians, Scythians, Syrians, Pelasgians, Indians, Arabs, and Ethiopians. *Athanasius Against the Heathen* part 1 ch.23.2 p.16-17

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) speaks against the Scythian religion. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 1 ch.2 p.6

## Pg9. Against Syrian religion

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) mentions Egyptian, Roman, and Syrian gods in *A Plea for Christians* ch.28 p.143-144. He also speaks against the Syrian goddess in *A Plea for Christians* ch.30 p.175.

Athenagoras (177 A.D.) “the daughter of Derceto, Semiramis, a lascivious and blood-stained woman, was esteemed a Syria goddess; and if, on account of Derceto, the Syrians worship doves and Semiramis (for, a thing impossible, a woman was changed into a dove: the story is in Ctesias), what wonder if some should be called gods by their people on the ground of their rule and sovereignty” *A Plea for Christians* ch.30 p.145

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) vol.8 ch.1 p.752 “The Syrians worshipped Athi, a Hadibite, who sent the daughter of Belat, a person skilled in medicine, and she healed Simi, the daughter of Hadad king of Syria;”

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) speaks against Syrian religion. “Nor shall I forget the Syrians, who inhabit Phoenicia, of whom some revere doves, and others fishes, with as excessive veneration as the Eleans do Zeus.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.2 p.182

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) mentions the Syrian Atargatis, the African Coelestis, the Moorish Varsutina, the Arabian Obodas and Dusaris, and the Norican Belenus, or Deluentinus of Casinum, Visidianus of Narnia, Numiternus of Atina, or Ancharia of Asculum. Nortia of Vulsinii in *To the Nations* book 2 ch.8 p.136

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “Syria has Astarte, Arabia has Dusares, the Norici have Belenus, Africa has its Caelestis, Mauritania has its own princes.” *Apology* ch.24 p.39

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) in the context of talking about why Christianity is reasonable vs. insane religious practices, mentioned that the Syrias [Syrians] exhale the odors of their death, and the Gauls fail to wash away (their blood) in the Rhone River. [The Gauls followed the Druid religion.] *To the Nations* book 1 ch.17 p.125

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “Is it the Titans and the Bocchores of the Moors, and the Syrian[http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/ANF-06/footnote/fn65.htm - P6515\_2011444](http://www.ccel.org/fathers2/ANF-06/footnote/fn65.htm#P6515_2011444) deities, the offspring of eggs? Is it Apis, born in the Peloponnese, and in Egypt called Serapis? Is it Isis, tanned by Ethiopian suns, lamenting her lost son and husband torn limb from limb?”. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.36 p.422. See also ibid book 6 ch.11 p.510.

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) shows the mutual inconsistences of the religion of the Phoenicians, Egyptians, Scythians, Syrians, Pelasgians, Indians, Arabs, and Ethiopians. *Athanasius Against the Heathen* part 1 ch.23.2 p.16-17

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) speaks against the Syrian religion. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 6 ch.10 p.38

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 10 ch.27 p.199 speaks of the “demons of the Syrians”.

## Pg10. Against Arabian religion

Maximum Tyrius (Sermon. 38 p.225, *Philosophouma* Steph.) “The Arabians worship I know not whom, but the image which I saw was a squared stone;”

Suidas “a stone, black, square, unfashioned”

This stone might be from the Nabatean Arabs at Petra, not necessarily Mecca. See <https://sacredsites.com/middle_east/jordan/petra_ruins.html>

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) Anciently, then, the Scythians worshipped their sabers, the Arabs stones, the Persians rivers. And some, belonging to other races still more ancient, set up blocks of wood in conspicuous situations, and erected pillars of stone, which were called Xoana, from the carving of the material of which they were made.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.4 p.184

Clement of Alexandria(193-202 A.D.) “The Isaurians and the Arabians invented augury, as the Telmesians divination by dreams.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.l6 p.317

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) mentions the Syrian Atargatis, the African Coelestis, the Moorish Varsutina, the Arabian Obodas and Dusaris, and the Norican Belenus, or Deluentinus of Casinum, Visidianus of Narnia, Numiternus of Atina, or Ancharia of Asculum. Nortia of Vulsinii in *To the Nations* book 2 ch.8 p.136

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “Syria has Astarte, Arabia has Dusares, the Norici have Belenus, Africa has its Caelestis, Mauritania has its own princes.” *Apology* ch.24 p.39

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) refers to the Arabians only worship Bacchus (as a male) and Urania (as a female), as well as mentioning the Ethiopian religion in *Origen Against Celsus* book 5 ch.37 p.560

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “You [pagans] laugh because in ancient times the Persians worshipped rivers, as is told in the writings which hand down these things to memory; the Arabians an unshapen stone; the Scythian nations a saber;…” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 6 ch.10 p.510

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) mentions the inconsistencies of Arabian, Syrian, Egyptian, Phoenician, Persian, and Indian religions. *Athanasius Against the Heathen* ch.25 p.17

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) speaks against the Arabian religion, saying they sacrifice a boy. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 4 ch.16 p.26

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 8 ch.53 p.119 says that Arabs practiced circumcision in imitation of the Jews for the Arabs’ impious religion.

**Bardaisan**/Bardesan (154-224/232 A.D.) mentions the religious morals of the Brahmans of India, other Indians, the circumcision of the Arabians, the Persians, and the Gauls. *The Book of the Laws of Diverse Countries* p.730

## Pg11. Against [Phrygian] Great Mother

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “Thence, therefore, we see through all empires, and provinces, and cities, that each people has its national rites of worship, and adores its local gods: as the Eleusinians worship Ceres; the Phrygians, Mater [mother]; the Epidaurians, Aesculapius; the Chaldaeans; Belus; the Syrians, Astarte; the Taurians, Diana; the Gauls, Mercurius; the Romans, all divinities.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.6 p.176

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) speaks against the Phrygian religion. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.2 p.178

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) “All honour to that king of the Scythians, whoever Anacharsis was, who shot with an arrow one of his subjects who imitated among the Scythians the mystery of the Mother of the gods, as practised by the inhabitants of Cyzicus, beating a drum and sounding a cymbal strung from his neck like a priest of Cybele, condemning him as having become effeminate among the Greeks, and a teacher of the disease of effeminacy to the rest of the Cythians.” (Cyzicus is near Phrygia) *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.2 p.178

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “Vesta, in like manner, to fire, and the Muses to waters, and the Great Mother to the earth, mowed as to its crops, ploughed up with lusty arms, and watered with baths.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 1 ch.13 p.280-281

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “On account of these and such like reasons, these constantly attend the mysteries called those of the ‘Great Mother,’ supposing especially that they behold by means of the ceremonies performed there the entire mystery.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 5 ch.4 p.56

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) is against the “Phrygian mother” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 7 ch.50 p.538-539

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “And not more mild than these are those offerings which are even now made to the Great Mother and to Bellona, in which the priests make an offering, not with the blood of others, but with their own blood; when, mutilating themselves, they cease to be men, and yet do not pass over to the women; or, cutting their shoulders, they sprinkle the loathsome altars with their own blood. But these things are cruel.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.23 p.229

## Pg12. Dispute against Greco-Roman paganism

References by Clement of Alexandria or others to customs of other people that are not in a negative sense are not counted as “disputing against”.

***The Apology of Aristides*** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) p.270 mentions that Greek gods did many wicked and demeaning things. Jupiter changed into various animals to debauch mortal women.

***Epistle to Diognetus*** ch.2 p.25-26 (c.130-200 A.D.) spoke against pagan gods.

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “But since, next to Homer, Hesiod wrote his *Works and Days*, who will believe his driveling theogony? For they say that Chronos, the son of Ouranos,… Jupiter … Neptune, … Pluto ravished Proserpine, … Ceres … Europa … Minerva … Diana.” *Discourse to the Greeks* ch.2 p.271

Justin Martyr (c.150 A.D.) mentions shortcomings of the Greco-Roman gods. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.25 p.171 and ch.31 p.173

Justin Martyr (probably, but anonymous) (c.138-165 A.D.) “why are you, being a Greek, indignant at your son when he imitates Jupiter, and rises against you and defrauds you of your own wife? Why do you count him your enemy, and yet worship one that is like him? And why do you blame your wife for living in unchastity, and yet honour Venus with shines?” *Discourse to the Greeks* ch.4 p.272

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) writes extensively against Greco-Roman idols. *A Plea for Christians* ch.28 p.143-144

Athenagoras (177 A.D.) “Euripides, speaking of those who, according to popular preconception, are ignorantly called gods, says doubtingly:- ‘If Zeus indeed does reign in heaven above, He ought not on the righteous ills to send.’” *A Plea for Christians* ch.5 p.131

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) speaks against the Greco-Roman gods. *Discourse to Antonius Caesar* in *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.752

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) Why worship Greek gods? Saturn was a cannibal, Jupiter was an adulterer, even with his own daughter. Mars is the “pest of mortals”, some gods got wounded, and Osiris was torn limb from limb. Atys was mutilated, Aesculapius was struck by a thunderbolt from Zeus. Theophilus’ *Letter to Autolycus* book 1 ch.9 p.91

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) has an entire chapter on the absurdities of Greco-Roman idolatry. *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.10 p.92

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) When does a god begin its existence as a statue? When it is cut, fashioned, finished, worshipped, etc. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.25 p.187. See also ibid ch.21 p.185 and ch.38 p.197

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) wrote an entire work, called *Exhortation to the Heathen* discussing mainly Greco-Roman gods and Greek philosophy. See especially ch.2 p.177.

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) asks why there are multiple Athenas/Minervas. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch2. p.179.

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) calls Mars/Ares “the pest of mortals”. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.2. p.179.

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) is against worshipping Hermes as a god; he was not divine. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.4 p.186; ch.2 p.179; ch.2 p.180.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) mentions to polytheists that since Saturn and Jove (Jupiter) were born, they once dread the lightnings you put in his hand. *Tertullian’s Apology* ch.11 p.27

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) speaks against the pagan gods Saturn, Jupiter, Sun, moon, Mercury, Neptune, Bacchus, Unconquered One, Sylvanus, Hercules, etc. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.4-15 p.203-205

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) shows the shortcomings of believing the Jupiter and Greco-Roman gods. *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.17,19 p.646.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “1. That those are no gods whom the common people worship, is known from this. They were formerly kings, who on account of their royal memory subsequently began to be adored by their people even in death. … 2. Jupiter is to be seen in Crete, and his sepulchre is shown; and it is manifest that Saturn was driven away by him, and that from him Latium received its name, as being his lurking-place.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 6 ch.1,2 p.465,366

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) discusses belief in God versus Epicureans. *On Nature* ch.2.4 p.88

**Alexander of Lycopolis** (301 A.D.) “Moreover, they far surpass the mythologists in fables, those, namely, who either make Coelus suffer mutilation, or idly tell of the plots laid for Saturn by his son, in order that that son might attain the sovereignty; or those again who make Saturn devour his sons and to have been cheated of his purpose by the image of a stone that was presented to him. For how are these things which they put forward dissimilar to those? When they speak openly of the war between God and matter, and say not these things either in a mythological sense, as Homer in the *Iliad*; when he makes Jupiter to rejoice in the strife and war of the gods with each other, thus obscurely signifying that the world is formed of unequal elements, fitted one into another, and either conquering or submitting to a conqueror.” *Of the Manichaeans* ch.10 p.245

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) speaks against the “unanimous approbation of the Gauls” the temples of the Great Mother. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.41 p.424

Arnobius of Sicca (297-303 A.D.) “If, then, this is so, how can Jupiter be God *supreme*, when it is evident that He is everlasting, and the former is represented by you as having had a natal day, and as having uttered a mournful cry, through terror at the strange scene?” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.34 p.422

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “Then they say that the Zodiac touches all the circles, making its movements diagonally, and that there are in it a number of signs, which are called the twelve signs of the Zodiac, beginning with the Ram, and going on to the Fishes, which, they say, were so determined from mythical causes; saying that it was the Ram that conveyed Helle, the daughter of Athamas, and her brother Phryxos into Scythia; and that the head of the Ox is in honour of Zeus, who, in the form of a Bull, carried over Europe into Crete; and they say the circle called the Galaxy, or milky way, which reaches from the Fishes to the Ram, was poured forth for Herakles from the breasts of Hera, by the commands of Zeus. And thus, according to them, there was no natal destiny before Europe or Phryxos, and the Dioscuroi, and the other signs of the Zodiac, which were placed among the constellations, from men and beasts. But our ancestors lived without destiny. Let us endeavour now to crush falsehood, like physicians, taking its edge off, and quenching it with the healing medicine of words, here considering the truth.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 8 ch.14 p.341

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) wrote an entire work called *Against the Heathen.*

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) says “the idolatry of the Greeks is shewn to be full of all ungodliness, and that its introduction has bee not for the good, but for the ruin, of human life;” *Against the Heathen* ch.29 p.19

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) mentions that ancient Romans had human sacrifices to Jupiter Latiarius. *Against the Heathen* ch.25 p.17

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) proves why the Greco-Roman gods and goddesses were just men and women. *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.3-15 p.25-27

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) &&& *Preparation for the Gospel* book &&&

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) speaks against all Greek religion in *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.2 p.273

**Among heretics**

The Encratite Gnostic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) ridicules the Greek idols *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.10 p.69

The Encratite Gnostic Tatian (c.172 A.D.) “And if you adhere to *their* teaching, why do you fight against me for choosing such views of doctrine as I approve? Is it not unreasonable that, while the robber is not to be punished for the name he bears, but only when the truth about him has been clearly ascertained, yet we are to be assailed with abuse on a judgment formed without examination? Diagoras was an Athenian, but you punished him for divulging the Athenian mysteries; yet you who read his Phrygian discourses hate us. You possess the commentaries of Leo, and are displeased with our refutations of them; and having in your hands the opinions of Apion concerning the Egyptian gods, you denounce us as most impious. The tomb of Olympian Zeus is shown among you, though some one says that the Cretans are liars. Your assembly of many gods is nothing.” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.27 p.76

Tatian (c.172 A.D.) It is not Christians who eat human flesh. Rather, Pelops was said to be a supper for the gods, Kronos devours his children, and Zeus swallows Metis. *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* (-172 A.D.) ch.25 p.76

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) uses the argument of why worship Zeus when we have his tomb? homily 5 ch.23 p.260-261. See also ibid homily 4 ch.12 p.253-254

## Pg13. Pointing out adulteries of Greco/Roman gods

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) describes the impure loves of Greek gods and the adulteries of Mars. *A Plea for Christians* ch.21 p.138-139. See also ibid ch.20 p.138.

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) (implied) in giving examples of evil among the Greek gods says, “And imitating Jupiter and other gods in sodomy and shameless intercourse with woman, might we not bring as our apology the writings of Epicurus and the poets? But because we persuade men to avoid such instruction, and all who practise them and imitate their examples,…”. *Second Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.12 p.192

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) said the Phoenicians worshipped Balthi, queen of Cyprus, who had loved Tammuz and then committed adultery with Ares. *Discourse before Antoninus Caesar* p.752

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) speaks of Jupiter’s adulteries, his tomb on Crete, and he calls Mars “the pest of mortals” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.9 p.91-92. He mentions the adulteries of gods in general in book 3 ch.3 p.111-112.

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “actor disgraces your gods by attributing to them adulteries, sighs, hatreds;” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.37 p.196

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) (implied) describes the licentousness of Zeus. *Stromata* book 5 ch.14 p.470.

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) “Then there are the mysteries of Demeter, and Zeus’s wanton embraces of his mother, and the wrath of Demeter; I know not what for the future I shall call her, mother or wife,” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.2 p.175

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) speaks of the immorality of the Greek gods. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.7 p.204

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) (implied) ridicules gods of theft and adultery. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 4 ch.28 p.485

Arnobius of Sicca (297-303 A.D.) speaks of Jupiter shamefully trying to commit incest with his mother. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 5 ch.910 p.493; book 5 ch.23 p.498.

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) says the poets speak of the licentiousness of Zeus. *Athanasius Against the Heathen* part 1 ch.11.2 p.10

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “foolish in upbraiding Caius Verres with adulteries, for Jupiter, whom he worshipped, committed the same;” *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.10 p.20

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) goes into great detail about the adulteries of male and female Greek gods. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.8-9 p.226

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions the adulteries of Aphrodite and Hermes. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 2 ch.6 p.19

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) speaks of the adulteries of Venus and Mars. *Sole Government of God* ch.6 p.293

**Among heretics**

**The Encratite Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “adulteries? How can it be noble to stimulate men in hating one another? Or how” *The Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.17 p.72

The Encratite Tatian (c.172 A.D.) “Ares committed adultery with Aphrodite, and Andron made an image of their offspring Harmonia. Sophron, who committed to writing trifles and absurdities, was more celebrated for his skill in casting metals, of which specimens exist even now.” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.34 p.79

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 10 ch.21 p.198 mentions the adulteries of Greek gods.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions Jupiter’s adulteries. homily 4 ch.15-16 p.254

## Pg14. Incest of Zeus/Jupiter

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “But it behoved them, if they meant to condemn shameless and promiscuous intercourse, to hate either Zeus, who begat children of his mother Rhea and his daughter Koré, and took his own sister to wife, or Orpheus, the inventor of these tales, which made Zeus more unholy and detestable than Thyestes himself; for the latter defiled his daughter in pursuance of an oracle, and when he wanted to obtain the kingdom and avenge himself.” *A Plea for Christians* ch.32 p.140

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) “Zeus has intercourse with his own daughter Pherephatta,-after Ceres, the mother,-forgetting his former abominable wickedness.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.2 p.175

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) “Then there are the mysteries of Demeter, and Zeus’s wanton embraces of his mother, and the wrath of Demeter; I know not what for the future I shall call her, mother or wife, on which account it is that she is called Brimo, as is said; also the entreaties of Zeus, and the drink of gall, the plucking out of the hearts of sacrifices, and deeds that we dare not name.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.2 p.175

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) (implied) “Then who are more given to the crime of incest than those who have enjoyed the instruction of Jupiter himself?” *Apology* ch.9 p.26

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “And I do not dwell on this, that when the name of Zeus is uttered, there is heard at the same time that of the son of Kronos and Rhea, and the husband of Hera, and brother of Poseidon, and father of Athene, and Artemis, who was guilty of incest with his own daughter Persephone;” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.25 p.406

&&&**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “After the tenth month she bears a daughter, of beautiful form, whom later ages have called now Libera, now Proserpine; whom when Jupiter Verveceus saw to be strong, plump, and blooming, forgetting what evils and what wickedness, and how great recklessness, he had a little before fallen into, he returns to his former practices; and because it seemed too wicked that a father openly be joined as in marriage with his daughter, he passes into the terrible form of a dragon: he winds his huge coils round the terrified maiden, and under a fierce appearance sports and caresses *her* in softest embraces. She, too, is in consequence filled with the seed of the most powerful Jupiter, but not as her mother *was*, for she bore a daughter like herself; but from the maiden was born something like a bull, to testify to her seduction by Jupiter.” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 5 ch.21 p.&&&

Arnobius of Sicca (297-303 A.D.) speaks of shame and Jupiter trying to commit incest with his mother. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 5 ch.9-10 p.493; book 5 ch.23 p.498.

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) speaks of Jupiter having his sister as his wife. *Athanasius Against the Heathen* part 1 ch.2.1 p.10

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says that Jupiter committed adulteries and incest. *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.10 p.20

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions the incest of Zeus [Jupiter]. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 2 ch.3 p.13

**Among heretics**

**Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “Poseidon frequents the seas; Ares delights in wars; Apollo is a player on the cithara; Dionysus is absolute sovereign of the Thebans; Kronos is a tyrannicide; Zeus has intercourse with his own daughter, who becomes pregnant by him.” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.8 p.68

## Pg15. Apologetic use of the tomb of Jupiter/Zeus

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) speaks of Jupiter’s adulteries, his tomb on Crete, and he calls Mars “the pest of mortals” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.9 p.91-92

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) “And I will inquire of you, my friend, how many Jupiters exist. For there is, firstly, Jupiter surnamed Olympian, then Jupiter Latiaris, and Jupiter Cassius, and Jupiter Tonans, and Jupiter Propator, and Jupiter Pannychius, and Jupiter Poliuchus, and Jupiter Capitolinus; and that Jupiter, the son of Saturn, who is king of the Cretans, has a tomb in Crete, but the rest, possibly, were not thought worthy of tombs.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* part 1 ch.10 p.92

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) discusses Jupiter’s tomb, showing that He must be dead. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.22 p.186

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) mentions by name Callimachus and quotes ‘for thy tomb, O king, the Cretans fashioned!’ referring to Zeus being dead. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.2 p.181.

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) refutes Greek gods with Zeus’ tomb. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.2 p.185

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Thus not even Jupiter could suffer his own Crete to be subdued by the Roman fasces, forgetting that cave of Ida, and the brazen cymbals of the Corybantes, and the most pleasant odour of the goat which nursed him on that *dear* spot. Would he not have made that tomb of his superior to the whole Capitol, so that that land should most widely rule which covered the ashes of Jupiter?” *To the Nations* book 2 ch.17 p.145-146

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) (partial) “You tear the sides of Christians with your claws; but in the case of your own gods, axes, and planes, and rasps are put to work more vigorously on every member of the body. We lay our heads upon the block; before the lead, and the glue, and the nails are put in requisition, your deities are headless. We are cast to the wild beasts, while you attach them to Bacchus, and Cybele, and Coelestis. We are burned in the flames; so, too, are they in their original lump. We are condemned to the mines; from these your gods originate. We are banished to islands; in islands it is a common thing for your gods to have their birth or die.” *Apology* ch.12 p.28

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) (partial) “Comic poets deride the Phrygians for their cowardice; Sallust reproaches the Moors for their levity, and the Dalmatians for their cruelty; even the apostle brands the Cretans as ‘liars.’” *Apology* ch.20 p.33

Commodianus (c.240 A.D.) (partial) says that Jupiter died. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.6 p.204

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) answers Celsus’ charge that they [pagans] worship Jupiter who has a tomb in Crete while Christ has no tomb. Origen points out that Callimachus asked which one lied, when some say Jupiter was born in Crete, others Arcadia. *Origen Against Celsus* book 3 ch.43 p.481

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “1. That those are no gods whom the common people worship, is known from this. They were formerly kings, who on account of their royal memory subsequently began to be adored by their people even in death. … 2. Jupiter is to be seen in Crete, and his sepulchre is shown; and it is manifest that Saturn was driven away by him, and that from him Latium received its name, as being his lurking-place.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 6 ch.1,2 p.465-466

Athanasius Against the Heathen ch.9 p.8 (318 A.D.) (partial) mentions the tyranny of the Cretan Zeus; but does not explicitly mention his tomb.

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “And the Curetes, his sons, took charge of him, and honoured him; and his tomb is in Crete, in the town of Cnossus, and Vesta is said to have founded this city; and on his tomb is an inscription in ancient Greek characters, ‘Zan Kronou,’ which is in Latin, ‘Jupiter the son of Saturn.’” *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.11 p.23

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) mentions Jupiter dying in Crete. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.13 p.228

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions the inconsistency of the tomb of Zeus. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 2 ch.2 p.11

**Among heretics**

The Encratite Gnostic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “The tomb of Olympian Zeus is shown among you, though some one says that the Cretans are liars. Your assembly of many gods is nothing.” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.76

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) (partial) book 10 ch.23 p.179 mention Jupiter and Cretans but nothing more.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions Jupiter’s tomb. homily 5 ch.22 p.261; homily 6 ch.21 p.266

## Pg16. Thyestean [cannibalistic] banquet

**Justin Martyr** (probably by Justin by anonymous) (c.138-165 A.D.) “Since, therefore, ye Greeks, your gods are convicted of intemperance, and your heroes are effeminate, as the histories on which your dramas are founded have declared, such as the curse of Atreus, the bed of Thyestes and the taint in the house of Pelops, and Danaus murdering through hatred and making Aegyptus childless in the intoxication of his rage, and the Thyestean banquet spread by the Furies.” *Discourse to the Greeks* ch.3 p.272

**Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum** (177 A.D.) ch.779 “also by the soldiers, falsely accused us of Thyestean banquets and Oedipodean connections, and other crimes which it is lawful for us neither to mention nor think of;”

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “Three things are alleged against us: atheism, Thyestean feasts, Oedipodean intercourse.” *A Plea for Christians* ch.3 p.130

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “For if one should speak of cannibalism, in these spectacles the children of Thyestes and Tereus are eaten; and as for adultery, both in the case of men and of gods, whom they celebrate in elegant language for honours and prizes, this is made the subject of their dramas. But far be it from Christians to conceive any such deeds;” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.15 p.115

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) (implied) is against cannibalism. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.2 p.181

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Thyestes or Oedipus, do not at all come forth to light, nor find their way” *To the Nations* book 1 ch.7 p.116

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “as worse than the crimes of Thyestes.’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 4 ch.45 p.518

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “Thyestes had really taken place; and believed in the unlawful lust of Oinomaos,” *Concerning Free Will* p.357

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions a Thyestean banquet. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 5 ch.33 p.50

**Among heretics**

Encratite heretic Tatian (c.172 A.D.) (partial) “The kings of the Argives were these: Inachus, Phoroneus, Apis, Criasis, Triopas, Argeius, Phorbas, Crotopas, Sthenelaus, Danaus, Lynceus, Proetus, Abas, Acrisius, Perseus, Sthenelaus, Eurystheus, Atreus, Thyestes, and Agamemnon, in the eighteenth year of whose reign Troy was taken.” *Tatian*’*s Address to the Greeks* ch.39 p.80

**Droserius** (c.300 A.D.) the Valentinian Gnostic, in disputing Adamantius, has Valentinian read, where the evil Thyestean banquet is alluded to. *Dialogue on the True Faith* 4th part ch.841a p.126

## Pg17. Mention of Oedipus

**Justin Martyr** (probably by Justin by anonymous) (c.138-165 A.D.) “of Oedipus, and the murder of Laius, and the marrying his mother, and the mutual” *The Discourse to the Greeks* ch.3 p.272

**Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum** (177 A.D.) ch.779 “also by the soldiers, falsely accused us of Thyestean banquets and Oedipodean connections, and other crimes which it is lawful for us neither to mention nor think of;”

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “Oedipodean intercourse. But if these charges are true, spare no class: proceed” *A Plea for Christians* ch.3 p.130

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) like the tragic Oedipus. And as those who are not practised in wrestling, when *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.13.2 p.539

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “They keep them all to themselves, then, and take them for granted; and so these tragedies, (worse than those) of Thyestes or Oedipus, do not at all come forth to light, nor find their way to the public. Even more voracious bites take nothing away from the credit of such as are initiated, whether servants or masters.” *To the Nation*s book 1 ch.7 p.116

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “And suppose, also, that some one disbelieved the story of Oedipus and Jocasta, and of their two sons Eteocles and Polynices, because the sphinx, a kind of half-virgin, was introduced into the narrative, how should we demonstrate the reality of such a thing?” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.42 p.414

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “or are accustomed to happen, in the case of each sex, even through error? For this is shown by the example of Oedipus alone, confused with twofold guilt.” *The Divine Institutes* book 6 ch.20 p.187

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Oedipus in a number of places. A couple of places are *Preparation for the Gospel* book 5 ch.33 p.50 and book 4 ch.3 p.8.

## Pg18. Cannibalism of Kronos/Saturn

**Justin Martyr** (probably, but anonymous) (c.150 A.D.) “For they say that Chronos, the son of Ouranos, in the beginning slew his father, and possessed himself of his rule; and that, being seized with a panic lest he should himself suffer in the same way, he preferred devouring his children; but that, by the craft of the Curetes, Jupiter was conveyed away and kept in secret, and afterwards bound his father with chains, and divided the empire;” *Discourse to the Greeks* ch.2 p.271

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “Is not Saturn found to be a cannibal, destroying and devouring is own children?” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.9 p.91

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “And these things assuredly come down from the teaching of your gods. For Saturn did not expose his children, but devoured them. With reason were infants sacrificed to him by parents in some parts of Africa, caresses and kisses repressing their crying, that a weeping victim might not be sacrificed.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.30 p.192

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Then, when male children were born to him [Saturn], he [Saturn] would devour them; better himself (should take them) than the wolves, (for to these would they become a prey) if he exposed them.” *To the Nations* book 2 ch.12 p.122

Tertullian (198-217 A.D.) (partial) “When Saturn did not spare his own children, he was not likely to spare the children of others; whom indeed the very parents themselves were in the habit of offering, gladly responding to the call which was made on them, and keeping the little ones pleased on the occasion, that they might not die in tears.” *Apology* ch.9 p.25

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “And Saturn the old, if he is a god, how does he grow old? Or if he was a god, why was he driven by his terrors to devour his children? But because he was not a god, he consumed the bowels of his sons in a monstrous madness.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.4 p.203

&&&**Alexander of Lycopolis** (301 A.D.) “Moreover, they far surpass the mythologists in fables, those, namely, who either make Coelus suffer mutilation, or idly tell of the plots laid for Saturn by his son, in order that that son might attain the sovereignty; or those again who make Saturn devour his sons and to have been cheated of his purpose by the image of a stone that was presented to him.” *Of the Manichaeans* ch.10 p.&&&

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) mentions Chronos eating his own children as an example of worshipping someone as an idol that is not worthy of respect. *Athanasius Against the Heathen* part 1 ch.10.4 p.9

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “He [Saturn] was, *they say*, just in his rule. First, from this very circumstance he is not now a god, inasmuch as he has ceased to be. In the next place, he was not even just, but impious not only towards his sons, whom he devoured, but also towards his father, whom he is said to have mutilated.” *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.12 p.24

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Chronos [Saturn] devouring his own children. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 2 ch.8 p.21

**Among heretics**

The Encratite Gnostic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) It is not Christians who eat human flesh. Rather, Pelops was said to be a supper for the gods, Kronos devours his children, and Zeus swallows Metis. *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.25 p.76

## Pg19. Against bloodthirsty Mars, or pest/bane of mortals

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) speaks of Mars as the “bane of mortals” *A Plea for Christians* ch.21 p.139

Athenagoras (177 A.D.) describes the impure loves of Greek gods and the adulteries of Mars. *A Plea for Christians* ch.21 p.138-139. See also ibid ch.20 p.138.

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) Why worship Greek gods? Saturn was a cannibal, Jupiter was an adulterer, even with his own daughter. Mars is the “pest of mortals”, some gods got wounded, and Osiris was torn limb from limb. Atys was mutilated, Aesculapius was struck by a thunderbolt from Zeus. Theophilus’ *Letter to Autolycus* book 1 ch.9 p.91

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) “At any rate, the native countries of your gods, and their arts and lives, and besides especially their sepulchres, demonstrate them to have been men. Mars, accordingly, who by the poets is held in the highest possible honour:- ‘Mars, Mars, bane of men, blood-stained stormer of walls,’- this deity, always changing sides, and implacable, as Epicharmus says, was a Spartan; Sophocles knew him for a Thracian; others say he was an Arcadian. This god, Homer says, was bound thirteen months:- ‘Mars had his suffering; by Aloeus’ sons, Otus and Ephialtes, strongly bound, He thirteen months in brazen fetters lay.’ Good luck attend the Carians, who sacrifice dogs to him!” *Exhortation to the Heathen*

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) calls Mars/Ares “the pest of mortals”. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.2. p.179.

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) (partial) “This goes also to taint the origin: you cannot surely hold that to be good which has sprung from sin, from shamelessness, from violence, from hatred, from a fratricidal founder, from a son of Mars. Even now, at the first turning-post in the circus, there is a subterranean altar to this same Consus, with an inscription to this effect: ‘Consus, great in counsel, Mars, in battle mighty tutelar deities.’” *The Shows* ch.5 p.82

&&&**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “We shall bring forward Mars himself, and the fair mother of the Desires; to one of whom you commit wars, to the other love and passionate desire. My opponent says that Mars has power over wars; whether to quell those which are raging, or to revive them when interrupted, and kindle them in time of peace? For if he claims the madness of war, why do wars rage every day? But if he is their author, we shall then say that the god, to satisfy his own inclination, involves the whole world in strife; sows the seeds of discord and variance between far-distant peoples; gathers so many thousand men from different quarters, and speedily heaps up the field with dead bodies; makes the streams flow with blood, sweeps away the most firmly-founded empires, lays cities in the dust, robs the free of their liberty, and makes them slaves; rejoices in civil strife, in the bloody death of brothers who die in conflict, and, in fine, in the dire, murderous contest of children with their fathers.” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 3 ch.26 p.&&&

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “But you perchance believed it from the circumstance of your having consecrated the homicide Mars as a god, though you would not have done this if the Areopagites had crucified him.” *The Divine Institutes* book 5 ch.3 p.138

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Mars, when guilty of homicide, and set free from the charge of murder by the Athenians through favour, lest he should appear to be too fierce and savage, committed adultery with Venus.” *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.10 p.19

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Area [Mars] wanting violence and battle. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 3 ch.1 p.3

## Pg20. Against Bacchus [the Greek/Roman/Arabian/Ethiopian idol]

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “For when they tell that Bacchus, son of Jupiter, was begotten by [Jupiter's] intercourse with Semele, and that he was the discoverer of the vine; and when they relate, that being torn in pieces, and having died, he rose again, and ascended to heaven; and when they introduce wine into his mysteries, do I not perceive that [the devil] has imitated the prophecy announced by the patriarch Jacob, and recorded by Moses?” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.69 p.233

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “But it is perhaps necessary, in accordance with what has already been adduced, to say a little about their names. Herodotus, then, and Alexander the son of Philip, in his letter to his mother (and each of them is said to have conversed with the priests at Heliopolis, and Memphis, and Thebes), affirm that they learnt from them that the gods had been men. Herodotus speaks thus: 'Of such a nature were, they said, the beings represented by these images, they were very far indeed from being gods. However, in the times anterior to them it was otherwise; then Egypt had gods for its rulers, who dwelt upon the earth with men, one being always supreme above the rest. The last of these was Horus the son of Osiris, called by the Greeks Apollo. He deposed Typhon, and ruled over Egypt as its last god-king. Osiris is named Dionysus (Bacchus) by the Greeks.' 'Almost all the names of the gods came into Greece from Egypt.'” *A Plea for Christians* ch.28 p.143-144

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “the drunk and raging Bacchus; and of Apollo fearing and fleeing from Achilles,” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.9 p.91

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) “For those two identical fratricides, having abstracted the box in which the phallus of Bacchus was deposited, took it to Etruria-dealers in honourable wares truly. They lived there as exiles, employing themselves in communicating the precious teaching of their superstition, and presenting phallic symbols and the box for the Tyrrhenians to worship. And some will have it, not improbably, that for this reason Dionysus was called Attis, because he was mutilated. And what is surprising at the Tyrrhenians, who were barbarians, being thus initiated into these foul indignities, when among the Athenians, and in the whole of Greece-I blush to say it-the shameful legend about Demeter holds its ground?” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.2 p.176

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “You tear the sides of Christians with your claws; but in the case of your own gods, axes, and planes, and rasps are put to work more vigorously on every member of the body. We lay our heads upon the block; before the lead, and the glue, and the nails are put in requisition, your deities are headless. We are cast to the wild beasts, while you attach them to Bacchus, and Cybele, and Coelestis. We are burned in the flames; so, too, are they in their original lump. We are condemned to the mines; from these your gods originate. We are banished to islands; in islands it is a common thing for your gods to have their birth or die.” *Apology* ch.12 p.28

**Hippolytus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “But prior to the observance of the mystic rite of Celeus, and Triptolemus, and Ceres, and Proserpine, and Bacchus in Eleusis, these orgies have been celebrated and handed down to men in Phlium of Attica. For antecedent to the Eleusinian mysteries, there are (enacted) in Phlium the orgies of her denominated the 'Great (Mother).'” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 5 ch.15 p.&&&

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) speaks against the pagan gods Saturn, Jupiter, Sun, moon, Mercury, Neptune, Bacchus, Unconquered One, Sylvanus, Hercules, etc. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.4-15 p.203-205

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) refers to the Arabians only worship Bacchus (as a male) and Urania (as a female), as well as mentioning the Ethiopian religion in *Origen Against Celsus* book 5 ch.37 p.560

**Alexander of Lycopolis** (301 A.D.) “Those of them who are better educated, and not unacquainted with Greek literature, instruct us from their own resources. From the ceremonies and mysteries, for instance: by Bacchus, who was cut out from the womb, is signified that the divine virtue is divided into matter by the Titans, as they say; from the poet's fable of the battle with the Giants, is indicated that not even they were ignorant of the rebellion of matter against God.” *Against the Manichaeans* ch.5 p.&&&

&&&**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “For if you believe that father Bacchus can give a good vintage, *but* cannot give relief from sickness; if *you believe* that Ceres *can give* good crops, Aesculapius health, Neptune one thing, Juno another, that Fortune, Mercury, Vulcan, are each the giver of a fixed and particular thing,-this, too, you must needs receive from us, that souls can receive from no one life and salvation, except from Him to whom the Supreme Ruler gave this charge and duty.” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.65 p.&&&

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Sibyl says: 'It is impossible for a God to be fashioned from the loins of a man and the *womb of a woman*.' And if this is true, as it really is, it is evident that Hercules, Apollo, Bacchus, Mercury, and Jupiter, with the rest, were but men, since they were born from the two sexes. But what is so far removed from the nature of God as that operation which He Himself assigned to mortals for the propagation of their race, and which cannot be affected without corporeal substance?” *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.8 p.&&&

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Castor and Pollux carried off the brides of others, but not with impunity, to whose death and burial Homer bears witness, not with poetical, but simple faith. Mercurius, who was the father of Androgynus by his intrigue with Venus, deserved to be a god, because he invented the lyre and the *paloestra*. Father Bacchus, after subduing India as a conqueror, having by chance come to Crete, saw Ariadne on the shore, whom Theseus had forced and deserted. Then, being inflamed by love, he united her in marriage to himself, and placed her crown, as the poets say, conspicuously among the stars. The mother of the gods herself, while she lived in Phrygia after the banishment and death of her husband, though a widow, and aged, was enamoured of a beautiful youth; and because he was not faithful, she mutilated, and rendered him effeminate: on which account even now she delights in the Galli as her priests.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.8 p.&&&

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) is against Dionysius [Bacchus]. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 2 ch.2 p.17

# DISPUTE AGAINST OTHER RELIGIONS

## Or1. Religion can be bad

*Epistle to Diognetus* ch.3,4 p.26 (c.130-200 A.D.) (partial) criticizes as Jewish superstitions some practices commanded in the Old Testament.

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “If Herodotus alone had said that the Egyptians spoke in their histories of the gods as of men, when he says, “What they told me concerning their religion it is not my intention to repeat, except only the names of their deities, things of very trifling importance,” *A Plea for Christians* ch.28 p.144

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Now, this Jesus did by drawing us off from the religion of stones, and bringing us over from hard and fruitless cogitations, and establishing in us a faith like to Abraham.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.7.2 p.470

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “In like manner with respect to the gods too, our ancestors believed carelessly, credulously, with untrained simplicity; while worshipping their kings religiously, desiring to look upon them when dead in outward forms, anxious to preserve their memories in statues, those things became sacred which had been taken up merely as consolations.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.20 p.184-185

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “they adorn their bed-chambers with painted tablets hung up in them, regarding licentiousness as religion;” *Exhortation to Religion* c.4 p.&189

**Hippolytus of Portus** (225-235/6 A.D.) “Neither shall I pass over the witless philosophy of these men; but, after explaining it, I shall prove that those who attempt to form a system of religion out of these (aforesaid elements), are disciples of a school weak and full of knavery.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 4 ch.13 p.30

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) in many places shows that pagan religions are wrong and insulting. One place is *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.28 p.420.

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) But during the government of the Judges the people had often undertaken corrupt religious rites; *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.10 p.109

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Nor, indeed, were the Latins free from this cruelty, since Jupiter Latialis is even now worshipped with the offering of human blood. What benefit do they who offer such sacrifices implore from the gods? Or what are such deities able to bestow on the men by whose punishments they are propitiated? But this is not so much a matter of surprise with respect to barbarians, whose religion agrees with their character.” *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.21 p.34

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) speaks on how pagan religion can be bad. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 1 ch.1 p.1

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) “Whom, then, ye men of Greece, do ye call your teachers of religion? The poets? It will do your cause no good to say so to men who know the poets; for they know how very ridiculous a theogony they have composed,”. *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.2 p.273

## Or2. No mixing Christ and other religions

1 John 4:3; Galatians 1:8-9

**p47 (= Chester Beatty III)** (c.250-300 A.D.) 31% of Revelation. Revelation 9:20-11:3; 11:5-16:15; 16:17-17:2 (partial) Revelation 14:9

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) “I therefore, yet not I, but the love of Jesus Christ, entreat you that ye use Christian nourishment only, and abstain from herbage of a different kind; I mean heresy. For those [that are given to this] mix up Jesus Christ with their own poison, speaking things which are unworthy of credit, like those who administer a deadly drug in sweet wine, which he who is ignorant of does greedily take, with a fatal pleasure, leading to his own death.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Trallians* ch.6 p.68

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) ch.3 p.251 “Since, then, He has displayed so great mercy towards us, and especially in this respect, that we who are living should not offer sacrifices to gods that are dead, or pay them worship,”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “with whom we have nothing in common, since we know them to be atheists, impious, unrighteous, and sinful, and confessors of Jesus in name only, instead of worshippers of Him. Yet they style themselves Christians, just as certain among the Gentiles inscribe the name of God upon the works of their own hands, and partake in nefarious and impious rites.) Some are called Marcians [Marcion], and some Valentinians, and some Basilidians, and some Saturnilians, and others by other names” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.35 p.212

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) (implied) explains why Christians cannot offer sacrifices to any [false] gods. *A Plea for Christians* ch.13 p.134

**Hegesippus** (170-180 A.D.) (implied) says that until the apostles died, the church was not yet corrupted by worthless teaching. *Concerning His Journey to Rome, and the Jewish Sects* vol.8 p.764. From *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 4 ch.22 p.198-200

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “frivolities is very great; and not a stray morsel of truth is found in them. For even if any truth seems to have been uttered by them, it has a mixture of error. And as a deleterious drug, when mixed with honey or wine, or some other thing, makes the whole [mixture] hurtful and profitless; so also eloquence is in their case found to be labour in vain; yea, rather an injurious thing to those who credit it.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.12 p.99

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Error, indeed, is never set forth in its naked deformity, lest, being thus exposed, it should at once be detected. But it is craftily decked out in an attractive dress, so as, by its outward form, to make it appear to the inexperienced (ridiculous as the expression may seem) more true than the truth itself. … Lest, therefore, though my neglect, some should be carried off, even as sheep are by wolves, while they perceive not the true character of these men, - because they are outwardly covered with sheep’s clothing…” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.1.2 p.315

**Serapion of Antioch** (200-210 A.D.) “For we, brethren, receive both Peter and the rest of the apostles as Christ *Himself*. But those writings which are falsely inscribed with their name, we as experienced persons reject, knowing that no such writings have been handed down to us.” *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.775

**Apollonius of Ephesus** (c.210 A.D.) “Themison … moreover uttered blasphemy against the Lord and the apostles and the holy church.” *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.776

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) says to guard against the blasts of heresies. *The Instructor* book 1 ch.5 p.213

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “…he [Paul] expressly names philosophy as that which he would have us be on our guard against. Writing to the Colossians, he says, ‘See that no one beguile you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men and contrary to the wisdom of the Holy Ghost. *On Prescription Against Heretics* ch.7 p.246

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “And although the Scythians may well call Pappaeus the supreme God, yet we will not yield our assent to this; granting, indeed, that there is a Supreme Deity, although we do not give the name Pappaeus to Him as His proper title, but regard it as one which is agreeable to the demon to whom was allotted the desert of Scythia, with its people and language. He, however, who gives God His title in the Scythian tongue, or in the Egyptian or in any language in which he has been brought up, will not be guilty of sin.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 5 ch.46 p.564.

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) those who worship the Supreme Being should not serve demons. *Origen Against Celsus* book 7 ch.67 p.638

Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) interprets that the way of the Lord is straight in two ways: clear in truth without any mixture of falsehood (contemplation) and the way of conduct. *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 10 ch.11 p.388

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) masters, we have already shown what appears to us the principle contained in it, when we proved that no sedition or disloyalty could be charged against the followers of Jesus their Lord, who confess that they reject every other lord, and serve Him alone who is the Son and Word of God.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.16 p.645

***Treatise On Rebaptism*** (c.250-258 A.D.) ch.17 p.677 criticizes the work, *The Preaching of Paul* which claims Christ sinned.

**Cyprian** (c.246-258 A.D.) “although the Lord says, ‘To them [other gods] have ye poured a drink-offering, and to them have ye offered a meat-offering. Shall I not be angry for these things? saith the Lord.’ And in another place, ‘He that sacrificeth to any god, save unto the Lord only, shall be destroyed.’ Moreover, the Lord again speaks, and says, ‘They have worshipped those whom their own fingers have made: and the mean man boweth down, and the great man humbleth himself: and I will not forgive them.’ In the Apocalypse also, we read the anger of the Lord threatening, and saying, ‘If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God mixed in the cup of His anger; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb: and the smoke of their torments shall ascend up for ever and ever; neither shall they have rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image.’ 2. Since, therefore, the Lord threatens these torments, these punishments in the day of judgment, to those who obey the devil and sacrifice to idols, how does he think that he can act as a priest of God who has obeyed and served the priests of the devil; or how does he think that his hand can be transferred to the sacrifice of God and the prayer of the Lord which has been captive to sacrilege and to crime, when in the sacred Scriptures God forbids the priests to approach to sacrifice even if they have been in lighter guilt;” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 63 ch.1-2 p.364

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “You do not believe our writers, and we do not believe yours.” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.57 p.429

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) *Commentary on the Apocalypse of the Blessed John* ch.2.6 p.345

**Phileas of Thmuis, Egypt** (martyred 306/307 A.D.) mentions the tortures and deaths of martyrs. See also, “He that sacrificeth to other gods,’ it is said, ‘shall be utterly destroyed.’” *Letter of Phileas to the People of Thmuis* ch.2,3 p.162-163

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) “For if after the Cross all idolatry was overthrown, while every manifestation of demons is driven away by this Sign and Christ alone is worshipped and the Father known through Him, and, while gainsayers are put to shame, He daily invisibly wins over the souls of these gainsayers,” *Athanasius Against the Heathen* ch.5 p.6

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “For we are created on this condition, that we pay just and due obedient to God who created us, that we should know and follow Him alone. We are *bound* and *tied* to God by this *chain of piety*;” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.28 p.131.

## Or3. Dispute against Judaism

Against just the Pharisees, Sadducees, or just certain specific Jews is not counted here.

John 6:45; 8:24; 12:47-48; Acts 3:23; 13:45-46+48; 20:21; Romans 9:1-2; 10:1-3; 11:23

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Romans 10:1-3

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) “But if any one preach the Jewish law unto you, listen not to him…. they are in my judgment but as monuments and sepulchers of the dead, upon which are written only the names of men.” *Letter of Ignatius to the Philadelphians* ch.6 p.82

Ignatius of Antioch (-107/116 A.D.) says that it is absurd to profess Christ and to Judaize. Christianity did not embrace Judaism, but Judaism Christianity. *Letter of Ignatius to the Magnesians* ch.10 p.63

***The Apology of Aristides*** (125 or 138-161 A.D.) p.276 says the Jews perished by their own transgression when the crucified the Son of God on the cross

***Epistle of Barnabas*** ch.15 p.147 (c.70-130 A.D.) says that the wretched [Jews] trusted in the temple, not in God Himself.

***Epistle to Diognetus*** ch.1 p.25 and ch.3 p.26 (c.130-200 A.D.) mentions the superstitions of the Jews.

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) had an entire *Dialogue with Trypho*. Justin and Trypho set an example of being very courteous in the discussion of their differences.

&&&Tatian’s ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) ““ &&&

&&&**Meleto/Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) &&&

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) fragment 37 p.574-575 says those who take the Lord’s supper do not go with the Jewish views, but will be called sons of wisdom.

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “If the Egyptians had not been afflicted with plagues, and, when pursuing after Israel, been choked in the sea, God could not have saved His people, this answer may be given;-Unless, then, the Jews had become the slayers of the Lord (which did, indeed, take eternal life away from them), and, by killing the apostles and persecuting the Church, had fallen into an abyss of wrath, we could not have been saved.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.28.3 p.501

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “‘But we preach Jesus Christ crucified; to the Jews a stumbling-block,’ because, though knowing prophecy, they did not believe the event: ‘to the Greeks, foolishness; ‘for those who in their own estimation are wise, consider it fabulous that the Son of God should speak by man and that God should have a Son, and especially that that Son should have suffered.” However, Clement emphasizes that Jewish believers have a place in the church. *Stromata* book 1 ch.18 p.320

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) wrote an entire work: *An Answer to the Jews*.

Tertullian (198-240 A.D.) speaks against Judaism. Apology ch.21 p.34

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) speaks against Judaism in *Refutation of All Heresies* book 9 ch.13-25 p.134-138

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) says that the Jews had the way of wisdom but did not know the way of the Lord. *Expository Treatise Against the Jews* ch.10 p.221

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) says that the Jews will not escape the judgment of Christ. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.37 p.210

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) has two chapters on the offense of the Pharisees. *Origen’s Commentary on Matthew* book 11 ch.13,14 p.441-442

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) corrected the Jews, who say Christ was only a man. *Treatise Concerning the Trinity* ch.15 p.624

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “For as the Jews were alienated from God, as those on whose account ‘the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles,’ so on the other hand those are dear to God through whose conformity to discipline the name of God is declared with a testimony of praise,” *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 6 ch.3 p.284

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) speaks against Judaism. “And let no one here bring up against us Jewish fables and those of the sect of the Sadducees, as though we, too, attribute to the Deity forms; for this is supposed to be taught in their writings, and asserted as if with assurance and authority. For these stories either do not concern us, and have nothing at all in common with us, or if they are shared in *by us*, as you believe, you must seek out teachers of greater wisdom, through whom you may be able to learn how best to overcome the dark and recondite sayings of those writings.” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 3 ch.12 p.467

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) (implied) “And let the *parasceve* [Passover] become a rigorous fast, lest we should appear to observe any Sabbath with the Jews, which Christ Himself, the Lord of the Sabbath, says by His prophets that ‘His soul hateth;’ which Sabbath He in His body abolished, although, nevertheless, He had formerly Himself commanded Moses that circumcision should not pass over the eighth day, which day very frequently happens on the Sabbath, as we read written in the Gospel.” *On the Creation of the World* p.341

**Council of Elvira** (306/307 A.D.) canon 16 (implied) “Heretics shall not be joined in marriage with Catholic girls unless they accept the Catholic faith. Catholic girls may not marry Jews or heretics, because they cannot find a unity when the faithful and the unfaithful are joined. Parents who allow this to happen shall not commune for five years.”

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) says the Jews are like bees fluttering on the leaves of Scripture, not the flowers or fruits. *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 9 ch.1 p.344

Methodius (270-311/312 A.D.) rebukes the unbelieving Jews. *Orations on the Psalms* ch.4 p.396

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) All scripture teems with the disobedience of the Jews. *The Incarnation* ch.35.7 p.55

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says that the Jews have been rejected By God as the sacred writings show and the Gentiles brought in. He who has not acknowledged the Son has been unable to acknowledge the Father. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.49 p.242.

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) The Old Testament prophecies were read by the Jews who denied Christ. *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.12 p.110.

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) (implied) “Since, therefore, they [Colluthus and his party] back up the impious opinion concerning Christ, which is held by the Jews and Greeks, in every possible way they strive to gain their approval;” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Letter 1 ch.1 p.291

## Or4. Errors of the Pharisees

Luke 15:1-4

Jesus likewise called the Pharisees snakes and a brood of vipers condemned to Hell in Matthew 23:33; hypocrites (Matthew 23:29)

p77 (Matthew 23:30-39) (200 A.D.) (partial) Matthew 23:33 says the teachers of the law and the Pharisees will not escape being condemned to Hell.

**Justin Martyr** (136-165 A.D.) “For He exclaimed before His crucifixion: ‘The Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected by the Scribes and Pharisees, and be crucified, and on the third day rise again” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.76 p.236-237

*Tatian’s* ***Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 26 p.83 quotes Luke 15:1-4 about the Pharisees murmering against Jesus.

**Hegesippus** (170-180 A.D.) “The aforesaid scribes and Pharisees accordingly set James on the summit of the temple, and cried aloud to him, and said: “O just one, whom we are all bound to obey, forasmuch as the people is in error, and follows Jesus the crucified, do thou tell us what is the door of Jesus, the crucified.” And he answered with a loud voice: “Why ask ye me concerning Jesus the Son of man? He Himself sitteth in heaven, at the right hand of the Great Power, and shall come on the clouds of heaven.” *Five Books of Commentaries on the Acts of the Church* section 1 p.763

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) speaks against the Pharisees. *Stromata* book 3 ch.4 p.387

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) warns against the Pharisees. *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.293

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) wrote against the Pharisees and Sadducees. *On the Flesh of Christ* ch.1 p.521

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “Then the Pharisees, who were covetous of riches, derided Him [the Lord], when they understood that by mammon He meant money.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.33 p.403

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites who, while in possession of the power of Fragment1

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) has two chapters on the offense of the Pharisees. *Origen’s Commentary on Matthew* book 11 ch.13,14 p.441-442

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) Why is he who does not altogether trust in Christ named and called a Christian? The name of Pharisee is more fitting for you. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 8 ch.12 p.479

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) Against Pharisees who would not believe. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.23.3 p.49

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Hippolytus** (after 236 A.D.) “And therefore have they [the Jews] no longer king or high priest or prophet, nor even scribes and Pharisees and Sadducees among them. He does not, however, say that they are to be cut off;” *On Psalm* 59 p.202

**Among heretics**

The Sethian Gnostic ***Apocryphon of John*** (c.150-185 A.D.) ch.1 p.105 “The Pharisee [said to him, ‘With deception did this Nazarene] deceive you [plural], and he filled [your ears wit lies], and closes [your hearts (and) turned you] from the traditions [of your fathers.]”

## Or5. Errors of the Sadducees

**0189** (175-225 A.D.) Act 5:3-21 (19 verses)Acts 5:17

The Sadducees were only mentioned 14 times in scripture, while the Pharisees were mentioned over 100 times. See *The Expositor’s Bible Commentary* vol.8 p.735 for more info.

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “For I choose to follow not men or men’s doctrines, but God and the doctrines [delivered] by Him. For if you have fallen in with some who are called Christians, but who do not admit this [truth], and venture to blaspheme the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob; who say there is no resurrection of the dead, and that their souls, when they die, are taken to heaven; do not imagine that they are Christians, even as one, if he would rightly consider it, would not admit that the Sadducees, or similar sects of Genistae, Meristae, Galilaeans, Hellenists, Pharisees, Baptists, are Jews (do not hear me impatiently when I tell you what I think), but are [only] called Jews and children of Abraham, worshipping God with the lips, as God Himself declared, but the heart was far from Him. But I and others, who are right-minded Christians on all points, are assured that there will be a resurrection of the dead, and a thousand years in Jerusalem, which will then be built, adorned, and enlarged, [as] the prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah and others declare.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.80 p.239

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) (probably by Justin Martyr) “If He had no need of the flesh, why did He heal it? And what is most forcible of all, He raised the dead. Why? Was it not to show what the resurrection should be? How then did He raise the dead? Their souls or their bodies? Manifestly both. If the resurrection were only spiritual, it was requisite that He, in raising the dead, should show the body lying apart by itself, and the soul living apart by itself. But now He did not do so, but raised the body, confirming in it the promise of life. Why did He rise in the flesh in which He suffered, unless to show the resurrection of the flesh? And wishing to confirm this, when His disciples did not know whether to believe He had truly risen in the body, and were looking upon Him and doubting, He said to them, ‘Ye have not yet faith, see that it is I;’ and He let them handle Him, and showed them the prints of the nails in His hands. And when they were by every kind of proof persuaded that it was Himself, and in the body, they asked Him to eat with them, that they might thus still more accurately ascertain that He had in verity risen bodily; and He did eat honey-comb and fish. And when He had thus shown them that there is truly a resurrection of the flesh, wishing to show them this also, that it is not impossible for flesh to ascend into heaven (as He had said that our dwelling-place is in heaven), ‘He was taken up into heaven while they beheld,’as He was in the flesh. If, therefore, after all that has been said, any one demand demonstration of the resurrection, he is in no respect different from the Sadducees, since the resurrection of the flesh is the power of God, and, being above all reasoning, is established by faith, and seen in works.” *On the Resurrection* ch.9 p.298

***Tatian’s Diatessaron*** (c.172 A.D.) section 34.9 p.95-96 mentions the resurrection of all when Jesus rebukes the Sadducees.

**Hegesippus** (170-180 A.D.) mentions seven false-Christians groups among the people: from Simon, Cleobius, Doritheus, Gorthaeus, Masbothaeus, Menander, Marcion, Carpocrates, Valentinians, Basilideans, and Saturnilians. (vol.8 p.764). He mentions he Jewish sects of the Essenes, the Galileans, Hemerobaptists, the Masbothaei, Samaritans, Sadducees, and the Pharisees in Concerning His Journey to Rome, and the Jewish Sects *Five Books of Commentaries on the Acts of the Church* - Concerning His Journey to Rome, and the Jewish Sects vol.8 p.765.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “For our Lord and Master, in the answer which He gave to the Sadducees, who say that thee is no resurrection, and who do dishonor God, and lower the credit of the law,” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.5.2 p.466-467

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) compares Christian heretics who deny the physical resurrection with the Sadducees with which Jesus had to contend. *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* ch.2 p.546

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) wrote against the Pharisees and Sadducees. *On the Flesh of Christ* ch.1 p.521

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “The Sadducees, who said there was no resurrection, in a discussion on that subject, had proposed to the Lord a case of law touching a certain woman, who, in accordance with the legal prescription, had been married to seven brothers who had died one after the other.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.38 p.413

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) in *The Refutation of All Heresies* book 9 chapter 22 p.136-137 has a whole chapter on the Sadducees. As Josephus says, they say that God does not affect earthly concerns. They deny the resurrection of the flesh, and say the soul does not continue to exist after death. He also gives other details that are found in Josephus. In addition to Josephus, Hippolytus also says that they are especially strong in Samaria. “They do not, however, devote attention to prophets, but neither *do they* to any other sages, except to the law of Moses only, *in regard of which*, however, they frame no interpretations.”

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) The Sadducees, however, are for abolishing fate, and they acknowledge that God does nothing that is wicked, nor exercises providence over (earthly concerns); but *they contend* that the choice between good and evil lies within the power of men. And they deny that there is a resurrection not only of flesh, but also they suppose that the soul does not continue *after death. The soul they consider nothing* but mere vitality, and that it is on account of this that man has been created. However, (they maintain) that the notion of the resurrection has been fully realized by the single circumstance, that we close our days after having left children upon earth. But (they still insist) that after death one expects to suffer nothing, either bad or good; for that there will be a dissolution both of soul and body, and that man passes into non-existence, similarly also with the *material of* the animal creation. But as regards whatever wickedness a man may have committed in life, provided he may have been reconciled *to the injured party*, he has been a gainer (by transgression), inasmuch as he has escaped the punishment (that otherwise would have been inflicted) by men. And whatever acquisitions a man may have made. and (in whatever respect), by becoming wealthy, he may have acquired distinction, he has so far been a gainer. But (they abide by their assertion), that God has no solicitude about the concerns of an individual *here*.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 9 ch.24 p.137

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “The Jews had different opinions, some false, such as the Sadducees held about the resurrection of the dead, that they do not rise, and in regard to angels that they do not exist, but that those things which were written about them were only to be interpreted figuratively, but had no reality in point of fact;” *Commentary on Matthew* chapter 20 p.427. Origen also says the Samaritans and Sadducees receive the books of Moses alone in *Origen Against Celsus* book 1.

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “And let no one here bring up against us Jewish fables and those of the sect of the Sadducees, as though we, too, attribute to the Deity forms; for this is supposed to be taught in their writings, and asserted as if with assurance and authority.” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 3 ch.12 p.467

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “Wherefore observe that these are the very things which the Lord wished to teach to the Sadducees, who did not believe in the resurrection of the flesh. For this was the opinion of the Sadducees. Whence it was that, having contrived the parable about the woman and the seven brethren, that they might cast doubt upon the resurrection of the flesh,” *Discourse on the Resurrection* ch.12 p.367

**Spurious or corrupt works**

**pseudo-Hippolytus** (after 236 A.D.) “And therefore have they [the Jews] no longer king or high priest or prophet, nor even scribes and Pharisees and Sadducees among them. He does not, however, say that they are to be cut off;” *On Psalm* 59 p.202

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.56 p.91 (implied) is against the Sadducees because they denied the resurrection of the dead.

## Or6. Sadducees wrong to deny resurrection

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) (partial) (probably by Justin Martyr) “If He had no need of the flesh, why did He heal it? And what is most forcible of all, He raised the dead. Why? Was it not to show what the resurrection should be? How then did He raise the dead? Their souls or their bodies? Manifestly both. If the resurrection were only spiritual, it was requisite that He, in raising the dead, should show the body lying apart by itself, and the soul living apart by itself. But now He did not do so, but raised the body, confirming in it the promise of life. Why did He rise in the flesh in which He suffered, unless to show the resurrection of the flesh? And wishing to confirm this, when His disciples did not know whether to believe He had truly risen in the body, and were looking upon Him and doubting, He said to them, ‘Ye have not yet faith, see that it is I;’ and He let them handle Him, and showed them the prints of the nails in His hands. And when they were by every kind of proof persuaded that it was Himself, and in the body, they asked Him to eat with them, that they might thus still more accurately ascertain that He had in verity risen bodily; and He did eat honey-comb and fish. And when He had thus shown them that there is truly a resurrection of the flesh, wishing to show them this also, that it is not impossible for flesh to ascend into heaven (as He had said that our dwelling-place is in heaven), ‘He was taken up into heaven while they beheld, as He was in the flesh. If, therefore, after all that has been said, any one demand demonstration of the resurrection, he is in no respect different from the Sadducees, since the resurrection of the flesh is the power of God, and, being above all reasoning, is established by faith, and seen in works.” *On the Resurrection* ch.9 p.298

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**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “The Jews had different opinions, some false, such as the Sadducees held about the resurrection of the dead, that they do not rise, and in regard to angels that they do not exist, but that those things which were written about them were only to be interpreted figuratively, but had no reality in point of fact;” *Commentary on Matthew* book 10 ch.20 p.427. Origen also says the Samaritans and Sadducees receive the books of Moses alone in *Origen Against Celsus* book 1.

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “Wherefore observe that these are the very things which the Lord wished to teach to the Sadducees, who did not believe in the resurrection of the flesh. For this was the opinion of the Sadducees. Whence it was that, having contrived the parable about the woman and the seven brethren, that they might cast doubt upon the resurrection of the flesh,” *Discourse on the Resurrection* ch.12 p.367

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.54,56 p.91 is against the Sadducees because they denied the resurrection of the dead.

## Or7. Dispute against Sabellian Oneness

Matthew 3:16-17; Luke 3:21-22; John 1:1;6:38;14:31;15:26;16:28;17:5; Acts 5:31-32; Hebrews 5:7-8

1 Corinthians 11:3; 15:25-28; Matthew 12:18; Ephesians 1:17; John 1:33; 14:16,26,28; 20:17; Romans 8:26-27; 1 Peter 1:3-4

Papias of Hierapolis (95-110 A.D.) (partial, Sabellius did not live yet) “The presbyters, the disciples of the apostles, say that this is the gradation and arrangement of those who are saved, and that they advance through steps of this nature; and that, moreover, they ascend through the Spirit to the Son, and through the Son to the Father; and that in due time the Son will yield up His work to the Father, even as it is said by the apostle, ‘For He must reign till He hath put all enemies under His feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death.’”

Aristides (125 or 138-161 A.D.) (partial, Sabellius did not live yet) “Now Christians trace their origin from the Lord Jesus Christ. And He is acknowledged by the Holy Spirit to be the son of the most high God, who came down from heaven for the salvation of men.” *Apology of Aristides* [Greek] ch.10 p.276

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) (partial, Sabellius did not live yet) “Then I replied, ‘Reverting to the Scriptures, I shall endeavour to persuade you, that He who is said to have appeared to Abraham, and to Jacob, and to Moses, and who is called God, is distinct from Him who made all things,-numerically, I mean, not [distinct] in will.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.56 p.223. See also ibid ch.62

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) (partial, Sabellius did not live yet) “And Trypho said, ‘We have heard what you think of these matters. Resume the discourse where you left off, and bring it to an end. For some of it appears to me to be paradoxical, and wholly incapable of proof. For when you say that this Christ existed as God before the ages, then that He submitted to be born and become man, yet that He is not man of man, this [assertion] appears to me to be not merely paradoxical, but also foolish.’ And I replied to this, ‘I know that the statement does appear to be paradoxical, especially to those of your race, who are ever unwilling to understand or to perform the [requirements] of God, but [ready to perform] those of your teachers, as God Himself declares.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.48 p.219

Athenagoras (177 A.D.) (partial, Sabellius did not live yet) “The Holy Spirit Himself also, which operates in the prophets, we assert to be an effluence of God, flowing from Him, and returning back again like a beam of the sun. Who, then, would not be astonished to hear men who speak of God the Father, and of God the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and who declare both their power in union and their distinction in order, called atheists? Nor is our teaching in what relates to the divine nature confined to these points; but we recognize also a multitude of angels and ministers,…” *A Plea for Christians* ch.10 p.133

Athenagoras (177 A.D.) (partial) says the Father, Son, and Spirit have distinction in unity. *A Plea for Christians* ch.12 p.134. Note that Athenagoras talked about the Trinity in many places, except that he did not use the word “Trinity”.

Melito of Sardis (170-177/180 A.D.) (partial) “On these accounts He came to us; on these accounts, though He was incorporeal, He formed for Himself a body after our fashion, -appearing as a sheep, yet still remaining the Shepherd; being esteemed a servant, yet not renouncing the Sonship; being carried *in the womb* of Mary, yet arrayed in *the nature of* His Father; treading upon the earth, yet filling heaven; appearing as an infant, yet not discarding the eternity of His nature; being invested with a body, yet not circumscribing the unmixed simplicity of His Godhead; being esteemed poor, yet not divested of His riches; needing sustenance inasmuch as He was man, yet not ceasing to feed the entire world inasmuch as He is God; putting on the likeness of a servant, yet not impairing the likeness of His Father. He sustained every character *belonging to Him* in an immutable nature: He was standing before Pilate, and *at the same time* was sitting with His Father; He was nailed upon the tree, and *yet* was the Lord of all things.” *Discourse on the Cross* (*ANF* vol.8) p.756

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) (partial) “And first, they taught us with one consent that God made all things out of nothing; for nothing was coeval with God: but He being His own place, and wanting nothing, and existing before the ages, willed to make man by whom He might be known; for him, therefore, He prepared the world. For he that is created is also needy; but he that is uncreated stands in need of nothing. God, then, having His own Word internal within His own bowels, begat Him, emitting Him along with His own wisdom before all things. He had this Word as a helper in the things that were created by Him, and by Him He made all things.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.10 p.98

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) says “the Word, namely the Son, was always with the Father; and that Wisdom also, which is the Spirit, was present with Him, anterior to all creation.” He then goes on quoting Proverb 3:19,20 and so forth, showing that the Holy Spirit is the third person. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.20.3 p.488

*Passion of the Scillitan Martyr****s*** (180 A.D.) *ANF* vol.9 p.285 (partial) “all [the Scillitan martyrs] together were crowned with martyrdom; and they reign with the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever.”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) spoke of “the Holy Trinity.” *Stromata* book 5 ch.14 p.468

**Tertullian** (c.213 A.D.) wrote an entire work against Sabellianism: *Against Praxeas*. He also mentions the heretics Blastus, two Theodotuses, and Praxeas. *Against All Heresies* ch.8 p.654

Tertullian (c.213 A.D.) “He exclaims that God had forsaken Him. He commends His spirit into the hands of the Father. After His resurrection He promises in a pledge to His disciples that He will send them the promise of His Father; and lastly, He commands them to baptize into the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, not into a unipersonal God. And indeed it is not once only, but three times, that we are immersed into the Three Persons, at each several mention of Their names.” *Against Praxeas* ch.26 p.624

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) teaches the Trinity in opposition to Noetus in *Against the Heresy of One Noetus*. Hippolytus says that not only did Noetus say that the Son and Father are the same, but that the Father “He Himself became His own Son, not another’s.” *The Refutation of All Heresies* book 9 ch.5-6 p.128.

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) (implied) “they killed the Son of their Benefactor, for He is coeternal with the Father.” *Expository Treatise Against the Jews* ch.7 p.220

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) (implied) “And it is He whom we call Son of God-Son of that God, namely, whom, to quote the words of Celsus, ‘we most highly reverence; ‘and He is the Son who has been most highly exalted by the Father. Grant that there may be some individuals among the multitudes of believers who are not in entire agreement with us, and who incautiously assert that the Saviour is the Most High God; however, we do not hold with them, but rather believe Him when He says, ‘The Father who sent Me is greater than I.’ We would not therefore make Him whom we call Father inferior-as Celsus accuses us of doing-to the Son of God.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.14 p.644

Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) (implied) “Now there are many who are sincerely concerned about religion, and who fall here into great perplexity. They are afraid that they may be proclaiming two Gods, and their fear drives them into doctrines which are false and wicked. Either they deny that the Son has a distinct nature of His own besides that of the Father, and make Him whom they call the Son to be God all but the name, or they deny the divinity of the Son, giving Him a separate existence of His own, and making His sphere of essence fall outside that of the Father, so that they are separable from each other.” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 2 ch.2 p.323

Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) (partial) speak of the three hypostases, the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 2 ch.6 p.328

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “why do they shrink from being associated with the boldness of Sabellius, who says that Christ is the Father? Unless because, whether they call Him Father or Son, from his heresy, however, unwillingly” *Treatise Concerning the Trinity* ch.12 p.621-622

The schismatic Novatian (250/254-256/7 A.D.) wrote a whole *Treatise Concerning the Trinity*.

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) (implied) while against Novatian, also teaches the Trinity. “‘Go ye and preach the Gospel to the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’ That is, that that same Trinity which operated figuratively in Noah’s days through the dove, now operates in the church spiritually through the disciples.” ch.3 p.658

**Cyprian of Carthage** (256 A.D.) “If the Patripassians, Anthropians, Valentinians, Apelletians, Ophites, Marcionites, and other pests, and swords, and poisons of heretics for subverting the truth, confess the same Father, the same Son, the same Holy Ghost, the same Church with us, they may also have one baptism if they have also one faith.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 72 ch.4 p.380

Cyprian of Carthage (256 A.D.) after quoting Jesus speaking Matthew 28:18-19, says “He [Jesus] suggests the Trinity, in whose sacrament the nations were to be baptized.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 72 ch.5 p.380.

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) (implied) “Therefore eternal and divine things are to be followed, and all things must be done after the will of God, that we may follow the divine footsteps and teachings of our Lord, who warned us, and said, ‘I came down from heaven, not to do my own will, but the will of Him that sent me.’ But if the servant is not greater than his lord, and he that is freed owes obedience to his deliverer, we who desire to be Christians ought to imitate what Christ said and did. It is written, and it is read and heard, and is celebrated for our example by the Church’s mouth, ‘He that saith he abideth in Christ.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 2 ch.7 p.432

**Firmilian of Caesarea in Cappadocia to Cyprian of Carthage (**256 A.D.) mentions the Trinity. *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 74 ch.11 p.393

**Bishop Munnulus of Girba** mentions the Trinity and quotes Matthew 28:19 “…in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit” *The Seventh Council of Carthage* (258 A.D.) p.567

**Euchratius** Bishop of Thenae quotes Matthew 28:19 “…in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit” and mentions heretics as blasphemy of the Trinity. *The Seventh Council of Carthage* (258 A.D.) p.568

***A Sectional Statement of Faith*** (c.240-265 A.D.) (probably by Gregory Thaumaturgus, but it does not say) mentions that Christians “clear ourselves” of Sabellius in ch.7 p.42

*A Sectional Statement of Faith* (c.240-265 A.D.) (probably by Gregory Thaumaturgus, but it does not say) mentions the Trinity in ch.5 p.41 ch.7p.7; ch.18 p.45; ch.20 p.45

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) in *A Declaration of Faith* p.7 mentions the Father, Son, and he mentions the “Trinity” three times.

Gregory Thaumaturgus (240-265 A.D.) “true Son of true Father, Invisible of Invisible, and Incorruptible of Incorruptible, and Immortal of Immortal and Eternal of Eternal. And there is One Holy Spirit, having His subsistence from God, and being made manifest by the Son, [to wit to men:] Image of the Son,” *A Declaration of Faith* p.7

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “In the same letter, says Eusebius, he informs Xystus of the Sabellian heretics, that they were gaining ground at that time,” letter 6 ch.2 p.102. See also *From the Books Against Sabellius* ch. p.91-91

Dionysius of Alexandria (246-265 A.D.) mentions the Trinity by name twice in *Letter 4* ch.8 p.93.

Dionysius of Alexandria (246-265 A.D.) (partial) ch.1 “There certainly was not a time when God was not the Father” ch.4 “Since, therefore, the Father is eternal, the Son also is eternal, Light of Light. For where there is the begetter, there is also the offspring. And if there is no offspring, how and of what can He be the begetter? But both are, and always are.” Letter 4 *Letter to Dionysius, bishop of Rome* p.92

**Dionysius bishop of Rome** (259-269 A.D.) has an entire work *Against the Sabellians*

Dionysius bishop of Rome (259-269 A.D.) “For the doctrine of the foolish Marcion, which cuts and divides the monarchy into three elements, is assuredly of the devil, and is not of Christ’s true disciples… For these [true disciples] indeed rightly know that the Trinity is declared in the divine Scripture, but that the doctrine that there are three gods is neither taught in the Old nor the New Testament.” *Dionysius of Rome Against the Sabellians* ch.1 p.365

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) (implied) “He [Jesus] had seven stars, because the Holy Spirit of sevenfold agency was given into His power by the Father. As Peter exclaimed to the Jews: ‘Being at the right hand of God exalted, He hath shed forth this Spirit received from the Father, which ye both see and hear.’ Moreover, John the Baptist had also anticipated this, by saying to his disciples: ‘For God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto Him. The father,’ says he, ‘loveth the Son, and hath given all things into His hands.’” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the first chapter no.16 (second time) p.345.

Victorinus of Petau (martyred 304 A.D.) “*He is*, because He endures continually; *He was*, because with the Father He made all things, and has at this time taken a beginning from the Virgin;” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the first chapter no.4 p.344

**Lucian of Antioch** (c.300-311 A.D.) (implied) “clearly of the Father who is really a Father, and of a Son who is really a Son, and of the Holy Ghost who is really a Holy Ghost; these names being assigned not vaguely or idly, but indicating accurately the special personality, order, and glory of those named, so that in Personality they are three, but in harmony one.” *Creed of Lucian of Antioch* in *The Creeds of Christendom* by Philip Schaff vol.2 p.27

**Peter, Bishop of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) (implied) Jesus prayed to His Father. *Canonical Epistle 9* p.273

Peter of Alexandria (306,285-311 A.D.) (partial) “the Creator and Lord of every visible and invisible creature, the only-begotten Son, and the Word co-eternal with the Father and the Holy Spirit, and of the same substance with them, according to His divine nature, our Lord and God, Jesus Christ,…” fragment 5 p.282

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “They say, like Sabellios [Sabellius] that the Almighty Person of the Father Himself suffered.” Methodius mentions Artemas, Ebionites, Marcion, Valentinus, Elkaisites. Jesus did not only come in appearance. *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* book 8 ch.10 p.338

Methodius (270-311/312 A.D.) “For the kingdom of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost is one, even as their substance is one and their dominion one. Whence also, with one and the same adoration, we worship the one Deity in three Persons, subsisting without beginning, uncreate, without end, and to which there is no successor. For neither will the Father ever cease to be the Father, nor again the Son to be the Son and King, nor the Holy Ghost to be what in substance and personality He is. For nothing of the Trinity will suffer diminution, either in respect of eternity, or of communion, or of sovereignty. For not on that account is the Son of God called king, because for our sakes He was made man,” *Oration on Psalms* ch.5 p.397. (also *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 8 ch.10 p.338 and ch.11 p.339)

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “When he had set forth two persons, one of God the King, that is, Christ, and the other of God the Father, who after His passion raised Him from the dead,…” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.29 p.132

Lactantius(c.303-320/325 A.D.) “God, therefore, the contriver and founder of all things, as we have said in the second book, before He commenced this excellent work of the world, begat a pure and incorruptible Spirit, whom He called His Son. And although He had afterwards created by Himself innumerable other beings, whom we call angels, this first-begotten, however, was the only one whom He considered worthy of being called by the divine name, as being powerful in His Father’s excellence and majesty. But that there is a Son of the Most High God, who is possessed of the greatest power,” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.6 p.105

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) mentions Jesus Christ the only-begotten son, but not in a corporeal manner, or by excision or division as Sabellius and Valentinus taught. *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Epistle 1 ch.12 p.295

Alexander of Alexandria (313-326 A.D.) “Then the Lord, the third day after His death, rose again, thus bringing man to a knowledge of the Trinity. Then all the nations of the human race were saved by Christ. ... Moreover, He being made like to man whom He had saved, ascended to the height of heaven, to offer before His Father, not gold or silver, or precious stones, but the man whom He had formed after His own image and similitude; and the Father, raising Him to His right hand, hath seated Him upon a throne on high, and hath made Him to be judge of the peoples,...” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Epistle 5 p.302

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) (implied) speaks of Dionysius of Rome and the Sabellians. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 2 ch.6 p.25

## Or8. Dispute with Ebionites / Hebion [from Cerinthus]

(partial) Colossians 2:16-17 (Does not mention Ebionites or Judaizers by name).

***Ignatius*** *to the Magnesians* (-107/116 A.D.) ch.10 p.63 “It is absurd to profess Christ Jesus, and to Judaize. For Christianity did not embrace [believe into / merge into] Judaism, but Judaism Christianity,”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) Cerinthus believed the world was made by a power separated from God and Jesus was not born of a virgin. Ebionites use only the Gospel according to Matthew, repudiate Paul, practice circumcision, are very Judaic, and adore Jerusalem as the house of God. They believe the world was made by God. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.26.2 p.352. See also *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.33.4 p.507

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) has about half a page on Ebionites. Irenaeus says that Ebionites use only the Gospel of Matthew. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.11.7 p.428

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) has only a few sentences on Ebionites. Tertullian mentions Ebion coming from Cerinthus. However, Cerinthus believed the world was made by angels, and Ebion said the world was made by God. *Against All Heresies* ch.3 p.651 He also mentions that that the followers of Hebion follow the Jewish law in *Prescription Against Heretics* ch.33 p.259 and ch.10 p.248.

Tertullian (207-220 A.D.) “This opinion will be very suitable for Ebion, who holds Jesus to be a mere man, and nothing more than a descendant of David, and not also the Son of God; although He is, to be sure, in one respect more glorious than the prophets, inasmuch as he declares that there was an angel in Him, just as there was in Zechariah.” *On the Flesh of Christ* ch.14 p.534

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222/235/6 A.D.) has a quarter-page chapter on the Ebionaeans (Ebionites). He says they are similar to Cerinthus and Carpocrates, except the Ebionites acknowledge that the world was made by God. They live according to the law, and say Jesus was justified by living according to the law. If anyone else had completed fulfilled the law, they would have been Christ too. When they themselves can completely fulfill the law, that they can become Christs too. *The Refutation of all Heresies* book 7 ch.22 p.114.

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) discussed the Elchasaites and their teaching that Jesus was the Son of God, on astronomy, and water baptism. *Refutation of All Heresies* book 9 ch.8-12 p.131-131.

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) has about a quarter of a page on Ebionites. Origen discusses two sects of Ebionites. One acknowledges that Jesus was born of a virgin, and one denies this. *Origen Against Celsus* book 5 ch.61,65 p.570,571

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) “let us proceed to consider what he [Celsus] has to say to the converts from Judaism. He asserts that ‘they have forsaken the law of their fathers, in consequence of their minds being led captive by Jesus; that they have been most ridiculously deceived, and that they have become deserters to another name and to another mode of life.’ Here he has not observed that the Jewish converts have not deserted the law of their fathers, inasmuch as they live according to its prescriptions, receiving their very name from the poverty of the law, according to the literal acceptation of the word; for Ebion signifies ‘poor’ among the Jews, and those Jews who have received Jesus as Christ are called by the name of Ebionites. Nay, Peter himself seems to have observed for a considerable time the Jewish observances enjoined by the law of Moses, not having yet learned from Jesus to ascend from the law that is regulated according to the letter, to that which is interpreted according to the spirit,-a fact which we learn from the Acts of the Apostles.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 2 ch.1 p.429

Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) says that both Jews and Ebionites thought dietary laws still applied today. *Origen’s Commentary on Matthew* book 11 ch.12 p.440

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) mentions “Valentinus and Cerinthus and Ebion, and others of the school of Satan” *Commentary on the Apocalypse of the Blessed John* p.353

Victorinus of Petau (martyred 304 A.D.) “and no one worships the holy altar save he who confesses this faith.” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the 11th chapter ch.1 p.354

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “They say, like Sabellios [Sabellius] that the Almighty Person of the Father Himself suffered.” Methodius mentions Artemas, Ebionites, Marcion, Valentinus, Elkaisites (Elkesaios). Jesus did not only come in appearance. *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 8 ch.10 p.338.

## Or9. No spiritism or the occult

Deuteronomy 18:10-12; Galatians 5:19-21; Revelation 21:8

***Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.3 p.378 “My child, be not an observer of omens, since it leadeth the way to idolatry; neither an enchanter, nor an astrologer, nor a purifier, nor be willing to took at these things; for out of all these idolatry is engendered.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (c.160-202 A.D.) is against “amours, concupiscence, constraints of love, spells of bewitchment and all sorcery and idolatry hateful to God” *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.18

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “No other than that spirit, half devil and half angel, who, hating us because of his own separation from God, and stirred with envy for the favour God has shown us, turns your minds against us by an occult influence, moulding and instigating them to all that perversity in judgment, and that unrighteous cruelty, which we have mentioned at the beginning of our work, when entering on this discussion. For, though the whole power of demons and kindred spirits is subject to us, yet still, as ill-disposed slaves sometimes conjoin contumacy with fear, and delight to injure those of whom they at the same time stand in awe, so is it here.” *Apology* ch.27 p.41

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) is an exposer of magic, explaining how they do various deceptions. Refutation of All Heresies book 4 ch.28-42 p.35-40.

**Origen** (239-242 A.D.) says that no Christian practices divination. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 2 ch.5.2 p.52

&&&**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “”

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) has an extensive discussion on why we are to have nothing to do with demons or astrology. *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.16-18 p.64-66.

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.”) These [demons] were the inventors of astrology, and soothsaying, and divination, and those productions which are called oracles, and necromancy [communication with the dead], and the art of magic, and whatever evil practices besides these men exercise, either openly or in secret.” *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.17 p.65.

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) speaks against sorcery. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 2 ch.6 p.25

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 8 ch.19 p.274 speaks against adultery and magic.

## Teachings on Heretical Groups not on the list

**1. Against Elkasaites** (only 1 writer: Hippolytus)

**2. Against The Gnostic Monoimus** (only 1 writer: Hippolytus)

**3. Against the Naasene Gnostics** (only 1 writer: Hippolytus)

**4. Against the Gnostic Ptolemy/Ptolemaeus** (only 3 writers: Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus)

**5. Against the Gnostic Isidorus [Basilides’ pupil]** (only 2 writers: Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus)

**6. [Gnostic] Aeons are false** (only 3 writers: Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus)

**7. [Gnostic] Aletheia is false** (only 2 writers: Irenaeus, Hippolytus)

**8. [Gnostic] Barbelo is false** (only 1 writers: Irenaeus. Heretics against: Sethians)

**9. [Gnostic] Bythus is false** (only 3 writers: Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus)

**10. [Gnostic] Duodecad is false** (only 1 writer: Irenaeus)

**11. [Gnostic] Nous is false** (only 2 writers: Irenaeus, Hippolytus)

**12. [Gnostic] Sige is false** (only 3 writers: Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus)

**13. [Gnostic] Sophia is false** (only 3 writers: Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus)

**14. [Gnostic] Zoe is false** (only 2 writers: Irenaeus, Hippolytus)

**15. Against the Philistine god Dagon** (no writers. After Nicea Tyconius (after 390 A.D.)

**Divergences**

**1. Divergence: We are the true Gnostics** (1 for: many against the term. For: Clement of Alexandria)

**2. Against Tatian** [the Encratite] (5 for, 1 against. For: Irenaeus, Caius, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Hippolytus. Against: Origen)

# On PHILOSOPHY THAT DENIES ONE GOD

## Ph1. Dispute philosophy that denies one God

***Epistle to Diognetus*** ch.4 p.26 (c.130-200 A.D.) says that philosophers believe vain and silly things and called them deceivers. He was also against Greek philosophers in ch.8 p.28.

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) briefly describes the many-headed schools of Greek philosophy. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.2 p.195

After studying Plato, Justin says in his [Justin’s] stupidity he had supposed he had become wise. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.2 p.195

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) discusses the philosophers who criticize popular misconceptions of what are ignorantly called gods. *A Plea for Christians* ch.5 p.131

**Theophilus of Antioch** (161-181/188 A.D.) Epicurus and Chrysippus said either there is no god at all, or if there is, he cares only for himself. *Letter to Autolycus* book 2 ch.4 p.95

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “Then let Socrates the Athenian buffoon see to it, confessing that he knew nothing, although boastful in the testimony of a most deceitful demon; let Arcesilaus also, and Carneades, and Pyrrho, and all the multitude of the Academic philosophers, deliberate; let Simonides also for ever put off the decision of his opinion. We despise the bent brows of the philosophers, whom we know to be corrupters, and adulterers, and tyrants, and ever eloquent against their own vices.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.38 p.197

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) “Consequently the choir of philosophers are in error, who indeed most nobly confess that made was made for the contemplation of the heavens, but who worship the objects that appear in the heavens and are apprehended by sight.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.4 p.190

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) is against ascribing things to destiny. *Stromata* book 1 ch.11 p.311

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) discusses the absurdities of Greek philosophy. *To the Nations* ch.2 -3 p.130-131

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) was against all philosophy in *Refutation of All Heresies* book 10 ch.1 p.140. I found no statements by Hippolytus supporting learning truth from any human philosophy.

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) is against some Greek philosophers *Refutation of All Heresies* book 1 *Procemium* through ch.20 p.9-21

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) mentions Anaxagoras, Anaximenes, Archelaus (262-278 A.D.), Aristotle, Chrysippus, Democritus, Ecphantus, Empedocles, Epicurus, Hippo, Leucippus, Pythagoras, Thales, Heraclitus, Parmenides, Plato, Socrates, Stoics, Zeno, Brahmins/Brachmans, Celtic Druids, and Hesiod. *The Refutation of All Heresies* Contents p.9.

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) is against the “polytheism of the heathen” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.36 p.411

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) “We term, then, ‘the wisdom of this world,’ every false system of philosophy, which, according to the Scriptures, is brought to nought; *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.13 p.402

Origen (c.240 A.D.) (partial) speaks against adultery, homosexuality, and atheism. *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 12 ch.11 p.124

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (254-265 A.D.) teaches against atheists and philosophers. *Oration and Panegyric to Origen* argument 13 p.34

Gregory Thaumaturgus (240-265 A.D.) discusses belief in God versus Epicureans. *On Nature* ch 2.4 p.88

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) (implied) “Now to work, and administer, and do good, and exercise care, and such like actions, may perhaps be hard tasks for the idle, and silly, and weak, and wicked; in whose number truly Epicurus reckons himself, when he propounds such notions about the gods.” *From Two Books on Nature* ch.5 p.89

**Alexander of Lycopolis** (301 A.D.) disputes about the philosopher Zeno of Citium. *Of the Manichaeans* ch.12 p.246.

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) was against Thales, Harclitus, Aristotle, Epicurus, the Peripatetics, Chrysippus. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.52 p.428

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) (implied) “Or when did those who are called gods and heroes in the poets begin to be convicted of being merely mortal men, save since the Lord erected His conquest of death, and preserved incorruptible the body he had taken, raising it from the dead? Or when did the deceitfulness and madness of demons fall into contempt, save when the power of God, the Word, the Master of all these as well, condescending because of man’s weakness, appeared on earth? Or when did the art and the schools of magic begin to be trodden down, save when the divine manifestation of the Word took place among men? And, in a word, at what time has the wisdom of the Greeks become foolish, save when the true Wisdom of God manifested itself on earth?” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.46.2-4 p.61

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) speaks against Arcesilas, Zeno the Stoic in *The Divine Institutes* book 3 ch.6 p.73. He speaks against Anaxagoras in book 3 ch.9 p.77

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) refutes Cicero’s argument that there cannot be one God who was happy and not lonely. *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.8 p.17

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) speaks against polytheism. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 4 ch.15 p.26

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) speaks against polytheistic philosophy. *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.3-4 p.274-275

**Among heretics**

The Encratite Gnostic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) ridicules the Greek philosophers Diogenes, Aristippus, Plato, Aristotle, Heraclitus, Zeno, Pherecydes, and Pythagoras. *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.2-3 p.65-66

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 4 ch.8 p.253 speaks against many gods, like the Romans have.

## Ph2. Apologetic use of Plato’s *Timaeus*

**Justin Martyr** ( c.138-165 A.D.) “Is what you say, then, of a like nature with that which Plato in *Timaeus* hints about the world, when he says that it is indeed subject to decay, inasmuch as it has been created, but that it will neither be dissolved nor meet with the fate of death on account of the will of God? Does it seem to you the very same can be said of the soul, and generally of all things?” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.5 p.197

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) says that Plato in his *Timaeus* says God is the parent of this world. *Octavius of Minucius Felix* 210 A.D. ch.19 p.184

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) discusses by name Plato’s *Timaeus*. *Stromata* book 5 ch.12 p.463.

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) quotes as truth from Plato’s *Timaeus*. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.6 p.191

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) appeals positively to Plato’s *Timaeus*. *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.22 p.282

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) mentions that the Greeks can learn from Plato of the immortality of the soul. Plato taught this in *Timaeus*. *Against Plato, on the Cause of the Universe* ch.2 p.222

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) “Plato, in the *Timaeus*, altogether derives his impressions” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 6 ch.16 p.81

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “Plato is guilty of boasting, when in the *Timaeus* he puts the following language in the month of Zeus: ‘Gods of gods, whose creator and father I am,’ and so on. And if any one will defend such language on account of the meaning which is conveyed under the name of Zeus, thus speaking in the dialogue of Plato, why should not he who investigates the meaning of the words of the Son of God, or those of the Creator (in the prophets), express a profounder meaning than any conveyed by the words of Zeus in the *Timaeus*?” *Origen Against Celsus* book 6 ch.10 p.577

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) mentions many thoughts worthy of God in Plato’s *Timaeus*. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.36 p.447

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) uses Plato’s Timaeus frequently to prove truth. One place is *Preparation for the Gospel* book 2 ch.6 p.20

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) uses the Plato’s *Timaeus* in preaching to Greeks. *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.26 p.283

pseudo-Justin Martyr (168-200 A.D.) “Again, Plato, in *Timaeus*,” *On the Sole Government of God* ch.4 p.291

## Ph3. Against Pythagoras

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “when we listen to such an argument as this: that the soul is immortal, but the body mortal, and incapable of being revived? For this we used to hear from Pythagoras and Plato, even before we learned the truth.” *On the Resurrection* ch.10 p.298-299

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188) “And Plato, who spoke so much of the unity of God and of the soul of man, asserting that the soul is immortal, is not he himself afterwards found, inconsistently with himself, to maintain that some souls pass into other men, and that others take their departure into irrational animals? How can his doctrine fail to seem dreadful and monstrous-to those at least who have any judgment-that he who was once a man shall afterwards be a wolf, or a dog, or an ass, or some other irrational brute? Pythagoras, too, is found venting similar nonsense, besides his demolishing providence.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.7 p.113

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Marcus boasts of such views as if they were his own, and as if he were seen to have discovered something more novel than others, while he simply sets forth the Tetrad of Pythagoras as the originating principle and mother of all things.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.14.6 p.378

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) says that the Stoics, Plato, Pythagoras, Aristotle and others incorrectly say that matter was among the first principles. *Stromata* book 5 ch.14 p.465

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Finding a simple revelation of God, they proceeded to dispute about Him, not as He had revealed to them, but turned aside to debate about His properties, His nature, His abode. Some assert Him to be incorporeal; others maintain He has a body,-the Platonists teaching the one doctrine, and the Stoics the other. Some think that He is composed of atoms, others of numbers: such are the different views of Epicurus and Pythagoras.” *Apology* ch.47 p.52

Tertullian (198-240 A.D.) speaks against Pythagoras’ view of migration of souls and against reincarnation in general. *Treatise on the Soul* ch.29 p.209-210

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “Zamolxis [follower of Pythagoras], who also is said to have taught the Celtic Druids to cultivate the philosophy of Pythagoras. And they assert that Pythagoras learned from the Egyptians his system of numbers and measures; and I being struck by the plausible, fanciful, and not easily revealed wisdom of the priests, he himself likewise, in imitation of them, enjoined silence, and made his disciples lead a solitary life in underground chapels.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 1 ch.2 p.13

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “The disciples of Pythagoras, too, and of Plato, although they appear to hold the incorruptibility of the world, yet fall into similar errors.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 5 ch.21 p.552

&&&**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) ““

Anatolius (270-280 A.D.) (partial, not against) “that Pythagoras was not the only one who duly honoured arithmetic, but that his best known disciples did so too, being wont to say that ‘all things fit number.’” *Fragments of the Books on Arithmetic* p.153

**Alexander of Lycopolis** (301 A.D.) “For if he thinks this to be God, which is good, and wishes to conceive of something opposite to Him, why does he not, as some of the Pythagoreans, set evil over against Him?” *Of the Manichaeans* ch.6 p.243

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) speaks against Pythagoras, Plato, and Democritus in *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.9-10 p.437

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Other arguments of the Epicurean system are opposed to Pythagoras, who contends that souls migrate from bodies worn out with old age and death, and gain admission into those which are new and recently born; and that the same souls are always reproduced at one time in a man, at another time in a sheep, at another in a wild beast, at another in a bird; and that they are immortal on this account, because they often change their abodes, consisting of various and dissimilar bodies. And this opinion of a senseless man, since it is ridiculous and more worthy of a stage-player than of a school of philosophy, ought not even to have been refuted seriously; for he who does this appears to be afraid lest any one should believe it.” *The Divine Institutes* book 7 ch.12 p.210

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) (partial, not against) mentions Pythagoras in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 10 ch.4 p.11

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) speaks against Pythagoras and Epicurus. *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.4 p.274

**Among heretics**

**Tatian** (c.172 A.D.)

## Ph4. Errors of Aristotle

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “The same thing led Aristotle to say that the things below the heaven are not under the care of Providence, although the eternal providence of God concerns itself equally with us below,” *A Plea for Christians* ch.25 p.142

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “Aristotle varies, but nevertheless assigns a unity of power: for at one time he says that Mind, at another the World, is God; at another time he sets God above the world.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.19 p.184

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “But the philosophers, the Stoics, and Plato, and Pythagoras, nay more, Aristotle the Peripatetic, suppose the existence of matter among the first principles; and not one first principle.” *Stromata* book 5 ch.14 p.465

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) (partial) speaks against Aristotle’s pupil the Eresian Theophrastus. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.5 p.191

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “If the comparison be made in regard to trustworthiness, Anaxagoras denied the deposit of his enemies: the Christian is noted for his fidelity even among those who are not of his religion. If the matter of sincerity is to be brought to trial, Aristotle basely thrust his friend Hermias from his place: the Christian does no harm even to his foe. With equal baseness does Aristotle play the sycophant to Alexander, instead of exercising to keep him in the right way,” *Apology* ch.46 p.51

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “But throughout these he aims at rendering the habits of his hearers excellent from being worthless. When, therefore, Basilides has been discovered, not in spirit alone, but also in the actual expressions and names, transferring the tenets of Aristotle into our evangelical and saving doctrine, what remains, but that, by restoring what he has appropriated from others, we should prove to the disciples of this (heretic) that Christ will in no wise profit them, inasmuch as they are heathenish?” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 7 ch.7 p.103

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “And now we maintain that the nature of names is not, as Aristotle supposes, an enactment of those who impose them.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 5 ch.45 p.563

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) is against Thales, Heraclitus, Aristotle, Epicurus, the Peripatetics, and other philosophers. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.52 p.428

**Lactantius** (c.303-320.325 A.D.) “Aristotle, although he is at variance with himself, and both utters and holds sentiments opposed to one another, yet upon the whole bears witness that one Mind presides over the universe.” *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.5 p.14

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “For the Stoics attribute the formation of animals to divine skill. But Aristotle freed himself from labour and trouble, by saying that the world always existed, and therefore that the human race, and the other things which are in it, had no beginning, but always had been, and always would be. But when we see that each animal separately, which had no previous existence, begins to exist, and ceases to exist, it is necessary that the whole race must at some time have begun to exist, and must cease at some time because it had a beginning.” *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.7 p.50

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “But, in truth, Aristotle wandered far from reason, who connected honour with virtue, as though it were possible for virtue at any time to be separated from honour, or to be united with baseness.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.33 p.234

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) speaks against Aristotle’s teaching in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 4 ch.2 p.6

**Among corrupt and spurious works**

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) “But possibly those who are unwilling to give up the ancient and inveterate error, maintain that they have received the doctrine of their religion not from those who have now been mentioned, but from those who are esteemed among them as the most renowned and finished philosophers, Plato and Aristotle. For these, they say, have learned the perfect and true religion. But I would be glad to ask, first of all, from those who say so, from whom they say that these men have learned this knowledge; for it is impossible that men who have not learned these so great and divine matters from some who knew them, should either themselves know them, or be able correctly to teach others; and, in the second place, I think we ought to examine the opinions even of these sages. For we shall see whether each of these does not manifestly contradict the other. But if we find that even they do not agree with each other, I think it is easy to see clearly that they too are ignorant.” *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.5 p.275

**Among heretics**

The Encratite heretic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “And Aristotle, who absurdly placed a limit to Providence and made happiness to consist in the things which give pleasure, quite contrary to his duty as a preceptor flattered Alexander, forgetful that he was but a youth;” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.2 p.65

## Ph5. Against Stoics

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) While the Stoics say fate, God made the angels and all men, with free will. *Second Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.7 p.190

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “we shall be, unawares to ourselves putting perishable and fluctuating and changeable matter on an equality with the uncreated, and eternal, and ever self-accordant God. Zeus is, according to the Stoics, the fervid part of nature; Hera is the air -the very name, if it be joined to itself, signifying this; Poseidon is what is drunk (water). But these things are by different persons explained of natural objects in different ways.” *A Plea for Christians* ch.22 p.140

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “Why, then, do Epicurus and the Stoics teach incest and sodomy, with which doctrines they have filled libraries, so that from boyhood this lawless intercourse is learned? And why should I further spend time on them, since even of those they call gods they relate similar things?” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.6 p.112

Minucius Felix (c.210 A.D.) (partial) mentions views of the stoics but does not say anything against them. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.34 p.194

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) says that the Stoics, Plato, Pythagoras, Aristotle and others incorrectly say that matter was among the first principles. *Stromata* book 5 ch.14 p.465 See also *Stromata* book 1 ch.11 p.311-312

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) speaks against Stoics of the porch. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.5 p.191

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “how is it that some assign generation to the elements, which they hold to be gods, when the Stoics deny that anything can be born of a god?” *To the Nations* ch.3 p.111

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “Finding a simple revelation of God, they proceeded to dispute about Him, not as He had revealed to them, but turned aside to debate about His properties, His nature, His abode. Some assert Him to be incorporeal; others maintain He has a body,-the Platonists teaching the one doctrine, and the Stoics the other. Some think that He is composed of atoms, others of numbers: such are the different views of Epicurus and Pythagoras.” *Apology* ch.47 p.52

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “Among logicians is Aristotle, pupil of Plato. He systematized the art of dialectics. Among the Stoic (logicians) were Chrysippus (and) Zeno. Epicurus, however, advanced an opinion almost contrary to all philosophers. Pyrrho was an Academic; this (speculator) taught the incomprehensibility of everything. The Brahmins among the Indians, and the Druids among the Celts, and Hesiod (devoted themselves to philosophic pursuits). … -Motives for Undertaking the Refutation; Exposure of the Ancient Mysteries; Plan of the Work; Completeness of the Refutation; Value of the Treatise to Future Ages. We must not overlook any figment devised by those denominated philosophers among the Greeks.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 1 Contents p.9

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “For even the Stoics were unable distinctly to comprehend the natural idea of God, as of a being altogether incorruptible and simple, and uncompounded and indivisible. And with respect to His having descended among men, He was ‘previously in the form of God;’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 4 ch.14 p.502

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) speaks against Arcesilas, Zeno the Stoic in *The Divine Institutes* book 3 ch.6 p.73. He speaks against Anaxagoras in book 3 ch.9 p.77

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “But what wonder is it if uncivilized or ignorant men err, since even philosophers of the Stoic sect are of the same opinion, so as to judge that all the heavenly bodies which have motion are to be reckoned in the number of gods; inasmuch as the Stoic Lucilius thus speaks in Cicero:” *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.5 p.47

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) speaks against the teachings of the stoics. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.26 p.231; ch.38 p.237

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) &&& *Preparation for the Gospel* book &&&

**Among heretics**

**Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) discusses the resurrection of bodies, in contrast to the Stoics who believed in cycles. *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.6 p.67

## Ph6. Dispute against Epicureans

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “And Plato says that all things are made from matter by God, and according to His design; but Epicurus and his followers say that all things are made from the atom and the void by some kind of self-regulating action of the natural movement of the bodies; and the Stoics, that all are made of the four elements, God pervading them. But while there is such discrepancy among them, there are some doctrines acknowledged by them all in common, one of which is that neither can anything be produced from what is not in being, nor anything be destroyed or dissolved into what has not any being, and that the elements exist indestructible out of which all things are generated.” *On the Resurrection* ch.6 p.296

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “Why, then, do Epicurus and the Stoics teach incest and sodomy, with which doctrines they have filled libraries, so that from boyhood this lawless intercourse is learned?” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.6 p.112

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “but they dream of a non-existent being above Him, that they may be regarded as having found out the great God, whom nobody, [they hold, ] can recognise holding communication with the human race, or as directing mundane matters: that is to say, they find out the god of Epicurus, who does nothing either for himself or others; that is, he exercises no providence at all.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.24.2 p.459

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “Moreover, Epicurus, the man who feigns either those gods or none at all, still places above all, Nature.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.19 p.184

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “And the introduction of ‘chance’ was hence suggested by Epirucus, who misapprehended the statement, ‘Vanity of vanities, and all is vanity.’” *Stromata* book 5 ch.14 p.465

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) “Epicurus alone I shall gladly forget, who carries impiety to its full length, and thinks that God takes no charge of the world. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.5 p.191.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Finding a simple revelation of God, they proceeded to dispute about Him, not as He had revealed to them, but turned aside to debate about His properties, His nature, His abode. Some assert Him to be incorporeal; others maintain He has a body,-the Platonists teaching the one doctrine, and the Stoics the other. Some think that He is composed of atoms, others of numbers: such are the different views of Epicurus and Pythagoras.” *Apology* ch.47 p.52

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) in describing the error of the Epicureans says that they denied providence or fate. *The Refutation of All Heresies* book 1 ch.19 p.21

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “whereas the gods of Epicurus, being composed of atoms, and, so far as their structure is concerned, capable of dissolution, endeavour to throw off the atoms which contain the elements of destruction.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 4 ch.14 p.502

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) discusses belief in God versus Epicureans. *On Nature* ch 2.4 p.88

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “Now to work, and administer, and do good, and exercise care, and such like actions, may perhaps be hard tasks for the idle, and silly, and weak, and wicked; in whose number truly Epicurus reckons himself, when he propounds such notions about the gods.” *From Two Books on Nature* ch.5 p.89

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) speaks against Epicurus. *Dialogue on the True Faith* 2nd part 868a 19 p.101

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “But again, if souls draw near to the gates of death, as is laid down in the doctrine of Epicurus, in this case, too, there is no sufficient reason why philosophy should be sought out, even if it is true that by it souls are cleansed and made pure from all uncleanness. For if they all die, and even in the body the feeling characteristic of life perishes, and is lost; it is not only a very great mistake, but *shows* stupid blindness, to curb innate desires, to restrict your mode of life within narrow limits, not yield to your inclinations, and do what our passions have demanded and urged, since no rewards await you for so great toil when the day of death comes, and you shall be freed from the bonds of the body.” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.30 p.445-446

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) (implied) says that some such as Epicureans wrongly think “everything had its purpose in itself”. Others such as Plato wrongly think that God is a “mechanic” who could only make things out of pre-existing matter. However, God created the matter too, for God made all things and He made out of nothing. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.2 p.36-37

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Do we destroy them [false gods] in a worse manner than the Epicureans, who admit the existence of gods, but deny that they regard anything, and say that they are neither angry nor are influenced by favour? By which words they plainly persuade men that they are not to be worshipped at all, inasmuch as they neither regard their worshippers, nor are angry with those who do not worship them. Moreover, when they argue against fears, they endeavour to effect nothing else than that no one should fear the gods. And yet these things are willingly heard by men, and discussed with impunity.” *The Divine Institutes* book 5 ch.21 p.158

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) refutes Epicurus. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.1 p.224

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) speaks against Epicureans in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 2 ch.2 p.6-7

**Among spurious books**

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) speaks against Pythagoras and Epicurus. *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.4 p.274

## Ph7. Against Cynic philosophy

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “But it is impossible for a Cynic, who makes indifference his end, to know any good but indifference.” *Second Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.3 p.189

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “Or what good did their tragedies do to Euripides and Sophocles, or the other tragedians? Or their comedies to Menander and Aristophanes, and the other comedians? Or their histories to Herodotus and Thucydides? Or the shrines and the pillars of Hercules to Pythagoras, or the Cynic philosophy to Diogenes? What good did it do Epicurus to maintain that there is no providence; or Empedocles to teach atheism; or Socrates to swear by the dog, and the goose, and the plane-tree, and Aesculapius struck by lightning, and the demons whom he invoked? And why did he willingly die? What reward, or of what kind, did he expect to receive after death? What did Plato’s system of culture profit him?” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.2 p.111

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “For, since they are destitute of all those [virtues] which have been mentioned, they will [of necessity] pass into the destruction of fire. These men, while they boast of Jesus as being their Master, do in fact emulate the philosophy of Epicurus and the indifference of the Cynics,” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.32.2 p.408

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) (partial, mentions them but does not say they are wrong) “Antisthenes, after being a pupil of Socrates, introduced the Cynic philosophy; and Plato withdrew to the Academy. Aristotle, after studying philosophy under Plato, withdrew to the Lyceum, and founded the Peripatetic sect.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.14 p.314

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “Others, however, styling themselves Encratites, acknowledge some things concerning God and Christ in like manner with the Church. In respect, however, of their mode of life, they pass their days inflated with pride. They suppose, that by meats they magnify themselves, while abstaining from animal food, (and) being water-drinkers, and forbidding to marry, and devoting themselves during the remainder of life to habits of asceticism. But persons of this description are estimated Cynics rather than Christians, inasmuch as they do not attend unto the words spoken against them through the Apostle Paul.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 8 ch.13 p.124

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) (partial, mentions cynic philosophy but does not criticize it.) “Long ago, indeed, that Greek philosopher who preferred a state of poverty, and who exhibited the pattern of a happy life, showing that he was not excluded from happiness although he was possessed of nothing, termed himself a Cynic; while these impious wretches, as not being human beings, whose enemy the serpent is, but as being serpents, pride themselves upon being called Ophites from the serpent,” *Origen Against Celsus* book 6 ch.28 p.586

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “For why should I speak of the Cynics, who practised licentiousness in public? What wonder if they derived their name and title from dogs, since they also imitated their life? Therefore there is no instruction of virtue in this sect, since even those who enjoin more honourable things either themselves do not practise what they advise; or if they do (which rarely happens), it is not the system which leads them to that which is right, but nature which often impels even the unlearned to praise.” *The Divine Institutes* book 3 ch.15 p.84

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) speaks against Cynic philosophy in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 4 ch.2 p.6

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) mentions that Justin Martyr refuted cynics. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 4 ch.16.1-2 p.193

## Ph8. Against Pyrrho the philosopher

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “Then let Socrates the Athenian buffoon see to it, confessing that he knew nothing, although boastful in the testimony of a most deceitful demon; let Arcesilaus also, and Carneades, and Pyrrho, and all the multitude of the Academic philosophers, deliberate; let Simonides also for ever put off the decision of his opinion. We despise the bent brows of the philosophers, whom we know to be corrupters, and adulterers, and tyrants, and ever eloquent against their own vices.” *Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.38 p.197

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “They accordingly despise and laugh at one another. And it happens that the same thought is held in the highest estimation by some, and by others condemned for insanity. And, indeed, we have learned that voluptuousness, which is to be attributed to the Gentiles, is one thing; and wrangling, which is preferred among the heretical sects, is another; and joy, which is to be appropriated to the Church, another; and delight, which is to be assigned to the true Gnostic, another. And as, if one devote himself to Ischomachus, he will make him a farmer; and to Lampis, a mariner; and to Charidemus, a military commander; and to Simon, an equestrian; and to Perdices, a trader; and to Crobytus, a cook; and to Archelaus, a dancer; and to Homer, a poet; and to Pyrrho, a wrangler; and to Demosthenes, an orator; and to Chrysippus, a dialectician; and to Aristotle, a naturalist; and to Plato, a philosopher: so he who listens to the Lord, and follows the prophecy given by Him, will be formed perfectly in the likeness of the teacher-made a god going about in flesh.” *Stromata* book 7 ch.16 p.553

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “And another opinion of the philosophers was called that of the Academics, on account of those holding their discussions in the Academy, of whom the founder Pyrrho, from whom they were called Pyrrhonean philosophers, first introduced the notion of the incomprehensibility of all things, so as to (be ready to) attempt an argument on either side of a question, but not to assert anything for certain; for that there is nothing of things intelligible or sensible true, but that they appear to men to be so; and that all substance is in a state of flux and change, and never continues in the same (condition). Some followers, then, of the Academics say that one ought not to declare an opinion on the principle of anything, but simply making the attempt to give it up; whereas others subjoined the formulary ‘not rather’ (this than that), saying that the fire is not rather fire than anything else. But they did not declare what this is, but what sort it is.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 1 ch.20 p.21

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Herillus the Pyrrhonist made knowledge the chief good. This indeed belongs to man, and to the soul only, but it may happen to him without virtue. For he is not to be considered happy who has either learnt anything by hearing, or has gained the knowledge of it by a little reading; nor is it a definition of the chief good, because there may be a knowledge either of bad things, or at any rate of things that are useless. And if it is the knowledge of good and useful things which you have acquired by labour, nevertheless it is not the chief good, because knowledge is not sought on its own account, but on account of something else.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.33 p.234-235

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) “moreover of Pyrrho, and those who introduce the ‘suspension of judgement,’ and all the rest, whose opinions have been refuted in the preceding discourse, we have seen that they stand in opposition alike to the doctrines of the Hebrews and of Plato and to the truth itself, and moreover have received their refutation by means of their own weapons.” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 15 preface p.4

## Ph9. Socrates even said he had a demon

**Minucius Felix** (c.210 A.D.) “The poets know that those spirits are demons; the philosophers discourse of them; Socrates knew it, who, at the nod and decision of a demon that was at his side, either declined or undertook affairs.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.26 p.189

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “For the demon of Socrates was a cause, not by not preventing, but by exhorting, even if (strictly speaking) he did not exhort.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.17 p.319

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “These demons the poets also acknowledge, and Socrates declared that he was instructed and ruled at the will of a demon; and thence the Magi have a power either for mischief or for mockery,” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 6 ch.6 p.467

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “For Plato attempted even to explain their natures in his ‘Banquet;’ and Socrates said that there was a demon continually about him, who had become attached to him when a boy, by whose will and direction his life was guided.” *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.15 p.64

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) mentions that Socrates said he had a demon. “In fine, Socrates used to give out that he had a demon as the guardian and director of his life from his first childhood and that he could do nothing without his assent and command.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.28 p.232

## Ph10. We are not ruled by fate

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “But lest some suppose, from what has been said by us, that we say that whatever happens, happens by a fatal necessity, because it is foretold as known beforehand, this too we explain. We have learned from the prophets, and we hold it to be true, that punishments, and chastisements, and good rewards, are rendered according to the merit of each man’s actions. Since if it be not so, but all things happen by fate, neither is anything at all in our own power. For if it be fated that this man, e.g., be good, and this other evil, neither is the former meritorious nor the latter to be blamed. And again, unless the human race have the power of avoiding evil and choosing good by free choice, they are not accountable for their actions, of whatever kind they be. But that it is by free choice they both walk uprightly and stumble, we thus demonstrate.” … Unlike man, trees and quadrupeds cannot act by choice. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.43 p.177

Justin Martyr (c.150 A.D.) “But neither do we affirm that it is by fate that men do what they do, or suffer what they suffer, but that each man by free choice acts rightly or sins; and that it is by the influence of the wicked demons that earnest men, such as Socrates and the like, suffer persecution and are in bonds, while Sardanapalus, Epicurus, and the like, seem to be blessed in abundance and glory. The Stoics, not observing this, maintained that all things take place according to the necessity of fate. But since God in the beginning made the race of angels and men with free-will, they will justly suffer in eternal fire the punishment of whatever sins they have committed.” *Second Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.7 p.190

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) says we are not ruled by fate. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.36 p.195

**Tertullian** (c.203 A.D.) “Now these are the supreme powers: according to our (Christian) notions, they are the Lord God and His adversary the devil; but according to men’s general opinion about providence, they are fate and necessity; and about fortune, it is man’s freedom of will.” *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.20 p.201

&&&**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “For if, as is evident, and as is agreed by all, infirmities and bodily sufferings, if deafness, deformity, and dumbness, if shrivelling of the sinews and the loss of sight happen to us, and are brought on us by the decrees of fate and if Christ alone has corrected this, has restored and cared man, it is clearer than the sun himself that He was more powerful than the fates are when He has loosened and overpowered those things which were bound with everlasting knots, and fixed by unalterable necessity.” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.47 p.&&&

**Methodius of Olympas** (270-311/312 A.D.) “But virtue is lovable and praiseworthy, God having appointed a law for the punishment of the wicked. Therefore there is no Fate.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 8 ch.16 p.343

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “‘The only protection,’ he says, ‘is piety, for over a pious man neither evil demon nor fate has any power: for God rescues the pious man from all evil; for the one and only good thing among men is piety.’” *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.16 p.65

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) argues why the fatalism of some stoics overthrows laws and piety. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 6 ch.6 p.10. See also ibid book 6 ch.7 p.27.

**Among heretics**

The Encratite Gnostic **Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “For, having shown them a plan of the position of the stars, like dice-players, they introduced Fate, a flagrant injustice. For the judge and the judged are made so by Fate; the murderers and the murdered, the wealthy and the needy, are the offspring of the same Fate; and every nativity is regarded as a theatrical entertainment by those beings of whom Homer says,” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.8 p.68

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 9 ch.27 p.189 and book 9 ch.30 p.190 says that fate is not determined by birth or other things.. Aee also ibid book 8 ch.2-3 p.165

**Bardaisan/Bardesan** (154-224/232 A.D.) “Fate does not compel the Seres to commit murder against their wish, nor the Brahmans to eat flesh; nor does it hinder the Persians from taking *as wives* their daughters and their sisters, nor the Hindoos from being burnt, nor the Medes from being devoured by dogs, nor the Parthians from taking many wives, nor among the Britons many men from taking one *and the same* wife, nor the Edessaeans from cultivating chastity, nor the Greeks from practising gymnastics, ..., nor the Romans from perpetually seizing upon *other* countries, nor the *men of the* Gauls from marrying one another; nor *does it compel* the Amazons to rear the males; nor does his Nativity compel any man within the circumference of the *whole* world to cultivate the art of the Muses; but, as I have *already* said, in every country and in every nation all men avail themselves of the freedom of their nature in any way they choose, and, by reason of the body with which they are clothed, do service to Fate and to Nature, sometimes as they wish, and at other times as they do not wish.” *The Book of Laws of Diverse Countries* p.727

**Among others**

**Epicurus**, founder of Epicureanism, said there was not such thing as fate according to Hippolytus (222-235/236 A.D.) “Acknowledging the Deity to be eternal and incorruptible, he [Epicurus] says that God has providential care for nothing, and that there is no such thing at all as providence or fate, but that all things are made by chance.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 1 ch.19 p.21

## Ph11. [Stoic] Chrysippus was wrong on some points

**Theophilus of Antioch** (161-181/188 A.D.) “Some of the philosophers of the Porch say that there is no God at all; or, if there is, they say that He cares for none but Himself; and these views the folly of Epicurus and Chrysippus has set forth at large.” *Letter to Autolycus* book 2 ch.4 p.95

Theophilus of Antioch (161-181/188 A.D.) “And Chrysippus, who talked a deal of nonsense, is he not found publishing that Juno had the foulest intercourse with Jupiter?” *Theophilus to Autolycus* part 3 ch.8 p.113

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “Chrysippus says almost the same. He believes that a divine force, a rational nature, and sometimes the world, and a fatal necessity, is God; and he follows the example of Zeno in his physiological interpretation of the poems of Hesiod, of Homer, and of Orpheus.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.19 p.&&&

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “The disciple of Crates was Zeno of Citium, the founder of the Stoic sect. He was succeeded by Cleanthes; and the latter by Chrysippus, and others after him.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.14 p.314

+ Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) says that the Stoics, Plato, Pythagoras, Aristotle and others incorrectly say that matter was among the first principles. *Stromata* book 5 ch.14 p.465 See also *Stromata* book 1 ch.11 p.311-312

+ Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) speaks against Stoics of the porch. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.5 p.191

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) (partial) “They accordingly despise and laugh at one another. And it happens that the same thought is held in the highest estimation by some, and by others condemned for insanity. And, indeed, we have learned that voluptuousness, which is to be attributed to the Gentiles, is one thing; and wrangling, which is preferred among the heretical sects, is another; and joy, which is to be appropriated to the Church, another; and delight, which is to be assigned to the true Gnostic, another. And as, if one devote himself to Ischomachus, he will make him a farmer; and to Lampis, a mariner; and to Charidemus, a military commander; and to Simon, an equestrian; and to Perdices, a trader; and to Crobytus, a cook; and to Archelaus, a dancer; and to Homer, a poet; and to Pyrrho, a wrangler; and to Demosthenes, an orator; and to Chrysippus, a dialectician; and to Aristotle, a naturalist; and to Plato, a philosopher: so he who listens to the Lord, and follows the prophecy given by Him, will be formed perfectly in the likeness of the teacher-made a god going about in flesh.” *Stromata* book 7 ch.16 p.553

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “Among logicians is Aristotle, pupil of Plato. He systematized the art of dialectics. Among the Stoic (logicians) were Chrysippus (and) Zeno. Epicurus, however, advanced an opinion almost contrary to all philosophers. Pyrrho was an Academic; this (speculator) taught the incomprehensibility of everything. The Brahmins among the Indians, and the Druids among the Celts, and Hesiod (devoted themselves to philosophic pursuits) *Refutation of All Heresies* book 1 contents p.9

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) mentions Anaxagoras, Anaximenes, Archelaus (262-278 A.D.), Aristotle, Chrysippus, Democritus, Ecphantus, Empedocles, Epicurus, Hippo, Leucippus, Pythagoras, Thales, Heraclitus, Parmenides, Plato, Socrates, Stoics, Zeno, Brahmins/Brachmans, Celtic Druids, Hesiod. *The Refutation of All Heresies* Contents p.9.

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “(Take the instance) where Chrysippus of Soli, who is considered to be an ornament of the Stoic sect, on account of his numerous and learned treatises, explains a picture at Samos, in which Juno was represented as committing unspeakable abominations with Jupiter. This reverend philosopher says in his treatises, that matter receives the spermatic words of the god, and retains them within herself, in order to ornament the universe. For in the picture at Samos Juno represents matter, and Jupiter god. Now it is on account of these, and of countless other similar fables, that we would not even in word call the God of all things Jupiter, or the sun Apollo, or the moon Diana.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 4 ch.48 p.519

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) was against Thales, Harclitus, Aristotle, Epicurus, the Peripatetics, Chrysippus. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.52 p.428

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “contrary, imprudence? On the same principle, he [the Greek philosopher Chrysippus] says, why do the foolish men not” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.29 p.233

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Chrysippus, a man of active mind, saw this when discussing the subject of providence, and charges those with folly who think that good is caused by God, but say that evil is not thus caused.” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.29 p.&&&

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) discusses the fatalism of Chrysippus in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 6 ch.6 p.19. See also ibid book 4 ch.2 p.6.

## Teachings on refuting other groups not on the list

**1. God provoked the Jews to jealousy** (only 2 writers: Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria)

**2. The Essenes** (only 3 writers: Hegesippus, Hippolytus, Eusebius describes, but not for or against. *Prep. For the Gospel* book 8 ch.11 p.23-25)

**3. Against the heretic Artemas** (only 3 writers: Malchion, Methodius, Alexander of Alexandria)

**4. Against Callistus the heretic, bishop of Rome** (only 1 writer: Hippolytus)

**5. The heretic Miltiades** (only 3 writers: Caius, Tertullian, Asterius Urbanus)

**6. Against Manes / the Manichaeans** (only 1 writer: Alexander of Lycopolis. After Nicea Hegemonius)

**7. Against the idol Moloch** (only 3 writers: Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Origen)

**8. Mention of Buddha** (only 1 writer: Clement of Alexandria)

**9. Against Isidorus [Basilides’ pupil)** (only 2 writers: Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus)

**10. Quoting the Greek poet Menander positively** (only 2 writers: Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria. After Nicea: Eusebius)

**11. Against the Ethiopian religion** (only 2 writers: Origen, Athanasius)

**Against the Elkesaites/Elchasaites** (not analyzed yet) (So far two writers: Hippolytus, Methodius)

**Mention of Arians** (not analyzed yet) (So far 2 writers: Lactantius, Alexander of Alexandria)

**Divergences**

**1. Divergence: Against Montanists** (Many for two against. Against: Tertullian, Theodotus the probable Montanist, if he was a Montanist)

**2. Divergence: Against the Montanist Themison** (2 against Themison: Apollonius of Ephesus, Asterius Urbanus. Presumably Montanists such as Tertullian were for Themison, though he is not elsewhere mentioned.)

**3. Divergence: Against Novatianists** (Many for: 1 against: Against: Novatian)

**4. Divergence: Against Plato** (Some for some against. For: many. Against: Hippolytus)

**5. Divergence: For the Sibyl** (some for some against)

# MANY Christians would Agree

## ma1. God is timeless or before/ beyond time

[References saying that God is eternal, or always existed are not included here, if they do not specifically say God is outside of time.]

Titus 1:2 (before the beginning of time)

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) Jesus Christ was with the Father before the beginning of time. *Letter of Ignatius to the Magnesians* ch.6 p.61

Ignatius (100-117 A.D.) says that God was before time, yet appeared in time. See also that God is above all time. *Letter to Polycarp* ch.3 p.99

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “the most ancient philosophy and primeval prophecy; and among intellectual ideas, what is oldest in origin, the timeless and unoriginated First Principle, and Beginning of existence”-the Son-from whom we are to learn the remoter Cause, the Father, of the universe, the most ancient and the most beneficent of all;” *Stromata* book 7 ch.1 (=ch.50 on-line) *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.3 p.523

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) calls the Father the timeless and unoriginated First Principle *Stromata* book 7 ch.1 (=ch.50 on-line) *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.3 p.523

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) (partial) says that God’s “power working without beginning of time.” *Comments on the Second Epistle of John* (fragment 1) p.576

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “The absence of respect of persons in God is not then in time, but from eternity.” *Stromata* book 6 ch.8 p.495

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) says that God in His goodness created time. “‘Let them [the stars and luminaries] be,’ says God, ‘for seasons, and for days, and years.’ Previous, then, to this temporal course, (the goodness) which created time had not time; nor before that beginning which the same goodness originated, had it a beginning.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 2 ch.3 p.299. See also ibid book 1 ch.8 p.276.

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) (implied) “Who, then, that is taught in the law of God, who that is filled with the Holy Spirit, does not see in his heart, that on the same day on which the dragon seduced Eve, the angel Gabriel brought the glad tidings to the Virgin Mary; that on the same day the Holy Spirit overflowed the Virgin Mary, on which He made light; that on that day He was incarnate in flesh, in which He made the land and water; that on the same day He was put to the breast, on which He made the stars; that on the same day He was circumcised, on which the land and water brought forth their offspring; that on the same day He was incarnated, on which He formed man out of the ground; that on the same day Christ was born, on which He formed man; that on that day He suffered, on which Adam fell; that on the same day He rose again from the dead, on which He created light?” *On the Creation of the World* ch.343

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) “But if it be true that ‘all things were made by Him,’ it is established that both every age and time and all space, and that “when” in which the “was not” is found, was made by Him. And is it not absurd that He who fashioned the times and the ages and the seasons, in which that ‘was not’ is mixed up, to say of Him, that He at some time was not? For it is devoid of sense, and a mark of great ignorance, to affirm that He who is the cause of everything is posterior to the origin of that thing.” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* ch.6 p.293

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) claims that Plato got the idea that time was created along with the heavens from Moses. *Justins Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.33 p.287

## ma2. Jesus appeared on earth prior to His birth

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) writes how God appeared to Moses in the flame out of the bush. Justin believed it specifically was not the Father that appeared, but Christ. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.63 p.184.

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) says that Jesus was one of the three who appeared to Abraham. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.56 p.223

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “The God and Father, indeed, of all cannot be contained, and is not found in a place, for there is no place of His rest; but His Word, through whom He made all things, being His power and His wisdom, assuming the person of the Father and Lord of all, went to the garden in the person of God, and conversed with Adam.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.22 p.103

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “But His Word [Christ],… For at one time He [Christ] was seen with those who were around Ananias, Azarias, Misael, as present with them in the furnace of fire, in the burning, and preserving them from [the effects of] fire: ‘And the appearance of the fourth,’ it is said, ‘was like to the Son of God.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.20.11 p.491

Irenaeus of Lyons(182-188 A.D.) says the “Word” spoke to Moses through the bush, meaning Jesus. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.29.2 p.502

Irenaeus of Lyons (170-212 A.D.) *Demonstration of the Apostolic Teaching* teaches that all of the to Theophanies were appearances of Christ. It was Christ, “the Word of God,” who walked with Adam in the Garden of Eden “prefiguring what was to come to pass in the future, how He would become man’s fellow, and talk with him, and come among mankind, teaching them justice” (*Dem.* 12).79 It was Christ, “the Son of God,” who appeared to Abraham as God and Lord in Genesis 18; 80 to Jacob in Genesis 28; 81 and to Moses in Exodus 3.82 In fact, it was not God the Father “but the Word of God, who was always with mankind, and foretold what was to come to pass in the future, and acquainted man with God” (*Dem.* 45). See <http://www.earlychurch.org.uk/pdf/angel_juncker.pdf>

**Tertullian** (c.213 A.D.) says that the appearances of God in the Old Testament were appearances of the Son, not the Father. *Against Praxeas* ch.21 p.616

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) taught that no one has seen the Father because no one can see God and lived. It was Jesus who spoke to Moses. *An Answer to the Jews* ch.8 p.163

Tertullian (198-205 A.D.) “…even Jesus the Creator. It was He who was seen by the king of Babylon in the furnace with His martyrs: ‘the fourth, who was like the Son of man.’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.5 p.359

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) says that it was Christ who appeared to Abraham. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.9 p.329

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) in *fragment 3* *Commentary on Daniel* ch.2.93 p.188 mentions that Jesus was in the furnace with Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, though Jesus was not yet born of a virgin.

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) mentions that the Son was one of the three angels visiting Abraham. *Concerning the Trinity* ch.18 p.628

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “6. That Christ is God. In Genesis: ‘And God said unto Jacob, Arise, and go up to the place of Bethel, and dwell there; and make there an altar to that God who appeared unto thee when thou reddest from the face of thy brother Esau.’” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 second part ch.6 p.517

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) The Word of God appeared in OT times *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 1.5 p.8

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) says that Jesus was one of the three men who appeared to Abraham. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.2 p.83

**Among heretics**

**Elchesaites** (in Hippolytus) said that Christ was not born of a virgin, but that He had been born on earth many times before. *The Refutation of All Heresies* book 9 ch.9 p.132

## ma3. Mention of the laity/layman or clergy

**Clement of Rome** (96/98 A.D.) “For his own peculiar services are assigned to the high priest, and their own proper place is prescribed to the priests, and their own special ministrations devolve on the Levites. The layman is bound by the laws that pertain to laymen.” *1 Clement* ch.40 (vol.1) p.16. (Also vol.9 ch.40 p.241)

**Caius** (190-217 A.D.) “tears, rolling beneath the feet not only of the clergy, but even of the laity,”

**Tertullian** (213 A.D.) “universally and carefully attended to, that the laity might the better know that they must themselves observe that order which was indispensable to their overseers;” *On Monogamy* ch.12 p.69

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “*Now such disciples as these* passed over to these *followers of Callistus*, and served to crowd his school. This one propounded the opinion, that, if a bishop was guilty of any sin, if even *a sin* unto death, he ought not to be deposed. About the time of this man, bishops, priests, and deacons, who had been twice married, and thrice married, began *to be allowed* to retain their place among the clergy.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 9 ch.7 p.131

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) mentions the clergy, bishop, presbyters, deacons, confessors, and laity (ch.5) . *Epistles of Cyprian* letter 51 ch.5 p.328

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) mentions Crementius the subdeacon. *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 13 ch.3 p.295

**Lucian** to Celerinus (250 A.D.) “the clergy, Uranius, Alexius, Quintainus, Colonica, and all whose names I have” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 21 ch.1 p.299

The Confessors to Cyprian (including Lucian) (250 A.D.) “with the holy martyrs. Lucianus wrote this, there being present of the clergy,” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 16 p.296

**Roman Clergy to Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) mentions presbyters, deacons, confessors and laity. *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 30 ch.5 p.310

**Cornelius** to Cyprian of Carthage (251 A.D.) “might, as if you had been present among that clergy and in that assembly of” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 45 ch.3 p.323

Cornelius to Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) mentions presbyters (ch.1), bishops (ch.2), Nicephorus the acolyte and the clergy (ch.3). *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 45 p.323

**Maximus et al.** to Cyprian (251 A.D.) “Cornelius our bishop, as well as with the whole clergy.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 49 p.326

**Firmilian** to Cyprian(256 A.D.) “are in Africa, and all the clergy, and all the brotherhood, farewell; that,” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 74 ch.26 p.397

**Pontius** (after 258 A.D.) “For who is there that would not entrust every grade of honour to one who believed with such a disposition? There are many things which he did while still a layman, and many things which now as a presbyter he did-many things which, after the examples of righteous men of old, and following them with a close imitation, he accomplished with the obedience of entire consecration-that deserved well of the Lord.” *The Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.3 p.268

**Malchion** (270 A.D.) “For, beloved, we know that the bishop and all the clergy ought to be an example in all good works to the people.” *Against Paul of Samosata* ch.3 p.170

**Alexander of Cappadocia** (270-280 A.D.) “And he -i.e., *Demetrius*-has added to his letter that this is a matter that was never heard of before, and has never been done now,-namely, that laymen should take part in *public speaking*, when there are bishops present.” ch.4 p.&&&

**Council of Elvira** canon 20 (306/307 A.D.) “If any clergy are found engaged in usury, let them be censured and dismissed. If a layman is caught practicing usury, he may be pardoned if he promises to stop the practice. If he continues this evil practice, let him be expelled from the church.”

**Council of Neocaesarea** (315 A.D.) says that if a layman’s wife commits adultery, the layman cannot enter the ministry. canon 8 p.82

**Peter of Alexandria** (306,285-311 A.D.) mentions the clergy. *Canonical Epistle* canon 10 p.274

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) mentions the presbyters and clergy. *Deposition of Arius* p.69

## ma4. The Church can be called the city of God

Hebrews 11:10; 12:22-23

**p46 Chester Beatty II** – 1,680 verses 70% Paul plus Hebrews (100-150 A.D.) Hebrews 12:22-23

**p13** Hebrews 2:14-5:5; 10:8-22; 10:29-11:13; 11:28-12:17 (225-250 A.D.) Hebrews 11:10 mentions the city of God

*Shepherd of Hermas* (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 Similitude 1 p.31 (partial) says that we live in a strange land, for our city is far away.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “made new, he shall truly dwell in the city of God.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.35.2 p.566

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “‘the wise architect’ too, who builds the church, God’s temple, and the holy city, and the house of the Lord.” *An Answer to the Jews* ch.13 p.171

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “that is, His Holy Spirit, who builds the church, which is indeed the temple, and household and city of God.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.23 p.341

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “that makes glad the city of God have been dipped in a little water!” *Discourse on the Holy Theophany* ch.2 p.235

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “His current, flowing in the descending stream, makes glad, as we find in the Psalms, the city of God, not the visible Jerusalem-for it has no river beside it-but the blameless Church of God, built on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Christ Jesus our Lord being the chief corner-stone.” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 6 ch.25 p.371-372

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “called tabernacles, until they come to enter into the temple and city of God,” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 9 ch.5 p.347

Methodius (270-311/312 A.D.) “for the truth will be accurately made manifest after the resurrection, when we shall see the heavenly tabernacle (the city in heaven ‘whose builder and maker is God’)” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 5 ch.7 p.328

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.51 p.91 (partial) mentions the heavenly city of Jerusalem.

## ma5. People have free will / choice

Luke 7:30; Joshua 24:14-22; Jonah 2:8

Isaiah 66:4 They chose what God did not delight in.

**p75** (c.175-225 A.D.) Luke 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32; 7:35-39,41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24,53; John 1:1-11:45; 48-57; 12:3-13:1,8-9; 14:8-29;15:7-8; (175-225 A.D.) Luke 7:30

*Mathetes to Diognetus* (130 A.D.) 2, 10. vol.1 p.25 (partial, because did not actually use the term “free-will”) “Come, then after you have freed [or purified] yourself from all prejudices possessing your mind” 1:29 “having been a disciple of the Apostles...”

*Mathetes to Diognetus* (130 A.D.) (partial) “as a Savior He sent Him, and as seeking to persuade, not to compel us; for violence has no place in the character of God.” chapter 7 p.27

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) “In the beginning He made the human race with the power of thought and of choosing the truth and doing right, so that all men are without excuse before God.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.28 p.172

Justin Martyr (c.150 A.D.) “And again, unless the human race have the power of avoiding evil and choosing good by free choice, they are not accountable for their actions, of whatever kind they be. But that it is by free choice they both walk uprightly and stumble, we thus demonstrate. … For not like other things, as trees and quadrupeds, which cannot act by choice, did God make man : for neither would he be worthy of reward or praised did he not of himself choose the good, but were created for this end; nor, if he were evil, would he be worthy of punishment, not being evil of himself, but being able to be nothing else than what he was made.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.43 p.177

Justin Martyr (c.150 A.D.) “So, too, Plato, when he says, ‘The blame is his who chooses, and God is blameless,’ took this from the prophet Moses and uttered it. For Moses is more ancient than all the Greek writers.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.44 p.177

Justin Martyr (c.150 A.D.) While the Stoics say fate, God made the angels and all men, with free will. *Second Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.7 p.190

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) Jesus did not submit to be born and crucified because of his need, but because of the human race. God endowed both angels and men with free will. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.88 p.243

Justin Martyr (c.150 A.D.) God’s foretelling does not does not prove fatal necessity or nullify free will because God’s foretelling is through His foreknowledge. “The words cited above, David uttered 1500 years before Christ... But lest some suppose, from what has been said by us, that we say that whatever happens, happens by a fatal necessity, because it is foretold as known beforehand, this too we explain.” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.44 p.177 (end of the page)

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “Just as with men, who have freedom of choice as to both virtue and vice (for you would not either honour the good or punish the bad, unless and vice and virtue were in their own power; and some are diligent in the matters entrusted to them by you, and others faithless), so is it among the angels. Some, free agents, you will observe,…” *A Plea for Christians* ch.24 p.142

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “all such have been created for the benefit of that human nature which is saved, ripening for immortality that which is [possessed] of its own free will and its own power” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.24.1 p.558

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “And not merely in works, but also in faith, has God preserved the will of man free and under his own control, saying, ‘According to thy faith be it unto three;’ thus showing that there is a faith specially belonging to man, since he has an opinion specially his own.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.37.5 p.519-520

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “But since free choice and inclination originate sins, … punishments are rightly inflicted. For to take fever is involuntary, but when one takes fever through his own fault, from excess, we blame him.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.17 p.319

**Tertullian** (c.203 A.D.) (against total depravity) “Still there is a portion of good in the soul, of that original, divine, and genuine good, which is its proper nature. For that which is derived from God is rather obscured than extinguished.” *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.41 p.220

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “Behold, they [Marcionites] say, how He acknowledges Himself to be the creator of evil in the passage, ‘It is I who created evil.’ They take a word whose one form reduces to confusion and ambiguity two kinds of evils (because both sins and punishments are called evils), and will have Him in every passage to be understood as the creator of all evil things, in order that He may be designated the author of evil.” *Against Marcion* book 2 ch.14 p.308

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “Therefore it was proper that (he who is) the image and likeness of God should be formed with a free will and a mastery of himself; so that this very thing-namely, freedom of will and self-command-might be reckoned as the image and likeness of God in him.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 2 ch.6 p.301-302

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240 A.D.) says that God gives the soul free choice. “Wherefore God has endowed the soul with free choice, that He may show it its duty, and that it choosing, may receive and retain.” *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.21 p.45

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “Since man has free will, a law has been defined *for his guidance* by the Deity, not without answering a good purpose.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 10 ch.29 p.151

Hippolytus of Portus **(**222-235/236 A.D.) (implied, self-determination) “[Jesus] might exhibit His own manhood as an aim for all men. And that by Himself *in person* He might prove that God made nothing evil, and that man possesses the capacity of self-determination, inasmuch as he is able to will and not to will, *and* is endued with the power to do both.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 10 ch.29 p.152. See also ibid p.151 in two places.

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) believed in free will for each individual in *Origen Against Celsus* book 5 ch.21 p.552. While Origen was most unfortunately a universalist, a large number of Christians after Origen respected him as a good Christian writer. The Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D. anathematized him though.

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions our free will. *Origen’s Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.10 p.149

Origen (233/234 A.D.) discusses free will. *Origen On Prayer* ch.6.2 p.31-33

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) said that evil would arise if man exercised his free will and take of the fruit of the tree. He also says that man is in the image of God. “He [God] laid down a command, in which man was taught that there was no evil in the fruit of the tree; but he was forewarned that evil would arise if perchance he should exercise his free will, in the contempt of the law that was given. For, on the one hand, it had behooved him to be free, lest the image of God should unfittingly be in bondage; and on the other, the law was to be added, so that an unbridled liberty might not break forth even to a contempt of the Giver. So that he might receive as a consequence both worthy rewards and a deserved punishment, having in his own power that which he might chose to do, by the tendency of his mind in either direction:” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.1 p.612

Novatian (254-256 A.D.) (partial) “For in reprobating what He [God] has made, He will appear to have condemned His own works, which He had approved as good; and He will be designated as seeming capricious in both cases, as the heretics indeed would have it;” *On the Jewish Meats* ch.2 p.646.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “since they might have retained by their own right what now by a necessity, which they of their own free will have sought, they are compelled, they are compelled to sue for.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Epistle 25 ch.7 p.305

Dionysius of Alexandria (246-265 A.D.) (partial) “For as incurable wounds are wounds which cannot be remedied either by severe applications, or by those which may act more pleasantly upon them; so the soul, when it is once carried captive, and gives itself up to any kind of wickedness, and refuses to consider what is really profitable for it, although a myriad counsels should echo in it, takes no good to itself. But just as if the sense of hearing were dead within it, it receives no benefit from exhortations addressed to it; not because it cannot, but only because it will not. This was what happened in the case of Judas. And yet Christ, although He knew all these things beforehand, did not at any time, from the beginning on to the end, omit to do all in the way of counsel that depended on Him. And inasmuch as we know that such was His practice, we ought also unceasingly to endeavour to set those right who prove careless, even although no actual good may seem to be effected by that counsel.” *The Gospel According to Luke ch.42-48* ch.48 p.117

Theonas of Alexandria (300 A.D.) (partial, utmost of your power) “Therefore you ought to strive to the utmost of your power not to fall into a base or dishonourable, not to say an absolutely flagitious way of thinking...” *Epistle to Licianus the Chief Chamberlain* 2. vol.6 p.159

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) “Evil does not arise as a part of the nature, essence or substance of being, but by means of free will.” *Dialogue on the True Faith* Fourth Part ch.9 p.137. See also First part ch.821c p.75 and also fourth para. ch.11 p.142.

Adamantius (c.300 A.D.) in debating Droserius calls God “Almighty” and discusses free will. *Dialogue on the True Faith* fourth part ch.11 p.140

Adamantius (c.300 A.D.) “However, I am going to show from the Gospel that Christ is speaking of men possessing free will, and not of principles!” Then he quotes Matthew 7:15-16; Luke 6:45; Matthew 5:19. (Adamantius is speaking) *Dialogue on the True Faith* first part ch.821.c p.75

Alexander of Lycopolis (301 A.D.) (partial) “But man, being able to perceive and to judge, and being potentially wise, -for he has the power to become so -when he has received what is peculiar to himself, treads it under foot.” *Of the Manichaeans* chap.15 (vol.6) p.247

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “*I [Arnobius] reply*, does not He free all alike who invites all alike? Or does He thrust back or repel any one from the kindness of the Supreme who gives to all alike the power of coming to Him,-to men of high rank, to the meanest slaves, to women, to boys? To all, He says, the fountain of life is open, and no one is hindered or kept back from drinking. If you are so fastidious as to spurn the kindly offered gift, nay, more, if your wisdom is so great that you term those things which are offered by Christ ridiculous and absurd, why should He keep on inviting you, while His only duty is to make the enjoyment of His bounty depend upon your own free choice?” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.64 p.458

Arnobius of Sicca (297-303 A.D.) (partial) “And yet Christ assisted the good and the bad alike; nor was there any one rejected by Him, who in adversity sought help against violence and the ills of fortune. For this is the mark of a true god and of kingly power, to deny his bounty to none, and not to consider who merits it or who does not; since natural infirmity and not the choice of his desire, or of his sober judgment, makes a sinner.” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.49 p.427

**Methodius of Olympus** (270-311/312 A.D.) vol.6 p.356-363 wrote an entire work called *Concerning Free Will*. As an aside, Methodius was quite critical of Origen.

Methodius of Olympus (270-311/312 A.D.) says that if someone says man does not have free will but is governed by unavoidable necessities of fate, then they are impious against God, making him the cause and author of human evils. *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 8 ch.16 p.342

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) says the soul departed from Truth by abuse of freedom of choice. *Against the Heathen* ch.1 p.5-6

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “For if you wish to defend religion by bloodshed, and by tortures, and by guilt, it will no longer be defended, but will be polluted and profaned. For nothing is so much a matter of free-will as religion; in which, if the mind of the worshipper is disinclined to it, religion is at once taken away, and ceases to exist.” *The Divine Institutes* book 5 ch.20 p.157

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (partial) “And yet He [God] set before him [man] both good and evil things, inasmuch as He gave to him wisdom, the whole nature of which is employed in discerning things evil and good: for no one can choose better things, and know what is good, unless he at the same time knows to reject and avoid the things which are evil.” *Treatise on the Anger of God* ch.13 p.271

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (c.318-325 A.D.) “But further, this opinion would overthrow piety towards deity, if, fettered as we are by the necessities of fate, neither God Himself, nor the minister of these oracular gods give us any help either in answer to our prayers or for our piety. And would it not be most shameless and impudent to say that we are moved like lifeless puppets pulled by strings this way and that by some external power, to will of necessity to do this or that, and to choose other things against our will? For we plainly feel ourselves desiring this or that by our own impulses and motion, and again we take ourselves to task for carelessness, and feel that we succeed or not from this cause, and suffer no compulsion from any external source, but choose some things by voluntary determination, and shun and decline others of our own deliberate purpose. So evident therefore is the argument for free-will.., *Preparation for the Gospel* book 6 ch.6 p.10

Eusebius of Caesarea (c.318-315 A.D.) (implied) “And if this was not subject to necessity, it is evident also that the occurrence of this or that was not eternally predetermined, unless even the very wish to guard the cloak, or the unwillingness, was a consequence of some fate and the effect of some external necessary cause. But in this latter case the power of our free will is utterly destroy, and the cause of the cloak being saved or being lost would no longer be in me; wherefore also I should reasonably be free form blame if it were lose (for its loss was due to some other cause), and on the other hand I should deserve no praise if it were saved, because even this was not my doing.” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 6 ch.8 p.29

Eusebius of Caesarea (c.318-315 A.D.) “For God made neither nature nor yet the substance of the soul evil: since a good Being may not create anything but what is good. Everything, then, that is according to nature is good: and every rational soul possesses by nature the good gift of free-will, which has been given for choosing what is good.” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 6 ch.6 p.14

Eusebius of Caesarea (c.318-315 A.D.) “For whether God Himself, being present with all things, and seeing all and hearing all, compels men to act thus, or Himself constituted the course of the universe and the motion of the stars such as we see it, to effect and to compel such actions, He who arranged such an instrument, and contrived the net for ensnaring the prey, must Himself be also the one to blame for those who are caught therein. Wherefore therefore by Himself alone, or else by some necessity contrived by Himself, He entangles the unwilling in these evils. Himself and no other must be the author of all evil; and it could no longer be justly said that man was prone to sin, but the doer thereof was God. And what statement could be more impious than this?” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 6 ch.6 p.15

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**Acts of Xanthippe, Polyxena, and Rebecca** (perhaps mid-3rd century) ch.9 p.207 Paul speaks of Xanthippe’s “own free will”

**Among heretics**

**Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) says that people have free choice to transgress the will or God or not. *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.7 p.67

**Bardaisan/Bardesan** (154-224/232 A.D.) discusses the exercise of our will, the freedom which has been given to us. *The Book of Laws of Diverse Countries* p.727

Bardaisan/Bardesan (154-224/232 A.D.) (partial) mentions the goodness of God towards man and the freedom given to man. *The Book of the Laws of Diverse Countries* p.724

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 3 ch. 22 p.120. speaks of responsibility and freewill.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 15 ch.7 p.310 mentions freedom of choice.

## ma6. Babylon refers to Rome

1 Peter 5:13

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. The prophets prophesied about Christ. 1 Peter 1:13

The apocryphal book ***4 Ezra*** 3:1,28,31 refers to Babylon as Rome.

The Jewish pseudepigraphal book ***Apocalypse of Baruch*** 10:1-3; 11:1; 67:7 does too

Also the ***Sybilline Oracles*** 5.153-168; 5:434.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Babylon, in our own John, is a figure of the city Rome” *An Answer to the Jews* ch.9 p.162

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “By a similar usage Babylon also in our (s.) John is a fixture of the city of Rome, as being like (Babylon) great and proud in royal power and warring down the saints of God.” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.13 p.332

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) says that Rome is the fourth beast in Daniel and the beast out of the earth in Revelation. *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.49 p.214

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) (implied) “30. Come, then, O blessed Isaiah; arise, tell us clearly what thou didst prophesy with respect to the mighty **Babylon**. For thou didst speak also of Jerusalem, and thy word is accomplished. For thou didst speak boldly and openly: “Your country is desolate, your cities are burned with fire; your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate as overthrown by many strangers. The daughter of Sion shall be left as a cottage in a vineyard, and as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city.” What then? Are not these things come to pass? Are not the things announced by thee fulfilled? Is not their country, Judea, desolate? Is not the holy place burned with fire? Are not their walls cast down? Are not their cities destroyed? Their land, do not strangers devour it? Do not the **Romans** rule the country? And indeed these impious people hated thee, and did saw thee asunder, and they crucified Christ.” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.30 p.210

***Instructions of Commodianus*** (c.240 A.D.) ch.41 p.210-211 “But Elias shall occupy the half of the time, Nero shall occupy half. Then the whore Babylon, being reduced to ashes, its embers shall thence advance to Jerusalem; and the Latin conqueror shall then say, I am Christ, whom ye always pray to; and, indeed, the original ones who were deceived combine to praise him.”

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) says, “the great overthrow of Babylon, that is, the Roman state” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the seventh chapter verse 8 p.352. See also from the twenty-first chapter verse 17 p.357-358. The twelfth chapter verse 3 p.355 where the seven heads are seven Roman kings.

## ma7. There are greater/mortal and lesser sins

Matthew 11:21-24 - more tolerable on the day of judgment for some

John 19:11b; 1 John 5:16b-17; Ezekiel 8:6,13,15

Matthew 12:31; Mark 3:28-29 Blasphemy against the Holy spirit

**p66 Bodmer II papyri** - 817 verses (92%) of John (125-175 A.D.) John 19:11b

***The Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 2 commandment 11th p.27 speaks of the heathen bringing greater sin upon themselves by idolatry. Book 2 similitude 7 is speaks of sins that is great, but not great enough to be delivered over to a [punishing] angel.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “For the law, in its solicitude for those who obey, trains up to piety, and prescribes what is to be done, and restrains each one from sins, imposing penalties even on lesser sins.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.27 p.339

Clement of Alexandria (192-217/220 A.D.) “John, too, manifestly teaches the differences of sins, in his larger Epistle, in these words: ‘If any man see his brother sin a sin that is not unto death, he shall ask, and he shall give him life: for these that sin not unto death,’ he says. ‘For there is a sin unto death: I do not say that one is to pray for it. All unrighteousness is sin; and there is a sin not unto death.’” *Stromata* book 2 ch.15 p.362

**Tertullian** (208-220 A.D.) “Jeremiah had been prohibited by God to deprecate (Him) on behalf of a people which was committing mortal sins. ‘Every unrighteousness is sin; and there is a sin unto death.’” *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.19 p.97. See also ibid ch.2 p.76

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “either to deny that adultery and fornication are mortal sins; or else to confess” *On Modesty* ch.19 p.97

Tertullian (200-240 A.D.) mentions mortal sins. *On Modesty* ch.3 p.77

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) (implied) “passed over to these *followers of Callistus*, and served to crowd his school. This one propounded the opinion, that, if a bishop was guilty of any sin, if even *a sin* unto death, he ought not to be deposed.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 9 ch.7 p.131

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) speaks of greater sin. “For we shall ask them if Pharaoh was of an earthy nature; and when they answer, we shall say that he who is of an earthy nature is altogether disobedient to God: but if disobedient, what need is there of his heart being hardened, and that not once, but frequently? Unless perhaps, since it was possible for him to obey (in which case he would certainly have obeyed, as not being earthy, when hard pressed by the signs and wonders), God needs him to be disobedient to a greater degree, in order that He may manifest His mighty deeds for the salvation of the multitude, and therefore hardens his heart.” [Greek] *de Principiis* book 3 ch.1.8 p.308

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “For, as in smaller sins which are not committed against God, penitence may be fulfilled in a set time, and confession may be made with investigation of the life of him who fulfils the penitence, and no one can come to communion unless the hands of the bishop and clergy be first imposed upon him;” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 11 ch.2 p.292

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) “Let us look briefly into a few things out of many, that from a few the rest also may be understood. Adultery, fraud, manslaughter, are mortal crimes. Let patience be strong and stedfast in the heart; and neither is the sanctified body and temple of God polluted by adultery, nor is the innocence dedicated to righteousness stained with the contagion of fraud; nor, after the Eucharist carried in it, is the hand spotted with the sword and blood.” *Treatises of Cyprian*. Treatise 9 ch.14 p.488

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) says that some sins are worse than others. *Athanasius Against the Heathen* part 1 ch.8.1 p.8

## ma8. Christians can lose their salvation

Note that most Baptists, Bible church people, Reformed, and Calvinists believe that genuine Christians cannot lose their salvation. Most conservative Lutherans, Christian & Missionary Alliance, Church of God Anderson, Calvary Chapel, Assembly of God and other Charismatics, Church of Christ, Nazarenes, conservative Methodists, and Christians who are Catholic, Orthodox, and Coptic believe a person can, and they are the numerical majority.

(partial) Hebrews 6:4-6; 10:26-31; 2 Peter 2:20-22

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.4 p.139 “for the whole [past] time of your faith will profit you nothing, unless now in this wicked time we also withstand coming sources of danger, as becometh the sons of God. … Take heed, lest resting at our ease, as those who are the called [of God], we should fall asleep in our sins, and the wicked prince, acquiring power over us, should thrust us away from the kingdom of the Lord. … Let us beware lest we be found [fulfilling that saying] as it is written, ‘Many are called, but few are chosen.’”

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) vol.7 ch.17 p.522 “Let us therefore repent from the whole heart, that no one of us perish by the way. For if we have commandments that we should also practice this, to draw away men from idols and instruct them, how much more ought a soul already knowing God not to perish? Let us therefore assist one another that we may also lead up those weak as to what is good, in order that all may be saved; and let us convert and admonish one another.”

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 1 ch.2 p.11. says that those who endure the great tribulation do not deny their own life. Those who denied the Lord have abandoned their life.

***Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum*** (177 A.D.) “For through the living the dead were made alive; and the Witnesses conferred favours on those who were not Witnesses, and the Virgin Mother had much joy in, receiving back alive those whom she had given up as dead abortions. For through the Witnesses the greater number of those who had denied returned, as it were, into their mother’s womb, and were conceived again and re-quickened; and they learned to confess. And being now restored to life, and having their spirits braced, they went up to the judgment-seat to be again questioned by the governor, while that God who wishes not the death of the sinner, but mercifully calls to repentance, put sweetness: into their souls.”

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) (implied) “For as, among men, those sons who disobey their fathers, being disinherited, are still their sons in the course of nature, but by law are disinherited, for they do not become the heirs of their natural parents; so in the same way is it with God,-those who do not obey Him being disinherited by Him, have ceased to be His sons.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.41.3 p.525

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “And to as many as continue in their love towards God, does He grant communion with Him. But communion with God is life and light, and the enjoyment of all the benefits which He has in store. But on as many as, according to their own choice, depart from God. He inflicts that separation from Himself which they have chosen of their own accord. But separation from God is death, and separation from light is darkness; and separation from God consists in the loss of all the benefits which He has in store. Those, therefore, who cast away by apostasy these forementioned things, being in fact destitute of all good, do experience every kind of punishment.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.27.2 p.556

***Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201-205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) ch.1.3 p.700 Perpetua was given a vision of the glories of heaven and terrors of “falling off the ladder”

**Tertullian** (208-220 A.D.) “But there are, too, the contraries of these [lighter sins]; as the graver and destructive ones, such as are incapable of pardon – murder, idolatry, fraud, apostasy, blasphemy; (and), of course, too, adultery and fornication; and if there be any other ‘violation of the temple of God.’ For these Christ will no more be the successful Pleader : these will not at all be incurred by one who has been born of God, who will cease to be the son of God if he do incur them.” *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.19 p.97

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “Thus there is no course left for you, but either to deny that adultery and fornication are mortal sins; or else to confess them irremissible, for which it is not permitted even to make successful intercession.” *Tertullian on Modesty* ch.19 p.97

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) says that Christians can lose their salvation. *Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.3.18 p.159

Origen (233/234 A.D.) (implied) says that believers can apostasize. *Origen on Prayer* ch.29.11 p.118

**Novatian** (250-256/7 A.D.) “no one can be saved by God the Father unless he shall have confessed Christ to be God, in whom and by whom the Father promises that He will give him salvation: so that, reasonably, whoever acknowledges Him to be God, may find salvation in Christ God; whoever does not acknowledge Him to be God, would lose salvation which he could not find elsewhere than in Christ God.” *Novatian Concerning the Trinity* ch.12 p.621

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “if martyrs become martyrs for no other reason than that by not sacrificing they may keep the peace of the Church even to the shedding of their own blood, lest, overcome by the suffering of the torture, by losing peace, they might lose salvation;” Cyprian Letter 29 p.307

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) be afraid lest perchance your estate should fail, if you begin to act liberally from it; and you do not know, miserable man that you are, that while you are fearing lest your family property should fail you, life itself, and salvation, are failing; and whilst you are anxious lest any of your wealth should be diminished, you do not see that you yourself are being diminished, in that you are a lover of mammon more than of your own soul; and while you fear, lest for the sake of yourself, you should lose your patrimony, you yourself are perishing for the sake of your patrimony.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 8 ch.10 p.478-479

Cyprian of Carthage (c.246-258 A.D.) Let us look briefly into a few things out of many, that from a few the rest also may be understood. Adultery, fraud, manslaughter, are mortal crimes. Let patience be strong and stedfast in the heart; and neither is the sanctified body and temple of God polluted by adultery, nor is the innocence dedicated to righteousness stained with the contagion of fraud; nor, after the Eucharist carried in it, is the hand spotted with the sword and blood. *Treatises of Cyprian*. Treatise 9 ch.14 p.488

Note that Novatian had a different view than other writers. He caused a church split over his view that if a person denied Christ by sacrificing to the Roman Emperor or gods, not only did he lose salvation, but it was impossible for him to ever get it back. The rest of the church believed the person would lose their salvation, but by later repentance, they could eventually get it back. Cyprian of Carthage took a strong stand against Novatian on this.

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “But these latter will fall away at once from the peace of God and from peace with themselves, and both in this world and after death they will abide with the spirits of blood-guiltiness.” *On the Reception of the Lapsed* (exegetical fragment 7) p.120

**Malchion** (270 A.D.) (implied) “he [Paul of Samosata] was deceived by that denier of his God and Lord, and betrayer of the faith which he formerly held.” *Against Paul of Samosata* ch.1 p.169

**Theophilus** (events c.315 A.D.) Habib was concerned that if he fled the confession Christianity he would lose his salvation. *Martyrdom of Habib the Deacon* p.691

**Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) “and before them Judas, who, though he followed the Saviour, afterwards became a traitor and an apostate.” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Epistle 2.5 p.298. See also *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers Second Series* vol.4 p.84.

**Among heretics**

**Bardaisan/Bardesan** of Syria (154-224/232 A.D.) says that some follow God and then fall away. *The Book of Laws of Divers Countries* p.727

## ma9. God knows all things in the future

Psalm 139:16

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) vol.7 ch.9 p.519 “of a sincere heart; for He knows all things beforehand”

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) says that God foreknows all that shall be done by all men. *The First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.44 p.177

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) says that God foreknew all things *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.29.2 p.502

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “For God knows all things-not those only which exist, but those also which shall be-and how each thing shall be.” *Stromata* book 6 ch.17 p.517. He says that God knows and perceives all things in *Stromata* book 7 ch.7 p.538

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) says that God foreknew the future. *Stromata* book 2 ch.13 p.360. See also *The Instructor* book 1 ch.9 p.228

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) God foreknew all things. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 2 ch.5 p.301

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “Wherefore, I the case of such persons, the everlasting God, the Knower of secrets, who knows all things before they exist, …” [Greek] *de Principiis* book 3 ch.17 p.318

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) “firmness of his perseverance made known, not so much to God, who knows all things before they happen,” *de Principiis* book 3 ch.1.12 [Greek] p.312 (Latin) p.313

## ma10. Jesus preached to the dead

1 Peter 3:19; 4:6

**p72 (=Bodmer 7 and 8)** (ca.300 A.D.) all of 1 Peter, 2 Peter, Jude 191 verses. Jesus preached to the dead. 1 Peter 3:19; 4:6

*Shepherd of Hermas* (c.115-155 A.D.) book 3 similitude 9 ch.16 p.49 (partial) refers to those who died before Christ and before being baptized. It says apostles and teachers [no mention of Christ] preached it to those already asleep.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “It was for this reason, too, that the Lord descended into the regions beneath the earth, preaching His advent there also and [declaring] the remission of sins received by those who believe in Him. Now all those believed in Him who had hope towards Him, that is, those who proclaimed His advent, and submitted to his dispensations, the righteous men, the prophets, and the patriarchs,… For ‘all men come short of the glory of the God,’ and are not justified of themselves, but by the advent of the Lord,” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.27.1 p.499

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “And on this account all things have been [by general consent] placed under the sway of Him who is styled the Most High, and the Almighty. By calling upon Him, even before the coming of our Lord, men were saved both from most wicked spirits, and from all kinds of demons, and from every sort of apostate power.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.6.2 p.365

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “For to those who were righteous according to God’s Law, only faith was wanting. Wherefore also the Lord, in healing them, said, ‘Thy faith hath saved thee.’ But to those that were righteous according to philosophy, not only faith in the Lord, but also the abandonment of idolatry, were necessary. Straightaway, on the revelation of the truth, they also repented of the previous [idolatrous] conduct. Wherefore the Lord preached the Gospel to those in Hades. Accordingly the Scripture says, ‘Hades says to Destruction, We have not seen His form, but we have heard his voice.’ [paraphrase of Job 28:22] It is not plainly the place, which, the words above says, heard the voice, but those who have been put in Hades, and have abandoned themselves to destruction, as persons who have thrown themselves voluntarily from a ship into the sea. They, then, are those that hear the divine power and voice. For who in his senses can suppose the souls of the righteous and those of sinners in the same condemnation, charging Providence with injustice? But how? Do not [the Scriptures] show that. the Lord preached the Gospel to those that perished in the flood, or rather had been chained, and to those kept ‘in ward and guard’? And it has been shown also, in the second book of the *Stromata*, that the apostles, following the Lord, preached the Gospel to those in Hades. For it was requisite, in my opinion, that as here, so also there, the best of the disciples should be imitators of the Master; so that He should bring to repentance those belonging to the Hebrews, and they the Gentiles; that is, those who had lived in righteousness according to the Law and Philosophy, who had ended life not perfectly, but sinfully. For it was suitable to the divine administration, that those possessed of greater worth in righteousness, and whose life had been pre-eminent, on repenting of their transgressions, though found in another place, yet being confessedly of the number of the people of God Almighty, should be saved, each one according to his individual knowledge. And, as I think, the Saviour also exerts His might because it is His work to save; which accordingly He also did by drawing to salvation those who became willing, by the preaching [of the Gospel], to believe on Him, wherever they were. If, then, the Lord descended to Hades for no other end but to preach the Gospel, as He did descend; it was either to preach the Gospel to all or to the Hebrews only. If, accordingly, to all, then all who believe shall be saved, although they may be of the Gentiles, on making their profession there; since God’s punishments are saving and disciplinary, leading to conversion, and choosing rather the repentance thorn the death of a sinner; and especially since souls, although darkened by passions, when released from their bodies, are able to perceive more clearly, because of their being no longer obstructed by the paltry flesh. If, then, He preached only to the Jews, who wanted the knowledge and faith of the Saviour, it is plain that, since God is no respecter of persons, the apostles also, as here, so there preached the Gospel to those of the heathen who were ready for conversion. And it is well said by the Shepherd, ‘They went down with them therefore into the water, and again ascended. But these descended alive, and again ascended alive. But those who had fallen asleep, descended dead, but ascended alive.’ Further the Gospel says, ‘that many bodies of those that slept arose,’ -plainly as having been translated to a better state. There took place, then, a universal movement and translation through the economy of the Saviour. One righteous man, then, differs not, as righteous, from another righteous man, whether he be of the Law or a Greek. For God is not only Lord of the Jews, but of all men, and more nearly the Father of those who know Him. For if to live well and according to the law is to live, also to live rationally according to the law is to live; and those who lived rightly before the Law were classed under faith, and judged to be righteous,-it is evident that those, too, who were outside of the Law, having lived rightly, in consequence of the peculiar nature of the voice, though they are in Hades and in ward [jail], on hearing the voice of the Lord, whether that of His own person or that acting through His apostles, with all speed turned and believed. For we remember that the Lord is ‘the power of God,’ and power can never be weak. So I think it is demonstrated that the God being good, and the Lord powerful, they save with a righteousness and equality which extend to all that turn to Him, whether here or elsewhere. For it is not here alone that the active power of God is beforehand, but it is everywhere and is always at work. Accordingly, in the Preaching of Peter, the Lord says to the disciples after the resurrection, ‘I have chosen you twelve disciples, judging you worthy of me,’ whom the Lord wished to be apostles, having judged them faithful, sending them into the world to the men on the earth, that they may know that there is one God, showing clearly what would take place by the faith of Christ; that they who heard and believed should be saved; and that those who believed not, after having heard, should bear witness, not having the excuse to allege, We have not heard. What then? Did not the same dispensation obtain in Hades, so that even there, all the souls, on hearing the proclamation, might either exhibit repentance, or confess that their punishment was just, because they believed not? And it were the exercise of no ordinary arbitrariness, for those who had departed before the advent of the Lord (not having the Gospel preached to them, and having afforded no ground from themselves, in consequence of believing or not) to obtain either salvation or punishment. For it is not right that these should be condemned without trial, and that those alone who lived after the advent should have the advantage of the divine righteousness. But to all rational souls it was said from above, ‘Whatever one of you has done in ignorance, without clearly knowing God, if, on becoming conscious, he repent, all his sins will be forgiven him.’ ‘For, behold,’ it is said, ‘I have set before your face death and life, that ye may choose life.’ God says that He set, not that He made both, in order to the comparison of choice. And in another Scripture He says, ‘If ye hear Me, and be willing, ye shall eat the good of the land. But if ye hear Me not, and are not willing, the sword shall devour you: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken these things.’” *Stromata* book 6 ch.6 p.490-491

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) said that Christ preached to those who departed this life before his advent. Here is the quote: “If, then, He preached the Gospel to those in the flesh that they might not be condemned unjustly, how is it conceivable that He did not for the same cause preach the Gospel to those who had departed this life before His advent? ‘For the righteous Lord loveth righteousness: His countenance beholdeth uprightness.’ ‘But he that loveth wickedness hateth his own soul.’ If, then, in the deluge all sinful flesh perished, punishment having been inflicted on them for correction, we must first believe that the will of God, which is disciplinary and beneficent, saves those who turn to Him.” *Stromata* book 6 ch.6 p.492.

Tertullian (c.203 A.D.) mentions that Christ went to Hades (partial) “that He might there make the patriarchs and prophets partakers of Himself.... You have a treatise by us (on Paradise), in which we have established the position that every soul is detained in safe keeping in Hades until the day of the Lord.” It implies that they were righteous men but still needed Christ to go to heaven. (It does not say whether or not Jesus preached to them though.) *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.55 p.231.

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “He [Jesus] who is become the preacher of the Gospel to the dead, the redeemer of souls, and the resurrection of the buried;” *Fragment from Commentary on Psalm 119 or 110* p.170.

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) “‘Which shall not pass away.’ He exhibited all the dominion given by the Father to His own Son, who is manifested as King of all in heaven and on earth, and under the earth, and as Judge of all: of all in heaven, because He was born the Word, of the heart of the Father before all; and of all in earth, because He was made man, and created Adam anew of Himself; and of all under the earth, because He was also numbered among the dead, and preached to the souls of the saints, (and) by death overcame death.” *Scholia on Daniel* ch.7.14 p.189

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “but also, then when He became a soul, without the covering of the body, He dwelt among those souls which were without bodily covering, converting such of them as were willing to Himself, or those who He saw, for reasons known to Him alone, to be better adapted to such a course.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 2 ch.43 p.448.

## ma11. Religion is/can be good

James 1:27

**Quadratus** (126 A.D.) (implied) has a work entitled *Apology for the Christian Religion*.

***Epistle to Diognetus*** (c.130-200 A.D.) ch.1 p.25 (implied) answers what some of religion Christians observe.

***Theophilus*** *to Autolycus* (168-181/188 A.D.) book 2 ch.1 p.89 (implied) “discourse, I made some explanations to you concerning my religion; and then having bid one another adieu, we went with much mutual friendliness each to his”

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) (partial) “But those men are really worthy of being mourned over, who promulgate such a kind of religion, and who so frigidly and perversely pull to pieces the greatness of the truly unspeakable power, and the dispensations of God in themselves so striking,” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 1 ch.16.3 p.341

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “And thus, when my thoughts were traversing the entire period of our intimacy and friendship, the direction of my mind fixed itself chiefly on that discourse of his, wherein by very weighty arguments he converted Caecilius, who was still cleaving to superstitious vanities, to the true religion.” *Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.1 p.173

Minucius Felix (210 A.D.) “For they themselves also, as long as they worshipped our God-and He is the same God of all-with chastity, innocency, and religion,” *Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.33 p.193

**Clement of Alexandria** (c.195 A.D.) (implied) “Why, then, foolish and silly men (for I will repeat it), have you, defaming the supercelestial region, dragged religion to the ground” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.4 p.188

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) speaks positively of Moses as “our teacher in religion” *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.10 p.2770278

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “that treatment which the prophets always suffered on account of divine religion:” *Answer to the Jews* ch.13 p.170

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “‘To another, faith by the same Spirit’; this will be ‘the spirit of religion and the fear of the Lord.’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.8 p.446

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “…and great facts and records of the Christian religion” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.4 p.349

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-243/5 A.D.) (implied) “I trust, therefore, that as regards these doctrines it is obvious to all possessed of a sound mind, that (these tenets) are unauthoritative, and far removed from the knowledge that is in accordance with Religion,” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 6 ch.47 p.97

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “God of the universe through Mediator and High-Priest and Paraclete, and as his religion is a halting one who does not go in through the door to the Father, so also in the case of men of old time. Their religion was sanctified and made acceptable to God by their knowledge and faith and expectation of Christ.” *Origen’s Commentary on John* 2 ch.28 p.343

**Novatian** (250-254/257) “This is He who in the apostles gives testimony to Christ; in the martyrs shows forth the constant faithfullness of their religion; in virgins restrains the admirable continency of their sealed chastity; in others, guards the laws of the Lord’s doctrine incorrupt and uncontaminated; destroys heretics, corrects the perverse, condemns infidels, makes known pretenders; moreover, rebukes the wicked, keeps the Church uncorrupt and inviolate, in the sanctity of a perpetual virginity and truth.” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.29 p.641

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Therefore you are an unfair and traitorous father, unless you faithfully consult for your children, unless you look forward to preserve them in religion and true piety. You who are careful rather for their earthly than for their heavenly estate, rather to commend your children to the devil than to Christ, are sinning twice, and allowing a double and twofold crime, both in not providing for your children the aid of God their Father, and in teaching your children to love their property more than Christ.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 8 ch.19 p.481

**Pontius’ *Life and Passion of Cyprian of Carthage (258 A.D.)*** ch.7 p.269 “For nothing else was proper than that he who in the secret recesses of his conscience was rich in the full honour of religion and faith,”

**Theonas of Alexandria** (282-300 A.D.) “Let all the lust of avarice be put from you, which serves the cause of idolatry rather than the religion of Christ.” *Letter of Theonas, Bishop of Alexandria, to Lucianus, the Chief Chamberlain* ch.2 p.159

Theonas of Alexandria (282-300 A.D.) (implied) “let them mark it and admire it, and by reason there of praise Jesus Christ our Lord in you. Let your conversation always be temperate and modest, and seasoned with religion as with salt.” ch.8 p.161

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “Since the name of the Christian religion began to be used on the earth” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.2 p.413. See also book 1 ch.3 p.414.

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “childhood, in respect of the knowledge of God, and their after perfecting, by the worship of God and the exercise of the true religion. To-day, according to the prophet,” *Oration on the Psalms* p.395

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) speaks of the Christian religion in the first paragraph of *Against the Heathen* ch.1.8 p.4

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Therefore the chief good of man is in religion only” *The Divine Institutes* book 3 ch.10 p.77. See also ibid book 4 ch.28 p.131 and ibid book 1 ch.1 p.10.

**Alexander of Alexandria** (321 A.D.) “at another time they cast approbium and infamy upon the Christian religion,” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Epistle 1 ch.1 p.291.

Alexander of Alexandria (313-326 A.D.) “14. These men, therefore, who have dared such things against Christ; who have partly in public derided the Christian religion” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* ch.14. p.296

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) (implied) speaks of the religion of Abraham *Demonstration of the Gospel* book 1.6 p.10

Eusebius of Caesarea (326-339/340 A.D.) (implied) says that the religion of Abraham has reappeared [in Christ]. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.4.14 p.88

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) says that Jeshua was originally called Auses [Hoshea], but his name was changed to Jesus [Joshua] because he “bore a resemblance to our Saviour in the fast that he alone, after Moses and after the completion of the symbolical worship which had been transmitted by him, succeeded to the government of the trure religion. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.3.4 p.85

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) speaks of proper religion. *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.36 p.288

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) “account the whole business of religion needed a true prophet, that he might tell us things that are, as they are, and how we must believe concerning all things.” Clementine homily 1 ch.19 p.&&

The Ebionite *Clementine Homilies* (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 2 ch.38 p.236; also homily 9 ch.2 p.276 (implied) mentions religion of the true God in a positive way.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.25 p.84 “And then, having perceived that the sum of all religion and piety consists in this, I immediately replied: ‘You have proceeded most excellently, O Peter:’”

## ma12. Drinking wine is OK

1 Timothy 5:23; Titus 2:3

1 Corinthians 11:21 (implied)

**p32 (=P. Rylands 5)** Titus 1:1-15; 2:3-8 (21 verses) (150-200 A.D.) Titus 2:3 older women should not be addicted to much wine.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “That wine, which was produced by God in a vineyard, and which was first consumed, was good. None of those who drank of it found fault with it; and the Lord partook of it also. But that wine was better which the Word made form water, on the moment,” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.11.5 p.427

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “For rest assured, He Himself also partook of wine; for He, too, was man. For the Son of man,’ He says, ‘came and they says, Behold a glutton and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans.’ Let this be held fast by us against those that are called Encratites.” *The Instructor* book 2 ch.3 [title On Drinking] p.246

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) says that mixing wine with water is fine and healthy. He then has a lengthy passage on the evils of drunkenness. *The Instructor* book 2 ch.2 [title On Drinking] p.242-246

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) Says that Paul knew drinking a little wine was good. *The Chaplet* ch.8 p.97

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “Let what is sufficient be expended upon them, wine and food.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.75 p.218

**Origen** (235-245 A.D.) “For Jesus, who cheers up the disciples with *undiluted* wine, cheers them up and says to them: ‘Take, drink, this is my blood, which is poured out for you for the forgiveness of sins.’” *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 12 ch.2.2 p.112-113

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) condemns drunkenness, and those who fast but still drink wine, but does not forbid wine. *On Jewish Meats* ch.6 p.649

## ma13. No food sacrificed to idols

Acts 15:29; 21:25

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “the meaning of “what the Spirit saith to the churches.” He imputes to the Ephesians “forsaken love; “ reproaches the Thyatirenes with “fornication,” and “eating of things sacrificed to idols; “ accuses the Sardians of “works not full; “ censures the Pergamenes for teaching perverse things; upbraids the Laodiceans for trusting to their riches; and yet gives them all general monitions to repentance-under comminations, it is true; but He would not utter comminations to one *un*repentant if He did not forgive the repentant. The matter were doubtful if He had not withal” *On Repentance* ch.8 p.663

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) discusses that a) the Jews could not eat certain foods and blood, b) Christ in order not to hinder anyone pronounced everything clean, c) but because of obscurity in this manner, the apostles forbade them to take of food offered to idols or blood, d) probably because the odor of the blood was said to be the food of demons. *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.29-30 p.650

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) “It is not, therefore, simply an account of some traditions of our fathers that we refrain from eating victims offered to those called gods or heroes or demons, but for other reasons, some of which I have here mentioned.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.30 p.650

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “effect that what had been offered to idols might be exorcised and eaten,” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* ch.2 verses 4,5 p.346

**Council of Ancyra** (314 A.D.) (implied) “Those who have fled and been apprehended, or have been betrayed by their servants; of those who have been otherwise despoiled of their goods, or have endured tortures, or been forced to receive something which their persecutors violently thrust into their hands, or meat [offered to idols], continually professing that they were Christians; and who, … always give evidence of grief at what has happened; these persons, inasmuch as they are free from sin, are not to be repelled from the communion;” canon 3 p.64

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (implied) “The mother of Galerius, a woman exceedingly superstitious, was a votary of the gods of the mountains. Being of such a character, she made sacrifices almost every day, and she feasted her servants on the meat offered to idols: but the Christians of her family would not partake of those entertainments; and while she feasted with the Gentiles, they continued in fasting and prayer.

**Among heretics**

***Recognitions of Clement*** book 4 ch.36 p.142-143 “And the things which pollute at once the soul and the body are these: to partake of the table of demons, that is, to taste things sacrificed, or blood, or a carcase which is strangled,”

## ma14. Christ died for all people

1 Timothy 2:5-6

1 Timothy 4:9-10

Hebrews 2:9-10 “… he [Jesus] suffered death, so that by the grace of God he might taste death for everyone. I bringing many sons to glory, it was fitting that God, for whom and through whom everything exists, should make the author of their salvation perfect through suffering.”

1 John 2:2

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “...being called by His will in Christ Jesus, are not justified by ourselves, nor by our own wisdom, or understanding, or godliness, or works which we have wrought in holiness of heart; but by that faith through which, from the beginning, Almighty God has justified all men; to whom be glory for ever and ever.” *1 Clement* ch.32 p.13.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “they [unbelievers] despise the workmanship of God, speaking against their own salvation.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.22.1 p.347

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “[God] did indeed show Himself to be long-suffering in the matter of the correction of man and the probation of all” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.23.1 p.455

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “indicating that eternal fire was not originally prepared for man, but for him [Satan] who beguiled man, and caused him to offend” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.23.3 p.456

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “You may, if you choose, purchase salvation, though of inestimable value, with your own resources, love and living faith, which will be reckoned a suitable price. This recompense God cheerfully accepts; ‘forwe trust in the living God, who is the Saviour of all men, especially of those who believe.’” (1 Timothy 4:10f 12/17 words quoted) *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.9 p.196

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235-245 A.D.) (implied) “But He [Son of God] seeks all, and desires to save all, wishing to make all the children of God, and calling all the saints unto one perfect man. For there is also one Son (or Servant) of God, by whom we too, receiving the regeneration through the Holy Spirit, desire to come all unto one perfect and heavenly man.” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.3 p.205

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) says that God the Father delivered up Jesus as His lamb, the Lamb of God, by dying for all men, to take away the sin of the world. *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.44 p.655.

**Gregory Thaumaturgus** (240-265 A.D.) “But why should I utter such lamentations? There lives still the Saviour of all men, even of the half-dead and the despoiled, the Protector and Physician for all, the Word, that sleepless Keeper of all.” *Oration and Panegyric to Origen* ch.17 p.38

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) says that Christ died for all, and by the suffering of death tasted death for every man. *Incarnation of the Word* ch.10.2 p.41. See also ibid ch.7.5 p.40.

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) says that Jesus ransomed the sins of all. *The Incarnation* ch.40.2 p.57. See also *Incarnation of the Word* ch.25.4 p.50

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) quotes all of Hebrews 2:9, except replaces “Jesus” with “He … even Jesus” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.10 p.41

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) says that Christ “died to ransom all” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.21.7 p.48

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) says that Christ “died on the cross for the salvation of all” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.36.4 p.55. See also ibid ch.37.1 p.55-56

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) “the common savior of all, the Word of God, our Lord Jesus Christ.” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.37.2 p.56

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) “He it is that was crucified before the sun and all creation as witnesses, and before those who put Him to death: and by His death has salvation come to all, and all creation been ransomed. He is the Life of all, and He it is that as a sheep yielded His body to death as a substitute, for the salvation of all, even though the Jews believe it not.” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.37.7 p.56

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| *The Stromata book 6 ch.17 p.518* | 1 Tim 4:10f (1/3 quote) | Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) |
| *The Instructor* book 3 ch.12 p.295 | 1 Jn 2:2-6 (full quote) by John | Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) |
|  |  |  |
| *Origen Against Celsus book 4 ch.28 p.508* | 1 Jn 2:2f (7/11 quote) | Origen (c.225-253/254 A.D.) |
| *Origen Against Celsus book 8 ch.13 p.644* | 1 Jn 2:2m (not 4 4 not 12 words quoted) | Origen (c.225-253/254 A.D.) |
| *Homilies on Jeremiah homily 12 ch.13.2 p.127* | 1 Jn 2:2 | Origen (c.240, 235-245 A.D.) |
| *Homilies on Jeremiah homily 14 ch.11.2 p.145* | 1 Jn 2:2 | Origen (c.240, 235-245 A.D.) |
| *Homilies on Psalms Psalm 77 homily 6 ch.2 p.357* | 1 Jn 2:1-2 | Origen (250 A.D.) |
| *Homilies on Isaiah homily 1.4 p.50* | 1 Jn 2:1-2 | Origen (245-248 A.D.) |
| *Homilies on Luke fragment 164 p.190* | 1 Jn 2:2 | Origen (233-244 A.D.) |
| *Origen's Commentary on John book 1 ch.23 p.309* | 1 Jn 2:1f (3/5 quote); 2:2a (2/5 quote) by John in his catholic epistle of John | Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) |
| *Origen's Commentary on John book 1 ch.38 p.317* | 1 Jn 2:1f (3/5 quote); 2:2m (not 5 7 not 8 words quoted) in the Epistle of John | Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) |
| *Origen's Commentary on John book 6 ch.37 p.378* | 1 Jn 2:1f (3/4 quote); 2:2 (full quote) in the Epistle of John | Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) |
| *Origen Against Celsus book 3 ch.49 p.484* | 1 Tim 4:10f (2/5 quote) | Origen (c.225-253/254 A.D.) |
| *Origen Against Celsus book 4 ch.28 p.508* | 1 Tim 4:10f (1/3 quote) | Origen (c.225-253/254 A.D.) |
| *Homilies on Luke fragment 164 p.190* | 1 Tim 4:10f (7/19 words quoted) | Origen (233-244 A.D.) |
| *Origen's Commentary on John book 6 ch.37 p.378* | 1 Tim 4:10f (7/18 quote) | Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) |
| *Origen's Commentary on John book 6 ch.38 p.380* | 1 Tim 4:10f (7/18 quote) by Paul | Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) |
| *Origen's Commentary on John book 2 ch.6 p.329* | Heb 2:9m (8 not 2 9 not 7 words quoted) by Paul in the Epistle to the Hebrews | Origen (c.227-240 A.D.) |

# Disputed PArts

## di1. Prophets proclaimed 2 advents of Christ

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “For the prophets have proclaimed two advents of His: the one, that which is already past” *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.52 p.180

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) spoke against the Jews says they, “do not recognise the advent of Christ, which He accomplished for the salvation of men, nor are willing to understand that all the prophets announced His two advents: the one, indeed, in which He became a man subject to stripes, and knowing what it is to bear infirmity,” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.33.1 p.506

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “We affirm two characters of the Christ demonstrated by the prophets, and as many advents of His forenoted…” *An Answer to the Jews* ch.14 p.172

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) (partial, does not say both foretold) “For two comings of Christ having been revealed to us: a first, which has been fulfilled in the lowliness of a human lot; a second, which impends over the world, now near its close, in all the majesty of Deity unveiled;” *Apology* ch.21 p.35

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) says that the prophets set forth two conditions of Christ. This points to two advents. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.7 p.326

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “44. For as two advents of our Lord and Saviour are indicated in the Scriptures,” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.44 p.213

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “In the preceding pages we have already spoken of this point, viz., the prediction that there were to be two advents of Christ to the human race, so that it is not necessary for us to reply to the objection,” *Origen Against Celsus* book 2 ch.29 p.443

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) “the prophecies speak of two advents of Christ: the former characterized by human suffering and humility, in order that Christ, being with men, might make known the way that leads to God,” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.56 p.421

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) “The Prophets and the gospel plainly speak of two Advents of Christ – the first in humility, and the one after this, in glory.” Then he quotes Isaiah 53:2-3. *Dialogue on the True Faith* First part ch.25 p.68

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “two advents on His part were foretold by the prophets: the first, obscure in humility of the flesh; the other, manifest in the power of His majesty. Of the first David thus speaks in the seventy-first Psalm:” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.16 p.117

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Hippolytus** (after 236 A.D.) says the prophets proclaimed two advents of Christ. *Discourse on the End of the World* ch.21 p.247

## di2. Seventy Septuagint translators

Seventy Septuagint translators (6) Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, Theonas of Alexandria (282-300 A.D.), Anatolius

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “If therefore, I shall show that this prophecy of Isaiah refers to our Christ, and not to Hezekiah, as you say, shall I not in this matter, too, compel you not to believe your teachers, who venture to assert that the explanation which your seventy elders that were with Ptolemy the king of the Egyptians gave, is untrue in certain respects? For some statements in the Scriptures, which appear explicitly to convict them of a foolish and vain opinion, these they venture to assert have not been so written. But other statements, which they fancy they can distort and harmonize with human actions, these, they say, refer not to this Jesus Christ of ours, but to him of whom they are pleased to explain them. Thus, for instance, they have taught you that this Scripture which we are now discussing refers to Hezekiah, in which, as I promised, I shall show they are wrong. And since they are compelled, they agree that some Scriptures which we mention to them, and which expressly prove that Christ was to suffer, to be worshipped, and [to be called] God, and which I have already recited to you, do refer indeed to Christ, but they venture to assert that this man is not Christ. But they admit that He will come to suffer, and to reign, and to be worshipped, and to be God;” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.68 p.232-233. See also ibid ch.131 p.265

Justin Martyr (c.150 A.D.) (partial) “There were, then, among the Jews certain men who were prophets of God, through whom the prophetic Spirit published beforehand things that were to come to pass, ere ever they happened. And their prophecies, as they were spoken and when they were uttered, the kings who happened to be reigning among the Jews at the several times carefully preserved in their possession, when they had been arranged in books by the prophets themselves in their own Hebrew language. And when Ptolemy king of Egypt formed a library, and endeavoured to collect the writings of all men, he heard also of these prophets, and sent to Herod, who was at that time king of the Jews, requesting that the books of the prophets be sent to him. And Herod the king did indeed send them, written, as they were, in the foresaid Hebrew language. And when their contents were found to be unintelligible to the Egyptians, he again sent and requested that men be commissioned to translate them into the Greek language. And when this was done, the books remained with the Egyptians, where they are until now.” *The First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.31 p.173

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Ptolemy the son of Lagus, being anxious to adorn the library which he had founded in Alexandria, with a collection of the writings of all men, which were [works] of merit, made request to the people of Jerusalem, that they should have their Scriptures translated into the Greek language. And they-for at that time they were still subject to the Macedonians-sent to Ptolemy seventy of their elders, who were thoroughly skilled in the Scriptures and in both the languages, to carry out what he had desired. But he, wishing to test them individually, and fearing lest they might perchance, by taking counsel together, conceal the truth in the Scriptures, by their interpretation, separated them from each other, and commanded them all to write the same translation. He did this with respect to all the books. But when they came together in the same place before Ptolemy, and each of them compared his own interpretation with that of every other, God was indeed glorified, and the Scriptures were acknowledged as truly divine. For all of them read out the common translation [which they had prepared] in the very same words and the very same names, from beginning to end, so that even the Gentiles present perceived that the Scriptures had been interpreted by the inspiration of God. And there was nothing astonishing in God having done this,-He who, when, during the captivity of the people under Nebuchadnezzar, the Scriptures had been corrupted, and when, after seventy years, the Jews had returned to their own land, then, in the times of Artaxerxes king of the Persians, inspired Esdras the priest, of the tribe of Levi, to recast all the words of the former prophets, and to re-establish with the people the Mosaic legislation. 3. Since, therefore, the Scriptures have been interpreted with such fidelity, and by the grace of God, and since from these God has prepared and formed again our faith towards His Son, and has preserved to us the unadulterated Scriptures in Egypt, where the house of Jacob flourished, fleeing from the famine in Canaan; where also our Lord was preserved when He fled from the persecution set on foot by Herod; and [since] this interpretation of these Scriptures was made prior to our Lord’s descent [to earth], and came into being before the Christians appeared-for our Lord was bern about the forty-first year of the reign of Augustus; but Ptolemy was much earlier, under whom the Scriptures were interpreted;-[since these things are so, I say, ] truly these men are proved to be impudent and presumptuous, who would now show a desire to make different translations, when we refute them out of these Scriptures, and shut them up to a belief in the advent of the Son of God.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.21.2 p.451

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “It is said that the Scriptures both of the law and of the prophets were translated from the dialect of the Hebrews into the Greek language in the reign of Ptolemy the son of Lagos, or, according to others, of Ptolemy surnamed Philadelphus; Demetrius Phalereus bringing to this task the greatest earnestness, and employing painstaking accuracy on the materials for the translation. For the Macedonians being still in possession of Asia, and the king being ambitious of adorning the library he had at Alexandria with all writings, desired the people of Jerusalem to translate the prophecies they possessed into the Greek dialect. And they being the subjects of the Macedonians, selected from those of highest character among them seventy elders, versed in the Scriptures, and skilled in the Greek dialect, and sent them to him with the divine books. And each having severally translated each prophetic book, and all the translations being compared together, they agreed both in meaning and expression. For it was the counsel of God carried out for the benefit of Grecian ears. It was not alien to the inspiration of God, who gave the prophecy, also to produce the translation, and make it as it were Greek prophecy.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.22 p.334

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “But that the understanding of their books might not be wanting, this also the Jews supplied to Ptolemy; for they gave him seventy-two interpreters-men whom the philosopher Menedemus, the well-known asserter of a Providence, regarded with respect as sharing in his views. The same account is given by Aristµus. So the king left these works unlocked to all, in the Greek language.” *Tertullian’s Apology* ch.18 p.32

**Anatolius** (270-280 A.D.) ch.3 p.147 “who was one of the Seventy who translated the sacred and holy Scriptures of the Hebrews for Ptolemy Philadelphus and his father, and dedicated his exegetical books on the law of Moses to the same kings. These writers, in solving some questions which are raised with respect to Exodus, say that all alike ought to sacrifice the Passover”

**Theonas of Alexandria** (282-300 A.D.) the proceedings of the ancients. On occasion also he will endeavour to laud the divine Scriptures, which, with marvellous care and most liberal expenditure, Ptolemy Philadelphus caused to be translated into our language;”. He also mentions the “Seventy Interpreters” *Letter of Theonas, Bishop of Alexandria, to Lucianus, the Chief Chamberlain* ch.7 p.160

**Eusebius of Caesarea**(318-325 A.D.) mentions what he learned reading Irenaeus about Seventy Jewish translators Ptolemy had translate the Old Testament into Greek. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 5 ch.8.11-13 p.223-224

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Justin Martyr** (168-200 A.D.) tells at length about the seventy Septuagint translators. *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* ch.13 p.278-279

## di3. God is simple, or not composite

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “possessing resistance, composite, changeable, decaying, and renewed every day” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.

Justin Martyr 9c.138-165 A.D.) “fingers, and a soul, like a composite being; and they for this reason teach that” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) (partial, soul not composite, does not refer to God) “not composite, so that it cannot be decomposed, and is itself the life of those” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.7.1 p.533

Clement of Alexandria (183-217/220 A.D.) (partial) discusses God and calls created things composite. “Nor is there at all any composite thing, and creature endowed with sensation,” *Stromata* book 5 ch.6 p.453

Tertullian (c.213 A.D.) (partial) discusses how Christ is not a composite essence formed out of the Two substances. (partial because refers to the two natures of Christ, not the Trinity.) *Against Praxeas* ch.27 p.623-624

Tertullian (c.203 A.D.) (partial) discusses a composite and structural formation of the soul, but this does not refer to the Trinity. *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.9 p.188

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) (partial) says that God is of simple goodness. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 1 ch.25 p.290

**Novatian** (250/254-257 A.D.) “For He [God] is simple and without any corporeal commixture, being wholly of that essence, which, whatever it be,-He alone knows,-constitutes His being, since He is called Spirit.” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.5 p.615

**Alexander of Lycopolis** (301 A.D.) (implied) speaks against the Manichaeans, who would make God composite and corporeal. *Of the Manichaeans* ch.17 p.247

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) (implied) shows that God is one and not composite, without using the word composite. *Athanasius Against the Heathen* ch.41.1 p.26

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) (implied) “The First God, being in Himself, is simple” God however the Second and Third is one:” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 11 ch.18 p.24

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 8 ch.9 p.168 (implied) shows that God is not diverse.

## di4. God is impassible (without suffering or passion)

Some define impassible as without suffering or passion. Others additionally define it as having no emotions at all.

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “And indeed Socrates was compounded and divided into parts, just because he was created and perishable; but God is uncreated, and, impassible, and indivisible--does not, therefore, consist of parts.” *A Plea for Christians* ch.8 p.132

Athenagoras (177 A.D.) “That we are not atheists, therefore, seeing that we acknowledge one God, uncreated, eternal, invisible, impassible, incomprehensible, illimitable, who is apprehended by the understanding only and the reason, who is encompassed by light, and beauty, and spirit, and power ineffable, by whom the universe has been created through His Logos, and set in order, and is kept in being-I have sufficiently demonstrated. [I say ‘His Logos’], for we acknowledge also a Son of God.” *A Plea for Christians* ch.10 p.133

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) says that God is impassable, but the impassible suffered but did not avenge, the immortal died, but answered not a word. *Discourse on the Soul and Body* p.756.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “for it were wrong to conceive of God as subject to passions,” *Stromata* book 5 ch.4 p.450

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “XVI.--HOW WE ARE TO EXPLAIN THE PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE WHICH ASCRIBE TO GOD HUMAN AFFECTIONS. Here again arise the cavaliers, who say that joy and pain are passions of the soul: for they define joy as a rational elevation and exultation, as rejoicing on account of what is good; and pity as pain for one who suffers undeservedly; and that such affections are moods and passions of the soul. But we, as would appear, do not cease in such matters to understand the Scriptures carnally; and starting from our own affections, interpret the will of the impassible Deity similarly to our perturbations; and as we are capable of hearing; so, supposing the same to be the case with the Omnipotent, err impiously. For the Divine Being cannot be declared as it exists: but as we who are lettered in the flesh were able to listen, so the prophets spake to us; the Lord savingly accommodating Himself to the weakness of men.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.16 p.363

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240 A.D.) says that God is passionless, good, knowing all things, foreknowing all things. *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.21 p.45

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) says that the Father is impassable. *Against the Heresy of One Noetus* ch.8 p.226

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “For such passions as these will rightly be said to be in men, and will not rightly be judged to be in God.” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.5 p.615

Novatian (254/4-256/7 A.D.) (implied) “For if Scripture were to set forth that Christ is God only, and that there was no association of human weakness mingled in His nature, this intricate argument of theirs might reasonably avail something. If Christ is God, and Christ died, then God died. But when Scripture determines, as we have frequently shown, that He is not only God, but man also, it follows that what is immortal may be held to have remained uncorrupted. For who cannot understand that the divinity is impassible, although the human weakness is liable to suffering? When, therefore, Christ is understood to be mingled and associated as well of that which God is, as of that which man is--for "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt in us"--who cannot easily apprehend of himself, without any teacher and interpreter, that it was not that in Christ that died which is God, but that in Him died which is man?” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.25 p.636

**Among heretics**

“Revised Valentinian” *Tripartite Tractate* (200-250 A.D.) (implied) that Go dis impassible. &&&

## di5. Jesus, the Word of God, was impassible but became passible and suffered

**Ignatius of Antioch** (-107/116 A.D.) (mixed) “Weigh carefully the times. Look for Him who is above all time, eternal and invisible, yet who became visible for our sakes; impalpable and impassible, yet who became passible on our account; and who in every kind of way suffered for our sakes.” *Epistle to the Smyrnaeans* ch.3 p.94

Ignatius of Antioch (-107/116 A.D.) “look for Him that is above the times, Him who has no times, Him who is invisible, Him who for our sakes became visible, Him who is impalpable, Him who is impassable, Him who for our sakes suffered, him who endured everything in every form for our sakes.” *Epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp* ch.3 p.99

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) says that God is impassable, but the impassible suffered but did not avenge, the immortal died, but answered not a word. *Discourse on the Soul and Body* p.756.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) (implied) “In this manner, therefore, did they also see the Son of God as a man conversant with men, while they prophesied what was to happen, saying the He who was not come as yet was present; proclaiming also the impassible as subject to suffering, and declaring that He who was then in heaven had descended into the dust of death.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.20.8 p.490

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) (partial) says the Gnostics were wrong to teach that the Superior Savior was not really killed since He was impassible. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.12.6 p.432

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) refers to Jesus, who while still in the body, enjoyed “impassability and tranquility of soul.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.7 p.419

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “And He (was) clothed in a vesture dipped in blood: and His name is called the Word of God."(2) See then, brethren, how the vesture sprinkled with blood denoted in symbol the flesh, through which the impassible Word of God came under suffering, as also the prophets testify to me. For thus speaks the blessed Micah: "The house of Jacob provoked the Spirit of the Lord to anger. These are their pursuits. Are not His words good with them, and do they walk rightly? And they have risen up in enmity against His countenance of peace, and they have stripped off His glory."(3) That means His suffering in the flesh.” *Against the Heresy of One Noetus* ch.15 p.229

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) “For the divine is just the same after the incarnation that it was before the incarnation; in its essence infinite, illimitable, impassible, incomparable, unchangeable, inconvertable, self-potent, and, in short, subsisting in essence alone the infinitely worthy good.” Fragment1 p.232

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “And great is the crowd without to whom the Word of God goes out, and, having poured out upon it the light of His ‘visitation,’ beholds it; and, seeing that they were rather deserving of being pitied, because they were in such circumstances, as a lover of men He who was impassible suffered the emotion of pity, and not only had pity but healed their sick, who had sicknesses diverse and of every kind arising from their wickedness.” *Commentary on Matthew* book 10 ch.23 p.430

**Novatian** (254/4-256/7 A.D.) (implied) “For if Scripture were to set forth that Christ is God only, and that there was no association of human weakness mingled in His nature, this intricate argument of theirs might reasonably avail something. If Christ is God, and Christ died, then God died. But when Scripture determines, as we have frequently shown, that He is not only God, but man also, it follows that what is immortal may be held to have remained uncorrupted. For who cannot understand that the divinity is impassible, although the human weakness is liable to suffering? When, therefore, Christ is understood to be mingled and associated as well of that which God is, as of that which man is--for "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt in us"--who cannot easily apprehend of himself, without any teacher and interpreter, that it was not that in Christ that died which is God, but that in Him died which is man?” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.25 p.636

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) (mixed) “For the turned wine indicated very well the quick turning and change which He sustained, when He passed from His passion to impassibility, and from death to deathlessness, and from the position of one judged to that of one judging, and from subjection under the despot's power to the exercise of kingly dominion.” *The Gospel According to Luke* ch.42 p.115 … “And accordingly, as by the intensity of the supplication and the severe agony, so also by the dense and excessive sweat [int eh garden], he made the facts patent, that the Saviour was man by nature and in reality, and not in mere semblance and appearance, and that He was subject to all the innocent sensibilities natural to men.” Ibid ch.44 p.115

**Adamantius** (c.300 A.D.) “Nor is the fire, when cut by a sword, divided, for the dense flame runs back on itself and remains indivisible. If, then, material substances exert their strength against other substances and cannot be consumed, much more surely did the Word of God, being of an impassible and unchangeable nature, remain impassible, and absorbed the sufferings.” *Dialogue on the True Faith in God* Fifth Part 8d-e p.158.

Adamantius (c.300 A.D.) calls Christ the “Word of God” “The Word of God experiences some passion if the Godhead feels shame. … Because you stated that it is shame to say that the Word assumed flesh. But the Godhead does not feel shame; it does not grasp at *glory*; nor does it experience desire. These things are passions, but the godhead is not susceptible to passions.” (Adamantius is speaking) *Dialogue on the True Faith* Fourth Part d14 p.144-145.

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “Wherefore for this cause the Son of God was in the manhood enclosed, because this was not impossible to Him. For with power He suffered, remaining impassible; and He died, bestowing the gift of immortality upon mortals.” homily *on the Cross and Passion of Christ* Fragment 3 p.400

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (c.318 A.D.) “For while He [the Word] Himself was in no way injured, being impassible and incorruptible and very Word and God, men who were suffering, and for whose sakes He endured all this, He maintained and preserved in His own impassibility.” *Incarnation of the Word* ch.54 p.65

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**Pseudo-Alexander of Alexandria** (313-326 A.D.) “What is this novel mystery? The judge is judged and is silent; the invisible is seen and is not confounded; the incomprehensible is grasped and is not indignant at it; the immeasurable is contained in a measure and makes no opposition; the impassable suffers and does not avenge its own injury; the immortal dies and complains not; the celestial is buried and bears it with an equal mind. What, I say, is this mystery? The creature surely is transfixed with amazement. But when our Lord rose from death and trampled it down, when He bound the strong man and set man free, then every creature wondered at the Judge who for Adam's sake was judged, at the invisible being seen, at the impassable suffering, at the immortal dead, at the celestial buried in the earth.” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* Epistle 5 addition to the codex ch.6 p.302

**Among heretics**

**Cerinthus** according to Irenaeus (182-188 A.D.) (mixed, Christ impassible, Jesus passible) “He [Cerinthus] represented Jesus as having not been born of a virgin, but as being the son of Joseph and Mary according to the ordinary course of human generation, while he nevertheless was more righteous, prudent, and wise than other men. Moreover, after his baptism, Christ descended upon him in the form of a dove from the Supreme Ruler, and that then he proclaimed the unknown Father, and performed miracles. But at last Christ departed from Jesus, and that then Jesus suffered and rose again, while Christ remained impassible, inasmuch as he was a spiritual being.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.26.1 p.351

**Gnostics** according to Irenaeus (182-188 A.D.) (mixed) “and of the Saviour, as respects that dove which descended upon Him. He also continued free from all suffering, since indeed it was not possible that He should suffer who was at once incomprehensible and invisible. And for this reason the Spirit of Christ, who had been placed within Him, was taken away when He was brought before Pilate. They maintain, further, that not even the seed which He had received from the mother [Achamoth] was subject to suffering; for it, too, was impassible, as being spiritual, and invisible even to the Demiurge himself. It follows, then, according to them, that the animal Christ, and that which had been formed mysteriously by a special dispensation, underwent suffering, that the mother might exhibit through him a type of the Christ above, namely, of him who extended himself through Stauros,(6) and imparted to Achamoth shape, so far as substance was concerned. For they declare that all these transactions were counterparts of what took place above.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.7.3 p.325

## di6. Some fallen angels sinned with women

(partial) Genesis 6:1-5

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) said that of old evil demons, making apparitions of themselves defiled both women and corrupted boys. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.5 p.164. See also *Second Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.5 p.190.

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) said that some angels fell into impure love of virgins and were subjugated by the flesh. “Of these lovers of virgins, therefore, were begotten those who are called giants.” [Genesis 6:1-4]. The souls of the giants are the demons that inhabit the world. *A Plea for Christians* ch.24-25 p.142.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (c.160-202 A.D.) “And for a very long while wickedness extended and spread, and reached and laid hold upon the whole race of mankind, until a very small seed of righteousness remained among them: and illicit unions took place upon the earth, since angels were united with the daughters of the race of mankind; and they bore to them sons who for their exceeding greatness were called giants.” *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.18

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) (implied) “An example of this [licentiousness] are the angels, who renounced the beauty of God for a beauty which fades, and so fell from heaven to earth.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.2 p.274

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “for the apostle [Paul] was quite aware that ‘spiritual wickedness’ had been at work in heavenly places, when angels were entrapped into sin by the daughters of men.” *Tertullian Against Marcion* book 5 ch.18 p.470.

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) says that demons fell from heaven because of women. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.3 p.203

**Julius Africanus** (235-245 A.D.) “But if it is thought that these refer to angels, we must take them to be those who deal with magic and jugglery, who taught the women the motions of the stars and the knowledge of things celestial, by whose power they conceived the giants as their children, by whom wickedness came to its height on the earth, until God decreed that the whole race of the living should perish in their impiety by the deluge.” *The Extant Fragments of the Five Books of the Chronography of Julius Africanus* ch.2 p.131

**Alexander of Lycopolis** (301 A.D.) says that some angels sinned with women. *Of the Manichaeans* ch.25 p.252.

Alexander of Lycopolis (301 A.D.) says that some fallen angels came down and had sexual relations with women. *Of the Manichaeans* ch.17 p.248

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) As angels fell, some sinned with women. *On the Resurrection* Part 3 ch.7 p.370

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says that fallen angels were tempted to be polluted by intercourse with women. *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.15 p.64

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) says that Satan fell because he envied that man was made immortal. Some of God’s angels defiled themselves with women and fell. *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.27 p.231-232.

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) says that angels who were against God had relations with women.. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 5 ch.4 p.8

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions that some angel sinned with women. homily 8 ch.13-15 p.273

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.29 p.85 says that some angels fell with women. See also book 4 ch.26 p.140.

**Bardesan/Bardesaines** of Syria (154-224/232 A.D.) “For we are sure that, if the angels likewise had not been possessed of personal freedom, they would not have consorted with the daughters of men, and sinned, and fallen from their places.” *The Book of the Laws of Divers Countries* p.725

**Manichaeans** (301 A.D.) “But what the poets say about the giants is manifestly a fable. For those who lay it down about these, bring forward such matters in allegories, by a species of fable hiding the majesty of their discourse; as, for instance, when the Jewish history relates that angels came down to hold intercourse with the daughters of men; for this saying signifies that the nutritive powers of the soul descended from heaven to earth.” According to Alexander of Lycopolis *Of the Manichaeans* ch.25 p.252

## di7. Against jewelry or false/dyed hair

***Didache*** (=*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*) (before 125 A.D.) vol.7

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) is against women being fond of gold and jewelry, or staining the cheeks or painting their eyes. *The Instructor* book 3 ch.2 p.272

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) was against precious stones, pearls, and “little pebbles” *On the Apparel of Women* book 1 ch.6 p.16-17

**Theodotus** (probable Montanist (ca.240 A.D.) (implied) women who were punished account of their hair and finery.

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “Hear my voice, thou who wishest to remain a Christian woman, in what way the blessed Paul commands you to be adorned. Isaiah, moreover, the teacher and author that spoke from heaven, for he detests those who follow the wickedness of the world, says: The daughters of Zion that are lifted up shall be brought low. It is not right in God that a faithful Christian woman should be adorned. Dost thou seek to go forth after the fashion of the Gentiles, O thou who art consecrated to God? God’s heralds, crying aloud in the law, condemn such to be unrighteous women, who in such wise adorn themselves. Ye stain your hair; ye paint the opening of your eyes with black; ye lift up your pretty hair one by one on your painted brow; ye anoint your cheeks with some sort of ruddy colour laid on; and, moreover, earrings hang down with very heavy weight. Ye bury your neck with necklaces; with gems and gold ye bind hands worthy of God with an evil presage. Why should I tell of your dresses, or of the whole pomp of the devil? Ye are rejecting the law when ye wish to please the world. Ye dance in your houses; instead of psalms, ye sing love songs. Thou, although thou mayest be chaste, dost not prove thyself so by following evil things.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.60 p.215. See also ibid ch.59 p.214.

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) speaks against jewelry. *Origen on Prayer* ch.2.2 p.18

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “And although it is written, ‘Ye shall not mar the figure of your beard,’ he plucks out his beard, and dresses his hair; and does he now study to please any one who displeases God? Or does she groan and lament who has time to put on the clothing of precious apparel, and not to consider the robe of Christ which she has lost; to receive valuable ornaments and richly wrought necklaces, and not to bewail the loss of divine and heavenly ornament? Although thou clothest thyself in foreign garments and silken robes, thou art naked; although thou adornest thyself to excess both in pearls, and gems, and gold, yet without the adornment of Christ thou art unsightly. And you who stain your hair, now at least cease in the midst of sorrows; and you who paint the edges of your eyes with a line drawn around them of black powder, now at least wash your eyes with tears. If you had lost any dear one of your friends by the death incident to mortality, you would groan grievously, and weep with disordered countenance, with changed dress, with neglected hair, with clouded face, with dejected appearance, you would show the signs of grief. Miserable creature, you have lost your soul; spiritually dead here, you are continuing to live to yourself, and although yourself walking about, you have begun to carry your own death with you. And do you not bitterly moan; do you not continually groan; do you not hide yourself, either for shame of your sin or for continuance of your lamentation? Behold, these are still worse wounds of sinning; behold, these are greater crimes-to have sinned, and not to make atonement-to have committed crimes, and not to bewail your crimes.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 3 ch.30 p.445-446

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “Was it for this He sent souls, that, forgetting their importance and dignity *as* divine, they should acquire gems, precious stones, pearls, at the expense of their purity; should entwine their necks with these, pierce the tips of their ears, bind their foreheads with fillets, seek for cosmetics to deck their bodies, darken their eyes with henna; nor, though in the forms of men, blush to curl their hair with crisping-pins, to make the skin of the body smooth, to walk with bare knees, and with every other *kind of* wantonness, both to lay aside the strength of their manhood, and to grow in effeminacy to a woman’s habits and luxury?” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book2 ch.41 p.450

## di8. Christians must fast on certain days

***Didache*** (before 125 A.D.) vol.7 ch.1.5 p.377 Bless, pray for, and fast for your enemies.

*Didache* ch.2.7 p.378 (before 125 A.D.) “Thou shalt not hate any man” ch.8 p.379 mentions fasting on the fourth day and preparation day, not the second and fifth day.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) For the controversy is not merely as regards the day, but also as regards the form itself of the fast. For some consider themselves hound to fast one day, others two days, others still more, while others [do so during] forty: the diurnal and the nocturnal hours they measure out together as their [fasting] day. And this variety among the observers [of the fasts] had not its origin in our time, but long before in that of our predecessors, some of whom probably, being not very accurate in their observance of it, handed down to posterity the custom as it had, through simplicity or private fancy, been [introduced among them]. And yet nevertheless all these lived in peace one with another, and we also keep peace together. Thus, in fact, the difference [in observing] the fast establishes the harmony of [our common] faith.” Irenaeus fragment 3 p.568-569

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “If this savours more of the spirit of Christian religion, while it celebrates more the glory of Christ, I am equally able, from the self-same order of events, to fix the condition of *late protraction of the Station*; (namely), that we are to fast till a late hour, awaiting the time of the Lord’s sepulture, when Joseph took down and entombed the body which he had requested. Thence (it follows) that it is even irreligious for the flesh of the servants to take refreshment before their Lord did.” *Tertullian On Fasting* ch.10 p.109

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “You have sent to me, most faithful and accomplished son, in order to inquire what is the proper hour for bringing the fast to a close on the day of Pentecost. For you say that there are some of the brethren who hold that that should be done at cockcrow, and others who hold that it should be at nightfall.” *letter 5: Letter to Bishop Basilides* Canon 1 p.94

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) mentions that Christians fast on the fourth day. Fragment p.341

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) speaks of the fast which prepares for the Easter celebration” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 3 ch.12 p.321

## di9. No drinking or eating blood

Acts 15:29; 21:25

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) Christians were falsely accused of killing people and drinking blood. *Second Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.12 p.192

***Christians of Vienna and Lugdunum*** (177 A.D.). p.780 says that Christians do not think it lawful to partake of blood of even animals.

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) says Christians did not even use blood of eatable animals in their food. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.30 p.192

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) says it is unlawful to drink blood. *The Instructor* book 3 ch.3 p.277

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) Christians were forbidden to eat the blood of even animals. *Tertullian’s Apology* ch.9 p.25

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “To clench the matter with a single example, you tempt Christians with sausages of blood, just because you are perfectly aware that the thing by which you thus try to get them to transgress they hold unlawful.” *Tertullian’s Apology* ch.9 p.25

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) quotes Acts 15:28029. Then he says, “As to things strangled, we are forbidden by Scripture to partake of them, because the blood is still in them; and blood, especially the odour arising from blood, is said to be the food of demons.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.30 p.650.

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) (partial) discusses that a) the Jews could not eat certain foods and blood, b) Christ in order not to hinder anyone pronounced everything clean, c) but because of obscurity in this manner, the apostles forbade them to take of food offered to idols or blood, d) probably because the odor of the blood was said to be the food of demons. *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.29-30 p.650

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (implied) says that some evil men would rather imbibe blood than hear the words of the righteous. *The Divine Institutes* 5 book 1 p.135

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (329-339/340 A.D.) Blandina says that they would not eat even the blood of irrational animals. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 5 ch.1.26 p.214

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) says Christians are not to drink blood. homily 7 ch.4 p.268

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 4 ch.36 p.142-143 “And the things which pollute at once the soul and the body are these: to partake of the table of demons, that is, to taste things sacrificed, or blood, or a carcase which is strangled,”

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.30 p.85 forbids eating blood.

## di10. No worshipping true God with images

Deuteronomy 4:15-19; (implied) Deuteronomy 27:15

***Epistle of Barnabas*** ch.14 p.146 (c.70-130 A.D.) (implied) mentions how the Israelites sinned by making images.

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) in *A Plea for Christians* ch.15 p.135 (implied) “Because of the multitude, who cannot distinguish between matter and God, or see how great is the interval which lies between them, pray to idols made of matter, are we therefore, who do distinguish and separate the uncreated and the created, that which is and that which is not, that which is apprehended by the understanding and that which is perceived by the senses, and who give the fitting name to each of them, - are we to come and worship images? If, indeed, matter and God are the same, two names for one thing, then certainly, in not regarding stocks and stones, gold and silver, as gods, we are guilty of impiety. But if they are at the greatest possible remove from one another – as far asunder as the artist and the materials of his art,- why are we called to account.”

Athenagoras (177 A.D.) (implied) “If, therefore, the world is an instrument in tune, and moving in well-measured time, I adore the Being who gave it harmony, and strikes its notes, and sings the accordant strain, and not the instrument. For at the musical contests and adjudicators do not pass by the lute-players and crown the lutes.” *A Plea for Christians* ch.16 p.136

***Theophilus to Autolycus*** (168-181/188 A.D.) book 3 ch.9 p.114 quotes Exodus 20:3 saying we should not make to God any graven image.

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) “But do you think that we conceal what we worship, if we have not temples and altars? And yet what image of God shall I make, since, if you think rightly, man himself is the image of God? What temple shall I build to Him, when this whole world fashioned by His work cannot receive Him” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.32 p.193

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “The law… teaches wisdom, by abstinence from sensible images.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.18 p.365

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) says Moses commanded the people not to make an image to represent God. *The Instructor* book 3 ch.2 p.274

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “Such, then, being the case, the Greeks ought by the Law and the Prophets to learn to worship one God only, the only Sovereign; then to be taught by the apostle, ‘but to us an idol is no, thing in the world,’ since nothing among created things can be a likeness of God; and further, to be taught that none of those images which they worship can be similitudes: for the race of souls is not in form such as the Greeks fashion their idols.” *Stromata* book 6 ch.18 p.519

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) It is not, however, with images that we are to worship the Father, but ‘in truth,’ which ‘came by Jesus Christ,’ after the giving of the law by Moses. *Origen Against Celsus* book 6 ch.70 p.605

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) (implied) says to have no graven images, without specifying images of idols or the true God. *Origen Against Celsus* book 7 ch.64 p.636

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) (implied) “And we clearly manifest the illustrious nature of our origin, and do not (as Celsus imagines) conceal it, when we impress upon the minds of our first converts a contempt for idols, and images of all kinds, and, besides this, raise their thoughts from the worship of created things instead of God, and elevate them to the universal Creator;” Origen Against Celsus book 3 ch.15 p.470

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) says not to portray Deity in human or animal form. “And generally, if they conceive the Deity to be corporeal, so that they contrive for it and represent belly and hands and feet, and neck also, and breasts and the other organs that go to make man, see to what impiety and godlessness their mind has come down, to have such ideas of the Deity. … But these and like things are not properties of God, but rather of earthly bodies.” *Against the Heathen* ch.22 p.15-16.

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) “For ye carve the figures for the sake of the apprehension of God, as ye say, but invest the actual images with the honor and title of God, thus placing yourselves in a profane position.” *Against the Heathen* ch.21.1 p.15

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) We should not worship with images. *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.2 p.41, also book 2 ch.18 p.67

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Council of Elvira** (c.305 A.D.) canon 36 “Pictures are not to be placed in churches, so that they do not become objects of worship and adoration.” (The original Council likely only had 21 canons, and this canon was likely added centuries later.)

How in the world could the early Christians all be venerating icons, when they said these things, and nothing positive was said about any icons or other images?

## di11. Miracle healings in post-Acts church

[Healing of transgressions, of Christ healing while on earth are not included here.]

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) (partial) “Now, it is possible to see amongst us women and men who possess gifts of the Spirit of God;”

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) (partial, does not say anything after Acts) “Learning, then, is also obedience to the commandments, which is faith in God. And faith is a power of God, being the strength of the truth. For example, it is said, “If ye have faith as a grain of mustard, ye shall remove the mountain.’ And again, ‘According to thy faith let it be to thee.’ And one is cured, receiving healing by faith; and the dead is raised up in consequence of the power of one believing that he would be raised.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.11 p.358

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) (implied) was a Montanist, and they practiced healings and prophesy.

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) mentions the spiritual gifts, including tongues, prophecy, and healing as operating in the apostles in Acts, in the church now, but not with Marcion’s group. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.8 p.445-446

**Theodotus** (probable Montanist) (&&&) The Montanists practiced healings and prophesy.

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) mentions that [I the church now] the blind are made to see, the lepers are healed, and the lame walk. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 73 homily 2 ch.3 p.196

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “This is He [the Spirit] who places prophets in the Church, instructs teachers, directs tongues, gives powers and healings, does wonderful works, offers discrimination of spirits, affords powers of government, suggests counsels, and order and arranges whatever other gifts there are of charismata; and thus make the Lord’s Church everywhere, and in all, perfected and completed.” *Treatise Concerning the Trinity* ch.29 p.640-641

**Cyprian** Letter 1 ch.5 mentions the Spirit giving power for healing the sick.

Pamphilus (martyred 309 A.D.) (partial) in his outline of Acts mentions the prophet Agabus. *An Exposition of the Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles* DD. vol.6

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

***Acts of Paul and Thecla*** (before 207 A.D.) p.492 shows the woman Thecla healing the sick.

## di12. Prophesy in church after Acts

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) (partial) “Now, it is possible to see amongst us women and men who possess gifts of the Spirit of God;” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.88 p.243

**Evarestus** (c.169 A.D.) “He [Polycarp] departed, therefore, to a country house not far distant from the city. There he stayed with a few [friends], engaged in nothing else night and day than praying for all men, and for the Churches throughout the world, according to his usual custom. And while he was praying, a vision presented itself to him three days before he was taken; and, behold, the pillow under his head seemed to him on fire. Upon this, turning to those that were with him, he said to them prophetically, ‘I must be burnt alive.’” *Martyrdom of Polycarp* ch.5 p.40

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) purports to be a vision given by God.

***Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas*** (c.201-205 A.D.) (*ANF* vol.3) ch.1.3 p.700 Perpetua asked God for a vision of prophecy whether she would be spared or martyred, and God answered her that night.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) (implied) was a Montanist, and they practiced healings and prophesy.

**Theodotus** (probable Montanist) The Montanists practiced healings and prophesy.

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “And there are still preserved among Christians traces of that Holy Spirit which appeared in the form of a dove. They expel evil spirits, and perform many cures, and foresee certain events, according to the will of the Logos.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.46 p.415

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “This is He [the Spirit] who places prophets in the Church, instructs teachers, directs tongues, gives powers and healings, does wonderful works, offers discrimination of spirits, affords powers of government, suggests counsels, and order and arranges whatever other gifts there are of charismata; and thus make the Lord’s Church everywhere, and in all, perfected and completed.” *Treatise Concerning the Trinity* ch.29 p.640-641

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) (implied) “Neither can they [false prophets] boast of Agabus, or Judas, or Silas, or the daughters of Philip, or Ammia in Philadelphia, or Quadratus, or any others not belonging to them.” *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 5 ch.17.3 p.234

## di13. Tread on serpents and scorpions

**Justin Martyr** (c.135-165 AD.) “And again, in other words, He said, ‘I give unto you power to tread on serpents, and on scorpions, and on *scolopendras*, and on all the might of the enemy.’ And now we, who believe on our Lord Jesus, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, when we exorcise all demons and evil spirits, have them subjected to us.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.76 p.236

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “For He says, ‘Behold, I confer upon you the power of treading upon serpents and scorpions, and upon all the power of the enemy,’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.24.4 p.553

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “received power to become the sons of God,’ and ‘to tread on serpents and scorpions,’ and to rule over demons and ‘the host of the adversary.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.6 p.415

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “The authority of both offices will have to be equally divided, as it proceeds from one and the same Lord, (the God) of apostles and prophets. Who is He that shall bestow ‘the power of treading on serpents and scorpions?’ Shall it be He who is the Lord of all living creatures or he who is not god over a single lizard?” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 4 ch.24 p.388

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “Jesus, who subdued the fierceness of every opposing power, and gave to us ‘authority to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy.’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 7 ch.57 p.568

***Treatise Against Novatian*** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) ch.6 p.659 “as He says in the Gospel: ‘Lo, I give unto you power to tread on all the power of the enemy, and upon serpents and scorpions; and they shall not harm you.’” [Luke 10:19)

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) (allegorical) “For as scorpions and serpents, which prevail on the dry ground, when cast into water, cannot prevail nor retain their venom; so also the wicked spirits, which are called scorpions and serpents, and yet are trodden under foot by us, by the power given by the Lord, cannot remain any longer in the body of a man in whom, baptized and sanctified, the Holy Spirit is beginning to dwell.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 75 ch.15 p.402

## di14. God is ineffable or indescribable

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) says that God have ineffable glory and form. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.9 p.165

Justin Martyr (138-165 A.D.) “For the ineffable Father and Lord of all neither has come to any place, nor walks, nor sleeps, nor rises up, but remains in His own place, wherever that is, quick to behold and quick to hear, having neither eyes nor ears, but being of indescribable might; and He sees all things, and knows all things, and none of us escapes His observation; and He is not moved or confined to a spot in the whole world, for He existed before the world was made.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.127 p.263

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “That we are not atheists, therefore, seeing that we acknowledge one God, uncreated, eternal, invisible, impassible, incomprehensible, illimitable, who is apprehended by the understanding only and the reason, who is encompassed by light, and beauty, and spirit, and power ineffable, by whom the universe has been created through His Logos, and set in order, and is kept in being-I have sufficiently demonstrated. [I say ‘His Logos’], for we acknowledge also a Son of God.” *A Plea for Christians* ch.10 p.133

**Meleto/Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “This is the alpha and omega, this is the beginning and the end, the ineffable beginning and the incomprehensible end. This is the Christ, this is the King, this is Jesus.” *On Pascha* stanza 105 p.66

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) says “in glory He [God] is incomprehensible, in greatness unfathomable, in height inconceivable, in power incomparable, … in goodness inimitable, in kindness unutterable.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.3 p.89

Theophilus of Antioch (168-181/188 A.D.) “Hear, O man. The appearance of God is ineffable and indescribable,” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 1 ch.3 p.89

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “But to allege that those things which are super-celestial and spiritual, and, as far as we are concerned, invisible and ineffable, are in their turn the types of celestial things and of another Pleroma, and [to say] that God is the image of another Father, is to play the part both of wanderers from the truth, and of absolutely foolish and stupid persons.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.19.1 p.486-487

Irenaeus of Lyons (c.160-202 A.D.) (implied) “although the sublimity and greatness of this God is unspeakable.. *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.8.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Zephaniah the prophet? ‘And the Spirit of the Lord took me, and brought me up to the fifth heaven, and I beheld angels called Lords; and their diadem was set on in the Holy Spirit; and each of them had a throne sevenfold brighter than the light of the rising sun; and they dwelt in temples of salvation, and hymned the ineffable, Most High God.’” *Stromata* book 5 ch.11 p.462. See also *Stromata* book 5 ch.6 p.452.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “The eye cannot see Him [the One God], though He is (spiritually) visible. He is incomprehensible, though in grace He is manifested. He is beyond our utmost thought, though our human faculties conceive of Him.” *Apology* ch.17 p.31-32

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “For you have it not in your power to acquaint yourself with the practised and indescribable art (method) of the Maker, but only to see, and understand, and believe that man is God’s work.” *Against the Heresy of One Noetus* ch.16 p.229

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) says that God has “incomprehensibility” *Against Beron and Helix* fragment 6 p.233

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “He [God] would do it by His ineffable power. For it is not with God as with us;” *Commentary on Matthew* book 14 ch.9 p.500

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “had suffered injury, even by the same receiving into itself in an ineffable.” homily *on the Cross and Passion of Christ* ch.1 p.399

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) (partial) says the Greeks taught the [Mercury Trismegistus was ineffable, and they really applied to God.] “And of this divine speech not even the philosophers were ignorant, since Zeno represents the *Logos* as the arranger of the established order of things, and the framer of the universe: whom also He calls Fate, and the necessity of things, and God, and the soul of Jupiter, in accordance with the custom, indeed, by which they are wont to regard Jupiter as God. But the words are no obstacle, since the sentiment is in agreement with the truth. For it is the spirit of God which he named the soul of Jupiter. For Trismegistus, who by some means or other searched into almost all truth, often described the excellence and majesty of the word, as the instance before mentioned declares, in which he acknowledges that there is an ineffable and sacred speech, the relation of which exceeds the measure of man’s ability.” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.107

Alexander of Alexandria (321 A.D.) (partial, ineffable mystery) “These men, therefore, who have dared such things against Christ; who have partly in public derided the Christian religion; partly seek to traduce and inform against its professors before the judgment-seats; who in a time of peace, as far as in them lies, have stirred up a persecution against us; who have enervated the ineffable mystery of Christ’s generation; from these, I say, beloved and like-minded brethren, turning away in aversion,” *Letters on the Arian Heresy* letter 1 ch.14 p.296

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) (implied) says that God’s power is ineffable. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 2 ch.4 p.16

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) “He who is above all that is good, the same is the (efficient) Cause of all, and is beyond all comprehension; and that on this account He cannot be described, enounced, or named;” *Theophania* ch.21 p.4

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) (not in volume 1, only the later volume 9) “of the kingdom by Thy glorious and ineffable might, to the end that we may know” *1 Clement* vol.9 ch.61 vol.9 p.244

**pseudo-Methodius** (after 312 A.D.) “in a manner ineffable, and without corruption, has become man.” *Oration Concerning Simeon and Anna* ch.8 p.388

**Among heretics**

**Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “ineffable God to be presented with gifts; for He who is in want of nothing is” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks*

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) says “by the ineffable hand [of God]. homily 18 ch.10 p.327. See also ibid (implied) homily 16 ch.18 p.316.

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 3 ch.17 p.118 speaks of “the ineffable Father”

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 2 ch.43 p.109 says that God is ineffable.

**Gnostics** believe God is indescribable according to Hippolytus (222-235/236 A.D.) *Refutation of All Heresies* book 5 ch.3 p.53

Revised Valentinian ***Tripartite Tract*** (200-250 A.D.) part 1 ch.2 p.62 and ch.15 p.99 says that God is ineffable.

## di15. People can have worthiness related to salvation

Matthew 10:13 (implied) if you come to a worthy house

Revelation 3:4f

(partial) Acts 10:30-31,35 (no mention of worthy though)

**p110** (late 3rd century (Mt 10:13-15, 25-27) (implied) Matthew 10:13

**Papias** (95-110 A.D.) “As the presbyters say, then those who are deemed worthy of an abode in heaven shall go there, others shall enjoy the delights of Paradise, and others shall possess the splendour of the city; for everywhere the Saviour will be seen, according as they shall be worthy who see Him.” Fragment 5 p.154

*Epistle of Barnabas* (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.14 p.146 (Partial, tablets, not salvation) “Lord said to Moses, ‘Moses, Moses, go down quickly; for thy people hath sinned, whom thou didst bring out of the land of Egypt.’ And Moses understood that they had again made molten images; and he threw the tables out of his hands, and the tables of the testament of the Lord were broken. Moses then received it, but they proved themselves unworthy.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “Again, in other words, by which He shall condemn those who are unworthy of salvation, He said, ‘Depart into outer darkness, which the Father has prepared for Satan and his, angels.’” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.76 p.236

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) (partial) “The souls of the pious remain in a better place, while those of the unjust and wicked are in a worse, waiting for the time of judgment. Thus some which have appeared worthy of God never die; but others are punished so long as God wills them to exist and to be punished.’” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.5 p.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “But when the king heard this, he was wroth, and sent his armies and destroyed these murderers, and burned up their city, and said to his servants. The wedding is indeed ready, but they which were bidden were not worthy. Go out therefore into the highways, and as many as ye shall find, gather in to the marriage. So the servants went out, and collected together as many as they found, bad and good, and the wedding was furnished with guests. But when the king came in to see the guests, he saw there a man not having on a wedding garment; and he said unto him, Friend, how camest thou hither, not having on a wedding garment? But he was speechless. Then said the king to his servants, Take him away, hand and foot, and cast him into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. For many are called, but few are chosen.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.36.5 p.516

**Clement of Alexandria** (183-202 A.D.) “And clearer arguments must be employed, I reckon, with the philosophers, so that they may be able, from the exercise they have already had through their own training, to understand, although they have not yet shown themselves worthy to partake of the power of believing.” *Stromata* book 7 ch.1 p.523

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “God wished to save the Jews by giving to them prophets, so also by raising up prophets of their own in their own tongue, as they were able to receive God’s beneficence, He distinguished the most excellent of the Greeks from the common herd,” *Stromata* book 6 ch.5 p.490

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) “But if thou desirest truly to see God, take to thyself means of purification worthy of Him, not leaves of laurel fillets interwoven with wool and purple; but wreathing thy brows with righteousness, and encircling them with the leaves of temperance, set thyself earnestly to find Christ. ‘For I am,’ He says, ‘the door,’ which we who desire to understand God must discover, that He may throw heaven’s gates wide open to. us. For the gates of the Word being intellectual, are opened by the key of faith.” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.1 p.174

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “If Philip so ‘easily’ baptized the chamberlain [Ethiopian eunuch], let us reflect that a manifest and conspicuous evidence that the Lord deemed him worthy had been interposed.” *On Baptism* ch.18 p.677-678

**Hippolytus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “If, then, the blessed (apostle) delivered these things with a pious caution, which could be easily known by all, as he perceived in the spirit that ‘all men have not faith,’ how much greater will be our danger, if, rashly and without thought, we commit the revelations of God to profane and unworthy men?” *Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* ch.1 p.204

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240 A.D.) “God made us, having previously no existence. For if we had a previous existence, we must have known where we were, and how and why we came hither. But if we had no pre-existence, then God is the sole author of our creation. As, then, He made us who had no existence, so also, now that we are made, He saves us by His own grace, if we show ourselves worthy and susceptible.” *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.17 p.45

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “Ye [Jews] look upon the law which Moses in wrath dashed to pieces; and the same Lord gave to him a second law. In that he placed his hope; but ye, half healed, reject it, and therefore ye shall not be worthy of the kingdom of heaven.” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.38 p.210

**Origen** (225-254/255 A.D.) “For those who act honestly, only after a long and careful examination into the details of a subject, slowly and cautiously express their opinion of the veracity or falsehood of this or that person with regard to the marvels which they may relate; since it is the case that neither do all men show themselves worthy of belief, nor do all make it distinctly evident that they are relating to men only fictions and fables.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 5 ch.57 p.568

**Moyses, et al.** to Cyprian (c.246-258 A.D.) “For to this battle our Lord, as with the trumpet of His Gospel, stimulates us when He says, ‘He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me: and he that loveth his own soul more than me is not worthy of me. And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me.’” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 25.4 p.303

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) “A time to keep the Scripture against the unworthy, and a time to put it forth for the worthy.” *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* ch.3.6 p.114

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) “Not that we deny either that they [philosophers] are worthy of praise for the soundness of their morals, or that they are skilled in all kinds of studies and learning; for we know that they both speak in the most elegant language, and *that their words* flow in polished periods; that they reason in syllogisms with the utmost acuteness; that they arrange their inferences in due order; that they express, divide, distinguish principles by definitions; that they say many things about the *different* kinds of numbers, many things about music; that by their maxims and precepts they settle the problems of geometry also.” *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.11 p.438

**Pamphilus** (martyred 309 A.D.) “Of the sons of Sceva, and as to its not being meet to approach those who have become unbelieving and unworthy of the faith;” *Exposition of Acts* section bb vol.6 p.168

**Lactantius** (c.303-320-325 A.D.) “Therefore he who shall have profited by this first discussion of mine, in which we have exposed false things, will be excited to the knowledge of the truth, than which no pleasure is more gratifying to man; and he will now be worthy of the wisdom of heavenly training, who shall approach with willingness and preparation to the knowledge of the other subjects.” *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.23 p.39

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Hippolytus** (after 236 A.D.) “‘If thou desire wisdom, keep the commandments, and the Lord shall give her unto thee,’ we understand wisdom at the same time, and are deemed worthy by God to know the truth of things, till now kept hid from us; and a ‘psalm of song,’ when, by revolving with the light of wisdom some of the more abstruse questions pertaining to morals, we first become prudent in action, and then also able to tell what, and when, and how action is to be taken.” *On the Psalms* ch.7 p.201

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 1 ch.9 p.79 shows that some were worthy to be saved.

## di16. Multiple Archangels

**Uriel** (Fire of God) found in 2 Esdras 4:36, 4:1

**Salathiel** (Prayer to God), found in 2 Esdras 5:16

Daniel 12:10 and Revelation 12:7 mention the angel Michael

Daniel 9:21 and Luke 1:19 mention Gabriel

“I am Raphael, one of seven angels who stand every ready to enter the presence of the glory of the Lord.” Tobit 12:15 (The Jerusalem Bible)

2 Esdras (=4 Esdras) 4:1 says that the angel Uriel was sent to Ezra.

The Book of Enoch (Ethiopic translation) mentions lots of angels. It mentions the good angels Michael, Surafel, and Gabriel in 1 Enoch 9:1, Asuryal in 1 Enoch 10:1; and Uriel in 1 Enoch 19:1. It lists “the holy angels who watch:” Suru’el, Raphael, Raguel, Michael, Saraqa’el, and Gabriel in 1 Enoch 20.

The forgery called the *Gospel of Barnabas* (written between 1380 and 1550 A.D.) mentions archangels Michael, Raphael, and Uriel. ch.209 p.461, ch.215 p.471, ch.220 p.485

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (c.160-202 A.D.) “Now this world is encompassed by seven heavens, in which dwell powers and angels and archangels, doing service to God, the Almighty and Maker of all things: not as though He was in need, but that they may not be idle and unprofitable and ineffectual.” *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* ch.9

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “Neither Valentinus, nor Marcion, nor Saturninus, nor Basilides, nor angels, nor archangels, nor principalities, nor powers [possess this knowledge], but the Father only who begat, and the Son who was begotten.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.22.6 p.392

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Nor yet any of the angels: for in the way that angels, in virtue of being angels, speak, men do not hear; nor, as we have ears, have they a tongue to correspond; nor would any one attribute to the angels organs of speech, lips I mean, and the parts contiguous, throat, and windpipe, and chest, breath and air to vibrate, And God is far from calling aloud in the unapproachable sanctity, separated as He is from even the archangels.” *Stromata* book 6 ch.7 p.493

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “And by the soldiers He is mocked, at whose behest stand thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads of angels and archangels.” *Against the Heresy of One Noetus* ch.18 p.230

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) (partial) “But the righteous shall obtain the incorruptible and unfading kingdom, who indeed are at present detained in Hades, but not in the same place with the unrighteous. For to this locality there is one descent, at the gate whereof we believe an archangel is stationed with a host.” *Against Plato on the Cause of the Universe* ch.1 p.221

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240 A.D.) “And what is “above all rule, and authority, and power, and every name that is named,” are those from among men that are made perfect as angels and archangels, *so as to rise* to the nature of the angels first-created.” *Excerpts from Theodotus* ch.57 p.50

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “servants of God, are to be worshipped.’ If he had meant this to apply to those who are truly the servants of God, after His only-begotten Son,-to Gabriel and Michael, and the other angels and archangels, and if he had said of these that they ought to be worshipped,-if also he had clearly defined the meaning of the word ‘worship,’ and the duties of the worshippers,-we might perhaps have brought forward such thoughts as have occurred to us on so important a subject.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.13 p.644

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) (implied) in recounting the story of Tobias, quotes the angel saying, “For I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels which stand and go in and out before the glory of God.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 4 ch.33 p.456

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “Therefore He shall send these seven great archangels to smite the kingdom of Antichrist; for He Himself also thus said: “Then the Son of man shall send His messengers; and they shall gather together His elect from the four corners of the wind, from the one end of heaven even to the other end thereof.” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the seventh chapter no.2 p.352

Victorinus bishop of Petau in Austria (martyred 304 A.D.) (partial) Michael and his archangels fought with the dragon *Commentary on the Apocalypse* from the Twelfth chapter no.7-9 p.356

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “I have become the torch-bearer of the unapproachable lights, and I join with their company in the new song of the archangels, showing forth the new grace of the Church; for the Word says that the company of virgins always follow the Lord, and have fellowship with Him wherever He is. And this is what John signifies in the commemoration of the hundred and forty-four thousand.” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* discourse 6 ch.5 p.331

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (c.318-325 A.D.) “angels of God, and ‘ministering spirits,’, and divine powers, and archangels,” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 4 ch.5 p.10

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

The *Book of Enoch* (Ethiopic translation) (partial) mentions lots of angels. It mentions the good angels Michael, Surafel, and Gabriel in 1 Enoch 9:1, Asuryal in 1 Enoch 10:1; and Uriel in 1 Enoch 19:1. It lists “the holy angels who watch:” Suru’el, Raphael, Raguel, Michael, Saraqa’el, and Gabriel in 1 Enoch 20.

**Among heretics**

The Encratite heretic **Saturninus** according to Irenaeus (182-188 A.D.) “Saturninus [the Encratite], like Menander, set forth one father unknown to all, who made angels, archangels, powers, and potentates.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.24.1 p.349

**Some Gnostics** according to Irenaeus (182-188 A.D.) “They [some Gnostics] affirm, therefore, that he was constituted the Father and God of everything outside of the Pleroma, being the creator of all animal and material substances.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.5.2 p.322

**Valentinians** according to Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “These heavens, however, they consider to be intelligent, and sometimes they make angels of them, as indeed they do of the Demiurge himself; as also (they call) Paradise the fourth archangel, because they fix it above the third heaven, of the power of which Adam partook, when he sojourned there amidst its fleecy clouds and shrubs.” *Against the Valentinians* ch.20 p.514

Revised Valentinian ***Tripartite Tract*** (200-250 A.D.) part 1 ch.10 p.85 mentions plural archangels.

## di17. The angel Raphael

In the apocrypha in Tobit 3:17; 12:15

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “At this period, too, occurred the sign of Jonah; and Tobias, through the assistance of the angel Raphael, married Sarah, the demon having killed her seven first suitors; and after the marriage of Tobias, his father Tobit recovered his sight.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.328

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “‘For even now the angel of God.’ He shows also, that when Susannah prayed to God, and was heard, the angel was sent then to help her, just as was the case in the instance of Tobias and Sara. For when they prayed, the supplication of both of them was heard in the same day and the same hour, and the angel Raphael was sent to heal them both.” *On Susannah* ch.55 p.193

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “angels of God, of whom one is called Michael, and another Gabriel, and another Raphael” *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.25 p.406

Origen (233/234 A.D.) “And Raphael himself, in revealing to them [Tobias and Sara] his mission to them both” *Origen On Prayer* ch.11.1 p.43. See also ibid ch.31.5 p.134.

Origen (233/234 A.D.) Tobit 12:8 “According to the word of Raphael” “prayer is good with fasting and alms and justice.” *Origen on Prayer* ch.11.1 p.43

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) in recounting the story of Tobias, quotes the angel saying, “For I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels which stand and go in and out before the glory of God.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 4 ch.33 p.456

**Among heretics**

The ***Book of Enoch*** (Ethiopic translation) mentions lots of angels. It mentions the good angels Michael, Surafel, and Gabriel in 1 Enoch 9:1, Asuryal in 1 Enoch 10:1; and Uriel in 1 Enoch 19:1. It lists “the holy angels who watch:” Suru’el, Raphael, Raguel, Michael, Saraqa’el, and Gabriel in 1 Enoch 20.

## di18. Susannah

In an apocryphal addition to Daniel.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “I pass over in silence Susanna and the sister of Moses, since the latter was the prophet’s associate in commanding the host, being superior to all the” *Stromata* book 4 ch.19 p.431

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “If Susanna also, who was subjected to unveiling on her trial, furnishes an argument for the veiling of women, I can say here also, the veil” *The Chaplet* ch.4 p.95

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “by the mouth of the prophet Jeremiah, saying, ‘The sanctuary shall be desolate seventy years;’ then we find that the blessed Daniel prophesied in Babylon, and appeared as the vindicator of Susanna.” On Daniel 1 ch.1 p.178

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) discusses Susannah and Daniel *Letter of Origen to Africanus* ch.2 p.387

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) “Let not the age nor the authority deceive you of those who, answering to the ancient wickedness of the two elders; as they attempted to corrupt and violate the chaste Susannah, are thus also attempting, with their adulterous doctrines, to corrupt the chastity of the Church and violate the truth of the Gospel.” *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 39 ch.4 p.317-318

**Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) “Thekla. 15. Seeing the great beauty of Susanna, the two Judges, maddened with desire,…” *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* Discourse 11 ch.352

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions Susannah in *Preparation for the Gospel* book 6 ch.10 p.41

## di19. Tobias

In the apocryphal Book of Tobit

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) (Implied, Ophites and Sethians list these, and Irenaeus calls these prophets) “Samuel, and Nathan, and Jonah, and Micah, to Iao; Elijah, Joel, and Zechariah to Sabaoth; Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and Daniel, to Adohai; Tobias and Haggai to” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.30.11 p.356

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “At this period, too, occurred the sign of Jonah; and Tobias, through the assistance of the angel Raphael, married Sarah, the demon having killed her seven first suitors; and after the marriage of Tobias, his father Tobit recovered his sight.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.328

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “‘For even now the angel of God.’ He shows also, that when Susannah prayed to God, and was heard, the angel was sent then to help her, just as was the case in the instance of Tobias and Sara. For when they prayed, the supplication of both of them was heard in the same day and the same hour, and the angel Raphael was sent to heal them both.” *On Susannah* ch.55 p.193

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) “Look forward to thy meals from that Tobias who always on every day shared them entirely with the poor man. Thou seekest to feed him, O fool, who” *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.61 p.215

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “However, since the Churches use Tobias, you must know that even in the captivity some of the captives were rich and well to do.” *Letter of Origen to Africanus* ch.13 p.391

Origen (233/234 A.D.) mentions Tobias. *Origen On Prayer* ch.14.4 p.55 and 31.5 p.134.

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) in recounting the story of Tobias, quotes the angel saying, “For I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels which stand and go in and out before the glory of God.” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 4 ch.33 p.456

**Pontius** (258 A.D.) “Tobias collected together those who were slain by the king and cast out, of his own race only.” *Life and Passion of Cyprian* ch.10 p.271

**Among heretics**

**Ophites and/or Sethians** according to Irenaeus (182-188 A.D.) “Samuel, and Nathan, and Jonah, and Micah, to Iao; Elijah, Joel, and Zechariah to Sabaoth; Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and Daniel, to Adohai; Tobias and Haggai to” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.30.11 p.356

## di20. Wisdom in Proverbs 8 refers to the Word of God

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) quotes Proverbs 8:21f as by God begotten of the Father. *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew* ch.61 p.227-228

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) quotes Proverbs 8:22f as referring to Christ. *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew* ch.129 p.264

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) quotes Proverbs 8:15 as referring to the Word, as said by Solomon. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.24.1 p.552.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) quotes Proverbs 8:10,11,19 as referring to the Word. *The Instructor* book 3 ch.6 p.280

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) (partial) quotes Proverbs 8:4,6 as by the Instructor. *The Instructor* book 1 ch.10 p.232

**Tertullian** (c.213 A.D.) says Proverbs 8:22-25 refers to the Word of God. *Against Praxeas* ch.6 p.601

Tertullian (c.213 A.D.) alludes to Proverbs 8:22 as referring to the Son in *Against Praxeas* ch.11 p.605

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) (partial) alludes to Proverbs 8:5 as “the words of Solomon”. *Origen Against Celsus* ch.54 p.485

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes all of Proverbs 8:22-31 as referring to Christ. *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 second part Testimonies 1 p.515

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 307 A.D.) says the Son of man is meant as “said in Solomon and quotes half of Proverbs 8:20. Commentary on the Apocalypse from the first chapter v.13 p.345

# ERRORS

## er1. Incorrect references to Bible verses

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.4 p.138 refers to Daniel 9:24-27 as by Enoch.

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) quotes Zechariah 9:9 as by Zephaniah. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.35 p.175

Justin Martyr (c.150 A.D.) quotes Jeremiah 9:26 as by Isaiah. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.53 p.181

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) “and [Jesus] exclaimed, ‘woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! Because ye pay tithe or mint and rue, but do not observe the love of God and justice. We whited sepulchers! Appearing beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men’s bones.’ *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.17 p.203. mixed from two different times in Jesus’ life in Matthew 23 and Luke 11.

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) “‘For your ears are closed, your eyes are blinded, and the heart is hardened, ‘Jeremiah has cried; yet not even then do you listen.” [This is not a quote from Jeremiah. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.12 p.200

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) (this is not in Mark) “’No man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whom the Son was willed to reveal [Him].’ Thus hath Matthew set it down, and Luke in like manner, and Mark the very same, for John omits this passage.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.6.1 p.467-468

Ireneaus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) quotes all of Luke 1:76-77 as “Then he says in John”. This is in Luke, not John. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.10.2 p.424

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “And in the Gospel of John He says, ‘Serpents, brood of vipers.’” *The Instructor* book 1 ch.9 p.229. This is in Matthew 3:7 and Luke 3:7, but not in the Gospel of John.

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) speaks of the apostolic injunction to flee from “the prince of the power of the air” who works in the children of disobedience,” *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.1 p.173. We are to flee temptation, but stand firm against Satan and he will flee from us.

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) quotes from 1 Timothy 2:9-10 as by Peter. The Instructor book 2 ch.13 p.269.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “But how Paul, an apostle, from being a persecutor, who first of all shed the blood of the church, though afterwards he exchanged the sword for the pen, and turned the dagger into a plough, being *first* a ravening wolf of Benjamin, then himself supplying food as did Jacob, -how he, (I say, ) speaks in favour of martyrdoms, now to be chosen by himself also, when, rejoicing over the Thessalonians, he says, ‘So that we glory in you in the churches of God, for your patience and faith in all your persecutions and tribulations, in which ye endure a manifestation of the righteous judgment of God, that ye may be accounted worthy of His kingdom, for which ye also suffer! [2 Thessalonians 1:4] ... But writing in bonds to the Thessalonians, he certainly affirmed that they were blessed, since to them it had been given not only to believe on Christ, but also to suffer for His sake. ‘Having,’ says he, ‘the same conflict which ye both saw in me, and now hear to be in me.’ ‘For though I are offered upon the sacrifice, I joy and rejoice with you all; in like manner do ye also joy and rejoice with me.’ [Philippians 2:29-30] You see what he decides the bliss of martyrdom to be, in honour of which he is providing a festival of mutual joy.” *Scorpiace* ch.13 p.646-647

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** fragment 41 p.48 (ca.240 A.D.) “Wherefore also Peter, in the Revelation, says: ‘And a flash of fire leaping from those infants, and striking the eyes of the women.’ For the justice shines forth as a spark in a reed, and will judge the nations.” The first quote is unknown. The last quote is from the apocryphal book Wisdom 3:7.

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) quotes both Jeremiah 7:22 and Zecharia 7:10 as by Jeremiah. *Origen On Prayer* ch.9.3 p.40

Origen (233/234 A.D.) quotes 1 Kings 1:9-11 as the First book of Kings (he should have said 3 Kings). *Origen On Prayer* ch.4.1 p.25-26

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) quotes from Jeremiah 4:3-4 as by Isaiah. *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.17 p.118.

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “The prophet Ezra also, who was in the times of the same Cyrus by whom the Jews were restored, thus speaks: ‘They rebelled against Thee, and cast Thy law behind their backs, and slew Thy prophets which testified against them, that they might turn unto Thee.’” [Nehemiah 9:26, Nehemiah was often called 2 Ezra] *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.11 p.109

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) quotes 2 Samuel 4:20 as by Jeremiah. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.3.6 p.85-86

## er2. Misquoted or unknown Bible verses

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “And in another place [the Scripture] saith, ‘Behold, the Lord taketh unto Himself a nation out of the midst of the nations, as a man takes the first-fruits of his threshing floor; and from that nation shall come for the Most Holy [or Holy or Holies].” *1 Clement* vol.1 ch.29 p.13. See also vol.29 ch.29 p.237-238. The first part sounds a little like Numbers 18:27.

***Epistle of Barnabas*** (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.6 p.140 “For the prophet says, ‘who shall understand the parable of the Lord, except him who is wise and prudent, and who loves his Lord?” This is not found in scripture.

*Epistle of Barnabas* (c.70-130 A.D.) ch.7 p.141 “What, then, says He in the prophet? ‘And let them eat of the goat which is offered, with fasting, for all their sins.’ Attend carefully: ‘And let all the priests alone east the inwards, unwashed with vinegar.’”

***2 Clement*** (120-140 A.D.) vol.7 ch.14 p.518 “the Lord hath said, ‘Even though ye were gathered together in Me in My very bosom, yet if ye were not to keep My commandments, I would cast you off, and say unto you, Depart from Me; I know you not whence ye are, ye workers of iniquity.” The second half is like Matthew 7:23 and Luke 13:27, but the first half is unknown.

*2 Clement* (120-140 A.D.) vol.7 ch.5 p.518 “For the Lord saith, ‘Ye shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves.’ And Peter answer and said unto Him, ‘What, the, if the wolves shall tear in pieces the lambs?’ Jesus said unto Peter, ‘The lambs have no cause after they are dead to fear the wolves; and in like manner, fear not yet them that kill you, and can do nothing more unto you; but fear Him who, after you are dead, has power over both soul and body to cast them into hell-fire.”

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) has a quote he says is from Jeremiah. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.72 p.234-235. He says the Jews cut this out of their scriptures. Here is the quote “And from the sayings of Jeremiah they have cut out the following: ‘I [was] like a lamb that is brought to the slaughter: they devised a device against me, saying, Come, let us lay on wood on His bread, and let us blot Him out from the land of the living; and His name shall no more be remembered.’ And since this passage from the sayings of Jeremiah is still written in some copies [of the Scriptures] in the synagogues of the Jews (for it is only a short time since they were cut out), and since from these words it is demonstrated that the Jews deliberated about the Christ Himself, to crucify and put Him to death, He Himself is both declared to be led as a sheep to the slaughter, as was predicted by Isaiah, and is here represented as a harmless lamb; but being in a difficulty about them, they give themselves over to blasphemy. And again, from the sayings of the same Jeremiah these have been cut out: ‘The Lord God remembered His dead people of Israel who lay in the graves; and He descended to preach to them His own salvation.’” “Irenaeus quotes this as from Jeremiah in *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.22 and as by Isaiah in *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.20.

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) The Lord shall make bare His holy arm in the eyes of all the nations, and all the nations and the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of God. Depart ye, depart ye, depart ye, go ye out from thence, and touch no unclean thing;” *Dialogue with Trypho, the Jew* ch.13 p.200. Justin quotes this two other places too.

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) “Wherefore also our Lord Jesus Christ said, ‘In whatsoever things I shall take you, in these I shall judge you.’” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.47 p.219

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) “for the Logos again says to us, ‘If anyone kiss a second time because it has given him pleasure [he sins]; ‘adding, ‘therefore the kiss, or rather the salutation, should be given with the greatest care, since, if there be mixed with it the least defilement of thought, it excludes us from eternal life.” *A Plea for Christians* ch.32 p.146.

**Hegesippus** (170-180 A.D.) mentions scripture in Isaiah**.** Then he mistakenly quotes something not in Isaiah. It is Let us away with the just man, because he is troublesome to us: therefore shall they eat the fruit of their doings.” *Fragments of Five books of Commentaries on the Acts of the Church* p.763

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “As He [God] elsewhere declares: ‘The sacrifice to God is an afflicted heart: a sweet savour to God is a heart glorifying Him who formed it.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.17.2 p.483 this sounds almost like an interpretation of Psalm 51:17-18. Clement of Alexandria quotes the same in *The Instructor* book 3 cap.12.

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “And they shall hear those words, to be found in Daniel the prophet: ‘O thou seed of Canaan, and not of Judah, beauty hath deceived thee, and lust perverted thy heart.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.26.3 p.497. This is reminiscent of Ezekiel 16:3,15.

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “As Jeremiah declares, ‘The holy Lord remembered His dead Israel, who slept in the land of sepulture; and He descended to make known to them His salvation, that they might be saved.’” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.22.1 p.493-494.

Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) “But the case was, that for three days He dwelt in the place where the dead were, as the prophet says concerning Him: 'And the Lord remembered His dead saints who slept formerly in the land of sepulture; and He descended to them, to rescue and save them.'” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.31.1 p.560.

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Are not these statements [of Plato] like those of Zephaniah the prophet? ‘And the Spirit of the Lord took me, and brought me up to the fifth heaven, and I beheld angels called Lords; and their diadem was set in the Holy Spirit; and each of them had a throne sevenfold brighter than the light of the rising sun; and they dwelt in temples of salvation, and hymned the ineffable, Most High God.’” *Stromata* book 5 ch.11 p.462. He also quotes something unknown as by “Zephaniah the prophet” in *Stromata* book 5 ch.11 p.462.

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “Such as they of whom Micah the prophet says, ‘Hear the word of the Lord, ye peoples who dwell with pangs.’” *Stromata* book 4 ch.26 p.440

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “And there is written in the Kings the judgment and sentence of the Lord, which stands thus: ‘The Lord hears the righteous, but the wicked he saveth not, because they do not desire to know God.’” (This is not in 1, 2 Samuel or 1,2 Kings.) *Stromata* book 4 ch.26 p.440

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “Thou hast lived for the defense of the people, thy children were blessed in the tents of their fathers.’ And if the same mansions are promised by prophecy to us and to the patriarchs, the god of both covenants is shown to be one. Accordingly it is added more clearly, ‘Thou has inherited the covenant of Israel,’” *Stromata* book 2 ch.6 p.354. (This is two quotes that are not found in scripture)

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “The Lord will not wait for the voice of this man in prayer. ‘Ask,’ He says, ‘and I will do it; think, and I will give.’” *Stromata* book 6 ch.9 p.498.

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “‘for,’ it is said, ‘seek what is great, and the little things shall be added.’” (reference may loosely be to Matthew 6:33) *Stromata* book 1 ch.24 p.336

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “And if it is that he has become ‘common’ as the Scripture says, in consequence of being overcome by the habits which formerly had sway over him, the habits must be entirely put a stop to, and the soul trained to oppose them.” *Stromata* book 7 ch.16 p.552.

**Tertullian** (207/208 A.D.) “‘Behold,’ says Isaiah, ‘the proselytes shall come unto me through Thee,’ showing that they were even proselytes who were to find their way to God through Christ.’” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 3 ch.21 p.339

Tertullian (205 A.D.) “Get thee behind me, Satan; thou art an offence unto me. It is written, ‘though shalt worship the Lord thy god, and Him only shalt thou serve.’” *Scorpiace* ch.15 p.648

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “There is a caution in Leviticus: ‘my priests shall not pluralize marriages.’” *On Exhortation to Chastity* ch.7 p.54

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “just as Moses beforetime kept on announcing in Exodus,” then quotes Deuteronomy. *An Answer to the Jews* ch.11 p.168

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** fragment 41 p.48 (ca.240 A.D.) “Wherefore also Peter, in the Revelation, says: ‘And a flash of fire leaping from those infants, and striking the eyes of the women.’ For the just shines forth as a spark in a reed, and will judge the nations.” The first quote is unknown. The last quote is from the apocryphal book Wisdom 3:7.

**Commodianus** (c.240 A.D.) In Adam’s fall was at a palm tree, with an apple. *Instructions of Commodianus* ch.35 p.209

**Origen** (233-244 A.D.) “You have commanded us to ask for great and eternal tings. How is it possible for us to know them, except from you, our God and Savior?”. *Homilies on Luke* fragment 172 p.193

**Cyprian of Carthage** (c.246-258 A.D.) quotes Titus 3:2 as “in the Epistle of Paul to the Colossians” *Treatises of Cyprian* Treatise 12 part 3 ch.107 p.555

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) quotes from 1 Kings 9:6-9 with some additions and omissions, and then immediately says, “And they shall say, Because they forsook the Lord their God, and persecuted their King most beloved by God, and crucified him with great degradation, therefore hath God brought upon them these evils.” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.18 p.121

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “In Esdras [Ezra] it is thus written: ‘And Ezra said to the people, This Passover is our Saviour and our refuge. Consider and let it come into your heart, that we have to abase Him in a figure; and after these things we will hope in Him, lest this place be deserted for ever, saith the Lord God of hosts. If you will not believe him, nor hear His announcement, ye shall be a derision among the nations.’” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.18 p.121

**Among heretics**

Marcionite heretic **Megethius** (c.300 A.D.) in disputing with Adamantius says, “My bow is bent, and my arrows are sharpened.” which seems to be a combination of Isaiah 5:28 and Deuteronomy 3:23 (Septuagint). *Dialogue on the True Faith* First part ch.19 p.61

## er3. Over-allegorical Bible interpretation

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) says that the two goats in the Temple ceremony were types of the appearance of Christ. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.40 p.215

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “On the fifth day the living creatures which proceed from the waters were produced, through: which also is revealed the manifold wisdom of God in these things; for who could count their multitude and very various kinds? Moreover, the things proceeding from the waters were blessed by God, that this also might be a sign of men’s being destined to receive repentance and remission of sins, through the water and laver of regeneration,-as many as come to the truth, and are born again, and receive blessing from God. But the monsters of the deep and the birds of prey are a similitude of covetous men and transgressors.” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 2 ch.16 p.101

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) says that in Matthew 23 Jerusalem is interpreted as “a vision of peace”. *Stromata* book 1 ch.4 p.306

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) says there were ten commandments because it was an image of heaven, embracing the sun, moon, stars, clouds, light, wind, water, air, darkness, and fire. It is also a representation on earth of men, cattle, reptiles, wild beasts, water dwellers, fishes, and whales, winged animals, carnivorous, animals that eat mild food. *Stromata* book 6 ch.16 p.511

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) says the tree of life symbolizes divine prudence, and the fruit of it symbolizes Christ. *Stromata* book 5 ch.11 p.461

Clement of Alexandria (193-217/220 A.D.) is too allegorical on Leviticus 15:29; and 12:8. He says that the timorousness of the turtle-dove typifies far in reference to sin. *The Instructor* book 1 ch.5 p.212.

Clement of Alexandria (c.195 A.D.) says that in Deuteronomy 25:13,15 a just balance is an allegory to unjust idols hidden at home. *Exhortation to the Heathen* ch.6 p.191

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) Now the high priest’s robe is the symbol of the world of sense. The seven planets are represented by five stones and the two carbuncles, for Saturn and the Moon. The former is southwestern, and moist, and earthy, and heavy; the latter arial, whence she is called by some Artemis, as if Aerotomos (cutting the air); and the air is cloudy.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.6 p.453

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) interprets Proverbs 30:21-23 as referring to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. *Commentary on Proverbs* ch.10-11 p.174

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) “As a figure of the Holy Spirit, moreover, she [Rebecca] cares for Jacob in preference…” exegetical fragment 3 p.169

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “Some students do not take anything at all out of the statement that the Saviour is the Word; and it is important for us to assure ourselves that we are not chargeable with caprice in fixing our attention on that notion. If it admits of being taken in a metaphorical sense we ought not to take it literally.” *Origen’s Commentary on John 1* ch.24 p.312

Origen (239-242 A.D.) has over-allegorical interpretation in *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 1 ch.5.2 p.35

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) says that the Old Testament command not to eat camel means that it condemns life crooked with crimes. *On the Jewish Meats* ch.3 p.647

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) over-allegorizes part of the gospel accounts in *The Gospel According to Luke* ch.44 p.115

**Firmilian** (250-251 A.D.) says that abstaining from strange water (in Proverbs 9:19 LXX) refers to baptism. *Epistles of Cyprian* Letter 74 ch.23 p.396

**X Methodius** (270-311/312 A.D.) refutes Origen that the same flesh will not be restored to the soul. *From the Discourse on the Resurrection* A Synopsis ch.12 p.373

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “On the fourth day He made two lights in the heaven, the greater and the lesser, that the one might rule over the day, the other over the night,” - *the lights of* the sun and moon and He placed the rest of the stars in heaven, that they might shine upon the earth, and by their positions distinguish the seasons, and years, and months, and days, and hours. Now is manifested the reason of the truth why the fourth day is called the Tetras, why we fast even to the ninth hour, or even to the evening, or why there should be a passing over even to the next day. Therefore this world of ours is composed of four elements-fire, water, heaven, earth. These four elements, therefore, form the quaternion of times or seasons. The sun, also, and the moon constitute throughout the space of the year four seasons-of spring, summer, autumn, winter; and these seasons make a quaternion. And to proceed further still from that principle, lo, there are four living creatures before God’s throne, four Gospels, four rivers flowing in paradise; four generations of people from Adam to Noah, from Noah to Abraham, from Abraham to Moses, from Moses to Christ the Lord, the Son of God; and four living creatures, *viz.*, a man, a calf, a lion, an eagle; and four rivers, the Pison, the Gihon. the Tigris, and the Euphrates. The man Christ Jesus, the originator of these things whereof we have above spoken, was taken prisoner by wicked hands, by a quaternion *of soldiers*. Therefore on account of His captivity by a quaternion, on account of the majesty of His works,-that the seasons also, wholesome to humanity, joyful for the harvests, tranquil for the tempests, may roll on,-therefore we make *the fourth day* a station or a supernumerary fast. *Victorinus On the Creation of the World* p.341

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 2 ch.16 p.231 says that Noah’s raven and dove symbolized two forms of spirits.

## er4. Four elements make up the world

This non-biblical teaching was first taught by Orpheas, according to Niceta in the Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 10 ch.30 p.200.

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) (partial) (probably by Justin Martyr) Stoics say that four elements make up the world. “And Plato says that all things are made from matter by God, and according to His design; but Epicures [Epicurius] and his followers say that all things are made from the atom and the void by some kind of self-regulating action of the natural movement of the bodies; and the Stoics, that all are made of the four elements, God pervading them. But while there is such discrepancy among them, there are some doctrines acknowledged by them all in common, one of which is that neither can anything be produced from what is not in being, nor anything be destroyed or dissolved into what has not any being, and that the elements exist indestructible out of which all things are generated. … But according to the Stoics even, the body being produced by the mixture of the four elementary substances, when this body has been dissolved into the four elements, these remaining indestructible, it is possible that they receive a second time the same fusion and composition, from God pervading them, and so re-make the body which they formerly made.” *On the Resurrection* ch.6 p.296

***Shepherd of Hermas*** (c.115-155 A.D.) book 1 vision 3rd ch.13 p.17 ‘four elements. Those, therefore, who repent completely and with the whole heart,”

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “as also certainly in the universe overleaping the nine division, the first consisting of the four elements put in one place for equal interchange; and then the seven wandering stars and the one that wanders not, the ninth, to the perfect number, which is above the none, and the tenth division, we must reach to the knowledge of God, to speak briefly, desiring the Maker after the creation.” *Stromata* book 2 ch.11 p.359

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) (partial, does not say he believes this) “Whence also the Pythagoreans have a certain object of adjuration, viz., the concord of the four elements.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 6 ch.18 p.82

**Origen** (c.227-240 A.D.) “Consider if the forty cannot be taken as due to the four elements of the world arranged in the building of the temple at the points at issue, and the six to the fact that man was created on the sixth day.” *Origen’s Commentary on John* book 10 ch.22 p.403

Origen (239-242 A.D.) mentions the four elements: air, earth, fire, and water comprising the world. *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 1 ch.4.4 p.34

Arnobius of Sicca (297-303 A.D.) (partial) discusses, without an recommendation that that some teach the world is made up for four elements, or two elements, or one elements, or none but instead is made up of atoms. None of these opinions are certain. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.56 p.455

Adamantius (c.300 A.D.) (partial) Marinus says that a human is composed of earth, water, fire, and air. Adamantius does not agree with his point that man goes into dissolution after death. *Dialogue on the True Faith in God* Fifth part p.171.

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) says the world is composed of four elements, just as there are four gospels, four generations from Adam to Noah, from Abraham to Moses, four rivers in paradise, four soldiers at the crucifixion, four living creatures, and four seasons. *Victorinus On the Creation of the World* p.341

Methodius (270-311/312 A.D.) (partial, fire and water) “ORTHODOXUS: Yet water is contrary to fire, and darkness to light, and heat to cold, and moisture to dryness. … ORTHODOXUS: If, then, nothing that exists is contrary to itself, and these are contrary to one another, they will not be one and the same matter”… ORTHODOXUS: And that fire and water, and the rest likewise, are parts of matter?” *Concerning Free-Will* p.361

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) mentions the four elements: air, earth, fire, water. *Athanasius Against the Heathen* ch.27.7 p.18

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Empedocles-whom you cannot tell whether to reckon among poets or philosophers, for he wrote in verse respecting the nature of things, as did Lucretius and Varro among the Romans-determined that there were four elements, that is, fire, air, water, and earth; perhaps following Trismegistus, who said that our bodies were composed of these four elements by God, for *he said* that they contained in themselves something of fire, something of air, something of water, and something of earth, and *yet* that they were neither fire, nor air, nor water, nor earth. And these things indeed are not false; for the nature of earth is contained in the flesh, that of moisture in the blood, that of air in the breath, that of fire in the vital heat. But neither can the blood be separated from the body, as moisture is from the earth; nor the vital heat from the breath, as fire from the air: so that of all things only two elements are found, the whole nature of which is included in the formation of our body.” *The Divine Institutes* book 2 ch.13 p.61

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) speaks at length on eair, earth, fire, and water. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 2 ch.6 p.19

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) “term the primary elements of all, - the earth, water, air, and fire,” *Theophania* ch.6 p.3

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) mentions four elements of the world. homily 6 ch.24 p.287

The Ebionite *Clementine Homilies* (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) (implied) mentions the four substances. homily 19 ch.13 p.334

The Sethian Gnostic *Apocryphon of John* (c.150-185 A.D.) ch.24 p.119 (partial) mentions four elements.

**Marcosian Gnostics** (182-188 A.D.) “They [the Marcosian Gnostics] maintain, then, that first of all the four elements, fire, water, earth, and air, were produced after the image of the primary Tetrad above, and that then, we add their operations, viz., heat, cold, dryness, and humidity, an exact likeness of the Ogdoad is presented.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 1 ch.17.1 p.342

The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 8 ch.14 p.169 (partial) mentions the four elements as “some philosophers say” without saying it this is correct or not.

Marinus (c.300 A.D.) (partial) a Bardesene, in disputing with Adamantius, said that man was composed of earth, water, fire, and air. *Dialogue on the True Faith* 5th part ch.18 p.171-172

## er5. Atoms do not really exist

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) discusses the opinions of Epicurus on atoms and the void being indestructible. *On the Resurrection* ch.6 p.297

**Theophilus of Antioch** (168-181/188 A.D.) “For some said that they were composed of atoms; and others, again, that they eventuate in atoms;” *Theophilus to Autolycus* book 3 ch.7 p.112-113

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Again, adopting the [ideas of] shade and vacuity from Democritus and Epicurus, they have fitted these to their own views, following upon those [teachers] who had already talked a great deal about a vacuum and atoms, the one of which they called *that which is*, and the other *that which is not*. In like manner, these men call those things which are within the Pleroma real existences, just as those philosophers did the atoms; while they maintain that those which are without the Pleroma have no true existence, even as those did respecting the vacuum. They have thus banished themselves in this world (since they are here outside of the Pleroma) into a place which has no existence.” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.14.3 p.376-377

Minucius Felix (210 A.D.) (partial, not for or against) “Neither do I refuse to admit what Caecilius earnestly endeavoured to maintain among the chief matters, that man ought to know himself, and to took around and see what he is, whence he is, why he is; whether collected together from the elements, or harmoniously formed of atoms, or rather made, formed, and animated by God.” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.17 p.181

Minucius Felix (210 A.D.) (partial, not for or against) “It was delivered to him by God. You see that the opinion of this original philosopher absolutely agrees with ours. Afterwards Anaximenes, and then Diogenes of Apollonia, decide that the air, infinite and unmeasured, is God. The agreement of these also as to the Divinity is like ours. But the description of Anaxagoras also is, that God is said to be the motion of an infinite mind; and the God of Pythagoras is the soul passing to and fro and intent, throughout the universal nature of things, from whom also the life of all animals is received. It is a known fact, that Xenophanes delivered that God was all infinity with a mind; and Antisthenes, that there are many gods of the people, but that one God of Nature was the chief of all; that Xeuxippus acknowledged as God a natural animal force whereby all things are governed. What says Democritus? Although the first discoverer of atoms, does not he especially speak of nature, which is the basis of forms, and intelligence, as God?” *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.19 p.184

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “The elements are worshipped,-the air by Diogenes, the water by Thales, the fire by Hippasus; and by those who suppose atoms to be the first principles of things, arrogating the name of philosophers, being wretched creatures devoted to pleasure.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.11 p.312

**Tertullian** (c.203 A.D.) “But even if I could take in my hand the ‘atoms’ of Epicurus, or if my eye could see the ‘numbers’ of Pythagoras, or if my foot could stumble against the ‘ideas’ of Plato, or if I could lay hold of the ‘entelechies’ of Aristotle, the chances would be, that even in these (impalpable) classes I should find such animals as I must oppose to one another on the ground of their contrariety.” *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.32 p.212

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-235/236 A.D.) “Epicurus, however, advanced an opinion almost contrary to all. He supposed, as originating principles of all things, atoms and vacuity. He considered vacuity as the place that would contain the things that will exist, and atoms the matter out of which all things could be formed; and that from the concourse of atoms both the Deity derived existence, and all the elements, and all things inherent in them, as well as animals and other (creatures); so that nothing was generated or existed, unless it be from atoms.” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 1 ch.19 p.21

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “We show, accordingly, that the holy Scriptures represent God as unchangeable, both by such words as ‘Thou art the same,’ and ‘I change not;’ whereas the gods of Epicurus, being composed of atoms, and, so far as their structure is concerned, capable of dissolution, endeavour to throw off the atoms which contain the elements of destruction.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 4 ch.14 p.502

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) appeals to the complexity of nature to speak against the foolish philosophy of atoms. *Fragment 1* ch.4 p.83

Dionysius of Alexandria (246-265 A.D.) speaks against the view of “atoms, as they are borne along causally in the void, and clash all fortuitously against each other in an unregulated whirl, and become commingled one with another in a multitude of forms” as the opinion of Epicurus and Democritus. *From the Books on Nature* fragment 1 ch.2,3 p.85-86, 87. see also *From the Books on Nature* ch.2.1 and 2.2 p.85.

Dionysius of Alexandria (246-265 A.D.) “And are we to suppose that the wisdom of man was made up by these atoms, as the myth of Hesiod tells us that Pandora was fashioned by the gods?” *From the Books on Nature* ch.4 p.89

Anatolius (270-280 A.D.) (partial, not for or against) “Thus it is said that Democritus used a hypothesis, namely, that of atoms and a vacuum; and Asclepiades that of atoms and pores.” *Fragments of the Books on Arithmetic* p.153

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) lists as a form of madness to “construct the whole fabric of the universe by chance accidents and by random collision, and fashion it by the concourse of atoms of different shapes”. He calls these “perverse convictions”. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.31 *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.6 p.421 See also book 1 ch.10 p.437.

Arnobius of Sicca (297-303 A.D.) (partial) discusses, without an recommendation that that some teach the world is made up for four elements, or two elements, or one elements, or none but instead is made up of atoms. None of these opinions are certain. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 2 ch.56 p.455

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “They therefore are in error, who have said either that all things were produced of their own accord or from an assemblage of atoms; since so great a world, so adorned and of such magnitude, could neither have been made nor arranged and set in order without some most skilful author, and that very arrangement by which all things are perceived to be kept together and to be governed bespeaks an artificer with a most skilful mind.” *The Divine Institutes* book 7 ch.7 p.204

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “Whence, then, did the world derive its origin, if God takes no care of anything? There are, he says, minute atoms, which can neither be seen nor touched, and from the fortuitous meeting of these all things arose, and are continually arising. If they are neither seen nor perceived by any part of the body, how could you know of their existence? In the next place, if they exist, with what mind do they meet together to effect anything? If they are smooth, they cannot cohere: if they are hooked and angular, then they are divisible; for hooks and angles project, and can be cut off. But these things are senseless and unprofitable. Why should I mention that he also makes souls capable of extinction?” *Epitome of the Divine Institutes* ch.36 p.236

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions against Democritus’ concept of atoms. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 3 ch.10 p.18

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) “Or do atoms, O ye blind, bring you winter and rains, that the earth may send up food for you and all the living creatures there one?” *Preparation for the Gospel* book 14 ch.25 p.47. See also ibid book 14 ch.45 p.44,45.

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 8 ch.17-19 p.170 says the foolishness of Greeks who claim everything was made of atoms. If everything were, it would fall apart at once.

## er6. Errors on the hyena, phoenix, or other animals

Prior to the time of Christ, the Greek historian Herodotus in his *History* book 2 ch.73 p.64 reports the story of the phoenix, though Herodotus did not necessarily believe it. Herodotus does not say the phoenix burned itself to death, but that the young phoenix brought the bones of its parent to a temple in Egypt every 500 years.

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) gives an analogy of the resurrection of the phoenix bird exactly every 500 years. *1 Clement* ch.25 p.12

***Epistle of Barnabas*** ch.10 p.143 (c.70-130 A.D.) says the hyena annually changes its sex.

**Athenagoras** (177 A.D.) in *The Resurrection of the Dead* ch.5 p.151 shows that God has adapted his creatures through their diet and describes digestion. He does a pretty good job until he speaks of the digestion that takes place in the liver.

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) (partial, not really air but dissolved air (oxygen and carbon dioxide) says that arteries and veins are passages for blood and air. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 5 ch.3.2 p.529

**Minucius Felix** (210 A.D.) The bees have one king; the flocks one leader; among the herds there is one ruler. *The Octavius of Minucius Felix* ch.18 p.183

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) says that ants and animals can talk with their own kind. *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.333

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) says how the peculiar bird of the east [the phoenix], voluntarily dies on its birthday, but is resurrection. This prefigures Christ. *On the Resurrection of the Flesh* ch.13 p.554

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “behind him then and there, and uncoils himself in a new youth: with his scales his years, too, are repudiated.” He says that the hyena is alternately masculine and feminine. A stag feeds on the serpent. *On the Pallium* vol.4 ch.3 p.7

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) “…descends from the Father that Holiest Spirit. Over the waters of baptism, recognising as it were His primeval seat, He reposes: (He who) glided down on the Lord ‘in the shape of a dove,’ in order that the nature of the Holy Spirit might be declared by means of the creature (the emblem) of simplicity and innocence, because even in her bodily structure the dove is without literal gall.” *On Baptism* ch.8 p.673

Tertullian (c.203 A.D.) “The eyes of the owl cannot endure the sun, whilst the eagle is so well able to face his glory, that the noble character of its young is determined by the unblinking strength of their gaze; while the eaglet, which turns away its eye from the sun's ray, is expelled from the nest as a degenerate creature!” *A Treatise on the Soul* ch.8 p.187

**Hippolytus of Portus** (222-245/6 A.D.) “and nitre and myrrh, along with vinegar, he wash them in brine frequently, he is not scorched: and he does not burn his feet, provided he smear them with isinglass and a salamander” *Refutation of All Heresies* book 4 ch.33 p.37

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) mentions the phoenix of Arabia in *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.8 p.541

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) For it is ascertained that there is a certain female animal which has no intercourse with the male (as writers on animals say is the case with vultures), and that this animal, without sexual intercourse, preserves the succession of race. What incredibility, therefore, is there in supposing that, if God wished to send a divine teacher to the human race, He caused Him to be born in some manner different from the common! *Origen Against Celsus* book 1 ch.37 p.412

**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) speaks of elephants and dragons. *From the Books on Nature* ch.3 p.86

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) says that the Armenians came from Phoenicians. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 9 ch.17 p.14

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) serpents can cause spasms by their breath. homily 9 ch.15 p.278

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 8 ch.25 p.172 says that hares and hyenas change their sex every year, and moles spontaneously spring from the earth.

## er7. Errors on geography or tribes

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “and was conquered by a dead Amazon; and putting off the god-fabricated armour,” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.1 p.194

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) says that the Magi came from Arabia (two times). *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.78 p.237-238

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) mentions the Amazons in Hercules’ time. *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.331

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) (partially not) says some think the war between the “Atlantini” and Athenians is to be taught allegorically, not absolutely. *Stromata* book 5 ch.9 p.458

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) says that there are 75 main tongues. “Euphorus and many other historians say that there are seventy-five nations and tongues, in consequence of hearing the statement made by Moses: ‘All the souls that sprang from Jacob, which went down into Egypt, were seventy-five.’ According to the true reckoning, there appear to be seventy-two generic dialects, as our Scriptures hand down. The rest of the vulgar tongues are formed by the blending of two, or three, or more dialects.” *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.332.

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) “Luperci; and the Amazons before the Vestal Virgins. And to add another point: if” *Apology* ch.26 p.40

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) “more audacious than an Amazon, darker than the cloud,” *Five Books Against Marcion* book 1 ch.1 p.272

Tertullian (198-220 A.D.) (partial) sarcastically asks if Christians are some subterranean antipodes, but he does not commit to whether or not he believes in antipodes or not. *Tertullian to the Nations* book 1 ch.8 p.116

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) (partially not) mentions that Anaximander that the earth is poised aloft, suspended on nothing, and curved with two surfaces. He does not says whether he thinks this is right or wrong though. *Refutation of All Heresies* book 1 ch.5 p.13-14

&&&Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) (partial) &&&

**Origen** (239-242 A.D.) “The schism [between Israel and Judah] grew all the more after the captivity of the ten tribes, when guards were sent by the Assyrians to the land of Israel, who are called Samaritans; for in the Hebrew language ‘guard’ is translated as *somar*.” *Homilies on Ezekiel* homily 9 ch.1.4 p.118

&&&**Dionysius of Alexandria** (246-265 A.D.) ““

**Arnobius of Sicca** (297-303 A.D.) says that 10,000 years ago men from the island called the Atlantis of Neptune exterminated numerous tribes as Plato tells us. *Arnobius Against the Heathen* book 1 ch.5 p.415

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) taught the earth is flat. It is silly to think it is a ball and there are people at the antipodes who walk upside down. *The Divine Institutes* book 3 ch.24 p.94.

Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “For he is not to be thought braver who overcomes a lion, than he who overcomes the violent wild beast shut up within himself, viz. anger; or he who has brought down most rapacious birds, than he who restrains most covetous desires; or he who subdues a warlike Amazon, than he who subdues lust, the vanquisher of modesty and fame; or he who cleanses a stable from dung, than he who cleanses his heart from vices, which are more destructive evils because they are peculiarly his own, than those which might have been avoided and guarded against.” *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.9 p.18-19

**Among heretics**

**Bardesan/Bardesaines of Syria** (154-224/232 A.D.) “another; nor *does it compel* the Amazons to rear the males; nor does his”

**X Tatian** (c.172 A.D.) “Who would not laugh when you tell us that the Amazons, and Semiramis, and certain other warlike women existed, while you cast reproaches on our maidens?” *Address of Tatian to the Greeks* ch.32 p.78

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 8 ch.28 p.173 says that no Jew has ever omitted circumcision on the eighth day (false), and that no Gentile has ever submitted to circumcision on the eighth day.

(Not an error but interesting) The Ebionite *Recognitions of Clement* (c.211-231 A.D.) book 8 ch.21 p.171 discusses the view of some Greek philosophers that the earth is a sphere. It does not say whether it is correct or not. But it says, “Now if the fabric of the world really has this form, the divine work is evident in it.”

## er8. Collective guilt of the Jews

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) “What strange injustice have you done, O Israel?’ *On Pascha* stanza 73 p.57. “‘I’, said Israel, ‘I killed the Lord.’” *On Pascha* stanza 74 p.58

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) says that the Jews hands are full of blood for rejecting Christ. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 4 ch.18.4 p.485

**Tertullian** (198-220 A.D.) Accordingly, all the synagogue of Israel did slay Him [Jesus], saying to Pilate, when he was desirous to dismiss Him, ‘His blood be upon us, and upon our children;’” *An Answer to the Jews* ch.8 p.160

Tertullian (207/208 A.D.) (partial) discusses the role of the Jews in rejecting Christ. *Five Books Against Marcion* book 5 ch.11 p.453-454

**Hippolytus of Portus** (225-235/6 A.D.) discusses the guilt of the Jews over Christ’s death. *Commentary on Proverbs* ch.5 p.172

**Origen** (c.240 A.D.) “The ordinary Jew killed the Lord Jesus and is liable today also for the murder of Jesus.” *Homilies of Jeremiah* homily 12 ch.13 p.127

Origen (c.240 A.D.) “The [the Jews] killed Jesus... laid hands on Christ.” *Homilies on Jeremiah* homily 13 ch.1 p.131

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) “But He had made the fulfilment of His promises to depend on certain conditions,-namely, that they should observe and live according to His law; and if the Jews bare not a plot of ground nor a habitation left to them, although they had received these conditional promises, the entire blame is to be laid upon their crimes, and especially upon their guilt in the treatment of Jesus.” *Origen Against Celsus* book 8 ch.69 p.666

**Lactantius** (c.303-320/325 A.D.) “I have been very jealous for the Lord God of hosts, because the children of Israel have forsaken Thee, thrown down Thine altars, and slain Thy prophets with the sword; and I only am left, and they seek my life to take it away.” On account of these impieties of theirs He cast them off for ever; and so He ceased to send to them prophets. But He commanded His own Son, the first-begotten, the maker of all things, His own counsellor, to descend from heaven, that He might transfer the sacred religion of God to the Gentiles, that is, to those who were ignorant of God, and might teach them righteousness, which the perfidious people had cast aside· And He had long before threatened that He would do this, as the prophet Malachi shows, saying: “I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord, and I will not accept an offering from your hands; for from the rising of the sun even unto its setting, my name shall be great among the Gentiles.’” *The Divine Institutes* book 4 ch.11 p.109

Alexander of Alexandria (313-326 A.D.) (partial) says that Israel killed her benefactor, “by nailing to a tree Him who had brought to life their dead, had healed their maimed, had made their lepers clean, had given light to their blind.” *Epistles on the Arian Heresy* epistle 5 ch.5 p.301

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) mentions all Jews were guilty. *Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History* book 1 ch.1 p.81

**Among corrupt or spurious works**

**pseudo-Ignatius** (after 117 A.D.) (implied) “He [Jesus] also lived a holy life, and healed every kind of sickness and disease among the people, and wrought signs and wonders for the benefit of men; and to those who had fallen into the error of polytheism He made known the one and only true God, His Father, and underwent the passion, and endured the cross at the hands of the Christ-killing Jews, under Pontius Pilate the governor and Herod the king.” *Epistle to the Magnesians (Latin form)* ch.11 p.64

## er9. Errors on people

**Justin Martyr** (c.150 A.D.) says that Ptolemy, the king [Pharaoh] of Egypt at the time the Septuagint was translated, send to Herod, king of the Jews. Ptolemy was much earlier than Herod. *The First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.31 p.173

Justin Martyr (c.150 A.D.) says that the cited utterances of David (all of Psalms 1 and 2) were given 1,500 years before Christ became a man. Justin is mistaken here; it was a little over 1,000 years. *First Apology of Justin Martyr* ch.42 p.177

**Melito of Sardis** (170-177/180 A.D.) said, “The Egyptians worshipped Joseph the Hebrew, who was called Serapis, because he supplied them with corn during the years of famine.” *Discourse before Antoninus Caesar* p.753

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-217/220 A.D.) “A cropped head not only shows a man to be grave, but renders the cranium less liable to injury, by accustoming it to the presence of both cold and heat; and it averts the mischiefs arising from these, which the hair absorbs into itself like a sponge, and so inflicts on the brain constant mischief from the moisture.” *The Instructor* book 3 ch.11 p.286

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) said Amos was the father of Isaiah. Isaiah’s father was named Amoz in Isaiah 1:1. The names are different in Hebrew, but they are the same in the Greek. *Stromata* book 1 ch.21 p.327

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) says that the name David means “capable with the hand” *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 67 homily 2 c.3 p.163

Origen (c.250 A.D.) says that Sarah was a Hittite. (possible but not likely being from Ur.) *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 72 ch.9 p.405

Origen (233-244 A.D.) says that Nathan the prophet who rebuked David on Bathsheba was the same Nathan as David’s son. *Homilies on Luke* homily 28 ch.3 p.116

Origen (c.250 A.D.) claims the God gave the Ethiopians the body of the serpent as food. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 73 homily 2 ch.7 p.202

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) says the Phoenicians invented letters. Actually Egyptians and Sumerians were before them. *Athanasius Against the Heathen* part 1 ch.9.2 p.9

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) says Theseus was the first to institute worship of the Greek gods. Actually they were worshipped before then. *Athanasius Against the Heathen* part 1 ch.9.4 p.9

## er10. Other errors on science

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) Explains that the “king bee” is in charge of the supply of honey, like our Savior and Lord of all the prophet bees. Moses bee, Isaiah bee, Jeremiah bee, or the rest for the prophet bees have made honey under [his] direction. But heresies make wax. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 67 homily 1 ch.8 p.153.

&&& A child resembles the man a mother loves, not the father. *Philippians* ch.78 p.156

**Athanasius of Alexandria** (318 A.D.) winds are caused by the burning heat of the upper air. Actually the upper air is cold. *Athanasius Against the Heathen* part 1 ch.27.7 p.18

Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) discusses “when the sun is under the earth” in *Athanasius Against the Heathen* part 2 ch.29.2 p.19.

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) speaks incorrectly about the moon. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 15 ch.36 p.44

Eusebius of Caesarea (318-325 A.D.) “for eclipses are the consequences of the divine natures of the sun and moon; and they are indications either of the death of kings, or of the destruction of cities, a fact to which indar obscurely alluded on the occasion of an eclipse in the passage previously quoted.”. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 8 ch.14 p.36

## er11. Number of nations according to angels

Deuteronomy 32:8 (Septuagint)

X Jesus could call on legions of angels

X Revelation says there are myriads or myriads of angels.

X Hebrews

“He set up the bounds of the peoples, according to the number of the children/sons of Israel” (Masoretic text) vs. “he set the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God” (Septuagint, Dead Sea Scrolls) vs. “sons of God” (Dead Sea scroll 4Q37, Symmachus, Latin) vs. “sons of Adam” (KJV)

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “For thus it is written, ‘When the Most High divided the nations, when He scattered the sons of Adam, He fixed the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God.” *1 Clement* ch.29 p.12

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) “But I shall quote the passage by which it is made known that God divided all the nations. It is as follows: ‘Ask thy father, and he will show thee; thine elders, and they will tell thee; when the Most High divided the nations, as He dispersed the sons of Adam. He set the bounds of the nations according to the numbers of the children of Israel; and the Lord’s portion became His people Jacob, and Israel was the lot of His inheritance.’ And having said this, I added: ‘The Seventy have translated it, ‘He set the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God.’ But because my argument is again in nowise weakened by this, I have adopted your exposition.” *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.131 p.265

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) “Now in this passage he does not only declare to them God as the Creator of the world, no Jews being present, but that He did also make one race of men to dwell upon all the earth; as also Moses declared: ‘When the Most High divided the nations, as He scattered the sons of Adam, He set the bounds of the nations after the number of the angels of God;’ but that people which believes in God is not now under the power of angels, but under the Lord’s [rule].” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 3 ch.12.9 p.433-434

**Clement of Alexandria** (193-202 A.D.) “Besides, the thoughts of virtuous men are produced through the inspiration of God; the soul being disposed in the way it is, and the divine will being conveyed to human souls, particular divine ministers contributing to such services. For regiments of angels are distributed over the nations and cities. And, perchance, some are assigned to individuals.” *Stromata* book 6 ch.17 p.517

Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) “For by an ancient and divine order the angels are distributed among the nations.” *Stromata* book 7 ch.2 p.524

**Origen** (225-253/254 A.D.) “-it is necessary to touch upon the narrative of the divisions (of the nations), and to make it evident why it was, that ‘when the Most High divided the nations, when He separated the sons of Adam, He set the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God,’” *Origen Against Celsus* book 4 ch.8 p.500

Origen (225-253/254 A.D.) (partial, not one per nation) discusses angels over different regions in *Origen Against Celsus* book 5 ch.32 p.537

**Novatian** (250/4-256/7 A.D.) “And yet in Deuteronomy we observe that God told these things, and that God said, where it is written, ‘When He scattered abroad the children of Adam, He determined the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God.’” *Concerning the Trinity* ch.17 p.627

**Victorinus of Petau** (martyred 304 A.D.) “By the corners of the earth, or the four winds across the river Euphrates, are *meant* four nations, because to every nation is sent an angel; as said the law, ‘He determined them by the number of the angels of God,’” *Commentary on the Apocalypse* From the ninth chapter no.13,14 p.352

**Eusebius of Caesarea** (318-325 A.D.) says the number of nations is the same as the angels. *Preparation for the Gospel* book 11 ch.26 p.34

**Among heretics**

The Ebionite ***Recognitions of Clement*** (c.211-231 A.D.) book 2 ch.72 p.109 says the number of nations is according to the number of angels.

## Teachings that are errors not on the list

**1. Be skillful/skilful money-changers** (only 3 writers: Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Dionysius of Alexandria)

**Writers Not Included and Reasons:**

Note: I had mixed feelings about whether to put the *Diatessaron* under heretics or orthodox works. The author, Tatian was a heretic, but there was nothing heretical or incorrect that he put in the *Diatessaron*; it was what was omitted that was a problem. I included it in orthodox works because orthodox Syriac-speaking Christians used this for a couple of centuries.

**Archelaus** (262-278 A.D.) The earliest copies we have were translated or edited by Hegemonius in the 4th century A.D. So I included this in the Nicea to Ephesus part instead. However, these also has a good picture of what Manes believed, so I included the part about Manes, but it is not counted in any totals.

**Aristo of Pella** is in the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.9 p.749. However, he was a Jew, not a Christian, so his references are not included.

***Apostolic Constitutions*** (3rd-5th century, compiled c.390 A.D.) was a work written at various times, and it is not sure how much they have been edited, so this work is counted in the Nicea to Ephesus section.

We do not know when the first edition of the ***Didascalia*** was written. However, in what we have preserved, it references not marrying Nestorians, so I have assigned it a date of “after 431 A.D.”

**Ignatius** has a shorter and longer version, as well as a middle Syriac version. Ignatius wrote in Greek, and the longer Latin version seems an extrapolation of the shorter Greek version. Only the shorter Greek version is used.

**Julius Cassianus** (190 A.D.) was a prominent Alexandrian Encratite Gnostic. We do not have any of his writings though.

**Pantaneus** has only one sentence quoted from him in *Ante-Nicene Fathers* vol.8 p.777, so he is not referenced here.

**pseudo-Zephyrinus of Rome** (199-217 A.D.) has two letters purportedly by him. However, these are now known to be ninth century frauds.

**Sections Not Included**

There are some writings that are questionable or even known spurious. These are not included. Authors who were claimed for questionable or spurious works or parts were Ignatius, Justin Martyr, Hippolytus, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Arnobius, Council of Elvira, Peter of Alexandria Alexander of Alexandria.

Methodius’ *Oration of Simeon and Anna*

**For Further Reading**

Most of these references were taken from the following.

Roberts, Alexander, and James Donaldson (editors) ***Ante-Nicene Fathers*** vols. 1-9 + 10 (Annotated Index) Hendrickson Publishers 1886, 1994

Pretty, Robert A. *Adamantius : Dialogue on the True Faith in God*. Peeters 1997

**Wrong Teaching**

**Clement of Rome** (96-98 A.D.) “Let us contemplate Him with our understanding, and look with the eyes of our soul to His long-suffering will. Let us reflect how free from wrath He is towards all His creation.” *1 Clement* ch.19 p.10

**Justin Martyr** (c.138-165 A.D.) said that the high priest had 12 bells on the bottom of his robe. Actually there were 12 gemstones in the ephod, but an unspecified number of bells at the bottom of his robe. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.42 p.215

Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) quotes unknown scripture. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.47 p.219

**Irenaeus of Lyons** (182-188 A.D.) says that Jesus was almost 50 when he began His ministry. “But, besides this, those very Jews who then disputed with the Lord Jesus Christ have most clearly indicated the same thing. For when the Lord said to them, ‘Your father Abraham rejoiced to see My day; and he saw it, and was glad,’ they answered Him, ‘Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast Thou seen Abraham? ‘ Now, such language is fittingly applied to one who has already passed the age of forty, without having as yet reached his fiftieth year, yet is not far from this latter period. But to one who is only thirty years old it would unquestionably be said, ‘Thou art not yet forty years old.’ For those who wished to convict Him of falsehood would certainly not extend the number of His years far beyond the age which they saw He had attained; but they mentioned a period near His real age, whether they had truly ascertained this out of the entry in the public register, or simply made a conjecture from what they observed that He was above forty years old, and that He certainly was not one of only thirty years of age. For it is altogether unreasonable to suppose that they were mistaken by twenty years, when they wished to prove Him younger than the times of Abraham. For what they saw, that they also expressed; and He whom they beheld was not a mere phantasm, but an actual being of flesh and blood. He did not then wont much of being fifty years old;” *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.22.6 p.392 (Irenaeus did not consider that the Jews were giving an exaggerated age.)

**Theodotus the probable Montanist** (ca.240 A.D.) “‘God set His tabernacle in the sun’ to be understood thus? God ‘set in the sun,’ that is, in the God who is beside Him, as in the Gospel, Eli, Eli, instead of my God, my God.” The footnote says Theodotus confused Eli, Eli, with Helios, Helios. *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.57 p.50 5:2,8

Here are historical examples, that all Christians today should agree are wrong. The point of bringing this up is not to look down on people who have said these errors, but to make sure we don’t make other mistakes for the same reason.

**Lack of attention to detail:** Justin Martyr (c.138-165 A.D.) said that the high priest had 12 bells on the bottom of his robe. Actually there were 12 gemstones in the ephod, but an unspecified number of bells at the bottom of his robe. *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* ch.42 p.215

**Confusing what Scripture says a non-believer said with what God says:** Irenaeus of Lyons (182-188 A.D.) says that Jesus was almost 50 when he began His ministry. *Irenaeus Against Heresies* book 2 ch.22.6 p.392

**Not taking into account other scriptures:** *Shepherd of Hermas* (c.115-155 A.D.) book 2 commandment 10 ch.2 p.27 grief drives out the Holy Spirit, because the Holy Spirit is a cheerful spirit. What about repentance, and the Book of Lamentations? Is the Holy Spirit really driven out of Christians every time we grieve?

**Over-allegorizing scripture:** Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) says there were ten commandments because it was an image of heaven, embracing the sun, moon, stars, clouds, light, wind, water, air, darkness, and fire. It is also a representation on earth of men, cattle, reptiles, wild beasts, water dwellers, fishes, and whales, winged animals, carnivorous, animals that eat mild food. *Stromata* book 6 ch.16 p.511

**Really over-allegorizing scripture:** Novatian (250/4-256/7 A.D.) says that the Old Testament command not to eat camel means that it condemns life crooked with crimes. *On the Jewish Meats* ch.3 p.647

**Really, really, over-allegorizing scripture:** Clement of Alexandria (193-202 A.D.) Now the high priest’s robe is the symbol of the world of sense. The seven planets are represented by five stones and the two carbuncles, for Saturn and the Moon. The former is southwestern, and moist, and earthy, and heavy; the latter arial, whence she is called by some Artemis, as if Aerotomos (cutting the air); and the air is cloudy.” *Stromata* book 4 ch.6 p.453

**Misreading the translated words:** Theodotus the probable Montanist (ca.240 A.D.) “‘God set His tabernacle in the sun’ to be understood thus? God ‘set in the sun,’ that is, in the God who is beside Him, as in the Gospel, Eli, Eli, instead of my God, my God.” The footnote says Theodotus confused Eli, Eli, with Helios, Helios. *Excerpts of Theodotus* ch.57 p.50 5:2,8

**Restricting beyond what scripture says:** The Anabaptist Conrad Grebel (1498-1526 A.D.) believed that no singing was allowed in church. Colossians 3:16 says “...sing psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs with gratitude in your hearts to God.” However, Conrad interpreted “in your hearts” to mean you were not supposed to sing out loud.

**Projecting your feelings on God:** God is free from all wrath, according to Clement of Rome (96-98 A.D.) (*1 Clement* ch.19 p.10) and *Epistle to Diognetus* (c.130-200 A.D.) ch.8 p.28.

**Equating your views with Scripture:** Cyprian of Carthage (c.248-256 A.D.) (*Epistles of Cyprian* letter 58.2 p.353), Ambrose of Milan (370-390 A.D.), Augustine of Hippo (388-430 A.D.), and Prosper of Aquitaine (c.390-455) (*On Forgiveness of Sin* 5:25,26-28-29, and *Baptism* ch.26-30, 33-35) all taught that baptized babies who die definitely go to heaven, and unbaptized babies who die definitely go to Hell.

**Bringing your own view of nature into scripture:** Lactantius (c.303-c.325 A.D.) taught the earth is flat. It is silly to think it is a ball and there are people at the antipodes who walk upside down. *The Divine Institutes* book 3 ch.24 p.94.

**Adding your spiritual views into Scripture:** Origen (225-254 A.D.) believed in the pre-existence of souls in *de Principiis*. (He did not believe in reincarnation though.)

**Lack of Forgiveness:** Novatian (250/254-256/257 A.D.) started a schism within the church. Novatianists believed just like other Christians, except that if a person ever denied the faith, even under duress, Novatianists taught that they had lost their salvation forever and could never get it back.

**Putting your prejudices in God’s Word:** Lactantius (c.303-320/325 A.D.) calls men strong and more robust, and women weaker and more feeble. *The Divine Institutes* book 1 ch.16 p.29. Athanasius of Alexandria (318 A.D.) wrote: “For even women, whom it is not safe to admit to deliberation about public affairs, they worship and serve with the honor due to God, such as those enjoined by Theseus as above stated,” *Athanasius Against the Heathen* ch.10.2 p.9.

Athanasius (318 A.D.) says that women are not suitable for public office. *Athanasius Against the Heathen* part 1 ch.9.2 p.9

But genuine Christians can still have errors of the same magnitude as above. We need to have right doctrine as well as be in tune with the Spirit. As one modern Christian writer quipped: “If you have doctrine without the Spirit you dry up, if you have the Spirit without doctrine you blow up, and if you have both you grow up.”

**Among heretics**

Nag Hammadi ***Apocalypse of Peter*** (3rd century A.D.) *Nag Hammadi Library in English* p.377 “one crucified is the first-born, the home of the demons”

Hippolytus of Portus (222-235/236 A.D.) discussed the Elchasaites and their teaching on the Serai. *Refutation of All Heresies* book 9 ch.8 p.131-132.

It is somewhat involved counting the number of pages of Origen. All of Origen’s works in which our only copy is Rufinus’ Latin translation are not counted, because Rufinus added much of his own material. So the parts to include are the parts of *de Principiis* from the Greek, and dividing by 3.5 (for the columns in *ANF*, it is (25 + 26 / 3.5) = 14.6 pages. Including *Letter to Gregory*, (1 2/3 pages) *Commentary on John* and *Commentary on Matthew* (216 pages), *Origen Against Celsus* (279 pages). The subtotal here is 511 pages.

Taking three pages from the commentaries, those three pages are 2545 words. Dividing by 3 is 848 words per page (not counting titles and notes.)

*Prayer* and *Exhortation to Martyrdom* 181 pages. (\*.3514 = 63.5 equivalent big pages)

*Homilies and Jeremiah* and homily *on 1 Kings 28* are 330.5 pages. (\*.3514 = 116 equivalent big pages)

*Homilies 10-14 on Ezekiel* are 145 pages. ( \*.3514 = 51 equivalent big pages)

Taking three pages, there were an average of 298 words per page.

these 656.6 smaller pages are equivalent to 231 pages.

So the total for Origen’s writing is (511 + 231) = 742 pages.

Irenaeus *Proof of Apostolic Preaching* is about 19398 words. Divided by 848 words per *ANF* page, that would be 22.75 pages.

Adamantius is about (284\*2 + 64 + 181 + 146+ 220) / 5 = 236 words per page. =190-35-8 = 148 physical pages. 148 \* 236 / 848 = 42 equivalent pages.

Council of Evira is 804 words for the first 21 canons (including the 21 section numbers). 804/ / 848 word per ANF page gives about 1 page.

*The Epistle of the Apostles* has about 8315 words in English / 848 word per ANF page = 9.8 pages.

The spurious *Sentences of Sextus* (partial) is 1709 words. Divided by 848 words per *ANF* page, would be 2 equivalent pages.

The Valentinian *Gnostic Letter of Peter to Philip* 382 \* 523 \* 2 + 92 words. At 878 words per *ANF* page, that would be 1.75 *ANF* pages.

Gnostic Gospel of Judas 3131 words / 848 wors per ANF page = 3.7 pages

Eusebius:

Eusebius of Caesarea’s *Demonstration of the Gospel* 10 vols. 184485 words / 848 words per ANF pages = 217.55 pages

Eusebius of Caesarea’s *Chronicon* + *Letter to Carpasia* 46559 words / 848 words per ANF page = 54.9 pages

Eusebius of Caesarea’s *Preparation for the Gospel* (15 volumes) 331333 words / 848 = 375.73 pages

Eusebius of Caesarea’s *Commentary on Psalm 51* 2729 words / 848 words per ANF page = 3.21 pages

Nestorian *The Marganitha* (*The Pearl*) 10,907 words / 848 words per ANF page = 12.86 or approx. 13 pages.

*Ascension of Isaiah* 9137 words / 848 words per ANF page = 10.2 pages = 10 pages.

Origen Psalms and Luke 342 words per page / 848 words per ANF page = 0.403 ratio. 591.75 \* 0.403 = 238.65 ANF pages

Origen Homilies on Isaiah Avg 391.5 words per page /848 words per ANF page = .462 ratio 53 pages \*.462 = 24.5 pages.

*Odes of Solomon* 8646 words / 848 words per ANF page = 10.8 pages = 11 pages.

**Leucius Charinus** (second century) Acts of John 20,909 words / 848 word per ANF page – 24.7 pages.

*Bible Knowledge Commentary : New Testament* Here are the numbers, then subtracting verse references. p.246 725 words minus 36 words = **689 words**. P.65 781 words minus 42 words = **739 words**. P.116 666 words – 61 words= **605 words**. Average is 678 words. 848 words per ANF page / 678 pages = 1.25

**Divergences**

**Divergence: Body is not the fetter of the soul.** (For: Methodius, Against: Origen)

**Methodius** (c.260-311/312 A.D.) “That Origen said that the body was given to the soul as a fetter after the fall, and that previously it lived without a body; but that this body which we wear is the cause of our sins; wherefore also he called it a fetter, as it can hinder the soul from good works.” *From the Discourse on the Resurrection* ch.2 p.364

**Divergence: Man is not just the soul alone.** (For: Methodius, Against: Origen)

**Methodius** (c.260-311/312 A.D.) “That man, with respect to his nature, is most truly said to be neither soul without body, nor, on the other hand, body without soul; but a being composed out of the union of soul and body into one form of the beautiful. But Origen said that the soul alone is man, as did Plato.” *From the Discourse on the Resurrection* ch.4 p.364

**Divergence: Our own body is resurrected glorified, not a different body.** (For: Methodius, Against: Origen)

**Methodius** (c.260-311/312 A.D.) “X. For, he says, whatever is composed and consists of pure air and pure fire, and is of like substance with the angelic beings, cannot have the nature of earth and water; since it would then be earthy. And of such nature, and consisting of such things, Origen has shown that the body of man shall be which shall rise, which he also said would be spiritual. XI. And he asks what will be the appearance of the risen body, when this human form, as according to him useless, shall wholly disappear; since it is the most lovely of all things which are combined in living creatures, as being the form which the Deity Himself employs, as the most wise Paul explains: ‘For a man indeed ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God;’ in accordance with which the rational bodies of the angels are set in order? will it be circular, or polygonal, or cubical, or pyramidal? For there are very many kinds of forms; but this is impossible. Well then, what are we to think of the assertion, that the godlike shape is to be rejected as more ignoble, for he himself allows that the soul is like the body, and that man is to rise again without hands or feet? XII. The transformation, he says, is the restoration into an impassible and glorious state. For now the body is a body of desire and of humiliation, and therefore Daniel was called ‘a man of desires.’ But then it will be transfigured into an impassible body, not by the change of the arrangement of the members, but by its not desiring carnal pleasures. Then he says, refuting Origen, Origen therefore thinks that the same flesh will not be restored to the soul, but that the form of each, according to the appearance by which the flesh is now distinguished, shall arise stamped upon another spiritual body; so that every one will again appear the same form; and that this is the resurrection which is promised. For, he says, the material body being fluid, and in no wise remaining in itself, but wearing out and being replaced around the appearance by which its shape is distinguished, and by which the figure is contained, it is necessary that the resurrection should be only that of the forth. XIII. Then, after a little, he says: If then, O Origen, you maintain that the resurrection of the body changed into a spiritual body is to be expected only in appearance, and put forth the vision of Moses and Elias as a most convincing proof of it; saying that they appeared after their departure from life, preserving no different appearance from that which they had from the beginning; in the same way will be the resurrection of all men. But Moses and Elias arose and appeared with this form of which you speak, before Christ suffered and rose. How then could Christ be celebrated by prophets and apostles as ‘the first begotten of the dead?’” *From the Discourse on the Resurrection* ch.10-13 p.366-368

**Divergence: Ezekiel dry bones refer to the resurrection of the dead, not just the return form Babylon** (For: Methodius, Against: Origen)

Methodius (c.260-311/312 A.D.) “And, when Origen allegorises that which is said by the prophet Ezekiel concerning the resurrection of the dead, and perverts it to the return of the Israelites from their captivity in Babylon, the saint in refuting him, after many other remarks,” *Discourse on the Resurrection* ch.18 p.376

**Divergence: The pearls are not more mystical teachings and the swin are not those who roll in impiety** (For: Methodius, Against: Origen)

**Methodius** (c.260-311/312 A.D.) “The passage, ‘Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine,’ is explained by Origen as signifying that the pearls are the more mystical teachings of our God-given religion, and the swine those who roll in impiety and in all kinds of pleasures, as swine do in mud; for he said that it was taught by these words of Christ not to cast about the divine teachings, inasmuch as they could not bear them who were held by impiety and brutal pleasures. The great Methodius says: If we must understand by pearls the glorious and divine teachings, and by swine those who are given up to impiety and pleasures, from whom are to be withheld and hidden the apostle’s teachings, which stir men up to piety and faith in Christ, see how you say that no Christians can be converted from their impiety by the teachings of the apostles. For they would never cast the mysteries of Christ to those who, through want: of faith, are like swine. Either, therefore, these: things were cast before all the Greeks and other unbelievers, and were preached by the disciples of Christ, and converted them from impiety to the faith of Christ, as we believers certainly confess, and then the words, ‘Cast not your pearls before swine,’ can no longer mean what has been said; or meaning this, we must say that faith in Christ and deliverance from impiety have been accorded to none of the unbelievers, whom we compare to swine, by the apostolic instructions enlightening their souls like pearls. But this is blasphemous.” *Extract from the Work on Things Created* ch.1 p.379

**Divergence: The Universe had a beginning.** (Mk 10:6; 13:19; Rom 1:20; 2 Pet 3:4) (For: Methodius, Against: Origen)

Methodius (c.260-311/132 A.D.) says that in contrast to Origen God the Almighty and Creator existed before any objects to be Almighty about and created. *Extract from the Work on Things Created* ch.2 p.379

**Divergence: It could have been a long period of time before Adam.** (For: Origen, Against: Methodius)

**Methodius** (c.260-311/312 A.D.) *Extract from the Work on Things Created* ch.9 p.381

A total of 52 Divergences, where at least one early Christian writer said one thing, and at least one other contradicted it.

The Nicene orthodox are the pre-Nicene proto-orthodox; there is no discontinuity or disagreement between them; however, the Nestorians, Monophysites, and Arians are also the proto-orthodox; there is no discontinuity or disagreement between them either.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 7 ch.2 p.347 says we are not to eat meat offered to idols.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 11 ch.19 p.290 speaks against the Pharisees.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 13 ch.7 p.301 (implied) speaks against the Sadducees.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 9 ch.4 p.275-276 speaks against the Zoroastrians.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily 11 ch.35 p.292 says to beware of false prophets.

The Ebionite ***Clementine Homilies*** (-188 A.D.- uncertain date) homily

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) discusses the parable of the sower. *Origen on Prayer* ch.5.49 p.142

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) mentions the twelve disciples. *Origen on Prayer* ch.5.34 p.174

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) says that we are priests and living stones. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 67.2.2 p.161

**Origen** (c.250 A.D.) says that “we preach the blood of Christ”. *Homilies on Psalms* Psalm 73.1.6 p.246

**Origen** (233/234 A.D.) says we have a holy nature. *Exhortation to Martyrdom* ch.2.5 p.144

**Origen** (c.233/243 A.D.) “Hannah did service to the birth of Samuel, who is numbered along with Moses, because though barren she prayed in faith unto the Lord. Hezekiah, who while still childless learned from Isaiah that he was about to die, is included in the Savior's genealogy because he prayed. When the people were already on the point of perishing under a single decree as the result of Haman's conspiracy, it was the heard prayer with fasting of Mordecai and Esther that added to the Mosaic festivals and gave rise to the Mordecaic day of rejoicing for the people.” *Origen on Prayer* ch.8 p.&&&. See also ibid ch.13.2 p.49

T2 (Imp), P6 Dialogue of the Savior *TGB* p.&&&

*Gospel of Thomas* ch.85 p.135 P3 (partial) Man fell mentions Adam

On the Origin of the World p.434

On the Origin of the T&&& p.436

The Apocalypse of Peter p.375 mentions the Mystery of &&&

***S6. The Gnostic Song of Solomon*** ch.23 p.373 Says that some are the elect

The Gnostic Song of Solomon ch.41 p.384 (implied) says “I am an alien in this world”

P4 (partial) covered themselves for shame *A Naasene Sermon* p.485

P4 Adam and Eve covered themselves for shame. *On the Origin of the World* p.437

P6 in the && ch.18 p.130

***Pat21. A Naasene Sermon*** (188-235 A.D.) mentions Jeremiah and Rachel weeping for her children. *TGB* p.490-491

***A Naasene Sermon*** (188-235 A.D.) all will be made male by the virginal spirit. *TGB* p.492

***X A Naasene Sermon*** (188-235 A.D.) tells the parable of the sower. *TGB* p.489

N7 (partial) Mary Sophia ch.1 p.239

N4 Peter The Gnostic Thomas ch.13 p.127

Matthew Sophia ch.1 p.224? 7? 9?

N2 John the Baptist Thomas ch.46 p.131

Bartholomew Sophia ch.1 p.231

The Sethian Gnostic ***Second Treatise of the Great Seth*** (&&&) p.473 Adam, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Solomon, twelve prophets, Moses, and John the Baptist all laughing.

by Steven M. Morrison, PhD.