
Βαρναβᾶ Ἐπιστολῆ † THE LETTER OF BARNABAS

INTRODUCTION

The Greek and English texts here presented are based on those published in: “*The Apostolic Fathers, Volume 2*. Lake, Kirsopp, editor. (London: William Heinemann Ltd.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912).” These were gleaned from the [Scaife Viewer website](#) (numerous minor corrections have been made). We also present the 1891 translation by J.B. Lightfoot (published posthumously) in a [separate file](#), as also the [Greek text](#) of Lightfoot’s transcription. Significant differences between the published Lake texts and Lightfoot’s are noted. On the sources/provenance of the texts presented, and their accuracy, please refer to the notes in [this document](#).

The core message of the *Letter of Barnabas* is that the Hebrew Scriptures were, from the days of their origin, written for use by Christians rather than by Jews; the author asserts that the Israelites had misinterpreted their own Law by applying it literally – its true meaning lies in its symbolic prophecies that foreshadow the coming of Jesus of Nazareth.

The *Letter of Barnabas*, like the (First) Letter of Clement and the Shepherd of Hermas, was held as canonical by some early Christian communities: Clement of Alexandria quotes it as Scripture and Origen refers to it as a ‘Catholic Epistle’.

The significant extant manuscripts are as follows:

1. The Greek *Codex Sinaiticus* (the complete letter).
2. The Greek *Codex Constantinopolitanus* (11th Century, complete).
3. A series of nine Greek MSS, dependent on *Codex Vaticanus Gr. 859*, which also contain parts of the *Letter of Polycarp* (early 5th Century, lacking Chs 1–5a).
4. The Latin *Codex Petropolitanus* (9th/10th Century, lacking Chs 18–21).
5. Quotations by Clement of Alexandria.

AUTHORSHIP AND DATES

Clement of Alexandria (late 2nd Century) ascribes the work to ‘Barnabas the Apostle’ but nowhere in the letter itself does its author claim to be this apostle. It was almost certainly written in Alexandria, between 70 and 132 CE, most likely towards the early part of that period.

Βαρναβα 1

¹ Χαίρετε, υιοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντος ἡμᾶς, ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

² Μεγάλων μὲν ὄντων καὶ πλουσίων τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιωμάτων εἰς ὑμᾶς, ὑπὲρ τι καὶ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὑπερευφραίνομαι ἐπὶ τοῖς μακαρίοις καὶ ἐνδόξοις ὑμῶν πνεύμασιν· οὕτως ἔμφυτον τῆς δωρεᾶς πνευματικῆς χάριν εἰλήφατε. ³ διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον συγχαίρω ἑμαυτῷ ἐλπίζων σωθῆναι, ὅτι ἀληθῶς βλέπω ἐν ὑμῖν ἐκκεχυμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ πλουσίου τῆς πηγῆς κυρίου πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς. οὕτω με ἐξέπληξεν ἐπὶ ὑμῶν ἢ ἐμοὶ ἐπιποθήτη ὄψις ὑμῶν.

⁴ πεπεισμένος οὖν τοῦτο καὶ συνειδῶς ἑμαυτῷ, ὅτι ἐν ὑμῖν λαλήσας πολλὰ ἐπίσταμαι, ὅτι ἐμοὶ συνώδευσεν ἐν ὁδῷ δικαιοσύνης κύριος, καὶ πάντως ἀναγκάζομαι ἀγῶν εἰς τοῦτο, ἀγαπᾶν ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν μου, ὅτι μεγάλη πίστις καὶ ἀγάπη ἐγκατοικεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ζωῆς αὐτοῦ.

⁵ λογισάμενος οὖν τοῦτο, ὅτι ἐὰν μελήσῃ μοι περὶ ὑμῶν τοῦ μέρους τι μεταδοῦναι ἀφ' οὗ ἔλαβον, ὅτι ἔσται μοι τοιούτοις πνεύμασιν ὑπηρετήσαντι εἰς μισθόν, ἐσπούδασα κατὰ μικρὸν ὑμῖν πέμπειν, ἵνα μετὰ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν τελείαν ἔχητε τὴν γνῶσιν.

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¹ Hail, sons and daughters, in the name of the Lord who loved us, in peace.

² Exceedingly and abundantly do I rejoice over your blessed and glorious spirit for the greatness and richness of God's ordinances towards you; so innate is the grace of the gift of the spirit have you received. ³ Wherefore I congratulate myself the more in my hope of salvation, because I truly see in you that the Spirit has been poured out upon you from the Lord, who is rich in his bounty, so that the sight of you, for which I longed, amazed me. ⁴ Being persuaded then of this, and being conscious that since I spoke among you, I have much understanding because the Lord has travelled with me in the way of righteousness, I am above all constrained to this, to love you above my own life, because great faith and love dwell in you in the hope of his life. ⁵ I have therefore reckoned that, if I make it my care in your behalf to communicate somewhat of that which I received, it shall bring me the reward of having ministered to such spirits, and I hasten to send you a short letter in order that your knowledge may be perfected along with your faith.

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¹ In his usual style, Lightfoot opens with the first word in block capitals, XAIPETE.

² For οὕτως, here following the *Latin MS, Codex Sinaiticus* has ουτο and *Codex Constantinopolitanus* has οὗ τό.

³ Lightfoot lacks ἐμοὶ before ἐπιποθήτη. The literal translation of 'bounty' is 'spring'.

⁴ Lightfoot lacks ἐπ' before ἐλπίδι.

⁵ Lightfoot includes the opening part of this verse ('considering this therefore, that') as part of v. 4.

⁶ Τρία οὖν δόγματά ἐστιν κυρίου· ζωῆς ἐλπίς, ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος πίστεως ἡμῶν· καὶ δικαιοσύνη, κρίσεως ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος· ἀγάπη εὐφροσύνης καὶ ἀγαλλιάσεως ἔργων δικαιοσύνης μαρτυρία. ⁷ Ἐγνώρισεν γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ δεσπότης διὰ τῶν προφητῶν τὰ παρεληλυθότα καὶ τὰ ἐνεστῶτα, καὶ τῶν μελλόντων δούς ἀπαρχὰς ἡμῖν γεύσεως, ὧν τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα βλέποντες ἐνεργούμενα, καθὼς ἐλάλησεν, ὀφείλομεν πλουσιώτερον καὶ ὑψηλότερον προσάγειν τῷ φόβῳ αὐτοῦ. ⁸ Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐχ ὡς διδάσκαλος, ἀλλ' ὡς εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν ὑποδείξω ὀλίγα, δι' ὧν ἐν τοῖς παροῦσιν εὐφρανθήσεσθε.

⁶ There are then three doctrines of the Lord: the hope of life is the beginning and end of our faith; and righteousness is the beginning and end of judgment; love of joy and of gladness is the testimony of the works of righteousness. ⁷ For, the Lord made known to us by his prophets things past and things present, giving us the first fruits of the taste of things to come; and, seeing these things coming to pass, as he said, we ought to make a richer and deeper offering for fear of him. ⁸ But I will show you a few things, not as a teacher but as one of yourselves, in which you shall rejoice at this present time.

⁶ The text of v. 6 is confused: the *Latin MS* has just *tres sunt ergo constitutiones domini, vitae spes initium et consummatio* and *Codex Sinaiticus* has *τρία οὖν δόγματά ἐστιν κυρίου, ζωῆ, πίστις, ἐλπίς, ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος ἡμῶν, καὶ δικαιοσύνη κρίσεως ἀρχή, καὶ τέλος ἀγάπη, εὐφροσύνη, καὶ ἀγαλλιάσεως ἔργων ἐν δικαιοσύναις μαρτυρία*. The text given here is that of *Codex Constantinopolitanus*, which gives the best sense, though it is doubtful if it is more than a correction of an early corruption.

⁷ Lake has 'through the prophets' in place of 'by his prophets', here following Lightfoot.

⁸ Lightfoot ends with, "in the present circumstances."

Βαρναβας 2

¹ Ἡμερῶν οὖν οὐσῶν πονηρῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος ἔχοντος τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ὀφείλομεν ἑαυτοῖς προσέχοντες ἐκζητεῖν τὰ δικαιώματα κυρίου. ² τῆς οὖν πίστεως ἡμῶν εἰσιν βοηθοὶ φόβος καὶ ὑπομονή, τὰ δὲ συμμαχοῦντα ἡμῖν μακροθυμία καὶ ἐγκράτεια. ³ τούτων οὖν μενόντων τὰ πρὸς κύριον ἀγνῶς, συννευφραίνονται αὐτοῖς σοφία, σύνεσις, ἐπιστήμη, γνῶσις. ⁴ πεφανέρωκεν γὰρ ἡμῖν διὰ πάντων τῶν προφητῶν, ὅτι οὔτε θυσιῶν οὔτε ὀλοκαυτωμάτων οὔτε προσφορῶν χρήζει, λέγων ὅτε μὲν. ⁵ Τί μοι πλῆθος τῶν θυσιῶν ὑμῶν; λέγει κύριος. πλήρης εἰμι ὀλοκαυτωμάτων, καὶ στέαρ ἀρνῶν καὶ αἶμα ταύρων καὶ τράγων οὐ βούλομαι, οὐδ' ἂν ἔρχησθε ὀφθῆναί μοι. τίς γὰρ ἐξεζήτησεν ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν; πατεῖν μου τὴν αὐλήν οὐ προσθήσεσθε. ἐὰν φέρητε σεμίδαλιν, μάταιον· θυμίαμα βδέλυγμά μοι ἐστίν· τὰς νεομηνίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ σάββατα οὐκ ἀνέχομαι. ⁶ ταῦτα οὖν κατήργησεν, ἵνα ὁ καινὸς νόμος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἄνευ ζυγοῦ ἀνάγκης ὦν, μὴ ἀνθρωποποίητον ἔχη τὴν προσφοράν. ⁷ λέγει δὲ πάλιν πρὸς αὐτούς· Μὴ ἐγὼ

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¹ Seeing, then, that the days are evil and that the worker of evil himself is in power, we ought to give heed to ourselves and seek out the ordinances of the Lord. ² Fear then, and patience are the aids of our faith, and long-suffering and continence are our allies. ³ So, while, these things remain in holiness towards the Lord, wisdom, prudence, understanding, and knowledge rejoice with them. ⁴ For, he has made plain to us through all the prophets that he needs neither sacrifices nor burnt offerings nor oblations, saying in one place, ⁵ "What is the multitude of your sacrifices to me? says the Lord. I am full of burnt offerings and desire not the fat of lambs and the blood of bulls and goats, not even when you come to appear before me. For, who has required these things at your hands? You shall tread my court no more. If you bring flour, it is vain. Incense is an abomination to me. I cannot stand your new moons and sabbaths." ⁶ These things, then, he annulled, so the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ, free from the yoke of necessity, might have its oblation not made by man. ⁷ Nay, but this was my

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¹ Throughout his work, Lightfoot capitalizes *Κυρίου* and its derivative forms when the title is used of God.

² Lake has 'helpers' in place of 'aids'.

³ Lightfoot lacks οὖν before μενόντων.

⁴ For 'in one place', Lightfoot has 'at one time'.

⁵ Lightfoot ends, "your new moons and your Sabbaths I cannot away with."

⁶ Lake has 'abolished' in place of 'annulled', here following Lightfoot.

⁷ Lake opens the verse, here following Lightfoot, with, "Nay, but rather did I command them this."

ἐνετειλάμην τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν ἐκπορευομένοις ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, προσενέγκαι μοι ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ θυσίας;⁸ ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦτο ἐνετειλάμην αὐτοῖς· ἕκαστος ὑμῶν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἑαυτοῦ κακίαν μὴ μνησικακείτω, καὶ ὄρκον ψευδῆ μὴ ἀγαπᾶτε.⁹ αἰσθάνεσθαι οὖν ὀφείλομεν, μὴ ὄντες ἀσύνητοι, τὴν γνώμην τῆς ἀγαθωσύνης τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, ὅτ' ἡμῖν λέγει, θέλων ἡμᾶς μὴ ὁμοίως πλανωμένους ἐκείνοις ζητεῖν, πῶς προσάγωμεν αὐτῷ.¹⁰ ἡμῖν οὖν οὕτως λέγει· Θυσία τῷ κυρίῳ καρδία συντετριμμένη, ὁσμὴ εὐωδίας τῷ κυρίῳ καρδία δοξάζουσα τὸν πεπλακότα αὐτήν. ἀκριβεύεσθαι οὖν ὀφείλομεν, ἀδελφοί, περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ ὁ πονηρὸς παρείσδυσιν πλάνης ποιήσας ἐν ἡμῖν ἐκσφενδονήσῃ ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν.

command to them, 'Let none of you cherish any evil in his heart against his neighbour and love not a false oath.'" ⁸ And again, he said to them, "Did I command your fathers when they came out of the land of Egypt to offer me burnt offerings and sacrifices? ⁹ We ought then to understand, if we are not foolish, the loving intention of our Father, for he speaks to us, wishing that we should not err like them, but seek how we may make our offering to him. ¹⁰ To us then he speaks thus, "Sacrifice for the Lord is a broken heart, a smell of sweet savour to the Lord is a heart that glorifies him that made it." We ought, therefore, brethren, carefully to enquire concerning our salvation, in order that the evil one may not achieve a deceitful entry into us and hurl us away from our life.

⁸ Lightfoot starts ἕκαστος with an uppercase *epsilon*.

⁹ Lightfoot has an *ano teleia* in place of the comma after πατρὸς ἡμῶν.

¹⁰ In place of τῷ κυρίῳ, here following *Codex Constantinopolitanus* and the *Latin MS* (and Lake), *Codex Sinaiticus* (and Lightfoot) has τῷ Θεῷ. The 1st part of this quotation is from Ps 51:19; the 2nd part, according to a note in *Codex Constantinopolitanus*, is from the Apocalypse of Adam.

Βαρναβας 3

¹ Λέγει οὖν πάλιν περὶ τούτων πρὸς αὐτούς· Ἰνατί μοι νηστεύετε, λέγει κύριος, ὡς σήμερον ἀκουσθῆναι ἐν κραυγῇ τὴν φωνὴν ὑμῶν; οὐ ταύτην τὴν νηστείαν ἐγὼ ἐξελεξάμην, λέγει κύριος, οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ταπεινοῦντα τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ, ² οὐδ' ἂν κάμψητε ὡς κρίκον τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν καὶ σάκκον ἐνδύσησθε καὶ σποδὸν ὑποστρώσητε, οὐδ' οὕτως καλέσετε νηστείαν δεκτὴν. ³ πρὸς ἡμᾶς δὲ λέγει· Ἴδου αὕτη ἡ νηστεία, ἣν ἐγὼ ἐξελεξάμην, λέγει κύριος· λύε πάντα σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας, διάλυε στραγγαλιὰς βιαίων συναλλαγμάτων, ἀπόστειλε τεθραυσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει καὶ πᾶσαν ἄδικον συγγραφὴν διάσπα. διάθρυπτε πεινῶσιν τὸν ἄρτον σου, καὶ γυμνὸν ἐὰν ἴδῃς περίβαλε· ἀστέγους εἴσαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου, καὶ ἐὰν ἴδῃς ταπεινόν, οὐχ ὑπερόψη αὐτόν, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων τοῦ σπέρματός σου. ⁴ τότε ῥαγήσεται πρῶϊμον τὸ φῶς σου, καὶ τὰ ἱμάτιά σου ταχέως ἀνατελεῖ, καὶ προπορεύεται ἔμπροσθέν σου ἡ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ ἡ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ περιστελεῖ σε. ⁵ τότε βοήσεις, καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐπακούσεταιί σου, ἔτι λαλοῦντός σου ἐρεῖ· Ἴδου πάρειμι· ἐὰν ἀφέλῃς ἀπὸ σοῦ σύνδεσμον καὶ χειροτονίαν καὶ ῥῆμα γογγυσμοῦ, καὶ δῶς πεινῶντι τὸν

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¹ To them he says then again concerning these things, “Why do you fast for me, says the Lord, so that your voice is heard this day with a cry! This is not the fast that I chose, saith the Lord, not a man humbling his soul; ² nor, though you bend your neck as a hoop, and put on sackcloth, and make your bed of ashes, not even so shall you call it an acceptable fast.” ³ But to us he says, “Behold! This is the fast that I chose, saith the Lord, loose every bond of wickedness, set loose the fastenings of harsh agreements, send away the bruised in forgiveness, and tear up every unjust contract, give to the hungry thy bread; and, if you see a naked man, clothe him, bring the homeless into your house and, if you see a humble man, despise him not, neither you nor any of the household of your seed. ⁴ Then shall your light break forth as the dawn, and your robes shall rise quickly, and your righteousness shall go before thee, and the glory of God shall surround you. ⁵ Then you shall cry and God shall hear you; while you are still speaking, he shall say, ‘Lo I am here’; if you put away from you bondage, and violence, and the word of murmuring, and give to the poor your bread with

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¹ In place of Ἰνατί, Lightfoot reads Ἰνα τί and he lacks ἐγὼ before ἐξελεξάμην.

² Lightfoot ends the verse, “shall ye call a fast that is acceptable.”

³ For πάντα σύνδεσμον, Lightfoot has πᾶν σύνδεσμον.

⁴ Here, ἱμάτιά follows Codex Constantinopolitanus and the Latin MS; Codex Sinaiticus has ἰάματά; this ‘correction’, which Lightfoot accepts, is no doubt what Barnabas meant but the MSS evidence suggests that it is not what he wrote.

⁵ Throughout his work, Lightfoot capitalizes θεός and its derivative forms.

ἄρτον σου ἐκ ψυχῆς σου καὶ ψυχὴν τεταπεινωμένην
ἐλεήσης. ⁶εἰς τοῦτο οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ὁ μακρόθυμος προβλέψας,
ὡς ἐν ἀκεραιοσύνῃ πιστεύσει ὁ λαός, ὃν ἠτοίμασεν ἐν τῷ
ἠγαπημένῳ αὐτοῦ, προεφάνερωσεν ἡμῖν περὶ πάντων, ἵνα
μὴ προσρησώμεθα ὡς ἐπήλυτοι τῷ ἐκείνων νόμῳ.

a cheerful heart and pity the soul that is abased.” ⁶So then,
brethren, the long-suffering one foresaw that the people whom
he prepared in his Beloved should believe in guilelessness and
made all things plain to us beforehand that we should not be
shipwrecked by conversion to their law.

⁶ In place of ἐπήλυτοι, here following *Codex Sinaiticus*, *Codex Constantinopolitanus* has προσήλυτοι and the *Latin MS* has *proselytae*; the use of the words in Philo suggests that they both mean proselytes, so that the evidence of the *Latin MS* is ambiguous.

Βαρναβας 4

¹ Δεῖ οὖν ἡμᾶς περὶ τῶν ἐνεστῶτων ἐπιπολὺ ἐραυνῶντας ἐκζητεῖν τὰ δυνάμενα ἡμᾶς σώζειν. φύγωμεν οὖν τελείως ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων τῆς ἀνομίας, μήποτε καταλάβῃ ἡμᾶς τὰ ἔργα τῆς ἀνομίας· καὶ μισήσωμεν τὴν πλάνην τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ, ἵνα εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα ἀγαπηθῶμεν. ² μὴ δῶμεν τῇ ἐαυτῶν ψυχῇ ἄνεσιν, ὥστε ἔχειν αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν μετὰ ἀμαρτωλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν συντρέχειν, μήποτε ὁμοιωθῶμεν αὐτοῖς. ³ τὸ τέλειον σκάνδαλον ἤγγικεν, περὶ οὗ γέγραπται, ὡς Ἐνώχ λέγει. Εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ δεσπότης συντέτμηκεν τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας, ἵνα ταχύνη ὁ ἡγαπημένος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κληρονομίαν ἦξη, ⁴ λέγει δὲ οὕτως καὶ ὁ προφήτης· Βασιλεῖαι δέκα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς βασιλεύσουσιν, καὶ ἐξαναστήσεται ὀπισθεν μικρὸς βασιλεύς, ὃς ταπεινώσει τρεῖς ὑφ' ἐν τῶν βασιλέων. ⁵ ὁμοίως περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λέγει Δαυιδ· Καὶ εἶδον τὸ τέταρτον θηρίον τὸ πονηρὸν καὶ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ χαλεπώτερον παρὰ πάντα τὰ θηρία τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀνέτειλεν δέκα κέρατα, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν μικρὸν κέρασ παραφυάδιον, καὶ ὡς ἐταπεινώσεν ὑφ' ἐν τρία τῶν μεγάλων κεράτων. ⁶ συνιέναι οὖν ὀφείλετε. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐρωτῶ

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¹ It behoves us, therefore, to investigate earnestly into the things that now are, and to seek out those that are able to save us. Let us, therefore, utterly flee from all the works of lawlessness, lest the works of lawlessness overcome us; and let us hate the error of this present time, that we may be loved in that which is to come. ² Let us give no freedom to our souls to have power to walk with sinners and wicked men, lest we be made like them. ³ The final stumbling block is at hand, of which it was written, as Enoch says, "For to this end the Lord has cut short the times and the days, that his beloved should make haste and come to his inheritance." ⁴ And the Prophet also says thus, "Ten kingdoms shall reign upon the earth and there shall rise up after them a little king, who shall subdue three of the kings under one." ⁵ Daniel says likewise concerning the same, "And I beheld the fourth Beasts wicked and powerful and fiercer than all the beasts of the sea, and that ten horns sprang from it, and out of them a little excrescent horn, and that it subdued under one three of the great horns." ⁶ You ought then to understand. And this also I ask you, as

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¹ In place of ἐραυνῶντας, here following *Codex Sinaiticus*, *Codex Constantinopolitanus* has ἐρευνῶντας.

² Lightfoot has 'relaxation' in place of 'freedom'.

³ Lightfoot ends the verse with a full stop in place of the comma.

⁴ In place of ὀπισθεν, here following *Codex Constantinopolitanus* and the *Latin MS*, *Codex Sinaiticus* (and *Theodotion*) has ὀπισθεν αὐτῶν.

⁵ For θαλάσσης, here following *Codex Constantinopolitanus* and the *Latin MS* (and *Lake*), *Codex Sinaiticus* (and *Lightfoot*) has γῆς.

⁶ For ὅτι ἡ διαθήκη ἐκείνων καὶ ἡμῶν, *Lightfoot* has ὅτι ἡ διαθήκη ἡμῶν μένει ἐκείνοις.

ὁμᾶς ὡς εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν ὢν, ἰδίως δὲ καὶ πάντας ἀγαπῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν μου, προσέχειν νῦν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ μὴ ὁμοιοῦσθαι τισιν ἐπισωρεύοντας ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ὑμῶν λέγοντας, ὅτι ἡ διαθήκη ἐκείνων καὶ ἡμῶν. ⁷ ἡμῶν μὲν· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι οὕτως εἰς τέλος ἀπώλεσαν αὐτὴν λαβόντος ἤδη τοῦ Μωϋσέως. λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· Καὶ ἦν Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῷ ὄρει νηστεύων ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ νύκτας τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν διαθήκην ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, πλάκας λιθίνας γεγραμμένας τῷ δακτύλῳ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ κυρίου. ⁸ ἀλλὰ ἐπιστραφέντες ἐπὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα ἀπώλεσαν αὐτήν. λέγει γὰρ οὕτως κύριος. Μωϋσῆ Μωϋσῆ, κατὰβηθι τὸ τάχος, ὅτι ἠνόμησεν ὁ λαός σου, οὓς ἐξήγαγες ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ συνῆκεν Μωϋσῆς καὶ ἔριψεν τὰς δύο πλάκας ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ· καὶ συνετρίβη αὐτῶν ἡ διαθήκη, ἵνα ἡ τοῦ ἠγαπημένου Ἰησοῦ ἐγκατασφραγισθῆ εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ἡμῶν ἐν ἐλπίδι τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ. ⁹ πολλὰ δὲ θέλων γράφειν, οὐχ ὡς διδάσκαλος, ἀλλ' ὡς πρέπει ἀγαπῶντι ἀφ' ὧν ἔχομεν μὴ ἐλλείπειν, γράφειν ἐσπούδασα, περίψημα ὑμῶν. διὸ προσέχωμεν ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὠφελήσει ἡμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ νῦν ἐν τῷ ἀνόμῳ καιρῷ καὶ τοῖς μέλλουσιν σκανδάλοις, ὡς πρέπει υἱοῖς θεοῦ, ἀντιστῶμεν, ἵνα μὴ σχῆ παρείσδυσιν ὁ μέλας. ¹⁰ φύγωμεν ἀπὸ πάσης ματαιότητος,

being one of yourselves, and especially as loving you all above my own life; take heed to yourselves now, and be not made like unto some, heaping up your sins and saying that the covenant is both theirs and ours. ⁷ It is ours: but in this way did they finally lose it when Moses had just received it; for, the Scripture says: And Moses was in the mount fasting forty days and forty nights, and he received the covenant from the Lord, tables of stone written with the finger of the hand of the Lord. ⁸ But they turned to idols and lost it. For, thus said the Lord, “Moses, Moses, go down quickly; for, your people, whom you brought forth out of the land of Egypt, have broken the Law.” And Moses understood and cast the two tables out of his hands, and their covenant was broken, in order that the covenant of Jesus the Beloved should be sealed in our hearts in the hope that springs from faith in him. ⁹ (And, though I wish to write much, I hasten to write in devotion to you, not as a teacher, but as it becomes one who loves to leave out nothing of that which we have.) Therefore, let us pay heed in the last days; for, the whole time of our life and faith will profit us nothing, unless we resist, as becomes the sons of God in this present evil time, against the offences that are to come, that the Black One may have no opportunity of entry. ¹⁰ Let us flee

⁷ Lightfoot includes ἡμῶν μὲν· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι οὕτως εἰς τέλος ἀπώλεσαν αὐτήν, λαβόντος ἤδη τοῦ Μωϋσέως as part of v. 6.

⁸ In place of ‘in the hope that springs from faith in him’, here following Lightfoot’, Lake ends with ‘in hope of his faith’.

⁹ For τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν, here following *Codex Sinaiticus*, *Codex Constantinopolitanus* has τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν and the *Latin MS* has *vitae nostrae et fidei*. In place of ἵνα, here following *Codex Sinaiticus*, *Codex Constantinopolitanus* has ἵνα οὖν; the *Latin MS* omits the text, ἵνα [οὖν] ... μέλας.

¹⁰ Note that Lightfoot capitalizes *Μὴ καθ’*.

μισήσωμεν τελείως τὰ ἔργα τῆς πονηρᾶς ὁδοῦ. μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐνδύνοντες μονάζετε ὡς ἤδη δεδικαιωμένοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνερχόμενοι συζητεῖτε περὶ τοῦ κοινῆ συμφέροντος. ¹¹ λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· Οὐαὶ οἱ συνετοὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἐνώπιον ἑαυτῶν ἐπιστήμονες. γενώμεθα πνευματικοί, γενώμεθα ναὸς τέλειος τῷ θεῷ. ἐφ' ὅσον ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμῖν, μελετῶμεν τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φυλάσσειν ἀγωνιζώμεθα τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἐν τοῖς δικαιώμασιν αὐτοῦ εὐφρανθῶμεν. ¹² ὁ κύριος ἀπροσωπολήπτως κρινεῖ τὸν κόσμον. ἕκαστος καθὼς ἐποίησεν κομιεῖται. ἐὰν ᾖ ἀγαθός, ἡ δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ προηγήσεται αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν ᾖ πονηρός, ὁ μισθὸς τῆς πονηρίας ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ. ¹³ ἵνα μήποτε ἐπαναπαύομενοι ὡς κλητοὶ ἐπικαθυπνώσωμεν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις ἡμῶν, καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς ἄρχων λαβῶν τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐξουσίαν ἀπώσεται ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ κυρίου. ¹⁴ ἔτι δὲ κάκεῖνο, ἀδελφοί μου, νοεῖτε· ὅταν βλέπετε μετὰ τηλικαῦτα σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα γεγονότα ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ, καὶ οὕτως ἐγκαταλελειφθαι αὐτούς· προσέχωμεν, μήποτε, ὡς γέγραπται, πολλοὶ κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοὶ εὐρεθῶμεν.

from all vanity, let us utterly hate the deeds of the path of wickedness. Do not by retiring apart live alone as if you were already made righteous but come together and seek out the common good. ¹¹ For, the Scripture says, “Woe to them who are prudent for themselves and understanding in their own sight. Let us be spiritual, let us be a temple consecrated to God, so far as in us lies let us exercise ourselves in the fear of God, and let us strive to keep his commandments in order that we may rejoice in his ordinances.” ¹² The Lord will judge the world without respect of persons. Each will receive according to his deeds. If he is good, his righteousness will lead him; if he is evil, the reward of iniquity is before him. ¹³ Let us never rest as though we were ‘called’ and slumber in our sins, lest the wicked ruler gain power over us and thrust us out from the Kingdom of the Lord. ¹⁴ Moreover, consider this also, my brethren, when you see that, after such great signs and wonders were wrought in Israel, they were even then finally abandoned; let us take heed lest as it was written we be found many called but few chosen.

¹¹ Lightfoot has the καὶ after Θεοῦ in brackets.

¹² In place of ‘will judge’, Lightfoot has ‘judges’.

¹³ Here, ‘called’ is apparently a loose expression confiding in our call.

¹⁴ Lightfoot opens this verse with an upercase *epsilon*.

Βαρναβας 5

¹ Εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπέμεινεν ὁ κύριος παραδοῦναι τὴν σάρκα εἰς καταφθοράν, ἵνα τῇ ἀφέσει τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἀγνισθῶμεν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ῥαντίσματος αὐτοῦ. ² γέγραπται γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἃ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσραήλ, ἃ δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, λέγει δὲ οὕτως· Ἐτραυματίσθη διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν καὶ μεμαλάκισται διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν· τῷ μύλωπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἰάθημεν· ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη, καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἄφρονος ἐναντίον τοῦ κείραντος αὐτόν. ³ οὐκοῦν ὑπερευχαριστεῖν ὀφείλομεν τῷ κυρίῳ, ὅτι καὶ τὰ παρεληλυθότα ἡμῖν ἐγνώρισεν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐνεστῶσιν ἡμᾶς ἐσόφισεν, καὶ εἰς τὰ μέλλοντα οὐκ ἐσμὲν ἀσύνητοι. ⁴ λέγει δὲ ἡ γραφή· Οὐκ ἀδίκως ἐκτείνεται δίκτυα πτερωτοῖς, τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι δικαίως ἀπολεῖται ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἔχων ὁδοῦ δικαιοσύνης γινώσκει ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὁδὸν σκοτούς ἀποσυνέχει. ⁵ ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ἀδελφοί μου· εἰ ὁ κύριος ὑπέμεινεν παθεῖν περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν, ὧν παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου κύριος ᾧ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου· Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ἡμετέραν· πῶς οὖν ὑπέμεινεν ὑπὸ χειρὸς ἀνθρώπων παθεῖν; ⁶ μάθετε. οἱ προφητῆται, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες

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¹ For, it was for this reason that the Lord endured to deliver up his flesh to corruption, that we should be sanctified by the remission of sin, that is, by his sprinkled blood. ² For, the scripture concerning him relates partly to Israel, partly to us, and it speaks thus, "He was wounded for our transgressions and bruised for our iniquities, by his stripes we were healed. He was brought as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb dumb before its shearer." ³ Therefore, we ought to give great thanks to the Lord that he has given us knowledge of the past, and wisdom for the present, and that we are not without understanding for the future. ⁴ And the Scripture says, "Not unjustly are the nets spread out for the birds." This means that a man deserves to perish who has a knowledge of the way of righteousness but turns aside into the way of darkness. ⁵ Moreover, my brethren, if the Lord endured to suffer for our life, though he is the Lord of all the world, to whom God said before the foundation of the world, "Let us make man in our image and likeness," how, then, did he endure to suffer at the hand of man? ⁶ Learn: The Prophets who received grace from

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- ¹ For αἵματι τοῦ ῥαντίσματος αὐτοῦ, here following *Codex Sinaiticus*, *Codex Constantinopolitanus* and the *Latin MS* read ῥαντίσματι αὐτοῦ τοῦ αἵματος, a natural correction of the more difficult phrase.
- ² Lightfoot has a comma in place of the *ano teleia* after ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν.
- ³ Lightfoot adds a comma after ἐγνώρισεν.
- ⁴ Lightfoot lacks the comma after τοῦτο λέγει.
- ⁵ Lightfoot opens this verse with an uppercase *epsilon*.
- ⁶ Lightfoot includes μάθετε as part of v. 5.

τὴν χάριν, εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπροφήτευσαν· αὐτὸς δέ, ἵνα καταργήσῃ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν δείξῃ, ὅτι ἐν σαρκὶ ἔδει αὐτὸν φανερωθῆναι, ὑπέμεινεν,⁷ ἵνα τοῖς πατράσιν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀποδῶ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ τὸν λαὸν τὸν καινὸν ἐτοιμάζων ἐπιδείξῃ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὧν, ὅτι τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτὸς ποιήσας κρινεῖ.⁸ πέρας γέ τοι διδάσκων τὸν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τηλικαῦτα τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ποιῶν ἐκήρυσσεν, καὶ ὑπερηγάπησεν αὐτόν.⁹ ὅτε δὲ τοὺς ἰδίους ἀποστόλους τοὺς μέλλοντας κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῦ ἐξελέξατο, ὄντας ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἀμαρτίαν ἀνομωτέρους, ἵνα δείξῃ, ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθεν καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἀμαρτωλούς, τότε ἐφάνέρωσεν ἐαυτὸν εἶναι υἱὸν θεοῦ.¹⁰ εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἦλθεν ἐν σαρκί, οὐδ' ἂν πως οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐσώθησαν βλέποντες αὐτόν, ὅτε τὸν μέλλοντα μὴ εἶναι ἥλιον, ἔργον τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχοντα, ἐμβλέποντες οὐκ ἰσχύουσιν εἰς τὰς ἀκτῖνας αὐτοῦ ἀντοφθαλμῆσαι;¹¹ οὐκοῦν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τοῦτο ἐν σαρκὶ ἦλθεν, ἵνα τὸ τέλειον τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἀνακεφαλαιώσῃ τοῖς διώξασιν ἐν θανάτῳ τοὺς προφήτας αὐτοῦ.¹² οὐκοῦν εἰς τοῦτο ὑπέμεινεν. λέγει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὴν πληγὴν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἐξ αὐτῶν· Ὅταν πατάξωσιν τὸν ποιμένα ἐαυτῶν, τότε ἀπολεῖται τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποιμένης.¹³ αὐτὸς δὲ ἠθέλησεν

him prophesied of him, and he, so he might destroy death, and show forth the Resurrection from the dead, because he needs must be made manifest in the flesh endured⁷ in order to fulfil the promise made to the fathers, and himself prepare for himself the new people and show while he was on earth that he himself will raise the dead and judge the risen.⁸ Furthermore, while teaching Israel and doing such great signs and wonders he preached to them and loved them greatly;⁹ but, when he chose out his own Apostles who were to preach his Gospel, he chose those who were iniquitous above all sin, to show that he came not to call the righteous but sinners, then he manifested himself as God's Son.¹⁰ For, if he had not come in the flesh, men could in no way have been saved by beholding him; seeing that they have not the power when they look at the sun to gaze straight at its rays, though it is destined to perish, and is the work of his hands.¹¹ So then, the Son of God came in the flesh for this reason, to sum up the complete tale of their sins against those who persecuted his prophets to death.¹² For this cause, therefore, he endured. For, God says of the wounds of his flesh that it is from them, "When they shall smite their shepherd, then the sheep of the flock

⁷ In place of ἵνα τοῖς, Lightfoot opens with ἵνα καὶ τοῖς.

⁸ Lightfoot opens, "Yea and further."

⁹ Throughout his work, Lightfoot capitalizes Θεοῦ and its derivative forms.

¹⁰ For οὐδ' ἂν πως, here following *Codex Sinaiticus*, *Codex Constantinopolitanus* has οὐδ' ἂν and the *Latin MS* reads πως ἂν. Lightfoot opens the verse with an uppercase *epsilon*.

¹¹ In place of 'sum up the complete tale of their sins against those', here following Lightfoot, Lake has 'complete the total of the sins of those'.

¹² Lake has 'chastisement' in place of 'wounds'.

οὕτω παθεῖν· ἔδει γάρ, ἵνα ἐπὶ ξύλου πάθῃ. λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφητεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ. Φεῖσαί μου τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ ρομφαίας, καί· Καθήλωσόν μου τὰς σάρκας, ὅτι πονηρευομένων συναγωγῶν ἐπανεστήσαν μοι.¹³ καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Ἴδού, τέθεικά μου τὸν νῶτον εἰς μάστιγας, τὰς δὲ σιαγόνας εἰς ραπίσματα. τὸ δὲ πρόσωπόν μου ἔθηκα ὡς στερεὰν πέτραν.

shall be destroyed.”¹³ And he was willing to suffer thus, for it was necessary that he should suffer on a tree; for, the Prophet says of him, “Spare my soul from the sword;” and, “Pierce my flesh with nails; for, the synagogues of the wicked have risen against me.”¹⁴ And, again, he says, “Behold, I have given my back to scourges, and my cheeks to strokes, and I have set my face as a solid rock.”

¹³ Lightfoot opens the verse with an uppercase *alpha* and lacks the word, *νέστησαν*.

¹⁴ Lightfoot adds *μου* before *εἰς ραπίσματα*.

Βαρναβα 6

¹ Ὅτε οὖν ἐποίησεν τὴν ἐντολήν, τί λέγει; Τίς ὁ κρινόμενός μοι; ἀντιστήτω μοι· ἢ τίς ὁ δικαιούμενός μοι; ἐγγισάτω τῷ παιδί κυρίου. ² οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὑμεῖς πάντες ὡς ἱμάτιον παλαιωθήσεσθε, καὶ σὴς καταφάγεται ὑμᾶς. καὶ πάλιν λέγει ὁ προφήτης, ἐπεὶ ὡς λίθος ἰσχυρὸς ἐτέθη εἰς συντριβὴν· Ἰδοὺ, ἐμβαλῶ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιών λίθον πολυτελεῖ, ἐκλεκτόν, ἀκρογωνιαῖον, ἔντιμον. ³ εἶτα τί λέγει; Καὶ ὅς ἐλπίζει ἐπ' αὐτὸν ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. ἐπὶ λίθον οὖν ἡμῶν ἡ ἐλπίς; μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐν ἰσχυί τέθεικεν τὴν σάρκα αὐτοῦ κύριος. λέγει γάρ· Καὶ ἔθηκέ με ὡς στερεὰν πέτραν. ⁴ λέγει δὲ πάλιν ὁ προφήτης· Λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη καὶ θαυμαστή, ἣν ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος. ⁵ ἀπλούστερον ὑμῖν γράφω, ἵνα συνιῆτε· ἐγὼ περίφημα τῆς ἀγάπης ὑμῶν. ⁶ τί οὖν λέγει πάλιν ὁ προφήτης; Περιέσχεν με συναγωγὴ πονηρευομένων, ἐκύκλωσάν με ὡσεὶ μέλισσαι κηρίον, καί· Ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου ἔβαλον

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¹ When, therefore, he made the commandment what does he say? “Who is he that comes into court! with me? Let him oppose me;” or, “Who is he that seeks justice against me? Let him draw near to the Lord’s servant.” ² Woe to you! For, you shall all wax old as a garment and the moth shall eat you up.” And again, the Prophet says that he was placed as a strong stone for crushing, “Lo, I will place for the foundations of Zion a precious stone, chosen out, a chief corner stone, honourable.” ³ Then what does he say? “And he that hopes on it shall live for ever.” Is then our hope on a stone? God forbid. But he means that the Lord placed his flesh in strength. For, he says, “And he placed me as a solid rock.” ⁴ And again, the Prophet says, “The stone that the builders rejected, this has become the head of the corner,” and again he says, “This is the great and wonderful day that the Lord made.” ⁵ I write to you the more simply, so that you may understand: I am devoted to your love. ⁶ What, then, does the Prophet say again? “The synagogue of the sinners compassed me around; they surrounded me as bees surround the honeycomb;” and,

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¹ Throughout his work, Lightfoot capitalizes *Κυρίου* and its derivative forms, when the title is used of God.

² Lake here reads ‘*Sion*’ for ‘*Zion*’.

³ In place of ὅς ἐλπίζει ἐπ' αὐτόν, here following the *Vaticanus MSS*, *Codex Sinaiticus*, *Codex Constantinopolitanus* and the *Latin MS* have ὁ πιστεύων εἰς αὐτόν, probably owing to the influence of the *LXX*. ἐλπίζει is covered by ἐλπίς later in the sentence.

⁴ For ‘*head of the corner*’, Lightfoot has ‘*head and the corner*’.

⁵ Lightfoot opens the verse with an uppercase *alpha*.

⁶ Lightfoot has an *ano teleia* in place of the comma after *κηρίον*.

κλήρον.⁷ ἐν σαρκὶ οὖν αὐτοῦ μέλλοντος φανεροῦσθαι καὶ πάσχειν, προεφανερῶθη τὸ πάθος. λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφήτης ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ· Οὐαὶ τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτῶν, ὅτι βεβούλευνται βουλήν πονηράν καθ' ἑαυτῶν, εἰπόντες· Δήσωμεν τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἡμῖν ἐστίν.⁸ τί λέγει ὁ ἄλλος προφήτης Μωϋσῆς αὐτοῖς; Ἰδοῦ, τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός· Εἰσέλθατε εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν, ἣν ὤμοσεν κύριος τῷ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, καὶ κατακληρονομήσατε αὐτήν, γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι.⁹ τί δὲ λέγει ἡ γνώσις; μάθετε. ἐλπίζατε, φησὶν, ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν σαρκὶ μέλλοντα φανεροῦσθαι ὑμῖν Ἰησοῦν. ἄνθρωπος γὰρ γῆ ἐστὶν πάσχουσα· ἀπὸ προσώπου γὰρ τῆς γῆς ἡ πλάσις τοῦ Ἀδάμ ἐγένετο.¹⁰ τί οὖν λέγει· Εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν, γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι; εὐλογητὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, ἀδελφοί, ὁ σοφίαν καὶ νοῦν θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν τῶν κρυφίων αὐτοῦ· λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφήτης παραβολὴν κυρίου· τίς νοήσει, εἰ μὴ σοφὸς καὶ ἐπιστήμων καὶ ἀγαπῶν τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ;¹¹ ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀνακαινίσας ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀφέσει τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς ἄλλον τύπον, ὡς παιδίων ἔχειν τὴν ψυχὴν, ὡς ἂν δὴ ἀναπλάσσοντος αὐτοῦ ἡμᾶς.¹² λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ περὶ ἡμῶν, ὡς λέγει τῷ υἱῷ· Ποιήσωμεν κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ

“They cast lots for my clothing.”⁷ Since, then, he was destined to be manifest and to suffer in the flesh his Passion was foretold. For, the Prophet says concerning Israel, “Woe unto their soul, for they have plotted an evil plot against themselves, saying, ‘Let us bind the Just one; for, he is unprofitable to us.’”⁸ What does the other Prophet, Moses, say to them? “Behold these things, says the Lord God, ‘Enter into the good land that the Lord swore that he would give to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, and inherit it, a land flowing with milk and honey.’”⁹ But learn what knowledge says. Hope, it says, on that Jesus who will be manifested to you in the flesh. For, man is earth, which suffers; for, the creation of Adam was from the face of the earth.¹⁰ What, then, is the meaning of ‘into the good land, a land flowing with milk and honey’? Blessed be our Lord, brethren, who has placed in us wisdom and understanding of his secrets. For, the prophet speaks a parable of the Lord: Who shall understand save he who is wise, and learned, and a lover of his Lord?¹¹ Since, then, he made us new by the remission of sins, he made us another type, that we should have the soul of children, as though he were creating us afresh.¹² For, it is concerning us that the scripture says that he says to the Son, “Let us make man after our image

⁷ Lightfoot opens with ‘Forasmuch’ in place of ‘Since’.

⁸ Lightfoot lacks ‘that he would give’.

⁹ The word, φησὶν, is omitted by the *Vaticanus MSS*.

¹⁰ Lightfoot opens his translation, “What then saith He? ‘Into the good land, a land flowing with milk and honey.’”

¹¹ Lightfoot opens with an uppercase *epsilon*.

¹² Lake lacks the 2nd instance of ‘after our’.

καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ἡμῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης. καὶ εἶπεν κύριος, ἰδὼν τὸ καλὸν πλάσμα ἡμῶν· Αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθυνέσθε καὶ πληρώσατε τὴν γῆν. ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν υἱόν. ¹³ πάλιν σοι ἐπιδείξω, πῶς πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγει. δευτέραν πλάσιν ἐπ' ἔσχατων ἐποίησεν. λέγει δὲ κύριος· Ἴδού, ποιῶ τὰ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρῶτα. εἰς τοῦτο οὖν ἐκήρυξεν ὁ προφήτης· Εἰσέλθατε εἰς γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι καὶ κατακυριεύσατε αὐτῆς. ¹⁴ Ἴδε οὖν, ἡμεῖς ἀναπεπλάσμεθα, καθὼς πάλιν ἐν ἑτέρῳ προφήτῃ λέγει· Ἴδού, λέγει κύριος, ἐξελῶ τούτων, τουτέστιν ὧν προέβλεπεν τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου, τὰς λιθίνας καρδίας καὶ ἐμβαλῶ σαρκίνας· ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐν σαρκὶ ἔμελλεν φανεροῦσθαι καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικεῖν. ¹⁵ ναὸς γὰρ ἅγιος, ἀδελφοί μου, τῷ κυρίῳ τὸ κατοικητήριον ἡμῶν τῆς καρδίας. ¹⁶ λέγει γὰρ κύριος πάλιν· Καὶ ἐν τίνι ὀφθήσομαι τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ μου καὶ δοξασθήσομαι; λέγει· Ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀδελφῶν μου, καὶ ψαλῶ σοι ἀνάμεισον ἐκκλησίας ἁγίων. οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν, οὐς εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν. ¹⁷ τί οὖν τὸ γάλα καὶ τὸ μέλι; ὅτι πρῶτον τὸ παιδίον μέλιτι, εἶτα γάλακτι ζωοποιεῖται· οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ πίστει τῆς ἐπαγγελίας

and after our likeness, and let them rule the beasts of the earth, and the birds of heaven, and the fishes of the sea.” And the Lord said, when he saw our fair creation, “Increase and multiply and fill the earth;” these things were spoken to the Son. ¹³ Again, I will show you how he speaks to us. In the last days he made a second creation; and the Lord says, “See, I make the last things as the first.” To this, then, the Prophet referred when he proclaimed, “Enter into a land flowing with milk and honey, and rule over it.” ¹⁴ See, then, we have been created afresh, as he says again in another Prophet, “See, says the Lord, I will take out from them (that is those whom the Spirit of the Lord foresaw) the hearts of stone and I will put in hearts of flesh.” Because he himself was going to be manifest in the flesh and to dwell among us. ¹⁵ For, my brethren, the habitation of our hearts is a shrine holy to the Lord. ¹⁶ For, the Lord says again, “And wherewith shall I appear before the Lord my God and be glorified?” He says, “I will confess to you in the assembly of my brethren and will sing to you in the midst of the assembly of saints.” We, then, are they whom he brought into the good land. ¹⁷ What, then, is the milk and the honey? Because a child is first nourished with honey, and afterwards with milk. Thus, therefore, we also, being nourished on the faith of the promise and by the word, shall live and possess

¹³ After ἡμᾶς λέγει, *Codex Sinaiticus* adds κύριος.

¹⁴ Lightfoot lacks the comma after the opening ἴδε οὖν.

¹⁵ For this short verse, Lightfoot reads, “For, a holy temple unto the Lord, my brethren, is the abode of our heart.”

¹⁶ In place of λέγει· Ἐξομολογήσομαί, Lightfoot reads just ἐξομολογήσομαί.

¹⁷ Lightfoot has a full stop in place of the *ano teleia* after ζωοποιεῖται.

καὶ τῷ λόγῳ ζωοποιούμενοι ζήσομεν κατακυριεύοντες τῆς γῆς. ¹⁸ προειρήκαμεν δὲ ἐπάνω. Καὶ ἀύξανέσθωσαν καὶ πληθυνέσθωσαν καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν τῶν ἰχθύων. τίς οὖν ὁ δυνάμενος νῦν ἀρχειν θηρίων ἢ ἰχθύων ἢ πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; αἰσθάνεσθαι γὰρ ὀφείλομεν, ὅτι τὸ ἀρχειν ἐξουσίας ἐστίν, ἵνα τις ἐπιτάξας κυριεύσῃ. ¹⁹ εἰ οὖν οὐ γίνεται τοῦτο νῦν, ἄρα ἡμῖν εἶρηκεν, πότε· ὅταν καὶ αὐτοὶ τελειωθῶμεν κληρονόμοι τῆς διαθήκης κυρίου γενέσθαι.

the earth. ¹⁸ And we have said above, “And let them increase and multiply and rule over the fishes.” Who, then, is it who is now able to rule over beasts or fishes or the birds of heaven? For, we ought to understand that to rule implies authority, so that one may give commandments and have domination. ¹⁹ If then, this does not happen at present, he has assuredly told us the time when it will: when we ourselves also have been made perfect as heirs of the covenant of the Lord.

¹⁸ In place of *προειρήκαμεν*, here following *Codex Sinaiticus*, *Codex Constantinopolitanus* has *προεἶρηκε*; the *Latin MS* omits the whole sentence.

¹⁹ Lake lacks the word, ‘assuredly’.

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¹ Οὐκοῦν νοεῖτε, τέκνα εὐφροσύνης, ὅτι πάντα ὁ καλὸς κύριος προεφανέρωσεν ἡμῖν, ἵνα γνῶμεν, ᾧ κατὰ πάντα εὐχαριστοῦντες ὀφείλομεν αἰνεῖν. ² εἰ οὖν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὢν κύριος καὶ μέλλων κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, ἔπαθεν, ἵνα ἡ πληγὴ αὐτοῦ ζωοποιήσῃ ἡμᾶς· πιστεύσωμεν, ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἠδύνατο παθεῖν εἰ μὴ δι' ἡμᾶς. ³ ἀλλὰ καὶ σταυρωθεὶς ἐποτίζετο ὄξει καὶ χολῇ. ἀκούσατε, πῶς περὶ τούτου πεφανέρωκαν οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ ναοῦ. γεγραμμένης ἐντολῆς· Ὅς ἂν μὴ νηστεύσῃ τὴν νηστείαν, θανάτῳ ἐξολεθρευθήσεται, ἐνετείλατο κύριος, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτιῶν ἔμελλεν τὸ σκεῦος τοῦ πνεύματος προσφέρειν θυσίαν, ἵνα καὶ ὁ τύπος ὁ γενόμενος ἐπὶ Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ προσενηχθέντος ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τελεσθῇ. ⁴ τί οὖν λέγει ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ; Καὶ φαγέτωσαν ἐκ τοῦ τράγου τοῦ προσφερομένου τῇ νηστείᾳ ὑπὲρ πασῶν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν. προσέχετε ἀκριβῶς· Καὶ φαγέτωσαν οἱ ἱερεῖς μόνοι πάντες τὸ ἔντερον ἄπλυτον μετὰ ὄξους. ⁵ πρὸς τί; ἐπειδὴ ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν μέλλοντα τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ καινοῦ προσφέρειν τὴν σάρκα μου μέλλετε ποτίζειν χολὴν μετὰ ὄξους, φάγετε ὑμεῖς μόνοι, τοῦ λαοῦ νηστεύοντος καὶ κοπτομένου ἐπὶ

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¹ Understand therefore, children of gladness, that the good Lord made all things plain beforehand to us, that we should know him to whom we ought to give thanks and praise for everything. ² If then, the Son of God, though he was the Lord and was destined to judge the living and the dead suffered in order that his wounding might make us alive, let us believe that the Son of God could not suffer except for our sakes. ³ But, moreover, when he was crucified, he was given to drink vinegar and gall. Listen how the priests of the Temple foretold this. The commandment was written, "Whoever does not keep the fast shall die the death," and the Lord commanded this because he himself was going to offer the vessel of the spirit as a sacrifice for our sins, in order that the type established in Isaac, who was offered upon the altar, might be fulfilled. ⁴ What then does he say in the Prophet? "And let them eat of the goat that is offered in the fast for all their sins." Attend carefully, "And let all the priests alone eat the entrails unwashed with vinegar." ⁵ Why? Because you are going to give to me gall and vinegar to drink when I am on the point of offering my flesh for my new people, therefore you alone shall

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¹ Lightfoot lacks the comma after γνῶμεν.

² Lightfoot lacks the comma after ἔπαθεν and has a comma in place of the *ano teleia* after ἡμᾶς.

³ Lightfoot lacks the *ano teleia* after ἐντολῆς and opens the verse with an uppercase *alpha*.

⁴ Lightfoot does not here capitalize 'Prophet'.

⁵ Lightfoot has an *ano teleia* in place of the full stop after σποδοῦ.

σάρκκου καὶ σποδοῦ. ἵνα δείξη, ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν παθεῖν ὑπ' αὐτῶν.
⁶ ἅ ἐνετείλατο, προσέχετε· Λάβετε δύο τράγους καλοὺς καὶ ὁμοίους καὶ προσενέγκατε, καὶ λαβέτω ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸν ἕνα εἰς ὀλοκαύτωμα ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν. ⁷ τὸν δὲ ἕνα τί ποιήσωσιν; Ἐπικατάρατος, φησιν, ὁ εἷς. προσέχετε, πῶς ὁ τύπος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ φανεροῦται. ⁸ Καὶ ἐμπτύσατε πάντες καὶ κατακεντήσατε καὶ περιίθετε τὸ ἔριον τὸ κόκκινον περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὕτως εἰς ἔρημον βληθήτω. καὶ ὅταν γένηται οὕτως, ἄγει ὁ βασιτάζων τὸν τράγον εἰς τὴν ἔρημον καὶ ἀφαιρεῖ τὸ ἔριον καὶ ἐπιτίθησιν αὐτὸ ἐπὶ φρύγανον τὸ λεγόμενον ῥαχήλ, οὗ καὶ τοὺς βλαστοὺς εἰώθαμεν τρώγειν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ εὐρίσκοντες· οὕτω μόνης τῆς ῥαχοῦς οἱ καρποὶ γλυκεῖς εἰσιν. ⁹ τί οὖν τοῦτο ἐστίν; προσέχετε· Τὸν μὲν ἕνα ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, τὸν δὲ ἕνα ἐπικατάρατον, καὶ ὅτι τὸν ἐπικατάρατον ἐστεφανωμένον; ἐπειδὴ ὄψονται αὐτὸν τότε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν ποδήρη ἔχοντα τὸν κόκκινον περὶ τὴν σάρκα καὶ ἐροῦσιν· Οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν, ὃν ποτε ἡμεῖς ἐσταυρώσαμεν ἐξουθενήσαντες καὶ κατακεντήσαντες καὶ ἐμπτύσαντες; ἀληθῶς οὗτος ἦν, ὁ τότε λέγων ἑαυτὸν υἱὸν θεοῦ εἶναι. ¹⁰ πῶς γὰρ ὅμοιος ἐκείνω; εἰς τοῦτο ὁμοίους τοὺς τράγους, καλοὺς,

eat, while the people fast and mourn in sackcloth and ashes. To show that he must suffer for them. ⁶ Note what was commanded: Take two goats, goodly and alike, and offer them, and let the priest take the one as a burnt offering for sins. ⁷ But what are they to do with the other? The other, he says, is accursed. Notice how the type of Jesus is manifested, ⁸ “And do you all spit on it, and goad it, and bind the scarlet wool about its head, and so let it be cast into the desert. And when it is so done, he who takes the goat into the wilderness drives it forth, and takes away the wool, and puts it upon a shrub that is called Rachel, of which we are accustomed to eat the shoots when we find them in the country.” Thus, of Rachel alone is the fruit sweet. ⁹ What does this mean? Listen: the first goat is for the altar, but the other is accursed, and note that the one that is accursed is crowned, because then they will see him on that day with the long scarlet robe down to the feet on his body, and they will say, “Is not this he whom we once crucified and rejected and pierced and spat upon? Of a truth it was he who then said that he was the Son of God.” ¹⁰ But how is he like to the goat? For this reason: the goats shall be alike,

⁶ Lightfoot opens his translation, “Attend ye to the commandments which He gave.”

⁷ In place of ποιήσωσιν, here following *Codex Sinaiticus*, *Codex Constantinopolitanus* has ποιήσουσιν.

⁸ For ῥαχήλ, here following *Codex Sinaiticus*, *Codex Constantinopolitanus* has ῥαχή and the *Vaticanus MSS* have ῥαχίλ. For ῥαχοῦς, following *Codex Sinaiticus* (and Lake), *Codex Constantinopolitanus* has ῥαχῆς and Lightfoot has ῥάχου; τῆς ῥαχοῦς can scarcely be right but, in the face of the evidence, can hardly be rejected.

⁹ For ἐξουθενήσαντες καὶ κατακεντήσαντες καὶ ἐμπτύσαντες, Lightfoot has καὶ ἐξουθενήσαμεν ἐμπτύσαντες (probably following *Codex Sinaiticus*).

¹⁰ Lightfoot lacks the comma after ἵνα.

ἴσους, ἵνα, ὅταν ἴδωσιν αὐτὸν τότε ἐρχόμενον, ἐκπλαγῶσιν ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμοιότητι τοῦ τράγου. οὐκοῦν ἴδε τὸν τύπον τοῦ μέλλοντος πάσχειν Ἰησοῦ. ¹¹ τί δέ, ὅτι τὸ ἔριον μέσον τῶν ἄκανθῶν τιθέασιν; τύπος ἐστὶν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ θέμενος, ὅτι ὃς ἐὰν θέλῃ τὸ ἔριον ἄραι τὸ κόκκινον, δεῖ αὐτὸν πολλὰ παθεῖν διὰ τὸ εἶναι φοβεράν τὴν ἄκανθαν, καὶ θλιβέντα κυριεῦσαι αὐτοῦ. οὕτω, φησὶν, οἱ θέλοντές με ἰδεῖν καὶ ἄψασθαί μου τῆς βασιλείας ὀφείλουσιν θλιβέντες καὶ παθόντες λαβεῖν με.

beautiful, and a pair, in order that when they see him come at that time they may be astonished at the likeness of the goat. See, then, the type of Jesus destined to suffer. ¹¹ But why is it that they put the wool in the middle of the thorns? It is a type of Jesus placed in the Church, because whoever wishes to take away the scarlet wool must suffer much because the thorns are terrible and he can gain it only through pain. Thus, he says, “Those who will see me and attain to my kingdom must lay hold of me through pain and suffering.”

¹¹ Lightfoot opens the 2nd sentence with an uppercase *omicron* (Οὔτω).

Βαρναβα 8

¹ Τίνα δὲ δοκεῖτε τύπον εἶναι, ὅτι ἐντέταλται τῷ Ἰσραὴλ προσφέρειν δάμαλιν τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἐν οἷς εἰσὶν ἁμαρτίαι τέλειαι, καὶ σφάξαντας κατακαίειν, καὶ αἶρειν τότε τὴν σποδὸν παιδία καὶ βάλλειν εἰς ἄγγη καὶ περιτιθέναι τὸ ἔριον τὸ κόκκινον ἐπὶ ξύλον (ἴδε πάλιν ὁ τύπος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τὸ ἔριον τὸ κόκκινον) καὶ τὸ ὕσσωπον, καὶ οὕτως ῥαντίζειν τὰ παιδία καθ' ἓνα τὸν λαόν, ἵνα ἀγνίζωνται ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν; ² νοεῖτε, πῶς ἐν ἀπλότῃ λέγει ὑμῖν. ὁ μόσχος ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐστίν, οἱ προσφέροντες ἄνδρες ἁμαρτωλοὶ οἱ προσενέγκαντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν σφαγὴν. εἶτα οὐκέτι ἄνδρες, οὐκέτι ἁμαρτωλῶν ἢ δόξα. ³ οἱ ῥαντίζοντες παῖδες οἱ εὐαγγελισάμενοι ἡμῖν τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ τὸν ἀγνισμόν τῆς καρδίας, οἷς ἔδωκεν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τὴν ἐξουσίαν (οὓσιν δεκάδυο εἰς μαρτύριον τῶν φυλῶν ὅτι δεκάδυο φυλαὶ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ), εἰς τὸ κηρύσσειν. ⁴ διὰ τί δὲ τρεῖς παῖδες οἱ ῥαντίζοντες; εἰς μαρτύριον Ἀβραάμ, Ἰσαάκ, Ἰακώβ, ὅτι οὗτοι μεγάλοι τῷ θεῷ. ⁵ ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἔριον ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον; ὅτι ἡ βασιλεία Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ ξύλου, καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἐλπίζοντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν ζήσονται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. ⁶ διὰ τί δὲ ἅμα τὸ ἔριον καὶ

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¹ But what do you think that it typifies, that the commandment has been given to Israel that the men in whom sin is complete offer a heifer and slay it and burn it, and that boys then take the ashes and put them into vessels and bind scarlet wool on sticks (see again the type of the Cross and the scarlet wool) and hyssop, and that the boys all sprinkle the people thus one by one in order that they all be purified from their sins? ² Observe how plainly he speaks to you. The calf is Jesus; the sinful men offering it are those who brought him to be slain. Then there are no longer men, no longer the glory of sinners. ³ The boys who sprinkle are they who preached to us the forgiveness of sins, and the purification of the heart, to whom he gave the power of the Gospel to preach, and there are twelve as a testimony to the tribes, because there are twelve tribes of Israel. ⁴ But why are there three boys who sprinkle? As a testimony to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, for these are great before God. ⁵ And why was the wool put on the wood? Because the kingdom of Jesus is on the wood, and because those who hope on him shall live for ever. ⁶ But why are the wool and the hyssop together? Because,

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¹ Lightfoot lacks the comma after τοὺς ἄνδρας.

² The *Latin MS* omits εἶτα οὐκέτι ἄνδρες, οὐκέτι ἁμαρτωλῶν ἢ δόξα and Lightfoot surrounds the text with dagger symbols.

³ In Lightfoot's text, only ὅτι δεκάδυο φυλαὶ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ is parenthesised, and this verse opens with an uppercase *omicron*.

⁴ Lightfoot opens with διατί in place of διὰ τί.

⁵ In place of ξύλου, here following *Codex Sinaiticus*, *Codex Constantinopolitanus* has ξύλω. Lightfoot opens the verse with an uppercase *omicron*.

⁶ Lightfoot opens with Διατί in place of διὰ τί.

τὸ ὕσσωπον; ὅτι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ ἡμέραι ἔσονται
πονηραὶ καὶ ῥυπαραὶ, ἐν αἷς ἡμεῖς σωθησόμεθα· ὅτι καὶ ὁ
ἀλγῶν σάρκα διὰ τοῦ ῥύπου τοῦ ὕσσύπου ἰᾶται.⁷ καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο οὕτως γενόμενα ἡμῖν μὲν ἔστιν φανερά, ἐκείνοις δὲ
σκοτεινά, ὅτι οὐκ ἤκουσαν φωνῆς κυρίου.

in his kingdom, there shall be evil and foul days, in which we
shall be saved, for he also who has pain in his flesh is cured by
the foulness of the hyssop.⁷ And, for this reason, the things that
were thus done are plain to us but obscure to them, because they
did not hear the Lord's voice.

⁷ Throughout his work, Lightfoot capitalizes *Κυρίου* when the title is used of God.

Βαρναβας 9

¹ Λέγει γὰρ πάλιν περὶ τῶν ὠτίων, πῶς περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὴν καρδίαν. λέγει κύριος ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ· Εἰς ἀκοὴν ὠτίου ὑπήκουσάν μου. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Ἀκοῆ ἀκούσονται οἱ πόρρωθεν, ἃ ἐποίησα γνώσονται. καὶ· Περιτμήθητε, λέγει κύριος, τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν. ² καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Ἄκουε Ἰσραήλ, ὅτι τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου. καὶ πάλιν τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου προφητεύει· Τίς ἐστὶν ὁ θέλων ζῆσαι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα; ἀκοῆ ἀκουσάτω τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ παιδός μου. ³ καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Ἄκουε οὐρανέ, καὶ ἐνωτίζου γῆ, ὅτι κύριος ἐλάλησεν ταῦτα εἰς μαρτύριον. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου, ἄρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου. καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Ἀκούσατε, τέκνα, φωνῆς βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. οὐκοῦν περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἀκοάς, ἵνα ἀκούσαντες λόγον πιστεύσωμεν ἡμεῖς. ⁴ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ περιτομή, ἐφ' ἣ πεποίθασιν, κατήργηται. περιτομὴν γὰρ εἶρηκεν οὐ σαρκὸς γεννηθῆναι· ἀλλὰ παρέβησαν, ὅτι ἄγγελος πονηρὸς ἐσόφισεν αὐτούς. ⁵ λέγει πρὸς αὐτούς· Τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν (ὧδε εὕρισκω ἐντολήν)· Μὴ σπείρητε ἐπ' ἀκάνθαις, περιτμήθητε τῷ κυρίῳ ὑμῶν. καὶ τί λέγει; Περιτμήθητε τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν ὑμῶν,

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¹ For, he speaks again concerning the ears, how he circumcised our hearts; for, the Lord says in the Prophet, "In the hearing of the ear, they obey me." And again, he says, "They who are afar off shall hear clearly, they shall perceive what I have done, and circumcise your hearts, says the Lord." ² And again, he says, "Hear, O Israel, thus says the Lord your God, and again the Spirit of the Lord prophesies, 'Who is he that will live for ever? Let him hear the voice of my servant.'" ³ And again, he says, "Hear, O heaven, and give ear, O earth; for, the Lord has spoken these things for a testimony." And again, he says, "Hear the word of the Lord, you rulers of this people." And again, he says, "Hear, O children, a voice of one crying in the wilderness." So, he circumcised our ears so we should hear the word and believe. ⁴ But, moreover, the circumcision in which they trusted has been abolished. For, he declared that circumcision was not of the flesh, but they erred because an evil angel misled them. ⁵ He said to them, "Thus says the Lord your God (so I find the commandment), 'Sow not among thorns, be circumcised to your Lord.'" And what does he say? "Circumcise the hardness of

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¹ Lightfoot has an *ano teleia* in place of the full stop after γνώσονται.

² *Codex Sinaiticus* & *Codex Constantinopolitanus* (and Lake) omit καὶ πάλιν τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου προφητεύει, here following the *Latin MS* & the *Vaticanus MSS* (and Lake).

³ Lightfoot includes οὐκοῦν περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἀκοάς, ἵνα ἀκούσαντες λόγον πιστεύσωμεν ἡμεῖς as part of v. 4.

⁴ Lightfoot starts the 1st ἀλλὰ with an uppercase *alpha*.

⁵ Lightfoot has ἀπερίτμητα in brackets.

καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν οὐ σκληρυνεῖτε. λάβε πάλιν· Ἰδοὺ, λέγει κύριος, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἀπερίτμητα ἀκροβυστίαν, ὁ δὲ λαὸς οὗτος ἀπερίτμητος καρδίας. ⁶ ἄλλ' ἐρεῖς· Καὶ μὴν περιτέμνεται ὁ λαὸς εἰς σφραγιδα. ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶς Σύρος καὶ Ἰραψ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἱερεῖς τῶν εἰδώλων. ἄρα οὖν κάκεινοι ἐκ τῆς διαθήκης αὐτῶν εἰσίν; ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν περιτομῇ εἰσίν. ⁷ μάθετε οὖν, τέκνα ἀγάπης, περὶ πάντων πλουσίως, ὅτι Ἀβραάμ, πρῶτος περιτομὴν δούς, ἐν πνεύματι προβλέψας εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν περιέτεμεν, λαβὼν τριῶν γραμμάτων δόγματα. ⁸ λέγει γάρ· Καὶ περιέτεμεν Ἀβραάμ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ ἄνδρας δεκαοκτὼ καὶ τριακοσίους. τίς οὖν ἢ δοθεῖσα αὐτῷ γνῶσις; μάθετε, ὅτι τοὺς δεκαοκτὼ πρώτους, καὶ διάστημα ποιήσας λέγει τριακοσίους. τὸ δεκαοκτὼ ἰ δέκα, ἦ ὀκτώ· ἔχεις Ἰησοῦν. ὅτι δὲ ὁ σταυρὸς ἐν τῷ ταῦ ἡμελλεν ἔχειν τὴν χάριν, λέγει καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους. δηλοῖ οὖν τὸν μὲν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τοῖς δυσὶν γράμμασιν, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ τὸν σταυρόν. ⁹ οἶδεν ὁ τὴν ἔμφυτον δωρεάν τῆς διδαχῆς αὐτοῦ θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν. οὐδεὶς γνησιώτερον ἔμαθεν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ λόγον· ἀλλὰ οἶδα, ὅτι ἄξιοί ἐστε ὑμεῖς.

your heart and stiffen not your neck.” Take it again, “Behold, saith the Lord, all the heathens are uncircumcised in the foreskin but this people is uncircumcised in heart.” ⁶ But you will say, “Surely the people have received circumcision as a seal?” Yes, but likewise every Syrian and Arab and all priests of the idols; are then these also within their covenant? Indeed, even the Egyptians belong to the circumcision. ⁷ Learn fully, then, children of love, concerning all things; for, Abraham, who first circumcised, looked forward in the spirit to Jesus, and received the doctrines of three letters. ⁸ For, it says, “And Abraham circumcised from his house three hundred and eighteen men.” What then was the knowledge that was given to him? Notice that he first mentions the eighteen, and after a pause the three hundred. The eighteen is I (ten) and H (eight) – you have Jesus; and, because the cross was destined to have grace in the T, he says and three hundred. So, he indicates Jesus in the two letters and the cross in the other. ⁹ He knows this who placed the gift of his teaching in our hearts. No one has heard a more excellent lesson from me, but I know that you are worthy.

⁶ Here, ‘*their covenant*’ refers to that of the Jews.

⁷ Lightfoot opens this verse with an upercase *mu*.

⁸ In place of ἰ and ἦ, Lightfoot has just upercase letters, and has *I δέκα, H ὀκτώ* in brackets; and, in place of the word, ταῦ (the name of the letter), Lightfoot has just an upercase *tau*. Note that in Greek, the number, 318, is represented with the letters *TIH*.

⁹ In place of διδαχῆς, Lightfoot has διαθήκης.

Βαρναβα 10

¹ Ὅτι δὲ Μωϋσῆς εἶπεν· Οὐ φάγεσθε χοῖρον οὔτε ἀετὸν οὔτε ὀξύπτερον οὔτε κόρακα οὔτε πάντα ἰχθύν, ὃς οὐκ ἔχει λεπίδα ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τρία ἔλαβεν ἐν τῇ συνέσει δόγματα. ² Πέρασ γέ τοι λέγει αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ· Καὶ διαθήσομαι πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον τὰ δικαιώματά μου. ἅρα οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐντολὴ θεοῦ τὸ μὴ τρώγειν, Μωϋσῆς δὲ ἐν πνεύματι ἐλάλησεν. ³ τὸ οὖν χοιρίον πρὸς τοῦτο εἶπεν· οὐ κολληθήσῃ, φησίν, ἀνθρώποις τοιούτοις, οἵτινές εἰσιν ὅμοιοι χοίρων· τουτέστιν ὅταν σπαταλῶσιν, ἐπιλανθάνονται τοῦ κυρίου, ὅταν δὲ ὑστεροῦνται, ἐπιγινώσκουσιν τὸν κύριον, ὡς καὶ ὁ χοῖρος ὅταν τρώγει τὸν κύριον οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅταν δὲ πεινᾷ κραυγάζει, καὶ λαβὼν πάλιν σιωπᾷ. ⁴ Οὐδὲ φάγη τὸν ἀετὸν οὐδὲ τὸν ὀξύπτερον οὐδὲ τὸν ἰκτίνα οὐδὲ τὸν κόρακα· οὐ μὴ, φησίν, κολληθήσῃ οὐδὲ ὁμοιωθήσῃ ἀνθρώποις τοιούτοις, οἵτινες οὐκ οἶδασιν διὰ κόπου καὶ ἰδρῶτος πορίζειν ἑαυτοῖς τὴν τροφήν, ἀλλὰ ἀρπάζουσιν τὰ ἀλλότρια ἐν ἀνομίᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιτηροῦσιν ὡς ἐν ἀκεραιοσύνῃ περιπατοῦντες καὶ περιβλέπονται, τίνα ἐκδύσωσιν διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ὡς καὶ τὰ ὄρνεα ταῦτα μόνον ἑαυτοῖς οὐ προίξει τὴν τροφήν, ἀλλὰ ἀργὰ καθήμενα ἐκζητεῖ, πῶς ἀλλοτρίας σάρκας καταφάγη, ὄντα λοιμὰ τῇ

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¹ Now, in that Moses said, "You shall not eat swine, nor an eagle, nor a hawk, nor a crow, nor any fish which has no scales on itself," he included three doctrines in his understanding. ² Moreover, he says to them in Deuteronomy, "And I will make a covenant of my ordinances with this people." So then, the ordinance of God is not abstinence from eating, but Moses spoke in the spirit. ³ He mentioned the swine for this reason: you shall not consort, he means, with men who are like swine, that is to say, when they have plenty they forget the Lord, but when they are in want they recognise the Lord, just as the swine when it eats does not know its master, but when it is hungry it cries out, and after receiving food is again silent. ⁴ "Neither shall you eat the eagle nor the hawk nor the kite nor the crow." You shall not, he means, join yourself or make yourself like such men, as do not know how to gain their food by their labour and sweat, but plunder other people's property in their iniquity, and lay wait for it, though they seem to walk in innocence, and look round to see whom they may plunder in their covetousness, just as these birds alone provide no food for themselves, but sit idle and seek how they may devour the flesh of others, and become pestilent in their iniquity. ⁵ "You shall not eat," he says, "the lamprey nor the

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¹ Lightfoot adds a comma after κόρακα.

² Lightfoot ends, "that they should not bite with their teeth, but Moses spoke it in spirit."

³ In place of χοίρων, here following *Codex Sinaiticus*, the other Greek MSS have χοίρωσ.

⁴ Lightfoot has ἰδρῶτος ἑαυτοῖς πορίζειν for ἰδρῶτος πορίζειν ἑαυτοῖς and σάρκας φάγη for σάρκας καταφάγη. He opens with Οὔτε in place of Οὐδέ.

⁵ *Codex Sinaiticus* & *Codex Constantinopolitanus* (and Lightfoot) lack κολλώμενος, here following the *Vaticanus MSS* and the *Latin MS*.

πονηρία αὐτῶν. ⁵ Καὶ οὐ φάγη, φησίν, σμύραιναν οὐδὲ πολύποδα οὐδὲ σηπῖαν· οὐ μὴ, φησίν, ὁμοιωθήσῃ κολλώμενος ἀνθρώποις τοιούτοις, οἵτινες εἰς τέλος εἰσὶν ἀσεβεῖς καὶ κεκριμένοι ἤδη τῷ θανάτῳ, ὡς καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἰχθύδια μόνα ἐπικατάρατα ἐν τῷ βυθῷ νήχεται, μὴ κολυμβῶντα ὡς τὰ λοιπά, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ γῆ κάτω τοῦ βυθοῦ κατοικεῖ. ⁶ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δασύποδα οὐ φάγη. πρὸς τί; οὐ μὴ γένη, φησίν, παιδοφθόρος οὐδὲ ὁμοιωθήσῃ τοῖς τοιούτοις, ὅτι ὁ λαγῶς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πλεονεκτεῖ τὴν ἀφόδευσιν· ὅσα γὰρ ἔτη ζῆ, τοσαύτας ἔχει τρύπας. ⁷ ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ τὴν ὕαιναν φάγη· οὐ μὴ, φησίν, γένη μοιχὸς οὐδὲ φθορεὺς οὐδὲ ὁμοιωθήσῃ τοῖς τοιούτοις. πρὸς τί; ὅτι τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀλλάσσει τὴν φύσιν καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἄρρεν, ποτὲ δὲ θῆλυ γίνεται. ⁸ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γαλῆν ἐμίσησεν καλῶς. οὐ μὴ, φησίν, γενηθῆς τοιοῦτος, οἴους ἀκούομεν ἀνομίαν ποιοῦντας ἐν τῷ στόματι δι' ἀκαθαρσίαν, οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ ταῖς ἀκαθάρτοις ταῖς τὴν ἀνομίαν ποιοῦσαις ἐν τῷ στόματι. τὸ γὰρ ζῶον τοῦτο τῷ στόματι κύει. ⁹ περὶ μὲν τῶν βρωμάτων λαβῶν Μωϋσῆς τρία δόγματα οὕτως ἐν πνεύματι ἐλάλησεν· οἱ δὲ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς σαρκὸς ὡς

polypus nor the cuttlefish.” You shall not, he means, consort with or become like such men who are utterly ungodly and who are already condemned to death, just as these fish alone are accursed, and float in the deep water, not swimming like the others but living on the ground at the bottom of the sea. ⁶ Again, you shall not eat the hare. Why so? Because you shall not, he means, become a corruptor of the young, or become like such men; for, the hare gains one passage in the body every year; for, it has as many orifices as it lives years. ⁷ Again, “You shall not eat the hyaena.” You shall not, he means, become an adulterer or a corruptor nor shall you become like such men. Why so? Because this animal changes its nature year by year and becomes now male now female. ⁸ Again, he abhors the weasel rightly. “You shall not,” he says, “become such as men we hear committing lawlessness in their mouths because of uncleanness; nor shall you cleave to impure women who commit lawlessness in their mouths. For, this animal gives birth with its mouth. ⁹ Moses received three doctrines concerning food and thus spoke of them in the Spirit; but they received them as really referring to food, owing to the lust of their flesh. ¹⁰ But David received knowledge

⁶ Lightfoot opens each of vv. 6–8 with an uppercase *alpha*.

⁷ The translation for vv. 6–8 loosely follows Lightfoot. Lake has the Old Latin: ⁶ *Sed nec 'leporem manducabis.' Non eris, inquit, corruptor puerorum nec similibis talibus. Quia lepus singulis annis facit ad adsellandum singula foramina; et quotquot annis vivit, totidem foramina facit.* ⁷ *Sed 'nec beluam, inquit, manducabis'; hoc est non eris moecus aut adulter, nec corruptor, nec similibis talibus. Quia haec bestia alternis annis mutat naturam et fit modo masculus, modo femina.* ⁸ *Sed et quod dicit mustelam odibus. Non eris, inquit, talis, qui audit iniquitatem et loquitur immunditiam. Non inquit adhaerebis immundis qui iniquitatem faciunt ore suo.*

⁸ See #6 & #7.

⁹ Lightfoot has a comma in place of the *ano teleia* after ἐλάλησεν.

¹⁰ Lightfoot opens the verse with an uppercase *lambda*.

περὶ βρώσεως προσεδέξαντο. ¹⁰ λαμβάνει δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τριῶν δογμάτων γνῶσιν Δαυεὶδ καὶ λέγει· Μακάριος ἀνήρ, ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν βουλῇ ἀσεβῶν, καθὼς καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες πορεύονται ἐν σκότει εἰς τὰ βάθη· καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ ἀμαρτωλῶν οὐκ ἔστη, καθὼς οἱ δοκοῦντες φοβεῖσθαι τὸν κύριον ἀμαρτάνουσιν ὡς ὁ χοῖρος, καὶ ἐπὶ καθέδραν λοιμῶν οὐκ ἐκάθισεν, καθὼς τὰ πετεινὰ καθήμενα εἰς ἀρπαγὴν. ἔχετε τελείως καὶ περὶ τῆς βρώσεως. ¹¹ πάλιν λέγει Μωϋσῆς· Φάγεσθε πᾶν διχηλοῦν καὶ μαρुकώμενον. τί λέγει; ὅτι τὴν τροφήν λαμβάνων οἶδεν τὸν τρέφοντα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἀναπαύομενος εὐφραίνεισθαι δοκεῖ. καλῶς εἶπεν βλέπων τὴν ἐντολήν. τί οὖν λέγει; κολλᾶσθε μετὰ τῶν φοβουμένων τὸν κύριον, μετὰ τῶν μελετώντων ὃ ἔλαβον διάσταλμα ῥήματος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, μετὰ τῶν λαλούντων τὰ διδαιώματα κυρίου καὶ τηρούντων, μετὰ τῶν εἰδόντων, ὅτι ἡ μελέτη ἐστὶν ἔργον εὐφροσύνης, καὶ ἀναμαρुकωμένων τὸν λόγον κυρίου. τί δὲ τὸ διχηλοῦν; ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ περιπατεῖ καὶ τὸν ἅγιον αἰῶνα ἐκδέχεται. βλέπετε, πῶς ἐνομοθέτησεν Μωϋσῆς καλῶς. ¹² ἀλλὰ πόθεν ἐκείνοις ταῦτα νοῆσαι ἢ συνιέναι; ἡμεῖς δὲ δικαίως νοήσαντες τὰς ἐντολὰς λαλοῦμεν, ὡς ἠθέλησεν ὁ κύριος. διὰ τοῦτο περιέτεμεν τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς καρδίας, ἵνα συνιῶμεν ταῦτα.

concerning the same three doctrines, and says, “Blessed is the man who has not gone in the counsel of the ungodly as the fish go in darkness in the deep waters, and has not stood in the way of sinners like those who seem to fear the Lord, but sin like the swine, and has not sat in the seat of the scorners like the birds who sit and wait for their prey.” Grasp fully the doctrines concerning food. ¹¹ Moses says again, “Eat of every animal that is cloven-hoofed and ruminant.” What does he mean? That he who receives food knows him who feeds him, and rests on him and seems to rejoice. Well did he speak with regard to the commandment. What then does he mean? Consort with those who fear the Lord, with those who meditate in their heart on the meaning of the word which they have received, with those who speak of and observe the ordinances of the Lord, with those who know that meditation is a work of gladness, and who ruminate on the word of the Lord. But what does the cloven-hoofed mean? That the righteous both walks in this world and looks forward to the holy age. See how well Moses legislated. ¹² But how was it possible for them to understand or comprehend these things? But we having a righteous understanding of them announce the commandments as the Lord wished. For this cause, he circumcised our hearing and our hearts that we should comprehend these things.

¹¹ Lightfoot adds a comma after τρέφοντα αὐτόν.

¹² Lightfoot adds a comma after ἐντολὰς.

Βαρναβα 11

¹ Ζητήσωμεν δέ, εἰ ἐμέλησεν τῷ κυρίῳ προφανερῶσαι περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ. περὶ μὲν τοῦ ὕδατος γέγραπται ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραήλ, πῶς τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ φέρον ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν οὐ μὴ προσδέξονται, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῖς οἰκοδομήσουσιν. ² λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφήτης· Ἐκστηθι οὐρανέ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πλεῖον φριζάτω ἡ γῆ, ὅτι δύο καὶ πονηρὰ ἐποίησεν ὁ λαὸς οὗτος· ἐμὲ ἐγκατέλιπον, πηγὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἑαυτοῖς ὥρυξαν βόθρον θανάτου. ³ Μὴ πέτρα ἔρημός ἐστιν τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἅγιόν μου Σινᾶ; ἔσεσθε γὰρ ὡς πετεινοῦ νοσοὶ ἀνιπτάμενοι νοσοῖας ἀφηρημένοι. ⁴ καὶ πάλιν λέγει ὁ προφήτης· Ἐγὼ πορεύσομαι ἔμπροσθέν σου καὶ ὄρη ὀμαλιῶ καὶ πύλας χαλκᾶς συντρίψω καὶ μοχλοὺς σιδηροῦς συγκλάσω, καὶ δώσω σοι θησαυροὺς σκοτεινοὺς, ἀποκρύφους, ἀοράτους, ἵνα γνῶσιν ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός. ⁵ καί· Κατοικήσεις ἐν ὑψηλῷ σπηλαίῳ πέτρας ἰσχυρᾶς. καί· τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτοῦ πιστόν· βασιλέα μετὰ δόξης ὄψεσθε, καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν μελετήσῃ φόβον κυρίου. ⁶ καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἄλλῳ προφήτῃ λέγει· Καὶ ἔσται ὁ ταῦτα ποιῶν ὡς τὸ ξύλον τὸ πεφυτευμένον παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὑδάτων, ὃ τὸν

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¹ But let us enquire whether the Lord took pains to signify beforehand concerning the water of baptism and the cross. Concerning the water, it has been written with regard to Israel that they will not receive the baptism that brings the remission of sins but will build for themselves. ² For, the Prophet says, “Be astonished O heaven, and let the earth tremble the more at this, that this people has committed two evils: they have deserted me, the spring of life, and they have dug for themselves a cistern of death. ³ Is my holy mountain Sinai a desert rock? For, you shall be as the fledgling birds, fluttering about when they are taken away from the nest.” ⁴ And again, the Prophet says, “I will go before you and I will make mountains level, and I will break gates of brass, and I will shatter bars of iron, and I will give you treasures of darkness, secret, invisible, that they may know that I am the Lord God.” ⁵ And, “You shall dwell in a lofty cave of a strong rock.” And, “His water is sure, you shall see the King in his glory, and your soul shall meditate on the fear of the Lord.” ⁶ And again, he says in another Prophet, “And he who does these things shall be as the tree, which is planted at the partings

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¹ Throughout his work, Lightfoot capitalizes Κυρίῳ and its variants when the title is used of God.

² Lightfoot lacks the comma after ἐγκατέλιπον.

³ Lightfoot ends, “*which flutter aloft when deprived of their nest.*”

⁴ See #5.

⁵ Lightfoot includes καί· Κατοικήσεις ἐν ὑψηλῷ σπηλαίῳ πέτρας ἰσχυρᾶς as part of v. 4.

⁶ Lightfoot lacks the comma after καὶ πάντα.

καρπὸν αὐτοῦ δώσει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπορυήσεται, καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἂν ποιῇ, κατευοδωθήσεται.⁷ οὐχ οὕτως οἱ ἀσεβεῖς, οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἢ ὡς ὁ χνουῖς, ὃν ἐκρίπτει ὁ ἄνεμος ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς. διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀναστήσονται ἀσεβεῖς ἐν κρίσει οὐδὲ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐν βουλῇ δικαίων, ὅτι γινώσκει κύριος ὁδὸν δικαίων, καὶ ὁδὸς ἀσεβῶν ἀπολεῖται.⁸ αἰσθάνεσθε, πῶς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὥρισεν. τοῦτο γὰρ λέγει· μακάριοι, οἳ ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐλπίσαντες κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, ὅτι τὸν μὲν μισθὸν λέγει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ· τότε, φησὶν, ἀποδώσω. νῦν δὲ ὁ λέγει· τὰ φύλλα οὐκ ἀπορυήσεται, τοῦτο λέγει· ὅτι πᾶν ῥῆμα, ὃ ἐὰν ἐξελεύσεται ἐξ ὑμῶν διὰ τοῦ στόματος ὑμῶν ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ, ἔσται εἰς ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ ἐλπίδα πολλοῖς.⁹ καὶ πάλιν ἕτερος προφήτης λέγει. Καὶ ἦν ἡ γῆ τοῦ Ἰακώβ ἐπαινουμένη παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. τοῦτο λέγει· τὸ σκεῦος τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ δοξάζει.¹⁰ εἶτα τί λέγει; Καὶ ἦν ποταμὸς ἔλκων ἐκ δεξιῶν, καὶ ἀνέβαινον ἐξ αὐτοῦ δένδρα ὠραῖα· καὶ ὃς ἂν φάγη ἐξ αὐτῶν, ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.¹¹ τοῦτο λέγει ὅτι ἡμεῖς μὲν καταβαίνομεν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ γέμοντες ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ ῥύπου, καὶ ἀναβαίνομεν καρποφοροῦντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τὸν φόβον καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ἔχοντες. Καὶ ὃς ἂν φάγη ἀπὸ

of the waters, which shall give its fruit in its season, and its leaf shall not fade, and all things, whatsoever he doeth, shall prosper.⁷ It is not so with the wicked, it is not so; but they are even as the chaff that the wind drives away from the face of the earth. Therefore, the wicked shall not rise up in judgment, nor sinners in the counsel of the righteous; for, the Lord knows the way of the righteous, and the way of the ungodly shall perish.”⁸ Mark how he described the water and the cross together. For, he means this: blessed are those who hoped on the cross and descended into the water. For, he speaks of their reward in his season, “At that time,” he says, “I will repay.” But now, when he says, “Their leaves shall not fade,” he means that every word which shall come forth from your mouth in faith and love, shall be for conversion and hope for many.⁹ And again, another Prophet says, “And the land of Jacob was praised above every land.” He means to say that he is glorifying the vessel of his Spirit.¹⁰ What does he say next? “And there was a river flowing on the right hand, and beautiful trees grew out of it, and whoever shall eat of them shall live for ever.”¹¹ He means to say that we go down into the water laden with sins and foulness, and we come up from it bearing the fruit of fear in our hearts, and having hope on Jesus in the Spirit. “And whoever shall eat

⁷ After ἀναστήσονται, Lightfoot adds οἱ in brackets.

⁸ For λέγει· ὅτι πᾶν ῥῆμα, ὃ ἐὰν, Lightfoot reads λέγει ὅτι πᾶν ῥῆμα ὃ ἐὰν.

⁹ Lightfoot has an *ano teleia* in place of the full stop after προφήτης λέγει.

¹⁰ Lightfoot lacks the comma after ἐξ αὐτῶν.

¹¹ Before τὸν φόβον, Lightfoot adds καὶ in brackets.

τούτων, ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, τοῦτο λέγει· ὃς ἂν, φησὶν, ἀκούσῃ τούτων λαλουμένων καὶ πιστεύσῃ, ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

of these shall live for ever.” He means this, “Whoever,” said he, “shall hear these things spoken and shall believe shall live for ever.

Βαρναβας 12

¹ Ὁμοίως πάλιν περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ὀρίζει ἐν ἄλλῳ προφήτῃ λέγοντι· Καὶ πότε ταῦτα συντελεσθήσεται; λέγει κύριος· ὅταν ξύλον κλιθῆ καὶ ἀναστῆ, καὶ ὅταν ἐκ ξύλου αἷμα στάξῃ. ἔχεις πάλιν περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τοῦ σταυροῦσθαι μέλλοντος. ² λέγει δὲ πάλιν τῷ Μωϋσῆ, πολεμουμένου τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων, καὶ ἵνα ὑπομνήσῃ αὐτοὺς πολεμουμένους, ὅτι διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθησαν εἰς θάνατον· λέγει εἰς τὴν καρδίαν Μωϋσέως τὸ πνεῦμα, ἵνα ποιήσῃ τύπον σταυροῦ καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος πάσχειν, ὅτι, ἐὰν μὴ, φησὶν, ἐλπίσωσιν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα πολεμηθήσονται. τίθησιν οὖν Μωϋσῆς ἐν ἐφ’ ἐν ὄπλον ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πυγμῆς, καὶ ὑψηλότερος σταθεὶς πάντων ἐξέτεινεν τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ οὕτως πάλιν ἐνίκα ὁ Ἰσραὴλ. εἶτα, ὁπότεν καθεῖλεν, ἐθανατοῦντο. ³ πρὸς τί; ἵνα γνῶσιν ὅτι οὐ δύνανται σωθῆναι, ἐὰν μὴ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἐλπίσωσιν. ⁴ καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἑτέρῳ προφήτῃ λέγει· Ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθῆ καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα ὀδῶ δικαίᾳ μου. ⁵ πάλιν Μωϋσῆς ποιεῖ τύπον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν παθεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸς ζωοποιήσῃ, ὃν

BARNABAS 12

¹ Similarly, again, he describes the cross in another Prophet, who says, “And when shall all these things be accomplished? saith the Lord. When the tree shall fall and rise, and when blood shall flow from the tree.” Here again you have a reference to the cross, and to him who should be crucified. ² And he says again to Moses, when Israel was warred upon by strangers, and in order to remind those who were warred upon that they were delivered unto death by reason of their sins – the Spirit speaks to the heart of Moses to make a representation of the cross, and of him who should suffer, because, he says, unless they put their trust in him, they shall suffer war for ever. Moses, therefore, placed one shield upon another in the midst of the fight, and standing there raised above them all kept stretching out his hands, and so Israel again began to be victorious: then, whenever he let them drop, they began to perish. ³ Why? That they may know that they cannot be saved if they do not hope on him. ⁴ And again, he says in another Prophet, “I stretched out my hands the whole day to a disobedient people and one that refuses my righteous way.” ⁵ Again, Moses makes a representation of Jesus, showing that he

BARNABAS 12

¹ Note that Lightfoot spell Ὅταν with an uppercase omicron.

² For τῷ Μωϋσῆ, here following *Codex Sinaiticus* & *Codex Constantianopolitanus*, the *Latin MS* and the *Vaticanus MSS* have ἐν τῷ Μωϋσῆ; Lightfoot has ἐν in brackets.

³ For the short, opening question, Lightfoot has, “Wherefore was this?”

⁴ For ἀπειθῆ, here following *Codex Sinaiticus*, *Codex Constantianopolitanus* (following the *LXX*) has ἀπειθοῦντα.

⁵ The literal translation of ‘the fall’ is ‘the transgression’.

δόξουσιν ἀπολωλέκεναι, ἐν σημείῳ πίπτοντος τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, (ἐποίησεν γὰρ κύριος πάντα ὄφιν δάκνειν αὐτούς, καὶ ἀπέθνησκον ἐπειδὴ ἡ παράβασις διὰ τοῦ ὄφεως ἐν Εὐᾶ ἐγένετο), ἵνα ἐλέγξῃ αὐτούς. ὅτι διὰ τὴν παράβασιν αὐτῶν εἰς θλίψιν θανάτου παραδοθήσονται.⁶ πέρασ γέ τοι αὐτὸς Μωϋσῆς ἐντειλάμενος· Οὐκ ἔσται ὑμῖν οὔτε χωνευτὸν οὔτε γλυπτὸν εἰς θεὸν ὑμῖν, αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, ἵνα τύπον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ δείξῃ. ποιεῖ οὖν Μωϋσῆς χαλκοῦν ὄφιν καὶ τίθησιν ἐνδόξως καὶ κηρύγματι καλεῖ τὸν λαόν.⁷ ἔλθόντες οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐδέοντο Μωϋσέως, ἵνα περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνενέγκῃ δέησιν περὶ τῆς ἰάσεως αὐτῶν. εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς Μωϋσῆς· Ὅταν, φησὶν, δηχθῆ τις ὑμῶν, ἐλθέτω ἐπὶ τὸν ὄφιν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου ἐπικείμενον καὶ ἐλπυσάτω πιστεύσας, ὅτι αὐτὸς ὦν νεκρὸς δύναται ζωοποιησθαι, καὶ παραχρῆμα σωθήσεται. καὶ οὕτως ἐποίουν. ἔχεις πάλιν καὶ ἐν τούτοις τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ εἰς αὐτόν.⁸ τί λέγει πάλιν Μωϋσῆς Ἰησοῦ, υἱῷ Ναυή, ἐπιθεὶς αὐτῷ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, ὄντι προφήτῃ, ἵνα μόνον ἀκούσῃ πᾶς ὁ λαός; ὅτι πάντα ὁ πατήρ φανεροῖ περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἰησοῦ.⁹ λέγει οὖν Μωϋσῆς Ἰησοῦ, υἱῷ Ναυή, ἐπιθεὶς τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, ὁπότε ἔπεμψεν αὐτὸν κατάσκοπον τῆς γῆς· Λάβε βιβλίον εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου καὶ γράψον, ἃ λέγει κύριος, ὅτι ἐκκόψει ἐκ ῥιζῶν τὸν οἶκον πάντα τοῦ Ἀμαλήκ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ

must suffer, and shall himself give life, though they will believe that he has been put to death, by the sign given when Israel was falling (for, the Lord made every serpent bite them, and they were perishing; for, the fall took place in Eve through the serpent), in order to convince them that they will be delivered over to the affliction of death because of their transgression.⁶ Moreover, though Moses commanded them, “You shall have neither graven nor molten image for your God,” yet he makes one himself to show a type of Jesus. Moses, therefore, makes a graven serpent, and places it in honour and calls the people by a proclamation.⁷ So, they came together and besought Moses that he would offer prayer on their behalf for their healing. But Moses said to them, “Whenever one of you,” he said, “is bitten, let him come to the serpent that is placed upon the tree, and let him hope, in faith that it though dead is able to give life, and he shall straightway be saved.” And they did so. In this also you have again the glory of Jesus, for all things are in him and for him.⁸ Again, why does Moses say to Jesus, the son of Naue, when he gives him, prophet as he is, this name, that the whole people should listen to him alone? Because the Father was revealing everything concerning his Son Jesus.⁹ Moses, therefore, says to Jesus the son of Naue, after giving him this name, when he sent him to spy out the land, “Take a book in your hands and write

⁶ In place of ‘graven’, Lightfoot has ‘brazen’.

⁷ Lightfoot lacks the comma after Μωϋσέως.

⁸ Lightfoot lacks the question mark after λαός but ends the verse with a question mark in place of the full stop.

⁹ For τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, Lightfoot reads just τοῦτο ὄνομα.

θεοῦ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν. ¹⁰ Ἴδε πάλιν Ἰησοῦς, οὐχὶ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, τύπῳ δὲ ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθεὶς. ἐπεὶ οὖν μέλλουσιν λέγειν, ὅτι Χριστὸς υἱὸς Δαυεὶδ ἐστίν, αὐτὸς προφητεύει Δαυεὶδ, φοβούμενος καὶ συνίων τὴν πλάνην τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν. Εἶπεν κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου· Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου. ¹¹ καὶ πάλιν λέγει οὕτως Ἡσαΐας· Εἶπεν κύριος τῷ Χριστῷ μου κυρίῳ, οὗ ἐκράτησα τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ, ἐπακοῦσαι ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἔθνη, καὶ ἰσχὺν βασιλέων διαρρήξω. Ἴδε, πῶς Δαυεὶδ λέγει αὐτὸν κύριον, καὶ υἱὸν οὐ λέγει.

what the Lord said, that the Son of God shall in the last day tear up by the roots the whole house of Amalek.” ¹⁰ See again Jesus, not as son of man, but as Son of God, but manifested in a type in the flesh. Since, therefore, they are going to say that the Christ is David’s son, David himself prophesies, fearing and understanding the error of the sinners, “The Lord said to my Lord ‘Sit on my right hand until I make you enemies your footstool.’” ¹¹ And again, Isaiah speaks thus, “The Lord said to Christ my Lord, whose right hand I held, that the nations should obey before him, and I will shatter the strength of Kings.” See how David calls him Lord and does not say Son.

¹⁰ In place of Χριστὸς υἱὸς Δαυεὶδ ἐστίν, here following *Codex Sinaiticus*, *Codex Constantinopolitanus* has ὁ Χριστὸς υἱὸς ἐστίν Δαυεὶδ.

¹¹ In Is 45:1, the ‘anointed one’ is generally considered to refer to Cyrus (who is named in the verse itself).

Βαρναβας 13

¹ Ἴδωμεν δὲ εἰ οὗτος ὁ λαὸς κληρονομεῖ ἢ ὁ πρῶτος, καὶ εἰ ἡ διαθήκη εἰς ἡμᾶς ἢ εἰς ἐκείνους. ² ἀκούσατε οὖν περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή· Ἐδεῖτο δὲ Ἰσαὰκ περὶ Ῥεβέκκας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, ὅτι στεῖρα ἦν· καὶ συνέλαβεν. εἶτα ἐξῆλθεν Ῥεβέκκα πυθέσθαι παρὰ κυρίου, καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς αὐτήν· Δύο ἔθνη ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ σου καὶ δύο λαοὶ ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ σου, καὶ ὑπερέξει λαὸς λαοῦ καὶ ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι. ³ αἰσθάνεσθαι ὀφείλετε, τίς ὁ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ τίς ἡ Ῥεβέκκα, καὶ ἐπὶ τίνων δέδειχεν, ὅτι μείζων ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ἢ ἐκεῖνος. ⁴ καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ προφητεῖᾳ λέγει φανερώτερον ὁ Ἰακώβ πρὸς Ἰωσήφ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, λέγων· Ἰδοὺ, οὐκ ἐστέρησέν με κύριος τοῦ προσώπου σου· προσάγαγέ μοι τοὺς υἱούς σου, ἵνα εὐλογήσω αὐτούς. ⁵ καὶ προσήγαγεν Ἐφραὶμ καὶ Μανασσῆ, τὸν Μανασσῆ θέλων ἵνα εὐλογηθῆ, ὅτι πρεσβύτερος ἦν· ὁ γὰρ Ἰωσήφ προσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα τοῦ πατρὸς Ἰακώβ. εἶδεν δὲ Ἰακώβ τύπον τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ μεταξὺ· καὶ τί λέγει; Καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἰακώβ ἐναλλάξ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπέθηκεν τὴν δεξιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἐφραὶμ, τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ νεωτέρου, καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτόν. καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωσήφ πρὸς Ἰακώβ· Μετάθες

BARNABAS 13

¹ Now let us see if this people or the former people is the heir, and if the covenant is for us or for them. ² Hear then what the Scripture says about the people, “And Isaac prayed for Rebecca his wife, because she was barren, and she conceived. Then Rebecca went forth to enquire of the Lord and the Lord said to her, ‘Two nations are in your womb, and two peoples in your belly, and one people shall overcome a people, and the greater shall serve the less.’” ³ You ought to understand who Isaac is and who Rebecca is, and of whom he has shown that this people is greater than that people. ⁴ And, in another prophecy, Jacob speaks more plainly to Joseph his son, saying, “Behold the Lord has not deprived me of your presence; bring me your sons, that I may bless them.” ⁵ And he brought Ephraim and Manasses and wished that Manasses should be blessed, because he was the elder; for, Joseph brought him to the right hand of his father Jacob. But Jacob saw in the spirit a type of the people of the future. And what does he say? “And Jacob crossed his hands and placed his right hand on the head of Ephraim, the second and younger son, and blessed him; and Joseph said to Jacob, ‘Change your right hand on to the head of Manasses; for, he is

BARNABAS 13

¹ In place of καὶ εἰ ἡ, Lightfoot has just καὶ ἡ.

² Lightfoot has a full stop in place of the *ano teleia* after στεῖρα ἦν.

³ Lightfoot ends with, “shown that the one people is greater than the other.”

⁴ Lightfoot opens this verse with an uppercase *kappa*.

⁵ Lightfoot has a full stop in place of the *ano teleia* after τοῦ μεταξὺ.

σου τὴν δεξιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Μανασσῆ, ὅτι πρωτότοκός μου υἱός ἐστιν. καὶ εἶπεν Ἰακώβ πρὸς Ἰωσήφ· Οἶδα, τέκνον, οἶδα· ἀλλ' ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι, καὶ οὗτος δὲ εὐλογηθήσεται. ⁶βλέπετε, ἐπὶ τίνων τέθεικεν, τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον εἶναι πρῶτον καὶ τῆς διαθήκης κληρονόμον. ⁷εἰ οὖν ἔτι καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἐμνήσθη, ἀπέχομεν τὸ τέλειον τῆς γνώσεως ἡμῶν. τί οὖν λέγει τῷ Ἀβραάμ, ὅτε μόνος πιστεύσας ἐτέθη εἰς δικαιοσύνην; Ἰδοῦ, τέθεικά σε, Ἀβραάμ, πατέρα ἐθνῶν τῶν πιστευόντων δι' ἀκροβυστίας τῷ θεῷ.

my first-born son.' And Jacob said to Joseph, 'I know it, my child, I know it; but the greater shall serve the less, and this one shall indeed be blessed.'" ⁶ See who it is of whom he ordained that this people is the first and heir of the covenant. ⁷ If then, besides this, he remembered it also in the case of Abraham, we reach the perfection of our knowledge. What then does he say to Abraham, when he alone was faithful, and it was counted him for righteousness? "Behold I have made you, Abraham, the father of the Gentiles who believe in God in uncircumcision."

⁶ Lightfoot opens this verse with an uppercase *beta*.

⁷ Lightfoot lacks the comma after Ἰδοῦ.

Βαρναβας 14

¹Ναί. ἀλλὰ ἴδωμεν, εἴ ἡ διαθήκη, ἣν ὤμοσεν τοῖς πατράσιν δοῦναι τῷ λαῷ, εἴ δέδωκεν. δέδωκεν· αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐγένοντο ἄξιοι λαβεῖν διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν.² λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφήτης· Καὶ ἦν Μωϋσῆς νηστεύων ἐν ὄρει Σινᾶ, τοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν διαθήκην κυρίου πρὸς τὸν λαόν, ἡμέρας τεσσεράκοντα καὶ νύκτας τεσσεράκοντα. καὶ ἔλαβεν Μωϋσῆς παρὰ κυρίου τὰς δύο πλάκας τὰς γεγραμμένας τῷ δακτύλῳ τῆς χειρὸς κυρίου ἐν πνεύματι· καὶ λαβὼν Μωϋσῆς κατέφερεν πρὸς τὸν λαόν δοῦναι.³ καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Μωϋσῆν. Μωϋσῆ Μωϋσῆ, κατάβηθι τὸ τάχος, ὅτι ὁ λαός σου, ὃν ἐξήγαγες ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἠνόμησεν. καὶ συνῆκεν Μωϋσῆς, ὅτι ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς πάλιν χωνεύματα, καὶ ἔρριψεν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν, καὶ συνετρίβησαν αἱ πλάκες τῆς διαθήκης κυρίου.⁴ Μωϋσῆς μὲν ἔλαβεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐγένοντο ἄξιοι. πῶς δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐλάβομεν, μάθετε. Μωϋσῆς θεράπων ὢν ἔλαβεν, αὐτὸς δὲ κύριος ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν εἰς λαὸν κληρονομίας, δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομείνας.⁵ ἐφανερῶθη δέ, ἵνα κακεῖνοι τελειωθῶσιν τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν, καὶ ἡμεῖς διὰ τοῦ κληρονομοῦντος διαθήκην κυρίου Ἰησοῦ λάβωμεν, ὃς εἰς

BARNABAS 14

¹ So it is. But let us see whether the covenant that he swore to the fathers to give to the people – whether he has given it. He has given it. But they were not worthy to receive it because of their sins. ² For, the Prophet says, “And Moses was fasting on Mount Sinai, to receive the covenant of the Lord for the people, forty days and forty nights. And Moses received from the Lord the two tables, written by the finger of the hand of the Lord in the Spirit; and Moses took them, and carried them down to give them to the people. ³ And the Lord said to Moses, ‘Moses, Moses, go down quickly; for, your people whom you didst bring out of the land of Egypt have broken the Law.’ And Moses perceived that they had made themselves again molten images, and he cast them out of his hands, and the tables of the covenant of the Lord were broken.” ⁴ Moses received it, but they were not worthy. But learn how we received it. Moses received it when he was a servant, but the Lord himself gave it to us, as the people of the inheritance, by suffering for our sakes. ⁵ And it was made manifest both that the tale of their sins should be completed in their sins, and that we through Jesus, the Lord who inherits the covenant, should

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¹ In place of εἴ δέδωκεν, here following *Codex Sinaiticus*, *Codex Constantinopolitanus* and the *Latin MS* read εἴ δέδωκεν ζητῶμεν; the grammar of the sentence is emended by the *Vaticanus MSS* to ἀλλὰ τὴν διαθήκην, ἣν ... λαῷ, εἴ δέδωκεν ζητῶμεν.

² Lightfoot places the 2nd instance of Μωϋσῆς in brackets.

³ After τῶν χειρῶν, the *Latin MS* and the *Vaticanus MSS* add τὰς πλάκας.

⁴ For the opening sentence, Lightfoot reads, “Moses received them, but they themselves were not found worthy.”

⁵ Lightfoot lacks the comma after ἀμαρτήμασιν.

τοῦτο ἡτοιμάσθη, ἵνα αὐτὸς φανείσ, τὰς ἤδη δεδαπανημένας ἡμῶν καρδίας τῷ θανάτῳ καὶ παραδεδομένας τῇ τῆς πλάνης ἀνομίᾳ λυτρωσάμενος ἐκ τοῦ σκότους, διάθηται ἐν ἡμῖν διαθήκην λόγῳ. ⁶ γέγραπται γάρ, πῶς αὐτῷ ὁ πατὴρ ἐντέλλεται, λυτρωσάμενον ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ σκότους ἐτοιμάσαι ἑαυτῷ λαὸν ἅγιον. ⁷ λέγει οὖν ὁ προφήτης· Ἐγὼ κύριος, ὁ θεὸς σου, ἐκάλεσά σε ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ κρατήσω τῆς χειρός σου καὶ ἐνισχύσω σε, καὶ ἔδωκά σε εἰς διαθήκην γένους, εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν ἀνοιξάει ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλῶν καὶ ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐκ δεσμῶν πεπεδημένους καὶ ἐξ οἴκου φυλακῆς καθημένους ἐν σκότει. γινώσκομεν οὖν, πόθεν ἐλυτρώθημεν. ⁸ πάλιν ὁ προφήτης λέγει· Ἰδοὺ, τέθεικά σε εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν, τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς, οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ λυτρωσάμενός σε θεός. ⁹ καὶ πάλιν ὁ προφήτης λέγει· Πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ, οὗ εἵνεκεν ἔχρισέν με εὐαγγελίσασθαι ταπεινοῖς χάριν, ἀπέσταλκέν με ἰάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τὴν καρδίαν, κηρῦξαι αἰχμαλώτους ἄφεςιν καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν, καλέσαι ἐνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτὸν καὶ ἡμέραν ἀνταποδόσεως, παρακαλέσαι πάντας τοὺς πενθοῦντας.

receive it, for he was prepared for this purpose, that when he appeared he might redeem from darkness our hearts that were already paid over to death, and given over to the iniquity of error, and by his word might make a covenant with us. ⁶ For, it is written that the Father enjoins on him that he should redeem us from darkness and prepare a holy people for himself. ⁷ The Prophet therefore says, “I the Lord your God did call you in righteousness, and I will hold your hands, and I will give you strength, and I have given you for a covenant of the people, for a light to the Gentiles, to open the eyes of the blind, and to bring forth from their fetters those that are bound and those that sit in darkness out of the prison house.” We know, then, whence we have been redeemed. ⁸ Again, the Prophet says, “Lo, I have made you a light for the Gentiles, to be for salvation unto the ends of the earth, thus says the Lord, the God who redeemed you.” ⁹ And again, the Prophet says, “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he anointed me to preach the Gospel of grace to the humble; he sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to proclaim delivery to the captives, and sight to the blind, to announce a year acceptable to the Lord, and a day of recompense, to comfort all who mourn.”

⁶ Lightfoot lacks the comma after σκότους.

⁷ Lightfoot lacks the comma after θεός σου and adds one after δικαιοσύνῃ.

⁸ Lightfoot has an *ano teleia* in place of the comma after τῆς γῆς.

⁹ In place of ταπεινοῖς χάριν, here following the *Vaticanus MSS*, *Codex Sinaiticus* (and the *LXX*) has πτωχοῖς and the *Latin MS* reads ταπεινοῖς; *Codex Constantinopolitanus* omits the words.

Βαρναβα 15

¹ Ἔτι οὖν καὶ περὶ τοῦ σαββάτου γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς δέκα λόγοις, ἐν οἷς ἐλάλησεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινᾶ πρὸς Μωϋσῆν κατὰ πρόσωπον· Καὶ ἀγιάσατε τὸ σάββατον κυρίου χερσὶν καθαραῖς καὶ καρδίᾳ καθαρᾷ. ² καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει· Ἐὰν φυλάξωσιν οἱ υἱοὶ μου τὸ σάββατον, τότε ἐπιθήσω τὸ ἔλεός μου ἐπ' αὐτούς. ³ τὸ σάββατον λέγει ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς κτίσεως· Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἕξι ἡμέραις τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνετέλεσεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ καὶ κατέπαυσεν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἡγίασεν αὐτήν. ⁴ προσέχετε, τέκνα, τί λέγει τὸ συνετέλεσεν ἐν ἕξι ἡμέραις. τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι ἐν ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσιν συντελέσει κύριος τὰ σύμπαντα· ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ σημαίνει χίλια ἔτη. αὐτὸς δέ μοι μαρτυρεῖ λέγων· Ἴδού, ἡμέρα κυρίου ἔσται ὡς χίλια ἔτη. οὐκοῦν, τέκνα, ἐν ἕξι ἡμέραις, ἐν τοῖς ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσιν συντελεσθήσεται τὰ σύμπαντα. ⁵ Καὶ κατέπαυσεν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ. τοῦτο λέγει· ὅταν ἐλθὼν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καταργήσῃ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ ἀνόμου καὶ κρινεῖ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἀλλάξει τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας, τότε καλῶς καταπαύσεται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ

BARNABAS 15

¹ Furthermore, it was written concerning the Sabbath in the ten words that he spoke on Mount Sinai face to face to Moses, “Sanctify also the Sabbath of the Lord with pure hands and a pure heart.” ² And, in another place, he says, “If my sons keep the Sabbath, then will I bestow my mercy upon them.” ³ He speaks of the Sabbath at the beginning of the Creation, “And God made in six days the works of his hands and on the seventh day he made an end and rested in it and sanctified it.” ⁴ Notice, children, what is the meaning of He made an end in six days? He means this: that the Lord will make an end of everything in six thousand years; for, a day with him means a thousand years. And he himself is my witness when he says, “Lo, the day of the Lord shall be as a thousand years.” So then, children, in six days, that is in six thousand years, everything will be completed. ⁵ And he rested on the seventh day. This means, when his Son comes, he will destroy the time of the wicked one, and will judge the godless, and will change the sun and the moon and the stars, and then he will truly rest on the seventh day. ⁶ Furthermore, he says, “You shall sanctify it with clean hands and a pure heart.” If then,

BARNABAS 15

¹ Throughout his work, Lightfoot capitalizes *Κυρίου* and its variant forms, when the title is used of God.

² Lightfoot has ‘*observe*’ in place of ‘*keep*’.

³ Throughout his work, Lightfoot capitalizes *Θεός* and its variant forms.

⁴ Lightfoot has *σημαίνει* in brackets.

⁵ In place of ‘*destroy*’, Lightfoot has ‘*abolish*’.

⁶ Lightfoot adds a comma after *ἡγίασεν*.

ἑβδόμη. ⁶πέρας γέ τοι λέγει· Ἀγιάσεις αὐτήν χερσὶν καθαραῖς καὶ καρδίᾳ καθαρᾷ. εἰ οὖν ἦν ὁ θεὸς ἡμέραν ἡγίασεν νῦν τις δύναται αγιάσαι καθαρὸς ὦν τῇ καρδίᾳ, ἐν πᾶσιν πεπλανήμεθα. ⁷ἴδε ὅτι ἄρα τότε καλῶς καταπαυόμενοι αγιάσομεν αὐτήν, ὅτε δυνησόμεθα αὐτοὶ δικαιωθέντες καὶ ἀπολαβόντες τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, μηκέτι οὔσης τῆς ἀνομίας, καινῶν δὲ γεγονότων πάντων ὑπὸ κυρίου· τότε δυνησόμεθα αὐτήν αγιάσαι, αὐτοὶ ἀγιασθέντες πρῶτον. ⁸πέρας γέ τοι λέγει αὐτοῖς· Τὰς νεομηνίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ σάββατα οὐκ ἀνέχομαι. ὁρᾶτε, πῶς λέγει; οὐ τὰ νῦν σάββατα ἐμοὶ δεκτά, ἀλλὰ ὃ πεποίηκα, ἐν ᾧ καταπαύσας τὰ πάντα ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας ὀγδότης ποιήσω, ὃ ἐστὶν ἄλλου κόσμου ἀρχήν. ⁹διὸ καὶ ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδὴν εἰς εὐφροσύνην, ἐν ἧ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ φανερωθεὶς ἀνέβη εἰς οὐρανοῦς.

anyone has at present the power to keep holy the day which God made holy, by being pure in heart, we are altogether deceived. ⁷ See that we shall indeed keep it holy at that time, when we enjoy true rest, when we shall be able to do so because we have been made righteous ourselves and have received the promise, when there is no more sin, but all things have been made new by the Lord: then we shall be able to keep it holy because we ourselves have first been made holy. ⁸ Furthermore, he says to them, “Your new moons and the sabbaths I cannot away with.” Do you see what he means? The present sabbaths are not acceptable to me, but that which I have made, in which I will give rest to all things and make the beginning of an eighth day, that is the beginning of another world. ⁹ Therefore, we also celebrate with gladness the eighth day in which Jesus also rose from the dead, and was made manifest, and ascended into Heaven.

⁷ In place of ἴδε ὅτι ἄρα, Lightfoot opens with εἰ δὲ οὖν ἄρα.

⁸ Lightfoot has ἐμοὶ in brackets.

⁹ Lightfoot has ‘keep ... for rejoicing’ in place of ‘celebrate with gladness’.

Βαρναβα 16

¹ Ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ ἐρῶ ὑμῖν, ὡς πλανώμενοι οἱ ταλαίπωροι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἤλπισαν, καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς, ὡς ὄντα οἶκον θεοῦ. ² σχεδὸν γὰρ ὡς τὰ ἔθνη ἀφιέρωσαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ. ἀλλὰ πῶς λέγει κύριος καταργῶν αὐτόν, μάθετε. Τίς ἐμέτρησεν τὸν οὐρανὸν σπιθαμῇ ἢ τὴν γῆν δρακί; οὐκ ἐγώ; λέγει κύριος· Ὁ οὐρανός μοι θρόνος, ἡ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου· ποῖον οἶκον οἰκοδομήσετε μοι, ἢ τίς τόπος τῆς καταπαύσεώς μου; ἐγνώκατε, ὅτι ματαία ἡ ἐλπὶς αὐτῶν. ³ πέρασ γέ τοι πάλιν λέγει· Ἰδοῦ, οἱ καθελόντες τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον αὐτοὶ αὐτὸν οἰκοδομήσουσιν. ⁴ γίνεται. διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολεμεῖν αὐτούς καθρέθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν· νῦν καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπηρέται ἀνοικοδομήσουσιν αὐτόν. ⁵ πάλιν ὡς ἔμελλεν ἡ πόλις καὶ ὁ ναὸς καὶ ὁ λαὸς Ἰσραὴλ παραδίδοσθαι, ἐφανερώθη. λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· Καὶ ἔσται ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ παραδώσει κύριος τὰ πρόβατα τῆς νομῆς καὶ τὴν μάνδραν καὶ τὸν πύργον αὐτῶν εἰς καταφθοράν. καὶ ἐγένετο καθ' ἃ ἐλάλησεν κύριος. ⁶ ζητήσωμεν δέ, εἰ ἔστιν ναὸς θεοῦ. ἔστιν, ὅπου αὐτὸς λέγει ποιεῖν καὶ καταρτίζειν. γέγραπται γάρ· Καὶ ἔσται, τῆς

BARNABAS 16

¹ I will also speak with you concerning the Temple and show how the wretched men were led astray by putting their hope on the building, and not on the God who made them, and is the true house of God. ² For, they consecrated him in the Temple almost like the Gentiles. But learn how the Lord speaks, in bringing it to naught, "Who has measured the heaven with a span, or has measured the earth with his outstretched hand? Have not I?" says the Lord. "Heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool, what house will you build for me, or what is the place of my rest?" You know that their hope was vain. ³ Furthermore, he says again, "Lo, they who destroyed this temple shall themselves build it." ⁴ That is happening now. For, owing to the war, it was destroyed by the enemy; at present, even the servants of the enemy will build it up again. ⁵ Again, it was made manifest that the city and the temple and the people of Israel were to be delivered up. For, the Scripture says, "And it shall come to pass in the last days that the Lord shall deliver the sheep of his pasture, and the sheepfold, and their tower to destruction." And it took place according to what the Lord said. ⁶ But let us inquire if a temple of God exists. Yes, it exists, where

BARNABAS 16

¹ Lightfoot has πῶς in place of ὡς.

² Lightfoot adds a comma after σπιθαμῇ.

³ Lightfoot lacks the comma after Ἰδοῦ but adds one after τοῦτον.

⁴ Lightfoot has a full stop in place of the *ano teleia* after ἐχθρῶν.

⁵ Throughout his work, Lightfoot capitalizes Κύριος and its variants, when the title is used of God.

⁶ Lightfoot lacks the comma after Καὶ ἔσται.

ἐβδομάδος συντελουμένης οἰκοδομηθήσεται ναὸς θεοῦ ἐνδόξως ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου.⁷ εὐρίσκω οὖν, ὅτι ἔστιν ναὸς. πῶς οὖν οἰκοδομηθήσεται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου, μάθετε. πρὸ τοῦ ἡμᾶς πιστεῦσαι τῷ θεῷ ἦν ἡμῶν τὸ κατοικητήριον τῆς καρδίας φθαρτὸν καὶ ἀσθενές, ὡς ἀληθῶς οἰκοδομητὸς ναὸς διὰ χειρός, ὅτι ἦν πλήρης μὲν εἰδωλολατρείας καὶ ἦν οἶκος δαιμονίων διὰ τὸ ποιεῖν, ὅσα ἦν ἐναντία τῷ θεῷ.⁸ Οἰκοδομηθήσεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου. προσέχετε δέ, ἵνα ὁ ναὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἐνδόξως οἰκοδομηθῇ. πῶς, μάθετε. λαβόντες τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ ἐλπίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐγενόμεθα καινοί, πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κτιζόμενοι· διὸ ἐν τῷ κατοικητηρίῳ ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς ὁ θεὸς κατοικεῖ ἐν ἡμῖν.⁹ πῶς; ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ τῆς πίστεως, ἡ κλήσις αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, ἡ σοφία τῶν δικαιωμάτων, αἱ ἐντολαὶ τῆς διδαχῆς, αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν προφητεύων, αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικῶν, τοὺς τῷ θανάτῳ δεδουλωμένους ἀνοίγων ἡμῖν τὴν θύραν τοῦ ναοῦ, ὃ ἔστιν στόμα, μετάνοιαν διδοὺς ἡμῖν, εἰσάγει εἰς τὸν ἄφθαρτον ναόν.¹⁰ ὁ γὰρ ποθῶν σωθῆναι βλέπει οὐκ εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικοῦντα καὶ λαλοῦντα, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐκπλησσομένους, ἐπὶ τῷ μηδέποτε μήτε τοῦ λέγοντος τὰ ῥήματα ἀκηκοέναι ἐκ τοῦ στόματος μήτε αὐτὸς ποτε ἐπιτεθυμηκέναι ἀκούειν. τοῦτό ἐστιν πνευματικὸς ναὸς οἰκοδομούμενος τῷ κυρίῳ.

he himself said that he makes and perfects it. For, it is written, “And it shall come to pass when the week is ended that a temple of God shall be built gloriously in the name of the Lord.”⁷ I find, then, that a temple exists. Learn, then, how it will be built in the name of the Lord. Before we believed in God, the habitation of our heart was corrupt and weak, like a temple really built with hands, because it was full of idolatry, and was the house of demons through doing things that were contrary to God.⁸ But it shall be built in the name of the Lord. Now give heed, in order that the temple of the Lord may be built gloriously. Learn in what way. When we received the remission of sins, and put our hope on the Name, we became new, being created again from the beginning; therefore, God truly dwells in us, in the habitation that we are.⁹ How? His word of faith, the calling of his promise, the wisdom of the ordinances, the commands of the teaching, himself prophesying in us, himself dwelling in us, by opening the door of the temple (that is the mouth) to us, giving repentance to us, and thus he leads us, who have been enslaved to death into the incorruptible temple.¹⁰ For, he who desires to be saved looks not at the man, but at him who dwells and speaks in him, and is amazed at him, for he has never either heard him speak such words with his mouth, nor has he himself ever desired to hear them. This is a spiritual temple being built for the Lord.

⁷ Throughout his work, Lightfoot capitalizes Θεῷ and its variant forms.

⁸ Lightfoot opens the verse with a lowercase *omicron*.

⁹ For τοὺς ... δεδουλωμένους, here as *Codex Constantinopolitanus*, *Codex Sinaiticus* has τοῖς ... δεδουλωμένοις (correction of an unexpected accusative).

¹⁰ Lightfoot has ἀλλὰ in place of ἀλλ'.

Βαρναβα 17

¹ Ἐφ' ὅσον ἦν ἐν δυνατῶ καὶ ἀπλότῃ δηλῶσαι ὑμῖν, ἐλπίζει μου ἡ ψυχὴ τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ μου μὴ παραλελοιπέναι τι τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς σωτηρίαν. ² Ἐὰν γὰρ περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων ἢ μελλόντων γράφω ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ νοήσητε διὰ τὸ ἐν παραβολαῖς κεῖσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως.

BARNABAS 17

¹ So far as possibility and simplicity allow an explanation to be given, my soul hopes that none of the things that are needed for salvation have been omitted, according to my desire. ² For, if I write to you about things present or future, you will not understand because they are hidden in parables. This then suffices.

BARNABAS 17

- ¹ The *Vaticanus* MSS lack τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ μου and τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς σωτηρίαν (Lightfoot has that text in brackets).
² With the addition of the doxology the Latin version comes here to an end.

Βαρναβα 18

¹ Μεταβῶμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἑτέραν γνῶσιν καὶ διδαχὴν. Ὅδοι δύο εἰσὶν διδαχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἢ τε τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἢ τοῦ σκοτῶν. διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. ἐφ' ἧς μὲν γὰρ εἰσὶν τεταγμένοι φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐφ' ἧς δὲ ἄγγελοι τοῦ σατανᾶ. ² καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐστὶν κύριος ἀπὸ αἰῶνων καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων καιροῦ τοῦ νῦν τῆς ἀνομίας.

BARNABAS 18

¹ Now let us pass on to another lesson and teaching. There are two Ways of teaching and power, one of Light and one of Darkness. And there is a great difference between the two Ways. For, over the one are set light-bringing angels of God, but over the other angels of Satan. ² And the one is Lord from eternity and to eternity, and the other is the ruler of the present time of iniquity.

BARNABAS 18

¹ Note that Lightfoot spells *Σατανᾶ* with an uppercase sigma.

² Lightfoot ends the verse, "is Lord of the season of iniquity that now is."

Βαρναβᾶ 19

¹ Ἡ οὖν ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός ἐστὶν αὕτη· ἐάν τις θέλων ὁδὸν ὁδεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν ὠρισμένον τόπον, σπεύσῃ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. ἔστιν οὖν ἡ δοθεῖσα ἡμῖν γνῶσις τοῦ περιπατεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ τοιαύτη. ² ἀγαπήσεις τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, φοβηθήσῃ τόν σε πλάσαντα, δοξάσεις τόν σε λυτρωσάμενον ἐκ θανάτου· ἔση ἀπλοῦς τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ πλούσιος τῷ πνεύματι· οὐ κολληθήσῃ μετὰ τῶν πορευομένων ἐν ὁδῷ θανάτου, μισήσεις πᾶν, ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρεστὸν τῷ θεῷ, μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν· οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς κυρίου. ³ οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτόν, ἔση δὲ ταπεινόφρων κατὰ πάντα· οὐκ ἀρεῖς ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν δόξαν. οὐ λήμψῃ βουλήν πονηράν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου, οὐ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος. ⁴ οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις. οὐ μὴ σου ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξέλθῃ ἐν ἀκαθαρσίᾳ τινῶν. οὐ λήμψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξει τινὰ ἐπὶ παραπτώματι. ἔση πραῦς, ἔση ἡσύχιος, ἔση τρέμων τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἤκουσας. οὐ μνησικακήσεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου. ⁵ οὐ μὴ διψυχήσης, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ. οὐ μὴ λάβῃς ἐπὶ ματαίῳ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου. ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν σου. οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον

BARNABAS 19

¹ The Way of Light is this: if any man desires to journey to the appointed place, let him be zealous in his works. Therefore, the knowledge that is given to us of this kind that we may walk in it is as follows: ² You shall love him who made you; you shall fear him who created you; you shall glorify him who redeemed you from death, you shall be simple in heart, and rich in spirit; you shall not join yourself to those who walk in the way of death; you shall hate all that is not pleasing to God; you shall hate all hypocrisy; you shall not desert the commandments of the Lord. ³ You shall not exalt yourself but shall be humble minded in all things; you shall not take glory to yourself. You shall form no evil plan against your neighbour; you shall not let your soul be forward. ⁴ You shall not commit fornication, you shall not commit adultery, you shall not commit sodomy. You shall not let the word of God depart from you among the impurity of any men. You shall not respect persons in the reproving of transgression. You shall be meek, you shall be quiet, you shall fear the words that you have heard. You shall not bear malice against your brother. ⁵ You shall not be in two minds whether it shall be or not. You shall not take the name of the Lord in vain. You shall love your neighbour more

BARNABAS 19

- ¹ Lightfoot ends the verse with an *ano teleia* in place of the full stop.
- ² Lightfoot opens the verse with an uppercase *alpha*.
- ³ Lightfoot has a full stop in place of the *ano teleia* after *κατὰ πάντα*.
- ⁴ In place of 'you shall not commit sodomy', Lightfoot has 'you shall not corrupt boys'.
- ⁵ Lightfoot lacks the comma after *διψυχήσης*.

ἐν φθορᾷ, οὐδὲ πάλιν γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς. οὐ μὴ ἄρης τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις φόβον θεοῦ. ⁶ οὐ μὴ γένη ἐπιθυμῶν τὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου, οὐ μὴ γένη πλεονέκτης. οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ ἐκ ψυχῆς σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ταπεινῶν καὶ δικαίων ἀναστραφήσῃ. τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδὼς, ὅτι ἄνευ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται. ⁷ οὐκ ἔσῃ διγνώμων οὐδὲ γλωσσώδης, ὑποταγήσῃ κυρίοις ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνη καὶ φόβῳ· οὐ μὴ ἐπιτάξῃς δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίσκη ἐν πικρίᾳ, τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν ἐλπίζουσιν, μὴ ποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσονται τὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις θεόν· ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθεν κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἠτοιμάσεν. ⁸ κοινωνήσεις ἐν πᾶσιν τῷ πλησίον σου καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ κοινωνοὶ ἐστε, πῶς μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς φθαρτοῖς; οὐκ ἔσῃ πρόγλωσσος· παγίς γὰρ τὸ στόμα θανάτου. ὅσον δύνασαι, ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς σου ἀγνεύσεις. ⁹ μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν. ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου πάντα τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον κυρίου. ¹⁰ μνησθήσῃ ἡμέραν κρίσεως νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας,

than your own life. You shall not procure abortion; you shall not commit infanticide. You shall not withhold your hand from your son or from your daughter but shall teach them the fear of God from their youth up. ⁶ You shall not covet your neighbour's goods; you shall not be avaricious. You shall not be joined in soul with the haughty but shall converse with humble and righteous men. You shall receive the trials that befall you as good, knowing that nothing happens without God. ⁷ You shall not be double-minded or talkative. You shall obey your masters as a type of God in modesty and fear; you shall not command in bitterness your slave or handmaid who hope on the same God, lest they cease to fear the God who is over you both; for, he came not to call men with respect of persons, but those whom the Spirit prepared. ⁸ You shall share all things with your neighbour and shall not say that they are your own property; for, if you are sharers in that which is incorruptible, how much more in that which is corruptible? You shall not be forward to speak; for, the mouth is a snare of death. So far as you can, you shall keep your soul pure. ⁹ Be not one who stretches out the hands to take and shuts them when it comes to giving. You shall love as the apple of your eye all who speak to you the word of the Lord. ¹⁰ You shall remember the day of

⁶ Lightfoot has 'found greedy of gain' in place of 'avaricious'.

⁷ In place of γλωσσώδης, here following *Codex Sinaiticus* (and Lake), *Codex Constantinopolitanus* (and Lightfoot) and the *Vaticanus MSS* have δίγλωσσος; the latter also add παγίς γὰρ θανάτου ἐστὶν ἡ διγλωσσία ('for, to be double-tongues is the snare of death').

⁸ Lightfoot has a full stop in place of the question mark after ἐν τοῖς φθαρτοῖς.

⁹ Throughout his work, Lightfoot capitalizes Κυρίου and its variants, when the title is used of God.

¹⁰ In place of λύτρωσιν, Lightfoot has λύτρον.

καὶ ἐκζητήσεις καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων, ἢ διὰ λόγου κοπιῶν καὶ πορευόμενος εἰς τὸ παρακαλέσαι καὶ μελετῶν εἰς τὸ σῶσαι ψυχὴν τῷ λόγῳ, ἢ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου ἐργάση εἰς λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου. ¹¹ οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώση δέ, τίς ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης. φυλάξεις ἃ παρέλαβες, μήτε προστιθεὶς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν. εἰς τέλος μισήσεις τὸ πονηρόν. κρινεῖς δικαίως. ¹² οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους συναγαγών. ἐξομολογήση ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίαις σου. οὐ προσήξεις ἐπὶ προσευχὴν ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ. αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός.

judgment day and night, and you shall seek each day the society of the saints, either labouring by speech, and going out to exhort, and striving to save souls by the word, or working with your hands for the ransom of your sins. ¹¹ You shall not hesitate to give and, when you give, you shall not grumble, but you shall know who the good paymaster of the reward is. You shall keep the precepts which you have received, adding nothing and taking nothing away. You shall utterly hate evil. You shall give righteous judgment. ¹² You shall not cause quarrels but shall bring together and reconcile those that strive. You shall confess your sins. You shall not take yourself to prayer with an evil conscience. This is the Way of Light.

¹¹ Lightfoot has a comma in place of the *ano teleia* after γογγύσεις.

¹² For the 1st sentence, Lightfoot has, “You shall not make a schism but you shall pacify them that contend by bringing them together.”

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¹ Ἡ δὲ τοῦ μέλανος ὁδὸς ἐστὶν σκολιὰ καὶ κατάρως μεστή. ὁδὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν θανάτου αἰωνίου μετὰ τιμωρίας, ἐν ἧ ἔστιν τὰ ἀπολλύντα τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν· εἰδωλολατρεία, θρασύτης, ὕψος δυνάμεως, ὑπόκρισις, διπλοκαρδία, μοιχεία, φόνος, ἀρπαγή, ὑπερηφανία, παράβασις, δόλος, κακία, αὐθάδεια, φαρμακεία, μαγεία, πλεονεξία, ἀφοβία θεοῦ· ²διώκται τῶν ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν, ἀγαπῶντες ψεῦδος, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ κολλώμενοι ἀγαθῶ, οὐ κρίσει δικαίαν, χήραν καὶ ὀρφανῶ οὐ προσέχοντες, ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς φόβον θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ πονηρὸν, ὧν μακρὰν καὶ πόρρω πραΰτης καὶ ὑπομονῆς, ἀγαπῶντες μάταια, διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ ἐλεῶντες πτωχόν, οὐ πονοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονουμένῳ, εὐχερεῖς ἐν καταλαλιᾷ, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς, φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον, πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί, πανθαμάρτητοι.

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¹ But the Way of the Black One is crooked and full of cursing; for, it is the way of eternal death with punishment, and in it are the things that destroy men's soul: idolatry, forwardness, arrogance of power, hypocrisy, doubleness of heart, adultery, murder, robbery, pride, transgression, fraud, malice, self-sufficiency, enchantments, magic, covetousness, the absence of the fear of God; ² persecutors of good men, haters of the truth, lovers of lies, not perceiving the reward of righteousness, not cleaving to the good nor to the righteous judgment, paying no heed to the cause of widow and the orphan, spending wakeful nights not in the fear of God but in the pursuit of that which is evil; men from whom gentleness and forbearance are far and distant, loving vanity, seeking rewards, without pity for the poor, working not for him who is oppressed with toil, prone to evil speaking, without knowledge of their Maker, murderers of children, corrupters of God's creation, turning away the needy, oppressing the afflicted, advocates of the rich, unjust judges of the poor, altogether sinful.

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¹ Throughout his work, Lightfoot capitalizes θεοῦ.

² Lightfoot has ἀλλά in place of ἀλλ'.

Βαρναβας 21

¹ Καλὸν οὖν ἐστὶν μαθόντα τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ κυρίου, ὅσα γέγραπται, ἐν τούτοις περιπατεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ταῦτα ποιῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ δοξασθήσεται· ὁ ἐκεῖνα ἐκλεγόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ συναπολεῖται. διὰ τοῦτο ἀνάστασις, διὰ τοῦτο ἀνταπόδομα. ² ἔρωτῶ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας, εἴ τινά μου γνώμης ἀγαθῆς λαμβάνετε συμβουλίαν· ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν εἰς οὓς ἐργάσησθε τὸ καλόν· μὴ ἐλλείπητε. ³ ἐγγὺς ἡ ἡμέρα ἐν ἣ ἡ συναπολεῖται πάντα τῷ πονηρῷ· ἐγγὺς ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ. ⁴ ἔτι καὶ ἔτι ἔρωτῶ ὑμᾶς· ἑαυτῶν γίνεσθε νομοθέται ἀγαθοί, ἑαυτῶν μένετε σύμβουλοι πιστοί, ἄρατε ἐξ ὑμῶν πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν. ⁵ ὁ δὲ θεός, ὁ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου κυριεύων, δώη ὑμῖν σοφίαν, σύνεσιν, ἐπιστήμην, γνῶσιν τῶν δικαιωμάτων αὐτοῦ, ὑπομονήν. ⁶ γίνεσθε δὲ θεοδίδακτοι, ἐκζητοῦντες τί ζητεῖ κύριος ἀφ' ὑμῶν, καὶ ποιεῖτε ἵνα εὑρεθῆτε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως. ⁷ εἰ δὲ τίς ἐστὶν ἀγαθοῦ μνεῖα, μνημονεύετε μου μελετῶντες ταῦτα, ἵνα καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία

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¹ It is good, therefore, that he who has learned the ordinances of the Lord – as many as have been written – should walk in them. For, he who does these things shall be glorified in the kingdom of God, and he who chooses the others shall perish with his works. For this reason, there is a resurrection; for this reason, there is a recompense. ² I beseech those who are in high positions, if you will receive any counsel of my goodwill, have among yourselves those to whom you may do good; do not fail! ³ The day is at hand when all things shall perish with the Evil one, “The Lord and his reward is at hand.” ⁴ I beseech you, again and again, be good lawgivers to each other, remain faithful counsellors of each other, remove from yourselves all hypocrisy. ⁵ Now may God, who is the Lord over all the world, give you wisdom, understanding, prudence, knowledge of his ordinances, patience. ⁶ And be taught of God, seeking out what the Lord requires from you, and see that you are found faithful on the day of Judgment. ⁷ If there is any memory of good, then meditate on these things and remember

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¹ Lightfoot has a full stop in place of the *ano teleia* after *περιπατεῖν*.

² Lightfoot opens this verse with an upercase *epsilon*.

³ Lightfoot has a full stop in place of the *ano teleia* after *πονηρῷ*.

⁴ In place of ‘beseech’, Lightfoot has ‘entreat’ (as also in v. 2).

⁵ Lightfoot has ‘learning’ in place of ‘prudence’.

⁶ Throughout his work, Lightfoot capitalizes *Κύριος* and its variants, when the title is used of God.

⁷ Lightfoot opens, “But if you have any remembrance of good, call me to mind when you practice these things these things.”

καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία εἰς τι ἀγαθὸν χωρήσῃ. ἐρωτῶ ὑμᾶς, χάριν αἰτούμενος.⁸ ἕως ἔτι τὸ καλὸν σκευὸς ἐστὶν μεθ' ὑμῶν, μὴ ἐλλείπητε μηδενὶ ἐαυτῶν, ἀλλὰ συνεχῶς ἐκζητεῖτε ταῦτα καὶ ἀναπληροῦτε πᾶσαν ἐντολήν· ἔστιν γὰρ ἄξια.⁹ διὸ μᾶλλον ἐσπούδασα γράψαι ἀφ' ὧν ἠδυνήθην, εἰς τὸ εὐφραῖναι ὑμᾶς. σώζεσθε, ἀγάπης τέκνα καὶ εἰρήνης. ὁ κύριος τῆς δόξης καὶ πάσης χάριτος μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν.

Ἐπιστολὴ Βαρνάβα.

me, that my desire and my watchfulness may find some good end. I beseech you asking it of your favour.⁸ While the fair vessel is with you fail not in any of them but seek these things diligently and fulfil every commandment; for, these things are worthy.⁹ For this reason, I was the more zealous to write to you, so far as I was able, to give you gladness. May you gain salvation, children of love and peace. The Lord of glory and of all grace be with your spirit.

The Epistle of Barnabas.

⁸ In place of ἐαυτῶν, here following *Codex Sinaiticus* & *Codex Constantinopolitanus*, the *Latin MS* and the *Vaticanus MSS* have αὐτῶν.

⁹ Lightfoot does not include Ἐπιστολὴ Βαρνάβα as the 'end title'.