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# THE FRAGMENTS OF PAPIAS

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## INTRODUCTION

The Greek/Latin presented is that of J.B. Lightfoot, published (posthumously) in 1898<sup>†</sup>; the English translation is also based on that of the same publication but with numerous ‘modernisations’ applied and some amendments following Michael W. Holmes’ 1999 work<sup>§</sup>. On the accuracy of the texts presented, please refer to the notes in [this document](#).

There is no dispute that Papias, the (first) Bishop of Hierapolis, should be counted among the Apostolic Fathers; his five-volume work, “Expositions on the Oracles of the Lord,” was important in establishing early Christian traditions, especially surrounding authorship of the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament; however, there is no longer any extant manuscript of any of these tomes and we only have extracts from them quoted by others, which we here include in the collection (following the lead of Bishop Lightfoot).

## AUTHORSHIP AND DATES

Papias was probably born 60–70 CE and published his “Exposition of Oracles of the Lord” late in life (130–140 CE); the various excerpts of his work presented here are taken from texts published at widely varying times.

—| VII-IX-MMXXV |—

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† “*The Apostolic Fathers*,” J.R. Harmer (Editor), Macmillan & Co. Ltd, London/New York, 1898.

§ Michael William Holmes, “*The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*” (Baker Books, 1999).

## 1 – EUSEBIUS, *Chronicon*

Ἰωάννην τὸν θεολόγον καὶ ἀπόστολον Εἰρηναῖος καὶ ἄλλοι  
ἱστοροῦσι παραμεῖναι τῷ βίῳ ἕως τῶν χρόνων Τραϊανοῦ·  
μεθ' ὃν Παπίας Ἱεραπολίτης καὶ Πολύκαρπος Σμύρνης  
ἐπίσκοπος ἀκουσται αὐτοῦ ἐγγνωρίζοντο.

## 1 – EUSEBIUS, *Chronicle*

§ Irenaeus and others record that John the Divine and Apostle  
survived until the times of Trajan; after which time, Papias of  
Hierapolis and Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, both of whom  
heard him, became well known.

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### PAPIAS 1

§ In place of 'both of whom heard him', here following Holmes, Lightfoot has 'his hearers'.

## 2 – EUSEBIUS, Hist. Eccl. iii. 36. 1. 2

§ Διέπρεπέ γε μὴν κατὰ τούτους ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁμιλητῆς Πολύκαρπος, τῆς κατὰ Σμύρναν ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τῶν αὐτοπτῶν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος. καθ' ὃν ἐγνωρίζετο Παπίας τῆς ἐν Ἱεραπόλει παροικίας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίσκοπος.

## 2 – EUSEBIUS, Church History 3:36:1–2

At this time, Polycarp flourished in Asia, a disciple of the Apostles who had received the bishopric of the church in Smyrna at the hands of the eyewitnesses and ministers of the Lord. At which time Papias, who was himself also bishop of the diocese of Hierapolis, became distinguished.

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### PAPIAS 2

§ Note that, throughout his work, Holmes does not capitalize *Κυρίου* and its derivative forms, here following Lightfoot.

### 3 – EUSEBIUS, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39

<sup>1</sup> Τοῦ δὲ Παπία συγγράμματα πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν φέρεται, ἃ καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις. τούτων καὶ Εἰρηναῖος ὡς μόνων αὐτῷ γραφέντων μνημονεύει, ὧδέ πως λέγων· Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Παπίας ὁ Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἐταῖρος γεγονώς, ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ, ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ βιβλίων· ἔστι γὰρ αὐτῷ πέντε βιβλία συντεταγμένα. <sup>2</sup> Καὶ ὁ μὲν Εἰρηναῖος ταῦτα. Αὐτός γε μὴν ὁ Παπίας κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ἀκροατὴν μὲν καὶ αὐτόπτην οὐδαμῶς ἑαυτὸν γενέσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμφαίνει, παρειληφέναι δὲ τὰ τῆς πίστεως παρὰ τῶν ἐκείνοις γνωρίμων διδάσκει δι' ὧν φησι λέξεων·

<sup>3</sup> Οὐκ ὀκνήσω δέ σοι καὶ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα, συγκατατάξαι ταῖς ἐρμηνείαις, διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν. οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ πολλὰ λέγουσιν ἔχαιρον ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τάληθῃ διδάσκουσιν, οὐδὲ τοῖς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἐντολὰς μνημονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰς παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου τῇ πίστει δεδομένας καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς παραγινομένοις τῆς ἀληθείας. <sup>4</sup> Εἰ δέ που καὶ παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς

### 3 – EUSEBIUS, *Church History* 3:39

<sup>1</sup> Five books of Papias are extant, which bear the title Expositions of Oracles of the Lord. Of these Irenæus also makes mention as the only works written by him, in the following words: "These things Papias, who was a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp, an ancient worthy, witnesseth inwriting in the fourth of his books. For there are five books composed by him." <sup>2</sup> So says Irenæus. Yet Papias himself, in the preface to his discourses, certainly does not declare that he himself was a hearer and eyewitness of the holy Apostles, but he shows, by the language that he uses, that he received the matters of the faith from those who were their friends:

<sup>3</sup> I will not hesitate to set down for you, along with my interpretations, everything I learnt carefully and remembered carefully in time past from the elders, guaranteeing its truth. For, unlike the many, I did not take pleasure in those who have so very much to say, but in those who teach the truth; nor in those who relate foreign commandments, but in those who record such as were given from the Lord to the Faith and are derived from the Truth itself.

<sup>4</sup> But again, on any occasion when a person came (in my

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#### PAPIAS 3

<sup>1</sup> Holmes emends (corrects) ἔστι γὰρ to ἔστιν γὰρ.

<sup>2</sup> In place of 'So says Irenæus', here following Holmes, Lightfoot has 'So far Irenæus'.

<sup>3</sup> Lightfoot opens, "But I will not scruple also to give a place for you along with my interpretations."

<sup>4</sup> Holmes opens this verse with a lowercase epsilon.

πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους· τί Ἀνδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν ἢ τί Φίλιππος ἢ τί Θωμᾶς ἢ Ἰάκωβος ἢ τί Ἰωάννης ἢ Ματθαῖος ἢ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῶν, ἃ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης, οἱ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθηταί, λέγουσιν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτόν με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον, ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης.

<sup>5</sup> Ἐνθα καὶ ἐπιστῆσαι ἄξιον δις καταριθμοῦντι αὐτῷ τὸ Ἰωάννου ὄνομα, ὣν τὸν μὲν πρότερον Πέτρῳ καὶ Ἰακώβῳ καὶ Ματθαίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστολοῖς συγκαταλέγει, σαφῶς δηλῶν τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν, τὸν δ' ἕτερον Ἰωάννην διαστείλας τὸν λόγον ἑτέροις παρὰ τὸν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀριθμὸν κατατάσσει, προτάξας αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀριστίωνα, <sup>6</sup> σαφῶς τε αὐτὸν πρεσβύτερον ὀνομάζει· ὡς καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀποδείκνυσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀληθῆ τῶν δύο κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὁμωνυμία κεχρηῆσθαι εἰρηκότων, δύο τε ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γενέσθαι μνήματα καὶ ἑκάτερον Ἰωάννου ἔτι νῦν λέγεσθαι. Οἷς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν· εἰκὸς γὰρ τὸν δεύτερον, εἰ μή τις ἐθέλοι τὸν πρῶτον, τὴν ἐπ' ὀνόματος φερομένην Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακέναι. <sup>7</sup> Καὶ ὁ νῦν δὲ ἡμῖν δηλούμενος Παπίας τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀποστόλων λόγους παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῖς παρηκολουθηκότων ὁμολογεῖ παρειληφέναι, Ἀριστίωνος δὲ καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάννου αὐτήκοον ἑαυτὸν φησι

way) who had been a follower of the Elders, I would inquire about the discourses of the elders – what was said by Andrew, or by Peter, or by Philip, or by Thomas or James, or by John or Matthew or any other of the Lord's disciples, and what Aristion and the Elder John, the disciples of the Lord, say. For, I did not think that I could get so much profit from the contents of books as from the utterances of a living and abiding voice.

<sup>5</sup> Here it is worthwhile to observe that he twice enumerates the name of John. The first he mentions in connexion with Peter and James and Matthew and the rest of the Apostles, evidently meaning the Evangelist, but the other John he mentions after an interval and classes with others outside the number of the Apostles, placing Aristion before him, <sup>6</sup> and he distinctly calls him an Elder. So, he hereby makes it quite evident that their statement is true who say that there were two persons of that name in Asia, and that there are two tombs in Ephesus, each of which even now is called (the tomb) of John. And it is important to notice this; for, it is probable that it was the second, if one will not admit that it was the first, who saw the Revelation that is ascribed by name to John. <sup>7</sup> And Papias, of whom we are now speaking, confesses that he had received the words of the Apostles from those who had followed them, but says that he was himself a hearer of Aristion and the Elder

<sup>5</sup> Holmes opens this verse with a lowercase *epsilon*.

<sup>6</sup> Holmes opens the 2<sup>nd</sup> sentence with a lowercase *omicron*.

<sup>7</sup> Holmes opens this verse with a lowercase *kappa*.

γενέσθαι. Ὀνομαστὶ γοῦν πολλάκις αὐτῶν μνημονεύσας, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ συγγράμμασι τίθησιν αὐτῶν καὶ παραδόσεις. Καὶ ταῦτα δ' ἡμῖν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἄχρηστον εἰρήσθω.

<sup>8</sup> Ἄξιον δὲ ταῖς ἀποδοθείσαις τοῦ Παπία φωναῖς προσάψαι λέξεις ἐτέρας αὐτοῦ, δι' ὧν παράδοξά τινα ἱστορεῖ καὶ ἄλλα, ὥς ἂν ἐκ παραδόσεως εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα. <sup>9</sup> Τὸ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Ἱεράπολιν Φίλιππον τὸν ἀπόστολον ἅμα ταῖς θυγατράσι διατρίψαι, διὰ τῶν πρόσθεν δεδήλωται, ὡς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁ Παπίας γενόμενος διήγησιν παρειληφέναι θαυμασίαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Φιλίππου θυγατέρων μνημονεύει, τὰ νῦν σημειωτέον. Νεκροῦ γὰρ ἀνάστασιν κατ' αὐτὸν γεγονυῖαν ἱστορεῖ, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἕτερον παράδοξον περὶ Ἰοῦστον τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Βαρσαββᾶν γεγονός, ὡς δηλητήριον φάρμακον ἐμπιόντος καὶ μηδὲν ἀηδὲς διὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου χάριν ὑπομείναντος. <sup>10</sup> Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἰοῦστον μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀνάληψιν τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀποστόλους μετὰ Ματθία στήσαί τε καὶ ἐπεύξασθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ προδότου Ἰούδα ἐπὶ τὸν κλῆρον τῆς ἀναπληρώσεως τοῦ αὐτῶν ἀριθμοῦ, ἢ τῶν πράξεων ὧδέ πως ἱστορεῖ γραφή. Καὶ ἔστησαν δύο, Ἰωσήφ τὸν καλούμενον Βαρσαββᾶν, ὃς ἐπεκλήθη Ἰοῦστος, καὶ Ματθίαν· καὶ προσευξάμενοι εἶπαν. <sup>11</sup> Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὡς ἂν ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀγράφου εἰς αὐτὸν ἤκοντα παρατίθεται, ξένας τέ τινας παραβολὰς τοῦ

John. At all events, he mentions them frequently by name and, besides, records their traditions in his writings. So much for these points which I trust have not been uselessly adduced.

<sup>8</sup> It is worthwhile to add to the words of Papias given above other passages from him, in which he records other wonderful events, likewise, as having come down to him by tradition. <sup>9</sup> That Philip the Apostle resided in Hierapolis with his daughters has been already stated; but how Papias, their contemporary, relates that he had heard a marvellous tale from the daughters of Philip, must be noted here. For, he relates that, in his time, a man rose from the dead, and again he gives another wonderful story about Justus, who was surnamed Barsabbas, how that he drank a deadly poison, and yet, by the grace of the Lord, suffered no inconvenience. <sup>10</sup> Of this Justus the Book of the Acts records that after the ascension of the Saviour the holy Apostles put him forward with Matthias, and prayed for the (right) choice, in place of the traitor Judas, that should make their number complete. The passage is somewhat as follows, "And they put forward two, Joseph, called Barsabbas, who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias; and they prayed, and said." <sup>11</sup> The same writer recorded other notices as having come down to him from oral tradition: certain strange parables of the Saviour and teachings of his, and some other

<sup>8</sup> After 'worthwhile', Lightfoot adds 'however'.

<sup>9</sup> Holmes opens this verse with a lowercase tau.

<sup>10</sup> Lightfoot has 'Barsabas' in place of 'Barsabbas', here following the Greek text (Βαρσαββᾶν) and Holmes (as also in v. 10).

<sup>11</sup> Holmes opens this verse with a lowercase kappa.



Σωτήρης καὶ διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ τινὰ ἄλλα μυθικώτερα. <sup>12</sup> Ἐν οἷς καὶ χιλιάδα τινὰ φησιν ἐτῶν ἔσεσθαι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, σωματικῶς τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ἐπὶ ταυτησί τῆς γῆς ὑποστησομένης. Ἄ καὶ ἡγοῦμαι τὰς ἀποστολικὰς παρεκδεξάμενον διηγήσεις ὑπολαβεῖν, τὰ ἐν ὑποδείγμασι πρὸς αὐτῶν μυστικῶς εἰρημένα μὴ συνεωρακότα. <sup>13</sup> Σφόδρα γάρ τοι σμικρὸς ὢν τὸν νοῦν, ὡσὰν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων τεκμηράμενον εἰπεῖν, φαίνεται· πλὴν καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν πλείστοις ὅσοις τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τῆς ὁμοίας αὐτῷ δόξης παραίτιος γέγονε, τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τάνδρὸς προβεβλημένοις, ὥσπερ οὖν Εἰρηναίῳ, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος τὰ ὅμοια φρονῶν ἀναπέφηνεν. <sup>14</sup> Καὶ ἄλλας δὲ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γραφῇ παραδίδωσιν Ἀριστίωνος τοῦ πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένου τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου λόγων διηγήσεις καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάννου παραδόσεις, ἐφ' ἃς τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς ἀναπέμψαντες, ἀναγκαίως νῦν προσθήσομεν ταῖς προεκτεθείσαις αὐτοῦ φωναῖς παράδοσιν, ἣν περὶ Μάρκου τοῦ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον γεγραφότος ἐκτέθεται διὰ τούτων·

<sup>15</sup> Καὶ τοῦτο ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε· Μάρκος μὲν ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει, τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα. οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ Κυρίου, οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ, ὕστερον δέ, ὡς ἔφην,

statements of a rather mythical character, <sup>12</sup> in which he says there'll be a period of a thousand years after the resurrection, and that the kingdom of Christ will be setup in material form on earth. These ideas I suppose he got through misunderstanding the apostolic accounts, not perceiving that the things recorded there in figures were spoken by them mystically. <sup>13</sup> For, he evidently was a man of very mean capacity, as one may say judging from his own statements; yet, it was owing to him that so many church fathers after him adopted like opinion, urging in their own support the antiquity of the man, as for instance Irenaeus and whoever else they were who declared like views. <sup>14</sup> And he gives in his own work other accounts of the words of the Lord on the authority of Aristion who has been mentioned above, and traditions of the Elder John. To these we refer the curious, and for our present purpose we will merely add to his words, which have been quoted above, a tradition, which he has related in the following words concerning Mark who wrote the Gospel:

<sup>15</sup> And the Elder said this: Mark, having become Peter's interpreter, wrote down accurately everything he remembered, without however recording in order what was either said or done by Christ. For, he neither heard the Lord nor followed him; but afterwards, as I said, attended

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<sup>12</sup> Lightfoot has 'some ten thousand years' in place of 'a thousand years'.

<sup>13</sup> Holmes opens this verse with a lowercase sigma.

<sup>14</sup> In place of 'And he gives', Lightfoot opens with 'Papias also gives'.

<sup>15</sup> Some MSS and translators read 'the Lord' in place of 'Christ'.

Πέτρῳ, ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων, ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤμαρτε Μάρκος, οὕτως ἔνια γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν. ἐνὸς γὰρ ἐποιήσατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσε παραλιπεῖν ἢ ψεύσασθαί τι ἐν αὐτοῖς.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱστορεῖται τῷ Παπίᾳ περὶ τοῦ Μάρκου.<sup>16</sup> Περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ματθαίου ταῦτ' εἴρηται·

Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο, ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος.

Κέχρηται δ' αὐτὸς μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου ὁμοίως. ἐκτέθεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἱστορίαν περὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἀμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρίου, ἣν τὸ κατ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει. Καὶ ταῦτα δ' ἡμῖν ἀναγκαίως πρὸς τοῖς ἐκτεθεῖσιν ἐπιτετηρήσθω.

Peter, who adapted his instructions to the needs (of his hearers) but had no design of giving a connected account of the Lord's oracles. So, Mark made no mistake in writing down some things as he remembered them; for, he made it his one care not to omit anything that he heard, or to set down any false statement therein.

Such is the account given by Papias concerning Mark.<sup>16</sup> But concerning Matthew, the following statement is made:

So, Matthew composed the oracles in the Hebrew language, and each person interpreted them as best he could.

The same writer employed testimonies from the First Letter of John, and likewise from that of Peter. And he has related another account about a woman accused of many sins before the Lord, which the Gospel according to the Hebrews contains. *And these things we must take into account, in addition to what has already been stated.*

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<sup>16</sup> Lightfoot lacks the last sentence of the translation, here following Holmes.



#### 4 – PERICOPE ADULTERAE

Καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν. ὄρθρου δὲ πάλιν παρεγένετο εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, [καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς]. ἄγουσιν δὲ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι γυναῖκα ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ κατειλημμένην, καὶ στήσαντες αὐτὴν ἐν μέσῳ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ Διδάσκαλε, αὕτη ἢ γυνὴ κατείληπται ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ μοιχευομένη· ἐν δὲ τῷ νόμῳ [ἡμῖν] Μωυσῆς ἐνετείλατο τὰς τοιαύτας λιθάζειν· σὺ οὖν τί λέγεις; [τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγον πειράζοντες αὐτόν, ἵνα ἔχωσιν κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ] ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κάτω κύψας τῷ δακτύλῳ κατέγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν. ὡς δὲ ἐπέμενον ἐρωτῶντες [αὐτόν], ἀνέκυψεν καὶ εἶπεν [αὐτοῖς] Ὁ ἀναμάρτητος ὑμῶν πρῶτος ἐπ' αὐτὴν βαλέτω λίθον· καὶ πάλιν κατακύψας ἔγραφεν εἰς τὴν γῆν. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐξήρχοντο εἰς καθ' εἰς ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ κατελείφθη μόνος, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐν μέσῳ οὖσα. ἀνακύψας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῇ Γύναι, ποῦ εἰσίν; οὐδεὶς σε κατέκρινεν; ἡ δὲ εἶπεν Οὐδεὶς, κύριε. εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς Οὐδὲ ἐγὼ σε κατακρίνω· πορεύου, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μηκέτι ἀμάρτανε.

#### 4 – THE STORY OF THE ADULTERESS

§ And they went every man to his own house; but Jesus went to the mount of Olives. And, early in the morning, he came again to the temple, [and all the people came to him; and he sat down and taught them]. And the Scribes and the Pharisees brought a woman taken in adultery; and, having set her in the midst, they said to him, “Master, this woman has been taken in adultery, in the very act. Now in the law Moses commanded [us] to stone such: what then do you say?” [And this they said, tempting him, that they might have reason to accuse him.] But Jesus stooped down and, with his finger, wrote on the ground. But when they continued asking [him], he lifted up himself, and said [to them], “He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her.” And again, he stooped down and wrote on the ground. And they, when they heard it, went out one by one, beginning from the eldest; and he was left alone, and the woman, where she was, in the midst. And Jesus lifted up himself, and said to her, “Woman, where are they? Did no man condemn you?” And she said, “No man, Lord.” And Jesus said, “Neither do I condemn you; go your way; henceforth, sin no more.”

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#### PAPIAS 4

§ According to a footnote in Holmes' work, only the words presented in italics (following him) represent the form of the story known to Papias.

## 5 – PHILIPPUS SIDETES, Hist. Christ.

Παπίας Ἱεροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος ἀκουστῆς τοῦ θεολόγου Ἰωάννου γενόμενος, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἐταῖρος, πέντε λόγους κυριακῶν λογίων ἔγραψεν, ἐν οἷς ἀπαρίθμησιν ἀποστόλων ποιούμενος μετὰ Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην, Φίλιππον καὶ Θωμᾶν καὶ Ματθαῖον εἰς μαθητὰς τοῦ Κυρίου ἀνέγραψεν Ἀριστίωνα καὶ Ἰωάννην ἕτερον, ὃν καὶ πρεσβύτερον ἐκάλεσεν. ὥς τινες οἶεσθαι, ὅτι <τούτου> τοῦ Ἰωάννου εἰσὶν αἱ δύο ἐπιστολαὶ αἱ μικραὶ καὶ καθολικαί, αἱ ἐξ ὀνόματος Ἰωάννου φερόμεναι, διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀρχαίους τὴν πρώτην μόνην ἐγκρίνειν· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τούτου πλανηθέντες ἐνόμισαν. καὶ Παπίας δὲ περὶ τὴν χιλιονταετηρίδα σφάλλεται, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος. Παπίας ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ λέγει, ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνηρέθησαν. Παπίας ὁ εἰρημένος ἰστόρησεν ὡς παραλαβὼν ἀπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων Φιλίππου, ὅτι Βαρσαβᾶς ὁ καὶ Ἰοῦστος δοκιμαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπίστων ἰὸν ἐχίδνης πιδὼν ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπαθῆς διεφυλάχθη. ἰστορεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα θαύματα καὶ μάλιστα τὸ κατὰ τὴν μητέρα Μαναΐμου τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστᾶσαν· περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντων, ὅτι ἕως Ἀδριανοῦ ἔζων.

## 5 - PHILIP OF SIDE, Christian History

§ Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, who was a disciple of John the Divine and a companion of Polycarp, wrote five books of Oracles of the Lord, wherein he gave a list of the Apostles, and, after Peter and John, Philip and Thomas and Matthew, he included among the disciples of the Lord Aristion and a second John, whom also he called 'The Elder'. Some think this John is the author of the two short and catholic letters, which circulate in the name of John; and he gives as the reason that the early (fathers) only accept the first letter. And some have wrongly considered the Apocalypse also to be his. And Papias is in error about the millennium and, from him, Irenaeus also. Papias, in his second book, says John the Divine and James his brother were killed by the Jews. The aforesaid Papias stated on the authority of the daughters of Philip that Barsabbas, who is also called Justus, when tested by unbelievers, drank serpent's poison, in the name of the Lord, and was shielded from all harm. And he makes other amazing statements, particularly about the mother of Manaim, who was raised from the dead. As for those who were raised from the dead by Christ, (he states) that they survived until the time of Hadrian.

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### PAPIAS 5

§ For 'John the Divine', here following Lightfoot, Holmes has 'John the Theologian'.

## 6 – GEORGIUS HAMARTOLUS, *Chronicon*

Μετὰ δὲ Δομετιανὸν ἐβασίλευσε Νερούας ἔτος ἕν, ὃς ἀνακαλεσάμενος Ἰωάννην ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἀπέλυσεν οἰκεῖν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. μόνος τότε περιὼν τῷ βίῳ ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα μαθητῶν καὶ συγγραψάμενος τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον μαρτυρίου κατηξίωται. Παπίας γὰρ ὁ Ἱεραπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος, αὐτόπτης τούτου γενόμενος, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων φάσκει, ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνηρέθη· πληρώσας δηλαδὴ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν πρόρρησιν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὁμολογίαν περὶ τούτου καὶ συγκατάθεσιν· εἰπὼν γὰρ ὁ Κύριος πρὸς αὐτούς· Δύνασθε πιεῖν τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω; καὶ κατανευσάντων προθύμως καὶ συνθεμένων· Τὸ ποτήριόν μου, φησίν, πίεσθε καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθήσεσθε. καὶ εἰκότως. ἀδύνατον γὰρ Θεὸν ψεύσασθαι. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ πολυμαθὴς Ὡριγένης ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἐρμηνείᾳ διαβεβαιοῦται, ὡς ὅτι μεμαρτύρηκεν Ἰωάννης, ἐκ τῶν διαδόχων τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑποσημαινόμενος τοῦτο μεμαθηκέναι. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ πολυῖστωρ Εὐσέβιος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ ἱστορίᾳ φησί· Θωμᾶς μὲν τὴν Παρθίαν εἴληχεν, Ἰωάννης δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν, πρὸς οὓς καὶ διατρίψας ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ.

## 6 – GEORGE THE SINNER, *Chronicle*

§ After Domitian, Nerva reigned for one year, who recalled John from the island, and allowed him to dwell in Ephesus. He was, at that time, the sole survivor of the twelve Apostles and, after writing his Gospel, he received the honour of martyrdom. For, Papias, the bishop of Hierapolis, who was an eyewitness of him, in the second book of the Oracles of the Lord says that he was killed by the Jews and thereby evidently fulfilled, together with his brother, Christ's prophecy concerning them, and their own confession and undertaking on his behalf. For, when the Lord said to them, "Are you able to drink of the cup that I drink of?" and they readily assented and agreed, he said, "You shall drink my cup and, with the baptism that I am baptized, you shall be baptized." And reasonably so; for, it is impossible for God to lie. So too the learned Origen affirms in his interpretation of St Matthew's Gospel that John was martyred, declaring that he had learnt the fact from the successors of the Apostles. And indeed, the well-informed Eusebius also in his Ecclesiastical History says, "Thomas received by lot Parthia, but John, Asia, where also he made his residence and died at Ephesus."

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### PAPIAS 6

§ The 'island' mentioned is Patmos (cf. Rv 1:9). The author here quotes Jesus' sayings from Mk 10:38–39.

## 7 – HIERONYMUS, *de vir. illust.* 18

*Papias, Iohannis auditor, Hierapolitanus in Asia episcopus, quinque tantum scripsit volumina, quae prae-notavit Explanatio Sermonum Domini. In quibus quum se in praefatione asserat non varias opiniones sequi, sed apostolos habere auctores, ait:*

§ *Considerabam, quid Andreas, quid Petrus dixissent, quid Philippus, quid Thomas, quid Iacobus, quid Iohannes, quid Matthaeus, vel alius quilibet discipulorum Domini: quid etiam Aristion et senior Iohannes, discipuli Domini, loquebantur. Non enim tantum mihi libri ad legendum prosunt, quantum viva vox usque hodie in suis auctoribus personans.*

*Ex quo apparet in ipso catalogo nominum, alium esse Iohannem, qui inter apostolos ponitur, et alium seniore Iohannem, quem post Aristionem enumerat. Hoc autem diximus propter superiorem opinionem, quam a plerisque retulimus traditam, duas posteriores epistulas Iohannis non apostoli esse, sed presbyteri. Hic dicitur mille annorum Iudaicam edidisse δευτέρωσιν, quem secuti sunt Irenaeus et Apollinarius et caeteri, qui post resurrectionem aiunt in carne cum sanctis Dominum regnaturum.*

## 7 – JEROME, *Famous Men*, 18

Papias, a hearer of John, (and) bishop of Hierapolis in Asia, wrote only five books, which he entitled ‘An Exposition of Discourses of the Lord’. Wherein, when he asserts in his preface that he is not following promiscuous statements but has the Apostles as his authorities, he says:

I used to inquire what had been said by Andrew, or by Peter, or by Philip, or by Thomas or James, or by John or Matthew or any other of the Lord’s disciples, and what Aristion and the Elder John, the disciples of the Lord, were saying. For, books to read do not profit me so much as the living voice clearly sounding up to the present day in (the persons of) their authors.

From which it is clear that, in his list of names itself, there is one John who is placed among the apostles and another, John the Elder, whom he lists after Aristion. We have mentioned this fact because of the statement made above, which we have recorded on the authority of many, that the two later letters of John are not of the Apostle, but of the Elder. He is said to have promulgated the Jewish tradition of a millennium and he is followed by Irenaeus, Apollinarius, and the others, who say that, after the resurrection, the Lord will reign in the flesh with the saints.

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### PAPIAS 7

§ In his Latin text, Lightfoot includes this paragraph as part of that preceding but separates them in his English translation; here, we follow Holmes’ layout.

8 – HIERONYMUS, ad Lucinium Ep. 71 c. 5

§ Porro Iosephi libros et sanctorum Papiæ et Polycarpi volumina falsus ad te rumor pertulit a me esse translata: quia nec otii mei nec virium est tantas res eadem in alteram linguam exprimere venustate.

8 – JEROME, To Lucinus (Letter 71:5)

Further, the rumour that the books of Josephus and the writings of Papias and Polycarp have been translated by me is false; I have neither leisure nor strength to render such works as these with corresponding elegance into another tongue.

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PAPIAS 8

§ Lightfoot and Holmes have identical Latin texts for this section.

9 – Hieronymus, ad Theodoram Ep. 75 c. 3

*Refert Irenaeus ... Papias auditoris evangelistae Iohannis  
discipulus ...*

9 – JEROME, To Theodora (Letter 75:3)

§ Irenaeus ... a disciple of Papias who was a hearer of John the  
Evangelist ... relates ...

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**PAPIAS 9**

§ Lightfoot does not have the ellipses *in the translation*, here following Holmes.



10 – ANDREAS CAESARIENSIS, praef. in  
Apocalypsin

§ Περὶ μέντοι τοῦ θεοπνεύστου τῆς βίβλου (sc. τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου) περιττὸν μηκύνειν τὸν λόγον ἡγούμεθα, τῶν μακαρίων Γρηγορίου φημὶ τοῦ θεολόγου καὶ Κυρίλλου, προσέτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων Παπίου, Εἰρηναίου, Μεθοδίου καὶ Ἰππολύτου ταύτη προσημαρτυρούντων τὸ ἀξιόπιστον.

10 – ANDREAS OF CAESAREA, Preface to the  
Apocalypse

With regard, however, to the inspiration of the book (i.e. the Apocalypse of John), we hold it superfluous to speak at length; since the blessed Gregory (I mean, the Divine) and Cyril, and men of an older generation as well, namely Papias, Irenaeus, Methodius, and Hippolytus, bear testimony to its genuineness.

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**PAPIAS 10**

§ Both Lightfoot and Holmes include the explanatory note, sc. τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου, in their texts.

11 – ANDREAS CAESARIENSIS, in Apocalypsin,  
c. 34, serm. 12.

Παπίας δὲ οὕτως ἐπὶ λέξεως· Ἐνίοις δὲ αὐτῶν, δηλαδὴ τῶν  
πάλαι θείων ἀγγέλων, καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν γῆν διακοσμήσεως  
ἔδωκεν ἄρχειν καὶ καλῶς ἄρχειν παρηγγύησε. καὶ ἐξῆς  
φησὶν· Εἰς οὐδὲν δέον συνέβη τελευτῆσαι τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν.  
Καὶ ἐβλήθη ὁ δράκων ὁ μέγας, ὁ ὄφης ὁ ἀρχαῖος ὁ καλούμενος  
διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς, ὁ πλανῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην  
ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ.

11 – ANDREAS OF CAESAREA, On the  
Apocalypse (Chapter 34, Sermon 12)

§ But thus says Papias, word for word: “To some of them,  
clearly the angels that at first were holy, he gave dominion also  
over the arrangement of the universe, and he commissioned  
them to exercise their dominion well.” And he says next: “But  
it so befell that their array came to nought; for the great dragon,  
the old serpent, who is also called the Devil and Satan, was cast  
down, and was cast down to the earth, he and his angels.”

12 – ANASTASIUS SINAITA, *Contempl. Anagog.*  
*in Hexaëm, i.*

Λαβόντες τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐκ Παπίου τοῦ πάνυ τοῦ Ἱεραπολίτου, τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐπιστηθίῳ φοιτήσαντος, καὶ Κλήμεντος, Πανταίνου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἱερέως καὶ Ἀμμωνίου σοφωτάτου, τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ πρώτων συνώδων ἐξηγητῶν, εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἑξαήμερον νοησάντων.

12 – ANASTASIUS OF SINAI, *Considerations on  
the Hexaemeron I*

§ Taking their start from Papias the great, of Hierapolis, the disciple of the Apostle who leaned on Christ's bosom, and Clement, Pantaenus the priest of the Alexandrians, and Ammonius, the great scholar, those ancient and first expositors who agree with each other in understanding all the work of the six days (as referring) to Christ and His Church.

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**PAPIAS 12**

§ The 'six days' (ἑξαήμερον – Hexaemeron) are the 6 days of creation in Gn 1.

13 – ANASTASIUS SINAITA, *Contempl. Anagog.*  
in *Hexaëm*, vii.

§ Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαιότεροι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐξηγητῶν, λέγω δὴ Φίλων ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁμόχρονος καὶ Παπίας ὁ πολὺς ὁ Ἰωάννου τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ φοιτητῆς ὁ Ἱεραπολίτης ... καὶ οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτοὺς πνευματικῶς τὰ περὶ παραδείσου ἐθεώρησαν εἰς τὴν Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίαν ἀναφερόμενοι.

13 – ANASTASIUS OF SINAI, *Considerations on*  
*the Hexaemeron VII*

So then, the more ancient expositors of the churches, I mean Philo, the philosopher and contemporary of the Apostles, and the famous Papias of Hierapolis, the disciple of John the Evangelist ... and their associates, interpreted the sayings about Paradise spiritually, and referred them to the Church of Christ.

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**PAPIAS 13**

§ Holmes replaces the ellipsis with the following text: *Εἰρηναῖός τε ὁ Λουγδουνεὺς καὶ Ἰουστῖνος ὁ μάρτυς καὶ φιλόσοφος, Πανταῖνος τε ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Κλήμης ὁ Στρωματεὺς* (Irenaeus of Lyons and Justin the martyr and philosopher, Pantaeus the Alexandrian, and Clement the Stromateus).

14 – IRENAEUS, Haer. v. 33. 3, 4.

*Praedicta itaque benedictio ad tempora regni sine contradictione pertinet, quando regnabunt iusti surgentes a mortuis; quando et creatura renovata et liberata multitudinem fructificabit universae escae, ex rore caeli et ex fertilitate terrae: quemadmodum presbyteri meminerunt, qui Iohannem discipulum Domini viderunt, audisse se ab eo, quemadmodum de temporibus illis docebat Dominus et dicebat:*

*Venient dies, in quibus vineae nascentur, singulae decem millia palmitum habentes, et in uno palmite dena millia brachiorum, et in uno vero palmite [l. brachio] dena millia flagellorum, et in unoquoque flagello dena millia botruum, et in unoquoque botro dena millia acinorum, et unumquodque acinum expressum dabit vigintiquinque metretas vini. Et cum eorum apprehenderit aliquis sanctorum botrum, alius clamabit: Botrus ego melior sum, me sume, per me Dominum benedic. Similiter et granum tritici decem millia spicarum generaturum, et unamquamque spicam habituram decem millia granorum, et unumquodque granum quinque bilibres similia clarae mundaе: et reliqua autem poma et semina et herbam secundum congruentiam iis consequentem: et omnia animalia iis cibus utentia, quae a terra accipiuntur, pacifica et consentanea invicem fieri, subiecta hominibus cum omni subiectione.*

14 – IRENAEUS, Against Heresies, 5:33.3–4

The blessing thus foretold belongs undoubtedly to the times of the Kingdom, when the righteous shall rise from the dead and reign, when creation, too, renewed and freed from bondage, shall produce a wealth of food of all kinds *from the dew of heaven and from the fatness of the earth*; as the elders, who saw John the disciple of the Lord, relate how they heard from him, how the Lord used to teach concerning those times, and to say:

The days will come, in which vines shall grow, each having ten thousand shoots, and on each shoot ten thousand branches, and on each branch again ten thousand twigs, and on each twig ten thousand clusters, and on each cluster ten thousand grapes, and each grape when pressed shall yield twenty-five measures of wine. And, when any of the saints shall have taken hold of one of their clusters, another shall cry, “I am a better cluster; take me, bless the Lord through me.” Likewise also a grain of wheat shall produce ten thousand heads, and every head shall have ten thousand grains, and every grain ten pounds of fine flour, bright and clean, and the other fruits, seeds and the grass shall produce in similar proportions, and all the animals, using these fruits which are products of the soil, shall become in their turn peaceable and harmonious, obedient to man in all subjection.

§ *Haec autem et Papias Iohannis auditor, Polycarpi autem contubernalis, vetus homo, per scripturam testimonium perhibet in quarto librorum suorum: sunt enim illi quinque libri conscripti.*

*Et adiecit dicens: Haec autem credibilia sunt credentibus. Et Iuda, inquit, proditore non credente et interrogante: Quomodo ergo tales geniturae a Domino perficientur? dixisse Dominum: Videbunt qui venient in illa.*

These things Papias, who was a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp, an ancient worthy, witnesses in writing in the fourth of his books; for, there are five books composed by him.

And he says, "But these things are credible to those who believe." And he says, when Judas the traitor did not believe and asked, "How shall such growths be accomplished by the Lord?" the Lord said, "They shall see, who shall come to these (times)."

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§ Both Lightfoot and Holmes present a parallel Greek text for this paragraph: Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Παπίας ὁ Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἐταῖρος γεγονώς, ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ, ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ βιβλίων· ἔστι γὰρ αὐτῷ πέντε βιβλία συντεταγμένα.



15 – MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, Schol. in libr.  
Dionys. Areopag. de eccl. hierarch. c. 2

Τοὺς κατὰ θεὸν ἀκακίαν ἀσκοῦντας παῖδας ἐκάλουν, ὡς καὶ  
Παπίας δηλοῖ βιβλίῳ πρώτῳ τῶν κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεων καὶ  
Κλήμης ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν τῷ Παιδαγωγῷ.

15 – MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR, Scholia on  
Dionysius the Areopagite, Eccl. Hier. (Ch. 2)

They called those who practised a godly innocence, children,  
as Papias also shows in the first book of the Expositions of the  
Lord, and Clement of Alexandria in the Paedagogue.

16 – MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, Schol. in libr.  
Dionys. Areopag. de eccl. hierarch. c. 7

Ταῦτά φησιν ἀνιτιτόμενος οἶμαι Παπίαν τὸν Ἱεραπόλεως τῆς  
κατ' Ἀσίαν τότε γενόμενον ἐπίσκοπον καὶ συνακμάσαντα τῷ  
θείῳ εὐαγγελιστῇ Ἰωάννῃ. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Παπίας ἐν τῷ  
τετάρτῳ αὐτοῦ βιβλίῳ τῶν κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεων τὰς διὰ  
βρωμάτων εἶπεν ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ἀπολαύσεις ... καὶ  
Εἰρηναῖος δὲ ὁ Λουγδούνου ἐν τῷ κατὰ αἱρέσεων πέμπτῳ  
λόγῳ τὸ αὐτὸ φησι καὶ παράγει μάρτυρα τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
εἰρημένων τὸν λεχθέντα Παπίαν.

16 – MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR, Scholia on  
Dionysius the Areopagite, Eccl. Hier. (Ch. 7)

§ This he says, darkly indicating, I suppose, Papias of  
Hierapolis in Asia, who was a bishop at that time and  
flourished in the days of the holy Evangelist John. For, this  
Papias in the fourth book of his 'Dominical Expositions'  
mentioned food among the sources of delights in the  
resurrection ... And Irenaeus of Lyons says the same thing in  
his fifth book, 'Against Heresies', and produces in support of  
his statements the aforesaid Papias.

17 – PHOTIUS, Biblioth. 232

§ Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Παπίαν τὸν Ἱεραπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον καὶ μάρτυρα, οὐδὲ Εἰρηναῖον τὸν ὅσιον ἐπίσκοπον Λουγδούνων (sc. ἀποδέχεται Στέφανος), ἐν οἷς λέγουσιν αἰσθητῶν τινῶν βρωμάτων ἀπόλαυσιν εἶναι τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν.

17 – PHOTIUS, Bibliotheca 232

Nor again (does Stephanus follow) Papias, the bishop and martyr of Hierapolis, nor Irenæus, the holy bishop of Lyons, when they say that the kingdom of heaven will consist in enjoyment of certain material foods.

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**ΠΑΠΙΑΣ 17**

§ Both Lightfoot and Holmes include the explanatory note, sc. ἀποδέχεται Στέφανος, in their texts.

## 18 – Catena ad Acta SS. Apost. (et alia)

Ἀπολιναρίου· Οὐκ ἀπέθανε τῇ ἀγχόνῃ Ἰούδας, ἀλλ' ἐπεβίω καθαιρεθεὶς πρὸ τοῦ ἀποπνιγῆναι. καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῦσιν αἱ τῶν ἀποστόλων πράξεις, ὅτι πρηνὴς γενόμενος ἐλάκησε μέσος, καὶ ἐξεχύθη τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο δὲ σαφέστερον ἱστορεῖ Παπίας ὁ Ἰωάννου μαθητὴς λέγων οὕτως ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῆς ἐξηγήσεως τῶν κυριακῶν λόγων·

Μέγα δὲ ἀσεβείας ὑπόδειγμα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ περιπάτησεν ὁ Ἰούδας πρηνθεὶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὴν σάρκα, ὥστε μηδὲ ὁπόθεν ἅμαξα ῥαδίως διέρχεται ἐκεῖνον δύνασθαι διελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ αὐτὸν μόνον τὸν τῆς κεφαλῆς ὄγκον αὐτοῦ. τὰ μὲν γὰρ βλέφαρα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ φασὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξοιδῆσαι, ὥς αὐτὸν μὲν καθόλου τὸ φῶς μὴ βλέπειν, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ μηδὲ ὑπὸ ἱατροῦ [διὰ] διόπτρας ὀφθῆναι δύνασθαι· τοσοῦτον βάθος εἶχον ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξωθεν ἐπιφανείας· τὸ δὲ αἰδοῖον αὐτοῦ πάσης μὲν ἀσχημοσύνης ἀηδέστερον καὶ μεῖζον φαίνεσθαι, φέρεσθαι δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος συρρέοντας ἰχώρας τε καὶ σκώληκας εἰς ὕβριν δ' αὐτῶν μόνων τῶν ἀναγκαίων. μετὰ πολλὰς δὲ βασάνους καὶ τιμωρίας ἐν ἰδίῳ, φασί, χωρίῳ τελευτήσαντος, ἀπὸ τῆς ὁσμῆς ἔρημον καὶ ἀοίκητον τὸ χωρίον μέχρι τῆς νῦν γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον δύνασθαι τινα ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον παρελθεῖν,

## 18 – From *ad Acta SS. Apost. (et alia)*

Apollinarius. “Judas did not die by hanging but lived on, having been cut down before he suffocated. And the Acts of the Apostles show this: falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst and all his bowels gushed out. This fact is related more clearly by Papias, the disciple of John, in the fourth *book* of the Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord as follows:

Judas walked about in this world a terrible example of impiety, his flesh swollen to such an extent that, where a waggon can pass with ease, he was not able to pass, not even the mass of his head alone. They say that his eyelids swelled to such an extent that he could not see the light at all; while, as for his eyes, they were not visible even by a physician looking through an instrument, they had sunk so far from the surface ... § His genitals appeared more loathsome and larger than anyone else's; and, when he relieved himself, there passed through it pus and worms from every part of his body, much to his shame. After much agony and punishment, they say, he finally died in his own place; and, because of the stench, the area is deserted and uninhabitable even now; in fact, to this day no one can pass that place unless they hold their nose, so

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### ΠΑΠΙΑΣ 18

§ Lightfoot does not include the text of the translation from ‘*His genitals*’, here following Holmes.

ἐὰν μὴ τὰς ῥίνας ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπιφράξῃ. τοσαύτη διὰ τῆς  
σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔκρυσις ἐχώρησεν.

great was the discharge from his body and so far  
did it spread over the ground.

19 – Codex Vatic. Alex. Nr. 14 Bibl. Lat.  
(Evv.) [IX]

*Incipit argumentum secundum Iohannem.*

§ *Evangelium Iohannis manifestatum et datum est ecclesiis ab Iohanne adhuc in corpore constituto; sicut Papias nomine Hierapolitanus, discipulus Iohannis carus, in exotericis—id est in extremis—quinque libris retulit. Descripsit vero evangelium dictante Iohanne recte.*

19 – Codex Vaticanus Alexandrinus 14  
(9th Century)

Here begins the argument to the Gospel according to John.

The Gospel of John was made known and given to the Churches by John, while he yet remained in the body; as (one) Papias by name, of Hierapolis, a beloved disciple of John, has related in his five exoteric (*exegetical*) books; but he wrote down the Gospel at the dictation of John, correctly.

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**PAPIAS 19**

§ After *exotericis* and *extremis*, Lightfoot adds the following notes on the actual reading of the Latin: (*l. exegeticis*) & (*l. externis*), respectively.



## 20 – Catena Patr. Graec. in S.Joan. Proœm

§ Ὑστατος γὰρ τούτων Ἰωάννης ὁ τῆς βροντῆς υἱὸς μετακληθεὶς, πάνυ γηραλέου αὐτοῦ γενομένου, ὡς παρέδωσαν ἡμῖν ὅ τε Εἰρηναῖος καὶ Εὐσέβιος καὶ ἄλλοι πιστοὶ κατὰ διαδοχὴν γεγονότες ἱστορικοί, κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ αἰρέσεων ἀναφυσισῶν δεινῶν ὑπηγόρευσε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῷ ἑαυτοῦ μαθητῇ Παπῖα εὐβιώτῳ τῷ Ἱεραπολίτῃ, πρὸς ἀναπλήρωσιν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ κηρυζάντων τὸν λόγον τοῖς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔθνεσιν.

## 20 – From Patrologia Graeca on St John

For, last of these, John, surnamed the Son of Thunder, when he was now a very old man, as Irenaeus and Eusebius and a succession of trustworthy historians have handed down to us, about the time when terrible heresies had cropped up, dictated the Gospel to his own disciple, the virtuous Papias of Hierapolis, to fill up what was lacking in those who before him had proclaimed the word to the nations throughout all the earth.

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### ΠΑΠΙΑΣ 20

§ After εὐβιώτῳ, Lightfoot adds the following note on the actual reading of the Greek: (l. εὐβιότῳ).