

IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH
ON HIS DEATH:
DISCIPLESHIP, SACRIFICE, IMITATION

by

DANIEL NORMAN MCNAMARA, M.A.

A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

McMaster University

IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH ON HIS DEATH

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (1977)
(Religious Studies)

McMASTER UNIVERSITY
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Ignatius of Antioch on his Death: Disciple-
ship, Sacrifice, Imitation

AUTHOR: Daniel Norman McNamara, B.A. (Canisius
College)
M.A. (McMaster
University)

SUPERVISOR: Professor B. F. Meyer

NUMBER OF PAGES: V, 258

ABSTRACT

The present dissertation is addressed to a single question: how did Ignatius of Antioch understand his death? Our question is not a new one. On the contrary, it is one that has attracted scholarly attention for over a century. Nevertheless, it is one for which a satisfactory answer is still lacking. Most recent commentators are agreed that Ignatius understood his death in terms of a number of individual themes, images and conceptions. Moreover, the clear tendency of scholarly opinion is to identify the themes of discipleship, sacrifice and imitation as most fundamental to understanding the shape of this aspect of Ignatian thought. In its understanding of each of these three themes, however, scholarship continues to propose views which we do not believe to reflect the thinking of Ignatius himself.

Our dissertation is composed of two parts. In Part I, attention is focused upon the content of present scholarly thinking on the subjects of discipleship, sacrifice and imitation within Ignatian thought and the development of scholarly thinking over the last one hundred years. In the case of each of these themes, we conclude that a reevaluation of each theme is presently called for. In Part II, each of the three themes is studied individually. In discussing discipleship, we conclude that Ignatius actually used the key term $\mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ in a more complex way than that presently supposed. Ultimately, a new view of how Ignatius used this term in reference to himself facing death emerges--one which understands the term in the light of the themes of endurance and devotion. Secondly, a more cautious defini-

tion of sacrifice is presented. Here our view of the problem attempts primarily to be more sensitive to the limitations of the available data and aware of possible alternative lines of interpretation. Finally, Part II approaches the theme of imitation as a question of meaning within Ignatian thought. In particular, Ignatius' associations with the persons of Paul and Christ are examined as parts of Ignatius' understanding of his death.

In brief, the present dissertation supports the contention of scholars that the themes of discipleship, sacrifice and imitation were important parts of Ignatius' understanding of his death. It proposes new understandings for each of these themes.

The essential contribution of this thesis is that it proposes a more adequate foundation for the understanding of Ignatius' view of his death. It critically confronts present scholarly thinking on the issue and proposes a new solution of great consequence to this major question within the field of Ignatian scholarship. A more remote significance of the thesis lies in its subverting certain common generalizations about "early Catholicism," insofar as they are grounded in mistaken assumptions about Ignatius of Antioch and his stance toward his own imminent death.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
PART I. MAJOR THEMES IN THE SCHOLARLY DISCUSSION OF IGNATIUS' THOUGHT ON HIS DEATH: DISCIPLE- SHIP, SACRIFICE, IMITATION	9
1. Discipleship	16
2. Sacrifice	40
3. Imitation	55
PART II. IGNATIAN DISCIPLESHIP, SACRIFICE AND IMITA- TION REEXAMINED AS ELEMENTS IN IGNATIUS' UNDERSTANDING OF HIS DEATH	86
1. Discipleship	87
The "μαθητής" and the Theme of En- durance	91
The "Perfectionist Sense" of the term "μαθητής"	131
The "μαθητής" and the Theme of Devotion	170
Suffering and Martyrdom within Ignatian Discipleship: A Broader Perspective	193
2. Sacrifice	210
3. Imitation	224
CONCLUSION	246
BIBLIOGRAPHY	250

INTRODUCTION

The present thesis examines the thought of one of the most fascinating figures of early Christian Literature, Ignatius of Antioch. This study does not pretend to deal with the whole of his thought. Rather, it focuses on the single question of how Ignatius understood his death.

It is not the purpose of this study to inquire after Ignatius' psychological patterns of response in the face of death. Neither does it assume or propose that he understood his death in terms of some systematic philosophy or theology. By the "thought" of Ignatius on his death is meant the themes, ideas and associations in terms of which Ignatius' death was meaningful to him. By identifying the three themes of discipleship, sacrifice and imitation and by pressing them for their precise meaning, this study seeks to arrive at an adequate understanding of a basic feature of Ignatian thought.

But there is more here than the settling of an isolated point. The interpretation of Ignatius has long been located in a whole scheme of historical development. This scheme ambitions to account historically for the transitions from Jesus through the primitive community and Paul to early Catholicism (Frühkatholizismus) represented especially in Clement of Rome and Ignatius of Antioch. The school of Liberal theology in nineteenth-century Germany elaborated this scheme; and though the particulars of Liberal theology's first

reconstruction (that of F.C. Baur and the Tübingen school) have been abandoned, the scheme itself has survived. Early Catholicism, in particular, has retained the connotation of a general lowering of religious vitality and a hardening of Christian arteries. Signs of early Catholicism have now been found in Luke/Acts as well as in the Pastoral letters to Timothy and Titus, but Clement of Rome and Ignatius of Antioch are still the crown witnesses to Christianity's sharp falling off from its high point in Paul. So far as Ignatius is concerned, two points are usually taken to be decisive: the rigidity of his stand on Church order and the near-masochism of his view of discipleship and the imitation of Christ as martyrdom.

Our attention is centered on the second of these points. We shall not comment on whether the views which a century of scholarship has attributed to Ignatius regarding discipleship and imitation would actually attest a falling off in Christian life and thought, for the fact is that Ignatius did not hold the views attributed to him. The point of recalling the context in which he has been studied is to indicate that the present thesis has a significance which transcends its immediate limits. If it can be shown that a hundred years of scholarship have proved to be seriously mistaken about Ignatius' thought on his death, one of the key props will have been pulled out from under the description of early second-century Christianity as a collapse of Christi-

anity's native and original scale of values.

Our study may accordingly be understood to contribute at least remotely to the general question of early Catholicism. Obviously, we do not propose that the present dissertation settles the basic issues bearing on how second-century Christianity related to the New Testament era. Nevertheless, discipleship, sacrifice as well as of the whole form of Ignatius, confrontation with death should be read in this larger context; and it will be seen that the conclusions reached in this study offer a positive challenge to the standard thesis on early Catholicism at least so far as the figure of Ignatius is concerned.

The thesis has a second significance within the context of Ignatian scholarship. It has long been the practice in Ignatian studies to view his understanding of his death as a microcosm of his understanding of the whole of Christian life. Scholarship on discipleship may be cited as a case in point. Convinced that Ignatius understood only the martyr to be the true disciple of Jesus Christ, scholars have tended to portray the whole of the Christian life for Ignatius as one intrinsically oriented to suffering. Our reexamination of the issue of discipleship suggests that this approach is misleading and that a reexamination of Ignatian spirituality is in order.

Thirdly, the significance of the present study lies

in its primary focus, i.e. , in how it deals with Ignatius' understanding of his death. Real progress here has been labourious. For the past fifty years Ignatian scholarship has proceeded in the supposition that imitation and, specifically, the imitation of Christ is the unique key to Ignatian thought. Moreover, under the influence of Heinrich Schlier, Hans von Campenhausen and Theo Preiss, many scholars today seem convinced that Gnosticism or the Mystery Religions offer the right access to "imitation" in Ignatius. Thus, imitation understood as the repetition of the death of a cult-god for the sake of winning divination has been seen through most of this period as the paramount issue in the discussion of Ignatius. During the 1950's, however, the predominance of the single theme of imitation began to slip. Furthermore, scholars even more recently have demonstrated a willingness to recognize the independence of themes like discipleship and sacrifice in Ignatius' understanding of his death. At the present time, there seems to be a basic willingness on the part of scholars to view Ignatius' understanding of his death as a multi-faceted composite of various themes, images and ideas each of which merits careful attention in its own right. It is at this point, however, that progress has halted.

In attempting to move beyond the view that imitation is the single key to Ignatius' understanding of his death,

there has been a strong tendency among Ignatian scholars to simply rely on the interpretations of these themes which antedate the reduction of the whole discussion of Ignatius on his death to the single theme of imitation. Are these earlier theses reliable?

At the outset of my own studies in Ignatius of Antioch, it seemed reasonable to suppose that what was needed was simply to flesh out the available views of the themes of discipleship and sacrifice, two themes which seemed to consistently attract the attention of scholarship. Sustained contact with the earlier scholarship on these themes, however, led me to the view that this scholarship has by no means done justice to the thought of Ignatius. The way to progress today does not lie in merely reappropriating the scholarship on discipleship and sacrifice which antedated the adoption of "imitation" as the key to Ignatius on his death. Nor does it consist in simply extending the preliminary lines of interpretation offered on these themes. What I can positively say is this: scholarship has at least identified the central themes relevant to Ignatius' understanding of his death in its concern with the themes of discipleship, sacrifice and imitation. But each of these themes is due for reexamination to define the sense of each and to locate each intelligibly and accurately within Ignatius' understanding of his death.

This task is not easy. Obviously, Ignatius himself offers no unified dissertation on his understanding of his death. His literary legacy is confined to seven rather short letters, chiefly concerned with various problems or potential problems of the Churches in western Asia Minor. Aside from his letter to the Romans, he spoke of his death only incidentally and in passing. The brevitas and obscuritas of his style adds to the problem of recovering his thought on his death.¹ Unlike New Testament studies, Ignatian scholarship has been dominated by relatively few scholars and, as we have already noted, there is a danger inherent in this situation. Problematic assumptions and questionable conclusions may easily become and have, in fact, become part of the scholarly consensus on Ignatius. Robert M. Grant has reviewed the extraordinarily prejudicial character of scholarship on Ignatius.²

¹ This is the view of Ignatian Greek offered by J.A. Kleist in The Epistles of St. Clement and St. Ignatius of Antioch, Vol. I: Ancient Christian Writers (Westminster, Md.: Newman Bookshop, 1946), p. 58. More extensive analyses of the subject of Ignatius' Greek style have been offered by E. Norden, Die antike Kunstprosa (reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1958), II, 510-512. and Othmar Perler, "Das vierte Makkabaeerbuch, Ignatius von Antiochien und die ältesten Märtyrerberichte", Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana XXV (1949), 57-61.

² Robert Grant, "Hermeneutics and Tradition in Ignatius of Antioch: A Methodological Investigation", in Enrico Castelli, ed., Ermeneutica e Tradizione: Rome: Istituto di Studi Filosofici, 1963, especially pp. 184-190.

was Ignatius really the victim of a neurotic martyr-complex, as B.H. Streeter maintained? Clearly, there is a need to reexamine the lasting themes of scholarship.

In the light, therefore of the inherent difficulties of answering our question and in recognition of the fact that no small part of the scholarly thinking on the subject has been dominated by problematic assumptions about Ignatius, it has seemed best to offer an exegetical study on Ignatius' thought on his death, a study dedicated to the grasp of the meaning of individual texts and groups of texts. At the same time it is indispensable that we confront previous scholarly discussions of Ignatius' thought on his death and especially the theses which have been most influential in the discussion.

The time has come for a complete reevaluation of Ignatius' understanding of his death. The texts themselves must have the last word. The following study is accordingly composed of two major parts. In the first part we shall examine the modern discussion of Ignatius which began in earnest with Theodor Zahn (1873). Our chief concern will be to identify the theses which have endured and to evaluate their adequacy for the interpretation of Ignatius' thought on his death. The second part of the study will examine the themes and texts of Ignatius himself.

Finally, it should be noted that the present thesis presents the Greek text of the Ignatian letters arranged in sense-lines. This arrangement of the text should make the problems of interpreting Ignatian Greek more obvious and facilitate the task of mastering the peculiarities of Ignatius' Greek style. In addition, translations of all passages from the Ignatian letters cited in the thesis are provided in footnotes for the convenience of readers unfamiliar with Ignatius. Similarly, it has seemed best to translate all quoted materials into English and to provide the text of each quotation in its original language in an accompanying footnote. Except where noted, the Greek text that will be presented in the thesis is that of the Funk-Bihlmeyer edition.³

³Karl Bihlmeyer. Die Apostolischen Väter (3rd ed.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1970), Part One, pp. 82-113. The authenticity of the so-called Middle Greek recension of the Ignatian letters as established at the end of the last century does not seem to have been effectively challenged by the recent work of Franciscan Father Reinoud Weijenborg, Les Lettres d'Ignace d'Antioche: Étude de Critique littéraire et de Théologie, trans. B. Heroux (Leiden: Brill, 1969). On the other hand, certain readings adopted by Bihlmeyer following the work of J.B. Lightfoot (1885) are far from certain. Any serious discussion of these texts demands a familiarity with the positions of all three of the major textual commentators of the late nineteenth century, i.e. Zahn (1876), Funk (1881) and Lightfoot (1885).

PART I

MAJOR THEMES IN THE SCHOLARLY DISCUSSION OF IGNATIUS' THOUGHT ON HIS DEATH: DISCIPLESHIP, SACRIFICE, IMITATION

Almost everyone who has written on the Ignatian letters has given some attention to the subject of Ignatius as martyr. Yet few have analyzed the questions and problems involved in Ignatius' thought on his death. Still fewer -- just six authors -- have effectively contributed to the agreements typical of contemporary scholarly thinking on the theme of "martyrdom" in Ignatius' letters: J.B. Lightfoot (1885),¹ Walter Bauer (1920),²

¹ J.B. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers, Pt. 2, Vol. II, sec. 1: S. Ignatius, S. Polycarp (London: Macmillan & Co., 1885).

² Walter Bauer, Die Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochia und der Polycarpbrief, Vol. II: Die Apostolischen Väter, ed. Hans Lietzmann (Tübingen: Mohr, 1920).

Marcel Viller (1925),³ Heinrich Schlier (1929),⁴ Hans von Campenhausen (1936)⁵ and Théo Preiss (1938)⁶. Though the modern critical discussion of Ignatian thought is well over a century old, scholarly thinking on the subject is mostly dependent upon German Protestant work produced between the World Wars.

Reflecting the interests and the tendencies of this unique era in Ignatian scholarship, most analyses of Ignatius' thought on his death that have appeared since the Second World War have focused attention upon the imitation-of-Christ thematic. For most recent commentators this is at the heart of Ignatius' understanding of his death. In

³ Marcel Viller, "Martyre et Perfection", Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique, VI (1925), 3-25. Also, by the same author, La Spiritualité des premiers siècles chrétiens (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1930). A translation of this work with a bibliography was later to appear as M. Viller and K. Rahner, Ascese und Mystik in der Väterzeit (Freiburg, 1939). It is under this second title that the work is most widely known.

⁴ Heinrich Schlier, Religion, geschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ignatiusbriefen, Beiheft 3: Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft (1929).

⁵ Hans Freiherr von Campenhausen, Die Idee des Martyriums in der alten Kirche, 2nd. ed.; (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), pp. 67-78 -- dealing specifically with Ignatius.

⁶ Théo Preiss, "La Mystique de l'Imitation du Christ et de l'Unité chez Ignace d'Antioche", Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses, XVIII (1938), 197-241.

some cases it seems even to be understood as the whole of Ignatius' thought on his death. This consensus, however, is currently breaking down. To forward the discussion new categories must be found -- categories that will allow for a better balanced understanding of Ignatius and his death.

Prior to 1925, the discussion focused on discipleship and sacrifice. These themes had attracted the attention of Theodor Zahn (1873), Francis Xavier Funk (1880), Joseph Barber Lightfoot (1885) and Walter Bauer (1920). After 1925 the scholarly literature exhibits a tendency (as we have already remarked) to view discipleship and sacrifice as parts of the theme of imitation. This analysis has been rightly abandoned. Our own procedure will be to trace the discussion of each of these three themes independently: first discipleship, then sacrifice and finally, imitation.⁷

⁷A concise overview of Ignatian studies in the nineteenth century may be found in the work of Eduard von der Goltz, "Ignatius von Antiochien als Christ und Theologe". Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur. XII (3, 1894). 1-206 -- especially pp. 1-10.

On the eve of the Second World War, H.-W. Bartsch, Gnostisches Gut und Gemein-detradition bei Ignatius von Antiochien (Evangelischer Verlag, 1940) 1-6, offered a brief overview of the entire history of Ignatian scholarship. Bartsch proposed three separate periods, the first focusing on the question of the authenticity of the Ignatian letters (ending about 1875), the second concerned with Ignatius as theologian in the tradition of Paul and John (roughly 1875-1920), and the third concerned with examining the

Perhaps it would be best to view the past hundred year period in two very distinct parts. The first of these

religion sgeschichtlich background of Ignatian thought in Gnosticism and the mystery religions (about 1920-1940). Bartsch's sketch is limited to the discussion of Ignatius within German Protestantism. It shows little concern for Roman Catholic studies of Ignatius, which it dismisses as uncritical (p. 6) or for British and North American contributions to the discussion.

More recently, Graydon Snyder, "Continuity of Early Christianity: A Study of Ignatius in Relation to Paul" (Ph. D. Dissertation, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1961) has appeared. Snyder included a useful guide to Ignatian scholarship, taking into consideration both Catholic and Protestant views on a number of crucial issues. His discussion of the scholarship (pp. 5-73 and pp. 100-135) is the most comprehensive and up-to-date study currently available. Its purpose, however, is descriptive rather than critical.

The early 1960's also saw Robert Grant launch a broadside against the entire discussion of Ignatian thought. Robert Grant, "Hermeneutics and Tradition in Ignatius of Antioch: A Methodological Investigation" in Enrico Castelli, ed., Ermeneutica e Tradizione (Rome: Istituto di Studi Filosofici, 1963), pp. 183-201 -- especially pp. 184-190. Grant was the first to speak overtly of the Protestant tradition's "attack" upon Ignatius (p. 184) reflected in both its rejection of the authenticity of the letters in the nineteenth century and renewed covertly in religion sgeschichtlich analyses in the twentieth (Schlier, Preiss, Bartsch et al.). The comments of Grant are valuable, though brief. Only Virginia Corwin's 1960 publication on Ignatius escaped Grant's withering commentary. Grant was the first to demand recognition of the value of Roman Catholic studies.

The most recent examination of Ignatian scholarship worthy of note is that of Giuseppe Trentin, "Rassegna di Studi su Ignazio di Antiochia", Studia Patavina, I (1972), 75-87. Trentin's work provides an overview of the discussions of authenticity, background and doctrinal interpretation. He is interested in both Protestant and Roman Catholic studies and provides his reader with important bibliographical references to otherwise little-known works of European scholars.

parts would have to include all of the great textual commentaries and critical editions produced by Zahn (1876),⁸ Funk (1881)⁹ and J.B. Lightfoot (1885)¹⁰ and ending with the German translation and commentary of Walter Bauer (1920).¹¹ For many years Ignatian scholarship did not even recognize imitation as a key theme of Ignatius' thought on his death. But all of the early scholars showed interest in the themes of μαθητής passages and of sacrifice. The interpretation of these themes has become a regular element in Ignatian studies.

Walter Bauer closed the era of the great Ignatian commentaries (1920). Under the influence of the religions-geschichtlich movement, a new direction came into Ignatian studies and dominated the field with its concern for the

⁸Theodor Zahn, Ignatii et Polycarpi Epistulae, Martyria Fragmenta, Vol. II: Patrum Apostolicorum Opera, eds. Gebhardt, Harnack & Zahn (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1876). So too, Zahn's earlier monograph might be included here, Ignatius von Antiochien (Gotha: Perthes, 1873). Zahn's 1876 Commentary constantly refers the reader to this earlier work.

⁹Francis Xavier Funk, Epistulae Barnabae, Clementis Romani, Ignatii ..., Vol. I: Opera Patrum Apostolicorum (Tübingen: Laupp, 1881).

¹⁰Lightfoot, S. Ignatius.

¹¹Bauer, Die Briefe.

Hellenistic background of Ignatian thought. Spurred on by the thesis of Heinrich Schlier (1929),¹² scholars soon fastened on imitation as a key issue in Ignatius' understanding of his death, generally interpreting the sense of the concept in Ignatian thought against the background of what was understood to be Gnostic thought or the mystery religions. The close connections between Schlier (1929), Hans von Campenhausen (1936)¹³ and Théo Preiss (1938)¹⁴ in their conceptions of the Ignatian imitatio Christi have dominated Protestant thinking on the subject ever since. In the 1930's Roman Catholic scholars, in particular Marcel Viller,¹⁵ were forging a different scheme for understanding Ignatian imitation. Viller's analysis has tended to endure in Catholic circles as a way of understanding the role of imitation in Ignatian thought.

It is most difficult to deal securely with the scholarship of the more recent past. The years since the end of World War II have witnessed a movement away from emphasis on imitation as the key to the whole of Ignatian thought. But no single figure or line of interpretation

¹²Schlier, Rel. Untersuchungen.

¹³Von Campenhausen, Die Idee.

¹⁴Preiss, "La Mystique".

¹⁵Viller, "Martyre" and La Spiritualité.

has replaced the once dominant religion sgeschichtlich line of Schlier.

With regard to the specific question of Ignatius' thought on his death, scholarly thinking has changed little since the 1930's. A number of German works have continued to articulate and in some cases to extend earlier lines of interpretation.¹⁶ New insights have entered the discussion.¹⁷

¹⁶ Note especially: Eduard Lohse, Martyrer und Gottesknecht: Untersuchungen zur urchristlichen Verkündigung vom Sühntod Jesu Christi (2nd ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1963), pp. 199-213. Norbert Brox, Zeuge und Martyrer: Untersuchungen zur frühchristlichen Zeugnis-Terminologie (München: Kösel-Verlag, 1961), pp. 203-236. And Peter Meinhold "Episkope, Pneumatiker, Martyrer: Zur Deutung der Selbstaussagen des Ignatius von Antiochien"; Saeculum XIV (1963), 308-324. Of interest too is Meinhold's earlier study, "Die Ethik des Ignatius von Antiochien", Historisches Jahrbuch 77 (1950), 50-62. Finally, Heinrich Rathke, Ignatius von Antiochien und Die Paulusbriefe (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1967), especially pp. 68-75.

¹⁷ Othmar Perler, "Das vierte Makkabaeerbuch. Ignatius von Antiochien und die ältesten Märtyrerberichte", Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, XXV (1949), 47-72; Marc Lods, "Confesseurs et Martyrs Successeurs des Prophètes dans L'Eglise des trois premiers Siècles" (Ph. D. Dissertation, Faculté Libre de Théologie Protestante de Paris, 1957). An abbreviated version of this same study was published under the same title as Vol. 41 of the series Cahier Théologiques (Neuchâtel, Switzerland: Delachaux & Niestle, 1958). Louis Bouyer, La Spiritualité du Nouveau Testament et des Pères (2nd ed.; Paris: Desclée, 1966). Virginia Corwin, St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1960). Olaf Tarvainen, Glaube und Liebe bei Ignatius von Antiochien (Helsinki: Luther-Agricola, 1967).

But by and large the commentators on Ignatius' thought on his death have remained close to the views of their predecessors. Discipleship, sacrifice and imitation continue as the leading themes. Little that is original or particularly insightful has entered the discussion of any of these three themes during the last four decades.

The present chapter will, therefore, be divided into three parts. Each will examine one of these three themes. We shall first focus on discipleship and Ignatius' use of the term μαθητής in relation to his death. We shall then examine the theme of sacrifice in Ignatius' thought on his death. Finally, we shall take up the theme of imitation. Each of these parts, moreover, will serve to introduce the reexamination of each theme to be offered in part two of the present study.

1. Discipleship: The μαθητής (Disciple)
and Ignatius' Thought on His Death

In its understanding of the place of discipleship in Ignatius' view of his death, modern scholarship continues to rely on the line of interpretation proposed by J.B. Lightfoot (1885)¹⁸ and popularized in the German-speaking world by Walter Bauer (1921).¹⁹

¹⁸Lightfoot, S. Ignatius, pp. 203f., 215 & 355.

¹⁹Bauer, Die Briefe, p. 198.

The Lightfoot-Bauer vision of Ignatian discipleship is based ultimately on Lightfoot's consideration of the use of the word μαθητής (disciple) in the Ignatian letters. Actually, the term is used in what appear to be two different groups of texts. To the first group belong those texts which use the term μαθητής in connection with the theme of endurance:

Mag. 9:1, Rom. 3:2, Rom. 4:2, Eph. 1:2 and Pol. 7:1.

Mag. 9:1 δι' ... καὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ,
 ὅτι τινες ἀρνοῦνται,
 δι' οὗ μυστηρίου ἐλάβομεν τὸ πιστεῦειν,
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπομένομεν,
 ἵνα εὐρεθῶμεν μαθηταὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
 τοῦ μόνου διδασκάλου ἡμῶν. 20

²⁰Mag. 9:1, "...and through His death, which some deny, through which mystery we received faith, and for this reason endure in order to be found disciples of Jesus Christ, our only teacher..."

- Roms. 3:2 μόνον μοι δύναμιν αἰτεῖσθε
 ἔσωθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν,
 ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγω,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ θέλω,
 μὴ ἵνα μόνον λέγωμαι Χριστιανός,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ εὑρεθῶ.
 ἔάν γὰρ εὑρεθῶ,
 καὶ λέγεσθαι δύναμαι καὶ τότε πιστὸς εἶναι
 ὅταν κόσμῳ μὴ φαίνωμαι. 21
- Roms. 4:2 τότε ἔσομαι μαθητὴς ἀληθοῦς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
 ὅτε οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμά μου ὃ κόσμος ὄψεται. 22
- Eph. 1:2 ἀκούσαντες γὰρ δεδεμένον ἀπὸ Συρίας
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ ἐλπίδος,
 ἐλπίζοντα τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν
 ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐν Ῥώμῃ θηριομαχεῖν
 ἵνα ἐπιτυχεῖν δυνηθῶ μαθητὴς εἶναι,
 ἵδεῖν ἐσπουδάσατε. 23

²¹Roms. 3:2, "Only seek for me the power inward and outward that I may not only speak but also be willing, that I may not only be said to be a Christian but also be found one. For if I am found one, I will be able both to be called and then, actually to be faithful, when I am no longer visible to the world."

²²Roms. 4:2, "Then I will truly be a disciple of Jesus Christ when there is nothing left of me for the world to see."

²³Eph. 1:2, "For when you heard that I was taken bound from Syria for our common name and hope, in the hope of attaining by your prayer to fight the beasts in Rome to be able to attain to be a disciple (or, if the text reads ἵνα διὰ τοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν 'in order that by attaining I may,' be enabled to be a disciple) you made haste to visit me. See the discussion of this reading below in footnote 37, esp. p. 29f.

Pol. 7:1 ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἐκκλησία
 ἡ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας εἰρηνεύει,
 ὥς ἐδηλώθη μοι, διὰ τὴν προσευχὴν ὑμῶν,
 καὶ γὰρ εὐθυμότερος ἐγενόμην ἐν ἀμεριμνίᾳ θεοῦ,
 εἰς τὸ εὐρεθῆναι με ἐν τῇ αἰτήσῃ ὑμῶν μαθητῇ.²⁴

To the second group belong those texts in which μαθητής
 is used to explain Ignatius' inability to "give orders"
 (διατάσσομαι) to his readers in the churches of Asia Minor.
 The argument itself appears in four of Ignatius' letters.
 In only three cases, however, (Eph. 3:1-4:1, Roms. 4-5,
 Tral. 3:3-6:1) do the terms μαθητής or μαθητεύομαι
 appear.

Eph. 3:1 οὐ διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν ὡς ὧν τις,
 εἰ γὰρ καὶ δέδεμαι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι,
 οὕτω ἀπήρτισμαι ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ.
 νῦν γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἔχω τοῦ μαθητεύεσθαι
 καὶ προσλαλῶ ὑμῖν ὡς συνδιδασκαλίταις μου.
 ἐμὲ γὰρ ἔδει ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὑπαλειφθῆναι
 πίστει, νοουθεσίᾳ, ὑπομονῇ, μακροθυμίᾳ.
 3:2 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἡ ἀγάπη οὐκ ἔφ' με σιωπᾶν περὶ ὑμῶν,
 διὰ τοῦτο προέλαβον παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς, ...²⁵

²⁴ Pol. 7:1, "Since the Church at Antioch of Syria is at peace through your prayer, as was made known to me, I too am in better spirits through God's freedom-from-care, supposing that through suffering I may attain God and be found a disciple by your intercession."

²⁵ Eph. 3:1-2, "I do not give you orders as if I were somebody, for though I am bound for the Name, I am not yet perfected in Jesus Christ. For now I am just beginning to be a disciple and I speak with you as with fellow students. I must be prepared by you in faith, exhortation, endurance and great-heartedness. Yet since love does not allow me to be silent concerning you, for this reason, I have undertaken to exhort you..."

- Roms. 4:3 οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν.
ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι, ἐγὼ κατάκριτος.
ἐκεῖνοι ἐλεύθεροι, ἐγὼ δὲ μέχρι νῦν δοῦλος...
καὶ νῦν μανθάνω δεδεδεμένος μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν.
- 5:1 ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ,...
ἐνδεδεμένος δέκα λεοπαρδοῖς;
ὃ ἐστὶν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα...
ἐν δὲ τοῖς δεικνύμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι,
ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμα.
- 5:3 συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε.
τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ γινώσκω.
νῦν ἀρχομαι μαθητῆς εἶναι
μηδὲν με ζηλῶσαι τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ δοράτων,
ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.²⁶
- Tral. 3:3 ἀγαπῶν ὑμᾶς φείδομαι,
συντονώτερον δυνάμενος γράφειν ὑπὲρ τεύτου.
οὐκ εἰς φήθην,
ἵνα ὢν κατάκριτος.
- 4:1 ὡς ἀπόστολος ὑμῖν διατάσσομαι.
πολλὰ φρονῶ ἐν θεῷ,
ἀλλ' ἑμαυτὸν μετρῶ,
ἵνα μὴ ἐν καυχῇσιν ἀπόλωμαι.
νῦν γὰρ με δεῖ πλέον φοβεῖσθαι
καὶ μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς φουσιουσί μοι.
- 4:2 οἱ γὰρ λέγοντές μοι μαστιγοῦσίν με.
ἀναπῶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ παθεῖν,
ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα, εἰ ἄξιός εἰμι.
τὸ γὰρ ζῆλος πολλοῖς μὲν οὐ φαίνεται,
ἐμὲ δὲ πλέον πολεμεῖ.
χρηῖζω οὖν πραότητος,
ἐν ᾗ καταλύεται ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἵωνος τούτου.

²⁶Roms. 4:3-5:3, "I do not give you orders like Peter or Paul. They were apostles, I am a condemned man. They were free, I, however, up to now am still a slave . . . And now, being bound, I am learning to desire nothing. From Syria to Rome I am fighting the beasts...bound as I am to ten 'leopards', that band of my guards . . . But from their injustices I am learning more, but I am not justified by this. . . . heed my opinion. I know what is best for me. Now I begin to be a disciple; I desire nothing either seen or unseen that I may attain Jesus Christ."

- Tral. 5:1 μὴ οὐ δύναμαι ὑμῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια γράψαι;
ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι,
μὴ νηπίοις οὖσιγ ὑμῖν βλάβην παραθῶ.
καὶ συγγνωμονεῖτέ μοι,
μήποτε οὐ δυνηθέντες χωρῆσαι
στραγγαλωθῇτε.
- 5:2 καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ, οὐ
καθότι δέδεμαι καὶ δύναμαι νοεῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια
καὶ τὰς τοποθεσίας τὰς ἀγγελικὰς
καὶ τὰς συστάσεις τὰς ἀρχοντικὰς,
ὁρατὰ τε καὶ δόρατα,
παρὰ τοῦτο ἤδη καὶ μαθητὴς εἰμι.
πολλὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν λείπει,
ἵνα θεοῦ μὴ λειπώμεθα.
- 6:1 παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς,
οὐκ ἐγώ,
ἀλλ' ἡ ἀγάπη Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ....²⁷

²⁷Tral. 3:3-6:1, "Because I love you, I am writing only briefly, though I am able to write much more sharply on this matter. I will not do this lest, being a condemned man, I give you orders like an apostle. I have many thoughts in God but I measure myself that I not perish through boasting. At the present time, it has become necessary for me to be more the wary and not to lend an ear to those who flatter me. Those who speak this way are an affliction to me. I desire to suffer, but I do not know that I am worthy. The desire is not visible to many but it presses within me all the more. I have need of humility by which the Prince of this Age is destroyed. Could I not write to you of heavenly things? Yet I fear that I would be doing you harm at your tender age. And this you must allow me, lest you choke on (a teaching) which you are not yet able to take in. For I myself, though in bonds and able to understand heavenly things and the places of angels and the gatherings of Archons, things seen and unseen, not for this am I even now already a disciple. For much is lacking in us, that we may not lack God. In light of all this, I exhort you, not I but the love of Jesus Christ..."

Two theses proposed by Lightfoot and Bauer have come to dominate scholarship's understanding of Ignatius' use of the term μαθητής in these texts: First, it is proposed that Ignatius believed that martyrdom would actually "make" him a disciple. Secondly, it is proposed that Ignatius understood suffering to be the "beginning of discipleship", and martyrdom its "completion".

Based on these theses, scholarly analyses of Ignatian discipleship have concluded that Ignatius saw martyrdom to be an important and necessary part of the life of all true followers of Christ. Bauer himself went so far as to suggest that for Ignatius, the term μαθητής is synonymous with "martyr".²⁸ Subsequent scholarship has not deviated from this view.²⁹

²⁸Bauer, Die Briefe, p.198. ". . . gleichwertig mit Märtyrer". See also Günther, Ibid., p. 143 ff. and especially Brox, Ibid., p. 207, who suggests that Ignatius used the term μαθητής to designate the martyr inasmuch as the martyrological sense of μαρτυρ itself had yet to be established in common usage during Ignatius' lifetime.

²⁹E. Günther, ΜΑΡΤΥΡ: Die Geschichte eines Wortes. (Gütersloh: L. Bertelsmann, 1941), pp. 143-160; Brox, Zeuge und Märtyrer, pp. 203-225, 234, 236. Both of these works extend the lines of interpretation offered by Bauer. An independent and critical, if ultimately unsuccessful, attempt to deal with the sense of the verb μαθητεύω was offered by Dom Miguel Estrade, "Dos frases de la carta de S. Ignacio de Antioquia a los Romanos [Rom. 5, 1 y Rom. 6, 17]", Helmantica I (1950), 310-318.

Our own analyses of the relevant texts, however, suggest that the thought of Ignatius is misunderstood in the Lightfoot-Bauer theses. The Ignatian use of the term μαθητής actually reflects a view of discipleship quite different from that which is suggested by the theses of Lightfoot and Bauer. Both of the major theses proposed by Lightfoot and Bauer can in fact be shown to reflect mistaken understandings of key texts in the Ignatian letters. Let us reexamine the matter.

Lightfoot's thesis to the effect that Ignatius thought martyrdom would make him a μαθητής made its first appearance in his commentary on Roms. 3:2 and 4:2.³⁰

Roms. 3:2 μόνον μοι δύναμιν αἰτεῖσθε
 ἔσωθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν,
 ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγω,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ θέλω,
 μὴ ἵνα μόνον λέγωμαι Χριστιανός,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐρεθῶ.
 ἐὰν γὰρ εὐρεθῶ,
 καὶ λέγεσθαι δύναμαι καὶ τότε πιστὸς εἶναι
 ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ μὴ φαίνωμαι. 31

³⁰Lightfoot, S. Ignatius, p. 204.

³¹Roms. 3:2, Only seek for me the power inward and outward that I may not only speak but also be willing, that I may not only be said to be a Christian but also be found one. For if I am found one, I will be able both to be called and then, actually to be faithful, when I am no longer visible to the world."

Roms. 4:2 τότε ἔσομαι μαθητῆς ἀληθῶς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
ὅτε οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμα μου ὁ κόσμος ὄψεται.³²

Lightfoot correctly discerned a relationship between these two texts. The terms πιστός and μαθητής (and Χριστιανός) function in these texts as equivalents.³³ What is unclear is the cause and effect relationship between martyrdom and being a μαθητής.

First of all, the concern of Ignatius in Roms. 3:2 bears on how he will face his death. He is concerned about being able to "be found a Christian" (= a μαθητής) in the way that he faces death. Here Ignatius speaks out of a certainty that if he is to be found a Christian in confronting death, he will not only "be able to be called" but "be able to be" "a believer" (πιστός). Death here is a chronological limit. Ignatius can entertain the application to himself of the terms Χριστιανός, πιστός and μαθητής only after his death -- but not necessarily because of it. His rationale is simple enough. Before that time there would still be a chance that he might fail, that he might not be able to meet death in the right way. Hence the importance of the concept of "enduring". Roms. 3:2 is adequately understood in this context. The text does not say that martyrdom

³²Roms. 4:2; "Then I will truly be a disciple of Jesus Christ when there is nothing left of me for the world to see."

³³Ibid. "His martyrdom alone will make him πιστός, a believer, as it alone will make him truly a μαθητής."

itself is what would make Ignatius a μαθητής.

But if this conception is not expressed in Roms. 3:2, can it be said that Lightfoot's "cause and effect" view (martyrdom is the cause, discipleship the effect) is relevant to Roms. 4:2? Not at all. In this text the conception of the μαθητής is different even from that of Roms. 3:2.

Roms. 4:2 τότε ἔσομαι μαθητὴς ἀληθῶς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
ὅτε οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμά μου ὁ κόσμος ὄψεται.³⁴

As in Roms. 3:2, it seems that death here is nothing more than a chronological limit before which the term μαθητής will not be properly used of Ignatius. But being a μαθητής is not brought about by death itself. Ignatius' point is that his discipleship is bound up with his being separated from the κόσμος and oriented solely to Christ. In fact, Ignatius' statement here is part of an extensive devotional argument presented throughout the entire letter to the Romans. If anything makes Ignatius a μαθητής in Roms. 4:2, it is his devotion to Christ, reflected in his turning away from the world. It is not death.

From the analysis of these two texts, we conclude that the meaning intended by Ignatius was different from that proposed by Lightfoot. Ignatius hoped to "be found a Christian"

³⁴Roms. 4:2, "Then I will truly be a disciple of Jesus Christ when there is nothing left of me for the world to see."

in the way that he faced his death (Roms. 3:2) and spoke of "being a μαθητής only when he was totally separated from the κόσμος, the alternative to God in the thinking of Ignatius (Roms. 4:2). Certainly one finds no basis in these texts from which to infer that Ignatius understood that death itself would transform him into a μαθητής. One might conjecture, however, that Lightfoot's view was suggested at least in part by the texts of Pol. 7:1 and Eph. 1:2.

Pol. 7:1 ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἐκκλησία
ἡ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας εἰρηνεύει,
ὡς ἐδηλώθη μοι, διὰ τὴν προσευχὴν ὑμῶν,
καὶ γὰρ εὐθυμότερος ἐγενόμην ἐν ἀμεριμνίᾳ θεοῦ,
ἐάνπερ διὰ τοῦ παθεῖν θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω,
εἰς τὸ εὐρεθῆναί με ἐν τῇ αἰτήσῃ ὑμῶν μαθητὴν.³⁵

Eph. 1:2 ἀκούσαντες γὰρ δεδεμένον ἀπὸ Συρίας
ὕπερ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ ἐλπίδος,
ἐλπίζοντα τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν
ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐν Ῥώμῃ θηριομαχεῖν
ἵνα ἐπιτυχεῖν δυνηθῶ μαθητὴς εἶναι,
ἵδεῖν ἐσπουδάσατε.³⁶

³⁵Pol. 7:1, "Since the Church at Antioch of Syria is at peace through your prayer, as was made known to me, I too am in better spirits through God's freedom-from-care, supposing that through suffering I may attain God and be found a disciple by your intercession."

³⁶Eph. 1:2, "For when you heard that I was taken bound from Syria for our common name and hope, in the hope of attaining by your prayer to fight the beasts in Rome to be able to attain to be a disciple (or, if the text reads ἵνα διὰ τοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν 'in order that by attaining I may be enabled to be a disciple') you made haste to visit me."

At first sight these texts do seem to support the kind of cause and effect interpretation of martyrdom and discipleship proposed by Lightfoot. A closer examination, however, indicates that they are cryptic parallels to the call for assistance which we have seen in Roms. 3:2. It seems likely, therefore, that the conceptions of "being found" (Pol. 7:1) and "being enabled to be" (Eph. 1:2) a μαθητής should be understood in the same sense as "being found a Christian" and "being enabled to be πιστός" are used in Roms. 3:2. Pol. 7:1 and Eph. 1:2 express the same line of thinking as does Roms. 3:2 but do so in a hurried fashion which has left them open to misinterpretation.³⁷

³⁷ To establish the exact understanding being articulated here in Pol. 7:1 and Eph. 1:2, without reference to Roms. 3:2, is difficult. Both texts are actually elongated sentence fragments which feature a reliance upon a series of clauses loosely strung together. Certainly Ignatius is attempting in these texts to express a number of ideas. In both cases, however, he seems to have ultimately abandoned his original purpose and moved on to the beginning of a new thought without finishing his sentence. Textual variants, proposed by a variety of editors further complicate the discussion of each of these texts. Ultimately, it seems that these texts are actually "parallels" to that of Roms. 3:2 in the sense, at least, that they seem to have been intended to express the same call for prayers in the face of death that is to be found in Roms. 3:2 and other similar "parallel" texts (see below p. 120ff). This factor in addition to the fact that Pol. 7:1 and Eph. 1:2 share with these other texts the use of expressions such as "attaining God" (θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν) and "being found a disciple" (εὐρέθηναι μαθητήν), suggests that the conception of the "μαθητής" that is coming to articulation in these texts is most probably the same as that suggested by the text of Roms. 3:2. Moreover, the existence of these "ties" between the texts of Pol. 7:1, Eph. 1:2 and Roms. 3:2 make it impossible to identify these two

Our guide to the understanding of Ignatius in the texts of Pol. 7:1 and Eph. 1:2 must be the relatively straight-

texts as an individual group of μαθητής texts which might be thought to articulate a conception of the μαθητής, different from that suggested by Roms. 3:2.

In the light of the importance of these texts in the traditional discussion of Ignatian discipleship, it seems appropriate to offer comment on each of these texts.

The text of Pol. 7:1 seems to have been quite important to Lightfoot. Lightfoot suggested in his commentary that the text identified discipleship as "the final result of martyrdom" (Lightfoot, S. Ignatius, p. 355). Actually, however, "attaining God" (θεοῦ ἐπιτύχειν) and "being found a disciple" (εὐρεθῆναι μαθητήν) seem to be very independent goals in Ignatius' scenario of his death. (cf. below p.125). One is "found a disciple" in his/her acts. "Attaining God", on the other hand, seems to be little different from "going to heaven". There is little reason to suppose that "attaining God", therefore, was understood by Ignatius to bring about "being found a disciple". The grammatical connection between the two clauses in Pol. 7:1 reflects Ignatius' preference for subordination within complex sentences and avoidance of parataxical constructions. "Being found a disciple" does not seem to be rightly understood as consequent to "attaining God".

Rather clearly, "suffering" (τὸ παθεῖν) is portrayed in the text of Pol. 7:1 as an agent. (ἐάνπερ διὰ τοῦ παθεῖν θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω). Yet it seems that this expression is basically intended to follow the pattern established in the previous clause (ἡ ἐκκλησία...εἰρηνεύει... διὰ τὴν προσευχὴν ὑμῶν). Thus, Ignatius is noting just as the Church of Antioch has "attained peace" through your prayer, its bishop hopes to "reach peace" (attain God) through suffering. Moreover, it seems extremely pretentious to attempt to define the relationship between suffering and "attaining God" from this text alone. Lightfoot, on the other hand, believing that "attaining God" and "being found a disciple" were equivalent in Ignatian thought (Lightfoot, S. Ignatius, p. 215) and understanding the clause "εἰς τὸ εὐρεθῆναι με κτλ." to be a true result clause, seems to have thought that suffering was the first step in a chain of events

forward positions expressed in Roms. 3:2. To understand Ignatius' conception of the Christian μαθητής from his

which ended ultimately with "being found a disciple". Much more probably, however, this final clause marks only the attempt of Ignatius to include in this text an additional call for the help of his readership (ἐν τῇ αἰ-
τήσει, Pol. 7:1) to enable him to face death properly. (cf. Roms. 3:2) It is, in fact, this call for "assis-
tance" as well as the use of the expression "to be found a disciple" (εὐρεθῆναι μαθητήν) that suggests a tie be-
tween the text of Pol. 7:1 and that of Roms. 3:2.

Finally, with reference to the text of Pol. 7:1, it must be noted that the argument of Lightfoot for the reading "ἐν τῇ αἰτήσει", ibid., seems compelling. The alternative reading "ἐν τῇ ἀναστροφή", suggested by Zahn, Ignatii Epistulae, p. 104 with reservations, Funk, Epistulae Ignatii, p. 252 and the Funk-Bihlmeyer Edition, p. 112, ignores the ties between this text and those of Eph. 1:2 and Roms. 3:2. So too, it would be a very sin-
gular reference to the Resurrection in the Ignatian let-
ters, cf. Corwin, St. Ignatius, p. 228.

Like the text of Pol. 7:1, that of Eph. 1:2 seems to give a relatively unclear articulation to the thought of Ignatius. Again, its call for prayers that will en-
able him to "attain" and its use of the expression "to be enabled to be" suggest a link between the text of Eph. 1:2 and that of Roms. 3:2. Perhaps the most im-
portant question to be brought to this text is its tes-
timony regarding the relationship that Ignatius under-
stood to exist between "attaining . . . to fight the
beasts" on the one hand and "being enabled to attain to
be a disciple" on the other. Most probably, Ignatius
had in mind that the prayers of his Ephesian readers
would help him to face his death properly, i.e. to
"fight the beasts", not flee from them or fear them.
Possibly, Ignatius understood this type of confrontation
with "the beasts" to be the same as "attaining to be a
disciple". More probably, however, Ignatius sought to
speak of "being enabled to be a μαθητής" here in Eph.
1:2 in the same sense as that of "being enable to be
'πιστός'" in Roms. 3:2. In that text, he noted that he
would not "be able to be 'πιστός'" until after he had
"been found a Christian" in his confrontation with
death. Thus, here in Eph. 1:2, Ignatius may have wished

use of the term in the cryptic texts of Pol. 7:1 and Eph. 1:2 is unnecessary and, in fact, a mistake.

his readers to understand that "being enabled to be a 'μαθητής'" will only follow if he is first able to meet his death in a way appropriate for a Christian. Rather obviously, Ignatius left himself open to gross misinterpretation in this text. The basic confusion is witnessed by the wide variety of textual variants and proposed readings that have sought to make sense out of the text. Lightfoot (1885), himself, argued (*Ibid.*, p. 30 f.) that the original form of the text had been: ". . . ἐπιτιθεῖν ἐν Ῥώμῃ θηριομαχῆσαι ὥνα διὰ τοῦ ἐπιτιθεῖν δουλεῖν μαθητὴς εἶναι . . ." On this point, Lightfoot differed from both Zahn (1876) (*Ignatii Epistulae*, p. 4) and Funk (1881) (*Epistulae Ignatii*, p. 174), who both rejected the reading "διὰ τοῦ". Yet even if the Lightfoot reading is adopted, it is doubtful that the case for the "cause and effect interpretation" of Ignatian discipleship would be significantly enhanced. Notably, this reading suggests that it is through "attaining" that Ignatius will be (enabled to be) a disciple, not through "fighting the beasts" or "suffering" (cf. Pol. 7:1). It would be a mistake, however, to suggest that the key issue in the discussion of Eph. 1:2 is the reading of the text. The key question is, rather, the meaning of Ignatius that is coming to articulation, if cryptically, in the text. Ignatius is not simply asking here for prayers that he be martyred. Rather, he asks for prayers that he might "attain to fight the beasts". It is not that "fighting the beasts" will make him a disciple but, rather, that the prayer that enables him to fight the beasts thereby enables him "not only to be found, but to be" a disciple. Again, this sense seems suggested by the similarities between Eph. 1:2 and the text of Roms. 3:2, and seems to make the best sense of one of the most important and most difficult texts found in the Ignatian letters.

The second thesis that has dominated scholarly discussion of discipleship in Ignatius proposes that Ignatius understood suffering to be the beginning, and martyrdom the completion, of discipleship. Like the first thesis, this can be traced back to Lightfoot. But, again, it is based on questionable interpretations. Two texts merit special attention inasmuch as they have been consistently cited in support of the thesis:

- Eph. 3:1 οὐ διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν ὡς ὢν τις,
 εἰ γὰρ καὶ δέδεμαι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι,
 οὕτω ἀπήρτισμαι ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ.
 νῦν γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἔχω τοῦ μαθητεῦσθαι
 καὶ προσλαλῶ ὑμῖν ὡς συνδιδασκαλίταις μου.
 ἐμὲ γὰρ ἔδει ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὑπαλειφθῆναι
 πίστει, νοουθεσίᾳ, ὑπομονῇ, μακροθυμίᾳ.
 3:2 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἡ ἀγάπη οὐκ ἔφ' με σιωπᾶν περὶ ὑμῶν,
 διὰ τοῦτο προέλαβον παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς,...³⁸
- Roms. 4:3 οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν.
 ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι, ἐγὼ κατάκριτος·
 ἐκεῖνοι ἐλεύθεροι, ἐγὼ δὲ μέχρι νῦν δοῦλος...
 καὶ νῦν μανθάνω δεδεδεμένος μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν.
 5:1 ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ,...
 ἐνδεδεμένος δέκα λεοπάρδοις,
 ὃ ἐστὶν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα...
 ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι,
 ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμα.

³⁸Eph. 3:1-2; "I do not give you orders as if I were somebody, for though I am bound for the Name, I am not yet perfected in Jesus Christ. For now I am just beginning to be a disciple and I speak with you if with fellow students. I must be prepared by you in faith, exhortation, endurance and great-heartedness. Yet since love does not allow me to be silent concerning you, for this reason, I have undertaken to exhort you..."

5:3 συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε.
 τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ γινώσκω.
 νῦν ἄρχομαι μαθητῆς εἶναι
 μηδέν με ζηλῶσαι τῶν δοσάτων καὶ δοσάτων,
 ὅτι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.³⁹

Focusing his attention on the statement: "νῦν ἄρχομαι
 μαθητῆς εἶναι" (Roms. 5:3), Lightfoot noted:

The commencement of his sufferings is the
 inauguration of his discipleship . . .
 This discipleship will only be complete,
 when his⁴⁰ sufferings are crowned by his
 passion.

A generation later Bauer merely paraphrased Lightfoot in
 suggesting that

so long as his blood has not yet been shed
 for the faith, he [Ignatius] is a beginner
 in discipleship . . .⁴¹

³⁹Roms. 4:3-5, "I do not give you orders like
 Peter or Paul. They were apostles. I am a condemned man.
 They were free. I, however, up to now am still a slave
 . . . And now, being bound, I am learning to desire noth-
 ing. From Syria to Rome I am fighting the beasts...bound as
 I am to ten 'leopards', that band of my guards . . . But
 from their injustices I am learning more, but I am not
 justified by this . . . Heed my opinion. I know what is
 best for me. Now I begin to be a disciple; I desire noth-
 ing either seen or unseen that I may attain Jesus Christ."

⁴⁰Lightfoot, S. Ignatius, p. 215, cf. p. 31.

⁴¹Bauer, Die Briefe, p. 198. ". . . solange sein
 Blut noch nicht für den Glauben geflossen ist, ein Anfänger
 im Jüngertum ist . . ."

Even more clearly, perhaps, than in the case of the first thesis, Lightfoot's view has attained almost canonical status. Several generations of scholars have been convinced of its value for defining Ignatius' thought on his death.

The crux of the question may be said to be the meaning of the two expressions "beginning to be a disciple" (Eph. 3:1 and Roms. 5:3) and "being complete", ἀνήρτισμαι (Eph. 3:1) as they are used by Ignatius. An accurate understanding of Ignatius' meaning necessitates the recognition that these expressions are employed as parts of a standard argument which appears several times in his letters.⁴²

Ignatius' argument in Eph. 3:1 follows a pattern discernible in most of the other texts of this group. He declines to characterize his "exhortations" as "orders". He points first to something positive in his case but immediately shifts the focus to something negative. In Eph. 3:1 he begins by calling attention to the fact that he is "bound" (εἰ γὰρ καὶ δεδεσμαι), but immediately switches to the fact that he is "not yet completed" (οὐπω ἀνήρτισμαι). His conception of the μαθητῆς in this instance is that of the Christian without the weaknesses Ignatius can see in himself. The μαθητῆς envisioned here as well as in Tral. 3:3 is "perfect". Thus we may speak of the sense of the

⁴²Eph. 3:1-2; Tral. 3:3-6:1, Phil. 5 and Roms. 4-5. See below pp. 131-150 for an analysis of these four texts.

term being used in these texts as "perfectionist".⁴³ By way of contrast, in Eph. 3:1 Ignatius only "begins to be a disciple" and seeks instruction from his "fellow students" in Ephesus.

The interpretation of Lightfoot and Bauer asks us to conclude that Ignatius is refusing in these texts to "give orders" to his readers because he has not yet been put to death. Are we being asked to believe that Ignatius expected to "give orders" from the grave? Such an interpretation seems as unnecessary as it is unreasonable. Moreover, the interpretation of Lightfoot and Bauer can make little sense either of the idiom of education (μαθητεύομαι, συνδιδασκαλίταις) or of Ignatius' desire for an increase in the virtues of πίστις, νοῦθεσία, ὑπομονή μακροθυμία.

Ignatius' point in Eph. 3:1-2 seems clear enough. Though esteemed by others, he was aware of weaknesses in his spiritual life. He was "not as yet complete" (οὐκ ὤντω

⁴³Such a conception seems to have been discerned by Zahn in the decade before Lightfoot. Zahn, Ignatii Epistulae, p. 48. "For Ignatius has taken upon himself this concept of the disciple that only they are disciples who are perfect . . ." ("Nam discipuli notionem eam sibi confirmavit Ign., ut discipuli non sint, nisi qui perfecti sint") Cf. Zahn, Ignatius von Antiochien, pp. 406ff.

ἀνηρτισμαί). To translate that thought into the category of discipleship, he could say that he was only "now beginning to be a disciple". He hoped that his "fellow learners" could somehow make up for his weaknesses. Far from "being complete", Ignatius saw himself as unable to "give orders" to the Churches of Asia Minor. In Eph. 3:1 to be at "the beginning of being a disciple" has a negative thrust. It stands at a distance from the ideal of "to be complete".

In approaching Roms. 5:3, we should first note that "beginning to be a disciple" has little or no negative thrust. The expression is used in a way different from that we have just seen in Eph. 3:1-2.

Roms. 4:3 οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν.
 ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι, ἐγὼ κατὰκριτος·
 ἐκεῖνοι ἐλεύθεροι, ἐγὼ δὲ μέχρι νῦν δοῦλος...
 καὶ νῦν μανθίνω δεδεδεμένος μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν.
 5:1 ἰπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ,...
 ἐνδεδεμένος δέκα λεοπαρδοῖς,
 ὃ ἐστὶν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα...
 ἐν δὲ τοῖς δεικῆμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι,
 ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδιδάσκωμαι.
 5:3 συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε·
 τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ γινώσκω.
 νῦν ἄρχομαι μαθητῆς εἶναι.
 μηδὲν με ζηλῶσαι τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ δοράτων,
 ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.⁴⁴

44

Roms. 4:3, "I do not give you orders like Peter or Paul. They were apostles. I am a condemned man. They were free. I, however, up to now am still a slave . . . And now, being bound, I am learning to desire nothing."

From Syria to Rome, I am fighting the beasts... bound as I am to ten 'leopards', that band of my guards. . . . But from their injustice I am learning more, but I

In this text Ignatius seems most interested in characterizing his discipleship as something that is growing and developing. His language at first is that of education, as in Eph. 3:1-2. He is "learning to desire nothing" (Roms. 4:3).⁴⁵ He is even learning from the cruel treatment of his guards (Roms. 5:1). Yet when Ignatius speaks of "beginning to be a disciple", his conception of the Christian μαθητής emphasizes the individual's devotion to God and lack of interest in all else. Ignatius notes that he has no desire for "things seen and unseen" (cf. "learning to desire nothing", Roms. 4:3). He is not even concerned with the horrors that await him in Rome.

am not justified by this Heed my opinion. I know what is best for me. Now I begin to be a disciple; I desire nothing either seen or unseen that I may attain Jesus Christ."

⁴⁵Of all the interpreters of Ignatius, Lightfoot (*S. Ignatius*, pp. 31, 203f) seems to have been the only one to draw attention to the fact that Ignatius associated the terms μαθητής and μαθητεύομαι with μανθάνω and the teaching-learning model. Indeed, understanding such an association is necessary for the understanding of the text of Eph. 3:1 where Ignatius moves from speaking of "beginning to be a disciple" to identifying his Ephesian readers as his "fellow classmates" (συνδιδασκάλιταις). This association is also important for understanding the sense of Roms. 4:3-5:3, where Ignatius speaks of "learning to desire nothing" and of "learning more" (μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι) from the injustices of his guards. See below pp. 158-169.

Roms. 5:3 πῦρ καὶ σταυρὸς θηρίων τε συστάσεις,
 ἀνατομαί, διαιρέσεις,
 σκορπίσμοι δαστέων, συγκοπαὶ μελῶν,
 δλεσμοὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος,
 καὶ κολάσεις τοῦ διαβόλου
 ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθωσαν, 46
 μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.

The "world" holds nothing for him. It is better to "die for Jesus Christ" than to rule all of it.

Roms. 6:1 οὐδὲν με ὠφελήσει τὰ πέρατα τοῦ κόσμου
 οὐδὲ αἱ βασιλεῖαι τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου.
 καλὸν μοι ἀποθανεῖν εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,
 ἢ βασιλεύειν τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς.
 ἐκεῖνον ζητῶ,
 τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα.
 ἐκεῖνον θέλω,
 τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀναστάντα. 47

Ignatius suggests in this text that he has finally begun to be a disciple because he has realized this perspective on his own devotional life. "Beginning to be a disciple", in this usage, is a very positive thing.

What emerges from our analysis of the expression "beginning to be a disciple" in the Ignatian letters is the impression that Ignatius could and did use this expression

⁴⁶Roms. 5:3 "Fire and cross and struggles with wild beasts, cutting, tearing apart, the racking of bones, the mangling of limbs, the crushing of the whole body, the cruel punishments of the devil himself. Let them all come upon me, only that I may attain Jesus Christ."

⁴⁷Roms. 6:1, "The ends of the world and the kingdoms of this age will be of no profit to me. It is better for me to die for Jesus Christ than to rule the ends of the world. I seek Him who died for us, I desire Him who rose for us."

in various ways: once (Eph. 3:1-2), on a negative note, measuring his distance from that of the "complete" Christian and, in a different way in Roms. 5:3, where he seems to indicate that he now "begins to be a disciple" because he has lost all interest in things other than God. The term μαθητής, then, is used in Eph. 3:1-2 and Roms. 5:3 (a) in a "perfectionist" sense (Eph. 3:1-2), and (b) with an emphasis on devotion to his Lord (Roms. 5:3). (cf. Roms. 4:2.)⁴⁸

In neither the text of Eph. 3:1-2 nor that of Roms. 5:3, however, does the subject of martyrdom or suffering bear upon being a μαθητής. Rightly understood, neither Eph. 3:1-2 nor Roms. 5:3 contributes positively to the thesis that Ignatius saw his sufferings as the inauguration of his discipleship or that he identified martyrdom itself as its "completion".

What, then, are the implications of the foregoing studies? Negatively, they suggest that the two major theses of Lightfoot and Bauer on discipleship in Ignatius' thought on his death are both doubtful. Neither thesis is clearly proposed in the relevant texts. Secondly, although both theses make certain parts of individual texts understandable,

⁴⁸ The relationship between the texts of Roms. 4:2 and Roms. 5:3 will be examined below in Part II. See below pp. 170-192.

they do not work for other parts of those texts. Finally, a close analysis of the texts cited in the discussion indicates that Ignatius was ^{using} μαθητής and μαθητεύουσα in senses different from those proposed by Lightfoot and Bauer. There does not seem to be any possibility that both senses can rightly be attributed to these texts. Moreover, the Ignatian letters nowhere offer support for the theses of Lightfoot and Bauer. Nor finally does it seem possible to attribute these two conceptions to Ignatius on the basis of a broader definition of "discipleship" within Ignatian thought.⁴⁹ In short, neither thesis can be relied on for the understanding of discipleship in Ignatius' thought on his death. It was a mistake to think that, apart from the sense "Christian", μαθητής occurs in the letters only in a special martyrological sense. Ignatius' usage of μαθητής was more complex than has been assumed. On this same basis, we reject the view that μαθητής in the thought of Ignatius was a synonym for μαρτυς.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ A sense in which discipleship is not defined solely by the use of the terms μαθητής and μαθητεύουσα; but, rather, a broader sense of what is expected of the Christian in Ignatian thought. See below pp. 193-207.

⁵⁰ It should not be concluded that the past century has provided no insight into the theme of discipleship in Ignatian thought. Indeed, there has been an alternative approach, as seen in the position of Zahn cited above in footnote 43. So too, as early as 1897, Edouard Bruston rejected the thesis that Ignatius hoped to attain perfection through martyrdom. Edouard Bruston, *Ignace d'Antioche: ses Épîtres, sa vie, sa théologie* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1897), p. 66 f. Yet Bruston's position like that of Zahn, did not endure nor find a following among later scholars.

On the positive side, the examinations of some of the μαθητής texts which we have just completed suggest that the place of discipleship in Ignatius' thought on his death needs reconsideration. Ignatius did use the term in speaking about his death. Still to be recovered, however, are the senses in which Ignatius did use this term and, more important, the implication of his use of the term for understanding the relation between martyrdom and discipleship in Ignatian thought.

2. Sacrifice

In addition to its interest in the Ignatian μαθητής, the major commentaries beginning with Zahn showed great interest in the question of whether or not Ignatius understood his death to be a sacrifice. The works of Zahn (1873, 1876), Funk (1881), and Lightfoot (1885) testify to a lively interest in the subject even before their own day. Walter Bauer (1920) likewise shared a concern for the question and interest in this theme did not die out after Bauer. Hans von Campenhausen's analysis of the theme of sacrifice within Ignatius' understanding of his death influenced the direction of the discussion after World War II. Sacrifice is the only major theme to have consistently attracted interest and comment over the past hundred years.

Focal points of this discussion are two groups of texts. The first is composed of two brief passages early in the letter to the Romans.

Roms. 2:2 πλέον·δέ μοι μὴ παράσχησθε
 τοῦ σπονδισθῆναι θεῷ,
 ὥς ἔτι θυσιαστήριον ἑτοιμόν ἐστιν,
 ἵνα ἐν ἀγάπῃ χορὸς γενόμενοι
 ὤσητε τῷ πατρὶ ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ,
 ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας κατηξίωσεν ὁ θεός
 εὑρεθῆναι εἰς δύσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς μεταπεμψάμενος.
 καλὸν τὸ δοῦναι ἀπὸ κόσμου πρὸς θεόν,
 ἵνα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνατεῖλω. ⁵¹

4:2B λιτανεύσατε τὸν Χριστὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ,
 ἵνα διὰ τῶν ὀργάνων τούτων
 θεοῦ θυσία εὑρεθῶ. ⁵²

The second group includes those texts in which Ignatius uses the expressions περίψημα ὑμῶν, ἀγνίζομαι ὑμῶν and ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν. Traditionally, this group of texts has been thought to include only the following texts: ⁵³

⁵¹ Roms. 2:2, "Allow me nothing more than to be poured out to God while the place of sacrifice is still ready so that having formed yourselves into a chorus in love, you may sing to the Father in Jesus Christ (saying) that the bishop of Syria has been made worthy by God to be found at the setting of the sun having been sent forth from its place of rising. It is a good thing to set to the world toward God, that I may rise to Him."

⁵² Roms. 4:2, "Pray to Christ for me that I may be found God's sacrifice through these instruments [i.e. the beasts]."

⁵³ In Part II of our study, p. 214 we shall argue that those texts in which Ignatius uses the expression ἀναίμην ὑμῶν (I am dedicated to you) likewise belong to this group (Eph. 2:2, Mag. 2:1, 12:1, Roms. 5:2 and Pol. 1:1). The relationship between these five texts and the seven cited above has not been noted in previous studies. Rather than complicate the discussion of the περίψημα-ἀγνίζομαι-ἀντίψυχον texts unnecessarily, it seems best at this time to delay introduction of this other group of texts. The justification of the following translations can be found below on pp. 217ff.

- Eph. 8:1 περίψημα ὑμῶν καὶ ἀγνίζομαι ὑμῶν Ἐφεσίων... ⁵⁴
- Eph. 18:1 περίψημα τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ σταυροῦ,
ὃ ἐστὶν σκάνδαλον τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσιν.
ἡμῖν δὲ σωτηρία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος. ⁵⁵
- Eph. 21:1 ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν ἐγὼ καὶ ὃν ἐπέμψατε
εἰς θεοῦ τιμὴν εἰς Σμύρναν,
ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν,
εὐχαριστῶν τῷ κυρίῳ,
ἀγαπῶν Πολύκαρπον ὡς καὶ ὑμᾶς. ⁵⁶
- Tral. 13:3 ἀγνίσκεται ὑμῶν τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα
οὐ μόνον νῦν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω. ⁵⁷
- Smyr. 10:2 ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμά μου
καὶ τὰ δεσμά μου
ἃ οὐχ ὑπερηφανήσατε οὐδὲ ἐπησχύνθητε. ⁵⁸
- Pol. 2:3 κατὰ πάντα σου ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ
καὶ τὰ δεσμά μου
ἃ ἠγάπησας. ⁵⁹
- Pol. 6:1 ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ,
πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνοις,
καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν μοι τὸ μέρος γένοιτο σχεῖν ἐν θεῷ. ⁶⁰

⁵⁴ Eph. 8:1, "I am dedicated (περίψημα) and devoted (ἀγνίζομαι) to you Ephesians. . ."

⁵⁵ Eph. 18:1, "I am wholly devoted to the cross, which is a scandal to unbelievers but to us is salvation and eternal life."

⁵⁶ Eph. 21:1, "I am devoted to you, and to those whom you send for the glory of God to Smyrna from where I am now writing to you, giving thanks to the Lord and loving Polycarp as I love you."

⁵⁷ Tral. 13:3, "I am devoted to you, not only now, but when I attain God."

⁵⁸ Smyr. 10:2, "I am devoted to you, as are my bonds which you treated neither with haughtiness nor shame."

⁵⁹ Pol. 2:3, "In all things I am devoted to you, as are my bonds which you have loved."

⁶⁰ Pol. 6:1, "I am devoted to those who are subject to the bishop, presbyters and deacons. May I have my portion with them in God."

In the past hundred years, the scholarly discussion of sacrifice in Ignatius' understanding of his death has addressed itself to three questions:

- (1) Did Ignatius understand his death to be a sacrifice in a technical sense?
- (2) Did he believe that others would benefit from his death? Who, in particular?
- (3) What kind of "benefit", "value" or "merit" did he believe his death would have for these others?

An adequate answer to any of these questions should make reference to one or both of the groups of texts cited above. Here and here alone Ignatius speaks of "sacrifice".

Each group of texts presents its own problems. First, the independent value of the first group (Roms. 2:2 and 4) for answering any of the three questions above is slight. To be sure, Ignatius did speak of himself in these texts as a *θύσις* and of the place of his death as a *θύσις ἀσκή-
σιος*. He could ask the Christians of Rome to allow him to be "poured out to God" as if he were a libation. But what is the significance of these texts? Is Ignatius indulging in a flight of poetic imagination? Or do these texts rightly suggest that the categories of sacrifice played a more significant role in his understanding of his death? Beyond this, are we to conclude that he actually did understand his death to be a sacrifice? The two texts of group one provide little help in arriving at any certainty on these questions. In the light of the indefinite witness of the texts of group

one (Roms. 2:2 and 4:2), the tendency of Ignatian scholarship to focus primarily on the texts of group two is understandable. But in its flight from the difficulties involved in interpreting the texts of group one, Ignatian scholarship moved away from the main data.

Where, then, is the present consensus on this subject? And does the present consensus merit support? First, present scholarly opinion tends to affirm the belief that Ignatius understood his death to be a sacrifice in a technical sense. Similarly, it accepts without question the view that Ignatius understood his sacrificial death to benefit other Christians. The "merit" of that death, moreover, is almost universally acknowledged to be either an "atonement" or even a "salvific sacrifice" similar to that attributed to Christ.

The development of this consensus was slow, spanning the period from the late nineteenth century to the 1950's. A sketch of this development will allow the reader to understand how and when the consensus was formed and prepare him for our critique of the consensus.

The development of the scholarly consensus on the theme of sacrifice in Ignatian thought has evolved through a series of separate stages, each with its own mood and its own dominant concerns and solutions. At least four of these stages can be discerned.

The earliest stage of the discussion extended from Zahn (1873) to the turn of the century. Here the historian can find a wide divergence of opinion on the περίψημα-ἀγνίσματα-ἀντίψυχον group -- a divergence which would later disappear. Lending unity to this period of criticism, however, was the participants' focus on the expression περίψημα ὑμῶν as the crux of the issue and a general agreement that Ignatius' usage derived from Paul.⁶¹ Four possible meanings of the expression were acknowledged. First, in its "literal sense" it meant "offscouring", "scum" or "filth".⁶² Secondly, the word could be used figuratively to refer to criminals (cp. I Cor. 4:13).⁶³

⁶¹ I Corinthians 4:13, "δυσφημούμενοι παρακαλοῦμεν ὡς περικαθάρματα τοῦ κόσμου ἐγενήθημεν, πάντων περίψημα ἕως ἄρτι." "Being maligned, we exhort you; we have become like the refuse of the world, the 'περίψημα' even until now." For the most recent analysis of the intention of Paul in using the terms "περικαθάρματα" and "περίψημα" see Stählin, "περίψημα", LNi, (1967), V, 90 f.

⁶² Walter Bauer, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, trans. W. Arndt & F.W. Gingrich (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 659. E.A. Sophocles, Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (New York: Ungar, 1977), p. 192. J.H. Moulton and G. Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1929), p. 510. G.W.H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 1078.

⁶³ Stählin, ibid. pp. 86f and 90f. See also J.B. Lightfoot, S. Ignatius, p. 50.

On the other hand, many interpreters urged that the expression $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\psi\eta\mu\alpha\ \acute{\upsilon}\mu\omega\nu$ had come to be used in Greek epistolography as a formal convention. In this sense the expression carried a meaning not unlike that of "your humble and devoted servant".⁶⁴ Fourthly, it seemed possible that Ignatius might have intended by this expression to identify himself as a sacrificial victim. Photius in his Lexicon noted that the expression $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\psi\eta\mu\alpha\ \gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\eta}\mu\omega\nu$ was pronounced over the criminal who was then cast into the sea at Athens as a "scapegoat".⁶⁵ Which of these senses (literal, figurative, conventional, or sacrificial) did Ignatius wish his readers to understand? And did he intend the same or a different sense in Eph. 8:1 and Eph. 18:1?

Debate over these questions centered on whether the conventional or the sacrificial sense was intended. Leading scholars were divided on this point. Zahn⁶⁶ and Lightfoot⁶⁷ suggested that the sacrificial sense of the term had little positive significance for the understanding of

⁶⁴ J.B. Lightfoot, S. Ignatius, p. 51. Bauer, LEXICON, p. 659. Stählin, " $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\psi\eta\mu\alpha$ ", p. 87 f.

⁶⁵ Photius, Lexicon, I, 732a. J.B. Lightfoot, S. Ignatius, p. 50 f. Bauer, Lexicon, p. 659. Stählin, " $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\psi\eta\mu\alpha$ ", p. 85 ff.

⁶⁶ Zahn, Ignatius von Antiochien, pp. 420 ff. and Ignatii Epistulae, p. 13.

⁶⁷ Lightfoot, S. Ignatius, p. 50 f.

Ignatius' texts. F.X. Funk,⁶⁸ on the contrary, insisted that the sacrificial sense was clearly intended at least in Eph. 18:1. No final resolution of the controversy emerged during this period and one often finds the texts variously translated up to the time of World War I.

From Lightfoot's perspective it was difficult to use these texts in the discussion unless it could be made plausible that Ignatius had a "sacrificial" message for his original readers. This problem was glossed over in the following stage of the discussion and has never really been confronted since.

In the late nineteenth century, then, we find the discussion of sacrifice in Ignatian thought focusing on the meaning of *περίψημα ὑμῶν*. By and large, the meanings of the other expressions, *ἀντίδομα ὑμῶν* and *ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν*, were thought either to follow from or be close if not identical to that attributed to *περίψημα ὑμῶν*.⁶⁹ New developments, however, were soon to enter the discussion and alter it

⁶⁸ F.X. Funk, *Epistulae Ignatii*, p. 179, 241.

⁶⁹ This position was especially clear in the work of Lightfoot, *S. Ignatius*, p. 50 f. Lightfoot could make sense out of the use of the genitive case (*ὑμῶν*) with the verb "*ἀντίδομα*" only by supposing that Ignatius must have intended this usage to parallel that of "*περίψημα ὑμῶν*", having found no other instance in which this combination appeared. Zahn, in *Ignatii Epistulae*, p. 13, suggested that both "*περίψημα*" and "*ἀντίψυχον*" had the same meaning, as did F.X. Funk, *Epistulae Ignatii*, pp. 179, 190 & 242.

radically.

The first decade of the twentieth century witnessed the emergence of two tendencies: a compromise understanding of $\mu\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\psi\eta\mu\alpha \delta\upsilon\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ (Ignatius intended both the "conventional" and the "sacrificial" sense)⁷⁰ and an interpretation of $\delta\upsilon\tau\acute{\rho}\iota\psi\upsilon\chi\omicron\nu\omicron\nu$ on the Jewish usage of the term as "ransom" or "atoning sacrifice".⁷¹ The views of Zahn, Funk and Lightfoot dropped out of the discussion. The standard translation of the $\delta\upsilon\tau\acute{\rho}\iota\psi\upsilon\chi\omicron\nu\omicron\nu$ texts adopted the sacrificial sense interpreted against the background of Judaism.

⁷⁰ Auguste Lelong, Ignace d'Antioche et Polycarpe de Smyrne Epîtres . . ., Vol. III: Les Pères Apostoliques, eds. Hemmer and Lejay (Paris: Picard, 1910), p. 13.

"This term contains a double idea: that of self-reproach and that of sacrifice. We find here this double sense; ' $\mu\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\psi\eta\mu\alpha \delta\upsilon\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ ' is intended to mean: first, I am the least among you and second, I am sacrificing my life for you." ("Ce mot renferme donc une double idée: celle d'abaissement et celle de sacrifice. Nous retrouvons ici ce double sens . . . ' $\mu\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\psi\eta\mu\alpha \delta\upsilon\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ ' veut dire: 1^e Je suis le plus petit, le dernier d'entre vous, et 2^e je sacrifie ma vie pour vous . . .") Cf. J.H. Srawley,

The Epistles of St. Ignatius (2nd ed.; London: SPCK, 1913), p. 47 f., who notes the possible sacrificial sense of the term but denies that it is to be understood as a part of Ignatius' meaning.

⁷¹ Adolf Hilgenfeld, in Ignatii Antiocheni et Polycarpi Smyrnaei Epistulae et Martyria (Berlin: Schwetschke, 1902), p. 275, called attention to the use of the term in Josephus. Subsequent scholars, however, have consistently pointed to the work commonly known as IV Maccabees: Bauer, Die Briefe, p. 219 and Lexicon, p. 75; Othmar Perler, "Das vierte Makk.", pp. 51 f., 57 and 63; Stahlin, " $\mu\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\psi\eta\mu\alpha$ ", p. 92; Joseph A. Fischer, ed., Die apostolischen Väter (München: Kösel Verlag, 1956), p. 161, footnote 99; Grant, Ignatius, pp. 14 & 53; Lohse,

Walter Bauer represents the third stage of the discussion: The two views typifying the second stage flowed directly into his commentary of 1921. Following German custom, Bauer translated ἀντίψυχον by Lösegeld (ransom), so recognizing a sacrificial dimension in Eph. 8:1 and 18:1. First, Bauer argued that the conventional sense of the term ("your most humble servant" or Euer alleruntertänigster Diener) was in fact intended by Ignatius. This sense was the one that appeared in his translation. Yet, unable to dismiss the "sacrificial sense", Bauer noted that there was "perhaps something else that might be indicated for a correct understanding" of the texts. He thus introduced his suggestion that περίψυχα as a conventional salutation might have been deliberately chosen for its sacrificial connotations (Sühnopfer, Lösegeld; "atoning sacrifice", "ransom").⁷²

Martyrer, p. 208; Heinrich Rathke, Ignatius von Antiochien und die Paulusbriefe (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1967), p. 74, footnote 1 cf. pp. 32 f.

⁷² Bauer, Die Briefe, p. 207 f. "Es war mehr und mehr zu einem, der Verkehrssprache geläufigen, Ausdruck höflicher Selbsterniedrigung geworden, etwa= alleruntertänigster Diener...Für das richtige Verständnis unserer Stelle dagegen ist vielleicht noch auf etwas anderes hinzuweisen. Von der Urbedeutung aus und offenbar auf Grund der Erwägung, dass die Preisgabe des περίψυχα den Gegenstand, an dem es haftete, rein macht, hat das Wort auch die Bedeutung "Sühnopfer", "Lösegeld" gewonnen. ...Sollte Ign. ein Wortspiel beabsichtigt haben, das beide Bedeutungen zur Geltung bringen will...so lässt sich das in der Übersetzung jedenfalls nicht ausdrücken."

It was accordingly through the influence of Walter Bauer in particular that Ignatian scholarship came to acknowledge grounds for attributing a sacrificial sense to $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\psi\eta\mu\alpha$, namely, its association in meaning with $\delta\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\psi\upsilon\chi\omicron\nu$.

In the fourth and last phase of the discussion of sacrifice in Ignatian thought (1930 to the present), there has been a movement from provisional compromise to certainty about the sacrificial sense of $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\psi\eta\mu\alpha$ as intentional.⁷³ Any surviving doubts about the relevance of $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\psi\eta\mu\alpha$ - $\delta\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\psi\upsilon\chi\omicron\nu$ to the theme of sacrifice in Ignatius have vanished. In this context Hans von Campenhausen's interpretations have been widely accepted.

Ignatius dedicates himself to his friends with an eye to his forthcoming martyrdom: 'My spirit is dedicated to you not only now but when I partake of God' (Tral. 13:3) that is, when I am given up for you in martyrdom as a pure sacrifice. This true sacrifice will be offered not only for the Glory of God but also in the interest of a specific human community . . . This understanding comes to expression unmistakably in the idea of 'ransom' which Ignatius uses of himself . . . 'I am your ransom' he assures [them] in this way more than once. Since this conception is intended seriously, it is obvious that he sees the merit of his death transferred to distinct individuals, not to all true Christians, in general . . . Heretics are . . .

⁷³ Thus, it is hardly surprising to find Robert Grant suggesting that although the term might have both conventional and sacrificial "connotations", "in Ignatius' mind the sacrificial aspect is much the more important". Robert Grant, Ignatius of Antioch, Vol. IV: The Apostolic Fathers (Camden NJ : Thomas Nelson, 1966), p.39.

excluded. Thus the martyr, while he fulfils his own salvation is actually a source of salvation for the Churches which share with him the true faith.⁷⁴

Absent from the discussion in its most recent stage is any real concern to determine the significance of the sacrificial sense of the terms *νερίψημα* and *ἀνρίψουον*. After Bauer it was presumed that Ignatius overtly identified his death as a sacrifice in all of these texts. Nowhere is the question raised as to whether these texts are adequate to prove that Ignatius understood his death as a sacrifice in the technical sense. With von Campenhausen, the discussion moved to the second question (for whom is this sacrifice offered?) and to the third (what value is this sacrifice understood to have?)

⁷⁴ Hans von Campenhausen, *Die Idee*, p. 72 f. "Ignatius 'weiht' sich für seine Freunde im Blick auf das bevorstehende Martyrium: 'Mein Geist wird für euch geweiht, - aber nicht bloss jetzt, sondern auch dann, wenn ich Gottes teilhaftig werde', d.h. wenn ich im Martyrium als 'reines' Opfer für euch dahingegeben werde. Jedes wirkliche Opfer wird nicht bloss einem Gott zu Ehren, sondern auch im Interesse einer bestimmten menschlichen Gemeinschaft, . . . dargebracht. Gänzlich unverhüllt kommt dieser Gedanke in der Vorstellung des 'Lösegeldes' zum Ausdruck, das Ignatius auf sich selbst anwendet, . . . 'Ich bin ein Lösegeld für euch', versichert er in diesem Sinne mehr als einmal ausdrücklich, und wie ernst dieser Gedanke gemeint ist, erhellt gerade daraus, dass er den Segen seines Sterbens bestimmten Personen vor anderen zugewandt steht, also nicht bloss allen treuen Kirchenchristen im allgemeinen. . . . Die Häretiker werden dagegen von diesem Gewinn stillschweigend ausgeschlossen. So wird der Märtyrer, indem er sein eigenes Heil vollendet, wirklich zu einer Quelle des Heils für die Kirche, die mit ihm den wahren Glauben teilt."

Von Campenhausen used the $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\psi\eta\mu\alpha\text{-}\delta\gamma\nu\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota\text{-}\delta\upsilon\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\psi\upsilon\chi\omicron\nu$ texts to propose that, unlike Paul, Ignatius sought to limit the benefit of his sacrificial death to his immediate friends and not to the "universal Church".⁷⁵ (He did not discuss the view that these texts primarily expressed the devotion of friendship.) He further theorized that Ignatius understood his coming death to be actually salvific. Hence, Ignatius unwittingly made himself a rival of Christ.⁷⁶ Subsequent commentators concluded in

⁷⁵ Von Campenhausen, Ibid., pp. 73 and 78.

⁷⁶ Von Campenhausen, Ibid., p. 78. In this regard, von Campenhausen is reinterpreting the traditional German understanding of the meaning of " $\delta\upsilon\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\psi\upsilon\chi\omicron\nu$ " (= Jewish "atoning sacrifice"). The assumption seems to be that an atoning sacrifice can be equated with a "salvific" sacrifice, both in Christianity and in Judaism. Not only within the conceptual framework of Judaism but also within that of early second century Christianity. No lesser significance for an "atoning sacrifice" was ever envisioned by the German Protestant commentators. This interpretation of "sacrifice" that is to be attributed to Ignatius seems to have been heavily influenced by the popular belief at the time, that Ignatius understood his death to be an imitation of Christ, i.e., a repetition of the Passion of Christ. (See below, pp. 62-66). Yet the belief that this dimension of Ignatius' understanding of his death had any positive relation to his understanding of himself as "imitator of the Passion of my God" (Roms. 6:3) is certainly speculative. Indeed, the meaning of such a designation remains to be adequately defined in itself. It hardly provides a sound basis from which to understand the questions presently under consideration. Nothing, in fact, in any reference to his death as "sacrifice" supports the contention that Ignatius understood his death to be "salvific" either for himself or other Christians.

the wake of von Campenhausen that Ignatius "goes beyond Paul and also deviates from him".⁷⁷

The present consensus on sacrifice in Ignatius has been founded on the work of Bauer and von Campenhausen. Most interpreters today believe that Ignatius understood his death to be salvific for his fellow Christians in the churches. Only one -- Hans-Werner Bartsch -- has rejected the doctrine that Ignatius understood his death to be a sacrifice in the technical sense.⁷⁸ But does this view really merit the status of consensus? Significant objections, as we shall see, stand in the way of a "yes".

The question of what "value" Ignatius attributed to his death for other Christians depends on the field of meaning to which it belongs. In 1964 Peter Meinhold made this point:

It remains uncertain whether we should seek the basis of this idea [of sacrificial death] in Jewish conceptions of martyrdom, or in Hellenistic. Possibly it comes from the generally diffused idea of the sacrificial death of an

⁷⁷ Stählin, "περίψημα", p. 92. This conclusion to Stählin's analysis of Ignatius seems strangely discordant with a treatment of both Paul and Ignatius which suggests that they are probably quite close in their use of the term "περίψημα".

⁷⁸ Hans W. Bartsch, Gnostisches Gut., p. 80ff.

outstanding individual for those close to him.⁷⁹

The attempt to interpret the Ignatian conception of the *ἀντίψυχον* or the *περίψημα* on a Jewish model focuses on but one possibility to the exclusion of others. But must not reasons be advanced for the elimination of other possibilities? Moreover, although the preference or choice of a Jewish model for the understanding of the conception of a *περίψημα* or *ἀντίψυχον* might seem plausible in a discussion of Pauline thought, is it equally plausible in the discussion of Ignatian thought? Ignatius' positive suspicion of Jewish practices⁸⁰ make it difficult to suppose a Jewish model. Even if it could be argued that Ignatius had borrowed the term *ἀντίψυχον* from his Jewish neighbors in Antioch, as recent commentators have suggested, is it clear that he would have understood the Jewish theology of atonement?

⁷⁹ Peter Meinhold, "Episkope", p. 322. "Unsicher bleibt, ob der Ursprung dieser Idee in jüdischen oder hellenistischen Vorstellungen vom Martyrium gesucht werden muss. Aber möglicherweise liegt gerade wegen der allgemein Verbreitung der Idee vom Opfertode einzelner hervorragender Personen für die von ihnen vertretene Gemeinschaft die Anwendung auf den Märtyrer in einem engeren Umkreis."

⁸⁰ See especially Ignatius' letter to the Magnesians 8-10 and his letter to the Philadelphians 6,8-9.

Concerning the question of whether or not Ignatius believed his death would benefit other Christians, there is again reason to insist on evidence. It does not seem justified to ignore the possibility recognized between the time of Zahn (1873) and that of Bauer (1924) that the texts of this group were primarily, if not exclusively, intended by Ignatius to be expressions of "solidarity" between himself and his friends. In a word, the three relevant questions we formulated above need to be reconsidered. Too much of the discussion in the twentieth century has overlooked alternative interpretations.

3. Imitation

The third and final focal point in the discussion of Ignatius' thought on his death is the theme of imitation. Unlike the themes of discipleship and sacrifice, imitation found no place of honour in the commentaries of the nineteenth century or in that of Bauer (1921). The theme became the very center of discussion in the mid-twenties and throughout the following decade. Opinion on Ignatius' understanding of his death was transformed during this period. The center of discussion became martyrdom as imitatio Christi. Other themes, such as discipleship⁸¹ and

⁸¹ The tendency for the theme of discipleship to be considered in relation to the theme of imitation in the thought of Ignatius can be seen in the comment of Rengstorff, "μαθητής", TDNT, (1967), IV, 460. "[The

sacrifice⁸² were reduced to factors in the overarching theme of imitation. After World War II, however, Ignatian scholarship abandoned this latter tendency. Discipleship and sacrifice were again seen as independent themes, and the notion that imitation was the most important aspect of Ignatius' understanding of his death began to weaken.⁸³

usage of the early Church] . . . is marked by the incursion of the Greek and Hellenistic use of 'μαθητής' for intellectual adherence without direct commitment and in close relation to this by the inevitable emergence of the idea of imitating Christ. This is already so strong in Ignatius that only the martyr is the 'μαθητής ἀληθῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ' . . ." "The identification of the 'μαθητής' as the 'perfect imitator' of Christ has been particularly strong within Roman Catholic scholarship." See below, p. 79f.

⁸² The tendency to interpret the theme of sacrifice as a part of the Ignatian conception of imitation can be seen in the comment of Frederick A. Schilling, The Mysticism of Ignatius of Antioch (published Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1932), p. 71. "[I]f he [Ignatius] was imitating his Lord by his very death, then, too, he felt that his death had a similar meaning for his churches as Christ's had for his followers. So he was satisfied to believe that he was a ransom or expiatory sacrifice for others". For this view in the work of von Campenhausen, see above, pp. 50ff. More recently, this relation between the martyr and Christ has been noted by Peter Meinhold, "Episkope", p. 322.

⁸³ The abandoning of the imitatio Christi as the sole theme within Ignatius' understanding of his death can be seen in the treatments of the topic by Joseph Fischer, Die Apostolischen Väter, pp. 134-136; Peter Meinhold, "Episkope", pp. 317-324; Olaf Tarvainen, Glaube und Liebe, pp. 72-82, in Europe; and by Virginia Corwin, Christianity, pp. 149-255 and Robert Grant, Ignatius, pp. 13-15 in North America.

Yet the basic model for understanding the theme as such has endured.

The essential problem in the discussion of the place of the theme of imitation within Ignatius' thought on his death may be said to be the understanding of Roms. 6:3: ἐπιτρέψατέ μοι μιμητὴν εἶναι τοῦ πάθους τοῦ θεοῦ μου.⁸⁴ Here (and here alone) we have grounds for relating the theme of imitation with Ignatius' understanding of his death. But what is the understanding of death that is expressed here?

In the years between the wars, two answers were offered to this question. The religionsgeschichtlich answer found formal expression in 1929 with the work of Heinrich Schlier and achieved maturity in the works of Hans von Campenhausen (1936) and Théo Preiss (1938). The second answer grew up in Roman Catholic scholarship, especially in the work of Marcel Viller. Both answers are set in larger contexts. We shall examine each answer and its context in turn.

The religionsgeschichtlich Model.

The school of comparative religion (religio sgeschichtliche Schule) originated in the 1890's among German

⁸⁴Roms. 6:3, "Allow me to be an imitator of the Passion of my God."

Protestants. Originally centered on studies of primitive Christianity, its style of research was brought to bear on Ignatius of Antioch only in 1929 with Heinrich Schlier's Religion,sgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ignatius-briefen. Here the theme of imitation in Ignatius was construed in accord with the Hellenistic mystery religions and/or Gnosticism. This harkened back to the works of Reitzenstein and Wetter⁸⁵ but became influential only after Schlier. Thus Preiss and Bartsch, who took Ignatius to have been influenced by Gnosticism, and von Campenhausen, who steered away from this view, registered Schlier's influence, and the association of Ignatian imitation with that of Gnosticism and the Mysteries has become fundamental to Protestant discussion of Ignatian thought.⁸⁶ Two characteristics have resulted: first, the tendency to restrict

⁸⁵ Particularly, R. Reitzenstein, Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium. Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen (Bonn, 1921), pp. 77 ff. and G.P. Wetter, Altchristliche Liturgien: Das Christliche Mysterium. Studie zur Geschichte des Abendmahles (Göttingen, 1921), pp. 116ff.

⁸⁶ This association presupposes that within both Gnosticism and the Mystery Religions, imitation was understood as a type of "repetitive divinization" oriented consciously toward the attainment of the salvation of the devotee. That such a characterization adequately grasps the sense of imitation within these religious movements has never been questioned by Ignatian scholarship. Certainly this aspect of the problem is long overdue for reconsideration.

the theme of imitation in Ignatius to the specific matter of Ignatius' death, and second, the certainty that Ignatius understood his death to be salvific. The question has been: How exactly did Ignatius understand himself to be able to effect salvation by imitating the Passion of Christ?⁸⁷

Our analysis of this model for understanding Ignatian imitation will focus on the work of three figures: Heinrich Schlier (1929), Hans von Campenhausen (1936) and Théo Preiss (1938). In particular, our focus will be on the association of Ignatius with Hellenistic conceptions of imitation and the concern within the tradition to defend the thesis that Ignatius understood his death to be salvific.

Heinrich Schlier (1929).

Schlier tacitly rejected the previously unquestioned identification of Christianity as the proper context for the understanding of Ignatian thought. Instead, he presented a Gnostic Ignatius, interpreting numerous words, phrases and images in the Ignatian letters against the background of "Gnostic thought". In part, Schlier's study took up the meaning of a number of texts in which Ignatius spoke of his death. It is with this relatively small part of his much

⁸⁷ This perspective within Protestant scholarship is well reflected in the article of Donald F. Winslow, "The Idea of the Redemption in the Epistles of St. Ignatius of Antioch", The Greek Orthodox Theological Review, XI (1965), 119-131, especially pp. 124-126.

larger study that we are presently concerned.⁸⁸

The Ignatius of whom Schlier spoke saw himself as a Gnostic wanderer, battling against satanic powers while attempting to flee from the cosmos and matter in order to complete his journey to God in the heavens.⁸⁹ Though this portrait failed to find widespread acceptance in Protestant scholarship, it survived in fragmentary fashion. The part of Schlier's portrait that was to attract von Campenhausen and Preiss bore on the relationship between the martyr and Christ and, in particular, between the *πάθος* of the martyr and the *πάθος* of Christ. The key, so Schlier suggested, was to be found in Gnostic thought:

In them [the Gnostic texts] the thought of Ignatius is clarified. In them and in Ignatius'

⁸⁸ In addition to his contribution to the discussion of Imitation, Schlier proposed a number of other themes as parts of the thought of Ignatius on his death which have reappeared in the writings of Preiss (1938), Bartsch (1940), and Peter Meinhold (1963) in addition to numerous lesser figures. His work remains influential to this day, particularly within German scholarship.

⁸⁹ Schlier, *Rel. Untersuchungen*, pp. 132-175, especially p. 136. "Das Leben, das der Märtyrer bis zu Gott zu durchlaufen hat, ist . . . ein Wandern unter beständigen Gefahren . . . Diese beiden Vorstellungen, dass der Weg des Martyriums ein Kampf mit satanischen Mächten, und dass er eine Reise oder Fahrt zu Gott ist die, die irdischen Gefahren durch die himmlischen, feindlichen Gewalten erneuert sieht, finden sich sonst in der Martyrienliteratur."

suffering is a partaking in the sufferings of the Lord. Ignatius 'imitates' the 'pathos' of his God as the Gnostic expresses that of the fallen 'Primal Man' or of Sophia or as the Mystic 'suffers anew' in his dance that of the Saviour. Ignatius calls the faithful to suffer with him as the Apostle Andrew calls Maximilla. The sufferings of both are identical since both are those of the Lord.⁹⁰

Schlier himself believed that in Ignatian thought the martyr was related to his Lord both as participant in His sufferings (participation) and as imitator of them:

Roms. 6:3 ἐπιτρέψατέ μοι μιμητὴν εἶναι τοῦ πάθους τοῦ θεοῦ μου.
εἰ τις αὐτὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχει,
νοησάτω, ὃ θέλω,
καὶ συμπαθεῖτω μοι,
εἰδὼς τὰ συνέχοντά με.⁹¹

Smyr. 4:2 μόνον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
εἰς τὸ συμπαθεῖν αὐτῷ πάντα ὑπομένω,
αὐτοῦ με ἐνδυναμοῦντος⁹²
τοῦ τελείου ἀνθρώπου γενομένου

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 163. "Mit diesen Texten ist Ignatius zu erklären. Bei ihnen und bei Ignatius ist das Leiden eine Teilnahme am Leiden des Herrn. Ignatius 'ahmt' das 'pathos' seines Gottes nach, wie der Gnostiker das des gefallenen Urmenschen oder der Sophia ausdrückt, und wie der Myste im Tanz das 'pathos' des Erlösers erleidet. Ignatius fordert die Gläubigen auf mit ihm zu 'leiden', wie der Apostel Andreas die Maximilla. Sein und ihr Leiden ist identisch, denn sein und ihr Leiden ist das des Herrn."

⁹¹ Roms. 6:3, "Allow me to be an imitator of the Passion of my God. If anyone has Him in himself, let him know what I desire and let him sympathize with me, knowing what constrains me."

⁹² Smyr. 4:2, "... only in the Name of Jesus Christ [and] unto suffering with Him do I endure all things. He who became Perfect Man gives me strength."

Subsequent scholarship tended to ignore Smyr. 4:2 and to focus solely on Roms. 6:3 and the theme of imitation. Only partially faithful to Schlier, Protestant interpreters have conceived of both the martyr and Christ as possessing a $\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho$. The question turned on the relationship between the $\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho$ of the martyr and that of Christ and the common answer was that Ignatius understood them to be identical.

Hans von Campenhausen (1936).

Von Campenhausen's Die Idee des Martyriums in der alten Kirche appeared some seven years after Schlier's work. The portrait von Campenhausen offered of Ignatius bore little resemblance to Schlier's Gnostic wanderer; still, von Campenhausen had been influenced by Schlier. He had been drawn to a consideration of the soteriological implications of the theology that Schlier attributed to Ignatius. With von Campenhausen Protestant scholars began to speak of Ignatius' Martyr^{er}theologie as a soteriological issue.

The treatment of the relationship between the martyr and Christ in von Campenhausen's study focused exclusively upon the theme of imitation and the text of Roms. 6:3. Here, according to von Campenhausen, the martyr becomes the soteriological rival of Christ. The images are bold. The martyr stands "side by side" with Christ in a relationship that might be characterized as "separate but

equal". The martyr does not participate in Christ's πάθος, he repeats it. The Passion of Christ is said to have been the model upon which Ignatius patterned his own sufferings.⁹³

Ignatius saw his martyrdom and the Passion of Christ form a single perspective. Thus, he "transferred the Christological conception of suffering to his own without reserve".⁹⁴

In Ignatian thought "they [the martyr and Christ] stand next to each other and are actually like each other in their salvific sufferings according to the will of God".⁹⁵ Just as the martyr is a "source of salvation for the Church" he also expects to fulfil his own salvation in martyrdom.

The introduction of a salvific interpretation of martyrdom both for the martyr himself and the Church in von Campenhausen's work was extremely important. Schlier had.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 74. "His martyrdom . . . is . . . a free repetition of the bloody suffering which Christ had suffered previously" ("Sein Martyrium ist . . . freie Wiederholung der blutigen Leiden, wie sie Jesus früher erlitt").

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 76. "Nor did Ignatius fail to place Martyrdom and the Passion under a single perspective, so as to transfer the Christological conception of Suffering without hesitation to his own sufferings" ("Auch Ignatios scheut sich also nicht, Martyrium und Passion unter einen Gesichtspunkt zu stellen, so wie den christologischen Begriff des Leidens ohne jede Einschränkung auf sein eigenes Leiden überträgt . . .").

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 78. "Sie stehen nebeneinander und stehen einander in ihrem erlösenden Leiden um Gottes Willen tatsächlich gleich."

made this interpretation on the supposition that Ignatian thought was essentially that of the Gnostic sources. The "salvific" interpretation of martyrdom seemed unavoidable and natural. For von Campenhausen, on the other hand, the basis for a salvific interpretation of imitation was less clear. Though he relied on Schlier, he made no reference to Ignatius as a Gnostic and no identification of specific ideas attributed to Ignatius earlier by Schlier as gnostic. The simple referral of the entire matter to gnosticism was not possible for von Campenhausen.⁹⁶ Rather, he attempted a new agreement for a salvific interpretation of "imitation" in Ignatian thought. Essentially, he proposed that Ignatius understood Christ's $\mu\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$ to have been "the essence of his salvific work".⁹⁷ Martyrdom, he then proposed,

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 75, footnote 3. Here, von Campenhausen rejected Schlier's "clarification" of the thought of Ignatius by reference to the Iranian myth of the "saved Savior" as "einen Irrweg". Moreover, he claimed such a program "unnecessary" -(weder . . . erforderlich) for the understanding of all major themes in Schlier's analysis of Ignatius' thought on his death.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 74. "Hier offenbart sich der Sinn seines Heilswerkes . . ." Such a statement seems difficult to defend in the light of studies such as that of von der Goltz, "Ignatius", pp. 28-37, who as early as 1894 had studied "Die einzelnen Heilsthatsachen und ihre Heilsbedeutung" and felt confident that Ignatius not only recognized the Death of Christ as "salvific", but also the Resurrection and Birth of Christ. So too, von der Goltz suggested, on the basis of Eph. 19 that the very "epiphany" of Christ was understood by Ignatius to be salvific. The concern of the Ignatian letters with the Passion of Christ must be understood, at least in part, as a portion of his antidocetic concern.

was a special means for participating in this work unavailable to other Christians. They could rely solely on indirect participation, namely, through sacramental means.⁹⁸

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 75. "He has prepared himself to take a way which may raise him at last far above this general sanctity of his fellow Christians: Suffering and Death, in which they participate merely through a sacramental medium he is on the point of taking upon himself directly, and the Way that Christ took to to the consummation he takes anew with the help of Christ". (. . . er schickt sich zugleich an, einen Weg zu gehen, der ihn zuletzt über diese allgemeine Heiligkeit seiner Mitchristen weit hinausheben soll: das Leiden und Sterben, an dem sie bloss durch die sakramentale Vermittlung teilhaben, ist er im Begriff unmittelbar auf sich zu nehmen, und den Weg den Christus zur Vollendung gegangen ist, geht er mit Christi Hilfe von neuem).

Cf. Schlier, Rel. Untersuchungen, pp. 136-140. The image of the martyr taking "a way to consummation which Christ himself, took earlier" that is used by von Campenhausen, seems extremely close to that used by Schlier to describe the concept of the Himmelsreise which Schlier found in Gnostic literature. Schlier, p. 137, "Noch häufiger ist die Vorstellung des Hinabgehens, welches ohne oder mit Führung durch einen Geleiter geschieht. Dieser kann der Erlöser oder ein Abgesandter, ein Engel, der Tod oder auch das andere 'Ich' sein. In der Sprache der Kreise, denen die Vorstellung vom Weg Ausdruck der eigenen gnostischen Aufwärtsbewegung wird, heisst es, dass der Erlöser den Weg (den er vorangegangen) geoffenbart oder gewiesen hat." Note the use of the same words by von Campenhausen in describing Ignatian thought without reference to Gnosticism. Similarly, the contrast of the martyr with "his fellow Christians" seems extremely reminiscent of Schlier's comparison of the martyr to the community on pp. 151, 153-157, 166 f. and in particular p. 169. That Ignatius should describe his journey to Rome as "a journey", is hardly surprising. That he therefore understood his journey as a "way to 'Vollendung'" (Consummation) is suggested by nothing in the Ignatian letters. Moreover, nothing in these letters suggests that Ignatius conceived of Christ as having taken a "way to consummation" sometime

Alternatively, von Campenhausen could suggest that the use of $\mu\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ in relation to his own sufferings indicated that Ignatius saw "martyrdom and the Passion from a single point of view."⁹⁹

The subsequent analysis of Ignatius' martyrology among Protestant scholars was built on von Campenhausen. Imitation of the Passion was the center of the discussion and imitation was equated with the repetition of Christ's Passion -- something Ignatius took up in order to gain salvation for himself and others. Thus, this model might be named "repetitive divinization" model, as seen in the mystery religions and certain Gnostic treatises.

earlier." The categories used by von Campenhausen to speak of Ignatius are all borrowed from Schlier who first discovered them in "Gnostic literature". The appropriateness of the use of these categories in the discussion of Ignatian thought seems extremely doubtful.

⁹⁹ One is tempted to simply chide Ignatius for his limited vocabulary. The fact that Ignatius uses the terms " $\mu\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ " and " $\mu\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ " to speak of both his own suffering and that of Christ may, indeed, have some significance. To conclude that such a usage demonstrates that Ignatius "placed martyrdom and the Passion under a single point of view" (so von Campenhausen, p. 76) and did not hesitate to transfer the Christological conception of Suffering to his own sufferings" seems unnecessarily hasty and indeed bold. A host of other possible relationships might, alternatively be suggested as an interpretation of this phenomenon. The argument that the correct relationship is one of identity would be difficult to support.

Théo Preiss (1938)

In his lengthy article, "La Mystique de l'imitation du Christ et de l'unité chez Ignace d'Antioche", Théo Preiss extended the salvific interpretation of Ignatius' death to include his entire spirituality. The Ignatius of whom Preiss was speaking had reorchestrated Christianity into an "active mysticism in which man seeks to raise himself up to God."¹⁰⁰ Yet, if Preiss had extended the thesis of von Campenhausen, he was also the successor to Schlier. Ignatius reappeared in the work of Preiss in the trappings of Schlier's "gnostic wanderer".¹⁰¹ Unlike von Campenhausen,

¹⁰⁰ Preiss, "La Mystique", pp. 207 f. "une 'mystique active' où l'homme cherche à l'élever vers Dieu en fuyant délibérément le monde". Cf. Schlier, Rel. Untersuchungen, pp. 146-149. Schlier introduced the thesis that Ignatius sought to flee the world and evil matter in the same sense as the Gnostics. Preiss basically contrasted Ignatian spirituality, which he saw as an "active mysticism" with Pauline, which he characterized as a "passive participation in the death of Christ", pp. 199-210. Paul is identified with the theme of "participation"; Ignatius with "imitation". Yet, although his entire study is grounded on this fundamental distinction between Ignatius and Paul, Preiss did not totally exclude from Ignatian thought any conception of participation in the Passion of Christ as had von Campenhausen. The whole matter of participation, however, is mentioned only by Preiss. "The idea of participation in the death of Christ is quasi-absent there [in the thought of Ignatius], and replaced by that of 'imitation' of the Passion" ("l'idée de la participation à la mort du Christ, y est quasi-absente, et remplacée par celle de l'imitation de sa passion"), p. 207. Significantly, however, Preiss' apparent admission that a conception of participation in the Passion was "quasi-present" within Ignatian thought would seem to greatly compromise the usefulness of his basic distinction between the thought of Ignatius and that of Paul.

¹⁰¹ Preiss, Ibid., p. 207 f.

Preiss felt no need to dissociate himself from the approach of Schlier on this matter.

In expanding the thesis of von Campenhausen, Preiss invited his readers to accept the proposition that what Ignatius seemed to say of martyrs likewise reflected his understanding of the purpose of Christian life in general. In this way the salvific interpretation of martyrdom was extended by Preiss to all Christians. Preiss reasoned that by imitating the $\mu\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ of Christ, Ignatius sought to attain identity with the Christ, "the perfect model of the union of the divine and the human, which is the striving of the believer".¹⁰²

He [the martyr] will be a perfect 'disciple'. But disciple for Ignatius is a synonym for 'imitator'. Consequently, it is perfectly logical that Ignatius intends to become what Christ became after his death: 'perfect man' [Roms. 6, Smyr. 47]. Between the martyr and Christ there will

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 214. "Le modèle parfait de l'union du divin et de l'humain qui est le but de la recherche du croyant."

no longer be a difference of nature [but] at most, a difference of degree . . . In short, having arrived at the end of his journey, he [the martyr] rejoins Christ and becomes quasi-identical with Him.¹⁰³

For Preiss the martyr and Christ are not "separate but equal" as von Campenhausen argued. Rather, the martyr seeks identity with Christ through repeating his *πάθος*. The reader concludes from Preiss, finally, that martyrdom in imitation of the *πάθος* of Christ was considered normative in Ignatian Christianity. It was en route to a metaphysical identity with Christ. Preiss' study, however, did not demonstrate that von Campenhausen's salvific interpretation of the Ignatian martyr can legitimately be extended

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 210 f. "Il sera parfait 'disciple'. Or, disciple est pour lui synonyme d'imitateur. En conséquence, il est parfaitement logique qu'Ignace s'attende à devenir ce que le Christ est devenu après sa mort: 'άνθρωπος parfait' [Roms. 6, Smyr.4]. Entre le martyr et le Christ il n'y aura plus une différence de nature, mais tout au plus une différence de degré . . . En somme, arrivé à la fin de l'itinéraire il rejoint le Christ et lui devient quasiment identique."

to all Christians.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ For Preiss, the essence of Ignatian thought is "his mysticism of the imitation of the carnal and spiritual union that had been realized by Christ" ("sa mystique de l'imitation du l'union charnelle et spirituelle telle qu'elle a été réalisée par le Christ"), Ibid., p. 198. Two observations should be made concerning this most fundamental interpretation of Ignatian spirituality. Rather clearly, Preiss here is reviving the theme of "the way taken earlier by the Savior" which had played a part in both the analysis of von Campenhausen (Die Idee, p. 75), and Schlier (Rel. Untersuchungen, p. 137, see above footnote 98). Significantly, moreover, it is this "carnal and spiritual union" that Preiss sees as the ultimate goal of the life of the Christian within Ignatian thought. Frankly, there is little in the Ignatian letters to suggest that Ignatius understood Christ to have attained a "metaphysical union" of the "spiritual" and the "human". The text of Eph. 7:1 to which he refers his readers though open to a metaphysical interpretation, can just as easily be understood without the use of metaphysical categories or the idea that Ignatius understood Christ to be a metaphysical composite. Even more important, however, is the fact that the Ignatian letters give us absolutely no reason to assume that Ignatius believed that Christ had realized such a "union" through his death. And finally, there is not even the slightest hint in the Ignatian letters that the Christian looks forward to attaining any type of metaphysical transformation after death. Preiss has rather arbitrarily patched together a portrait of Ignatian spirituality that ultimately seems to rely heavily on a number of extremely doubtful propositions. Certainly this crucial conception of a "carnal and spiritual union that had been realized by Christ" is one of the most fanciful interpretations of Ignatian thought that has ever been offered.

Accepting von Campenhausen's basic thesis, Preiss attempted to present a more solid argument for the position that Ignatius understood his imitation of Christ to be salvific. But Preiss was at least willing to entertain the possibility that Ignatius did not understand his "imitation of the Passion" to be salvific.

... there is point in asking whether the death of the martyr actually had a salvific value both for himself and for the Church. In fact, the idea that martyrdom is the imitation of the Passion does not necessarily suggest that the martyr be seen as a savior more or less 'parallel' to Christ. But it tends in that direction by a natural thrust.

Now though Ignatius often says that Christ has died 'for us' . . . he never attributes to the death of Jesus the value of a sacrifice. Yet, if he does not speak in this way could it be an accident? This might be admitted if Ignatius had not spoken so often of the sacrificial value of his own death. Yet he does do so and he does it so often that it must certainly be admitted that he is not interested at all in the redemptive value which the death of Jesus could have in itself. . .

[Preiss cites texts of Roms. 2:2, 4:2 and Tral. 13:2 in which Ignatius speaks of himself as a libation, a *θεοία* and an *ἀντίψυχον*.]

And to demonstrate that this is no rhetorical image, but in fact, a sacrifice offered to God for the benefit of someone, he often refers to himself as a 'ransom' and directs the benefit not only to all of the faithful but in particular to those who have loved his bonds. Ignatius could not be more explicit: the martyr has become, as von Campenhausen has said so well, a

source of salvation for the Church. So too has this same author brought to light the understanding which the Bishop of Antioch has made up for himself concerning his martyrdom without ever mentioning Christ: the 'passion' of martyrdom has a value in itself parallel to that of Christ.¹⁰⁵

With Preiss, therefore, the argument for the salvific interpretation of Ignatius' "imitation of the Passion" is grounded in the supposed lack of interest in the

¹⁰⁵ Preiss, "La Mystique", p. 211 f. ". . . il y a lieu de se demander si la mort n'a pas une valeur salvatrice pour le martyr lui-même et pour l'Eglise. En fait, l'idée que le martyre est l'imitation de la passion n'aboutit pas nécessairement à voir dans le martyr un saveur plus ou moins concurrent au Christ. Seulement elle y tend par une pente toute naturelle.

Maintenant, si Ignace dit bien parfois que le Christ est mort 'pour nous' . . . il n'attribue jamais à la mort de Jésus la valeur d'un sacrifice. S'il n'en parle pas, serait-ce par pur hasard? On pourrait encore admettre un tel hasard, si Ignace ne parlait pas non plus de la valeur sacrificielle de sa mort à lui. Mais il en parle, et si souvent qu'il faut bien admettre qu'il ne s'intéressait guère à la valeur rédemptrice que la mort de Jésus pouvait avoir en elle-même. . . . Et comme pour marquer qu'il ne s'agit pas là d'une image rhétorique, mais bien d'un sacrifice offert à Dieu et au bénéfice de quelqu'un, il se dit à plusieurs reprises une 'rançon', et en oriente le bénéfice non seulement sur tous les fidèles mais encore très spécialement sur ceux qui ont aimé ses liens. Ignace ne saurait être plus explicite: le martyr est devenu, comme dit fort bien Von Campenhausen, une source de salut pour l'Eglise. Aussi bien ce même auteur a-t-il pu exposer la théorie que se fait l'évêque d'Antioche sur son martyr sans même mentionner le Christ: la 'Passion' du martyr a sa valeur en elle-même, parallèlement à celle du Christ."

"redemptive value of the death of Christ" and on the basis that Ignatius understood himself to be the "ransom" of his friends. But are these positions acceptable? There are reasons to doubt it.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Preiss' analysis of Ignatius' understanding of the significance of Christ's death is grossly misleading. Though he may be correct in noting that Ignatius nowhere specifically identified the death of Christ as a *θυσία* and does not seem to rely upon the categories of a Theology of Redemption in his letters to the Churches of Asia Minor, one must also consider a number of texts which do, on the contrary, indicate that Ignatius understood Christ's death and Resurrection to have salvific value. (Eph. 7:2, Mag. 9:1, Smyr. 2:1 & 5:3, Pol. 3:2 and Roms. 6:1) Preiss' statement to the effect that Ignatius was "not interested" in the redemptive value of the death of Christ completely ignores the question of the significance of these texts. Whether or not Ignatius specifically understood the death of Christ as a sacrifice or as "redemptive" is quite secondary. The important question is whether or not Ignatius attributed salvific significance to Christ however it might have been understood. That he did certainly cannot be denied as both von der Goltz and von Campenhausen suggested earlier. Indeed, one might even be able to argue on the basis of these texts that Ignatius must have held some, if nevertheless vague, concept of redemption. To state, however, that he was "not interested in the Redemptive value of the death of Christ" can only be called misleading. On the other side of the ledger, Preiss' assessment of Ignatius' understanding of the sacrificial value of his own death must also cause us to pause. Again, Preiss speaks here with the certainty regarding the theme of sacrifice in Ignatian thought that characterized his era. Our own age cannot be so certain of the meaning of these texts. He assumed, essentially, that the value of such a "sacrifice" can only be salvific. One is tempted to ask why no lesser "value" might be supposed or even explored as a possibility. In short, it seems that Preiss' representation

With Preiss, in any case, the religion_sgeschicht-
lich model for understanding Ignatian imitation reached its
 most mature form.¹⁰⁷ Imitation is oriented to salvation,
 a metaphysical identity with Christ; the Christian becomes
 a martyr in order to achieve his own salvation.

Stepping back to view together the three figures
 we have just examined, we note that they agree on a basic
 assumption: imitation in Ignatian thought should be under-
 stood on the model of the mystery religions and Gnosticism.
 The result is a focus on Ignatius' death as salvific.
 Though individual scholars have offered variations on this
 thesis, their approach to the problem has exhibited a

both of Ignatius' understanding of Christ and of his un-
 derstanding of the value of his death seem unworthy of
 our acceptance.

¹⁰⁷ It has seemed best to exclude from this anal-
 ysis the work of Hans Werner Bartsch, Gnostisches Gut,
 pp. 78-98, in spite of the fact that Bartsch's work
 was done at roughly the same time as that of Preiss.
 Two considerations entered into this decision: first,
 the fact that Bartsch added nothing original to the dis-
 cussion within Protestantism, and secondly, the fact
 that the German tradition itself has tended to view him
 as a minor figure in comparison to Schlier and von Cam-
 penhausen. For Bartsch the thought of Ignatius on his
 death is equivalent to the Gnostic idea of the repeti-
 tion of the "πάθος" of the cult-God ("Im pathos des
 Gläubigen werde das 'pathos' des Kultgottes wiederholt",
 p. 80). The goal of martyrdom is, as in Preiss, to be-
 come deified ("... er durch sein Martyrium zu einem
 Christus, seinem Kultgott gleich wird", p. 80; "Als Ziel
 seines Martyriums nennt Ignatius das 'theou epitychein',
 die Vergottung", p. 85).

common set of characteristics.

How adequate is the Protestant model for understanding Ignatian imitation? Its most problematic aspect is the view that Ignatius understood his "Imitation of the Passion" to be salvific. Again, the notion that Ignatian imitation is the same as imitation in the mystery religions or Gnosticism is questionable. Moreover, the two are connected, for the validity of the assertion that Ignatius understood his death to be "salvific" depends on the validity of the belief that imitation in Ignatius derives from Gnosticism or the mysteries. This, in turn, reflects a disposition to reduce the interpretative alternatives to two: Ignatian imitation was either "Hellenistic" or "Pauline".¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ The comment of Bartsch, *ibid.*, p. 83, reflects the approach of Protestant interpreters of the 1930's on the matter of understanding the theme of imitation in Ignatian thought. "This complex of conceptions (imitatio, imitatio, imitatio) has a cultic sense. If one tries to understand it apart from this cultic relationship, one interprets Ignatius unconsciously according to Paul", ("Dieser Begriffskreis hat kultischen Sinn. Wenn man versucht, ihn ohne diese kultische Bezogenheit zu verstehen, legt man stillschweigend Ignatius nach Paulus aus"). By far, the vast majority of Protestant interpreters have opted to understand Ignatius on the "Hellenistic" (Gnostic-Mystery Religions) model, e.g., Schlier, von Campenhausen (tacitly), Preiss, Bartsch, and Meinhold. Only one interpreter, Graydon F. Snyder, *The Continuity*, pp. 229-237, has attempted to interpret Ignatian Imitation along the lines of the Protestant understanding of Pauline imitation.

Some critics, to be sure, have been skeptical of the need to associate Ignatius with the Hellenistic models.¹⁰⁹

Others have questioned the adequacy of the Hellenistic or Pauline alternatives.¹¹⁰

Though Protestant scholars seem to agree that Ignatius expected to gain salvation through the imitation, i.e. repetition, of Christ's Passion in martyrdom, none has been able to convince the others of how exactly this "salvation" was thought to come about.

Again, was Ignatius an opportunist? Some Christians in antiquity did, in fact, see martyrdom as a "highway to God". Whether Ignatius belongs to this group is another question.

Our hesitance to affirm the religionsgeschichtlich model for the understanding of Roms. 6:3 arises from a certain lack of attention on the part of Schlier, von Campenhausen, Preiss and their followers, to other elements in Ignatius' call to imitate Christ. It is difficult to accept as the proper sense of Roms. 6:3 one totally isolated.

¹⁰⁹ Michaelis, "μυμνησται", TDNT, IV, 659-674: Michaelis was one of the first scholars to raise objections to the use of the theme of Imitation as a key to all of Ignatian thought. On the basis of Roms. 6:3, Michaelis was not willing to conclude that Ignatian Imitation was necessarily different from that of Paul (p. 674).

¹¹⁰ See the discussion of the theme in Willard M. Swartley, "The 'Imitatio Christi'", pp. 85-87, and references to other works cited on those pages.

from other texts in which Ignatius speaks of Christians
as $\mu\iota\mu\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ of God or of Christ.¹¹¹

¹¹¹ Hans von Campenhausen, Die Idee, p. 76 f., sought to look at Imitation as a wider theme in the thought of Ignatius. Von Campenhausen denied the claim of Schlier, later to be repeated by Bartsch, that imitation in Ignatius was a cultic or martyrological conception. He saw imitation, rather, as a "basic conception of his ethical and religious thought which had no necessary relation to Christ". Von Campenhausen was also the first to call attention to the fact that Ignatius spoke of others as models for imitation in martyrdom ("Nachahmung ist bei Ignatius von Haus aus weder ein kultischer noch ein martyrologischer Begriff, sondern ein Grundbegriff seines ethischen und religiösen Denkens überhaupt . . . An und für sich hat der Begriff der Nachahmung keine notwendige Beziehung auf Christus, sondern kann auch auf andere, menschliche Vorbilder übertragen werden . . ."). None of these insights, however, were reflected in his assessment of the relationship between the martyr and Christ, nor did these comments spark any immediate interest in Protestant circles for examining this larger context. The idea of imitation, or at least martyrdom and ethics, reappeared in 1950 in an article by Peter Meinhold, "Die Ethik", pp. 50-62, especially p. 56 f., and in the Einleitung of Joseph Fischer, Die Apostolischen Väter, pp. 133-136. Fischer spoke of the martyr's death in Ignatian thought as "the highest possibility of ethical development" (Die höchste Möglichkeit sittlicher Verwicklung liegt im Martyrtod). To some extent; however, this movement seems to have reflected the influence of Roman Catholic scholarship, particularly, P. Adalhard Heitmann, O.S.B., Imitatio Dei: Die Ethische Nachahmung Gottes nach der Väterlehre der Zwei Ersten Jahrhunderte (Rome: Herder, 1940), pp. 71-74, -- mentioned by Meinhold along with von Campenhausen (Meinhold, Ibid., footnote 29). Neither of these scholars, however, attempted to speak to the relationship of Rom 8:3 to other imitation texts, nor provided new insights on the more general theme of imitation in Ignatian thought.

The Roman Catholic Model.

Even before Heinrich Schlier had presented his analysis of Ignatius' theme of imitation, Roman Catholic scholarship had produced a different understanding of the theme. In 1925 Marcel Viller treated the theme of imitation in Ignatian spirituality in a way that would be widely accepted in Roman Catholic circles. To all intents and purposes Viller's work became the Roman Catholic model.

This model presupposes that the theme of the imitatio Christi is the essence of Ignatius' understanding of his death. As with Preiss, moreover, imitation is treated as the very focal point of Ignatian spirituality. Beyond this it is seen as the sum and substance of the moral life of the Christian. In the Roman Catholic model martyrdom itself tends to be seen as a more or less organic part of Christian life.

The individual elements of this model may be summarized in five statements:

(1) Ignatius' desire to "imitate Christ" is a response to the call of Christ to "positive perfection", i.e., to "be perfect as your Heavenly Father . . .". Imitating Christ is the living out the good

moral and spiritual life.¹¹²

(2) The "imitatio Christi" in Ignatian thought "tends naturally toward the Passion".¹¹³

(3) Martyrdom was understood by Ignatius to be the highest form of imitating Christ, a "perfect imitation" of Christ.¹¹⁴

¹¹² So Viller, La Spiritualité, p. 4 f. "La perfection est positive. Elle consiste essentiellement à suivre et imiter Jesus, ou même, à imiter Dieu". "Christianity is essentially for Ignatius not only life that is lived following the doctrine of Christ but, moreover, a life modeled on that of Christ" ("Le christianisme est essentiellement pour Ignace non pas seulement la vie qui se développe suivant la doctrine du Christ, mais encore la vie modelée sur la vie du Christ"), Ibid., p. 13.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 13: "... it is toward the imitation of the sufferings and the death of Christ that his thoughts naturally tend" ("... c'est vers l'imitation des souffrances et de la mort du Christ que tendent naturellement ses pensées"). This is the crucial element in the Roman Catholic assessment of Ignatian thought on imitation. Cf. Viller, "Martyre", p. 8, "The imitation of God and of Christ . . . is a salient line within his doctrine and in him it goes naturally toward the passion . . ." ("L'imitation de Dieu et du Christ . . . est une arête saillante de sa doctrine et chez lui elle va tout naturellement vers la passion . . .").

¹¹⁴ Viller, "Martyre", p. 8. "But it is in Ignatius that the conception of martyrdom, (the) perfect imitation of Our Lord, comes to the fore." ("Mais c'est chez Ignace que la conception du martyre, imitation parfaite de Notre-Seigneur, devait jeter son éclat." Ibid., p. 17; martyre, "l'imitation la plus haute du Christ". Guido Bosio, "La dottrina spirituale di sant' Ignazio d'Antiochia", Salesianum, XXVIII (1966), 519-551. "The martyr -- true disciple and perfect imitator of Christ" ("il martire -- vero discepolo e perfetto

(4) Ignatius saw martyrdom as the "highest perfection" to which a disciple could attain and believed that the Christian was truly a disciple only by dying for Christ.¹¹⁵

imitatore di Christo"), p. 544. Louis Bouyer, La Spiritualité, EI, p. 199, "Moreover, martyrdom can be considered the supreme example of the imitation of Christ." Viller, La Spiritualité, p. 13, "He regards martyrdom as the supreme imitation of Christ. . . ." ("Il regarde le martyre comme la suprême imitation du Christ. . . .")

¹¹⁵ Viller, La Spiritualité, p. 15, ". . . Ignatius of Antioch regarded martyrdom as the highest perfection to which a disciple of Christ could attain." (" . . . Ignace d'Antioche considèrait le martyre comme la perfection la plus haute à laquelle puisse atteindre un disciple du Christ.") Viller, "Martyre", p. 17, ". . . martyrdom is the perfection and the ideal toward which he must go." (" . . . le martyre est la perfection et l'idéal vers lequel il faut tendre.") Leon Cristiani, "Saint Ignace d'Antioche: sa vie d'intimité avec Jésus-Christ", Revue d'Asc., XXV (1949), p. 111, "He estimates suffering above all human greatness" ("Il estime la souffrance au-dessus de toute grandeur humaine"). Pierre Camelot, "Ignace d'Antioche", Vol. VIII: Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, M. Viller, et. al. eds. (1970), cols. 1250-1266. "Death suffered for the Name of Jesus Christ . . . seems to him the summit and the achievement of the Christian life . . . martyrdom is for Ignatius the perfection of the disciple. . . ." ("La mort soufferte pour le Nom de Jésus-Christ . . . lui paraît le sommet et l'achèvement de la vie chrétienne . . . le martyre est pour Ignace la perfection du disciple . . .") The Lightfoot-Bauer conception of Ignatian discipleship has deeply engrained itself in the Roman Catholic discussion of Ignatius: Viller, "Martyre", p. 9, "It is because by martyrdom alone that Ignatius will become a 'true disciple of Jesus Christ'" ("C'est que par le martyre seul, Ignace deviendra 'le disciple véritable de Jésus-Christ'"). Viller, La Spiritualité, p. 16, ". . . he goes to the extent of saying that one is only truly a disciple of Christ by dying for Him." (" . . . il ira

(5) Martyrdom was understood by Ignatius to be a necessity not only for himself but for others. 116

jusqu'à dire qu'on n'est vraiment le disciple du Christ qu'en mourant pour lui.") Guido Bosio, "La dottrina", p. 546, "According to Saint Ignatius, the martyr, identifying with the suffering Christ crucified for love of us, is the true disciple and perfect Christian . . . The letter of Ignatius to the Romans is totally a vehement aspiration to follow the Master to martyrdom in order to become a 'true disciple'." ("Secondo Sant' Ignazio, il martire, identificandosi con il Cristo sofferente e crocifisso per nostro amore, è il vero discepolo e perfetto cristiano . . . La lettera di Sant' Ignazio ai Romani è tutta una veemente aspirazione a seguire il Maestro anche nel martirio, per diventare 'vero discepolo'." Pierre Camelot, *Ignace*, p. 33, "It is by death that the martyr begins finally to be a true disciple." ("C'est par la mort que le martyr commence enfin à être un vrai disciple.") Pierre Camelot, "Ignace d'Antioche", col. 1262, ". . . but he himself will only begin to be a disciple when he imitates the Passion of Jesus Christ." ("... mais lui-même ne sera vraiment disciple que quand il imitera la passion de Jésus-Christ.")

116 This position seems inherent in Viller's work though it comes to articulation there only indirectly. Viller, "Martyre", p. 17, ". . . martyrdom is the perfection toward which he must go" ("vers lequel il faut tendre"). This position is much more clearly articulated in more recent works: Guido Bosio, "La dottrina", p. 545, ". . . Ignatius openly declares the need for the Christian to be disposed to imitate Christ even with martyrdom". ("... Ignazio dichiara apertamente la necessità che il cristiano sia disposto ad imitare Cristo anche con il martirio"). Pierre Camelot, "Ignace d'Antioche", p. 1262, ". . . but he is the first to affirm quite clearly that the disciple must imitate Christ unto death" ("... mais il est le premier à affirmer aussi nettement que le disciple doit imiter le Christ jusque dans la mort.").

The tendency of Roman Catholics to seek an understanding of Rom. 6:3 within the wider context of the theme of imitatio Christi in the Ignatian letters is no doubt sound enough. Moreover, the recognition of the fact that the need to imitate Christ functioned within Ignatian thought as something of an "ethical principle" within a wider framework of the desire for men to live κατὰ θεοῦ is insightful.¹¹⁷ It is important for assessing the relationship between texts which speak directly of "imitating" and others that do not use this same language but are nevertheless related. Promising too is the positive attitude toward the subject of martyr theology. On the other hand, certain elements reflected in this approach are less valuable or positively misleading.¹¹⁸

The focal point of interest in this model for understanding Ignatian imitation must be the attempt to understand the relationship between texts on Ignatius as μίμητις of Christ and the many other texts in which the notion of

¹¹⁷ P.A. Heitmann, Imitatio Dei, pp. 72 & 74 and Karl Hormann, Leben in Christus: Zusammenhänge zwischen Dogma und Sitte bei den apostolischen Vätern (Wien: Herold, 1952), pp. 21-83, especially pp. 29-39.

¹¹⁸ Certainly elements 3 and 4 reflect an assessment of the place of martyrdom in Ignatian thought and spirituality that is extreme. Moreover, element 5, the necessity of suffering, seems to reflect a misunderstanding of the texts of Mag. 5:2 and Eph. 10 which will be examined in Part two, pp. 196ff. See especially footnotes 119 and 124.

imitation occurs.

The tendency of Roman Catholic scholarship is to identify all texts which refer to the imitatio Christi as expressions of a single ethical imperative. Thus, the qualification of Ignatius as "imitator of the Passion" (Roms. 6:3) has come to be seen in this tradition as an organic part of the Christian life, the "highest form of imitation" to which the Christian could aspire. Martyrdom thus appears to be normative. Can this view survive critical scrutiny? That remains to be seen. For one thing, little has been done to understand what in addition to an "ethical principle" Ignatius is offering when he speaks of imitating Christ.

Of the three themes that have been discussed in this part of the present study, the scholarly discussion of imitation, though it has been considered the most important aspect of Ignatius' thought in the last fifty years, has produced the least compelling insights into Ignatian thought. There is but a single text involved in this question. It can only be hoped, however, that in the examination of a large number of texts in Part Two the need for reconsideration of this theme will be successfully met. Too many relevant considerations have been missing from the discussion among both Protestants and Catholics. After a century of scholarly analysis it seems necessary to conclude that no

satisfactory understanding of the themes of discipleship, sacrifice and imitation has been attained.

With regard to the significance of the term *παθήτης* in Ignatius' thought on his death, the propositions sponsored by Lightfoot and Walter Bauer seem not to do justice to the texts. Competing lines of interpretation, such as the view proposed by Zahn (1876) and, later, the challenges to Lightfoot, like that of Bruston (1897), have failed to attract the attention of twentieth-century scholarship.

The scholarly examination of the theme of sacrifice in Ignatius' thought on his death has been much more productive. Much of the work that has been done on this question, particularly by Zahn (1876), Funk (1881), Lightfoot (1885), and Bauer (1921) is sensitive and insightful. The positive character of this work, however, has been compromised by the interpretation of *ἀντίψυχον* independent of its ties to the other key terms (*περίψημα-ἀντίψωμα: ὑμῶν*). The discussion has been limited to only one alternative. Equally problematic has been the insistence of major figures such as von Campenhausen that Ignatius understood his "sacrificial death" to be not only valuable but "salvific" for other Christians. Both these tendencies have been fundamental in the discussion of the theme of sacrifice since the 1930's.

A crucial element in the rethinking of the theme of sacrifice, however, lies in considering carefully the

variety of self-understandings that may have been coming to articulation in the relevant texts. The traditional tendency to reduce these possibilities to the question of whether Ignatius spoke of the sacrifice "objectively" or only "figuratively" has inhibited a more substantive analysis.

Finally, we turn to recent treatment of imitation. Here, there have been two traditions, one Protestant, the other Catholic. They have shared the supposition that the imitatio Christi is the key element in Ignatius' understanding of his death. Otherwise, the traditions diverge.

It is probably correct to suggest that the period of the 1920's and 30's saw only some initial attempts being made to grapple with the question of imitation in Ignatian thought. Subsequent scholarship has exhibited little interest in subjecting these models to critique. After World War II German scholarship was slow to return to work on Ignatian thought and the role of imitation within it. When German scholars did take up these tasks again it was not to criticize earlier work but to extend it. This, however, will not be our task. We intend to move beyond both camps in the hope of arriving at a more satisfactory hold on the thought of Ignatius on his death. This is the purpose of Part Two.

PART II

IGNATIAN DISCIPLESHIP, SACRIFICE AND IMITATION
REEXAMINED AS ELEMENTS IN
IGNATIUS' UNDERSTANDING OF HIS DEATH

In Part One, our purpose was to introduce the reader to the history of the discussion of Ignatius' thought on his death. Three crucial themes have been identified within this discussion: discipleship, sacrifice and imitation. And our own dissatisfaction with present scholarly thinking on each of these themes has been registered. In the second part of our dissertation, we hope to reach a more positive understanding of these leading themes within Ignatius' thought on his death. To that end, this work is structured to follow the sequence of themes in Part One. Discipleship, sacrifice and imitation will be studied individually and at length. We seek to answer two questions: first, what does each theme mean in Ignatius? second, what place did each theme have within his understanding of his death?

1. Discipleship

The chief focus of our study of Ignatian discipleship is that fairly large number of texts in which Ignatius employs the term μαθητής. Our concern here is positive. We seek to arrive at an adequate understanding of the various expressions which Ignatius employs in speaking of himself and others as μαθηταί. Thus, although we shall ultimately take the position that martyrdom and suffering had little to do with Ignatius' conception of the μαθητής, we shall nevertheless maintain that the μαθητής-texts of the Ignatian letters are of particular importance for the proper understanding of Ignatius' thought on his death.

Of the four usages of the term μαθητής in the Ignatian letters, three may be placed under the category of a "general sense", i.e. the sense in which the term is effectively synonymous with "Christian". In the first usage the term is simply used as a general designation for the followers of Christ:

Pol. 2:1 καλοὺς μαθητὰς εἶναι φιλήεις,
 χάρις σοὶ οὐκ ἔστιν.
 μᾶλλον τοὺς λοιμοτέρους εἶναι πραότητι ὑπότασσε.¹

Mag. 9:2 πῶς ἡμεῖς δυνησόμεθα ἡγεῖσθαι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ,
 οὐ καὶ οἱ προφηταὶ
 μαθηταὶ ὄντες τῷ πνεύματι

¹ Pol. 2:1, "If you love good disciples, it is no credit to you. Instead, bring the more troublesome to subjection by your own gentleness."

ὡς διδάσκαλον αὐτὸν προσεδόκων;
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο,
ὄν δικαίως ἀνέμενον,
παρῶν ἡγείρεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ νεκρῶν.²

Mag. 10:1 διὰ τοῦτο,
μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι,
μάθωμεν κατὰ Χριστιανισμὸν ζῆν.³

Second, this general sense is used in connection with the single theme of endurance (ὕπομονή). From this perspective, it is the Christian who endures, who expects to be found a μαθητής.

Mag. 9:1 δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ,
ὅτι τινες ἀρνοῦνται,
δι' οὗ μυστηρίου ἐλάβομεν τὸ πιστεῦσιν,
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπομένομεν,
ἵνα εὐρεθῶμεν μαθηταὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
τοῦ μόνου διδασκάλου ἡμῶν.⁴

Third, Ignatius links the general sense of the term μαθητής to the theme of devotion to God. In this instance, it is the Christian who is truly devoted to his Lord and cares for nothing else that is called a μαθητής. Twice in Ignatius' letter to the Romans we find this third usage of the term:

² Mag. 9:2, "How then shall we be able to live apart from Him whom even the prophets, being disciples in the Spirit, looked forward to as a teacher. For this reason when the one they had awaited in righteousness arrived He raised them from the dead."

³ Mag. 10:1 "Therefore, having become His disciples, let us learn to live according to Christianity."

⁴ Mag. 9:1, ". . . through Him and His death, which some deny, through which mystery we received faith, and for this reason endure in order to be found disciples of Jesus Christ, our only teacher. . . ."

Roms. 4:2 τότε ἔσομαι μαθητῆς ἀληθῶς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
ὅτε οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμά μου ὁ κόσμος ὄψεται.⁵

Roms. 5:3 συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε·
τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ γινώσκω.
νῦν ἀρχομαι μαθητῆς εἶναι
μηδέν με ζηλῶσαι τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ δοράτων,
ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.⁶

The fourth usage of the term μαθητῆς can be found in the text of Tral. 5:2:

Tral. 5:2 καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ, οὐ
καθότι δεέδεμαι καὶ δύναμαι νοεῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια
καὶ τὰς τοποθεσίας τὰς ἀγγελικὰς
καὶ τὰς συστάσεις τὰς ἀρχοντικὰς,
ὁρατὰ τε καὶ δόρατα,
παρὰ τοῦτο ἤδη καὶ μαθητῆς εἰμι.
πολλὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν λείπει, ⁷
ἵνα θεοῦ μὴ λειπώμεθα.

Here Ignatius is not using the term μαθητῆς in a general sense as he did in the first three cases we have seen. Rather, he is using the term in a special, perfectionist sense. The μαθητῆς here is the man for all seasons, one without weaknesses in his spiritual life.

⁵ Roms. 4:2, "Then I will truly be a disciple of Jesus Christ when there is nothing left of me for the world to see."

⁶ Roms. 5:3, "Heed my opinion. I know what is best for me. Now I begin to be a disciple; I desire nothing either seen or unseen that I may attain Jesus Christ."

⁷ Tral. 5:2; "For I myself, though in bonds and able to understand heavenly things and the places of angels and the gatherings of Archons, things seen and unseen; not for this am I even now already a disciple. For much is lacking in us, that we may not lack God."

Ignatius uses the term μαθητής in this perfectionist sense only once in his letters, namely, here in Tral. 5:2.

The first of the four usages of the term μαθητής seems relatively insignificant. The fact that Ignatius at the beginning of the second century could identify all of the followers of Christ as μαθηταί does not merit any special attention. It is with the other three usages, on the other hand, that we seem to come to the substantive aspects of Ignatius' use of this term. For this reason, the present study of discipleship will be divided into three major parts. The first of these parts will focus upon the association of the term μαθητής and the theme of endurance; the second, upon the perfectionist sense of the term μαθητής found in Tral. 5:2. The third part will focus on the association of the term μαθητής with the theme of devotion. Each of these studies underscores a distinct aspect of Ignatian thought and spirituality. Ultimately, however, our perspective on Ignatian discipleship must shift, as we look at it from a less restricted vantage point than that of his use of the term μαθητής, if we are to arrive at a more adequate grasp of the place of suffering and martyrdom within Ignatian discipleship. This wider examination will constitute the fourth and final section of our study of discipleship.

The μαθητής and the theme of endurance (ὑπομονή).

Our study of the use of the term μαθητής in connection with the theme of endurance in Ignatian thought attempts to arrive in particular at an adequate understanding of three texts in which the term μαθητής appears. These texts are Mag. 9:1, Eph. 1:2 and Pol. 7:1.

Mag. 9:1 δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ,
ὃ τινες ἀρνοῦνται,
δι' οὗ μυστηρίου ἐλάβομεν τὸ πιστεῦειν,
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπομένομεν,
ἵνα εὐρεθῶμεν μαθηταὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
τοῦ μόνου διδασκάλου ἡμῶν.⁸

Eph. 1:2 ἀκούσαντες γὰρ δεδεδεμένον ἀπὸ Συρίας
ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ ἐλπίδος,
ἐλπίζοντα τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν
ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐν Ῥώμῃ θηριομαχεῖν
ἵνα ἐπιτυχεῖν δυνήθῃ μαθητὴς εἶναι,
ἰδεῖν ἐσπουδάσατε.⁹

Pol. 7:1 ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἐκκλησία
ἡ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας ἐλθηνεύει,
ὥς ἐδηλώθη μοι, διὰ τὴν προσευχὴν ὑμῶν,

⁸Mag. 9:1, "... through Him and through His death, which some **deny**, through which mystery we received faith, and for this reason endure in order to be found disciples of Jesus Christ, our only teacher. . ."

⁹Eph. 1:2, "For when you heard that I was taken bound from Syria for our common name and hope, in the hope of attaining by your prayer to fight the beasts in Rome to be able to attain to be a disciple [or, if the text reads ἵνα διὰ τοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν in order that by attaining I may be enabled to be a disciple] you made haste to visit me."

καὶ γὰρ εὐθυμότερος ἐγενόμην ἐν ἀμεριμνίᾳ θεοῦ,
 ἔάνπερ διὰ τοῦ παθεῖν θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω,
 εἰς τὸ εὐρεθῆναι με ἐν τῇ αἰτήσῃ ὑμῶν μαθητήν.¹⁰

The key to understanding the meaning of the expressions used by Ignatius in these three texts is provided by the text of Roms. 3:2. Here, however, Ignatius speaks not of "being found" or of "being a μαθητής" but of "being found" and being a Christian or a believer.

Roms. 3:2 μόνον μοι δύνάμιν αἰτεῖσθε
 ἔσωθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν,
 ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγω,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ θέλω,
 μὴ ἵνα μόνον λέγωμαι Χριστιανός,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐρεθῶ.
 ἔάν γάρ εὐρεθῶ
 καὶ λέγεσθαι δύναμαι καὶ τότε πιστός εἶναι
 ὅταν κόσμῳ μὴ φαίνωμαι. ¹¹

The clarity and precision of Ignatius' expression in the text of Roms. 3:2 makes it possible to understand his intended meaning in the other three texts. The synonymous character of the terms μαθητής, Χριστιανός and πιστός also

¹⁰ Col. 7:1, "Since the Church at Antioch of Syria is at peace through your prayer, as was made known to me I too was in better spirits through God's freedom-from-care, supposing that through suffering I may attain God and be found a disciple by your intercession."

¹¹ Roms. 3:2, "Only seek for me the power inward and outward that I may not only speak but also be willing, that I may not only be said to be a Christian but also be found one. For if I am found one, I will be able both to be called and then, actually, to be faithful when I am no longer visible to the world."

lends support to the contention that Ignatius is using the term μαθητής here in a general sense. Endurance seems to have been conceived as such an important part of the Christian life that the very use of the terms μαθητής, Χριστιανός and πιστός could be made dependent upon it. If the Christian endures, he will be found (i.e. be seen to be), be able to be called and be able to be μαθητής, Χριστιανός and πιστός.

What is the role of endurance in the thought of Ignatius generally? And what is its role within Ignatius' understanding of his death? The consideration of these two questions will allow ultimately for a better understanding of all of the texts cited above.

It is important to note at the outset of our study that Ignatius did not understand the significance of endurance to be restricted solely to those who, like himself, faced death. His letters strongly suggest that he saw it as relevant to the lives of all Christians. The concern of Ignatius that all Christians endure breaks forth in a variety of images throughout his letters (e.g. the anvil being beaten, the athlete who though subjected to punishment is ultimately victorious, the image of the militia Christi from which there are to be no deserters) and in recurring exhortations to "stand fast" or "remain firm".

- Pol. 3:1 στῆθι ἑδραῖος ὡς ἄκμων τυπτόμενος.
μεγάλου ἐστὶν ἀθλητοῦ τὸ δέρεσθαι καὶ νικᾶν.¹²
- Pol. 6:2 ἀρέσκετε ᾧ στρατεύεσθε,
ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὰ ὀψώνια κομίζεσθε.
μὴ τις ὑμῶν δεσέρτωρ εὐρεθῇ.
τὸ βάπτισμα ὑμῶν μενέτω ὡς ὄπλα,
ἡ πίστις ὡς περικεφαλαία,
ἡ ἀγάπη ὡς δόρυ,
ἡ ὑπομονὴ ὡς πανοπλία.
τὰ δεπόσιτα ὑμῶν τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν,
ἵνα τὰ ἄκκεπτα ὑμῶν ἄξια κομίσασθε.¹³
- Eph. 10:2 πρὸς τὴν πλάνην αὐτῶν
ὁμεῖς ἑδραῖοι τῇ πίστει...¹⁴
- Tral. 1:1 ἄμωμον διάνοιαν καὶ ἀδιάκριτον ἐν ὑπομονῇ
ἔχων ὑμᾶς ἔχοντας
οὐ κατὰ ἡρῆσιν,¹⁵
ἀλλὰ κατὰ φύσιν
- Smyr. 1:1 ἐνόησα γὰρ ὑμᾶς κατηρτισμένους ἐν ἀκινήτῳ πίστει,
ὥσπερ καθήλωμένους ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου

¹²Pol. 3:1, "Stand fast like the anvil when it is beaten. It is the mark of the great athlete to be subjected to punishment and yet be victorious."

¹³Pol. 6:2, "Be pleasing to Him whom you serve, from Whom you receive your pay. Let no one of you be found a deserter. Let your Baptism remain as your weapon, Faith as your helmet, Love as your spear, Endurance as your armour, your good works as your deposits that you may receive the back-pay due to you."

¹⁴Eph. 10:2, "... in the face of their confusion, be firm in the faith."

¹⁵Tral. 1:1, "I know that you possess a blameless mind and one unwavering in endurance not from habit but by nature."

Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ σαρκί τε καὶ πνεύματι 16
καὶ ἡδρασμένους ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐν τῷ αἵματι Χριστοῦ,

Smyr. 13:2 δσπάσομαι τὸν οἶκον Ταυίας,
ἣν εὐχομαι ἐδρᾶσθαι πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ
σαρκικῇ τε καὶ πνευματικῇ. 17

Pol. 4:3 δούλους καὶ δούλας μὴ ὑπερηφάνει·
ἀλλὰ μηδὲ αὐτοὶ φυσιοῦσθωσαν,
ἀλλ' εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ δουλευέτωσαν,
ἵνα κρείττονος ἐλευθερίας ἀπὸ θεοῦ τύχωσιν.
μὴ ἐράτωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐλευθεροῦσθαι,
ἵνα μὴ δοῦλοι εὐρεθῶσιν ἐπιθυμίας. 18

In speaking directly of ὑπομονή Ignatius alluded rather frequently to the idea of "enduring all things" (πάντα ὑπομενεῖν) "for Christ". Clearly, this concept must be identified as a recurring theme in Ignatian thought and exhortation.

Pol. 3:1 μάλιστα δὲ ἕνεκεν θεοῦ πάντα ὑπομένειν ἡμᾶς δεῖ,
ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπομείνῃ. 19

¹⁶Smyr. 1:1, "For I know that you are established in unflinching faith, as if nailed to the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ in flesh and in spirit and that you are confirmed in love in the blood of Christ."

¹⁷Smyr. 13:2, "I greet the house of Tavia and I pray that she may be confirmed in faith and love both of the flesh and spirit."

¹⁸Pol. 4:3, "Do not treat slaves of either sex with contempt. Let them not boast. Rather, let them serve unto the glory of God that they may receive a better freedom from God. Let them not seek to be set free at the expense of the community lest they become the slaves of desire."

¹⁹Pol. 3:1, "But especially because of God it is necessary to endure all things that He may endure us."

- Pol. 3:2 πλέον σπουδαῖος γίνου οὐ εἶ.
 τοὺς καιροὺς καταμάνθανε.
 τὸν ὑπὲρ καιρὸν προσδόκα, τὸν ἄχρονον,
 τὸν δόρατον, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς δρατόν,
 τὸν ἀψηλάφητον,
 τὸν ἀπαθῆ, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς παθητόν,
 τὸν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομείναντα.²⁰
- Mag. 1:2 τὸ δὲ κυριώτερον Ἰησοῦ καὶ πατρός
 ἐν ᾧ ὑπομένοντες τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπήρειαν
 τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου
 καὶ διαφυγόντες θεοῦ τευξόμεθα.²¹
- Smyr. 4:2 μόνον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
 εἰς τὸ συμπαθεῖν αὐτῷ πάντα ὑπομένω,
 αὐτοῦ με ἐνδυναμοῦντος²²
 τοῦ τελείου ἀνθρώπου γενομένου
- Smyr. 9:2 ἀμοιβὴ ὑμῖν ὁ θεός, δι' ὃν πάντα ὑπομένοντες
 αὐτοῦ τεύξεσθε,²³


The thrust of this exhortation is striking. The Christian is expected to meet each and every obstacle throughout his

²⁰Pol. 3:2, "Be more diligent than you are. Watch the times. Expect Him Who is above time, timeless, invisible, Who for us became visible, Who cannot be touched, Who cannot suffer, Who for us suffered, Who in every way endured for us."

²¹Mag. 1:2, "and more decisively [a unity] of Jesus and the Father in Whom, enduring every abuse of the Ruler of this Age and fleeing, we shall attain God."

²²Smyr. 4:2, "... only in the name of Jesus Christ and unto suffering with Him do I endure all things. He who became perfect man gives me strength."

²³Smyr. 9:2, "God is your reward. Enduring all things for Him, you will attain Him."



life. Its application is universal and is thought by Ignatius to be appropriate to a variety of different situations including that of Christ Himself (Pol. 3:2).

In order to move more deeply into the sense of endurance in Ignatian thought, it is necessary to examine several key texts in some detail. The first of these texts are Mag. 1:1-2 and Mag. 9:1.

Mag. 1:1 γνοὺς ὑμῶν τὸ πολυεύτακτον τῆς κατὰ θεὸν ἀγάπης,
ἀγαλλιώμενος προειλόμην ἐν πίστει
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προσλαλῆσαι ὑμῖν.
1:2 καταξιωθείς γὰρ ὀνόματος θεοπρεπεστάτου,
ἐν οἷς περιφέρω δεσμοῖς ἔδω τὰς ἐκκλησίας,
ἐν αἷς ἔνωσιν εὐχομαι
σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
τοῦ διὰ παντὸς ἡμῶν ἑῶν,
πίστεώς τε καὶ ἀγάπης,
ἧς οὐδὲν προκέκριται,
τὸ δὲ κυριώτερον Ἰησοῦ καὶ πατρός
ἐν ᾧ ὑπομένοντες τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπήρειαν
τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου²⁴
καὶ διαφυγόντες θεοῦ τευξόμεθα.

Mag. 9:1 δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ,
ὅτινες ἀρνοῦνται,

²⁴Mag. 1:1-2, "Knowing your well-ordered love according to God and rejoicing, I propose to speak to you in the faith of Jesus Christ. For being thought worthy to bear a most godly name, I sing (the praises) of the Churches in the bonds that I bear and pray that in them there may be a unity of the flesh and spirit of Jesus Christ, Who is our eternal life, a unity of faith and of love, than which nothing is better, and, more decisively, [a unity] of Jesus and the Father, in Whom enduring every abuse of the Ruler of this Age and fleeing, we shall attain God."

δι' οὗ μυστηρίου ἐλάβομεν τὸ πιστεῦειν,
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπομένομεν,
ἵνα εὐρεθῶμεν μαθηταὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
τοῦ μόνου διδασκάλου ἡμῶν. 25

Two aspects of Ignatian thought reflected in these texts merit particular attention: first, the relationship between πίστις and ὑπομονή and second, the tendency of Ignatius to give meaning to endurance by associating it with God and Christ.

Many scholars have noted that πίστις and ἀγάπη were understood by Ignatius as correlatives.²⁶ On the basis of Mag. 1 and 9, however, it likewise seems clear that Ignatius had related ὑπομονή to both πίστις and ἀγάπη (Mag. 1:2) and, in a special way, to πίστις alone (Mag. 9:1).

Ignatius conceived ὑπομονή as logically preceded by πίστις. Some such relationship between πίστις and ὑπομονή in the common sense of Ignatius seems to explain best the appearance of the theme of endurance at the very end of the eulogy over πίστις in Mag. 9:1 and over both πίστις and ἀγάπη in Mag. 1:2 as well as in other texts such as Eph. 14:1 and Pol. 6:2.

Secondly, it is to be noted that these texts are

²⁵Mag. 9:1. "Through Him and through His death, which some deny, through which mystery we received faith, and for this reason endure in order that we may be found disciples of Jesus Christ, our only teacher."

²⁶Most recently, Olaf Tarvainen, Glaube und Liebe.

excellent examples of what might well be identified as Ignatius' tendency to give meaning to "endurance" in the life of the Christian by consistently bringing it in some way into relationship with God or Christ. One might not be wrong to conclude that Ignatius did not conceive of "enduring" as meaningful in and of itself.

Both here in Magnesians and elsewhere, Ignatius consistently speaks of endurance as oriented toward "attaining God" (Mag. 1:2, Smyr. 9:2) or "being found a disciple" (Mag. 9:1 cf. Roms. 3:2-4:2). The exact nature of the tie between "enduring" and these "goals" is difficult to discern from these texts alone. What is clear, on the other hand, in these and other texts cited previously, is Ignatius' tendency to make the enduring of suffering meaningful by associating it with his Lord. It is this tendency that finds expression in those often neglected phrases that appear in these and other texts. Thus, it is "in Him" that the Christian endures (Mag. 1:2) or "in His Name" (Smyr. 4:2), "for Him" or "on His account" (Smyr. 9:2, Pol. 3:1).

In the light of the foregoing observations, it seems possible to speak of a "devotional dimension" within Ignatius' conception of endurance. The Christian "endures all things" since it is only appropriate for the follower of Christ to do so, not because it will magically transform him into a disciple.²⁷ His endurance makes sense because it is endurance "for Christ". The significance of endurance for Ignatius may therefore be said to be bound up with the relationship that exists between the believer and his Lord. It is therefore hardly surprising that in his enduring of all things, the Christian understands that he will "be found a μαθητής" of his Lord and can speak with certainty that having endured he will "attain Him".

The texts of Mag. 1:2 and 9:1 suggest that Ignatius' concern with the theme of endurance as an element of importance within the life of the Christian was profound. This impression, moreover, is supported by the text of Eph. 14-15. There, some of the themes which we have already identified as elements in Ignatius'

²⁷Cf. Brox, *Zeuge*, p. 208, where he makes the suggestion that it is "endurance", not martyrdom, that "makes" the Christian a disciple on the basis of the text of Mag. 9:1.

tius' understanding of endurance reappear. In addition, however, the text of Eph. 14-15 suggests aspects of Ignatius' understanding of the theme of endurance that are of critical importance for understanding the part that the theme played within his understanding of his death. Indeed, the text of Eph. 14-15 is perhaps one of the most important texts within the Ignatian letters for the understanding of Ignatius' conception of endurance. Thus, we must enter at this point upon an extensive analysis of this text.

- Eph. 13:2 οὐδέν ἐστιν ἄμεινον εἰρήνης,
 ἐν ᾗ πᾶς πόλεμος καταργεῖται
 ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων.
- 14:1 ἢν οὐδὲν λανθάνει ὑμᾶς,
 ἐὰν τελείως εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν
 ἔχητε τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην,
 ἥτις ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ ζωῆς καὶ τέλος.
 ἀρχὴ μὲν πίστις, τέλος δὲ ἀγάπη.
 τὰ δὲ δύο ἐν ἐνότητι γινόμενα θεός ἐστιν,
 τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα εἰς καλοκἀγαθίαν ἀκόλουθά ἐστιν.
- 14:2 οὐδεὶς πίστιν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἁμαρτάνει
 οὐδὲ ἀγάπην κεκτημένος μισεῖ.
 φανερόν τὸ δένδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ.
 οὕτως οἱ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι Χριστοῦ εἶναι
 οἱ ὧν πράσσουσιν ὁφθήσονται.
 οὐ γὰρ νῦν ἐπαγγελίας τὸ ἔργον,
 ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει πίστεως ἐάν τις εὐρεθῇ εἰς τέλος.
- 15:1 ἄμεινόν ἐστιν σιωπᾶν καὶ εἶναι, ἢ λαλοῦντα μὴ εἶναι.
 καλὸν τὸ διδάσκειν, ἐὰν ὁ λέγων ποιῇ.
 εἰς οὖν διδάσκαλος, ὅς εἶπεν, καὶ ἐγένετο.
 καὶ ἡ σιγῶν δὲ πεποίηκεν, ἅξια τοῦ πατρός ἐστιν.

15:2 ὁ λόγον Ἰησοῦ κεκτημένος ἀληθῶς δύναται
καὶ τῆς ἡσυχίας αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν,
ἵνα τέλειος ᾖ,
ἵνα δι' ὧν λαλεῖ πράσῃ
καὶ δι' ὧν σιγᾷ γινώσκηται.

15:3 οὐδὲν λανθάνει τὸν κύριον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἡμῶν ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ ἐστίν.
πάντα οὖν ποιῶμεν ὡς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικοῦντος,
ἵνα ὦμεν αὐτοῦ ναοὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν θεὸς ἡμῶν,
ὅπερ καὶ ἔστιν καὶ φανήσεται πρὸ προσώπου ἡμῶν,
ἐξ ὧν δικαίως ἀγαπῶμεν αὐτόν.

28 Eph. 13:2-15:3, "Nothing is better than peace in which all war is abolished in heaven and on earth. (and) of the things of heaven and earth, nothing remains hidden from you if you have faith in and love for Jesus Christ. These virtues are the beginning and the end of life; the beginning is faith, the end love. But the two being together in unity is God Himself, and everything else related to goodness is the result. No one who professes faith sins. No one who possesses love hates. The tree is known by its fruit. In the same way, those who profess to be of Christ will be seen through their deeds. For it is not a matter of present profession but of continuing to the end by reason of the power of faith. It is better to be silent and to be than to speak and not to be. Teaching is good if the teacher acts as he speaks. There was one teacher who spoke and it came to be. What He did in silence, moreover, is worthy of the Father. He who truly possesses the word of Jesus is also able to hear his silence that he might be perfect, that he might act according to what he says and be known according to what he does without words. Nothing is hidden from the Lord. On the contrary, our most hidden secrets are close to Him. Therefore, let us do everything like men in whom He dwells that we may be His temples and He our God in us. For this is, in fact, the case and will appear before our eyes. On these grounds let us justly love Him."

Certain ties between this text and those examined previously are transparent. As in the texts of Mag. 1:2 and 9: , the treatment of endurance follows an analysis of faith and love. So too, as in Mag. 9:1, we find Ignatius speaking of "being found" (εὐρεθῆναι). Unlike the other texts, however, the word "ὑπομονή" itself is not used in Eph. 14-15. Moreover, the sense of "enduring" found here is not one of "enduring all things" but rather, one of enduring and "being found to [or at] the end" (εὐρεθῆναι εἰς τέλος, Eph. 14:2).

Our interest in this text leads us to focus in particular upon the text of Eph. 14:2. Here, the analysis of the place of faith and love in the Christian life has evolved into a consideration of the need for coherence between the "words" of the Christian and his "deeds". Three aspects of the thought of Ignatius coming to articulation here merit comment.

The first of our observations focuses upon the unique perspective from which the Matthaean dictum

ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον γινώσκεται (Matt. 12:33 f.)

has been integrated into Ignatius' understanding of the need for endurance in the Christian life.

Eph. 14:2 φανερόν τὸ δένδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ.
οὕτως οἱ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι Χριστοῦ εἶναι
δι' ὧν πράσσουσιν ὁφθήσονται.

οὐ γὰρ νῦν ἐπαγγελίας τὸ ἔργον,
ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει πίστεως ἕαν τις εὐρεθῇ εἰς τέλος.²⁹

Ignatius has obviously come to understand the dictum in association with the traditional Greek contrast between words and deeds. Thus, Ignatius speaks in Eph. 14:2 of looking to the "deeds" of the Christian (πράσσουσιν) to discern the nature of his profession (words) of being "of Christ" (ἐπαγγελλόμενοι Χριστοῦ εἶναι), i.e., his/her claim to be a Christian.²⁹ But, it is quite clear that Ignatius is not concerned with the deeds of the past or present. He is especially concerned with the future and specifically with "the end". Which tree will be found then? Will the deeds of the Christian be in coherence with his claim to be of Christ then? Moreover, Ignatius' concern seems to be not with what is "said" "at the end" but with what is "found". The contrast between "words" and "deeds" and the ultimate priority of

²⁹

Eph. 14:2, "The tree is known by its fruit. In the same way, those who profess to be of Christ will be seen through their deeds." For it is not a matter of present profession but of continuing to the end by reason of the power of faith."

the latter is a crucial element in the conception of endurance here.

The second of our observations on the text of Eph. 14:2 draws attention to the significance of the phrase ἐν δυνάμει πίστεως . To be "found at the end" depends on a δύναμις , here characterized as the δύναμις of faith itself. Again, as in Mag. 1:2 and 9:2, the πίστις-ὁπομονή binomial of Ignatian thought comes to expression , albeit in a different form. It is because of his faith that the Christian will "be found at the end".

The third of our observations on this text focuses attention on what might be termed the concern for judgement which seems to pervade Ignatius' analysis of the Christian life here in Eph. 14-15. This concern for judgement seems to enter the framework of the text as soon as Ignatius speaks of the tree "being known" by its fruit and continues to the very end of the text of Eph. 15:3.

Eph. 14:2b φανερόν τὸ δένδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ.
 οὕτως οἱ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι Χριστοῦ εἶναι
 δι' ὧν πράσσουσιν ὁρθήσονται.³⁰

³⁰ Eph. 14:2b, "The tree is known by its fruit. In the same way, those who profess to be of Christ will be seen through their deeds."

- Eph. 14:2c οὐ γὰρ νῦν ἐπαγγελίας τὸ ἔργον,
ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει πίστεως ἐάν τις εὐρεθῇ εἰς τέλος.³¹
- Eph. 15:2 ὁ λόγον ᾠησοῦ κεκτημένος ἀληθῶς δύναται -
καὶ τῆς ἡσυχίας αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν,
ἵνα τέλειος ᾖ,
ἵνα δι' ἧν λαλεῖ πράσῃ
καὶ δι' ᾧ σιγᾷ γινώσκηται.³²
- Eph. 15:3a οὐδὲν λανθάνει τὸν κύριον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἡμῶν ἐγγύς αὐτῷ ἐστίν.³³

The consistent use of the passive and middle voices in these texts seems significant.

Ignatius presupposes a context in which someone will be doing the "finding" and "knowing". However, the use of the passive and middle voices here makes it difficult to determine who it is that Ignatius has in mind here.

On the other hand, it seems only reasonable to suggest that it is God or Christ who are understood to be judging. Indeed, such a position seems suggested by the text of Eph. 15:2-3. It is possible

³¹Eph. 14:2c, "For it is not a matter of present profession but of continuing to the end by reason of the power of faith."

³²Eph. 15:2, "He who truly possesses the word of Jesus is also able to hear his silence that he might be perfect, that he might act according to what he says and be known according to what he does without words."

³³Eph. 15:3, "Nothing is hidden from the Lord. On the contrary, our most hidden secrets are close to Him."

that Ignatius might also have conceived of others as those who would "see", "find" and "know".

But the use of the passive and middle voices might reflect no more than a vague impersonal conception that suggests no more than that the Christian understands that he will not be the one to make judgements on his behavior "at the end".

In summary, - the text of Eph. 14:1-15:3 finds Ignatius speaking his mind on the theme of endurance at some length, a phenomenon rare in the Ignatian letters. Endurance is a problem that involves the coherence of "words" and "deeds" not "now" but, because of the "power of faith" "at the end". It is only then that the truth of the individual's profession of his faith is to be judged.

It is to be noted, finally, that although the concerns discussed in Eph. 14-15 seem to have an obvious application to the situation of the martyr, the text itself presents this "teaching" on the need for endurance as a matter of relevance to Christians in general.

At the same time, it is hardly surprising to find that Ignatius could and did employ many of the same categories in speaking about his own situation and his own need for endurance elsewhere in his letters.

The importance of the theme of endurance in Ignatius' understanding of his own situation is suggested by the fact that elements of the theme can be found in a number of the texts in which Ignatius speaks exclusively of himself. Our own analysis of the shape of this theme in his understanding of his situation must begin with a look at three texts: Smyr. 4:2, Roms. 5:3 and especially Roms. 3:1-4:2.

Smyr. 4:2 μόνον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
εἰς τὸ συμπαθεῖν αὐτῷ πάντα ὑπομένω,
αὐτοῦ με ἐνδυναμοῦντος
τοῦ τελείου ἀνθρώπου γενομένου. ³⁴

Roms. 5:3 πῦρ καὶ σταυρὸς θηρίων τε συστάσεις,
σκορπισμοὶ ὀστέων, συγκοπαὶ μελῶν,
ἄλεσμοὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος,
κακαὶ κολάσεις τοῦ διαβόλου
ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθωσαν,
μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω. ³⁵

Roms. 3:1 οὐδέποτε ἐβασκάνετε οὐδενί,
ἄλλους ἐδιδάξατε.
ἐγὼ δὲ θέλω, ἵνα κακείνα βέβαια ᾖ,
ἃ μαθητεύοντες ἐντέλλεσθε.
3:2 μόνον μοι δύναμιν αἰτεῖσθε
ἔσωθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν,
ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγω,
ἀλλὰ καὶ θέλω,

³⁴ Smyr. 4:2, ". . . only in the name of Jesus Christ [and] unto suffering with Him do I endure all things. He who became Perfect Man gives me strength."

³⁵ Roms. 5:3, "Fire and cross and struggles with wild beasts, cutting, tearing apart, the racking of bones, the mangling of limbs, the crushing of the whole body, the cruel punishments of the devil himself. Let them come upon me, only that I may attain Jesus Christ."

Roms. 3:2 μὴ ἵνα μόνον λέγωμαι Χριστιανός,
 (con't) ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐρεθῶ.
 εἰάν γὰρ εὐρεθῶ,
 καὶ λέγεσθαι δύναμαι καὶ τότε πιστὸς εἶναι.
 ὅταν κόσμῳ μὴ φαίνωμαι. 36

Roms. 4:2 τότε ἔσομαι μαθητὴς ἀληθοῦς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
 ὅτε οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμά μου ὁ κόσμος ὄψεται. 37

We may begin our analysis of the place of endurance in Ignatius' understanding of his death by calling attention to the presence of the idea of "enduring all things" and of the need for a δύναμις as they appear in Ignatius' statements about himself.

The theme of "enduring all things" (πάντα ὑπομενεῖν) "for Christ" figured in Ignatius' understanding of what he had already faced on the journey from Syria and what he was soon to face in Rome.

Smyr. 4:2 μόνον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
 εἰς τὸ συμπαθεῖν αὐτῷ πάντα ὑπομένω,
 αὐτοῦ με ἐνδυναμοῦντος

³⁶ Roms. 3:1, "Never did you envy anyone. Rather, you instructed others. And I desire that those things might stand fast which you commanded while instructing. Only seek for me the power inward and outward that I may not only speak but also be willing, that I may not only be said to be a Christian but also be found one. For if I am found one, I will be able both to be called and then, actually to be faithful, when I am no longer visible to the world."

³⁷ Roms. 4:2, "Then I will truly be a disciple of Jesus Christ when there is nothing left of me for the world to see."

Smyr. 4:2
(con't) τοῦ τελείου ἀνθρώπου γενομένου³⁸

Roms. 5:3 πῦρ καὶ σταυρὸς θηρίων τε συστάσεις,
σκορπισμοὶ ὀστέων, συγκοπαὶ μελῶν,
ἄλγεσμοὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος,
κακαὶ κολάσεις τοῦ διαβόλου
ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθωσαν,
μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.³⁹

As we have seen in other texts as well, enduring or suffering is not understood here in isolation. Its meaning is bound up with Christ. Ignatius suffers only in the name of Jesus Christ. He wishes to suffer with Him (Smyr. 4:2). The meaning of suffering for Ignatius begins and ends in Christ.

In the text of Roms. 5:3, we find the specifics of "enduring all things" spelled out. Again, their meaning for Ignatius is bound up with Christ. Ignatius is not concerned with them but only with what lies beyond them, i.e. that he might attain Jesus Christ. As elsewhere, he speaks of en-

³⁸Smyr. 4:2, "...only in the name of Jesus Christ and unto suffering with Him do I endure all things. He who became Perfect Man gives me strength."

³⁹Roms. 5:3, "Fire and cross and struggles with wild beasts, cutting, tearing apart, the racking of bones, the mangling of limbs, the crushing of the whole body, the cruel punishments of the devil himself. Let them come upon me, only that I may attain Jesus Christ."

during all things" this text reflects Ignatius' certainty that the Christian who "endures" for Christ will surely "attain Him".

Interesting too in Ignatius' estimation of his own position vis-à-vis death is his understanding that he is in need of some δύναμις if he is to face death properly. This concern for δύναμις seems to be much like that seen earlier in the text of Eph. 14:2:

Eph. 14:2 φανερόν τὸ δένδρον διὰ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ.
οὕτως οἱ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι Χριστοῦ εἶναι
δι' ὧν πράσσουσιν ὁφθήσονται.

οὐ γὰρ νῦν ἐπαγγελίας τὸ ἔργον,
ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει πίστεως εἰάν τις εὐρεθῇ εἰς τέλος.⁴⁰

Smyr. 4:2 μόνον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
εἰς τὸ συμπαθεῖν αὐτῷ πάντα ὑπομένω,
αὐτοῦ με ἐνδυναμοῦντος
τοῦ τελείου ἀνθρώπου γενομένου⁴¹

Roms. 3:2 μόνον μοι δύναμιν αἰτεῖσθε
ἔσωθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν,
ὥστε μὴ μόνον λέγω,
ἀλλὰ καὶ θέλω.
μὴ ὥστε μόνον λέγωμαι Χριστιανός,
ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐρεθῶ.
εἰάν γὰρ εὐρεθῶ,

⁴⁰ Eph. 14:2, "The tree is known by its fruit. In the same way, those who profess to be of Christ will be seen through their deeds. For it is not a matter of present profession but of continuing to the end by reason of the power of faith."

⁴¹ Smyr. 4:2, ". . . only in the name of Jesus Christ and unto suffering with Him do I endure all things. He who became Perfect Man gives me strength."

Roms. 3:2 καὶ λέγεσθαι δύνάμει καὶ τότε πιστὸς εἶναι
(con't) ὅταν κόσμῳ μὴ φαίνωμαι.⁴²

In the text of Eph. 14:2, Ignatius spoke of the need of a δύναμις πίστεως that would enable the Christian to "be found at the end". There the understanding seems to be that it is the Christian's belief in Christ that will enable him to endure. In Smyr. 4:2, a more personal form of this same understanding seems to be coming to expression. It is not the "faith" of the Christian that gives meaning to endurance and makes "enduring" to the end possible, it is Christ, Himself, who "empowers" (ἐνδυναμοῦντος) the Christian to "endure".

In the text of Roms. 3:2, the need for δύναμις reappears in a request for the help of the community in order that Ignatius might have the δύναμις . . . ἔσωθῇ καὶ ἔξωθῇ in order that he might not only say but "will" (ἔσωθῃ) and that he not only "be called" but "be found" (ἔξωθῃ) a Christian.

⁴²Roms. 3:2, "Only seek for me the power inward and outward that I may not only speak but also be willing, that I may not only be said to be a Christian but also be found one. For if I am found one, I will be able both to be called and then, actually to be faithful, when I am no longer visible to the world."

As in the other texts, Roms. 3:2 bears witness to Ignatius' certainty that some sort of δύναμις will be necessary if the Christian--in this case, himself--is to "endure" to the end. This text seems to speak of a δύναμις more closely akin to that mentioned in Eph. 14:2 (δύναμις πίστεως). In all instances, however, it may be said that Ignatius speaks from a certainty that he will not be able to "be found a Christian" without some sort of "external" assistance, be it the "power" of his faith (Eph. 14:2)², the "empowering" of Christ, Himself, (Smyr. 4:2) or the help and prayers of other Christians. (Roms. 3:2)

The comments we have just made concerning the theme of "enduring all things" and that of the need for δύναμις suggest strongly that the complex of themes and ideas which we have identified in general as the theme of endurance (ὑπομονή) in Ignatian thought did in fact play a part in Ignatius' understanding of his own situation as he faced his death. Nowhere does this theme of endurance seem more relevant for the understanding of Ignatian thought on his death than in the text of Roms. 3:2, and this in spite of the fact that the term ὑπομονή itself is not mentioned. Many of the themes we have examined as parts of this larger theme of endurance, however, play important roles in this text. Moreover, the

language used by Ignatius in this text seems extremely precise and offers insights for the understanding of the use of the same language elsewhere in the Ignatian letters of crucial significance for the understanding of Ignatius' use of the term μαθητής. With these considerations in mind, we may now move to a detailed analysis of this vitally important text of Roms. 3:1-2:

Roms. 3:1 οὐδέποτε ἐβασκάνατε οὐδενί,
 ἄλλους ἐδιδάξατε.
 ἐγὼ δὲ θέλω, ἵνα καὶ κεῖνα βέβαια ᾖ,
 ἃ μαθητεύοντες ἐντέλλεσθε.
 3:2 μόνον μοι δύναμιν αἰτεῖσθε
 ἔσωθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν,
 ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγω,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ θέλω,
 μὴ ἵνα μόνον λέγωμαι Χριστιανός,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐρεθῶ.
 ἔάν γὰρ εὐρεθῶ,
 καὶ λέγεσθαι δύναμαι καὶ τότε πιστὸς εἶναι
 ὅταν κόσμῳ μὴ φαίνωμαι.⁴³

By way of beginning our analysis of this text, we might take notice of the close coherence in themes and categories between this text and that of Eph. 14:2 examined above. Both texts, as we have just seen above, speak of

⁴³ Roms. 3:1-2, "Never did you envy anyone. Rather, you instructed others. And I desire that those things might stand fast which you commanded while instructing. Only seek for me the power inward and outward that I may not only speak but also be willing, that I may not only be said to be a Christian but also be found one. For if I am found one, I will be able both to be called and then, actually to be faithful, when I am no longer visible to the world."

a need for δύναμις if the Christian is to be found to the end. Even more striking is the reappearance in Roms. 3 of the "words-deeds" contrast by Ignatius in conjunction with the theme of δύναμις: μὴ μόνον λέγω and μὴ ἵνα μόνον λέγωμαι Χριστιανός (cf. Eph. 14:2 οἱ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι Χριστοῦ εἶναι) contrasted with "willing" (θέλω) and "being found" (εὑρεθῶ) (cf. Eph. 14:2 εὑρεθῶ ἕως τέλους). Moreover, as in Eph. 14:2, the concern for judgement (εὑρεθῶ) seems to be a part of the picture (Roms. 3:2: εἰ ἂν γὰρ εὑρεθῶ, καὶ λέγεσθαι δύναμαι καὶ τότε πιστὸς εἶναι . . .). The link between the text of Eph. 14-15 and Roms. 3:2 can be seen in terms of these three common elements.

In the text of Roms. 3:2-4:2, three key expressions merit attention: (1) to "be found a Christian" (Χριστιανός . . . εὑρεθῶ); (2) to "be able to be called" (Χριστιανός, πιστός, μαθητής) and (3) to "be able to be" (πιστός, Χριστιανός, μαθητής).

(1) To "be found a Christian". (μὴ ἵνα μόνον λέγωμαι Χριστιανός ἀλλὰ καὶ εὑρεθῶ) Rather clearly, the contrast here is between "words" and "deeds".

One is understood to be "found a Christian" in his deeds, not in what is said about him. How is this to be understood?.

It seems probable that Ignatius is working with an understanding that the correct patterns of behavior for a Christian on his way to his death or in his confrontation with death are known to his readers. Indeed, the text of Roms. 3:1 speaks of the Romans as having offered some instruction on these matters.

Roms. 3:1 οὐδέποτε ἐβασκάνετε οὐδενί,
 ἄλλους ἐδιδάξατε.
 ἐγὼ δὲ θέλω, ὥνα κακεῖνα βέβαια ᾤ,
 ὁ μαθητεύοντες ἐντέλλεσθε.⁴⁴

It is regrettable that Ignatius nowhere in his letters elaborates on these expectations. They are part of his "common sense". He seeks only the δύναμις that will enable him to live up to them, and thus, "be found a Christian". On the basis of what Ignatius has stated in Eph. 14, it seems possible to suggest that the Christian's behavior is expected to support his claim to be "of

⁴⁴ Roms. 3:1, "Never did you envy anyone. Rather, you instructed others. And I desire that those things might stand fast which you commanded while instructing." It has become a scholarly commonplace to suggest that Ignatius is referring here to the epistle known as I Clement. The mutual concern of the Ignatian letters and I Clement with the theme of ὑπομονή (I Clem. 4-5, especially 5:5) suggests that a comparison of these two works on this theme is called for.

Christ".⁴⁵ Whatever the specifics of this "common sense" understanding, it seems clear that Ignatius, at least, if not his readers, must have had a very definite understanding of the behavioral patterns that were appropriate for the martyr. He, and perhaps they too, would

⁴⁵ We might speculate that such appropriate behavior would exclude flight or evasion of death and, perhaps, tend toward an attitude of fearlessness and even a defiance of death. It is this kind of attitude which is reflected elsewhere in the letters in texts like that of Roms. 5:2:

Roms. 5:2 ὁναίμην τῶν θηρίων
 τῶν ἐμοὶ ἡτοιμασμένων
 καὶ εὐχομαι σύντομά μοι εὐρεθῆναι.
 ἃ καὶ κολακεύσω,
 συντόμως με καταφαγεῖν,
 οὐχ ὥσπερ τινῶν δέιλαινόμενα οὐχ ἦσαντο.
 καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ ἐκόντα μὴ θέλη,
 ἐγὼ προσβιάσομαι.

(Roms. 5:2, "I am devoted to the beasts who have been made ready for me and I pray that I will find them quick to their task. I will entice them to devour me quickly; not like some whom they have not touched due to fear. And should they be unwilling, I will force them to their task.")

Moreover, it does not seem improbable that Ignatius understood the appropriate response of the Christian facing death to be one which would influence the thinking of those who witnessed his death. It is this understanding that seems to be presupposed in a statement made by Ignatius in Roms. 3:3.

Roms. 3:3 οὐ πεισμονῆς τὸ ἔργον,
 ἀλλὰ μεγέθους ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστιανισμός,
 ὅταν μισῇται ὑπὸ κόσμου.

(Roms. 3:3, "Christianity is not a thing of persuasion but of majesty when it is hated by the world.") Thus, this text seems relevant to the discussion of the theme of "witnessing" within Ignatius' understanding of his death. See von Campenhausen, *Die Idee*, pp. 68, 74, 76; Lohse, *Martyrer*, p. 203 ff. and Brox, *Zeuge*, pp. 211-215.

- know whether or not he was "found a Christian" ^{was} he finally faced death.

(2) to "be able to be called" (λέγεσθαι δύναμαι). We find in this usage an articulation of a very clear-cut understanding. Ignatius understands that he will "be able to be called" (a Christian, or πιστός) only if it could be seen in the way he acted, i.e., "if I am found" (εάν γὰρ εὑρεθῶ). The "words" can be used only if the "deeds" justify their usage. Again, as in Eph. 14, the concern for judgement seems to come to articulation in this text. Ignatius holds off the use of the terms ἀπιστιανός and πιστός because he is conscious of the fact that there is still a chance that he might fail. Only after he has faced death will there be no chance of using the terms inappropriately.

- ✓ (3) to "be able to be". Similarly, Ignatius here suggests that he would not conceive of himself as "being able to be" a Christian, a believer or a μαθητής until after his death. This rather unusual usage seems understandable in part as a part of the "words-deeds" scheme that runs through the entire text. Ignatius' point seems to be that if he "is found" a Christian in his confrontation with death, he will not only be able to be called one (words) but actually "be able to be" one (in fact).

At this point in our examination of the text of Roms. 3-4, we must direct our attention to the meaning of the terms *Χριστιανός*, *πιστός* and *μαθητής*.

These three titles are interchangeable in meaning: Christian, believer, disciple. The use of the term *πιστός* in this text, seems to arise from an association with *πίστις* and most probably reflects Ignatius' association of the themes of faith and endurance. It is the interchangeable sense of these terms that makes it possible for Ignatius to say . . . λέγεσθαι δύναμαι καὶ τότε πιστὸς εἶναι ὅταν κόσμῳ μὴ φαίνωμαι (Roms. 3:2)⁴⁶ and shortly thereafter to say τότε ἔσομαι μαθητῆς ἀληθοῦς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτε οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμά μου ὁ κόσμος ὄψεται (Roms. 4:2)⁴⁷

It seems incorrect to identify the sense in which these terms are used here in Roms. 3:2 as a special martyrological sense. Actually, Ignatius is using these terms in their general sense but tying the applicability of this usage to a set of limited expectations

⁴⁶Roms. 3:2, "...I will be able both to be called and then, actually to be faithful, when I am no longer visible to the world."

⁴⁷Roms. 4:2, "Then I will truly be a disciple of Jesus Christ when there is nothing left of me for the world to see."

concerning the theme of endurance. Thus, being called a Christian, a believer or a disciple is not tied to fulfilling all of the expectations that might be set for an individual in every aspect of his life. Rather, it is tied simply to the fulfilment of expectations concerning the single matter of the appropriate way for the Christian to face death.

Ignatius' concern over his ability to face death properly did not find expression only in the text of Roms. 3:2. The Ignatian letters suggest that at least at that point in his life, Ignatius was deeply troubled by an awareness that he might be unable to face his death in the way he understood to be proper. In the text of Roms. 3:2, this concern emerges in the categories of endurance. Elsewhere, however, it finds expressions in other categories quite independent of the theme of endurance as we have been able to describe it in Ignatian thought:

Eph. 1:2 ἀκούσαντες γὰρ δεδεμένον ἀπὸ Συρίας
ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ ἐλπίδος,
ἐλπίζοντα τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν
ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐν Ῥώμῃ θηριομαχεῖν,
ἵνα ἐπιτυχεῖν δυνήθῃ μαθητὴς εἶναι,
ἰδεῖν ἐσπουδάσατε. 48

⁴⁸Eph. 1:2, "For when you heard that I was taken bound from Syria for our common name and hope, in the hope of attaining by your prayer to fight the beasts in Rome to be able

- Mag. 14 μνημονεύετε μου ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ὑμῶν,
 ἵνα θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω,
 καὶ τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας,
 ὅθεν οὐκ ἄξιός εἰμι καλεῖσθαι.
 ἐπιδέομαι γὰρ τῆς ἡνωμένης ὑμῶν ἐν θεῷ προσευχῆς
 καὶ ἀγάπης,
 εἰς τὸ δξιωθῆναι τὴν ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίαν
 διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑμῶν δροσισθῆναι. 49
- 1ral. 12:3 εὐχομαι ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἀκοῦσαί μου,
 ἵνα μὴ εἰς μαρτύριον ᾧ ἐν ὑμῖν γράψας,
 καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ δεῖ προσεύχεσθε,
 τῆς ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀγάπης χρῆζοντος
 ἐν τῷ ἐλέει τοῦ θεοῦ,
 εἰς τὸ καταξιωθῆναί με τοῦ κλήρου,
 οὗ περίκειμαι ἐπιτυχεῖν, 50
 ἵνα μὴ ἀδόκιμος εὕρεθῶ. 50
- Phil. 5:1 ἀδελφοί μου, λίαν ἐκκέχυμαι ἀγαπῶν ὑμᾶς
 καὶ ὑπεραγαλλόμενος ἀσφαλίζομαι ὑμᾶς.
 οὐκ ἐγὼ δέ,
 ἀλλ' Ἰησοῦς Χριστός,
 ἐν ᾧ δεδεμένος φοβοῦμαι μᾶλλον,
 ὥς ἔτι ὢν ἀναπάρτιστος.
 ἀλλ' ἡ προσευχὴ ὑμῶν εἰς θεόν με ἀπαρτίσει,
 ἵνα ἐν ᾧ κλήρῳ ἡλεήθην ἐπιτύχω,

to attain to be a disciple, you made haste to visit me."
 On the proper reading of this text see above, p. 30.

49 Mag. 14, "Remember me in your prayers that I
 might attain God and remember too the church in Syria
 with which I am not worthy to be associated. For I
 have need of your unified prayer in God and your love,
 that the church in Syria might be made worthy by being
 refreshed with the dew of your church."

50 1ral. 12:3, "I pray that you hear me in love
 in order that I may not become a witness against you by
 what I have written. Pray for me too, since I have
 need of the love that is among you that by the mercy of
 God I may be made worthy of the destiny that I am set
 to attain, that I not be found a sham. On the sense of
 ἀδόκιμος see Bauer, Lexicon, p. 18 and δόκιμος p. 202.

Phil. 5:1 προσφυγὼν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ
(con't) καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὡς πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐκκλησίας. ⁵¹

Smyr. 11:1 ἡ προσευχὴ ὑμῶν ἀπηλθὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας,
ἔθεν δεδεμένος θεοπρεπεστάτοις δεσμοῖς
πάντας ἀσπάζομαι,
οὐκ ὢν ἄξιος ἐκεῖθεν εἶναι,
ἔσχατος αὐτῶν ὢν.
κατὰ θέλημα δὲ κατηξιώθην,
οὐκ ἐκ συνειδότος,
ἀλλ' ἐκ χάριτος θεοῦ,
ἣν εὐχομαι τελείαν μοι δοθῆναι,
ἵνα τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω. ⁵²

Pol. 7:1 ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἐκκλησία
ἡ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας εἰρηνεύει,
ὡς ἐδηλώθη μοι, διὰ τὴν προσευχὴν ὑμῶν,
κἀγὼ εὐθυμότερος ἐγενόμην ἐν ἀμεριμνίᾳ θεοῦ,
ἐάνπερ διὰ τοῦ παθεῖν θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω,
εἰς τὸ εὐρεθῆναι με ἐν τῇ αἰτήσῃ ὑμῶν μαθητήν. ⁵³

⁵¹Phil. 5:1, "My brothers, I am overflowing with love for you and with great joy I watch over your safety--not I, but Jesus Christ. Since I am in bonds for Him I am more fearful being not yet complete. But your prayer to God will complete me that I may attain the destiny by which God has shown me His mercy, while I flee to the gospel as to the flesh of Christ and to the apostles as to the presbytery of the Church."

⁵²Smyr. 11:1, "Your prayer has come to the Church in Antioch of Syria. I have come from there as one bound in chains pleasing to God in order to greet you. I am not worthy to be from there, being the least of them. But, according to the will of God, I have been found worthy--I did not decide it, rather it was the grace of God which I pray may be given to me perfectly, so that through your prayer I may attain God."

⁵³Pol. 7:1, "Since the church at Antioch of Syria is at peace through your prayer, as was made known to me, I too am in better spirits through God's freedom-from-care, supposing that through suffering I may attain God and be found a disciple by your intercession."

- 123
- Roms. 1:1 ἐπεὶ εὐξάμενος θεῷ ἐπέτυχον
 ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὰ δειόθεα πρόσωπα,
 ὥς καὶ πλεόν ἡτούμην λαβεῖν·
 δεδεμένος γὰρ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ
 ἐλπίζω ὑμᾶς ἀσπάσασθαι,
 ἑάνπερ θέλημα ᾖ
 τοῦ δειωθῆναί με εἰς τέλος εἶναι.
 1:2 ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴ εὐοικονόμητός ἐστιν,
 ἑάνπερ χάριτος ἐπιτύχω
 εἰς τὸ τὸν κληρὸν μου ἀνεμποδίστως ἀπολαβεῖν. ⁵⁴
- Roms. 2:2 πλεόν δέ μοι μὴ παράσχησθε
 τοῦ σπονδισθῆναι θεῷ,
 ὥς ἔτι θυσιαστήριον ἑτοιμόν ἐστιν,
 ἵνα ἐν ἀγάπῃ χορὰς γενόμενοι
 ὕψητε τῷ πατρὶ ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ,
 ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας κατηξίωσεν ὁ θεός
 εὗρεθῆναι εἰς δύσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς μεταπεμπόμενος.
 καλὸν τὸ δοῦναι ἀπὸ κόσμου πρὸς θεόν,
 ἵνα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνατείλω. ⁵⁵
- Roms. 8:3 αἰτήσασθε περὶ ἐμοῦ,
 ἵνα ἐπιτύχω.
 οὐ κατὰ σάρκα ὑμῖν ἔγραψα,
 ἀλλὰ κατὰ γνῶμην θεοῦ.
 ἑὰν πάθω, ἠθελήσατε·

⁵⁴ Roms. 1:1-2, "Once I used to pray to see your faces, faces worthy of God. And I have received more than I ever sought. For in bondage in Christ Jesus, I hope to greet you, if it be His will that I be found worthy to be to the end. For the beginning will have been well arranged if I attain the grace to meet my destiny without interference."

⁵⁵ Roms. 2:2, "Allow me nothing more than to be poured out to God while the place of sacrifice is still ready so that having formed yourselves into a chorus in love, you may sing to the Father in Jesus Christ [saying] that the bishop of Syria has been made worthy by God to be found at the setting of the sun having been sent forth from its place of rising. It is a good thing to set forth from the world toward God in order that I might rise to Him."

Roms. 8:3
(con't) 56
ἐὰν ἀποδοκιμασθῶ, ἐμίσήσατε.

Behind these varied expressions, a single conception of his present situation and its resolution can be discerned. Ignatius sees himself as unable to face death in an appropriate way. He turns, therefore, either to God or his readers --

God: Smyr. 11:1, Roms. 1:1, 2:2
readers: Eph. 1:2, Mag. 14, Tral. 12:3, Phil. 5,
Smyr. 11:1, Pol. 7:1, Roms. 2:2, 3:2, 8:3

seeking some type of assistance --

- (1) the will of God: Smyr. 11:1, Roms. 1:1
- (2) the mercy of God: Tral. 12:3 (cf. Phil. 5:1)
- (3) the grace of God: Smyr. 11:1, Roms. 1:1
- (4) prayer: Eph. 1:2, Mag. 14, Tral. 12:3, Phil. 5, Smyr. 11:1
- (5) "request" (αἴτησις): Pol. 7:1, Roms. 2:2, 8:3, 3:2
- (6) δύναμις: Roms. 3:2
- (7) "a favour": Roms. 8:3

that will change him --

- "make him worthy": Tral. 12:3, Roms. 1:1, 2:2
- "perfect" him: Phil. 5:1
- "not only to say but to will": Roms. 3:2

thus making it possible for him to act in the way he understands to be appropriate --

- "to attain to fight the beasts in Rome": Eph. 1:2
- "to attain his lot": Tral. 12:3, Phil. 5, Roms. 1:1 (possibly Roms. 8:3)
- "to be to the end" (εἰς τέλος): Roms. 1:1

⁵⁶ Roms. 8:3, "Seek for my sake that I may attain. I do not speak to you according to the flesh. Rather, I speak according to the mind of God. If I suffer, it will be because you did me a favour. If I am found unworthy, it will be because you hated me."

and "be found" a Christian or a μαθητής, not δόκιμος
and therefore "be able to be" --

a μαθητής:

"be found" a μαθητής: Pol. 7:1 (cf. Mag. 9:2)

"be able to be" a μαθητής: Eph. 1:2

Χριστιανός (& πιστός):

"be found": Roms. 3:2

"be able to be": Eph. 3:2

not "be found δόκιμος": Ital. 12:3, Roms. 8:3

and "attain God". (Mag. 14, Smyr. 11:1, Pol. 7:1 and
possibly Rom. 8:3)

The scenario we have just outlined is perhaps the most striking aspect of Ignatius' understanding of his death. Certainly, it is the one that is most commonly met in the Ignatian letters. The tendency of the letters to articulate this concern in a variety of forms suggests that it was an important aspect of Ignatius' understanding of his death. He had lived with it long enough to be able to speak of it in a variety of ways.

Our examination of the theme of endurance in Ignatian thought is now complete. Before we return to the specific matter of Ignatius' use of the term μαθητής in relation to the theme of Endurance, we might quickly review the elements of the Ignatian conception of

endurance.

We have noted above that Ignatius understood ὑπομονή to stand in a close relationship with faith. Repeatedly, the letters of Ignatius urge Christians to endure all things (πάντα ὑπομενεῖν). The Christian, however, does not endure simply for the sake of suffering. Rather, he endures "for Christ" or "in Christ," or in order that he may "attain God", "suffer with Him" or "be found a disciple of Jesus Christ". Finally, we should note that the letters of Ignatius speak of the place of endurance in the situation of Ignatius himself in much the same way as they envision it as relevant to the life of every Christian.⁵⁷ Thus, in no way does endurance appear to be the special virtue of the martyrs. Rather, we are

⁵⁷ Why is this the case? Did Ignatius come to see the relevance of endurance for all Christians only because he had come to a realization of its importance for himself as a Christian, upon his facing death? Or, on the other hand, did he see it as important to himself as one about to face death only because he had earlier been brought to understand that it was important for all Christians to "endure all things"? Can we rightly attribute both of these sequences to the development of the thinking that ultimately found articulation in the Ignatian letters? These are extremely difficult questions. Probably, they cannot be definitively answered. Our chief concern in noting this phenomenon within the Ignatian treatment of endurance is to underline the fact that Ignatius' understanding of his death was not divorced from the rest of his thought. On the contrary, it is difficult to avoid the position that Ignatius saw little real difference between the situation of the martyr and the lives of other Christians who would never face martyrdom.

left with the impression that being found to the end.
(Eph. 14:2) is a hope that the martyr shares with every other Christian.

With regard to Ignatius' understanding of his own death, therefore, we need say little more than that all of the elements that we have identified above seem to have played a part in Ignatius' understanding of his own death: the tie between faith and endurance (Roms. 3:2), the idea of "enduring all things" for his Lord (Smyr. 4:2, Roms. 5:3) and the hope of "being found a Christian" (Roms. 3:2).

The concern of Ignatius with whether or not he would "be found a Christian" in his confrontation with death was expressed by Ignatius in other ways as well. Consistently, however, the same picture of Ignatius emerges -- an Ignatius who is uncertain of his own ability to act as he would hope to act and who therefore, looks to both his God and the prayers of his readers for something that would strengthen him in the end.

We now return to the

use of the term μαθητής in the texts of Mag. 9:2, Roms. 3:1-4:2, Eph. 1:2 and Pol. 7:1. With the single exception of the text of Mag. 9:2, all of these texts find Ignatius speaking of himself. Nevertheless, all four texts reflect the same conceptual framework -- a framework that can be understood in the following way. Ignatius was concerned not with the mere words of faith that the Christian might speak but with whether or not the actions of that Christian bore witness to his faith ("the tree is known by its fruit", Eph. 14:2). Ignatius could see the Christian life in terms of two moments: the first, a "taking up of faith" (Mag. 9:2), and the second, an enduring, a standing firm in that faith that was to last for the rest of the Christian's life (Mag. 9:2, Eph. 1:2). A crucial moment was to come for him at the end of that life. Where would the Christian "be found" then? Which "tree" would be identifiable then? What would his deeds say of the sincerity of his profession of faith? Ignatius hoped that his own last moments would demonstrate the sincerity of his profession of faith. He hoped that they would show that the

terms: Christian, believer and μαθητής, could be rightly used of him. To be "found a disciple" or "found a Christian" was to have these hopes fulfilled.

Ignatius was using the term μαθητής in these four texts in a general sense synonymous with "Christian." Nevertheless, he was employing this general sense of the term in a unique way. Ignatius had very definite expectations of the Christian on a number of different issues. In the four texts we are presently discussing, this focus was the subject of endurance within the Christian life. The Christian was expected by Ignatius to endure. Thus, Ignatius refers to the person who does endure as a Christian, a disciple, i.e. a μαθητής. He might be expected to withhold this title from persons who did not meet his expectations on this subject. This is not to say that he understood endurance to be the essence of Christianity or of Christian discipleship. It is merely to say that Ignatius could either employ or withhold the title μαθητής or Χριστιανός on a variety of different bases depending upon his focus at the time. In these four texts, the focus is on endurance.

What, then, do we learn from these texts concerning the Ignatian conception of the μαθητής? Essentially, we learn only that Ignatius expected Christians to endure all things and, as they faced the end of their

lives, to "be found μαθηταί", i.e., followers of Christ in their deeds.

Do these texts suggest that the theme of discipleship played a part within Ignatius' understanding of his death? This question can be answered in the affirmative if we are saying that Ignatius sought to act as a true μαθητής of Christ in his confrontation with death. Much more clearly, however, these texts and those related to them suggest that it was actually the theme of endurance that played the important part in Ignatius' understanding of his death. In seeking to "be found a μαθητής" in his confrontation with death, Ignatius sought to meet his own expectations concerning the place of endurance in the life of the Christian.

It is impossible to speak of the μαθητής as it is understood in the texts of Mag. 9:2, Roms. 3:1-4:2, Eph. 1:2 and Col. 7:1, without recognizing that the concept of the disciple that is coming to expression here is limited to the single theme of endurance.

Though these texts provide us with some measure of insight into Ignatian discipleship, they do not reveal to us any of the other elements that Ignatius might have understood to be important for the followers of Christ. They show us one perspective of the Ignatian μαθητής; they do not provide us with a complete picture.

The "perfectionist sense" of the term μαθητής in Tral.

5:2. Ignatius uses the term μαθητής in a "perfectionist sense" only once in his letters in the text of Tral.

5:2.

Tral. 5:2 καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ, οὐ
 καθότι δέδεμαι καὶ δύναμαι νοεῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια
 καὶ τὰς τοποθεσίας τὰς ἀγγελικὰς
 καὶ τὰς συστάσεις τὰς ἀρχοντικὰς,
 ὁρατὰ τε καὶ δόρατα,
 πρὸ τοῦτο ἤδη καὶ μαθητής εἰμι.
 πολλὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν λείπει, 58
 ἵνα θεοῦ μὴ λειπώμεθα.

In this text Ignatius imagines the μαθητής (to be the Christian who is free from the type of faults and weaknesses which he sees in himself (πολλὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν λείπει)).

The proper understanding of this sense of the term has long been obscured. That Ignatius is using the term μαθητής in a "perfectionist sense" here is evident from a consideration of the argument which Ignatius is presenting at this point in his letter to the Trallians (Tral. 3:3-6:1).

⁵⁸Tral. 5:2, "For I myself, though in bonds and able to understand heavenly things and the places of angels and the companies of principalities, things seen & unseen, not for this am I even now already a disciple. For much is lacking in us, that we may not lack God."

- 1ral. 3:3 ἀγαπῶν ὑμᾶς φείδομαι,
 συγτονώτερον δυνάμενος γράφειν ὑπὲρ τούτου.
 οὐκ εἰς φήθην,
 ἵνα ὢν κατάκριτος
 ὡς ἀπόστολος ὑμῖν διατάσσομαι.
 4:1 πολλὰ φρονῶ ἐν θεῷ,
 ἀλλ' ἐμαυτὸν μετρῶ,
 ἵνα μὴ ἐν καυχῇσι ἀπόλωμαι.
 νῦν γὰρ με δεῖ πλέον φοβεῖσθαι
 καὶ μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς φυσιοῦσίν με.
 οἱ γὰρ λέγοντές μοι μαστιγοῦσίν με.
 1ral. 4:2 ἀγαπῶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ παθεῖν,
 ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα, εἰ ἄξιός εἰμι.
 τὸ γὰρ ἕηλος πολλοῖς μὲν οὐ φαίνεται,
 ἐμὲ δὲ πλέον πολεμεῖ.
 χρήζω οὖν πραότητος,
 ἐν ἣ καταλύεται ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου.
 5:1 μὴ οὐ δύναμαι ὑμῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια γράψαι;
 ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι,
 μὴ νηπίοις οὖσιν ὑμῖν βλάβην παραθῶ.
 καὶ συγγνωμονεῖτέ μοι,
 μήποτε οὐ δυνηθέντες χωρῆσαι
 στραγγαλωθῇτε.
 5:2 καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ, οὐ
 καθότι δέδεμαι καὶ δύναμαι νοεῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια
 καὶ τὰς τοποθεσίας τὰς ἀγγελικὰς
 καὶ τὰς συστάσεις τὰς ἀρχοντικὰς,
 δραιά τε καὶ δόρατα,
 παρὰ τοῦτο ἤδη καὶ μαθητῆς εἰμι.
 πολλὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν λείπει,
 ἵνα θεοῦ μὴ λειπώμεθα.
 6:1 παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς,
 οὐκ ἐγώ,
 ἀλλ' ἡ ἀγάπη Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ... 59

59 Tral. 3:3-6:1, "Because I love you, I am tempering my remarks though I am able to write much more sharply on this matter. I do not think myself competent, as a prisoner, to give you orders like an apostle. I have many thoughts in God but I measure myself that I not perish through boasting. At the present time, it has become necessary for me to be more the wary and not to lend an ear to those who flatter me. Those who speak this way are an affliction to me. I desire to suffer, but I do not know that I am worthy." The desire is not

In point of fact, the text of Tral. 3:3-6:1 actually belongs to a group of texts, (Tral. 3:3-6:1; Eph. 3:1-2; Roms. 4:1-5:3; Phil. 5:1), all of which are closely related to each other and seem to suggest important insights for their interpretation.

Eph. 3:1 οὐ διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν ὡς ἄν τις,
 εἰ γὰρ καὶ δέδεμαι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι,
 οὕτω ἀμῆνισμαι ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ.
 νῦν γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἔχω τοῦ μαθητεύεσθαι
 καὶ προσλαλῶ ὑμῖν ὡς συνδιδασκαλίταις μου.
 ἐμὲ γὰρ ἕδει ὑπ' ὑμῶν ὑπαλειφθῆναι
 πίστει, νοουθεσίᾳ, ὑπομονῇ, μακροθυμίᾳ.
 3:2 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἡ ἀγάπη οὐκ ἔστ' ἡμεῖς σιωπᾶν περὶ ὑμῶν,
 διὰ τοῦτο προέλαβον παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς,...

visible to many but it presses within me all the more. I have need of humility by which the Prince of this Age is destroyed. Could I not write to you of heavenly things? Yet I fear that I would be doing you harm at your tender age. And this you must allow me, lest you choke on (a teaching) which you are not yet able to take in. For I myself, though in bonds and able to understand heavenly things and the places of angels and the gatherings of Archons; things seen and unseen, not for this am I even now already a disciple. For much is lacking in us, that we may not lack God. In the light of all this, I exhort you, not I but the love of Jesus Christ..."

⁶⁰Eph. 3:1-2, "I do not give you orders as if I were somebody, for though I am bound for the Name, I am not yet perfected in Jesus Christ. For now I am just beginning to be a disciple and I speak with you as with fellow students. I must be prepared by you in faith, exhortation, endurance and great-heartedness. Yet since love does not allow me to be silent concerning you, for this reason, I have undertaken to exhort you..."

- Roms. 4:1 ἐγὼ γράφω πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις
καὶ ἐντέλλομαι πᾶσιν,
ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐκὼν ὑπὲρ θεοῦ ἀποθνήσκω,
ἐάνπὲρ ὑμεῖς μὴ κωλύσητε.
παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς,
μὴ εὐνοία ἄκαιρος γένησθέ μοι.
ἄφετέ με θηρίων εἶναι βορᾶν,
δι' ὧν ἔνεστιν θεοῦ ἐπιτύχεῖν.
- 4:3 οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν.
ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι, ἐγὼ κατάκριτος·
ἐκεῖνοι ἐλεύθεροι, ἐγὼ δὲ μέχρι νῦν δοῦλος...
καὶ νῦν μανθάνω δεδεδεμένος μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν.
- 5:1 ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ,...
ἐνδεδεδεμένος δέκα λεοπαρδοῖς,
ὅ ἐστιν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα...
ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι,
ὅλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδिकाίωμαι.
- 5:3 συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε·
τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ γινώσκω.
νῦν ἀρχομαι μαθητῆς εἶναι
μηδὲν με ζηλῶσα τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων,
ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω. 61

⁶¹Roms. 4:1-5:3, "I am writing to all of the churches and am emphatically saying to everyone that I am willingly dying for Christ, if you do not prevent it. I exhort you, do not grant me an inopportune favour. Allow me to be the food of the wild beasts, through whom I may attain God. I do not give you orders like Peter or Paul. They were apostles, I am a condemned man. They were free, I, however, up to now am still a slave...And now, being bound, I am learning to desire nothing: From Syria to Rome I am fighting the beasts...bound as I am to ten 'leopards', that band of my guards...But from their injustices I am learning more, but I am not justified by this. ...heed my opinion. I know what is best for me." Now I begin to be a disciple; I desire nothing either seen or unseen that I may attain Jesus Christ."

Phil. 5:1 ἀδελφοί μου, λίαν ἐκκέχυμαι ἀγαπῶν ὑμᾶς
καὶ ὑπεραγαλλόμενος ἀσφαλίζομαι ὑμᾶς·
οὐκ ἐγὼ δέ,
ἀλλ' Ἰησοῦς Χριστός,
ἐν ᾧ δεδεμένος φοβοῦμαι μᾶλλον,
ὥς ἔτι ὢν ἀναπάρτιστος·
ἀλλ' ἡ προσευχὴ ὑμῶν εἰς θεόν με ἀπαρτίσει,
ἵνα ἐν ᾧ κλήρω ἡλεήθην ἐπιτύχω,
προσφύγων τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ
καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὡς πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐκκλησίας.⁶²

Given the context of these four texts, it must be noted that four key conceptions are found in those texts, each of which plays an important part in the understanding of Ignatius' use of the terms μαθητής and μαθητεύομαι : (1) the concept of "being complete" or "being perfect" (ἀπῆρτισμαι, Eph. 3:1, Phil. 5); (2) the use of the term μαθητής in the "perfectionist sense" (Tral. 5:3); (3) the meaning of the expression μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι (Roms. 5:1); and (4) the concept of "beginning to be a disciple" (Eph. 3:1 and Roms. 5:3).

The present focus of our examination of Ignatian discipleship both invites and demands a consideration of all four of those conceptions. In order to prepare the reader to understand those

⁶²Phil. 5:1, "My brothers, I am overflowing with love for you and with great joy I watch over your safety --not I, but Jesus Christ. Since I am in bonds for Him I am more fearful being not yet complete. But your prayer to God will complete me that I may attain the destiny in which I was given mercy, while I flee to the Gospel as to the flesh of Christ and to the Apostles as to the presbytery of the Church."

conceptions, it seems expedient to enter into an analysis of the relationships which exist among these four texts.

In examining the relationships that exist between various texts in this group, we shall first look at the similarities in function in the structure of the letter and thereafter approach the more visible similarities that may be classified under the headings of argumentation and vocabulary. (1) The function of these texts within the structure of their respective letters. The texts of Eph. 3:1-2, Tral. 3:3-6:1 and Phil. 5 serve a transitional and introductory function, i.e., they allow Ignatius to shift from the treatment of one subject and to begin the treatment of another. This function is especially clear in the texts of Eph. 1:2 and Tral. 3:3-6:1. A slightly different type of shift can be discerned in the text of Phil. 5. The text of Roms. 4:1-5:3, however, does not truly share this transitional function. (a) Eph. 3:1-2. Within the structure of Ignatius' letter to the Ephesians, this text serves as a transition from the letter's personalia materials (Eph. 1:2-2:2) to its exhortation of subjection to the bishop and clergy (Eph. 4:1-6:2). The outline of this part of the

letter illustrates this transitional and introductory function within the structure of the letter.⁶³

Outline of the letter to the Ephesians:

- (1) Inscription
- (2) Personalia materials (Eph. 1:1-2:2)
- (3) Transition-Introduction piece (Eph. 3:1-2)
 "I do not give you orders" (Eph. 3:1)
 "Rather, I exhort you to live in harmony with God (and the bishop)" (Eph. 3:2)
- (4) Exhortation to unity with the bishop
 (Eph. 4:1-6:2)
- (5) General exhortation against errors and praise of the Ephesians (Eph. 7:1-19:3)
- (6) Concluding remarks (Eph. 20:1-21:2)

We may identify the function of this text as both transitional and introductory inasmuch as the text of Eph. 3:1-2 introduces the actual body of the letter.

(b) Tral. 3:3-6:1. Although the text of Tral. 3:3-6:1 is much longer than that of Eph. 3:1-2, both texts serve the same transitional-introductory function. However, instead of serving as an introduction to a treatment of unity with the bishop, the text of Tral. 3:3-6:1 serves to introduce a general exhortation

⁶³ Cf. Fischer, Die Apostolischen Väter, pp. 115-118, for an alternative way of understanding the outline of the Ignatian letters.

against error.

Outline of the letter to the Trallians:

- (1) Inscription
- (2) Personalia materials (Tral. 1:1-3:2)
- (3) Transition-Introduction piece (Tral. 3:3-6:1)
 "I shun from writing and I do not give you orders" (Tral. 3:3)
 "Rather, I exhort you -- live only on Christian food" (Tral. 6:1)
- (4) General Exhortation against errors (Tral. 6:1-11-2)
- (5) Concluding remarks (Tral. 12:1-13:3)

(c) Phil. 5:1. In his letter to the Philadelphians, the transitional piece does not follow immediately after the personalia materials (Phil. Insc. 1:2) as it does in Ephesians and Trallians. Instead, the transitional piece serves to move the letter from its general exhortation against error (Phil. 2:1-4:1) to its treatment of the specific problems of the church of Philadelphia (Phil. 5:2-9:2).

Outline of the letter to the Philadelphians:

- (1) Inscription-Personalia materials (Phil. Insc. 1:2)
- (2) Exhortation against error and to unity with the bishop (Phil. 2:1-9:2)

- a. General Exhortation (Phil. 2:1-4:1)
- b. Transitional piece (Phil. 5:1)
- c. Treatment of the problems of the church on Philadelphia (Phil. 5:2-9:2)

(3) Concluding remarks (Phil. 10:1-11:2)

(d) Roms. 4-8. This text does not serve any transitional or introductory function.

(2) Argumentation. The relationships that exist among these four texts on this basis can be classified under two general categories: (a) those which relate the purpose or purposes of the arguments presented in these texts and (b) those which relate to the specific structures (i.e., concepts, lines of argumentation) which Ignatius employed in presenting his arguments. Different relationships can be discerned between the texts of this group as the focus is shifted from the consideration of purposes to that of structures.

(a) Purposes of the argument. A consideration of the purposes of the texts of Eph. 3:1-2, 1ral. 3:3-6:1, Roms. 4:1-5:3 and Phil. 5:1 suggest that the following texts are related: (1) Eph. 3:1-2 to 1ral. 3:3-6:1; (2) Phil. 5:1 to Eph. 3:1-2.

(a1) Eph. 3:1 and Tral. 3:3-6:1. The chief purpose of the texts of Eph. 3:1-2, Tral. 3:3-6:1 and the apparent purpose of Roms. 4:1-5:3 is to explain Ignatius' refusal to characterize his instructions as "giving orders" and his desire to identify those instructions as "exhortation".

Both of these texts begin (Eph. 3:1 -- οὐ διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν ὡς ὢν τις ; Tral. 3:3 -- (οὐ) ὢν κατὰ κριτος ὡς ἀπόστολος ὑμῖν διατάσσομαι and end (Eph. 3:2 -- διὰ τοῦτο προέλαβον παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς Tral. 6:1 -- παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς at the same place.

The text of Tral. 3:3-6:1 seems to have only one purpose. A second purpose, however, can be seen behind the text of Eph. 3:1-2 -- a purpose which it shares with the text of Phil. 5:1. This relationship between Eph. 3:1-2 and Phil. 5:1 will be discussed below.

To a certain extent, it seems possible to suggest that the text of Roms. 4:1-5:3, likewise, shares in the purpose of explaining Ignatius' desire to characterize his instructions as "exhortations", and therefore should be seen as related to the texts of Eph. 3:1-2 and Tral.

3:3-6:1. On the other hand, it is impossible to ignore the fact that Ignatius is primarily concerned in the text of Roms. 4:1-5:3 with convincing the Romans that he is ready and willing to face death for Christ. At Roms. 4:3, Ignatius seems to be quite ready to explain why he cannot "give orders" to the Romans. Very shortly, however, his interest in this issue seems to have disappeared and his subsequent discussion of the status of his discipleship seems wholly intended to convince his Roman readers that he did not share their interest in the life of men but looked forward only to "attaining God".

(a2) Phil. 5:1 and Eph. 3:1. The purpose of the text of Phil. 5:1 is neither that of which we have seen above in Eph. 3:1-2 and Tral. 3:3-6:1, nor that which we have seen in Roms. 4:1-5:3. Instead, in Phil. 5:1, Ignatius is seeking the prayers of the community by means of which he hopes to be able to face death properly (ὥνα ἐν τῇ κλήρῳ ἡλεήθην ἐπιτύχω). Thus, the purpose of this text is actually the same as that of those texts we have examined in the previous study (Roms. 3:2, Pol. 7:1 and Eph. 1:2, etc.). This same concern, however, is also articulated in the text of Eph. 3:2, albeit in different categories. Thus it may be concluded, that the purpose of Phil. 5:1 links this text to that of Eph.

3:1-2, where the request for the help of the community may be identified as a secondary purpose.

On the basis of a consideration of purpose it may be said that the texts of Eph. 3:1-2 and Tral. 3:3-6:1 are closely linked. Roms. 4:1-5:3, while possibly linked to the former two texts in purpose, is very dominated by its own unique purposes. The text of Phil. 5:1 is dominated by a concern that also comes to articulation in the latter part of the text of Eph. 3:1-2. Other ties between these two texts will be noted below.

(b) The structure of the argument. Our analysis of the structure of the argument presented in these texts must address three separate sets of relationships: (1) Eph. 3:1-2, Tral. 3:3-6:1 and Roms. 4:1-5:3; (2) Eph. 3:1-2 and Phil. 5:1 and (3) Tral. 3:3-6:1 and Roms. 4:1-5:3.

(b1) Eph. 3:1-2, Tral. 3:3-6:1 and Roms. 4:1-5:3. We have noted above that all of these texts begin with the observation that Ignatius cannot "give orders" (Eph. 3:1, Tral. 3:3 and Roms. 4:3) and end with the conclusion that he must therefore "exhort" his readers (Eph. 3:3, Tral. 6:1 and Roms. 4:1). The direction of the argument that has been inserted between these two ends is very similar in its basic approach if not in its details.

In arguing that he will be unable to "give orders," Ignatius followed a simple line of argumentation in all three cases. First, Ignatius calls attention to something that he considers very positive in himself-- something that might be thought to justify the giving of orders. Yet, for each of these positive elements, the "good" that is identified is ultimately compromised by a consideration of something negative. Thus, if Ignatius is "bound in the name," he asks his readers to remember that he is "not yet

complete in Jesus Christ" (εἰ γὰρ καὶ δέδεμαι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι, οὕτω δὴήρισμαι ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, Eph. 3:1). If he "thinks much in God", he must avoid boasting. (πολλὰ φρονῶ ἐν θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἑμαυτὸν μετρῶ ἵνα μὴ ἐν καυχῇσι ἀπόλωμαι, Tral. 4:1) If he "loves to suffer", he does not know if he is worthy (ἀγαπῶ μὲν τὸ παθεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα εἰ ἄξιός εἰμι, Tral. 4:2). If he could write to the Trallians on "heavenly things",

he nevertheless notes his own fear that he might harm them (μὴ οὐ δύναμαι ὑμῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια γράψαι; ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι, μὴ νηπίοις οὖσιν ὑμῖν βλάβην παραθῶ. . . Tral. 5:1) If he is bound and able to know "heavenly things", he nevertheless is "not yet a disciple" (καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ, οὐ καθότι δέδεμαι καὶ δύναμαι νοεῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια. . . παρὰ τοῦτο ἤδη καὶ μαθητῆς εἰμι, Tral. 5:2). And if Ignatius is learning from the injustices of his captors, he is nevertheless, not justified by this (ἐν δὲ τοῖς δόικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι, ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαιώμεναι, Roms. 5:1b). In the logic of Ignatius, these "problems" compromise and offset that which is positive about him.

Ignatius seems to expect his readers to conclude from this self-examination that the negative factors outweigh the positive, and thus, that he should not

"give orders" to anyone else. Significantly, Ignatius' analysis of the status of his own discipleship is a negative factor in each case, except in the text of Roms. 4:1-5:3. Thus, to the extent that they share this basic form of argumentation, the texts of Eph. 3:1-2, Tral. 3:3-6:1 and Roms. 4:1-5:3 can be seen to be related to each other.

An additional link between the texts of Eph. 3:1-2 and that of Tral. 3:3-6:1 must also be noted. Both

of these texts come to specify Ignatius' weakness in terms of a lack of, or a need for, specific individual virtues (in Eph. 3:2 -- πίστις, νοουθεσία, ὑπομονή and μακροθυμία in Tral. 4:1 -- παρότης).

(b2) Phil. 5:1 and Eph. 3:1-2. Previously, we have noted that these two texts share a common purpose. At this point, we must draw attention to additional ties that link these two texts. In particular, it must be noted that Ignatius uses the same phrase in both texts to describe himself, i.e., "bound but not yet complete". (Eph. 3:1, δέδεμαι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι, οὕτως ἀπῆρτισμαι ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ; Phil. 5:1, ἐν ᾧ δεδεμένος. . . ἔτι ὢν ἀναπάρτιστος. . .) Having made this observation, both texts continue on to express the need for help that will enable Ignatius to meet his death. (Eph. 3:2, ἐμὲ γὰρ ἔδει ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὑπαλειφθῆναι πίστει, νοουθεσίᾳ, ὑπομονῇ μακροθυμίᾳ ; Phil. 5:1, ἡ προσευχὴ ὑμῶν εἰς θεόν με ἀπαρτίσει ἵνα ἐν ᾧ κλήρω ἡλεήθην ἐπιτύχω) In the case of Eph. 3:1-2, the appeal is articulated in terms of being a disciple. In Phil. 5:1, on the other hand, Ignatius makes the same point using the language of "completion". Rather clearly, the ties between these texts

suggest that "being a μαθητής" and "being complete" are interchangeable conceptions.

(b3) 1Tral. 3:3-6:1 and Roms. 4:1-5:3. In spite of differences in overall purpose, there are elements in both of these texts which suggest ^{that} a special relationship between the two texts should be noted. The most obvious link between these two texts is the fact that they both employ the argument that Ignatius cannot "give orders" since he is a "condemned man" and not an "apostle".

(1Tral. 3:3, οὐκ εἰς τοῦτο φήθη, ἵνα ὢν κατάκριτος ὡς ἀπόστολος ὑμῖν διατάσσομαι ; Roms. 4:3, οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν. ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι, ἐγὼ κατάκριτος . . .)

A more interesting tie between these two texts can be seen in the fact that both attempt to demonstrate Ignatius' inability to "give orders" by undercutting the positive elements of his self-evaluation with the statement: "but I am not justified by that". This "argument" can be seen most clearly in the text of Roms. 5:1:

Roms. 5:1 καὶ νῦν μαχθάνω δεδεδεμένος μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν.
ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ,...
ἐνδεδεδεμένος δέκα λεοπαρδοῖς,
ὅ, ἐστὶν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα...
ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι,

Roms. 5:1 (con't) ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμαι.⁶⁴

In the text of Tral. 5:2, on the other hand, this "reversal" is found joined to the "bound but not yet complete" argument that we have seen above in Eph. 3:1 and Phil. 5:1. The end result of this combination of two separate lines of argumentation and the theme of discipleship is the rather overburdened text of Tral. 5:2.

Tral. 5:2 καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ, οὐ
καθότι δέδεμαι καὶ δύναμαι νοεῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια
καὶ τὰς τοποθεσίας τὰς ἀγγελικὰς
καὶ τὰς συστάσεις τὰς ἀρχοντικὰς,
ὁρατὰ τε καὶ ὁράατα,
παρὰ τοῦτο ἤδη καὶ μαθητῆς εἰμι.
πολλὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν λείπει,⁶⁵
ἵνα θεοῦ μὴ λειπώμεθα.

In brief, the ties between the texts of Roms. 4:1-5:3 and Tral. 3:3-6:1 are two: the use of the "κατὰ-κρίτος not ἀπόστολος" argument and the use of what we

⁶⁴Roms. 5:1, "...and now, being bound, I am learning to desire nothing. From Syria to Rome I am fighting the beasts...bound as I am to ten 'leopards', that band of my guards. . .But from their injustices I am learning more, but I am not justified by this. . ."

⁶⁵Tral. 5:2, "For I myself, though in bonds and able to understand heavenly things and the places of angels and the companies of principalities, things seen & unseen, not for this am I even now already a disciple. For much is lacking in us, that we may not lack God."

might refer to as ~~the~~ "Pauline reversal" ("but I am not justified by that"). In the case of Trallians, both arguments contribute to the purpose of explaining Ignatius' avoidance of characterizing his "exhortations" as "orders". In Romans, on the other hand, though this same purpose might be involved, these arguments seem to be employed for a very different purpose, i.e., to support his contention that he is ready and willing to die "for Christ".

Our analysis of the arguments presented in our four texts suggests the following relationships: The main purpose of Eph. 3:1-2 and Tral. 3:3-6:1 is the same. Thus, these two texts can be seen as related. Moreover, the secondary purpose of Eph. 3:1 suggests that it also be seen as related to the text of Phil. 5:1. When the focus is shifted to the basic structure of the argument of these texts, it can be seen that Eph. 3:1-2, Tral. 3:3-6:1 and Roms. 4:1-5:3 are related to each other, at least to the extent that they all employ the same basic type of argumentation. When the focus is shifted to the specifics of the arguments, however, Eph. 3:1-2 is seen to be closely tied to the text of Phil. 5:1, whereas Tral. 3:3-6:1 appears more closely tied to that of Roms. 4:1-5:3.

(3) Vocabulary. A third set of links among these four texts can be discerned from a rather swift overview of the fact that a number of terms or expressions reappear in these four texts though not as parts of the argument being presented.

(a) "being someone" (ὧν τις): Eph. 3:1, Roms. 4:3

(b) δέδεμαι-δεδεμένος: Eph. 3:1, Phil. 5, Tral. 5:2, Roms. 4:3

(c) "beginning to be a disciple": Eph. 3:1, Roms. 5:3

(d) disciple - learning: Eph. 3:1-2, Roms. 4:3-5:2

(e) δυνάμη (δυναμῶν): Eph. 3:2, Tral. 3:3, Phil. 5

The first three of these terms suggest links between the text of Roms. 4:1-5:3 and the other texts of the group -- particularly Eph. 3:1 -- which have not been seen in our previous studies. The use of the word "δυναμῶν" in Phil. 5:1, moreover, suggests a link between it and the texts of Eph. 3:1-2 and Tral. 3:3-6:1, which should not go unnoticed.

Having examined at some length the relationships that can be observed between the texts of Eph. 3:1-2, Tral. 3:3-6:1, Roms. 4:1-5:3 and Phil. 5:1, in terms of function, argumentation and vocabulary, it seems reasonable to identify these texts as a single group. Moreover, it may be said that the relations that exist among

these texts suggest the need to understand the meaning of each within the greater context of the group. Indeed, the recognition of the fact that these texts share identical purposes and the same types of argumentation seems crucial for the understanding of what Ignatius is attempting to articulate in these texts, particularly for the understanding of his use of the term μαθητής in these texts. With this in mind, we may now move to the second part of our present study, i.e., the examination of the meaning of the four key concepts so crucial for the adequate understanding of Ignatius' use of the term μαθητής in this group of texts:

- (1) the concept of "being complete" (ἀπαρτίζεσθαι): Eph. 3:1, Phil. 5:1
- (2) the "perfectionist sense" of μαθητής: Tral. 5:3
- (3) the meaning of the expression, μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι : Roms. 5:1
- (4) the concept of "beginning to be a disciple": Eph. 3:1, Roms. 5:3

(1) The concept of "being complete" (ἀπαρτίζεσθαι) Twice in his letters, Ignatius identified himself as "bound in Christ" but "not yet complete".

Eph. 3:1 οὐ διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν ὡς ὢν τις,
 εἰ γὰρ καὶ δέδεμαι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι,
 οὐπω ἀπήρτισμαι ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ.
 νῦν γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἔχω τοῦ μαθητεύεσθαι
 καὶ προσλαλῶ ὑμῖν ὡς συνδιδασκαλίταις μου.
 ἐμὲ γὰρ ἔδει ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὑπαλειφθῆναι

Eph. 3:2 πίστει, νοουθεσίᾳ, ὑπομονῇ, μακροθυμίᾳ.
ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἡ ἀγάπη οὐκ ἔῤ̃ με σιωπᾶν περὶ ὑμῶν,
διὰ τοῦτο προέλαβον παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς, ...⁶⁶

Phil. 5:1 ἀδελφοί μου, λίαν ἐκκέχυμαι ἀγαπῶν ὑμᾶς
καὶ ὑπεραγαλλόμενος ἀσφαλίζομαι ὑμᾶς.
οὐκ ἐγὼ δέ,
ἀλλ' Ἰησοῦς Χριστός,
ἐν ᾧ δεδεδεμένος φοβοῦμαι μᾶλλον,
ὥς ἔτι ὢν ἀναπάρτιστος.
ἀλλ' ἡ προσευχὴ ὑμῶν εἰς θεὸν με ἀπαρτίσει,
ὥστε ἐν ᾧ κλήρω ἡλεήθην ἐπιτύχω,
προσφυγῶν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ
καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὡς πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐκκλησίας.⁶⁷

In what sense, however, did Ignatius conceive of himself as "not yet complete"? (Eph. 3:1, "οὕτω ἀπῆρτισμαι ; . Phil. 5:1, ἔτι ὢν ἀναπάρτιστος) If this statement is to make sense within the context of Eph. 3:1-2 and Ignatius' argument that he is not able to "give orders", it seems most likely that he is "not yet complete" because of significant weaknesses in his own spiritual

⁶⁶ Eph. 3:1-2, "I do not give you orders as if I were somebody. For though I am bound for the Name, I am not yet perfected in Jesus Christ. For now I am just beginning to be a disciple and I speak with you as with fellow students. I must be prepared by you in faith, exhortation, endurance and great-heartedness. Yet since love does not allow me to be silent concerning you, for this reason, I have undertaken to exhort you..."

⁶⁷ Phil. 5:1, "My brothers, I am overflowing with love for you and with great joy I watch over your safety--not I, but Jesus Christ. Since I am in bonds for Him I am more fearful being not yet complete. But your prayer to God will complete me that I may attain the destiny in which I was given mercy, while I flee to the Gospel as to the flesh of Christ and to the Apostles as to the presbytery of the Church."

life. His argument in this text is to be understood therefore to suggest that although he is a captive "for the Name" (δεδεμένος ἐχ, τῷ ὀνόματι), the weaknesses in his own spiritual life prevent him from being so bold as to "give orders".

A certain amount of confusion has arisen in the scholarly discussion of this text stemming from the fact that Ignatius digresses in Eph. 3:1b to request the help of the Ephesians. Ignatius speaks of a need to be "anointed" in "faith, admonition, endurance and great-heartedness". Clearly, Ignatius' call for help reflects his deep concern over his impending confrontation with death. Moreover, at least a part of the "list of needs" that is presented in Eph. 3:2 identifies the things that Ignatius will need in that confrontation. Ignatian scholarship has tended to conclude from this that "being complete" must therefore be the consequence of martyrdom for Ignatius. Four considerations, however, suggest that this interpretation of "being complete" is erroneous. First, in spite of the fact that a part of the "list" (i.e. πίστις, ὑπομονή) focuses on virtues that Ignatius will need in his confrontation with death, it is far from clear that the need for νοουθεσία and παρηγορούμενα are related in any way to Ignatius' death.

Secondly, it is hardly surprising that an awareness of the fact that he was soon to face death should lead Ignatius to be particularly concerned about weaknesses in his spiritual life that would cause him difficulty in that confrontation with death. Thirdly, in the parallel text of 1ral. 3:3-6:1, Ignatius likewise speaks of weaknesses in his spiritual life and of a need for specific virtues but nowhere alludes to his forthcoming death. Fourthly, the supposition that "being complete" would result from martyrdom makes little sense within the context of the argument that Ignatius is actually making in the text of Eph. 3:1-2. Accepting the traditional interpretation, we are forced to conclude that Ignatius was actually arguing that he could not "give orders" because he had not yet been put to death. It is extremely unlikely that Ignatius wished to present such an argument. In short, the supposition that "being complete" is the result of martyrdom in the thought of Ignatius is unnecessary and does not make sense within the context of Eph. 3:1-2. It seems much more probable that "being complete" is a way of speaking of spiritual perfection, a state in which an individual would have no weaknesses in his spiritual life. In the text of Eph. 3:1-2, Ignatius seems most concerned with those weaknesses that might prevent him from facing his death properly.

Understood in the way we have just suggested, the discussion of "being complete" that appears in the text of Phil. 5:1 is easily understandable. The prayer of the Philadelphians will "complete" Ignatius (*ἀναπρίσσει*) by compensating for his weaknesses in some of the areas specified in Eph. 3:2. The prayer of the Philadelphians will overcome that handicap in order that he might properly deal with the fate that has been chosen for him (" . . . ἵνα ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ἡλεήθῃν ἐπιτύχῃ").

The relationship between "being complete" and Ignatius' death in these two texts must not be misunderstood. Ignatius is not speaking of his death in these passages as a "perfecting agent". "Being complete" (*ἀναπρίσσει*) does not follow from being put to death. It is the prayer of the community (Phil. 5:1) or the preparation of the Ephesians in "*πίστις, νοουθεσία, ὑπομονή* and *μακροθυμία*" that will "complete" him.⁶⁸ Death

⁶⁸It might be asked whether the concept of "being complete" was restricted in Ignatian thought solely to the situation of the martyr, i.e., that he was no longer *ἀναπρίστος* when he was fully prepared to face death. This possibility seems unlikely. The fact that the term *ἀναπρίσσειν* was used by Ignatius only twice and in both cases, in relation to speaking of himself seems accidental. Clearly, in the text of Tral. 3:3-6:1, neither the weaknesses that Ignatius attributes to himself (*καύχησις* and *ζήλος*), nor their cure (*πραότης*), have anything to do with his situation as a condemned man or a martyr. So too, as we have already noted above, it

enters the picture here only as the question of how Ignatius will finally face death, as in the texts of Roms. 3, Pol. 7:1 and Eph. 1:2. In the light of this problem, Ignatius is aware of his own uncertainty over his ability to face death as he understands to be proper. In other places, he seeks help in this problem in different categories. Here in Phil. 5:1 and Eph. 3:1-2, he speaks of his being "not yet complete" and of a need to "be completed" by the prayers or help of his readers.

(2) The use of the term μαθητής in a "perfectionist sense": Tral. 5:2. The sense of the term μαθητής as it is being used by Ignatius in the text of Tral. 5:2 seems roughly equivalent to that of "being complete" which we have discussed above. In much the same way that Ignatius speaks of himself in the texts of Eph. 3:1 and

is far from clear that all of the individual virtues which Ignatius identifies as lacking to himself in Eph. 3:2 (πίστις, νοῦθεσία, ὑπομονή, μακροθυμία) are things that seemed relevant only in the light of his forthcoming confrontation with death. Finally again, such a conception of "being complete" would make little sense as a part of Ignatius' basic argument concerning his ability to "give orders". All three of these considerations suggest that it would be incorrect to conclude that the concept of "being complete" was linked in the thought of Ignatius to the Christian who was prepared to face death. Rather, it seems most probable that Ignatius would have used the term ἀναπριζόμενος of the Christian who had no significant weakness in his spiritual life such as Ignatius could identify in his own.

Phil. 5:1 as "not yet complete", he identifies himself in Tral. 5:2 as "not...already a disciple":

Tral. 5:2 καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ, οὐ
καθότι δέδεμαι καὶ δύναμαι νοεῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια
καὶ τὰς τοποθεσίας τὰς ἀγγελικὰς
καὶ τὰς συστάσεις τὰς ἀρχοντικὰς,
ὁρατά τε καὶ δόρατα,
παρὰ τοῦτο ἤδη καὶ μαθητὴς εἰμι.
πολλὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν λείπει, 69
ἵνα θεοῦ μὴ λειπώμεθα.

In all of these instances, Ignatius is distanced from "being complete" and "being a μαθητής" inasmuch as "much is lacking" (πολλὰ λείπει) in his spiritual life. In Eph. 3:1-2 and Phil. 5:1 those things seem to be largely the things he knows he will need in order to face death. In the much longer text of Tral. 3:3-6:1, on the other hand, there seems to be no interest at all in his forthcoming confrontation with death. In the light of this broad perspective, Ignatius does not attempt to enumerate all of his weaknesses. He chooses rather to conclude by simply noting that "much is lacking" (πολλὰ λείπει).⁷⁰

⁶⁹Tral. 5:2, "For I myself, though in bonds and able to understand heavenly things and the places of angels and the companies of principalities, things seen & unseen, not for this am I even now already a disciple. For much is lacking in us, that we may not lack God."

⁷⁰Traditionally, this text has been interpreted along the lines of the theses of Lightfoot and Bauer which have been examined above (pp. 22-40). Accordingly the

It would seem probable, however, that Ignatius would have been willing to include humility (πραότης, Tral. 4:

statement πολλὰ γὰρ ὑμῖν λείπει has been interpreted as a reference to the fact that Ignatius has not yet been martyred. Ignatian scholars have also asked their readers to believe that the reference to "being bound" but "not yet a disciple" (οὐ καθότι δέδεμαι. . . παρὰ τοῦτο ἔδῃ καὶ μαθητῆς εἰμί) reflects the understanding that "being bound" is only the first stage of discipleship whereas the Christian only becomes a true μαθητῆς through martyrdom. Such an interpretation of the conception of the term μαθητῆς that is coming to articulation in Tral. 5:2 seems particularly inappropriate.

Unlike the texts of Eph. 3:1-2 and Phil. 5:1, this text does not seek the help of the Christian churches in Ignatius' confrontation with his death. Aside from its single reference to the fact that Ignatius is "bound" (Tral. 5:2), this lengthy text shows little real interest in such matters. Instead, other things demand his attention. In the first part of this text (Tral. 4:1-2), Ignatius shows a concern with his own pride and his need for "humility". Subsequently, he shifts his analysis to his knowledge of τὰ ἐπουράνια. His statement at Tral. 5:2 is a summary of what has preceded it in Tral. 4:1-5:1. Significantly, Ignatius includes on the positive side of his self-assessment both the idea of his "being bound" (δέδεμαι) and his knowledge of the heavens (δύναμαι νοεῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια). The text does not give us much positive information concerning the exact "weaknesses" that Ignatius saw in his own spiritual life, nor does it help us to pinpoint the exact value of "being bound" or "knowing the heavens" within the Christian life. We know only that both are seen as positive factors, yet even taken together, they do not outweigh the "overriding" unarticulated negative factors which Ignatius saw in his assessment of himself. On the other hand, one can hardly pick out the single matter of "being bound" and claim that this text identifies it as stage one in being a μαθητῆς. Nor can we ignore the implications of the reference to "knowing heavenly things" for understanding the conception of the μαθητῆς here, that is coming to articulation.

Moreover, if we are to interpret πολλὰ γὰρ ὑμῖν λείπει as a reference to martyrdom, we are again faced

2) and perhaps some virtue or skill, that would enable him to instruct others in τὰ ἐπουράνια without harming them (Tral. 5:1), among the things that he personally lacked.⁷¹

(3) The meaning of the expression μάλλον μαθητεύομαι in Roms. 5:1. The problem of understanding the meaning of this expression results from the fact that the verb μαθητεύειν may carry either a transitive sense (active voice -- "to teach", passive voice -- "to be taught") or an intransitive sense -- "to be a disciple". Thus,

with the problem of concluding that Ignatius was actually arguing here that he could not "give orders" since he was not yet deceased. Such an argument makes no more sense here than it did in the text of Eph. 3:1-2. Three concerns, therefore, lead us to reject the traditional interpretation of this text: (1) the fact that the real concerns of this text have little to do with the subject of Ignatius' death; (2) the fact that a "knowledge of heavenly things" seems as much a part of Ignatius' positive estimation of himself here as does "being bound"; (3) the fact that the acceptance of the traditional interpretation of the term μαθητής here forces us to an unacceptable interpretation of the clear-cut purpose of the text.

⁷¹Perhaps the need for νοουθεσία and μακροθυμία expressed in Eph. 3:2 is explained by the fact that Ignatius felt incapable of instructing others on "heavenly things" without doing them harm. (Tral. 5:1) It is difficult, however, to attain any real certainty on this matter.

the basic problem here is one of determining whether Ignatius intended to say, "I am learning more" or alternatively, "I am more of a disciple".

Roms. 5:1 ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι 'Ρώμης θηριομαχῶ, ...
 ἐνδεδεμένος δέκα λεονάρδοις,
 ὃ ἐστὶν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα...
 ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι,
 ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμαι.⁷²

It seems difficult to avoid taking the position in this case that Ignatius probably intended this expression to be understood in a transitive sense, i.e., "I am learning more". This "educational interpretation" seems to be indicated both by the context of Roms. 4:3-5:3 and by the use of similar educational associations in the parallel text of Eph. 3:1.⁷³

Ignatius' analysis of himself in the text of

Roms. 4:3-5:3 is unique:

Roms. 4:3b καὶ νῦν μανθάνω δεδεμένος μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν.
 Roms. 5:1 ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι 'Ρώμης θηριομαχῶ, ...
 ἐνδεδεμένος δέκα λεονάρδοις,
 ὃ ἐστὶν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα...

⁷²Roms. 5:1, "From Syria to Rome I am fighting the beasts...bound as I am to ten 'leopards', that band of my guards...But from their injustices I am learning more, but I am not justified by this..."

⁷³Ignatius speaks of the Ephesians in Eph. 3:1, as his "fellow learners" (συνδιδασκαλίταις μου). Moreover, it seems likely that Ignatius' use of the expression ἀρχὴν ἔχω τοῦ μαθητεύεσθαι in Eph. 3:1 likewise reflects at least an awareness of the transitive sense of the verb.

Roms. 5:1 ἐν δὲ τοῖς δόδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι,
ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμαί.

Roms. 5:3 . . .
συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε.
τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ γινώσκω.
νῦν ἄρχομαι μαθητῆς εἶναι
μηδέν με ζηλῶσαι τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ δοράτων,
ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω. 74

In the related texts of Eph. 3:1, Tral. 3:3-6:1 and Phil. 5:1, Ignatius wished to make a negative point, "bound but still not complete", "bound . . . but still not a μαθητής". In this text, however, Ignatius' approach to his own discipleship is much more positive. His recent life is portrayed as a "learning situation". In captivity he has "learned to desire nothing". (Roms. 4:3b) He has lost his interest in the "things of this world". The text of Roms. 5:1 seems to have been intended to continue this "educational interpretation" of the events of Ignatius' recent past. Thus, Ignatius wishes to note that from the very injustices of his captors he has "learned more". (μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι) Ignatius ultimately concludes this analysis of his discipleship by characterizing himself as standing at the beginning of

⁷⁴Roms. 4:3b-5:3, "And now, being bound, I am learning to desire nothing. From Syria to Rome I am fighting the beasts...bound, as I am to ten 'leopards', that band of my guards...But from their injustices I am learning more, but I am not justified by this...heed my opinion; I know what is best for me. Now I begin to be a disciple; I desire nothing either seen or unseen that I may attain Jesus Christ."

discipleship, having learned to "care nothing for things seen and unseen that I might attain Jesus Christ" (Roms. 5:3). The expression μάλλον μαθητεύομαι seems to be an integral part of this analysis of his discipleship. Thus, it seems that the translation "I am learning more" best captures the relationship between the text of Roms. 5:1 and those texts which precede (Roms. 4:3b) and follow it (Roms. 5:3).

If we are to recognize that Ignatius probably intended the expression μάλλον μαθητεύομαι to be understood in the sense of "I am learning more", need we totally dismiss the alternative translation -- "I am more of a disciple" -- as mistaken. Most probably we should not. That there can be growth within the individual's own discipleship seems almost to be necessitated by the conception of "being complete" (ἀπαρίσθαι) and the "perfectionist sense" of the term μαθητής in Tral. 5:2. That Ignatius could see learning as contributing to this "development" would seem a strong possibility, especially since his letters reflect a tendency to associate the terms μαθητής and μαθητεύομαι with μανθάνειν. If Ignatius actually did understand himself to be "more of a disciple" from the injustices of his captors, it was probably because he felt that he had learned from the

experience of their "injustices", not because he believed that "suffering" improves the status of the disciple.⁷⁵

To avoid this mistaken line of interpretation, it seems best to identify the transitive sense of μαθητεύειν as the one that most reflects the thought of Ignatius in using this expression.

(4) "Beginning to be a disciple": Eph. 3:1 and Roms. 5:3.

Ignatius speaks of "beginning to be a disciple" only twice in his letters. In both instances, he is speaking of himself. Both of these texts, moreover, belong to the group of texts we are presently examining.

Eph. 3:1-2 οὐ διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν ὡς ἄν τις,
εἰ γὰρ καὶ δέδεμαι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι,
οὕτω ἀπήρτισμαι ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ.
νῦν γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἔχω τοῦ μαθητεύεσθαι
καὶ προσλαλῶ ὑμῖν ὡς συνδιδασκαλίταις μου.
ἐμὲ γὰρ ἔδει ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὑπαλειφθῆναι
πίστει, νοουθεσίᾳ, ὑπομονῇ, μακροθυμίᾳ.
ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἡ ἀγάπη οὐκ ἔῤ῍ με σιωπᾶν περὶ ὑμῶν,
διὰ τοῦτο προέλαβον παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς, ...⁷⁶

⁷⁵ The thought of Ignatius does not seem to be adequately captured by those commentators who maintain that Ignatius understood his recent sufferings to have made him "more of a disciple". Those who defend the thesis that Ignatius understood "being bound" to be "the beginning of discipleship", additional suffering to be its second stage and martyrdom to be its ultimate consummation are hard pressed to explain how Ignatius would speak of being at the "second stage" here in Roms. 5:1 and a few lines later, speak of himself as having returned to stage one (Roms. 5:3, "νῦν ἀρχομαι μαθητῆς εἶναι . . .")

⁷⁶ Eph. 3:1-2, "I do not give you orders as if I were somebody. For though I am bound for the Name, I am

Roms. 5:3 συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε.
 τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ γινώσκω.
 νῦν ἀρχομαι μαθητῆς εἶναι
 μηδέν με ζηλῶσαι τῶν δοταῶν καὶ δοράτων,
 ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.⁷⁷

The idea of "beginning to be a disciple" is a unique conception as used by Ignatius and open to different usages. It is used in two markedly different ways in the texts of Eph. 3:1 and Roms. 5:3.

In the text of Eph. 3:1, Ignatius employs the concept of "only beginning to be a disciple" to explain his statement that he is "not yet complete" (οὐπω ἀπῆρ-
 τισμαί).

In this case, the sense of the verb μαθητεύομαι seems to be primarily intransitive, i.e., "for now I am beginning to be a disciple".⁷⁸ So too, "beginning to

not yet perfected in Jesus Christ. For now I am just beginning to be a disciple and I speak with you as with fellow students. I must be prepared by you in faith, exhortation, endurance and great-heartedness. Yet since love does not allow me to be silent concerning you, for this reason, I have undertaken to exhort you."

⁷⁷ Roms. 5:3, "...heed my opinion. I know what is best for me. Now I begin to be a disciple; I desire nothing either seen or unseen that I may attain Jesus Christ."

⁷⁸ However, the reference to his readers as συν-
 διδασκαλίταις μου (fellow learners) suggests that Ignatius is also aware of the "transitive sense" of the verb μαθη-
 τεύομαι (to teach-learn).

be a disciple" is to be understood here in Eph. 3:1 as a rather negative judgement on the status of Ignatius' discipleship, i.e., "I am only beginning to be a disciple". Having made this observation, Ignatius proceeds to identify the Ephesians as his "fellow learners" ("συνδιδασκαλίταις"), not his students. He then seeks their help in overcoming the weaknesses that he can see in his spiritual life. Thus, the idea of "beginning to be a disciple" takes on a negative overtone in Eph. 3:1 and becomes a way of identifying the other end of the spectrum from "being complete" (ἀπαρτίζεσθαι).

Alternatively, the text of Roms. 5:3, demonstrates the use of the idea of "beginning to be a disciple" as a positive statement. "Beginning to be a disciple" is here an achievement of importance in and of itself. In this text, Ignatius employs the idea of "beginning to be a disciple" to characterize the transformation in his outlook on life which he had recently experienced. Essentially, Ignatius speaks of this transformation in himself in terms of learning and of his own discipleship.

Roms. 4:2 τότε ἔσομαι μαθητῆς ἀληθῶς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
 ὅτε οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμά μου ὁ κόσμος ὕψεται...
 4:3 οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν.
 ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι, ἐγὼ κατὰκριτος
 ἐκεῖνοι ἐλεύθεροι, ἐγὼ δὲ μέχρι νῦν δοῦλος...
 καὶ νῦν μανθάνω δεδεμένος μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν.
 5:1 ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ,...

ἐνδεσμεμένος δέκα λεονάρδοις,
 ὃ ἐστὶν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα...
 ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι,
 ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδिकाίωμαι.

Roms. 5:3 συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε.

τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ γινώσκω.
 νῦν ἄρχομαι μαθητῆς εἶναι
 μηδὲν με ζηλῶσαι τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων,
 ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.
 ὡς καὶ σταυρὸς θηρίων τε συστάσεις,
 σκορπισμοὶ ὀστέων, συγκοπαὶ μελῶν,
 ἀλεσμοὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος,
 κακαὶ κολάσεις τοῦ διαβόλου
 ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθωσαν,
 μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω. 79

Ignatius has grown positively in his devotion to his Lord and he has lost interest in everything else. From this perspective, "being a μαθητής" is chiefly a matter of devotion.⁸⁰ The μαθητής has no

⁷⁹ Roms. 4:2-5:3, "Then I will truly be a disciple of Jesus Christ when there is nothing left of me for the world to see... I do not give you orders like Peter or Paul. They were apostles, I am a condemned man. They were free, I, however, up to now am still a slave... And now, being bound, I am learning to desire nothing. From Syria to Rome I am fighting the beasts... Bound as I am to ten 'leopards', that band of my guards... But from their injustices I am learning more, but I am not justified by this... heed my opinion. I know what is best for me. Now I begin to be a disciple; I desire nothing either seen or unseen that I may attain Jesus Christ. Fire and cross and struggles with wild beasts, cutting, tearing apart, the racking of bones, the mangling of limbs, the crushing of the whole body, the cruel punishments of the devil himself. Let them all come upon me, only that I may attain Jesus Christ."

⁸⁰ Obviously, then, the sense of the term μαθητής that is presupposed in the texts of Roms. 4:2 and 5:3 is quite different from the "perfectionist sense" of the term that we have seen above in the text of Tral. 5:2. In the same way that we have seen Ignatius tie the use of the term μαθητής to the single matter of endurance,

desires (Roms. 4:3b, μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν). He is concerned with things "seen and unseen" (Roms. 5:3a, μηδὲν με ζηλῶσαι τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων).⁸¹ He can actually invite the beasts to destroy him (Roms. 5:3b) if only

he could likewise tie it to the single matter of devotion. This latter usage will be examined in detail in the subsequent section of the present chapter.

⁸¹ The meaning of the term ζηλῶσαι here in Roms. 5:3 is "to be concerned about", or "to be attracted to". So rightly, Zahn, Ignatii Epistulae, pp. 63 & 65; Funk, Epistulae Ignatii, p. 219; Bauer, Die Briefe, p. 249; Bauer, Lexicon, p. 338. Alternatively, however, many commentators suggest that Ignatius is actually expressing the hope that "nothing will envy (or be jealous of)" him (so Lightfoot, S. Ignatius, p. 215). Although this interpretation was explicitly rejected by both Zahn and Funk, it is now the standard interpretation of Roms. 5:3. It is true, of course, that "jealousy" (ἔσκακνία) is mentioned by Ignatius in Roms. 3 & 7. On the other hand, three observations suggest that Zahn, Funk and Bauer were correct in identifying the sense of ζηλῶσαι, here in Roms. 5:3, as they did. First, Ignatius' basic argument in this part of his letter is that he has lost interest in everything other than Christ (Roms. 4:3, νῦν μανθάνω μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν and Roms. 6:1b, ἐκεῖνον ζητῶ, τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα). Secondly, in returning to the theme of "things of this world" in Roms. 6:1, Ignatius makes the point that "They are of no profit to me" (οὐδὲν με ὠφελήσαι). If the expression μηδὲν με ζηλῶσαι is to make any sense within this context, we must adopt the meaning suggested by Zahn, Funk and Bauer. Finally, moreover, we might note that Ignatius speaks of his "concern about his death" (ζῆλος) as a flaw in his character and as a matter of positive concern to him in the related text of Tral. 4:2. See above pp. 142ff.

he can ultimately "attain God" (Roms. 5:3a & 5:3b).

It is this new orientation toward God and away from the "world" that Ignatius seems to see here in Roms. 4:2-5:3 as the essence of discipleship.

We must conclude that the expression "I am beginning to be a disciple" proved to be a very serviceable one for Ignatius. It could be employed in his negative characterization of himself in order to explain his inability to "give orders" (Eph. 3:1-2).

It could also be turned around to express a positive perspective in his assessment of himself

(Roms. 5:3a).⁸²

These two usages

⁸² That Ignatius is using the idea of "beginning to be a disciple" in a positive sense in Roms. 5:3 seems quite clear. It is difficult, however, to determine definitively the exact sense in which he is using this expression here. Several possible interpretations of this usage can be offered depending upon the relation that is understood to exist between the statement $\nu\tilde{\upsilon}\nu \delta\rho\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota \mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\eta\varsigma \epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$ and the subsequent statement $\mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu \mu\epsilon \xi\eta\lambda\omega\sigma\alpha\iota \tau\tilde{\omega}\nu \delta\omicron\rho\alpha\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \delta\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$. If the verb $\xi\eta\lambda\omega\sigma\alpha\iota$ is understood to be an infinitive, at least two different interpretations could be offered. On the one hand, it could be argued that the clause $\mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu \mu\epsilon \xi\eta\lambda\omega\sigma\alpha\iota$ is actually an explanatory (epexegetical) infinitive. See F. Blass and A. Debrunner, A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, trans. Robert W. Funk (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 202, # 394 (So apparently, T. Zahn, Ignatii Epistulae, p. 63). With this interpretation, the text could be understood to mean, "Now I begin to be a disciple, that is to say, I am not concerned about

suggest that the idea of "beginning to be a disciple" might also have been used by Ignatius in speaking about other major events or problems in his spiritual life.

anything either seen or unseen . . ." In this case, "beginning to be a disciple" seems almost synonymous with "being unconcerned". On the other hand, however, μηδέν με ζηλῶσαι could just as easily be identified as an example of the infinitive of result. Blass-Debrunner, A Greek Grammar, p. 198, # 391.4. In this case, the text could be understood to mean, "Now I begin to be a disciple, the result of this is that I am not concerned with anything either seen or unseen . . ." In this case, "beginning to be a disciple" and "being unconcerned" seem to be separate moments in Ignatius' life, but related to each other as cause and effect. With this interpretation, moreover, the "content" of "beginning to be a disciple" becomes less clearly identifiable.

Adding to the confusion over the exact sense of "beginning to be a disciple" in Roms. 5:3 is the fact that the word ζηλῶσαι might actually be a form of the optative mood, thus ζηλώσαι and not an infinitive at all. Most major interpreters have accepted this understanding and have rendered a variety of translations for the text of Roms. 5:3: F.X. Funk, Epistulae Ignatii, p. 219, "Now I begin to be a disciple. May nothing, either of those things which are visible, nor of those which do not fall before our eyes, lay hold of my . . ." ("nunc incipio discipulus esse. Nulla res tam earum, quae visibiles sunt, quam earum, quae sub oculos non cadunt, animum meum capiat . . .") W. Bauer, Die Briefe, p. 249, "Now I stand at the beginning of being a disciple. May nothing seen or unseen attract me" ("Jetzt stehe ich am Anfang des Jüngerseins. Nichts soll mich umworben von Sichtbarem und Unsichtbarem . . .") See also Bauer, Lexicon, p. 338. Discerning the relationship between "beginning to be a disciple" and "being unconcerned" is therefore even more difficult on this reading of ζηλῶσαι.

On the basis of the fact that Ignatius is speaking of his discipleship in his letter to the Romans in terms of an orientation to Christ and away from all else, it seems quite clear that the two ideas of "beginning to be a disciple" and "being unconcerned with anything" are to be seen as related to each other. Yet, whether we

In fact, however, the expression appears only twice in the Ignatian letters and is used in the ways that we have examined above. Even from these two usages, however, it seems clear that Ignatius did not recognize any one, single situation or event as the beginning of discipleship.

What does the use of the term μαθητής in a "perfectionist sense" suggest about the Ignatian conception of discipleship? At least in one respect, Ignatius considered the perfection of the Christian life to lie in meeting individual weaknesses. Theoretically, then, Ignatius could reserve the term μαθητής for those who were complete (ἀπλήρως). But Ignatius clearly did not see himself belonging to this group. On the contrary, he characterized himself by way of contrast as merely beginning to be a disciple (Eph. 3:1), "not yet complete" (Eph. 3:1 and Phil. 5:1) and "not yet already a disciple" (Tral. 5:2).

How is the use of the term μαθητής in a "perfectionist sense" related to Ignatius' understanding of his death? Our studies indicate that it is not directly related at all. The Christian is not understood to become a disciple or more of a disciple or to "be completed" in this sense through

read ἡλῶσαι as infinitive or as optative, there seems to be no way to definitively determine the exact sense in which Ignatius was using the expression, "Now I begin to be a disciple" here in Roms. 5:3.

either suffering or martyrdom. In the case of Ignatius himself, it seems likely that his anticipation of his own death had brought him to a realization of certain weaknesses which he might otherwise have tended to overlook. Only indirectly, then, was the subject of Ignatius' death related to this use of the term μαθητής in the Ignatian letters. In effect, therefore, it is possible to state that the term μαθητής understood in its "perfectionist sense" in the Ignatian letters had no significant place within Ignatius' understanding of his death. And the relationship between his reflection on his forthcoming death and his use of the term μαθητής in a "perfectionist sense" was quite indirect and accidental.

The μαθητής and the theme of Devotion. The third of our studies on the Ignatian use of the term μαθητής focuses on two texts which we have seen before:

Roms. 4:2 τότε ἔσομαι μαθητής ἀληθῶς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
ὅτε οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμά μου ὁ κόσμος ὕψεται.⁸³

Roms. 5:3 συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε·
τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ γινώσκω.
νῦν ἀρχομαι μαθητής εἶναι
μηδέν με ἡλῶσαι τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων,
ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.⁸⁴

⁸³Roms. 4:2, "Then I will truly be a disciple of Jesus Christ when there is nothing left of me for the world to see."

⁸⁴Roms. 5:3, "...heed my opinion. I know what is best for me. Now I begin to be a disciple; I desire nothing either seen or unseen that I may attain Jesus Christ."

In these texts, discipleship is seen from a devotional perspective. The use of the term μαθητής here is similar to that which we have seen in the relationship between discipleship and the theme of endurance in the first of our studies. In this instance, however, it is not the one who endures who is called the μαθητής. Rather, it is the Christian who loves his Lord more than anything else. Again, therefore, we may say that Ignatius is tying the use of a general sense of the term μαθητής, i.e., the sense in which it is synonymous with Christian or follower of Christ, to a set of limited expectations surrounding a single theme. Here, that theme is devotion.

In discussing the theme of devotion within the thought of Ignatius, it seems necessary to speak of a sense of devotion which involves not only attachments of love, personal affection and loyalty between the believer and his Lord, but also a perception of that Lord as the meaningful center of all life or the central reality of life. The meaning of all things can be found at least partially in relationship to that center to a greater or lesser extent. It is this type of devotion

that we shall be examining in the thought of Ignatius.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ in the study of James Moffatt, "Ignatius of Antioch -- A Study in Personal Religion", The Journal of Religion, X (2, 1930), 169-186, devotion to Christ was presented as the essence of Ignatius' personal spirituality and as the "something deeper" out of which had arisen his "definite ideas about [church] organization and doctrine" (p. 170). In an age that seems to have produced little that was sympathetic to Ignatius or his thought, the work of James Moffatt, like that of his student, Cyril Richardson, were positive landmarks. Nevertheless, this assessment of Ignatian Devotion does not seem acceptable.

Like so many authors of his day,^{*} Moffatt sought in this article to understand Ignatius' insistence upon "subjection to the bishop" and anti-docetism solely as functions of Ignatius' "psychology" -- "his theology is best approached along the lines of his psychology" (p. 171). Historical factors could therefore assume an insignificant role for the understanding of Ignatius. Moreover, Moffatt's assessment of Ignatian Devotion seems to reflect a characteristically Protestant paradigm: "The real presence of the Lord in the life of Christians is first and foremost" (p. 177). "His adoration of the Lord Jesus is a personal affection which becomes a stable center for life. Only thus can Ignatius understand how the Christian Religion works at all . . ." (p. 171). No doubt, Moffatt saw this as a positive aspect in his assessment of Ignatius. This approach to Ignatius, however, seems to dismiss arbitrarily the possibility of a firm personal devotion to Christ coming to light within the context of structures and doctrines already well-defined and passed on to Ignatius as tradition. Thus, although Moffatt's identification of devotion as a key element in Ignatian spirituality is to be endorsed, his suggestion that this devotion was likewise the source of Ignatius' conceptions of hierarchy and "heresy" seems to have been mistaken. Moffatt seems to have been presenting an Ignatius that would be more palatable to Protestantism in the 1930's. The value of this model for understanding Ignatian Devotion seems extremely limited.

Any adequate examination of the texts of Roms. 4:2 and 5:3² must recognize that this analysis of his discipleship is actually a part of a much more extensive "devotional argument" which is presented by Ignatius in his letter to the Romans. The proper understanding of these two texts demands a preunderstanding of the purpose and thrust of that larger argument. Yet, though the theme of devotion plays a unique role in Ignatius' letter to the Romans, it is not a theme that appears only in that letter. Moreover, the perspective taken by Ignatius in these letters suggests that Ignatius understood the virtues of devotion to be important not only to his own spiritual life but to the lives of all Christians. In the light of these considerations, our approach to this use of the term *μαθητής* will be very much like that which we have used in our analysis of the theme of endurance in the first part of this chapter. First, we shall identify some of the more general elements of devotion within Ignatius' conception of the Christian life. Next, we shall proceed to examine a key text in which these elements come to articulation. Our focus here will be the text of Mag. 5:2. Finally, we shall direct our attention to the place of devotion within Ignatius' letter to the Romans and examine his use of the term *μαθητής* in the texts of Roms. 4:2 & 5:3.

The theme of devotion that seems to characterize the thought of Ignatius comes to expression in the Ignatian letters in a variety of ways. Ignatius' fervent love of his Lord and perception of Him as the meaningful center of all existence comes to articulation in a number of individual statements:

Eph. 9:2 οἷς καὶ ἀγαλλιῶμαι,
ὅτι ἡξιώθην δι' ὧν γράφω προσομιλῆσαι ὑμῖν
καὶ συγχαρῆναι,
ὅτι κατ' ἄλλον βίον οὐδὲν ἀγαπᾶτε
εἰ μὴ μόνον τὸν θεόν. 86

Eph. 11:2 χωρὶς τούτου μηδὲν ὑμῖν προεπέτω,
ἐν ᾧ τὰ δεσμὰ περιφέρω, 87

Mag. 9:2 πῶς ἡμεῖς δυνήσόμεθα ζῆσαι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ,
οὐ καὶ οἱ προφῆται
μαθηταὶ ὄντες τῷ πνεύματι
ὡς διδάσκαλον αὐτὸν προσεδόκων;
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο,
ὅν δικαίως ἀνέμενον,
παρῶν ἤγειρεν αὐτοῦς ἐκ νεκρῶν. 88

⁸⁶ Eph. 9:2, ". . . with whom I share in joy. For I have been found worthy to speak with you through my writings and to rejoice with you because you love nothing in life as other men do. Instead, you love God alone." Our reading of this text as "κατ' ἀνθρώπων βίον" follows the emendation suggested by Lightfoot, S. Ignatius, p. 57. Other editions offer the reading "κατ' ἄλλον βίον". The difference for our purposes is insignificant.

⁸⁷ Eph. 11:2, "Apart from Him, let nothing seem right to you. He is the One in Whom I bear my bonds."

⁸⁸ Mag. 9:2, "How then shall we be able to live apart from Him whom even the prophets, being disciples in the Spirit, looked forward to as a teacher. For this reason when the one they had awaited in righteousness arrived, He raised them from the dead."

Pol. 7:3 χριστιανὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐξουσίαν οὐκ ἔχει,
ἀλλὰ θεῷ σχολάζει. 89

One cannot help concluding from the statements such as these that life for Ignatius, to the extent that it is meaningful is intimately bound up with the central reality of God and Christ. Things are not done because they are good or useful in themselves. Rather, they are done εἰς τιμὴν θεοῦ. That which is good, on the other hand, is sooner or later brought into some positive relationship with God. The thought of life or goodness apart from God or Christ seems distant from the perspective of Ignatius; an idea that would be alien to him and to Christianity as he understood it to be. From this perspective, it is perhaps possible to understand why the good moral life for the Christian must be characterized in Ignatian thought as life κατὰ θεόν. Moreover, this characteristic of his thought might also explain at least a part of his readiness to speak of Christians who act in positive ways as "imitators" of God and why Ignatius often appended phrases such as ἕνεκα θεοῦ, εἰς θεόν, and ἐν Χριστῷ at various points in his letters.

89 Pol. 7:3, "The Christian has no authority over himself. Rather, he spends his time on God."

In addition to these types of isolated references, it is necessary to draw attention to the God-κόσμος dichotomy which appears several times in the Ignatian letters. Ignatius seems to have been quite ready to rely upon this dichotomy to give expression to his understanding of Christian devotion and its importance within the life of the individual Christian. One of the most interesting expressions of this God-κόσμος dichotomy appears as a part of Ignatius' exhortation to unity with the bishop in his letter to the Magnesians.

- Mag. 5:1 ἐπεὶ οὖν τέλος τὰ πράγματα ἔχει
καὶ πρόκειται τὰ δύο ὁμοῦ,
ὃ τε θάνατος καὶ ἡ ζωὴ,
καὶ ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον μέλλει χωρεῖν.
Mag. 5:2 ὡς περ γὰρ ἐστὶν νομίσματα δύο,
ὃ μὲν θεοῦ, ὃ δὲ κόσμου,
καὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν χαρακτῆρα ἐπικείμενον ἔχει,
οἱ ἄπιστοι τοῦ κόσμου τούτου,
οἱ δὲ πιστοὶ ἐν ἀγάπῃ χαρακτῆρα θεοῦ πατρὸς
διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
οἱ οὖν εἰάν μὴ ἀποθνήσκωμεν
τὸ ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος 90
τὸ ζῆν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν.

⁹⁰ Mag. 5:1-2, "For since all things have an end and there are only two of them, either death or life, and each of us is going to go to his own place, -- in the same way there are two coinages, that of God and that of the world, and each has its own impress stamped upon it. Unbelievers bear that of the world. But believers animated by love bear the image of God the Father through Jesus Christ [and] if we do not willingly bear death for Him [lit. 'for His death'], His Life is

In analyzing the actions of the Magnesians in terms of their ultimate orientations (life-death, God-κόσμος), Ignatius has digressed into the matter of martyrdom. Certainly, it cannot be said that Ignatius is exhorting his readership to martyrdom here. Neither is he rightly understood to be suggesting that dying for Christ magically affects "life" for the Christian. Instead, it seems necessary to take the position that Ignatius is suggesting that the willingness (or unwillingness) to face death "for Christ" is indicative of the basic orientation of that person either to God or to something else. These same categories, i.e., "willingness", "God-κόσμος", dying "for Christ" reappear in Ignatius' analysis of his own situation in his letter to the Romans.

It is most important to note here, that the God-kosmos dichotomy was used by Ignatius not only in the understanding of his own situation facing death but also in the understanding of other important issues. Here in Mag. 5:1-2, the issue is actually that of unity with the bishop. Theoretically, moreover, the dichotomy could be used in the analysis of any important question. The most interesting use of the dichotomy, however, appears

not 'for us' [lit. 'among us']."

in Ignatius' letter to the Romans to which we may now turn.

It has often been noted that Ignatius' chief purpose in writing his letter to the Romans was to dissuade the Roman Church from interfering in his death. It has been less clearly recognized that his chief argument for this laissez faire course of action is a devotional one: that is, one which focused on Ignatius' personal devotion to God and Christ as the reason behind his willingness and eagerness to die for Christ.

Ignatius seems to have seen the entire matter in a black-and-white perspective. His argument suggests repeatedly that to allow him to die is to take the side of God Himself. Interference in his death is accordingly understood to reflect a contrary orientation, a different *τέλος* (to use the categories of Mag. 5:1). This other orientation is variously identified in Romans as "the way of men", a concern for mere matter and a concern for the *κόσμος*. Within the letter to the Romans, then, the God-*κόσμος* dichotomy is but a part of a much larger argument. It is

not the whole of Ignatius' argument and should be examined as a part of that larger whole which seeks to portray the matter of interference in Ignatius' death as a question of basic orientation. We must look at this larger devotional argument to prepare us to understand how Ignatius has integrated an assessment of his own discipleship into it.

Ignatius' conception of the issue of Roman interference in his death as a question of basic orientations is clearly articulated in his initial greeting of his Roman readership:

Roms. 2:1a οὐ γὰρ θέλω ἀνθρωπαρεσκῆσαι ὑμᾶς
ἀλλὰ θεῷ ἀρέσαι, 91
ὡςπερ καὶ ἀρέσκετε.

Roms. 2:1c εἰν γὰρ σιωπήσητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ,
ἐγὼ λόγος θεοῦ.
εἰν δὲ ἐρασθῆτε τῆς σαρκὸς μου,
πάλιν ἔσομαι φωνή. 92

It is not men that they should be seeking to please, it is God (God-man dichotomy). To allow him to die is to see him become associated with God, i.e., to be a Word

⁹¹ Roms. 2:1a, "For I do not want you to be 'men-pleasers' but to please God, as you already do."

⁹² Roms. 2:1c, "For if you are silent about me, I will be a Word of God. But if you are concerned for my flesh, I will once more only be a cry."

of God. To interfere is to show a concern only for his flesh (ἐρασθήτε τῆς σαρκὸς μου). In such a case, there can be no association with God. Ignatius will not be the "Word of God", he will only be an incoherent "cry". Very clearly, God and death are compatible for Ignatius. Ignatius seems unable to imagine release or escape to bear any positive relationship with God.

The God-κόσμος dichotomy itself enters the argument almost imperceptibly at Roms. 2:2b.

Roms. 2:2 πλέον δέ μοι μὴ παράσχηθε.
 τοῦ σπονδισθῆναι θεῷ,
 ὥς ἔτι θυσιαστήριον ἑτοιμόν ἐστιν,
 ἵνα ἐν ἀγάπῃ χορὸς γενόμενοι
 ὕμνητε τῷ πατρὶ ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ,
 ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας κατηξίωσεν ὁ θεός
 εὑρεθῆναι εἰς οὐσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς μεταπεμψάμενος.
 καλὸν τὸ οὖναι ἀπὸ κόσμου πρὸς θεόν,
 ἵνα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνατείλω.⁹³

It reemerges, however, in what might be identified as the close of Ignatius' initial exhortation to his Roman readership (Roms. 1:1-3:2) in his request for their help that he might be "found a Christian".

⁹³ Roms. 2:2, "Allow me nothing more than to be poured out to God while the place of sacrifice is still ready so that having formed yourselves into a chorus in love, you may sing to the Father in Jesus Christ saying that the bishop of Syria has been found worthy by God to be found at the setting of the sun having been sent forth from its place of rising. It is a good thing to set forth from the world toward God in order that I might rise up to Him."

- Roms. 3:2 μόνον μοι δύναμιν αἰτεῖσθε
 ἔσωθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν,
 ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγω,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ θέλω,
 μὴ ἵνα μόνον λέγωμαι Χριστιανός,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ εὑρεθῶ.
 εἰδὼν γὰρ εὑρεθῶ,
 καὶ λέγεσθαι δύναμαι καὶ τότε πιστὸς εἶναι
 ὅταν κόσμῳ μὴ φαίνωμαι.
- 3:3 οὐ πεισμονῆς τὸ ἔργον,
 ἀλλὰ μεγέθους ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστιανισμός,
 ὅταν μισῇται ὑπὸ κόσμου.⁹⁴

The God-κόσμος dichotomy reappears soon thereafter in Ignatius' assessment of his own discipleship along with other categories which emphasize his devotion to Christ and his growing lack of concern for anything other than Christ.

- Roms. 4:2 τότε ἔσομαι μαθητὴς ἀληθῶς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
 ὅτε οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμα μου ὁ κόσμος ὄψεται.⁹⁵
- 4:3 καὶ νῦν μανθάνω δεδεμένος μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν.
 5:1 ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηρίομαχῶ,...
 ἐνδεδεμένος δέκα λεοπάρδοις,
 ὃ ἐστὶν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα...

⁹⁴ Roms. 3:2-3, "Only seek for me the power inward and outward that I may not only speak but also be willing, that I may not only be said to be a Christian but also be found one. For if I am found one, I will be able both to be called and then, actually to be faithful, when I am no longer visible to the world. Christianity is not a thing of persuasion but of majesty when it is hated by the world."

⁹⁵ Roms. 4:2, "Then I will truly be a disciple of Jesus Christ when there is nothing left of me for the world to see."

Roms. 5:1 ἐν δὲ τοῖς δόξικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι,
(con't) ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμαί. 96

Roms. 5:3 συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε.
τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ γινώσκω.
νῦν ἄρχομαι μαθητῆς εἶναι
μηδέν με ζηλῶσαι τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ δορυτῶν,
ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.
ἦν καὶ σταυρὸς θηρίων τε συστάσεις,
σκορπισμοὶ ὀστέων, συγκοφαὶ μελῶν,
ἀλεσμοὶ ὄλου τοῦ σώματος,
κακαὶ κολάσεις τοῦ διαβόλου
ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθωσαν, 97
μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.

Thereafter, the God-κόσμος dichotomy takes its place along side of other categories and dichotomies that together seek to underscore a single point: Ignatius is ready, willing and eager to "die for Christ". Nothing else is of any concern to him any longer.

⁹⁶ Roms. 4:3-5:1, "And now, being bound, I am learning to desire nothing. From Syria to Rome I am fighting the beasts...bound as I am to ten 'leopards' that band of my guards...But from their injustices I am learning more, but I am not justified by this."

⁹⁷ Roms. 5:3, "...heed my opinion. I know what is best for me. Now I begin to be a disciple; I desire nothing either seen or unseen that I may attain Jesus Christ. Fire and cross and struggles with wild beasts, cutting, tearing apart, the racking of bones, the mangling of limbs, the crushing of the whole body, the cruel punishments of the devil himself. Let them all come upon me, only that I may attain Jesus Christ."

Roms. 4:1a ἐγὼ γράφω πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις
καὶ ἐντέλλομαι πᾶσιν,
ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐκὼν ὑπὲρ θεοῦ ἀποθνήσκω.⁹⁸

4:1c σῖτός εἰμι θεοῦ
καὶ οἱ ὀδόντων θηρίων ἀλήθομαι,
ἵνα καθαρὸς ἄρτος εὑρεθῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.⁹⁹

6:1 οὐδέν με ὠφελήσει τὰ πέρατα τοῦ κόσμου
οὐδὲ αἱ βασιλεῖαι τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου.
κάλόν μοι ἀποθανεῖν εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,
ἢ βασιλεύειν τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς.
ἐκεῖνον ζητῶ,
τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα.
ἐκεῖνον θέλω,
τὸν οἱ ἡμᾶς ἀναστάντα.
ὁ δὲ τοκετός μοι ἐπίκειται.

6:2 σύγγνωτέ μοι, ἀδελφοί.
μὴ ἐμποδίσητέ μοι ζῆναι,
μὴ θελήσητέ με ἀποθανεῖν,
τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ θέλοντα εἶναι
κόσμον μὴ χάρισηθε
μηδὲ ἄλλῃ ἐξαπατήσητε.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Roms. 4:1a, "I am writing to all of the churches and am emphatically saying to everyone that I am willingly dying for Christ".

⁹⁹ Roms. 4:1c, "I am the wheat of God and by the teeth of the wild beasts I will be ground that I may be found the pure bread of Christ."

¹⁰⁰ Roms. 6:1-2, "The ends of the world and the kingdoms of this age will be of no profit to me. It is better for me to die for Jesus Christ than to rule the ends of the world. I seek Him who died for us, I desire Him who rose for us. The pains of labor are upon me. Understand me, my brothers. Do not keep me from life. Do not desire death for me. Do not hand over to the world one who wishes to be of God nor deceive him with matter."

Roms. 7:1 ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου διαρπάσαι με βούλεται
καὶ τὴν εἰς θεὸν μου γνῶμην διαφθεῖραι.
μηδεὶς οὖν τῶν παρόντων ὑμῶν βοηθεῖτω αὐτῷ·
μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ γίνεσθε,
τουτέστιν τοῦ θεοῦ.
μὴ λαλεῖτε Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,
κόσμον δὲ ἐπιθυμεῖτε. 101

7:2b ἢ γὰρ γράφω ὑμῖν,
ἐρῶν τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν.
ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρωται,
καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλόῦλον·
ὕδωρ δὲ ἢ καὶ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοί,
ἔσωθέν μοι λέγον·
δεῦρο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.
7:3 οὐχ ἡδομαι τροφῇ φθορᾶς
οὐδὲ ἡδοναῖς τοῦ βίου τούτου.
ἄρτον θεοῦ θέλω,
ὃ ἐστὶν σὰρξ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
τοῦ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ,
καὶ πόμα θέλω τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ,
ὃ ἐστὶν ἀγάπη ἁφθαρτος. 102

8:1 οὐκέτι θέλω κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ζῆν.
τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται,
ἐὰν ὑμεῖς θελήσητε.
θελήσατε,
ὅνα καὶ ὑμεῖς θεληθῇτε

101 Roms. 7:1, "The Prince of this age wishes to plunder me and to corrupt my hope which is focused on God. Let none of you present aid him. Rather, come over to my side, that is, the side of God. Do not speak of Jesus Christ while still desiring the world."

102 Roms. 7:2b-3, "For living, I am writing you desiring to die. There is in me no burning love of matter, but only water that is living and speaking within me and saying to me, 'come this way, to the Father'. I find no pleasure in the food of corruption nor in the pleasures of this life. I desire the bread of God, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, Who is of the seed of David, and the drink I desire is His blood, which is Love without corruption."

Roms. 8:2 δι' ὀλίγων γραμμάτων αἰτοῦμαι ὑμᾶς·
 πιστεῦσατέ μοι.
 Ἰησοῦς δὲ Χριστὸς ὑμῖν ταῦτα φανερώσει,
 ὅτι ἀληθῶς λέγω·
 τὸ ἀνευδὲς στόμα,
 ἐν ᾧ ὁ πατὴρ ἀληθῶς ἐλάλησεν.
 8:3 αἰτήσασθε περὶ ἐμοῦ,
 ἵνα ἐπιτύχω·
 οὐ κατὰ σάρκα ὑμῖν ἔγραψα,
 ἀλλὰ κατὰ γνώμην θεοῦ.
 ἐὰν πάθω,
 ἡλεήσατε·
 ἐὰν ἀποδοκιμασθῶ,
 ἐμίσήσατε. 103

Over and over, Ignatius returns to the same position.

He is ready, willing and eager to die "for God". The world (κόσμος), is of no concern or benefit to him.

He seeks only Christ. The Romans cannot hand over "one who desires to be 'of God'" (Roms. 6:2, "τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ θέλοντα εἶναι") to this κόσμος (Roms. 6:2, "κόσμῳ μὴ χαρίσῃσθε"). They cannot "speak of Jesus Christ, yet be desirous of the κόσμος" (Roms. 7:1, "μὴ λαλεῖτε Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, κόσμον δὲ ἐπιθυμεῖτε. "). Ignatius is

103

Roms. 8:1-3, "I no longer desire to live according to men. This will be if you will it. Will it that you too might be willed. In these few words I have laid my case before you. Trust me. Jesus Christ will make known to you that I am speaking in truth. He is the undeceiving mouth through which the Father truly speaks. Seek for my sake that I may attain. I do not speak to you according to the flesh. Rather, I speak according to the mind of God. If I suffer, it will be because you did me a favour. If I am found unworthy, it will be because you hated me."

certain that his own position is that of God, Himself (Rōms. 8:2).

Obviously, within the context of this argument the God-κόσμος dichotomy plays an important part. It is important, however, to recognize that the argument here is essentially devotional and Ignatius hoped that his Roman readers could understand this perspective.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ The key to understanding the whole of this argument is not the supposition that Ignatius is seeking to flee from the κόσμος and matter in the sense commonly attributed to the Gnostics. (So Schlier, Rel. Untersuchungen, pp. 146-149.) Indeed, Ignatius may be employing here some of the same idioms that had been within the framework of Gnostic thought. Yet neither the negative language, nor the negative assessment of the "here and now" were limited in the Greek-speaking world to the Gnostics. In attempting to relate or to contrast figures who employ the same idioms and categories, it is vitally important to assess the wider context in which these words had meaning for the individuals or groups involved. It is at this level that more significant relationships can be identified. The mere fact that the same words were employed hardly suggests a significant link. With regard to their views on the κόσμος and matter, the significant difference between Gnostic and Ignatian thought seems to lie in the fact that Ignatius speaks negatively of these things in order to articulate his own devotion to his Lord and his awareness that all other things have become insignificant to him. Ignatius is not fleeing from the κόσμος

Having examined the basic argument of Ignatius' letter to the Romans, we may now focus upon the two texts of Roms. 4:2 and 5:3 and the way in which Ignatius involved an assessment of his own discipleship within the basic argument of his letter.

Roms. 4:2 τότε ἔσομαι μαθητῆς ἀληθῶς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
ὅτε οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμά μου ὁ κόσμος ὕψεται.

4:3 καὶ νῦν μανθίνω δεδεμένος μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν.

5:1 ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ,...

ἐνδεσμένος δέκα λεοπαρδαῖς,

ὃ ἔστιν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα...

ἐν δὲ τοῖς δεικνύμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι,
ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμα.

5:3 συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε.

τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ γινώσκω.

νῦν ἄρχομαι μαθητῆς εἶναι

μηδὲν με ζηλῶσαι τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων,

ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.¹⁰⁵

and matter. He is positively seeking a closer relationship with his Lord. Such a devotional perspective, however, seems wholly lacking within the framework of Gnostic speculation. There the κόσμος and matter are seen negatively not because they represent an alternative to a personal lord but because they are identified as essentially evil. The flight from matter within Gnosticism seems more to be the final result of a complex speculative analysis of existence. The perspective of Ignatius on the κόσμος and matter does not seem to share significantly in this speculative tradition. Rather, it seems more the immediate result of Ignatius' own personal devotion to his Lord.

¹⁰⁵Roms. 4:2-5:3, "Then I will truly be a disciple when there is nothing left of me for the world to see. And now, being bound, I am learning to desire nothing. From Syria to Rome I am fighting the beasts...bound as I am to ten 'leopards', that band of my guards...But from their injustices I am learning more, but I am not justified by this... Heed my opinion. I know what is best for

The first of these texts (Roms. 4:2) reflects the same view of the κόσμος that we have seen previously in

Mag. 5:1-2. The μαθητής, like the Christian in Roms. 3:2, and the believer in Mag. 5:2, must be kept separated from the κόσμος. He has nothing to do with it. Therefore, it is only appropriate that he not even be seen by it. It is in this sense that Ignatius can speak of "being a μαθητής" only when the κόσμος no longer sees him.

In the second part of this analysis of his own discipleship (Roms. 4:3-5:3), the theme of separation from the things of this world reemerges in a slightly different form.

Roms. 4:3 καὶ νῦν μανθάνω δεδεμένος μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν.
 5:1 ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ,...
 ἐνδεδεμένος δέκα λεοπάρδοις,
 ὃ ἔστιν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα...
 ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι,
 ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμαι.
 5:3 ὅτι
 συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε·
 τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ γινώσκω.
 νῦν ἄρχομαι μαθητῆς εἶναι
 μηδὲν με ζηλῶσαι τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων,
 ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.
 πῦρ καὶ σταυρὸς θηρίων τε συστάσεις,
 σκορπισμοὶ ὀστέων, συγκοπαὶ μελῶν,
 ἀλεσμοὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος,
 κακαὶ κολάσεις τοῦ διαθόλου
 ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθωσαν,
 μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.

me. Now I begin to be a disciple; I desire nothing either seen or unseen that I may attain Jesus Christ."

Roms. 6:1 οὐδέν με ὠφελήσει τὰ πέρατα τοῦ κόσμου
οὐδὲ αἱ βασαλεῖται τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου.
καλόν μοι ἀποθανεῖν εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,
ἢ βασιλεύειν τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς.
ἐκεῖνον ζητῶ,
τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα.
ἐκεῖνον θέλω,
τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀναστάντα.
ὁ δὲ τοκετός μοι ἐπὶ κεῖται.
6:2 σύγγνωτέ μοι, ἀδελφοί.
μὴ ἐμποδίσητέ μοι ζῆναι,
μὴ θελήσητέ με ἀποθανεῖν,
τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ θέλοντα εἶναι
κόσμφ μὴ χάρισησθε
μηδὲ ὕλη ἐξαπατήσητε. 106

In seeking to explain to his Roman readership that he is actually ready and willing to die, Ignatius speaks to his readers on the state of his own discipleship. First, he notes that as a captive, he has learned to "desire nothing" (μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν). He continues on

106 Roms. 4:3-6:2, "And now, being bound, I am learning to desire nothing. From Syria to Rome I am fighting the beasts bound as I am to 'ten leopards', that band of my guards . . . But from their injustices I am learning more, but I am not justified by this. . . Heed my opinion. I know what is best for me. Now I begin to be a disciple; I desire nothing either seen or unseen that I may attain Jesus Christ. Fire and cross and struggles with wild beasts, cutting, tearing apart, the racking of bones, the mangling of limbs, the crushing of the whole body, the cruel punishments of the devil himself. Let them all come upon me, only that I may attain Jesus Christ. The ends of the world and the kingdoms of this age will be of no profit to me. It is better for me to die for Jesus Christ than to rule the ends of the world. I seek Him who died for us, I desire Him who rose for us. The pains of labor are upon me. Understand me, my brothers. Do not keep me from life. Do not desire death for me. Do not hand over to the world one who wishes to be of God nor deceive him with matter."

to suggest that he has actually learned things from his captors. Rather quickly, however, he returns to the theme of being free from desires, thus suggesting that this is the real focus of his brief biography.

Ignatius suggests to his readers that he is unconcerned about anything other than Christ. He is not even concerned about the tortures that await him in Rome. Nothing in the world is of any use to him. It is Christ that he seeks and it is better to die for Him than to rule the earth. How then, he asks, could the Romans hand him over to "the world".¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Ignatius' tendency to speak of the place of devotion in the life of the Christian in the same way that he spoke of it in the life of the martyr is an interesting phenomenon. On the other hand, it suggests as has been noted previously, that Ignatius did not discern the martyr to be unique among Christians. The same thing is expected of both. Both are expected to "endure all things". Both are expected to "willingly die for Christ". It is tempting to ask whether Ignatius understood all Christians as martyrs or whether he simply saw martyrs as Christians who were confronted with a slightly different context in which to live out their lives. Moreover, a second problem is posed by the fact that much of what Ignatius saw as necessary for himself he also saw as necessary for Christians in general. Had the view of the Christian life that is presented in the Ignatian letters been recently cast by the experience of Ignatius in his preparation for his death? Or, do the letters simply suggest that Ignatius was attempting to understand his own situation in the light of what he had previously come to understand was important for all Christians? Again, both tendencies are probably rightly attributed to the thought that is articulated in the Ignatian letters.

It remains only to ask how this perspective on discipleship was related to Ignatius' understanding of martyrdom in general and his own death in particular. On the face of it, it is possible to take the position that the theme of devotion had no intrinsic relationship to the subject of suffering and martyrdom in Ignatian thought. The concern of Ignatius was primarily that the Christian value his God and Lord above all other things. In theory, then, there would have been no reason for the matter of devotion to have entered Ignatius' view of martyrdom. In spite of this, it must be noted that the text of Mag. 5:2 strongly suggests that Ignatius had in fact discerned a tie between devotion and the Christian's willingness to die for Christ.

Mag. 5:1 ἐπεὶ οὖν τέλος τὰ πράγματα ἔχει
καὶ πρόκειται τὰ δύο ὁμοῦ,
ὃ τε θάνατος καὶ ἡ ζωὴ,
καὶ ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον μέλλει χωρεῖν.
5:2 ὥσπερ γάρ ἐστιν νομίσματα δύο,
ὃ μὲν θεοῦ, ὃ δὲ κόσμου,
καὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν χαρακτῆρα ἐπικείμενον ἔχει,
οἱ ἀπιστοὶ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου,
οἱ δὲ πιστοὶ ἐν ἀγάπῃ χαρακτῆρα θεοῦ πατρὸς
διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
οἱ δὲ εἰ μὴ ἀντιθέτως ἔχομεν
τὸ ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος
τὸ ζῆν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸Mag. 5:1-2, "For since all things have an end and there are only two of them, either death or life, and each of us is going to go to his own place, -- in the same way there are two coinages, that of God and that of the world, and each has its own impress stamped upon it. Unbelievers bear that of the world. But believers animated by love bear the image of God the Father through Jesus Christ [and] if we do not willingly bear death for Him [lit. 'for His death'], His Life is not 'for us' (lit. "among us")

On the basis of this text, it seems clear that the subject of martyrdom had entered Ignatius' understanding of devotion. The willingness to die for Christ is represented here as the infallible measure of the depth of Christian devotion. The Christian who is not ready to die for Christ is presented here as no Christian at all.

What then of Ignatius' understanding of his own death? With regard to the idea of "being a μαθητής" he seems to have been able to look forward to his death as the point at which he will finally be free from the κόσμος. It will not even be able to see him (Roms.4:2) much less pose as the alternative to his beloved Lord. He has already begun to be ἀμαθητής, however, in being unconcerned with things other than Christ. Any death, however, would bring about this final separation of Ignatius from the κόσμος. There is nothing significant about the fact that Ignatius' death will come about through martyrdom. Ignatius' concern is not a flight from matter but his own devotion to God.

Roms. 4:1 ἐγὼ γράφω πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις
καὶ ἐντέλλομαι πᾶσιν,¹⁰⁹
ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐκὼν ὑπὲρ θεοῦ ἀποθνήσκω.

The language of the God-κόσμος dichotomy allows him to speak of the relative worthlessness of everything other than his Lord.

¹⁰⁹ Roms. 4:1, "I am writing to all of the churches and am emphatically saying to everyone that I am willingly dying for Christ . . ."

Suffering and Martyrdom within Ignatian Discipleship:

A Broader Perspective.

Up to this point, our analysis of Ignatian discipleship has been restricted to Ignatius' use of the term μαθητής. Though this certainly cannot be ignored, our approach to Ignatian discipleship cannot rightly be limited to Ignatius' use of the term.

A more general definition of discipleship in Ignatius will not be amiss. Discipleship should be understood to include all those things which Ignatius considers to have a place in the living out of the Christian life. Our interest, at this point, is to achieve an adequate understanding of the place of suffering and its ultimate form, martyrdom, within the Ignatian view of the Christian life.¹¹⁰ Two sets of considerations seem most relevant:

¹¹⁰ Traditionally, Ignatian scholarship has approached the question of the place of suffering and death in the Christian life with the supposition that Ignatius understood his own situation to be normative or at least that his positive attitude toward death, and indeed, eagerness to face death himself should be seen to reflect a more general perspective applicable to all other Christians. Thus, Ignatian scholarship has effectively moved directly from Ignatius' statements about himself and his own death to universal statements concerning the place of suffering and martyrdom in the Christian life. Such an approach to the question of the place of suffering and death within Christian Discipleship seems simplistic, unsympathetic to the uniqueness of Ignatius' conception of himself facing death and oblivious to the fact that Ignatius nowhere encourages other Christians to "follow me". Our own approach to this question re-

first, the historical and social context within which Ignatius understood the "persecution" of Christians, and, secondly, the concerns articulated by Ignatius in offering counsel to Christians who found themselves persecuted.

The social and historical context within which Ignatius understood the suffering of Christians can be partially recovered from a number of individuals' allusions that appear at random in the letters. Four texts in particular seem worthy of comment:

Eph. 12:2 πάροδος ἐστε τῶν εἰς θεὸν ἀνατιρουμένων ¹¹¹

Roms. 3:1 οὐδέποτε ἐβασκάνετε οὐδενί,
ἄλλους ἐδιδάξατε.
ἐγὼ δὲ θέλω, ὅνα κακεῖνα βέβαια ᾗ,
καὶ μαθητεύοντες ἐντέλλεσθε. ¹¹²

Roms. 3:3 οὐ πεισμονῆς τὸ ἔργον,
ἀλλὰ μεγέθους ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστιανισμός,

flects a very different understanding. Essentially, in spite of the fact that Ignatius saw his own death in terms of some of the same categories that he saw relevant to Christians in general, the interpreters of Ignatian thought must be cautious and attentive to the unique dimensions of Ignatius' perception of his own death and draw a careful distinction between what Ignatius saw and expected for himself and that which he proposed for Christians generally. At this point in our study, our emphasis is more upon the separation of Ignatius' self-understanding from his understanding of other Christians.

¹¹¹ Eph. 12:2, "You are the highway for those who are being destroyed for God."

¹¹² Roms. 3:1, "Never did you envy anyone. Rather, you instructed others. And I desire that those things might stand fast which you commanded while instructing."

113
 ὅταν μισῇται ὑπὸ κόσμου.

Mag. 8:2 οἱ γὰρ θειότατοι προφῆται
 κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἔζησαν
 διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐδιώχθησαν,
 ἐνπνεόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ,
 εἰς τὸ πληροφορηθῆναι τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας,
 ὅτι εἷς θεὸς ἐστίν,
 ὃ φανερώσας ἑαυτὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
 τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.¹¹⁴

From these texts, some of the aspects of Ignatius' understanding of the persecution of Christians emerge.

Ignatius was aware that other Christians had been brought to Rome by way of Ephesus for execution and referred to them as "those who are destroyed for God" (τῶν εἰς θεὸν δυναισσομένων, Eph. 12:2). Secondly, he seems to have thought that the Roman community had taken a stand on martyrdom and one he felt to be adequate (Roms. 3:1).¹¹⁵ He could speak in terms of the "hatred" (μισεῖν) of the "world" (κόσμος) for Christianity and saw this hatred expressed in persecution. The text of Roms. 3:3 further suggests that Ignatius saw the Christian confrontation with death as an

¹¹³ Roms. 3:3, "Christianity is not a thing of persuasion but of majesty when it is hated by the world."

¹¹⁴ Mag. 8:2, "For the most godly prophets lived according to Christ Jesus. For this reason they too were persecuted, being inspired by His grace to announce to unbelievers that there is one God who made Himself manifest through Jesus Christ, His Son . . ."

¹¹⁵ See above p. 115f, especially footnotes 44 and 45.

"argument" capable of persuading (πείσμονή) others of the truth of the Gospel. Finally, Mag. 8:2 suggests that Ignatius drew a line of continuity between Christians and the prophets of Israel, persecuted "because" they lived κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν . These texts individually reflect elements of Ignatius' understanding of suffering. As a group they indicate that Ignatius had available to him a context for evaluating persecution in a positive way.

Our attempt to understand his perspectives on the suffering of others also entails a consideration of the type of advice which he himself offered to the oppressed. The counsel he gave to the Ephesians (Eph. 10:1-11:1) exemplifies this as does his advice to the slaves of Smyrna.

- Eph. 10:1 καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ἀνθρώπων διαλείπτως
προσεύχεσθε. ἔστιν γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλπίς
μετανοίας, ἵνα θεοῦ τύχωσιν. ἐπιτρέψατε
οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ὑμῶν μαθητευ-
θῆναι.
- 10:2 πρὸς τὰς ὁργὰς αὐτῶν
ὑμεῖς πραεῖς,
πρὸς τὰς μεγαλορημοσύνας αὐτῶν
ὑμεῖς ταπεινόφρονες,
πρὸς τὰς βλασφημίας αὐτῶν
ὑμεῖς τὰς προσευχάς
πρὸς τὴν πλάνην αὐτῶν
ὑμεῖς ἐδραῖοι τῇ πίστει
πρὸς τὸ ἄγριον αὐτῶν
ὑμεῖς ἡμεροί
μὴ σπουδάζοντες ἀντιμιμήσασθαι αὐτοῦς.
- 10:3 ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν εὐρεθῶμεν τῇ ἐπεικειᾷ·
μιμηταὶ δὲ τοῦ κυρίου σπουδάζωμεν εἶναι,
τίς πλέον ἀδικηθῇ,
τίς ἀποστερηθῇ,
τίς ἀθετηθῇ;
ἵνα μὴ τοῦ διαβόλου βοτάνη τις εὐρεθῇ ἐν ὑμῶν
ἀλλ' ἐν πάσῃ ἀγνεΐᾳ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ μένητε ἐν
Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ σαρκικῶς καὶ πνευματικῶς

Eph. 11:1 ἔσχατοι καιροί·
 λοιπὸν ἀσχυνθῶμεν,
 φοβηθῶμεν τὴν μακροθυμίαν τοῦ θεοῦ,
 ἵνα μὴ ἡμῖν εἰς κρίμα γένηται.
 ἢ γὰρ τὴν μέλλουσαν ὀργὴν φοβηθῶμεν,
 ἢ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν χάριν ἀγαπήσωμεν,
 ἐν τῶν δύο·
 ὁπότε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εὐρεθῆναι
 εἰς τὸ ἀληθινὸν ζῆν. 116

Pol. 4:3 δούλους καὶ δούλας μὴ ὑπερηφάνει·
 ἀλλὰ μηδὲ αὐτοὶ φυσιοῦσθωσαν,
 ἀλλ' εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ δουλευέτωσαν,
 ἵνα κρείττονος ἐλευθερίας ἀπὸ θεοῦ τύχωσιν.
 μὴ ἐράτωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐλευθεροῦσθαι,
 ἵνα μὴ δοῦλοι εὐρεθῶσιν ἐπιθυμίας. 117

In both of these texts, the primary concern is with the "holiness" (ἀγνεία, Eph. 10:3) of individuals. "Let no planting of the Devil be found among you", he urges his readers in Ephesus. The slaves of Smyrna are to remain

116 Eph. 10:1-11:1, "And with regard to other men, pray unceasingly. For there is hope that they might convert and attain God. Allow them to be instructed from your actions. In the face of their wrath, be mild. In the face of their boasting, be humble. In the face of their blasphemy, be prayerful. In the face of their confusion, be firm in the faith. In the face of their cruelty, be gentle. Not eager to imitate them, let us be found their brothers in gentleness. Let us rather try to be imitators of the Lord. -- who is being treated more unjustly than He? Who is more the victim of fraud? Who is more rejected? -- so that no planting of the Devil may be found among you and that you remain in all holiness and moderation in Jesus Christ both in flesh and spirit. These are the last times. For the remainder, let us be ashamed. Let us fear the fact that God has been patient lest His patience become a judgement against us. Either let us fear the anger that is to come or love the grace that is now present. One of these two only to be found in Christ Jesus unto true life."

117 Pol. 4:3, "Do not treat slaves of either sex with contempt. Let them not boast. Rather, let them serve unto the glory of God that they may receive a better freedom from God. Let them not seek to be set free, the expense of the community lest they become the slaves of desire."

as slaves, ultimately to attain a "better freedom" (Pol. 4:3). These are the last times and Christians must strive only to "be found in Christ Jesus unto true life" (Eph. 11:1). He approaches the "suffering" both of the slaves of Smyrna and of the harassed Christians of Ephesus in the same perspective, i.e. with a concern for the spiritual well-being of oppressors and oppressed and the vision of a resolution of the problem in the future. These two texts also attest Ignatius' tendency to bring everything into relation to God or Christ.

We have noted in a previous section of this chapter that Ignatius understood the significance of endurance to lie in the fact that it was "for Christ".¹¹⁸ This same tendency to find the meaning of suffering to be bound up with Christ is reflected in Ignatius' advice to both the slaves of Smyrna and the Christians of Ephesus. The slaves are exhorted to continue in slavery "unto the glory of God" (εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ). With reference to the situation at Ephesus, the figure of Christ plays a double role. First,

¹¹⁸ See above pp. 95f, 99f and 109f.

the faithful are enjoined to imitate Christ, not their oppressors. Immediately thereafter, however, Ignatius reminds the Ephesians that Christ is the greatest victim of injustice, fraud and rejection.¹¹⁹

Finally, it is to be noted that Ignatius' counsel to the Ephesians also makes reference to the need for

¹¹⁹ Our interpretation of this part of the text of Eph. 10:3 should be understood to involve the rejection of the common scholarly view that Ignatius is in fact exhorting the Christians of Ephesus here to an "agony" of suffering. Robert Grant, Ignatius of Antioch, p. 41, offers the following interpretation of Eph. 10:3, "Let us be found their brothers in forbearance; let us be eager to be imitators of the Lord to see who can be the most wronged, defrauded (cf. I Cor. 6:7), rejected (Isa. 53:3) -- so that no plant of the devil may be found among you but that in complete purity and self-control you may remain in Jesus Christ . . ." From this perspective, being an imitator of the Lord is seen to be explained by the ideas of being wronged, defrauded and rejected. Such an interpretation, however, seems to make little sense within the context of Eph. 10:1-11:1. In the text, Christians are being exhorted to imitate Christ "in order that no planting of the devil may be found in you and that you may remain in holiness and moderation". It is difficult to imagine how a comparison of sufferings can be harmonized with the concern for "holiness" that pervades this analysis of the problem at Ephesus. It is even more difficult to imagine how such a contest could be identified as the way of σωπποσύνη. For this reason, the line of interpretation proposed by Grant must be seen as extremely doubtful, though not impossible. The implications of this line of interpretation for the understanding of Ignatius' views on suffering within Ignatian Discipleship are great, inasmuch as this text as understood by Grant and others would suggest a perspective on Ignatius' view of the subject that our own view of Ignatian Discipleship would tend to dismiss.

"moderation" (σωπρροσύνη). It is difficult to be certain of Ignatius' intention in speaking of this theme in Eph. 10:3. Nevertheless, we might not exclude the possibility that Ignatius hoped that he was offering the Ephesians a solution to their problem which took into consideration not only their spiritual but also their physical well-being. Thus, the use of the term σωπρροσύνη in this context may serve to keep us from unduly constricting Ignatius' view of persecution.

Having taken into consideration the ways in which Ignatius spoke of himself as a μαθητής and the perspectives from which he approached the suffering of others, we can at best characterize Ignatian discipleship as open to the possibility of suffering and martyrdom. Several negative characterizations can also be put forward. Discipleship in the Ignatian sense is not rightly portrayed as centered

in or oriented to suffering and martyrdom.¹²⁰ Nor is it possible to support the view that suffering and martyrdom

¹²⁰ that suffering and martyrdom are not rightly identified as the focus or goal of the Christian life in Ignatian thought is supported by three considerations: the actual concerns of the Ignatian letters, the future of the churches that seems envisioned by Ignatius and the failure of Ignatius to encourage other Christians to follow him.

The real problems confronted in the Ignatian letters are those of disunity and heresy. Beyond these two central concerns, it might be suggested that Ignatius is concerned only that Christians live a virtuous life, -- a life "*κατὰ θεόν*". The future to which Ignatius seems to envision for the churches is one of unity with the bishop and freedom from heresy and error. In other respects, it is simply a continuation of the past. The letters of Ignatius give us no indication that the churches either are or should move to becoming martyr churches. Finally, it should be noted that although Ignatius is continually exhorting Christians to unity, orthodoxy and Christian virtue, one is hard-pressed to find any indication that he exhorted Christians to suffering or martyrdom. Ignatius' positive view of his own forthcoming death does not seem to have extended itself to the subject of the lives of other Christians. Ignatius' letters and thought are not made more understandable by the supposition that suffering and martyrdom lay at the center of his vision of Christian discipleship or were seen by him to be the ultimate goal of the Christian life.

represent a superior form of discipleship¹²¹ for Ignatius.

¹²¹ It is significant in this regard that we find no indication in his letters that Ignatius understood there to be a separate or higher set of expectations for martyrs. The living of the good Christian life seems to be seen in terms of the same categories for all Christians. Thus, it seems mistaken to suggest that Ignatius viewed martyrs in terms of a separate type of Discipleship.

Our position here is not without historical significance. On the other hand, it is clear that those who were "bound in Christ" were held in high regard by the Christians to whom Ignatius addressed his letters. In his assessment of himself, Ignatius saw the fact that he was "bound in the Name" (Eph. 3:1, Tral. 5:2, Phil. 5:1) to be a very positive element. Certainly he assumed that his readers would feel likewise. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that this group seems to merit the special respect of Christians, we do not find that Ignatius has available to him any separate categories in which to assess the "specialness" or "uniqueness" of the martyr. In terms of the expectations that the Christian will "endure all things" and "willingly die for Christ", the Ignatian letters do not suggest even that Ignatius has at his disposal categories in which to speak of the endurance of the martyr as unique in any way, nor that the willingness of the martyr will actually be tested. In fact, there seems to be no conceptual basis for distinguishing the "martyr" from any other Christian. The distinctions between "martyrs" and other Christians seem to arise only at the level of matters of fact, i.e., that some Christians have been or will be martyred. Thus, in the letters of Ignatius, we find what we might refer to as a stage in the history of Christian martyrdom in which the martyr enjoys a "matter of fact" uniqueness within the Church but before that uniqueness was translated into terms of a separate spirituality. In any case, the Ignatian letters do not suggest that Ignatius, himself, applied categories to the situation of the martyr which he did not see to have a relevance to the lives of all Christians.

Since the time of Heinrich Schlier, Rel. Untersuchungen, pp. 152-157, it has often been suggested,

Neither do they represent some kind of special vocation¹²²
nor does it seem correct to say that Ignatius viewed

particularly by German scholars, that Ignatius understood martyrdom to be a "special way" to salvation which was far superior to that available to other Christians. See von Campenhausen, *Die Idee*, p. 74 f. Whatever can be said for the Gnostic documents to which Schlier referred his readers, there is no evidence that Ignatius, himself, understood martyrdom in this sense. On the contrary, as we have suggested above, the letters of Ignatius suggest that Ignatius tended to understand the martyr in the same categories as he understood all other Christians. If Ignatius did understand "martyrdom" to be a "special way" to salvation, his letters give us no indication that this was the case. Moreover, such a conception would actually seem to be in conflict with what we can see of the relation between the martyr and other Christians in the thought of Ignatius.

122

The issue of martyrdom as a "special vocation" for the individual merits some individual comment inasmuch as it seems possible that Ignatius might have seen the uniqueness of "martyrs" in terms of their vocation and not so much in terms of a different set of expectations or conceptual categories. Quite clearly, Ignatius seems to identify his forthcoming confrontation with the beasts as the "lot" (κλήρος) that God in his mercy has chosen for him (1ral. 12:3, Rom. 1:2, Phil. 5:1; cf. Werner Foerster, κλήρος , *TINT*, III, p. 763 f. The proper context for understanding this dimension of Ignatius' view of his death seems to be his understanding that his situation is not the result of mere chance or whim. Significantly, moreover, Ignatius nowhere suggests that others who have been martyred or are suffering are likewise called to a special "lot" by the Divine Will. Thus, there seems to be little sense in pursuing the suggestion that the uniqueness of martyrs in Ignatian thought can be understood in terms of a special shared call or vocation.

suffering as a good in 'itself,¹²³ or something that
 he thought ultimately necessary,¹²⁴ or

¹²³In spite of the fact that Ignatius clearly looked upon his own death from an extremely positive perspective and could speak of actually inviting his own death (Roms. 5:2) and of being unconcerned with suffering (Roms. 5:3), it seems quite mistaken to uncritically transfer this aspect of his view of himself to his view of the lives of others. The positive attitude of Ignatius toward his own death is probably best understood as a special case reflecting the results of Ignatius' own confrontation with himself facing death and in the light of his own devotion to Christ.

It might also be noted in this regard that Ignatius' understanding of the place of Endurance in the Christian life seems to locate the positive meaning of endurance in its being "for Christ" or "for God". The suggestion that "enduring all things" is good in itself does not adequately capture the thought of Ignatius on Endurance, nor does it seem to cohere with the type of counsel that Ignatius offered to Christians who were suffering. (Eph. 10:1-11:1 and Pol. 4:3)

When approached in terms of the categories of "good" or "evil", it might be suggested that the position of the Ignatian letters of suffering is one of "neutrality". Neither the pursuit of nor the flight from suffering are espoused by Ignatius. Nor does the use of these categories capture adequately the perspective of Ignatian Discipleship on the fact of suffering and martyrdom.

¹²⁴Particularly within Roman Catholic scholarly circles, it has become a scholarly commonplace to suggest that Ignatius saw suffering and martyrdom to be necessary to the Christian life. To some extent, this position reflects the tendency to view Ignatius' statements on his own situation as reflections of his normative understanding of suffering and death in the Christian life. Our own lack of sympathy with this line of interpretation has been suggested above. Moreover, it is certainly far from clear that Ignatius saw his own sufferings and death

inevitable,¹²⁵ for Christians.

as "necessary".

The focus of the discussion of the "necessity" of martyrdom within Ignatian thought has traditionally been the text of *Mag. 5:1-2*:

Mag. 5:1 ἐπεὶ οὖν τέλος τὰ πράγματα ἔχει
καὶ πρόκειται τὰ δύο ὁμοῦ,
ὅ τε θάνατος καὶ ἡ ζωή,
καὶ ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον μέλλει χωρεῖν.
5:2 ὡς περ γὰρ ἐστὶν νομίσματα δύο,
ὁ μὲν θεοῦ, ὁ δὲ κόσμου,
καὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν χαρακτῆρα ἐπικεῖμενον ἔχει,
οἱ ἄπιστοι τοῦ κόσμου τούτου,
οἱ δὲ πιστοὶ ἐν ἀγάπῃ χαρακτῆρα θεοῦ πατρὸς
διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
δι' οὗ ἂν μὴ ἀνθραπέως ἔχομεν
τὸ ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος
τὸ ζῆν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν

Mag. 5:1-2, "For since all things have an end and there are only two of them, either death or life, and each of us is going to go to his own place, -- in the same way there are two coinages, that of God and that of the world, and each has its own image stamped upon it. Unbelievers bear that of the world, but believers animated by love bear the image of God the Father through Jesus Christ [and] if we do not willingly bear death for Him [lit. 'for His death'], His Life is not 'for us' [lit. 'among us']."

Ignatius might better be understood to be speaking here of the type of Devotion to Christ that is necessary for the Christian. If Ignatius actually did understand suffering and martyrdom to be necessary for each Christian, it is certainly odd that this position appears nowhere else in his letters and even more odd that such a thesis plays no part in his vision of the future of the churches to whom he was writing.

¹²⁵ Unlike other early Christian writings, the letters of Ignatius do not seem to suggest that Ignatius saw suffering and persecution to be inevitable. That Ignatius was, in fact, aware of a tradition that suffering is inevitable for the Christian is probably accurate. Certainly some such idea seems to be behind Ignatius'

All Christians, according to Ignatius, were expected to live κατὰ θεόν, to be subject to their bishops, presbyters and deacons, to avoid heresy and to live lives of virtue. Even when attention shifts specifically to suffering, Ignatius appears to have expected the same things of both "groups". Ignatius nowhere says that the endurance expected of some Christians is greater than that expected of others. True, in some cases this would entail death in

comment on the Prophets that we have examined above.

οἱ γὰρ θειότατοι προφῆται κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἔζησαν
διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐδιώχθησαν,
ἐνπνεόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ,
εἰς τὸ πληροφωρηθῆναι τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας,
ὅτι εἷς θεὸς ἐστίν,
ὃ φανερώσας ἑαυτὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ,

(Mag. 8:2, "For the most Godly Prophets lived according to Christ Jesus. For this reason, they too were persecuted, being inspired by His grace to convince the unbelievers that there is one God who made Himself manifest through Jesus Christ, His Son . . .") The thrust of this observation on the prophets seems reducible to the idea that those who live according to Jesus Christ are therefore "persecuted". Yet, in spite of the fact that Ignatius refers to this tradition here in his analysis of the admirable elements of "Judaism", he makes no reference to such a conception anywhere in his writings. The theme does not surface in his counseling of the Ephesians nor is it mentioned in his analysis of his own situation. Thus, although it seems possible to say that Ignatius was aware of a tradition that suffering "persecution" may be inevitable for the Christian, this does not seem to have actually played a part in his understanding of the good Christian life. Thus, though we recognize the conception as an element within Ignatius' horizon on suffering, we must reject it as a part of his understanding of Christian Discipleship.

the arena at Rome. Though all Christians were expected to be willing to die for the Lord, only some had faced this particular test. Still, every Christian should be willing to lay down his life for his Lord; all were expected to "endure all things".

At the outset of our study of Ignatian discipleship, we took special note of two questions: first, what does this theme mean in Ignatius? Second, what place did this theme have within his understanding of his death? We are now ready to answer these questions.

The theme of discipleship in Ignatian thought is best defined in a sense which would include all those things seen by Ignatius as parts of the living of the good Christian life. Some concerns stand out against this background: unity with the hierarchy (bishops, presbyters, deacons), orthodoxy and the avoidance of heterodox, and the living out of the virtuous life in holiness and devotion to God. With reference to the matter of suffering and martyrdom, discipleship is aware of and open to the possibility of suffering and martyrdom, but not centered on or oriented to them. Martyrdom was not a special type of discipleship, nor a special vocation for the Christian. He did not view them as desirable for their own sake nor as necessary or inevitable in a good life. Primarily, Ignatius used *μαθητής* in a general sense, as a simple designation for a follower

of Christ. Commonly, however, he employed this general sense of μαθητής within a narrower context. He could speak of "being found a Christian" in the act of confronting death (endurance) -- a unique situation. Elsewhere he could speak of being a disciple in respect to a concern for God alone and a rejection of all else (devotion). In addition to using μαθητής in a general sense, Ignatius also used it in a special "perfectionist" sense (Tral. 5:2). Here the μαθητής is a Christian without faults or weaknesses.

To define the place which discipleship had within Ignatius' understanding of his death, we must recall the themes of endurance and devotion as they entered his understanding of his death.

Ignatius hoped to "be found a μαθητής", in the way he would die. If he was, in fact, "found a μαθητής" -- here he would both "be able to be called" a Christian and "be" one. Until discipleship had characterized one's whole life -- and that means until one had died -- one could not properly be called a disciple. "Disciple" for Ignatius (like "happy man" for the classical Greeks) could only be a post-mortem designation. But this does not mean that to be a disciple is to die a martyr. As "happiness" for the classical Greeks was not a result of death, neither was "discipleship" for Ignatius a result precisely of martyrdom. The character of this predication can be observed in Ignatius'

statement that he will only be a disciple after he is separated from the world, only when the world can no longer see him. The follower of Christ is so oriented toward Christ and away from the κόσμος that his discipleship is complete only when that separation is complete, i.e., after death.

The theme of discipleship, then, entered Ignatius' understanding of his death at two points: first, in terms of a desire to "be found a μαθητής" in meeting death, secondly, in terms of completing the whole of his life in dedication to God and Christ, free at last from the distractions presented by the κόσμος. In understanding the place of discipleship in Ignatius' view of his death, the themes of endurance and devotion are the key!¹²⁶

¹²⁶In addition to those ideas concerning endurance and devotion which seem rightly to be clustered around the theme of discipleship, it might also be noted that other elements of the themes of endurance and devotion also appear prominently in Ignatius' understanding of his own death. These parts of Ignatius' understanding of his death, however, will reemerge at the conclusion of our thesis when the themes of discipleship, sacrifice and imitation are discussed in relation to other observable parts within Ignatius' understanding of his death.

2. Sacrifice

We have in our analysis of the theme of discipleship noted that Ignatius often spoke of both himself and other Christians in terms of the same conceptions and expectations. However, the Ignatian letters seem to restrict sacrificial language and imagery almost exclusively to the person of Ignatius himself.¹²⁷ For this reason, our study

¹²⁷Two qualifications must be added to this statement. First, it seems necessary to at least be aware of the fact that Ignatius may have conceived of the death of Christ as a sacrifice. See above pp.62ff. Ignatius speaks of Jesus Christ as dying "for us" or "for our sake" but never speaks of the Person of Christ in the type of sacrificial language or imagery that he employed in speaking of his own situation. Secondly, it must be noted that Ignatius refers to the "Θυσιαστήριον" (place of sacrifice, sanctuary) on two separate occasions:

Eph. 5:2 μηδεὶς πλανᾶσθω.
 εἰ μὴ τις ἢ ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου,
 ὥστερεῖται τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ θεοῦ
 εἰ γὰρ ἐνὸς καὶ δευτέρου προσευχὴ τοσαύτην ἰσχυρὴν ἔχει
 πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τε τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ πάσης ἐκκλησίας;
 Iral. 7:2 ὁ ἐντὸς θυσιαστηρίου ὢν καθαρὸς ἐστίν.
 ὁ δὲ ἐκτὸς θυσιαστηρίου ὢν οὐ καθαρὸς ἐστίν.
 τοῦτ' ἐστίν,
 ὁ χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου καὶ πρεσβυτερίου
 καὶ διακόνου πράσων τι,
 οὗτος οὐ καθαρὸς ἐστίν
 τῇ συνειδήσει.

(Eph. 5:2, "Let no one err. Unless a person is within the sanctuary, he lacks the bread of God. For if the prayer of one or two has great power, how much more than does that of the bishop and the whole church?"

Iral. 7:2, "He who is within the sanctuary is pure. But he who is outside of the sanctuary is not pure. That is to say that he who undertakes anything apart from the bishop and the Presbytery and the diaconate is not pure

of the theme of sacrifice must focus on the words and image which Ignatius uses to depict his own situation. This simplifies the study of sacrifice.

Since Bauer's time (1921) the discussion of sacrifice has reflected several doubtful theses (as we have seen). But at least the questions which scholars have asked are good ones: (1) Did Ignatius understand his death to be a sacrifice in a technical sense? (2) Who did Ignatius believe would benefit from his sacrificial death? (3) What value or merit did Ignatius believe that his death would have for these beneficiaries? The problem in definitively answering these questions arises from the

in conscience.") In both instances, it seems likely that Ignatius is using the term *ἑνότητα* to refer to the individual church as unified under its bishop and "hierarchy". It has been argued on the basis of these texts, however, that Ignatius understood the Eucharist to be a Sacrifice "because of the word *ἑνότητα* which he employs as the locus of worship". So Jonathan A. Woodhall, "The Eucharistic Theology of Ignatius of Antioch", Commentarii Internationales de ecclesia et theologia, V (1972), p. 10 f. It is unclear, however, that the etymological background of the term *ἑνότητα* has any real significance here, and there is little reason to conclude on any other basis that Ignatius actually did understand the Eucharist to be a sacrifice. See also R. Padberg, "Vom gottesdienstlichen Leben in den Briefen des Ignatius von Antiochien", Theologie und Glaube, LIII (1963), pp. 344 ff.

limited evidence presented by the letters and the problematic status of those texts which employ the expressions περίφημα ὑμῶν, ἀγνίζομαι ὑμῶν, & ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν. Our study will accordingly begin with a preliminary assessment of the relevant texts. Subsequently, we shall turn to the three questions formulated above. Our purpose is to arrive at a more reasonable assessment of the theme of sacrifice in Ignatian thought based on an awareness of the limited evidence available in the Ignatian letters and an awareness of the range of possible answers.

Two groups of texts may be considered relevant.

The first includes only two texts.

Roms. 2:2 πλέον δέ μοι μὴ παράσχησθε τοῦ σπονδισθῆναι θεῷ, ὥς ἔτι θυσιαστήριον ἑτοιμόν ἐστιν, ἵνα ἐν ἀγάπῃ χορὸς γενόμενοι ᾠσητε τῷ πατρὶ ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας κατηξίωσεν ὁ θεὸς εὑρεθῆναι εἰς δύσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς μεταπεμψάμενος. καλὸν τὸ δοῦναι ἀπὸ κόσμου πρὸς θεόν, ἵνα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνατείσλω. 128

Roms. 4:2b λιτανεύσατε τὸν χριστὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἵνα διὰ τῶν ὀργάνων τούτων θεοῦ θυσία εὑρεθῶ. 129

128 Roms. 2:2, "Allow me nothing more than to be poured out to God while the place of sacrifice is still ready so that having formed yourselves into a chorus in love, you may sing to the Father in Jesus Christ (saying) that the bishop of Syria has been found worthy by God to be found at the setting of the sun having been sent forth from its place of rising. It is a good thing to set forth from the world toward God in order that I might rise up to Him."

129 Roms. 4:2b, "Pray to Christ for me that I may be found God's sacrifice through these means [i.e., the beasts]."

The significance of these texts as a base on which to offer answers to the above three questions is obviously limited. Ignatius speaks of his death as a sacrifice (θυσία) and as a libation (τοῦ σπονδισοῦ ἑᾷ). Such usages, however, hardly demonstrate by themselves that Ignatius actually understood his death to be a technical sacrifice. Moreover, the texts do not determine who the beneficiaries of the sacrifice are, nor even that there would be any such beneficiaries. Nor do we know what type of value or merit Ignatius may have assumed such a sacrifice or libation to have.

In light of the rather limited usefulness of these two texts in the discussion of the theme of sacrifice, Ignatian scholarship has come to pay particular attention to a second group of texts, i.e., those in which Ignatius employs the expressions *περίψημα ὑμῶν*, *ἀντίδομα ὑμῶν* and *ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν*. But the relevance of these texts to the discussion of the sacrifice theme is also limited.¹³⁰ Moreover, the problematic status of these texts within the discussion of sacrifice expressions may well be permanent. Let us examine this problem.

¹³⁰ See the discussion of this topic in Part One, pp. 44-54.

In Part One we spoke of two groups of texts traditionally treated in the discussion of sacrifice in Ignatian thought.¹³¹ It was in the second group that we placed all those texts in which Ignatius uses the expressions περίψημα ὑμῶν, ἀγνίξομαι ὑμῶν and ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν. In addition to these three expressions, however, it is important to note that Ignatius rather commonly employed a fourth expression, ὀναίμην ὑμῶν, which likewise must be included in group two.¹³² Thus it must be said that group two includes all of the following texts:

¹³¹ See above, pp. 40-43.

¹³² That the ὀναίμην ὑμῶν texts are rightly grouped with those containing the expressions περίψημα ὑμῶν, ἀγνίξομαι ὑμῶν and ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν seems clear. In particular, three lines of continuity can be discerned: (1) the fact that the expression ὀναίμην ὑμῶν, like the other three expressions, involves both a verbal form that is generally employed with the personal pronoun ὑμῶν, as its object; (2) the use of the phrase such as κατὰ πάντα in the texts of Mag. 12:1 (with ὀναίμην ὑμῶν) and Pol. 2:3 (with ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν); διὰ παντός (with ὀναίμην ὑμῶν in Eph. 2:2 and Pol. 6:2 -- cf. Tral. 13:3, οὐ μόνον νῦν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω with ἀγνίξεται ὑμῶν; and (3) a reference to the theme of subjection to the bishop in Mag. 2:1 (with ὀναίμην ὑμῶν) and in Pol. 6:1 (with ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν).

Eph. 2:2 ὄναίμην ὑμῶν διὰ παντός,
ἐάνπερ ἄξιός ᾤ. 133

Eph. 8:1 περίψημα ὑμῶν καὶ ἀγνίζομαι ὑμῶν Ἐφεσίων 134

Eph. 18:1 περίψημα τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ σταυροῦ,
ὅ ἐστιν σκάνδαλον τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσιν.
ἡμῖν δὲ σωτηρία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος. 135

Eph. 21:1 ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν ἐγὼ καὶ ὧν ἐπέμψατε εἰς Σμύρναν, 136

Mag. 2:1 καὶ τοῦ συνδούλου μου διακόνου Ζωτίωνος,
οὗ ἐγὼ ὄναίμην,
ὅτι ὑποτάσσεται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς χάριτι θεοῦ
καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς νόμῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 137

Mag. 12:1 ὄναίμην ὑμῶν κατὰ πάντα,
ἐάνπερ ἄξιός ᾤ. 138

¹³³Eph. 2:2, "May I always have your support if I am worthy."

¹³⁴Eph. 8:1, "I am dedicated (περίψημα) and devoted (ἀγνίζομαι) to you Ephesians..."

¹³⁵Eph. 18:1, "I am wholly devoted to the cross. To unbelievers, the cross is a scandal. To us, however, it is salvation and eternal life."

¹³⁶Eph. 21:1, "I am devoted to you and to those whom you sent for the glory of God to Smyrna from where I am now writing to you, giving thanks to the Lord and loving Polycarp as I love you."

¹³⁷Mag. 2:1, "...and my fellow servant, the deacon Zotion, whose support may I enjoy, because he is subject to the bishop as to the grace of God and to the presbytery as to the law of Jesus Christ."

¹³⁸Mag. 12:1, "May I have your support in all things, if I am worthy."

- Tral. 13:3 ἀγνίζεται ὑμῶν τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα
οὐ μόνον νῦν, ¹³⁹
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω.
- Smyr. 10:2 ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμά μου καὶ τὰ δεσμά μου,
ἃ οὐχ ὑπερηφανήσατε οὐδὲ ἐπησχύνθητε. ¹⁴⁰
- Pol. 1:1 ἀποδεχόμενός σου τὴν ἐν θεῷ γνώμην,
ἡδρασμένην ὡς ἐπὶ πέτραν ἀκίνητον, ὑπερδοξάζω
καταξιωθείς τοῦ προσώπου σου τοῦ ἀμώμου,
οὗ ὀναίμην ἐν θεῷ. ¹⁴¹
- Pol. 2:3 κατὰ πάντα σου ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ δεσμά μου
ἃ ἠγάπησας. ¹⁴²
- Pol. 6:1 ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποταττομένων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ,
πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνοις· καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν
μοι τὸ μέρος γένοιτο σχεῖν ἐν θεῷ. ¹⁴³
- Pol. 6:2 ὀναίμην ὑμῶν διὰ παντός. ¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹Tral. 13:3, "I am devoted to you, not only now, but when I attain God."

¹⁴⁰Smyr. 10:2, "I am devoted to you, as are my bonds which you treated neither with haughtiness nor with shame."

¹⁴¹Pol. 1:1, "Having received your godly counsel which is fixed as if on unmovable rock, I glory in having been thought worthy to meet your blameless self, whose support may I enjoy in God."

¹⁴²Pol. 2:3, "In all things I am devoted to you, as are my bonds which you have loved."

¹⁴³Pol. 6:1, "I am devoted to those who are subject to the bishop, presbytery and deacons. May I have my portion with them in God."

¹⁴⁴Pol. 6:2, "May I always enjoy your support."

Roms. 5:2 ὄναίμην τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἡτοιμασμένων...¹⁴⁵

It seems quite clear that in employing the expression περίψημα ὑμῶν , Ignatius intended to express his friendship and solidarity with those who had greeted and assisted him in his journey across Asia Minor. To employ the terminology that has been used in reference to the expression περίψημα ὑμῶν, it may be said that Ignatius intended this expression to be understood by his readers in its "conventional sense". We might therefore translate it, to reflect the sense of "I am your humble servant". This line of interpretation is

¹⁴⁵ Roms. 5:2, "May I have joy of the beasts who have been prepared for me . . ."

suggested both by the relationship of the περίψημα ὑμῶν texts to those that employ the expression δναίμην ὑμῶν and by the fact that almost all of the texts of group two appear in contexts in which Ignatius is greeting his readers (Eph. 2:2, Mag. 2:1, Pol. 1:1, 6:1 & 2), praising them (Eph. 8:1) or bidding them farewell (Eph. 21:1, Mag. 12:1, Tral. 13:3, Smyr. 10:2). Moreover, it seems reasonable to conclude that Ignatius likewise intended the expressions ἀντίδομα ὑμῶν and ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν to be understood in the "conventional sense" more normally expressed by περίψημα ὑμῶν.

But in addition to this basic "conventional sense", should we also assert that Ignatius intended his readers to understand the expression περίψημα ὑμῶν in what has been called its "sacrificial sense"? This possibility merits careful consideration. Certainly, it cannot be dismissed. Nevertheless, several considerations suggest that quite possibly this was not the intention of Ignatius. First, it might be noted that if Ignatius did intend his readers to understand from his use of these expressions that he considered himself their "sacrificial victim", he could not have done so in a more obscure way, nor in a more inappropriate place. It hardly seems probable that Ignatius would have

intended to identify himself as a sacrificial victim as a part of a "play on words" and only in the context of his initial greetings to his readers or his final farewell. Secondly, it might be noted that the contexts in which these expressions are used offer no suggestion that Ignatius intended this possible "sacrificial sense" to be taken seriously. Moreover, nowhere else in his letters does Ignatius return to this theme or offer any explanation of a belief that he is the "ransom" (περίψημα) or "atoning sacrifice" (ἀντίψυχον) for his readers. The failure of this theme to reemerge within the context of Ignatius' attempt to dissuade the Romans from interfering in his death, seems particularly significant. On the other hand, the texts of Roms. 2:2 and 4:2b seem to offer only the weakest of supports for the contrary position. Third, it seems significant that a "sacrificial sense" for the texts of Eph. 18:1 and Tral. 13:3 seems quite improbable.¹⁴⁶ Fourth, it must be noted that it

¹⁴⁶ In two of the six texts in which περίψημα, ἀγνίσματα and ἀντίψυχον are employed, the sense of "sacrifice" clearly seems inappropriate.

Eph. 18:1 περίψημα τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ σταυροῦ

Tral. 13:3 ἀγνίσματα ὑμῶν τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα

οὐ μόνον νῦν

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω

If we are to attribute a "sacrificial sense" to the construction ἀντίψυχον+ genitive, with the text of Eph. 18:1, we are forced to likewise conclude that Ignatius

seems impossible to attribute any "sacrificial sense" to the many texts of the group in which Ignatius uses the expression *ὁναίμην ὑμῶν*.

We must conclude, therefore, that it is not at all certain that we can speak of any intention on the part of Ignatius to identify himself in these texts as a sacrificial victim. The implication of this statement for the discussion of the theme of sacrifice within Ignatius' understanding of his death is great indeed.

At the very least, it seems advisable to be extremely cautious in employing the texts of group two within the

wished the benefits of his sacrifice to accrue to the cross. This, however, is clearly not the sense of this text. Nor would such a statement be sensible, -- my spirit is dedicated to you, not only now but when I attain God. Rather, Ignatius is expressing his understanding of the positive solidarity of Christians, -- as opposed to docetists -- with the cross of Christ. In the texts of Roms. 5:2, Ignatius likewise expresses his own solidarity with the beasts whom he will face in Rome.

So too, the text of Tral. 13:3 seems to suggest that Ignatius did not intend these words (or this construction) to be taken in a "sacrificial sense". The phrase *οὐ μόνον νῦν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω* makes it difficult to assume that a "sacrificial sense" is intended here, unless we could assume that Ignatius was speaking of a sacrifice that would continue even after he had "attained God" (or, perhaps, of two separate sacrifices, one "now" and "one" after he had "attained God". Such explanations, however, are unnecessary. It seems much more reasonable to suggest that Ignatius is expressing here in his farewell to the Trallians, an assurance that his ties with them will last "for all time" (cf. Eph. 2:2).

discussion of the theme of sacrifice in Ignatian thought.

Having made these observations concerning the two groups of texts that have been seen as most relevant to the discussion of the theme of sacrifice, it is now possible to move directly into our own assessment of the matter.

Did Ignatius understand his death to be a sacrifice in a technical sense? Possibly. For Ignatius had come to see his own death in these terms. But what kind of case might be made for the position that Ignatius actually did believe that his death was a sacrifice in a technical sense? Only a weak one can be made for it is hard to specify any paragraph in one letter that clinches the matter in a positive sense. While doubting that Ignatius actually understood his death to be a true (or technical) sacrifice, it is not our intention to make light of Ignatius' sacrificial language and imagery. Ignatius clearly seems to have found the category of sacrifice to be particularly appropriate to express his own understanding of his death. This position seems clear from the texts of Roms. 2:2 and 4:2b alone, no matter what significance one is willing to assign to the texts of group two in this discussion.

The stronger position, i.e., that Ignatius did understand his death to be a sacrifice in the full technical sense seems insufficiently supported by the letters. Sacrificial categories were important to him but he gives no

indication of drawing on a systematic theology of sacrifice. But even more importantly, nowhere does Ignatius speak unambiguously of his death as a sacrifice. How could this be if he had actually understood his death in this sense?

In the light, then, of both the fact that it is unnecessary to assert the claim that Ignatius understood his death to be a real sacrifice and that such a claim would be impossible to support from the letters of Ignatius, it seems reasonable to conclude that although Ignatius found the language and imagery of sacrifice appropriate to understanding his death, he probably did not really believe that his death was a sacrifice in any technical sense of the term.

Do the letters of Ignatius allow us to determine that Ignatius understood his sacrificial death would benefit anyone? The texts of group one (Roms. 2:2 and 4:2b) make no allusions to any beneficiaries at all. Nor do they suggest that Ignatius was actually thinking of anyone benefiting from his sacrificial death. Nor can we use the texts of group two to answer this question. In expressing his feelings of solidarity, it is hardly surprising that Ignatius should use the expressions *περίψημα ὑμῶν*, *ἀντίδομα ὑμῶν* and *ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν* in reference to his friends. It is impossible to determine from this usage that Ignatius would have intended only these groups to benefit from his sacrificial death. Who

did Ignatius believe would be the beneficiaries of his death? The absence of information relevant to this question only deepens one's unwillingness to attribute to him an understanding of his death as a full-fledged sacrifice.

What value might Ignatius have attributed to his sacrificial death? We know for certain only that Ignatius could refer to his death as a *ευσμία* and a libation (*τοῦ σπονδισοθῆναι θεῷ*). However, we do not know and seem to have no way of knowing just what value or merit he would have attributed to these terms. The same problem confronts us if we accept the possibility that Ignatius viewed his death as that of *περίψημα, ἄγνισμα* or *ἀντίψυχον*. We simply do not know which background (Greek? Jewish?) to employ for the understanding of this terminology. Peter Meinhold may have been quite correct in suggesting that Ignatius could have had in mind only some vague and fairly general idea of sacrifice.¹⁴⁷ In sum, we have some terms but little else. Rather clearly then, it is unnecessary to attribute to Ignatius a salvific view of his death. If Ignatius did believe that his death would have some benefit for others, we might guess that this benefit would have belonged (like the late Biblical theology of atonement) to the

¹⁴⁷See above, p. 53f.

category of intercession. It should probably be assimilated not to magic but to prayer. But it should be frankly admitted that we do not know whether this was precisely Ignatius' understanding. And the failure of Ignatius to specify what value he might have understood his death to have for others only buttresses the suspicion that he did not actually believe that his death would be a sacrifice in the full technical sense of the term.

How, finally, are we to understand the place of the theme of sacrifice within Ignatius' understanding of his death? Ignatius found the language and imagery of sacrifice to be appropriate to his death and, perhaps, to himself as he faced it. But his language is quite general and unspecific. It does not allow us to conclude that Ignatius actually believed that his death was a sacrifice in the technical sense. Such a view is unnecessary and poorly supported by the letters of Ignatius. The letters may be said to suggest that Ignatius' conception of his death as a sacrifice achieved a somewhat poorly defined status. It was not a theme that he spoke of often or at length.

3. Imitation

Our third and final topic brings us back to the subject of imitation. In particular, it is our purpose in addressing this subject to arrive at an adequate understanding of imitation as it entered into Ignatius' understanding

of his death. Thus, much of our attention in this study will be directed toward the problem of understanding the text of Roms. 6:3:

Roms. 6:3 ἐπιτρέψατέ μοι μιμητὴν εἶναι
τοῦ πάθους τοῦ θεοῦ μου.¹⁴⁸

Yet we must also consider seriously the possibility that Ignatius understood himself facing death to stand in some special relationship with St. Paul. The imitatio Christi and the imitatio Pauli, then, are themes calling for comment. But imitation in the thought of Ignatius is broader than the matter of the imitatio Christi and imitatio Pauli. So too, there is much that must be said concerning the theme of imitation in general which sheds important light on the place of Christ and Paul in Ignatius' understanding of his death. It is therefore the strategy of our study to examine some of these more general aspects of Ignatian imitation before moving ultimately to the consideration of the specific question of the imitatio Christi and imitatio Pauli in Ignatius' understanding of himself as he faced his death.

Though traditional studies in Ignatian thought have focused upon the imitatio Christi,¹⁴⁹ Ignatian imitation when

¹⁴⁸ Roms. 6:3, "Allow me to be an imitator of the suffering of my God."

¹⁴⁹ See above, pp. 55-84.

more properly defined, necessitates the consideration of the various examples and models which Ignatius presents to his readership. Moreover, although he speaks most often of imitating Christ or God, he does not restrict the use of the verb μιμεῖσθαι (imitate) to these figures alone. He also calls upon the Smyrnaeans to imitate the deacon, Burrhus (Smyr. 12:1), and begs the Ephesians not to imitate their persecutors (Eph. 10:3). The full list of those figures whom Ignatius suggests should be imitated includes all of the following: (1) Onesimos, Bishop of Ephesus (Eph. 1:3); (2) the Bishop of Tralles (Tral. 3:2); (3) the Bishop of Philadelphia (Phil. 1:1); (4) the presbyters of Ephesus (Eph. 4:1); (5) the deacon, Burrhus (Smyr. 12:1); (6) the prophets of Israel (Mag. 8:2-9:2, Phil. 5:1); (7) the Apostles (Mag. 13:2) and, most commonly, (8) Jesus (Eph. 5:1, 10:3, 15:1, 20:1, 21:1; Mag. 2:1, 7:1, 13:1; Phil. 7:2; Smyr. 8:2, 9:2; "the Lord", Pol. 1:27; and finally (9) "God" (Eph. 1:2; Mag. 6:2; Tral. 1:2-2:1; Pol. 6:1, 6:2; Jesus imitates "the Father", Phil. 7:27).

Having noted that Ignatian imitation involves a rather sizable number of individual figures, it must also be noted that this single group is composed of different types of figures. Not all of them would play the same role in Ignatian thought. We might conceive of these differences in terms of a range of possible types that moves from one

extreme (the "example") to the other (the "true model").

Figures such as the bishops of the various cities of Asia Minor, their presbyters and deacons, like Burrhus, are rightly identified as mere "examples". They may be said to function in a simple, straightforward way in Ignatius' thought, namely, as examples of Christian virtue. But the prophets of ancient Israel, "the Apostles", and in particular, the figures of God and Christ have a weightier role or status for Ignatius. In the cases of God and Christ we are speaking of "true models" of conduct. The true model, unlike the mere example, is a figure significant in and of himself. In the case of the true model, virtue may be defined as what the model has done. The model does conform to norms, but he can also generate them. And they are not merely ethical norms. Rather, their appearance in the discussion of good conduct follows from their independent and ultimate significance within Ignatian thought.

Two separate issues demand consideration. First, we should confront the question of meaning for Ignatius, and some of the meaning of the prophets, the Apostles, God and Christ. Secondly, we must confront the question of what is involved in the "imitation" of these figures, particularly in the imitatio Christi and imitatio Dei.

The discussion of how and to what extent things are meaningful to Ignatius brings us to a fundamental issue,

one which touches on the structure of Ignatian thought and expression. "Meaning" is what falls within the sphere of what he knows and cares about. We may speak, then, of clusters of meaning in Ignatian thought whereby individual things or persons assume meaning by association with charged focal points. This associative tendency is not, of course, unique to Ignatius. But the imagery and associations in the Ignatian letters suggest a vital personality alive to the relationships between things and quick to give them expression. The charged focal points of his thinking appear most often in his associations. These include: "the Church", "the Apostles", the Grace, the Law and the "dogmas" of Christ, the prophets of Israel, and the Commandments.

Eph. 5:1 πόσα μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς μακαρίζω
τοὺς ἐνκεκραμένους οὕτως,
ὡς ἡ ἐκκλησία Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ
καὶ ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρὶ
ἵνα πάντα ἐν ἐνότητι σύμφωνα ᾖ; 150

150 Eph. 5:1, "... how much more blessed do I consider you who are joined with Him as the Church is to Jesus Christ and as Jesus Christ is to the Father, that all things are harmonious in union."

- 1 Ph. 11:2 ...ἵνα ἐν κλήρῳ Ἐφεσίων εὕρεθῶ Χριστιανῶν
οὗ καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πάντοτε συνήνεσαν
ἐν δυνάμει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 151
- Mag. 2:1 ...διακόνου Ζωτίωνος,
οὗ ἐγὼ ὀναίμην,
ὅτι ὑποτάσσεται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς χάριτι θεοῦ 152
καὶ τῷ ποσθυτερίῳ ὡς νόμῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
- Mag. 8:2-9:2 οἱ γὰρ θειότατοι προφῆται κατὰ Χριστὸν ἔζησαν...
εἰ οὖν οἱ ἐν παλαιοῖς πράγμασιν ἀναστραφέντες
εἰς καινότητα ἐλπίδος ἦλθον .
μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες,
ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν ζῶντες,...
ὡς ἡμεῖς δυνησόμεθα ζῆσαι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ,
οὗ καὶ οἱ προφῆται...προσεδόκων; 153
- Mag. 13:1 σπουδάχετε οὖν βεβαιωθῆναι ἐν τοῖς 154
δόγμασιν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων,...
- Mag. 13:2 ὑποτάγητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ ἀλλήλοις,
ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ σάρκα
καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ
καὶ τῷ πνεύματι,... 155

151 1 Ph. 11:2, "... so that I may be found in the lot of the Ephesian Christians who were always in agreement with the Apostles by the power of Jesus Christ."

152 Mag. 2:1, "...the deacon Zotion, whose support may I enjoy, because he is subject to the bishop as to the grace of God and to the presbytery as to the law of Jesus Christ."

153 Mag. 8:2-9:2, "For the most godly prophets lived according to Christ Jesus... If, therefore, those who believed in ancient ways came to a newness of hope, no longer observing the Sabbath but living according to the Lord's Day...how then shall we be able to live apart from Him whom even the prophets...looked forward to?"

154 Mag. 13:1, "Hasten to be firmly set in the decrees of the Lord and the Apostles . . ."

155 Mag. 13:2, "Be subject to the bishop and to each other as Jesus Christ was to the Father according to the flesh and the Apostles were to Christ and to the Father and the Spirit . . ."

- Tral. 2:2 ...ἀλλ' ὑποτάσσεσθε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ
ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ... 156
- Tral. 3:1 ὁμοίως πάντες ἐντρεπέσθωσαν τοὺς διακόνους,
ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,
ὡς καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὄντα τύπον τοῦ πατρὸς,
τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους
ὡς συνέδριον θεοῦ καὶ ὡς σύνδεσμον ἀποστόλων. 157
- Tral. 7:1 τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται ὑμῖν
μὴ φουσιούμενοις
καὶ οὖσιν ἀχωρίστοις θεοῦ
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου
καὶ τῶν διαταγμάτων ἀποστόλων / 158
- Tral. 12:2 πρέπει γὰρ ὑμῖν τοῖς καθ' ἕνα, ...
ἀναψύχειν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον
εἰς τιμὴν πατρὸς
καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ 159
καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων.
- Tral. 13:2 ἔρρωσθε ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ
ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς τῇ ἐντολῇ. 160

156 Tral. 2:2, "... but be subject to the Pres-
bytery as to the Apostles of Jesus Christ."

157 Tral. 3:1, "In the same way let all respect
the Deacons as Jesus Christ and likewise the bishop as
well as a type of the Father and the presbyters as the
Sanhedrin of God and as the college of the Apostles."

158 Tral. 7:1, "And this will be the case for you
if you do not boast and are inseparable from God, Jesus
Christ and the bishop and the instructions of the apostles."

159 Tral. 12:2, "It is fitting therefore for each
one of you to refresh the bishop unto the honor of the
Father, Jesus Christ and the Apostles."

160 Tral. 13:3, "Farewell in Jesus Christ, you
who are subject to the bishop as to the Commandment."

Phil. 1:2 συνευρύθμισται γὰρ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς
ὡς χορδαῖς κιθάρα.¹⁶¹

Phil. 5:1 ...προσφυγὼν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ
καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ¹⁶²
ὡς πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐκκλησίας.

Smyr. 8:1 πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε,
ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρί,
καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις
τοὺς δὲ διακόνους ἐντρέπεσθε ὡς θεοῦ ἐντολῇν.¹⁶³

In addition to the list cited above, it is important to take note of the fact that Ignatius most commonly associates things in his letters with God or Christ. Most of the texts above make some allusion to God or Christ (Eph. 5:1; Mag. 2:1, 13:2; Tral. 2:2, 3:1, 12:2; Phil. 5:1 and Smyr. 8:1). In addition, other important texts might be listed:

Eph. 9:1 ...ὡς ὄντες λίθοι ναοῦ πατρὸς,
ἡτοιμασμένοι εἰς οἰκοδομὴν θεοῦ πατρὸς,
ἀναπερόμενοι εἰς τὰ ὕψη
διὰ τῆς μηχανῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
ὅς ἐστιν σταυρὸς,
σχοινίῳ χρώμενοι τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἀγίῳ.

¹⁶¹ Phil. 1:2, "For he (your bishop) is attuned to the Commandments as the harp is to the strings."

¹⁶² Phil. 5:1, "...fleeing to the Gospel as to the flesh of Christ and to the Apostles as to the Presbytery of the Church."

¹⁶³ Smyr. 8:1, "Let all of you be obedient to the bishop, as Jesus Christ to the Father and be obedient to the presbytery as to the Apostles. Respect the deacons as the Commandment of God."

- Eph. 9:1 ἡ δὲ πίστις ὑμῶν ἀναγωγεὺς ὑμῶν,
 (con't) ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη δόδος ἡ ἀναφέρουσα εἰς θεόν. 164
 Eph. 11:1-2 ...μόνον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εὕρεθῆναι
 εἰς τὸ ἀληθινὸν ζῆν.
 χωρὶς τούτου μηδὲν ὑμῖν προπέτω,... 165
 Mag. 3:2 εἰς τιμὴν οὖν ἐκείνου τοῦ θελήσαντος ὑμᾶς,
 πρέπον ἐστὶν ἐπακούειν κατὰ μηδεμίαν ὑπόκρισιν·
 ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τοῦτον
 τὸν βλεπόμενον πλανᾷ τις, 166
 ἀλλὰ τὸν δόρατον παραλογίζεται.
 Gal. 2:1 διὰν γὰρ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσησθε ὡς Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ,
 ᾧ ὁμοεισέσθε μοι οὐ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ζῶντες,
 ἀλλὰ κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν... 167
 Gal. 8:1 ὑμεῖς οὖν τὴν πραῦπάθειαν ἀναλαβόντες
 ἀνάγκτισασθε ἑαυτοὺς ἐν πίστει,
 ἧ ἐστὶν σῆμα τοῦ κυρίου
 καὶ ἐν ἀγάπῃ, 168
 ἧ ἐστὶν αἵμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

164 Eph. 9:1, "(For you are) as stones of the temple of the Father, prepared for the building of God the Father, carried up to the heights by the crane of Jesus Christ -- this is the cross -- and the rope of the Holy Spirit. But Faith is your Guide and Love the path that carries you up to God."

165 Eph. 11:1-2, "(You seek) . . . only to be found in Christ Jesus unto true life.. Apart from Him, let nothing seem proper to you."

166
Mag. 3:2, "Unto the honor of the one who
willed you to be, it is proper to obey without hypocri-
sy since it is not the visible bishop who you are deceiv-
ing but the invisible one whom you are cheating."

167 Gal. 2:1, "For when you are subject to the bishop as to Jesus Christ it seems to me that you are not living in the way of men but according to Jesus Christ."

168
 Tral. 3:1, "Therefore you must take up gentle-
 ness and be renewed in Faith, which is the flesh of the
 Lord, and in love, which is the Blood of Jesus Christ."

Eph. 14:1 ἀρχὴ μὲν πίστις,
τέλος δὲ ἀγάπη.
τὰ δὲ δύο ἐν ἐνότητι γένόμενα
θεός ἐστιν,¹⁶⁹

Thus, that is made meaningful which is brought into some association with Christ or God. They thereby come to have a place within the framework of Ignatian thought, a framework which seems to find Christ and God as the centers of meaning and so as the objects of devotion.¹⁷⁰

Ignatius' treatment of heresy makes this point in its own way. The letter to the Philadelphians provides a number of excellent examples of this: That which is good is seen to stand in a positive relation with God and Christ. That which is evil or in error is seen to stand in a radical disjuncture from God and Christ.

Phil. 3:1-2 ἀπέχεσθε τῶν κακῶν βοτανῶν,
ἵνα οὐ γεωργεῖτε ἰαροῦς Χριστός,
διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτοὺς φυτεῖαν πατρὸς....

καὶ ὅσοι ἄν μετανοήσαντες
ἐλθωσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐνότητα τῆς ἐκκλησίας,

¹⁶⁹ Eph. 14:1, "The beginning is faith, the end is love. But the two brought together in unity is God, Himself."

¹⁷⁰ See the discussion of Ignatian Devotion above, pp. 168-190.

- Phil. 3:1-2 (con') καὶ οὗτοι θεοῦ ἔσονται,
ἵνα ὡσιν κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ζῶντες. 171
- Phil. 6:1 εἴαν δὲ ἀμφότεροι περὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
μὴ λαλῶσιν,
οὗτοι ἐμοὶ στήλαι εἰσιν καὶ τάφοι νεκρῶν,
ἐφ' οἷς γέγραπται
μόνον ὄνόματ' ἀνθρώπων. 172
- Phil. 8:2-9:1 παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς μηδὲν κατ' ἐρίθειαν πράσσειν,
ἀλλὰ κατὰ χριστομαθίαν.
ἐπεὶ ἤκουσά τινων λεγόντων, ὅτι
εἴαν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εὕρω,
ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὐ πιστεύω...
ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀρχεῖα ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός,
τὰ ἀθικτὰ ἀρχεῖα ὁ σταυρὸς αὐτοῦ
καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡ δι' αὐτοῦ,...
καλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς,
κρεῖττον δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς...
αὐτὸς ὢν θύρα τοῦ πατρὸς,
δι' ἧς εἰσέρχονται Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ
καὶ Ἰακώβ καὶ οἱ προφῆται
καὶ οἱ ἀποστόλοι καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία.
πάντα ταῦτα εἰς ἐνότητα θεοῦ. 173

171 Phil. 3:1-2, "Steer clear of evil blossoms which Jesus Christ does not tend for they are not the plantings of His Father . . . For whoever might repent and come to the unity of the Church, they too will be of God, that they might live according to Jesus Christ."

172 Phil. 6:1, "But if either one (either Judaism or Christianity) does not speak of Jesus Christ, they are to me as tombstones and graves of the dead on which are written only the names of men."

173 Phil. 8:2-9:1, "I exhort you to do nothing according to the spirit of division but according to what you know of Christ. But I have heard some men saying that unless it is in the Foundations (the Old Testament) I will not believe (it) in the Gospel . . . But to me the Foundation is Jesus Christ, the inviolable foundations are His cross, and His death and Resurrection and the Faith that is through Him . . . The priests are good, but the High Priest is better . . . He is the door of

Christ and God are focal points of meaning for every state and condition of life:

Eph. 1:1-2 μιμηταὶ ὄντες θεοῦ,
ἀναζωπυρήσαντες ἐν αἵματι θεοῦ
τὸ συγγενικὸν ἔργον τελείως ἀπηρτίσατε·
ἀκούσαντες γὰρ δεδεμένον...
ἰδεῖν ἐσπουδάσατε. 174

Tral. 1:2-2:1 ...εὐρὼν ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἔγνων, μιμητὰς ὄντας θεοῦ·
ὅταν γὰρ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσησθε
ὡς Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ
χαίνεσθέ μοι οὐ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ζῶντες,
ἀλλὰ κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν... 175

In spite of the fact that Ignatius speaks of his readers here as μιμηταὶ θεοῦ, he does not seem to have any particular act of God or even of Christ in mind. Primarily, Ignatius simply brings his readers into a positive association with God. Here, the language of imitation is simply another way to express this association between individuals and God. When Ignatius uses the language of imitation in speaking of any of the truly meaningful figures

the Father through which Abraham and Issac and Jacob and the Prophets and the Apostles and the Church all of these entering into the unity of God."

174 Eph. 1:1-2, "Being imitators of God, rekindling in the blood of God a deed of fellowship, you completed it perfectly. For hearing that I was a prisoner, . . . you hastened to visit me."

175 Tral. 1:2-2:1, ". . . finding you, as I knew, imitators of God. For when you are in subjection to the bishop as to Jesus Christ, it is clear to me that you are not living according to the ways of men but according to Jesus Christ . . ."

(i.e., the Apostles, prophets, and especially God and Christ) we must be careful to determine whether the language of imitation in any given instance truly involves us in a question of ethics or whether it involves us in a question of meaning.¹⁷⁶

Up to this point, our analysis of imitation in the thought of Ignatius has fastened on a single issue: Ignatius' use of the language of imitation to associate individuals with such figures as Christ and God. Such associations do not involve us in the subject of Ignatian ethics. Rather, they involve us in the question of meaning and the transfer of meaning in Ignatian thought. Yet, in many instances, the language of imitation is employed in the Ignatian letters to express Ignatius' desire that Christians actually imitate the acts of the prophets, the Apostles, Jesus and God Himself. We must address ourselves, therefore, to the question of how these models to be "imitated" function within the framework of Ignatian ethics.

The truly important figures within Ignatian thought should have been able to generate ethical norms

¹⁷⁶ This question must also be raised in the discussion of many of the other texts which employ the language of imitation in reference to God or Christ or seem to presuppose them as models of human conduct. (Eph. 10:3; Mag. 1:2, 6:2, 7:1; Phil. 7:2; Pol. 1:3) We might also include here the texts of Eph. 21:1, Mag. 12:1, Smyr. 9:2, Pol. 1:2 and 6:2.

on the basis of the strength and significance of their own personages and thus have an important dysfunctional role within contemporary Christian ethics. In fact, however, all of these figures seem to have played a very secondary and supportive role within the larger context of Ignatian Christianity.

The prophets and the Apostles -- qua ethical models -- played only a secondary and supportive role in Ignatian ethics. To Ignatius their significance is all for the present (as in Paul to the Romans: "For whatever was written in former days was written for our instruction . . ." Rom. 15:4). They were not considered in their own historical uniqueness but rather in terms of contemporary Christianity.

Mag. 8:2 οἱ γὰρ θεϊότατοι προφῆται κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἔζησαν.
 διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐδιώχθησαν,
 ἐννεόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ,
 εἰς τὸ πληροφορηθῆναι τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας,
 ὅτι εἷς θεὸς ἐστίν,
 ὃς φανερώσας ἑαυτὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ...
 9:1 εἰ οὖν οἱ ἐν παλαιοῖς πράγμασιν ἀναστραφέντες
 εἰς καινότητα ἐλπίδος ἦλθον...
 ...οὐ καὶ οἱ προφῆται μαθηταὶ ὄντες τῷ πνεύματι
 ὡς διδάσκαλον αὐτὸν προσεδόκων; 177

177 Mag. 8:2-9:2, "For the most godly prophets lived according to Christ Jesus. For this reason, they too were persecuted, being inspired by the Grace of God to convince unbelievers that there is one God, who made Himself manifest through Jesus Christ . . . If, therefore, those who believed in ancient ways came to a newness of hope . . . And since the prophets were His disciples in the Spirit, Whom they expected as a teacher . . ."

Phil. 5:2 καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας δὲ ἀγαπῶμεν,
διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς εὐαγγέλιον κατηγγελκέναι
καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλπίζειν
καὶ αὐτὸν ἀναμένειν, 178
ἐν ᾧ καὶ πιστεύσαντες ἐσώθησαν,...

Mag. 7:1 Ὅσπερ οὖν ὁ κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν,
ἡνυμῆνος ὢν,
οὔτε δι' ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων·
οὕτως μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου 179
καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μηδὲν πράσσετε·

Mag. 13:2 ὑποτάγητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ ἀλλήλοις,
ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ σάρκα
καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι τῷ Χριστῷ 180
καὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι,...

Both these groups, to the extent that they have been understood in the terms and categories of the present, have been robbed of their "dysfunctional" potential. They become, instead, models of that same ethical, cultural and hierarchical framework in terms of which they have been understood.

178 Phil. 5:2, "And the prophets we also love, for they made a proclamation unto the Gospel, and they hoped in Him and awaited Him, and having faith in Him, they were saved. . ."

179 Mag. 7:1, "Just as the Lord did nothing apart from the Father, being united with Him, neither through Himself nor through the Apostles, in the same way do nothing apart from the Bishop and the Presbyters. . ."

180 Mag. 13:2, "Be subject to the bishop and to each other as Jesus Christ to the Father according to the flesh and as the Apostles to Christ and to the Father and to the Spirit."

What then are we to say of the figures of Jesus Christ and God? What kind of imitatio Christi and imitatio Dei do we actually find in the thought of Ignatius? Far from being a mere mimicry of all that Jesus was thought to have done, the imitation of Christ in Ignatius is both functional, i.e., supportive of contemporary standards of conduct and virtue, and selective, i.e., not intended to be total or complete imitation of all that Christ was understood to have done. Thus, though theoretically open to a dysfunctional role, the imitatio Christi and the imitatio Dei of Ignatian ethics offers little or nothing that was not already envisioned as a possibility within the framework of contemporary Christianity. We find in the Ignatian letters a Jesus who is understood to a great extent in the terms of the present.¹⁸¹

The dysfunctional potential of the imitatio Christi seems to have been largely if not completely frustrated by the fact that Ignatius understood the figures of God and Christ, like those of the prophets and Apostles, in terms of contemporary ethics and Church structure. The

¹⁸¹This viewpoint is suggested by the many texts that have already been cited in this study of Ignatian Imitation. Whatever the topic, Ignatius seems to have been able to somehow suggest that in some way, the figure of Jesus can serve as a model. In particular, however, the reader is directed to the texts of Eph. 15:1-2, 20:1; Mag. 3:1-2; Phil. 7:2.

ethical imitation of Christ found in Ignatian thought is akin to Sabbath observance as the imitation of God, depicted in Genesis as resting on the seventh day.

We have noted that Ignatian imitation involves a number of different figures which may be classified as either "examples" or, in the case of significant figures of the prophets, the Apostles and, especially, Jesus Christ and God, "true models". In treating the "true models", we have suggested that Ignatius sometimes used the language of imitation in a way which transcends ethics. Our conclusion was that these figures were by and large understood in terms of contemporary Christianity and its ethical and hierarchical structure. They did not exercise a dysfunctional role in Ignatius. Their role was to stabilize and enhance the meaning of the status quo. The Imitatio Christi was seen in the same light, as functional and selective. We do not find in the thought of Ignatius any attempt to reorchestrate Christianity. Nor do we find any reason to believe that Ignatius would have wished all Christians to mimic each and every act of Christ that was believed to have taken place. We may now take up the issue of how imitation figured in Ignatius' understanding of his death. Two figures need to be considered: Paul and Christ.

The figure of St. Paul obviously exercised a great influence on Ignatius. Even the casual reader of the Ignatian letters is struck by the large number of Pauline phrases which Ignatius employs and the allusions to Paul's own letters, particularly I Corinthians and Ephesians. Moreover, it is to be noted that Ignatius, like Paul, had been condemned in the Eastern portion of the empire and had been brought under guard across Asia Minor to Rome. It is difficult to believe, therefore, that Ignatius could have failed to recognize some sort of relationship between his own situation and that of Paul. That he did is actually supported by the fact that he took such care to differentiate his own exhortations from the orders which the apostle himself had given in his writings (Iral. 3:3 and Roms.4:2). But what is the nature of the association which Ignatius saw between himself and Paul?

Writing in the mid-1960s, Peter Meinhold took the position that Ignatius actually saw Paul as "one of his models of the theory and practice of martyrdom".¹⁸² Thus, Meinhold had no difficulty in characterizing the relationship between Ignatius and Paul as an imitatio lauli, an imitation in which Paul was seen as a model whom he actively sought to copy in

¹⁸² Meinhold, Episkope, p. 323. "Eines seiner Vorbilder für Auffassung und Durchführung des Martyriums erblickt Ignatius in Paulus, so daß man von einer bewussten imitatio Pauli...bei ihm sprechen kann."

his own life. Meinhold's comments seem to have been suggested to him by the text of Eph. 12:2.

Eph. 12:2 Παύλου συμμύσται,
 τοῦ ἡγιασμένου,
 τοῦ μεμαρτυρημένου,
 δέξιμακαρίστου,
 οὗ γένωιτό μοι
 ὑπὸ τὰ ἴχνη εὐρεθῆναι,
 ὅταν θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω,... 183

It is to be noted that Meinhold's view seems quite extreme at least as an interpretation of this single text. First, it is far from certain that Ignatius is speaking here of Paul as one who had himself been martyred as Meinhold presumes (durch das Martyrium Ausgewiesene=τοῦ μεμαρτυρημένου). Secondly, it may be suggested that the phrase "to be found at his feet"¹⁸⁴ (lit. in his footsteps) when I attain God (ὑπὸ τὰ ἴχνη εὐρεθῆναι, ὅταν θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω,) is itself ambiguous and might in fact reflect nothing more than the hope of finally being with Paul after death. Though not impossible, the line of interpretation offered by Meinhold is unnecessary.

Our own reaction to the question of the association between Ignatius and Paul suggests that we avoid speaking of an imitatio Pauli altogether if this necessitates the type of interpretation offered by Meinhold. It may be best to

¹⁸³ Eph. 12:2, "fellow-initiates with Paul, who was sanctified, who had borne witness, who is rightly blessed, at whose feet may it be to be found, when I attain God."

¹⁸⁴ Bauer, Lexicon, p. 851.

avoid using the language of imitation altogether in the discussion of Ignatius and Paul. Yet, if we are to speak of an imitatio here, let us seek to clarify the sense in which such a usage is appropriate when speaking of the hope expressed in Eph. 12:2. Moreover, let us be careful to differentiate this understanding of imitatio from that which appears in Ignatius' conception of his relation to Christ. Ignatius nowhere identifies himself as an imitator of Paul though he does use that language in speaking of Christ. Perhaps this factor should be reflected in scholarly thought as well. In point of fact, it suggests something to us for the accurate understanding of the imitatio Christi.

Put what of the imitation of Christ? The theme actually appears in only one text. How are we to understand the language being used here. This is the central question.

Roms. 6:3 εἰς τὸ παθεῖν μετὰ αὐτοῦ
τοῦ πάθους τοῦ θεοῦ μου. 185

The language of imitation employed in this text (μετὰ αὐτοῦ εἶναι) is first and foremost to be understood as an expression of the association which Ignatius has perceived between Christ and himself. This association appears in a number of different ways: "suffering with Him" (Smyr. 4:2), "enduring all things for Him" (Mag. 9:2), "dying for Him" (Roms. 4:1, 6:1) and "Christ enabling him to endure" (Smyr. 4:2). Being an "imitator of the Passion" is but one more way to perceive

185 Roms. 6:3 "Allow me to be an imitator of the Passion of my God."

of this association with the figure of Christ. Ignatius' death has become meaningful to him, if in part, by being associated with the person of Christ. Indeed, it has become associated with Christ in several different ways. We are speaking here of the question of meaning within Ignatian thought. We are not concerned in this text with questions of ethics or ethical principles.

As we move deeper into the conception presented in Roms. 6:3, its uniqueness comes to the fore. Here the language of imitation reflects a specific parallel between his own situation and that of Christ. There is more here than a vague or general association of persons. There is a recognition of something in the life of the one to be paralleled in the life of the other. Ignatius does not seek to imitate the death of Christ. He merely recognizes a similarity.

How then are we to understand the place of imitation within Ignatius' understanding of his death? In speaking of the relationship of Ignatius to St. Paul, we must note that the term imitation cannot be properly used. Ignatius saw himself standing "at the feet" of Paul after his death. The association was important. But it did not involve imitation in the sense we have seen it in his view of himself and Christ. The imitatio Christi, on the other hand, entered Ignatius' understanding of his death in a most intimate way. Ignatius is not rightly understood to have staged

his own death in an attempt to fully imitate his Lord. In identifying himself as an imitator of the Passion, Ignatius gave expression to the uniqueness of the association between Christ and himself, an issue transcending ethics.

CONCLUSION

By the time that Ignatius wrote his seven letters, he had come to understand his death in terms of a fairly large number of themes, images, concerns and ideas. Although his letters may not offer us a complete catalogue of all the relevant themes and motifs in Ignatius' understanding of his death, they do allow us to identify some basic dimensions of Ignatian thought. We can take from these letters at least some idea of the concerns that commanded Ignatius' mind and heart, and we can make some headway in understanding the relation of his thought on his death to the rest of his thought. |

We have attempted to approach this side of Ignatian thought in terms of three themes: discipleship, sacrifice and imitation. Our effort has issued in results both negative and positive. Negatively, we have placed the scholarly discussion of these themes over the past century in a critical perspective. Positively, we have attempted to arrive at both general perspectives and particular themes in Ignatius' understanding of his death. We have also sought to bring to light aspects of Ignatian thought which played a part in Ignatius' understanding of his death or which provide the necessary background for the understanding of our three major themes. How, then, did the themes of discipleship, sacrifice and imitation function in Ignatius' understanding of his death?

The idea of being a disciple for Ignatius seems to have had nothing to do, intrinsically, with suffering or martyrdom. At best, we might speak of an openness to martyrdom within Ignatian Christianity and a recognition of the stark fact that persecution and suffering did exist. The Ignatian letters, however, suggest that Ignatius spoke of "being a disciple" in two different senses in reference to his own death. On the one hand, he hoped to "be found a disciple" in his confrontation with death. This is only to say that he hoped that his final confrontation with death would be found consistent with his profession of faith in Christ. This same concern over his final confrontation with death also found articulation in a number of other forms in his letters.

Ignatius likewise spoke of "being a disciple" after his death in a different sense. From this perspective, the emphasis is on the devotion of the Christian to his Lord. In the understanding of Ignatius, as least as he had prepared himself to face his death, the "world" was so unimportant and contrary to the life of the true Christian that he could speak of only being a disciple when that "world" would no longer see him.

Sacrificial imagery and conceptions also seem to have played a certain role in Ignatius' understanding of his death. It is possible, on the one hand, that he understood his death to be a true sacrifice, perhaps of some

benefit to the Church. This, however, is uncertain. What is certain is that the language of sacrifice seemed somehow peculiarly appropriate to him in seeking to find meaning in his present situation of impending death.

Finally, imitation entered Ignatius' understanding of his death only in regard to the person of Jesus Christ. He saw himself to have some special relationship with Paul at whose feet he wished to be found after his death. Yet, Ignatius does not seem to have perceived any particular point of contact between his own situation and that of St. Paul on the road to his death. Thus, although Ignatius speaks of an association of himself and Paul, he did not go on to speak of an imitation of Paul. For this reason, we must reject the idea that a true imitatio Pauli was involved in Ignatius' understanding of his death. A true imitatio can be seen only in the case of Ignatius' relationship with Christ.

Ignatius' identification of himself as an imitator of the Passion is to be understood first and foremost as one of the many ways in which Ignatius had come to see himself facing death in relation to the figure of Christ. The language of imitation was used in this instance to attest the fact that Ignatius had come to perceive a unique parallel between Christ and his own situation in the face of

death. From this perspective Christ became a model for him in a sense that Paul did not. This identification, moreover, is rightly approached as a question of meaning within Ignatian thought, and of a lesser significant figure's participation in the very fountain of meaning.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Texts and Tools

- Aland, Kurt, Matthew Black, et. al.; eds. The Greek New Testament. 2nd edition. Stuttgart, West Germany: Württemberg Bible Society, 1968.
- Bauer, Walter. A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. Translated and edited by W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957.
- Bihlmeyer, Karl. Die apostolischen Väter. Erster Teil. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1970.
- Blass, F. and A. Debrunner. A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. Translated by R. W. Funk. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Funk, Francis Xavier. Epistolae Barnabae, Clementis Romani, Ignatii . . . Vol. I of Opera patrum apostolicorum. Tübingen: Laupp, 1881.
- Goodspeed, Edgar J. Index Patristicus. Naperville, Ill.: Alec R. Allenson Inc., 1907.
- Lampe, G. W. H. A Patristic Greek Lexicon. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961.
- Lightfoot, Joseph Barber. S. Ignatius, S. Polycarp. Part II, Vol. II, sec. I of The Apostolic Fathers. London: Macmillan & Co., 1885.
- Moulton, J. H., and G. Milligan. The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1929.
- Sophocles, E. A. Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (B.C.146-A.D.1100). New York: Ungar, 1897.

Zahn, Theodor . Ignatii et Polycarpi Epistulae, Martyria, Fragmenta. Vol. II of Patrum apostolicorum opera. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1876.

II. General

- Ahern, Barnabas Mary. "The Fellowship of His Sufferings (Phil. 3, 10)", Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XXII (1960), 1-32.
- Arriero, A. J. "The Mysticism of St. Ignatius of Antioch", American Ecclesiastical Review, CXLVIII (1963), 250-253.
- Bardy, Gustave. "La Spiritualité des pères apostoliques", La Vie spirituelle, XLII (1935), 140-161, 251-260; XLIII (1935), 40-60.
- Barnard, L. W. "The Background of St. Ignatius of Antioch", Vigiliae christianae, XVII (1963), 193-206.
- Bartsch, H. W. Gnostisches Gut und Gemeindetradition bei Ignatius von Antiochien. Gütersloh: Evangelischer Verlag, 1940.
- Bauer, Walter. Die Briefe des Ignatius von Antiochia und der Polykarpbrief. Vol. II of Die apostolischen Väter, suppl. Vol. of Handbuch zum Neuen Testament. Edited by H. Lietzmann. Tübingen: Mohr, 1920.
- Beyschlag, Karlmann. Clemens Romanus und der Fröhenkatholizismus Untersuchungen zu I Clemens 1-7. Vol. XXXV of Beiträge zur historischen Theologie. Edited by G. Ebeling. Tübingen: Mohr, 1966.
- Bosio, Guido. "La dottrina spirituale di sant Ignazio d'Antiochia", Salesianum, XXVIII (1966), 519-551.
- Bouyer, Louis. La Spiritualité du Nouveau Testament et des Pères. Vienne: Aubin, 1960.
- EF: The Spirituality of the New Testament and the Fathers. New York: Desclee Co., 1963.
- Bower, R. A. "The Meaning of ἐντρονχάω in the Epistles of St. Ignatius of Antioch", Vigiliae christianae, XXVIII (1, 1974), 1-14.
- Brox, N. "Zeuge seiner Leiden: Zum Verständnis der Interpolation Ign. Rm. II. 2", Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie, LXXXV (1963), 218-220.

- , Zeuge und Märtyrer: Untersuchungen zur frühchristlichen Zeugnis-terminologie. München: Kösel Verlag, 1961.
- Bruston, Édouard. Ignace d'Antioche: ses épîtres, sa vie, sa théologie. Paris: Fischbacher, 1897.
- Bultmann, Rudolf. "Ignatius and Paul", Existence and Faith: Shorter Writings of Rudolf Bultmann. Translated by Schubert M. Ogden. Cleveland (Ohio): The World Publishing Co., 1960.
- Camelot, Pierre Thomas. "Ignace d'Antioche", Dictionnaire de spiritualité. Edited by M. Viller et al. Vol. VII. Cols. 1250-1266.
- , Ignace d'Antioche, Polycarpe de Smyrne Lettres. Vol. X of Sources chrétiennes. Edited by H. de Lubac and J. Daniélou. 3rd edition. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1958.
- Campanhausen, H. von, Die Idee des Martyriums in der alten Kirche. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1936.
- Corwin, Virginia. St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960.
- Cristiani, Léon. "Saint Ignace d'Antioche sa vie d'intimité avec Jésus-Christ", Revue d'Asc, XXV (1949), 109-116.
- Estradé, Dom Miguel M. "Dos frases de la carta de .s. Ignacio de Antioquiá a los Romanos (Rom. 5,1 y Rom. 6,1)", Helmantica, I (1950), 310-18.
- Fischer, J. A. Die apostolischen Väter. München: Kösel, 1956.
- Frend, W. H. C. Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church: A Study of a Conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus. New York: New York University Press, 1967.

- Ludge, E. "The Eschatology of Ignatius of Antioch: Christocentric and Historical", Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society, XV (April, 1972), 231-237.
- Goltz, Eduard von der. "Ignatius von Antiochien als Christ und Theologe", Texte und Untersuchungen, XII (3, 1894), 1-206.
- Grant, Robert. "Hermeneutics and Tradition in Ignatius of Antioch: A Methodological Investigation", in Enrico Castelli, ed., Ermeneutica e tradizione. Rome: Instituto di Studi Filosofici, 1963, 183-201.
- , Ignatius of Antioch. Vol. IV of The Apostolic Fathers. Camden (N.J.): Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1966.
- Gunther, E. ΝΑΡΤΥΕ: Die Geschichte eines Wortes. Gütersloh: L. Bertelsmann, 1941.
- Heitmann, A. Imitatio Dei Die ethische Nachahmung Gottes nach der Väterlehre der zwei ersten Jahrhunderte. Rome: Herder, 1940.
- Hilgenfeld, Adolf. Ignatii Antiocheni et Polycarpi Smyrnaei Epistulae et Martyria. Berlin: Schwetschke, 1902.
- Hormann, Karl. Leben in Christus: Zusammenhänge zwischen Dogma und Sitte bei den apostolischen Vätern. Vienna: Herold, 1952.
- Kleist, J. A. The Epistles of Saint Clement of Rome and St. Ignatius. Vol. I of Ancient Christian Writers. Edited by Johannes Quasten and Joseph C. Plumpe. Westminster (M.D.): Newman, 1946.
- Korn, Helmut. Die Nachwirkungen der Christumystik des Paulus in den apostolischen Vätern. Borna-Leipzig: Universitätsverlag von Robert Noske, 1928.
- Laracy, M. "Cross and Church in the Spirituality of Ignatius of Antioch", American Ecclesiastical Review, 167 (June, 1973), 387-392.

Lelong, Auguste. Ignace d'Antioche, et Polycarpe de Smyrne Épîtres. Vol. III of Les Pères apostoliques. Paris: Picard, 1910.

Lods, Marc. "Confesseurs et martyrs, successeurs des prophètes dans l'église des trois premiers siècles". Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Faculté Libre de Théologie Protestante de Paris, 1957.

Lohse, Eduard. Märtyrer und Gottesknecht: Untersuchungen zur urchristlichen Verkündigung vom Sühntod Jesu Christi. Rev. ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963.

Lyonnet, Stanislaus. "Expiation et intercession à propos d'une traduction de saint Jérôme", Biblica, XL (1959), 885-901.

Meinhold, P. "Episkope, Pneumatiker, Märtyrer. Zur Deutung der Selbstaussagen des Ignatius von Antiochien", Saeculum, XIV (1963), 308-324.

-----, "Die Ethik des Ignatius von Antiochien", Historisches Jahrbuch, LXXVII (1950), 50-62.

Michaelis, W. "μικροί", LXXI, IV, 659-675

Moffatt, James. "Ignatius of Antioch: A Study in Personal Religion", Journal of Religion, X (1930), 169-186.

Musurillo, H. "Ignatius of Antioch: Gnostic or Essence?", Theological Studies, XXII (1961), 103-110.

Nock, A. D. "Review of Schlier", Journal of Theological Studies, XXXI (1930), 308-13.

Norden, E. Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance. Vol. II. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1958.

Omodeo, A. "Ignazio d'Antiochia verso il martirio", Bel-fagar, I (1946), 66-72.

Perler, Othmar. "Das vierte Makkabaeerbuch, Ignatius von Antiochien und die ältesten Märtyrerberichte", Rivista di Archeologia cristiana, XXV (1949), 47-72.

Preiss, T. "La Mystique de l'imitation du Christ et de l'unité chez Ignace d'Antioche", Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses, XVIII (1938), 197-241.

Rahner, Karl. On the Theology of Death. New York: Herder and Herder, 1961.

Rathke, H. Ignatius von Antiochien und die Paulusbriefe. Vol. IC of Texte und Untersuchungen. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1967.

Reitzenstein, R. Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium.

Rengstorff, K. H. "παθητής", BDNI, IV (1967), 390-461.

Richardson, Cyril Charles. The Christianity of Ignatius of Antioch. New York: Columbia University Press, 1935.

Riesenfeld, H. "Reflections on the Style and the Theology of St. Ignatius of Antioch", Texte und Untersuchungen, LXXIX (1961), 312-322.

Rordorf, W. "Aux origines du cult des martyrs", Irenikon, VI. (3, 1972), 315-331.

Schilling, Frederick Augustus. The Mysticism of Ignatius of Antioch. Published Ph.D. dissertation. University of Pennsylvania, 1932.

Schlier, Heinrich. Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ignatiusbriefen. Vol. VIII of Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft. Gießen: Töpelmann, 1929.

Smialek, Vincentius. "De Ignatii ad Romanos epistola", Eos, (1924), 41-57.

Snyder, G. F. "The Continuity of Early Christianity: A Study of Ignatius in Relation to Paul". Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1961.

-----, "The Historical Jesus in the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch", Biblical Research, VIII (1963), 3-12.

Srawley, J. H. The Epistles of St. Ignatius. 2 Vols. 2nd edition. London: S. P. G. K., 1913.

Stählin, Gustav. "νεπίσημα", INr, V (1969), 84-93.

Strathmann, H. "μάργος", INr, IV (1967), 474-514.

Swartley, W. M. "The 'Imitatio Christi' in the Ignatian Letters", Vigiliae christianae, XXVII (2, 1973), 81-103.

Tarvainen, Olavi. Glaube und Liebe bei Ignatius von Antiochien. Helsinki: Luther-Agricola, 1967.

Tinsley, E. J. "The 'Imitatio Christi' in the Mysticism of St. Ignatius of Antioch", Texte und Untersuchungen, LXIV (1957),

Tomic, P. Celestino. "L'intima natura della vita Cristiana secondo S. Ignazio martire", Miscellanea Franciscana, LIV (1954), 49-89.

Trentin, Giuseppe. "Rassegna di studi su Ignazio di Antiochia", Studia Patavina, I (19, 1972), 75-87.

Vandenberghc, B. H. "Saint Ignace d'Antioche, froment de Dieu et mystique du martyre", Vie spirituelle, LXXXIV (1951), 172-179.

Vial, Jean Louis. Ignace d'Antioche. Paris: Les Éditions Ouvrières, 1956.

Viller, Marcel. "Martyre et perfection", Revue d'ascétique et de mystique, VI (1925), 3-25.

-----, La Spiritualité des premiers siècles chrétiens. Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1930.

GF: Viller, Marcel & Karl Rahner. Ascese und Mystik in der Väterzeit. Freiburg, 1939.

Weissenborg, Reinoud. Les Lettres d'Ignace d'Antioche: étude de critique littéraire et de théologie.
Translated by B. Héroux. Leiden: Brill, 1969.

Wetter, G. P. Altchristliche Liturgien: das christliche Mysterium.

Winslow, Donald F. "The Idea of Rédemption in the Epistles of Saint Ignatius of Antioch", The Greek Orthodox Theological Review, XI (1965), 119-131.

Zahn, Theodor. Ignatius von Antiochien. Gotha: Perthe, 1873.