

# EXPOSITION OF *THE* SAYINGS OF *THE LORD*<sup>1</sup> (FRAGMENTS)

[*This book has been lost, with an exception of several fragments and summaries as quoted by various ancient authors who still had it in their possession.*]

## EXCERPT 1 (from Eusebios: Church History (3.39:1~4,7))

Now there are<sup>2</sup> the written-compositions of Papias, five in number,<sup>3</sup> which have written-on *them* “Exposition of *the Sayings of-the-Lord.*” Papias writes:

But I will also not hesitate to you to arrange-alongside with the interpretations as-much-as I beautifully learned when *I was* alongside the elders and beautifully remembered, thoroughly-affirming truth on their behalf. For I was not rejoicing (even-as the many *do*) in the *ones who are saying many<sup>4</sup> things, but* instead in the *ones who are teaching true things; nor-even in the ones who are remembering the instructions of-another,<sup>5</sup> but* instead in the *ones who are remembering the instructions* having been given from the Lord for the faith and which are coming-to-be-present from the truth itself.

But if someone having closely-followed the elders also came to where *I was*, I was examining the accounts of the elders, what Andreas or what Petros spoke; or what Philippos or what Toma<sup>6</sup> or Jacob<sup>7</sup> or what Johanan or Matthai,<sup>8</sup> or any different *one* of the learners of the Lord *spoke; the things* which both Aristion<sup>9</sup> and Johanan the elder,<sup>10</sup> learners of the Lord,<sup>11</sup> are saying. For I was not assuming that the things *from* out of the books *would* be profiting me so-much as-much-as the *things* from a living and remaining voice.

But the Papias now *being* made-clear also confesses, indeed, to have taken-aside the accounts of the emissaries from the *ones* having closely-followed them, but declares that he himself became a self-hearer of Aristion and Johanan the elder. Accordingly, he remembered them many-times by name, putting *down* traditions of them in his written-compositions.

## EXCERPT 2 (from Hieronymus (Jerome): On Famous Men (18))<sup>12</sup>

Papias (*an auditor of Johanan, an overseer of Hierapolis in Asia*) wrote only five volumes, which he entitled “Explanation of *the Accounts of the Lord,*” in which, when in *the* preface, he asserts that he is not following various opinions, but has *the* emissaries for authors, saying:

{I was considering what Andreas, what Petros had said, what Philippos, what Toma, what Jacob, what Johanan, what Matthai or any other learner of *the Lord said;* still, what Aristion and Johanan *the* elder, learners of the Lord were uttering. For books to read are not as useful to me to gather as *the* voice which is living and resounds until today in their authors.}

He is being said to have promulgated *the* thousand years, a Judean second coming... who relates that after *the* standing-up, *the* Lord will reign in *the* flesh with *the* holy-ones.

## EXCERPT 3A (from Eirenaios: Against Heresies (5.33:3~4))<sup>13</sup>

{*The blessing predicted in-this-manner pertains (without contradiction) to the times of the kingdom, when righteous-ones, having stood up out of dead persons will reign, when even the creation, renovated and liberated, will produce a multitude of universal dishes, out of the dew of the heaven and out of the fertility of the earth, exactly as the elders (who saw Johanan the learner of the Lord) remembered that they heard from him exactly how the Lord was teaching about those times and was saying:*

Days will come in which vines will be grown, each having ten thousand shoots, and on each shoot ten thousand branches, and on each branch ten thousand twigs, and on each twig ten thousand clusters, and on each cluster ten thousand grapes. And each grape, having been pressed, will yield twenty-five measures of wine. And, when anyone of these holy ones will apprehend a cluster, another cluster will cry out, ‘I am a better cluster. Be taking me. Be blessing the Lord through me.’

Similarly, a grain of wheat will also generate ten thousand tufts, and each tuft will have ten thousand grains, and each grain five double-pounds of *the* finest-wheat-flour, clear and fine. But *the* remaining fruits and seeds and herbs will follow-after *them* in congruence, accompanying them. And all *the* animals, *which are* using these foods which *are* being gotten out of *the* earth, will in-turn become peaceful and consenting, having been subjected to humans with every subjection.

But Papias (*an auditor of Johanan and a companion of Polykarpos, and an old human*) bears these *things* through a written testimony in *the* fourth of his books. For there are five books *which* have been composed<sup>14</sup> by him. And he adds, saying:

But these *things* are believable to *the* believers.

And he says:

While Judah<sup>15</sup> *the* traitor was not believing and was interrogating, “Therefore, how will such generatings be completed from *the* Lord?” *the* Lord said, “*Those* who will come into those *times* will see.”}

## EXCERPT 3B (from Hippolytos: Commentary on Daniel 4.60)

Therefore, *while* the Lord was describing to the learners about the kingdom of the holy-ones *which* was going to *be coming*, how it would be glorious and marvelous, Judah, after he was struck-down with *astonishment* over the *things* being said, declared, “And who, as-a-result, will see these *things*?”

But the Lord declared, “*The ones* who became worthy will see these *things.*”

## EXCERPT 4 (from Johanan of Skythopolis)

Papias then became the overseer of Hierapolis (the *city* in Asia) and become-fully-ripe-together with the divine good-messenger Johanan. For this Papias, in his fourth book of the Expositions of-the-Lord, spoke of the enjoyments through solid-foods in the standing-up *from out of dead persons.*

## EXCERPT 5 (from Photios: Bibliotheca (232))

Papias, the overseer of Hierapolis, and testifier... says *that* the Kingdom of the Heavens is enjoyment of certain sensible solid-foods.

## EXCERPT 6 (from Hieronymus (Jerome): Revision of Victorinus Prologue)

For even previously, Papias (overseer of Hierapolis) and Nepos (overseer of parts in Egypt), sensed *the* same as Victorinus concerning *the* thousand year kingdom.

## EXCERPT 7 (from Eusebios: Church History (3.39:8-17); some parts also quoted by Victorinus twice)

But *it is* worthy to attach to<sup>16</sup> the voices of Papias *which* were already-given<sup>17</sup> different sayings of his, through which he historicizes certain incredible *things* and other *things* as came into him *from* out-of tradition. Therefore, indeed *an account was given* that Philippos the emissary, simultaneously with his<sup>18</sup> daughters, spent *time* throughout Hierapolis. But Papias, their contemporary, remembers a marvelous narration<sup>19</sup> *which* he has taken-aside by the daughters of Philippos. For he historicizes a resurrection of a dead *man* *which* came-to-pass during his *own time*; and once again a different incredible *event* having come-to-pass about Justus (the *one* who was called<sup>20</sup> Bar-Sabba), as having drunk-in a noxious drug and, through the favor of the Lord, endured nothing unpleasant.

But the same *author* has also set-before<sup>21</sup> *us* other *things* as-if coming to<sup>22</sup> him out of an unwritten tradition, both certain strange parables of the Savior and teachings of his, and certain other more mythical *things*. In these,<sup>23</sup> he also declares that a certain thousand years will be after the standing-up *from* out of

<sup>1</sup> [Title] Eusebios / Johanan of Skythopolis(x2) “Expositions of-the-Lord” / Apollinarios “Exposition of the Accounts of-the-Lord” / Jerome “Explanation of *the Accounts of the Lord*”

<sup>2</sup> literally “bringing”

<sup>3</sup> literally “five the number”

<sup>4</sup> literally “the many”

<sup>5</sup> may also be translated with the understanding “the foreign instructions”

<sup>6</sup> Greek “Thomas”

<sup>7</sup> traditionally incorrectly translated as “James”

<sup>8</sup> known in English as “Andrew, Peter, Philip, Thomas, James, John, Matthew”

<sup>9</sup> [E1] Gk / Syr, Armenian “Ariston”

<sup>10</sup> [E1] Gk, Syr / Armenian “elders”

<sup>11</sup> [E1] Gk / Syr, Arm omit “learners of the Lord”

<sup>12</sup> Latin translation of Greek original (see Excerpt 1 for this quote in Greek)

<sup>13</sup> Eirenaios’ writing only survives in a Latin Translation of a Greek original

<sup>14</sup> literally “written-together”

<sup>15</sup> Greek “Judah”

<sup>16</sup> literally “touch-to”

<sup>17</sup> usually translated “were given-back”

<sup>18</sup> literally “the”

<sup>19</sup> literally “describing”

<sup>20</sup> literally “called-on”

<sup>21</sup> literally “set-beside”

<sup>22</sup> literally “as-if being-there into”

<sup>23</sup> literally “which”

dead *persons*, the kingdom of the Anointed-One standing-in-place in-bodily-form on this earth. (He was also part-of-the-cause for as-many-as most of the assemblage *men* after him becoming of his like supposition, *who* have thrown the antiquity of that man before *them*, even-as along with Eirenaios, and any other if he has shone-up that he is being the like minded.) Now in his own writing he also delivers another describing of the accounts of the Aristion (*who* has been previously made-clear) of the accounts of the Lord and traditions of Johanan the elder, to<sup>1</sup> which we send-up the *ones who are fond-of-learning*.

Obligatorily, we will now add-to his sounds *which were* put-out-before, a tradition *which* was about Marcus (the *one who* has written the good-message), *which* he has put-out through these words:

And the elder was saying this: Indeed, Marcus, after he became an interpreter of Petros, wrote precisely as-much-as he remembered of the *things which* were said or were performed by the Lord—however not in *chronological* order. For neither did he hear the Lord, nor did he closely-follow him. But afterward, as I was declaring, *he closely-followed* Petros (who was making the teachings *adaptable* to the needs, *but* instead not as-though making an ordering-together of the sayings-of-the-Lord),<sup>2</sup> so-that Marcus sinned in nothing in-this-manner after he wrote some *things* as he remembered *them* from *him*. For he made for himself one provision: To leave-aside nothing of the *things which* he heard or to lie *about* something in them.

Therefore, these indeed are the *things which* Papias historicized about Marcus. But about Matthai he speaks this:

Therefore, indeed, Matthai put the sayings in-order together in the Hebraic dialect, but each *individual* interpreted them as he was able.

But the *man* himself made-use-of testimonies from the first<sup>3</sup> letter of Johanan and, likewise, from the *letter* of Petros. But he also has put-out another history about a woman who was slandered on *account* of many sins before<sup>4</sup> the Lord (which the Good-Message according-to the Hebrews includes).<sup>5</sup>

#### EXCERPT 8 (from Agapius of Menbij)<sup>6</sup>

And there was at that time in Menbij (*that is, Hierapolis*), a distinguished teacher and author of many treatises, and he wrote five treatises about the Good-Message. And he mentions in his treatise on the Good-Message according to Johanan, that in the book of Johanan the Good-Messenger, he speaks of a woman who was an adulteress. And when they presented her to the Anointed-One our Lord (to whom be glory), he told the Judeans who brought her to him, “Whoever of you\* knows that he is innocent of what she has done, let him testify against her with what he has.” So when he told them this, none of them responded with anything and they left.

#### EXCERPT 9 (from Vardan Vardapet)<sup>7</sup>

The story of that adulterous woman, which other Christians have written in their good-message, was written about by a certain Papias, a student of Johanan...

#### EXCERPT 10 (from Eusebios: Church History (2.15))

So, then, when the divine word had made its home among them, the power of Simon *the magician* was quenched, and immediately was destroyed along with the man himself. But so vast a gleam of pity shone-upon the thoughts of the hearers of Petros, as not to be adequately sufficed to be having the hearing *merely* once, nor-even the unwritten teaching of the divine proclamation; but, with all-sorts-of exhortations, they importuned Marcus (whose good-message is extant,<sup>8</sup> and *who was* being a follower of Petros) that he would also leave *to them*, through writing, a memorandum of the teaching *which* was delivered to them through a *verbal* account. They also did not desist before<sup>9</sup> prevailing<sup>10</sup> with the man. And they became the causes of this writing of the good-message being said *to be* ‘According-to Marcus’. And they declare, that the emissary, after he knew the *thing which* was performed (after it was revealed to him by-means-of the spirit), was pleased with the eagerness of the men. He also validated the writing into *being used as a source* of petition to the assemblies.

Clemens has set the history before *us* in the eighth book of the Subtypes.

But the Overseer of Hierapolis, Papias by name, also testifies-along with him. But they are declaring, *that* Petros remembers Marcus in the first<sup>11</sup> letter, which

he also ordered-together at<sup>12</sup> Roma itself, also signifying this very *thing*, after he typically called<sup>13</sup> the city Babel through these words:

She *who is* elected-along with *you\** in Babel greets *you\**, and *so does* Marcus my son.

(1 Peter 5:13)

#### EXCERPT 11 (Apollinarios of Laodikeia)

Judah<sup>14</sup> *from Kerioth* did not die-off by-means-of the strangling, instead he lived-on, after he was taken-down before the *event for him* to be choked-to-death.<sup>15</sup> And the Acts of the Emissaries makes this clear, that, “after he became headlong, he burst-asunder *in the middle*, and his bowels were poured-out.” (Acts 1:18)

But Papias, a learner of Johanan, historicizes this more-obviously, saying the following in the fourth book of the Exposition of the Accounts-of-the-Lord:

But Judah walked-around *as* an example of great impiety in this world, after the flesh was inflamed to<sup>16</sup> such *an extent*, so-that that *man was* not-even being able to come-through a *place* where a wagon easily comes-through – instead, not-even the encumbrance of his head itself alone. For indeed, they declare, that the eyelids of his eyes swelled-out so-much, *so* as indeed for him to not be being *able to be* looking universally *at* the light. But his eyes were not-even being able to be seen by a healer through an optical-instrument. So deep were they having *sunk* from their outward surface.<sup>17</sup>

But his genitals<sup>18</sup> indeed appeared more-unpleasant and greater *than* every shameless-thing. But he brought through them, both ichor and worms *which were* flowing-together *from* out of the entire body; but for<sup>19</sup> an outrage, these *things* alone *were* of the obligation.<sup>20</sup> But after many tortures and punishments, they declare, after he came-to-his-end in his own site, the site became deserted and uninhabited from the smell *even* until the present. Instead, not-even until today<sup>21</sup> is someone being able to pass-by that place if-at-any-time he might not shut-up the noses with the hands. So-much is the outflowing which withdrew through his flesh and upon the earth.

#### EXCERPT 12 (from Andreas of Caesarea: On the Revelation 12:7-8 (34.12))

Now Papias *speaks* the following in *this* saying:<sup>22</sup>

But to some of them, quite-clearly the divine messengers of-old, he even gave *them* to be ruling the thorough-adorning around the earth, and he passed-*the-command-along-the-line for them* to be ruling beautifully.

And subsequently, he declares:

It happened *that* it was necessary for their order to come-to-an-end into nothing.

#### EXCERPT 13 (from Andreas of Caesarea: On the Revelation 12:7-9)<sup>23</sup>

{And Papias spoke in the following manner in his treatises:

The heaven did not endure *the Adversary's* earthly intentions because it is impossible for light to commune with darkness. He fell to earth, here to live. And when humans came here where he was, he did not permit them to live in natural passions; on the contrary, he led them astray into many evils. But Michael and his legions, who are watchers of the world, were helping humans, as Daniel learned. They gave laws and made the prophets wise. And all this was war against the dragon, who was setting stumbling-blocks for humans. Then their battle extended into the heaven, to the Anointed-One himself. Yet the Anointed-One came, and the law, which was impossible for anyone else, he fulfilled in his body, according to the emissary. He defeated sin and condemned the Adversary, and through his death he spread his righteousness abroad over all. As this occurred, the victory of Michael and his legions, the watchers of humans, became complete, and the

<sup>1</sup> literally “on”

<sup>2</sup> may also be translated “the lordly sayings”

<sup>3</sup> usually translated “former”

<sup>4</sup> literally “on”

<sup>5</sup> literally “has-around”

<sup>6</sup> From a work in the Armenian language.

<sup>7</sup> From a work in the Armenian language

<sup>8</sup> literally “bringing”

<sup>9</sup> usually translated “former”

<sup>10</sup> literally “working-down”

<sup>11</sup> usually translated “former”

<sup>12</sup> literally “on”

<sup>13</sup> literally “spoke-to”

<sup>14</sup> Greek “Judah”

<sup>15</sup> literally “choked-off”

<sup>16</sup> literally “on”

<sup>17</sup> literally “So-much depth were they having from the outside appearance.”

<sup>18</sup> literally “bashful-parts”

<sup>19</sup> literally “into”

<sup>20</sup> meaning not entirely certain, but has been literally translated; other translate “but into an outrage these things alone were forced out”

<sup>21</sup> literally “until the today”

<sup>22</sup> literally “Papias in-this-manner over saying”

<sup>23</sup> This fragment only exists in an Armenian translation of a Greek original

dragon could no longer resist because the death of the Anointed-One exposed him to ridicule and threw him to earth.

Concerning this, the Anointed-One said, "I was perceiving the Adversary, after he fell as a flash-of-lighting out of the heaven."<sup>1</sup>

(Luke 10:18)

In this sense the teacher did not understand his first fall, but the second, which was through the cross; and this did not consist of a spatial fall, as at first, but rather judgment and expectation of a mighty punishment.}

#### EXCERPT 14 (from Anastasios of Sinai: On Hexaemeron (1))

Papias (the altogeter, the Hierapolitan, the pupil<sup>1</sup> of<sup>2</sup> the *one who stood-over the Anointed-One...*) comprehended the six-days in regards to the Anointed-One and the entire assembly.

#### EXCERPT 15 (from Anastasios of Sinai: On Hexaemeron (7))

Therefore, indeed, the more-ancient expounders of the assembly... including Papias (the much, the pupil of Johanan the good-messenger, the Hierapolitan)... were perceiving the *things* about the Garden spiritually, referring<sup>3</sup> them to<sup>4</sup> the assembly of the Anointed-One.

#### EXCERPT 16 (from Johanan of Skythopolis)

The *ones who were* exercising a lack-of-evil in-accordance-with a god, they were calling "boys", as Papias also makes-clear in the first book of the Expositions of-the-Lord.

#### EXCERPT 17 (from Philippos of Side: Codex Baroccianus (142))

Papias (an overseer of Hierapolis; *who* became a hearer of Johanan the theologian, but a comrade of Polykarpos), wrote five accounts of "Sayings-of-the-Lord."

In the second account, Papias says that Johanan the theologian and Jacob his brother were done-away-with by Judeans. Papias historicized, as having taking *it* aside from the daughters of Philippos, that Bar-Sabba (the *one* also called Justus), *while* being proved by the faithless-ones, after he drank poison of a viper, was carefully-guarded *being* unable-to-suffer in the name of the Anointed-One. But he also historicizes other marvels, and, especially, the *one* about<sup>5</sup> the mother of Menahem, her standing-up *from* out of dead *persons*. About the *ones who* stood-up *from out of* dead *persons* through the Anointed-One, *he declares* that they were living until Hadrianus.

#### EXCERPT 18 (from Geogrios Hamartolos: Codex Coislirianus (305))

But after Domitianus, Nerva reigned one year. After he<sup>6</sup> called-up Johanan out of the island, he released *him* from *him* to be dwelling in Ephesos. He was then the only *one* out of the twelve learners whose lifetime survived, and he, after he composed<sup>7</sup> the Good-Message according to him, was deemed-worthy of a testimony.

For Papias (the overseer of Hierapolis, *who* became a seer-for-himself of this *man*), asserts in the second account of the "Sayings-of-the-Lord," that he was done-away-with by Judeans, after he quite-clearly *fulfilled* with his<sup>8</sup> brother the predicting<sup>9</sup> of the Anointed-One about them and their own confession about this and consensus.<sup>10</sup>

For the Lord spoke to them, "Are you\* being able to drink the cup which **I** am drinking?" And after they nodded-down eagerly and after they synthesized-together, he declares, "You\* will drink my cup, and you\* will be immersed with the immersion with which **I** am being immersed." And suitably; for a god *is* unable to lie.

(Mark 10:38-39)

But also in-this-manner, in his<sup>11</sup> interpretation according-to Matthai, the multi-learned Origenes also thoroughly-affirms, that Johanan has testified, throwing-out-hints<sup>12</sup> as having learned this from<sup>13</sup> the successors of the emissaries.

#### EXCERPT 19 (from Codex Vaticanus Alexandria)

After the Revelation was written, the Good-Message of Johanan was manifested and was given to the assemblies by Johanan, *while* he was still constituted in the body, as Papias by name (*a* Hierapolitan, *a* learner dear to Johanan), has referred

in his exoteric (that is, in his extreme) five books. Truly, he wrote-down the Good-Message correctly *while* Johanan was dictating.

#### EXCERPT 20 (from Andreas of Caesarea: On the Revelation (preface))

However, about the god-inspiration of the book of the Revelation of Johanan... the happy Gregorios (I am speaking<sup>14</sup> of the Theologian), and Kyrillos, but even still-more the more-ancient Papias, Eirenaios, Methodios, and Hippolytos *are* testifying-to the trustworthy *nature* of this.

#### EXCERPT 21 (from Vardan Vardapet)<sup>15</sup>

Now as regarding the aloe which they brought, some say that it is a mixture of oil and honey. But certainly aloe is a type of incense. The geographer and Papias relate, that there are fifteen kinds of aloe in India...

<sup>1</sup> literally "frequenter" (also in next excerpt)

<sup>2</sup> literally "out-of"

<sup>3</sup> literally "bringing-up"

<sup>4</sup> literally "into"

<sup>5</sup> literally "according-to"

<sup>6</sup> literally "who"

<sup>7</sup> literally "wrote-together"

<sup>8</sup> literally "the"

<sup>9</sup> literally "fore-saying"

<sup>10</sup> literally "down-positioning-together"

<sup>11</sup> literally "the"

<sup>12</sup> literally "signifying-under"

<sup>13</sup> literally "out-of"

<sup>14</sup> literally "declaring"

<sup>15</sup> From a work in the Armenian language