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Clement of Alexandria

Saint Clement (of Alexandria), George William ...
S. JOHN AND THE ROBBER.
NOTE ON ILLUSTRATION

(For the story see pp. 357-365.)

The Illustration reproduces (by kind permission of the Master and Fellows) a page from a manuscript Apocalypse\(^1\) in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, which is perhaps the finest example of the English art of its time, viz. the middle of the thirteenth century. It is one of the very few representations of the story of St. John and the Robber which occur in mediaeval art. The inscriptions, in Anglo-French, explain the scenes quite adequately.

Picture 1 (top of page).—Here is how St. John asks for the youth, and how he is in the forest with the robbers.

On label (St. John says to the Bishop) Restore me him whom I entrusted to you, and, by the witness of the Holy Church which you govern, I demand of you the youth whom I commended to you. (The Bishop says) He is dead. Verily he is dead to God; for he is gone away full of all mischief, and in the end he is become a wicked robber, and now he is in the mountain with a great company of robbers and hath taken the mountain for to spoil and to kill and to rob the people.

Picture 2.—Here is how the youth fled, and how St. John gallops after him and calls him gently.

(St. John says) Fair son, why dost thou flee from thy father? Wherefore dost thou flee from an old man unarmed? Have pity on thyself and have no fear, for thou canst still have hope of life. Fair son, stay!

Picture 3.—Here is how St. John kisses the youth's right hand, and how he baptizes him, and how he leads him back to the Church from whence he had gone out.

\(^1\) This Apocalypse has recently (1909) been edited for the Roxburghe Club by the Provost of King's.
CLEMENT
OF ALEXANDRIA

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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THE EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS
THE RICH MAN'S SALVATION
AND THE FRAGMENT OF AN ADDRESS ENTITLED
TO THE NEWLY BAPTIZED

LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN
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MCMXIX
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THE EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

INTRODUCTION . . . . . 3-27

The minstrels of Greek legend were supposed to have performed wonderful deeds by the power of music. But the new minstrel, the Word of God, does greater works in real life. His power is shown in saving men from slavery to daemons; and also in giving order and harmony to the universe. He is the New Song; and yet old, for He was "in the beginning." He alone reveals God to men.

DESCRIPTION OF THE GREEK MYSTERIES . 27-51

Sanctuaries, oracles, sacred springs and trees are now out of date. The mysteries; derivation of the word "mystery"; originator of mysteries. Mysteries of (i.) Aphrodite, (ii.) Demeter, (iii.) Attis and Cybele. Story of Persephone. The mysteries of Dionysus. Rites of the Corybantes and the Cabeiri. The Eleusinian formula. These mysteries are profane and unholy; Heracleitus witnesses against them. Greeks, not Christians, are the real atheists.
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Description of the Greek Gods . . . 53-101

Seven causes of idolatry. Many gods of the same name. Gods were really men; examples to prove this. The immorality of the gods, with examples. Goddesses equally guilty. The Greek games are all held in honour of dead men. Origin of phallic emblems in Dionysus-worship. Gods have even been slaves. They have human feelings and needs. Zeus was once alive, but is now dead. Greeks themselves call the gods by stupid and indecent names; Egyptian animal worship is better than this. Greeks also worship animals; examples. Are the Greek gods daemons, or secondary divinities? Certainly they are not guardians of men, but savage and man-hating creatures, as is proved by human sacrifices. Such daemons must be avoided like wild beasts. Men are better than daemons, e.g. Solon than Apollo. The gods’ temples are really tombs.

The Worship of Statues . . . . 101-143

The first images were unwrought wood and stone; in later times they were made into human shape. They are all the work of men; as is shown by many examples. Even the image of Sarapis in Alexandria is of human workmanship. The deification of Antinous is another example of god-making; his tomb is now a temple. The Sibyl predicts the destruction of temples with their images. Heracleitus scoffs at image-worship. Images are without life, and sacrifices do them no good. The lowest animals are better than any statues. God’s true image is mental, not material. Rulers despise statues, and insult vi
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them. Thieves steal them. Fire and earthquakes destroy them. Sculptors make them look like their own favourites. Both kings and private persons, scorning image-worship, have styled themselves gods. The epitaph of Hippo shows that all gods were once men. They are now unclean spirits that haunt tombs, and their statues are simply earth and art. The fascination of art has led men to fall in love with statues; now it leads men to worship them. Stories of gods are full of immorality; but Christians are living images of God, and must not listen to them. Indecent pictures hung in houses; indecent symbols on rings; shameful emblems displayed in public. Image-making is forbidden to Christians. Men must seek after God, and not after any created thing.

THE WITNESS OF PHILOSOPHY . . . 145–163 —

Early philosophers supposed the elements to be first principles. This veneration of matter is mere atheism. It originates with barbarians. Other philosophers sought for a higher first principle, as the Infinite, or Mind. The Stoic doctrine of Immanence. The Peripatetic doctrine; God the soul of the universe. Epicurus. A crowd of minor philosophers who exalt the elements. But Plato is a better guide; together with Euripides and Democritus, he knows the majesty of the true God. Whence came Plato's wisdom? From barbarians, as he confesses, i.e. from the Hebrews. Antisthenes, Xenophon, Socrates, Cleanthes and Pythagoras also knew the truth.
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THE WITNESS OF POETRY . . . 163–173

Poetry is entirely concerned with fiction, yet it cannot help bearing some witness to truth. Examples from Aratus, Hesiod, Sophocles, Orpheus. Even comic poets know the truth, for instance, Menander. Homer, too, and many others speak ill of the gods; but especially Euripides.

THE WITNESS OF HEBREW PROPHECY . 173–195

The sacred writings are simple in style, but of great power. A prelude from the Sibyl. Many quotations to show the majesty of the one true God and His love for man; from Jeremiah, Isaiah, Moses, Hosea, Solomon, David. But Christ the Word speaks with even greater authority. He invites us into His kingdom, to be sons of God.

Punishment awaits unbelievers. We must then obey God "to-day." The meaning of "to-day." We must choose between God's grace and His displeasure. Salvation is beyond price; yet it can be bought for faith and love. God is our teacher, through the scriptures. All may become His children.

THE CLAIMS OF CUSTOM . . . . 197–237

Ought men to abandon their traditional ways? Yes, just as children abandon childish ways. Custom is the real obstacle to godliness. It refuses all guidance. The sight of filthy and degraded priests ought to bring men to God, who is a loving Father. Yet some men are like worms
and swine, loving what is foul. God has a splendid inheritance for His children; heaven and earth are theirs without cost. An innate faith in goodness is possessed by all, and is worthy of trust. Custom is stupid; it deifies mere human beings, and sets up stones for worship. God's Word is His true image; and man's mind is an image of the Word. Custom is rooted in ignorance. But ignorance is only an excuse for him who has never heard God's message. Custom destroys men. It is utterly absurd. Those who follow it are like drugged men; they also become like stones when they worship stones. Men are the really sacred things, not animals or stones. Unbelievers are deaf and blind in heart; or like serpents, wriggling on the earth. Life is the reward for finding God. Divine wisdom helps man to do life's duties well. God's children follow God's laws, which are severe, but health-giving. The Word has brought untold blessings to men.

**God's Plan of Redemption** . . . 237-251

Man was created innocent and free; but he fell through pleasure. The Word became incarnate, and died on the Cross to save him. So man gains more than he lost. The Word is now man's teacher. He brings light and reveals God. The night of earth gives place to the day of God. The Word is also an amulet that can save from sin. This is ever God's purpose—to save men. It is proclaimed to men by Christ's bloodless army. Those who obey God become His delight as well as His handiwork, and they inherit a kingdom.
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FINAL EXHORTATION  .  .  .  .  .  251–263

Custom must be shunned as a deadly peril. It is like Circe's island. Follow Odysseus' example, and be bound to the Cross. Be warned by the madness of Pentheus. The Word's mysteries are sober; performed by pure maidens and righteous men. These mysteries alone give a vision of God. Christ is the true hierophant. He offers rest and immortality. It is sheer madness to remain in ignorance when truth is within reach. Man can become a friend and son of God, but only by following Christ. Finally, the reader is exhorted to make for himself the great choice between life and destruction.

THE RICH MAN'S SALVATION  .  265–367

TO THE NEWLY BAPTIZED  .  .  .  368–377

APPENDIX ON THE GREEK MYSTERIES  .  .  .  .  .  .  379–390

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INTRODUCTION

Few facts are known to us concerning the life of Clement of Alexandria. His title comes from the city which was the scene of all his important work; but an early tradition spoke of him as being an Athenian by birth, and this may be correct. The date of his birth can be fixed roughly at 150 A.D. We are told nothing of his parentage or early training. It seems clear, however, that he was not a Christian to begin with. He is so well acquainted with the mystery cults that there is a strong probability that he had been initiated into some of them. We have it on his own authority that he wandered through many lands and heard many teachers. Six of these he singles out for mention, though not by name; they were “blessed and memorable men,” who spoke “plain and living words.” Doubtless all of them were Christians. The last of the six, who was “first in power,” and whom he found in Egypt, is almost certainly Pantaenus, then head of the Catechetical School at Alexandria. Here Clement’s wanderings
INTRODUCTION

ceased. He became a presbyter of the Church, and taught in Alexandria for more than twenty years, succeeding Pantaenus as head of the School. On the outbreak of persecution under Severus in 202 A.D. he left Alexandria, never to return. We get one more glimpse of him; in 211 A.D. he was the bearer of a letter from Alexander, afterwards bishop of Jerusalem, to the Church at Antioch. In this letter he is described as "Clement the blessed presbyter, a virtuous and esteemed man . . . who upheld and extended the Church of the Lord." Alexander was one of Clement's old pupils, and a fellow-pupil with the great Origen. Clement must have died not long after this letter was written; for the same Alexander, writing to Origen a few years later, speaks of him together with Pantaenus as "those blessed men who have trodden the road before us."

The extant works of Clement are as follows:—the *Exhortation to the Greeks*; the *Pedagogue* or *Tutor*; eight books of *Stromateis* or *Miscellanies*; a short treatise entitled, *Who is the rich man that shall be saved?* together with some fragments called *Selections from the Prophets*, being comments upon portions of the Scriptures. There are also a number of short extracts from the writings of a certain Theodotus with comments thereon. Of the lost works the most important is the *Hypotyposes*, or *Outlines*, a commentary upon the Scriptures. Possibly the *Selections from the Prophets* formed part of this work.

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INTRODUCTION

The writings of Clement are considerable in extent, and remarkable in character. Hardly a page can be found without some quotation from the Old or New Testaments. Besides this, Clement makes constant references to the Greek poets, dramatists, philosophers and historians. He can illustrate his argument by a passage from Plato, or by lines from Homer or Euripides. He can strengthen his attack by quoting Heracleitus or Democritus. Items of information about curious, absurd or immoral Greek customs he can glean from a crowd of minor authors whose works have now perished. It is said that he mentions by name more than three hundred such authors, of whom otherwise we know nothing. Some of these may have been known to him only through books of extracts; but there can be no question as to his thorough reading of Plato and Homer. For Plato he has a sincere admiration, and Platonic expressions and ideas, to say nothing of direct quotations, are everywhere to be met with in his writings. Generally speaking he betrays no interest in his authorities except in so far as they are useful to establish some point. But this wide reading is evidence of a large and generous mind, that welcomed the true and the good wherever they might be found, confident that every ray of light proceeds from the same sun.

This fearless acceptance of truth from every available source makes Clement not only important
INTRODUCTION

for his own times, but also interesting for the world of to-day. He was faced by a problem that ever recurs, the problem of blending old truth with new. In the second century Christianity had become a power. No longer was the Church weak, poor and neglected. Educated men inquired about its faith, and asked admittance within its fold; but they would bring with them an inheritance of thought and culture, unknown to the simple Christians of an earlier age. The question was bound to arise, What relation has this to the Christian faith? Is it to be set aside as superfluous, or injurious? Or is all the good in it to be accepted and welcomed, a proof that God’s revelation extends in a measure to all men, to Greeks as well as Jews? Clement himself had come to Christianity with a mind steeped in Greek learning, and he answered this question with clearness and confidence. Greek learning was not to be rejected. Philosophy at its best had stood to the Greeks in the same relation as prophecy to the Jews; it had been, he held, a preparation for Christ. It abounded in glimmerings and foreshadowings of the divine teaching, and could not have come from the devil, as timid Christians maintained. It was therefore a proper object of study, and the exercise of human reason which it pre-supposed could do no harm to the Christian faith. Thus Clement, taking his stand upon the oneness of truth, laid down the lines upon which Christian theology could safely proceed.
INTRODUCTION

But while Clement asserted that a real revelation had been made to the higher minds of Greece, he knew well how slight was its effect on the popular morality and religion. Hence the fierce attack which is the subject of his first work, the *Exhortation to the Greeks*. With bitter scorn he describes the mysteries, seizing upon any disgraceful legend or piece of childish ceremonial which seems to stamp them as worthless and debasing. As for the gods, with their human needs and passions, they are subjects for ridicule, to which Clement adds a burning indignation when he thinks of the low standard of morality attributed to them in the current mythology. The worship of images, too, is stupid; the true God cannot be represented in material form. Yet Clement can prove by quotations that philosophers, Plato especially, and even poets, had clearly taught the unity, supremacy, and goodness of God. But the greatest witnesses of all were the Hebrew prophets, through whom God gave His promises to men. The Greeks are prevented from accepting the truth by Custom, that dead weight of inherited tradition, which must be abandoned. Christianity offers man the true mysteries, culminating in the vision of God.

Thus the Greek religion which Clement attacks is a thing far removed from the lofty conceptions of Plato or Aeschylus. It is the religion of the multitude in the Greek-speaking world. Five hundred years
INTRODUCTION

before this, Plato censured the immoralities of the gods in terms hardly less severe than those of Clement, but Plato's words were ineffective to change what he himself was heartily ashamed of. The Christian Church, however, under the leadership of men like Clement, was slowly gathering the common people into a society which upheld a higher view of the divine character, and demanded a correspondingly higher standard of human conduct. No doubt the evil of the popular religion is exaggerated; certainly Clement omits all reference to its good. Yet there must have been enough of the evil before men's eyes to make Christian life and teaching stand out in noble contrast. In the house, in the street, in the market-place, at feasts, assemblies and religious processions, Christian converts were exposed to sights and sounds from which they had learnt instinctively to shrink. It is such things, and all that was bound up with them, that Clement denounces. To-day we may admire Greek art without paying much attention to the mythology which was then inseparable from it; we may probe mystery religions in search of those elements of good which made them for centuries the chief spiritual food of the common people. Such discrimination is not to be looked for in the second century. Clement claimed a place for philosophy in the Church; later on a home was found for art too, and even the fundamental ideas of the mysteries were not refused xvi
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admission. Time was necessary to show what could be assimilated and what could not. In Clement's day Christianity was still struggling for existence, and popular religion was its deadliest enemy. This fact should serve as an excuse for the over-elaboration of his attack and for one or two passages which are unpleasant to a modern reader.

In preparing the present translation I have had the great advantage of being able to work from the text of Stählin, published in 1905. All students of Clement must be grateful, not only for this clear and accurate text, but also for the references collected by Stählin, which throw light on many a difficult passage. The text printed here is substantially that of Stählin's edition, though I have occasionally preferred the conjectures of other scholars or retained the manuscript reading where Stählin departs from it. All deviations of any importance from the mss. are noted at the foot of each page. So far as concerns the Exhortation, the chief extant ms. is the Parisian, referred to by Stählin as P. A description of this ms. is to be found in the introduction to Stählin's text (vol. i. pp. xvi–xxiii). Depending on P is the Codex Mutinensis, known as M.

This translation was first drafted several years ago as part of a complete edition of the Exhortation to the Greeks; and I am still working towards xvii
the accomplishment of this larger plan. A grateful acknowledgment is due to the committee of the Bodington Memorial Fund, in connexion with the University of Leeds, for grants which have materially assisted the progress of my work. I desire also to record my deep indebtedness to the late Dr. Joseph B. Mayor, who in the closing years of his life gave me most generous and patient help both in the details of the translation and in my general study of Clement. Most of all, I thank Professor W. Rhys Roberts, of the University of Leeds, at whose suggestion I first began to read Clement, and to whose kindly encouragement and ungrudging help is largely due my perseverance hitherto in so difficult an undertaking.
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The chief editors of Clement of Alexandria are as follows:—

in two vols. was issued at Oxford in 1715, and is
reprinted in Migne, P.G. vols. viii. and ix.


This supersedes all previous editions.

Out of the very large literature that has grown up
around Clement’s works the following books in English
may be mentioned:—

Bishop Kaye. Some Account of the Writings and

Bigg. The Christian Platonists of Alexandria. Oxford,
1886.

London, 1895.

Hitchcock. Clement of Alexandria (Fathers for English

Tollinton. Clement of Alexandria: a Study in

Patrick. Clement of Alexandria (The Croall Lecture
for 1899–1900). 1914.
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The whole of Clement’s extant works (with the exception of the *Extracts from Theodotus* and the newly-discovered *Exhortation to Endurance*) are translated into English in *The Ante-Nicene Christian Library* by the Rev. W. Wilson. The vols. marked Clement of Alexandria, I. and II., contain the *Exhortation to the Greeks*, the *Pedagogue or Tutor* and the *Stromateis*. The *Rich Man’s Salvation* is to be found at the end of the volume marked Lactantius II., and the *Selections from the Prophets* and various Fragments are at the end of a small volume entitled *Early Liturgies: Fragments*.

The Seventh Book of the *Stromateis* is translated by the Rev. J. B. Mayor in Hort and Mayor’s edition of that book. Cambridge, 1902.

The *Rich Man’s Salvation* has been translated by P. M. Barnard (*Who is the Rich Man that is being saved?* Early Church Classics series. •S.P.C.K. 1901).

The Fragment entitled *Exhortation to Endurance, or, To the Newly Baptized* has been translated by J. Patrick in his book *Clement of Alexandria*, pp. 183–185.
CLEMENT
OF ALEXANDRIA
ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΣ

ΠΡΟΤΡΕΠΤΙΚΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΑΣ

I

'Αμφίων ὁ Θηβαῖος καὶ Ἅριων ὁ Μηθυμναῖος ἀμφῶς μὲν ἦσαν ὡδικός, μύθος δὲ ἀμφῶς καὶ τὸ ἁσμα εἰσέτι τούτῳ Ἑλλήνων ἁδεταὶ | χορῶ, τέχνη τῆς μουσικῆς ὁ μὲν ἱχθῦν δελεάσας, ὁ δὲ Θῆβας τείχίσας. Θράκιος δὲ ἄλλος σοφιστὴς (ἄλλος οὗτος μύθος Ἑλληνικός) ἐτυθάσευε τὰ θηρία γυμνή τῇ ὠδῇ καὶ ὑπέν τὰ δέντρα, τὰς φηγούς, μετεφύτευε τῇ μουσικῇ. ἔχοιμι ἂν σοι καὶ ἄλλον τούτοις ἄδελφον διηγήσασθαι μῦθον καὶ ὠδόν, Εὐνομον τὸν Δοκρόν καὶ τέτυγα τὸν Πυθικόν. πανήγυρις Ἑλληνική ἐπὶ νεκρῷ δράκοντι συνεκροτεῖτο Πυθοῖ, ἔπιτάφιοι ἔρπετον ἄδοντος Ἐυνόμου· ὕμνος ἡ θρήνος ὁφεῖσ

a Arion was returning from Sicily to Greece laden with prizes and presents. The sailors thought to kill him for his wealth, but after playing his lyre he jumped into the sea. Dolphins, charmed by the music, gathered round him, and one of them took the bard on its back to Corinth.

b The stones were said to have moved into their proper places at the sound of Amphion’s music.

2
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

THE EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

I.

Amphion of Thebes and Arion of Methymna were minstrels of legend and their deeds: Arion Amphion Orpheus. Both are celebrated in legend, and to this day the story is sung by a chorus of Greeks how their musical skill enabled the one to lure a fish and the other to build the walls of Thebes. There was also a Thracian wizard,—so runs another Greek legend,—who used to tame wild beasts simply by his song, yes, and to transplant trees, oaks, by music. I can also tell you of another legend and another minstrel akin to these, namely, Eunomus the Locrian and the Pythian grasshopper. A solemn assembly of Greeks, held in honour of a dead serpent, was gathering at Pytho, and Eunomus sang a funeral ode for the reptile. Whether his song was a hymn...

* i.e., Orpheus. Cp. Euripides, Rhesus 924, δεινὴ σοφιστὴ Ὑψηλή.

a Strictly cicala, here and elsewhere.

b i.e., Delphi. According to the Greek legend the serpent was the ancient guardian of the Delphic shrine, and was slain by Apollo.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. 

ὴν ἡ ὠδὴ, οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν· ἀγῶν δὲ ἦν καὶ ἐκθά- 

ριζέν ὥρα καύματος Εὐνόμου, ὅπηνικα οἱ τέττιγες 

ὑπὸ τοὺς πετάλους ἦδον ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη θερόμενοι ἥλιω. 

ἔδων δὲ ἀρά οὐ τῷ δράκοντι τῷ νεκρῷ, τῷ Πυ- 

θικῷ, ἀλλα τῷ θεῷ τῷ πανσόφῳ αὐτόνομον ὠδήν, 

τῶν Εὐνόμου βελτίων νόμων· βῆγμας χορή 

τῷ Λοκρῷ· ἐφίππηται ὁ τέττις τῷ ζυγῷ· ἐτερήτιζεν ὡς 

ἐπὶ κλάδῳ τῷ ὄργανῳ· καὶ τοῦ τέττιγος τῷ ἄσματι 

ἀρμοσάμενος ὁ ὥδος τὴν λείπουσαν ἀνεπλήρωσε 

χορθῇ. οὖκον ὠδή τῇ Εὐνόμου ἄγεται ὁ τέττις, 

ὡς ὁ μύθος βουλεταί, χαλκούν ἀναστήσας Πυθοῦ 

τὸν Εὐνόμον αὐτῇ τῇ κυθάρα καὶ τὸν συναγωνιστή 

τοῦ Λοκροῦ· ὁ δὲ ἔκων ἐφίππηται καὶ ἔδει ἔκων, 

"Ελληνὶ δὲ ἔδοκεν ὑποκρίτης γεγονέναι μονοκηκῆς.

Πὴ δὴ οὖν μύθοις κενοῖς πεποιθεύκατε, θέλησθαι 

μονικὴ τὰ ζῶα ὑπολαμβάνοντες; ἀληθείας δὲ 

ὑμῖν τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ φαίδρον μόνον, ὡς ἐοικεν, 

ἐπίπλαστον εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἀποικίσῃς ὑπόπε- 

πτωκεὶς ὀφθαλμοῖς. Κυθαρίῳ δὲ ἀρὰ καὶ Ἐλικών 

καὶ τὰ Ὄδρυσον ὄρη καὶ Θρακῶν, τελεστήρια τῆς 

πλάνης, διὰ τὰ μυστήρια τῆς 

κεκαθήμενας συμφοραῖς. ὡμίν δὲ καὶ τῶν 

3 P. κακῶν αἱ ἀναγραφαὶ γεγόνασι δράματα καὶ τῶν 

δραμάτων οἱ ὑποκριταὶ θυμηδίας θεάματα. ἀλλὰ

1 δοκεῖ Wilamowitz.

2 τελεστήρια τῆς πλάνης, διὰ τὰ μυστήρια Schwartz. τελε- 

στήρια, τῆς πλάνης τὰ μυστήρια mss.

a Mt. Cithaeron was sacred to Zeus; Mt. Helicon to the 

Muses; and the Thracian mountains were the home of 

Dionysus-worship. For the meaning of these mountain-

cults in Greek religion see A. B. Cook, Zeus, i. pp. 100–163.

4
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

in praise of the snake, or a lamentation over it, CHAP. I cannot say; but there was a competition, and Eunomus was playing the lyre in the heat of the day, at the time when the grasshoppers, warmed by the sun, were singing under the leaves along the hills. They were singing, you see, not to the dead serpent of Pytho, but to the all-wise God, a spontaneous natural song, better than the measured strains of Eunomus. A string breaks in the Locrian's hands; the grasshopper settles upon the neck of the lyre and begins to twitter there as if upon a branch: whereupon the minstrel, by adapting his music to the grasshopper's lay, supplied the place of the missing string. So it was not Eunomus that drew the grasshopper by his song, as the legend would have it, when it set up the bronze figure at Pytho, showing Eunomus with his lyre, and his ally in the contest. No, the grasshopper flew of its own accord, and sang of its own accord, although the Greeks thought it to have been responsive to music.

How in the world is it that you have given credence to worthless legends, imagining brute beasts to be enchanted by music, while the bright face of truth seems alone to strike you as deceptive, and is regarded with unbelieving eyes? Cithaeron, and Helicon, and the mountains of Odrysians and Thracians,¹ temples of initiation into error, are held sacred on account of the attendant mysteries, and are celebrated in hymns. For my own part, mere legend though they are, I cannot bear the thought of all the calamities that are worked up into tragedy; yet in your hands the records of these evils have become dramas, and the actors of the dramas are a sight that gladdens your heart. But as for the

¹ Mountains are held sacred. Dramas are made from stories of misfortune and wickedness.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. γὰρ τὰ μὲν δράματα καὶ τοὺς ληναίζοντας ποιητάς,
tέλεον ἦδη παρουνόντας, κιττᾶ ὁ ποὺ ἀναδήσαντες,
ἀφραίνοντας ἐκτόπως τελετῇ βακχικῇ, αὐτὸῖς
σατύροις καὶ θίασῳ μαινόλῃ, σὺν καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ
daiμόνων χορῷ, <ἐν> Ἐλικῶν καὶ Κιθαιρῶν κατα-
κλέισωμεν γεγρακόσων, κατάγωμεν δὲ ἀνωθεν ἐξ
οὐρανῶν ἀλήθειαν ἀμα φανοτάτη φρονήσει εἰς ὅρος
ἀγίον θεὸν καὶ χορὸν τὸν ἁγίον τὸν προφητικόν.
ἡ δὲ ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα τηλαυγές ἀποστιλβοῦσα φῶς
κατανυκτῶν πάντη τοὺς ἐν σκότει κυλινδουμένους
καὶ τῆς πλάνης τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπαλλαττέω, τὴν
ὑπερτάτην ὀρέγουσα δεξίαν, τὴν σύνεσιν, εἰς σω-
τηρίαν. οἳ δὲ ἀνανεύσαντες καὶ ἀνακύψαντες Ἐλι-
κῶνα μὲν καὶ Κιθαιρῶνα καταλειπόντων, οἰκούντων
dὲ Σιών: "ἐκ γὰρ Σιών ἐξελεύσεται νόμος, καὶ
λόγος κυρίον εἴς Ἰερουσαλήμ," λόγος οὐράνιος, ὁ
gνήσιος ἁγιωτής ἐπὶ τῷ παντὸς κόσμου θεάτρῳ
στεφανοῦμενος. ἢ δὲ γε ὁ Ἐβνομὸς ὁ ἐμὸς οὐ
τὸν Τερπάνδρον νόμον οὐδὲ τὸν Καπίωνος, οὐδὲ μὴν
Φρύγιον ἢ Λύδιον ἢ Δώριον, ἄλλα τῆς καινῆς
ἀρμονίας τὸν ἁίδιον νόμον, τὸν φερώνυμον τοῦ θεοῦ,
tὸ ξύμα τοῦ καϊνόν, τὸ Δευτικόν, "νηπενθές τ' ἀ-
χολὸν τε, κακῶν ἐπίληθες ἀπάντων." γλυκύ τι καὶ
ἀληθινὸν φάρμακον πειθοὺς 2 ἐγκέκραται τῷ ἄσματι.

1 <ἐν> inserted by Mayor. 2 πένθους Reinkens and Stählin.

a Clement is not referring to the works of the great
dramatists, but to the contests at the Lenaea, a festival
held annually at Athens in honour of Dionysus. In
Clement’s day the competitors would be for the most part
poets of a very minor order.

b Isaiah ii. 3.

c The modes (ἄρμονλαι, see p. 12, n. a) were the scales in
which Greek music was written. Phrygian, Lydian and
Dorian were the chief modes, others being, it would seem,
formed from them by modification or combination. The
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dramas and the Lenaean poets, who are altogether like drunken men, let us wreathe them, if you like, with ivy, while they are performing the mad revels of the Bacchic rite, and shut them up, satyrs and frenzied rout and all,—yes, and the rest of the company of daemons too,—in Helicon and Cithaeron now grown old; and let us bring down truth, with wisdom in all her brightness, from heaven above, to the holy mountain of God and the holy company of the prophets. Let truth, sending forth her rays of light into the farthest distance, shine everywhere upon those who are wallowing in darkness, and deliver men from their error, stretching out her supreme right hand, even understanding, to point them to salvation. And when they have raised their heads and looked up let them forsake Helicon and Cithaeron to dwell in Sion; "for out of Sion shall go forth the law, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem," that is, the heavenly Word, the true champion, who is being crowned upon the stage of the whole world. Aye, and this Eunomus of mine sings not the strain of Terpander or of Capio, nor yet in Phrygian or Lydian or Dorian mode; but the new music, with its eternal strain that bears the name of God. This is the new song, the song of Moses,

Soother of grief and wrath, that bids all ills be forgotten. There is a sweet and genuine medicine of persuasion blended with this song.

Dorian mode was of a solemn character, answering to our minor scale; the Phrygian and Lydian were brighter.

\textsuperscript{a} Homer, \textit{Odyssey} iv. 221.

\textsuperscript{b} A slight change in the Greek, suggested by Reinkens, would give the meaning "remedy against grief."
'Εμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκοῦσιν ὁ Θράκιος ἔκεινος Ὀρφεὺς καὶ ὁ Θηβαῖος καὶ ὁ Μηθυμναῖος, ἄνδρες τινὲς οὐκ ἀνδρὲς, ἀπαθητοὶ γεγονέναι, προσχήματι τοῦμ μουσικὴς λυμηνάμενοι τὸν βίον, ἐντέχνω των γοητείᾳ δαμονώντες εἰς διαφθοράς, ὑβρεῖς ὄργιαξοντες, πένθη ἐκθειαζοντες, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τά ἐιδώλα χειραγωγῆσαι πρῶτοι, καὶ μὴν λίθους καὶ ξύλους, τούτεστιν ἀγάλμασι καὶ σκιαγραφίαις, ἀνουκδομήσαι τὴν σκαιότητα τοῦ έθους, τὴν καλὴν ὄντως ἐκεῖνην ἑλευθερίαν τῶν ὑπ’ οὐρανόν πεπολυτεμένων ὄδας καὶ ἐπιφάλας ἔοικατ’ οὐκ ἀπολογεῖα καταζεύγαντες.

'Αλλ' οὐ τούσδε ὁ ὄδος ὁ ἐμὸς οὗτος μακρὰν καταλύσων ἀφίκται τὴν οὐκελίον τὴν πικρὰν τῶν τυραννῶντων δαμόνων, ὡς δὲ τὸν πρᾶον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον τῆς θεοσεβείας μετάγων ἡμᾶς ξυνόν αὕτης εἰς οὐρανὸς ἀνακαλεῖται τοὺς εἰς γην ἐρρυμένους. μόνος γοῦν τῶν πώποτε τὰ ἀργαλεώσατα θηρία, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἐτιθάσεων, πτημα μὲν τοὺς κούφους αὐτῶν, ἐρπετὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀπατεώνας, καὶ λέοντας μὲν τοὺς θημικοὺς, σύας δὲ τοὺς ἤδονας, λύκους δὲ τοὺς ἀρπακτικοὺς. λίθοι δὲ καὶ ἔφιλα οἱ ἄφρονες. πρὸς δὲ καὶ λίθων ἀναισθητῶν ἀνθρώπος ἄγνοια βεβαπτισμένος. μάρτυς ἡμῖν προφητικὴ παρίτω φωνή, συνωδὸς ἄληθείας, τοὺς ἐν ἄγνοια καὶ ἄνοια κατατερμήμουν οἰκτείρουσα. "δυνατὸς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων ἐγείραι τέκνα τῷ Ἀβραὰμ." ὁς κατελείπασα τὴν ἀμαθίαν τὴν πολλὴν

2 τοῖς inserted by Wilamowitz.

a For examples see pp. 35-43.

b St. Matthew iii. 9; St. Luke iii. 8.
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In my opinion, therefore, our Thracian, Orpheus, and the Theban and the Methymnian too, are not worthy of the name of man, since they were deceivers. Under cover of music they have outraged human life, being influenced by daemons, through some artful sorcery, to compass man's ruin. By commemorating deeds of violence in their religious rites, and by bringing stories of sorrow into worship, they were the first to lead men by the hand to idolatry; yes, and with stocks and stones, that is to say, statues and pictures, to build up the stupidity of custom. By their chants and enchantments they have held captive in the lowest slavery that truly noble freedom which belongs to those who are citizens under heaven.

But far different is my minstrel, for He has come to bring to a speedy end the bitter slavery of the daemons that lord it over us; and by leading us back to the mild and kindly yoke of piety He calls once again to heaven those who have been cast down to earth. He at least is the only one who ever tamed the most intractable of all wild beasts—man: for he tamed birds, that is, flighty men; reptiles, that is, crafty men; lions, that is, passionate men; swine, that is, pleasure-loving men; wolves, that is, rapacious men. Men without understanding are stocks and stones; indeed a man steeped in ignorance is even more senseless than stones. As our witness let the prophetic voice, which shares in the song of truth, come forward, speaking words of pity for those who waste away their lives in ignorance and folly,—"for God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham." And God, in compassion for the great dulness and the hardness of those
ΚΛΕΜΕΝΤΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΑΚΟΥ

Καὶ τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν τῶν εἰς τὴν ἀλήθειαν λει-θωμένων ἤγειρεν θεοσεβείας σπέρμα ἀρετῆς αἰσθό-μενον ἐκ λίθων ἐκείνων, τῶν λίθων πεπιστευκότων ἑθνῶν. αὐθεις οὖν ἱοβόλους τυνάς καὶ παλμβόλους ὑποκριτάς ἐφοδεύοντος δικαιοσύνης “γεννήματα ἐχιδνών” κέκληκε ποι· ἄλλα καὶ τούτων ἐς τὶς τῶν ὀφεων μετανόησαι ἑκών, ἐπόμενος δὴ τῷ λόγῳ “ἀνθρώπος” γίνεται “θεοῦ,” “λύκους” δὲ ἄλλους ἀλληγορεῖ προβάτων κωδίως ἡμφειαμένους, τοὺς ἐν ἀνθρώπων μορφαῖς ἀρπακτικοὺς αὐτότιμους, καὶ πάντα ἄρα ταῦτα τὰ ἀγριώτατα θηρία καὶ τοὺς τουούτους λίθους ἢ οὐράνιος φῶς αὐτὴ μετεμόρ-φωσε εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἡμέρους. “ήμεν γάρ, ἤμεν ποτε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνόητοι, ἀπειθεῖς, πλανώμενοι, δουλεύοντες ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις ποικίλοις, ἐν κακία καὶ φθόνῳ διάγοντες, στυγγητοί, μισοῦντες ἄλλους,” ἢ φήσατ’ ἢ ἀποστολική γραφή· ἢ σοτε δὲ ἡ χριστοτήτης καὶ ἡ φιλανθρωπία ἐπεφάνη τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ, οὐκ οὐκ ἐργά τῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνη, ἢ ἔποιήσαμεν ἡμεῖς, ἄλλα κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς.”

"Ορα τὸ άσμα τὸ καινὸν ὅσον ἰσχυσεν· ἀνθρώπους ἐκ λίθων καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἐκ θηριών πεποίηκεν. οἱ δὲ τηνίλλως νεκροί, οἱ τῆς ὄντως οὐδῆς ἄμετοχοι ζωῆς, ἄκροταὶ μονὸν γενόμενοι τῶν ἁματος ἀν- ἐβίωσαν. τοῦτο τοῦ καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἑκόσιμην ἐμ- μελῶς καὶ τῶν στοιχείων τὴν διαφωνίαν εἰς τὰς ἕνετενε συμφωνίας, ἢν δὴ ὁλος ὁ κόσμος αὐτῷ ἀρμονία γένηται· καὶ θάλατταν μὲν ἀνήκειν λε- λυμένην, γης δὲ ἐπιβάινειν κεκώλυκεν αὐτὴν, γῆν δ' ἐμπαλων ἐστερέωσεν φερομένην καὶ ὅρον αὐτὴν" 1

1 αὐτὴν Stählin. αὐτῇ mss.
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whose hearts are petrified against the truth, did raise CHAP. 1
up out of those stones, that is, the Gentiles who trust in stones, a seed of piety sensitive to virtue. Again, in one place the words “offspring of vipers”\(^a\) are applied to certain venomous and deceitful hypocrites, who lie in wait against righteousness; yet if any even of these snakes chooses to repent, let him but follow the Word and he becomes a “man of God.”\(^b\) Others are figuratively called “wolves”\(^c\) clothed in sheepskins, by which is meant rapacious creatures in the forms of men. And all these most savage beasts, and all such stones, the heavenly song of itself transformed into men of gentleness. “For we, yea we also were aforetime foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful, hating one another,” as the apostolic writing says; “but when the kindness of God our Saviour, and His love toward man, appeared, not by works done in righteousness, which we did ourselves, but according to His mercy He saved us.”\(^d\)

See how mighty is the new song! It has made men out of stones and men out of wild beasts. They who were otherwise dead, who had no share in the real and true life, revived when they but heard the song. Furthermore, it is this which composed the entire creation into melodious order, and tuned into concert the discord of the elements, that the whole universe might be in harmony with it. The ocean it left flowing, yet has prevented it from encroaching upon the land; whereas the land, which was being carried away, it made firm, and fixed as a

\(^a\) St. Matthew iii. 7; St. Luke iii. 7. \(^b\) 1 Tim. vi. 11. 
\(^c\) St. Matthew vii. 15. \(^d\) Titus iii. 3–5.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

Cap. ἐπηξέν θαλάττης. ναὶ μὴν καὶ πυρὸς ὀρμήν ἐμάλαξεν ἀέρι, οὐσι Λάωριον ἀρμονίαν κεράσας Λυδίων καὶ τὴν ἀέρος ἁπνὴν ψυχρότητα τὴν παραπλοκῆ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐτιθάσεν, τοὺς νεάτους τῶν ὀλῶν φθόγγος τούτους κυνᾶς ἐμμελῶς. καὶ δὴ τὸ ἄσμα τὸ ἀκτήρατον, ἔρεισμα τῶν ὀλῶν καὶ ἀρμονία τῶν πάντων, ἀπὸ τῶν μέσων ἐπὶ τὰ πέρατα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα διαταθέν, ἵμμόσατο τόδε τὸ πάν, οὐ κατὰ τὴν Θράκιον μουσικὴν, τὴν παραπληςίαν Ἰουβάλ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πάτριον τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν, ἦν ἐξήλωσε Δαυίδ. δὲ δὲ ἐκ Δαυίδ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, ὅ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, λύραν μὲν καὶ κυθάραν, τὰ ἄισχα ὀργανα, ὑπεριδῶν, κόσμον δὲ τόνδε καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν συμπρον κόσμον, τὸν ἀνθρώπου, ψυχήν τε καὶ σώμα αὐτοῦ, ἀγνω πνευματο ἀρμοσάμενος, πάλαι τῷ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ πολυφῶνον ὀργάνου καὶ προσάδει τῷ ὁρ- γάνῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ. "οὐ γὰρ εἰ κυθάρα καὶ αὐλός καὶ ναὸς ἐμοί· κυθάρα διὰ τὴν ἀρμονίαν, αὐλός διὰ τὸ πνεῦμα, ναὸς διὰ τὸν λόγον, ὅ ἡ μὲν κρέκη, τὸ δὲ ἐμπνέῃ, δὲ χαρῆσῃ τὸν κύριον. καὶ μὴν ὁ Δαυίδ ὁ βασίλευς, ὁ κυθαριστής, οὐ μικρὸς πρόσθεν ἐμνηθήσθην, προύτρεπεν ὅς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀπέτρεπε δὲ εἰδώλων, πολλοῖς γε ἐνεί ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν τους δαίμονας ἀληθεῖ πρὸς αὐτοῦ διωκομένους μουσικῆ, ἢ τοῦ Σαουλ ἐνεργουμένου. ¹ ἐκεῖνος ² ἀδών μύσαν αὐτὸν ἱάστο. καὶ δὲ κύριος ὀργανὸν ἐμ-

¹ τοῦ Σαουλ ἐνεργουμένου Μαγορ. τῷ Σαουλ ἐνεργουμένῳ Μ. τῷ ἕναυλος ὁ ἐνεργούμενος Ρ.
² ἐκεῖνος Stählin,

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¹ See p. 6, n. c.
² See Genesis iv. 21.
³ The source of this quotation is unknown. It may be a fragment of an early Christian hymn, the metaphors being
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boundary to the sea. Aye, and it softened the rage of fire by air, as one might blend the Dorian mode with the Lydian; and the biting coldness of air it tempered by the intermixture of fire, thus melodiously mingling these extreme notes of the universe. What is more, this pure song, the stay of the universe and the harmony of all things, stretching from the centre to the circumference and from the extremities to the centre, reduced this whole to harmony, not in accordance with Thracian music, which resembles that of Jubal, but in accordance with the fatherly purpose of God, which David earnestly sought. He who sprang from David and yet was before him, the Word of God, scorned those lifeless instruments of lyre and harp. By the power of the Holy Spirit He arranged in harmonious order this great world, yes, and the little world of man too, body and soul together; and on this many-voiced instrument of the universe He makes music to God, and sings to the human instrument. "For thou art my harp and my pipe and my temple"—my harp by reason of the music, my pipe by reason of the breath of the Spirit, my temple by reason of the Word—God's purpose being that the music should resound, the Spirit inspire, and the temple receive its Lord. Moreover, King David the harpist, whom we mentioned just above, urged us toward the truth and away from idols. So far was he from singing the praises of daemons that they were put to flight by him with the true music; and when Saul was possessed, David healed him merely by playing the harp. The Lord fashioned man a beautiful, suggested by such passages as Psalm lvii. 8; 1 Corinthians vi. 19.

\[a\] See 1 Samuel xvi. 23.
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οἱ οὖν τὸν ἀνθρωπον ἔξειργάσατο κατ’ εἰκόνα τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ἁμελεί καὶ οὕτως ὁργανόν ἐστι τοῦ θεοῦ παναρμόνιον, ἐμμελές καὶ ἁγιον, σοφία ὑπερκόσμιος, οὐράνιος λόγος.

Τί δὴ οὖν τὸ ὁργανόν, ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, ὁ κύριος, καὶ τὸ ἄσμα τοῦ κανον βούλεται; ὁφθαλμοὺς ἀναπέτασαι τυφλῶν καὶ ὅτα ἀνοίξαι κωφῶν καὶ σκάζοντας τῷ πόθε ἡ πλανωμένου εἰς δικαιοσύνην χειραγωγήσαι, θεοῦ ἀνθρώποις ἀφράνουσιν ἐπί- δείξαι, παῦσαι φθοράν, νικήσαι θάνατον, νίκου ἀπειθείς διαλάξαι πατρί. φιλάνθρωπον τὸ ὁργανόν τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ κύριος ἔλεει, πανδεύει, προπρέπει, νονθετεῖ, σφίζει, φυλάττει καὶ μισθὸν ἦμών τῆς μαθήσεως ἐκ περιουσία βασιλείαν οὐράνων ἐπι- αγγέλλεται, τούτῳ μόνῳ ἀπολαύσων ἦμῶν, ὁ σωζόμεθα. κακία μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβόσκεται φθοράν, ἡ δὲ ἀλήθεια ὡσπερ ἡ μέλιτα, λυμανομένη τῶν ὄντων οὐδέν, ἐπὶ μόνης τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀγά- ληται σωτηρίας. ἔχεις οὖν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, ἔχεις τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν τῆς χάριτος μεταλάβανε.

Καὶ μοι τὸ ἄσμα τὸ σωτηρίου μὴ καὶ κανὼν οὖτως ὑπολάβης ὡς σκειδὸς ἡ ὡς οἰκίαν. "πρὸ ἐσωφό- ρου" γὰρ ἦν, καὶ "ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος"; παλαιὰ δὲ ἡ πλάνη, καὶ δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια φαίνεται. εἰτ' οὖν ἄρχαίον τοὺς Φρύγας διδάσκοντος αἴγες μυθικοὶ, εἴτε αὐτοὺς Ἀρκάδας οἱ προσελήνους ἀναγράφοντες

a Psalm cix. 3 (Septuagint).
b St. John i. 1.
c See the story in Herodotus ii. 2. Psammeticus, king of Egypt, being desirous of discovering which was the most ancient people, put two children in charge of a herdsman.
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breathing instrument, after His own image; and assuredly He Himself is an all-harmonious instrument of God, melodious and holy, the wisdom that is above this world, the heavenly Word.

What then is the purpose of this instrument, the Word of God, the Lord, and the New Song? To open the eyes of the blind, to unstop the ears of the deaf, and to lead the halt and erring into the way of righteousness; to reveal God to foolish men, to make an end of corruption, to vanquish death, to reconcile disobedient sons to the Father. The instrument of God is loving to men. The Lord pities, chastens, exhorts, admonishes, saves and guards us; and, over and above this, promises the kingdom of heaven as reward for our discipleship, while the only joy He has of us is that we are saved. For wickedness feeds upon the corruption of men; but truth, like the bee, does no harm to anything in the world, but takes delight only in the salvation of men. You have then God’s promise; you have His love to man: partake of His grace.

And do not suppose that my song of salvation is new in the same sense as an implement or a house. For it was “before the morning star” \(a\); and, “in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.” \(b\) But error is old, and truth appears to be a new thing. Whether then the Phrygians are really proved to be ancient by the goats in the story \(c\); or the Arcadians by the poets Goats were to be brought to them for giving milk, but no human speech was to be uttered in their presence. The first articulate sound they made was taken to be the Phrygian word for bread; hence the king assumed that Phrygians were the primitive race.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. πουταί, εἰτε μὴν αὐτοὺς Ἀγνωστοὺς οἱ καὶ πρώ-
την ταύτην ἀναφέρει τὴν γῆν θεοὺς τε καὶ ἄνθρω-
ποὺς ὑνειρώσουσιν. ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸ γε τοῦ κόσμου
τοῦδε τούτων οὐδὲ εἰς, πρὸ δὲ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου
καταβολῆς ἥμεις, οἱ τῷ δεῖν ἐσεθαι ἐν αὐτῷ
πρότερον γεγενημένοι τῷ θεῷ, τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου τὰ
λογικὰ πλάσματα ἥμεις, δι' ὅν ἀρχαίζομεν, οτι "ἐν
ἀρχῇ ὁ λόγος ἦν." ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν ἢν ὁ λόγος ἀνωθέν,
ἀρχὴ θεία τῶν πάντων ἦν τε καὶ ἐστιν. ὅτι δὲ νῦν
ὁνομά ἔλαβεν τὸ πάλαι καθωσῳδοῦν, δυνάμεως
ἀξίων, ὁ Χριστὸς, καὶ οὐκ ἀλλὰ μοι κέκληται.

7 P. Ἀῖτιος ἃγον ὁ λόγος, ὁ Χριστὸς, καὶ τοῦ εἶναι
πάλαι ἡμῶς (ἤν γὰρ ἐν θεῷ), καὶ τοῦ εἰς εἶναι νῦν
δὴ ἐπεφάνῃ ἄνθρωποι αὐτὸς οὖτος ὁ λόγος, ὁ
μόνος ἄμφως, θεός τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ἀπάντων ἡμῶν
ἀῖτιος ἀγαθῶν. παρ' οὖ τὸ εὗ ἦν ἐκδιδασκόμενοι
εἰς αὐτῶν ζωῆν παραπεμπόμεθα. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν
θεοπέσιον ἑκεῖνον τοῦ κυρίου ἀπόστολον "ἡ χάρις
ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ σωτηρίου πάσων ἄνθρωποι ἐπεφάνη, παρ-
δεύσας ἡμᾶς, ὅταν ἀρνησάμενοι τὴν ἀνέβειαν καὶ
τῶς κοσμικὰς ἐπιθυμίας σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως καὶ
ἐυσεβῶς ἤσσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι, προσδεχόμενοι
τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ
μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτηρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ."
τοῦτο ἄτι τὸ ἄσμα τοῦ καὶ ἔτι ἐπιφάνεια ἢ
ἐκλάμψασα ἐν ἡμῖν τοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντος καὶ προὸντος
λόγου. ἐπεφάνη δὲ ἐναγχὸς ὁ πρῶτος σωτῆρ, ἐπ-
ἐφάνη ὁ ἐν τῷ ὄντι ὄν, ὅτι "ὁ λόγος ἢν πρὸς

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1 aitios Stählin. οὖτος mss. 2 λόγος ds mss.

a St. John i. 1. 

b Titus ii. 11–13. 

c Literally, “He who exists in Him who exists.”

16
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

who describe them as older than the moon; or, again, the Egyptians by those who dream that this land first brought to light both gods and men; still, not one of these nations existed before this world. But we were before the foundation of the world, we who, because we were destined to be in Him, were begotten beforehand by God. We are the rational images formed by God’s Word, or Reason, and we date from the beginning on account of our connexion with Him, because “the Word was in the beginning.”

Well, because the Word was from the first, He was and is the divine beginning of all things; but because He lately took a name,—the name consecrated of old and worthy of power, the Christ,—I have called Him a New Song.

The Word, then, that is the Christ, is the cause both of our being long ago (for He was in God) and of our well-being. This Word, who alone is both God and man, the cause of all our good, appeared but lately in His own person to men; from whom learning how to live rightly on earth, we are brought on our way to eternal life. For, in the words of that inspired apostle of the Lord, “the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, instructing us, to the intent that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly and righteously and godly in this present world, looking for the blessed hope and appearing of the glory of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.”

This is the New Song, namely, the manifestation which has but now shined forth among us, of Him who was in the beginning, the pre-existent Word. Not long ago the pre-existent Saviour appeared on earth; He who exists in God (because “the Word recently appeared on earth

The Word recently appeared on earth
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

ΟἈΡ. τῶν θεῶν," διδάσκαλος, ἐπεφάνη δὲ τὰ πάντα δεδημούργηται λόγος, καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἐν ἀρχῇ μετά τοῦ πλάσαι παρασχῶν ὡς δημιουργός, τὸ εὖ ζῆν ἐδίδαξεν ἐπιφανεῖς ὡς διδάσκαλος, ἵνα τὸ ἀεὶ ζῆν ὑστερὸν ὡς θεὸς χορηγήσῃ.

Ὁ δὲ οὐ νῦν γε πρῶτον ὄκτειρεν ἡμᾶς τῆς πλάνης, ἀλλ’ ἀνωθέν ἀρχήθην, νῦν δὲ ἦδη ἀπολυμένους ἐπιφανεῖς περισσότερον. τὸ γὰρ πονηρὸν καὶ ἐρπηστικὸν θηρίον γοητευόν καταδουλοῦται καὶ αἰκίζεται εἰς ἑτερὰς νῦν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, βαρβαρικῶς τιμωροῦμεν, οὐ γεγοροὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους συνδεῖν λέγονται σώμασιν, ἐστ’ ἂν αὐτοῖς καὶ συσσαπώσιν. ὁ γὰρ πονηρὸς οὕτως τύραννος καὶ δράκων, οὐς ἂν οἴσοι τε ᾧ ἕκ γενετῆς σφετερίσασθαι, λίθοις καὶ ἔλαιοις καὶ ἄγαλμασιν καὶ τοιοῦτος τοιν εἰδώλους προσφίγξας τῷ δεισδαιμονίας ἀθλίῳ δεσμῷ, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, ζῶντας ἐπιφέρων συνέθαβεν αὐτοῖς, ἐστ’ ἂν καὶ συμφθαρώσιν. οὐ δὴ χάριν (εἰς γὰρ ὁ ἀπατεών ἀνωθέν μὲν τὴν Εὐαν, νῦν δὲ ἦδη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους εἰς θάνατον ὑποφέρων) εἰς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἔπικουρος καὶ βοηθὸς ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος, προμηθύνων ἀρχήθην προφητικῶς, νῦν δὲ ἦδη καὶ ἐναργῶς εἰς σωτηρίαν παρακαλῶν.

Φύγωμεν οὖν ἀποστολικὴ πειθόμενοι παραγγελίᾳ "τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς νῦν τῆς ἀπειθείας," καὶ τῷ σωτηρίῳ τῶν κυρίων προσδέμαμεν, ὃς καὶ νῦν καὶ ἂεὶ προστετέπεν εἰς σωτηρίαν, διὰ

1 ᾧ Mayor. ἑνὶ ὑμᾶς. 2 ὁ ἐπιστ. Ephesians ii. 2.

a St. John i. 1. b Ephesians ii. 2.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

was with God” a) appeared as our teacher; the CHAP. Word appeared by whom all things have been created. He who gave us life in the beginning when as creator He formed us, taught us how to live rightly by appearing as our teacher, in order that hereafter as God He might supply us with life everlasting.

This was not the first time that He pitied us for our error. He did that from heaven from the beginning. But now by His appearing He has rescued us, when we were on the point of perishing. For the wicked, crawling wild beast makes slaves of men by his magical arts, and torments them even until now, exacting vengeance, as it seems to me, after the manner of barbarians, who are said to bind their captives to corpses until both rot together. Certain it is that wherever this wicked tyrant and serpent succeeds in making men his own from their birth, he rivets them to stocks, stones, statues and suchlike idols, by the miserable chain of daemon-worship; then he takes and buries them alive, as the saying goes, until they also, men and idols together, suffer corruption. On this account (for it is one and the same deceiver who in the beginning carried off Eve to death, and now does the like to the rest of mankind) our rescuer and helper is one also, namely, the Lord, who from the beginning revealed Himself through prophecy, but now invites us plainly to salvation.

Let us then, in obedience to the apostolic precept, flee from “the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the sons of disobedience.” b And let us take refuge with the Saviour, the Lord, who even now exhorts men to salvation, as He ever
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. τεράτων καὶ σημείων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ἐν ἐρήμῳ <δὲ> 1 διὰ τῆς βάτου καὶ τῆς ἀκολουθοῦσας χάριτι φιλανθρωπίας θεραπαίνης δίκην Ἔβραιος νεφέλης. τούτων μὲν δὴ τῷ φόβῳ τοὺς σκληροκαρδίους προύτρεπεν· ἂδη δὲ καὶ διὰ Μωσέως τοῦ πανσόφου καὶ τοῦ φιλαλήθους Ἦσαΐα καὶ παντὸς τοῦ προφητικοῦ χοροῦ λογικότερον ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον ἐπιστρέφει τοὺς ὅτα 2 κεκτημένους· καὶ ἔσθ᾿ ὅπη μὲν λοιδορεῖται, ἔστω δ᾿ οὐ καὶ ἄπειλε· τοὺς δὲ καὶ θρηνεῖ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἄδει δὲ ἄλλοις, καθάπερ ἰατρὸς ἁγαθὸς τῶν νοσοῦντων σωμάτων τὰ μὲν καταπλάττων, τὰ δὲ καταλείπων, τὰ δὲ καταντλών, τὰ δὲ καὶ σιδήρῳ διαιρῶν, ἐπικαϊῶν δὲ ἄλλα, ἔστι δ᾿ οὐ καὶ ἄποτρίων, εἰ πως οἶνον τε κἂν παρὰ μέρος ἢ μέλος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑγάναι. πολύφωνος γε ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ πολύτροπος εἰς ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίαν ἀπελών νουθετεῖ, λοιδορούμενος ἐπιστρέφει, θρηνῶν ἑλεεῖ, ψάλλων παρακαλεῖ, διὰ βάτου λαλεῖ (σημείων ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τεράτων ἔχρηζον) καὶ τῷ πυρὶ δεδίττεται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀνάπτων ἐκ κίονος τὴν φλόγα, δείγμα όμοι φάρματος καὶ φόβου· εἰς ύπακούσης, τὸ φῶς, εἰς παρακούσης, τὸ πῦρ. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ κίονος καὶ βάτου ἡ σάρξ τιμωτέρα, προφητεῖ μετ᾿ ἐκεῖνα φθέγγονται, αὐτὸς ἐν Ἔσαΐα ὁ κύριος λαλῶν, αὐτὸς ἐν Ἡλίᾳ, ἐν στόματι προφητῶν αὐτῶν· σὺ δὲ ἂλλ᾿ εἰ προφητεῖς μὴ πιστεύεις, μόθον δ᾿ υπολαμβάνεις καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας καὶ τὸ

1 <δὲ> inserted by Stählin.
2 τοὺς ὅτα Mayor. τοὺς τὰ ὅτα mss.

a Or, “to reason.” The Greek Logos means either “Word” (personal), or “rational word,” “reason” (impersonal). All through his writings Clement plays upon 20
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

did, by wonders and signs in Egypt, and in the

**CHAP.**

desert by the burning bush and the cloud that,

through favour of His love, followed the Hebrews

like a handmaid. By the fear that these wonders

inspired He exhorted the hard-hearted; but after-

wards, through all-wise Moses and truth-loving Isaiah

and the whole company of the prophets, He converts

to the Word \(^a\) by more rational means those who have

ears to hear. In some places He rebukes; in others

He even threatens; some men He laments; for others

He sings: just as a good doctor, in dealing with

diseased bodies, uses poulticing for some, rubbing for

others, and bathing for others; some he cuts with a

knife, others he cauterizes, and in some cases he

even amputates, if by any means he can restore the

patient to health by removing some part or limb.

So the Saviour uses many tones and many devices

in working for the salvation of men. His threats

are for warning; His rebukes for converting; His

lamentation to show pity; His song to encourage.

He speaks through a burning bush (for the men of

old had need of signs and portents), and He strikes

terror into men by fire, kindling the flame out of a

cloudy pillar, as a token at the same time of grace

and fear,—to the obedient light, to the disobedient

fire. But since flesh is of more honour than a pillar

or a bush, after those signs prophets utter their voice,

the Lord Himself speaking in Isaiah, the Lord Him-

self in Elijah, the Lord Himself in the mouth of the

prophets. As for you, however, if you do not trust

the prophets, and if you suppose both the fire and

the men who saw it to be a legend, the Lord Himself

this double meaning of **Logos**. Other instances occur on

pp. 27, 275, 277.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. πῦρ, αὐτὸς σοι λαλήσει ο κύριος, "ὅς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἀπαγόμεν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι Ἰσαθεῷ. ἐκένωσεν δὲ ἐαυτὸν" ὁ φιλοκτίρμων θεὸς, σῶσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον γλυκόμενον καὶ αὐτὸς ἦδη σοι ἔναργῶς ὁ λόγος λαλεῖ, ὄσωπων τὴν ἀπίστιαν, ναὶ φημι, ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος, ἵνα δὴ καὶ σὺ παρὰ ἄνθρωπον μάθης, πὴ ποτε ἄρα ἄνθρωπος γένεται θεὸς.

Εἰτ' οὐκ ἄτοπου, ὃ φίλοι, τὸν μὲν θεοῦ ἅγιον προτρέπειν ἡμᾶς ἐπ' ἀρετήν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀναδύεισθαι τὴν ὑφέλειαν καὶ ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν; ἥ γαρ οὐχι καὶ Ἰωάννης ἐπὶ σωτηρίαν παρακαλέει καὶ τὸ πᾶν γίνεται φωνὴ προτρεπτικῇ; πυθώμεθα τοῖνυν αὐτοῦ. "τίς πόθεν εἰς ἄνδρῶν;" Ἡλίας μὲν οὐκ ἔρει, Χριστὸς δὲ εἶναι ἀρνήσεται. φωνῇ δὲ ὁμολογήσει εἰς ἐρήμῳ βοῶσα. τὸς οὐν ἔστω Ἰωάννης; ὡς τύπω λαβεῖν, ἐξέστω εἴπειν, φωνῇ τοῦ λόγου προτρεπτικῇ εἰς ἐρήμῳ βοῶσα. τὴ βοῶς, ὃς φωνῆ; "εἴπε καὶ ἡμῖν." "ἐνθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς ὀδοὺς κυρίου." πρόδρομος Ἰωάννης καὶ ἡ φωνὴ πρόδρομος τοῦ λόγου, φωνὴ παρακλητικῇ, προετοιμάζουσα εἰς σωτηρίαν, φωνὴ προτρέπουσα εἰς κληρονομιὰν οὐρανῶν. διὰ ταύτην τοῖνυν τοῦ λόγου τὴν φωνὴν ἡ στείρᾳ

9 P. | ἄγονος οὐκέτι.

Ταύτην μοι τὴν κυοφορίαν προεθεσπισεν ἀγγέλου φωνῆ; πρόδρομος ἢν κακείνῃ τοῦ κυρίου, στείραν εὐαγγελιζομένη γυναίκα, ὡς Ἰωάννης ἡ ἐρήμην. διὰ ταύτην τοῖνυν τοῦ λόγου τὴν φωνὴν ἡ στείρᾳ

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a Philippians ii. 6-7. b Homer, Odyssey i. 170, etc.
c See St. John i. 20-23. d Odyssey i. 10.
e Isaiah xl. 3, quoted in St. Matthew iii. 3; St. Mark i. 3; St. Luke iii. 4; St. John i. 23.
f i.e., Elizabeth; St. Luke i. 7-13.

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shall speak to you, He "who being in the form of God did not count His equality with God as an opportunity for gain, but emptied Himself," a the God of compassion who is eager to save man. And the Word Himself now speaks to you plainly, putting to shame your unbelief, yes, I say, the Word of God speaks, having become man, in order that such as you may learn from man how it is even possible for man to become a god.

Then is it not monstrous, my friends, that, while God is ever exhorting us to virtue, we on our part shrink from accepting the benefit and put off our salvation? Do you not know that John also invites us to salvation and becomes wholly a voice of exhortation? Let us then inquire of him. "Who and whence art thou?" b He will say he is not Elijah; he will deny that he is Christ; but he will confess, "a voice crying in the desert." c Who then is John? Allow us to say, in a figure, that he is a voice of the Word, raising his cry of exhortation in the desert. What dost thou cry, O voice? "Tell us also." d "Make straight the ways of the Lord." e John is a forerunner, and the voice is a forerunner of the Word. It is a voice of encouragement that makes ready for the coming salvation, a voice that exhorts to a heavenly inheritance; and by reason of this voice, the barren and desolate is fruitless no longer.

It was this fruitfulness, I think, which the angel's voice foretold. That voice was also a forerunner of the Lord, inasmuch as it brought good tidings to a barren woman, f as John did to the desert. This voice of the Word is therefore the cause of the barren woman being blest with child and of the
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. εὐτεκνεῖ καὶ ἡ ἔρημος καρποφορεῖ. αἱ πρόδρομοι τοῦ κυρίου φωναὶ δύο, ἀγγέλου καὶ Ἰωάννου, αινίσσονται μοι τῆν ἐναποκειμένην σωτηρίαν, ὡς ἐπιφανέντος τοῦ λόγου τοῦτο δε εὐτεκνίας ἡμᾶς καρπὸν ἀπενέγκασθαί, ζωὴν αἰώνιον. ἀμφότεροι εἶς ταύταν ἀγαυώσα τὰ φωνὰ ἡ γραφὴ σαφῆνες ἐπὶ πᾶν· "ἀκουσάτω ἡ οὐ τίκτουσα· τῇ ἤμελησεν ἡ οὐκ ὀδύνουσα, ὅτι πλείουνα τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἔρημου μᾶλλον ἡ τῆς ἐχούσης τοῦ ἄνδρα." ἦμαι εὐγγελίζοντο άγγελος, ἡμᾶς προφήτευεν Ἰωάννης νόησαι τὸν γεωργόν, ζητήσας τὸν ἄνδρα. εἰς γὰρ καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς οὖσος, ὁ τῆς στείρας ἄνηρ, ὁ τῆς ἔρημου γεωργός, ὁ τῶν θείας ἐμπλήσας δυνάμεως καὶ τὴς στείρας καὶ τῆς ἔρημου. ἐπεὶ γὰρ πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς εὐγενοῦς, ἀπαις δὲ ἦν διὰ ἀπεἴθειν ἡ πολύτιμα ἀνέκαθεν Ἐβραία γυνὴ, ἡ στείρα τοῦ ἄνδρα λαμβάνει καὶ ἡ ἔρημος τὸν γεωργόν· εἰτα ἡ μὲν καρπῶν, ἡ δὲ πιοτῶν, ἀμφότεροι διὰ τὸν λόγον· ἀπίστως δὲ εἰσέτι νῦν καὶ στείρα καὶ ἔρημος περιλείπεται.

Ὁ μὲν Ἰωάννης, ὁ κήρυξ τοῦ λόγου, ταύτη τῇ παρεκάλει ἐστὶς γίνεσθαι εἰς θεοῦ, τοῦ Χριστοῦ, παροιμίαν, καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ὁ ἤνισσετο ἡ Ζαχαρίου σωτῆ, ἀναμένουσα τοῦ πρόδρομον τοῦ Χριστοῦ καρπόν, ὥσ τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ φῶς, ὁ λόγος, τῶν προφητικῶν αἰνηματῶν τῆς μυστικῆς ἀπολύσθαι σωτῆ, εὐαγγελίων γενόμενος· σοὶ δὲ εἰ ποθεὶς

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a Isaiah liv. 1. When Clement says that Scripture brings together the two voices, he is interpreting the first clause of this quotation as referring to the desert, and the second as referring to the woman.

b i.e., the Gentiles; cp. Stromateis ii. 29. 1.

c See St. Luke i. 20, 64.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

desert bearing fruit. The two forerunning voices of the Lord, that of the angel and that of John, seem to me to speak darkly of the salvation laid up in store for us, namely that, after the manifestation of this Word, we should reap the fruit of productiveness, which is eternal life. Certainly the Scripture makes the whole matter plain by bringing together the two voices. For it says, "Let her hear that brings not forth; let her that is not in travail utter her voice; for more are the children of the desolate than of her that hath an husband." We are they to whom the angel brought the good tidings; we are they whom John exhorted to recognize the husbandman and to seek the husband. For He is one and the same, the husband of the barren woman and the husbandman of the desert, He who has filled both the barren woman and the desert with divine power. For since the woman of noble birth had many children, but was afterwards childless through unbelief,—that is, the Hebrew woman who had many children to begin with,—the barren woman receives her husband and the desert its husbandman. So then by reason of the Word both become mothers, the desert of fruits and the woman of believing children; yet even now the words "barren" and "desert" remain for unbelievers.

In some such way as this John, the herald of the Word, summoned men to prepare for the presence of God, that is, of the Christ. And this was the hidden meaning of the dumbness of Zacharias, which lasted until the coming of the fruit which was forerunner of the Christ,—that the light of truth, the Word, should break the mystic silence of the dark prophetic sayings, by becoming good tidings. But
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CAP. ιδείν ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸν θεόν, καθαρσίων μεταλάμβανεν θεοπρεπῶν, οὐ δάφνης πετάλων καὶ τανιμῶν τινῶν ἐρίω καὶ πορφύρα πεποικιλμένων, δυκαίοσύνην δὲ ἀναδησάμενος καὶ τὴς ἐγκρατείας τὰ πετάλα περιθέμενος πολυπραγμόνει Χριστὸν. "ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμὶ ἡ θύρα," φησὶ ποι. ἢν ἐκμαθεῖν δεῖ νοῆσαι θελήσαι τὸν θεόν, ὅπως ἠμῖν ἄθροας τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀναπτάσῃ τὰς πύλας· λογικαὶ γὰρ αἱ τοῦ λόγου πύλαι, 10 P. πίστεως ἐνοικνύμεναι κλειδί· "θεὸν οὐδεῖς ἔγνως, εἰ μὴ ὁ νῦσ καὶ ὃ ἂν ὁ νῦσ ἀποκαλύψῃ." θύραν δὲ εὕος ὁ ὑπὲρ ᾧ τὴν ἀποκεκλείσαμένην τέως ἂν οὐκ ἕτερον ἀποκαλύπτει τάνδον καὶ δεῖκνυσιν ἃ μὴν γνώναι οἶνον τε ὁ πρῶτον, εἰ μὴ διὰ Χριστοῦ πεπορευμένοις, δι’ οὐ μόνον θεὸς ἐποπτεύεται.

II

"Ἄδυτα τοῖνυν ἀθέα μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖτε μὴ δὲ βαράθρων στόματα τερατεῖας ἐμπλεά ἢ λέβητα Θεοπρώτων ἢ τρίποδα Κυρραῖου ἢ Δωδωναίου χαλκείων γεράνδρον δὲ πάμμοις ἐρήμαις τετυμμένον καὶ τὸ αὐτόθι μαντεῖον αὐτῷ δρυὶ μεμαρασμένοι μῦθοις γεγραμμένοι καταλέγοντε, σεσίγηται γοῦν ἡ Κασταλίας πηγὴ καὶ Κολοφῶνος ἄλλη πηγή, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὁμοίως τέθηκε νάματα

a St. John x. 9.  
b See p. 20, n. a.  
c St. Matthew xi. 27.  
d e.g., the cave of Trophonus at Lebadeia in Boeotia.  
e Clement refers to the Libyan oracle of Zeus Ammon. There was a close connexion between this and the oracle of Zeus at Dodona. For the existence of a sacred oak in
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

as for you, if you long to see God truly, take part in purifications meet for Him, not of laurel leaves and fillets embellished with wool and purple, but crown yourself with righteousness, let your wreath be woven from the leaves of self-control, and seek diligently after Christ. "For I am the door," a He says somewhere; which we who wish to perceive God must search out, in order that He may throw open wide for us the gates of heaven. For the gates of the Word are gates of reason, b opened by the key of faith. "No man knoweth God, save the Son, and him to whom the Son revealeth Him." c And I know well that He who opens this door, hitherto shut, afterwards unveils what is within, and shows what could not have been discerned before, except we had entered through Christ, through whom alone comes the vision of God.

II.

Do not therefore seek diligently after godless sanctuaries, nor after mouths of caverns full of jugglery, d nor the Thesprotian caldron, nor the Cirrhæan tripod, nor the Dodonian copper. As for the old stump honoured by the desert sands, e and the oracular shrine there gone to decay with the oak itself, abandon them both to the region of legends now grown old. The Castalian spring, at least, is all silent. So is the spring of Colophon; and the rest of the prophetic streams are likewise dead.

Libya see A. B. Cook, Zeus, vol. i. pp. 364–366. Strabo (54 B.C.–A.D. 24) says that in his day the oracle was "almost entirely deserted" (Strabo 813).
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. μαντικὰ καὶ δὴ τοῦ τύφου κενὰ ὑπὲ μὲν, ὅμως
II δ' οὖν διελήλυγται τοῖς ἰδίοις συνεκρεύσαντα
μύθους. δυνήσαι ήμιν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης μαντικῆς,
μάλλον δὲ μανικῆς, τὰ ἀχρηστὰ χρηστήρια, τὸν
Κλάριον, τὸν Πύθιον, τὸν Διδυμέα, τὸν Ἀμφιάρεω,
τὸν Ἡ Ἀπόλλω, 1 τὸν Ἀμφιλοχον, εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ
tερατοσκόπους καὶ οἰωνοσκόπους καὶ τοὺς ὀνείρων
κριτὰς ἀνιέρου σὺν αὐτοῖς· στήσων δὲ ὅμων παρὰ
11 Ρ. τὸν Πύθιον τοὺς ἀλευρομάντεις ἁγῶν, καὶ κριθο-
μάντεις καὶ τοὺς εἰσέτι παρὰ τοὺς πολλοῖς τετμη-
μένους ἐγγαστρυμύθους· ναὶ μὴν ἄδυτα Αἰγυπτίων
καὶ Τυρρηνῶν νεκυομαντεῖα σκότῳ παραδιδόνων.
μανικὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἄληθῶς ἀνθρώπων ἀπίστων
σοφιστῆρια καὶ πλάνης ἀκράτου κυβερνήματα· συν-
ἐμποροὶ τῆς τῆς γοητείας αλγεῖ αἰ ἐπὶ μαν-
tικὴν Ἧσκημέναι καὶ κόρακες ἀνθρώποις χρᾶν ὑπὸ
ἀνθρώπων διδασκόμενοι.

Τι δ' εἰ σοι καταλέγουμι τὰ μυστήρια; οὐκ
ἐξορχήσωμαι μὲν, ὡσπερ Ἀλκηβιάδην λέγουσιν,
ἀπογυμνῶσω δ' εἰ μάλα ἀνὰ τὸν τῆς ἄληθείας λόγον
τὴν γοητείαν τὴν ἐγκεκριμένην αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτοῖς
γε τοὺς καλουμένους ὑμῶν θεοὺς, ὅν αἰ τελεταῖ
<αἰ> 2 μυστικαί, οἷον ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τοῦ βίου τοῖς

1 τὸν Ἡ Ἀπόλλω is probably corrupt. τὸν Τροφώνιον (Cobet)
and τὸν Μόψον (Wilamowitz) have been suggested. Mark-
land puts τὸν Ἡ Ἀπόλλω before τὸν Κλάριον, a re-arrangement
which has been followed in the translation.

2 <αἰ> inserted by Mayor.

* An attempt has been made here to reproduce the
striking word-play which is a constant feature of Clement's
writing. For other examples see pp. 37, 191 (n. b), 199 (n. a),
255 (n. d), 299 (n. a).

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Stripped of their absurd pretensions, though none chap. too soon, they are at last thoroughly exposed; the waters have run dry together with the legends attached to them. Relate to me the utterly vain utterances of that other form of divination,—I should rather say hallucination,—the oracles of Apollo, Clarian, Pythian and Didymean, and those of Amphiaraus and Amphilochus; and, if you will, devote to destruction along with them the soothsayers, augurs and interpreters of dreams. At the same time, take and place by the side of Pythian Apollo those who divine by flour, and by barley, and the ventriloquists still held in honour among the multitude. Yes, and let the sanctuaries of Egypt and the Tuscan oracles of the dead be delivered over to darkness. Homes of hallucination in very truth they are, these schools of sophistry for unbelieving men, these gambling dens of sheer delusion. Partners in this business of trickery are goats, trained for divination; and ravens, taught by men to give oracular responses to men.

But what if I were to recount the mysteries for you? I will not burlesque them, as Alcibiades is said to have done, but will thoroughly lay bare, in accordance with the principle of truth, the trickery they conceal; and as for your so-called gods themselves, to whom the mystic rites belong, I will display them on the stage of life, as it were, for the spectators.

Flour and barley were used in the sacrifices, and omens were obtained by watching the movements of the flames.

The Greek word is used in the Septuagint to denote those who have "familiar spirits," such as the witch of Endor (1 Samuel xxviii. 7). Their ventriloquism was employed to simulate the voices of the spirits; see Isaiah viii. 19 ("that chirp and that mutter"). Also Leviticus xix. 31, etc.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

11 CAP. τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκκυκλήσω θεοταῖς. Διόνυσον μαίνολην ὄργιάζουσι Βάκχοι ὑμοφαγία τὴν ἱερομανίαν ἄγοντες καὶ τελίσκουσι τὰς κρεονομίας τῶν φόνων ἀνεστεμένου τοὺς ὀφειν, ἔπολολύζοντες Ἕδυν, Εὐαν ἐκείνην, δι’ ἣν ἡ πλάνη παρηκολούθησεν καὶ σημείον ὄργιών βακχικῶν ὅφεις ἐστὶ τετελεσμένος. αὐτίκα γοῦν κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβῆ τῶν Ἑβραίων φωνῆς τὸ ὄνομα τὸ Ἐυα ἀδικούμενον ἐρρημεύεται ὁφις ἡ ἡ θήλεια. Δηλὸς δὲ καὶ Κόρη δράμα ὑδη ἐγενέσθην μυστικόν, καὶ τὴν πλάνην καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν καὶ τὸ πένθος αὐτῶν Ἐλευσίσ δαδουχεῖ.

Καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὰ ὄργια καὶ τὰ μυστήρια δεῖν ἐπιμολογεῖν, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄργυς τῆς Δηοῦς τῆς πρὸς Δία γεγενημένης, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μύσους τοῦ συμβεβηκότος περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Μυσώττος τυποῦ Ἀττικοῦ, δὴ ἐν κυνηγία διαφθαρῆναι Ἀπολλόδωρος λέγει, οὐ φθόνος· ὑμῶν δεδόξασται τὰ μυστήρια ἐπιτυμβίῳ τιμῆ. πάρεστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλως μυθηρίᾳ σοὶ νοεῖν ἀντιστοιχοῦντων τῶν γραμμάτων τὰ μυστήρια· θηρεύουσι γὰρ εἰ καὶ ἄλλοι τυνῖς, ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ οἱ μῦθοι οἱ τοιοῦτοι Θρακῶν τοὺς βαρβαρικωτάτους, Φρυγῶν τοὺς ἀναγωνισμάτων, Ἐλλήνων τοὺς δεισιδαιμόνας. οἴκοις οὖν ὁ τίσει ἄρξεις τῆς ἀφάντης ἀνθρώπους, εἰτε ὁ Δάρδανος, ὁ Μητρὸς θεῶν καταδείξας τὰ μυστήρια, εἰτε Ἡντίων, ὁ τὰ Σαμοθράκων ὄργια καὶ τελεῖσα

a “Eva” (ἐβα, εὔαν) is one form of the cry “evoe” or “evae” (ἐβαῖ, εὔαἰ) uttered by worshippers in the orgiastic rites of Dionysus.

b Clement catches at a slight verbal resemblance as affording some support for his idea that there is a connexion between Eve and the Bacchic serpent. Elsewhere (Stroma-30
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

of truth. The raving Dionysus is worshipped by Bacchants with orgies, in which they celebrate their sacred frenzy by a feast of raw flesh. Wreathed with snakes, they perform the distribution of portions of their victims, shouting the name of Eva, that Eva through whom error entered into the world; and a consecrated snake is the emblem of the Bacchic orgies. At any rate, according to the correct Hebrew speech, the word “hevia” with an aspirate means the female snake. Demeter and Persephone have come to be the subject of a mystic drama, and Eleusis celebrates with torches the rape of the daughter and the sorrowful wandering of the mother.

Now it seems to me that the terms “orgy” and “mystery” must be derived, the former from the wrath (orge) of Demeter against Zeus, and the latter from the pollution (mysos) that took place in connexion with Dionysus. But even if they are named after a certain Myus of Attica, who according to Apollodorus was killed in hunting, I make no objection. Your mysteries have received the glory of funeral honours! You may also, in another way, suppose them to be hunting-stories (mytheria), since the letters correspond; for as surely as there are men who hunt wild beasts, so do legends like these hunt the rudest among Thracians, the silliest among Phrygians, and the daemon-fearers among Greeks. A curse then upon the man who started this deception for mankind, whether it be Dardanus, who introduced the mysteries of the Mother of the Gods; or Eetion, who founded the Samothracian orgies and rites; or

\[\text{teis iii. 80. 2}\] he gives the Hebrew derivation, Eve = Life (see Genesis iii. 20).

\[\text{c} \] See p. 35.

\[\text{a} \] See p. 73.
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CAP. ὑποστησάμενος, εἶτε ὁ Φοῖς ἐκεῖνος ὁ Μίδας, ὁ
παρὰ τοῦ 'Οδρύσου μαθὼν, ἐπειτὰ διαδοὺς τοῖς
ὑποτεταγμένοις ἐντεχνον ἀπάτην. οὐ γὰρ μὲ ὁ
Κύπριος ὁ νησιώτης Κινύρας παραπείσαι ποτὲ ἄν,
tὰ περὶ τὴν 'Αφροδίτην μαχώντα ὄργα ἐκ νυκτὸς
Ημέρα παραδοῦναι τολμήσας, φιλοτιμούμενος θειάσαι
πόρνην πολιτίδα. Μελάμπωδα δὲ τὸν Ἀμυθάνος
ἄλλοι φασίν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετακομίσαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι
18 P. τὰς Δηούς ἑορτάς, πένθος ὕμνούμενον. τούτοις
ἐγὼν ἃν ἀρχεκάκος φήσαιμι μύθων ἁθέων καὶ
dευσιδαμονίας ὀλθρίων πατέρας, σπέρμα κακίας
καὶ θυραᾶ ἐγκαταφυτεύσας τῷ βίῳ τὰ μυστήρια.

"Ἡτὶ δὲ, καὶ γὰρ καρός, αὐτὰ ὑμῶν τὰ ὄργα
ἐξελέγξω ἀπάτης καὶ τερατείας ἐμπλέα. καὶ εἰ
μεμυήθης, ἐπιγελάσεσθε μᾶλλον τοῖς μύθοις ὑμῶν
tούτοις τοῖς τιμωμένοις. ἀγορεύων δὲ ἀναφανδὸν
tὰ κεκρυμμένα, οὐκ αἰδούμενος λέγειν ὁ προσκυνεῖν
οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε. ὥ μὲν οὖν "ἀφρογενής" τε καὶ
"κυκνογενής," ἡ Κινύρα φίλη (τὴν 'Αφροδίτην
λέγω, τὴν "φιλομηδέα, ὃτι μηδέων εξεφανίθη,"
mηδέων ἐκεῖνων τῶν ἀποκεκομμένων Οὐρανοῦ,
tῶν λάγων, τῶν μετὰ τὴν τομήν τὸ κύμα βεβιασμένων),
ὡς ἀσελγῶν ὑμῶν μορίων ἄξιος ['Αφροδίτη] γίνεται
καρπὸς, ἐν ταῖς τελειώσεις ταύτης τῆς ἐπειδὴ
ηδονῆς τεκμηρίων τῆς γονῆς ὀλῶν χόνδρος καὶ
φάλλως τοῖς μυομένοις τῇ τέχνῃ τὴν μοιχικήν
ἐπιδίδοται. νόμισμα δὲ εἰσφέρουσιν αὐτῇ οἱ μνοὺ-
μενοι, ὥς ἐταίρα ἔρασται.

1 ['Αφροδίτη] Schwartz.

a This phrase is quoted from Hesiod, Theogony 200.
See also Liddell and Scott under (1) φιλομηδής and (2)
φιλομηδείδης.

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that Phrygian Midas, who learnt the artful deceit from Odrysus and then passed it on to his subjects. For I could never be beguiled by the claims of the islander Cinyras, of Cyprus, who had the audacity to transfer the lascivious orgies of Aphrodite from night to day, in his ambition to deify a harlot of his own country. Others say that it was Melampus the son of Amythaon who brought into Greece from Egypt the festivals of Demeter, that is, the story of her grief celebrated in hymns. These men I for my part would call originators of mischief, parents of godless legends and deadly daemon-worship, seeing that they implanted the mysteries in human life to be a seed of evil and corruption.

But now, (and high time too,) I will convict your orgies themselves of being full of deception and jugglery, and if you have been initiated you will smile the more at these legends you are wont to honour. I will tell openly the secret things, and will not shrink from speaking of what you are not ashamed to worship. There is, then, the "foam-born" "Cyprus-born" goddess, the darling of Cinyras. I mean Aphrodite, who received the name Philomēdes because she was born from the mēdea, those lustful members that were cut off from Uranus and after the separation did violence to the wave. See how lewd are the members from which so worthy an offspring is born! And in the rites which celebrate this pleasure of the sea, as a symbol of her birth, the gift of a cake of salt and a phallos is made to those who are initiated in the art of fornication; and the initiated bring their tribute of a coin to the goddess, as lovers do to a mistress.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

Cap. Δηνύς δε μυστήρια αἰ 1 Δίως πρὸς μητέρα Δήμητρα αφροδίσιοι συμπλοκαὶ καὶ μήνις (οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὁ τε φῶς λουπόν, μητρὸς ἤ γυναικός) τῆς Δηνύς, ἢς δὴ χάρων Βρωμῶ προσαγορευθῆναι λέγεται, <καὶ> ἐκείνη ἔδω καὶ πόμα χολῆς καὶ καρδιούλκης καὶ ἀρρητοῦργίας· ταῦτα οἱ Φρύγες τελώσκουσιν Ἀττιδί καὶ Κυβέλη καὶ Κορώβας· τεθρυλήκασιν δὲ ὡς ἡ ἀρα ἀποσπάσασαι ο Ζεὺς τοῦ κροὸς τοὺς διδύμους φέρων ἐν μέσοις ἔρρυσε τοὺς κόλπους τῆς Δηνύς, τυμωρών ψευδή τῆς βιαῖας συμπλοκῆς ἐκτυπών, ὡς ἑαυτὸν δὴθεν ἐκτεμῶν. Τὰ σύμβολα τῆς μυῆς ταύτης ἐκ περιουσίας παρατεθέντα ὑπὸ ὁ ἱν κυνήσει γέλωτα καὶ μὴ γελασείουσιν ὑμῖν διὰ τοὺς ἐλέγχους. "ἐκ τυμπάνου ἐφαγον· ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον· ἐκερνοφόρησα· ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν." ταῦτα οὐχ ἁβρεῖ τὰ σύμβολα; οὐ χλευὴ τὰ μυστήρια; τί δ᾽ εἰ καὶ τὰ ἐπίλουτα προσβείν; κυεὶ μὲν ἡ Δημήτηρ, ἀνατρέφεται δὲ ἡ Κόρη, μὴν τοι ἀδίς ἐγενήσας οὐτοῦ Ζεὺς τῇ Φερεφάττῃ, τῇ ἰδιᾷ θυγατρί, μετὰ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Δηνύ, ἐκλαθόμενος τοῦ προτέρου μύσους (πατὴρ καὶ φθορεὺς κόρης ο Ζεὺς 3) καὶ μὴν τοι δράκων γενόμενος, ὃς ἄν γελασείς. Σαβαζίων γονών μυστηριῶν σύμβολον τοὺς μυουμένους ὁ διὰ κόλπου θέος· δράκων δὲ ἐστὶ νοῦς, διελκόμενος τοῦ κόλπου τῶν τελομένων, ἐλέγχος ἀκράσιας

1 aì Lobeck. καὶ mss. 2 <καὶ> inserted by Schwartz. 3 πατὴρ . . . Ζεὺς. These words are not found in Eusebius (Praep. Ev. ii. 3), and are rejected as a gloss by Stählin.

a i.e. the Grim or Terrible One.

b Compare this formula of the Phrygian with that of the Eleusinian mysteries, quoted on p. 43. See also the Appendix on the Mysteries, p. 388.
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The mysteries of Demeter commemorate the amorous embraces of Zeus with his mother Demeter, and the wrath of Demeter (I do not know what to call her for the future, mother or wife) on account of which she is said to have received the name Brimo; also the supplications of Zeus, the drink of bile, the tearing out the heart of the victims, and unspeakable obscenities. The same rites are performed in honour of Attis and Cybele and the Corybantes by the Phrygians, who have spread it abroad how that Zeus tore off the testicles of a ram, and then brought and flung them into the midst of Demeter’s lap, thus paying a sham penalty for his violent embrace by pretending that he had mutilated himself. If I go on further to quote the symbols of initiation into this mystery they will, I know, move you to laughter, even though you are in no laughing humour when your rites are being exposed. “I ate from the drum; I drank from the cymbal; I carried the sacred dish; I stole into the bridal chamber.”

Are not these symbols an outrage? Are not the mysteries a mockery? But what if I were to add the rest of the story? Demeter becomes pregnant; the Maiden grows up; and this Zeus who begat her has further intercourse, this time with Persephone herself, his own daughter, after his union with her mother Demeter. Totally forgetful of his former pollution Zeus becomes the ravisher as well as father of the maiden, meeting her under the form of a serpent, his true nature being thus revealed. At any rate, in the Sabazian mysteries the sign given to those who are initiated is “the god over the breast”; this is a serpent drawn over the breast of the votaries, a proof of the licentiousness of Zeus. Persephone
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. Διός. κυεὶ καὶ ἡ Φερέφαττα παίδα ταυρόμορφον· ἀμέλει, φησὶ τις ποιητὴς εἰδωλικὸς,

ταῦρος δράκοντος καὶ πατὴρ ταῦρον δράκων,
ἐν ὅρει τὸ κρύφιον, βουκόλος, τὸ κεντρῖον,1 βουκολικῶν, οὗμαι,2 κέντρον τὸν νάρθηκα ἐπικαλών,
ὅτι ἀναστέφουσιν οἱ βάκχοι. βούλει καὶ τὰ Φερεφάττης ἀνθολογία διηγήσωμαι3 σοι καὶ τὸν κάλαθον καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀιδωνέως καὶ τὸ χάσμα4 τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰς ὅσ τὰς Εὐβουλεύς τὰς συγκαταποθείσας ταῖς θεαῖς,5 διὰ ἢν αὐτίαν ἐν τοῖς Ἡθομομορφίοις μεγαρίζουντες χοῖροις ἐμβάλλοντες; ταύτην τὴν μυθολογίαν αἱ γυναῖκες που-κίλως κατὰ πόλιν ἐορτάζουσι, Ἡθομομόρφη, Σκιρο-15 ρ. φόρια, Ἀρρητοφόρια, πολυτρόπως τὴν Φερεφάττης ἐκτραγῳδοῦσαι ἀρπαγήν.

Τὰ γὰρ Διονύσου μυστήρια τέλεον ἀπανθρωπά: ὅτι εἰσέτι παίδα ὁντα ἐνόπλως κινήσει περιχο- reallocτων Κουρήτων, δόλω δὲ ὑποδύντων Τιτάνων,
ἀπαθήσαντες παιδαριώδεσιν ἀθύρμασιν, οὕτω δὴ οἱ Τετάνες διέσπασαν, ἐτὶ νηπίαχον ὅντα, ὅς τῆς Τελετῆς ποιητῆς Ὁρφεύς φησιν ὅ Θράκιος:
κάνων καὶ βόμβος καὶ παίγνια καμπεσίγυμα,
μήλα τε χρύσεα καλὰ παρ’ Ἐσπερίδων λιγυ-φῶνων.

καὶ τῆς ὅμων τῆς τελετῆς τὰ ἀχρεία σύμβολα οὐκ ἀχρείων εἰς κατάγνωσιν παραθέσθαι· ἀστράγαλος,

1 κεντρῖον Dindorf. κέντρον mss.
3 διηγήσωμαι Dindorf. διηγήσομαι mss.
4 χάςμα from Eusebius. σχίσμα mss.
5 τῶν θεῶν Wilamowitz. τῇ θεᾶ Rohde.
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also bears a child, which has the form of a bull. To be sure, we are told by a certain mythological poet that the herdsman’s goad being, I think, a name for the wand which the Bacchants wreathe. Would you have me also tell you the story of Persephone gathering flowers, of her basket, and how she was seized by Hades, of the chasm that opened in the earth, and of the swine of Eubouleus that were swallowed up along with the two deities,\(^a\) which is the reason given for the custom of casting swine into the sacred caverns at the festival of the Thesmophoria? This is the tale which the women celebrate at their various feasts in the city, Thesmophoria, Scirophoria, Arretophoria, where in different ways they work up into tragedy the rape of Persephone.

The mysteries of Dionysus are of a perfectly savage character. He was yet a child, and the Curetes were dancing around him with warlike movement, when the Titans stealthily drew near. First they beguiled him with childish toys, and then,—these very Titans—tore him to pieces, though he was but an infant. Orpheus of Thrace, the poet of the Initiation, speaks of the

Top, wheel and jointed dolls, with beauteous fruit
Of gold from the clear-voiced Hesperides.

And it is worth while to quote the worthless\(^b\) symbols of this rite of yours in order to excite condemnation:

\(^a\) The Greek reads, “the two goddesses”; but Clement can hardly have meant this.
\(^b\) For the word-play see p. 28, n. a.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. σφαίρα, στροβίλος, μῆλα, βόμβος, ἐσοπτρον, πόκος.

'Αθηνά μὲν οὖν τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ Διονύσου ύφελομένη Παλλᾶς ἐκ τοῦ πάλλεις τὴν καρδίάν προσηγορεύθη: οἱ δὲ Τιτάνες, οἱ καὶ διασπάσαντες αὐτὸν, λέβητα τινα τρίτοδι ἐπιθέντες καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου ἐμβάλοντες τὰ μέλη, καθήσουν πρότερον· ἐπειτα ὃβελίσκους περιπείραντες "ὑπείροχον Ἡφαίστοιο." Ζεύς δὲ ὑστερὸν ἐπιφανεῖς (εἰ θεὸς ἦν, τάχα που τῆς κνίσης τῶν ὀπτωμένων κρεῶν μεταλαβὼν, ἢ δὴ τὸ "γέρας λαχεῖν" ὁμολογούσιν ὑμῶν οἱ θεοὶ) κεραυνῷ τοὺς Τιτάνας αἰκίζεται καὶ τὰ μέλη τοῦ Διονύσου Ἀπόλλων τῷ παιδὶ παρακατατίθεται καταβάσαι. ο̣ δὲ, οὕτω ἤπειρθης Διή, εἰς τὸν Παρνασσὸν φέρων κατατίθεται διεσπασμένον τὸν νεκρὸν.

Εἰ θέλεις δ’ ἐποπτεύσαι καὶ Κορυβάντων ὄργια,

16 R. τὸν τρίτον ἄδειλὸν ἀποκτείναντες οὕτω τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ νεκροῦ φοινικίδι ἐπεκαλυμάτην καὶ καταστέφαντε ἐθαψάτην, φέροντες ἐπὶ χαλκῆς ἀσπίδος ὑπὸ τὰς ὑπωρείας τοῦ Ὁλύμπου. καὶ ταῦτ’ ἔστι τὰ μυστήρια, συνελόντι φάναι, φόνοι καὶ τάφοι· οἱ δὲ ιερεῖς οἱ τῶνδε, οὕτω 'Ανακτοτελεστὰς οίς μέλον καλεῖν καλοῦσι, προσεπιτεταὐτοῦντι τῇ συμφορᾳ, ὀλορίζουν ἀπαγορεύσας σέλινον ἐπὶ τραπέζης τιθέναι· οἴνονται γὰρ δὴ ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἀπορρυνός τοῦ Κορυβαντικοῦ τὸ σέλινον ἐκπεφυκέναι: ὥσπερ ἁμέλει καὶ ἀεὶ θεσμοφοριάζουσι τῆς βοῦς τοὺς κόκκους παραφυλάττουσι ἐσθίειν τοὺς ἀπο-

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a Pallas from pallein.
b Homer, Iliad ii. 426. Over Hephaestus, i.e. the fire.
c Iliad iv. 49.
d The "Princes" are the Corybantes or Cabeiri. See Pausanias x. 38. 7.

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the knuckle-bone, the ball, the spinning-top, apples, wheel, mirror, fleece! Now Athena made off with the heart of Dionysus, and received the name Pallas from its palpitating. But the Titans, they who tore him to pieces, placed a caldron upon a tripod, and casting the limbs of Dionysus into it first boiled them down; then, piercing them with spits, they "held them over Hephaestus." Later on Zeus appeared; perhaps, since he was a god, because he smelt the steam of the flesh that was cooking, which your gods admit they "receive as their portion." He plagues the Titans with thunder, and entrusts the limbs of Dionysus to his son Apollo for burial. In obedience to Zeus, Apollo carries the mutilated corpse to Parnassus, and lays it to rest.

If you would like a vision of the Corybantic orgies also, this is the story. Two of the Corybantes slew a third one, who was their brother, covered the head of the corpse with a purple cloak, and then wreathed and buried it, bearing it upon a brazen shield to the skirts of Mount Olympus. Here we see what the mysteries are, in one word, murders and burials! The priests of these mysteries, whom such as are interested in them call "Presidents of the Princes' rites," add a portent to the dismal tale. They forbid wild celery, root and all, to be placed on the table, for they actually believe that wild celery grows out of the blood that flowed from the murdered brother. It is a similar custom, of course, that is observed by the women who celebrate the Thesmophoria. They are careful not to eat any pomegranate.

* For this legend of the Corybantes see A. B. Cook, Zeus, i. 107–108.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. PEPHOKÔTAS ΧΑΜΩΛ, EK TÔN TÔU DIÔNÛSOU AÎMATOS STAGÔNÔN BEBLASTHKEINAE NOMÎZÔUSAI ¹ TÂS POIÂS. KABEÎROUS DÊ TOUS KORÔBANTAS KALOÛNTEIS KAI TELÉTHE KABEIROMH KATAGELLOUSIN. AÜTÔN GÁR DÊ TOÛTÔ TÔU ÂDELFOKTÔNÔ TÔN KÎSTHÔN ÂNELOMÊNÔN, EN H TÔ TÔU DIÔNÔSOU AÎDOÎN ÂPÊKEIÔ, EIS TURRÎNAÎN KATÔGÂGÔN, EUKLEÔUS EIMPOROI FORTÔN KÂNTAÔDA DIETRIBHÊTEN, FUGÂDÔ DÔTE, TÔN POLUTÈMÔNÔN EUSBEHIAÏ DIDASKALÌAN, AÎDOÎA KAI KÎSTHÔN, ÒRHINGEUDEN PARETHEMÊN TURRÎNÔS. DI' HIN AIÎTAN OUK ÂPEIKÔTÔS TÔN DIÔNÔSOU TÔN "ATTÔN PROSAGOREÛESETHAI TÈLOUSUN, AÎDOÎN ÔSTEPÈMÊNÔN.

KAI TÎ BÂVMASOTON EI TURRÎNÔI OI BÂBRABROI AIΣKHOIΣ OÛTÔS TELEÌSKONTAI PÂTHHMAIN, ÔPÔU GE 'ÆTHNAIÔS KAI TÔL ALLH 'ELLÂDI, AÎDOÎMAI KAI LÈGEIN, AÎSKHÔNHS ÉMPEWEH H PERI TÔN ΔHÔN MÝTHOLOGIÀ; ÂLMÆNĤ ΓÂR H ΔHÔN KATÀ ZÎTTÅSIN TÔS THUGATROΣ TÔS KÔRÊS PERI TÔN 'ELEUSÔNA (TÔS 'ATTIKHÎS DÊ ÈSTI TÔTÔ TÔ CHWÔN) ÀPOÇÂMNEI KAI FRÊAITI ÉPIKÂVÌZEI LUVPOUÌHÎ. TÔTÔ TÔS MUSEUMÈNÔS ÀPAGOREÛEITAI EISÊTÊ NÔN, ÏNA MÊ DOKOÎN ÔI TÊTELESEHMÈNÔI MMEIÌSAI TÔN 17 P. ÔDHROUÌHÎN. ÔKÔN | DÊ TÎNÎKÂDE TÔN 'ELEUSÔNA OI GÎNHEUSIÎS ÔNÔMATA AÎTOÎS BÂVÔBÔ KAI DUSÂLHÎS KAI TRÎPTÔLÊMÔS, ËTI DÊ EÜMÎLPÔS TÈ KAI EÜBÔLEUÎS. BÔUKÔLOS Ô TRÎPTÔLÊMÔS ÔN, PÔMÎN DÊ O EÜMÎLPÔS, SÛBÔTÎS DÊ O EÜBÔLEUÎS ÂF' ÔN TÔ EÜMÎLPÔDÔN KAI TÔ KHEUKÔN TÔ IEKRÔPHIKÔN DÊ TÔTÔ 'ÂTHHÎSÎ GÊNÔS ÔÎTHSÈN. KAI DÎ (OÔ GÂR ÂNÔHÎ ΜΗ ÔYCHI EISPÈIN) XEÎNÎSAHÎ H BÂVÔBÔ TÔN ΔHÔN

¹ νομίζουσα Wilamowitz. νομίζουσι mss.

a i.e. Persephone.
b Literally, “the hierophantic clan.” The hierophant

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seeds which fall to the ground, being of opinion that CHAP. II pomegranates spring from the drops of Dionysus’ blood. The Corybantes are also called by the name Cabeiri, which proclaims the rite of the Cabeiri. For this very pair of fratricides got possession of the chest in which the virilia of Dionysus were deposited, and brought it to Tuscany, traders in glorious wares! There they sojourned, being exiles, and communicated their precious teaching of piety, the virilia and the chest, to Tuscans for purposes of worship. For this reason not unnaturally some wish to call Dionysus Attis, because he was mutilated.

Yet how can we wonder if Tuscans, who are barbarians, are thus consecrated to base passions, when Athenians and the rest of Greece—I blush even to speak of it—possess that shameful tale about Demeter? It tells how Demeter, wandering through Eleusis, which is a part of Attica, in search of her daughter the Maiden, becomes exhausted and sits down at a well in deep distress. This display of grief is forbidden, up to the present day, to those who are initiated, lest the worshippers should seem to imitate the goddess in her sorrow. At that time Eleusis was inhabited by aborigines, whose names were Baubo, Dysaules, Triptolemus, and also Eumolpus and Eubouleus. Triptolemus was a herdsman, Eumolpus a shepherd, and Eubouleus a swineherd. These were progenitors of the Eumolpidae and of the Heralds, who form the priestly clan at Athens. But to continue; for I will not forbear to tell the rest of the story. Baubo, (see Appendix on the Mysteries, p. 385) was chosen from the Eumolpidae, the dadouchos or torch-bearer from the Heralds.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. ὃρεύει κυκεώνα αὐτῷ· τῆς δὲ ἀναινομένης λαβέων καὶ πιεῖν οὐκ ἐθελοῦσθη (πενθῆρης γὰρ ἤν) περι-
αλγής ἡ Βαυβώ γενομένη, ὃς ύπεροπαθεία δήθεν, ἀναστέλλεται τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ ἐπιδεικνύει τῇ θεώ· ἡ
dὲ τέρπεται τῇ ὁσεί ἡ Δημώ καὶ μόλις ποτὲ δέχεται
tὸ ποτὸν, ἡσθεῖσα τῷ θεάματι. ταῦτ' ἐστι τὰ
κρύφια τῶν 'Ἀθηναίων μυστήρια. ταῦτά τοι καὶ
Ὀρφεὺς ἀναγράφει. παραθήκομαι δὲ σοι αὐτὰ τοῦ
Ὀρφέως τὰ ἐπὶ, ἦν ἡ ἑχθας κάπηυρα τῆς ἀναισχύνσιας
tὸν μυστηργόν·

ὡς εἰπόνσα πέπλους ἄνευρέτο, δεξεῖ δὲ πάντα | 18 Ρ. σώματος οὐδὲ πρέποντα τύπον· παῖς δ' ἦν Ὁιακχος,
χειρὶ τέ μιν ρίπτασκε γελῶν Βαυβώς ἕπο κόλποις·
ἡ δ' ἐπει οὐν μείδηται θεά, μείδητι· ἐνι θυμῷ,
δέξατο δ' αἰόλον ἄγγος, ἐν οὐ κυκεὼν ἑνεκέιτο.

καστὶ τὸ σύνθημα 'Ἐλευσινίων μυστηρίων. "ἐνή-
στευσα, ἐπιον τὸν κυκεώνα, ἔλαβον ἐκ κίστης,
ἐργασάμενος ἀπεθίμην εἰς κάλθαθον καὶ ἐκ καλάθου
εἰς κίστην." καλά γε τὰ θεάματα καὶ θεᾶ πρέποντα.
ἀξία μὲν οὖν νυκτὸς τὰ τελέσματα καὶ πυρὸς καὶ
tοῦ "μεγαλητορος," μᾶλλον δὲ ματαιόφρονοι
Ἐρεγκειδῶν δήμου, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
Ἐλλήνων, σοῦσινας "μὲνει τελευτήσαντας ἀσσα

έγγευσάμενος Lobeck.

1 The Greek word represents a mixed drink composed of barley-meal, grated cheese and Pramnian wine. The same word is used for the draught mentioned in the formula of the Eleusinian mysteries.

2 Lobeck suggested "having tasted," which meaning can be obtained by a slight change in the Greek; see note on text. This would bring the passage more into line with the Phrygian formula quoted on p. 35. I have
having received Demeter as a guest, offers her a draught of wine and meal. She declines to take it, being unwilling to drink on account of her mourning. Baubo is deeply hurt, thinking she has been slighted, and thereupon uncovers her secret parts and exhibits them to the goddess. Demeter is pleased at the sight, and now at last receives the draught,—delighted with the spectacle! These are the secret mysteries of the Athenians! These are also the subjects of Orpheus' poems. I will quote you the very lines of Orpheus, in order that you may have the originator of the mysteries as witness of their shamelessness:

This said, she drew aside her robes, and showed  
A sight of shame; child Iacchus was there,  
And laughing, plunged his hand below her breasts.  
Then smiled the goddess, in her heart she smiled,  
And drank the draught from out the glancing cup.

And the formula of the Eleusinian mysteries is as follows: "I fasted; I drank the draught; I took from the chest; having done my task, I placed in the basket, and from the basket into the chest." Beautiful sights indeed, and fit for a goddess! Yes, such rites are meet for night and torch fires, and for the "great-hearted"—I should rather say empty-headed—people of the Erechtheidae, with the rest of the Greeks as well, "whom after death there translated the reading of the mss., leaving the English as vague as is the Greek. It seems fairly clear, however, that some of the worshippers' acts are symbolic imitations of what the goddess is supposed to have done. See Appendix, p. 384, n. 3.

The great-hearted people of Erechtheus are mentioned in Homer, *Iliad* ii. 547. Erechtheus, a legendary king of Athens, had a temple, the Erechtheum, on the Acropolis.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. ούδε ἔλπινται." τίσι δὴ μαντεύεται Ἡράκλειτος
Π. 19 ὁ Ἐφέσιος; "νυκτιπόλοις, μάγοις, βάκχοις, λήναις,
μύσταις," τούτοις ἀπειλεῖ τὰ μετὰ θάνατον, τούτοις
μαντεύεται τὸ πῦρ. "τὰ γὰρ νομίζομεν κατὰ ἄν-
θρωπους μυστήρια ἀνεφεύγοντι μυοῦνται."

Νόμος οὖν καὶ ὑπόληψις κενὴ τὰ μυστήρια ΚΑΙ
τοῦ δράκοντος ἀπάτη τίς ἐστιν θρησκευομένη, τὰς
ἀμφίτους ὄντως μυήσεις καὶ τὰς ἀνοργάστους
teleτὰς εὐσεβείᾳ νόθω προστρεπομένων. οἷοι δὲ
καὶ οἱ κισται αἱ μυστικαί. δεῖ γὰρ ἀπογυμνώσαι
τὰ ἄγια αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἁρρητὰ ἐξειπεῖν. οὐ σησαια
ταῦτα καὶ πυραμίδες καὶ τολύσαι καὶ τόπανα
πολυόμφαλα χόνδροι τε ἁλῶν καὶ δράκων, ὄργιον
Διονύσου Βασιλέα; οὐχὶ δὲ ῥοίαν πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ
κράζανός νὰρθηκές τε καὶ κυτταῖ, πρὸς δὲ καὶ φθοῖς καὶ
μῆκων; ταῦτ' ἐστιν αὐτῶν τὰ ἄγια. καὶ προσ-
έτι Γῆς 3 Θέμιδος τὰ ἀπόρρητα σύμβολα ὄργανον,
λύχνος, ξίφος, κτέις γυναικεῖος, ὃς ἐστιν, εὐφήμος
καὶ μυστικῶς εἴπειν, μόριον γυναικείον. ὡ τῆς
ἐμφανοῦς ἀνασχυντίας. πάλαι μὲν ἀνθρώπους
σωφρονοῦσιν ἐπικάλυμμα ἡδονῆς νῦς ἦν σωστομένη:
μονὶ δὲ τοῖς μυούμενοις πείρα 4 τῆς ἀκρασίας νῦς
ἐστι λαλομένη, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἔλεγχε τὰ πάθη
dαδουχούμενον. ἀπόσβεσον, ὡ ἱεροφάντα, τὸ πῦρ.

1 τὰ μυστήρια after κενῆ Mayor : after δράκοντος MSS.
2 κράζαν Morellus. καρδίαι MSS.
3 Γῆς Wilamowitz. τῆς MSS.
4 πείρα Wilamowitz. ἡ λεπᾶ MSS.

a See the mention of the chest in the Cabeiric rite, p. 41, and in the Eleusinian formula, p. 43.
b Ge Themis is the result of an emendation of Wilamowitz, accepted by Stählin. It necessitates only a minute change 44
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await such things as they little expect.” Against whom does Heracleitus of Ephesus utter this prophecy? Against “night-roamers, magicians, Bacchants, Lenaean revellers and devotees of the mysteries.” These are the people whom he threatens with the penalties that follow death; for these he prophesies the fire. “For in unholy fashion are they initiated into the mysteries customary among men.”

The mysteries, then, are mere custom and vain opinion, and it is a deceit of the serpent that men worship when, with spurious piety, they turn towards these sacred initiations that are really profanities, and solemn rites that are without sanctity. Consider, too, the contents of the mystic chests⁴; for I must strip bare their holy things and utter the unspeakable. Are they not sesame cakes, pyramid and spherical cakes, cakes with many navels, also balls of salt and a serpent, the mystic sign of Dionysus Bassareus? Are they not also pomegranates, fig branches, fennel stalks, ivy leaves, round cakes and poppies? These are their holy things! In addition, there are the unutterable symbols of Ge Themis,⁵ marjoram, a lamp, a sword, and a woman’s comb, which is a euphemistic expression used in the mysteries for a woman’s secret parts. What manifest shamelessness! Formerly night, which drew a veil over the pleasures of temperate men, was a time for silence. But now, when night is for those who are being initiated a temptation to licentiousness, talk abounds, and the torch-fires convict unbridled passions. Quench the fire, thou priest. Shrink from the in the Greek. The deity referred to is then the earth-goddess, of whom Demeter and Cybele are other forms.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. αἰδέσθητι, δαδούχε, τὰς λαμπάδας· ἔλεγχει σοι τὸν Ἰακχὸν τὸ φῶς· ἐπίτρεψον ἀποκρύψαι τῇ νυκτὶ τὰ μυστήρια· σκότει τετμῆσθω τὰ ὄργια. τὸ πῦρ οὐχ ὑποκρίνεται· ἔλεγχειν καὶ κολάζεων κελεύεται.

Ταῦτα τῶν ἁθέων τὰ μυστήρια· ἁθέους δὲ εἰκότως ἀποκαλῶ τούτους, οἱ τῶν μὲν οντως οντα θεον ἡγοῦκασιν, παιδίον δὲ ὑπὸ Τιτάνων διασπόμενον καὶ γόναν πενθοῦν καὶ μόρια ἄρρητα ὡς ἀληθῶς ὑπ’ αἰσχύνης ἀναισχύντως σέβονται, διὸν ἐνεσχημένοι τῇ ἁθεότητι, προτέρα μὲν, καθ’ ἡν ἀγνοοῦσι τὸν θεόν, τὸν οντως οντα μὴ γνωρίζοντες θεον, ἐτέρα δὲ καὶ δευτέρα δὴ ταῦτη τῇ πλάνῃ τοὺς οὐκ οντας ὡς οντας νομίζοντες καὶ θεος τούτους νομάζοντες τοὺς οὐκ οντος οντας, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ οντας, μόνον δὲ τοῦ όνοματος τετυχηκότας. διὰ τοῦτο τοι καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος διελέγχει ἡμᾶς “καὶ ἢτε ξένοι” λέγων “τῶν διαθηκῶν τῆς ἑπαγγελίας, ἐλπίδα μὴ ἔχοντες καὶ ἢθεου ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ.”

Πολλὰ κάγαθά γένοντο τῶν Σκῦθων βασιλεῖ, ὡστὶς ποτὲ ἦν [Ἀνάχαρσις]. ὁτὸς τὸν πολίτην τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, τῆν παρὰ Κυζικηνοὶ μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν τελεθὴν ἀπομιμούμενον παρὰ Σκυθαίς τύμπανον τε

1 [Ἀνάχαρσις] Casaubon.

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a Clement means that fire is God’s instrument for judgment (cp. 1 Corinthians iii. 13) and punishment (St. Matthew xviii. 8, etc.). The torch-fires of Eleusis are at once a revelation of misdoings and a premonition of the retribution to come; hence they are fulfilling the fire’s appointed task, and not merely playing a spectacular part.

b The Greek ἁθες means something more than “godless,” and yet less than the positive English word “atheist.” It was applied (see next paragraph) to philosophers who denied
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

flaming brands, torchbearer. The light convicts CHAP. your Iacchus. Suffer night to hide the mysteries. II Let the orgies be honoured by darkness. The fire is not acting a part; to convict and to punish is its duty.a

These are the mysteries of the atheists. And Greeks are the real atheists

I am right in branding as atheists men who are ignorant of the true God, but shamelessly worship a child being torn to pieces by Titans, a poor grief-stricken woman, and parts of the body which, from a sense of shame, are truly too sacred to speak of. It is a twofold atheism in which they are entangled; first, the atheism of being ignorant of God (since they do not recognize the true God); and then this second error, of believing in the existence of beings that have no existence, and calling by the name of gods those who are not really gods,—nay more, who do not even exist, but have only got the name. No doubt this is also the reason why the Apostle convicts us, when he says, “And ye were strangers from the covenants of the promise, being without hope and atheists in the world.”c

Blessings be upon the Scythian king, whoever he was. When a countryman of his own was imitating among the Scythians the rite of the Mother of the Gods as practised at Cyzicus, by beating a drum and the existence of the gods; also to Christians, partly on the same ground, partly because they could show no image of their own God. As used here, the word conveys a theological rather than a moral imputation, so that “atheist” is the nearest rendering. Clement continually retorts that his adversaries were the true atheists. See p. 145.

c Ephesians ii. 12. “Without God” is the rendering in both the Authorized and the Revised Versions; but “atheist” is necessary here to bring out the point.

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CAP. ἐπικτυποῦντα καὶ κύμβαλον ἐπηχοῦντα καὶ τοῦ τραχήλου τινὰ μηναγύρτην ἐξηρτημένον, κατετοξευ- 
σεν, ὡς ἀναδρον αὐτὸν τε παρ᾽ Ἑλλησσό γεγενημέ-
νον καὶ τῆς θηλείας τοῖς ἄλλοις Σκυθῶν διδασκαλοῦ 
νόσου. ὥν δὴ χάριν (οὐ γὰρ οὐδαμῶς ἀποκρυπτέον) 
θαυμάζειν ἐπεισὶ μοι ὅτι τρόπῳ Εὐήμερον τὸν 
Ἀκραγαντῖνον καὶ Νικάνορα τὸν Κύπριον καὶ 
Διαγόραν καὶ Ἱππωνα τῷ Μηλίῳ 1 τὸν τε Κυρηναῖον 
ἐπὶ τούτους ἐκεῖνου (ἴδι) 2 Ὑσόδωρος ὄνομα αὐτῶ.)

21 Ρ. καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους συχνοὺς, σωφρόνως βεβιωκότας 
καὶ καθεωρακότας ὀξύτερον που τῶν λοιπῶν 
ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἀμφί τοὺς θεοὺς τούτους πλάνην, 
ἄθεους ἐπικεκλήκασιν, εἰ καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτήν 
μη νεονκότας, ἀλλὰ τὴν πλάνην γε ὑπωπτωκότας, 
ὁπερ οὐ σμικρόν εἰς ἀλήθειαν 3 φρονήσεως ξύπνου 
ἀναφύται σπέρμα· ὅν ὁ μὲν τις παρεγγυᾷ τοῖς 
Αἰγυπτίοις, "εἰ θεοὺς νομίζετε, μηθη θρηνεῖτε αὐτοὺς 
μηδὲ κόπτεσθε· εἰ δὲ πενθεῖτε αὐτούς, μηκέτι 
τούτους ἤγειον ἐναὶ θεοὺς," ὡς ὁ Ἡρακλέα ἐκ 
ξύλου λαβών κατεσκευασμένον (ἐτυχε δὲ ἔψων τι 
οἴκου, οἰα εἰκός) "εἰα δὴ, ὡ Ἡράκλεις," εἰπεν· 
"νῦν σοι ἤδη καιρός, ὦσπερ Εὐρυθεί, ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ 
ἡμῖν ὑποργησαι τὸν τρισκαίδεκατον τούτον ἄθλον 
καὶ Διαγόρα τούφον 4 παρασκευάςαν." κατ᾽ αὐτὸν 
eἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐνέθηκεν ὡς ξύλον.

1 τῷ Μηλίῳ Münzсл. τὸν μήλιον mss.
2 [ὁ] Dindorf.
3 ἀλήθειαν Sylburg. ἀληθειας mss.
4 τούφον Cobet. τούτον mss.

a Literally a "menagyrtes" or "metragyrtes," that is, a 
wandering priest of Cybele, the Mother of the Gods. See 
p. 168, n. a, for a further description of these priests.
b Herodotus iv. 76.
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clanging a cymbal, and by having images of the goddess suspended from his neck after the manner of a priest of Cybele, this king slew him with an arrow, on the ground that the man, having been deprived of his own virility in Greece, was now communicating the effeminate disease to his fellow Scythians. All this—for I must not in the least conceal what I think—makes me amazed how the term atheist has been applied to Euhemerus of Acragas, Nicanor of Cyprus, Diagoras and Hippo of Melos, with that Cyrenian named Theodorus and a good many others besides, men who lived sensible lives and discerned more acutely, I imagine, than the rest of mankind the error connected with these gods. Even if they did not perceive the truth itself, they at least suspected the error; and this suspicion is a living spark of wisdom, and no small one, which grows up like a seed into truth. One of them thus directs the Egyptians: “If you believe they are gods, do not lament them, nor beat the breast; but if you mourn for them, no longer consider these beings to be gods.” Another, having taken hold of a Heracles made from a log of wood—he happened, likely enough, to be cooking something at home—said: “Come, Heracles, now is your time to undertake this thirteenth labour for me, as you did the twelve for Eurystheus, and prepare Diagoras his dish!” Then he put him into the fire like a log.

The philosopher referred to is Xenophanes. See Plutarch, Amatorius 763 ν and De Is. et Osir. 379 β. Mourning for dead gods was a conspicuous feature of some ancient religions. In Egypt Osiris was mourned for (see the reference to his funeral rites on pp. 109–11); in Asia Minor, Attis; and Adonis in Syria. The “weeping for Tammuz” of Ezekiel viii. 14 is an example of Adonis-worship.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAR. II. 'Ακρότητες ἀρα ἀμαθίας ἀθεότης καὶ δεισιδαιμονία, ὥν ἐκτὸς μένειν σπουδαστέον. οὐχ ὥρᾶς τὸν ἱεροφάντην τῆς ἀληθείας Μωσέα προστάττοντα θλαδίαν καὶ ἀποκεκομμένον μὴ ἐκκλησιάζειν, καὶ προσέτι τὸν ἐκ πόρνης; αἰνίττεται δὲ διὰ μὲν τῶν προτέρων τὸν ἄθεον τρόπον τὸν τῆς θείας καὶ γονίμου δυνάμεως ἐστερημένον, διὰ δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ τοῦ τρίτου τοῦ πολλοὺ ἑπιγραφόμενων ψευδωνύμους θεοῦς ἀντὶ τοῦ μόνου ὅντος θεοῦ, ὥσπερ δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόρνης τοὺς πολλοὺς ἑπιγράφεται πατέρας ἀγνοία τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν πατρός. ἢν δὲ τις ἐμφυός ἀρχαία πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀνθρώποις κοινωνία, ἀγνοία μὲν ἐσκοτισμένη, ἀφικνὲν δὲ ποὺ διεκθράσκουσα τοῦ σκότους καὶ ἀναλάμπουσα, οἶνον δὴ ἐκεῖνο λέλεκταί τινι τὸ

ὁρᾶς τὸν υψόν τόν ἄπειρον αἰθέρα καὶ γῆν περὶ ἔχονθ' ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλαις;
καὶ τὸ

ὡς γῆς ὅχθα καὶ πλατεῖς ἔχουσ' ἔδραν,
ὅστις ποτ' εἴ σὺ, δυστόπαστος εἰσίδειν, |

22 ρ. καὶ ἄλλα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ποιητῶν ἐδοξοι παιδέας.

'Εννοοια δὲ ἡμαρτημέναι καὶ παρηγμέναι τῆς εὐθείας, ὀλέθριαι χειρὶς ἀληθῶς, τὸ οὐράνιον φυτὸν, τὸν ἀνθρωπον, οὐρανίου ἐξέτρεψαν διαίτης καὶ ἐξετάναυσαν ἐπὶ γῆς, γηνὸς προσανέχεις ἀναπεί- σασαι πλάσμασιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐθείως ἀμφί τήν

a "Hierophant" is the literal rendering. For the hierophant's office see p. 40, n. b, and Appendix p. 385.
b See Deuteronomy xxiii. 1, 2.
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It appears then that atheism and daemon-worship are the extreme points of stupidity, from which we must earnestly endeavour to keep ourselves apart. Do you not see Moses, the sacred interpreter of the truth, ordering that no eunuch or mutilated man shall enter the assembly, nor the son of a harlot? By the first two expressions he refers in a figure to the atheistic manner of life, which has been deprived of divine power and fruitfulness; by the third and last, to the man who lays claim to many gods, falsely so called, in place of the only real God; just as the son of a harlot lays claim to many fathers, through ignorance of his true father. But there was of old implanted in man a certain fellowship with heaven, which, though darkened through ignorance, yet at times leaps suddenly out of the darkness and shines forth. Take for instance the well-known lines in which someone has said,

Seest thou this boundless firmament on high,
Whose arms enfold the earth in soft embrace?

and these,

O stay of earth, that hast thy seat above,
Whoe'er thou art, by guessing scarce discerned;

and all the other similar things which the sons of the poets sing.

But opinions that are mistaken and deviate from the right—deadly opinions, in very truth—turned aside man, the heavenly plant, from a heavenly manner of life, and stretched him upon earth, by inducing him to give heed to things formed out of earth. Some men were deceived from the first

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a Euripides, Frag. 935.
b Euripides, Trojan Women 884–5.
c Plato, Timaeus 90a; cp. p. 217.
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CAP. II οὐρανοῦ θέαν ἀπατώμενοι καὶ ὃσιος μόνη πεπιστευ-κότες τῶν ἀστέρων τὰς κυνήσεις ἐπιθεώμενοι ἑθαύμασαν τε καὶ ἐξεθείσαν, θεούς ἐκ τοῦ θείων ὅνωμάσαντες τοὺς ἀστέρας, καὶ προσκύνησαν ἥλιον, ὡς Ἰνδοὶ, καὶ σελήνην, ὡς Φρύγες· οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐκ γῆς φυμένων τοὺς ἡμέρους δρεπόμενοι καρποὺς Δημῶν σῖτον, ὡς Ἀθηναίοι, καὶ Διὸνυσον τὴν ἀμπελον, ὡς Θηβαῖοι, προσηγόρευσαν. ἂλλοι τὰς ἀμοιβὰς τῆς κακίας ἐπισκοπήσαντες θεοποιοῦσι τὰς ἀντιδόσεις προσκυνοῦντες καὶ τὰς συμφοράς. ἐντεῦθεν τὰς Ἑρωνίας καὶ τὰς Εὐμενίδας Παλαμαίους τε καὶ Προστροπαίους, ἔτι δὲ Ἀλάστορας ἀναπε-πλάκασιν οἱ ἁμφὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ποιηταί. φιλοσόφων δὲ ἤδη τινὲς καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τῶν ποιητικῶς τῶν ἐν υἱῶν παθῶν ἀνειδωλοποιοῦσι τίποτος τῶν Φόβων καὶ τῶν Ἑρωτα καὶ τὴν Χαρὰν καὶ τὴν Ἑλπίδα, ἀσπερ ἁμέλει καὶ Ἑπιμενίδης ὁ παλαιὸς Ἰβρεως καὶ Ἀναίδειας Ἀθηνησαν ἀναστήσας βωμοὺς· οἱ δὲ ἔχοντο ὄρμῳμενοι τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκθεοῦνται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ σωματικῶς ἀναπλάττονται, Δίκης τις καὶ Κλωθω καὶ Λάχεσις καὶ Ἀτροπος καὶ Εἰμαρμένη, Αὐξώ τε καὶ Θαλλώ, αἱ Ἀττικαί. ἐκτός ἐστὶ ποταμοῦ τρόπος ἀπάτης θεοῦ περιποιητικός, καὶ ὅν ἄριθμοι θεοὺς τοὺς δώδεκα· ἢν καὶ θεογονίαν Ἡσίοδος ἂδει τὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁσα θεολογεῖ ὁμηρός. τελευταῖος δὲ ὑπολείπεται (ἐπτὰ γὰρ οἱ ἀπαντες οὗτοι τρόποι) ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς

a This fanciful derivation comes from Plato, Cratylus 397 c–d, where Socrates is made to say that the first Greeks had only the earth and the heavenly bodies for gods. Since these were in perpetual movement (thein, to run) they called
about the spectacle of the heavens. Trusting solely to sight, they gazed at the movements of the heavenly bodies, and in wonder deified them, giving them the name of gods from their running motion. Hence they worshipped the sun, as Indians do, and the moon, as Phrygians do. Others, when gathering the cultivated fruits of plants that spring from the earth, called the corn Demeter, as the Athenians, and the vine Dionysus, as the Thebans. Others, after reflecting upon the punishments of evil-doing, make gods out of their experiences of retribution, worshipping the very calamities. This is the source from which the Erinyes and Eumenides, goddesses of expiation and vengeance, as well as the Alastors, have been fashioned by the poets of the stage. Even certain of the philosophers themselves, following the men of poetry, came to represent as deities the types of your emotions, such as Fear, Love, Joy, Hope; just as, of course, Epimenides did of old, when he set up altars in Athens to Insolence and Shamelessness. Some gods arise from the mere circumstances of life deified in men’s eyes and fashioned in bodily form; such are the Athenian deities, Right, the Spinner, the Giver of lots, the Inflexible One, Destiny, Growth and Abundance. There is a sixth way of introducing deception and of procuring gods, according to which men reckon them to be twelve in number, of whose genealogy Hesiod sings his own story, and Homer, too, has much to say about them. Finally (for these ways of error are seven in all), there remains that which arises from the divine them gods (theoi). On learning about other gods they extended the name to them.

\[ i.e. \text{ avenging deities.} \]
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ΟΑΡ. θείας ευεργεσίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἀνδρώπους καταγωγομένης ὄρμωμενος. τὸν γὰρ εὐεργετοῦντα μὴ συνιέντες θεόν ἀνέπλασάν τινας σωτήρας Διοσκοῦρος καὶ Ἡρακλέα ἀλεξίκακον καὶ Ἀπκλησιῶν.

28 Ρ. ιατρόν.

Αὕται μὲν αἱ ὀλυσθηραὶ τε καὶ ἐπιβλαβεῖς παρεκβάςεις τῆς ἀληθείας, καθέλκουσαι οὐρανόθεν τὸν ἀνθρώπον καὶ εἰς βάραθρον περιτρέπουσαι. ἡθέλω δὲ ὕμων ἐν χρώ τοὺς θεούς αὐτοὺς ἐπιδείξαι ὁποῖοι τινες καὶ εἰ τινες, ὅποις ήπειρος ἡγεῖτο καὶ οἱ λόγοι. οὗ δὲ θεοῦ πλοῦσιος ὄν εἶλει, διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἀγάπην αὐτοῦ, ἢν ἡ γάπησεν ἡμᾶς, ὅταν ἢπειρον τοὺς παραπτώμασιν συνεξώπωσεν τῷ Χριστῷ. ζῶν γὰρ ὁ λόγος καὶ <ὁ> Συνταφεὶς Χριστῷ συνυποῦται θεῷ. οἱ δὲ ἔτι ἀπιστοὶ "τεκνα ὅργης" ὁμομάζονται, τρεφόμενα ὅργη. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ὅργης θρέματα ἐτί, οἱ τῆς πλάνης ἀπεπαραμένοι, ἀψωμεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν. ταύτῃ τοῖς ἡμείς οἱ τῆς ἀνομίας νῦν ποτε διὰ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν τοῦ λόγου νῦν νῦν γεγόναμεν τοῦ θεοῦ. ὕμων δὲ καὶ ὁ ὑμετέρος ὑποδύεται ποιητὴς Ο Ἀκραγαντίνος Ἐμπεδοκλῆς.

τούγάρτοις χαλεπτῇσιν ἀλυσίτωσι κακότητων οὐ ποτε δειλαίων ἄχεων λυφήσετε θυμόν.

τὰ μὲν δὴ πλείστα μεμύθενται καὶ πέπλασται περὶ θεῶν ὕμων. τὰ δὲ ὅσα καὶ ἡ γεγενήθαι ύπειληπται, ταύτα δὲ περὶ ἀνθρώπων αἰσχρῶν καὶ ἁσελγῶς βεβιωκότων ἀναγέγραται.

1 <ὁ> inserted by Schwartz.
2 ὅσα καὶ Mayor. [καὶ] ὅσα Stählin. καὶ ὅσα mss.
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beneficence shown towards men; for, since men did not understand that it was God who benefited them, they invented certain saviours, the Twin Brothers, Heracles averter of evils, and Asclepius the doctor. These then are the slippery and harmful paths which lead away from the truth, dragging man down from heaven and overturning him into the pit. But I wish to display to you at close quarters the gods themselves, showing what their characters are, and whether they really exist; in order that at last you may cease from error and run back again to heaven. “For we too were once children of wrath, as also the rest; but God being rich in mercy, through His great love wherewith He loved us, when we were already dead in trespasses, made us alive together with Christ.” a For the Word is living, and he who has been buried with Christ is exalted together with God. They who are still unbelieving are called “children of wrath,” since they are being reared for wrath. We, on the contrary, are no longer creatures of wrath, for we have been torn away from error and are hastening towards the truth. Thus we who were once sons of lawlessness have now become sons of God thanks to the love of the Word for man. But you are they whom even your own poet, Empedocles of Acragas, points to in these lines:

So then, by grievous miseries distraught,
Ye ne'er shall rest your mind from woeful pains. b

Now the most part of the stories about your gods are legends and fictions. But as many as are held to be real events are the records of base men who led dissolute lives:

a Ephesians ii. 3-5. b Empedocles, Frag. 146 Diels.
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τύφω καὶ μανῆ δὲ βαδίζετε καὶ τρίβον ὅρθην εὐθεῖαν προλιπόντες ἀπῆλθετε τὴν δὲ ἀκανθῶν καὶ σκολόπων. τί πλανᾶσθε, βροτοὶ; παύσασθε, μάταιοι, καλλίπετε σκοτίν μυκτός, φωτὸς δὲ λάβεσθε.

24 Ρ. ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἡ προφητικὴ παρεγγυαὶ καὶ ποιητικὴ Σιβυλλα. παρεγγυαὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια, γυμνοῦσα τῶν καταπληκτικῶν τοτών καὶ ἐκπληκτικῶν προσωπείων τῶν ὀχλον τῶν ἀθέων, συνωνυμίας τοῖς ταῖς δοξοποιίας διελέγχουσα.

Αὐτίκα γούν εἰσὶν οἱ τρεῖς τοὺς Ζήνας ἀναγραφοῦσιν, τὸν μὲν Αἰθέρος ἐν Ἀρκαδία, τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν τοῦ Κρόνου παῖδε, τούτων τὸν μὲν ἐν Κρήτῃ, θάτερον δὲ ἐν Ἀρκαδία πάλιν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ πέντε Ἀθηνᾶς ὑποτίθενται, τὴν μὲν Ἡφαίστου, τὴν Ἀθηναίαν τὴν δὲ Νείλου, τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν τρίτην την τοῦ Κρόνου, τὴν πολέμιον εὑρέτων τετάρτην τὴν Διός, ἢν Μεσσηνοὶ Κορυφασίαν ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπικεκληκασίν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὴν Πάλλαντος καὶ Τιτανίδως τῆς Ὡμιλοῦ, ὡς τὸν πατέρα δυσσεβῶς καταθύματος τῶν πατρῴων κεκόσμητα δέρματι ὡσπερ κυδίω.

1 <τὴν> inserted by Wilamowitz.

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a Sibylline Oracles, Preface, 23–25, 27.

The word Sibyl was applied to prophetesses who delivered oracles at certain shrines, such as Cumaean or Erythraean. It was appropriated by the authors of that long series of pseudo-prophetic verses which has come down to us under the title of the Sibylline Oracles. These date from various periods between the second century B.C. and the seventh century A.D. The earliest oracle is a Jewish work, written in Egypt. Many of the subsequent ones are of Christian, or Jewish-Christian, authorship. Their chief object was to denounce the folly of polytheism and image-
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But ye in pride and madness walk; ye left
The true, straight path, and chose the way through thorns
And stakes. Why err, ye mortals? Cease, vain men!
Forsake dark night, and cleave unto the light.\(^a\)

This is what the prophetic and poetic Sibyl\(^b\) enjoins on us. And truth, too, does the same, when she strips these dreadful and terrifying masks from the crowd of gods, and adduces certain similarities of name to prove the absurdity of your rash opinions.

For example, there are some who record three gods of the name of Zeus\(^c\): one in Arcadia, the son of Aether, the other two being sons of Cronus, the one in Crete, the other again in Arcadia. Some assume five Athenas: the daughter of Hephaestus, who is the Athenian; the daughter of Neilus, who is the Egyptian\(^d\); a third, the daughter of Cronus, who is the discoverer of war; a fourth, the daughter of Zeus, to whom Messenians give the title Coryphasia after her mother. Above all, there is the child of Pallas and Titanis daughter of Oceanus. This is the one who impiously slaughtered her father and is arrayed in the paternal skin, as though it were a

worship, and they are frequently quoted by the early Christian Fathers. Clement would seem to have believed in the antiquity of those known to him, for he asserts (see p. 161) that Xenophon borrowed from them.

\(^{c}\) With this paragraph compare Cicero, \textit{De natura deorum} iii. 53–59. Both Cicero and Clement are using the work of the “theologians” (\textit{theologoi}), who tried to reduce to some system the mass of Greek legend. On the reasons for this multiplication of gods see Gardner and Jevons, \textit{Manual of Greek Antiquities}, pp. 95–96.

\(^{d}\) A goddess worshipped at Sais in Egypt, whom the Greeks identified with Athena. See Herodotus ii. 59, etc.
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CAP. ναὶ μὴν Ἄπολλωνα ὃ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλης πρώτον Ἡφαίστου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς (ἐνταῦθα δὴ οὐκέτι παρθένος ἢ Ἀθηνᾶ), δεύτερον ἐν Κρήτῃ τὸν Κύρβαντος, τρίτον τὸν Δίας καὶ τέταρτον τὸν Ἀρκάδα τὸν Σιλῆνοῦ. Νόμως οὕτως κέκληται παρὰ Ἀρκάσιν· ἐπὶ τούτως τὸν Δίβυν καταλέγει τὸν Ἀμμωνος· ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος ὁ γραμματικὸς τούτῳ ἔκτων ἐπιφέρει τὸν Μάγνητος. πόσοι δὲ καὶ νῦν Ἀπολλώνες, ἀναρίθμητοι θνητοὶ καὶ εἰκονομοὶ1 τινες ἀνθρωποὶ, εἰσὶν, οἱ παραπλησίως τοῖς προερχόμενοι ἑκείνους κεκλημένους; τί δὴ εἰ σοι τοὺς πολλοὺς εἰπομεῖ 'Ασκληπίους ἢ τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς τοὺς ἀριθμομένους ἢ τοὺς Ἡφαίστους τοὺς μυθολογομένους; μή καὶ περιττὸς εἶναι δόξω τὰς ἀκοὰς ὡς τοῖς πολλοῖς τούτοις ἐπικλύζων ὀνόμασιν; ἄλλ' αἰ γε πατρίδες αὐτοὺς καὶ αἱ τεχνὲς καὶ οἱ βίοι, πρὸς δὲ γε καὶ οἱ τάφοι ἄνθρωπος γεγονότας διελέγχουσιν.

'Ἀρης γοῦν ὁ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς, ὡς οἶλον τε, τετμημένος,

'Ἀρες, Ἀρες, βροτολογεῖ, μιμαφώνε, τειχεσιπλήτα,

25. ὁ ἄλλοπρόσαλλος οὗτος καὶ ἀνάρτιος, ὡς μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος φησί, Σπαρτιάτης ἢν· Σοφοκλῆς δὲ Θράκα οἶδεν αὐτόν· ἅλλοι δὲ Ἀρκάδα. τούτων δὲ Ὄμηρος δεδέσθαι φησίν ἐπὶ μῆνας τρισκαίδεκα.

1 ἐπίκηροι Mayor. ἐπίκουροι mss.

a The skin usually worn by Athena is the aegis, a goatskin ornamented with the head of the Gorgon, whom she had slain. Clement’s story is evidently another explanation of the aegis. See Cicero, De natura deorum iii. 59.

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fleece. a Further, with regard to Apollo, Aristotle enumerates, first, the son of Hephaestus and Athena (which puts an end to Athena's virginity); secondly, the son of Cyrbas in Crete; thirdly, the son of Zeus; and fourthly, the Arcadian, the son of Silenus, called among the Arcadians Nomius. b In addition to these he reckons the Libyan, the son of Ammon; and Didymus the grammarian adds a sixth, the son of Magnes. And how many Apollos are there at the present time? A countless host, all mortal and perishable men, who have been called by similar names to the deities we have just mentioned. And what if I were to tell you of the many gods named Asclepius, or of every Hermes that is enumerated, or of every Hephaestus that occurs in your mythology? Shall I not seem to be needlessly drowning your ears by the number of their names? But the lands they dwelt in, the arts they practised, the records of their lives, yes, and their very tombs, prove conclusively that they were men.

There is for example Ares, who is honoured, so far as that is possible, in the poets—

Ares, thou plague of men, bloodguilty one, stormer of cities; c this fickle and implacable god was, according to Epicharmus, a Spartan. But Sophocles knows him for a Thracian, others for an Arcadian. This is the god of whom Homer says that he was bound in chains for a space of thirteen months:

b i.e. the "pastoral" god, from nomius a shepherd. c Homer, Iliad v. 31 and 455.
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CAP. II τλη μεν "Αρης, οτε μων Ωτος κρατερός τ’ Εφιάλτης, παιδες 'Αλωνης, δῆσαν κρατερῷ ἐν δεσμῷ· χαλκέω δ’ ἐν κεράμῳ δέδετο τρισκαίδεκα μήνας. πολλὰ κἀγαθὰ Κάρες σχοίεν, οἳ καταβύουσιν αὐτῷ τοὺς κύνας. Σκύθαι δὲ τοὺς ὄνους ἱερεύοντες μὴ πανέσθων, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος φησι καὶ Καλλίμαχος. Φοίβος ὑπερβορέουσιν ὄνων ἐπιτελεῖται ἱροῖς.

ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ ἄλλαξοι

tέρπουσιν λιπαραί Φοίβον ὄνοσφαγίαι.

"Ἡφαίστος δὲ, δὴ ἔρρυψεν ἐξ Ὀλυμποῦ Ζεὺς "βηλοῦ ἀπὸ θεσπεσίου," ἐν Δήμῳ καταπεσόν ἐχάλκευν, πηρωθείς τῷ πόδε, "ὡς δὲ κνῆμα βῶντο ἄραιαι." ἔχεις καὶ ἱατρόν, οὐχὶ χαλκέα μόνον ἐν θεῷ. ὃ δὲ ἱατρὸς φιλάργυρος ἢν, 'Ασκληπιὸς ὄνομα αὐτῷ. καὶ σοι τὸν σὸν παραθήσομαι ποιητήν, τὸν Βοιώτιον Πάνδαρον.

ἐτραπε κάκεινον ἄγανορ μισθῷ χρυσὸς ἐν χερσὶ φανεῖς.

26 P. χεραὶ δ’ ἄρα Κροῦων | ρίψας δι’ ἀμφοῖν ἀμπνοὰν 1 στέρνων καθελέν ὀκεὼς, αἴθων δὲ κεραυνὸς ἐνέσκηψε 2 μόρον, καὶ Εὐρυπίδης

Ζεὺς γὰρ κατακτᾶσ παιδα τὸν ἐμὸν αἴτιος 'Ασκληπιόν, στέρνοισιν ἐμβαλῶν φλόγα.

1 ἀμπνοὰν Pindar. ἀμπνοὰς mss.
2 ἐνέσκηψε Pindar. ἐσκήψε mss.

a Homer, Iliad v. 385–387.
b Phoebus is of course Apollo. The thought of dogs being offered to Ares leads Clement on to describe, in a characteristic digression, an even more absurd sacrifice.
c Callimachus, Fragments 187–8 Schneider.

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Such was the lot of Ares, when Otus and strong Ephialtes, CHAP.
Sons of Aloeus, seized him, and chained his limbs in strong II
fetters;
And in a dungeon of brass for thirteen months he lay captive.a

Blessings be upon the Carians, who sacrifice dogs to him! May Scythians never cease offering asses, as Apollodorus says they do, and Callimachus too, in the following verse:

In northern lands ass-sacrifices rise
When Phoebus first appears.b

Elsewhere the same writer says:

Rich sacrifice of asses Phoebus loves.c

Hephaestus, whom Zeus cast out of Olympus, “from Hephaestus the threshold of heaven,” d fell to earth in Lemnos and worked as a smith. He was lame in both feet, “but his slender legs moved quickly under him.” e

You have not only a smith among the gods, but a doctor as well. The doctor was fond of money, and his name was Asclepius. I will quote your own poet, Asclepius Pindar the Boeotian:

Gold was his ruin; it shone in his hands,
Splendid reward for a deed of skill;
Lo! from the arm of Zeus on high
Darted the gleaming bolt for ill;
Snatched from the man his new-found breath,
Whelmed the god in a mortal’s death.f

And Euripides says:

’Twas due to Zeus; he slew Asclepius,
My son,—with lightning flame that pierced his heart.g

[a] Homer, Iliad i. 591. [c] Iliad xviii. 411.
[b] Pindar, Pythian Odes iii. 97, 100–105.
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οὗτος μὲν οὖν κεῖται κεραυνωθεὶς ἐν τοῖς Κυνοσουρίδοις ὄροις. Φιλόχορος δὲ ἐν Τήνῳ Ποσειδώνα φησι τιμᾶσθαι ἤατρόν, Κρόνῳ δὲ ἐπικεῖσθαι Σικελίαν καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸν τεθάφθαι. Πατροκλῆς τε ὁ Θεόμοις καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ὁ νεώτερος ἐν τισὶ 1 τραγῳδίαις ἱστορεῖτον 2 τοῖς Διοσκοῦριοι 3 πέρι ἀνθρώπων τῶν τούτων τῶν Διοσκοῦρων ἐπικήρη ἐγενέσθην 4 εἰ τω ἰκανὸς πιστώσασθαι ὁ Ομήρος τὸ λελεγμένον τούς δ’ ἦδη κάτεχεν φυσίζοος αἷα ἐν Λακεδαίμονι αὖθι, φίλη ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ.

προσίων δὲ καὶ ὁ τὰ Κυπριακὰ ποιήματα γράφας

Κάστωρ μὲν θυτός, θανάτου δὲ οἱ αἱσα πέπρωται· αὐτὰρ ὃ γ’ ἀθάνατος Πολυδεύκης, ὦ θεὸς ὁ Ἀργὸς.

τούτῳ μὲν ποιητικῷς ἐμφανύσατο. Ὁ Ομήρος δὲ ἀξιοπιστότερος αὐτοῦ εἰπὼν περὶ ἄμφοι τῶν Διοσκοῦρων, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα εἰδωλων ἐλέγχας: "φῶτα" γὰρ "Ἡρακλῆς, μεγάλων ἐπιστήμον ἔργων." Ἡρακλέα οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ομήρος θυτόν οἶδεν ἀνθρώπων, Ἰερώνυμος δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ τὴν σχέσιν αὐτοῦ υφηγεῖται τοῦ σώματος, μικρόν, φρυξότριχα, μυστικόν. Δικαιάρχος δὲ σχίζων, νευρώδης, μέλανα, γυρυτόν, ὑποχαροτόν, τετανότριχα. οὕτως οὖν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς δύο πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα ἐτῆ βεβηκὼς κατέστρεψε τὸν βιον διὰ 27 Ρ. τῆς ἐν Οἰλῆ πυρᾶς | κεκηδεμένος.

1 ἐν τισὶ Welcker. ἐν τρισὶ mss.
2 ἱστορεῖτον Sylburg. ἱστορεῖτον mss.
3 τοῖς Διοσκοῦριοι Sylburg. τῶν Διοσκοῦρων mss.
4 ἐγενέσθην Dindorf. ἐγενέσθην mss.

a Homer, Iliad iii. 243–244.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

This god, then, killed by the thunderbolt, lies on the frontier of Cynosuris. But Philochorus says that in Tenos Poseidon was honoured as a doctor. He adds that Sicily was placed upon Cronus, and there he lies buried. Both Patrocles of Thurium and the younger Sophocles relate the story of the Twin Brothers in some of their tragedies. These Brothers were simply two men, subject to death, if Homer's authority is sufficient for the statement,

they are now by life-giving earth were enfolded,
There in far Lacedaemon, the well-loved land of their fathers.\(^a\)

Let the author of the Cyprian verses\(^b\) also come forward:

Castor is mortal man, and death as his fate is appointed;
But immortal is great Polydeuces, offspring of Ares.

This last line is a poetic falsehood. But Homer is more worthy of credence than this poet in what he said about both the Brothers. In addition, he has proved Heracles to be a shade. For to him "Heracles, privy to great deeds," is simply "a man."\(^c\) Heracles, then, is known to be mortal man even by Homer. Hieronymus the philosopher sketches his bodily characteristics also,—small stature, bristling hair, great strength. Dicaearchus adds that he was slim, sinewy, dark, with hooked nose, bright gleaming eyes and long, straight hair. This Heracles, after a life of fifty-two years, ended his days, and his obsequies were celebrated in the pyre on Mount Oeta.

\(^a\) i.e. an epic poem bearing the name of Cypris, or Aphrodite. The extant fragments are printed at the end of D. B. Monro’s *Homeri opera et reliquiae* (Oxford 1891), the above lines being on p. 1015.

\(^b\) Homer, *Odyssey* xxi. 6.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. II. Τὰς δὲ Μούσας, ἃς Ἀλκμάν¹ Διὸς καὶ Μηνημοσύνης γενεαλογεῖ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ποιηταὶ καὶ συγγραφεῖς ἐκθειάζουσιν καὶ σέβουσιν, ἥδη δὲ καὶ ὅλαι πόλεις μουσεία τεμενίζουσιν² αὐταῖς, Μυσᾶς³ οὖσας θεραπανίδας ταῦτας ἐώνηται Μεγακλὼ ἡ θυγάτηρ ἡ Μάκαρος. ὁ δὲ Μάκαρ Λεσβίων μὲν ἐβασίλευεν, διεφέρετο δὲ ἀεὶ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα, ἦγανάκτει δὲ ἡ Μεγακλὼ ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρὸς. τί δ’ οὖκ ἐμελλε; καὶ Μυσᾶς θεραπανίδας ταῦτας τοσαύτας τὸν ἄρθρον ὄνειται καὶ καλεῖ Μούσας⁴ κατὰ τὴν διάλεκτον τὴν Αἰολέων. ταῦτας ἐδιδάξατο ἄδειον καὶ κυθᾶς ρίζεν τὰς πράξεις τὰς παλαιὰς ἐμελεῖς. αἱ δὲ συνεχῶς κιθαρίζουσαι καὶ καλῶς κατεπάγουσαι τὸν Μάκαρα ἐθελον καὶ κατέπαυσαν τῆς ὀργῆς. οὐ δὴ χάριν ἡ Μεγακλὼ χαριστήριον αὐτὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνέθηκε χαλκᾶς καὶ ἀνὰ πάντα ἐκέλευσε τιμᾶσθαι τὰ ἱερά. καὶ αἱ μὲν Μούσαι τουαίδε. ἡ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ Μυροίλῳ τῷ Λεοβίῳ.

’Ακούετε δὴ οὖν τῶν παρ’ ὑμῖν θεῶν τους ἑρώτας καὶ τὰς παραδόξους τῆς ἄκρασίας μυθολογίας καὶ τραύματα αὐτῶν καὶ δεσμὰ καὶ γέλωτας καὶ μάχας δουλείας τε ἐτί καὶ συμπόσια συμπλοκάς τ’ αὐτὶ καὶ δάκρυα καὶ πάθη καὶ μαχλώσις ἱδονᾶς. κάλει μοι τὸν Ποσείδῶν καὶ τὸν χορὸν τῶν διεφθαρμένων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, τὴν Ἀμφιτρίτην, τὴν Ἀμυμώνην, τὴν Ἀλόπην, τὴν Μελανίππην, τὴν Ἀλκώνην, τὴν Ἰπποθόην, τὴν Χιόνην, τὰς ἄλλας τὰς μυρίας. ἐν αὐτῇ δὴ καὶ τοσαύτας οὖσας ἔτι τοῦ Ποσείδῶνος ὑμῶν ἑστενοχωρεῖ τὰ πάθη· κάλει μοι καὶ τὸν

¹ Ἀλκμάν Bergk. Ἀλκμανδρος mss.
² τεμενίζουσιν Sylburg. μὲν ιζουσιν mss.
³ Μυσᾶς Stählin. μούσας mss.

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As for the Muses, Alcman derives their origin from Zeus and Mnemosyne, and the rest of the poets and prose-writers deify and worship them; to such an extent that whole cities dedicate "temples of the Muses" in their honour. But these were Mysian serving-maids purchased by Megaclo, the daughter of Macar. Now Macar, who was king over the Lesbians, was constantly quarrelling with his wife, and Megaclo was grieved for her mother's sake. How could she be otherwise? So she bought these Mysian serving-maids, to the correct number, and pronounced their names Moisai, according to the Aeolic dialect. She had them taught to sing of ancient deeds, and to play the lyre in melodious accompaniment; and they, by their continual playing and the spell of their beautiful singing, were wont to soothe Macar and rid him of his anger. As a thank-offering for these services Megaclo erected, on her mother's behalf, bronze statues of the maids, and commanded that they should be honoured in all the temples. Such is the origin of the Muses. The account of them is found in Myrsilus of Lesbos.

Now listen to the loves of these gods of yours; to the extraordinary tales of their incontinence; to their wounds, imprisonments, fits of laughter, conflicts, and periods of servitude. Listen, too, to their revels, their embraces, their tears, passions and dissolute pleasures. Call Poseidon, and the band of maidens corrupted by him, Amphitrite, Amymone, Alope, Melanippe, Alcyone, Hippothoe, Chione and the thousands of others. Yet in spite of this great number, the passions of your Poseidon were still un-

4 Molos Müller. μῦσας MSS.
5 άυτάς Stählin. αυταίς MSS.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. Ἀπόλλω. Φοῖβος ἐστιν οὗτος καὶ μάντις ἁγνὸς καὶ σύμβουλος ἁγαθὸς. ἀλλ’ οὐ ταῦτα ἡ Στερόπη λέγει οὔδε ἡ Αἰθουσα οὔδε ἡ Ἀρσινόη οὔδε ἡ Ζευξίππη οὔδε ἡ Προκόπη οὔδε ἡ Μάρτησα οὔδε ἡ Ὑμητὴ. Δάφνη γὰρ ἔξεφυγε μόνη καὶ τὸν μάτων καὶ τὴν φθοράν. αὐτὸς τε ὁ Γεώς ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἴκετω, ὁ „πατήρ“ καθ’ ὑμᾶς „ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.“ τοσοῦτος περὶ τὰ ἄφροδισια ἐξεχύθη, ὡς ἐπιθυμεῖν μὲν πασῶν, ἐκπληροῦν δὲ εἰς πᾶσας τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. ἐνεπίμπλατο γοῦν γυναικῶν οὐχ ἦπτον ἡ αἰγῶν ὁ Θεομοῦτων τράγος. καὶ σοῦ, ὁ Ὀμηρε, τεθαύμακα τὰ ποιήματά.

28 Ρ. ἦ, καὶ κυανέσαν ἐπ’ ὄφρυσι νεῦσε Κρονίων· ἀμβρόσαι δ’ ἄρα χαίται ἐπερρόσαντο ἀνάκτος κρατοῦ ἀπ’ ἀθανάτου. μέγαν δ’ ἐλέλυξεν Ὀλυμπον. σεμνὸν ἀναπλάτεις, Ὀμηρε, τὸν Δία καὶ νεῦμα περιάπτεις αὐτῷ τετιμημένου. ἀλλ’ ἐδν ἐπιδείξης μόνον, ἀνθρωπε, τὸν κεστόν, ἐξελέγχεται καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ ἡ κόμη καταστάνεται. εἰς δ’ ὅσον δ’ ἐλήλακεν ἀσελγείας ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκεῖνος ὁ μετ’ Ἀλκμήνης τοσάτας ἄνυπαθής νύκτας. οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ νύκτες αἱ ἐννέα τῷ ἀκολαστῷ μακράν (ἀπας δ’ ἐμπαλιν

1 δ’ ἐλήλακεν Dindorf. διελήλακεν mss.

a Homer, Iliad i. 544 and elsewhere.

b This was probably a sacred goat kept at Thmuis, and treated as the incarnate manifestation of some god. At the neighbouring town of Mendes such an animal was worshipped, as we learn from Herodotus ii. 46; see also Clement, on p. 85 of this volume. Thmuis is mentioned in Herodotus ii. 166 as the name of a town and district in Egypt. The goat, like the bull, would be chosen for veneration on account of its procreative force. Clement regards it (ii. Stromatais 118. 5) as a type of the sensual man.

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satisfied. Call Apollo, too. He is Phoebus, a holy CHAP.
prophet and good counsellor! But this is not the Apollo
opinion of Sterope, or Aethusa, or Arsinoë, or Zeuxippe, or Prothoë, or Marpessa, or Hypsipyle.
For Daphne was the only one who escaped the pro-
phet and his corruption. Above all, let Zeus come Zeus
too, he who is; according to your account, “father of
gods and men.” a So completely was he given over
to lust, that every woman not only excited his desire,
but became a victim of it. Why, he would take his
fill of women no less than the buck of the Thmuitans b
does of she-goats. I am astonished at these verses
of yours, Homer:
Thus spake the son of Cronus, and nodded assent with his
eyebrows;
Lo! the ambrosial locks of the king flowed waving around
him
Down from his deathless head; and great Olympus was
shaken.c

It is a majestic Zeus that you portray, Homer; and
you invest him with a nod that is held in honour.
Yet, my good sir, if you but let him catch a glimpse
of a woman’s girdle, even Zeus is exposed and his
locks are put to shame. What a pitch of licentious-
ness did this great Zeus reach when he spent so many
nights in pleasure with Alcmene! Nay, not even the
nine nights d were a long period for this debauchee,—

a Homer, Iliad i. 528–530. Strabo says (354) that Pheidias
had this passage in mind when he carved the famous statue
of Zeus at Olympia.

d According to the usual story Heracles was begotten in
three nights (Lucian, Dialogi deorum 10), whence he was
called τριτοσπερος (Justin Martyr, Oratio ad Graecos 3). It
is possible that Clement has confused this with the “nine
nights” of Zeus and Mnemosyne which preceded the birth
of the Muses (Hesiod, Theogonia 56).
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. ο βίος ἄκρασις βραχύς ἦν), ἣν δὴ ἦμων τὸν ἀλεξί-
κακον σπείρη θεόν. Διὸς υἱὸς Ἡρακλῆς, Διὸς ὡς ἀληθῶς, ὁ ἐκ μακρᾶς γεννώμενος νυκτῶς, τοὺς μὲν ἀθλοὺς τοὺς δώδεκα πολλοὺς ταλαίπωρησάμενοι χρόνω, τὰς δὲ πεντήκοντα Θεοτόκου θυγατέρας νυκτὶ διαφθείρας μιᾷ, μοιχός ὑμῶν καὶ νυφὸς τοσοῦτον γεννώμενος παρθένων. οὐκοιν ἀπεικότως οἱ ποιηταὶ "σχέτλιον" τοῦτον καὶ "ἀισυλοεργὸν" ἀποκαλοῦν. μακρὸν δὲ ἐὰν εἰη μοιχείας αὐτοῦ παντοδαπᾶς καὶ παιδῶν διηγείσθαι φθοράς. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ παιδών ἀπέσχοντο οἱ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν θεοὶ, οἱ μὲν τις Τῆλα, οἱ δὲ Υακῦνθου, οἱ δὲ Πέλοπος, οἱ δὲ Χρυσίττον, οἱ δὲ Γανυμήδους ἔρωτες. τούτους ὑμῶν αἱ γυναῖκες προσκυνοῦντων τοὺς θεοὺς, τοιούτους δὲ εὐχέσθων εἶναι τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐαυτῶν, οὐτω σώφρονας, ἢ ὡς οὐκοι τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξηλωκότες, τούτους ἔθιζον ὁι παιδεῖς ὑμῶν σέβεων, ἰνα καὶ ἄνδρες γένωνται εἰκόνα πορ-
νείας ἐναργή 1 τοὺς θεοὺς παραλαμβάνοντες.

Ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἄρρενες αὐτοῖς τῶν θεῶν ἵσως μόνοι ἥττουσι περὶ τὰ ἄφροδισια.

θελύτεραι δὲ θεία μένον αἰδοὶ οἴκοι ἑκάστη,

φησιν "Ομηρος, αἰδούμεναι αἱ θεία 2 διὰ σεμνότητα Ἀφροδίτης ἠδεῖν μεμοιχευμένην. αἱ δὲ ἀκολο-
σταίνουσιν ἐμπαθέστερον ἐν τῇ μοιχείᾳ δεδεμέναι, Ἡὼς ἐπὶ Τιθωνῷ, Σελήνη <δ᾽ ἐπὶ> 3 Ἐνυμίωνι,

1 ἐναργή Markland. ἐναργὴ mss.
2 [αἱ θεία] Valckenaeer: Stählin.
3 <δ᾽ ἐπὶ> inserted by Wilamowitz.
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indeed, a whole lifetime was short for his incontinence, CHAP. II especially when the purpose was that he might beget for us the god whose work it is to avert evils. Heracles is the son of Zeus, begotten in this long Heracles night. And a true son he is; for long and weary as the time was in which he accomplished his twelve labours, yet in a single night he corrupted the fifty daughters of Thestius, becoming at once bridegroom and adulterer to all these maidens. Not without reason, then, do the poets dub him "abandoned" and "doer of evil deeds." a It would be a long story to relate his varied adulteries and his corruptions of boys. For your gods did not abstain even from boys. One loved Hylas, another Hyacinthus, another Pelops, another Chrysippus, another Ganymedes. These are the gods your wives are to worship! Such they must pray for their own husbands to be, similar models of virtue,—that they may be like the gods by aspiring after equally high ideals! Let these be they whom your boys are trained to reverence, in order that they may grow to manhood with the gods ever before them as a manifest pattern of fornication!

But perhaps in the case of the gods, it is the males only who rush eagerly after sexual delights, while

Each in her home for shame the lady goddesses rested, b as Homer says, because as goddesses they modestly shrank from the sight of Aphrodite taken in adultery. Yet these are more passionately given to licentiousness, being fast bound in adultery; as, for instance, Eos with Tithonus, Selene with Endymion, Nereis

a Homer, Iliad v. 403. b Odyssey viii. 324.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. Νηρηῆς ἐπὶ Αἰακῷ καὶ ἐπὶ Πηλεῖ Θεῖος, ἐπὶ δὲ
29 Π. Ἰασώνι[1] Δημήτηρ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀδώνιδι Φερεφαττα. Ἀφροδίτη δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀρεία κατηχησαμενη μετήλθεν ἐπὶ Κινύραν καὶ Ἀγχίσην ἔγημεν καὶ Φαέθοντα ἐλόχα καὶ ἣρα Ἀδώνιδος, ἐφιλονεικε δὲ τῇ βουωπίδι καὶ ἀποδυνάμεναι διὰ μῆλου αἰ θεάι γυμναὶ προσεῖχον τῷ ποιμένι, εἰ τις αὐτῶν δόξει καλῆ.

Τί δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἄγωνας ἐν βραχεί περιοδεύσωμεν καὶ τὰς ἐπιτυμβίους ταυταὶ πανηγύρες καταλύσωμεν, Ἰσθμια τε καὶ Νέμεα καὶ Πύθια καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ὀλύμπια. Πυθοὶ μὲν οὖν ὁ δράκων ὁ Πύθιος θρησκεύεται καὶ τοῦ ὅφεως ἡ πανηγύρις καταγγέλλεται Πυθα. Ἰσθμοὶ δὲ σκύβαλον προσέπτουσεν ἔλεεινον ἡ θάλαττα καὶ Μελικέρτην ὄδυρεται τὰ Ἰσθμια. Νεμέαςι δὲ ἄλλο παιδίον Ἀρχέμορος κεκήδευται καὶ τοῦ παιδίου ὁ ἐπιτάφιος προσαγορευται Νέμεα. Πίσα δὲ ὑμῖν τάφος ἑστίν, ὡς Πανέλληνες, ἤμιχον Φρυγός, καὶ τοῦ Πέλοπος τὰς χοάς, τὰ Ὀλύμπια, ὁ Φειδίου σφετερίζεται Ζεὺς. μνητήρια ἤσαν ἡρα, ὡς ἐοικεν, οἱ ἄγωνες ἐπὶ νεκροῖς διαβλοῦμενι, ἄσπερ καὶ τὰ λόγια, καὶ δεδήμεναι ἀμφίω. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ Ἁγρα[2] μνητήρια καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἄλμοοντι τῆς Ἀττικῆς Ἀθήνησι περιώρισται. ἀρχοὺς δὲ ἦδη κοσμίκον οἱ τε ἄγωνες

1 Ἰασώνι Sylburg. ἰάσωνι mss.
2 Ἁγρα Meurs. σάγρα mss.

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1 i.e. Hera. The epithet means, literally, “cow-eyed”; but it is frequently applied to Hera in the Iliad (e.g. i. 551) in the sense of “with large, bright eyes.” For the connexion between Hera and the cow see A. B. Cook, Zeus, i. pp. 444–457.
2 i.e. Paris, son of Priam of Troy. He judged Aphrodite more beautiful than Hera or Athena, and so roused the anger of these two goddesses against Troy.

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with Aeacus, Thetis with Peleus, Demeter with Iasion and Persephone with Adonis. Aphrodite, after having been put to shame for her love of Ares, courted Cinyras, married Anchises, entrapped Phaëthon and loved Adonis. She, too, entered into a rivalry with the “goddess of the large eyes,” a in which, for the sake of an apple, the goddesses stripped and presented themselves naked to the shepherd, b to see whether he would pronounce one of them beautiful.

Let us now proceed briefly to review the contests, and let us put an end to these solemn assemblages at tombs, the Isthmian, Nemean, Pythian, and, above all, the Olympian games. At Pytho worship is paid to the Pythian serpent, c and the assembly held in honour of this snake is entitled Pythian. At the Isthmus the sea cast up a miserable carcass, and the Isthmian games are lamentations for Melicertes. At Nemea another, a child Archemorus, lies buried, and it is the celebrations held at the grave of this child that are called by the name Nemean. And Pisa,—mark it, ye Panhellenic peoples!—your Pisa is the tomb of a Phrygian charioteer, and the libations poured out for Pelops, which constitute the Olympian festivities, are appropriated by the Zeus of Pheidias. So it seems that the contests, being held in honour of the dead, were of the nature of mysteries, just as also the oracles were; and both have become public institutions. But the mysteries at Agra and those in Halimus of Attica d have been confined to Athens; on the other hand, the contests are now a world-

See p. 3, n. 6.

See Appendix on the Mysteries, p. 382.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

Cap. καὶ οἱ φαλλοὶ οἱ Διονύσῳ ἐπιτελούμενοι, κακῶς ἐπινεμημένοι τὸν βίον.

Διονύσος γὰρ κατέλθειν εἰς Ἀιδοῦ γλίσχομενος ἐγνώς τὴν οδὸν, ὑποσχεῖται δ᾽ αὐτῷ φράσεων <τις>, 1

30 Ρ. Πρόσωπος τούτοις, οὐκ ἄμεθί· ὃ δὲ μισθὸς οὐ καλὸς, ἀλλὰ Διονύσῳ καλὸς· καὶ ἀφροδίσιος ἦν ἡ χάρις, ὃ μισθὸς δὲν ἦτε τὸ Διόνυσος· βουλομένῳ δὲ τῷ θεῷ γέγονεν ἡ αἰτησία, καὶ δὴ ὑπογνεῖται παρέξεν αὐτῷ, εἰ ἀναζέυξει, ὅρκῳ πιστοσώμενος τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν. μαθὼν ἀπῆρεν· ἐπανήλθεν αὖθις· οὐ καταλαμβάνει τὸν Πρόσωπον (ἐτεθνήκει γάρ)· ἀφοσιώμενος τῷ ἔραστῷ ὃ Διόνυσος ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ὁρμᾷ· καὶ πασχητῶ. κλάδον οὐν συκῆς, ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἔκτερων ἀνδρείου μορίου σκευάζεται τρόπον ἐφέξεται τε τῷ κλάδῳ, τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἐκτελῶν τῷ νεκρῷ. ὑπόμνημα τοῦ πάθους τούτου μυστικὸν φαλλοὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἀνίστανται Διονύσῳ· "εἰ μὴ γὰρ Διονύσῳ πομπὴν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ὑμεῖον ἡμυῖν οἰξίν αἰδοίοις, ἀναίδεστα τὰ ἐργαστὶ αὖ, 3" φησιν Ἵρακλείτους, "ἐντὸς δὲ "Αἰδῆς καὶ Διόνυσος, ὅτε μαίνονται καὶ ληστάζουσιν," οὐ διὰ τὴν μέθην τοῦ σώματος, ὡς εἰς ὀιμαί, τοσοῦτον ὅσον διὰ τὴν ἐπονεῖδον τῆς ἀσελγείας ἐρωφαινένων.

Εἰκότως ἄρα οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὡμῶν θεοὶ <δοῦλοι>, 4 δοῦλοι παθῶν γεγονότες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ 5 τῶν Εἰλώτων

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1 <τις> inserted by Dindorf.
2 ἄσματα Heinsius: Stählin. ἄσματα, & Dindorf.
3 ἐργαστὶ αὖ Schleiermacher. ἐργαστὶ mss.
4 <δοῦλον> inserted by Schwartz.
5 πρὸ Münzel. πρὸι mss.

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* Heracleitus, Frag. 127 Bywater, 15 Diels. Dionysus 72
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wide disgrace, as are also the phalloi consecrated to Dionysus, from the infection of evil which they have spread over human life.

This is the origin of these phalloi. Dionysus was anxious to descend into Hades, but did not know the way. Thereupon a certain man, Prosymnus by name, promises to tell him; though not without reward. The reward was not a seemingly one, though to Dionysus it was seemingly enough. It was a favour of lust, this reward which Dionysus was asked for. The god is willing to grant the request; and so he promises, in the event of his return, to fulfil the wish of Prosymnus, confirming the promise with an oath. Having learnt the way he set out, and came back again. He does not find Prosymnus, for he was dead. In fulfilment of the vow to his lover Dionysus hastens to the tomb and indulges his unnatural lust. Cutting off a branch from a fig-tree which was at hand, he shaped it into the likeness of a phallos, and then made a show of fulfilling his promise to the dead man. As a mystic memorial of this passion phalloi are set up to Dionysus in cities. “For if it were not to Dionysus that they held solemn procession and sang the phallic hymn, they would be acting most shamefully,” says Heracleitus; “and Hades is the same as Dionysus, in whose honour they go mad and keep the Lenaean feast,” a not so much, I think, for the sake of bodily intoxication as for the shameful display of licentiousness.

It would seem natural, therefore, for gods like these of yours to be slaves, since they have become slaves of their passions. What is more, even before is originally a vegetation god, and is thus but another form of Hades or Pluto, the “wealth-giver.”

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CAP. ΙΙ. καλουμένων τῶν παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων δουλειῶν ὑπεσήλθην ξυγὸν 'Ἀπόλλων Ἁδμήτων ἐν Φεραῖς, Ἡρακλῆς ἐν Σάρδεσιν Ὀμφάλη, Δάομέδωντι δ' ἐθη-τευτε Ποσειδῶν καὶ 'Ἀπόλλων, καθάπερ ἄχρειος οἰκέτης, μηδὲ ἐλευθερίας δήπουθεν δυνηθεὶς τυχεῖν παρὰ τοῦ προτέρου δεσπότου· τότε καὶ τὰ Ἡλίου τείχη ἀνωκοδομησάτην τῷ Φρυγί. Ὁμηρος δὲ τὴν 'Αθηνάν οὐκ αἰσχύνεται παραφαίνεις λέγων τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ "χρύσουν λύχνων ἔχουσαν" ἐν χειρὶ τὴν δὲ 'Αφροδίτην ἀνέγνωςεν, οἷον ἀκόλογον τι θεραπανίδιον, παραθέειν φέρουσαν τῇ Ἐλένη τὸν δίφρον τοῦ μοιχοῦ κατὰ πρόσωπον, ὡς αὐτὸν εἰς συνονίαν ὑπαγάγηται. Ὁμήρους γὰρ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἄλλους παμπόλλους ἄνθρωπος λατρεύσαι θεοῦς ἱστορεῖ ὡδὲ ποις γράφων·

τὴν μὲν Δημήττηρ, τὴν δὲ κλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυνηῖς, τὴν δὲ Ποσειδάων, τὴν δὲ ἄργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων ἄνδρι παρὰ θνητῷ θητεύμενον ἐις έναντίου τὴν δὲ καὶ ὁμομόθυμοι Ἀρης ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἀνάγκης, καὶ τά ἐπὶ τούτοις.

Τούτους οὖν εἰκότως ἔπεται τοὺς ἔρωτικος ύμῶν 81 ρ. καὶ παθητικοὺς τούτους θεοὺς ἄνθρωποπαθεῖς ἐκ παντὸς εἰσάγεις τρόπου. "καὶ γὰρ θὴν κεῖσοι θνητὸς χρώς." τεκμηριοὶ δὲ Ὅμηρος, μάλα ἀκριβῶς Ἀφροδίτην ἐπὶ τῶν τραυματί παρεισάγων ὦ καὶ μέγα ἱάχουσαν αὐτὸν τε τὸν πολεμικώτατον Ἀρη ὑπὸ τοῦ Διομήδους κατὰ τοῦ κενέωνος οὐσα-σμένον διηγοῦμεν. Πολέμων δὲ καὶ τὴν 'Αθηνάν

1 θητεύμεν Sylburg. θητευμέν mss.
2 καὶ inserted by Sylburg.

a Homer, Odyssey xix. 34.

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the time of the Helots, as they were called, among the Lacedaemonians, Apollo bowed beneath the yoke of slavery to Admetus in Pherae, and Heracles to Omphale in Sardis. Poseidon and Apollo were serfs to Laomedon, Apollo, like a worthless servant, not having been able, I suppose, to obtain the gift of freedom from his former master. It was then that these two gods built the walls of Ilium for their Phrygian lord. Homer is not ashamed to speak of Athena lighting the way for Odysseus, "holding a golden lamp" in her hands. We read of Aphrodite, how, like a wanton hussy, she brought the stool for Helen, and placed it in front of her paramour, in order that Helen might entice him to her arms. Panyasis, too, relates in addition very many other instances of gods becoming servants to men. He writes in this way:—

Demeter bore the yoke; Hephaestus too; Poseidon; and Apollo, silver-bowed,
One year endured to serve with mortal man;
Likewise strong Ares, by his sire constrained,

—and so on.

As a natural consequence, these amorous and passionate gods of yours are brought before us as subject to every sort of human emotion. "For truly mortal flesh is theirs." Homer gives evidence of this, when in precise terms he introduces Aphrodite uttering a loud and shrill cry over her wound; and when he tells how the arch-warrior himself, Ares, was pierced in the flank by Diomedes. Polemon says

See Iliad iii. 424 and following lines. The paramour was Paris, whose abduction of Helen from Sparta brought about the Trojan war. Panyasis, Hēracleia, Frag. 16 Kinkel. Iliad xxi. 568. Iliad v. 343. Iliad v. 855 and following lines.
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CAP. ὑπὸ Ὄρνυτον τρωθήναι λέγει· ναὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν Ἄιδωνεά ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους τοξευθήναι ὅμηρος λέγει καὶ τὸν Ἡλιον [Ἀυγέαν] Ἰωσίφους ἱστορεῖ. ἔδη δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἡραν τὴν ζυγίαν ἱστορεῖ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλέους δὲ αὐτὸς οὐτὸς Ἰωσίφους ἢ ἐν Ὁλυμπίᾳ ἠμαθόντες. Σωσίβιος δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα πρὸς τῶν Ἰπποκοωντιδῶν κατὰ τὴς χειρὸς ὁπτασθήναι λέγει. εἰ δὲ ἂν τραύματα, καὶ αἵματα· οἱ γὰρ ἰχώρες οἱ ποιητικοὶ εἰδεχθέστεροι καὶ τῶν αἵματων, σήμερον γὰρ αἵματος ἰχώρ νοεῖται. ἀνάγκη τοῖνυν θεραπειώς καὶ τροφῆς παρειμένων αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀφροδιαίοις χρωμένων ἄνθρωπών 3 οὐδὲ παιδοποιουμένων οὐδὲ μὴν ὑπηρέσσοντων, εἰ ἁθάνατοι καὶ ἀνενδεεῖς καὶ ἀγήρω 4 ὑπῆρχον. μετέλαβεν δὲ καὶ τραπέζης ἄνθρωπως παρὰ τοῖς Ἀἰθιοπίων, ἀπανθρώπου δὲ καὶ ἀθέσμου αὐτὸς ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Λυκάοιν τῷ Ἄρκαδι οἰστιμενοῦ· ἄνθρωπείων γοῦν ἐνεφορεῖτο σαρκῶιν οὐχ ἐκώς. ἤγινε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὥς ἅρα Λυκάοιν ὁ Ἁρκας ὁ ἐστιατωρ αὐτοῦ τὸν πάθη κατασφάξας τὸν αὐτοῦ (Νύκτιμος ὀνομα αὐτῶ) παραθείη ὑπὸ τῷ Δί. καλὸς γε ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ μαντικός, ὁ ξένως, ὁ ἱκέσιος, ὁ

1 τοῦ Ἡλιον [Ἀυγέαν] Schwartz. τοῦ ἱεῖν Αυγέαν mss.
2 δὲ Mayor. δὴ mss.
3 ἄνθρωπος Reinkens. ἄνθρωπος mss.
4 ἀγήρω Potter. ἀγήρως mss.

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\(a\) Polemon, Frag. 24 Frag. hist. Graec. iii. p. 122.
\(b\) Iliad v. 395–397.
\(c\) Panyasis, Heracleia, Frag. 6. 20 Kinkel.

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that Athena too was wounded by Ornytus; yes, and even Hades was struck with an arrow by Heracles, according to Homer; and Panyasis relates the same of Helius. This same Panyasis further relates that Hera, the goddess of marriage, was wounded by the same Heracles, "in sandy Pylos." Sosibius says that Heracles himself was struck in the hand by the sons of Hippocoon. If there are wounds there is also blood; for the "ichor" of the poets is a more disgusting thing even than blood, the word ichor meaning putrefaction of the blood. It is necessary, therefore, to supply the gods with attendance and nourishment, of which they are in need; so they have feasts, carousings, bursts of laughter and acts of sexual intercourse, whereas if they were immortal, and in need of nothing, and untouched by age, they would not partake of the pleasures of human love, nor beget children, nor even go to sleep. Zeus himself shared a human table among the Ethiopians and an inhuman and unlawful table when feasting with Lycaon the Arcadian; at least, he glutted himself with human flesh. Not wilfully, however, for the god was unaware that, as it appears, his host Lycaon the Arcadian set before him, as a dainty dish, his own child, Nyctimus by name, whom he had slaughtered. What a fine Zeus he is, the diviner, the protector of guests, the hearer of suppliants, the

"Ichor" is the blood that flows in the veins of the gods; cp. Iliad v. 340. But the word is also used of matter, or corrupt discharges from the body. See references in Liddell and Scott, s.v.

Iliad i. 423–424.

See Pausanias viii. 2. 3. The story of Lycaon is discussed in A. B. Cook, Zeus, vol. i. pp. 63–81.
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CAP. μειλίχιος, ὁ πανομφαῖος, ὁ προστροπαῖος: μᾶλλον δὲ <ὁ> ἁδικος, ὁ ἄθεσμος, ὁ ἄνομος, ὁ ἀνόσιος, ὁ ἀπανθρωπος, ὁ βίαιος, ὁ φθορεύς, ὁ μοιχός, ὁ ἐρωτικός. ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ἦν, ἦτε τοιοῦτος ἦν, ὅτε ἀνθρωπος ἦν, νῦν δὲ ἦδη μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ οἱ μῦθοι ὑμῖν γεγορακέναι. ὄραξεν ὁ Ζεὺς οὐκέτι, οὐ κύκνος ἐστὶν, οὐκ ἄετος, οὐκ ἀνθρωπος ἐρωτικός· οὗ ἰππαται θεὸς, οὐ παίδεραστεί, οὐ φιλεὶ, οὐ βιάζεται, καὶ τοι πολλαὶ καὶ καλαὶ καὶ νῦν ἔτι γυναῖκες καὶ Λήδας εὐπρεπεστεραι καὶ Σεμέλης ἀκμαιότεραι, μειράκια δὲ ὕπαιρετε καὶ πολιτικώτερα του Φρυγίου βουκόλου. ποὺ νῦν ἕκεινος ὁ ἄετος; ποὺ δὲ ὁ κύκνος; ποὺ δὲ αὐτὸς | ὁ Ζεὺς; γεγήρακε μετὰ τοῦ πτεροῦ· οὐ γὰρ δὴπον μετανοεῖ τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς οὐδὲ παιδεύεται σωφρονείν. γυμνοῦσιν δὲ ὑμῖν οἱ μῦθοι· ἀπέθανεν ἡ Λήδα, ἀπέθανεν ὁ κύκνος, ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἄετος. ζήτει σου τὸν Δία: μὴ τὸν οὐρανὸν, ἀλλὰ τὴν γῆν πολυπραγμόνει. ὁ Κρής σοι διηγησεται, παρ' ὑ καὶ τέθαπτα, Καλλίμαχος ἐν ὑμνοῖς

καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὁ ἀνα, σεῖο
Κρήτες ἐτεκτήναντο.

τέθηκε γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς (μὴ δυσφόρει) ὥς Λήδα, ὥς κύκνος, ὥς ἄετός, ὥς ἀνθρωπος ἐρωτικός, ὥς ὀράκων.

1 <ὁ> inserted by Sylburg.

* i.e. Ganymedes; see pp. 69 and 111.
* Callimachus, Hymn to Zeus 8–9. This claim of the Cretans to possess the tomb of Zeus is said to have earned for them their traditional reputation as liars. The two lines of Callimachus, when read in full, distinctly assert this.

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gracious, the author of all oracles, the avenger of crime! Rather he ought to be called the unjust, the unrestrained, the lawless, the unholy, the inhuman, the violent, the seducer, the adulterer, the wanton lover. Still, there was life about him in those days, when he was all this, when he was a man; but by this time even your legends appear to me to have grown old. Zeus is no longer a snake, nor a swan, nor an eagle, nor an amorous man. He is not a god who flies, or corrupts boys, or kisses, or ravishes; and yet there are still many beautiful women left, fairer even than Leda and nearer their prime than Semele, and lads more blooming and more refined than the Phrygian herdsman. Where is now that famous eagle? Where is the swan? Where is Zeus himself? He has grown old, wings and all. For you may be sure he is not repentant because of his love affairs, nor is he training himself to live a sober life. See, the legend is laid bare. Leda is dead; the swan is dead; the eagle is dead. Search for your Zeus. Scour not heaven, but earth. Callimachus the Cretan, in whose land he lies buried, will tell you in his hymns:

for a tomb, O Prince, did the Cretans
Fashion for thee.

Yes, Zeus is dead (take it not to heart), like Leda, like the swan, like the eagle, like the amorous man, like the snake.

They run as follows:

Cretans ever do lie; for a tomb, O Prince, did they fashion
Even for thee; but thou art not dead, for thy life is unending.

Cp. Titus i. 12, and, for a discussion on the burial-place of Zeus, A. B. Cook, Zeus, i. 157–163.
CAP. II. "Hde de kai auton fainontai oi deisidaimones akontes mev, omoi de ouv synieantes tivn planhv tivn peri tous theous:

ou gar apod drunos eisi palaiofaton ou'd apod petras,

alla anodow genos eisi, mikron de istoron kai drus ontres eupehsonontai kai petrai. 'Agramemonon gowv tiva Dia ev Sparthe tiamathai Stafilos istorei: Fanokleis de ev 'Erwson h 1 Kalois 'Agramemonon ton 'Ellinwv basilea 'Arignonu neivn 'Aphroditeis isthatei et 'Arignwv tiv erwmenwv. 'Artemin de 'Arkades 'Apagumemivn kathumemivn pro斯特epoiv

tai, wv fhsi Kallimaqos ev Aitios. kai Kon-
dulitiv ev Mezhmivn etepa tetimetai 'Artemis.

esti de kai Podagras allis 'Artemidos ev tiv

Laqwnikh ierov, wv fhsi Swsibios. Poreuow de

Kekhnotos 'Apollwnos oidev agalma, kai 'Oio-

33 P. phagou | paliv 'Apollwnos allo ev 'Hliodi tiam-

menov. evtaova 'Apopmivw Diw thuvouw 'Hleiov.

'Rmnaioi de 'Apopmivw 'Hraklei kai Pureti de

1 h Leopardus. tois Sylburg. tie mss.

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a Homer, Odyssey'xix. 163. The gods were not, according
to Clement, primeval beings, but simply men with a human
history.

b Clement seems to allude to his passage about the statues
p. 101 and onwards.

c A local cult of Agamemnon (such as the one which
existed at Clazomenae—Pausanias vii. 5. 11) had evidently
been combined with the worship of Zeus. See Athenagoras,
Apology i.


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But it is clear that even the daemon-worshippers themselves are coming to understand, though against their will, the error about the gods; for

Not from the ancient oak nor rock do they take their beginning.\(^a\)

No; they are of the race of men, though very shortly they will be found to be nothing but oaks and rocks.\(^b\)

There is a Zeus Agamemnon\(^c\) honoured at Sparta, according to Staphylus\(^d\); and Phanocles, in his book entitled *Loves, or Fair Youths*, says that Agamemnon the king of the Greeks set up a temple to Aphrodite Argynnus, in honour of Argynnus whom he loved.\(^e\)

Arcadians worship an Artemis called “the goddess who is hanged,” as Callimachus says in his *Causes*; and at Methymna another, an Artemis Condylitis, is honoured.\(^f\) There is also another, a “gouty” Artemis, with a shrine in Laconia, as Sosibius says.\(^k\)

Polemon knows a statue of “yawning” Apollo; and another, too, of Apollo “the epicure,” honoured in Elis.\(^i\) These Eleans sacrifice to Zeus “avter of flies,”\(^k\) and the Romans to Heracles of the same title,

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\(^a\) Artemis seems to have been “hanged” annually at Condylea in Arcadia. See Pausianias viii. 23. 6, where the children are probably imitating some ancient ritual. Full discussion in Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, i. pp. 288–297. See also Callimachus, *Frag.* 3 Schneider.

\(^b\) Condylitis may mean “striking,” from κονδυλίζεω. But possibly this is another form of “Artemis of Condylea,” called *Artemis Condyleatis* in Pausianias viii. 23. 6.


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παρ. καὶ Φόβω θύουσιν, οὐς καὶ αυτοὺς μετὰ τῶν ἀμφί
tὸν Ἦρακλεα ἐγγράφουσιν. ἐώς δὲ Ἀργείους.
'Αφροδίτην Τυμβωρύχων θρησκεύον μαρτυρῶν Ἀργεῖοι καὶ
Lάκωνες, καὶ Χελυτίδα δὲ 'Αρτεμίν Σπαρτιάται
σέβουσιν. ἔπει τὸ βήττειν χελύττειν καλοῦσιν.

Οἱ πολεῖ παρέγγραπτα 3 ταῦτα σοι κομίζονται
tα ὑφ' ἤμων παρατιθέμενα; οὐδὲ τοὺς σοὺς γνωρί-
ζειν ἔσοις ζητηθήτεις, οὐς ἐγὼ μάρτυρας ἐπὶ τὴν
σὴν ἀπιστίαν καλώ, ἀθέου χλεύης, ὧ δείλατοι, τὸν
πάντα ἤμων ἀβίων ἄνωτος βίων ἔμπεπληκτότας. 4
οὐχὶ μέντοι Ζεὺς φαλακρός ἐν Ἀργεί, τιμωρός δὲ
ἀλλος ἐν Κύπρῳ τετίμησον; 5 οὐχὶ δὲ Ἀφροδίτη
περιβασοὶ 6 μὲν Ἀργεῖοι, ἐταίρα δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ
καλλιτύργωθ σύνοισιν Ἴσαρκούσιοι, ἢν Νικάνδρος
ὁ ποιητής "καλλιγλυτήν" ποὺ κέκληκεν; Διὸ-
nυσσιν δὲ ἡδὴ σωτᾶ τῶν χοροφάλαν. Σεκυώνοι
τοῦτον προσκυνοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῶν γυναικείων τάξαντες
τὸν Διόνυσον μορίων, ἐφορον αἰσχοὺς τὸν ἔβρεως
σεβάζοντες ἀρχηγόν. τοιοῦτοι μὲν αυτοῖς οἱ θεοὶ,
tοιοῦτοι καὶ αὐτοὶ, παῖζοντες ἐν θεοῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ
ἐμπαιζόντες καὶ ἐνυβρίζοντες φησίν αὐτοῖς. καὶ
πόσῳ βελτίως Αἰγύπτιοι κωμηδοῦ καὶ κατὰ πόλεις
τὰ ἄλογα τῶν ζώων ἐκτετμηκότες ἤπερ Ἐλλήνες
tοιοῦτοι προσκυνοῦντες θεοὺς; τὰ μὲν γὰρ εἰ
καὶ θηρία, ἄλλ' οὗ μοιχικά, ἄλλ' οὗ μάχλα, παρὰ
φύσιν δὲ θηρεύει ἤδονην οὐδὲ ἔν. οἷ δὲ ὅποιοι,

1 καὶ Λάκωνες placed by Stählin after 'Αργείου (l. 2).
2 ποθέν παρέγγραπτα Stählin. πὸθεν παραγέγραπται ms.
3 ἐμπεπληκτός Stählin. ἐμπεπληκτός ms.
4 τετίμησον Sylburg. τετίμησον ms.
5 περιβασοὶ Dindorf. περιβασῆ ms.
6 καλλιτύργω Sylburg. καλλιτύργῳ ms.

a Nicander, Frag. 23 Schneider.

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as well as to "Fever" and "Fear" which they even enroll among the companions of Heracles. I pass by the Argives; Aphrodite the "grave-robber" is worshipped by them, as well as by the Laconians. Furthermore, Spartans venerate Artemis Chelytis or the "coughing" Artemis, since the verb corresponding to Chelytis is their word for "to cough."

Do you think that the examples which I am adducing are brought to you from some improper source? Why, it seems as if you do not recognize your own authors, whom I call as witnesses against your unbelief. Alas for you! They have filled your whole life with godless foolery, until life has become truly intolerable. Tell me, is there not a "bald" Zeus honoured in Argos, and another, an "avenger," in Cyprus? Do not Argives sacrifice to Aphrodite divaricatrix, Athenians to her as "courtesan," and Syracusans to her "of the beautiful buttocks," whom the poet Nicander has somewhere called "of the beautiful rump"? I will be silent about Dionysus choiropsalas. The Sicyonians worship this Dionysus as the god who presides over the woman's secret parts; thus they reverence the originator of licentiousness, as overseer of what is shameful. Such, then, is the character of the Greek gods; such, too, are the worshippers, who make a mockery of the divine, or rather, who mock and insult themselves. How much better are Egyptians, when in cities and villages they hold in great honour the irrational animals, than Greeks who worship such gods as these? For though the Egyptian gods are beasts, still they are not adulterous, they are not lewd, and not one of them seeks for pleasure contrary to its own nature. But as for the character of the

Further examples from Greek writers

Even Egyptian animal gods are better than these
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CAP. τι καὶ χρή λέγειν ἑτὶ, ἀποχρωντως αὐτῶν διελη- 
λεγμένων;

'Ἀλλ' οὖν ἐν Αἰγύπτιοι, δῦν νῦν δῆ ἐμνήσθην,

κατὰ τὰς θρησκείας τὰς σφῶν ἐσκέδασεν· σέβομαι

ἀντὶ τῶν Συμνήται 1 φάγρον τὸν ἰχθύν, μαϊωτὴν δὲ

(ἄλλος 2 οὗτος ἰχθύς) οἱ τὴν Ἐλεφαντίνην οἰκοῦντες,

Ὦξυρυγχύται τὸν φερόνυμον τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν

ὁμοίως ἰχθύν, ἑτὶ γε μὴν Ἡρακλεοπολῖται ἰχνεύ-

μονα, Σαῦται δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι πρόβατον, Ἀνκο-

πολῖται δὲ λύκον, Κυνοπολῖται δὲ κύνα, τὸν Ἀπιν

Μεμφῖται, Μενδήσιοι τὸν τράγον. ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ

πάντες ἀμείνους Αἰγυπτίων (ὅκνω δὲ εἰπεῖν χείρος),

οἱ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ὁσμέραι γελώντες οὐ παύεσθε, 3

ποιοὶ 4 τινες καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλογα ζώα; Θεσσαλοὶ μὲν

ἄμων τοὺς πελαγοὺς τετμήκασι διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν,

Θηβαῖοι δὲ τὰς γαλάς διὰ τὴν Ἡρακλέους γένεσιν.

τὶ δὲ πάλιν Θεσσαλοὶ; μύρωνας ἱστοροῦν

σέβεν, ἐπεὶ τὸν Δία μεμαθήκασιν ὀμωσόδενα

μύρων τῇ Κλήτορος θυγατρὶ Εὐρυμεδουσῆ μυρήναι

καὶ Μυρμιδόνα γεννήσατι. Πολέμων δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ

τὴν Τρώαδα κατοικοῦντας ἵστορεῖ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους

μὺς <σέβεων>, 5 οὐς σμύρνησαν καλοῦσαν, ὅτι τὰς νευρᾶς

1 Συμνήται Ortelius and Canter (in Sylburg). εὐνυταί MSS.

2 ἄλλος Potter. ὁ ἄλλος MSS.

3 παύεσθε Heinsius. παύεσθε MSS.

4 ποιοὶ Wilamowitz. ὁ ποιοὶ MSS.

5 <σέβεων> inserted by Dindorf.

a The Apis bull was regarded as an incarnation of the god Ptah, or Osiris. Certain peculiar bodily marks distinguished him from other bulls, and when found he was tended with deep veneration in a shrine at Memphis. At his death there was great mourning, and a stately funeral. See Herodotus iii. 27-28.

b See Herodotus ii. 46.

c The story is given in Antoninus Liberalis, ch. 29. The
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Greek gods, what need is there to say more? They have been sufficiently exposed.

Egyptians, however, whom I mentioned just now, are divided in the matter of their religious cults. The people of Syene worship the fish phagrus; the inhabitants of Elephantine another fish, the maecotes; the people of Oxyrhynchus also worship a fish, that which bears the name of their land. Further, the people of Heracleopolis worship the ichneumon; of Sais and Thebes, the sheep; of Lycopolis, the wolf; of Cynopolis, the dog; of Memphis, the bull Apis; of Mendes, the goat. But as for you, who are in every way better than Egyptians,—I shrink from calling you worse—you who never let a day pass without laughing at the Egyptians, what is your attitude with regard to the irrational animals? The Thessalians among you give honour to storks by reason of old custom; Thebans to weasels on account of the birth of Heracles. What else of Thessalians? They are reported to worship ants, because they have been taught that Zeus, in the likeness of an ant, had intercourse with Eurymedusa the daughter of Cletor and begat Myrmidon. Polemon relates that the dwellers in the Troad worship the local mice (which they call sminthoi), because these used to gnaw birth of Heracles was retarded by the Fates to please Hera. But Alcmene's companion Galinghas (cp. galē, a weasel) told them that the birth was by the will of Zeus, whereupon they ceased opposing it. They punished Galinghas, however, by turning her into a weasel. When Heracles grew up he remembered her good deed and built her a shrine. The Thebans thereafter used to offer her the first sacrifice at the feast of Heracles.

The legendary ancestor of the Myrmidons, a Thessalian tribe. The name may be connected with myrmex, an ant.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. τῶν πολεμίων διέτρωγον τῶν τόξων· καὶ Σμίνθιον

II Ἀπόλλωνα ἀπὸ τῶν μυών ἐκείνων ἐπεφήμισαν.

Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ἐν Κτίσει ἱερῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀκαρ

ναίαν φησίν, ἐνθά τὸ Ἀκτίων ἐστὶν ἀκρωτήριον καὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἀκτίου τὸ ἱερόν, ταῖς μοῖας προθύεσθαι βοῶν. οὐδὲ μὴν Σαμίων ἐκ

λήσομαι (πρὸβατον, ὡς φησὶν Εὐφορίων, σέβουσι

85 Ὑ. Μάμοι) οὐδὲ γε τῶν τὴν Φοινίκην Σύρων | κατο

ουκοῦντων, ὅποι οἱ μὲν τὰς περιστέρας, οἱ δὲ τοὺς

ἰχθύος οὕτω σέβουσι περιττῶς ὡς Ἡλέιοι τῶν Δία.

Εἶπεν δὲ ἐπειδὴ ὡς θεοὶ, οὕς δρησκεύετε, αὕτης ἐπισκέψασθαι μοι δοκεῖ εἰ ὡς τὸνς οὐδὲν δαίμονες,

dευτέρα τούτη, ὡς ὑμεῖς φατέ, ἐγκαταλείπεσθαι τάξει. εἰ ὡς τὸ δαίμονες, λίγον τε καὶ μικροῖ.

ἔστι μὲν ἐφευρέω καὶ ἀναφαντὸν οὕτω κατὰ πόλεως

δαίμονας ἐπιχωρίους τις ἑπιδρασκομένους, παρὰ

Κυθηνίους Μενέδημον, παρὰ Τηνίοις Καλλισταγόραν,

παρὰ Δηλίους Ἀνιον, παρὰ Λάκων Ἀστραβάκαν.

τιμᾶται δὲ τις καὶ Φαληροῖ κατὰ πρύμναν ἠρωᾶς·

καὶ Ἡ Πυθία συνέταξε θέους Πλαταιείσσων Ἀνδρο

κράτει καὶ Δημοκράτει καὶ Κυκλαιῷ καὶ Δεύκων

tῶν Μηδικῶν ἀκμαζόντων ἀγώνων. ἔστι καὶ

a Compare the story in Herodotus ii. 141, where Sen-
nacherib’s army, invading Egypt, was rendered useless by

the ravages of mice.


c Heracleides Ponticus, Frag. hist. Graec. ii. p. 197,

note 2. See also Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, i. p. 45.

d Euphorion, Frag. 6 Frag. hist. Graec. iii. p. 73.

e The Syrian goddess Derceto was represented with

the body of a fish, and her daughter Semiramis took the form

of a dove. See Diodorus ii. 4.

f See Herodotus vi. 69.

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through their enemies’ bowstrings; and they named Apollo ‘Smintheus’ after these mice. Heracleides, in his work on The Founding of Temples in Acarnania, says that on the promontory of Actium, where stands the temple of Apollo of Actium, a preliminary sacrifice of an ox is made to the flies. Nor shall I forget the Samians, who, as Euphorion says, worship the sheep; no, nor yet the Syrian inhabitants of Phoenicia, some of whom worship doves, and others fishes, as extravagantly as the Eleans worship Zeus.

Very well! since they whom you serve are not gods, I am resolved to make a fresh examination to see whether it is true that they are daemons, and should be enrolled, as you say, in this second rank of divinities. For if they really are daemons, they are greedy and foul ones. We can discover perfectly clear examples of daemons of local origin who glean honour in cities, as Menedemus among the Cythnians, Callistagoras among the Tenians, Anius among the Delians and Astrabacus among the Laconians. Honour is paid also at Phalerum to a certain hero “at the stern,” and the Pythian prophetess prescribed that the Plataeans should sacrifice to Androcrates, Democrats, Cyclaus and Leucon when the struggles with the Medes were at their height. And the man

\section*{Examples of such daemons or heroes}

\section*{Perhaps the Greek gods are secondary deities or daemons}

\section*{This hero is Androgeos, on account of whose death at Athens the annual tribute of seven youths and seven maidens was imposed by his father Minos upon the Athenians; from which they were delivered by Theseus. A scholiast, commenting on this passage, says that figures of Androgeos were set “at the stern of ships.” Phalerum was the ancient port of Attica, whence according to tradition Theseus embarked on his journey to Crete. See Pausanias i. 1. 2–4.

See Plutarch, Aristeides xi.}

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ἀλλοὺς παμπόλλους συνιδεῖν δαίμονας τῷ γε καὶ σμικρὸν διαθρεῖν δυναμένης.

τρίς γὰρ μύριοι εἰσὶν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πολυβοτείρη δαίμονες ἀθάνατοι, φιλάκες μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.

τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ φιλάκες, ὁ Βοῦστε, μή φθονέσθη λέγειν. ἦ δῆλον ὡς οὖτοι καὶ οἱ τούτων ἐπιτυμότεροι, οἱ μεγάλοι δαίμονες, ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ἡ Ἀρτέμις, ἡ Λητώ, ἡ Δημήτηρ, ἡ Κόρη, ὁ Πλοῦτων, ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, αὐτὸς ὁ Ζεὺς. ἄλλον ὁποδράναι ἡμᾶς φυλάσσουσιν, Ἀσκαρίων, μὴ ἀμαρτάνειν δὲ ἰῶσι, οἱ ἀμαρτών ἰότα οὐ πεπεραμένοι. ἐνταῦθα δή τὸ παροιμώδης ἑπιφθέγξασθαι ἀρμόττει

"πατὴρ ἀνουθέτητα ταῖς νουθετεῖς.

εἰ δ' ἀρα καὶ εἰσὶν φιλάκες οὖτοι, οὐκ εὐνοῖα τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς περιπαθεῖς, τῆς δὲ ὑμετέρᾶς ἀπωλείας ἐχόμενοι, κολάκων δίκην, ἐγχρίμπτονται τῷ βίῳ, δελεαζόμενοι καπνῷ. αὐτοί πον ἐξομολογοῦνται οἱ δαίμονες τὴν γαστριμαργίαν τὴν αὐτῶν,

λοιφῆς τε κυνίσης τε. τὸ γὰρ λάχουμεν γέρας ἥμεις,

86 Ῥ. λέγοντες. τίνα δ' ἂν φωνήν ἄλλην, εἰ φωνὴν λάβοιεν Αἰγυπτίων θεῶν, οἱ αἰλουροὶ καὶ γαλαί, προςέχουσιν ἢ τὴν Ὀμηρικήν τε καὶ ποιητικήν, τῆς κυνίσης τε καὶ ὀφαρτυνικῆς φίλην; τούοις μέντοι παρ' ὁμίῳ οἱ τε δαίμονες καὶ οἱ θεοὶ καὶ εἰ τίνες

1 ἀνουθέτητα Wilamowitz. ἀνουθέτηται mss.

a Hesiod, Works and Days 252–253. Hesiod was a native of Asca in Boeotia, which explains the two apppellations that follow this quotation.


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who is able to make even a slight investigation can get a view of very many other daemons;

For thrice ten thousand dwell on mother earth,
Immortal daemons, guards of mortal men. a

Who are these guardians, thou Boeotian bard? Do not refuse to tell us. Or is it clear that they are these whom I have just mentioned, and others more honoured than they, namely the great daemons, Apollo, Artemis, Leto, Demeter, the Maiden, Pluto, Heracles, and Zeus himself? But it is not to prevent us from running away that they guard us, poet of Ascre! Perhaps it is to prevent us from sinning, seeing that they, to be sure, have had no experience of sins. Here indeed we may fitly utter the proverbial line,

The father warns his child but not himself. b

Yet if, after all, they really are guardians, they are not moved by feelings of good will towards us; but, being intent upon your destruction, they beset human life after the manner of flatterers, allured by the sacrificial smoke. In one place the daemons themselves admit this gluttony of theirs, when they say,

Wine and odorous steam; for that we receive as our portion. c

If Egyptian gods, such as cats and weasels, were to be endowed with speech, what other cry are they likely to give forth than this from Homer's poems, proclaiming a love for savoury odours and cookery? Be that as it may, such is the character of the

* Homer, Iliad iv. 49.

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CAP. ήμίδεοι ὡσπερ ήμιόνοι κέκληται· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ὄνομάτων ὑμῖν πενία πρὸς τὰς τῆς ἀσεβείας συνθέσεις.

III

Φέρε δὴ οὖν καὶ τούτο προσθώμεν, ὡς ἀπ- ἄνθρωποι καὶ μισάνθρωποι δαίμονες εἰς ὑμῶν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ οὐχὶ μόνον ἐπιχαίροντες τῇ φρενοβλαβείᾳ τῶν ἄνθρωπων, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωποκτονίας ἀπο- λαύοντες· νυνὶ μὲν τὰς ἐν σταδίοις ἐνόπλους φίλονεικίας, νυνὶ δὲ τὰς ἐν πολέμοις ἀναρίθμους φιλοτημίας ἀφορμὰς σφίσων ἡδονῆς ποριζόμενοι, ὅπως ὁτι μάλιστα ἔχουν ἄνθρωπεῖν ἀνέδην ἐμ- φορεῖσθαι φόνων· ἡδὴ δὲ κατὰ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη, οἰονεὶ λοιμοὶ ἐπισκήματες, σπονδὰς ἀπήττησαν ἀνημέρους. Ἀριστομένης γοῦν ὁ Μεσσηνὸς τῷ Ἡθομήτῃ Διὶ τριακοσίους ἀπέσφαξεν, τοσαῦτα ὀμοῦ καὶ τοιαύτας καλλιερεῖν οἰόμενος ἐκατόμβας· ἐν οἷς καὶ Θεόπομπος ἦν ἢ ἢ ¹ Δακεδαμονίων βασιλεὺς, ἱερεῖον εὐγενεῖς. Τάυροι δὲ τὸ ἔθνος, οἱ περὶ τὴν Ταυρικὴν χερσονήσου κατοικοῦντες, οὐς ἂν τῶν

¹ ἢ inserted from Eusebius, Praep. Ev. iv. 16.

"To understand the point of Clement's onslaught against the "daemons" it must be remembered that the best Greek teachers of his age, such as Plutarch and Maximus of Tyre, used the doctrine of "secondary divinities" as a means of preserving their own monotheism without altogether breaking away from the popular mythology. According to them, the one Supreme God worked through many ministers, to whom worship could rightly be offered. Clement attacks
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daemons and gods you worship, and of the demigods too, if you have any called by this name, on the analogy of mules, or demi-asses; for you have no poverty—not even of words to form into the compounds needed for your impiety.a

III

Come then, let us add this, that your gods are inhuman and man-hating daemons, who not only exult over the insanity of men, but go so far as to enjoy human slaughter. They provide for themselves sources of pleasure, at one time in the armed contests of the stadium, at another in the innumerable rivalries of war, in order to secure every possible opportunity of glutting themselves to the full with human blood. Before now, too, they have fallen like plagues on whole cities and nations, and have demanded drink-offerings of a savage character. For instance, Aristomenes the Messenian slaughtered three hundred men to Zeus of Ithome, in the belief that favourable omens are secured by sacrifices of such magnitude and quality. Among the victims was even Theopompus, the Lacedaemonian king, a noble offering. The Taurian race, who dwell along the Taurian peninsula, whenever they capture

this position from the moral standpoint; the legends and the animal sacrifices prove that all these divinities, whether called gods, demigods, or anything else, were evil in character; there was no distinction between Zeus and the humblest daemon. A clear and valuable account of the matter will be found in Dill, Roman Society from Nero, etc. pp. 422-434.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

Cap. III

ξένων παρ' αυτοῖς ἔλωσι, τούτων δή τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπτακικῶν, αὐτίκα μάλα τῇ Ταυρικῇ καταβούσαι 'Αρτέμιδι ταύτας σου τὰς θυσίας Ἑυριπίδης ἐπὶ σκηνής τραγῳδεῖ. Μόνιμος δ' ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ τῶν θαυμασίων συναγωγῇ ἐν Πέλλῃ τῆς Θρησκείας Ἀχαίοις ἄνθρωπον Πηλεῖ καὶ Χείρωνι καταβύσσαθαι. Δυκτίος ¹ γαρ (Κρητῶν δὲ ἔθνος εἰσὶν οὗτοι ²) Ἀντικλείδης εν Νόστοις ἀποφαίνεται ἄνθρωπος ἀποσφάτων τῷ Διό, καὶ Λεοβίος Διονύσου τὴν ὀμοίαν προσάγειν θυσίαν Δωσίδης λέγει. Φωκαῖος δὲ (οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοῦς παραπέμψαμι)—τούτος Πυθοκλής ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ ⁸⁷ Ρ. ὀμονοίας τῇ Ταυροπόλει Ἀρτέμιδι ἄνθρωπον ὀλοκαυτείν ³ ἱστορεῖ. Ἐρεχθεὺς δὲ ὁ Ἀρτικὸς καὶ Μάριος ὁ Ρωμαῖος τὰς αὐτῶν ἐθυσάτην θυγατέρας ἄν ὁ μὲν τῇ Φερεφάττῃ, ὡς Δημάρατος ἐν πρώτῃ Τραγῳδομένων, ὁ δὲ τοῖς Ἀποτραπαῖοις, ὁ Μάριος, ὡς Δωρόθεος ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ Ἰταλικῶν ἱστορεῖ.

Φιλανθρωποὶ γε ἐκ τούτων καταφαινονται οἱ δαίμονες· πῶς δὲ οὖν ὁσίοι ἀναλόγως οἱ δεισιδαιμονεῖς; οἱ μὲν σωτῆρες εὐφημοῦμενοι, οἱ δὲ σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐπιβούλων σωτηρίας. καλλιερεῖν γοῦν τοπάζοντες αὐτοῖς σφᾶς

¹ Δυκτίος from Eusebius. Δυκτίος mss.
² οὗτοι from Eusebius. οὗτοι mss.
³ ὀλοκαυτείν from Eusebius. ὀλοκαυτείν mss.

a That is, in his play Iphigeneia among the Taurians. See also Herodotus iv. 103. The Taurian peninsula is the modern Crimea.


c Anticleides, Frag. 9 Müller, Script. rerum Alex. Mag. p. 149.

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strangers in their territory, that is to say, men who have been shipwrecked, sacrifice them on the spot to Tauric Artemis. These are your sacrifices which Euripides represents in tragedy upon the stage. Monimus, in his collection of Wonderful Events, relates that in Pella of Thessaly human sacrifice is offered to Peleus and Cheiron, the victim being an Achaean. Thus too, Anticleides in his Homecomings, declares that the Lycians, a race of Cretans, slaughter men to Zeus; and Dosidas says that Lesbians offer a similar sacrifice to Dionysus. As for Phocaeans,—for I shall not pass them over either—these people are reported by Pythocles in his third book On Concord to offer a burnt sacrifice of a man to Taurian Artemis. Erechtheus the Athenian and Marius the Roman sacrificed their own daughters, the former to Persephone, as Demaratus relates in the first book of his Subjects of Tragedy; the latter, Marius, to the "Averters of evil," as Dorotheus relates in the fourth book of his Italian History.

Kindly beings to be sure the daemons are, as these instances plainly show! And how can the daemon-worshippers help being holy in a corresponding way? The former are hailed as savours; the latter beg for safety from those who plot to destroy safety. Certainly while they suppose that they are

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*a* Dosidas (or Dosiades), Frag. 5 *Frag. hist. Graec.* iv. p. 400.


*d* Marius is said to have been warned in a dream to sacrifice his daughter Calpurnia, in order to obtain a victory over the Cimbri by whom he was hard pressed. Plutarch, *Collect. parall.* 20; Dorotheus, Frag. 3 Müller, *Script. rerum Alex. Mag.* p. 156.
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CAP. αὐτούς λελήθασιν ἀποσφάττοντες ἀνθρώπους. οὐ γὰρ οὗν παρὰ τὸν τόπον ἱερεῖον γίνεται ὁ φῶνος, οὐδὲ εἰ Ἀρτέμιδι τις καὶ Δί έν ἱερῷ δήθεν χαρίῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ὀργῇ καὶ φιλαργυρίᾳ, ἀλλὰ ὁμοίως δαίμοσιν, ἐπὶ βωμοῖς ἢ ἐν ὀδοῖς ἀποσφάττοι τὸν ἀνθρωπον, [ἱερόν] 1 ἱερεῖον ἐπιφημίσας, ἀλλὰ φῶνος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνδροκτοσία ἢ τουαίτη θυσία. τί δὴ οὖν, ὃ σοφότατοι τῶν ἄλλων ζωῶν ἀνθρωποι, τὰ μὲν θηρία περιφεύγομεν τὰ ἀνήμερα, κἂν ποι περιτύχωμεν ἄρκη ἢ λέοντι, ἔκτρεπομέθα,

ὡς δ' ὅτε τὶς τε δράκοντα ἰδὼν παλίνορσος ἀπέστη οὐρεος ἐν βήσηση, ὑπὸ τε τρόμος ἐλλαβε γνία, ἀψ τ᾿ ἀνεχώρησεν.

dαίμονας δὲ ὀλθρίους καὶ ἀλτηρίους ἐπιβούλους τε καὶ μισανθρώπους καὶ λυμεώνας ὄντας προαισθό-

88 Ρ. μενοι καὶ συνέντευς οὐκ ἐκτρέπεσθε οὐδὲ ἀποστρέ-

φεσθε; τί δὲ ἀν καὶ ἀλθεόμεαν οἱ κακοί, ἢ τίνα ἂν ὑφελῆσαε; αὐτίκα γοῦν ἐχω σοι βελτίωνα τῶν ὑμεδαπῶν τούτων θεῶν, τῶν δαίμώνων, ἐπὶ-

δεῖξαι τὸν ἀνθρωπον, τοῦ Ἀτόλλωνος τοῦ μαντικοῦ τὸν Κύρων καὶ τὸν Σᾶλωνα. φιλόδωρος ὑμῶν ὁ Φοῖβος, ἂλλ' οὗ φιλάνθρωπος. προύδωκε τὸν Ἐρώτον τοῦ φιλος καὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ ἐκλαβόμενος (οὔτω φιλόδωρος ἢ) ἀνήγαγε τὸν Κροῖσον διὰ τοῦ Ἀλνος ἐπὶ τὴν πυρᾶν. οὔτω φιλοῦντες οἱ δαίμονες ὁδηγοῦσιν εἰς τὸ πῦρ. ἂλλ', ὁ φιλανθρωπότερος καὶ ἀληθέστερος τοῦ Ἀτόλλωνος ἀνθρωπε, τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πυρᾶς ὀκτειρόν δεδεμένον, καὶ σο μέν, ὃ


a Homer, Iliad iii. 33–35.
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offering acceptable sacrifices to the daemons, they quite forget that they are slaughtering human beings. For murder does not become a sacred offering because of the place in which it is committed, not even if you solemnly dedicate the man and then slaughter him in a so-called sacred spot for Artemis or Zeus, rather than for anger or covetousness, other daemons of the same sort, or upon altars rather than in roads. On the contrary, such sacrifice is murder and human butchery. Why then is it, O men, wisest of all living creatures, that we fly from savage wild beasts and turn aside if perchance we meet a bear or a lion, and

As in a mountain glade when the wayfarer spieth a serpent, Swiftly turning his steps, his weak limbs trembling beneath him,
Backward he maketh his way;

yet when faced by deadly and accursed daemons, you do not turn aside nor avoid them, although you have already perceived and know quite well that they are plotters and man-haters and destroyers? What possible truth could evil beings utter, or whom could they benefit? At any rate, I can at once prove to you that man is better than these gods of yours, the daemons; that Cyrus and Solon are better than Apollo the prophet. Your Phoebus is a lover of gifts but not of men. He betrayed his friend Croesus, and, forgetful of the reward he had received (such was his love of honour), led the king across the river Halys to his funeral pyre. This is how the daemons love; they guide men to the fire! But do thou, O man of kinder heart and truer speech than Apollo, pity him who lies bound upon the pyre.

Why not fly from daemons as from savage beasts?

Men are better than the daemons, as the story of Croesus shows.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. III

Σόλων, μάντεψαί τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐ δὲ, ὦ Κύρε, κέλευσον ἀποσβεσθῆναι τὴν πυρὰν. σωφρόνησον ὦστατον γοῦν, ὦ Κροῖσε, τῷ πάθει μεταμαθῶν ἀχάριοτός ἐστιν ὃν προσκυνεῖς, λαμβάνει τὸν μισθὸν καὶ μετὰ τὸ χρυσῶν ἴσως χαιρετεῖ πάλιν. τέλος ἢ ὁ δαίμων, ἄλλα ὁ ἄνθρωπός σοι λέγει. οὐ λοξὰ μαντεύεται Σόλων· τούτον εὐρήσεις ἁλήθη μόνον, ὦ βάρβαρε, τὸν χρησμὸν τούτον ἐπὶ τῆς πυρᾶς δοκιμάσεις.

"Ὅθεν ἐπεισὶ μοι θαυμάζειν τί ἀνταφείς ἰπτὸ φαντασίας ἀπαχθέντες οἱ πρῶτοι πεπλημμένοι δεισιδαμιόνιαν ἀνθρώπους κατήγγειλαν, δαίμονος ἄλλος νομοθετοῦντες σέβεν, εἴτε Φορωνεὺς ἔκεινος ἢν εἴτε Μέροψ εἴτε ἄλλος τις, οὐ νεώς καὶ βωμὸς ἀνέστησαν αὐτοῖς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ θεοῦς παραστῆσαι πρῶτοι μεμύθενται. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ κατὰ χρόνους ὑστερον ἀνέπλαττον θεοῦς, οἷς προσκυνοῦεν. ἀμέλει τὸν Ἐρωτα τούτον τῶν ἑών εἴναι λεγόμενον ἐτίμα πρὸτερον οὐδὲ ἐὰν πρὶν ἡ Χάρυμνος μειράκιον τι ἐλεῖν καὶ βωμὸν ἑδυσασθήναν ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ χαριστηρίων ἐπιτελοῦσι γενομένης ἐπιθυμίας· καὶ τῆς νόσου τὴν ἀσέλγειαν Ἐρωτα κεκλήκασι, θεοποιοῦντες ἀκόλαστον ἐπιθυμίαν.

39 P. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ οὐδὲ τὸν Πάνα ἤδεσαν ὅστις ἦν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἩΦιλιππίνην εἰπεῖν αὐτοῖς.

1 εὐρήσεις Cant. ἐν ἰδίαις mss.
2 τῶν inserted by Markland.
3 χαριστηρίων Valckenaeer; see Protrepticus 27 P. (p. 64 above) and 42 P. (p. 106). χαριστηρίων mss.

a See the whole story in Herodotus i. 30–33 and 85–88.
9b Cp. Pausanias i. 30. 1, Athenaeus xiii. p. 609 D; and, for the antiquity of Eros, Plato, Symposium 178 a–c, and Hesiod, Theogonia 120, with Paley’s note ad loc. The ancient
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EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

Do thou, Solon, utter an oracle of truth. Do thou, Cyrus, bid the flaming pyre be quenched. Come to thy senses at the eleventh hour, Croesus, when suffering has taught thee better. Ungrateful is he whom thou dost worship. He takes the reward of gold, and then deceives thee once again. Mark! it is not the daemon, but the man who tells thee the issue of life. Unlike Apollo, Solon utters no double-meaning prophecies. This oracle alone shalt thou find true, O barbarian. This shalt thou prove upon the pyre.

I cannot help wondering, therefore, what delusive fancies could have led astray those who were the first to be themselves deceived, and the first also, by the laws they established for the worship of accursed daemons, to proclaim their superstition to mankind. I mean such men as the well-known Phoroneus, or Merops, or others like them, who set up temples and altars to the daemons, and are also said in legend to have been the first to offer sacrifices. There can be no doubt that in succeeding ages men used to invent gods whom they might worship. This Eros, for instance, who is said to be amongst the oldest of the gods,—why, not a single person honoured him before Charmus carried off a young lad and erected an altar in Academia, as a thank-offering for the satisfaction of his lust; and this disease of debauchery is what men call Eros, making unbridled lust into a god! Nor did Athenians know who even Pan was, before Philippides told them.

Eros was probably an earth-deity, or god of fertility, and in reality quite different from the winged child who accompanies Aphrodite and is the personification of human love. See Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, ii. pp. 625-6.

\(^a\) Herodotus vi. 105.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. III

Εἰκότως ἀρχὴν ποθεν ἡ δεισιδαιμονία λαβοῦσα κακίας ἀνόητου γέγονεν πηγή· εἶτα δὲ μὴ ἀνακοπεῖσα, ἀλλὰ εἰς ἐπίδοσιν ἐλθοῦσα καὶ πολλὴ δὴ ῥεῖσα, δημιουργὸς πολλῶν καθίσταται δαμάων, ἑκατομβάς θύουσα καὶ πανηγύρεις ἐπιτελοῦσα καὶ ἀγάλματα ἀνιστάσα καὶ νεῶς ἀνοικοδομοῦσα, τοὺς δὲ—οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τούτους σωστίσωμαι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξελέγξω—νεῶς μὲν εὐφήμως ὀνομαζόμενους, τάφους δὲ γενομένους [τουτέστι τοὺς τάφους νεῶς ἐπικεκλημένους]. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀλλὰ κἂν νῦν δεισιδαιμονίας ἐκλάθεσθε, τοὺς τάφους τιμᾶν αἰσχυνομενοί. ἐν τῷ νεῶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν Δαρίσθῃ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τάφος ἐστὶν Ἀκρισίου, Ἀθηνησιου δὲ ἐν ἀκροπόλει Κέκροπος, ὡς φησιν Ἀντίοχος ἐν τῷ ἑκάτῳ τῶν Ἰστοριῶν. τί δὲ Ἔριχθονος; οὐχὶ ἐν τῷ νεῶ τῆς Πολυδάδος κεκήδευται; Ἰμμαραδός δὲ ὁ Ἐυμόλπου καὶ Δαείρας οὐχὶ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου τοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει; αἱ δὲ Κελεοῦ θυγατέρες οὐχὶ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι τετάφαται; τί σοι καταλέγω ταῦτα <ἐξ> ἡ περβορέων γνωῖκας; Ὑπερόχη καὶ Δαοδίκη κέκλησθον, ἐν τῷ Ἄρτεμισίῳ ἐν Δήλῳ κεκήδευσθον, τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δηλίου ἐστὶν ἱερῶ. Δεάνδρος δὲ Κλέοχον ἐν Μυλήτῃ τεθάφαται ἐν τῷ Διδυμαίῳ φησίν. ἐνταῦθα τῆς Δευκοφώνης τοῦ μημεοῦν οὐκ ἄξιον παρελθεῖν ἐπομένους Ζήνων τῷ Μυθίῳ, ἢ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς 

1 τοῦ Schwartz. ὁδὸς mss.
2 τουτέστι ἐπικεκλημένου] Markland.
3 Ἰμμαραδός from Pausanias i. 5. 2, etc. Ἰμμαρός mss.
4 <ἐξ> from Eusebius, Praep. Ev. ii. 6.
5 Κλέοχον Müller from Arnobius vi. 6 and Apollodorus

iii. 1. 2. κλέαρχον mss.

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We must not then be surprised that, once daemon-worship had somewhere taken a beginning, it became a fountain of insensate wickedness. Then, not being checked, but ever increasing and flowing in full stream, it establishes itself as creator of a multitude of daemons. It offers great public sacrifices; it holds solemn festivals; it sets up statues and builds temples. These temples—for I will not keep silence even about them, but will expose them also—are called by a fair-sounding name, but in reality they are tombs. But I appeal to you, even at this late hour forget daemon-worship, feeling ashamed to honour tombs. In the temple of Athena in the Acropolis at Larissa there is the tomb of Acrisius; and in the Acropolis at Athens the tomb of Cecrops, as Antiochus says in his ninth book of Histories. And what of Erichthonius? Does not he lie in the temple of Athena Polias? And does not Immardus, the son of Eumolpus and Daeira, lie in the enclosure of the Eleusinum which is under the Acropolis? Are not the daughters of Celeus buried in Eleusis? Why recount to you the Hyperborean women? They are called Hyperoche and Laodice, and they lie in the Artemisium at Delos; this is in the temple precincts of Delian Apollo. Leandrius says that Cleochus is buried in the Didymaem at Miletus. Here, following Zeno of Myndus, we must not omit the sepulchre of Leucophryne, who lies in the temple of Artemis in Magnesia; nor yet the altar of Apollo

\[a\] Antiochus, Frag. 15 Frag. hist. Graec. i. p. 184.
\[b\] Leandrius (or Meandrius), Frag. 5 Frag. hist. Graec. ii. p. 336. The Didymaem is the temple of Zeus and Apollo at Didyma near Miletus.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. III

τὸν ἐν Τελμησσῷ ¹ βωμὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· μνῆμα εἶναι καὶ τούτον Τελμησσῶν ² τοῦ μάντεως ἱστοροῦ-

σων. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Ἀγησάρχου ἐν τῷ α' 
tῶν περὶ τὸν Φιλοτάτορα ἐν Πάφῳ λέγει ἐν τῷ 
tῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερῷ Κινύραν τε καὶ τοῦ Κινύρου 
ἀπογόνος κεκηδεύσας. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπιόντι μοι τοὺς 
προσκυνομένους ὑμῖν τάφοις

ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖδ' ὁ πᾶς ἂν ἀρκέσαι ³ χρόνος·

ὑμᾶς δὲ εἰ μὴ ὑπευπέρχεται τις αἰσχύνη τῶν 
tολμωμένων, νεκροὶ ἀρα τέλεον ὄντες νεκροῖς 
[ὁντως] ⁴ πεπιστευκότες περιέρχεσθε·

α δειλοί, τί κακὸν τόδε πάσχετε; νυκτὶ μὲν 
ὑμῶν 
eἰλναται κεφαλαί.

IV

Εἰ δ' ἐτι πρὸς τούτοις φέρων ὑμῖν τὰ ἁγάλ-

ματα αὐτὰ ἐπισκοπεῖν παραθεῖν, ἐπιόντες ὅσ ἁλη-

θῶς λήρον εὑρήσετε τὴν συνήθειαν, "ἔργα χειρῶν 
ἀνθρώπων" ἀναίσθητα προστρεπόμενοι. ⁵ πάλαι μὲν 
οὖν οἱ Σκύθαι τοῦ ἀκυνάκη, οἱ Ἄραβας τοῦ λίθου, 
οἱ Πέρσαι τοῦ ποταμοῦ προσεκύνουν, καὶ τῶν

¹ Τελμησσῶν Stählin from Arnobius, and one ms. of 
Eusebius. τελμισσῶν mss.
² Τελμησσῶν Stählin. τελμισσῶν mss.
³ ἀρκέσαι from Eusebius. ἀρκέσῃ mss.
⁴ [ὁντως] Heyse.
⁵ προστρεπόμενοι Potter. προτρεπόμενοι mss.

— a Ptolemaeus of Megalopolis, Frag. 1 Frag. hist. Graec.
iii. p. 66.

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at Telmessus, which is reported to be a monument to the prophet Telmessus. Ptolemaeus the son of Agesarchus in the first volume of his work About Philopator says that in the temple of Aphrodite at Paphos both Cinyras and his descendants lie buried. But really, if I were to go through all the tombs held sacred in your eyes,

The whole of time would not suffice my need.

As for you, unless a touch of shame steals over you for these audacities, then you are going about utterly dead, like the dead in whom you have put your trust.

Oh! most wretched of men, what evil is this that ye suffer? Darkness hath shrouded your heads.

IV

If, in addition to this, I bring the statues themselves and place them by your side for inspection, you will find on going through them that custom is truly nonsense, when it leads you to adore senseless things, "the works of men's hands." In ancient times, then, the Scythians used to worship the dagger, the Arabians their sacred stone, the Persians their river. Other peoples still more ancient erected

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b This verse is not found in Nauck's collection of Tragic Fragments. The sense may be compared with that of St. John xxi. 25.

c Homer, Odyssey xx. 351–352.

d Custom, i.e. inherited traditions about the gods and their worship, was pleaded by adherents of the old religions as a defence against Christian attack; see p. 197.

e Psalm cxv. 4.

f i.e. the Kaaba at Mecca.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IV. ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων οἱ ἔτι παλαιότεροι ξύλα ἰδρύον-  
to περιφανῆ καὶ κίονας ἵστων ἐκ λίθων ἄ δὴ  
καὶ ξόανα προσηγορεύετο διὰ τὸ ἀπεξέσθαι τῆς  
ὕλης. ἀμέλει ἐν Ἰκάρῳ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὸ ἀγαλμα  
ξύλου ἦν ὅνι κειρασμένον, καὶ τῆς Κυθαιρωνίας  
Ἡρας ἐν Θεσπείᾳ πρέμων ἐκκεκομμένον· καὶ τὸ  
τῆς Σαμίας Ἡρας, ὡς φησιν Ἀεθλίως, πρότερον  
μὲν ἦν σανίς, ύστερον δὲ ἐπὶ Προκλέους ἀρχοντος  
ἀνδριαντειδές ἐγένετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἀπε-  
eικονίζεσθαι τὸ ξόανα ἥρξατο, βρέτη τῆς ἐκ  
βροτῶν ἑπωνυμίαν ἐκαρπώσατο. ἐν ὦ Ρώμη δὲ τὸ  
palaioν δόρυ φησί γεγονέναι τοῦ Ἀρεως τὸ  
ξόαουν Οὐάρρων ὁ συγγραφεύς, ύστερον τῶν τεχν-  
tῶν ἐπὶ τῆς εὐπρόσωπου ταύτην κακοτεχνίαν  
ὕμνηκότων. ἐπειδή δὲ ἤνθησεν ἡ τέχνη, ἤξισθεν  
ἡ πλάνη.

Ὡς μὲν οὖν τοῦς λίθους καὶ τὰ ξύλα καὶ συνελόντι  
φάναι τὴν ύλην ἀγάλματα ἀνδρείκελα ἐποιήσαντο,  
οἷς ἐπιμορφάζετε εὐσέβειαν συκοφαντούντες τὴν  
ἄλθειαν, ἀδὴ μὲν αὐτὸθεν δῆλον· οὐ μὴν ἄλλα  
καὶ ἀποδείξεως ποσῆς ἐπιδεομένου τοῦ τόπου οὐ  
pαραίτητον. τὸν μὲν οὖν Ὀλυμπίασι Δία καὶ  
τὴν Ἀθήνης Πολιάδα ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος  
κατασκευάσαι Φειδίαν παντὶ που σαφές· τὸ δὲ ἐν  
Σάμῳ τῆς Ἡρας ξόαουν Σμίλωτο τῷ·[1] Ἐυκλεῖδου  
πεποίησαν Ὀλυμπίχος ἐν Σαμικοῖς ἱστορεῖ. μὴ  
οὖν ἀμφιβάλλετε, εἰ τῶν Σεμνῶν Ἀθήνης καλομέ-  

1 Σμιλδί τῷ Cobet. σμιλῆ τῇ mss.

[2] Varro, Ant. rer. div. xvi. Fr. 34 Agahd (Jahrb. class.
Dei iv. 31.

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conspicuous wooden poles and set up pillars of stones, to which they gave the name xoana, meaning scraped objects, because the rough surface of the material had been scraped off. Certainly the statue of Artemis in Icarus was a piece of unwrought timber, and that of Cithaeronian Hera in Thespiae was a felled tree-trunk. The statue of Samian Hera, as Aëthlius says, was at first a wooden beam, but afterwards, when Procles was ruler, it was made into human form. When these rude images began to be shaped to the likeness of men, they acquired the additional name bretē, from brotoi meaning mortals. In Rome, of old time, according to Varro the prose-writer, the object that represented Ares was a spear, since craftsmen had not yet entered upon the fair-seeming but mischievous art of sculpture. But the moment art flourished, error increased.

It is now, therefore, self-evident that out of stones and blocks of wood, and, in one word, out of matter, men fashioned statues resembling the human form, to which you offer a semblance of piety, calumniating the truth. Still, since the point calls for a certain amount of argument, we must not decline to furnish it. Now everyone, I suppose, will admit that the statues of Zeus at Olympia and Athena Polias at Athens were wrought of gold and ivory by Pheidias; and Olympichus in his Samian History relates that the image of Hera in Samos was made by Smilis the son of Éucleides. Do not doubt, then, that of the goddesses at Athens called “venerable” two were

d These are the same as the Erinyes, goddesses of vengeance, mentioned on p. 53. They were called Eumenides, the kindly ones, and at Athens Semnai, the venerable ones, these titles being euphemistic substitutes for their real and dreaded name.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IV.  νων θεών τὰς μὲν δύο Σκόπας ἐποίησεν ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ-
μένου λυχνεώς λίθου, Κάλως δὲ τὴν μέσην αὐταίν·
ιστοροῦντα ἔχω σοι. Πολέμωνα δεικνύει ἐν τῇ
tetártῃ τῶν πρὸς Τίμαιον. μηδ’ εἰ τὰ ἐν Πατάροις
tῆς Λυκίας ἄγαλματα Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Φειδίας
ἐκεῖνος καθὰπερ τῶν λέον-
tας τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀνακειμένους εἰργασταί. εἰ δὲ,
ὡς φασὶ τινες, Βρονάξιος ἡ τέχνη, οὐ διαφέρομαι·
ἐχεις καὶ τούτων ἀγαλματουργόν· ὀπότερον αὐτοῖν
βουλεῖ ἐπίγραφε. καὶ μὴν Τελεσίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου,
ὡς φησί Φιλόχορος, ἔργον εἰσὶν ἀγάλματα ἐνεσ-
pήξῃ Ποσειδώνος καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτης ἐν Τήνω προσ-
kυνουμένα. Δημήτριος γὰρ ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν Ἀρ-
γολικῶν τοῦ ἐν Τίρυνθῃ τῆς Ἡρας ξοάνου καὶ τὴν
ὑλὴν όγχην καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν Ὀργον ἀναγράφει,
pολλοὶ δὲ ἀν τὰχα ποὺ βαυμάσειαν, εἰ μᾶθον οὖν τὸ
42 P. Παλλάδιον τὸ διοπτεῖς καλούμενον, ὁ Διομήδης
καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἱστοροῦνται μὲν ύφελέσθαι ἄπο
'Ἰλίου, παρακαταθέσθαι δὲ Δημοφώντι, ἐκ τῶν
Πέλαπος ὅστῳ κατεσκευάσθαι, καθὰπερ τὸν
Ὀλύμπιον ἐξ ἄλλων ὅστῳ Ἰνδικοῦ θηρίου. καὶ
dὴ τὸν ἱστοροῦντα Διονύσιον ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ μέρει
tοῦ Κύκλου παρίστημι. Ἀπελλᾶς δὲ ἐν τοῖς

1 τὴν μέσην . . σοι Jahn.  ἥν μέσην αὐταίν ἱστοροῦνται
ἐχοῦσαι mss.
2 μηδ’ ei Münzel.  μηδε mss.
3 ἐκεῖνος Wilamowitz.  ἐκείνα mss.
4 τὰ ἄγαλματα Stählin.  [τὰ ἄγαλματα] Heyse.
5 ἡ Wilamowitz.  ἡ mss.

*Lychneus* is mentioned by Athenaeus (205 f) as a
stone from which images were made. It is probably the
same as *lychnites*, which according to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.
xxxvi. 14*) was a name given to Parian marble, because it

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made by Scopas out of the stone called *lychneus*, and the middle one by Calos; I can point out to you the account given by Polemon in the fourth volume of his work *Against Timaeus*. Neither doubt that the statues of Zeus and Apollo in Lycian Patara were also wrought by the great Pheidias, just as were the lions that are dedicated along with them. But if, as some say, the art is that of Bryaxis, I do not contradict. He also is one of your sculptors; put down which of the two you like. Further, the nine-cubit statues of Poseidon and Amphitrite worshipped in Tenos are the work of the Athenian Telesius, as Philochorus tells us. Demetrius in his second book of *Argolic History*, speaking of the image of Hera in Tiryns, records its material, pear-tree wood, as well as its maker, Argus. Many would perhaps be astonished to learn that the image of Pallas called "heaven-sent" (because it fell from heaven), which Diomedes and Odysseus are related to have stolen away from Troy, and to have entrusted to the keeping of Demophon, is made out of the bones of Pelops, just as the Olympian Zeus is also made out of bones,—those of an Indian beast. I give you, too, my authority for this, namely Dionysius, who relates the story in the fifth section of his *Cycle*. Apellas was quarried in underground pits by lamplight (*lychnos* = lamp).


e Compare this with the image of Artemis at Ephesus, mentioned in Acts xix. 35, which is also called *dioptes*, or "fallen from heaven" (R.V. margin).

f *i.e.* the tusks of an elephant.

g Dionysius, Fr. 5 *Frag. hist. Graec.* ii. pp. 9–10.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IV. Δελφικοῖς δύο φησὶ γεγονέναι τὰ Παλλάδια, ἄμφω δ' ὑπ' ἀνδρώπων δεδημουργήθαι. ἀλλ' ὅπως μηδεὶς ὑπολάβη καὶ ταῦτα μὲ ἅγνωια παρεικάναι, pareikánai 1 παραθήκομαι τοῦ Μορύχου Διονύσου τὸ ἀγαλμα 'Αθηνησίοι γεγονέναι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φελλάτα καλομένου λίθου, ἔργον δὲ εἶναι Σίκωνος τοῦ Εὐπαλάμου, ὡς φησὶ Πολέμων ἐν τινὶ ἐπιστολῇ. ἐγενέσθην 2 δὲ καὶ ἀλλω τινε δύω Κρητικῷ οἷμαι ἀνδριαντοπῶ (Σκύλλις 3 καὶ Δίπουσος ἄνωμαξέσθην). τούτω δὲ τὰ ἐν Ἁργεί τοῖν Διοσκοῦρον ἀγάλματα κατεσκευασάτην καὶ τὸν ἐν Τίρνωθι Ἡρακλέους ἀνδριάντα καὶ τὸ τῆς Μουνυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος ξόανον ἐν Σικυωνί.

Καὶ τὰ περὶ ταῦτα διατίθεσθαι, ἐξὸν αὐτὸν τὸν μεγαλοδαιμόνα ὑμῖν ἐπιδείξαι ὅτις ἐν, ὅν δὴ κατ' ἐξοχὴν πρὸς πάντων σεβασμοῦ κατηξιωμένον ἀκούομεν, τούτων δὴ 4 ἀχειροπότητον ἐπείδη τετολμήκασιν, τὸν Ἀἰγύπτιον Σάραπιν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἱστοροῦσιν χαριστήριον ὑπὸ Σιωπᾶντος Πτολεμαίω τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ τῷ Ἀἰγύπτιον περιφθῆναι βασιλεῖ, ὅς λυμῷ προχομένους αὐτοὺς ἀπ' Ἀἰγύπτου μεταπεμψάμενους 5 στὸν [ὁ Πτολεμαῖος] ἀνεκτήσατο, εἶναι δὲ τὸ ξόανον τοῦτο ἀγαλμα Πλούτωνος· ὁ δὲ 7 δεξάμενος τὸν ἄνδριάντα καθιδρύσεν ἐπὶ τῆς

1 pareikána Sylburg. parēkána mss.
2 ἐγενέσθην Sylburg. γεγέσθην mss.
3 Σκύλλις Sylburg (from Pausanias ii. 15. 1, etc.). ἐκύλης mss.
4 <δὲ> inserted by Markland.
5 μεταπεμψάμενοι Sylburg. μεταπεμψάμενοι mss.
6 [ὁ Πτολεμαῖος] Arcerius.
7 ὁ δὲ Heyse. ὁ δὲ mss.

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in his *Delphic History* says that there are two such images of Pallas, and that both are of human workmanship.\(^a\) I will also mention the statue of Morychian Dionysus at Athens,—in order that no one may suppose me to have omitted these facts through ignorance,—that it is made out of the stone called *phellatas*,\(^b\) and is the work of Sicon the son of Eupalamus, as Polemon says in a certain letter.\(^c\) There were also two other sculptors, Cretans I believe, whose names were Scyllis and Dipoenus. This pair made the statues of the Twin Brothers at Argos, the figure of Heracles at Tiryns and the image of Munychian Artemis at Sicyon.\(^d\)

But why do I linger over these, when I can show you the origin of the arch-daemon himself, the one who, we are told, is pre-eminently worthy of veneration by all men, whom they have dared to say is made without hands, the Egyptian Sarapis?\(^e\) Some relate that he was sent by the people of Sinope as a thank-offering to Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt,\(^f\) who had earned their gratitude at a time when they were worn out with hunger and had sent for corn from Egypt; and that this image was a statue of Pluto. On receiving the figure, the king

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\(^b\) The scholiast describes this as a rough stone quarried from Phelleus, a rocky district of Attica; cp. Aristoph. *Clouds* 71.
\(^c\) Polemon, Fr. 73 *Frag. hist. Graec.* iii. p. 136.
\(^d\) For Scyllis and Dipoenus see Pausanias ii. 22, 5, etc.
\(^e\) An account of Sarapis-worship, showing its wide diffusion at this time, will be found in Dill, *Roman Society from Nero*, etc. pp. 560–584.
\(^f\) A different version of this story is to be found in Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris* ch. xxviii.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IV. ἄκρας, ἣν νῦν ὁ Ρακώτων καλούσαν, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τετήμηται τοῦ Σαράπιδος, γειτνία δὲ τοῖς τόποις τὸ χωρίον. Βλιστίχην ἐὰν τὴν παλλακίδα τελευτήσασαν ἐν Κανώβῳ μεταγαγών ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἔθαψεν ὑπὸ τὸν προδεδηλωμένον σηκόν. ἄλλοι δὲ φασί Ποντικὸν εἶναι βρέτας τὸν Σάραπιν, μετήχθαι δὲ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μετὰ τῆς πανηγυρικῆς. Ἰσίδωρος μόνος παρὰ Σελευκέως τῶν πρὸς Ἀντιω-χείας τὸ ἄγαλμα μεταχειρίζεται λέγει, ἐν σιτοδείᾳ καὶ αὐτῶν γενομένων καὶ ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου διατραφέντων. ἀλλ’ ὃ γε Ἀθηνόδωρος ἢ τοῦ Σάραπων ἀρχαίων τὸν Σάραπιν βουλήθεις οὐκ οὐδ’ ὅπως περίεσσεν, ἐλέγχας αὐτὸν ἄγαλμα εἶναι γενητὸν. Σέσωστριν φησίν τὸν Ἀἰγυπτιούν βασιλέα, τὰ πλεῖότα τῶν παρ’ Ἐλλησι παραστηθέμενον ἔθνων, ἐπανελθόντα εἰς Αἰγυπτόν ἐπαγαγέσθαι τεχνίτας ἰκανοὺς τὸν οὐν ὁσίων τὸν προπάτορά τοῦ αὐτοῦ δαιδαλόντα ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸς πολυτελῶς, κατακεκυρίες δὲ αὐτὸν Βρυαζίου ὁ δημιουργός, οὐχ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅμων μεν ἐκείνω τῷ Βρυαζίῳ δὲ ὡς κατακέχρηται εἰς δημιουργίαν μικτὴ καὶ ποικιλή. ρίνημα γὰρ χρυσοῦ ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ ἄργυρου χαλκοῦ τε καὶ σιδήρου καὶ μολυβδοῦ, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κασπίτερον, λίθων δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ἐνέδει οὖν δὲ εἰς σαπφείρου καὶ αἰματίτου ὑβρισματα σμαράγδου τε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοπαζίου. λεάνας οὖν τὰ πάντα καὶ ἀναμίζας ἔχρωσε κυνῶν, οὐ δὴ χάριν μελάντερον

1 τάφοις Mayor. (The map of ancient Alexandria shows the Serapeum to be adjacent to Necropolis.) But τόποις = τάφοι in Euripides, Heracleidae 1041.
2 Βλιστίχην Dindorf. βλιστίχην mss.
3 Ἀντιωχεία Cobet. ἀντιωχείαν mss.
4 ὅτι Schwartz : Stählin.

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set it up upon the promontory which they now call chap. Rhacotis, where stands the honoured temple of Sarapis; and the spot is close to the burial-places. And they say that Ptolemy had his mistress Blistiche, who had died in Canobus, brought here and buried under the before mentioned shrine. Others say that Sarapis was an image from Pontus, and that it was conveyed to Alexandria with the honour of a solemn festival. Isidorus alone states that the statue was brought from the people of Seleucia near to Antioch, when they too had been suffering from dearth of corn and had been sustained by Ptolemy. But Athenodorus the son of Sandon, while intending to establish the antiquity of Sarapis, stumbled in some unaccountable way, for he has proved him to be a statue made by man. He says that Sesostris the Egyptian king, having subdued most of the nations of Greece, brought back on his return to Egypt a number of skilful craftsmen. He gave personal orders, therefore, that a statue of Osiris his own ancestor should be elaborately wrought at great expense; and the statue was made by the artist Bryaxis,—not the famous Athenian, but another of the same name,—who has used a mixture of various materials in its construction. He had filings of gold, silver, bronze, iron, lead, and even tin; and not a single Egyptian stone was lacking, there being pieces of sapphire, hematite, emerald, and topaz also. Having reduced them all to powder and mixed them, he stained the mixture dark blue (on account of which the colour of the statue is nearly black), and, mingling


\[b\] aπροὶς Wilamowitz: Stählin.

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CAP. IV τὸ χρῶμα τοῦ ἀγάλματος, καὶ τῷ ἐκ τῆς Ὁσίριδος καὶ τοῦ Ἀπίως κηδείας ὑπολευκμένῳ φαρμάκῳ φυράσας τὰ πάντα διέπλασεν τὸν Σάραπιν· οὐ καὶ τούμορα αἰνίττεται τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς κηδείας καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ταφῆς δημιουργίαν, σύμβεθεν ἀπὸ τὸ Ὁσίριδος καὶ Ὁ Ἀπίως γενόμενον Ὅσίραπιν.


1 ὁραίωτατον from Eusebius, Praep. Ev. ii. 6. ὑραίων τῶν MSS.
2 [dv] Eusebius.
3 ἐλεύθερον Wilamowitz. ἐλεύθερος MSS.
4 ὅτε Wilamowitz. ὅτι MSS.
5 ὅτε Stählin. τὸ MSS. δ before ἀρχέτυπον in M; above the line in P.

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the whole with the pigment left over from the funeral rites of Osiris and Apis, he moulded Sarapis; whose very name implies this connexion with the funeral rites, and the construction out of material for burial, Osirapis being a compound formed from Osiris and Apis.

Another fresh divinity was created in Egypt,—and very nearly among Greeks too,—when the Roman king solemnly elevated to the rank of god his favourite whose beauty was unequalled. He consecrated Antinous in the same way that Zeus consecrated Ganymedes. For lust is not easily restrained, when it has no fear; and to-day men observe the sacred nights of Antinous, which were really shameful, as the lover who kept them with him well knew. Why, I ask, do you reckon as a god one who is honoured by fornication? Why did you order that he should be mourned for as a son? Why, too, do you tell the story of his beauty? Beauty is a shameful thing when it has been blighted by outrage. Be not a tyrant, O man, over beauty, neither outrage him who is in the flower of his youth. Guard it in purity, that it may remain beautiful. Become a king over beauty, not a tyrant. Let it remain free. When you have kept its image pure, then I will acknowledge your beauty. Then I will worship beauty, when it is the true archetype of things beautiful. But now we have a tomb of the boy who was loved, a temple and a city of Antinous: and it

a For the burial of the Apis bull see p. 84, n. a, and A. B. Cook, Zeus, i. pp. 434–5.

b i.e. Hadrian. When Antinous was drowned in the Nile, Hadrian gave way to extraordinary grief. He ordered him to be enrolled among the gods, and built Antinoopolis in his memory. See Pausanias viii. 9. 7–8.
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dε, οἷμαι, οἱ ναοί, οὖτω δὲ καὶ οἱ τάφοι θαυμάζωται,
πυραμίδες καὶ μανσόλεια καὶ λαβύρινθοι, ἄλλοι
ναοί τῶν νεκρῶν, ὡς ἔκεινοι τάφοι τῶν θεῶν.
διδάσκαλοι δὲ ὑμῖν παραθήσομαι τὴν προφήτην
Σίβυλλαν

οὐ ψευδῶς Φοίβου χρησμηγόρον, ὅν τε μάταιοι
ἀνθρώποι θεόν εἶπον, ἐπεφεύγαντο δὲ μάντιν,
ἀλλὰ θεοῦ μεγάλου, τὸν οὐ χέρες ἐπλάσαν ἀνδρῶν
εἰδώλοις ἀλάλοις λιθοξέεστοισών ὀμοίων.

αὕτη μέντοι ορείπνα τοὺς νεώς προσαγορεύει, τὸν
μὲν τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος "χάσμασι καὶ σει-
σμοῖς" καταποθήσεται προμηθύνουσα οὖτως,

ὕπτια δ' οἰμώξει Ἐφεσος κλάουσα παρ' ὄχθαις
καὶ νηὸν ζητοῦσα τὸν οὐκέτι ναιετόντα.

τὸν δὲ "Ισιδος καὶ Σαράπιδος ἐν Ἀληπτῷ κατ-
ενεχθήσεσθαι φησι καὶ ἐμπρησθήσεσθαι.

Ἰςι, θεὰ τριτάλαινα, μένεις ἐπὶ χεύμασι ¹ Νεῖλον
μοῦνη, μανᾶς ἀνανδός ἐπὶ ψαμάθους Ἀχέροντος,
eilata ὑποβάσα.

καὶ σύ, Σάραπι λίθος ἄργους ἐπικείμενε πολλοῦς,
κείσαι πτώμα μέγιστον ἐν Ἀληπτῷ τριτάλαινῃ.

οὐ δὲ ἄλλα εἰ μὴ προφήτηδος ἐπακούεις, τοῦ γε σοῦ
ἀκουσον φιλοσόφου, τοῦ Ἐφεσίου Ἡρακλείτου,
τὴν ἀνασθήσιν ονείδιζοντο τοῖς ἀγάλμασι· "καὶ
toῖς ἀγάλμασι τουτέστιν εὐχονται, ὀκοῖον εἰ τις

¹ χεύμασι Sibylline Oracles. χεύματα Stählin: mss.

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seems to me that tombs are objects of reverence in chap. just the same way as temples are; in fact, pyramids, mausoleums and labyrinths are as it were temples of dead men, just as temples are tombs of the gods. As your instructor I will quote the prophetic Sibyl,

Whose words divine come not from Phoebus' lips,
That prophet false, by foolish men called god,
But from great God, whom no man's hands have made,
Like speechless idols framed from polished stone. a

She, however, calls the temples ruins. That of Ephesian Artemis she predicts will be swallowed up by "yawning gulfs and earthquakes," thus:

Prostrate shall Ephesus groan, when, deep in tears,
She seeks along her banks a vanished shrine. b

That of Isis and Sarapis in Egypt she says will be overthrown and burnt up:

Thrice wretched Isis, by Nile's streams thou stayst
Lone, dumb with frenzy on dark Acheron's sands. c

Then lower down:

And thou, Sarapis, piled with useless stones,
In wretched Egypt liest, a ruin great. d

If, however, you refuse to listen to the prophetess, hear at least your own philosopher, Heracleitus of Ephesus, when he taunts the statues for their want of feeling: "and they pray to these statues just as

a Sibylline Oracles iv. 4–7.
b Sib. Or. v. 295–296.
c Sib. Or. v. 483–484.
d Sib. Or. v. 486–487.
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CAP. <τοῖς> "δόμοις λεσχηνεύοντο." ἢ γὰρ οὐχὶ τερατῶν
deiσ οἱ λίθοις προστρεπόμενοι, εἶτα μέντοι καὶ πρὸ
tῶν πυλῶν ἱστάντες αὐτοῦς ὡς ἐνεργεῖς, Ἐρμῆν
προσκυνοῦντες ὡς θεοῦ καὶ τὸν Ἀγγεία θυρωρὸν
ἱστάντες; εἷς γὰρ ὃς ἀναισθήτους ὑβρίζουσιν, τὶ
προσκυνοῦσιν ὡς θεοῦς; εἷς δὲ αἰσθήσεως αὐτοῦς
μετέχειν ὁ ὁντά, τὸ τοῦτο ἱστάσει θυρωροῦς;
Ῥωμαίοι δὲ τὰ μέγιστα κατορθώματα τῇ Τύχῃ
ἀνατιθέντες καὶ ταύτῃ μεγίστῃ οἴομεν θεῷ,
φέρουσι εἰς τὸν κοπρῶνα ἀνέθηκαν αὐτὴν, ἀξιοῦ
νεὼν τὸν ἀφεδρώνα νείμαντες τῇ θεῷ.

'Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀναισθήτων λίθων καὶ ἕλιως καὶ χρυσίω
πλουσίων οὐδὲ ὄτιοιν μέλει, οὐ κνίσης, οὐχ ἄματος,
οὐ καπνοῦ, ὧ δὴ τιμώμενοι καὶ τυφώμενοι ἔκμετ-
λαίνονται: ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τιμής, οὐχ ὑβρεῖς: τὰ δὲ καὶ
παντὸς ἐστὶν ἀτιμότερα ζῷον, τὰ ἀγάλματα. καὶ
ὅπως γε τεθείασται τὰ ἀναισθήτα, ἀπορεῖν ἐπεισὶ
µοι καὶ κατελεῖν τοὺς πλανωμένους τῆς ἀνοίας
ὡς δειλαῖον: οἰ γὰρ καὶ τίνα τῶν ζῴων οὐχὶ
πάσας ἔχει τὰς αἰσθήσεις, ὥσπερ εὐλαὶ καὶ κάμπτα
καὶ ὅσα διὰ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως εὐθὺς ἀνάπηρα
φαίνεται, καθάπερ οἱ σπάλακες καὶ ἡ μυγαλή, ἣν
φησιν ὁ Νίκαιρος "τυφλὴν τε σμερδνήν τε":
ἀλλὰ γε ἀμείνους εἰναὶ τῶν ξοῶν τούτων καὶ τῶν

1 <τοῖς> inserted from Origen, Con. Celsum i. 5, vii. 62.
2 προστρεπόμενοι Heyse. προστρεπόμενοι mss.
3 προσκυνοῦντες Stählin. προσκυνοῦσιν mss.

a Heracleitius, Fr. 126 Bywater, 5 Diels.

b Fortuna was originally an earth deity, a goddess of
fertility, and only later became a personification of chance
or luck. Mr. A. B. Cook (Zeus, i. 271-2) cites this passage
as tending to establish her connexion with the earth.

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if one were to chatter to his house.” a Are they not amazing, these men who make supplication to stones, and yet set them up before their gates as if alive and active, worshipping the image of Hermes as a god, and setting up the “god of the Ways” as door-keeper? For if they treat them with contumely as being without feeling, why do they worship them as gods? But if they believe them to partake of feeling, why do they set them up as door-keepers? The Romans, although they ascribe their greatest successes to Fortuna, and believe her to be the greatest deity, carry her statue to the privy and erect it there, thus assigning to her a fit temple. b

But indeed the senseless wood and stone and precious gold pay not the smallest regard to the steam, the blood, and the smoke. They are blackened by the cloud of smoke which is meant to honour them, but they heed neither the honour nor the insult. There is not a single living creature that is not more worthy of honour than these statues; and how it comes to pass that senseless things have been deified I am at a loss to know, and I deeply pity for their lack of understanding the men who are thus miserably wandering in error. For even though there are some living creatures which do not possess all the senses, as worms and caterpillars, and all those that appear to be imperfect from the first through the conditions of their birth, such as moles and the field-mouse, which Nicander calls “blind and terrible” c; yet these are better than those images and

a Nicander calls the field-mouse “terrible” in reference to its plague-bearing powers. The complete line (Theriaca 815) is τυφλῆν τε σμερδυχὴν τε βροτοῖς ἐπὶ λογχὸν ἄγουσαν μυγαλέην.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. ἀγαλμάτων τέλεον ὄντων κωφῶν ἔχουσιν γὰρ
ἀισθησιν μίαν γε τινα, φέρει εἴπειν ἄκουστικὴν ἡ
ἀπτικήν ἢ τὴν ἀναλογοῦσαν τῇ ὀφθάλμῃ ἢ τῇ
γεύσει. τὰ δὲ οὐδὲ μᾶς αἰσθήσεως μετέχει, τὰ
ἀγάλματα. πολλὰ δὲ ἐστὶ τῶν ζωῶν, ὡσα οὐτὲ
ὀρασιν ἔχει οὔτε ἀκοὴν οὐδὲ ἡ μὴ φωνήν, ὥσπερ καὶ
τὸ τῶν ὀστρέων γένος, ἄλλα ζῆν γε καὶ αἴξεια,
πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῇ σελήνῃ συμπάσχει. τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα
ἀργά, ἀπρακτα, ἀναισθητα, προσδείται καὶ προσ-
καθηλοῦται καὶ προστήγηνται, χωνεύται, ῥινάται,
πρέται, περιζέται, γλυφέται. κωφὴν μὲν ἡ
γαῖαν ἀεικήζουσιν οἱ ἀγαλματοποιοὶ, τῇ οἰκείᾳ
ἐξιστάντες φύσεως, ύπὸ τῆς τέχνης προσκυνεῖν
ἀναπείθοντες. προσκυνοῦσιν δὲ οἱ θεοί οὐκ
θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας κατὰ γε αἴσθησιν τὴν ἔμην, γην
δὲ καὶ τέχνην, τὰ ἀγάλματα ἀπερ ἑστὶν. ἑστὶ πάρ
ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ ἀγαλμα ὑλή νεκρὰ τεχνίτου χερὶ
μεμορφωμένη. ἢμῖν δὲ οὐξ ὄλης αἰσθητῆς αἰσθητῷ,
νοήτον δὲ τὸ ἀγαλμάτα ἑστὶν. νοητῶν, οὐξ αἰσθητῶν
ἑστὶ [τὸ ἀγαλμα] 
δ' θεὸς, δ' μόνος ὄντως θεὸς.

Καὶ δὴ ἐμπαλιν ἐν αὐταῖς ποι ταὶς περιστάσεσιν
οἱ δεισιδαίμονες, οἱ τῶν λίθων προσκυνηται, ἐργα
46 P. μαθόντες ἀναισθητον ὑλῆν μὴ σέβειν, αὐτῆς ἢττώ-
μενοι τῆς χρείας ἀπολλυται ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας.
καταφρονοῦντες δ' ὅμως τῶν ἀγαλμάτων, φαίνεσθαι
dὲ μὴ βουλόμενοι αὐτῶν ὄλως περιφρονοῦντες,
ἐλέγχουται ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν, οἷς δὴ τὰ
ἀγάλματα ἐπιπεφήμωσιν. Διονύσιος μὲν γὰρ ὃ

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1 oûte Mayor. oûdè mss.
2 oûdè Mayor. oûte mss.
3 τὸ ἀγαλμα Wilamowitz.
4 ὄλως Sylburg. ὄλων mss.

a Cicero (De divinatione ii. 33) says of oysters and shell-
fish that they "grow bigger and smaller with the moon."

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EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

statues which are entirely dumb. For they have at any rate some one sense, that of hearing, let us say, or of touch, or something corresponding to smell or taste; but these statues do not even partake of one sense. There are also many kinds of living creatures, such as the oyster family, which possess neither sight nor hearing nor yet speech; nevertheless they live and grow and are even affected by the moon. But the statues are motionless things incapable of action or sensation; they are bound and nailed and fastened, melted, filed, sawn, polished, carved. The dumb earth is dishonoured when sculptors pervert its peculiar nature and by their art entice men to worship it; while the god-makers, if there is any sense in me, worship not gods and daemons, but earth and art, which is all the statues are. For a statue is really lifeless matter shaped by a craftsman’s hand; but in our view the image of God is not an object of sense made from matter perceived by the senses, but a mental object. God, that is, the only true God, is perceived not by the senses but by the mind.

On the other hand, whenever a crisis arises, the daemon-worshippers, the adorers of stones, learn by experience not to revere senseless matter; for they succumb to the needs of the moment, and this fear of daemons is their ruin. And if while at heart despising the statues they are unwilling to show themselves utterly contemptuous of them, their folly is exposed by the impotence of the very gods to whom the statues are dedicated. For instance, the tyrant Dionysius the younger stripped the statue...
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IV. τύραννος ὁ νεώτερος θομάτων τὸ χρύσεον περι-

ελόμενος τοῦ Διὸς ἐν Σικελίᾳ προσέταξεν αὐτῷ ἐρεοῦν περιτεθήναι, χαριέντως φήσας τούτο ἀμενον εἶναι τοῦ χρυσεοῦ, καὶ θέρους κουφότερον καὶ κρύος ἀλευτότερον. Ἀντίοχος δὲ ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἀπορούμενοι χρημάτων τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἀγαλμα τὸ χρυσοῦν, πεντεκαίδεκα πηχῶν τὸ μέγεθος ὅν, προσέταξε χωνεύσαι καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς ἀτμοτέρας ὑλῆς ἀγαλμα παραπλήσιον ἐκείνῳ πετάλοις κε-

χρυσωμένον ἀναθείναι πάλιν. αὐτῆς χειλιδόνες καὶ τῶν ὀργῶν τὰ πλείστα κατεξερώσων αὐτῶν τῶν ἀγαλμάτων εἰσπετόμενα, οὐδέν φροντίσαντα οὔτε Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς οὔτε Ἑπιδαυρίου Ἀσκληπίου οὐδὲ μὴν Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδος ἡ Σαράπιδος Αἰγυπτίου παρ’ ὅν οὐδὲ αὐτῶν τῆν ἀναισθησίαν τῶν ἀγαλ-

μάτων ἐκμανθάνετε. ἄλλη εἰσὶ μὲν κακοῦργοι τῶν ήτοι μὲν κακοῦργοι τῶν ήτοι μὲν κακοῦργοι τῶν ήτοι μὲν κακοῦργοι τῶν ήτοι μὲν κακοῦργοι τῶν ήτοι μὲν κακοῦργοι τῶν η πολέμιοι ἐπιθέμενοι, οἱ δὲ αἰσχροκέρδειαι ἐδήμω-

σαι τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἐσπλήσαν ή καὶ αὐτὰ ἐχώνευσαν τὰ ἀγάλματα. καὶ εἰ Καμβύλης τής ἡ Δαρείας ἡ ἄλλος μανόμενος τουαίτα ἄττα ἐπεχείρησεν καὶ εἰ τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων τῖς ἀπεκτεινεν τῆς ᾨτίν, γελῶ μὲν ὅτι τῶν θεῶν ἀπεκτεινεν αὐτῶν, ἀγανακτῶ δὲ εἰ κέρδους χάριν ἐπλημμέλει. ἐκών οὐν ἐκλήσομαι τήδε τῆς κακουργίας, πλεονεξίας ἔργα, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀδρανείας τῶν εἰδώλων ἑλεγχον νομίζων. ἄλλ’ οὔτε γε τὸ πῦρ καὶ οἱ σεισμοὶ κερδαλεύον, οὐδὲ μὴν φοβοῦνται ἡ δυσωποῦνται οὐ τῶν δαίμονας, οὐ τὰ ἀγάλματα, οὐ μᾶλλον ἡ τὰς ψηφίδας τὰς παρὰ τῶς αἰγιλαοῖς σεσωρωμένας τὰ κύματα. οὔτα ἐγὼ πῦρ ἑλεγκτικὸν καὶ δεισι-

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1 χρυσέου Cobet. χρυσόν mss.
2 κατεξερώσων Sylburg. κατεξαίρουσιν mss.

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of Zeus in Sicily of its golden cloak and ordered it to be clothed with a woollen one, with the witty remark that this was better than the golden one, being both lighter in summer and warmer in winter. Antiochus of Cyzicus, when he was in want of money, ordered the golden statue of Zeus, fifteen cubits high, to be melted down, and a similar statue of cheaper material covered with gold leaf to be set up in its place. Swallows also and most other birds settle on these very statues and defile them, paying no heed to Olympian Zeus or Epidaurian Asclepius, no, nor yet to Athena Polias or Egyptian Sarapis; and even their example does not bring home to you how destitute of feeling the statues are. But there are certain evil-doers or enemies at war who from base love of gain ravaged the temples, plundering the votive offerings and even melting down the statues. Now if Cambyses or Darius or some other put his hands to such deeds in a fit of madness; and if one of them slew the Egyptian god Apis, while I laugh at the thought of his slaying their god, I am indignant when gain is the motive of the offence. I will therefore willingly forget these evil deeds, holding them to be works of covetousness and not an exposure of the helplessness of the idols. But fire and earthquakes are in no way intent on gain; yet they are not frightened or awed either by the daemons or by their statues, any more than are the waves by the pebbles strewn in heaps along the seashore. I know that fire can expose and cure your fear of daemons;

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*a* The story is also told by Cicero (*De natura deorum* iii. 83) who places it in the Peloponnesus instead of in Sicily.

*b* Cambyses. See Herodotus iii. 29.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

οὖ ἔλθω, εἰ δὲ θῆλυς ἄνοιας, καὶ τὸν ἔν ἔρτῃς τὴν ἐφέσω της Ἀρτέμιδος δεύτερον μετὰ Ἀμαλδώνας καὶ τὸ ἔν Ἐρυμηνεύμαθα πολλάκις. Οὐκ ἀπέσχετο δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦ ἔν Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλει Σαράπιδος ἔρεω. Ἀθήνησὶ γὰρ τὸν Διονύσου τοῦ Ἑλευθερέως κατηρευμε τὸν νεών, καὶ τὸν ἔν Δελφοῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος πρὸ τερον ἦρπασεν θύελλα, ἐπειτα ἡφαίστει πῦρ σωφρονοῦ. τοῦτο σοι προοίμιον ἐπιδείκνυται ὅν ὑπακοιτεῖ το πῦρ.

Οἱ δὲ τῶν ἄγαλματων δημουργοὶ οὐ δυσωποῦσιν ὑμῶν τοὺς ἐμφρόνους τῆς ὑλῆς καταφρονεῖν; οὐ μὲν Ἀθηναίοις Φειδίας ἐπὶ τῷ δακτυλίῳ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου ἐπιγράφας "Παντάρκης καλὸς". οὐ γὰρ καλὸς αὐτῷ ὁ Ζεῦς, ἀλλ’ ὁ ἐρώμενος ἢν, ὁ Πραξιτέλεις δὲ, ὃς Ποσείδιππος ἐν τῷ περὶ Κνίδου διασαφεί, τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτες ἄγαλμα τῆς Κνίδας κατασκευάζων τῷ Κρατίνης τῆς ἔρωμένης εἰδεὶ παραπλῆσιον πεποίηκεν αὐτήν, ἐν" ἔχοιεν οἴ δείλαιοι

1 Knidou Sylburg. knidou mss.

———

See Thucydides iv. 133, where the fire is attributed to the carelessness of Chrysis, who placed a lighted lamp near the garlands and then fell asleep. According to Thucydides, however, Chrysis was not burnt with the temple. Fearing Argive vengeance she fled the same night to Philus.

5 i.e. Dionysus of Eleutheræ, a town in Attica from which the worship of Dionysus was introduced into Athens. See Pausanias i. 2. 5.

According to Stoic teaching, fire was the creative and sustaining principle diffused throughout the universe. But this was an ethereal fire, different from common fire (Cicero, 120
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

if you wish to cease from folly, the fire shall be your guiding light. This fire it was that burnt up the temple in Argos together with its priestess Chrysis, and also that of Artemis in Ephesus (the second after the time of the Amazons); and it has often devoured the Capitol at Rome, nor did it spare even the temple of Sarapis in the city of Alexandria. The temple of Dionysus Eleuthereus at Athens was brought to ruin in the same way, and that of Apollo at Delphi was first caught by a storm and then utterly destroyed by the "discerning fire." Here you see a kind of prelude to what the fire promises to do hereafter.

Take next the makers of the statues; do not they shame the sensible among you into a contempt for mere matter? The Athenian Pheidias inscribed on the finger of Olympian Zeus, "Pantarces is beautiful," though it was not Zeus Pantarces whom he thought beautiful, but his own favourite of that name. Praxiteles, as Poseidippus shows clearly in his book on Cnidus, when fashioning the statue of Cnidian Aphrodite, made the goddess resemble the form of his mistress Callina, that the miserable people might

De nat. deor. ii. 41), and the Stoics applied to it various epithets, such as τεχνικόν, "skilful," and φρονόμος, "prudent." In this passage Clement plays with the two meanings. Other references to the "prudent fire" in Clement are iii.Paed. 44. 2, vii. Strom. 34. 4, Eclog. Prophet. 25. 4.

"Pantarces means "all-powerful," and so could be understood as a title of Zeus.


Marble copies of this celebrated statue are to be seen at Munich and in the Vatican. For a photographic illustration of the latter see Cambridge Companion to Greek Studies (1906), p. 258.
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CAP. tòv Πραξιτέλους ἐρωμένην προσκυνεῖν. Φρύνη δὲ ὑπηρίκα ἦνθει ἡ ἑταίρα ἡ Θεσπιακή, οἱ ζωγράφοι πάντες <τὰς> τῆς Ἀφροδίτης εἰκόνας πρὸς τὸ κάλλος ἀπεμμοῦντο Φρύνης, ὥστερ αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ λυθόδοι τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς Ἀθήνησι πρὸς Ἀλκιμάδην ἀπείκαζον. ὑπολείπεται τῆς σῆς κρίσεως τὸ ἔργον ἐπάξαι, εἰ βουλεί καὶ τὰς ἑταίρας προσκυνεῖν.

Ἐντεῦθεν, οἷμαι, κινηθέντες οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ παλαιοὶ, καταφρονοῦντες τῶν μύθων τούτων, ἀνέθην διὰ τὸ εὖ ἀνθρώπων ἀκίνδυνον σφάς αὐτῶν θεοῦ ἀνηγόρευν, ταύτῃ κάκεινος διὰ τὴν δόξαν ἀπηθανατισθαὶ διδάσκοντες. Κῇν μὲν ὁ Αἰώλος Ζεὺς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀλκυόνης τῆς γυναίκος, Ἀλκυόνη δὲ αὖθις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Ἡρᾶ προσαγορευμένη.

Πτολεμαῖος δὲ οἷς τέταρτος Διόνυσος ἐκαλεῖτο. καὶ Ἔμηριάτης ὁ Ποντικὸς Διόνυσος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀμμωνὸς νῦν εἶναι δοκεῖν καὶ κερασφόρος ἀναπλάττεσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἀγαλματοποιῶν, τὸ καλὸν ἀνθρώπων πρόσωπον ὑβρίσαι σπεύδων κέρατι. καὶ οὔτε γε βασιλεῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδιώται θείαι προσηγορίας σφάς αὐτῶν ἐσέμυνον, ὡς Μενεκράτης ὁ ἰατρός, Ζεὺς οὕτως ἐπικεκλημένος. τί με δὲ καταλέγει τὸ Ἀλέξανδρον (γραμματικὸς οὗτος τὴν ἐπιστήμην γεγονός, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἀριστος ὁ Σαλαμῖνος, αὐτὸν κατεσχημάτιζεν εἰς Ἡλίου; τί δὲ καὶ Νικαγόρου μεμνημόθαι (Ζελείτης τὸ γένος ἥν κατὰ τοὺς Ἀλέξανδρον

1 <τὰς> inserted by Schäfer.
2 ἀπηθανατισθαὶ Sylburg. ἀπηθανατισθαὶ mss.

* Ammon was the Egyptian ram-headed god whom the
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have the sculptor’s mistress to worship. When Phryne
the Thespian courtesan was in her flower, the painters
used all to imitate her beauty in their pictures of
Aphrodite, just as the marble-masons copied Alci-
biades in the busts of Hermes at Athens. It remains
to bring your own judgment into play, and decide
whether you wish to extend your worship to
courtesans.

Such were the facts, I think, that moved the
kings of old, in their contempt for these legends, to
proclaim themselves gods; which they did without
hesitation, since there was no danger from men. In
this way they teach us that the other gods were also
men, made immortal for their renown. Ceyx the son
of Aeolus was addressed as Zeus by his wife Alcyone,
while she in turn was addressed as Hera by her
husband. Ptolemy the fourth was called Dionysus,
as was also Mithridates of Pontus. Alexander wished
to be thought the son of Ammon, and to be depicted
with horns by the sculptors, so eager was he to
outrage the beautiful face of man by a horn. Aye,
and not kings only, but private persons too used to
exalt themselves with divine titles, as Menecrates
the doctor, who was styled Zeus. Why need I
reckon Alexarchus? As Aristus of Salamis relates,
he was a scholar in virtue of his knowledge, but he
transformed himself into the Sun-god. And why
mention Nicagoras, a man of Zeleia by race, living in
Greeks identified with Zeus. In Greek art the horns are set
on a human head. See illustrations of coins in A. B. Cook,
Zeus, i. pp. 370–2.

Because (Athenaeus 289), through his healing art, he
was the sole cause of life to men! He wrote to Philip:
“You are king in Macedon, I in medicine.”

Aristus, Frag. 2 Müller, Script. rerum Alex. Mag. p. 154.

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CAP. γεγονός χρόνος. 'Ερμης προσηγορεύετο ὁ Νικαγόρας καὶ τῇ στολῇ τοῦ 'Ερμοῦ ἐκέχρητο, ὡς αὐτὸς μαρτυρεῖ; ὅποιν γε καὶ ὁλὰ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις αὐτανδροί, κολακείαν ὑποδύομεναι, ἐξεντε-λίζουσιν τοὺς μύθους τοὺς περὶ τῶν θεῶν, ἵσοθέουσιν ἀνθρωποί κατασχηματίζοντες ἑαυτοὺς, ὑπὸ δόξης πεφυσημένου, ἐπιψηφιζόμενοι τιμᾶς ἑαυτοὺς ὑπερ-όγκους· νῦν μὲν τὸν Μακεδόνα τὸν ἐκ Πέλλης τὸν Ἄμυντον 1 Φίλιππον ἐν Κυνοσάργει νομοθετοῦντες προσκυνεῖν, τὸν "τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγότα καὶ τὸ σκέλος πεπηρωμένον," ὅς ἔσεκότη τὸν ὀφθαλμόν· αὕτης δὲ τὸν Δημήτριον θεοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀναγορεύον-τες· καὶ ἔνθα μὲν ἀπέβη τοῦ Ἰπποῦ Ἀθηνάζε εἰσιών, Καταβάτων ἐφέον ἐστὶ Δημητρίου, βωμοὶ δὲ πανταχοῦ· καὶ γάμος ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων αὐτῷ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἡμετρήσετο· ὅ δὲ τὴν μὲν θεοῦ ὑπερ-γιάνει, τὸ ἀγαλμα γῆμαι μὴ δυνάμενος. Δάμιαν δὲ τὴν ἑταίραν ἔχων εἰς ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήκει καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς συνεφύρετο παστῷ, 2 τῇ παλαιᾷ παρθένῳ τῷ τῆς νέας ἐπιδεικνύω ἑταίρας σχήματα. οὗ νεμέσις τούν ὑπὲρ Ἰππων ἀπαθανατίζοντι τὸν θάνατον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ· ὃ Ἰππων οὗτος ἐπιγραφῆναι ἐκέλευσεν τῷ μνήματι τῷ ἑαυτοῦ τόδε τὸ ἐλεγεῖν·

"Ἰππωνὸς τὸδε σήμα, τὸν ἄθανατοις θεοῖσιν ἵσον ἐποίησεν Μοῖρα καταφθίμενον.

1 Ἄμυντον Cobet. ἄμυντορος mss.
2 καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς συνεφύρετο παστῷ Mayor. καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐνεφυράτῳ παστῷ mss.

<sup>a</sup> See Athenaeus 289 c, where Baton is given as the authority for this story. Cp. Baton, Frag. 1 Frag. hist. Graec. iv. p. 348.
<sup>b</sup> Demosthenes, On the Crown 67.

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the time of Alexander, who was addressed as Hermes \textit{CHAP. IV}

and wore the garb of Hermes, according to his own evidence?\textsuperscript{a} For indeed whole nations and cities with all their inhabitants, putting on the mask of flattery, belittle the legends about the gods, mere men, puffed up with vain-glory, transforming men like themselves into the equals of the gods and voting them extravagant honours. At one time they establish by law at Cynosarges the worship of Philip the son of Amyntas, the Macedonian from Pella, him of the "broken collar-bone and lame leg," with one eye knocked out.\textsuperscript{b} At another, they proclaim Demetrius to be god in his turn; and the spot where he dismounted on entering Athens is now a temple of Demetrius the Alighter,\textsuperscript{c} while his altars are everywhere. Arrangements were being made by the Athenians for his marriage with Athena, but he disdained the goddess, not being able to marry her statue. He went up to the Acropolis, however, in company with the courtesan Lamia, and lay with her in Athena's bridal chamber, exhibiting to the old virgin the postures of the young courtesan.\textsuperscript{d} We must not be angry, therefore, even with Hippo,\textsuperscript{e} who represented his death as a deification of himself. This Hippo ordered the following couplet to be inscribed on his monument:

\textbf{Behold the tomb of Hippo, whom in death Fate made an equal of the immortal gods.}

\textsuperscript{c} A title of Zeus, as descending or alighting in thunder and lightning; applied in flattery to Demetrius by the Athenians. See Plutarch, \textit{Demetrius} 10.


\textsuperscript{e} Hippo has been mentioned before, among those dubbed atheists by the Greeks; see p. 49. For the couplet see Bergk, \textit{Post. lyr. Graec.} ii. p. 259 (ed. 1915).
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CAP. εὐ γε, Ἰππων, ἐπιδεικνύεις ἢμιν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην πλάνην. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ λαλοῦντι σοι μὴ πεπιστεύκασι, νεκροὶ γενέσθωσαν μαθηταί. χρησιμὸς οὖτὸς ἐστιν Ἰππώνος: νοήσωμεν αὐτὸν. οἱ προσκυνοῦμενοι

49 P. παρ' ὑμῖν, ἃνθρωποι γενόμενοι ποτε, εἰτὰ μέντοι τεθνάων τετίμηκεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ μῦθος καὶ ὁ χρόνος. φιλεῖ γὰρ πως τὰ μὲν παρόντα συνηθείᾳ καταφρονεῖναι, τὰ δὲ παρωχηκότα τὸν παραυτίκα ἑλέγχου κεχωρισμένα χρόνων ἀδηλίᾳ τετιμήθησαν τῷ πλάσματι, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπιστεύθησαν, τὰ δὲ καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι. αὐτίκα γοῦν οἱ παλαιοὶ νεκροὶ τῷ πολλῷ τῆς πλάνης χρόνων σεμνυνόμενοι τοὺς ἔπειτα νομίζονται θεοί. πίστεις ὑμῖν τὸνδε αὐτὰ ὑμῖν τὰ μυστήρια, αἱ πανηγύρεις, δεσμὰ καὶ τραύματα καὶ δακρύνοντες θεοί.

ἀ μοι ἕγω, ὅτε μοι Σαρπηδόνα φίλτατον ἄνδρῶν μοῦρ' ὑπὸ Πατρόκλου Μενοιτάδαο δαμηναι.

κεκράτηται τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Δίως καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ὑμῖν διὰ Σαρπηδόνα οἰμώζει νευκημένος.

Εἴδωλα γοῦν εἰκότως αὐτοὺς καὶ δαίμονας ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ κεκλήκατε, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνῶν αὐτὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς κακίας τιμήσας "Ομηρος δαίμονας προσηγόρευσεν".

ἡ δ' Οὐλυμπόνδε βεβήκει δόματ' ἐς αἰγιόχοιο Διός μετὰ δαίμωνος ἄλλους.

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\(^{a}\) Homer, Iliad xvi. 433–434.

\(^{b}\) The word is generally translated "idols" or "images," but it also means "shades" or "phantoms," which is the sense wanted here.

\(^{c}\) Or perhaps, "honouring them for their wickedness." Compare a similar construction, "honoured by reason of
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

Well done, Hippo, you point out for us the error of men! For though they have not believed you when you could speak, let them become disciples now you are a corpse. This is the oracle of Hippo; let us understand its meaning. Those whom you worship were once men, who afterwards died. Legend and the lapse of time have given them their honours. For somehow the present is wont to be despised through our familiarity with it, whereas the past, being cut off from immediate exposure by the obscurity which time brings, is invested with a fictitious honour; and while events of the present are distrusted, those of the past are regarded with reverent wonder. As an example, the dead men of old, being exalted by the long period of error, are believed to be gods by those who come after. You have proof of all this in your mysteries themselves, in the solemn festivals, in fetters, wounds and weeping gods:

Woe, yea, woe be to me! that Sarpedon, dearest of mortals, Doomed is to fall by the spear of Patroclus son of Menoeceus.¹

The will of Zeus has been overcome, and your supreme god, defeated, is lamenting for Sarpedon’s sake.

You are right then in having yourselves called the gods “shadows” and “daemons.” For Homer spoke of Athena herself and her fellow-deities as “daemons,” paying them a malicious compliment.² But she was gone to Olympus, Home of shield-bearing Zeus, to join the rest of the daemons.³

¹ This epitaph points to the truth that all gods were once men.
² For Homer, Iliad i. 221–222.
³ The gods, being dead men, are rightly called “shadows” and “daemons.”

¹²⁷
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CAP. IV

πῶς οὖν ἐτι θεόι τὰ εἴδωλα καὶ οἱ δαίμονες, βδελύρα ὄντως καὶ πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα, πρὸς πάντων ὁμο-
λογοῦμενα γῆνα καὶ δεισαλέα, κάτω βρίθοντα,
“περὶ τοὺς τάφους καὶ τὰ μνημεία καλυπτούμενα,”
περὶ ἃ δὴ καὶ ὑποφαίνονται ἁμαρτῶς “σκιώτικὴ
φαντάσματα”; ταῦθ᾽ ὑμῖν οἱ θεοὶ τὰ εἴδωλα, αἱ
σκιά καὶ πρὸς τούτοις <αἰ> ἴχωλαι ἐκεῖναι καὶ
“ῥυσαὶ, παραβλώπες ὀφθαλμῶς,” αἱ Διότα ἃ
θερσίτου μᾶλλον ἡ Δίος θυγατέρες, ὡστε μοι
δοκεῖν χαριένως φάναι τὸν Βίωνα, πῶς ἀν ἐνδίκως
50 ὁ οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς αἰτήσονται 3 τὴν εὐ-
τεκίαν, ἥν οὐδ᾽ αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν ἰδικεῖν; οὐ μοι
τῆς ἀθέστητος· τὴν ἀκήρατον οὐσίαν, τὸ ὅσον
ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν, κατορύθητε καὶ τὸ ἀχραντὸν ἐκείνο καὶ
τὸ ἀγαν τοῖς τάφοις ἐπικεχώκατε, τῆς ἀληθῶς
ὄντως οὐσίας συλήσαντες τὸ θεῖον. τί δὴ οὖν τὰ
τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς οὐθεῖς προσεβετίστημε γέρα; τί δὲ
καταλιπτόντες τὸν οὐρανὸν τὴν γῆν τετυμήκατε; τί
δ᾽ ἄλλο χρυσὸς ἢ ἄργυρος ἢ ἀδάμας ἢ σίδηρος ἢ
χαλκὸς ἢ ἐλέφας ἢ λίθοι τίμων; οὐχὶ γῆ τε καὶ
ἐκ γῆς; οὐχὶ δὲ μιᾶς μητρὸς ἐγκυονα, τῆς γῆς,
tὰ πάντα ταῦτα ὅσα ὅρας; τί δὴ οὖν, ὃς μᾶταιοι
καὶ κενόφρονες (πάλιν γὰρ δὴ ἐπαναλήψθησαι), τὸν
ὑπερουράνιον βλασφημησάντες τόπον εἰς τοῦδαφος
κατεσύρατε τὴν εὐσέβειαν, χθονίους ὑμῖν ἀναπλάτ-
tόντες θεοὺς καὶ τὰ γενήτα ταῦτα πρὸ τοῦ ἀγενήτου
μετίοντες θεοῦ βαθυτέρω περιπετέωκατε ζόφω;

<αἰ> inserted by Kroll.

1 ὀφθαλμῶς Homer. ὀφθαλμῶν mss.
3 αἰτήσονται Cobet. αἰτήσωνται mss.

See Plato, Phaedo 81 c d.  b Iliad ix. 502–503.
 c Thersites is Homer’s ridiculous character, hump-backed,
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

How then can the shadows and daemons any longer be gods, when they are in reality unclean and loathsome spirits, admitted by all to be earthy and foul, weighed down to the ground, and "prowling round graves and tombs," where also they dimly appear as "ghostly apparitions"? These are your gods, these shadows and ghosts; and along with them go those "lame and wrinkled cross-eyed deities," the Prayers, daughters of Zeus, though they are more like daughters of Thersites; so that I think Bion made a witty remark when he asked how men could rightly ask Zeus for goodly children, when he had not even been able to provide them for himself. Alas for such atheism! You sink in the earth, so far as you are able, the incorruptible existence, and that which is stainless and holy you have buried in the tombs. Thus you have robbed the divine of its real and true being. Why, I ask, did you assign to those who are no gods the honours due to God alone? Why have you forsaken heaven to pay honour to earth? For what else is gold, or silver, or steel, or iron, or bronze, or ivory, or precious stones? Are they not earth, and made from earth? Are not all these things that you see the offspring of one mother, the earth? Why then, vain and foolish men,—once again I will ask the question,—did you blaspheme highest heaven and drag down piety to the ground by fashioning for yourselves gods of earth? Why have you fallen into deeper darkness by going after these created things instead of the lame and bandy-legged, with an impudent tongue into the bargain. *Iliad ii. 211–277.


The statues of the daemons are nothing but earth
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CAP. IV kalòs ὁ Πάριος λίθος, ἀλλ' οὐδέπως Ποσειδῶν.
kalòs ὁ ἐλέφας, ἀλλ' οὐδέπως Ὀλύμπιος. ἐνδείγχθη ἅτι ποτὲ ἡ ὕλη τῆς τέχνης, ὁ θεὸς δὲ ἀνευδείγχθη.
προῆλθεν ἡ τέχνη, περιβέβληται τὸ σχῆμα ἡ ὕλη, καὶ τὸ πλοῦσιον τῆς οὐσίας πρὸς μὲν τὸ κέρδος ἀγώγμον, μόνῳ δὲ τῷ σχῆματι γίνεται σεβάσμιον.
χρυσός ἔστι τὸ ἄγαλμα σου, ἕτοιμον ἑστὶν, λίθος ἑστὶν, γê ἐστιν, εάν ἀνωθεν νοῆσῃς, μορφήν παρὰ τοῦ τεχνίτου προσλαβοῦσα. γêν δὲ ἐγὼ πατεῖν, οὐ προσκυνεῖν μεμελετήκα; οὐ γάρ μοι θέμις ἐμπιστεύοι κοτε τοῖς ἁψίχους τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐλπίδας.

Ἰτέον οὖν ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα ἐγγυτάτω τῶν ἄγαλματον, ὡς οἰκεία ἡ πλάνη καὶ τῆς προσφεως ἐλεγχθηται 1 ἐναπομέμακται γάρ πάνυ δὴ σαφῶς τὰ εἴδη τῶν ἄγαλμάτων τὴν διάθεσιν τῶν δαμόνων.
εὶ γοῦν τις τὰς γραφὰς καὶ τὰ ἄγαλμα περινοστὼν θεῶτο, γνωριεῖ υἱῶν παραυτίκα τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπουνειδιστῶν σχημάτων, τὸν Διόνυσον ἀπὸ τῆς στολῆς, τὸν Ἡφαιστόν ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης, τὴν Δημόθ ἀπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς, ἀπὸ τοῦ κρηδίμου τὴν Ἰνώ, ἀπὸ τῆς τριάνθης τὸν Ποσειδῶ, ἀπὸ τοῦ κύκνου τὸν Δία: τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα δείκνυσιν ἡ πυρά, καὶ γυμνήν ἴδῃ τὶς ἀνάγραπτον γυμνώτη, τὴν „χρυσήν“ Ἀφροδίτην νοεῖ. οὕτως ὁ Κύπριος ὁ Πυγμαλίων

51 P. ἐκείνος ἐλεφαντίνου ἡράσθη ἄγαλματος· τὸ ἁγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης ἦν καὶ γυμνὴ ἦν· ὑπάται ὁ Κύπριος τῷ σχῆματι καὶ συνέρχεται τῷ ἄγαλματι, καὶ τούτῳ Φιλοστέφανος ἰστορεῖ· Ἀφροδίτη δὲ ἄλλη ἐν Κνίδῳ λίθος ἦν καὶ καλὴ ἦν, ἔτερος ἡράσθη ταύτης

1 ἐλέγχηται Potter. ἐλέγχηται mss.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

uncreated God? The Parian marble is beautiful, but it is not yet a Poseidon. The ivory is beautiful, but it is not yet an Olympian Zeus. Matter will ever be in need of art, but God has no such need. Art develops, matter is invested with shape; and the costliness of the substance makes it worth carrying off for gain, but it is the shape alone which makes it an object of veneration. Your statue is gold; it is wood; it is stone; or if in thought you trace it to its origin, it is earth, which has received form at the artist’s hands. But my practice is to walk upon earth, not to worship it. For I hold it sin ever to entrust the hopes of the soul to soulless things.

We must, then, approach the statues as closely as we possibly can in order to prove from their very appearance that they are inseparably associated with error. For their forms are unmistakably stamped with the characteristic marks of the daemons. At least, if one were to go round inspecting the paintings and statues, he would immediately recognize your gods from their undignified figures; Dionysus from his dress, Hephaestus from his handicraft, Demeter from her woe, Ino from her veil, Poseidon from his trident, Zeus from his swan. The pyre indicates Heracles, and if one sees a woman represented naked, he understands it is “golden”\(^a\) Aphrodite. So the well-known Pygmalion of Cyprus fell in love with an ivory statue; it was of Aphrodite and was naked. The man of Cyprus is captivated by its shapeliness and embraces the statue. This is related by Philostephanus.\(^b\) There was also an Aphrodite in Cnidus, made of marble and beautiful. Another man fell in

\(^a\) Homer, *Odyssey* iv. 14.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IV καὶ μίγνυται τῇ λίθῳ. Ποσείδιππος ἵστορεῖ, ὃ μὲν πρότερος ἐν τῷ περὶ Κύπρου, ὃ δὲ ἐτερος ἐν τῷ περὶ Κνίδου. τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσεν ἀπατήσαι τέχνη προαγωγὸς ἀνθρώπως ἐρωτικὸς εἰς βάραθρον γενομένη. δραστήριος μὲν ἡ δημιουργική, ἀλλ’ οὐχ οία τε ἀπατήσαι λογικὸν οὐδὲ μὴν τοὺς κατὰ λόγον βεβιωκότας. ζωγραφίας μὲν γὰρ δι’ ὀμοιότητα σκιαγραφήταις περιστεραῖς 1 προσέπτησαν πελεύδες καὶ ἰπποὺς καλῶς γεγραμμέναις προσεχρεμέτισαν ἰπποῖ. ἐρασθήναι κόρην εἰκόνος λέγουσιν καὶ νέον καλὸν Κνίδιον ἀγάλματος, ἀλλ’ ἦσαν τῶν θεατῶν αἱ υἱὲς ἡπατημέναι ύπὸ τῆς τέχνης. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν θέα τις συνεπλάκῃ, οὐδὲ ἂν νεκρὰ τις συνετάφῃ, οὐδὲ ἂν ἡρασθῇ δαίμονος καὶ λίθου ἀνθρωπος σωφρονών. ὥμως δὲ ἄλλη γοητείᾳ ἀπατᾶ ἡ τέχνη, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔραν προσάγουσα, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὸ τμάν καὶ προσκυνεῖν τά τε ἀγάλματα καὶ τάς γραφάς. ὁμοία γε ἡ γραφὴ ἐπανείσθω μὲν ἡ τέχνη, μὴ ἀπατάτω δὲ τὸν ἀνθρωπον ὡς ἀληθεία. ἐστηκεν δ’ ἰππός ἰσαχῆ, ἡ πελεῦδα ἀτρεμίς, ἀργόν τὸ πτερόν, ἡ δὲ βοῦς ἡ Δαυδάλων ἡ ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου πεποίημεν ταῦρον ἔλευν ἄγριον καὶ κατηνάγκασεν τὸ θηρίον ἡ τέχνη πλανήσασα ἔρωσης ἐπιβήναι γυναῖκος. τοσοῦτον οἶστρον αἱ τέχναι κακοτεχ-

1 σκιαγραφήταις περιστεραῖς Stählin. σκιαγραφίας περιστεραί mss. ἐσκιαγραφημέναις περιστεραῖς Mayor.

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a Poseidippus, Fr. 1 Frag. hist. Graec. iv. p. 482.

Hold thou the good: define it well:
For fear divine Philosophy
Should push beyond her mark, and be
Procureess to the Lords of Hell.

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EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

love with this and has intercourse with the marble, as Poseidippus relates. The account of the first author is in his book on Cyprus; that of the second in his book on Cnidus. Such strength had art to beguile that it became for amorous men a guide to the pit of destruction. Now craftsmanship is powerful, but it cannot beguile a rational being, nor yet those who have lived according to reason. It is true that, through lifelike portraiture, pigeons have been known to fly towards painted doves, and horses to neigh at well-drawn mares. They say that a maiden once fell in love with an image, and a beautiful youth with a Cnidian statue; but it was their sight that was beguiled by the art. For no man in his senses would have embraced the statue of a goddess, or have been buried with a lifeless paramour, or have fallen in love with a daemon and a stone. But in your case art has another illusion with which to beguile; for it leads you on, though not to be in love with the statues and paintings, yet to honour and worship them. The painting, you say, is lifelike. Let the art be praised, but let it not beguile man by pretending to be truth. The horse stands motionless; the dove flutters not; its wings are at rest. Yet the cow of Daedalus, made of wood, infatuated a wild bull; and the beast, led astray by the art, was constrained to approach a love-sick woman. Such insane passion did the arts, by Clement had no fear of "divine Philosophy," but only of art.


\* i.e. Pasiphaë. Daedalus had put her inside his wooden cow, that she might satisfy her passion for the bull. Apollodorus iii. 1. 3; Philo Judaeus, De spec. leg. 8.

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CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IV.

νοῦσαι τοῖς ἀνοήτοις ἐνεποίησαν. ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν πιθήκους οἱ τούτων τροφεῖ καὶ μελεδωνοὶ τεθαυμάκασιν, ὅτι τῶν κηρίων ἡ πηλίνων ὄμοιομάτων καὶ κοροκοσμίων ἀπαθὰ τοὺς οὐδὲν ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀρα καὶ πιθήκων χείρων γενήσεσθε λιθίνους καὶ ἐλινίνους καὶ χρυσέως καὶ ἐλεφαντίνους ἀγαλματίως καὶ γραψαίς προσανέχοντες. τοιοῦτων ὑμῖν [οἱ] 1 δημιουργοὶ ἀθυρμάτων ὀλέθριων οἱ λιθοξόοι καὶ οἱ ἂνδριαντοποιοὶ γραφεῖς τε αὐτοὶ καὶ τέκτονες καὶ ποιηταί, πολὺν τινα καὶ τοιούτων ὃ χλον παρεισάγοντες, κατ᾽ ἀγροὺς μὲν Σατύρους καὶ Πάνας, ἀνα δὲ τὰς ὕλας Νύμφας τᾶς ὅρεαδας καὶ τᾶς ἀμα- δραίας, ναὶ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὰ ὦδατα καὶ περὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς καὶ τὰς πηγάς τὰς Ναίδας καὶ περὶ τὴν θάλατταν τὰς Νηρείδας. μάγοι δὲ ἢ ἄσομεν τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν ὑπηρέτας δαίμονας αὐχοῦσιν, οἰκεῖας αὐτοὺς ἐαυτοῖς καταγράψαντες, τοὺς κατηγακασμένους δούλους ταῖς ἑπαυδαῖς πεποιηκότες.

Γάμοι τε οὖν ἐτι καὶ παιδοποιαί καὶ λοχεῖαι θεῶν μηνομενύμεναι καὶ μοιχεῖαι ἄδομεναι καὶ εὐωχίαι κωμισσοῦμεναι καὶ γῆλωτες παρὰ πότων εἰσαγόμενοι προτρέπουσι δή 2 με ἄνακραγεῖν, κἂν σωπῆσαι θέλω, οὐμοι τῆς ἀθέότητος. σκηνὴν πεποιηκάτε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὸ θεῶν ὑμῶν ἄδιδα γεγέντοι καὶ τὸ ἄγων προσωπεῖοι δαίμονων κεκωμοδήκατε, τὴν ἀληθῆ θεοσέβειαν δεισδαι- μονία σατυρίσαντες.

αὐτὰρ ὁ φορμίζων ἀνεβάλλετο καλὸν ἄείδεων,

2 δή Höschel. δὲ mss.

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EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

their vicious artifices, implant in creatures without IV sense. Even monkeys know better than this. They CHAP.
eastonish their rearers and keepers, because no manner
of waxen or clay figures or girls' toys can deceive them. Even
But you, strange to say, will prove yourselves inferior
monkeys are not deceived by lifeless toys
monkeys even to monkeys through the heed you pay to statues
of stone and wood, gold and ivory, and to paintings.
Such are the pernicious playthings made for you
by marble-masons, sculptors, painters, carpenters and
poets, who introduce this great multitude of gods,
Satyrs and Pans in the fields, mountain and tree
Nymphs in the woods, as well as Naiads about the
lakes, rivers and springs, and Nereids by the sea.
Magicians go so far as to boast that daemons are
assistants in their impious deeds; they have enrolled
them as their own servants, having made them
slaves perforce by means of their incantations.

Further, the marriages of gods, their acts of
child-begetting and child-bearing which are on men's
lips, their adulteries which are sung by bards, their
feastings which are a theme of comedy, and the
bursts of laughter which occur over their cups, these
exhort me to cry aloud, even if I would fain keep
silence,—Alas for such atheism! You have turned
heaven into a stage. You look upon the divine
nature as a subject for drama. Under the masks
of daemons you have made comedy of that which
is holy. For the true worship of God you have
substituted a travesty, the fear of daemons.

Then to the harp's sweet strains a beautiful song he opened; a

a Homer, Odyssey viii. 266.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IV.

ἀμφ' Ἀρεώς φιλότητος ἐυστεφάνου ὤς τὰ πρῶτα μέγησαν ἐν Ἡφαίστεοι δόμοις

κατάπαυσον, ὁμηρε, τὴν ὕδην οὐκ ἔστι καλή,

μοιχείαν διδάσκεις: πορνεύειν δὲ ἡμεῖς καὶ τὰ ὅτα

παρατηθέντα: ἡμεῖς γὰρ, ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν οἱ τὴν εἰκόνα
tου θεοῦ περιφέροντες ἐν τῷ ζωντι καὶ κυνωμένῳ
tούτῳ ἀγάλματι, τοῦ ἀνθρώπῳ, σύνοικον εἰκόνα,

σύμβουλον, συνόμιλον, συνέστιον, συμπαθή, ὑπερ-

παθή: ἀνάθημα γεγόναμεν τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ.

"ἡμεῖς τὸ γένος τὸ ἐκλεκτὸν, τὸ βασίλειον ἐρά-

τευμα, ἔθνος ἄγιον, λαὸς περιούσιος, οἱ ποτὲ οὗ

λαὸς, νῦν δὲ λαὸς τοῦ θεοῦ": οἱ κατὰ τὸν Ἰωάννην

οὐκ ὄντες "ἐκ τῶν κάτω," παρὰ δὲ τοῦ ἄνωθεν

ἐλθόντος τὸ πάν μεμαθηκότες, οἱ τὴν οἰκονομίαν
tου θεοῦ κατανεοηκότες, οἱ "ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς

περιπατεῖν" μεμελετηκότες.

'Αλλ' οὐ ταύτα φρονοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ: ἀπορρί-

ψαντες δὲ τὴν αἰδῆ καὶ τὸν φόβον οίκου τῶν
tων δαιμονῶν ἐγγράφονται πασχιτισμοῖς. πυνακῶς

53 Ρ. γοῦν τοις καταγράφοις μετεῳρότερον ἀνακειμένῳ

προσευχήκτους ἰσελεγεία τοὺς θαλάμους κεκοσμή-

καί, τὴν ἀκολοσίαν εὐσέβειαν νομίζοντες: κατὰ

τοῦ κυμποδος κατακεκόμενοι παρ' αὐτὰς ἔτι τὰς

περιπλοκὰς ἀφορώσων εἰς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἐκείνην

\[\text{\textsuperscript{a}}\text{ Odyssey viii. 267-270.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{b}}\text{ 1 St. Peter ii. 9-10.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{c}}\text{ St. John viii. 23.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{d}}\text{ See St. John iii. 31.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{e}}\text{ Romans vi. 4.}\]
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

Sing us that beautiful strain, Homer,

Telling the love of Ares and Aphrodite fair-girdled,
How at the first they met in the halls of Hephaestus in secret;
Many the gifts he gave, and the bed and couch of Hephaestus
Sullied with shame.¹

Cease the song, Homer. There is no beauty in that; it teaches adultery. We have declined to lend even our ears to fornication. For we, yes we, are they who, in this living and moving statue, man, bear about the image of God, an image which dwells with us, is our counsellor, companion, the sharer of our hearth, which feels with us, feels for us. We have been made a consecrated offering to God for Christ’s sake. “We are the elect race, the royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people belonging to God, who in time past were not a people, but now are the people of God.”² We are they who, according to John, are not “from below,”³ but have learnt the whole truth from Him who came from above,⁴ who have apprehended the dispensation of God, who have studied “to walk in newness of life.”⁵

But most men are not of this mind. Casting off shame and fear, they have their homes decorated with pictures representing the unnatural lust of the daemons. In the lewdness to which their thoughts are given, they adorn their chambers with painted tablets hung on high like votive offerings, regarding licentiousness as piety; and, when lying upon the bed, while still in the midst of their own embraces, they fix their gaze upon that naked Aphrodite, who

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CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IV τὴν γυμνὴν, τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ συμπλοκῇ δεδεμένην, καὶ τῇ Δῆδα περιποτόμενον τὸν ὅρνων τὸν ἑρωτικόν, τῆς θηλύτητος ἀποδεχόμενοι τῆς γραφῆς, ἀποτυπώσαντας σφενδόναις, σφραγίζοντο καταλήγων τῇ Διὸς ἀκολοχίᾳ. ταῦτα ὑμῶν τῆς ἤδυπαθείας τὰ ἁρξότυπα, αὕτη τῆς ὑβρεως αἱ θεολογίαι, αὕτη τῶν συμπορευόντων ὑμῶν θεῶν αἱ διδασκαλίαι. "ὁ γὰρ βουλεῖται, τοῦθ᾽ ἐκαστὸς καὶ οἶεται" κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηναίων ῥήτορα. οἷοι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλα ὑμῶν εἰκόνες, πανίσκοι τινὲς καὶ γυμναὶ κόραι καὶ σάτυροι μεθύοντες καὶ μορίων ἑντάσεις, ταῖς γραφαῖς ἀπογυμνοῦμεναι, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρασίας ἐλεγχοῦμεναι. ἧδη δὲ ἀναφανῶν τῆς ἀκολοχίας ὅλης τὰ σχήματα ἀνάγραπτα πανδημεῖ τείχωμεν οὐκ αἰσχύνοντες, φυλάττετε δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἀνακείμενον, ᾠστερ ἅμελεί τῶν θεῶν ὑμῶν τὰς εἰκόνας, στήλας ἀναισχυντικὰς καθερώσαντες οἴκου, ἐπὶ ἵσης ἐγγραφόμενοι τὰ Φιλανίδος σχήματα ὡς τὰ Ἡρακλέους ἀθλήματα. τούτων οὐ μόνον τῆς χρήσεως, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς ὑβρίσεως καὶ τῆς ἁκόθης αὐτῆς ἀμνηστίαν καταγγέλλομεν. ἥταρξην ὑμῶν τὰ δὲτα, πεπορνεύκασιν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ τὸ καινότερον πρὸ τῆς συμπλοκῆς αἱ ὑβρεῖς ὑμῶν μεμοιχεύκασιν. ὡς βιασόμενοι τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὸ ἐνθεον τοῦ πλάσματος ἐλέγχει ἀπαράξαντας, πάντα ἀπιστεῖτε, ἵνα ἐκπαιδεύσῃς καὶ πιστεύετε τοὺς εἰδώλους ἡλιοῦντες.

1 πιστεύετε Arcerius. πιστεύετε mss.

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"i.e. bound with the invisible chains which Hephaestus had made to entrap her. Odyssey viii. 270–299.

b Demosthenes, Olynthiacs iii. 19.

c i.e. in houses; see p. 137.

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lies bound in her adultery.\textsuperscript{a} Also, to show they approve the representation of effeminacy, they engrave in the hoops of their rings the amorous bird hovering over Leda, using a seal which reflects the licentiousness of Zeus. These are the patterns for your voluptuousness; these are the stories that give divine sanction for wanton living; these are the lessons taught by gods who are fornicators like yourselves. "For what a man desires, that he also imagines to be true," says the Athenian orator.\textsuperscript{b} Look, too, at other of your images,—little figures of Pan, naked girls, drunken satyrs; and obscene emblems, plainly exhibited in pictures, and self-condemned by their indecency. More than that, you behold without a blush the postures of the whole art of licentiousness openly pictured in public. But when they are hung on high\textsuperscript{c} you treasure them still more, just as if they were actually the images of your gods; for you dedicate these monuments of shamelessness in your homes, and are as eager to procure paintings of the postures of Philaenias as of the labours of Heracles. We declare that not only the use, but also the sight and the very hearing of these things should be forgotten. Your ears have committed fornication; your eyes have prostituted themselves;\textsuperscript{d} and, stranger still, before the embrace you have committed adultery by your looks.\textsuperscript{e} You who have done violence to man, and erased by dishonour the divine image in which he was created, you are utter unbelievers in order that you may give way to your passions. You believe in the idols because you crave after their incontinence;

\textsuperscript{a} Cp. 2 St. Peter ii. 14. \textsuperscript{b} Cp. St. Matthew v. 28.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IV. αὕτων τὴν ἀκρασίαν, ἀποστείτε δὲ τῷ θεῷ σωφροσύνην μὴ φέροντες· καὶ τὰ μὲν κρείττω μεμισθήκατε, τὰ δὲ ἦττω τετμήκατε, ἄρετῆς μὲν θεαταί, κακίας δὲ ἀγωνισταί γεγενημένοι.

54 P. "Ολβιοί" | μόνοι τοίνυν, ὡς ἔπος ἐπεῖν, ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐκεῖνοι πάντες κατὰ τὴν Σίβυλλαν

οἵ ναοὺς <μὲν>1 πάντας ἀπαρνήσονται ἱδόντες καὶ βωμοὺς, εἰκάτα λίθων ἱδρύματα κωφῶν, καὶ λίθων ἡμέων καὶ ἀγάλματα χειροποίητα,2 αἰματὶ ἐμφύχω μεμισθήκαται καὶ θυσίας τε τετραπόδων, διπόδων, πτημέων θηρῶν τε φόνοισιν.

καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀπηγόρευται ἡμῖν ἀναφανδὸν ἀπατηλόν ἐργάζεσθαι τέχνην. "οὐ γὰρ ποιήσεις," φησὶν ὁ προφήτης, "παντὸς ὀμοίωμα, ὅσα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ γῇ κάτω." ἦ τού γ' ἂν ἔτι τὴν Πραξιτέλους Δημητρα καὶ Κόρην καὶ τὸν Ἰακχον τὸν μυστικὸν θεοὺς ὑπολάβομεν ἢ τὸς Λυσίππου τέχνας ἢ τὸς χεῖρας τὰς Ἀπελλικάς, αἰ δὴ τῆς θεοδοξίας τὸ σχῆμα τῇ ὕλῃ περιτεθέακασιν; ἂλλα ὑμεῖς μὲν ὅπως ποτὲ ὁ ἀνδριὰς ὁτι μάλιστα ὁραίτατος τεκταίνεται, προσκαρτερεῖτε, ὅπως δὲ αὐτοὶ μὴ ὅμοιοι δι' ἀναισθησίαν τοὺς ἀνδριὰς ἀποτελεσθήτε, οὐ φροντίζετε πάνω γοῦν ἐμφανῶς καὶ συντόμως ὁ προφητικὸς ἑλέγχει τὴν συνήθειαν λόγος ὅτι "πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν δαιμονίων εἰσὶν εἰδωλα· οὐ δὲ θεοὶ τῶν οὐρανοῦς ἐποίησεν"

1 <μὲν> inserted from Sibylline Oracles.
2 καὶ λίθων . . . χειροποίητα. not in Sibylline Oracles.

a Sibylline Oracles iv. 24, 27–30.

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EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

you disbelieve in God because you cannot bear self-control. You have hated the better, and honoured the worse. You have shown yourselves onlookers with regard to virtue, but active champions of vice.

The only men, therefore, who can with one consent, so to speak, be called "blessed," are all those of whom the Sibyl describes,

Who, seeing the temples, will reject them all,  
And altars, useless shrines of senseless stones;  
Stone idols too, and statues made by hand,  
Defiled with blood yet warm, and sacrifice  
Of quadruped and biped, bird and beast.\(^a\)

What is more, we are expressly forbidden to practise a deceitful art. For the prophet says, "Thou shalt not make a likeness of anything that is in heaven above or in the earth beneath."\(^b\) Is it possible that we can still suppose the Demeter and Persephone and the mystic Iacchus of Praxiteles to be gods? Or are we to regard as gods the masterpieces of Lysippus or the works of Apelles, since it is these which have bestowed upon matter the fashion of the divine glory? But as for you, while you take great pains to discover how a statue may be shaped to the highest possible pitch of beauty, you never give a thought to prevent yourselves turning out like statues owing to want of sense. Any way, with the utmost plainness and brevity the prophetic word refutes the custom of idolatry, when it says, "All the gods of the nations are images of daemons; but God made the heavens,"\(^c\) and the things in heaven.

\(^a\) Exodus xx. 4; Deuteronomy v. 8.
\(^b\) Psalm xcvi. 5.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IV καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. πλανώμενοι γοῦν τινες ἐν- 
teubem ouk o'd' onfs theian men relic, plhn all' ou 
θεον προσκυνοῦσιν ήλιον τε καὶ σελήνην και τὸν 
ἀλλον τῶν ἀστέρων χορόν, παραλογώς τούτους 
θεούς ὑπολαμβάνοντες, τὰ ὄργανα τοῦ χρόνου. 
"τῷ γὰρ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ ἐστερεώθησαν καὶ τῷ 
pneumati τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ πάσα ἡ δύναμις 
aυτῶν." ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ἀνθρωπεία τέχνη οἰκίας τε καὶ 
ναῦς καὶ τόλεως καὶ γραφὰς ἰδημιοῦργεί, θεὸς δὲ 
pws ἄν εἴπομι ὅσα ποιεῖ; ὅλων ἰδε τὸν κόσμον, 
ἐκεῖνον ἔργον ἐστιν. καὶ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἦλιος καὶ ἄγ- 
γελοι καὶ ἀνθρώποι "ἔργα τῶν διακτύλων | αὐτοῦ." 
ὅση γε ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ. μόνον αὐτοῦ τὸ βού- 
λημα κοσμοποίησα. μόνος γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν, ἔπει 
kai monos ontos esti theos. psilw to boulesthai 
dημιουργεῖ καὶ τὸ μόνον ἔθελησα αὐτόν ἐπεται 
to geganethi. enantia philosofoûn paratrepetai 
χορὸς πρὸς μὲν τὴν οὐρανοῦ θέαν παγκάλως 
gegonénai ton anthropou oïmolougnontan, tâ de en 
oúranw fainómena kai ofei katalamabánomena prós- 
kunóntan. ei gar kai m'h anthropina tâ érga 
tâ en óuranw, allâ goûn ánthrâptous dédemyour- 
grugtai. kai m'h ton ëliou tis ëmwn próskenêitw, 
allâ ton ëliou poíthn épipodeitw, mheâ ton 
kôsmou êkheiazêtw, allâ ton kôsmou dêmyourgon 
êpizhtsaítw. mòn ëra, ës ëoikey, katafrugn Û 
mellonti ëpî tâs swntrîous âfikneithai òhûras 
ûpoleîpetai sofía theikê. èntebhein ósper ëx ierou 
twos ãstîlon ouîdeî ouîkêtî ãgûmimos twn daîmônwn 
ô ánthrâptos gínetai spenôdwn eis swntrîan.

See Genesis i. 14.

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Some, it is true, starting from this point, go astray,—I know not how,—and worship not God but His handiwork, the sun, moon, and the host of stars besides, absurdly supposing these to be gods, though they are but instruments for measuring time; a for “by His word were they firmly established; and all their power by the breath of His mouth.” b But while human handiwork fashions houses, ships, cities, paintings, how can I speak of all that God creates? See the whole universe; that is His work. Heaven, the sun, angels and men are “the works of His fingers.” c How great is the power of God! His mere will is creation; for God alone created, since He alone is truly God. By a bare wish His work is done, and the world’s existence follows upon a single act of His will. Here the host of philosophers turn aside, when they admit that man is beautifully made for the contemplation of heaven, d and yet worship the things which appear in heaven and are apprehended by sight. For although the heavenly bodies are not the works of man, at least they have been created for man. Let none of you worship the sun; rather let him yearn for the maker of the sun. Let no one deify the universe; rather let him seek after the creator of the universe. It seems, then, that but one refuge remains for the man who is to reach the gates of salvation, and that is divine wisdom. From thence, as from a holy inviolate temple, no longer can any daemon carry him off, as he presses onward to salvation.

b Psalm xxxiii. 6. c Psalm viii. 3.

d Cp. Cicero, De natura deorum ii. 140 “Provvidence . . . made men upright and erect, that by contemplating the heavens they might gain a knowledge of the gods.” See also Ovid, Metamorph. i. 85–6.
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V

Ἐπιδράμωμεν δὲ, εἰ βούλει, καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων τὰς δόξας, ὅσα αὐχοῦσι περὶ τῶν θεῶν, εἰ πως καὶ φιλοσοφίαν αὐτὴν κενοδοξίας ἐνεκεν ἀνειδωλοποιοῦσαν τὴν ὑλὴν ἐφεύρωμεν, ἣ καὶ δαμόνια ἀττα ἐκθειαζοῦσαν κατὰ παραδρομὴν παραστήσαι δυνηθῶμεν ἀνειρωττοῦσαν τὴν ἀληθείαν. στοιχεία μὲν οὖν ἀρχὰς ἀπελιπον ἐξεμνήσαντες Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος τὸ ὤδωρ καὶ Ἀναξιμένης ὁ καὶ αὐτὸς Μιλήσιος τὸν ἀέρα, ὃ Διογένης ὕστερον ὁ Ἀπολλωνιάτης κατηκολούθησεν. Παρμενίδης δὲ ὁ Ἐλεάτης θεοῦς εἰσηγήσατο πῦρ καὶ γῆν, θάτερον δὲ αὐτῶν μόνον, τὸ πῦρ, θεὸν ὑπελήφθατον Ἰππασὸς τε ὁ Ἔρεων καὶ ὁ Ἔφεσιος Ἡράκλειτος. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς γὰρ ὁ Ἀκραγαντῖνος εἰς πλῆθος ἐμπεσὼν πρὸς τοῖς τέτταρις στοιχείοις τούτοις νείκος καὶ φιλίαν καταριθμεῖται.

Ἀθεοὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ οὐδοὶ, σοφία τινὶ ἀσώφω τὴν ὑλὴν προσκυνῆσαντες καὶ λίθους μὲν ἡ ἔξωλα οὐ τιμῆσαν, γῆν δὲ τὴν τούτων μητέρα εὐθειάζαντες καὶ Ποσειδώνα μὲν οὐκ ἀνακλάττοντες, ὤδωρ δὲ αὐτὸ προστρεπόμενοι. τί γὰρ ἐστὶ ποτε ἦ ποσειδῶν ἡ ὑγρὰ τις οὐσία ἐκ τῆς πόσεως ὄνοματοποιοῦμενη; ὥσπερ ἀμέλει ὁ πολέμιος Ἀργι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρσεως

1 ᾧ Diels. ei mss.
2 ἀπελιπον Cobet. ἀπελιπον mss.
3 μόνον Sylburg. μόνον mss.
4 ποτε ὁ Wilamowitz. πρότερον mss. ἔτερον Mayor.

a i.e. gets a feeble grasp of it. Cp. Plutarch, De Is. et Osir. 382 f “The souls of men, while on earth and en-
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V

Let us now, if you like, run through the opinions which the philosophers, on their part, assert confidently about the gods. Perchance we may find philosophy herself, through vanity, forming her conceptions of the godhead out of matter; or else we may be able to show in passing that, when deifying certain divine powers, she sees the truth in a dream. Some philosophers, then, left us the elements as first principles of all things. Water was selected for praise by Thales of Miletus; air by Anaximenes of the same city, who was followed afterwards by Diogenes of Apollonia. Fire and earth were introduced as gods by Parmenides of Elea; but only one of this pair, namely fire, is god according to the supposition of both Hippasus of Metapontum and Heracleitus of Ephesus. As to Empedocles of Acras, he chooses plurality, and reckons "love" and "strife" in his list of gods, in addition to these four elements.

These men also were really atheists, since with a foolish show of wisdom they worshipped matter. They did not, it is true, honour stocks or stones, but they made a god out of earth, which is the mother of these. They do not fashion a Poseidon, but they adore water itself. For what in the world is Poseidon, except a kind of liquid substance named from posis, drink? Just as, without a doubt, warlike cumbered by bodies and passions, can have no companionship with God, except in so far as they get a dim dream of Him through the aid of philosophy."

* See p. 47 with note.
Clement of Alexandria

Cap. καὶ ἀναίρεσεως κεκλημένος, ἦ καὶ δοκοῦσι μοι πολλοὶ μᾶλιστα τὸ ἐξίφος μόνον πῆξαντες ἐπιθύειν ὡς Ἀρει. ἦστι δὲ Σκυθῶν τὸ τουοῦτον, καθάπερ Εὐθοδὸς ἐν δευτέρᾳ. Γῆς 1 περιόδου λέγει, Σκυθῶν δὲ οἱ Σαυρομάται, ὡς φησιν Ἰκέσιος ἐν τῷ περὶ μαστηρίῳ, ἀκώανη σέβουσιν. τοῦτο τοι καὶ οἱ ἄμφι τὸν Ἅρκλειτον τὸ πῦρ ὡς ἀρχέγονον σέβουντες πεπόνθασιν τὸ γὰρ πῦρ τοῦτο ἐτέροι Ἡφαίστου ἄνωμασαν. Περσῶν δὲ οἱ μάγοι τὸ πῦρ τετμήκασι καὶ τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντων πολλοὶ, πρὸς δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνες, ὡς φησι Σικεύης ἐν α' Περσικῶν. τῷ Μου Σαυρομάτας καταλέγειν, οὔς Νυμφόδωρος ἐν Νοῦμίοις Βαρθαρικοῖς τὸ πῦρ σέβεων ἰστορεῖ, ἦ τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ τοὺς Μήδους καὶ τοὺς μάγους; θεων ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τούτου ἡ Δίνων λέγει, θεῶν ἀγάλματα μόνα τὸ πῦρ καὶ ὑδωρ νομίζοντας. οὐκ ἀπεκρυψάμην οὐδὲ τὴν τούτων ἄγνοιαν. εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἁρπαξάσθησι σινταχοῖς τῆς χρόνους, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐτέραν κατοικίαν ὑποκειόμενον | ἀπάθῃ ἀγάλματα μὲν θεῶν οὐξιλὰ καὶ λίθους ὑπελήφασιν ὡστερ Ἔλληνες οὐδὲ μὴν ἱβίδαις καὶ ἰχνεύμονας καθάπερ Ἀἰγύπτιοι, ἀλλὰ πῦρ τε καὶ ὑδωρ ὡς φιλόσοφοι. μετὰ πολλὰς μέντοι ύστερον περιόδους ἑτῶν ἀνθρωποειδῆ ἀγάλματα σέβειν αὐτοὺς Βήρωσ-

1 Γῆς Diels. τῆς mss. (See p. 44, n. 3.)

a Cp. Plutarch, Amatorius 757 Ἐ. "Chrysippus says that Ares is anairesis" (so Petersen: mss. have anairein = to destroy). The endeavour to find meanings in the names of the gods has its literary origin in Plato's Cratylus (esp. pp. 395-412). The Stoics found in this method a support for their doctrine that the gods of mythology were merely personified natural forces or processes. See Cicero, De natura deorum ii. 63-72.

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Ares is so called from *arsis* and *anairesis*, abolition chap. and destruction; which is the chief reason, I think, why many tribes simply fix their sword in the ground and then offer sacrifice to it as if to Ares. Such is the custom of Scythians, as Eudoxus says in his second book of *Geography*, while the Sauromatians, a Scythian tribe, worship a dagger, according to Hicesius in his book on *Mysteries*. This too is the case with the followers of Heracleitus when they worship fire as the source of all; for this fire is what others named Hephaestus. The Persian Magi and many of the inhabitants of Asia have assigned honour to fire; so have the Macedonians, as Diogenes says in the first volume of his *Persian History*. Why need I instance Sauromatians, whom Nymphodorus in *Barbarian Customs* reports as worshipping fire; or the Persians, Medes and Magi? Dinon says that these Magi sacrifice under the open sky, believing that fire and water are the sole emblems of divinity. Even their ignorance I do not conceal; for although they are quite convinced that they are escaping the error of idolatry, yet they slip into another delusion. They do not suppose, like Greeks, that stocks and stones are emblems of divinity, nor ibises and ichneumons, after the manner of Egyptians; but they admit fire and water, as philosophers do. It was not, however, till many ages had passed that they began to worship statues in human form, as Berosus

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*b* Eudoxus, Fr. 16 Brandes (*Jahrb. class. Phil.* 1847, Suppl. 13, p. 223).


f Dinon, Fr. 9 *Frag. hist. Graec.* ii. p. 91.
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Cap. ος ἐν τρίτῃ Χαλδαϊκῶν παράστησι, τούτῳ Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὀχου εἰσηγησαμένου, διὰ πρῶτος τῆς Ἀφροδίτης Ἀνατίδος τό ἄγαλμα ἀναστήσας ἐν Βαβυλώνι καὶ Σούοσιοι καὶ Ἐκβατάνοις Πέρσαις καὶ Βάκτροις καὶ Δαμασκῷ καὶ Σάρδεσιν ὑπεδείξει σέβειν. ὁμολογούτων τοῖς οἱ φιλόσοφοι τοὺς διδασκάλους τοὺς σφῶν Πέρσας ἡ Σαυρομάτας ἡ μάγους, παρ' ὅν τὴν ἀθεότητα τῶν σεβασμῶν αὐτῶν μεμαθήκασιν ἄρχων, ἄρχοντα τὸν πάντων ποιητὴν καὶ τῶν ἄρχων αὐτῶν δημιουργών ἀγνοοῦντες, τὸν ἀναρχὸν θεὸν, τὰ δὲ "πτωχά" ταῦτα καὶ "ἀσθενῆ," ἢ φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος, τὰ εἰς τὴν ἀνθρώπων ὑπηρεσίαν πεποιημένα "στοιχεία" προστρεπομένου.

Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων φιλοσόφων ὁσοῦ τὰ στοιχεῖα ὑπερβάντες ἐπολυπραγμόνησάν τι ψηφιλότερον καὶ περιττότερον, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τὸ ἄπειρον καθύμνησαν, ὡς Ἀναζίμανδρος (Μιλήσιος ἡν) καὶ Ἀναζαγόρας ὁ Κλαζομένιος καὶ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Ἀρχέλαος. τούτω μὲν γε ἄμφω τὸν νοῦν ἐπεστηρισάτην τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ, ὁ δὲ Μιλήσιος Λεύκυππος καὶ ὁ Χῖος Μητρόδωρος διττᾶς, ὡς ἔσκεν, καὶ αὐτῶν ἄρχας ἀπελυπτήτην, τὸ πλῆρες καὶ τὸ κενὸν προσέθηκε δὲ λαβὼν τούτων τούτων δυνῶν τὰ εἰδώλα ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης Δημόκριτος. ὁ 58 Ρ. γὰρ τοῦ Κροτωνιάτης Ἀλκμαιών ὑπερτυποῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας εἶναι ἐμψυχουσ ὄντας. οὐ σιωπήσομαι τὴν τούτων ἀνασυχίαν. Ξενοκράτης (Καλλικόδωνος οὐτος) ἔπτα μὲν θεοὺς τοὺς πλανῆτας, ὁγδοῦν δὲ

1 'Ἀνατίδος Bochart. ταυάδος mss.

a Berosus, Fr. 16 Frag. hist. Graec. ii. p. 508.
b Galatians iv. 9.
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shows in his third book of Chaldaean History; this custom was introduced by Artaxerxes the son of Darius and father of Ochus, who was the first to set up the statue of Aphrodite Anaitis in Babylon, Susa and Ecbatana, and to enjoin this worship upon Persians and Bactrians, upon Damascus and Sardis. Let the philosophers therefore confess that Persians, Saur- matians, and Magi are their teachers, from whom they have learnt the atheistic doctrine of their venerated "first principles." The great original, the maker of all things, and creator of the "first principles" themselves, God without beginning, they know not, but offer adoration to these "weak and beggarly elements," as the apostle calls them, made for the service of men.

Other philosophers went beyond the elements and sought diligently for a more sublime and excellent principle. Some of them celebrated the praises of the Infinite, as Anaximander of Miletus, Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, and Archelaus of Athens. The two latter agreed in placing Mind above the Infinite; while on the other hand Leucippus of Miletus and Metrodorus of Chios also left, as it seems, a pair of first principles, "fulness" and "void." Democritus of Abdera took these two and added to them the "images." Nor was this all; Alcmaeon of Croton thought that the stars were endowed with life, and therefore gods. I will not refrain from mentioning the audacity of these others. Xenocrates of Chalcedon intimates that the planets are seven gods and that

\[ \text{The theory of Democritus was that all natural objects gave off small particles of themselves, which he called "images." These came into contact with the organs of sense and were the cause of perception.} \]
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C. E. PANTWN TON APYANWN\textsuperscript{1} SYNESTWTA KOSMON AIVITETAI. OUDDE MIHNY TOUN AP
TOY STH SYTOAS PARELEUSOMAI DIA PASONY ULHS, KAII DIA THY ATIMOTATHS, TO THEION DIHKEN REGONTAS, OI KATAPHONNOUS
ATECHNOS THN PHILOSOPHIAN. OUDEN DE OIMAI XALEPON
ENTATHA GEVOMENOS KAI TON EK TOY PERIPTATON
MENSOYNAI: KAII O GE THS AIRESEWOS PATIR, TON
OLWN OU NOHSA TOY PATERA, TON KALOUMENON
"UPATON" PSIKHEN EIYAI TOU PANTOS OYETAI. TOUT-
EYTI TOY KOSMON THN PSIKHEN THEON UPOLAMBANWON
AUTOS AUTW PERIPHEIRETAI. O YAR TOI MECHRI TTH
SELEHNS AUTHS DIORIZWN THN PRONOIAN, EPEITA TON
KOSMON THEON YNOUMENOS PERITREPETAI, TON AMOYRON
TOY THEON THEON DOUMATIZON. O DE 'ERESION EKEINOS
THEOPRASOTOS O 'ARISTOTELEUS GNORMOY PN MHN
OYRANON, PN DE PNEIMMA TON THEON UPONOEI. 'EPIKOU-
ROU MEH YAR MONOY KAI EKWN EKLYSOMAI, OI OUDEN\textsuperscript{2}
MELEIN OYETAI TAPP THEW, DIA PANTWN ASHEYON. T YAR
'HRAKLEIDHES O PONTIKOS; ESO OYH OUK EPI TAC
DEMOKRITON KAI AUTOS KATAUSYRETAI EIDWLA;

VI

KAI POLUS MOI EPIRREI TOIOUTOS OXLOS, OIONEI
MORIMY TNOI, DAIMONION PAREIVAGWEN ZENON ATOPON

\textsuperscript{1} TON APYANWN Davies. AUTONW MSS. ASRWN Diels.

\textsuperscript{2} OUDEN Lowth. OUPH MSS.

\textsuperscript{a} i.e. Aristotle.

\textsuperscript{b} Aristotle sharply divided the celestial spheres, which were the divine part of the universe, from the sublunar world, in which alone birth, death, and change take place. The laws governing the upper world are necessarily different from those of the lower. Zeller (Aristotle, i. 508, n. 3, Eng. 150
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the ordered arrangement of the fixed stars is an eighth. Nor will I omit the Stoics, who say that the divine nature permeates all matter, even in its lowest forms; these men simply cover philosophy with shame. At this point there is, I think, nothing to hinder me from mentioning the Peripatetics also. The father of this sect, because he did not perceive the Father of all things, thinks that he who is called the “Highest” is the soul of the universe; that is to say, he supposes the soul of the world to be God, and so is pierced with his own sword. For he first declares that providence extends only as far as the moon; then by holding the opinion that the universe is God he contradicts himself, asserting that that which has no share in God is God. Aristotle’s disciple, the celebrated Theophrastus of Eresus, suspects in one place that God is heaven, and elsewhere that God is spirit. Epicurus alone I will banish from memory, and that willingly, for he, pre-eminent in impiety, thinks that God has no care for the world. What of Heracleides of Pontus? Is there a single place where he too is not drawn away to the “images” of Democritus?

VI

And a vast crowd of the same description swarms upon me, bringing in their train, like a nightmare, an absurd doctrines, not worth attention

trans.) says: “Both Christian and heathen opponents have distorted this to mean that the Divine Providence reaches only as far as the moon and does not extend to the earth. How far this representation agrees with the true Aristotelian doctrine may be gathered from what has been already said, at pp. 403, 410, and 421.”
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CAP. σκιαγραφίαν, μυθολογῶν ¹ ύθλω γραϊκῶ: πολλοῦ γε δεῖ ἀνδρᾶσιν ἐπιτρέπειν ἀκροάσθαι τοιούτων λόγων, οἱ μυθὲς τοὺς παίδας τοὺς ἐαυτῶν, τοῦτο δῆ τὸ λεγόμενον, κλαυθμοριζόμενος ἐβίζομεν παρηγορεῖσθαι μυθίζοντες, ὀρρωδοῦντες συνανατρέφειν αὐτοῖς ἀθέτητα τὴν πρὸς τῶν δοκησιοσώφων ² δῆ τούτων καταγγελλομένην, μηδὲν τι νηπίων μᾶλλον τάληθες εἰδότων. τῷ γὰρ, ὃ πρὸς τῆς ἀληθείας, τοὺς σοὶ πεπιστευκότας δεικνύεις ρύσει καὶ φορᾷ ³ δίναις τε ἀτάκτοις ⁴ ὑποβεβλημένους; τί δὲ μοι εἰδώλων ἀναπίμπλης τὸν βίον, ἀνέμους τε ἡ ἀερὰ ἡ πῦρ ἡ γῆ ἡ λίθους ἡ ἕλαια ἡ σίδηρου, κόσμου τόνδε, θεοὺς ἀναπλάττουσα, θεοὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας τοὺς πλανήτας, τοῖς ὠντοις πεπλανημένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς πολυβριλῆτος ταύτης ἀστρολογίας, οὐκ ἀστρονομίας, μετεωρολογοῦσα καὶ ἀδολεσχοῦσα; τὸν κύριον τῶν πνευμάτων ποδῶν, τὸν κύριον τοῦ πυρὸς, τὸν κόσμου δημιουργόν, τὸν ἥλιον φωταγωγόν. θεοί ἐπιζητῶν, οὐ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ. τίνα δὴ λάβω πορὰ σοῦ συνεργὸν τῆς ζητήσεως; οὐ γὰρ παντάπασιν ἀπεγνώκαμεν σε. εἰ βούλει, τὸν Πλάτωνα. πῇ δὴ οὖν ἔξεινυτέων τῶν θεών, ὃ Πλάτων; "τὸν γὰρ πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τοῦτο παντὸς εὑρεῖν

¹ μυθολογῶν Mayor. μυθολόγων mss.
² δοκησιοσώφων Potter. δοκησιοσώφων mss.
³ φορᾷ Münzél. φθορᾷ mss.
⁴ δίναις τε ἀτάκτοις Heyse. δεινάισ τε καὶ ἀτάκτοις mss.

The doctrine of "flux" was taught by Heracleitus in his well-known phrase, "All things flow" (πάντα ρεῖ). "Motion" and "irregular vortices" refer to Anaxagoras, who supposed the primitive elements to have been set in

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absurd picture of strange daemons, and romancing with all an old wise's extravagance. Far indeed are we from allowing grown men to listen to such tales. Even to our own children, when they are crying their heart out, as the saying goes, we are not in the habit of telling fabulous stories to soothe them; for we shrink from fostering in the children the atheism proclaimed by these men, who, though wise in their own conceit, have no more knowledge of the truth than infants. Why, in the name of truth, do you show those who have put their trust in you that they are under the dominion of "flux" and "motion" and "fortuitous vortices"? Why, pray, do you infect life with idols, imagining winds, air, fire, earth, stocks, stones, iron, this world itself to be gods? Why babble in high-flown language about the divinity of the wandering stars to those men who have become real wanderers through this much-vaunted,—I will not call it astronomy, but—astrology? I long for the Lord of the winds, the Lord of fire, the Creator of the world, He who gives light to the sun. I seek for God Himself, not for the works of God. Whom am I to take from you as fellow worker in the search? For we do not altogether despair of you. "Plato," if you like. How, then, Plato, must we trace out God? "It is a hard task to find the Father and Maker of this

rotatory motion by Mind (νοῆς). This theory is ridiculed by Aristophanes, Clouds 828 "Vortex has ousted Zeus, and reigns as king." Vortex motion was also a part of the "atomic theory" of Leucippus. Atoms of various size and shape constantly impinging upon one another in empty space would give rise to countless vortices, each of which might be the beginning of a world.

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CAP. VI  

τε ἔργον καὶ εὑρόντα εἰς ἀπαντᾶς ἐξειπεῖν ἀδύνατον."  

διὰ τί δήτα, ὦ πρὸς αὐτοῦ; "ῥητὸν ἡ γὰρ οὐδαμῶς ἐστίν." εὖ γε, ὦ Πλάτων, ἐπαφάσαι τῆς ἀληθείας ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποκάμης. ἔνν μοι λαβοῦ τῆς ζητήσεως τάγαθοῦ πέρι. πᾶσιν γὰρ ἀπαξαπλῶς ἀνθρώποισι, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς περὶ λόγους ἐνδιατρίβουσιν ἐνεστακται τις ἀπόρροια θεῖκη. οὐ δὴ χάριν καὶ ἄκοντες μὲν ὁμολογοῦσιν ἕνα γε εἰναι θεόν, ἀνώλεθρον καὶ ἀγένητον τοῦτον, ἀνω περὶ τὰ νῦτα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐν τῇ ἠδίᾳ καὶ οἰκείᾳ περιώπη ὄντως ὄντα ἀεί.

θεὸν δὲ ποίον, εἴπέ μοι, νοητέον;  

τὸν πάνθρον ὑμῶν καὶ τὸν οὐχ ὅρωμενον,

Εὐρυπίδης λέγει. πεπλανήθσαι γοῦν ὁ Μένανδρός μοι δοκεῖ, ἐνθά φησίν

ἡλιος, σὲ γὰρ δεὶ προσκυνεῖν πρώτον θεῶν,  

δι' ὅν θεωρεῖν ἔστι τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς.

οὐδὲ γὰρ ἥλιος ἐπιδείξει ποτ' ἂν τὸν θεόν τὸν ἀληθῆ, ὦ δὲ λόγος ὁ ψυχῆς, ὃς ἔστιν ἥλιος ψυχῆς, δι' οὗ μόνου ἐνδον ἀνατείλαντος ἐν τῷ βάθει τοῦ νοῦ 3 αὐτῆς 4 καταγάζεται τὸ ὅμα. ὅθεν οὐκ ἄπεικότως ὁ Δημόκριτος "τῶν λογίων ἀνθρώπων

1 ῥητὸν from Plato. ῥητῶν mss.  
2 γε Schwartz. τε mss.  
3 τοῦ νοῦ Cobet. τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τοῦ νοὸς mss.  
4 αὐτῆς Kroll. αὐτοῦ mss.

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a Plato, Timaeus 28 c.  
b Plato, Epistles vii. p. 341 c.  
c Literally “the back” of the heavens. The phrase comes from Plato, Phaedrus 247 c. Both Plato and Clement 154
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universe, and when you have found Him, it is im-
possible to declare Him to all.” \( ^a \) Why, pray, in
God’s name, why? “Because He can in no way be
described.” \( ^b \) Well done, Plato, you have hit the
truth. But do not give up. Join me in the search for
the good. For there is a certain divine effluence
instilled into all men without exception, but
especially into those who spend their lives in
thought; wherefore they admit, even though against
their will, that God is One, that He is unbegotten
and indestructible, and that somewhere on high in
the outermost spaces \( ^c \) of the heavens, in His own
private watch-tower, He truly exists for ever.

What nature, say, must man ascribe to God?
He seeth all; yet ne’er Himself is seen,

says Euripides. \( ^d \) Certainly Menander seems to me
to be in error where he says,

O Sun, thee must we worship, first of gods,
Through whom our eyes can see the other gods. \( ^e \)

For not even the sun could ever show us the true
God. The healthful Word or Reason, who is the
Sun of the soul, alone can do that; through Him
alone, when He has risen within in the depth of the
mind, the soul’s eye is illuminated. Whence
Democritus not unreasonably says that “a few men

think of the heavens as a series of spheres revolving above
the earth. The dwelling-place of God (or Plato’s “real
existence”) is on the outer side of the topmost sphere. See
the whole passage, Phaedrus 246 D–249.

\( ^a \) Euripides, Frag. 1129 Nauck.
\( ^b \) Menander, Frag. 609 Kock, Comic. Attic. Frag. iii.
p. 184.
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⁶¹CAP. ὅλγοις ἐτείκειν ἀνατείνασας τὰς ἱερὰς ἐνταῦθα ὅν νῦν ἦρα καλέομεν οἱ Ἐλληνες, [πάντα.] Διὰ μυ-θείσαθαι καὶ γὰρ πάντα οὕτως οἶδεν καὶ διδοῖ καὶ ἢφαιστεῖται, καὶ βασιλεὺς ὥτος τῶν πάντων. Ταύτης της καὶ Πλάτων διανοούμενος τὸν θεὸν ἀινίττεται περὶ τῶν πάντων βασιλέα πάντ᾽ ἐστί, κάκειον αἴτιον ἀπάντησιν τῶν καλῶν.

τίς οὖν ὃ βασιλεὺς τῶν πάντων; θεὸς τῆς τῶν οὐσίων ἄλληθείας τὸ μέτρον. ὥσπερ οὖν τῷ μέτρῳ καταληπτα τὰ μετροῦμενα, οὕτως δὲ καὶ τῷ νοησαί τῶν θεῶν μετρεῖται καὶ καταλαμβάνεται ἡ ἀλήθεια. οὔτως οὕτως Μωσῆς ἐτείκει, φησίν, ἐν τῷ μαραίππω σου στάθμιον καὶ στάθμιον μέγα ἡ μικρόν, οὔτε ἐστιν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου μέτρου μέγα ἡ μικρόν, ἀλλὰ ἡ στάθμιον ἀληθινὸν καὶ δίκαιον ἐστι σοι, στάθμιον καὶ μέτρον καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν ὀλων ὑπολαμβάνον τὸν θεὸν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀδικα καὶ ἀνίκα εἰδωλα οὐκ οὖν ἐν τῷ μαραίππῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἔστι εἰπτείν ῥυπώσῃ ψυχή κατακεκρυπτα· τὸ δὲ μόνον δίκαιον μέτρον, ὁ μόνος ὄντως θεὸς, ἵνα αἰταί τὰ αὐτά καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχων, μετρεί τε πάντα καὶ σταθμαίται, οἷον ἀρταία τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τὴν τῶν όλων ἀρρεπῶς περιλαμβάνων καὶ ἀνέχων φύσιν. ὡς μὲν δὴ θεὸς, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ πολιοὺς λόγον, ἀρχήν τε καὶ τελευτήν καὶ μέσα τῶν οὐσίων ἀπάντησιν ἔχων, εὑρείαν περαινεί καὶ προφαῦς περι-

1 Διὰ μυθείσαθαι Heinsius. διαμυθείσαθαι mss.
2 καὶ γὰρ πάντα . . . καὶ διδοὶ πάντα (with omission of πάντα in previous line) Wilamowitz. καὶ πάντα . . . καὶ διδοὶ καὶ . . . mss.
3 <τῶν> from Plato (but cp. Plotinus i. 8. 2).
5 <τε> from Plato, and Clement, ii. Strom. 132. 2.

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of reason stretch out their hands towards that which we Greeks now call air and speak of it in legend as Zeus; for Zeus knows all, he gives and takes away all, and he is king of all things." Plato also has a similar thought, when he says darkly about God: "All things are around the king of all things, and that is the cause of everything good." Who, then, is the king of all things? It is God, the measure of the truth of all existence. As therefore things measured are comprehended by the measure, so also by the perception of God the truth is measured and comprehended. The truly sacred Moses says, "There shall not be in thy bag divers weights, a great and a small, neither shall there be in thy house a great measure and a small, but thou shalt have a weight true and just." Here he is assuming God to be the weight and measure and number of the universe. For the unjust and unfair idols find a home hidden in the depths of the bag, or, as we may say, the polluted soul. But the one true God, who is the only just measure, because He is always uniformly and unchangeably impartial, measures and weighs all things, encircling and sustaining in equilibrium the nature of the universe by His justice as by a balance. "Now God, as the ancient saying has it, holding the beginning and end and middle of all existence, keeps an unswerving

\[ \Delta \gamma \nu \omega \text{ means learned, but here it seems to refer back to } \lambda \gamma \nu \omega . \]

\[ \begin{align*} &\Delta \gamma \nu \omega \text{ means learned, but here it seems to refer back to } \lambda \gamma \nu \omega . \\
&b \text{ Democritus, Frag. 30 Diels, Vorsokratiker ii. pp. 70-1 (1912).} \\
&c \text{ Plato, Epistles ii. p. 312 e.} \\
&d \text{ Deut. xxv. 13-15.} \\
&e \text{ See Plato, Phaedo 78 n.} \end{align*} \]
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CAP. VI. porēvómenos τῷ 1 δ' ἂεὶ ξυνέπεται δίκη τῶν ἀπο-
leiouménov τοῦ θείου νόμου τιμωρός.' pòthev, ὦ
Plátων, ἀλήθειαν αὐνίττη; pòthev ἢ τῶν λόγων
ἀφθονος χορηγία τῆν θεοσέβειαν μαντεύεται; σοφώ-
tera, φησίν, τούτων βαρβάρων τὰ γένη. ὀιδά σου
τοὺς διδασκάλους, κἂν ἀποκρύπτειν ἔθελης. γεωμε-
τρίαν παρ' Ἀιγυπτίων μανθάνεις, ἀστρονομίαν παρὰ
Βαβυλώνιων, ἐπιδός τὰς ύγιείς παρὰ Ἐθνεξίων
λαμβάνεις, πολλά σε καὶ ᾧ Ἀσσυρίων πεπαιδεύκασιν,
νόμους δὲ τοὺς ἰδίου ἀληθείας καὶ δόξαν τῆν τοῦ θεοῦ
παρ' αὐτῶν ὀφέλησαι τῶν 'Εβραίων,

ὅτινες οὐκ ἀπάτησι κεναῖς, οὐδ' ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων
χρύσεα καὶ χάλκεια καὶ ἄργυρου ἤδ' ἑλεφαντος
καὶ ξυλίνων λιθίνων τε βροτῶν εἴδωλα θανόντων
tιμῶσιν, ὧσα πέρ τε βροτοι κενεόφρονι βουλή:
ἄλλα γὰρ ἀείρουσι 2 πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀλένας ἀγνάς,

61 P. ὦ ὅθροι εἰς εὖνθις, ἂεὶ χρόνα ἀγνίζοντες
ὑδατι, καὶ τιμῶσι μόνον τὸν ἂεὶ μεδέοντα
ἀθάνατον.

Καὶ μοι μὴ μόνον, ὦ φιλοσοφία, ἐνα τοῦτον
Πλάτωνα, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους παραστῆσαι
σπουδασον, τὸν ἔνα οὖντως μόνον θεὸν ἀναφθεγ-
γομένος θεὸν κατ' ἐπίπτωσιν αὐτοῦ, εἰ ποι τῆς
ἀληθείας ἐπιδράξαιντο. Ὄντος θεόν ἰδεῖν τοῦτο ἐνενόθην,
Σωκράτους δὲ ἄτε ἡμωρᾶμος ἵθεον οὐδενε ἐοικέναι' φησίν. ἵθεον οὐδε
πορ αὐτὸν οὐδείς ἐκμαθεῖν εἰς εἰκόνος δύναται." Ἐνο-

1 τῷ from Plato and Clement, ii. Strom. 132. 2. τῇς mss.
2 ἀείρουσι Sibylline Oracles. ατρονσί mss.
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path, revolving according to nature; but ever there follows along with him Right, to take vengeance on those who forsake the divine law." "Whence, Plato, do you hint at the truth? Whence comes it that this abundant supply of words proclaims as in an oracle the fear of God?" "The barbarian races," he answers, "are wiser than the Greeks." I know your teachers, even if you would fain conceal them. You learn geometry from the Egyptians, astronomy from the Babylonians, healing incantations you obtain from the Thracians, and the Assyrians have taught you much; but as to your laws (in so far as they are true) and your belief about God, you have been helped by the Hebrews themselves:

Who honour not with vain deceit man's works
Of gold and silver, bronze and ivory,
And dead men's statues carved from wood and stone,
Which mortals in their foolish hearts revere;
But holy hands to heaven each morn they raise
From sleep arising, and their flesh they cleanse
With water pure; and honour Him alone
Who guards them alway, the immortal God.

And now, O philosophy, hasten to set before me not only this one man Plato, but many others also who declare the one only true God to be God, by His own inspiration, if so be they have laid hold of the truth. Antisthenes, for instance, had perceived this, not as a Cynic doctrine, but as a result of his intimacy with Socrates; for he says, "God is like none else, wherefore none can know him thoroughly from a likeness." And Xenophon the Athenian

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\[a\] Plato, Laws 715 e, 716 a.
\[b\] Phaedo 78 a.
\[c\] Sibylline Oracles iii. 586–588, 590–594.

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CAP. VI. φῶν δὲ ὁ Αθηναῖος διαρρήκτην ἀν καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐγεγράφει τι μαρτυρῶν ὡς Σωκράτης, εἰ μὴ τὸ Σωκράτους ἐδείκνυε φάρμακον, οὐδὲν δὲ ἤττον αἴνιττεται. "ὁ" γοῦν "τὰ πάντα," φησὶ, "σείων καὶ ἀτρεμίζων ὡς μὲν μέγας τις καὶ δυνατός, φανερὸς: ὅποιος δὲ τὴν μορφὴν ἀφανῆς, οὐδὲ μην ὁ παμφάης δοκῶν εἶναι ἠλίους οὐδ’ αὐτὸς ἔσκεπτο ὅτι αὐτὸν ἐπιτρέπειν, ἀλλ’ ἦν τις ἀναίδως αὐτὸν θέασηται, τὴν ὤψιν ἀφαιρεῖται." πόθεν ἀρα ὁ τοῦ Γρύλλου σοφίζεται ἡ δηλαδὴ παρὰ τῆς προφήτηδος τῆς Ἐβραίων θεσπιζουσίας ὡδὲ πως;

τὸς γὰρ σαρξ δύναται τὸν ἐπουράνιον καὶ ἀληθῆ ὀφθαλμότων ἰδεῖν θεόν ἀμβροτον, δὴ πάλον οἰκεῖ; ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἀκτίνων κατεναντίον ἥλιου ἀνθρωποι στῆναι δυνατοί, θνητοὶ γεγαώτες.

Κλεάνθης δὲ ὁ Πηθασεύς, ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοὰς φιλόσοφος, οὐ θεογονίαν ποιητικὴν, θεολογίαν δὲ ἀληθινήν ἐνδείκνυται. οὐκ ἀπεκρύψατο τοῦ θεοῦ πέρι ὅτι περ εἴχεν φρονών

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tάγαθον ἐρωτᾶς μ’ οἰνὸν ἐστ’; ἀκοὺε δὴ·
tεταγμένον, δίκαιον, ὁσιόν, εὐσεβῆς,
κρατοῦν ἐαυτοῦ, χρήσιμον, καλὸν, δεόν, |
ἀυτηρὸν, αὐθέκαστον, αἰει συμφέρον,
ἀφοβον, ἀλυπον, λυπητελεῖς, ἀνώδυνον,
ὡφέλιμον, εὐαρέστον, ἀσφαλές, φίλον,
ἐντιμον, ὁμολογοῦμενον * * * * * * * * * *

1 ἐγεγράφει Dindorf. ἀναγράφει mss.
2 δὲ τὴν Stobaeus (Eclog. ii. 1). δὲ τὶς mss. δ’ ἐστὶν Clement, v. Strom. 108. 5.
3 Πηθασεύς Wilamowitz (see Strabo xiii. p. 611). πισαδεύς mss.
4 τάγαθον Clement, v. Strom. 110. 3. εἰ τὸ ἄγαθον mss.

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would himself have written explicitly concerning the truth, bearing his share of witness as Socrates did, had he not feared the poison which Socrates received; none the less he hints at it. At least, he says: "He who moves all things and brings them to rest again is plainly some great and mighty One; but what His form is we cannot see. Even the sun, which appears to shine upon all, even he seems not to allow himself to be seen; but if a man impudently gazes at him, he is deprived of sight." From what source, pray, does the son of Gryllus draw his wisdom? Is it not clearly from the Hebrew prophetess, who utters her oracle in the following words?

What eyes of flesh can see immortal God,
Who dwells above the heavenly firmament?
Not e'en against the sun's descending rays
Can men of mortal birth endure to stand.

Cleanthes of Pedasis, the Stoic philosopher, sets forth no genealogy of the gods, after the manner of poets, but a true theology. He did not conceal what thoughts he had about God.

Thou ask'st me what the good is like? Then hear!
The good is ordered, holy, pious, just,
Self-ruling, useful, beautiful, and right,
Severe, without pretence, expedient ever,
Fearless and griefless, helpful, soothing pain,
Well-pleasing, advantageous, steadfast, loved,
Esteemed, consistent . . .

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[a] Xenophon, Memorabilia iv. 3. 13–14.
[b] Sibylline Oracles, Preface 10–13. These pretended Hebrew prophecies were, of course, much later than the time of Xenophon, though plainly Clement believed in their antiquity. See p. 56, n. b.
[c] See note on text. Cleanthes is generally said to be a native of Assos in the Troad. See Strabo xiii. pp. 610–11.
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C. Ap. vi

εὐκλεές, ἀτυφοῦν, ἐπιμελές, πράον, σφοδρόν, χρονιζόμενον, ἄμεμπτον, ἄεὶ διαμένον.

ἀνελεύθερος πᾶς ὅστις εἰς δόξαν βλέπει,

ὡς δὴ παρ᾽ ἐκείνης τευξόμενος καλὸν τυνος.

ἐνταῦθα δὴ σαφῶς, οἷμαι, διδάσκει ὁποῖος ἐστιν ὁ θεός, καὶ ὡς ἡ δόξα ἡ κοινὴ καὶ ἡ συνήθεια τούς ἐπομένους αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸν θεὸν ἐπιζητοῦντας, ἐξανάποδον ἔστησαν. οὔκ ἀποκρυπτεῖν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Πυθαγόραν, οἱ φασὶν "ὁ μὴν θεὸς εἷς, οὗτος δὲ οὐχ, ὃς τινες ὑπονοοῦσιν, ἐκτὸς τὰς διακομήσιος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν αὐτᾷ, ὃς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κύκλῳ, ἐπίσκοπος πάσας γενέσιος, κρᾶσις τῶν ὅλων αἰώνων καὶ ἐργάταις τῶν αὐτῶν δυνάμων καὶ ἐργοῖ σὺν πάντων ἐν οὔρανῷ φωστήρ καὶ πάντων παθῆρ, νοῦς καὶ ψύχως τῷ ὅλῳ κύκλῳ, πάντων κίναισι." ἀπόχρη καὶ τάδε εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν θεοῦ ἐπιποίηθε τοιοῦ πρὸς αὐτῶν μὲν ἀναγεγραμμένα, πρὸς δὲ ἡμῶν ἐξειλεγμένα τῷ γε καὶ σμικρὸν διαθρεῖν ἀλήθειαν δυναμένω.

VII

"Ιτω δὲ ἡμῖν (οὐ γὰρ αὐταρκεῖ μόνον ἡ φιλοσοφία) ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῇ "ἡ" ⁴ ποιητικὴ ἡ περὶ τὸ ψεῦδος τὰ πάντα ἡσοχημένη, μόλις ποτὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια μαρτυρήσουσα, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐξομολογομένη τῷ θεῷ τὴν μυθικὴ παρέκβασιν. παρίτω δὴ ὅστις καὶ βούλεται

1 οὗτοι Wilamowitz. χοῦτος mss. αὐτὸς Justin (Cohor. ad Graec. 19).
2 αἰώνων Justin. ἄεὶ ὃν mss.
3 τῷ ὅλῳ κύκλῳ Stählin. τῷ ὅλῳ κύκλῳ mss.
4 "ἡ" inserted by Markland.

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Renowned, not puffed up, careful, gentle, strong,
Enduring, blameless, lives from age to age.  

Slavish the man who vain opinion heeds,
In hope to light on any good from that.  

In these passages he teaches clearly, I think, what is the nature of God, and how common opinion and custom make slaves of those who follow them instead of searching after God. Nor must we conceal the doctrine of the Pythagoreans, who say that "God is One; and He is not, as some suspect, outside the universal order, but within it, being wholly present in the whole circle, the supervisor of all creation, the blending of all the ages, the wielder of His own powers, the light of all His works in heaven and the Father of all things, mind and living principle of the whole circle, movement of all things." These sayings have been recorded by their authors through God's inspiration, and we have selected them. As a guide to the full knowledge of God they are sufficient for every man who is able, even in small measure, to investigate the truth.

VII

But we will not rest content with philosophy alone. Let poetry also approach,—poetry, which is occupied entirely with what is false,—to bear witness now at last to truth, or rather to confess before God its deviation into legend. Let whichever poet

\footnote{Pearson, *Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes*, p. 299 (Fr. 75). Pearson remarks: "Clement's mistake in referring these lines to Cleanthes' conception of the Deity, when they really refer to the ethical *summum bonum*, is obvious."}

\footnote{Pearson, p. 320 (Fr. 101).}

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CAP. VII ποιήτης πρῶτος. “Ἀράτος μὲν οὖν διὰ πάντων τὴν
dύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ διήκειν νοεῖ,

όφρ’ ἐμπέδα πάντα φύωνται,
tῷ μνὶ ἀεὶ πρῶτόν τε καὶ ύστατον ἐλάσκονται:
χαίρε, πάτερ, μέγα θαῦμα, μέγ’ ἀνθρώποισιν
ὄνειαρ.

ταύτη τοι καὶ ὁ Ἀσκραῖος αἰνίττεται Ἡσίοδος τὸν
θεὸν.

63 P. αὐτὸς γὰρ πάντων βασιλεὺς καὶ κοιρανὸς ἐστιν,
ἀθανάτων τέο δ’ ὁ οὕτως ἐρήμισται κράτος ἄλλος.

ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς παραγυμνοῦσι τὴν
ἀλήθειαν. ὁ μὲν καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰθέρα καὶ εἰς τὸν
οὐρανὸν ἀναβλέψας “τόνδε ἤγου θεόν,” φησίν,
Εὐριπίδης. ὁ δὲ τοῦ Σοφίλλου Σοφοκλῆς,

εἰς ταῖς ἀληθείαιν, εἰς ἐστὶν θεός,
ὁ οὐρανὸν τ’ ἔτευξε καὶ γαῖαν μακρὴν
πόντου τε χαραπὸν οἴδιμα κανέμων βίας.
θυητοὶ δὲ πολλὰ ἡ καρδία πλανώμενοι
ἰδρυσάμεσθα πημάτων παραψυχήν
θεῶν ἀγάλματ’ ἐκ λίθων, ἡ χαλκέων
ἡ χρυσοστείκτων ἡ ἐλεφαντίων τύπους.
θυσίας τε τούτοις καὶ κενὰς πανηγύρεις
νέμοντες, οὕτως εὐσεβεῖν νομίζομεν.

οὕτος μὲν ἡδὴ καὶ παρακεκυκλωμένως ἐπὶ τῆς
σκηνῆς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῖς θεαταῖς παρεισήγαγεν.

1 τέο δ’ Stählin. σέο δ’ Clement, v. Strom. 112. 3. τέ
ὁ Buttmann. τέ ὁδ’ mss.
2 πολλὰ Heyse. πολλοὶ mss.

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wishes come forward first. Aratus, then, perceives that the power of God permeates the universe:

Wherefore, that all things fresh and firm may grow,  
To Him our vows both first and last shall rise:  
Hail, Father, wonder great, great aid to men.\textsuperscript{a}

In the same spirit Hesiod of Ascra also speaks darkly about God:

For He is king and master over all;  
No other god hath vied with Thee in strength.\textsuperscript{b}

Further, even upon the stage they unveil the truth. One of them, Euripides, after gazing at the upper air and heaven, says, "Consider this to be God."\textsuperscript{c}

Another, Sophocles the son of Sophillus, says:

One only, one in very truth is God,  
Who made high heaven and the spreading earth,  
The ocean's gleaming wave, the mighty winds.  
But we, vain mortals, erring much in heart,  
Seek solace for our woes by setting up  
The images of gods made out of stones,  
Or forms of bronze, or gold, or ivory.  
Then sacrifice and empty festival  
To these we pay, and think it piety.\textsuperscript{d}

This poet, in a most venturesome manner, introduced the truth on the stage for his audience to hear.

\textsuperscript{a} Aratus, \textit{Phaenomena} 13-15.  
\textsuperscript{b} Hesiod, Frag. 195 Rzach.  
\textsuperscript{c} Euripides, Frag. 941 Nauck.  
\textsuperscript{d} [Sophocles] Frag. 1025 Nauck. These lines are also quoted by Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Eusebius, and other Christian writers. They are of Jewish or Christian origin, as their teaching proves; certainly not from Sophocles.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. VII

δ δὲ Θράκιος ἱεροφάντης καὶ ποιητὴς ἄμα, δ’ τοῦ Ὀιάγρου Ὀρφεύς, μετὰ τὴν τῶν ὄργων ἱεροφαντίαν καὶ τῶν εἰδώλων τὴν θεολογίαν, παλινωφίαν ἀληθείας εἰσάγει, τὸν ἱερὸν οὐτως ὁπέ ποτε, ὃμως δ’ οὖν ἄδων λόγον.

φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἔστι: θύρας δ’ ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι
πάντες ὅμως: οὐ δ’ ἄκουε, φαεσφόρου ἐκγονε Ἡμῶν.
Μουσαί, ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα, μηδὲ σε τὰ πρὶν ἐν στήθεσι φανέντα φιλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρησι.
eἰς δὲ λόγον θείων βλέψας τούτως προσέδρευε, ἠθύμων κραδίθης νοερόν κύτος: εὗ δ’ ἐπίβαινε ἀτραπίτου, μοῦνον δ’ ἐσόρα κόσμου ἀνακτά αὐθάνατον.

ἐίτα ὑποβάς διαρρήδην ἐπιφέρει:

64 P.
eἰς ἔστ’, αὐτογενῆς, ἐνός ἐκγονα πάντα τέτυκται: ἐν δ’ αὐτῶς αὐτῶς περινίσσεται, οὔδε τις αὐτῶν εἰσορᾶθα θνητῶν, αὐτῶς δέ γε πάντας ὄραται.
oὔτως μὲν δὴ Ὀρφεύς: χρόνῳ γέ¹ ποτε συνήκεν πεπλανμένοι.

ἀλλά σὺ μὴ μέλλων, βροτὲ πουκιλόμητι, βράδυνε, ἀλλὰ παλίμπλαγκτος στρέψας θεὸν ἱλάσκοιο.
eἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐναύσματα τυχα τοῦ λόγου τοῦ θείου λαβόντες Ἔλληνες ὅληγα ἀττα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐφθέγξαντο, προσμαρτυροῦσι μὲν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς ο网首页 ἀποκεκρυμμένην, σφᾶς δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀλέγχουσιν ἀσθενεῖς, ο Hindered εὐκῶμενοι τοῦ τέλους.

ηδη γὰρ οἷμαι παντί τῷ δὴλον γεγονέναι ὡς τῶν

¹ γέ Stählin. τέ mss.

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And the Thracian interpreter of the mysteries, who \textit{CHAP. VII} was a poet too, Orpheus the son of Oeagrus, after his exposition of the orgies and account of the idols, brings in a recantation consisting of truth. Now at the very last he sings of the really sacred Word:

\begin{quote}
My words shall reach the pure; put bars to ears
All ye profane together. But hear thou,
Child of the Moon, Musaeus, words of truth;
Nor let past errors rob thee now of life.
Behold the word divine, to this attend,
Directing mind and heart aright; tread well
The narrow path of life, and gaze on Him,
The world’s great ruler, our immortal king.\textsuperscript{a}
\end{quote}

Then, lower down, he adds explicitly:

\begin{quote}
One, self-begotten, lives; all things proceed
From One; and in His works He ever moves:
No mortal sees Him, yet Himself sees all.\textsuperscript{a}
\end{quote}

Thus wrote Orpheus; in the end, at least, he understood that he had gone astray:

\begin{quote}
Inconstant mortal, make no more delay,
But turn again, and supplicate thy God.\textsuperscript{b}
\end{quote}

It may be freely granted that the Greeks received some glimmerings of the divine word, and gave utterance to a few scraps of truth. Thus they bear their witness to its power, which has not been hidden. On the other hand, they convict themselves of weakness, since they failed to reach the end. For by this time, I think, it has become

\textsuperscript{a} Orpheus, Frag. 5 Abel.
\textsuperscript{b} \textit{Sibylline Oracles} iii. 624–625.
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CAP. VII

χωρίς τοῦ λόγου τῆς ἀληθείας ἐνεργοῦντων τι ἢ καὶ φθεγγομένων ὁμοίων ὄντων τοὺς χωρίς βάσεως βαδίζειν βιαζομένοις.

Δυσωπούντων δὲ σε εἰς σωτηρίαν καὶ οἱ περὶ τοὺς θεούς ὑμῶν ἐλέγχοι, οὓς διὰ τὴν ἀληθείαν ἐκβιαζόμενοι κωμῳδοῦσι ποιηταί. Μένανδρος γοῦν ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Ἡνίοχῳ [ἐν Ἰπποβολιμαίῳ] ¹ τῷ δράματι

οὐδεὶς μὲ ἄρέσκει (φησὶ) περιπατῶν ἐξω θεὸς μετὰ γραός, οὐδὲ εἰς οἰκίας παρεισών ἐπὶ τοῦ σανδίου.

[μητραγύρτης] ² τοιούτου γὰρ οἱ μητραγύρται. θεοὶ εἰκότως ὃ Ἀντισθένης ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς μεταυτοῦν· ὥς τρέφω τῇ μητέρᾳ τῶν θεῶν, ἵνα οἱ θεοὶ τρέφονται. πάλιν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς κωμῳδιοποῖος ἐν Ἱερείᾳ τῷ δράματι χαλεπαίνων πρὸς τὴν συνηθείαν διελέγχεις πειράται τὸν ἀθέου τῆς πλάνης τύφον, ἐπιφθεγγόμενος ἐμφρόνως

εἰ γὰρ ἐλκεῖ τὸν θεὸν τοὺς κυμβάλους ἄνθρωπος εἰς ὅ βούλεται, ὁ τοῦτο ποιών ἐστὶ μείζων τοῦ θεοῦ. ἂλλ' ἐστὶ τόλμης καὶ βίον ³ ταῦτ' ὀργάνα εὐφημεν' ἄνθρωποισιν.

¹ [ἐν Ἰπποβολιμαίῳ] Clericus (missing from Justin, De mon. 5).
² [μητραγύρτης] Dindorf.
³ βιος Bentley : Stählin.

ᵃ For the fragment see Kock, Comic. Attic. Frag. iii. p. 58. The priest would seem to have carried on a tray an image of Attis; and the "old dame" personated Cybele, the mother of the gods. But ἐπὶ may mean "in charge of," "presiding over," in which case the priest personates Attis, 168
EXHORATION TO THE GREEKS

plain to everybody that those who do anything or ut ter anything without the word of truth are like men struggling to walk without a foothold.

The comic poets also, owing to the compelling power of truth, bring into their plays convincing arguments against your gods. Let these shame you into salvation. For instance, the comic poet Menander, in his play The Charioteer, says:

No god for me is he who walks the streets With some old dame, and into houses steals Upon the sacred tray.\textsuperscript{a}

For this is what the priests of Cybele\textsuperscript{b} do. It was a proper answer, then, that Antisthenes used to give them when they asked alms of him: “I do not support the mother of the gods; that is the gods’ business.”\textsuperscript{c} Again, the same writer of comedy, in his play The Priestess, being angry with prevailing custom, tries to expose the godless folly of idolatry by uttering these words of wisdom:

For if a man
By cymbals brings the God where’er he will,
Then is the man more powerful than God.
But these are shameless means of livelihood
Devised by men.\textsuperscript{d}

\textsuperscript{a} The comic poets bear witness against the gods

\textsuperscript{b} Menander

and μπραγήρτης ought perhaps to be retained (see note on text). Grotius observes, however, that “the statement has to do with the god himself, whom the travelling priest carries, and not with the priest.” The quotation occurs in Justin Martyr (De mon. 5) with this addition: “the god ought to stay at home and take care of his worshippers.”

\textsuperscript{c} i.e. Metragyrtae. See p. 48, n. a.

\textsuperscript{d} Antisthenes, Frag. 70 Mullach, Frag. phil. Graec. ii. p. 287.

\textsuperscript{d} Menander, Frag. 245 Kock, Comic. Attic. Frag. iii. p. 70.
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CAP. καὶ οὐκὶ μόνος ὁ Μένανδρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ὁμήρος καὶ
65 Ρ. Εὐριπίδης καὶ ἄλλοι συγγονί ποιηταὶ διελέγχουσιν
ὑμῶν τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ λοιδορεῖσθαι οὐ δεδίασιν οὐδὲ
καθ’ ὅποσον αὐτοῖς. αὐτίκα τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν "κυνά-
μυιαν" καὶ τὸν Ἡφαιστον "ἀμφιγύην" καλοῦσιν,
.tel ὑπὸ Ἀφροδίτης ἡ Ἐλένη φησὶ

μηκέτι σοφὶ πόδεσσιν ὑποστρέφειας Ὁλυμποῦ.

ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου ἀναφανδὸν Ὁμήρος γράφει

ὁς ποτὲ μανομένου θεωρών τιθήνας
σεβεῖ καὶ ἡγάθεον Νυσίμον, ἀεὶ δὲ ἀμα πᾶσαι
θύσθλα χαμαῖ κατέχευαν ὑπ’ ἀνδροφόνου Δικ-
ούργου.

άξιος ὡς ἄληθες Σωκρατικῆς διατριβῆς ὁ Εὐριπίδης
eis τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀπιδῶν καὶ τοὺς θεατὰς ὑπεριδῶν,
potὲ μὲν τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα,

ὁς μεσομφάλους ἔδρας

ναὶ θετοῖσι στόμα νέμων σαφέστατα,

dieλεγχων,

κεῖσθαι πειθόμενοι ἐκ τῆς τεκούσας ἐκτανόν,

ἐκεῖνον ἥγεισθ’ ἀνόσιον καὶ κτείνετε.

ἐκεῖνος ἡμαρτ’, οὐκ ἔγιν’

ἀμαθέστερος γ’ ὄν τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς δίκης,

τοτέ δ’ ἐμμανῆ εἰσάγων Ἡρακλεά καὶ μεθύοντα

ἀλλαχόθι καὶ ἀπληστόν. πῶς γὰρ οὐχὶ; ὅσ’ ἐστιῶ-

μενος τοῖς κρέασι

1 τοῦτο πειθόμενον Euripides. κεῖσθαι πειθόμενος MSS.

2 κτείνετε Euripides. κτείνετε MSS.

3 γ’ ὄν Euripides. ὄν MSS.

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And not only Menander, but also Homer, Euripides and many other poets expose your gods, and do not shrink from abusing them to any extent whatever. For instance, they call Athena "dog-fly," and Hephaestus "lame in both feet"; and to Aphrodite Helen says:

Never again may thy feet turn back to the halls of Olympus.

Of Dionysus Homer writes openly:

He, on a day, gave chase to the nurses of mad Dionysus
Over the sacred hill of Nysa; but they, in a body,
Flung their torches to earth at the word of the savage
Lycurgus.

Euripides is indeed a worthy disciple of the Socratic school, in that he regarded only the truth and disregarded the audience. On one occasion, referring to Apollo,

Who, dwelling in the central spot of earth,
Deals out unerring oracles to men,

he thus exposes him:

His word it was I trusted when I slew
My mother; him consider stained with crime,
Him slay; the sin was his concern, not mine,
Since he knew less of good and right than I.

At another time he introduces Heracles in a state of madness and elsewhere drunk and gluttonous. What else could be said of a god who, while being feasted with flesh,

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a Homer, Iliad xxii. 394, 421.  

b Iliad i. 607 etc.  
c Iliad iii. 401.  
d Iliad vi. 132-134.  
e Euripides, Orestes 591-592.  
fi.e. in the Hercules Furens.  
g Orestes 594-596, 417.  
h Alcestis 755-760.  

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χλωρά σὺν ἐπήσθιεν ἁμοῦνοι ὑλακτῶν ὁστε βαρβάρῳ μαθεὶν.

ηδὴ δὲ ἐν Ἡωνι τῷ δράματι γυμνὴ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐκκυκλεῖ τῷ θεάτρῳ τοὺς θεοὺς.

πῶς οὖν δίκαιοι τοὺς νόμους ὑμᾶς βροτοῖς γράφοντας αὐτοὺς ἀδικίας ὁφλισκάνεν;
εἰ δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἔσται, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ χρήσομαι, δίκαιας βιαίων δώσετ' ἀνθρώποις γάμων,
σὺ καὶ Ποσειδῶν Ζεὺς ὃς οὐρανοῦ κρατεῖ, ναοὺς τίνοτες ἀδικίας κενώσετε.

VIII

"Ωρα τοῖνοι τῶν ἄλλων ἡμῖν τῇ τάξει προδιηνυσμένων ἐπὶ τὰς προφητικὰς ἰέναι γραφάς· καὶ γὰρ
66 P. οἰ χρησμοὶ τὰς εἰς τὴν θεοσέβειαν ἡμῖν ἀφορμᾶς ἐναργεῖστα τοὺς προεισώμεθα γεομελοῦντι τῇ ἀλήθειαν·
γραφαὶ δὲ αἱ θεὶαι καὶ 1 πολιτείᾳ σώφρονες, σώτοις σωτηρίας ὁδοί· γυμναὶ κομμωτικῆς καὶ τῆς ἐκτὸς
cαλλιφωνίας καὶ στομυλίας καὶ κολακεῖας ὑπάρχουσι ἀνιστῶσιν ἀγχόμενον ὑπὸ κακίας τόν ἀνθρωπον, ὑπεριδοῦσι τὸν ὠλίου τὸν βιωτικῶν, μιᾶ καὶ
tῇ αὐτῇ φωνῇ πολλὰ θεραπεύουσαι, 2 ἀποτρέπουσαι μὲν ἡμᾶς τῆς ἐπιζημίας ἀπάτης, προτρέπουσαι δὲ ἐμφανῶς εἰς προύπτον σωτηρίαν. αὐτικὰ γοῦν ἡ

1 αἱ θείαι, (εἰ) καὶ Schwartz: Stählin.
2 θεραπεύουσαι Sylburg. θεραπεύουσαι mss.

a Euripides, Frag. 907 Nauck.
b Literally, "with head bare." c Ion 442–447.

For other references to the "short road" to salvation see pp. 217, and 240, n. a. Clement means to say that 172
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

Did eat green figs, and howl discordant songs,  
Fit for barbarian ears to understand?  

And again, in his play the Ion, he displays the gods  
to the spectators without any reserve:

How is it right that ye who made men’s laws  
Yourselves are authors of unrighteous deeds?  
But if—I say it, though it shall not be—  
Ye pay men penalties for violent rapes,  
Phoebus, Poseidon, Zeus the king of heaven,  
The price of crime shall strip your temples bare.

VIII

Now that we have dealt with the other matters  
in due order, it is time to turn to the writings of  
the prophets. For these are the oracles which, by  
exhibiting to us in the clearest light the grounds of  
piety, lay a firm foundation for the truth. The  
sacred writings are also models of virtuous living,  
and short roads to salvation.  
They are bare of  
embellishment, of outward beauty of language, of  
idle talk and flattery, yet they raise up man when  
fast bound in the grip of evil. Despising the snare  
of this life, with one and the same voice they pro-  
vide a cure for many ills, turning us aside from  
delusion that works harm, and urging us onward  
with clear guidance to salvation set before our eyes.

Christian teaching puts truth in simple form so that the  
humblest may at once understand as much of it as is  
necessary to ensure his salvation. Some aspects of truth  
are reached through philosophy, but that is a long and  
difficult process, beyond the efforts of all but a few.

i.e. all the dangerous pleasures which this life offers.  
In the Paedagogus Clement uses the same word “snare” in  
reference to feasting (ii. 9. 4), wine (ii. 23. 1, 28. 2, 29. 2),  
and laughter (ii. 47. 3).
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CAP. ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ἩΜῖΝ ἈΣΑΤΩ ΠΡΩΤΗ ΣΙΒΥΛΛΑ ΤΟ ΆΣΜΑ ΤΟ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΟΝ.

ΟΔΤΟΣ ΗΔΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΕΘΕΙ 1 ΣΑΦΗΣ ἈΠΛΑΝΗΤΟΣ ΩΠΑΡΧΕΙ ΕΛΒΕΤΕ, ΜΗ ΣΚΟΤΙΝΗ ΔΕ ΔΙΩΚΕΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΖΩΦΩΝ ΑΙΕΙ.
ΗΕΛΙΟΥ ΓΛΥΚΟΥΔΕΡΚΕΣ, ΗΔΟΥ, ΦΑΟΣ ΕΞΟΧΑ ΛΑΜΠΕΙ.
ΓΝΩΤΕ ΔΕ ΚΑΘΕΜΕΝΟΙ ΣΟΦΙΗΝ ΕΝ ΣΤΗΘΕΣΙΝ ΥΜΩΝ.
ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ ΕΣΤΙ, ΒΡΟΧΑΣ, ΑΝΕΜΟΥΣ, ΣΕΙΡΜΟΥΣ Τ’ ΕΠΙ-
ΠΕΜΠΤΩΝ,
ΑΣΤΕΡΟΠΑΣ, ΛΙΜΟΥΣ, ΛΟΙΜΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΔΕΑ ΛΥΓΡΑ
ΚΑΙ ΝΥΦΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΛΛΑ, 2 ΤΙ ΔΗ ΚΑΘ’ ΕΝ ΕΞ-
ΑΓΟΡΕΥΩΝ;
ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ ΗΓΕΙΤΑΙ, ΥΑΙΣΗ ΚΡΑΤΕΙ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΑΠ’ ΆΡΧΗΣ.

ΕΥΘΕΩΣ ΩΦΟΔΡΑ ΤΗΝ ΜΕΝ ΑΠΑΤΗΝ ΑΠΕΙΚΑΖΟΥΣΑ ΤΩ
ΣΚΟΤΕΙ, ΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΓΝΩΒΟΥΝ ΗΛΙΩ ΚΑΙ ΦΩΤΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ,
ΑΜΦΩ ΔΕ ΠΑΡΑΘΕΜΕΝΗ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΕΙ, ΤΗΝ ΕΚΛΟΓΗΝ
ΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΙ ΤΟ ΓΑΡ ΨΕΥΔΟΣ ΟΥ ΨΙΛΗ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΑΘΕΣΕI
ΤΑΛΗΘΟΥΣ ΔΙΑΣΚΕΔΑΝΝΤΑΙ, ΤΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΧΡΗΣΗΣ ΤΗΣ ἈΛΗΘΕΙΑΣ
ΕΚΒΙΑΛΖΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΦΥΓΑΔΕΥΣΑΙ. ΊΕΡΕΜΙΑΣ ΔΕ Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ
Ο ΠΑΝΟΦΟΣ, ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΝ ΊΕΡΕΜΙΑ ΤΟ ΆΓΙΟΝ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ
ΕΠΙΔΕΙΚΝΨΙ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ. "ΘΕΟΣ ΕΓΓΙΖΩΝ ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ,"
ΦΗΣΙ, "ΚΑΙ ΟΥΧΙ ΘΕΟΣ ΠΟΡΡΩΘΕΝ. ΕΙ ΠΟΗΣΗΝ ΤΙ ΑΝ-
ΘΡΩΠΟΣ ΕΝ ΚΡΥΦΑΙΟΣ, ΚΑΙ ΕΓΩ ΟΥΚ ΩΦΟΜΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝ;
ΟΥΧΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΓΗΝ ΕΓΩ ΠΛΗΡΩ;
ΛΕΓΕΙ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ." ΠΑΛΙΝ ΔΕ ΑΥ ΗΙΩΝ "ΗΣΑΝΟΥ "ΤΙΣ
ΜΕΤΡΗΣΕΙ," ΦΗΣΙ, "ΤΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΣΠΥΒΑΜΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΣΑΝ
ΤΗΝ ΓΗΝ ΔΡΑΚΙ;" ΟΡΑ ΤΟ ΜΕΓΕΘΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ
ΚΑΠΑΠΛΑΓΗΤΗ. ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΣΩΜΕΝ, ΕΦ’ ΟΥ ΦΗΣΙΝ
Ὁ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ "ΑΠΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΩΡΗ ΤΑΚΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ, 1

1 ΠΑΝΤΕΣΙ ΣΙΒ. OR. AND CLEMENT, V. STROM. 115. 6. ΟΠΑΤ’
ΕΣΤΙ MSS.
2 ΚΑΙ ΤΑΛΛΑ COBET. ΚΡΥΣΤΑΛΛΑ MSS.: STÄHLIN.
3 ΑΠ’ ΆΡΧΗΣ MAYOR. ΩΠΑΡΧΕΙ MSS.: STÄHLIN.

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To begin with, let the prophetess, the Sibyl, first sing to us the song of salvation:

Lo, plain to all, from error free He stands;
Come, seek not gloom and darkness evermore;
Behold, the sun’s sweet light shines brightly forth.
But mark, and lay up wisdom in your hearts.
One God there is, from whom come rains and winds,
Earthquakes and lightnings, dearths, plagues, grievous cares,
Snowstorms and all besides,—why name each one?
He from of old rules heaven, He sways the earth.\(^a\)

With true inspiration she likens delusion to darkness, and the knowledge of God to the sun and light; and by putting them side by side in her comparison she teaches what our choice should be. For the false is not dissipated by merely placing the true beside it; it is driven out and banished by the practice of truth. Now Jeremiah, the all-wise prophet, or rather the Holy Spirit in Jeremiah, shows what God is. “I am,” he says, “a God who is near, and not a God afar off. Shall a man do anything in secret, and I not see him? Do not I fill the heavens and the earth, saith the Lord?” \(^b\)

Once again, the same Spirit says through Isaiah: “Who shall measure the heaven with a span, and the whole earth with a hand-breath?” \(^c\) See the greatness of God and be amazed! Him let us worship, about whom the prophet says: “The hills shall melt from before thy face, as wax melteth

\(^a\) Sibylline Oracles, Preface 28-35.

\(^b\) Jeremiah xxiii. 23-24.

\(^c\) Isaiah xl. 12.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA


"Αλλα καὶ ἐτέρω ἐπακοὺσαι θελεῖς χρησιμωδοῦς; ἔχεις τὸν χορὸν πάντα τὸν προφητικόν, τοὺς συνθιασώτας τοὺς Μωσεῖς. τῷ θησίων αὐτῶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀγιόν διὰ Ὀσῆς; οὐκ ὁκνήσως λέγειν "ἰδοὺ, ἐγὼ στερεῶν βροντῆν καὶ κτίζων πνεῦμα," οὐκ αἱ χεῖρες τὴν στρατιὰν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐθεμελιώσαν. ἦτι

1 eἰδώλων: can this be a scribe’s mistake for eἰδωλολατρῶν (cp. p. 178, l. 12)?
2 ὁ inserted by Dindorf.

a See Isaiah lxiv. 1–3.

b See Isaiah lxvi. 1.

c See Isaiah lxiv. 1 (Septuagint).

d The text gives “idols,” but the quotation refers to their worshippers. It is possible that there is a slight error in the text. See textual note.

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from before the face of the fire." He is God, the prophet says again, "whose throne is heaven, and the earth His footstool"; before whom "if He open heaven, trembling shall seize thee." Would you hear too, what this prophet says about idol-worshippers? "They shall be made a spectacle before the sun; and their dead bodies shall be meat for the fowls of the heaven and the beasts of the earth, and shall be rotted by the sun and the moon, things which they themselves loved and served; and their city shall be burnt up." He says also that the elements and the world shall be destroyed with them. "The earth shall grow old, and the heaven shall pass away;" but "the word of the Lord abideth for ever." What does God say when at another time He wishes to reveal Himself through Moses? "Behold, behold, I am He, and there is no other god beside Me. I will kill and I will make alive; I will smite and I will heal, and there is none that shall deliver out of my hands." But will you listen to yet another giver of oracles? You have the whole company of the prophets, who are joined with Moses in this sacred fellowship. What says the Holy Spirit to them through Hosea? I will not hesitate to tell you. "Behold, I am He that giveth might to the thunder, and createth the wind," whose hands established the host of heaven.

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a A collection of passages from Jeremiah, not Isaiah. See viii. 2; xxxiv. 20; iv. 26.

b Isaiah li. 6; also compare St. Matthew xxiv. 35 and Isaiah xl. 8.

c Deuteronomy xxxii. 39.

d Amos iv. 13; not Hosea.

e See Jeremiah xix. 13 and Psalm viii. 4 (Septuagint).
CAP. VIII

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

δὲ καὶ διὰ Ἰσαὰκο (καὶ ταύτην ἀπομιμομενεύοντο σοι τὴν φωνήν) "ἐγὼ εἰμί, ἐγὼ εἰμί," φησίν, "ὁ κύριος ὁ λαλῶν δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀναγγέλλων ἀλήθειαν· συνάχθητε καὶ ἤκετε· βουλεύσασθε ἀμα, οἱ σωζόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν. οὐκ ἐγνωσαν οἱ αἱροντες τὸ ἔξολον γλύμμα αὐτῶν, καὶ προσευχόμενοι θεοὶ οἱ οὐ σώσουσιν αὐτοὺς." εἶθ' ὑποβάς "ἐγώ," φησίν, "ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἐστι πλὴν ἐμοῦ δίκαιος, καὶ σωτήρ οὐκ ἐστι πάρεξ ἐμοῦ· ἐπιστράφητε πρὸς με καὶ σωθήσεσθε οἱ ἄπτ' ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς. ἐγὼ εἰμί ὁ θεὸς καὶ οὐκ ἐστιν ἄλλος· κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ ὄμνυω." τοῖς δὲ εἰδωλολάτραις δυσχεραίνει λέγων "τίνι ὁμοώσατε κύριον; ἢ τίνω ὄμοιοματι ὁμοωσάτε αὐτῶν; μή εἰκόνα ἐποίησαν τέκτων, ἢ χρυσοχόος χωνεύσας χρυσόν περιεχρύσωσαν αὐτῶν;" καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις. μὴ οὖν ἔτι υμεῖς εἰδωλολάτραι; ἀλλὰ κἂν νῦν φυλάξασθε τὰς ἀπειλὰς· ὅλως γὰρ τὰ γλυπτὰ καὶ τὰ χειροποίητα, μᾶλιν δὲ οἱ ἔτι αὐτοῖς πεποιθότες, ἀναίσθητος γὰρ ἡ ὕλη. ἔτι φησίν. "ὁ κύριος σείει πόλεις κατοικομένας καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην καταλήψεται τῇ χειρὶ ὑμῶν νοστήν." τί σοι σοφίαν ἀναγγέλλω μυστήρια καὶ ρήσεις ἐκ παιδὸς Ἐβραίου σεσοφισμένου; "κύριος ἐκτισεν ἐμὲ ἄρχην ὄδων αὐτοῦ εἰς ἐργα αὐτοῦ," καὶ "κύριος δίδωσι σοφίαν καὶ ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ γνώσιν καὶ σύνεσιν." "ἐως πότε, ὅκνηρε, κατάκεισαι; πότε δὲ ἐξ ὕπνου ἐνεργήσῃ;

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c Isaiah xl. 18–19. d Isaiah x. 10–11, 14 (Septuagint).

e i.e. Solomon; see 1 Kings iii. 7; iii. 12.

f Proverbs viii. 22. "Wisdom" is, of course, the speaker. Clement's quotation, here as everywhere else, is taken from 178
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And again through Isaiah (this utterance too I will remind you of): “I, even I,” he says, “am the Lord that speaketh righteousness and declareth truth. Assemble yourselves and come. Take counsel together, ye that are being saved out of the nations. They have no knowledge, who set up their carved image of wood, and pray to gods who shall not save them.” a Then, lower down, he says: “I am God and there is none righteous except Me, there is no Saviour beside Me. Turn ye unto Me and ye shall be saved, ye who come from the end of the earth. I am God, and there is no other. By Myself do I swear.” b But He is displeased with idol-worshippers and says: “To whom did ye liken the Lord? Or to what likeness did ye liken Him? Did the carpenter make an image? Did the goldsmith smelt gold and gild it?”—and what follows. c Are you then still idol-worshippers? Yet even now beware of God’s threats. For the carved images made by hand shall cry out, d or rather they who trust in them; for the material is incapable of feeling. Further he says: “The Lord shall shake the inhabited cities, and in His hand shall grasp the whole world as it were a nest.” d Why tell you of mysteries of wisdom, and of sayings that come from a Hebrew child who was endowed with wisdom? e “The Lord created me in the beginning of His ways, for His works”; f and, “the Lord giveth wisdom, and from His face are knowledge and understanding.” g “How long dost thou lie at rest, thou sluggard; when wilt thou awake from the Septuagint. The Hebrew text of this verse gives a different meaning—“possessed” instead of “created”; but see R.V. margin. h Proverbs ii. 6.
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CAP. ἐὰν δὲ ἄκονος ἦς, ἤξει σοι ὡσπερ πηγὴ ὁ ἀμητὸς σου,' ὁ λόγος ὁ πατρικός, ὁ ἁγάθος λύχνος, ὁ κύριος ἐπάγων τὸ φῶς, τὴν πίστιν πάσι καὶ σωτηρίαν. "κύριος" γὰρ "ὁ ποιήσας τὴν γῆν ἐν τῷ ἱσχύι αὐτοῦ," ὡς φησιν 'Ιερεμίας, "ἀνώρθωσεν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ." ἀποπεσόντας γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ εἰδωλα ἡ σοφία, ἡ ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ, ἀνορθοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν. καὶ αὕτη ἡ ¹ πρώτη τοῦ παραπτώματος ἀνάστασις. ὃθεν ἀποτρέπων εἰδωλολατρείας ἀπάσης ὁ θεσπέσιος παγκάλως ἀνακέραγε Μωυσῆς. "ἀκονε Ἰσραήλ· κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου, κύριος εἷς ἐστιν," καὶ "κύριον τὸν θεὸν σου προσκυνήσεις καὶ αὕτῳ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις:" νῦν δὴ οὖν σύνετε, ὃ ἄνθρωποι, κατὰ τὸν μακάριον ψαλμοδον ἐκείνον τὸν Δαβὶδ.  "δράξασθε παιδείας, μὴ ποτε ὅργιου κύριος, καὶ ἀπολείσθε ἐξ ὅδου δικαίας, ὅταν ἐκκαυθή ἐν τάχει ὁ θυμὸς αὐτοῦ. μακάριοι πάντες οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ' αὐτῷ." ἤδη δὲ ὑπεροικτεῖρων ἡμᾶς ὁ κύριος τὸ σωτήριον ἐνδίδωσε μέλος, οἶνὸν ἐμπατήριον ῥυθμόν. "νῦν ἄνθρωποιν, ἔσω πότε βαρυκάρδου; ἢν πάτρατε ματαιώτητα καὶ ζητεῖτε ψεῦδος;" τίς οὖν ἡ ματαιώτης καὶ τί τὸ ψεῦδος; ὁ ἁγίος ἀπόστολος τοῦ κυρίου τοῦς "Ἐλληνας αὐτώμενος ἐξηγήσεται σοι. "ὅτι γνώντες τὸν θεὸν οὐχ ὡς θεὸν ἐδόξασαν ἡ ἡμαρίστησαν, ἀλλ' ἐματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἠλλαξαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ

¹ a vτη ἡ Mayor. a vτη miss.

a Proverbs vi. 9, 11a. (The latter verse is found only in the Septuagint.)

b Possibly from Proverbs xx. 27 (see the Septuagint reading as quoted by Clement, vii. Strom. 37. 6 and by 180
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sleep? If thou art diligent, there shall come to thee as a fountain thy harvest," a that is, the Word of the Father, the good lamp, b the Lord who brings light, faith and salvation to all. For "the Lord, who made the earth in His strength," as Jeremiah says, "restored the world in His wisdom," c since, when we have fallen away to idols, wisdom, which is His Word, restores us to the truth. This is the first resurrection, d the resurrection from transgression; wherefore the inspired Moses, turning us away from all idolatry, utters this truly noble cry: "Hear O Israel, the Lord is thy God; the Lord is one" e: and "thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and Him only shalt thou serve." f Now therefore, learn, ye men, in the words of that blessed psalmist David: "Lay hold of instruction, lest at any time the Lord be angry; and ye shall perish from the right way, if ever His wrath be hastily kindled. Blessed are all they that trust in Him." g And, in His exceeding great pity for us, the Lord raises high the strain of salvation, like a marching song. "Sons of men, how long will ye be heavy-hearted? Why do ye love vanity and seek after falsehood?" h What, then, is this vanity, and this falsehood? The holy apostle of the Lord will explain to you, when he accuses the Greeks: "because, knowing God, they glorified Him not as God, neither gave thanks, but became vain in their reasonings, and changed the glory of God into the

Clement of Rome i. 21. 2). Cp. also Psalm cxix. 105, where, however, the Septuagint (cxviii. 105) has "Thy law" instead of "Thy word." a See Revelation xx. 5.  e Jeremiah x. 12.
   b Deuteronomy vi. 13; x. 20;  St. Matthew iv. 10;
   d Psalm ii. 12 (Septuagint).
   e Psalm iv. 2.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. VIII

ἐν ὠμοώματι εἰκόνος φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ἑλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτισμαντα.” καὶ μὴν ὁ γε θεὸς οὐτος, διὸ “ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησε τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν”. σὺ δὲ τὸν μὲν θεὸν οὐ νοεῖς, τὸν δὲ οὐρανὸν προσκυνεῖς, καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἀσεβεῖς; ἀκούει πάλιν προφήτου λέγοντος “ἐκλεῖψε μὲν ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς σκοτισθῆσεται, λάμψει δὲ ὁ παντοκράτωρ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν σαλευθῆσονται καὶ οἱ οὐρανοί εἰλιγμόσυνατί ὡς δέρρη ἐκτεῦνομενοι καὶ συντελλόμενοι” (αὕται γὰρ αἱ προφητικαὶ φωναὶ) “καὶ ἡ γῆ φεῦξεται ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου.”

IX

Καὶ μυρίας ἄν ἔχομι σοι γραφὰς παραφέρειν, δεν οὔδε “κεραία παρελεύνεται μία,” μή οὐχὶ ἐπιτελής γενομένη· τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου, τὸ ἀγιον πνεῦμα, ἐλάλησεν ταῦτα. “μή τοῖνον μηκέτι,” φησίν, “νῦν μου, ὁλιγώρει παιδείας κυρίου, μὴ ἐκλύουν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχόμενος.” ὃ τῆς ὑπερ-βαλλούσης φιλανθρωπίας· οὐδ’ ὡς μαθηταῖς ὁ διδάσκαλος οὐδ’ ὡς οἰκεταῖς ὁ κύριος οὐδ’ ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώποις, “πατήρ δὲ ὃς ἠπίος” νοῦτετει νιόσε. ἔται Μωσῆς μὲν ὀμολογεῖ “ἐμφοβος εἶναι καὶ ἐντρομός,” ἀκούων περὶ τοῦ λόγου, σὺ δὲ τοῦ

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Romans i. 21, 23, 25.

Genesis i. 1.

A collection of passages from Scripture; see Isaiah xiii. 10; Ezekiel xxxii. 7; St. Matthew xxiv. 29; Isaiah xxxiv. 4; Psalm civ. 2; Joel ii. 10. Stählin thinks that the whole may possibly be taken from the Apocalypse of Peter, with which
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likeness of an image of corruptible man, and served the creature rather than the creator."\(^a\) Of a truth God is He who "in the beginning made the heaven and the earth."\(^b\) Yet you do not perceive God, but worship the heaven. How can you escape the charge of impiety? Hear once more the words of a prophet: "The sun shall fail and the heaven be darkened, but the Almighty shall shine for ever; and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken, and the heavens shall be folded up, being spread out and drawn together like a curtain" — these are the prophetic utterances — "and the earth shall flee from the face of the Lord."\(^c\)

IX

And I could bring before you ten thousand passages of Scripture, of which not even "one tittle shall pass away" without being fulfilled\(^d\); for the mouth of the Lord, that is, the Holy Spirit, hath spoken it. "No longer, then, my son," it says, "regard lightly the chastening of the Lord, nor faint when thou art reproved of Him."\(^e\) O surpassing love for man! He speaks not as a teacher to disciples, nor as a master to servants, nor as God to men, but as a "tender father"\(^f\) admonishing his sons. Again, Moses confesses that he "exceedingly fears and quakes,"\(^g\) when hearing about the Word; do you we know Clement to have been acquainted (Eusebius, \textit{H.E.} vi. 14).

\(^a\) See St. Matthew v. 18; St. Luke xvi. 17. 
\(^b\) Proverbs iii. 11. 
\(^c\) Homer, \textit{Odyssey} ii. 47. 
\(^d\) Hebrews xii. 21.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. λόγου ἀκροώμενος τοῦ θείου οὐ δέδιας; οὐκ ἀγωνιᾷς; οὐχὶ ἀμα τε εὐλαβῆ καὶ σπεύδεις ἐκμαθεῖ, τούτεστι σπεύδεις εἰς σωτηρίαν, φοβούμενος τὴν ὀργήν, ἀγαπήσας τὴν χάριν, ζηλώσας τὴν ἐλπίδα, ἢν ἐκκλίνης τὴν κρίσιν; ἢκετε ἢκετε, οὐ νεολαία ἡ ἐμή; “ἳν γὰρ μὴ αὕθις ὣς τὰ παιδία γένησθε καὶ ἀναγεννηθῆτε,” ὡς φησιν ἡ γραφή, τὸν ἄντως ὤντα πατέρα οὐ μὴ ἀπολάβῃς; “οὐδ’ οὐ μὴ εἰσελεύσεσθε ποτε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.” πῶς γὰρ εἰσελθεῖν ἐπιτέρπατο τῷ ξένῳ; ἀλλ’ ὅταν, οἶμαι, ἐγγραφή καὶ πολιτευθή καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀπολάβῃ, τότε “ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός” γενήσεται, τότε κληρονομήσαι καταξιωθήσεται, τότε τῆς βασιλείας τῆς πατρίδος κοινωνήσει τῷ γνησίῳ, τῷ “ἡγα-πημένῳ”; αὕτη γὰρ ἡ πρωτότοκος ἐκκλησία ἡ ἐκ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν συγκεκαμένη παιδίων· ταῦτ’ ἐστι τὰ “πρωτότοκα τὰ ἐναπογεγραμμένα ἐν οὐρανοῖς” καὶ τοσαύτας “μυρίας ἀγγέλων” συμπανθηρί-ζοντα· πρωτότοκοι δὲ παιδεῖς ἡμεῖς οἱ τρόφιμοι τοῦ θεοῦ, οἱ τοῦ “πρωτοτόκου” γνήσιοι φίλοι, οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τῶν θεοῦ γεννηκότες, οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἀμαρτῶν ἀπεσπασμένοι, οἱ πρῶτοι τοῦ διαβόλου κεχωρισμένοι.

Νυνὶ δὲ τοσοῦτῳ τινὲς εἰσὶν ἄθεωτεροι, ὅσως φιλανθρωπότερος ὁ θεός· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ δούλων νῖους ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι βούλεται, οἱ δὲ καὶ νῖοι γενέσθαι ὑπεργειάκαι. οὐ τῆς ἀπονοίας τῆς πολλῆς· τὸν κύριον ἐπαισχύνεσθε. ἐλευθεριάν ἐπαγγέλλεται,

a St. Matthew xviii. 3; St. John iii. 3, 5.
b St. Luke ii. 49.
c St. Matthew iii. 17 etc.
d See Hebrews xii. 22, 23.

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not fear when you listen to the divine Word Himself? Are you not troubled? Are you not careful and at the same time eager to learn; that is to say, are you not eager for salvation, fearing God's wrath, loving His grace, striving after the hope, in order that you may escape the judgment? Come ye, come ye, my little ones! For "except ye become once more as little children and be born again," as the Scripture says, ye shall not receive the true Father, "nor shall ye ever enter into the kingdom of heaven." For how is the stranger allowed to enter? Why, in this way, I think; when he is enrolled, and made a citizen, and receives the Father, then he will be found "in the Father's courts;" then he will be counted worthy to enter into the inheritance, then he will share the Father's kingdom with the true Son, "the beloved." For this is the "church of the first-born," which is composed of many good children. These are "the first-born that are enrolled in heaven," who join in solemn assembly with all those "innumerable hosts of angels." And we are these first-born sons, we who are God's nurslings, we who are the true friends of the "first-born," who have been the first of all mankind to know God, the first to be torn away from our sins, the first to be separated from the devil.

Yet the truth is, that the more God loves them the more do some men depart from Him. For He wishes that we should become sons instead of slaves, but they have disdained even to become sons. What depth of folly! It is the Lord of whom you are ashamed. He promises freedom, but you run away

" Colossians i. 15, 18; Hebrews i. 6. 185
CAP. ὑμεῖς δὲ εἰς δουλείαν ἀποδιδράσκετε. σωτηρίαι χαρίζεται, ὑμεῖς δὲ εἰς θάνατον ὑποφέρεσθε. ζωήν δωρεῖται αἰώνιον, ὑμεῖς δὲ τὴν κόλασιν ἀναμένετε· καὶ "τὸ πῦρ" δὲ προσκοπεῖτε, "ὅ ἐτοίμασεν ὁ κύριος τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ." διὰ τούτο ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος "μαρτύρομαι ἐν κυρίῳ," φησίν, "μηκέτι ὑμᾶς περιπατεῖν, καθὼς καὶ τὰ ἑθή περιπατεῖ ἐν ματαιότητι τοῦ νοὸς αὐτῶν, ἐκκοιμημένοι τῇ διανοίᾳ ὄντες καὶ ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ θεοῦ, διὰ τὴν ἀγνοίαν τὴν οὐσίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς, διὰ τὴν πάροσιν τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν" οἴτινες

70 Ὁ ἀντωνιοῦ παρεδωκαν | ἀπηληγηκότες τῇ ἀσελγείᾳ εἰς ἑργασίαν ἀκαθαρσίας πάσης καὶ πλευνεξίας." τοιοῦτοι μάρτυροι ἐλέγχοντο τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἁνόιαν καὶ θεόν ἐπιβουμένου, τί δὴ ἔτερον ὑπολείπεται τοῖς ἀπίστοις ἡ κρίσις καὶ καταδίκη; οὐ κάμεν οἱ δὲ ὁ κύριος παρανάστησε, ἐκφοβῶν, προτρέπων, διεγειρών, νουθετῶν· ἀφυπνίζει γέ τοι καὶ τοῦ σκότους αὐτοῦ τοὺς πεπλανημένους διανιστήσων "ἔγειρε," φησίν, "ὁ κακεύς καὶ ἀνάστη ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἐπισαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστὸς κύριος," ὁ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἥλιος, ὁ "πρὸ ἐσωφόρου" γεννώμενος, ὁ ζωὴν χαρισάμενος ἀκτίσιν ὄντα.

Μὴ οὖν περιφρονεῖτο τις τοῦ λόγου, μὴ λάθη καταφρονῶν ἐκαυτοῦ. λέγει γάρ ποι ἡ γραφή· "σήμερον εὰν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούστηῃ, μὴ σκληρύνητε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν ὃς ἐν τῷ παρα-πκρασμῷ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πειρασμοῦ ἐν τῇ ἑρήμῳ, οὔ ἐπείρασαν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἐν δοκι-

1 θάνατον Stählin. ἀπώλειαν Sylburg. ἀνθρωπον mss.
2 οὐ κάμεν Münzel. οὐκ ἀμελεῖ mss.
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into—slavery! He bestows salvation, but you sink down into death. He offers eternal life, but you await His punishment; and you prefer "the fire, which the Lord has prepared for the devil and his angels"! Wherefore the blessed apostle says: "I testify in the Lord, that ye no longer walk as the Gentiles also walk, in the vanity of their mind, being darkened in their understanding and alienated from the life of God, because of the ignorance that is in them, because of the hardening of their heart, who being past feeling gave themselves up to lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness and greediness."

When such a witness reproves the folly of men and calls upon God to hear, what else remains for unbelievers but judgment and condemnation? Yet the Lord does not weary of admonishing, of terrifying, of exhorting, of arousing, of warning; no indeed, He awakes men from sleep, and those that have gone astray He causes to rise from out the darkness itself. "Awake, thou that sleepest," He cries, "and arise from the dead, and there shall shine upon thee Christ the Lord," the sun of the resurrection, He that is begotten "before the morning star," He that dispenses life by His own rays.

Let no one then think lightly of the Word, lest he be despising himself unawares. For the Scripture says somewhere,

To-day if ye shall hear His voice,
Harden not your hearts as in the provocation,
Like as in the day of the temptation in the wilderness,
Where your fathers tempted Me by proving Me.

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a St. Matthew xxv. 41.  
IX The punishment that awaits them 
b Ephesians iv. 17-19.  
c Ephesians v. 14.  
d Psalm cix. 3 (Septuagint).  
e Hebrews iii. 7-11, from Psalm xciv. 8-11.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IX. "η δὲ δοκιμασία τῆς ἑστιν εἰ θέλεις μαθεῖν, τὸ ἀγιὸν σοι πνεῦμα ἐξηγήσεται. "καὶ εἴδον τὰ ἔργα μου," φησίν, "τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη. διὸ ὁ προσώποισα τῇ γενεᾶς ταύτης καὶ εἴπον· ἀεὶ πλανῶμαι τῇ καρδίας. αὐτὸι δὲ οὐκ ἐγνωσαν τὰς ὀδοὺς μου¬

μίας ἐν τῇ ὀργῇ μου, εἰ εἰσελθόντα εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν μου." ὀρᾶτε τὴν ἀπελήνην ὀρᾶτε τὴν προτροπὴν. ὀρᾶτε τὴν τιμὴν. τὶ δὴ οὖν ἔτι τὴν χάριν εἰς ὀργὴν μεταλάβοσομεν καὶ οὐχὶ ἀναπεπταμέναις ταῖς ἁκοαῖς καταδεχόμενοι τὸν λόγον ἐν ἁγναῖς ἐνδοχοίμενα ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὸν θεὸν. μεγάλη γὰρ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας αὐτοῦ ἡ χάρις, "ἐὰν σήμερον τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούσωμεν". τὸ δὲ σήμερον καθ’ ἐκάστην [αὐτοῦ] 1 οὔχεται τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐστὶν αὖ ἡ σήμερον ὀνομάζηται. μέχρι δὲ συντελεῖα καὶ ἡ σήμερον καὶ ἡ μάθησις διαμένει· καὶ τότε ἡ ὄντως σήμερον ἡ ἀνελλυπὴς τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμέρα τοῖς αἰῶνι συνεκτείνεται.

Ἀεὶ οὖν τῆς φωνῆς ὑπακούσωμεν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου· ἡ σήμερον γὰρ ἀιῶνας αἰῶνός 2 ἐστιν εἰκόνω, σύμβολον δὲ τοῦ φωτὸς ἡ ἡμέρα, φῶς δὲ ὁ λόγος ἀνθρώπος, δι’ οὐ κατανυγκάσα τὸν θεὸν. εἰκότως ἂρα πιστεύσασι μὲν καὶ ὑπακούσουν ἡ χάρις ὑπερπλεονάσει, ἀπειθῆσασι δὲ καὶ πλανω-μένους κατὰ καρδίαν ὀδοὺς τε τὰς κυριακὰς μὴ ἐγνωκόσων, ὃς εὐθείας ποιεῖν καὶ εὐτρεπίζειν παρὴγ-γειλεν Ἰωάννης, τοῦτοι δὲ προσώπισαν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἀπειλεῖ· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς ἀπελήνης αἰώνια-

1 [αὐτοῦ] Stählin.
2 αἰῶνας αἰῶνος Arcerius. αἰῶνας αἰῶν ms.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

If you wish to learn what this "proving" is, the chap. IX
Holy Spirit shall explain to you.

And they saw My works forty years.
Wherefore I was displeased with this generation,
And said, They do always err in their heart:
But they did not know My ways;
As I sware in My wrath,
They shall not enter into My rest.\(^a\)

See the threat! See the exhortation! See the penalty! Why then do we still exchange grace for wrath? Why do we not receive the Word with open ears and entertain God as guest in souls free from stain? For great is the grace of His promise, "if to-day we hear His voice"; and this "to-day" is extended day by day, so long as the word "to-day" exists.\(^b\) Both the "to-day" and the teaching continue until the consummation of all things; and then the true "to-day," the unending day of God, reaches on throughout the ages.

Let us, then, ever listen to the voice of the divine Word. For "to-day" is an image of the everlasting age, and the day is a symbol of light, and the light of men is the Word, through whom we gaze upon God. Naturally, then, grace will abound exceedingly towards those who have believed and listen; but as for those who have disbelieved and are erring in heart, who know not the ways of the Lord, which John commanded us to make straight and prepare, with them God is displeased, and them He threatens. Moreover the ancient Hebrews received in a figure the fulfilment of the threat when they wandered in the desert. For,

\(^a\) Hebrews iii. 7-11, from Psalm xcv. 8-11.
\(^b\) See Hebrews iii. 13.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IX

πλανήται. οὐ γὰρ “εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν” λέγονται διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν, πρὶν ἡ σφάς αὐτοῦ κατακολούθησαντας τῷ Μωσέως διαδόχῳ ὁπλατώμεν μπείν μαθεῖν οὐκ ἂν ἄλλω εἰρήνῃ ὡς Ἰησοῦς πεπιστευκότας.

Φιλάνθρωπος δὲ ὁ κύριος πάντας ἀνθρώπους “εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας” παρακαλεῖ, ὁ τὸν παράκλητον ἀποστέλλων. τίς οὖν ἡ ἐπίγνωσις; θεοσέβεια. “θεοσέβεια δὲ πρὸς πάντα ὤφελομος” κατὰ τὸν Παύλου, “ἐπαγγελιαν ἔχοσα διήν ἄλη τῆς νόος καὶ τῆς μελλούσης.” πόσου Ὀμολογήσατε, ὃ ἀνθρώπου, εἰ ἐπιπάσκετο σωτηρία αἵδοις, ἀνήσαθαι ἂν; οὐδὲ εἰ τὸν Πακτωλόν τις ὄλω, τοῦ χρυσίου τὸ ῥέμα τὸ μυθικόν, ἀπομετρήσας, ἀντιἀξιον σωτηρίας μισθὸν ἀριθμής. μὴ οὖν Ἀποκάμητα ἐξεστιν ὑμῖν, ἣν ἐθέλητε, ἐξωνήσασθαι τὴν πολυτιμητὸν σωτηρίαν οἰκείῳ θησαυρῷ, ἁγάπη καὶ πίστει, ἦσθις ὡς ἐστιν ἀξιόλογος μισθὸς. ¹ ταύτην ἡδέως τὴν τιμὴν ὁ θεὸς λαμβάνει. “ἡλπίκαμεν γὰρ ἐπὶ θεῷ ἔσωμι, ὥς ἐστι σωτήρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, μάλιστα πιστῶν.” οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι περίπεφυκότες τῷ κόσμῳ, οἱ ψευδοὶ τῶν ἅγιοι, ἀθανασίας ὀλγυροῦνας, καθάπερ ὁ Ἰησοῦς γέρων οὐ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τῆς ἐν οὐρανῷ πατρίδος, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος ἰμαρόμενοι ² φωτὸς, ἄλλα τοῦ καπνοῦ.

¹ ἁγάπη καὶ πίστει ἦσθις ὡς . . . μισθὸς. Stählin. The punctuation given above is suggested by Mayor.

² ἰμαρόμενοι Markland. ἰμαρόμενος mss.

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¹ a 1 Timothy ii. 4. 
² b St. John xv. 26. There is a play on words in the Greek which it is hard to reproduce in English. The word para-
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

owing to their unbelief, they are said not to have entered into the rest, until they followed the successor of Moses and learnt, though late, by experience, that they could not be saved in any other way but by believing, as Joshua believed.

But the Lord, being a lover of man, encourages all men to come to a full knowledge of the truth for to this end He sends the Comforter. What then is this full knowledge? It is godliness; and "godliness," according to Paul, "is profitable for all things, having promise of the life which now is, and of that which is to come." If eternal salvation were for sale, at what price would you, brother men, have agreed to buy it? Not even if one were to measure out the whole of Pactolus, the legendary river of gold, would he count a price equivalent to salvation. But do not despair. It is in your power, if you will, to buy up this highly precious salvation with a treasure of your own, namely, love and faith, which is a fitting payment for eternal life. This price God is pleased to accept. For "we have our hope set on the living God, who is the Saviour of all men, especially of them that believe." The rest, clinging to the world, as certain sea-weeds cling to the rocks of the sea, hold immortality of little account. They are like the old man of Ithaca, yearning not for truth and their fatherland in heaven, nor yet for the Light that truly exists, but for the smoke from the hearth.

kletos, translated Comforter in the New Testament, is formed from parakalein, a verb which combines the meanings of summon, comfort (i.e. strengthen), and encourage; or, to put it in another way, of invitation coupled with assistance.

1 Timothy iv. 8. 1 Timothy iv. 10.

See Plato, Republic 611 d. Homer, Odyssey i. 57–58.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IX. Θεοσέβεια δὲ, ἐξομοιωσά τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατάλληλον ἐπιγράφεται δι-
δάσκαλον θεόν τὸν καὶ μόνον ἀπεικάσαι κατ᾽ ἄξιαν 
dυνάμενον ἄνθρωπον θεῷ. ταύτῃν ὁ ἀπόστολος 
tὴν διδάσκαλίαν θείαν ὄντος ἐπιστάμενος "σὺ 
dέ, ὦ Τιμόθεε," φησιν, "ἀπὸ βρέφους ἱερὰ 
grάμματα οίδας, τὰ δυνάμενα σε σοφίσαι εἰς 
sωτηρίαν διὰ πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ." ἵππα γὰρ ὡς 
ἀληθῶς τὰ ἱεροποιοῦντα καὶ θεοποιοῦντα γράμματα, 
ἐξ ὧν γραμμάτων καὶ συλλαβῶν τῶν ἱερῶν 
tὰς συνειμένας γραφάς, τὰ συντάγματα, ὁ αὐτὸς 
ἀκολουθῶς ἀπόστολος "θεοπνεύστους" καλεῖ, 
"ὡφελίμους οὐσίας πρὸς διδασκαλίαν, πρὸς ἔλεγχον, 
πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν, πρὸς παιδείαν τὴν ἐν δικαιοσύνη, 
ἐνα ἄρτιος ἢ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον 
ἀγαθὸν ἐξηρτημένος." οὐκ ἂν τὶς οὕτως ἐκπλαγεῖ 
tῶν ἀλλῶν ἁγίων τὰς προτροπὰς ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν 
κύριον τὸν φιλάνθρωπον. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλ᾽ ἢ τοῦτο 
ἔργον μόνον ἐστίν αὐτῷ σώζεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον. 
βοᾷ γοῦν ἐπείγων εἰς σωτηρίαν αὐτὸς "ἡγοικεν ἢ 
βασιλεία τῶν ὀφρανῶν". ἐπιστρέφει τοὺς ἄνθρω-
pους πλησιάζοντας τῷ φόβῳ. ταύτῃ καὶ ὁ ἀπό-
στολος τοῦ κυρίου παρακαλών τοὺς Μακεδόνας 
ἐρμηνεύς γίνεται τῆς θείας φωνῆς, "ὁ κύριος 
ἡγοικεν" λέγων, "εὐλαβεῖσθε μὴ καταληφθῶμεν 
κενοί." "

Τύμεις δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἄδεεις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπιστοι, 
μῆτε αὐτῷ πειθόμενοι τῷ κυρίῳ μῆτε τῷ Παύλῳ, 
καὶ ταύτα ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ δεδεμένων.1 " ἵππα σαβεῖ 

1 δεομένου correction in P (ep. 2 Corinthians v. 20).

2 Timothy iii. 15. b 2 Timothy iii. 16, 17.

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EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

Now when godliness sets out to make man as far as possible resemble God, it claims God as a suitable teacher; for He alone has the power worthily to conform man to His own likeness. This teaching the apostle recognizes as truly divine, when he says, "And thou, Timothy, from a babe hast known the sacred letters, which have power to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith in Christ." a For the letters which make us sacred and divine are indeed themselves sacred, and the writings composed from these sacred letters and syllables, namely, the collected Scriptures, are consequently called by the same apostle "inspired of God, being profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness; that the man of God may be complete, thoroughly furnished unto every good work." b No one could be so deeply moved at the exhortations of other holy men as at those of the Lord Himself, the lover of men; for this, and nothing else, is His only work, that man may be saved. In His own person He cries out, urging men on to salvation: "The kingdom of heaven is at hand." c He converts men when they draw nigh to Him through fear. On this point the Lord's apostle becomes an interpreter of the divine voice when in appealing to the Macedonians he says, "The Lord is at hand; take care lest we be found empty." d

But you have so little fear, or rather faith, that you obey neither the Lord Himself, nor Paul, though Paul was a prisoner for the sake of Christ. "O taste

a St. Matthew iv. 17.
b Philippians iv. 5; the latter half of the saying is not found in the New Testament.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. καὶ ἰδεῖτε ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ θεός." ἡ πίστις εἰσάξει, ἡ πείρα διδάξει, ἡ γραφὴ παιδαγωγήσει "δεῦτε, ὦ τέκνα," λέγουσα, "ἀκούσατε μοι, φόβον κυρίου διδάξω ὑμᾶς." εἶτα ὡς ἦδη πεπιστευκόσι συντόμως ἐπιλέγει "τίς ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ὁ θέλων ζωῆν, ἀγαπῶν ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν ἁγαθός;" ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν, φήσομεν, οἱ τὰ γαθοὺς προσκυνηταί, οἱ τῶν ἁγάθων ἂν χλωταῖ. ἀκούσατε οὖν "οἱ μακρὰν," ἀκούσατε "οἱ ἐγγύς". οὐκ ἀπεκρύβη τινὰς ὁ λόγος· φῶς ἐστι κοινόν, ἐπιλάμπει πᾶσιν ἄνθρωποις. οὐδεὶς Κιμμέριος ἐν λόγῳ. οὐκ ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ (ἐν) μίαν ἁγάθην συναχθῆκα οἱ πολλοὶ κατὰ τὴν τῆς μοναδικῆς ὑπήρξις ἐνσωματίζομεν. ἀγαθοεργοῦμεν ἀνάλογως ἐνότητα διώκωμεν, τὴν ἁγάθην ἐκζητούντες μονάδαν. ἡ δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν ἐνσωματίζει ἐκ πολυφωνιάς καὶ διαστοράς ἄρμονιαν λαβοῦσα θεϊκὴν μία γίνεται συμφωνία, ἐνι χορευτῇ καὶ διδασκάλῳ τῷ λόγῳ ἐπομένη, ἐκ αὐτῆς τὴν ἄλλην ἀναπαυμένην, "Ἀββᾶ" λέγουσα "ο πατήρ". ταύτην ὁ θεός τὴν φωνὴν τὴν ἀληθινὴν ἀσπάζεται παρὰ τῶν αὐτῶν παῖδων πρώτην καρπούμενοι.

1 Stählin suggests ἅγελην.

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* Psalm xxxiv. 8.  
* Psalm xxxiv. 11.  
* Psalm xxxiv. 12.  
* Isaiah lvii. 19; Ephesians ii. 17.  
* See St. John i. 9.  
* The Cimmerians were a mythical people who dwelt beyond the Ocean in a land of mist and cloud and total darkness. See Odyssey xi. 13–16.  
* Or, if Stählin’s suggestion is accepted (see note on text), “into one herd,” or “flock.” The word ἅγελη is used for the “flock” of men on p. 247 of this volume, and in i. Strom. 156. 3, and 169. 2. Cp. St. John x. 16.

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and see that God is good." \( ^a \) Faith shall lead you, CHAP. experience shall teach you, the Scripture shall train you. "Come, ye children," it says, "hearken unto me; I will teach you the fear of the Lord." \( ^b \) Then, as if speaking to those who have already believed, it adds briefly, "What man is there that desireth life, and loveth to see good days?" \( ^c \) We are they, we shall answer, we, the worshippers of the good, we who are zealous for good things. Hear then, "ye that are afar off"; hear, "ye that are nigh." \( ^d \) The Word was not hidden from any; He is a universal light; He shines upon all men. \( ^e \) No one is a Cimmerian \( ^f \) in respect of the Word. Let us hasten to salvation, to the new birth. Let us, who are many, hasten to be gathered together into one love \( ^g \) corresponding to the union of the One Being. Similarly, let us follow after unity by the practice of good works, seeking the good Monad. \( ^h \) And the union of many into one, bringing a divine harmony out of many scattered sounds, becomes one symphony, following one leader and teacher, the Word, and never ceasing till it reaches the truth itself, with the cry, "Abba Father." \( ^i \) This is the true speech which God welcomes from His children. This is the first-fruits of God's harvest.

\( ^a \) The Monad, or unit, was a term used by the Pythagoreans, who regarded all things as in some way constituted out of number. Odd numbers were more perfect than even, and the Monad, from which the rest were derived, was conceived as the perfect first principle of the universe. Clement here makes it a name for God, but in another place (i. Paedagogus 71. 1) he says that God is "above the Monad itself."

\( ^b \) See St. Mark xiv. 36; Romans viii. 15 and Galatians iv. 6.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

Χ

'Αλλ' ἐκ πατέρων, φατέ, παραδεδομένον ἡμῖν ἔθος ἀνατρέπειν οὐκ εὐλογούν. καὶ τί δὴ οὐχὶ τῇ πρώτῃ τροφῇ, τῷ γάλακτι, χρώμεθα, ὃ δῆποτεθεν συνείδισαν ἡμᾶς ἐκ γενετῆς αἱ τίτθαι; τί δὲ τῷ ρ. αὐξάνομεν ἡ μειοῦμεν τὴν πατρίδαν οὖσιαν, καὶ οὐχὶ τὴν ἔσθη, ὡς παρειλήφαμεν, διαφυλάττομεν; τί δὲ οὐκέτι τοῖς κόλποις τοῖς πατρίδοις ἐναποβλήτωξομεν, ἢ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ἡ νηπιάζοντες ὑπὸ μητράσιν τε ἐκτρεφόμενοι γέλωτα ὡφλομεν, ἐπιτελοῦμεν ἐτι, ἀλλὰ σφάς αὐτούς, καὶ εἰ μὴ παιδαγωγῶς ἐνύξομεν ἁγαθῶν, ἐπαινοῦμεν; ἐτὰ ἐπὶ τῶν πλῶν τινος πάρους αἱ παρεκβάσεις καὶ τοιοὶ ἐπιζήσιμοι καὶ ἐπισφαλεῖς οὖσαι, ὅμως γλυκείαι πως προσπήπτουσι, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ βίου οὐχὶ τὸ ἔθος καταλιπτόντες τὸ πονηρόν καὶ ἐμπαθές καὶ ἁθεον, κἂν οἱ πατέρες χαλεπαίνωσιν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐκκλίνομεν καὶ τὸν ὄντως ὄντα πατέρα ἐπιζητήσουμεν, οἴον δηλητήριον φάρμακον τὴν συνήθειαν ἀπωσάμενοι; τοῦτο αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο καλλιστον τῶν ἐγχειρουμένων ἐστὶ, ὑποδεῖξαι χρῖν ὡς ἀπὸ μανίας καὶ τοῦ τρισάθλου τούτου ἔσοχ ἐμπαθής ἡ θεοσέβεια. οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἐμυσθή ὁτὲ ἡ ἄπηγορευθη ἁγάθων τοσοῦτον, ὁδοια μετακουσμεν ἐν θεοῦ διδῷ ῥηταὶ πιὸ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων γενέσει, εἰ μὴ συναρτιζόμενοι τῷ ἔθει, ἐτὰ μὲντοι ἀποθέασται ὅτα ἡμῖν, οἴον ἵπποι σκληραύγχενες ἀφηγαίζοντες, τοὺς χαλινους ἐδακόντες, ἀπεφεύγετε 4 τοὺς λόγους,

1 πλῶν Cobet. παίδων Schwartz. παθῶν mss.
2 καταλιπτόντες Cobet. καταλείπτοντες mss.
3 ἐπιζητήσουμεν Sylburg. ἐπιζητήσωμεν mss.
4 ἀπεφεύγετε . . . ὑπελαμβάνετε Stählin. ἀποφεύγετε . . . ὑπολαμβάνετε mss.

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EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

X.

But, you say, it is not reasonable to overthrow a way of life handed down to us from our forefathers. Why then do we not continue to use our first food, milk, to which, as you will admit, our nurses accustomed us from birth? Why do we increase or diminish our family property, and not keep it for ever at the same value as when we received it? Why do we no longer sputter into our parents' bosoms, nor still behave in other respects as we did when infants in our mothers' arms, making ourselves objects of laughter? Did we not rather correct ourselves, even if we did not happen to have good attendants for this purpose? Again, in voyages by sea, deviations from the usual course may bring loss and danger, but yet they are attended by a certain charm. So, in life itself, shall we not abandon the old way, which is wicked, full of passion, and without God? And shall we not, even at the risk of displeasing our fathers, bend our course towards the truth and seek after Him who is our real Father, thrusting away custom as some deadly drug? This is assuredly the noblest of all the tasks we have in hand, namely, to prove to you that it was from madness and from this thrice miserable custom that hatred of godliness sprang. For such a boon, the greatest that God has ever bestowed upon the race of men, could never have been hated or rejected, had you not been clean carried away by custom, and so had stopped your ears against us. Like stubborn horses that refuse to obey the reins, and take the bit between their teeth, you fled from our arguments.

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CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. ἀποσείσασθαι μὲν τοὺς ἤνιοχοὺς ὕμων τοῦ βίου ἡμᾶς ἐπιποθοῦντες, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς κρήμνους τῆς ἀπωλείας ὑπὸ τῆς ἁνοίας φερόμενοι ἐναγῇ τὸν ἄγων ὑπελαμβάνετε 1 τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον. ἔπεται τοι- γαροῦν ὕμιν κατὰ τὸν Σοφοκλέα τὰ ἐπίχειρα τῆς ἐκλογῆς,

νοῦς φρούδος, ὅτε ἀχρεία, φροντίδες κεναί,

καὶ οὐκ ἴστε ὡς παντὸς μᾶλλον τοῦτο ἀληθές, ὅτι ἄρα οἱ μὲν ἁγαθοὶ καὶ θεοσεβεῖς ἁγαθῆς τῆς ἀμοιβῆς τεῦξονται τάγαθον τετυμηκότες, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων πονηρῶν τῆς καταλήπτου τιμωρίας, καὶ τῷ γε ἄρχοντι τῆς κακίας ἐπήρηται κόλασις. ἀπειλεῖ γοῦν αὐτῷ ὁ προφήτης Ζαχαρίας "ἐπι- τιμήσαι ἐν σοὶ ὁ ἐκλεξάμενος τὴν Ἰερουσαλήμ; οὐκ ἰδοὺ τούτῳ δαλὸς ἐξεσπασμένος ἢ πυρός;" τίς οὖν ἔτι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὀρέξεις ἐγκεῖται θανάτου ἐκουσίου; τί δὲ τῷ δαλῷ τῷ θανατηφόρῳ τοῦτῳ 74. προσπεφεύγας, μεθ' οὗ καταφλεχθήσονται, ἐξὸν βιῶναι καλῶς κατὰ τὸν θεόν, οὐ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος; θεός μὲν γὰρ ζωὴν χαρίζεται, ἔθος δὲ πονηρῶν μετὰ τὴν ἐνθέντε ἀπάλλαγην μετάνοιαν κενὴν ἄμα τι- μωρίᾳ προστρίβεται, "παθῶν δὲ τὸ νήπιος ἔγνω," ὡς ἀπολλύει δεισιδαιμονία καὶ σύζει θεοσέβεια.

Ἰδέτω τις ὕμων τοὺς παρὰ τοὺς εἰδώλους λα- τρεύοντας, κόμη ῥυπώντας, ἐσθῆτι πιναρᾶ καὶ κατ-

1 ἀποφεύγετε . . . ὑπελαμβάνετε Stählin. ἀποφεύγετε . . . ὑπολαμβάνετε mss.

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a Clement plays upon the similarity between ἁγίος, holy, and ἐναγές, accursed.

b Sophocles, Frag. 863 Nauck.

c Zechariah iii. 2.

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EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

You yearned to shake yourselves free from us, the charioteers of your life; yet all the while you were being carried along by your folly towards the precipices of destruction, and supposed the holy Word of God to be accursed. Accordingly the recompense of your choice attends upon you, in the words of Sophocles,

Lost senses, useless ears, and fruitless thoughts; and you do not know that this is true above all else, that the good and god-fearing, since they have honoured that which is good, shall meet with a reward that is good; while the wicked, on the other hand, shall meet with punishment corresponding to their deeds: and torment ever hangs over the head of the prince of evil. At least, the prophet Zechariah threatens him: "He that hath chosen Jerusalem take vengeance upon thee! Behold, is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?" What a strange longing, then, is this for a self-chosen death which still presses upon men? Why have they fled to this death-bearing brand, with which they shall be burnt up, when they might live a noble life according to God, not according to custom? For God grants life; but wicked custom inflicts unavailing repentance together with punishment after we depart from this world. And "by suffering even a fool will learn" that daemon-worship leads to destruction, and the fear of God to salvation.

Let any of you look at those who minister in the idol temples. He will find them ruffians with filthy

\[d\] A play upon the words *theos* (God) and *ethos* (custom).

\[e\] Hesiod, *Works and Days* 218.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. ερρωγυία καθυβρισμένους, λουτρῶν μὲν παντάπασιν ἀπειράτους, ταῖς δὲ τῶν οὐνχών ἁκμαῖς ἐκτεθηριμένους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν αἰδοίων ἁφηρμένους, ἔργῳ δεικνύταις τῶν εἰδώλων τὰ τεμένε ἑτάς ἡ δεσμωτήρια· οὕτοι μοι δοκοῦσι πενθεῖν, ὦ ἱρασκεύειν τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐλέον μᾶλλον ἡ θεοσεβείας αξία πεποιθότες. καὶ ταῦτα ὅρωντες ἔτι τυφλώτετε καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην τῶν πάντων καὶ κύριον τῶν ὀλων ἀναβλέψετε; οὐχὶ δὲ καταφεύ- ἔσθε, ἐκ τῶν ἐνταῦθα δεσμωτηρίων ἐκφεύγοντες, ἐπὶ τὸν ἔλεον τὸν ἐξ οὐρανῶν; οὗ γὰρ θεὸς ἐκ πολλῆς τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἀντέχεται τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὡσπερ ἐκ καλαῖς ἐκπίπτοντος νεόττου ἡ μήτηρ ὄρνης ἐφίππαται· εἰ δὲ ποι καὶ θηρίον ἠποτομτικὸν περιχάνοι τῷ νεόττῳ,

μήτηρ δὲ ἀμφιποτάται ὄνυμομένη φίλα τέκνα·

ὁ δὲ θεὸς πατὴρ καὶ ζητεῖ τὸ πλάσμα καὶ ἱάται τὸ παράπτωμα καὶ διώκει τὸ θηρίον καὶ τὸν νεοττόν αὔτὸς ἀναλαμβάνει ἐπὶ τὴν καλὰν ἀναπτήναι παρ- ορμῶν. εἰτα κόνες μὲν ἡθη πεπληγμένοι ὅμοις ῥυθματοῦτες ἐξίχνευσαν τὸν δεσπότην καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν ἀναβάτην ἀποσειασάνειν ἐνὶ που συρίγματι ὑπήκουσαν τῷ δεσπότῃ· "ἔγνω δὲ," φησὶ, "βοῦς τὸν κτησάμενον καὶ ὅνος τὴν φάτνην τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ, Ἰσραήλ δὲ με οὐκ ἔγνω." τί οὖν ὁ κύριος; οὐ μνησικακεῖ, ἐτὶ ἔλεε, ἐτὶ τὴν μετάνοιαν ἀπαντεῖ. ἔρεσθαι δὲ υμᾶς βούλομαι, εἰ οὐκ ἀτοπον υμῶν δοκεῖ πλάσμα υμᾶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιγεγονότας 1

1 ἐπιγεγονότας mss. [ἐπί]γεγονότας Stählin.
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hair, in squalid and tattered garments, complete strangers to baths, with claws for nails like wild beasts; many are also deprived of their virility. They are an actual proof that the precincts of the idols are so many tombs or prisons. These men seem to me to mourn for the gods, not to worship them, and their condition provokes pity rather than piety. When you see sights like this, do you still remain blind and refuse to look up to the Master of all and Lord of the universe? Will you not fly from the prisons on earth, and escape to the pity which comes from heaven? For God of His great love still keeps hold of man; just as, when a nestling falls from the nest, the mother bird flutters above, and if perchance a serpent gapes for it, Flitting around with cries, the mother mourns for her offspring.\(^a\)

Now God is a Father, and seeks His creature. He remedies the falling away, drives off the reptile, restores the nestling to strength again, and urges it to fly back to the nest. Once more, dogs who have lost their way discover their master's tracks by the sense of smell, and horses who have thrown their rider obey a single whistle from their own master; "the ox," it is written, "knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib, but Israel doth not know Me."\(^b\) What then does the Lord do? He bears no grudge; He still pities, still requires repentance of us. I would ask you, whether you do not think it absurd that you men who are God's last creation,

\(^a\) Homer, Iliad ii. 315.
\(^b\) Isaiah i. 3.

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CAP. τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παρ’ αυτοῦ τὴν ψυχήν εἰληφότας καὶ ὄντας ὅλως τοῦ θεοῦ ἐτέρῳ δουλεύειν δεσπότη, πρὸς δὲ καὶ θεραπεύειν ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν τύραννον, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τὸν πονηρόν. τίς γὰρ, ὃ πρὸς τῆς ἀληθείας, σωφρονῶν γε τάγαθον καταλείπων κακία σύνεστην; τίς δὲ ὅστις τῶν θεῶν ἀποφεύγων δαιμονίως συμβιοί; τίς δὲ νῦς εἰναι δυνάμενος τοῦ θεοῦ δουλεύειν ἤδεται; ἡ τίς οὖρανού πολίτης εἰναι δυνάμενος ἔρειβος | διώκει, ἐξὸν παρα- δεισον γεωργεῖν καὶ οὐρανὸν περιπολεῖν καὶ τῆς ζωτικῆς καὶ ἀκηράτου μεταλαμβάνειν πηγῆς, κατ’ ἕκον ἐκείνης τῆς φωτεινῆς ἀεροβατοῦντα νεφέλης, ὦ περ ὁ Ἡλίας, θεωροῦντα τὸν άντον 〈τὸν〉 1 σωτήριον; οἱ δὲ σκωλῆκως δίκην περὶ τέλματα καὶ βορβόρους, τὰ ἤδονθε δεήματα, καλυ- δούμενοι ἀνοίγοις καὶ ἀνοίγοις ἐκβόσκονται τρυφᾶς, ὑδείς τινὲς ἄνθρωποι. ὅς γὰρ, φησίν, "ἡδονὴ βουβρόρῳ" μᾶλλον ἡ καθαρῷ ὑδατί καὶ "ἐπὶ φορυτῷ μαργαίνουσιν" κατὰ Δημόκριτον. μὴ δήτα σὺν, μὴ δήτα ἐξαιρετικῶς ὡμοῦ ὑ- δεὶς γενώμεθα, ἀλλ' "ὡς τέκνα φῶτος" γνήσια, ἀναθρήσκωμεν καὶ ἀναβλέψωμεν εἰς τὸ φῶς, μὴ νόθους ἡμᾶς ἐξελέγξῃ ὁ κύριος ὦ περ ὁ Ἡλίας τοὺς ἀετοῦς.

Metanohsowmen oin kai metastowmen ex amathias eis episthmēn, ex afrosoyn eis prōnhs, ex akraasis eis ἐγκράτειαν, ex adkias eis dikaiosynēn, ex theosth eis theōn. kalos o kinnunos auromolein

1 〈τὸν〉 inserted by Sylburg.

a Clement has drawn together the Elijah of the Transfiguration (St. Matthew xvi. 5) and the Elijah of Mount Carmel (1 Kings xviii. 44).

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who have received your soul from Him, and are \textsc{chap.} entirely His, should serve another master; aye, and more than that, should pay homage to the tyrant instead of to the rightful king, to the wicked one instead of to the good? For, in the name of truth, what man in his senses forsakes that which is good to keep company with evil? Who is there that flees from God to live with daemons? Who is pleased with slavery, when he might be a son of God? Or who hastens to a region of darkness, when he might be a citizen of heaven; when it is in his power to till the fields of paradise, and traverse the spaces of heaven, when he can partake of the pure and life-giving spring, treading the air in the track of that bright cloud, like Elijah, with his eyes fixed on the rain that brings salvation? \textsuperscript{a} But there are some who, after the manner of worms, wallow in marshes and mud, which are the streams of pleasure, and feed on profitless and senseless delights. These are swinish men; for swine, says one, “take pleasure in mud” \textsuperscript{b} more than in pure water; and they “are greedy for offal,” according to Democritus. \textsuperscript{c} Let us not then, let us not be made slaves, nor become swinish, but as true “children of the light,” \textsuperscript{d} direct our gaze steadily upward towards the light, lest the Lord prove us bastards as the sun does the eagles.

Let us therefore repent, and pass from ignorance to knowledge, from senselessness to sense, from in-temperance to temperance, from unrighteousness to righteousness, from godlessness to God. It is a

\textsuperscript{a} The words are from Heracleitus: Frag. 54 Bywater, 13 Diels.
\textsuperscript{b} Democritus, Frag. 23 Natorp, 147 Diels.
\textsuperscript{c} Ephesians v. 8.
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CAP. πρὸς θεόν. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἐστιν ἀπολαύσαι ἁγαθῶν τους δικαιοσύνης ἐραστάς, οὐ τὴν αἰδίων διώκομεν σωτηρίαν, ἀτάρ δὴ καὶ ἄν αὐτὸς αἰνίτεται ὁ θεὸς διὰ 'Ἡσαῖον λαλῶν "ἐστι κληρονομία τοῖς θεραπεύουσι κύριον"· καλὴ γε καὶ ἔρασμος ἡ κληρονομία, οὐ χρυσόν, οὐκ ἄργυρος, οὐκ ἑσθῆς, τὰ τῆς γῆς,¹ ἐνθα ποὺ σῆς καὶ ληστῆς που καταδύεται περὶ τῶν χαμαίζηλον πλούτων ὀφθαλμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ὁ θεοσωφὸς τῆς σωτηρίας, πρὸς διὸν γε ἐπείγεσθαι χρή φιλολόγους γενομένους, συναπαίρει δὲ ἡμῖν ἐνθένδε τὰ ἐργα τὰ ἄστεια καὶ συνίππταται τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας πτερῷ.

Ταύτην ἡμῖν τὴν κληρονομίαν ἐγχειρίζει ἡ αἰδίως διαθήκη τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν αἰδίων δωρεαν χορηγούσα· ὁ δὲ φιλόστορογος οὖσος ἡμῶν πατήρ, ὁ δυνατός πατήρ, οὐ παύεται προτρέπων, νουθητῶν, παιδεὺσων, φιλῶν· οὐδὲ γὰρ σῶζων παύεται, σωματεύει δὲ τὰ ἀριστά· "δικαιοί γένεσθε, λέγει κύριος· οἱ δυσώντες πορεύσεθε ἐφ' ὅδωρ, καὶ ὃσοι μὴ ἔχετε ἄργυρον, βαδίσατε καὶ ἀγοράσατε καὶ πίετε ἀνευ ἄργυρον." ἐπὶ τὸ λουτρόν, ἐπὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν, ἐπὶ τὸν φωτισμὸν παρακαλεῖ μονον-76 P. συγχρονίως καὶ λέγων· γῆν σοι δίδωμι καὶ θάλατταν, παιδίον, οὐρανόν τε καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα θράσος σοι χαρίζομαι· μόνον, ὁ παιδίον, δίψησον τοῦ πατρός, ἀμισθεὶς σοι δείχθησαι ὁ θεός· οὐ καπηλεύεται ἡ ἀλήθεια, δίδωσι σοι καὶ τὰ πτηνά καὶ τὰ νηκτά καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· ταύτα σου

¹ τὰ τῆς γῆς after ἐσθης Markland: after σῆς καὶ mss.: καὶ [τὰ τῆς γῆς] Stählin.

a Isaiah liv. 17 (Septuagint).

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glorious venture to desert to God’s side. Many are the good things which we may enjoy who are lovers of righteousness, who follow after eternal salvation; but the best of all are those to which God Himself alludes when He says through Isaiah, “there is an inheritance to those who serve the Lord.” a Aye, and a glorious and lovely inheritance it is, not of gold, not of silver, not of raiment, things of earth, into which perchance moth and robber may find a way, b casting longing eyes at the earthly riches; but that treasure of salvation, towards which we must press forward by becoming lovers of the Word. Noble deeds set out from hence in our company, and are borne along with us on the wing of truth.

This inheritance is entrusted to us by the eternal covenant of God, which supplies the eternal gift. And this dearly loving Father, our true Father, never ceases to exhort, to warn, to chasten, to love; for He never ceases to save, but counsels what is best. “Become righteous, saith the Lord. Ye that are thirsty, come to the water; and as many as have no money, go ye, and buy and drink without money.” c It is to the font, to salvation, to enlightenment that He invites us, almost crying out and saying: Earth and sea I give thee, my child; heaven too, and all things living in earth and heaven are freely thine. Only, my child, do thou thirst for the Father; without cost shall God be revealed to thee. The truth is not sold as merchandise; He gives thee the fowls of the air and the fishes of the sea and all that is upon the earth. These things

b See St. Matthew vi. 19, 20.

c Isaiah liv. 17 (Septuagint); lv. 1.
CAP. ταίς εὐχαρίστοις τρυφαίς δεδημιουργηκεν ὁ πατήρ.
άργυρῳ μὲν ὕψησται ὁ νόθος, ὁς ἀπωλείας ἐστὶν παλιν, ὁς "μαμωνᾶ δουλεύεις" προήρηται, σοὶ δὲ τὰ σὰ ἐπιτρέπει, τῷ γυνησὶ λέγω, 1 τῷ φιλοῦντι τὸν πατέρα, δι’ ὑδ’ ἐτί ἐργάζεται, ὣ μόνῳ καὶ ὑποχνεῖται λέγων· "καὶ ἡ γῆ οὐ πραθήσεται εἰς βεβαιῶσιν", οὐ γὰρ κυροῦται τῇ φθορᾷ. "ἐμὴ γὰρ ἐστὶν πᾶσα ἡ γῆ", ἔστι δὲ καὶ σῆ, ἕαν ἀπολῆσης τὸν θεόν. ὅθεν ἡ γραφὴ εἰκότως εὐαγγελίζεται τοῖς πεπιστευκόσιν· "οὶ δὲ ἄγιοι κυρίου κληρονομήσουσι τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ." ποιῶν, ὡ μακάριε, δόξαν, εἰπέ μοι· ":" ἡν ὅφθαλμος οὐκ εἶδεν οὐδὲ οὐδὲ ήκουσεν, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπων ἀνέβη· καὶ χαρῆσονται ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ κυρίου αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας, ἅμην." ἔχετε, ὡ άνθρωποι, τὴν θείαν τῆς χάριτος ἑπαγγελίαν, ἀκηκόατε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τῆς κολασέως ἀπελήνην, δι’ ὅν ὁ κύριος σώζει, φοβῶ καὶ χάριτι παιδαγωγῶν τὸν ἀνθρώπων· τί μέλλομεν; τί οὐκ ἑκκλίνομεν τῷ κόλασιν; τί οὐ καταδεχόμεθα τὴν δωρεάν; τί δὲ οὖχ αἱρούμεθα τὰ βελτίων, θεον ἀντὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ, καὶ σοφίαν εἴδωλολατρείας προκρίνομεν καὶ ἰωήν ἀντικαταλασσόμεθα 2 θανάτου 3; "ιδοὺ τέθεικα πρὸ

1 λέγω Stühlin. λέγει mss.
2 ἀντικαταλασσόμεθα Heinsius. ἀντικαταλασσόμενοi mss.
3 θανάτου Mayor. θανάτῳ mss.

a St. Matthew vi. 24; St. Luke xvi. 13.
b See St. John v. 17.
c Leviticus xxv. 23.
d Clement takes the Old Testament phrase in a spiritual sense. It is the "inheritance incorruptible . . . reserved in heaven" (1 St. Peter i. 4) which is not "delivered over to corruption."

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the Father hath created for thy pleasant delights. CHAP. X
The bastard, who is a child of destruction, who has chosen to "serve mammon," a shall buy them with money; but to thee, that is, to the true son, He commits what is thine own,—to the true son, who loves the Father, for whose sake the Father works until now, b and to whom alone He makes the promise, "and the land shall not be sold in perpetuity" c; for it is not delivered over to corruption. d "For the whole land is mine," e He says; and it is thine also, if thou receive God. Whence the Scripture rightly proclaims to believers this good news: "The saints of the Lord shall inherit God's glory and His power." What kind of glory, thou Blessed One? Tell me. A glory "which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man. And they shall rejoice in the kingdom of their Lord for ever, Amen." f You have, my fellow-men, the divine promise of grace; you have heard, on the other hand, the threat of punishment. Through these the Lord saves, training man by fear and grace. Why do we hesitate? Why do we not shun the punishment? Why do we not accept the gift? Why do we not choose the better things, that is, God instead of the evil one, and prefer wisdom to idolatry and take life in exchange for death? "Behold, I have set before

"Leviticus xxv. 23.

The first part of this passage is from 1 Cor. ii. 9, where it is introduced by St. Paul as a quotation. Origen tells us, in his Commentary on St. Matthew (see Migne, Origen vol. iii. p. 1769), that St. Paul took it from the Apocalypse of Elias. Doubtless the rest of the passage, as given by Clement, comes from the same source.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. προσώπου ὑμῶν," φησί, "τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν ζωήν," πειράζει σε ὁ κύριος ἐκλέξασθαι τὴν ζωήν, συμβουλεύει σοι ὡς πατήρ πείθεσθαι 1 τῷ θεῷ.
"έὰν δὲ μὴ ὑπακούστῃ μου μηδὲ θελήσῃ, μᾶχαρα ὑμᾶς καὶ πῦρ κατέδεται," παρακοῆς ἢ κρίσις.
"τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησεν ταῦτα," νόμος ἀληθείας λόγος κυρίου.

77 Ρ. Βουλεύεθε ὑμῖν ἀγαθός γένωμαι σύμβουλος; ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν ἀκούσατε· ἐγὼ δὲ, εἰ δυνατόν, ἐνδείξομαι.
ἐχρήμων ὑμῶν ὑμᾶς, ὃ άνθρωποι, αὐτοὺς πέρι ἐννοούμενος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἔμφυτον ἐπάγεσθαι πίστιν, μάρτυρα ἀξιόχρεως 2 αὐτόθεν οἶκοι, περιφανῶς ἀἵρομένην τὸ βέλτιστον, μηδὲ [ζητεῖν] 3 εἰ μεταδιδοκτέον ἐκπονεῖν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τῷ μεθυστέον, φέρε ἐπειδ' ἀμφιβάλλει χρή· ὑμεῖς δὲ πρὶν ἡ ἐπισκέψασθαι μεθύσατε· καὶ εἰ ὑβριστέον, οὐ πολυπραγμονεῖτε, ἀλλ' ἡ 4 τάχος ὑβρίζετε. μόνον δ' ἄρα εἰ θεοσεβητέον, ζητεῖτε, καὶ εἰ τῷ σοφῷ τούτῳ [δὴ] 5 τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ κατακολουθήτεον, τούτῳ δὴ 6 βουλῆς καὶ σκέψεως ἀξίουτε, οὐδ' δ' πρέπει θεῶν, ὅ τι ποτὲ ἐστὶ, νενοήκότες. πιστεύσατε ἡμῖν καὶ ὃς μῦθη, ἵνα σωφρονήσῃτε· πιστεύσατε καὶ ὃς ὑβρεῖ, ἵνα ζήσητε. εἰ δὲ καὶ πείθεσθαι βούλευε τὴν ἐναργή

1 πείθεσθαι Sylburg. πείθεσθε mss.
2 πλάτων, μάρτυρα ἀξιόχρεων Wilamowitz. μάρτυρα ἀξιόχρεων, πίστιν mss.
3 [ζητεῖν] Mayor. Stählin retains ζητεῖν, and inserts τὸ δ' ἀγαθὸν (Schwartz) before ἐκπονεῖν.
4 Sylburg. ἡ mss.
5 [δὴ] Stählin. ἡ Stählin. δὴ mss.

Deuteronomy xxx. 15. Isaiah i. 19, 20.

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your face," He says, "death and life." The Lord solicits you to choose life; He counsels you, as a father, to obey God. "For if ye hearken to Me," He says, "and are willing, ye shall eat the good of the land,"—the grace follows upon obedience. "But if ye hearken not to Me, and are unwilling, a sword and fire shall devour you,"—the judgment follows upon disobedience. "For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it;" and a word of the Lord is a law of truth.

Would you have me become a good counsellor to you? Then do you hearken; and I, if it be possible, will show myself one. When reflecting upon the good itself, you ought, my fellow-men, to have called to your aid faith, implanted in man, which is a trustworthy witness from within ourselves, with the utmost clearness choosing what is best. You ought not to have toiled to discover whether or not the best is to be followed. Let me give you an illustration: you ought to doubt whether it is right for a man to get drunk; but your practice is to get drunk before considering the question. Or in the case of riotous indulgence, you do not make careful examination, but indulge yourselves with all speed. Only, it would seem, when godliness is in question, do you first inquire; and when it is a question of following this wise God and the Christ, this you think calls for deliberation and reflection, when you have no idea what it is that befits God. Put faith in us, even as you do in drunkenness, that you may become sober. Put faith in us, even as you do in riotous indulgence, that you may live. And if, after having contemplated this clear faith

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CAP. τῶν ἄρετῶν ἐποπτεύσαντες ¹ πίστιν, φέρε ὑμῖν ἐκ περιουσίας τὴν περὶ τοῦ λόγου παραθήσομαι πειθῶ. ὑμεῖς δέ, οὐ γάρ τὰ πάτρια ὑμᾶς ἐτί τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπασχολεῖ ἐθῇ προκατηχημένους, ἀκοῦστ᾽ ἂν ἥδη τὸ μετὰ τούτο ὄπως ἔχει· καὶ δὴ μὴ τῶν ὑμῶν τούδε τοῦ ὀνόματος αἰσχύνῃ προκαταλαμβάνετο, "ἤτε ἄνδρας μέγα σίνεται," παρατρέπουσα σωτηρίας.

Αποδυσάμενοι δ᾽ οὖν περιφανῶς ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας σταδίῳ γνησίως ἀγωνιζόμεθα, βραβευόντος μὲν τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἁγίου, ἀγωνισμοῦτος δὲ τοῦ δεσπότου τῶν ὀλων. οὐ γάρ σιμικρὸν ἦμῖν τὸ άθλον ἁθανασία πρόκειται. μὴ οὖν ἐτί φροντίζετε μηδὲ [εἴ] ² ολίγον, τί ὑμᾶς ἀγορεύοντοι σύνθεσις τινε ἁγοραίοι, δεσιδαιμονίας ἄθεοι χερευταί, ἀνοία καὶ παρανοϊὰ ἐς αὐτὸ ὀδόμενοι τὸ βάραθρον, εἰδώλων ποιηταί καὶ λίθων προσκυνηταί. οἴδε γάρ ἀνθρώπους ἀποθεοῦν τετολμήκασι, προσκαιδέκατον Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα ἀναγράφοντες θεόν, "ὁν Βασιλῶν ἠλεγξε νεκρόν." ἀγαμαί τοῖνυν τὸν Χίον ³ σοφιστήν, Θεόκριτος ὅνομα αὐτῷ· μετὰ τὴν Ἀλέξανδρου τελευτὴν ἑπισκώπτων ὁ Θεόκριτος τὰς δόξας τὰς κενᾶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἃς ἔχων περὶ θεῶν, πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας "ἀνδρείς," εἴπεν, "θαρρεῖτε ἄχρις ἃν ὀρατε τοὺς θεοὺς πρότερον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄπο-

¹ ἐποπτεύσαντες Potter. ὑποπτεύσαντες mss.
² [εἴ] Kontos.
³ Χίον Cobet. θείον mss.

* This seems to refer to the "implanted faith" mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph. It may, perhaps, refer only to the preceding sentence; in which case we should translate, "this clear proof of the virtues," i.e. the proof derived from studying the lives of Christians.

⁶ Homer, Iliad xxiv. 45; Hesiod, Works and Days 318.
⁷ Sibyline Oracles v. 6. Alexander was called the
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in the virtues, you desire to be obedient, come then, I will lay before you in abundance persuasive arguments concerning the Word. On your part (for it is no longer the case that the ancestral customs, in which you have formerly been instructed, prevent you from attending to the truth), listen now, I pray you, to the nature of the words that follow. Moreover, let no feeling of shame for the name of Christian deter you; for shame "does great hurt to men," when it turns them aside from salvation.

Having then stripped before the eyes of all, let us join in the real contest in the arena of truth, where the holy Word is umpire, and the Master of the universe is president. For the prize set before us is no small one, immortality. Cease then to pay any further heed, even the slightest, to the speeches made to you by the rabble of the marketplace, godless devotees of daemon-worship, men who are on the very verge of the pit through their folly and insanity, makers of idols and worshippers of stones. For these are they who have dared to deify men, describing Alexander of Macedon as the thirteenth god, though "Babylon proved him mortal." Hence I admire the Chian sage, Theocritus by name, who in ridicule of the vain opinions which men held about gods, said to his fellow-citizens after the death of Alexander, "Keep a cheerful heart, comrades, so long as you see gods dying before men." But "thirteenth god" because his name was added to the twelve deities of Olympus, to whom Clement alludes on p. 53 of this volume.

* For this and other witty remarks attributed to Theocritus of Chios (quite a different person from the poet Theocritus) see *Frag. hist. Graec.* ii. p. 86.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. θνήσκοντας." θεοὺς δὲ δὴ τοὺς ὀρατοὺς καὶ τὸν
σύγκλισα τῶν γεννητῶν τούτων ὄχλον ὁ προσκυνῶν
καὶ προσεπαρχόμενος, αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνων τῶν δαιμό-
νων ἀθλιότερος μακρῷ. θεὸς γὰρ οὐδαμὴ οὐδαμῶς
ἀδικος ὦσπερ οἱ δαίμονες, ἀλλ’ ὅσον τε δικαιό-
tatos, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῶν ὀμοίωτερον οὔτε ἡ ὅσ
ἄν ἡμῶν γένηται ὅτι δικαιότατος.

βατ’ εἰς ὁδὸν δὴ πᾶς ὁ χείρωνας λεώς,
oi τὴν Διὸς γοργῶτιν Ἕργανην¹ θεὸν
οτατοῖς λίκνοις προστρέπεσθε,²

ἥλιοι τῶν λίθων δημιουργοί τε καὶ προσκυνηταί.
ὁ Φειδίας ὑμῶν καὶ ὁ Πολύκλειτος ἥκοντων Πραξι-
tέλης τε αὖ καὶ Ἀπελλῆς καὶ ὁσοὶ τὰς βαναύσους
μετέρχονται τέχνας, γήμιοι γῆς ὄντες ἐργάται. τότε
γὰρ φησί τις προφητεία δυστυχῆσειν τά τῆς
πράγματα, ὅταν ἀνδριᾶσι πιστεύσωσιν. ἥκοντων
οὐν αὕτης, οὐ γὰρ ἀνήσω καλῶν, οἱ μικροτέχναι.
oúdeis ποι τούτων ἐμπνευν εἰκόνα δεδημουργήκεν,
oúde μὴν ἐκ γῆς μαλθακὴν ἐμάλαξε σάρκα. τίς
ἐτησε μυελὸν ἢ τίς ἐπηξεν ὅστεα; τίς νεύρα δι-
ἐτευνεν³; τίς φλέβας ἐφύσησεν; τίς ἀλὰ ἐνέχεεν εὖ
αὐταῖς ἢ τίς δέρμα περίετευνε; ποῦ δ’ ἂν τίς
αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμοῖς συνήσαι βλέποντας; τίς ἐν-
ἐφύσησε ψυχήν; τίς δικαιοσύνην ἐδωρήσατο; τίς
ἀθανασίαν ὑπέσχεται; μόνος ὁ τῶν ὅλων δημ-
ουργός, ὁ "ἀριστοτέχνας πατήρ," τοιοῦτον ἀγαλμα
ἐμψυχον [ἡμᾶς]⁴ τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἐπλασεν ὁ δὲ

¹ Ἕργανην from Plutarch, De Fortuna 99 A. Ἕργανη mss.
² προστρέπεσθε Plutarch. προτρέπεσθε mss.
³ διέτευν ἢ Wilamowitz.
⁴ [ἡμᾶς] Mayor.


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indeed, as for gods that can be seen, and the motley multitude of these created things, the man who worships and consorts with them is far more wretched than the very daemons themselves. For God is in no way unrighteous as the daemons are, but righteous in the highest possible degree, and there is nothing more like Him than any one of us who becomes as righteous as possible.a

Go forth into the way, ye craftsmen all,
Who supplicate, with winnowing fans aloft,
The goddess Industry, stern child of Zeus, b

—stupid fashioners and worshippers of stones! Let your Pheidias and Polycleitus come hither, Praxiteles too, and Apelles, and all the others who pursue the mechanical arts, mere earthly workers in earth. For a certain prophecy says that misfortune shall overtake this world of ours, on the day when men put their trust in statues. c Let them come then, I say again,—for I will not cease to call,—puny artists that they are. Not one of them has ever fashioned a breathing image, or made tender flesh out of earth. Who gave its softness to the marrow? Who fixed the bones? Who stretched out the sinews? Who inflated the arteries? Who poured blood into them and drew the skin around? How could any of these men make eyes that see? Who breathed life into man? Who gave him the sense of right? Who has promised immortality? None but the Creator of the universe, the "Father, the supreme artist," d formed such a living statue as man; but your

a Sophocles, Frag. 760 Nauck. The goddess "Industry," whom the craftsmen worshipped in their processions, is Athena. See Plutarch, De Fortuna 99 a.

b The source of this quotation is unknown.

c See Pindar, Frag. 57 Schroeder.
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CAP. Ὀλύμπιος ὡμῶν, εἰκόνος εἰκῶν, πολύ τι τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπάδων, ἔργον ἐστὶ κωφόν χειρῶν Ἀττικῶν. "εἰκῶν" μὲν γὰρ "τοῦ θεοῦ" ο λόγος αὐτοῦ (καὶ νῦν τοῦ νοῦ γνήσιος ο θείος λόγος, φωτός ἀρχή-τυπον φῶς), εἰκῶν δὲ τοῦ λόγου ο ἀνθρώπος < ὁ > ἀληθινός, ο νοῦς ο ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ, ἐκατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ "καθ' ὁμοίωσιν" διὰ τούτου γεγενήθηκαί λεγόμενος, τῇ κατὰ καρδίαν φρονήσει τῶν θείων παρεικαζόμενος λόγῳ καὶ ταύτῃ λογικός. ἀνθρώπου δὲ τοῦ ὄρμωμον τοῦ γηγενοῦς γήνος εἰκὼν τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἀνδρείκελα καὶ < καὶ > 2 πόρρω τῆς ἀλήθειας ἑπίκαιρον ἑκμαγείον καταφαίνεται. οὐδὲν οὖν ἀλλ' ἡ μανίας ἔμπλεως ο βίος ἐδοξέ μοι γεγονέναι, τοσαύτη σπουδὴ περὶ τὴν ὕλην καταγωγόμενος.

Ἐπιτέθραπται 3 δὲ ὑπὸ κενῆς δόξης ἡ συνήθεια δουλείας μὲν γεύσασα ὡμᾶς καὶ ἀλόγου περι-εργασίας νομίμων δὲ ἀνόμων καὶ ἀπατηλῶν ὑποκρίσεων ἄγνοια αἰτία, ἡ δὲ κατασκευάς εἰσάγονσα eis 4 τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους κηρῶν ὀλεθρίων καὶ εἰδώλων ἐπιστυγῶν πολλὰς τῶν δαμόνων ἐπιστυγ-σάσας μορφῶς, κηλίδα τοῖς ἐπομένοις αὐτῆς ἐν-απεμάζατο θανάτου μακροῖ. λάβετε οὖν ὑδρο λογικῶν, λούσασθε οἱ μεμολυσμένοι, περιρράνατε αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συνήθειας ταῖς ἀληθιναῖς σταγόσων καθαροῖς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναβήναι δεῖ. ἀνθρώπος εἶ, τὸ κοινότατον, ἐπιζήτησον τὸν δημοφυγῆσαι σε ἂν

1 <ὁ> inserted by Mayor.  2 <καὶ> inserted by Wilamowitz.  
3 ἐπιτέθραπται Mayor. ἐπιτέθραπται mss.
4 κατασκευᾶς εἰσάγονσα εἰς Schwartz. κατασκευάσσει mss. Stählin marks the passage as corrupt.

A reminiscence of the Platonic theory of ideas, in which there are three stages of reality: first, the archetypal idea; secondly, the object, which is a visible expression and a
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

Olympian Zeus, an image of an image, far removed from the truth, is a dumb lifeless work of Attic hands. For the image of God is His Word (and the divine Word, the light who is the archetype of light, is a genuine son of Mind); and an image of the Word is the true man, that is, the mind in man, who on this account is said to have been created in the image of God, and in His likeness, because through his understanding heart he is made like the divine Word or Reason, and so reasonable. But statues in human form, being an earthen image of visible, earthborn man, and far away from the truth, plainly show themselves to be but a temporary impression upon matter. In my opinion, then, nothing else but madness has taken possession of life, when it spends itself with so much earnestness upon matter.

Now custom, in having given you a taste of slavery and of irrational attention to trifles, has been fostered by idle opinion. But lawless rites and deceptive ceremonies have for their cause ignorance; for it is ignorance that brought to mankind the apparatus of fateful destruction and detestable idolatry, when it devised many forms for the daemons, and stamped the mark of a lasting death upon those who followed its guidance. Receive then the water of reason. Be washed, ye that are defiled. Sprinkle yourselves from the stain of custom by the drops that truly cleanse. We must be pure to ascend to heaven. In common with others, thou art a man; seek after Him who created thee. In thine own particular instance of the idea; thirdly, the picture, which is but a representation of the object, nothing more than the image of an image, three stages removed from reality.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{b} i.e. the Father. Cp. v. \textit{Strom.} 8. 7. \textsuperscript{c} Genesis i. 26.}\]
CAP. υίὸς εἶ, τὸ ἰδιαίτερον, ἀναγνώρισον τὸν πατέρα. σὺ δὲ ἐτί τὰς ἁμαρτίας παραμένεις, προστετήκως ἢδοναῖς; τίνι λαλήσει κύριος "ὑμῶν ἐστιν ἢ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν"; ὑμῶν ἐστιν, ἐὰν θελήσητε, τῶν πρὸς τὸν θεόν τὴν προοίμιαν ἐσχήκοτων ὑμῶν, ἐὰν θελήσητε πιστεύσαι μόνον καὶ τῇ συντομίᾳ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἐπεσθαί, ἂς ὑπακούσαντες οἱ Νευεῖται τῆς προσδοκήθεισης ἀλώσεως μετανοίας γνησίω τὴν καλὴν ἀντικατηλλάξαντο σωτηρίαν.

Πῶς οὖν ἀνέλθω, φησίν, εἰς οὐρανοὺς; "οὖν ἐστιν ὁ κύριος, "στενῇ" μὲν, ἀλλ' "ἐξ οὐρανῶν," στενῇ μὲν, ἀλλ' εἰς οὐρανούς ἀνατέμπουσα. στενῇ ἐπὶ γῆς ὑπερορμημένη, πλατεία ἐν οὐρανοῖς προσκυνομένη. εἰδ' ὁ μὲν ἁπνοῦτος τοῦ λόγου συγγνώμην τῆς πλάνης ἔχει τὴν ἀγνοίαν, ὁ δὲ εἰς ὁτα βαλλόμενος καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ παρὰ τῆς γνώμης φέρει τὴν ἀπείθειαν, καὶ δεινος γε φρονιμώτερος ἐναι δοξεῖ, πρὸς κακοῦ ἡ σύνεσις αὐτῷ, ὅτι τῇ φρονήσει κέχρηται κατηγόρω τὸ βέλτιστον ἕνας ἐλόμενος. πέφυκε γὰρ ὁ ἀνθρωπος οἰκείως ἔχειν πρὸς θεόν. ἢσπερ οὖν τὸν ἱππὸν ἅρον οὐ βιαζόμεθα οὐδὲ τὸν ταύρον κυνηγεῖτε, πρὸς δὲ πέφυκε δὲ ἐκαστὸν τῶν ζῴων περιέλκομεν, οὗτος ἅμελεν καὶ τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἐπὶ τὴν οὐρανον γενόμενον θέαν, φυτὸν οὐράνιον ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἐπὶ τὴν γνώσιν παρακαλούμενον τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ οἰκείον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔξαιρεν καὶ ἰδιωματικὸν παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ζώα κατειλημμένοι, αὐτάρκες ἐφόδιον αἰώνων, θεσσε-

1 ὁς Schwartz. ἄλλος mss.

—— a St. Matthew v. 3, 10; St. Luke vi. 20.
   b Compare p. 172, n. d.
   c Jonah iii. 5, 10.
   d St. John xiv. 6.
   e St. Matthew vii. 13, 14; St. John iii. 13, 31. 216
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self thou art a son; recognize thy Father. But thou, dost thou still abide by thy sins, engrossed in pleasures? To whom shall the Lord say, "Yours is the kingdom of heaven?" It is yours, if you wish, for it belongs to those who have their will set upon God. It is yours, if you are willing simply to trust and to follow the short way of our preaching. This it is which the Ninevites obediently heard; and by sincere repentance they received, in place of the threatened destruction, that glorious salvation.

"How then," you may say, "am I to go up into heaven?" The Lord is "the Way"; a "narrow" way, but coming "from heaven"; a "narrow" way, but leading back to heaven. It is narrow, being despised upon earth; and yet broad, being adored in heaven. Accordingly he who has never heard the Word can plead ignorance as an excuse for his error; whereas he whose ears ring with the message deliberately nurses his disobedience in the soul itself; and, the wiser he may seem to be, his intelligence ever proves a source of evil, because he finds wisdom an accuser, once he has failed to choose what is best. For it is his nature, as man, to be in close fellowship with God. As, then, we do not force the horse to plough, nor the bull to hunt, but lead each animal to its natural work; for the very same reason we call upon man, who was made for the contemplation of heaven, and is in truth a heavenly plant, to come to the knowledge of God. Having laid hold of what is personal, special and peculiar in his nature, that wherein he surpasses the other animals, we counsel him to equip himself with godliness, as a sufficient provision for

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CAP. X

βειαν, παρασκευάζεσθαι συμβουλεύοντες. γεώργει, φαμέν, εἰ γεωργὸς εἰ, ἀλλὰ γνώθι τὸν θεὸν γεωρ-

γῶν, καὶ πλείθι 1 ο τῆς ναυτιλίας ἔρων, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὀυράνιον κυβερνήτην παρακαλῶν· στρατευόμενον

σε κατείληθεν ἡ γνώσις· τοῦ δίκαια σημαίνοντος

ἀκούε στρατηγοῦ.

Καθάπερ οὖν κάρω καὶ μέθη βεβαρημένοι ἀνα-

νῆσατε καὶ διαβλέψαντες ὄλγον ἐννοηθήτε, τί

θέλουσιν ὑμῖν οἱ προσκυνοῦμενοι λίθοι καὶ ἀ περὶ

τῆς ἑλίης κενοστούδως δαπανᾶτε. εἰς ἄγγοιον καὶ

τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὸν βίον ὡς τὸ ἐκ ὑμῶν εἰς

θάνατον καταναλίσκετε, τοῦτο μόνον τῆς ματαιας

ὑμῶν ἐπίτιδος εὑρόμενοι τὸ πέρας, οὐδὲ αὐτοὺς οἰοί

tε ὄντες οἰκτείραι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῖς κατελείδουν ὑμᾶς

tῆς πλάνης ἐπιτήδεωι πείθεσθαι γινέσθαι, συνθεία

κακῇ δεδουλωμένοι, ἢς ἀπηρτημένοι αὐθαίρετοι

μέχρι τῆς ἔσχάτης ἀναπνοῆς εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπο-

φέροντες. "ὅτι τὸ φῶς ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον καὶ

ηγάπησαν οἱ ἀνθρωποι μᾶλλον τὸ σκότος ἢ τὸ

φῶς," ἔξων ἀπομάξασθαι τὰ ἐμποδῶν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ

καὶ τὸν τύφον καὶ τὸν πλούτον καὶ τὸν φόβον,

ἐπιφθεγγομένους τὸ ποιητικὸν δὴ τούτο

πῇ δὴ χρήματα πολλὰ φέρω τάδε; πῇ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς

πλάζομαι;

οὐ βούλεσθε οὖν τὰς φαντασίας ταύτας τὰς κενὰς

ἀπορρύθμας τῇ συνθείᾳ αὐτῇ ἀποτάξασθαι, κενο-

δοξίᾳ ἐπιλέγοντες.

ψευδεῖς ὀνειροὶ χαίρετ', οὐδὲν ἦτ' ἄρα;

1 πλείθι Sylburg. πλῆθι mss.

a St. John iii. 19. b Homer, Odyssey xiii. 203-4.
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his journey through eternity. Till the ground, we say, if you are a husbandman; but recognize God in your husbandry. Sail the sea, you who love sea-faring; but ever call upon the heavenly pilot. Were you a soldier on campaign when the knowledge of God laid hold of you? Then listen to the commander who signals righteousness.

Ye men that are weighed down as with torpor and drink, awake to soberness. Look about you and consider a little what is the meaning of your worship of stones, and of all that you squander with useless zeal upon mere matter. You are wasting both money and livelihood upon ignorance, just as you are wasting your very life upon death. For nothing but death have you gained as the end of your vain hope. You cannot pity yourselves,—nay, you are not even in a fit state to be persuaded by those who have compassion upon you for your error. Enslaved to pernicious custom, you cling to it of your own free will until the latest breath, and sink down into destruction. "For the light has come into the world, and men loved the darkness rather than the light," though they might sweep away the hindrances to salvation, absurd folly and riches and fear, by repeating this verse of the poet:

Whither this wealth do I bear; my journey, where doth it lead me?

Do you not then wish to fling away these vain fancies, and bid good-bye to custom itself, saying these last words to vain opinion?—

Farewell, deceitful dreams; for ye were nought.

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*c Euripides, Iphigeneia among the Taurians 569.

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CAP.  
81 P.  
Τι γαρ ἐγείσθη, ώ ἄνθρωποι, τον Τύχωνα 1 | 
Ἑρμήν καὶ τὸν Ἀνδοκίδου 2 καὶ τὸν Ἀμύητον; ἣ 
παντὶ τῶν δήλων ὅτι λίθους, ὅπερ καὶ <-auton> 3 τὸν 
Ἑρμήν. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶ θεὸς ἢ ἄλως καὶ ώς οὐκ 
ἐστι θεὸς ἢ ἱρις, ἀλλὰ πάθη ἄριος 4 καὶ νεφῶν, καὶ 
ὅπως ἔτι τὸν ἐστὶν ἡμέρα θεὸς, οὐδὲ μὴν οὐδὲ 
ἐναυτὸς οὐδὲ χρόνος ο έκ τούτων συμπληροῦ-
μενος, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἢλιος οὐδὲ σελήνη, ὁς ἔκαστον 
τῶν προειρημένων διορίζεται. τίς ἂν οὖν τὴν 
εὐθυναν καὶ τὴν κόλασιν καὶ τὴν δίκην καὶ τὴν 
νέμεσιν εὑρον ὑπολάβοι θεοῦς; οὐδὲ γὰρ 
οὐδὲ ἐρνυτις οὐδὲ μοίραι οὐδὲ εἰμαρμένη, ἐπει 
μηδὲ 
πολυεία μηδὲ δόξα μηδὲ πλοῦτος θεοῦ, ὅ ν καὶ 
ζωγράφοι τυφλὸν ἐπιδεικνύουσιν· εἰ δὲ αἰῶν 
καὶ ἔρωτα καὶ ἀφροδίτην ἐκθειάζετε, ἀκολουθοῦντων 
αὐτοῖς αἰσχύνη καὶ ὀρμή καὶ κάλλος καὶ συνοεία. 
οὐκον ἔτι ἂν εἰκότως ὑπὸ καὶ θάνατος θεῶ 
διδυμάνε τιν' ὑμῖν νομίζοντο, πάθη ταῦτα περὶ 
τὰ ζῷα συμβαίνοντα φυσικῶς. οὐδὲ μὴν κῆρα 
οὐδὲ εἰμαρμένη οὐδὲ μοίρας θέας ἐνδίκως ἐρείτε. 
ei dè éris kai màkh o ò theoi, oúde 'Aρης oúde 
'Ενυφ. éti te <ei> 5 aì åstapai kai oi keraunoi 
ka oí ómberoi ou theoi, pòs to πύρ kai to ùdor

1 Túxwna Meurs (see Hesychius s.v.). τυφώνα mss.
2 'Anódóydon Heinsius. Ἀνδοκίδην mss.
3 <auton> inserted by Mayor.
4 áeros Markland. áēron mss. 5 <eï> inserted by Sylburg.

The Hermes was a stone pillar ending in a bust, which 
was set up in fields and roads as a landmark, and also before 
the doors of Athenian houses. An essential part of the 
figure was a phallic, which points to Hermes being originally 
a fertility god. He was, therefore, easily identified with 
Tycho, an Attic nature divinity of similar character to 
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Why, my fellow-men, do you believe in Hermes \[\text{CHAP. X}\] and in the Hermes of Andocides and the one called Amyetus?\(^a\) Surely it is plain to everyone that they are stones, just as Hermes himself. And as the halo is not a god, nor the rainbow either, but conditions of the atmosphere and clouds; and precisely as day is not a god, nor month, nor year, nor time which is made up of these; so also neither is the sun or moon, by which each of the before-mentioned periods is marked off. Who then in his right mind would imagine such things as audit, punishment, right and retribution to be gods? No, nor even the Avengers, nor the Fates, nor destiny are gods; for neither is the State, nor glory, nor wealth, the last of which painters represent as blind. If you deify modesty, desire and love, you must add to them shame, impulse, beauty and sexual intercourse. No longer, then, can sleep and death be reasonably held among you to be twin gods, since these are conditions which naturally affect all animals; nor indeed will you rightly say that doom, destiny, or the Fates are goddesses. And if strife and battle are not gods, neither are Ares and Enyo. Further, if flashes of lightning, thunderbolts and showers of rain are not gods, how can fire and water be such?\(^b\)

Priapus (Diodorus iv. 6; Strabo 588). For the identification see Hesychius s.v., and A. B. Cook, Zeus, i. pp. 175–6. In 415 B.C., just before the sailing of the expedition to Sicily, all the Hermæ in Athens were mutilated except one, which stood in front of the house of Andocides and was called the "Hermes of Andocides" (Plutarch, Nicias xiii.). The account of the excitement caused by this outrage, and the accusation made against Andocides, is found in Thucydides vi. 27, and in Andocides, On the Mysteries. The Hermes Amyetus was, according to Hesychius, on the Acropolis at Athens.

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CAP. theoi; πώς δὲ καὶ οἱ διάσοντες καὶ οἱ κομήται
diὰ πάθος άέρος γεγενημένοι; ὃ δὲ τὴν τύχην θεον
λέγων καὶ τὴν πράξιν λεγέτω θεον. εἰ δὴ οὖν
tούτων οὔδὲ ἐν θεος εἶναι νομίζεται οὐδὲ μὴν
ἐκεῖνων τῶν χειροκμήτων καὶ ἀνασθήτων πλασμά-
tων, πρόνοια δὲ τις περὶ ἡμᾶς καταφαίνεται δυνά-
μεως θείκης, λειτεται οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἡ τούτο ὁμολογεῖν,
ὅτι ἄρα οὖν οἷος ἔστι τε καὶ υφέστηκεν ὁ μόνος
οὖτως ὑπάρχων θεός.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ μανδραγόραν ἡ τι ἄλλο φάρμακον
πεπωκόσιν ἀνθρώπων ἐσκατε οἱ ἁνόητοι, θεος δὲ
ῦμιν ἀνανήμαι δοίη ποτὲ τοῦτ τοιαῦ ὑπνοῦ καὶ
συνεέναι θεον μηδὲ χρυσὸν ἡ λίθον ἡ δένδρον ἡ
πράξιν ἡ πάθος ἡ νόσον ἡ φόβον ἰνδάλλεσθαι ὁ σ
θεόν. "τρισ γὰρ μύροι εἰσων" ὥς ἀληθῶς "ἐπὶ
χθονι πουλυβοτείρη δαίμονες" οὐκ "ἀθάνατοι"
οὐδὲ μὴν θυτοί (οὐδὲ γὰρ αἰσθήσεως, ἵνα και
θανάτου, μετευλήφασιν), λίθινοι δὲ καὶ ξύλων δε-
στόται ἀνθρώπων, ύβρίζοντες καὶ παραστονδούντες

82 P. τὸν βίον διὰ τῆς | συνθείας. "ή γῇ δὲ τοῦ κυρίου,
φησί, "καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς" είτα τὶ τολμᾶς
ἐν τοῖς τοῦ κυρίου τρυφῶν ἀγνοεῖν τὸν δεσπότην;
κατάλειπε τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐμῆν, ἔρει σοὶ ὁ κύριος, μὴ
θίγῃς τοῦ ύδατος ὃ ἐγὼ ἀναδίδωμι, τῶν καρπῶν
ἀν ἐγὼ γεωργῆ μη μεταλάμβανε· ἀπόδος, ἀν-
θρωπε, τὰ τροφεία τῷ θεῷ. ἐπίγυνθι σοι τὸν
despótην· ἵδιον εἰ πλάσμα τοῦ θεοῦ· τὸ δὲ οἰκεῖον
αὐτοῦ πώς ἂν ἐνδίκως ἀλλότριον γένοιτο; τὸ γὰρ

1 ἐσκατε ol Schwartz. ἐσκασων mss.

* Hesiod: quoted above, p. 89.

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How, too, can shooting stars and comets, which come about owing to some condition of the atmosphere? Let him who calls fortune a god, call action a god also. If then we do not believe even one of these to be a god, nor yet one of those figures made by hand and devoid of feeling, but there is manifest round about us a certain providence of divine power, then nothing remains save to confess that, after all, the sole truly existing God is the only one who really is and subsists.

But verily, you who do not understand are like men that have drunk of mandrake or some other drug. God grant that one day you may recover from this slumber and perceive God, and that neither gold nor stone nor tree nor action nor suffering nor disease nor fear may appear to you as God. For it is quite true that “there are thrice ten thousand daemons upon all-nourishing earth,” but they are not “immortal” as the poet says. No, nor yet mortal,—for they do not partake of feeling, and therefore cannot partake of death,—but they are stone and wooden masters of mankind, who insult and violate human life through custom. It is written, “The earth is the Lord’s, and the fulness thereof.” Then how do you dare, while enjoying the delights of the Lord’s possessions, to ignore their Master? Leave My earth, the Lord will say to you; touch not the water I send forth; partake not of the fruits My husbandry produces. Give back, O man, to God the recompense for your nurture. Acknowledge your Master. You are God’s own handiwork; and how could that which is His peculiar possession rightly become another’s? For that which is alienated,

a Psalm xxiv. 1.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. άπηλλατρωμένου στερόμενον τῆς οἰκείοτητος στέρεται τῆς ἀληθείας. ἢ γὰρ οὖν ἢ Νιώβη τρόπον τινά, μάλλον δὲ ἵνα μυστικῶτερον πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἁποφθέγξωμαι, γνωαίκος τῆς Εβραίας δίκην (Λωτ ἐκάλουν αὐτῆς οἱ παλαιοὶ) εἰς ἀναισθησίαν μετατρέπεσθε; λειτυμημένην ταύτην παρειλήφημεν τὴν γυναίκα διὰ τὸ Σωδόμων ἔραν. Σωδομίται δὲ οἱ άθεοι καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἀσεβείαν ἐπιστρέφομεν, σκληροκάρδιοι τε καὶ ἠλιθιοί. ταῦτας οἴνου θεόθεν ἐπιλέγεσθαί σοι τὰς φωνὰς· μὴ γὰρ οἶνον λίθους μὲν εἶναι ἱερὰ καὶ ἦλια καὶ ὄρνεα καὶ ὁφείς, ἄνθρωποι δὲ μητρόποι πολὺ τοῦναντίον ἱεροὺς μὲν ὅντως τοὺς ἄνθρωπος ὑπολάμβανε, τὰ δὲ θηρία καὶ τοὺς λίθους ὑπὲρ εἰσίν. οἱ γὰρ τοὺς δείλαιος τῶν ἄνθρωπων καὶ ἄθλοι διὰ μὲν κόρακος καὶ κολοφύνοντος τὸν θεὸν ἐμβόαν, διὰ δὲ ἄνθρωπον σιωπᾶν, καὶ τὸν μὲν κόρακα τετμήκασιν ὡς ἄγγελον θεοῦ, τὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ διώκουσιν, οὐ κρύζοντα, οὐ κλώζοντα, φθεγγόμενον δὲ οἶμοι, λογικῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως κατηχοῦντα ἀποσφάττειν ἀπανθρώπως ἐπιχειροῦσιν, ἐπὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην καλοῦντα, οὕτε τὴν χάριν τὴν ἀνωθεν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι οὕτε τὴν κόλασιν ἐκτρεπόμενοι. οὐ γὰρ πιστεύουσι τῷ θεῷ οὐδὲ ἐκμαθάνουσι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ.

Οὗ δὲ ἄρρητος ἡ φιλανθρωπία, τοῦτον ἀχώρητος ἡ μυστικότητα. τρέφει δὲ τὸ μὲν θυμὸς τὴν κόλασιν ἐπὶ ἀμαρτία, εὐ ποιεῖ δὲ ἐπὶ μετανοία ἡ φιλανθρωπία. οἰκτρότατον δὲ τὸ στέρεσθαι τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπικουρίας. ομμάτων μὲν οὖν ἡ πίπτωσις καὶ τῆς

1 ὑπολάμβανε Markland. ὑπολαμβάνετε mss.
3 Or, an angel.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

being deprived of its connexion with Him, is deprived of the truth. Are you not turned into a state of insensibility after the manner of Niobe, or rather—to address you in more mystical language—like the Hebrew woman whom the ancient people called Lot's wife? This woman, tradition tells us, was turned into stone on account of her love of Sodom; and by Sodomites we understand the atheists and those who are devoted to impiety, who are both hard of heart and without sense. Believe that these utterances are being spoken to you from heaven. Do not believe that stones and stocks and birds and snakes are sacred things, while men are not. Far rather regard men as really sacred, and take beasts and stones for what they are. For indeed the timid and wretched among men believe that God cries out through a raven or a jackdaw, but is silent through man; and they have given honour to the raven as a messenger of God, while they persecute the man of God, who neither caws, nor croaks, but speaks. Yes, alas! they set to work with inhuman hatred to slaughter him when he instructs them with reason and human love, and calls them to righteousness, while they neither look for the grace that comes from above, nor do they seek to avoid the punishment. For they do not trust in God, nor do they fully understand His power.

But He whose love for man is unspeakably great, has also an unbounded hatred for sin. His wrath breeds the punishment to follow upon sin; on the other hand, His love for man brings blessings upon repentance. It is a most pitiable thing to be deprived of the help that comes from God. Now the blinding of the eyes and deafening of the ears are more...
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. X

άκοης ἢ κώφωσις ἀλγεινοτέρα παρὰ τὰς λοιπὰς τοῦ πονηροῦ πλεονεξίας. ἡ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀφήρηται τῆς οὐρανίου προσόψεως, ἡ δὲ τῆς θείας μαθήσεως ἐστέρηται. οὐκιεὶς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀνάπτυροι καὶ τυφλοὶ μὲν τὸν νοῦν, κωφοὶ δὲ τὴν σύνεσιν ὄντες οὐκ ἀλγεῖτε, οὐκ ἀγανακτεῖτε, οὐκ τὸν οὐρανὸν ιδεῖν καὶ τὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ποιήτην | ἐπεθυμήσατε, οὐδὲ τὸν τῶν πάντων δημιουργὸν καὶ πατέρα ἀκούσας καὶ μαθεῖν ἐξεξήγησατε, τὴν προαίρεσιν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ συνάψατες: ἐμπρὸς γὰρ ἑσταταί οὐδὲν τῶν σπεύδοντι πρὸς γνώσιν θεοῦ, οὐκ ἀπαίδευσα, οὐκ ἐπενία, οὐκ ἀδοξία, οὐκ ἀκημιστικὴν. οὐδὲ τῆς τῶν ὄντως ἀληθῆς σοφίας "χαλκῷ δημόσια" μεταλλάξαι εὐχεταὶ οὐδὲ σιδῆρῳ: εὖ γὰρ τοι πάντος μᾶλλον τοῦτο εἴρηται.

ὁ χρηστὸς ἐστὶ πανταχοῦ σωτήριος;

ὁ γὰρ τοῦ δικαίου ζηλωτὴς, ὡς ἂν τοῦ ἀνενδεόσα ἐραστὴς, ὀλιγοδεής, οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ [καὶ] τῷ θεῷ τὸ μακάριον θησαυρίσας, ἐνθα οὐ σής, οὐ ληστῆς, οὐ πειρατῆς, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀίδιος δοτήρ. ἄρα οὖν εἰκότως ωμοίωσε τοῖς ὁφείσιν ἐκείνοις, οἷς τὰ ὀταν πρὸς τοὺς κατεπέδοντας ἀποκέκλεισα. "θυμὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς," φησίν ἡ γραφή, "κατὰ τὴν ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ ὁφεως, ὥσει ἀσπίδος κωφῆς καὶ βυνοῦσης τὰ ὅτα αὐτῆς, ἦτος οὐκ εἰσ-

1 ἀπαίδευσα Hopfenmüller. ἀπαίδεα mss.
2 χρηστὸς Blass (from Stobaeus, Flor. 37. 6). χριστὸς mss.
3 [καὶ] Barnard. ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ Dindorf.

a Homer, Iliad viii. 534. The phrase, well known, no doubt, to Clement's first readers, is used metaphorically. Cp. the "sword of the Spirit" in Ephesians vi. 17. The 226
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Grievous than all the other encroachments of the evil one; for by the first of these we are robbed of the sight of heaven, and by the second we are deprived of the divine teaching. But you, though maimed in respect of the truth, darkened in mind and deaf in understanding, still are not grieved, are not pained, have felt no longing to see heaven and its maker, nor have you sought diligently to hear and to know the Creator and Father of the universe, by fixing your choice on salvation. For nothing stands in the way of him who earnestly desires to come to the knowledge of God, not want of instruction, not penury, not obscurity, not poverty. And when a man has "conquered by brass," a or by iron either, the really true wisdom, he does not seek to change it. Indeed no finer word has ever been said than this:

In every act the good man seeks to save. b

For he who is zealous for the right, as one would expect from a lover of Him who is in need of nothing, is himself in need of but little, because he has stored up his blessedness with none other than God Himself, where is no moth, no robber, no pirate, c but only the eternal giver of good things. With good reason, therefore, have you been likened to those serpents whose ears are closed to the enchanters. "For their heart," the Scripture says, "is after the likeness of the serpent, even like an adder that is deaf and stoppeth her ears, who will not give heed to the earthly warrior is ever bent on fresh conquests and spoils: the spiritual warrior finds "the true wisdom" a sufficient prize, and seeks to save others rather than to destroy.

c See St. Matthew vi. 19, 20.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. ΑΚΟΥΣΕΤΑΙ ΦΩΝΗΣ ἙΠΑΘΟΝΤΩΝ." ὎ΛΛῼ ΥΜΕῖΣ ΥΕ ΚΑΤΕΠΑΘΗΤΗΤΑ1 ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΔΕΞΑΣΘΕ ΤΟΝ ᾨΜΕΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ᾨΜΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ᾨΝ ΑΠΟΠΤΥΣΑΣΤΕ ΤΟΝ ΔΗΛΗΤΗΡΙΟΝ, ὙΠΟΣ ΘΤΙ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΥΜῖΝ ΤΗΝ ΦΘΟΡΑΝ, ὍΣΕ ΕἽΚΕΙΝΟΤΟ ΤΟ ΓΗΡΑΣ, ἈΠΟΘΥΣΑΣΘΑΙ ΔΟΘΗ.

ἈΚΟΥΣΑΣΤΕ ΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΤΑ ὩΤΑ ΑΠΟΒΥΣΘΗΤΕ ΜΗΔΕ ΤΑΣ ἈΚΟΑΣ ἈΠΟΦΡΑΞΗΤΕ, ὅΛΛῼ ΕΙΣ ΝΟΥΝ ΒΑΛΕΟΘΕ ΤΑ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΑ. ΚΑΛΟΝ ἘΣΤΙ ΤΟ ΦΑΡΜΑΚΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΑΣ; ΣΤΗΣΑΣΤΕ ΠΟΤΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΌΛΚΟΥΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΡΠΗΣΤΙΚΟΥΣ. "ΟΙ ΓΑΡ ἘΘΡΟΙ ΚΥΡΙΟΝ ΧΟΥΝ ΛΕΙΞΟΥΣΙ," ΦΗΣΙ [Ἥ ΓΡΑΦΗ ΛΕΓΕΙ]2. ἈΝΑΝΕΥΣΑΣΤΕ ΤΗΣ ΓΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΑΙΘΕΡΑ, ἈΝΑΒΛΕΨΑΤΕ ΕΙΣ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ, ΘΑΥΜΑΣΑΤΕ, ΠΑΥΣΑΣΘΕ ΚΑΡΑΔΟΚΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΚΑΙΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΤΕΡΝΑΝ ΚΑΙ "ΤΗΝ ὈΔΟΝ ΤΗΣ ἈΛΗΘΕΙΑΣ" ἘΜΠΟΔΙΖΟΝΤΕΣ: ΦΡΟΝΙΜΟΙ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΕ ΚΑΙ ἈΒΛΑΒΕΙΣ, ΤΑΧΑ ΤΟΥ Ὀ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ἈΠΛΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΥΜῖΝ ΔΩΡΗΣΕΤΑΙ ΠΤΕΡΟΝ (ΠΤΕΡΩΣΑΙ ΠΡΟΪΗΡΗΣΤΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΓΓΕΝΕΙΣ), ἩΝΑ ΔΗ ΤΟΥΣ ΧΗΡΑΜΟΥΣ ΚΑΤΑΛΕΙΠΟΝΤΕΣ ΟΙΚΗΣΘΗ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥΣ. ΜΟΝΟΝ ἜΞ ΟΛΗΣ ΚΑΡΔΙΑΣ ΜΕΤΑΝΟΗΣΩΜΕΝ, ὩΣ ΟΛΗ ΚΑΡΔΙΑ ΔΥΝΗΘΗΝΙΑ ΧΩΡΗΣΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ. "ἘΛΠΙΣΑΤΕ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν," φησι, "ΠΑΣΑ ΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ ΛΑΟΥ, ἘΚΧΕΣΤΕ ΕΝΟΠΙΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΑΣΑΣ ΤΑΣ ΚΑΡΔΙΑΣ ΥΜῶΝ." ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΝΗΡΙΑΣ ΛΕΓΕΙ· ἘΛΕΕΙ

84 Π. ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗΣ ΠΛΗΡΟΙ· ΠΙΣΤΕΥΟΥΝ, ἍΝΘΡΩΠΕ, ἍΝΘΡΩΠΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΩ· ΠΙΣΤΕΥΟΥΝ, ἍΝΘΡΩΠΕ, Τῌ ΠΑΘΟΝΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ. ΘΕΩ ΖΩΝΤΙ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΣΑΤΕ ΟΙ ΔΟΥΛΟΙ Τῌ ΝΕΚΡΩ· ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ἍΝΘΡΩΠΟΙ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΣΑΤΕ ΜΟΝΟΝ Τῌ ΠΑΝΤΟΝ ἍΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΘΕΩ· ΠΙΣΤΕΥΣΑΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΜΟΘΟΝ ΛΑΒΕΤΕ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΝ· "ΕΚΧΕΣΤΗΣΑΤΕ ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ,

1 ἈΓΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ Heyse. ἈΓΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ mss.  
2 [Ἥ ΓΡΑΦΗ ΛΕΓΕΙ] Mayor.

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a Psalm lviii. 4, 5.  
b Psalm lxxii. 9.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

voice of charmers.\(^a\) But as for you, let your wild-
ness be charmed away, and receive the gentle Word
we preach, and spit out the deadly poison, in order
that as fully as possible it may be given you to cast
off corruption, as serpents cast their old skin.

Listen to me, and do not stop up your ears or shut
off your hearing, but consider my words. Splendid
is the medicine of immortality; stay at length your
serpent-like windings. For it is written: “the
enemies of the Lord shall lick the dust.”\(^b\) Lift up
your head from earth to the sky, look up to heaven
and wonder, cease watching for the heel\(^c\) of the just
and hindering “the way of truth.”\(^d\) Become wise
and yet harmless;\(^e\) perchance the Lord will grant
you wings of simplicity (for it is His purpose to
supply earth-born creatures with wings)\(^f\) in order
that, forsaking the holes of the earth, you may dwell
in the heavens. Only let us repent with our whole
heart, that with our whole heart we may be able to
receive God. “Hope in Him,” the Scripture says,
“all ye congregations of people; pour out all your
hearts before Him.”\(^g\) He speaks to those who
are empty of wickedness; He pities them and fills
them with righteousness. Trust, O man, in Him
who is man and God; trust, O man, in Him who
suffered and is adored. Trust, ye slaves, in the living
God who was dead. Trust, all men, in Him who
alone is God of all men. Trust, and take salvation
for reward. “Seek after God, and your soul shall

\(^a\) Genesis iii. 15: Psalm lv. 7 (Septuagint).
\(^b\) 2 St. Peter ii. 2.
\(^c\) See St. Matthew x. 16.
\(^d\) See Plato, Phaedrus 248 c, and elsewhere.
\(^e\) Psalm lxii. 8.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. καὶ ζήσεται ἢ ψυχὴ ύμῶν." ὁ ἐκζητῶν τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἱδίαν πολυπραγμονεῖ σωτηρίαν· εὗρες τὸν θεὸν, ἔχεις τὴν ζωήν. ζητήσωμεν οὖν, ἵνα καὶ ζήσωμεν. ὁ μισθὸς τῆς εὐρέσεως ζωῆς παρὰ θεῷ. ἀγαλλιάσθωσαν καὶ εὐφρανθήσασαν ἐπὶ σοὶ πάντες οἱ ζητοῦντες σε καὶ λεγέτωσαν διὰ παντός, μεγαλυνθήτω ὁ θεὸς." καλὸς ὦμοι τοῦ θεοῦ ἀθάνατος ἀνθρώπος, δικαιοσύνη οἰκοδομούμενος, ἐν ὦ τὰ λόγια τῆς ἀληθείας ἐγκεκάρκηται. ποῦ γὰρ ἀλλαχόθι ἢ ἐν σώφρονι ψυχῇ δικαιοσύνην ἐγγραπτέον; ποῦ ἀγάπην; αἰῶν ἐκ ποῦ; προσότητα δὲ ποῦ; ταύτας, οἷς ἡ γὰρ θεία γραφᾶς ἐναποσφραγισμένης χρῆ τῇ ψυχῇ καλὸν ἀφετέρους θρόιν ἡγεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν τοῦ βίου τραπείσι μέρος, ὅρμον τε τὴν αὐτὴν ἑκόμονα σωτηρίας σοφίαν νομίζειν. δὲ ἢν ἀγάθοι μὲν πατέρες τέκνων οἱ τῷ πατρὶ προσδεδραμηκότες, ἀγάθοι δὲ γονεῖσιν ὅτι οἱ τὸν ὑπὸ νεονηκότες, ἀγάθοι δὲ ἄνδρες γυναικῶν οἱ μεμημένου τοῦ νυμφίου, ἀγάθοι δὲ ὀικετῶν δεσπόται οἱ τῆς ἐσχάτης δουλείας λευτρωμένοι.

"Ὡς μακαριώτερα τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώπων πλάνης τὰ θεριά· ἐπινέμεται τὴν ἀγνοίαν, ὅσι ὑμεῖς, οὐχ ὑποκρίνεται δὲ τὴν ἀληθείαν· ὅτι ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς κολάκων γένη, οὐ δεισδαιμονοῦσιν ἱδν χῶν, οὐκ εἴδωλολατρεῖ τὰ ὄρνη, ἕνα μόνον ἐκπλήττεται τὸν οὐρανόν, ἐπεὶ θεὸν νόησαι μὴ δύναται ἀπεξισμένα τοῦ λόγου. εἰτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων σφάς αὐτοὺς ἀλογωτέρους πεποιηκότες, οἱ διὰ τοσούτων ἢλικῶν ἐν ἀθεότητι κατατέρψεθε; παῖδες

1 τὴν αὐτὴν Mayor. τὸν αὐτὸν mss. 2 γονεῖσιν uvi Potter. γονεῖς uivam mss.

a Psalm lxx. 32. b Psalm lxx. iv.

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EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

live." He who seeks after God is busy about his own salvation. Have you found God? you have life. Let us seek then, that we may also live. The reward of finding is life with God. "Let all who seek Thee be joyful and glad in Thee, and let them say always, God be exalted." A beautiful hymn to God is an immortal man who is being built up in righteousness, and upon whom the oracles of truth have been engraved. For where else but in a temperate soul should righteousness be inscribed? or love, or modesty, or gentleness? We ought, I think, by having these divine writings stamped deeply into the soul, to regard wisdom as a noble starting-point, to whatever lot in life men turn, and to believe that the same wisdom is a calm haven of salvation. For it is because of wisdom that they whose course has led them to the Father are good fathers of their children; that they who have come to know the Son are good sons to their parents; that they who have been mindful of the Bridegroom are good husbands of their wives; that they who have been ransomed from the deepest slavery are good masters of their servants.

Surely the beasts are happier than men who live in error! They dwell in ignorance, like you, but they do not falsely pretend to truth. Among them are no tribes of flatterers. Fishes do not fear daemons; birds do not worship idols. One heaven alone they marvel at, since God they cannot come to know, having been deemed unworthy of reason. When you think of this, are you not ashamed to have made yourselves less reasonable than even the creatures without reason, you who have wasted so many stages of life in atheism? You have
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. γεγόνατε, εἶτα μειράκια, εἶτα ἐφηβοί, εἶτα ἄνδρες, χρηστοὶ δὲ οὐδέποτε. κἂν τὸ γῆρας αἰδέσθητε, ἐπὶ δύσμαϊς τοῦ βίου γενόμενοι σωφρονήσατε, κἂν ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ βίου τὸν θεόν ἐπίγνωτε, ὥσ δὴ τὸ τέλος ὃ ὑμῖν τοῦ βίου ἀρχὴν ἀναλάβωι σωτηρίας. γηράσατε ἐν δεισιδαιμονίαν, νέοι ἀφίκεσθε πρὸς θεοσέβειαν· παῖς ἀκάκους ἐγκρίνει θεὸς. ὦ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖος τοῖς Σόλωνος ἐπέσθω νόμοις καὶ ὦ Ἀργείος τοῖς Φορωνέως καὶ ὦ Σπαρτιάτης τοῖς Δυκούργοι, εἰ δὲ σεαυτόν ἀναγράφεις τῷ θεῷ, οὐρανός | μὲν σοι ἡ πατρίς, ὦ δὲ θεός νομοθέτης. τίνες δὲ καὶ οἱ νόμοι; ὃς φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδο- φθορήσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, ἀγα- τήσεις κύριον τὸν θεὸν σου; εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τούτων τὰ παραπληρώματα, λόγιοι νόμοι καὶ ἄγιοι λόγοι ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγγραφόμενοι ταῖς καρδίαις. ἀγατήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν, καὶ τῷ τύπτοτι σε εἰς τὴν σιαγόνα πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ "οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις, ἐπιθυμία γὰρ μόνη μεμοίχευκας." πόσῳ γοῦν ἄμεσον τοῖς ἄνθρωποι τοῦ τυχάνεων τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀρχὴν μηδὲ ἐπιθυμεῖς ἑθέλειν ὃν μὴ δέι.

Ἀλλὰ ύμεῖς μὲν τὸ αὐτηρὸν τῆς σωτηρίας ὑπο- μένεις οὐ καρτερεῖτε, καθάπερ δὲ τῶν στίων τοῖς γλυκεσιν ἡδόμεθα διὰ τὴν θεατὴν τῆς ἡδονῆς προτιμώντες, ἵτατι δὲ ἡμᾶς καὶ ύμᾶς ἂν πικρὰ

1 ἐγηράσατε Wilamowitz: Stählin.

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*See Exodus xx. 13–16; Deuteronomy vi. 5. For the added commandment “Thou shalt not corrupt a boy” see the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles ii. 2; Epistle of Barnabas xix. 4. The prevalence of this vice in the early centuries of Christianity doubtless led to the insertion of the precept.*

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been boys, then lads, then youths, then men, but CHAP.
good you have never been. Have respect to your old age; become sober now you have reached the sunset of life; even at the end of life acknowledge God, so that the end of your life may regain a beginning of salvation. Grow old to daemon-worship; return as young men to the fear of God; God will enroll you as guileless children. Let the Athenian, then, follow the laws of Solon, the Argive those of Phoroneus, and the Spartan those of Lycurgus, but if you record yourself among God’s people, then heaven is your fatherland and God your lawgiver. And what are His laws? “Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not corrupt a boy; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not bear false witness; thou shalt love the Lord thy God.”

There are also the complements of these, wise laws and holy sayings inscribed in the very hearts of men; “Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;” and, “to him that smiteth thee on the one cheek, offer also the other;” and, “thou shalt not lust, for lust by itself is an act of adultery.” How much better is it for men not to have the least wish to lust after forbidden things, rather than to obtain the object of their lusts?

But you do not patiently endure the severity of the way of salvation. Nevertheless, just as we take delight in sweet foods, preferring them because they are smooth and pleasant, and yet it is the bitter medicines, rough to the taste, which cure and restore

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b Leviticus xix. 18, and often in New Testament.
c St. Luke vi. 29.
d See St. Matthew v. 28.
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CAP. τραχύνοντα τὴν αἰσθησιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἁσθενεῖς τὸν στόμαχον ρέωνυσιν ἢ τῶν φαρμάκων αὐστηρία, οὔτως ἦδει μὲν καὶ γαργαλίζει ἡ συνήθεια, ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ὑθεῖ, ἡ συνήθεια, ἡ δὲ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνάγει, ἡ ἀλήθεια, "τραχεία" μὲν τὸ πρῶτον, ἀλλ' ἁγαθὴ κουροτρόφος"· καὶ σεμνῆ μὲν ἡ γυναικωνίτις αὐτη, σῶφρων δὲ ἡ γερουσία· οὔτε ἐστι δυσπρόωτος οὔτε ἀδύνατος λαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἐγγυτάτω ἐνοικος ἡμῶν, ἡ φησιν αἰνιττόμενος ὁ πάνσοφος Μωυσῆς, τρισὶ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν- διατωμένη μέρεσι, "χερσὶ καὶ στόματι καὶ καρδίᾳ." σύμβολον τούτῳ γνήσιον τρισὶ τοῖς πάσι συμπληρωμένης τῆς ἁληθείας, βουλῇ καὶ πράξει καὶ λόγῳ· μηδὲ γὰρ τάδε δείματι, μη σε τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἐπιτερτῆς φανταζόμενα αφέληται σοφίας· αὐτὸς ἐκὼν ὑπερβηγήτο τὸν λῆρον τῆς συνήθειας, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ παῖδες τὰ ἀθύρματα ἀνδρεῖς γενόμενοι ἀπέρρυφαιν. τάχει μὲν δὴ ἀνυπερβλήτω εὐνοία τε εὐπροσιτήτω ἡ δύναμις ἡ θείκη ἐπιλάμψασα τὴν γῆν

86 Ρ. σωτηρίου στέρματος ἐνέπλησε τὸ πᾶν. οὐ γὰρ ἄν οὕτως ἐν ὅλῳ χρόνῳ τοσοῦτον ἔργον ἄνευ θείας κομιδῆς ἐξήνυσεν ὁ κύριος, ὀψεὶ καταφρονοῦμενος, ἔργῳ προσκυνοῦμενος, ὁ καθάρσιος καὶ σωτήριος καὶ μειλίχιος, ὁ θεῖος λόγος, ὁ φανερώτατος οὕτως θεός, ὁ τῷ δεσπότῃ τῶν ὅλων ἐξισωθείς, στὶ ἦν νῖος αὐτοῦ καὶ "ὁ λόγος ἦν ἐν τῷ θεῷ," οὖθ' ὦτε

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1 ἐνοικος Markland. ἐν οἰκοῖς mss.
2 φανταζόμενα Stählin. φανταζόμενον mss.

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a The epithets are applied by Homer to Ithaca. See Odyssey ix. 27.

b Having compared truth to Ithaca, the home of Odysseus, Clement goes on to divide it into two parts, sanctity and prudence, one being represented by the women's
us to health, the severity of the remedies strengthen-
ing those whose stomachs are weak; so custom
pleases and tickles us, but thrusts us into the pit,
whereas truth, which is "rough" at first, but a
"goodly reater of youth," leads us up to heaven.
And in this home of truth, the chamber of the
women is the abode of sanctity; while the assembly
of the old men is prudent. Nor is truth hard of
approach, nor impossible to grasp, but it is our inner-
most neighbour, dwelling, as the all-wise Moses darkly
says, in the three parts of our being, "hands and
mouth and heart." This is a genuine symbol of truth,
which is made complete by three things in all, by
purpose and action and speech. And be not afraid
of this, that the many delights of the imagination
may draw you away from wisdom; of your own
accord you will willingly pass beyond the childishness
of custom, just as boys throw away their playthings
on reaching manhood. With a swiftness beyond
parallel and a goodwill that is easy of approach, the
divine power has shone forth upon the earth and
filled the whole world with the seed of salvation.
For not without divine care could so great a work
have been accomplished, as it has been in so short
a time by the Lord, who to outward seeming is
despised, but in very deed is adored; who is
the real Purifier, Saviour and Gracious One, the
Divine Word, the truly most manifest God, who is
made equal to the Master of the universe, because
He was His Son and "the Word was in God." chamber, the other by the council of old men. Perhaps,
too, there is an allusion to the chastity of Penelope and the
prudence of Odysseus.

\textit{e} Titles of Zeus. \textit{f} St. John i. 1.
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CAP. Χ ὁ πρῶτος προεκηρύχθη, ἀπεστηθεὶς, οὖθε ὁ τὸ ἀνθρώπου προσωπεῖον ἀναλαβών καὶ σαρκὶ ἀναπλασάμενος τὸ σωτήριον δρᾶμα τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ὑπεκρίνετο, ἀγνοηθεὶς· γνήσιος γάρ ἦν ἀγωνιστὴς καὶ τοῦ πλάσματος συναγωνιστὴς, τάχιστα δὲ εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους διαδοθεῖς θάττον ἥλιον ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀνατελάσε τῆς πατρικῆς βουλήσεως, βαστά ἡμῖν ἐπέλαμψε τὸν θεὸν, ὅθεν τε ἦν αὐτὸς καὶ δ’ ἦν, δι’ ὅν ἐδίδαξεν καὶ ἐνεδείξατο, παραστηθείς, ὁ σπονδοφόρος καὶ διαλλακτής καὶ σωτήρ ἡμῶν λόγος, πηγὴ ζωοποίου, εἰρημικὴ, ἐπὶ πάν ὁ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς χεόμενος, δ’ ὑν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τὰ πάντα ἥδη πέλαγος γέγονεν ἀγαθῶν.

XI

Μικρὸν δὲ, εἰ βούλει, ἀνωθεν ἄθρει τὴν θείαν εὐεργεσίαν. ὁ πρῶτος [ὁτὲ] 1 ἐν παραδείσῳ ἐπάλει πελυμένος, ἐπεὶ παιδίον ἦν τοῦ θεοῦ· ὅτε δὲ ὑποπιπτών 2 ἡδονή (ὅφις ἀλληγορεῖται ἡδονή ἐπὶ γαστέρα ἐρποῦσα, κακία γηνή, ἐς ὃς τρε- φομένη 3) παρήγετο ἐπιθυμίας, ὁ παῖς ἀνδριζόμενος ἀπειθεῖα καὶ παρακούσας τοῦ πατρὸς ἑσχύνετο τὸν θεόν. ὅλον ἠχουσεν ἡδονή· δ’ ἀπλότητα λελυ- μένους ἀνθρώπους ἀμαρτίας εὐρήθη δεδεμένος. τῶν δεσμῶν λύσαι τοῦτον ὁ κύριος ἀθής ἠθέλησεν, καὶ σαρκὶ ἐνεδείξει (μυστήριον θείον τούτο) τὸν ὁφῖν ἔχειρώσατο καὶ τὸν τύραννον ἐδουλώσατο, τὸν

1 [ὁτὲ] Stählin. ὁτὲ μὲν Dindorf. ὁτὲ ἄν Markland.
2 ὑποπιπτών Schwartz. ὑπέπιπτεν mss.
3 στρεφομένη Heyse: Stählin.

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When at the first His coming was proclaimed the message was not disbelieved; nor was He unrecognized when, having assumed the mask of manhood and received fleshly form, He began to act the drama of salvation for humanity. For He was a true champion, and a fellow-champion with His creatures; and, having been most speedily published abroad to all men,—for swifter than the sun He rose from the very will of the Father—He readily lighted up God for us. Through His teachings and signs He showed whence He came and who He was, namely, the Word our herald, mediator and Saviour, a spring of life and peace flooding the whole face of the earth, thanks to whom the universe has now become, so to speak, a sea of blessings.

XI

Now consider briefly, if you will, the beneficence of God from the beginning. The first man played in Paradise with childlike freedom, since he was a child of God. But when he fell a victim to pleasure (for the serpent, that creeps upon the belly, an earthy evil, reared to return to matter, is an allegory for pleasure), and was led astray by lusts, the child, coming to manhood through disobedience and refusing to listen to the Father, was ashamed to meet God. See how pleasure prevailed! The man who by reason of innocence had been free was discovered to be bound by sins. The Lord purposed once again to loose him from his bonds. Clothing Himself with bonds of flesh (which is a divine mystery), He subdued the serpent and enslaved the tyrant death;

* Because it feeds on earth; cp. Genesis iii. 14.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. XI

θάνατον, καὶ τὸ παραδοξοτάτον, ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἀνθρώ


πον τὸν ἡδονή πεπλανημένον, τὸν τῇ φθορᾷ δεδεμέ


νον, χερσὶν ἕπλωμέναις ἐδείξε λελυμένον. Ὡθαύμα


τος μυστικοῦ· κέκλιται μὲν ὁ κύριος, ἀνέστη δὲ


ἀνθρωπός καὶ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου πεσὼν μείζον


ὑπακοῆς ἄθλον, οὐρανοῦς, ἀπολαμβάνει. διὸ μοι


dοκεῖ, ἐπεὶ αὐτός ἤκειν ὡς ἡμᾶς οὐρανόθεν ὁ λόγος,


ῄμαι ἐπ’ ἀνθρωπίνην ἦναι μὴ χρῆναι διδασκαλίαν


ἐτῇ, Ἐθήνας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ


Ἰωνίαν πολυπραγμονοῦντας. εἰ γὰρ ἠμῖν [ὁ] 1 δι-


δάσκαλος ὁ πληρώσας τὰ πάντα δυνάμεις ἀγίας,


δημουργία σωτηρία εὐεργεσία νομοθεσία πρόφη-


τεία διδασκαλία, πάντα νῦν ὁ διδάσκαλος κατηχεῖ


καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἦδη Ἐθήναι καὶ Ἑλλὰς γέγονεν τῷ


λόγῳ. οὐ γὰρ δὴ μύθῳ μὲν ἐπιστεύετε ποιητικῷ


τὸν Μίνω τὸν Κρήτα τοῦ Διὸς ὁριστὴν ἀναγράφοντι,


ἤμαι δὲ ἀπιστήσατε μαθητὰς θεοῦ γεγονότας, τὴν


ὁντως ἀληθὴ σοφίαν ἐπανηρμένους, ἢν φιλοσοφίας


ἀκροὶ μόνον ἠμίξαντο, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθηται


καὶ κατειλήφασι καὶ ἄνεκήρυξαν. καὶ δὴ καὶ πᾶς,


ὡς ἄπειρα ἐπὶ ἄνθρωπος ὁ Χριστὸς οὐ μερίζεται· οὔτε


βαρβαρὸς ἢς ὀυτὶ Ἰουδαῖος οὐτὶ Ἑλλην, οὐκ


ἀρρέν, οὐθὲ θῆλυ· καὶ νῦν ὁ ἀνθρώπος θεὸν πνεύματι


ἀγίω ἐκτενεῖσθαι.


Ἐλθ’ αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι συμβουλαὶ τε καὶ ὑποθήκαι


1 [ὁ] Heyse.

2 Stählin, following Schwartz, suspects an omission between ἐπείν and ὁ Χριστός.

It is possible that the Greek means only “with hands unloosened.” But the outstretching of Christ’s hands upon the cross was a familiar thought to the Christian Fathers, 238
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and, most wonderful of all, the very man who had erred through pleasure, and was bound by corruption, was shown to be free again, through His outstretched hands.\textsuperscript{a} O amazing mystery! The Lord has sunk down, but man rose up; and he who was driven from Paradise gains a greater prize, heaven, on becoming obedient. Wherefore it seems to me, that since the Word Himself came to us from heaven, we ought no longer to go to human teaching, to Athens and the rest of Greece, or to Ionia, in our curiosity. If our teacher is He who has filled the universe with holy powers, creation, salvation, beneficence, lawgiving, prophecy, teaching, this teacher now instructs us in all things, and the whole world has by this time become an Athens and a Greece through the Word. For surely, after believing in a poetic legend which records that Minos the Cretan was “a familiar friend of Zeus,”\textsuperscript{b} you will not disbelieve that we, who have become disciples of God, have entered into the really true wisdom which leaders of philosophy only hinted at, but which the disciples of the Christ have both comprehended and proclaimed abroad. Moreover, the whole Christ, so to speak, is not divided; there is neither barbarian nor Jew nor Greek, neither male nor female, but a new man transformed by the Holy Spirit of God.\textsuperscript{c}

Further, all other counsels and precepts, as, for

\textsuperscript{a} Homer, \textit{Odyssey} xix. 179.
\textsuperscript{b} See 1 Corinthians i. 35; Galatians iii. 26; Ephesians iv. 24; Colossians iii. 9-11.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. λυπραί καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους εἰσίν, εἰ γαμητέοιν, εἰ πολιτευτέον, εἰ παιδοποιήτεον. καθολικὴ δὲ ἀρὰ προτροπὴ μόνη καὶ πρὸς δὸλον δηλαδὴ τῶν βίων, ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ, ἐν πᾶσῃ περιστάσει πρὸς τὸ κυριώτατον τέλος, τὴν ζωὴν, συντείνουσα ἡ θεοσέβεια. καὶ δὲ καὶ μόνον ἐπάναγκες ἔστι ζῆν, ἵνα ζήσωμεν ἀεὶ. φιλοσοφία δὲ, ἢ φασιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, πολυχρόνιος ἐστὶ συμβουλὴ, σοφίας ἀίδιων μνηστευμένη ἔρωτα. "ήντολῃ δὲ κυρίου τηλανγῆς, φωτίζουσα ὀφθαλμοὺς." ἀπόλαβε τὸν Χριστὸν, ἀπόλαβε τὸ βλέπεω, ἀπόλαβε σου τὸ φῶς.

δορ' εὗ γνώσκοισ  ἧμεν  θεὸν  ἧδε  καὶ ἄνδρα.

"ποθεων" 1 ὁ λόγος ὁ φωτίσας ἡμᾶς "ὑπὲρ χρυσίων καὶ λιθον τίμιουν. γλυκὺς 1 ἐστιν ὑπὲρ μέλι καὶ κηρίου." πῶς γαρ οὕτω ποθεων ὁ τὸν ἐν σκότει κατορυφυμένων νοῦν ἐναργῆ ποιησάμενο καὶ τὰ "φωσφόρα" τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποξύνας "ομματα"; καὶ γαρ ἄσπερ "ἡλιον μὴ ὄντος ἕνεκα τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀστρων ὑπὸ ἄν ἂν τὰ πάντα," σύνως εἰ μή τὸν λόγον ἐγνωμεν καὶ τοῦτο κατηγγάσθημεν, οὕτως ἂν τῶν συντευμένων ὀρθῶν ἠλειπόμεθα, ἐν σκότει πιανώμενοι καὶ θανάτῳ πρεβόμενοι. χωρῆσωμεν τὸ φῶς, ἵνα χωρῆσωμεν τὸν θεὸν. χωρῆσωμεν τὸ φῶς καὶ μαθητεύσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ. τοῦτο τοι καὶ ἐπήγγελται

88 Ρ. ἵνα χωρῆσωμεν τὸν θεὸν. χωρῆσωμεν τὸ φῶς καὶ μαθητεύσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ. τοῦτο τοι καὶ ἐπηγγέλται

1 ποθεων—γλυκὺς Mayor (see Psalm xviii. 11 Sept.).

γλυκὺς—ποθεων μiss.

a Compare this with what Clement says about the "short way" of the gospel preaching, pp. 173 and 217.
b Psalm xix. 8.
c Homer, Iliad v. 128.
d Psalm xix. 10.
e Compare Plato, Timaeus 45 b.
f Heracleitus, Frag. 31 (Bywater), 99 (Diels).

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instance, whether a man should marry, or take part in politics, or beget children, are of small account and of special application. The exhortation that alone would seem to be universal, and concerned plainly with the whole of existence, reaching out in every season and every circumstance towards the supreme end, life, is piety towards God. And it is only necessary to live according to piety, in order to obtain eternal life; whereas philosophy, as the elders say, is a lengthy deliberation, that pursues wisdom with a never-ending love. But "the commandment of the Lord shines afar, giving light to the eyes." Receive the Christ; receive power to see; receive thy light;

Thus shalt thou well discern who is God and who is but mortal.

The Word who has given us light is "to be desired above gold and precious stone; He is sweet above honey and the honeycomb." How can we help desiring Him who has made clear the mind that lay buried in darkness, and sharpened the "light-bearing eyes" of the soul? For just as "if the sun were not, the world would have been in perpetual night, for all the other heavenly bodies could do"; so unless we had come to know the Word, and had been enlightened by His rays, we should have been in no way different from birds who are being crammed with food, fattening in darkness and reared for death. Let us admit the light, that we may admit God. Let us admit the light, and become disciples of the Lord. This is the promise

† The same simile occurs in Philostratus, Life of Apollonius iv. 3.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. XI τῷ πατρὶ "διηγήσομαι τὸ ὄνομά σου τοῖς ἄδελφοις μου· ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε." ὑμνήσων καὶ διηγησάτα μοι τὸν πατέρα σου τὸν θεόν· σώσει σου τὰ διηγήματα, παιδεύσει με ἡ ζωὴ· ὥσ ἐμὲρχόμεν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, ἐπει δὲ με φωταγωγεῖς, κύριε, καὶ τὸν θεόν εὐρίσκω διὰ σοῦ καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀπολαμβάνω παρὰ σοῦ, γίνομαι σου συνκληρονόμος, ἐπει τὸν ἄδελφον οὐκ ἐπηρεάσθης.

Ἀφελώμεν οὖν, ἀφελώμεν τὴν λήθην τῆς ἀληθείας· τὴν ἀγνοίαν καὶ τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐμποδῶν ὡς ἀχλὺν ὀφέως καταγαγόντες τὸν ὄντως ὄντα θεόν ἐποπτεύσῳμεν, ταύτην αὐτῷ προτόν ἀνυμνήσαντες τὴν φωνὴν "χαίρε φῶς"· φῶς ἡμῖν ἕξ οὐρανοῦ τοῖς ἐν σκότει κατορωμημένοις καὶ ἐν σκιᾷ θανάτου κατακεκλεισμένοις ἐξέλαμψεν ἥλιου καθαρώτερον, ἴωσι τῆς ἐνταύθα γλυκύτερον. τὸ φῶς ἔκεινο ἵωσεν ἐστιν ἀίδιος, καὶ ὁσα μετεύλεθεν αὐτοῦ, ἥν, ἡ νύξ δὲ εὐλαβεῖται τὸ φῶς καὶ δύνουσα διὰ τὸν φόβον παραχωρεῖ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κυρίου· τὰ πάντα φῶς ἀκούμητος γέγονεν καὶ ἡ δύσις εἰς ἀνατολὴν περιεστήκεν. Τὸτε ἡ κτίσις ἡ καυχὴ βεβούληται· ὁ γὰρ τὰ πάντα καθιστεύων "δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος" ἐπὶ ἱστ. περιπολεῖ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, τὸν πατέρα μιμοῦμεν, διὸ "ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀνατελλεῖ τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ," καὶ καταβεβλατεῖ τὸν ὄρος τῆς ἀληθείας. οὗτος τὴν δύσιν εἰς ἀνατολὴν μετήγαγεν καὶ τὸν θάνατον εἰς ἱωσιν ἀνεσταυρώσεν, ἐξαρπάζεις δὲ τῆς ἀπολογίας τὸν ἀνθρωπον προσεκρέμασεν αἰθέρι,

1 els ἀνατολὴν περιεστήκεν Wilamowitz. ἀνατολὴ πεπίστευκεν mss.

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a Psalm xxii. 22. b See Romans viii. 17. c See Hebrews ii. 11.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

He has made to the Father; "I will declare Thy name to my brethren; in the midst of the congregation will I sing praises to Thee." a Sing praises, and declare unto me God Thy Father. Thy story shall save, Thy song shall instruct me. Until now I was erring in my search for God, but since Thou, Lord, dost become my guiding light I find God through Thee, I receive the Father at Thy hands, I become joint-heir b with Thee, since Thou wert not ashamed of Thy brother. c

Away then, away with our forgetfulness of the truth! Let us remove the ignorance and darkness that spreads like a mist over our sight; and let us get a vision of the true God, first raising to Him this voice of praise, "Hail, O Light." Upon us who lay buried in darkness and shut up in the shadow of death d a light shone forth from heaven, purer than the sun and sweeter than the life of earth. That light is life eternal, and whatsoever things partake of it, live. But night shrinks back from the light, and setting through fear, gives place to the day of the Lord. The universe has become sleepless light and the setting has turned into a rising. This is what was meant by "the new creation." e For He who rides over the universe, "the sun of righteousness," f visits mankind impartially, imitating His Father, who "causes His sun to rise upon all men," g and sprinkles them all with the dew of truth. He it was who changed the setting into a rising, and crucified death into life; who having snatched man out of the jaws of destruction raised him to the sky, transplanting

a See Isaiah ix. 2 (St. Matthew iv. 16 and St. Luke i. 79).
b Galatians vi. 15. (Revised Version margin.)
c Malachi iv. 2.
d St. Matthew v. 45.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

Μεταφυτεύων τὴν φθορὰν εἰς ἄφθαρσιαν καὶ γῆν μεταβάλλων εἰς οὐρανούς, ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ γεωργός, "ἔξει ἰχμαίνων, λαοὺς δ᾽ ἐπὶ ἐργον" ἀγαθὸν ἐγείρων, μμυρίσκων βιότοιο ἁλθῆνος, καὶ τὸν μέγαν ὄντως καὶ θείον καὶ ἀναφαίρετον τοῦ πατρὸς κλήρων χαριζόμενος ἢμῖν, οὐρανίω διδασκαλία θεο-

89 P. ποιῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, "διὸς νόμοις εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν γράφων αὐτούς." τῶν ὑπογράφει νόμους; "ὅτι πάντες εἰσονται τὸν θεόν ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἑως μεγάλου, καὶ ἰλεως," φησὶν ὁ θεός, "ἐσομαι αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτίων αὐτῶν οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ." δεξιῶμεθα τοὺς νόμους τῆς ζωῆς, πεισθῶμεν προτρεπομένων θεῷ, μάθωμεν αὐτόν, ἢ ἰλεως ἢ, ἀποδώμεν καὶ μὴ δεομένῳ μισθὸν εὐ-

χάριστον εὐπαθείας,1 οἶνον τῷ ἐνοίκιον [τὴν εὐ-

σεβείαν] 2 τῷ θεῷ τῆς ἐνταῦθα ἐνοικήσεως.

χρύσεα χαλκείων, ἐκατόμβοι' εἰνεαβοίων.

ὀλίγης πίστεως γῆν σοι δίδωσι τὴν τοσαύτην γεωργεῖν, ὕδωρ πίνειν καὶ ἀλλὸ πλεῖν, ἀέρα ἀνα-

πενεῖν, πῦρ ὑποργεῖν, κόσμον οἰκεῖν ἐντεῦθεν εἰς οὐρανούς ἀποκιάν στείλασθαι σοι συγκεχώρηκεν
tὰ μεγάλα τάὔτα καὶ τοσαύτα σοι δημιουργήματα καὶ χαρίσματα ὀλίγης πίστεως μεμίσθωκεν. εἴθ'
oί μὲν τοῖς γόησι πεποτευκότες τὰ περίπτα καὶ
tὰς ἐπαοίδας ὡς σωτηρίους δήθεν ἀποδέχονται,

τὰς ἐν τοῖς βούλευσθαι τὸν οὐράνιον αὐτὸν περίμα-

σθαι, τὸν σωτῆρα λόγον, καὶ τῇ ἐπωδῇ τοῦ θεοῦ

1 εὐπαθείας Mayor. εὐπάθειαν mss. εὐπεθείαν Heyse.

2 [τὴν εὐσέβειαν] Heyse.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

corruption to the soil of incorruption, and transforming earth into heaven. He is God’s husbandman, "who gives favourable omens, and rouses the people to a work" that is good, "reminding us of the true livelihood," a and granting to us the Father’s truly great, divine and inalienable portion, making men divine by heavenly doctrine, "putting laws into their minds and writing them upon the heart." b To what laws does He allude? "That all shall know God from the small to the great; and," God says, "I will be gracious to them and not remember their sins." b Let us receive the laws of life; let us obey God when He exhorts us; let us learn about Him, that He may be gracious; let us render Him (though He is in need of nothing) a recompense of gratitude for His blessings, as a kind of rent paid to God for our dwelling here below.

Gold in exchange for brass, a hundred oxen for nine’s worth. c

At the price of a little faith He gives thee this great earth to till, water to drink, other water to sail on, air to breathe, fire to do service, and a world to dwell in. From hence He has granted thee power to send forth a colony into heaven. All these great works of creation and gracious gifts He has let out to thee in return for a little faith. Again, men who believe in wizards receive amulets and charms which are supposed to bring safety. Do you not rather desire to put on the heavenly amulet, d the Word who truly saves, and, by trusting to God’s enchant-

a These words are quoted from Aratus, Phaenomena, 6–7.
b Jeremiah xxxi. 33, 34 (quoted Hebrews viii. 10–12).
c Homer, Iliad vi. 236.
d See Plato, Charmides 157 a.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

Cap. XI. πιστεύσαντες ἀπαλλαγήναι μὲν παθῶν, ἀ δὴ ψυχῆς
νόσου, ἀποσπασθῆναι δὲ ἀμαρτίας; θάνατος γὰρ
ἀθίνος ἀμαρτία. ἦ τελευν νωδοὶ καὶ τυφλοὶ καθάπερ
οἱ σπάλακες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἐσθίοντες ἐν σκότῳ
διαίτασθε, περικαταρρέοντες τῇ φθορᾷ. ἂλλ’ ἔστων,
ἔστω ἢ ἀλήθεια ἢ κεκραγὺα “ἐκ σκότους φῶς
λάμψει.” λαμψάτω οὖν ἐν τῷ ἀποκεκρυμμένῳ τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου, ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, τὸ φῶς, καὶ τῆς γνώσεως
αἱ ἀκτῖνες ἀνατελάτωσαν τὸν ἐγκεκρυμμένον ἐνδον
ἐκφαίνουσαι καὶ ἀποστίλβουσαι ἀνθρωπον, τὸν μα-
θητὴν τοῦ φωτός, τὸν Χριστοῦ γνώριμόν τε καὶ
συγκληρονόμον, μάλιστα ἐπειδὰν τὸ τιμωτάτον καὶ
σεβασμωτάτον εὑσεβεῖ τε καὶ ἀγαθῷ παιδὶ ἀγαθοῦ
πατρὸς ἄνομα εἰς γνώσιν ἀφίκηται, προστάτοντος
ἡπία καὶ τῷ παιδὶ ἐγκελεσμένου τὰ σωτηρία. ὁ
δὲ πειθομένοις αὐτῶν κατὰ πάντα δὴ πλεονεκτεῖ·
ἐπετεί τῷ θεῷ, πείθεται τῷ πατρί, ἐγνως πλανώμενος
αὐτὸν, ἡγάπησε τὸν θεόν, ἡγάπησε τὸν πλησίον,
ἐπλήρωσε τὴν ἐντολήν, τὸ ἄθλον ἐπιζητεῖ, τὴν
ἐπαγγελίαν ἀπαιτεῖ.

Πρόκειται δὲ ἀεὶ τῷ θεῷ τὴν ἀνθρώπων ἁγέλην
σάζειν. ταῦτη καὶ τὸν ἁγαθὸν ποιμένα ὁ ἁγαθὸς
ἀπέστειλεν θεός· ἀπλώσας δὲ ὁ λόγος τὴν ἀλήθειαν
ἐδεῖξε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ ύψος τῆς σωτηρίας, ὅπως
90 P. ἦ ἡ μετανοήσαντες σωθῶσιν ἡ μὴ ὑπακούσαντες
κριθῶσιν. τοῦτο τῆς δικαιοσύνης τοῦ κήρυγμα,
ὑπακούσαντες ἐναγγέλιον, παρακούσασιν κριτήριον.
ἀλλὰ σάλπηγξ μὲν ἡ μεγαλόκλονος ἡχῦσασα
στρατιῶτας συνήγαγεν καὶ πόλεμον κατηγγελεῖν,
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

ment, to be freed from passions, which are dis-eases of the soul, and to be torn away from sin? For sin is eternal death. Surely you are altogether bereft of sense and sight, spending your lives, like moles, in darkness, doing nothing but eat, and falling to pieces through corruption. But it is the truth, I say, which cries, “Light shall shine out of darkness.”

Let the light then shine in the hidden part of man, in his heart; and let the rays of knowledge rise, revealing and illuminating the hidden man within, the disciple of the light, friend of Christ and joint-heir with Him; more especially since there has come to our knowledge the name, worthy of all honour and reverence, of one who is a good Father to a good and dutiful child, whose precepts are kindly, and whose commands are for His child’s salvation. He who obeys Him gains in all things. He follows God, he obeys the Father; when erring he came to know Him; he loved God; he loved his neighbour; he fulfilled God’s commandment; he seeks after the prize; he claims the promise.

It is ever God’s purpose to save the flock of mankind. For this cause also the good God sent the good Shepherd. And the Word, having spread abroad the truth, showed to men the grandeur of salvation, in order that they may either be saved if they repent, or be judged if they neglect to obey. This is the preaching of righteousness; to those who obey, good news; to those who disobey, a means of judgment. But when the shrilling trumpet blows, it assembles the soldiers and proclaims war;

\[a\] Nw diligent means literally “toothless,” as applied to the aged. Clement seems to use it metaphorically for senile decay.

\[b\] 2 Corinthians iv. 6.

\[c\] See St. John x. 11.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. XI. Χριστὸς δὲ εἰρηνικὸν ἐπὶ τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς ἐπιπενήσας μέλος οὐ συνάξει ἀρὰ τοὺς εἰρηνικοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς έαυτοῦ; συνήγαγε μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἀνθρωπε, τὸ στρατιωτικὸν τὸ ἀναμακτὸν αἴματι καὶ λόγῳ, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν αὐτοῖς ἐνεχείρισεν. σάλπιγξ ἐστὶ Χριστοῦ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῦ· ο μὲν ἐσάλπισεν, ἥμεις δὲ ἡκούσαμεν. ἐξοπλισμόωμεθα εἰρηνικῶς, "ἐκδυσάμενοι τὸν θυρακά τῆς δυκαιοσύνης" καὶ τὴν ἀστίδα τῆς πίστεως ἀναλαβόντες καὶ τὴν κόρυν τοῦ σωτηρίου περιθέμενοι καὶ "τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύματος, ο ἐστὶ ῥῆμα θεοῦ," ἀκονήσωμεν. οὖτως Ἦμιᾶς ὁ ἄποστόλος εἰρηνικῶς ἑκτάτει ταῦτα ἥμων τὰ ὑπλα τὰ ἀτρωτα· τούτοις ἐξοπλισμόωμεν παραταξάμεθα τῷ πονηρῷ· τὰ πεπυρακτωμένα τοῦ πονηροῦ ἀποσβέσωμεν βέλη ταῖς ὤδαίναις ἁκμαῖς ταῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου βεβαιμέναις, εὐχαρίστως ἀμειβόμενοι τὰς εὐποιῶς εὐλογίαις καὶ τὸν θεὸν τῷ θείῳ γεραιροῦντες λόγῳ. "Ετὶ γὰρ λαλοῦντός σου ἐρεῖ, "φησίν, "Ἰδοὺ παρεμι.

"Ω τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μακαρίας ταύτης δυνάμεως, δι’ ἡς ἀνθρώπως συμπολιτεύεται θεός. λόγων οὖν καὶ ἀμενῶν τῆς ἁριστης τῶν ὄντων οὐσίας μυθητῆν ὁμοὶ καὶ θεραπευτὴν γενέσθαι· οὐ γὰρ μιμείσθαι τις δυνήσται τὸν θεὸν ᾧ δι’ οὖν ὅσιως θεραπεύει 1 οὐδ’ αὖ θεραπεύειν καὶ σέβειν ἥ μιμούμενος· ο γε τοῦ οὐράνιος καὶ θείος ὄντως ἐρως ταύτη προσγίνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν ἐν αὐτῇ ποῦ τῇ ψυχῇ ἤ ὄντως καλὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου λόγου ἀναξωπυρούμενον ἐκλάμπειν δυνηθῇ· καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἀμα τῷ

1 θεραπεύει Schwartz. θεραπεύεσθαι mss.

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and shall not Christ, think you, having breathed to the ends of the earth a song of peace, assemble the soldiers of peace that are His? Yes, and He did assemble, O man, by blood and by word His bloodless army, and to them He entrusted the kingdom of heaven. The trumpet of Christ is His gospel. He sounded it, and we heard. Let us gird ourselves with the armour of peace, "putting on the breast-plate of righteousness," and taking up the shield of faith, and placing on our head the helmet of salvation; and let us sharpen "the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God." Thus does the apostle marshal us in the ranks of peace. These are our invulnerable arms; equipped with these let us stand in array against the evil one. Let us quench the fiery darts of the evil one with the moistened sword-points, those that have been dipped in water by the Word, returning thankful praises to God for His benefits and honouring Him through the divine Word. "For while thou art yet speaking," it says, "He will answer, behold, I am with thee."

O sacred and blessed power, through which God becomes a fellow-citizen with men! It is then better and more profitable for man to become at the same time both imitator and servant of the highest of all beings; for he will not be able to imitate God except by serving Him holily, nor yet to serve and worship except by imitating Him. Now the heavenly and truly divine love comes to men in this way, whenever somewhere in the soul itself the spark of true nobility, kindled afresh by the divine Word, is able to shine out; and, greatest thing of all, salva-

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a See Eph. vi. 14–17; 1 Thess. v. 8.  
b Eph. vi. 16.  
c The allusion is to Baptism.  
d Isa. lvi. 9.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. βουληθῆναι γνησίως τὸ σωθῆναι συντρέχει, ὅμως ἐποιεῖν, προαιρέσεως καὶ ζωῆς. τοιγάρτου μόνη αὐτὴ ἢ τῆς ἀληθείας προτροπὴ τοῖς πιστοτάτοις ἀπεικοσταὶ τῶν φίλων μέχρι τῆς ἐσχά- της ἀναπνοῆς παραμένουσα καὶ παραπομπὸς ἁγαθῆ ὅλω καὶ τελείω τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς πνεύματι τοῖς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀπαίρουσι γενομένη. τῷ δὲ σε προτρέπων; σωθῆναι σε ἐπείγομαι. τοῦτο Χριστὸς βουλεῖται· ἐνὶ λόγῳ ζωῆς σοι χαρίζεται. καὶ τὸς ἑστὶν οὖτος; μάθε συντόμως· λόγος ἀληθείας, λόγος ἀφθαρσίας, ὁ ἀναγεννῶν τὸν ἀνθρωπον, εἰς ἀληθείαν αὐτὸν ἀναφέρων, τὸ κέντρον τῆς σωτηρίας, ὁ ἔξελαύνων τὴν φθοράν, ὁ ἐκδιώκων τὸν θάνατον, ὁ ἐν ἀνθρώπως οἰκοδομήσας νεών, ἵνα ἐν ἀνθρώπους ἱδρύῃ τὸν θεὸν. ἄγνισσον τὸν νεῶν, καὶ τὸς ἱδονᾶς καὶ τὸς ῥαθυμίας ὕσπερ ἄνθος ἐφήμερον καταλήμπανε ἀνέμω και πυρί, σωφροσύνης δὲ τούς καρποὺς γεώργησον.

91 Ρ. ἐμφρόνως, καὶ σεαυτὸν ἀκροβίνων ἀνάστησον τῷ θεῷ, ὅπως οὐκ ἔργον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαρις. τοῦ θεοῦ. πρέπει δὲ ἀμφότερον τῷ Χριστῷ γνωρίμως καὶ βασιλείας ἄξιον φανῆναι καὶ βασιλείας κατηξιώθαι.

XII

Φύγωμεν οὖν τὴν συνήθειαν, φύγωμεν οἶκον ἀκραν χαλεπὴν ἡ Χαρύβδεως ἀπειλήν ἡ Σειρήνας μυθικάς· ἀγχεί τὸν ἀνθρωπον, τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποτρέπει, ἀπάγει τῆς ζωῆς, παγίς ἑστῖν, βάραθρον ἑστίν, βόθρος ἑστί, λίχων. ἑστὶν κακὸν ἡ συνήθεια.

1 ὃς Wilamowitz. ἢ mss.
2 Χριστοῦ Mayor. Χριστῷ mss.
3 λίχων Mayor. λίχως mss.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

tion itself runs side by side with the sincere desire for it, will and life being, as we may say, yoked together. Wherefore this exhortation to the truth, and this alone, is like the most faithful of our friends; for it remains with us until our latest breath, and proves a good escort for the whole and perfect spirit of the soul to those who are setting out for heaven. What then is my exhortation? I urge thee to be saved. This is the wish of Christ; in one word, He freely grants thee life. And who is He? Understand briefly: the Word of truth; the Word of incorruption; He who regenerates man by bringing him back to the truth; the goad of salvation; He who banishes corruption and expels death; He who has built His temple in men, that in men He may set up the shrine of God. Purify the temple, and abandon your pleasures and careless ways, like the flower of a day, to the wind and fire; but labour in wisdom for the harvest of self-control, and present yourself as first-fruits to God, in order that you may be not only His work, but also His delight. Both things are necessary for the friend of Christ: he must show himself worthy of a kingdom, and be counted worthy of a kingdom.

XII

Let us then shun custom; let us shun it as some dangerous headland, or threatening Charybdis, or the Sirens of legend. Custom strangles man; it turns him away from truth; it leads him away from life; it is a snare, an abyss, a pit, a devouring evil.
keίνου μὲν καπνοῦ καὶ κύματος ἐκτὸς ἔργε 
νή.

φεύγωμεν, ὃ συνναύται, φεύγωμεν τὸ κῦμα τοῦτο, 
πύρ ἐρεύγεται, νῆσος ἐστι πονηρὰ ὅστοις καὶ 
νεκροῖς σεσωρέμενη, ἂδει δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ πορνίδιον 
ὁ ραῖον, ἰδονή, παιδήμως τερπόμενον μουσικῇ.

dεῦρ' ἄγ' ἰῶν, πολύων Ὁδυσσεύ, μέγα κύδος 
Ἄχαιῶν,

νῆα κατάστησον, ἵνα θειότερην ὅπ' άκουσης. 

ἐπαινεῖ σε, ὃ ναῦτα, καὶ πολυψυχητὸν λέγει, καὶ 
τὸ κύδος τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἡ πόρνη σφετερίζεται: 
ἐαν αὐτῇ ἐπινεμέσθαι τοὺς νεκροὺς, πνεύμα σοί 
οὐράνιον βοηθεῖ· πάριθι τὴν ἤδωνήν, βουκολεῖ· 

μηδὲ γυνὴ σε νόον πυγοστόλος ἐξαιτατῶν, 
αἰμύλα κωτίλλουσα, τεῦν διφώσα καλῆν.

παράπλει τὴν ὠδήν, θάνατον ἐργάζεται· ἐὰν ἐθέλη 
μόνον, νενίκηκας τὴν ἀπώλειαν καὶ τῷ ἑύλῳ προσ-
δεδεμένος ἀπάσης ἐσθ τῆς φθορᾶς λευμένοις, κυβερ-
νήσει σε ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τοῖς λυμέσι 
καθορμίσει τῶν οὐρανῶν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον· τότε 
μου κατοπτεύσεις τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις ἐκείνοις 
teleσθησθαί μυστηρίως καὶ τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀπο-
λαύσεις ἀποκεκρυμμένων, τῶν ἐμοὶ τετηρημένων, 
"ἀ ὅπερ οὖς ἠκούσεν οὖτε ἐπὶ καρδιὰν ἀνέβη" 
tωσ.

1 σε Höschel. σε mss. 2 καὶ Mayor. καὶ mss.

a Homer, Odyssey xii. 219-20.

b See Odyssey xii. 45-46. c Odyssey xii. 184-5.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

Wide of that smoke and wave direct, O helmsman, thy vessel.\(^a\)

Let us flee, comrades, let us flee from this wave. It belches forth fire; it is an island of wickedness heaped with bones and corpses,\(^b\) and she who sings therein is pleasure, a harlot in the bloom of youth, delighting in her vulgar music.

Hither, renowned Odysseus, great glory of all the Achaeans: Bring thy ship to the land, that a song divine may entrance thee.\(^c\)

She praises thee, sailor, she calls thee renowned in song; the harlot would make the glory of the Greeks her own. Leave her to roam among the corpses; a heavenly wind comes to thine aid. Pass by pleasure; she beguiles.

Let not thy heart be deceived by a woman with trailing garment, Coaxing with wily words to find the place of thy dwelling.\(^d\)

Sail past the song; it works death. Only resolve, and thou hast vanquished destruction; bound to the wood of the cross\(^e\) thou shalt live freed from all corruption. The Word of God shall be thy pilot and the Holy Spirit shall bring thee to anchor in the harbours of heaven. Then thou shalt have the vision of my God, and shalt be initiated in those holy mysteries, and shalt taste the joys that are hidden away in heaven, preserved for me, “which neither ear hath heard nor have they entered into the heart”\(^f\) of any man.

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\(^a\) Hesiod, *Works and Days* 373–4.
\(^b\) An allusion to Odysseus being bound to the mast of his vessel as it passed the land of the Sirens. *Odyssey* xii. 178.
\(^c\) *1 Corinthians* ii. 9.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. XII
καὶ μὴν ὃ ῥαν μοι δύο μην ἤλιος δοκῶ, δισσας δὲ Θῆβας |

92 P. βακχεύων ἔλεγεν τις εἰδώλοις, ἀγνοίᾳ μεθύων ἀ-
κράτως έγὼ δ΄ <ἄν>¹ αὐτὸν οἴκετεραιμὶ παροικοῦντα
καὶ τὸν οὕτω παρασκεύασα ἐπὶ σωτηρίαν παρα-
καλέσαμι σωφρονός, ὅτι καὶ κύριος μετάνοιαν ἀμαρτωλοῦ καὶ οὐχὶ θάνατον ἀσπάζεται. ήκε, ὃ
παραπλήξε, μὴ θύρω εἰκοπτόμενος, μὴ κυττάρῳ
ἀναδούμενος, δύσην τὴν μίτραν, ρέψον τὴν νεβρίδα,
σωφρόνησον. δείξω σοι τὸν λόγον καὶ τοῦ λόγου
τὰ μυστήρια, κατὰ τὴν σήμερον εἰκόνα. ὃρος ἔστι τοῦτο θεῷ πεφυλημένον, οὐ τραγῳδίαι ὡς
Κιθαρών ὑποκείμενον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀληθείᾳ ἀνα-
κείμενον δράμασιν, ὃρος νηφάλιον, ἀγναἰς ύλαις
σύσκιον. βακχεύουσι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ οὐχ ἡ Σεμέλῃς
“τῆς κεραυνίας” ἀδελφαί, αἱ μανάδες, αἱ δύσαγνο
κρεανομίαν μυούμεναι, ἀλλ’ αἱ τοῦ θεοῦ θυγατέρες,
αἱ ἀμνάδες αἱ καλαί, τὰ σεμνὰ τοῦ λόγου θεσπι-
ζουσα όργα, χορον ἀγείρουσι σώφρονα. ὁ χορὸς οἱ
dίκαιοι, τὸ ᾠσμα ώμος ἔστι τοῦ πάντων βασιλέως
ψάλλουσι αἱ κόραι, δοξάζουσιν ἄγγελοι, προφήται
λαλοῦσιν, ἥχος στέλλεται μουσικῆς, δρόμω τὸν

¹ <ἄν> inserted by Stählin.

a Euripides, Bacchants 918–9. The speaker is Pentheus, king of Thebes, who was stricken with madness for refusing to worship the god Dionysus. The legend, which tells how Dionysus took vengeance by visiting the Theban women with his frenzy and driving them out into the hills, and how the mad king, in trying to spy out their revels, was torn to pieces by his own mother and her companions, is the subject of Euripides’ play, the Bacchants. In the paragraph following this quotation, Clement has the Bacchants constantly in

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And lo! methinks I see a pair of suns
And a double Thebes, a

said one who was revelling in frenzy through idols, drunk with sheer ignorance. I would pity him in his drunkenness, and would appeal to him to return from this madness to sober salvation, seeing that the Lord also welcomes the repentance, and not the death, of a sinner. Come, thou frenzy-stricken one, not resting on thy wand, not wreathed with ivy! Cast off thy headdress; cast off thy fawnskin; b return to soberness! I will show thee the Word, and the Word's mysteries, describing them according to thine own semblance of them. This is the mountain beloved of God, not a subject for tragedies, like Cithaeron, but one devoted to the dramas of truth, a wineless mountain, shaded by hallowed groves. Therein revel no Maenads, sisters of "thunder-smitten" c Semele, who are initiated in the loathsome distribution of raw flesh, but the daughters of God, the beautiful lambs, d who declare the solemn rites of the Word, assembling a sober company. The righteous form this company, and their song is a hymn in praise of the King of all. The maidens play the harp, angels give glory, prophets speak, a noise of music rises; swiftly they pursue the sacred band, e

mind, and his allusions can only be understood by reading the play.

b For the description see Euripides, Bacchants 833, 835.

c Euripides, Bacchants 6, 26.

d The Greek amnades, lambs, is meant as a play upon Mainades (Maenads, or women worshippers of Dionysus).

* Gr. thiasos, or band of Dionysus' followers (cp. Bacchants 56). The word is here used of the company of maidens, angels and prophets, whom the Christian must follow to reach, not Dionysus, but the Father.
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CAP. XII. θλασον διώκουσιν, σπεύδουσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι πατέρα
ποθούντες ἀπολαβεῖν. Ἡκέ μοι, ὦ πρέσβυ, καὶ σύ,
tὸς Θήβας λιπῶν καὶ τὴν μαντικὴν καὶ τὴν βακχείαν
ἀπορρίπτας πρὸς ἀλῆθειαν χειραγωγοῦ· ἵδοι σοι
tὸ ξύλον ἐπερείδεσθαι δίδωμι. σπεύδων, Τειρεσία,
pίστευσον· ὁμιλητός ἐπιλάμπει φαντόμετον
ήλιου, δι’ ὃν ὀφθαλμοὶ τυφλῶν ἀναβλέπουσιν· νῦς
σε φεύξεται, πῦρ φοβηθήσεται, θάνατος οἰχήσεται.
ὁμιλητός τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ὦ γερον, ὦ Θήβας μὴ βλέπων.

"Ὡς τῶν ἀγίων ὡς ἀληθῶς μυστηρίων, ὁ φωτὸς
ἀκηράτου. δανεικούμης τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τὸν
θεόν ἐποτεύωσι·" ἁγίοις γίνομαι μυούμενος, ἵερο-
φανεῖ δὲ ὁ κύριος καὶ τὸν μύστην σφαγιεῖται
φωστερότατος, καὶ παρατίθεται τῷ πατρὶ τὸν πεπ-
στευκότα αἰώνιος τηρούμενον. ταῦτα τῶν ἐμῶν
μυστηρίων τὰ βακχεύματα· εἰ βούλει, καὶ σὺ μνημῷ,
kαὶ χορεύσεις μετ’ ἁγγελῶν ἅμα τῶν ἁγένετον καὶ
ἀνώλεθρον καὶ μόνον ὄντως θεὸν, συνυμνοῦντος

93 P. ἡμῖν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου. ἀδίδοσ ὁ θεοῦ Ἡσιοῦς, εἰς [ὁ]
μέγας ἀρχερεύς θεοῦ τε ἐνός τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ πατρός,
ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων εὐχεται καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἐγκελεύεται
"κέκλυτε, μυρία φύλα," μάλλον δὲ ὅσι τῶν
ἀνθρώπων λογικοί, καὶ βάρβαροι καὶ Ἑλληνες· τὸ
πᾶν ἀνθρώπων γένος καλῶ, ὄν ἐγὼ δημιουργὸς
θελήματι πατρός. ἤκετε ὃς ἐμέ, ὦφ ἐνα ταχθρό-
μενοι θεοῦ καὶ τὸν ἐνα λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ μὴ μόνον
τῶν ἀλόγων λόγων πλεονεκτεῖτε τῷ λόγῳ, ἐκ δὲ
tῶν θητών ἀπάντων ὑμῖν ἀθανασίαν μόνοις καρ-

1 βακχείαν Wilamowitz. βακχικὴn mss.
2 ἐποπτεύουσα Schwartz. ἐποπτεύουσα mss.

a i.e. instead of Teiresias' staff; cp. Bacchants 363-4.

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those who have been called hasting with eager longing to receive the Father. Come to me, old man, come thou too! Quit Thebes; fling away thy prophecy and Bacchic revelry and be led by the hand to truth. Behold, I give thee the wood of the cross to lean upon.a Hasten, Teiresias, believe! Thou shalt have sight. Christ, by whom the eyes of the blind see again, shineth upon thee more brightly than the sun. Night shall flee from thee; fire shall fear thee; death shall depart from thee. Thou shalt see heaven, old man, though thou canst not see Thebes.

O truly sacred mysteries! O pure light! In the blaze of the torches I have a vision of heaven and of God. I become holy by initiation. The Lord reveals the mysteries; He marks the worshipper with His seal, gives light to guide his way, and commends him, when he has believed, to the Father's care, where he is guarded for ages to come. These are the revels of my mysteries! If thou wilt, be thyself also initiated, and thou shalt dance with angels around the unbegotten and imperishable and only true God, the Word of God joining with us in our hymn of praise. This Jesus being eternal, one great high priest of one God who is also Father, prays for men and encourages men: "'Give ear, ye myriad peoples,'b or rather, so many of mankind as are governed by reason, both barbarians and Greeks; the whole race of men I call, I who was their Creator by the Father's will. Come to me, that ye may be marshalled under one God and the one Word of God; and do not surpass the irrational creatures in reason only, for to you alone of all mortal beings I offer the fruit of

a Homer, Iliad xvii. 220.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. πώσασθαι δίδωμι. ἐθέλω γάρ, ἐθέλω καὶ ταύτης ὑμῖν μεταδοῦναι τῆς χάριτος, ὅλοκληρον χορηγῶν τὴν ἐυεργεσίαν, ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ λόγον χαρίζομαι ὑμῖν, τὴν γνώσιν τοῦ θεοῦ τέλειον ἐμαυτόν χαρίζομαι. τοῦτο εἰμὶ ἐγὼ, τοῦτο βούλεται ὁ θεός, τοῦτο συμφωνία ἐστί, τοῦτο ἀρμονία πατρός, τοῦτο ὑός, τοῦτο Χριστός, τοῦτο ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, βραχίων κυρίου, δύναμις τῶν ὅλων, τὸ θέλημα του πατρός. ὃς 1 πάλαι μὲν εἰκόνες, οὐ πᾶσι δὲ ἐμφερεῖς, διορθώσασθαι ὑμᾶς πρὸς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον βουλομαι, ἱνα μοι καὶ ὁμοίως γένησθε. χρῖσω ὑμᾶς τῷ πίστεως ἀλείμματι, δι’ οὗ τὴν φθορὰν ἀποβάλλετε, καὶ γυμνὸν δικαιοσύνης ἐπιδείξω τὸ σχῆμα, δι’ οὗ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀναβαίνετε. "δεῦτε πρὸς με πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες καὶ πεφορτισμένοι, κἀγὼ ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς· ἀρατε τὸν ζυγὸν μου ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς καὶ μάθετε ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ, ὅτι πραῖς εἰμὶ καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ, καὶ εὐρήσετε ἀνάπαυσιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν· ὁ γὰρ ζυγὸς μου χριστός καὶ τὸ φορτίον μου ἑλαφρὸν ἐστιν."

σπεύσωμεν, δράμωμεν, ὃ θεοφιλὴ καὶ θεοεἰκέλα τοῦ λόγου [ἀνθρωποί] 2 ἀγάλματα· σπεύσωμεν, δράμωμεν, ἄρωμεν τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτοῦ, ὑπολάβωμεν ἀφθαρσίαν, καλὸν ἡνίοχον ἀνθρώπων τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγαπήσωμεν· τὸν πώλων ὑποζύγιον ἦγαγε σὺν τῷ παλαίῳ· καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῆς συνωρίδα καταξεύξας, εἰς ἀθανασίαν κατιθύνει τὸ ἁρμα, σπεύδων πρὸς τὸν θεὸν πληρώσαι ἐναργῶς ὃ ἦν ἔστω, πρότερον μὲν εἰς 'Ἱερουσαλήμ, νῦν δὲ εἰσελαύνων

1 Ὡ Wilamowitz. Ὡν mss.
2 [ἀνθρωποί] Heyse.
3 ὑπολάβωμεν ἀφθαρσίαν Mayor. ὑποβάλωμεν ἀφθαρσία mss. ἐπιβάλωμεν ἀφθαρσία Wilamowitz (whom Stählin follows).

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of immortality. I desire, yea, I desire to impart to you even this gracious favour, supplying in its fulness the good gift of incorruption. And I freely give you divine reason, the knowledge of God; I give you Myself in perfection. For this is Myself, this is God’s desire, this is the concord, this the harmony of the Father: this is the Son, this is Christ, this is the Word of God, the arm of the Lord, the might of the universe, the Father’s will. O ye who of old were images, but do not all resemble your model, I desire to conform you to the archetype, that you may become even as I am. I will anoint you with the ointment of faith, whereby you cast away corruption; and I will display unveiled the figure of righteousness, whereby you ascend to God. ‘Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take My yoke upon you and learn of Me; for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For My yoke is easy and My burden is light.’”

Let us hasten, let us run, we who are images of the Word, beloved of God and made in His likeness. Let us hasten, let us run; let us take up His yoke; let us take upon ourselves incorruption; let us love Christ, the noble charioteer of men. He led the foal and its parent under the same yoke, and now having yoked together the team of mankind, He shapes the course of His chariot for the goal of immortality. He hastens to God that He may fulfil clearly what before He darkly hinted at; for He drove at the first into Jerusalem, but now into heaven, a most noble

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*St. Matthew xi. 28–30.

*See St. Matthew xxi. 1–7.

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CAP. οὐρανοῦς, κάλλιστον θέαμα τῷ πατρὶ νῦν ἀϊδίως 

μυχηφόρος. φιλότιμου τοίνυν πρὸς τὰ καλὰ καὶ 

θεοφιλεῖς ἀνθρωποι γενόμεθα, καὶ τῶν ἁγαθῶν 

τὰ μέγιστα, θεὸν καὶ ᾠδὴν, κτησιμέθα. ἀρωγὸς 

δὲ οὐγός. θαρρῶμεν αὐτῷ καὶ μὴ ποτε ἡμᾶς 

τοσοῦτος 

ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ, μὴ δόξης ἐπέλθῃ πόθος, 

οὐσος αὐτῶ τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγου. οὐδὲ γὰρ 

οὐδὲ τῷ θεῷ αὐτῶ ἀρεστόν, εἰ ἡμεῖς τὰ μὲν 

πλεῖστον ἄξια περὶ ἔλαχιστον ποιοῦμεθα, ἁγνοίας 

δὲ καὶ 

ἀμαθίας καὶ ῥαθμίας καὶ εἰδωλολατρείας ὑβρεῖς 

περιφανεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην δυσσεβείαν περὶ πλεῖο-

νος αἰροῦμεθα.

Οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ τρόπου φιλοσόφων παῖδες πάντα 

ὡς πράττουσιν οἱ ἁγιωταί, ἀνοσίωργεῖν καὶ 

ἀσεβεῖν νομίζουσιν καὶ αὐτὴν γε [ἕτι] 

τὴν ἁγνοίαν 

μανίας εἶδος ὑπογράφοντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἡ μεμηνέναι 

tou̱s pollous ὄμολογουσιν. οὐ δὲ οὐν ἀμφιβάλλειν 

ἀερεῖ δὲ λόγος, ὅποτέρον αὐτῶν ἁμενον, σωφρονεῖν 

ἡ μεμηνέναι ἑξομένους δὲ ἀπρίξ τῆς ἁληθείας 

παντὶ σθενεῖ ἐπεσθαί χρή τῷ θεῷ σωφρονοῦντας 

καὶ πάντα αὐτῶ νομίζειν, ἵστερ ἑστι, πρὸς δὲ 

καὶ ἡμᾶς τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν κτημάτων μεμαθηκό-

τας ὑπερας αὐτοῦ, σφας αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέπειν τῷ θεῷ, 

ἀγαπῶντας κύριον τὸν θεόν καὶ τοῦτο παρά οἶλον 

τῶν βίον ἐχόν ἡγομένους. εἰ δὲ “κοινὰ τὰ 

φίλων,” θεοφιλῆς δὲ ὁ ἀνθρώπος (καὶ γὰρ οὐν φίλος 

tῶ θεῶ, μεστεύοντος τοῦ λόγου), γίνεται δὴ οὖν

1 ἁγαθῶν Stählin. ἀπαθῶν mss. 2 περὶ Cobet. ὑπὲρ mss. 

3 ἁγνῶς Markland. ἁγνῶς mss. 

4 αἰροῦμεθα Stählin. αἰροῦμεθα mss.

5 [ἕτι] Wilamowitz. 6 αερεῖ Cobet. ἕρει mss. 

7 τῷ θεῷ after φίλω Wilamowitz, after ἀνθρώπος mss. [τῷ 

θεῷ] Cobet.

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spectacle for the Father, the eternal Son bringing victory! Let us be zealous, therefore, for what is noble, and become men beloved of God; and let us get possession of the greatest of good things, God and life. The Word is our helper; let us have confidence in Him, and let no longing after silver and gold, or after glory, ever come upon us so strongly as the longing after the Word of truth Himself. For surely it cannot be pleasing to God Himself if we hold in least esteem those things which are of the greatest moment, while we choose as of higher worth the manifest excesses and the utter impiety of ignorance, stupidity, indifference and idolatry.

The sons of the philosophers not inaptly consider that all the works of foolish men are unholy and impious, and by describing ignorance itself as a form of madness they acknowledge that the mass of men are nothing else but mad. Now reason does not allow us to doubt which of the two is better, to be sane or to be mad. Holding fast the truth with all our might we must follow God in soundness of mind, and consider all things to be His, as indeed they are; and further we must recognize that we are the noblest of His possessions and entrust ourselves to Him, loving the Lord God, and looking upon that as our work throughout the whole of life. And if "the goods of friends are common," and man is beloved of God (for he is indeed dear to God through the mediation of the Word), then all things become man's, because

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* The philosophers referred to are the Stoics; cp. Cicero, Paradoxon iv. and Tusc. disp. iii. 5.
* Greek proverb. See Plato, Phaedrus 279 c.

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CAP. XII

τὰ πάντα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὅτι τὰ πάντα τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ κοινὰ ἀμφοῖν τοῖν φίλοιν τὰ πάντα, τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπου. ὥρα οὖν ἦμιν μόνον τὸν θεοσεβῆ [Χριστιανὸν] εἰπεῖν πλοῦσιόν τε καὶ σώφρονα καὶ εὐγενῆ καὶ ταύτη εἰκόνα τοῦ θεοῦ μεθ' ὁμοιώσεως, καὶ λέγειν καὶ πιστεύειν "δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον μετὰ φρονήσεως" γενόμενον ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον ὁμοιὸν ἦδη καὶ θεόν. οὐκ ἀποκρύπτεται γοῦν ὁ προφήτης τὴν χάριν λέγων, "ἐγὼ ἐίπον ὅτι θεοὶ ἔστε καὶ νῦὶ ὑψιστοὶ πάντες." ἦμας γάρ, ἦμας εἰσπεποίηται καὶ ἦμῶν ἐθέλει μόνων κεκληθαίναι πατὴρ, οὐ τῶν ἀπεθανόντων. καὶ γὰρ οὖν ὡδὲ πώς ἔχει τὰ ἡμέτερα τῶν Χριστοῦ ὁπάνων οἶαι μὲν αἱ βουλαὶ, τοῖοι καὶ οἱ λόγοι, ὅπως ἤδε οἱ λόγοι, τοιαίδε καὶ αἱ πράξεις, καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἔργα, τοιοῦτος ὁ βίος· χρηστός ὁ σύμπας ἀνθρώπων βίος τῶν Χριστοῦ ἐγνωκότων.

"Αλλιώταν τῶν λόγων, εἰ καὶ μακροτέρῳ προ- ἱλθον ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας ὅ τι περ ἐίχον ἐκ θεοῦ ἐκχέων, ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τὴν σωτηρίαν, παρακαλῶν· περὶ γὰρ τοῦ τῆς παιδίας ὀνόματος ὀνόματος ἐχούσης ζωῆς ὡς ἐθέλουσιν ὡς οἱ λόγοι παύσασθαι ποτε ἑρεθήσοντες. ὥμων δὲ ἔτι τούτο περιλείπεται πέρας τὸ λυστε- λόν ἔλεσθαι, ἡ κρίσις ἡ χάριν· ὡς ἔγγοις οὐδ' ἀμφι- βάλλειν ἄξιον, πότερον ἁμεῖνον αὐτῶν· οὐδὲ μὴν συγκρίνεσθαι θέμεις ζωῆς ἐπιλέιά.


"The Stoics said all this of their "wise man," as Clement tells us elsewhere (ii. Strom. 19. 4): "The Stoic philosophers hold this doctrine, that kingship, priesthood, prophecy, legislation, wealth, true beauty, noble birth and freedom
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all things belong to God and are common to both friends, God and man. It is time then for us to affirm that only the God-fearing man is rich and of sound mind and well-born, and therefore the image, together with the likeness, of God; and to say and believe that when he has been made by Christ Jesus “just and holy with understanding,” he also becomes in the same degree already like to God. So the prophet openly reveals this gracious favour when he says, “I said, ye are gods, and ye are all sons of the Most High.” Now we, I say, we are they whom God has adopted, and of us alone He is willing to be called Father, not of the disobedient. For indeed this is the position of us who are Christ’s attendants: as are the counsels, so are the words; as are the words, so are the actions; and as are the deeds, such is the life. The entire life of men who have come to know Christ is good.

Enough, I think, of words. It may be that, moved by love of man, I have run on too long in pouring out what I have received from God, as is natural when one is inviting men to the greatest of good things—salvation. For of a truth, the very words are unwilling ever to cease revealing the mysteries of that life which knows no manner of ending. But with you still rests the final act, namely this, to choose which is the more profitable, judgment or grace. For my own part, I claim that there is no shadow of doubt which of the two is better; nay, it is sinful even to compare life with destruction.

belong to the wise man alone. But even they admit that he is exceedingly hard to find.”

See Genesis i. 26.

a Psalm lxxxii. 6.

* This phrase is an allusion to Plato, *Phaedrus* 252 c: “the attendants of Zeus” (τῶν Δίων διαδοχῶν).

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THE RICH MAN'S SALVATION

INTRODUCTION

The Rich Man's Salvation, or, to give the work its literal title, "Who is the rich man that is being saved?" is the only complete example left us of Clement's popular teaching. Although composed in the form of a sermon, it would seem too long to have been delivered orally on any single occasion. Possibly it may be the expansion and elaboration of an actual sermon; but, whether this is so or not, we may be sure that the teaching it contains formed the subject of many a discourse addressed by Clement to the rich Christians of Alexandria. In all probability the Church came into close touch with the cultured and well-to-do classes earlier at Alexandria than elsewhere. Consequently, the problem of reconciling Christianity with the possession of worldly wealth would be likely to have become acute there in the second century. It was not an easy problem to solve. The rich man who was well-disposed towards the new religion had to consider many things which, as Clement in this treatise admits, often drove him to the conclusion that the Church had no place for him. There was
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the poor and simple life of Christ Himself and of His apostles; there were the numerous gospel warnings about the dangers of wealth; there was the severe command to the rich man to sell all that he had; there was the communism of the first Christians; there was the undoubted fact that the Church had spread among poor people and had always been chiefly composed of them. All these considerations, augmented and strengthened by the conviction that a gospel of the eternal life had but little to do with comfort in this world, made it difficult both for the rich to enter the Church and for the poor to receive them there without jealousy or suspicion. Clement's extensive learning, for the acquisition of which money and leisure were certainly necessary, and his familiarity with the customs of refined society, show that he was himself a man of at least some wealth and position. He was therefore personally interested in the question which he sets out to answer in the work now before us.

He takes as a basis for his inquiry the passage about the rich man in St. Mark x. 17–31. Here was the hardest stumbling-block of all to the rich who wanted to become Christians, and Clement removes it in characteristic fashion by denying that Christ's words mean what they seem to say. Apparently it never occurred to him that, on the theory of "diversities of gifts," one man might be ordered to give up his wealth and another to keep it for wise and generous use. He knew that even in pre-Christian days some men had felt that their highest work could only be done at the cost of sacrificing their possessions; but he was unwilling to allow that Anaxagoras, Democritus and Crates had, to the
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best of their ability, fulfilled the very ideal that Christ had placed before the rich man. It must be something fundamentally different from this that Christ meant, so Clement says. What then was His meaning? The wealth He bade His questioner renounce must be taken in a spiritual sense; it was a wealth of passions, a brood of sins in the soul; not money itself, but the love of money. The rich man might have kept his wealth, and by following Jesus have learned to use it rightly. All that rich men in general have to do, therefore, is to eradicate selfishness and to spend their money liberally for the relief of their poorer brethren, who by interceding with God for such benefactors will return an abundant recompense.

As a result of this exegesis we are robbed of one of the most striking appeals to a man's heroism and contempt of consequences that even the gospels contain. There can be no question that the Christian Church has suffered much, and is still suffering, from that avoidance of the plain meaning of historical records which is characteristic of the Alexandrine system of spiritual or allegorical interpretation. It would, however, be unfair, as well as ungracious, to lay the whole blame of this upon Clement. He was but the exponent of a system for which the age in which he lived was responsible. Nor must we forget the positive advantages that were gained by this interpretation. The mission of Clement and the Alexandrine Church was to give Christianity a firm footing in the world, and to allow it to assimilate all that was good of human thought and culture. In Clement's day the belief in a speedy return of Christ was passing away, and consciously or unconsciously

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the Church was preparing for its own continuance as a permanent institution in human society; a citizenship on earth was being claimed alongside of St. Paul's "citizenship in heaven." When once this is admitted, neither philosophy, nor science, nor art, nor even the leisure and refinement that are associated with wealth, can be utterly excluded from the Church. In the *Stromateis* we see Clement boldly claiming for Greek philosophy a place in the life of Christian people; in the "Rich Man's Salvation" we see him making the same bold claim on behalf of wealth. There is no virtue, he says, in beggary; there are certain good things which wealth alone can bring; and if the rich man will but learn to spend his riches in the alleviation of suffering and the brightening and comforting of other lives, he need not despair of a place among the followers of Christ.

The present translation of "The Rich Man," like that of the "Exhortation to the Greeks," has been made from Stählin's edition of Clement, and the text printed here is in the main Stählin's text. Any deviations of importance from the reading of the chief manuscript are noted at the foot of each page. This manuscript is the one in the Escorial library, known as S. A page is missing from the end of S, and also from the Vatican manuscript which was copied from it. This page, however, consisting of the story of St. John and the robber, is almost completely recoverable from Eusebius who quotes it (*H.E.* iii. 23), and from the Scholia of Maximus Confessor on Dionysius the Areopagite. About twenty lines are still lost. A few words that are missing from the first three 268
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paragraphs have been inserted in the following text according to what seemed the best conjectures available. Before Stählin's edition was issued the text of S had been carefully edited and the manuscript described by P. M. Barnard (Texts and Studies, edited by J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., vol. v. No. 2), who has also published a separate translation (S.P.C.K.).
ΤΙΣ Ο ΣΩΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΠΛΟΤΣΙΟΣ

935 Ρ. 1. Οἱ μὲν τούς ἐγκωμιαστικοὺς λόγους τοὺς πλουσίους δωροφοροῦντες οὗ μόνον κόλακει καὶ ἀνελεύθεροι δικαίως ἀν ἔμοιγε κρίνεσθαι δοκοῖν, ὡς ἐπὶ πολλῷ προσποιούμενοι χαρίσασθαι τὰ ἀχάριστα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄσβεσι καὶ ἐπίβουλοι· ἄσβεσι μὲν, ὅτι παρέντες αἰνεῖν καὶ δοξάζειν τὸν μόνον τέλειον καὶ ἀγαθὸν θεὸν, ἐὰν οὐ τὰ πάντα καὶ δι xmm οὐ τὰ πάντα καὶ εἰς διὸ τὰ πάντα, περιάπτουσι τοῦ ὑποκεὶμένους τὸ γέρας ἄνθρωποι ἐν ἂς ὡτῷ καὶ βορβορώδεις ὁ βιοὶ κυλινδόμενος <καὶ> τὸ κεφάλαιον ὑποκείμενος τῇ κρίσει τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐπίβουλοι δὲ, ὅτι καὶ αὐτής τῆς περιουσίας καὶ αὐτὴν ἰκανὴς οὐσίας χαρίσασθαι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν κεκτημένων καὶ διαφθειρᾶται καὶ ἀποστῆσαι τῆς ὁδοῦ, δι ἢς ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐστὶ σωτηρίας, οἷς προσεκπλήσσουσι τὰς γνώμας τῶν πλουσίων ταῖς ἱδρυμαῖς τῶν ἀμέτρων ἐπαίων ἑπαίροντες καὶ καθάπαξ τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων πλῆθος τοῦ πλούτου, δι’ ὅν θαυμάζωσιν, παρασκευάζοντες ὑπερφρονοῦν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ λόγου πῦρ ἐπὶ πῦρ μετοχεύοντες, τύφω

936 Ρ. Lindner: Stählin. (The bracketed words and letters are to fill blank spaces in the ms.)

2 ἂς<ὡτῷ καὶ βορβορώδεις> Lindner: Stählin.
3 <καὶ> Segaar.
4 ὑποκείμενος Combebis. ὑποκείμενον ms.

Romans xi. 36.

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1. Men who offer laudatory speeches as presents to the rich may rightly be classed, in my opinion, not only as flatterers and servile, since in the hope of a large return they make a show of granting favours that are really no favours, but also as impious and insidious. They are impious, because, while neglecting to praise and glorify the only perfect and good God, from whom are all things and through whom are all things and to whom are all things, they invest with His prerogative men who are wallowing in a riotous and filthy life and, in short, are lying under the judgment of God. They are insidious, because, although mere abundance is by itself quite enough to puff up the souls of its possessors, and to corrupt them, and to turn them aside from the way by which salvation can be reached, these men bring fresh delusion to the minds of the rich by exciting them with the pleasures that come from their immoderate praises, and by rendering them contemptuous of absolutely everything in the world except the wealth which is the cause of their being admired. In the words of the proverb, they carry fire to fire, when

A common Greek proverb, equivalent to our "Carrying coals to Newcastle." See Plato, Laws 666 a. The verb translated "carry" means literally "to conduct water through pipes."
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tūfou ἐπαντλοῦντες καὶ ὄγκον πλούτῳ προσανατιθέντες βαρεὶ φύσει φορτίον βαρύτερον, οἵ μᾶλλον ἐχρὴν ἀφαιρεῖν καὶ περικόπτειν, ὡς σφαλεροὶ νοσήματος καὶ θανατηφόροι τῷ γὰρ ύψουμένῳ καὶ μεγαλυνυμένῳ παραπέπηγεν ἀντίστροφος ἡ πρὸς τὸ ταπείνον μεταβολῆ καὶ πτώσις, ὡς οὐ θείος διδάσκει λόγος. ἐμοὶ δὲ φαίνεται μακρῷ φιλανθρωπότερον εἶναι τοῦ θεραπεύειν ἀνελευθέρως τοὺς πλουτοῦτας καὶ ἐπικείμενον ἐπὶ κακῶς τὸ συναίρεσθαι τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκείνης ἠλπίζειν ἐπί τῶν δυνατῶν τρόπων, τοῦτο μὲν ἐξαιτομένους παρὰ θεοῦ τοῦ βεβαιῶς καὶ ἡδέως τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ τέκνοις τὰ τοιαῦτα προειμένον, τοῦτο δὲ λόγῳ διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐκμένους τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν, φωτίζοντας καὶ προσάγοντας ἐπὶ τὴν ἁλθείας κτῆσιν, ὡς οἱ τυχῶν καὶ ἔργοις ἁγαθοῖς ἔλλαμπρονόμενοι μόνος τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς ἀναφέρεται. δεῖται δὲ καὶ ἡ εὐχή ψυχῆς εὐρύστου καὶ λιπαροῦ ἁχρὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἡμέρας τοῦ βίου συμμετρεμένης καὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ διάθεσεως χρηστῆς καὶ μονίμου καὶ πάσας ταῖς ἐντολαῖς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐπεκτεινομένης.

2. Κινδυνεύει δὲ οὐχ ἀπλοῦν τι ἦναι τὸ αἰτίον τοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας χαλεπωτέραν τοῖς πλουτοῦσι θυεῖν ἡ τοῖς ἀχρηματοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ ποικίλον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτόθεν καὶ προχείρως ἀκούσαντες τῆς τοῦ κυρίου φωνῆς, ὅτι βάζων κάμηλος διὰ τρῆματος βαφίδος διεκδύσεται ἡ πλούσιος εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀπογνώτες εἰς αὐτοὺς ὡς οὐ βιωσόμενοι,

1 parapēpphege from Antonii Melissa: missing from ms.
2 <ἀνελευθέρως> Fell. 3 <καὶ ἐπανεῖν> Barnard.
4 <ἡ ζωὴν καὶ> Stählin. 5 <κατεργαζόμεθα> Fell.
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they shower pride upon pride, and heap on wealth, heavy by its own nature, the heavier burden of arrogance. Rather they ought to have diminished and curtailed wealth, as a perilous and deadly disease; for the man who exalts and magnifies himself is in danger of a complete reversal of fortune, namely, the change and fall into low estate, as the divine word teaches. It seems to me an act far kinder than servile attention to the rich and praise that does them harm, if we share the burden of their life and work out salvation for them by every possible means; first by begging them from God, who unfailingly and gladly accords such gifts to His own children, and then by healing their souls with reason, through the Saviour's grace, enlightening them and leading them on to the possession of the truth. For only he who has reached the truth and is distinguished in good works shall carry off the prize of eternal life. But prayer requires a soul that runs its course strong and persevering until the last day of life, and the Christian citizenship requires a disposition that is good and steadfast and that strains to fulfil all the Saviour's commandments.

2. Now the reason why salvation seems to be more difficult for the rich than for men without wealth is probably not a simple one, but complex. For some, after merely listening in an off-hand way to the Lord's saying, that a camel shall more easily creep through a needle's eye than a rich man into the kingdom of heaven, despair of themselves,

\[ a \text{ i.e. St. Matthew xxiii. 12.} \]
\[ b \text{ Literally, "stretches out towards." The same word is used by St. Paul in Philippians iii. 13.} \]
\[ c \text{ St. Mark x. 25.} \]

\[ \lambda\gamma\omega \text{ Segaar.} \lambda\gamma\omega \text{ ms.} \]
\[ \tau\delta \text{ Stählin.} \vathos \text{ ms.} \]
\[ \check{\eta} \text{ inserted by Barnard.} \]
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tw kósmw pánta xarizómenoi kai tís eútaítha zwís wós mónhs éavtois úpoleipoménhs ékkremasóntes ápésthsan pleon tís ékei ódosi, mēkēti poluprag-mouhántes mhê tinas touj plousious Í deiásths kai didáskalos prōsagoreuei mhê ópsis tò ãdýna-tou Í ãnthrō poiís Í dýnaton gínetai. álloi de touto mēn syñhkan Írwbás kai prosoekōntws, tōn de érgwv tōn eis tìn swsthrías anaféronntωn Óllywhrhántes ou parēskenásanta tìn dēousan paraskenēn eis tò tōn élpiçoménon tughen. légw4 de tauta ékatera perí5 tōn plousiōn tōn kai tīs dýnámews tou swthros kai tīs épifanōs swsthrías ἅσθμανων, tōn de amnētōn tīs altheías oligon mοi móleī.

8. Xrh toûn touj filalhēw kai filadēlfwv <diakemévous>4 kai mhê katahrasunomévous authados tōn plousiōn klhtōn mhê aú páliu òpò-pitpontas autòis diá oikeían filokerdeian, prwton mēn autōn éxairoph tō loγw tīn kevn5 ápógnwson kai dhloun meta tīs dēousís éxygnhesew tōn logiōn

937 P. tou kurión | diōtì ouk apokékoptai tēleōn autòis h klhronomia tīs basileías tōn ouranwv éan òπo-akouósow tais èntolais. elb' ópoton mabhwos Ís ãdēes dediási déos kai Ítì bouλomévous autouj Í swth̄̄h ásmenws dēxetai, tōte kai prodeiknnya kai mwnstagnwein Ípsis ãn kai Ítì oíwn érgwn te kai diathēsewv épaurwnto tīs ëktidos, Ís ouî’ ámha-χánou kathetwshs autòis outhe toûnántion eikē

1, 3, 4 Barnard. ãnthrōw práh faç ms.
2 légw Ghisler. léwv ms. 3 perí Barnard. ãper épi ms.
4 <diakemévous> Fell. 5 kevn Combesis. kainhn ms.

a Literally, "the rich who are called"; cp. 1 Corinthians i. 24, and Jude ver. 1.

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feeling that they are not destined to obtain life. So, complying with the world in everything, and clinging to this present life as the only one left to them, they depart further from the heavenward way, taking no more trouble to ask who are the rich men that the Master and Teacher is addressing nor how that which is impossible with men becomes possible. Others however understand the saying rightly and properly, but, because they make light of the works which bear upon salvation, do not provide the necessary preparation for the satisfaction of their hopes. In both cases I am speaking of the rich who have learnt of the Saviour's power and His splendid salvation; with those who are uninitiated in the truth I have little concern.

3. It is the duty, therefore, of those whose minds are set on love of truth and love of the brethren, and who neither behave with insolent rudeness towards the rich members of the church, nor yet cringe to them through personal love of gain, first, by means of the word of scripture, to banish from them their unfounded despair and to show, with the necessary exposition of the Lord's oracles, that the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven is not completely cut off from them, if they obey the commandments; and afterwards, when they have learnt that their fears are groundless, and that the Saviour gladly receives them if they desire, to point out and instruct them how and through what kind of works and resolves they can enjoy the object of their hope, which is neither beyond their reach nor, on the contrary, to be obtained without settled purpose.

b Or perhaps, "by means of reason." See p. 20, n. a.

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περιγυμνομένης. ἀλλ' ὄντερ τρόπον ἔχει τὸ τῶν ἀθλητῶν, ἢν μικρὰ καὶ ἐπίκηρα μεγάλους καὶ ἀφθάρτους παραβάλωμεν, τούτι καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ¹ ὁ κατὰ κόσμον πλούτων λογιζέσθω. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων ὁ μὲν ὅτι δυνήσεται νικᾶν καὶ στεφάνων τυγχάνειν ἀπελπίσας οὐδ', ὅλως ἐπὶ τὴν ἁθλησιν ἀπεγράφατο, ὁ δὲ ταύτην μὲν ἐμβαλόμενος τῇ γνώμῃ τὴν ἐλπίδα, πόνους δὲ καὶ γυμνάσια καὶ τροφὰς μὴ προσέμενος προσφόρους, ἀστεφάνωτος διεγενέτο καὶ διήμαρτε τῶν ἐλπίδων. οὕτως τις καὶ τὴν ἐπίγειον ταύτην περιβεβλημένος περιβολὴν μῆτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἑαυτῶν τῶν ἁθλων τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐκκηρυσσέτω, πιστὸς γε ἃν καὶ τὸ μεγαλεῖον συνορῶν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας, μῆτε μὴν αὖθις ἀνάσκητος καὶ ἀναγώνιστος μείνας ἀκονιτὶ κανιδρωτὶ ² τῶν στεφάνων τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἐλπιζέτω μεταλαβεῖν· ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ὑποβαλέτω φέρων γυμναστὴ μὲν τῷ λόγῳ, ἀγωνοθέτη δὲ τῷ Χριστῷ· τροφὴ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ποτὸν γενέσθω τεταγμένον ἡ καυχή διαθήκη τοῦ κυρίου, γυμνάσια δὲ αἰ ἐντολαί, εὐσχημοσύνη δὲ καὶ κόσμος αἰ καλαὶ διαθέσεις, ἀγάπη, πίστις, ἔλπις, γνῶσις ἀληθείας, ἐπιείκεια. ³ πραότης, εὐσπλαγχνία, σεμνότης, ἢ', ὅταν ἡ ⁴ εὐσχάτῃ σάλπυξ ὑποσημνηθῇ τὸ τέλος ⁵ τοῦ ὁρμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐνετείθεν ἔξοδον ⁶ καθάπερ ἐκ σταδίου τοῦ βίου, μετ' ἀγαθοῦ τοῦ συνειδότος τῷ ἀθλοθέτῃ παραστῇ νικηφόρος, ὡμολογημένος τῆς ἀνω πατρίδος ἄξιος, εἰς ἄν

¹ ταιτού Mayor. 
² ἀκονιτὶ κανιδρωτὶ Ghisler. ἀκονιτὶ καὶ ἑδρωτὶ ms. 
³ ἐπιείκεια Fell (lacuna in ms.). 
⁴ ἡ inserted by Schwartz. 
⁵ ἡ τελοῦ inserted by Stählin (cp. 2 Timothy iv. 7). 
⁶ τὴν ἔξοδον Stählin. 

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Well then, as is the case with athletes—if we may compare things small and perishable with things great and incorruptible—so let him who is rich in this world consider it to be with himself. For the athlete who has no hope of being able to win and to obtain crowns does not even enrol himself for the contest; while the one who at heart entertains this hope, but does not submit to hard training and exercises and suitable food, comes out uncrowned and entirely misses the fulfilment of his hopes. In the same way let not one who is clothed with this earthly covering proclaim himself barred at the start from the Saviour's prizes, if, that is, he is faithful and surveys the magnificence of God's love to men; nor, once again, let him hope, by remaining undisciplined and unused to conflict, to partake of the crowns of incorruption without dust and sweat. But let him come and subject himself to reason as trainer and to Christ as master of the contests. Let his appointed food and drink be the Lord's new covenant, his exercise the commandments, his grace and adornment the fair virtues of love, faith, hope, knowledge of the truth, goodness, gentleness, compassion, gravity; in order that, when the last trumpet signals the end of the race and his departure from the present life as from a course, he may with a good conscience stand before the judge a victor, admitted to be worthy of the fatherland above, into

a i.e. riches.

b Again we have the comprehensiveness in the meaning of logos. See p. 20, n. a. In Clement's thought the different meanings tend to mingle with one another.

c See 1 Corinthians xi. 25.
d See 1 Corinthians xiii. 13.
e See 1 Corinthians xv. 52.

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μετά στεφάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἀγγελικῶν ἐπανέρχεται.

4. Δοικὴ τούν ἡμῶν ὡς ὁ σωτήρ ἐντεύθεν ἀρξαμένοις τοῦ λόγου τάληθι καὶ τὰ πρόποντα καὶ τὰ σωτηρία συμβαλέσθαι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα πρῶτον αὐτὴν καὶ δεύτερον πρὸς την τῆς ἐλπίδος προσαγωγὴν. οὐ δὲ χαρίζεται δεομένως καὶ αὐτοῦντας διδάσκει καὶ λέι τὴν ἁγιον ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν ἁπόγνωσιν ἀποσεῖται, τοὺς αὐτοὺς πάλιν εἰσάγων λόγους περὶ τῶν πλουσίων, ἑαυτῶν ἐρμηνείας γνώμενος καὶ ἔκηγήτος ἄσφαλείς. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὃν αὐτῶν αὐθεντικὰ ἀκούσαν τῶν ῥήτων, ἀπερ ἡμᾶς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις ἀχρὶ νῦν διετάρασσεν ἀβασανίστως καὶ δημαρτημένως ὑπὸ νηπίότητος ἀκρωμένους.

"Εκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ 1 εἰς ὃδον προσελθὼν τις ἐγονυπέτει λέγων: διδάσκαλε ἁγαθὲ, τί ποιήσω, 998 Ρ. ἵνα | ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομῆσω; οὐ δὲ Ἰησοῦς λέγει· τί με ἁγαθὸν λέγεις; οὔδεις ἁγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἰς ὁ θεὸς. τάς ἐντολὰς οἶδας· μὴ μοιχεύσῃς, μὴ φονεύσῃς, μὴ κλέψῃς, μὴ ψευδομαρτυρησίς, τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα. οὐ δὲ ἀποκριθεῖς λέγει αὐτῷ· πάντα ταῦτα ἐφύλαξα <ἐκ νεότητός μου> 2. οὐ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐμβλέψας ἡγάπησεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔπεμψε· ἐν σοὶ ὑστερεῖ. εἰ θέλεις τέλειος εἶναι, πώλησον ὃσα ἔχεις καὶ διάδος πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἔχεις θησαυρὸν ἐν υἱοῖς καὶ δεύρο ἀκολούθει μοι. οὐ δὲ συνήνασας ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἀπῆλθε λυπούμενος· ἦν γὰρ ἔχων χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ ἁγροῦς. περιβλεψά-

1 αὐτῶ Barnard. αὐτῷ ms.
2 <ἐκ νεότητός μου> inserted by Segaar; see pp. 286, 290.

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which with angelic crowns and proclamations he now ascends.\(^a\)

4. May the Saviour grant us power, then, as we begin our address at this point, to impart to the brethren true and fitting and salutary thoughts, first with regard to the hope itself, and secondly with regard to the means of reaching it. He gives freely to those who need, and teaches them when they ask, and disperses their ignorance, and shakes off their despair, by bringing up again the self-same words about the rich and showing them to be their own sure interpreters and expositors. For there is nothing like hearing once more the actual sayings which, because in our childishness we listened to them uncritically and mistakenly, have continued until now to trouble us in the gospels.

As He was going forth into the way, one came and kneeled before Him, saying, Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life. And Jesus says, Why callest thou me good? None is good save one, even God. Thou knowest the commandments; do not commit adultery, do not kill, do not steal, do not bear false witness, honour thy father and mother. And he answering says to Him, All these things have I observed from my youth. And Jesus looking upon him loved him, and said, One thing thou lackest. If thou wilt be perfect, sell whatsoever thou hast and distribute to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, follow Me. But his countenance fell at the saying, and he went away sorrowful; for he was one that had great riches and lands.

\(^a\) The imagery in this fine passage is taken from the Greek games, which St. Paul also had used as an illustration of the spiritual conflict. See 1 Corinthians ix. 25.
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μενος δέ ο Ἰησοῦς λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· πώς δυσκόλως οί τὰ χρήματα ἐχοντες εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. οἱ δε μαθηταὶ ἔθαμβοῦντο ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ. τάλιν δὲ ο Ιησοῦς ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει αὐτοῖς· τέκνα, πῶς δύσκολον ἔστι τοὺς πεποιθότας ἐπὶ χρήμασιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν. εὐκόλως διὰ τῆς τρυμαλίας τῆς βελόνης κάμηλος εἰσελθεῖται ἡ πλούσιος εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. οὐ δε περισσώς ἐξεπλήσσονται καὶ ἑλεγον· τίς οὖν δύναται σωθῆναι; ὃ δὲ ἐμβλέψας αὐτοῖς εἶπεν· ὃ τι παρὰ ἄνθρωποις ἀδύνατον, παρὰ θεῶ δύνατον. ἦρξατο ο Πέτρος λέγειν αὐτῷ· ἵδε ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν πάντα καὶ ἡκολουθήσαμεν σοι. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ο Ἰησοῦς λέγει· ἀμήν ὑμῖν λέγω, ὅσ ἄφθα τὰ ἵδια καὶ γονεῖς καὶ ἄδελφους καὶ χρήματα ἔνεκεν ἔμοι καὶ ἔνεκεν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ἀπολήσηται ἐκατονταπλάσιονα. νῦν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ἄγροι καὶ χρήματα καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἄδελφους ἔχειν μετὰ διωγμῶν εἰς ποῦ,1 ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐρχομένῳ ζωῆς2 ἐστιν αἰώνιος. [ἐν δὲ]3 ἔσονται οἱ πρώτοι ἐσχατοί, καὶ οἱ ἐσχατοὶ πρώτοι.”

5. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγελίῳ γέγραπται· καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν πάσιν τοῖς4 ἀναμνησμένοις ὄλγον μὲν ὑσιν ἐκασταχοῦ τῶν ῥηματῶν ἐναλάσσει, πάντα δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς γνώμης συμφωνῶν ἐπιδείκνυται. δεί δὲ σαφῶς εἰδότας ὅσ οὐδὲν ἀνθρωπίνως ὁ σωτήρ, ἀλλὰ πάντα θεία σοφία καὶ μυστικὴ διδάσκει τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ, μὴ σαρκίνως ἀκροάσθη τῶν λεγομένων, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐν

1 els ποῦ; Stählin. els που ms. ἐλφγον Barnard.
2 ζωή Ghisler. ζωήν ms.
4 τοῖς inserted by Wilamowitz.
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And Jesus looked round about, and says to His disciples, How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God! And the disciples were amazed at His words. But Jesus answering again says to them, Children, how hard is it for them that trust in riches to enter into the kingdom of God! A camel shall more easily enter through the eye of the needle, than a rich man into the kingdom of God. And they were exceedingly astonished and said, Who then can be saved? But He looking upon them said, That which is impossible with men is possible with God. Peter began to say to him, Lo, we have left all and followed thee. And Jesus answering says, Verily I say to you, whoever leaves his home and parents and brothers and riches for My sake and for the gospel's sake, shall receive back a hundredfold. To what end is it that in this present time we have lands and riches and houses and brothers with persecutions? But in the time to come is life eternal. The first shall be last and the last first.\(^a\)

5. This is written in the gospel according to Mark, and in all the other accepted\(^b\) gospels the passage as a whole shows the same general sense, though perhaps here and there a little of the wording changes. And as we are clearly aware that the Saviour teaches His people nothing in a merely human way, but everything by a divine and mystical wisdom, we must not understand His words literally,\(^c\)

\(^a\) St. Mark x. 17-31. It will be noticed that the text of St. Mark's gospel used by Clement differed in a number of small points from that with which we are familiar.

\(^b\) Clement distinguishes the four gospels from others which he knew, and occasionally uses, but to which he did not attribute the same authority.

\(^c\) The Greek word is "fleshly" or "carnally"; the fleshly meaning was the one that lay on the surface, as contrasted with the hidden or spiritual meaning. "Literally" seems the nearest equivalent in modern English.
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αὐτοῖς κεκρυμμένον νοῦν μετὰ τῆς ἀξίας ζητήσεως καὶ συνέσεως ἔρευνᾶν καὶ καταμανθάνειν. καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου δοκοῦντα ἡπλώθαι πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς τῶν ἤνιγμάς ὑπειρημένων οὐδὲν ἤττονος ἄλλα πλείων ἐτι καὶ νῦν τῆς ἐπιστάσεως εὑρίσκεται δεόμενα διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν τῆς φρονήσεως ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπερβολήν. ὅποι δὲ καὶ τὰ νομίζομενα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ διοίκθαι τοῖς ἔσω καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς τῆς βασιλείας τέκνοις ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καλοῦμένοις ἐτι χρήζει φροντίδος πλείων, ἢ ποῦ γε τὰ δόξαντα μὲν ἀπλῶς ἐξενηχθαί καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ διηρ- 

999 P. τῆμενα πρὸς τῶν ἀκουσάντων, εἰς ὅλον δὲ τὸ τελος αὐτὸ τῆς σωτηρίας διαφέροντα, ἐσκεπασμένα ¹ δὲ θαυμαστῷ καὶ ὑπερουρανίῳ διανοίᾳ βάθει, οὐκ ἐπιπολαίως δέχεσθαι ταῖς ἀκοαῖς προσήκεν, ἀλλὰ καθιέναι τὸν νοῦν ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ σωτήρος καὶ τὸ τῆς γνώμης ἀπόρρητον.

6. Ἡρώτηται μὲν γὰρ ἤδεως ὁ κύριος ἤμων καὶ σωτὴρ ἔρωτημα καταληλότατον αὐτῶ, ἡ ζωὴ περὶ ζωῆς, ὁ σωτὴρ περὶ σωτηρίας, ὁ διδάσκαλος περὶ κεφαλαίων τῶν διδασκόμενων δογμάτων, ἡ ² ἀλήθεια περὶ τῆς ἀληθινῆς ἀθανασίας, ὁ λόγος περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς λόγου, ὁ τέλειος περὶ τῆς τελείας ἀνα- 

паσχειμ, ὁ ἀδρατος περὶ τῆς βεβαιας ἀθαρσίας. Ἡρώτηται περὶ τούτων ὑπέρ ὅν καὶ κατελήλυθεν, ἁ παυδεύει, ἡ διδάσκει, ἡ παρέχει, ἡν δεῖξῃ τὴν 

tou εὐαγγελίου ὑπόθεσιν, ὃτι δόσις ἔστιν αἰωνίου 

ζωῆς. πρὸοδε δὲ ὃς θεὸς καὶ ἀ μέλλει διερω-

τηθήσεσθαι καὶ ἀ μέλλει τις αὐτῶ ἀποκρίνεσθαι.

¹ διαφέροντα, ἐσκεπασμένα Stählin. διαφέροντων, ἐσκεπασμε- 

νων MS.

² ἡ inserted by Barnard.
but with due inquiry and intelligence we must search out and master their hidden meaning. For the sayings which appear to have been simplified by the Lord Himself to His disciples are found even now, on account of the extraordinary degree of wisdom in them, to need not less but more attention than His dark and suggestive utterances. And when the sayings which are thought to have been fully explained by Him to the inner circle of disciples, to the very men who are called by Him the children of the kingdom, still require further reflexion, surely those that had the appearance of being delivered in simple form and, for that reason were not questioned by the hearers, but which are of importance for the whole end of salvation, and are enveloped in a wonderful and super-celestial depth of thought, should not be taken as they strike the careless ear, but with an effort of mind to reach the very spirit of the Saviour and His secret meaning.

6. For our Lord and Saviour is pleased to be asked a question most appropriate to Him; the Life is asked about life, the Saviour about salvation, the Teacher about the chief of the doctrines He was teaching, the Truth about the true immortality, the Word about the Father’s word, the perfect one about the perfect rest, the incorruptible about the sure incorruption. He is asked about the things for which He has even come to earth, and which are the objects of His training, His teaching, His bounty; in order that He may reveal the purpose of the gospel, that it is a gift of eternal life. As God He knows beforehand both what questions He will be asked and

\* St. Matt. xiii. 38.
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tis gar kai mallon he 'o prophphtis prophphtow kai
kyrios pantos prophphtikou pneuma to
klesteis de agathos, ap' autou prwtou tou rhmatos tovtou
to evdosimou labvon entethein kai tis didaskalia
arketai, epistrefoun ton mahhtin epi ton theon
ton agathon kai prwtou kai monon zwhs aiwnion
tamian, hei o nidos didwos hemi par ekinein
labvon.

7. Oukouin to megiston kai koruphioptaton ton
pros tin zwhn mahmaton apo tin arxhes evthis
egkatathesai ti psikh dei, gynain ton theon ton
aiwnion kai dotera aiwnion kai prwtou kai upereta-
tou kai ena kai agathon theon. <dvn>1 esti kthosai
dia gnostes kai katalhsemes auti gar atreptos
kai asaluteos arxh kai krhth swth, episthmeta
theou tou ontos ontos kai ta ontai, touteste ta
aiwnia, davorumeno, ex odo kai to einai tois alloan
uparchei kai to meivai labein. He men gar tou ton
anwia thanatos estin, he de epignasis autou kai
oikeiasis kai he pros auton agaphe kai eixomoiowis
mon swth.

8. Tou ton odoi prwtou epignowai to zhesomew
thn ontos zwhn parakeuleitai, oiv "oudeis epign-
wnosei ei meli o nidos kai ov an o nidos apokalwthi
epeita to megethos tou swthros met ekinein kai
tin kainotita ths charitos machein, oti dh kata ton

1 <dvn> inserted by Wilamowitz.

a The word used here (tamias) is applied in Homer
(Iliad iv. 84) and Plato (Rep. 379 e) to Zeus, and Clement
is doubtless alluding to these passages.
b See St. John v. 26; xvii. 2.
c See St. John xvii. 3.

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what answers will be given Him. For who should know this more than the prophet of prophets and the Lord of every prophetic spirit? And when He is called good, He takes His key-note from this very first word and makes it the starting-point of His teaching, turning the disciple to God who is good, and first of all, and alone dispenser of eternal life, which the Son gives to us after receiving it from Him.

7. We must therefore store up in the soul right from the beginning the greatest and chiefest of the doctrines that refer to life, namely, to know the eternal God as both giver of eternal gifts and first and supreme and one and a good God. And we can get possession of God through knowledge and apprehension; for this is a firm and unshakable beginning and foundation of life,—the knowledge of God who truly exists and who is the bestower of things that exist, that is, of eternal things, from whom it is that the rest of things take both their existence and their continuance. Ignorance of Him is death, but full knowledge of Him, and close friendship, and love to Him, and growth in His likeness, is alone life.

8. He therefore that aims at living the true life is bidden first to know Him whom "no man knows except the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son reveals Him": and then to understand the Saviour's greatness, next to Him, and the newness of His grace; because, according to the apostle, "the law

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a The thought of "becoming like God" is taken from Plato, Theaetetus 176 u, a passage to which Clement often refers.

b St. Matthew xi. 27.
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ἀπόστολον "ὁ νόμος διὰ Μωσέως ἐδόθη, ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ". καὶ οὐκ ἤσα τὰ διὰ δούλου πιστοὶ διδόμενα τοῖς ὑπὸ [τοῦ] 1 νιώθω γνησίου δωρουμένοις. εἰ γοὺς ἴκανος ἢν ὁ Μωσέως νόμος ζωὴν αἰώνιον παρασχεῖν, μάτην μὲν ὁ σωτὴρ αὐτὸς παραγίνεται καὶ πάσχει δ' ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ γενέσεως μέχρι τοῦ σημείου τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα διατρέχων, μάτην δὲ ὁ πάσας πεποιηκὼς "ἐκ νεότητος" τὰς 940 P. νομίμους ἑντολὰς παρὰ ἄλλου αἰτεὶ 2 γονυπετῶν ἀθανασίαν. οὔδέ γὰρ πεπλήρωκε μόνον τὸν νόμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ πρῶτης ἡλικίας ἀρξάμενος· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὶ μέγα ἡ ὑπέρλαμπρον γῆρας ἄγονον ἀδικημάτων ὡν ἐπιθυμιάζει πάντως νεανικὴ ἡ ὄργη ξέουσα ἢ ἔρως χρημάτων; ἀλλ' εἰ τις ἐν σκηρτήματι νεοτησίῳ καὶ τῷ καύσων τῆς ἡλικίας παρέσχεται φρόνημα πεπανόν καὶ πρεσβύτερον τὸν χρόνον, θαυμαστὸς οὗτος ἄγωνισθης καὶ διαπρετής καὶ τὴν γνώμην πολιός 3. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὗτος ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀκριβῶς πέπεισται, διότι αὐτῷ πρὸς μὲν δικαιοσύνην οὐδὲν ἐνδείκτης ἢ ὤν ὁρῶς προσδείχεται: διὸ αὕτην αἰτεὶ παρὰ τοῦ δοῦνα μόνον δυναμένου καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸν νόμον ἄγει παρρησίαν, τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ τὸν υἱὸν ἤκετεύει. "ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν" μετατάσσεται· ὡς σφαλερῶς ἐν νόµῳ σαλεύων καὶ ἕπικινδύνους ναυλοχῶν εἰς τὸν σωτῆρα μεθορμίζεται.

9. Ὅ γοὺς Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἐλέγχετε μὲν αὐτὸν ὡς πάντα τὰ ἐκ νόµου μὴ πεπλήρωκότα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγαπᾶ καὶ

1 [τοῦ] Stählin.
2 αἰτεὶ J. A. Robinson. ἐτι ms.
3 πολιός Stählin. πολιστερος ms.

a St. John i. 17.

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was given through Moses, grace and truth through Jesus Christ," \(^{a}\) and gifts given through a faithful slave \(^{b}\) are not equal to those bestowed by a true son. At any rate, if the law of Moses was able to supply eternal life, it is in vain that the Saviour comes Himself to us and suffers on our account; \(^{c}\) running His human course from birth to the cross \(^{d}\); in vain, too, that he who has kept "from youth" all the commandments of Moses' law kneels and asks immortality from another. For not only has he fulfilled the law, but he began to do so right from his earliest years. For what is there great or especially distinguished about an old age free from the brood of sins that are born of youthful lusts or boiling anger or passion for riches? But if a man in the heyday and heat of youth displays a ripe spirit older than his years, he is a wonderful and illustrious champion and hoary in judgment. Nevertheless the young man in question is positively convinced that while, as regards righteousness, nothing is lacking to him, life is lacking altogether. So he asks it from Him who alone is able to give it. As regards the law, too, he speaks with boldness, but to the Son of God he makes supplication. He passes over "from faith to faith." \(^{e}\) As he tosses perilously in the dangerous roadstead of the law he is brought to a safe anchorage with the Saviour.

9. Certainly Jesus does not convict him of not having fulfilled all the demands of the law. No, He

\(^{a}\) The reference is to Moses in Hebrews iii. 5.

\(^{b}\) See Galatians ii. 21.

\(^{c}\) Literally, the "sign," a term often used to denote the cross; cp. Ep. Barnabas xii. 5.

\(^{d}\) Romans i. 17.
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ὑπερασπάζεται τής ἐν οἷς ἔμαθεν εὐπειθείας, ἀτελῆ δὲ εἶναι φησιν ὡς πρὸς τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν, ὡς οὐ τέλεια πεπληρωκότα, καὶ νόμον μὲν ἐργάτην, ἀργόν δὲ ζωῆς ἀληθινῆς. καλὰ μὲν οὖν κάκεινα (τίς δ’ οὔ φησιν; ἡ γὰρ „ἔντολη ἀγία“) ἀχρὶ παιδαγωγίας τινὸς μετὰ φόβου καὶ προπαιδείας ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ νομοθεσίαν τὴν ἀκραν καὶ χάρων προχωροῦντα, πλήρωμα δὲ „νόμου Χριστὸς εἰς δικαιοσύνην παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι,” οὐχὶ δὲ δουλοὺς ποιῶν ὡς δούλος, ἄλλα καὶ νόμοι καὶ ἀδελφοὺς καὶ συγκληρονόμους τοὺς ἐπιτελοῦντας τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός.

10. „Εἰ θέλεις τέλειος γενέσθαι.” οὐκ ἂρα πω τέλειος ἢν ὀφθέν γὰρ τελεῖον τελεότερον. καὶ θείως τὸ „εἰ θέλεις” τὸ αὐτεξούσιον τῆς προσδιαλεγομένης αὐτῶ ψυχῆς ἐθῆλυσεν. ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γὰρ ἢν ἢ αἱρεσίς ὡς ἐλευθέρω, ἐπὶ θεῶ δὲ ἡ δόσις ὡς κυρίω. δίδωσι δὲ βουλομένοις καὶ ύπερεσπουδάκσι καὶ δεσμένοις, ἐν οὕτως ἢ διών αὐτῶν ἢ σωτηρία γέννηται. οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκάζει ο θεός, βία γὰρ ἐχθρὸν θεῶ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ξητοῖς πορίζει καὶ τοῖς αἰτοῦσι παρέχει καὶ τοῖς κρούουσι ανοίγει. εἰ θέλεις οὖν, εἰ οὕτως θέλεις καὶ μὴ ἑαυτὸν ἔξαπατάς, κτῆσαι τὸ ἐνδεόν. „Εὰν οὖν λείτης,” τὸ ἐν, τὸ ἐμον, τὸ ἀγαθόν, τὸ ἡδὴ υπὲρ νόμον, ὅπερ νόμος οὖν δίδωσιν, ὅπερ νόμος οὐ

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a Romans vii. 12.  
b See Galatians iii. 24.  
c Romans x. 4, and xiii. 10.  
d i.e. Moses; cp. Hebrews iii. 5–6.  
e See St. Matthew xii. 30, and Romans viii. 14–17.  
f St. Matthew xix. 21.  

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loves him and warmly welcomes him for his ready obedience in what he has learnt. Yet He calls him imperfect as regards eternal life, on the ground that he has fulfilled deeds that are not perfect, and that though he is a worker of the law, he is idle in respect of true life. Now the works of the law are good—who will deny it? for "the commandment is holy," but only to the extent of being a kind of training, accompanied by fear and preparatory instruction, leading on to the supreme law-giving and grace of Jesus. On the other hand "Christ is the fulfilment of the law unto righteousness to every one that believes," and those who perfectly observe the Father's will He makes not slaves, in the manner of a slave, but sons and brothers and joint-heirs.

10. "If thou wilt become perfect." So he was not yet perfect; for there are no degrees of perfection. And the "if thou wilt" was a divine declaration of the free-will of the soul that was talking with Him. For the choice lay with the man as a free being, though the gift was with God as Lord. And He gives to those who desire and are in deep earnest and beg, that in this way salvation may become their very own. For God does not compel, since force is hateful to God, but He provides for those who seek, He supplies to those who ask, and He opens to those who knock. If thou wilt, then, if thou really wilt and art not deceiving thyself, get possession of that which is wanting. "One thing thou lackest," the one thing, that which is Mine, the good, that which is already above law, which law does not give, which law does not contain, which

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\[ h \] St. Mark x. 21; St. Luke xviii. 22.

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χωρεῖ, ὁ τῶν ζωντων ἰδιὸν ἐστιν. ἀμέλει ὁ πάντα τὰ τοῦ νόμου πληρώσας "έκ νεότητος" καὶ τὰ ὑπέρογκα φυσικάμενος τὸ ἐν τούτῳ προσθεῖναι τοῖς ὀλοις οὐ δεδύνητα, τὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἔξαιρετον, ἵνα λάβῃ ζωὴν αἰώνιον, ἢν ποθεῖ· ἄλλα δυσχέρανας ἀπῆλθεν, ἀχθεῖσθαι τῷ παραγγέλματι τῆς ζωῆς, ὕπερ ἃς ἰκέτευεν. οὐ γὰρ ἀληθῶς ζωὴν ἦθελεν, ὡς ἔφασκεν, ἄλλα δόξαν προαιρέσεως ἀγαθῆς μόνην περιεβάλλετο, καὶ περὶ πολλὰ μὲν οἶδος τε ἢν ἀσχολεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἐὰν, τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ἔργῳ, ἀδύνατος καὶ ἀπόθυμος καὶ ἀσθενής ἐκτελεῖν· ὅποιόν τι καὶ πρὸς τὴν Μάρθαν ἔλεγεν ὁ σωτὴρ ἀσχολομένην <περὶ> 1 πολλά καὶ περιεκμένην καὶ ταρασσομένην 2 διακονικῶς, τὴν δὲ ἀδελφῆς αἰτιωμένην, ὅτι τὸ ὑπηρετεῖν ἀπολιποῦσα τοῖς ποιών αὐτῶν παρακάθηται μαθητικὴν ἄγουσα σχολὴν. "οὐ περὶ πολλὰ ταράσσῃ, Μαρία δὲ τὴν ἀγαθὴν μερίδα ἐξελέξατο, καὶ οὐκ ἀφαιρεθήσεται αὐτής." οὕτως καὶ τοῦτον ἐκέλευε τῆς πολυπραγμοσύνης ἀφέμενον ἐνὶ προστετηκέναι καὶ προσκαθέσθαι, τῇ χάριτι τοῦ ζωῆς αἰώνιον προστιθέντος.

11. Τί τοῖνυν ἢν τὸ προτρεφάμενον αὐτῶν εἰς φυγήν καὶ ποιῆσαι ἀπαντομολογήσα τοῦ διδασκάλου, τῆς ἵκετειας, τῆς ἐλπίδος, τῆς ζωῆς, τῶν προπεπονημένων; "πώλησον τὰ ὑπάρχοντά σου." τί δὲ τούτῳ ἐστιν; οὐχ ὁ προχείρως δεχονταί τινες, τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν οὐσίαν ἀπορρίψαι προστάσσει καὶ ἀποστήναι τῶν χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ τὰ δόγματα τὰ περὶ χρημάτων ἐξορίζαι τῆς ψυχῆς, τὴν πρὸς αὐτὰ

1 <περὶ> inserted by Segaar.
2 ταρασσομένη Ghisler. παρατασσομένη ms. παραταρασσομένηn Barnard.

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is peculiar to those who live. Yet indeed he who has fulfilled every demand of the law "from youth" and has made extravagant boasts, is unable to add to the tale this one thing singled out by the Saviour, in order to obtain the eternal life which he longs for. He went away displeased, being annoyed at the precept concerning the life for which he was making supplication. For he did not truly wish for life, as he said, but aimed solely at a reputation for good intentions. He could be busy about many things, but the one thing, the work that brings life, he was neither able nor eager nor strong enough to accomplish. And just as the Saviour said to Martha when she was busy about many things, distracted and troubled by serving, and chiding her sister because she had left the household work and was seated at His feet spending her time in learning: "Thou art troubled about many things, but Mary hath chosen the good part, and it shall not be taken away from her," —so also He bade this man cease from his manifold activities and cling to and sit beside one thing, the grace of Him who adds eternal life.

11. What then was it that impelled him to flight, and made him desert his teacher, his supplication, his hope, his life, his previous labours? "Sell what belongs to thee." And what is this? It is not what some hastily take it to be, a command to fling away the substance that belongs to him and to part with his riches, but to banish from the soul its opinions about riches, its attachment to them, its

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*a See St. Luke x. 38-42.

*b St. Matthew xix. 21; St. Mark x. 21.
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συμπάθειαν, τὴν ὑπεράγαν ἐπιθυμίαν, τὴν περὶ αὐτὰ πτολεὶ καὶ νόσουν, τὰς μερίμνας, τὰς ἀκάνθας τοῦ βίου, αἱ τὸ σπέρμα τῆς ζωῆς συμπνήγουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ μέγα καὶ ξηλωτὸν τὸ τηνάλλωσ ἀπορεῖν χρημάτων μὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ λόγῳ ζωῆς (οὔτω μὲν γ' ἂν ἦσαν οἳ μηδὲν ἔχοντες μηδαμῇ, ἀλλὰ ἔρημοι καὶ μεταίχα τῶν ἐφ' ἠμέραν, οἱ κατὰ τὰς ὅδους ἐρρυμένοι πτωχοὶ, "ἀγνοοῦντες" δὲ θεοὺ καὶ "δικαιοσύνην θεοὺ," κατ' αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ ἀκρως ἀπορεῖν καὶ ἀμηχανεῖν βίου καὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων σπανίζειν μακαριστάτου καὶ θεοφιλέστατον καὶ μόνοι ζωὴν ἔχοντες αἰώνιον) οὔτε κανὸν τὸ ἀπείπασθαι πλοῦτον καὶ χαρᾶσσαθι πτωχοῖς ηματίσιν, ὃ πολλοὶ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ σωτήρος καθόδου πεποιήκασιν, οἱ μὲν τῆς εἰς λόγους σοφίας καὶ νεκρᾶς σοφίας ἔνεκεν, οἱ δὲ φήμης κενῆς καὶ κενοδοξίας, Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ Δημόκριτον καὶ Κράτητος.

12. Τί οὖν ὡς κανὸν καὶ ἴδιον θεοῦ παραγγέλλει καὶ μόνον ζωοποιοῦν, ὃ τοὺς προτέρους οὐκ ἐσώθεν; εἰ δὲ ἐξειρετῶν τι ἡ ἡ κανή κτίσις," ὃ νῦν τοῦ θεοῦ, μηνύει καὶ διδάσκει, οὐ τὸ φαινόμενον, ὅπερ ἄλλοι

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a The allusion is to the parable of the Sower. See St. Mark iv. 19 and parallel passages.
b Romans x. 3.
c Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, 500–428 B.C., gave up his property in order to have more leisure for philosophy. Democritus of Abdera (about 460–361 B.C.) is said to have spent a large fortune on travels undertaken in search of knowledge. Crates, the Cynic philosopher (about 320 B.C.) gave his wealth to his native city Thebes.
d When Clement speaks of the "new creation" (the phrase comes from Galatians vi. 15 and 2 Corinthians v. 17), he is thinking in the first place of the great transformation
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excessive desire, its morbid excitement over them, its anxious cares, the thorns of our earthly existence which choke the seed of the true life.⁴ For it is no great or enviable thing to be simply without riches, apart from the purpose of obtaining life. Why, if this were so, those men who have nothing at all, but are destitute and beg for their daily bread, who lie along the roads in abject poverty, would, though "ignorant" of God and "God's righteousness,"⁵ be most blessed and beloved of God and the only possessors of eternal life, by the sole fact of their being utterly without ways and means of livelihood and in want of the smallest necessities. Nor again is it a new thing to renounce wealth and give it freely to the poor, or to one's fatherland, which many have done before the Saviour's coming; some to obtain leisure for letters and for dead wisdom, others for empty fame and vainglory—such men as Anaxagoras, Democritus and Crates.⁶

12. What then is it that He enjoins as new and peculiar to God and alone life-giving, which did not save men of former days? If the "new creation,"⁷ the Son of God, reveals and teaches something unique, then His command does not refer to the which has resulted from the presence and work of Jesus Christ on earth: the fear of death has given place to an assurance of union with God and immortality. The life thus opened out to man is eloquently described in the Exhortation to the Greeks, 88–89 P. (see pp. 243–7 of this volume). But Clement can also apply the term "new creation" to Christ Himself, the result of Christ's work being gathered up, as it were, into the person of its author. This is what he seems to do here. Yet the main thought is still that the old world has been so entirely left behind that Christ's teaching must in every detail go far beyond anything taught or practised before.
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πεπονήκασι, παρεγγυά, ἀλλ' ἔτερον τι διὰ τοῦτον σημανόμενον μείζον καὶ θειότερον καὶ τελεώτερον, τὸ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν γυμνώσαι τῶν ὑπόντων παθῶν καὶ πρόρριζα τὰ ἀλλότρια τῆς γνώμης ἐκτεμεῖν καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν. τούτο γὰρ ἰδίον μὲν τοῦ πιστοῦ τὸ μάθημα, ἄξιον δὲ τοῦ σωτῆρος τὸ δίδαγμα. οἱ γὰρ τοῦ πρότερον, καταφρονήσαντες τῶν ἐκτός, τὰ μὲν κτήματα ἀφῆκαν καὶ παραπόλεσαν, τὰ δὲ πάθη τῶν ψυχῶν οἷοι ὁτι καὶ προσεπέτευαν· ἐν ὑπεροψίᾳ γὰρ ἐγένοντο καὶ ἀλαζονεία καὶ κενοδοξία καὶ περιφρονήσει τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, ὡς αὐτοὶ τι ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπων ἐργασάμενοι.

942 P. πῶς ἂν οὐν ὁ σωτὴρ παρῆνε τοῖς εἰς αἰεὶ βιωσομένοις τὰ βλάψιν καὶ λυμανούμενα πρὸς τὴν ἦλθην, ἣν ἐπαγγέλλεται; καὶ γὰρ αὕτη ἐκείνη ἐστὶν δύναται τις ἀποφορτισάμενος τὴν κτήσιν οὐδὲν ἢττον ἐτί τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τὴν ὑρεξίν τῶν χρημάτων ἔχειν ἐντετυκυίαν καὶ συζώσαν καὶ τὴν μὲν χρήσιν ἀποβεβληκέναι, ἀπορῶν δὲ ἀμα καὶ ποθῶν ἀπερ ἐσπάθησε διαλήμματα, καὶ τῇ τῆς ὑπερείας ἀπουσία καὶ τῇ τῆς μετανοίας συνουσίᾳ. ἀνεφικτὸν γὰρ καὶ ἀμήχανον δεόμενον τῶν πρὸς τὸ βιοτεύειν ἀναγκαῖων μὴ οὐ κατακλάσθαι τὴν γνώμην καὶ ἀσχολίαν ἀγείν ἀπὸ τῶν κρεπτῶν, ὀπωσοῦ καὶ ὅθεν οὐτά τι αὐτῆς πειρώμενον ἐκπορίζετε.

18. Καὶ πόσῳ χρησιμώτερον τὸ ἐναντίον, ἵκανα κεκτημένον αὐτόν τε περὶ τὴν κτήσιν μὴ κακοπαθεῖν καὶ οἷς καθήκεν ἐπικούρειν; τίς γὰρ ἂν κοινωνία καταλείποιτο παρὰ ἄνθρώπους, εἴ μηδεὶς ἐχοῦ μηδέν;

a Strictly, service rendered by rowers on a ship, in relation to the work of sailors and pilot; hence, services rendered by wealth, etc., for the support and comfort of life.

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visible act, the very thing that others have done, but to something else greater, more divine and more perfect, which is signified through this; namely, to strip the soul itself and the will of their lurking passions and utterly to root out and cast away all alien thoughts from the mind. For this is a lesson peculiar to the believer and a doctrine worthy of the Saviour. The men of former days, indeed, in their contempt for outward things, parted with and sacrificed their possessions, but as for the passions of the soul, I think they even intensified them. For they became supercilious, boastful, conceited and disdainful of the rest of mankind, as if they themselves had wrought something superhuman. How then could the Saviour have recommended to those who were to live for ever things that would be harmful and injurious for the life He promises? And there is this other point. It is possible for a man, after having unburdened himself of his property, to be none the less continually absorbed and occupied in the desire and longing for it. He has given up the use of wealth, but now being in difficulties and at the same time yearning after what he threw away, he endures a double annoyance, the absence of means of support and the presence of regret. For when a man lacks the necessities of life he cannot possibly fail to be broken in spirit and to neglect the higher things, as he strives to procure these necessities by any means and from any source.

13. And how much more useful is the opposite condition, when by possessing a sufficiency a man is himself in no distress about money-making and also helps those he ought? For what sharing would be left among men, if nobody had anything? And how

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πῶς δ’ ἂν τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα πολλοὶς ἄλλοις καὶ καλοὶς τοῦ κυρίου δόγμασιν οὐχὶ φανερῶς ἐναντιούμενον εὐρίσκοιτο καὶ μαχόμενον; "ποιήσατε ἑαυτοῖς φίλους ἐκ τοῦ μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας, ἵν’ ὅταν ἐκλήσῃ, δέξωταί ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς αἰώνιους σκηνάς.” "κτήσασθε θησαυροὺς ἐν ὕμαν, ὅπου μήτε σής μήτε βρῶσις ἀφανίζει μήτε κλέπται διορύσσουσι.” πῶς ἂν τις πεινώντα τρέφοι καὶ δυσώντα ποτίζοι καὶ γυμνὸν σκεπάζοι καὶ ἀστεγον συνάγοι, ἃ τοῖς μὴ ποιήσασιν ἀπειλεῖ πῦρ καὶ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον, εἰ πάντων αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς φθάνῃ τούτων ὡστερῶν; ἀλλὰ μὴν αὐτὸς τε ἐπιζευγνωτά ταῖς Ζακχαῖς καὶ Δεείους Μαθητῶν τοῖς πλούσιοι καὶ τελῶναις, καὶ τὰ μὲν χρήματα αὐτοὺς οὐ κελεύει μεθείναι, τὴν δὲ δικαίαν χρήσιν ἐπιθείς καὶ τὴν ἁδικοὺς ἀφελῶν καταγγέλλει: "σήμερον σωτηρία τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ." οὕτω τὴν χρείαν αὐτῶν ἐπαινεῖ, ὅστε καὶ μετὰ τῆς προσθήκης ταύτης τὴν κοινωνίαν ἐπιτάσσει, συνίζειν τὸν δυσώντα, ἀρτον διδόναι τῷ πεινώντι, ὑποδέχεσθαι τὸν ἀστεγον, ἀμφιενύναι τὸν γυμνὸν. εἰ δὲ τὰς χρείας οὐχ οἰόν τε ἐκπληροῦν ταύτας μὴ ἀπὸ χρημάτων, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων ἀφίστασθαι κελεύει, τί ἄν ἐπιστήμην οὐκ ὅπου ἐκέεσθαι καὶ μὴ τρέφειν, ἐπιστήμην καὶ ἀποκλείειν, κοινωνεῖν καὶ μὴ κοινωνεῖν, ὅπερ ἀπάντων ἀλογώτατον;

1 καὶ Δεείου J. A. Robinson. κελεύει ms.
2 χρήσιν Olshausen. κρείσν ms.
3 ⟨ἡ⟩ inserted by Ghisler.

a St. Luke xvi. 9.
b St. Matthew vi. 20.
c See St. Matthew xxi. 41-43.
d See St. Luke xix. 5.

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could this doctrine be found other than plainly contradictory to and at war with many other noble doctrines of the Lord? "Make to yourselves friends from the mammon of unrighteousness, that when it shall fail they may receive you into the eternal habitations." \(a\) "Acquire treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth consume, nor thieves break through." \(b\) How could we feed the hungry and give drink to the thirsty, cover the naked and entertain the homeless, with regard to which deeds He threatens fire and the outer darkness to those who have not done them; \(c\) if each of us were himself already in want of all these things? But further, the Lord Himself is a guest with Zacchaeus \(d\) and Levi and Matthew, \(e\) wealthy men and tax-gatherers, and He does not bid them give up their riches. On the contrary, having enjoined the just and set aside the unjust employment of them, He proclaims, "To-day is salvation come to this house." \(f\) It is on this condition that He praises their use, and with this stipulation,—that He commands them to be shared, to give drink to the thirsty and bread to the hungry, to receive the homeless, to clothe the naked. And if it is not possible to satisfy these needs except with riches, and He were bidding us stand aloof from riches, what else would the Lord be doing than exhorting us to give and also not to give the same things, to feed and not to feed, to receive and to shut out, to share and not to share? But this would be the height of unreason.

\(a\) See St. Mark ii. 15 and parallel passages. The reading "Levi" is obtained by a slight change in the ms. Clement regards Levi and Matthew as two different persons.

\(b\) St. Luke xix. 9.
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14. Οὐκ ἄρα ἀπορριπτέον τὰ καὶ τοὺς πέλας ωφελοῦντα χρήματα. κτήματα γάρ ἐστι κτητὰ ὅντα, καὶ χρήματα χρήσιμα ὅντα καὶ εἰς χρήσιν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ παρεσκευασμένα, ἀ δὴ παράκειται καὶ ὑποβέβληται καθάπερ ὑπὲρ τις καὶ ὄργανα πρὸς χρήσιν ἀγαθὴν τοὺς εἰδόσι. τὸ ὄργανον, ἐὰν χρησιμοποιηθῇ τεχνικῶς, τεχνικόν ἐστιν· ἐὰν ὑστερῆσι τῆς τέχνης, ἀπολαύει τῆς σῇς ἀμοιβίας, ὃν ἀναίτιον. τοιούτων καὶ ὁ πλούσιος ὄργανον ἔστι. δύνασαι χρησιμοποιήσει δικαίως αὐτῶν· πρὸς δικαιοσύνην καθυπηρετεῖ· ἀδίκως τις αὐτῷ χρήσιτα· πάλιν ὑπηρέτης ἀδικίας εὐφίληται· πέφυκε γὰρ ὑπηρετεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄρχειν. οὐ χρησιμοποιοῦν τὸ ἐξ ἐαυτοῦ μὴ ἔχων μήτε τὸ ἀγαθὸν μήτε τὸ κακόν, ἀναίτιον ὃν, αἰτίασθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ δυνάμενον καὶ καλῶς τούτους χρησιμοποιοῦν καὶ κακῶς, ἀφ’ ὃν ἔν ἐληττεί, κατ’ αὐτὸ <τούτῳ αἰτίον ὃν>². τούτῳ δ’ ἐστὶ νοὶς ἀνθρώπου, καὶ κριτήριον ἐλευθεροῦν ἔχων ἐν ἐαυτῷ καὶ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον τῆς μεταχειρίσεως τῶν δοθέντων. ὡστε μὴ τὰ κτήματα τις ἀφανιζέτω μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς, τὰ μὴ συγχωροῦντα τὴν ἀμείνων χρήσιν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἵνα καλῶς καὶ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος καὶ τούτως τοῖς κτήμασι χρησιμοποιοῦν καὶ δυνηθῆ καλῶς. τὸ οὖν ἀποτάξασθαι πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι καὶ πωλῆσαι πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τοῦτον τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐκδεκτέον ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ψυχικῶν παθῶν διειρρημένον.

15. Ἐγὼ γοὺν κάκεινον φήσαιμι· ἀν· ἐπειδὴ τὰ μὲν

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¹ ἀμοιβίας Segar. ἀμοιβίας ms.
² <τούτῳ αἰτίον ὃν> inserted by Stählin.

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*a An attempt is here made to reproduce Clement's play upon the words χρήματα ... χρήσιμα ... χρήσιν.*

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14. We must not then fling away the riches that are of benefit to our neighbours as well as ourselves. For they are called possessions because they are things possessed, and wealth because they are to be welcomed and because they have been prepared by God for the welfare of men. Indeed, they lie at hand and are put at our disposal as a sort of material and as instruments to be well used by those who know. An instrument, if you use it with artistic skill, is a thing of art; but if you are lacking in skill, it reaps the benefit of your unmusical nature, though not itself responsible. Wealth too is an instrument of the same kind. You can use it rightly; it ministers to righteousness. But if one use it wrongly, it is found to be a minister of wrong. For its nature is to minister, not to rule. We must not therefore put the responsibility on that which, having in itself neither good nor evil, is not responsible, but on that which has the power of using things either well or badly, as a result of choice; for this is responsible just for that reason. And this is the mind of man, which has in itself both free judgment and full liberty to deal with what is given to it. So let a man do away, not with his possessions, but rather with the passions of his soul, which do not consent to the better use of what he has; in order that, by becoming noble and good, he may be able to use these possessions also in a noble manner. “Saying good-bye to all we have,” and “selling all we have,” must therefore be understood in this way, as spoken with reference to the soul’s passions.

15. I for my part would put the matter thus.

\[ a \text{ See St. Luke xiv. 33.} \quad b \text{ See St. Matthew xix. 21.} \quad c \text{ See St. Matthew xix. 21.} \]
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ἐντὸς ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς, κἂν μὲν ἡ ψυχὴ χρῆται καλῶς, καλὰ καὶ ταῦτα δοκεῖ, εἰάν δὲ πονηρῶς, πονηρὰ, ὁ κελεύων ἀπαλλαγμόν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πότερον ταῦτα παραιτεῖται ὡς ἀναρεθέντων ἐτί τὰ πάθη μένει, ἢ ἔκεινα μᾶλλον ὡς ἀναρεθέντων καὶ τὰ κτήματα χρήσιμα γίνεται; ὁ τοῖνυν ἀποβαλὼν τὴν κοσμικὴν περιουσίαν ἐτί δύναται πλουτεῖν τῶν παθῶν, καὶ τῆς ύλης μὴ παρούσης. ἢ γὰρ τοι διάθεσις τὸ αὐτῆς ἐνεργεῖ καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν ἠγχεῖ καὶ πιέζει καὶ φλεγμαίνει ταῖς συντρόφοις ἐπιθυμίαις. οὐδὲν οὖν προορίζει γέγονεν αὐτῷ πτωχεύειν χρημάτων πλουτούντες τῶν παθῶν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἀπόβλητα ἀπέβαλεν ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀδιάφορα, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπηρετικῶν ἐαυτὸν περιέκοψεν, ἐξέκαστο τὸν ὄλην τῆς κακίας τὴν ἔμφυτον τῇ τῶν ἐκτός ἀπορία. ἀποτακτεῖν οὖν τοῖς ὑπάρχοντα τοῖς βλαβεροῖς, οὐχὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῷ ἐπίστηται τις τὴν ὀρθὴν χρήσιν καὶ συνωφελεῖν δυναμένοις. ὥστε ἐτὶ τὰ μετὰ φρονήσεως καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ εὐσεβείας οἰκονομούμενα. ἀπωτέρωσεν τὰ ἑπιζήμια, τὰ ἐκτός οὐ βλάπτει. Ὁ πρὸς οὖν ὁ κύριος καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐκτός χρείαν

944 P. εἰςάγει, κελεύων ἀποθέσθαι | οὐ τὰ βιωτικά, ἀλλὰ τὰ τούτων κακῶς χρώμενα. ταῦτα δὲ ἣν τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρρωστήματα καὶ πάθη. 16. οἱ τούτων πλοῦτος παρὼν μὲν ἅπασι ϑανατηφόρος, ἀπολόμενος δὲ σωτήριος. οὐ δεῖ καθαρευόμενοι, τοῦτοσι πτωχεύομεν καὶ γυμνῶν τῆς ψυχῆς παρασχόμενον

1 δεῖ Ghisler. δῆ μον.

* A Stoic term denoting things that are in themselves neither good nor evil. Clement’s reasoning in this passage is strongly influenced by Stoicism.

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Since possessions of one kind are within the soul, and those of another kind outside it, and these latter appear to be good if the soul uses them well, but bad if they are badly used, which of the two is it that He, who orders us to get rid of what we have, asks us to renounce? Is it those after whose removal the passions still remain, or rather those after whose removal even outward possessions become useful? He who has cast away his worldly abundance can still be rich in passions even though his substance is gone. For his disposition continues its own activity, choking and stifling the power of reasoning and inflaming him with its inbred desires. It has proved no great gain then for him to be poor in possessions when he is rich in passions. For he has cast away not the worthless things but the indifferent, and while depriving himself of what is serviceable he has set on fire the innate material of evil by the lack of outward things. A man must say good-bye, then, to the injurious things he has, not to those that can actually contribute to his advantage if he knows the right use of them; and advantage comes from those that are managed with wisdom, moderation and piety. We must reject what is hurtful; but outward things are not injurious.

In this way then the Lord admits the use of outward things, bidding us put away, not the means of living, but the things that use these badly; and these are, as we have seen, the infirmities and passions of the soul. 16. Wealth of these brings death whenever it is present, but salvation when it is destroyed. Of this wealth a man must render his soul pure, that is, poor and bare, and then only must he listen
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οὕτως ἦδη τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀκούσαι λέγοντος· "δεύτε ἀκολουθεῖ μοι." ὁδὸς γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦδη τῷ καθαρῷ τὴν καρδίαν γίνεται, εἰς δὲ ἀκάθαρτον ψυχὴν θεοῦ χάρις οὐ παραδύνεται. ἀκάθαρτος δὲ ἡ πλούτουσα τῶν ἐπιθυμιών καὶ ὠδύνουσα πολλοῖς ἔρωσι καὶ κοσμικοῖς. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔχων κτήματα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργυρὸν καὶ ὦκίες ὡς θεοῦ δώρεας, [καὶ] ¹ τῷ τε διδόντι θεῷ λειτουργῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίαν, καὶ εἴδως ὅτι ταῦτα κέκτηται διὰ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ ἑαυτόν, καὶ κρείττων ὑπάρχων τῆς κτήσεως αὐτῶν, μὴ δοῦλος <ὁν> ² ὁν κέκτηται, μηδὲ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ταῦτα περιφέρων, μηδὲ ἐν τούτων ὄριζων καὶ περιγράφων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ζωήν, ἀλλὰ τι καὶ καλὸν ἔργον καὶ θεῖον ἢ διαπονῶν, κἂν ἀποστερηθῆναι δὲν ποτὲ τούτων, δυνάμενος ὅλω τῇ γνῶμῃ καὶ τὴν ἀπαλλαγήν αὐτῶν ἐνεγκεῖν εἰς ἴσον καθάπερ καὶ τὴν περιουσίαν, οὕτως ἑστὶν ὁ μακαριζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ πτωχὸς τῷ πνεύματι καλούμενος, κληρονόμος ἐποίμιος οὐρανοῦ βασιλείας, οὐ πλούσιος ζῆσαι μὴ δυνάμενος. ¹ 17. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τὸν πλούτον φέρων, καὶ ἀντίθεον πνεύματος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ χρυσὸν φέρων ἢ ἅγρον, καὶ τὴν κτήσιν ἁμετρῶν ἢ ποιῶν, καὶ ἑκάστοτε τὸ πλεῖον βλέπων, κάτω νευευκός καὶ τοῖς τοῦ κόσμου θηράτους πεπεδήμενος, γῆ ᾧν καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελευσόμενος, πόθεν δύναται βασιλείας οὐρανῶν ἐπιθυμῆσαι καὶ φρονίσαι, ἀνθρώπος οὐ καρδίαν ἄλλα ἅγρον ἢ μέταλλον φορῶν, ἐν τούτοις εὐφρενησόμενος ἐπι-

¹ [καὶ] Schwartz.
² <ὁν> inserted by Mayor.

a St. Mark x. 21.

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to the Saviour when He says, "Come, follow Me." a For He Himself now becomes a way to the pure in heart; b but into an impure soul God's grace does not steal. An impure soul is that which is rich in lusts and in travail with many worldly affections. For he who holds possessions and gold and silver and houses as gifts of God, and from them ministers to the salvation of men for God the giver, and knows that he possesses them for his brothers' sakes rather than his own, and lives superior to the possession of them; who is not the slave of his possessions, and does not carry them about in his soul, nor limit and circumscribe his own life in them, but is ever striving to do some noble and divine deed; and who, if he is fated ever to be deprived of them, is able to bear their loss with a cheerful mind exactly as he bore their abundance—this is the man who is blessed by the Lord and called poor in spirit, c a ready inheritor of the kingdom of heaven, not a rich man who cannot obtain life. 17. But he who carries his wealth in his soul, and in place of God's spirit carries in his heart gold or an estate, who is always extending his possession without limit, and is continually on the lookout for more, whose eyes are turned downwards and who is fettered by the snares of the world, who is earth and destined to return to earth d—how can he desire and meditate on the kingdom of heaven? A man that bears about not a heart, but an estate or a mine, will he not perforce be found among these things on which he fixed his choice?

b See St. John xiv. 6; St. Matthew v. 8.
c St. Matthew v. 3.
d See Genesis iii. 19.
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ἀναγκεῖς [ἐν] οἷς εἶλετο; "οποὺ γὰρ ὁ νοῦς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ θησαυρὸς αὐτοῦ."  

Θησαυροὺς δὲ γένε τὸ κύριος οἷς δυτίνες, τὸν μὲν ἀγαθὸν, "ὁ" γὰρ ἀγαθὸς ἀνθρώπος ἦ τὸν ἀγαθὸν θησαυρὸν τῆς καρδίας προφέρει τὸ ἀγαθὸν," τὸν δὲ πονηρὸν, "ὁ" γὰρ "κακὸς ἦ τὸ κακοῦ θησαυρὸν προφέρει τὸ κακὸν, ὅτι ἐκ περιασεύματος τῆς καρδίας τὸ στόμα λαλεῖ." ὥσπερ οὖν θησαυρὸς οὐχ εἰς παρὰ αὐτῷ καθὸ καὶ παρ᾽ ἦμῶν, ὅ τὸ αἰφνίδιον μέγα κέρδος ἐν εὐφήσει διδοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεύτερος, ὁ ἀκροδὴς καὶ ἄζηλος καὶ δύσκητος καὶ ἐπιζήμιος, οὔτως καὶ πλοῦτος ὁ μὲν τις ἀγαθὸν, ὅ δὲ κακόν, εἰ γε τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὸν θησαυρὸν οὐκ ἀπηρτημένως ἵσμεν ἀλλήλων τῇ φύσει. καὶ ὁ μὲν τις πλοῦτος κτήτος ἀν εἰς καὶ περίβλητος, ὅ δὲ ἀκτητὸς καὶ ἀπόβλητος: τὸν αὐτὸν ἃς τρόπον καὶ πτωχεῖα μακαριστὴ μὲν ἡ πνευματική. διὸ καὶ προσέβηκεν ὁ Ματθαῖος: "μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ" πῶς; "τῷ πνεύματι." καὶ πάλιν "μακάριοι οἱ πεινώντες καὶ δυσκότες τῆς δικαιοσύνης τοῦ θεοῦ." ouskōn ἀθλιοὶ οἱ ἐναντίοι πτωχοί, θεοῦ μὲν ἄμοιροι, ἄμοιροί τοι δὲ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης κτήσεως, ἀγενστοί δὲ δικαιοσύνης θεοῦ.

18. "Ωστε τοὺς πλούσιους μαθηματικῶς ἀκού-

1 ἑπάναγκες Stählin. ἐπ᾽ ἀνάγκαις ms.
2 [ἐν] Stählin.

" See St. Matthew vi. 21; St. Luke xii. 34. Clement quotes this saying elsewhere in the same form (vii. Stromateis 77, 6).

b St. Luke vi. 45.

c St. Matthew v. 3. In this and the following quotation, the qualifying words "in spirit" and "after righteousness" are omitted from St. Luke's account. St. Matthew's form 304.
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"For where the mind of a man is, there is his treasure also." a

Now as for treasures, the Lord knows them to be of two kinds, one good, for “the good man out of the good treasure of the heart brings forth that which is good”; and the other bad, for “the evil man out of his evil treasure brings forth that which is evil, because out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks.” b As therefore treasure is, with Him as with us, not single only, there being that kind which brings great and immediate gain in the finding, but a second kind also that is without gain, unenviable, undesirable and harmful, so also there is one wealth of good things, another of evil; since we know that wealth and treasure are not by nature separate from each other. And the one kind of wealth would be desirable and worth getting; the other undesirable and worthless. In the same manner also poverty is blessed, that is, the spiritual kind. Therefore Matthew added to “Blessed are the poor”; how? “in spirit.” c And again, “Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after God’s righteousness.” d Those then who are poor in the opposite sense are miserable, being destitute of God, more destitute still of human possessions, and unacquainted with God’s righteousness.

18. So with regard to the rich, who shall hardly probably represents the meaning of the original sayings. The word “poor” was applied in an ethical sense among the Jews to those humble souls who waited in patient trust for the coming of the Kingdom.

a St. Matthew v. 6.

b i.e. those who possess no money, and do not hunger after righteousness.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

στέον, τοὺς δυσκόλως εἰσελευσόμενους εἰς τὴν βασι-
λείαν, μὴ σκαίως μηδὲ ἀγροίκως μηδὲ σαρκίνως· οὐ
gάρ οὗτος λελέκται. οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἕκτος ἡ σωτηρία,
οὔτε εἰ πολλὰ οὔτε εἰ ὅλιγα ταῦτα ἡ μικρὰ ἡ μεγάλα
ἡ ἐνδοξα ἡ ἄδοξα ἡ εὐδόκιμα ἡ ἁδόκιμα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ
tῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετῇ, πίστει καὶ ἐπιδίκαιο καὶ ἀγάπῃ
cαὶ φιλαδελφίᾳ καὶ γνώσει καὶ πραότητι καὶ ἀνωφία
καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, ὅν ἦλθον ἡ σωτηρία. οὐδὲ γὰρ διὰ
κάλλος σώματος ἐξαίτηται τὸς ὁ τοῦναντίον ἀπολείται.
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τῷ δοθέντι σώματι ἄγνωσ καὶ κατὰ θεόν
χρώμενος ἐξαίτηται, ὁ δὲ φθείρων τὸν νᾶον θεοῦ
φθαρήσει. δύναται δὲ τις καὶ αἰσχρός ἀσελ-
γάνειν καὶ κατὰ κάλλος σωφρονεῖν. οὔδὲ ἤσχυς
καὶ μέγεθος σώματος ζωοποιεῖ, οὔδὲ τῶν μελῶν
οὐδενία ἀπολλέει, ἀλλ' ὁ τούτοις ψυχή χρωμένη τὴν
αἰτίαν ἐφ' ἐκάτερα παρέχεται. ὑπὸφερε γοῦν, φησὶ,
pαιόμενος τὸ πρόσωπον, ὅπερ δύναται καὶ ἴσχυρὸς
τὶς ὅν καὶ εὐεκτῶν ὑπακοῦσαι καὶ πάλιν ἁσθενικὸς
τὶς ὅν ἀκρασία γνώμης παραβηκών. οὕτως καὶ
ἀπορὸς τὶς ὅν καὶ ἄβιος εὐρεθείη ποτ' ἂν μεθύων
tαῖς ἑπιθυμίαις, καὶ χρήματι πλούσιοι νήφων καὶ
πτωχεύων ἠδονῶν, πεπευσμένοι, συνετοί, καθαρός,
κεκολασμένος. εἰ τοῖνυν ἔστι τὸ ζησόμενον μάλιστα
καὶ πρῶτον ἡ ψυχή, καὶ περὶ ταῦτα ἢρετὴ μὲν
φυσικὴ σώζει, κακία δὲ βανατοὶ, ἰδίων ἢ δὴ σαφῶς
ὅτε αὐτῇ καὶ πτωχεύουσα ὅν ἄν τις ὑπὸ πλούτου¹
dιαφθείρητα ² σώζεται, καὶ πλοῦτος τούτων ὅν

¹ πλούτου Combeis. τοῦτον ms.
² διαφθείρητai Segar. διαφθείρει ms.

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a See p. 281, n. c.

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enter into the kingdom, we must understand the word in the spirit of disciples, and not clumsily, rudely, or literally; for it is not spoken thus. Salvation does not depend upon outward things, whether they are many or few, small or great, splendid or lowly, glorious or mean, but upon the soul's virtue, upon faith, hope, love, brotherliness, knowledge, gentleness, humility and truth, of which salvation is the prize. For a man will not obtain life on account of bodily beauty, nor perish for want of it; but he who uses holily and according to God's will the body that was given him shall obtain life, and he who destroys the temple of God shall be destroyed. It is possible for a man, though ugly, to be licentious, and in beauty to be chaste. Strength and greatness of body do not give life, nor does insignificance of the limbs destroy, but the soul by its use of these provides the cause that leads to either result. Accordingly the scripture says, "When thou art struck, offer thy face," which a man can obey even though he is strong and in good health; whereas one who is weakly can transgress through an uncontrolled temper. Thus a man without means of livelihood might perchance be found drunk with lusts, and one rich in possessions sober and poor as regards pleasures, believing, prudent, pure, disciplined. If then it is first and foremost the soul which is destined to live, and virtue growing in the soul saves it while evil kills, it is at once abundantly clear that the soul is being saved when it is poor in those things by wealth of which a man is destroyed, and that it is being killed when it is rich in those things a wealth

*b See 1 Corinthians iii. 17.
*c See St. Matthew v. 39; St. Luke vi. 29.
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ἐπιτρέβει πλούτος θανατοῦται. καὶ μηκέτι ζητῶμεν ἄλλαχοι τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ τέλους πλὴν ἐν τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς καταστάσει καὶ διαθέσει πρὸς τε ὑπακοὴν θεοῦ καὶ καθαρότητα πρὸς τε παράβασιν ἐντολῶν καὶ κακίας συλλογήν.

19. 'Ὁ μὲν ἄρα ἄληθῶς καὶ καλῶς <πλούσιος> ἢ ἔστιν ὁ τῶν ἀρετῶν πλούσιος καὶ πάση τῆς χρησθαί ὀσίως καὶ πιστῶς δυνάμενος, ὥς ὁ νόθος πλούσιος ὁ κατὰ σάρκα πλουτῶν καὶ τὴν ζωὴν εἰς <τήν> ἢ ἀπείκων μετεννοούσα τὴν παρερχομένην καὶ φθειρομένην καὶ ἄλλοτε ἂλλου γνωμένην καὶ ἐν τῷ τέλει μηδενὸς μηδαμήν. | πάλιν αὐτὸν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ γνήσιος πτωχὸς καὶ νόθος ἄλλος πτωχὸς καὶ ψευδώνυμος, ὁ μὲν κατὰ πνεῦμα πτωχός, τὸ ἰδιον, ὁ δὲ κατὰ κόσμον, τὸ ἄλλοτριον. τῷ δὴ κατὰ κόσμον <οὔ> ὁ πτωχὸς καὶ πλούσιος κατὰ τὰ πάθη ὁ κατὰ πνεῦμα [οὔ] ἢ πτωχὸς καὶ κατὰ θεὸν πλούσιος "ἀποστείλῃ," <φησί> ὁ τῶν ὑποχόρων ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ σου κτημάτων ἄλλοτριών, ἵνα καθαρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ γενόμενος ἢδη τὸν θεόν, ὅπερ καὶ δὴ ἐτέρας φωνὴσ ἢ στῶν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ πῶς αὐτῶν ἀποστῆς; πωλήσας. τί οὖν;

1 θανατοῦται Dindorf. θανατοῦται ms.
2 <πλούσιος> inserted by Wendland.
3 <τήν> inserted by Ghisler.
4 <οὔ> inserted by Jülicher.
5 [οὔ] Segaar. Stählin retains this.
6 <φησί> inserted by Ghisler.

a Clement's involved antitheses are often difficult to follow, and this passage has given much trouble to commentators. I take his meaning to be this: there is a truly rich man and a truly poor man in the spiritual sense, independently of outward possessions. On the other hand there is a spurious 308
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of which brings ruin. So let us no longer seek for the cause of our end anywhere else except in the character and disposition of the soul with regard to its obedience to God and its purity, to its transgression of commandments and accumulation of evil.

19. The man who is truly and nobly rich, then, is he who is rich in virtues and able to use every fortune in a holy and faithful manner; but the spurious rich man is he who is rich according to the flesh, and has changed his life into outward possessions which are passing away and perishing, belonging now to one, now to another, and in the end to no one at all. Again, in the same way there is a genuine poor man and also a spurious and falsely-named poor man, the one poor in spirit, the inner personal poverty, and the other poor in worldly goods, the outward alien poverty. Now to him who is not poor in worldly goods and is rich in passions the man who is poor in spirit and is rich towards God says, ‘Detach yourself from the alien possessions that dwell in your soul, in order that you may become pure in heart and may see God,’ which in other words means to enter into the kingdom of heaven. And how are you to detach yourself from them? By selling them. What rich (i.e. a moneyed man), and a spurious poor man (i.e. a beggar). The appeal that follows is addressed by the one who has the right sort of poverty and the right sort of riches to him who has neither of these, i.e. a rich man who lives for his riches. These riches which occupy his soul must be exchanged, not for money, but for the true spiritual wealth. That the “alien possessions” dwelling in the soul are outward wealth and not mere covetous desires is shown by iv. *Strom.* 29. 1, where Clement points out that these latter could hardly be “given to the poor.” See notes on text.

b St. Matthew v. 8.
Clement of Alexandria

χρήματα ἀντὶ κτημάτων λάβης; ἀντίδοσιν πλούτου πρὸς πλούτον ποιησάμενος, ἐξαργυρίσας τὴν φανερὰν οὐσίαν; οὐδαμῶς. ἀλλὰ ἀντὶ τῶν πρότερον ἐνυπαρχόντων τῇ ψυχῇ, ἣν σώσαι ποθεῖς, ἀντεισαγόμενος ἐτερον πλούτον θεοποιόν καὶ ζωῆς χορηγόν αἰωνίου, τὰς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διαθέσεις, ἀνθ’ ὅιν σοι περιέσται μισθὸς καὶ τιμή, διηνεκὴς σωτηρία καὶ αἰώνιος ἀφθαρσία. οὕτως καλῶς πωλεῖς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, τὰ πολλὰ καὶ περισσὰ καὶ ἀποκλείοντα σοι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ἀντικαταλλασσόμενος αὐτῶν τὰ σώσαι δυνάμενα. ἐκείνα ἐχέτωσαν οἱ σάρκινοι πτωχοὶ καὶ τούτων δεόμενοι, σὺ δὲ τὸν πνευματικὸν πλούτον ἀντιλαβὼν ἔχους ἄν ἣδη θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς.’

20. Ταύτα μὴ συνεις κατὰ τρόπον ὁ πολυχρήματος καὶ ἐννομος ἀνθρωπος, μηδὲ ὅπως ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ πτωχὸς δύναται εἶναι καὶ πλούσιος καὶ ἔχειν τὸ χρήματα καὶ μὴ ἔχειν καὶ χρῆσαι τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ μὴ χρῆσαι, ἀπήλθε στυγνὸς καὶ κατηφῶς, λιπὼν τὴν τάξιν τῆς ζωῆς, ἦς ἑπιθυμεῖν μόνον, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ καὶ τυχεῖν ἡδύνατο, τὸ δύσκολον ποιῆσας ἀδύνατον αὐτὸς ἕαυτῷ. δύσκολον γὰρ ἦν μὴ περιάγεσθαι μηδὲ καταστράπτεσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ τῶν προσόντων ἀβρῶν τῷ προδήλῳ πλούτῳ καὶ ἀνθρώπων γοπτευμάτων, οὐκ ἀδύνατον δὲ τὸ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ λαβέσθαι σωτηρίας, εἰ τις ἔαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ πλούτου ἐπὶ τὸν νοητὸν καὶ θεοδίδακτον μεταγάγοι καὶ μᾶθοι τοῖς ἀδιάφοροις ἁρχηθαι καλῶς καὶ ἄδικος καὶ ἐὰν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον ὁρμήσαι. καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ δὲ τὸ πρῶτον μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ περιδιεῖσι καὶ

1 ἀδιαφόροις Ghisler. ἀδιαφόρῳς ms.
2 ὁρμήσαι Wilamowitz. ὁρμᾶσαι ms.

St. Mark x. 21.

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then? Are you to take riches for possessions, to make an exchange of one wealth for another by turning real estate into money? Not at all. But in place of that which formerly dwelt in the soul you long to save, bring in another kind of wealth that makes you divine and provides eternal life, namely, resolves that are fixed in accord with God's commandment; and in return for these you shall have abundant reward and honour, perpetual salvation and eternal incorruption. In this way you make a good sale of what you have, of the many things that are superfluous and that shut heaven against you, while you receive in exchange for them the things that have power to save. As for the first, let the fleshly poor who need them have them; but you, having received in their stead the spiritual wealth, will now have treasure in heaven." 

20. The very rich and law-abiding man, not understanding these things aright, nor how the same man can be both poor and wealthy, can have riches and not have them, can use the world and not use it, went away gloomy and downcast. He abandoned the rank of that life which he could desire indeed, but could not attain to; since what was hard he himself had made impossible. For it was hard to prevent the soul being led away and dazzled by the luxuries and splendid allurements that are associated with visible wealth, yet it was not impossible even amid this to lay hold of salvation, if one would but transfer himself from the sensible wealth to that which belongs to the mind and is taught by God, and would learn to make good and proper use of things indifferent and how to set out for eternal life. Even the disciples themselves are at first filled with fear
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καταπλήγες γεγόνασιν. ἂκουσαντες τί δῆποτε; ἀρά

γε ὅτι χρήματα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκέκτητο πολλα; ἀλλὰ

καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα τὰ δικτύφια καὶ ἄγκυστρα καὶ τὰ

ὑπηρετικὰ σκαφίδια ἄφηκαν πάλαι, ἀπερ ἦν αὐτοῖς

μόνα. τί οὖν φοβηθέντες λέγουσιν. "τίς δύναται

σωθῆναι;" καλῶς ἦκουσαν καὶ ὡς μαθηταὶ τοῦ

παραβολικῶς καὶ ἁσαφῶς ἔλεγχότος ὑπὸ τοῦ

κυρίου καὶ ἤσσοντο τοῦ βάθους τῶν λόγων. ἑνεκα

947 ρ. μὲν οὖν χρημάτων ἀκτημοσύνης εὐελπίδες ἦσαν

πρὸς σωτηρίαν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνήθεσαν ἑαυτοὺς

μήτω τὰ πάθη τέλεον ἀποτεθειμένους (ἀρτιμαθείς

γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ νεωτέροι πρὸς τοῦ σωτηρίου ἑνδρο-

λογιμένου), "περισσῶς ἐξεπλήσσοντο" καὶ ἀπ-

εγίνωσκόν ἑαυτοὺς οὐδὲν τι ἢττον ἐκεῖνον τοῦ

πολυχρημάτου καὶ δεινῶς τῆς κτήσεως περισχο-

μένου, ἣν γε προέκριμεν ἐωθῆς αἰώνιοι. ἄξιον οὖν ἂν

τοῖς μαθηταῖς φόβου πάντως, εἰ καὶ ὁ χρήματα

κεκτημένοι καὶ τῶν παθῶν ἔγκυος, ὃν ἐπλούτων

καὶ αὐτοῖ, παραπλησίως ἀπελασθήσονται οὐρανῶν:

ἀπαθῶν γὰρ καὶ καθαρῶν ψυχῶν ἐστιν ἡ σωτηρία.

21. ὃς δὲ κύριος ἀποκρίνεται διότι "το ἐν ἀνθρώ-

ποις ἀδύνατον δυνατὸν θεόν;" πάλιν καὶ τούτῳ μεγά-

λῆς σοφίας μεστὸν ἐστιν, ὅτι καθ' αὐτὸν μὲν ἄσκων

καὶ διαπονοούμενος ἀπάθειαν (<ὁ> ἄνθρωπος οὐδὲν

ἀνύει, ἐὰν δὲ γένηται δῆλος ὑπερεπιθυμῶν τοῦτο

καὶ διεσποράκως, τῇ προσθήκῃ τῆς παρὰ θεοῦ

dυνάμεως περιγίνεται. βουλομένως μὲν γὰρ ταῖς

ψυχαῖς ὁ θεὸς συνεπιπνεῖ, ἐδὲ ἀποσταίει τῆς προ-

1 ἁσαφῶς Ghisler.  ὁ σαφῆς ms.
2 ἀποτεθειμένουs Mayor. ἀποτεθειμένουs ms.
3 πάντως Wilamowitz. παντὸς ms.
4 ὃν Stählin. ὁν ms.
5 ὃ inserted by Wilamowitz.
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and amazement. For what reason think you? Was it because they too possessed great riches? Why, their very nets and hooks and fishing-boats they had left long ago, and these were all they had. Why then do they say in fear, “Who can be saved?” It was because they understood well and as disciples should that which was spoken in dark parables by the Lord, and perceived the depth of His words. As far as lack of riches and possessions went they had good hopes for salvation, but since they were conscious that they had not yet completely put away their passions—for they were fresh disciples and but lately enlisted by the Saviour—“they were exceedingly amazed,” and began to despair of themselves no less than did that very rich man who clung desperately to his possession, which indeed he preferred to eternal life. It was then for the disciples an altogether fit occasion for fear, if both the possessor of outward wealth and also he who carries a brood of passions—in which even they were rich—are equally to be banished from heaven. For salvation belongs to pure and passionless souls.

21. But the Lord answers: “that which is impossible with men is possible for God.” This again is full of great wisdom, because when practising and striving after the passionless state by himself man achieves nothing, but if he makes it clear that he is eagerly pursuing this aim and is in deep earnest, he prevails by the addition of the power that comes from God. For God breathes His own power into souls when they desire, but if ever they desist from their

\[\text{a St. Mark x. 26.}\]

\[\text{b St. Mark x. 27.}\]
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θυμίας, καὶ τὸ δοθὲν ἐκ θεοῦ πνεῦμα συνεστάλη·
tὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀκοῦσα σῶζειν ἐστὶ βιαζομένου, τὸ
dὲ αἰρομένους χαριζομένου. οὐδὲ τῶν καθευδόν-
tων καὶ βλακευόντων ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ,
ἀλλ’ "οἱ βιασταὶ ἀρπάζουσιν αὐτὴν". αὐτὴ γὰρ
μόνη 1 βία καλή, θεὸν βιάσασθαι καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ Ἵων ἀρπάσαι, ὃ δὲ γνοὺς τοὺς βιαίους, μᾶλλον δὲ βεβαιῶς 2 ἀντεχομένους [συνεχώρησεν] 3 εἶξεν· χαίρει γὰρ ὁ
θεὸς τὰ τουτά ἡξῶμενος. τούγαρτον τούτων ἀκούσας ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος, ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς, ὁ ἐξαιρέ-
tος, ὁ πρῶτος τῶν μαθητῶν, ὑπὲρ οὗ μόνου καὶ
ἐαυτοῦ τὸν φόρον ὁ σωτὴρ ἐκτελεῖ, ταχέως ἥρπασε
καὶ συνέβαλε τὸν λόγον. καὶ τὸ φησίν; "ὅδε
ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν πάντα καὶ ἱκολουθήσαμεν σοι."
τὰ δὲ "πάντα" εἰ μὲν τὰ κτήματα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ λέγει,
tέσσαρας ὁβολοὺς ἵσως, τὸ 4 τοῦ λόγου, καταλιπὼν
μεγαλύνεται καὶ τούτων ἀνταξίαν ἀποφαίων ἂν
λάθοι τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν ὑπορανῶν. εἰ δὲ, ἀπερ
ἀρτι 5 νῦν λέγομεν, τὰ παλαιὰ νοητὰ κτήματα καὶ
ψυχικὰ νοσήματα ἀπορρίφαμεν ἐπονταί κατ’ ἰχνὸς
tοῦ διδασκάλου, τούτων ἂν ἀνάπτοιτο 6 ἡδὴ τοῖς ἐν
ὑπορανοὶς ἐγγραφησιμένοις. τούτω 7 γὰρ ἱκολοθεῖν
ὄντως τῷ σωτῆρι, ἀναμαρτησίαν καὶ τελειώτητα
τὴν ἑκείνου μετερχόμενον καὶ πρὸς ἑκείνου ὁσπερ
κάτοπτρον κοιμοῦντα καὶ ῥυθμίζοντα τὴν ψυχήν
καὶ πάντα διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως διατιθέντα.

1 μόνη Stählin (from Sacra Parallela of John of Damascus).
2 βιαίως . . . βεβαιῶς Stählin (from Sac. Par.). βεβαιῶς
. . . βιαίως ms.
3 [συνεχώρησεν] Stählin.
4 <τὸ> inserted by Segaar.
5 ἀρτι Schwartz. ἄρτι ms.
6 ἀνάπτοιτο Mayor. ἄναπτοιτο ms.
7 τούτω Wilamowitz. οὗτω ms.

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eagerness, then too the spirit given from God is withdrawn; for to save men against their will is an act of force, but to save them when they choose is an act of grace. Nor does the kingdom of God belong to sleepers and sluggards, but “the men of force seize it.”\(^a\) This is the only good force, to force God and to seize life from God; and He, knowing those who forcibly, or rather persistently, cling to Him, yields; for God welcomes being worsted in such contests. Therefore on hearing these things the blessed Peter, the chosen, the pre-eminent, the first of the disciples, on behalf of whom alone and Himself the Saviour pays the tribute,\(^b\) quickly seized upon and understood the saying. And what does he say? “Lo, we have left all and followed Thee.”\(^c\)

If by “all” he means his own possessions, he is bragging of having forsaken four obols or so,\(^d\) as the saying goes, and he would be unconsciously declaring the kingdom of heaven a suitable equivalent to these. But if, as we are just now saying, it is by flinging away the old possessions of the mind and diseases of the soul that they are following in the track of their teacher, Peter’s words would at once apply to those who are to be enrolled in heaven. For this is the true following of the Saviour, when we seek after His sinlessness and perfection, adorning and regulating the soul before Him as before a mirror and arranging it in every detail after His likeness.

\(^a\) St. Matthew xi. 12.
\(^b\) See St. Matthew xvii. 27.
\(^c\) St. Mark x. 29.
\(^d\) As we should say, “a few pence.” The obol was a small Athenian coin.
\(^e\) See St. Luke x. 20; Hebrews xii. 23.
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22. "Αποκριθεὶς δὲ Ἡσοῦς: ἀμὴν ύμῖν λέγω, δός ἂν ἄφη τὰ ἴδια καὶ γονεῖς καὶ ἄδελφοις καὶ χρῆμα τα ἐνεκεν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐνεκεν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ἀπολήμεται ἐκατονταπλασίων. ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τοῦ ἡμᾶς ἐπιταρασσέτω, μηδὲ τὸ ἔτι τοῦτο σκληρότερον ἀλλαχοῦ ταῖς φωναῖς ἐξενηγημένον. "ὅσοι οὐ μισοῦν πατέρα καὶ μητέρα καὶ παῖδας, προσέτε ἐκαί τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φυσῆν, ἐμὸς μαθήτης ἐναι οὐ δύναται." οὐ γὰρ εἰσηγεῖται μίσος καὶ διάλυσιν ἀπὸ τῶν φιλτάτων ὁ τῆς εἰρήνης θεός, ὁ γε καὶ τοὺς ἐξήρουσ ἀγαπῶν παραινέων. εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἐξήρουσ ἀγαπητέουν, ἀνάλογον ἀπ’ ἐκείνων ἀνιόντι καὶ τοὺς ἐγγυτατέρων γένους: ἢ εἰ μισητόν τοὺς πρὸς αἰματος, πολὺ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἐξήρουσ προβάλλεσθαι κατατόν ὁ λόγος διδάσκει, ὅστις ἀλλήλοις ἀναρωθυ εὐλόγησεν ἀν οἱ λόγοι. ἀλλ’ οὖν ἀναρωθυν οὖν ἐγγυς, ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης καὶ διαθέσεως καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ὄρῳ πατέρα μισοῖ τις ἃν <καὶ> ἐξήρων ἀγαπητής ο μήτη ἐξήρων ἀμνόμενον μῆτε πατέρα Χριστοῦ πλέον αἰδοῦμενος. εἰν ἐκείνω μὲν γὰρ τῶν λόγων μίδος ἐκκόπτει καὶ κακοποιᾶν, εῖν τοῦτο δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὰ σύντροφα δυσσωπία, εἰ βλάπτοι πρὸς σωτηρίαν. εἰ γοῦν ἄθεος εἰς τινὶ πατήρ ἥ νιὸς ἡ ἄδελφος καὶ κώλυμα κῆς πίστεως γένοιτο καὶ ἐμπόθον τῆς ἀνω ξωῆς, τοῦτο μὴ συμφερέσθω μηδὲ ὁμονοεῖτω, ἀλλὰ τῆς σαρκικῆς οἰκειότητα διὰ τῆς πνευματικῆς ἐχθραν διαλυσώς.

23. Νόμισον εἶναι τὸ πράγμα διαδικασίαν. ὁ μὲν πατήρ σοι δοκεῖτω παρεστῶς λέγειν "ἐγώ σε ἐςπειρα καὶ ἐθρεψα, ἀκολούθει μοι καὶ συνάδικει

<καὶ> . . . ἀγαπητῇ Stählin. ἀγαπῶν ms.

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22. And Jesus answered, “Verily I say to you, whoever leaves his home and parents and brothers and riches for My sake and for the gospel’s sake shall receive back a hundredfold.” a Let not this saying however disturb us, nor yet the still harder one uttered elsewhere in the words, “He that hates not father and mother and children, yes and his own life also, cannot be My disciple.” b For the God of peace, who exhorts us to love even our enemies, does not propose that we should hate and part from our dearest ones. If a man must love his enemies, he must also by the same rule, reasoning upward from them, love his nearest of kin. Or if he must hate his blood relations, much more does reason, by a downward process, teach him to abhor his enemies; so that the sayings would be proved to cancel one another. But they do not cancel one another, nor anything like it; for from the same mind and disposition, and with the same end in view, a man may hate a father and love an enemy, if he neither takes vengeance on his enemy nor honours his father more than Christ. For in the one saying Christ cuts at the root of hatred and evil-doing, in the other of false respect for our kindred, if they do us harm as regards salvation. If, for instance, a man had a godless father or son or brother, who became a hindrance to his faith and an obstacle to the life above, let him not live in fellowship or agreement with him, but let him dissolve the fleshly relationship on account of the spiritual antagonism.

23. Think of the matter as a lawsuit. Imagine your father standing by you and saying, “I begat you and brought you up, follow me, take part in my

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καὶ μὴ πείθου τῷ Χριστῷ νόμῳ" καὶ ὅπωσα ἄν εἴτοι βλάσφημος ἀνθρωπος καὶ νεκρὸς τῇ φύσει. ἐτέρωθεν δὲ ἀκοῦε τοῦ σωτῆρος· "ἔγω σε ἀνεγέννησα, κακῶς ὑπὸ κόσμου πρὸς θάνατον γεγεννημένον, ἡλευθέρωσα, ἰασάμην, ἐλυτρωσάμην· ἔγω σοι παρέξω ζωὴν ἀπαντον, αἰώνιον, ὑπερκόσμιον· ἔγω σοι δείξω θεοί πατρὸς ἅγιαθυ πρόσωπον· μὴ κάιει σεαυτῷ πατέρα ἐπὶ γῆς· οἱ νεκροὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς θαπτέτωσαν, οὐ δὲ μοι ἀκολούθει· ἀνάξω γάρ σε εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν <καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν> ἅρρητων καὶ ἀλεκτων ἁγαθῶν, ἀ μήτε ὅθαλμός εἴδε μήτε οὐς ἦκους μήτε ἐπὶ καρδιὰν ἀνθρώπων ἁνέβη, εἰς ἀ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακῦψαι καὶ ἱδεῖν ἱπερ ἰτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἁγίοις ἅγιαθα καὶ τοῖς φιλοῦσιν αὐτῶν τέκνοις. ἔγω σοι τροφεὺς ἁρτὸν ἐμαυτὸν διδοῖς, οὗ γενομένους οὕδεις ἐτὶ πείραν θανάτου λαμβάνει, καὶ πόμα καθ ἡμέραν ἐνδιδοὺς ἄθανασίας· ἔγω διδασκάλος ὑπερουρανίων παιδευ- μάτων· ὑπὲρ σοῦ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον διηγοῦσάμην καὶ τὸν σὸν ἑξέτισα θάνατον, ὅν ὠφειλες ἐπὶ τοῖς προημαρτημένοις καὶ τῇ πρὸς θεοὺς ἀπιστία. τού- των τῶν λόγων ἐκατέρωθεν διακοῦσας ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ δίκασον καὶ τὴν ψήφον ἀνέγεικε τῇ σαυτοῦ σωτηρία. καὶ ἀδελφὸς ὑμῶν ἐγερθὲν καὶ τέκνον καὶ γυνὴ καὶ ὁσιώσας, πρὸς πάντων ἐν σοι Χριστὸς ο νικῶν ἐστω ὑπὲρ σοῦ γὰρ ἀγωνίζεται.

24. Δύνασαι καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἐπίπροσθεν ἐλαία· φράσον καὶ οὐκ ἀπάγει σε Χριστὸς τῆς κτήσεως, ο

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1 <καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν> Stählin.

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a See 1 St. Peter i. 3.  
b See St. John xiv. 8-9.  
c St. Matthew xxiii. 9.  
d St. Matthew viii. 22.
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wrong-doing and do not obey the law of Christ," and whatever else a man who was a blasphemer and in nature dead might say. But from the other side hear the Saviour; "I gave you new birth, when by the world you were evilly born for death; I set you free, I healed you, I redeemed you. I will provide you with a life unending, eternal, above the world. I will show you the face of God the good Father. Call no man your father upon earth. Let the dead bury their dead, but do you follow Me." For I will lead you up to a rest and to an enjoyment of unspeakable and indescribable good things, which eye has not seen nor ear heard, nor have they entered into the heart of man, which angels desire to look into and to see what good things God has prepared for His saints and for His children that love Him." I am your nurse, giving Myself for bread, which none who taste have any longer trial of death, and giving day by day drink of immortality. I am a teacher of heavenly instructions. On your behalf I wrestled with death and paid your penalty of death, which you owed for your former sins and your faithlessness towards God." When you have listened to these appeals from each side pass judgment on your own behalf and cast the vote for your own salvation. Even though a brother says the like, or a child or wife or any one else, before all let it be Christ that conquers in you; since it is on your behalf He struggles.

24. Can you also rise superior to your riches? Say so, and Christ does not draw you away from the

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See 1 Corinthians ii. 9; 1 St. Peter i. 12.
See St. John vi. 50-51; Hebrews xi. 36.
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κύριος οὐ φθονεῖ. ἀλλ’ ὅρας σεαυτὸν ἠττώμενον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνατρέπομενον; ἄφες, ῥύσον, μύση-σον, ἀπόταξαι, φύγε. “κἂν ὁ δεξίος σου ὀφθαλμός σκανδάλιζῃ σε, ταχέως ἐκκοψον αὐτὸν.” αἱρετώτε-ρον ἐτεροφθάλμω βασιλεία θεοῦ ἡ ὀλοκλήρω τὸ πῦρ. κἂν χείρ κἂν ποὺς κἂν ἡ ψυχή, μίσησον αὐτὴν. ἂν γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἀπόληται ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, ἕκεῖ σωθήσε-ται.1

25. Ταύτης δὲ ὁμοίως ἔχεται τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ ἔσπομενον. “νῦν δὲ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ἄγροι καὶ χρήματα καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἀδέλφοις ἐχειν μετὰ διωγ-μῶν εἰς πόι;”2 οὕτω γὰρ ἀχρημάτως οὐτὲ ἀν-εστίους οὖτε ἀναδέλφους ἐπὶ τὴν ζωὴν καλεῖ, ἐπεὶ καὶ πλουσίους κέκληκεν, ἀλλ’ ὃν τρόπον προειρήκαμεν, καὶ ἀδέλφους κατὰ ταύταν 3 ὁσπερ Πέτρου μετὰ Ὁμώδου καὶ Ἰάκωβου μετὰ Ἡσίανου, τοὺς Ζεβε-δαίον παῖς, ἄλλ’ ὁμοούντως ἀλλήλους τε καὶ Χριστῷ. τὸ δὲ “μετὰ διωγμῶν” ταῦτα ἐκάστα ἐχειν ἀποδοκιμάζει. διωγμὸς δὲ ὁ μὲν τις ἐξωθεῖ περιγίνεται τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ δἰ’ ἐξθραν ἡ διὰ φθόνον ἢ διὰ φιλοκέρδειαν ἡ κατ’ ἐνέργειαν δια-βολικὴν τοὺς πιστοὺς ἐλαυνόντων. ὁ δὲ χαλεπώ-τατος ἐνδοθεὶ ἐστι διωγμὸς, ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐκαστῆς τῆς ψυχῆς προτεμπόμενος λυμανομένης ὑπὸ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἄβεων καὶ ἱδονῶν πουκλῶν καὶ φαύλων ἐλπίδων καὶ φθαρτικῶν4 ὀνειροπολημάτων, ὅταν, ἀεὶ τῶν πλειόνων ὀρεγομένη καὶ λυσσώσα ὑπὸ ἀγρίων ἐρώτων καὶ φλεγομένη, καθάπερ κέντροις ἡ μύση

1 <ἐκεὶ σωθήσεται> Segar.
2 eis poi; Stählin. eis poiou ms. See p. 280, n. 1.
3 κατ’ αὐτόν Segar. κατ’ αὐτόν ms.
4 φθαρτικῶν Mayor. φθαρτικῶν ms.

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possession of them; the Lord does not grudge. But do you see yourself being worsted and overthrown by them? Leave them, cast them off, hate them, say good-bye to them, flee from them. "And if thy right eye cause thee to stumble, quickly cut it out." Better the kingdom of God with one eye, than the fire with both. And if it be a hand or a foot or thy life, hate it. For if here it perishes for Christ's sake, there it shall be saved.\(^a\)

25. This meaning attaches likewise to the passage which follows. "To what end is it that in this present time we have lands and riches and houses and brothers with persecutions?"\(^b\) For it is not simply men without riches or homes or brothers that He calls to life, since He has also called rich men (though in the sense we have before stated); and brothers likewise, as Peter with Andrew, and James with John, the sons of Zebedee, though these were brothers of one mind with each other and with Christ. But He disapproves of our having each of these things "with persecutions." Now one kind of persecution comes from without, when men, whether through hatred, or envy, or love of gain, or by the prompting of the devil,\(^c\) harry the faithful. But the hardest persecution is that from within, proceeding from each man's soul that is defiled by godless lusts and manifold pleasures, by low hopes and corrupting imaginations; when, ever coveting more, and madden and inflamed by fierce loves,\(^d\) it is stung by

\(^a\) See St. Matthew v. 29–30; xviii. 8; and St. Mark ix. 43–47.

\(^b\) St. Mark x. 30.

\(^c\) Or perhaps, "by slanderous activity."

\(^d\) The phrase comes from Plato, Phaedrus 81 a; cp. Republic 329 c.
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τοῖς προσκεκλήμενοις 1 αὐτῇ πάθεσιν ἐξαιμάσσηται πρὸς σπουδᾶς μανίδεις καὶ ζωῆς ἀπόγνωσιν καὶ θεοῦ καταφρόνησιν. οὕτως ὁ διωγμὸς βαρύτερος καὶ χαλεπώτερος, ἐνδοθεν ὁμώμενος, ἀεὶ συνάν, ὅπειρα ἐκφυγεὶν ὁ διωκόμενος δύναται. τὸν γὰρ ἔχθρον ἐν ἐαυτῷ περιάγει πανταχοῦ. οὕτω καὶ πῦρ ὁ ἐξωθεν προσπίπτουσα δοκιμασίαν κατεργάζεται, η δὲ ἐνδοθεν θάνατον διαπράσσεται 2. καὶ πόλεμος ὁ μὲν ἑπτακόσιος ῥαδῖως καταλύεται, ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ μέχρι θανάτου παραμετρεῖται. μετὰ διωγμοῦ τοιούτου πλοῦτον ἦν ἄξιος τὸν αἰώθητον καὶ ἄδελφους τους πρὸς αἰματον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐνέχυρα, κατάλυτε τὴν τούτων παγκτησίαν τὴν ἐπὶ κακῷ, εἰρήνην σεαυτῷ παράσχετε, ἐλευθερώθητι διωγμοὶ μακροῖ, ἀποστράφητι πρὸς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἀπ’ ἐκεῖνων, ἐλοῦ τὸν σωτήρα πρὸς πάντων, τὸν θὴς συνήγορον καὶ παράκλητον ψυχῆς, τὸν θὴς ἀπείρου πρύτανιν ζωῆς. “τὰ γὰρ βλεπόμενα πρόσκαιρα, τὰ δὲ μὴ βλεπόμενα αἰώνια.” καὶ

950 P. ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι ἄρχον ὥκυμορα καὶ ἁβέβαια, "ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐρχομένῳ ζωῆς 3 ἐστών αἰώνιος."

26. “Εἴσονται οἱ πρῶτοι ἐσχατοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐσχατοὶ πρῶτοι.” τούτῳ πολὺχοι μὲν ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν υπόνοιαν καὶ τὸν σαφήνειον, οὐ μὴν ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι τὴν ζήτησιν ἀπαιτεῖ. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἰδεῖ

1 προσκεκλήμενος Segar. προσκεκλήμενος ms.
2 διαπράσσεται Barnard. διαπράσσεται ms.
3 ζωῆς Ghisler. ζωῆς ms.

— Clement seems to have in mind Romans v. 4 (“worketh probation”) and 1 Corinthians iii. 13 (“the fire shall prove each man’s work”). The “inward burning which works death” may be a reminiscence of 1 Corinthians vii. 9.

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its attendant passions, as by goads or a gad-fly, into states of frenzied excitement, into despair of life and contempt of God. This persecution is heavier and harder, because it arises from within and is ever with us; nor can the victim escape from it, for he carries his enemy about within himself everywhere. So too with regard to burning; that which falls on us from without effects a testing, but that from within works death.\(^a\) And war also; that which is brought against us is easily ended, but war in the soul accompanies us till death. If joined with such persecution you have visible wealth and brothers by blood and all the other separable possessions,\(^b\) abandon your sole enjoyment of these which leads to evil, grant to yourself peace, become free from a persecution that lasts, turn away from them to the gospel, choose before all the Saviour, the advocate and counsel\(^c\) for your soul, the president of the infinite life. "For the things that are seen are temporal, but the things that are not seen are eternal;" \(^d\) and in the present time things are fleeting and uncertain, but "in the world to come is life eternal." \(^e\)

26. "The first shall be last and the last first." \(^f\)

This saying, though fruitful in its deeper meaning and interpretation, does not call for examination at the present time, for it applies not merely to those who

\(^a\) Or "pledges," a term used in Attic law to denote movable property that could be offered as security for debt. In this passage it may mean "dear ones," like the Latin pignora.
\(^b\) Literally, "paraclete." But the connexion with "advocate" shows that Clement is thinking of the word in its legal meaning.
\(^c\) St. Mark x. 30.
\(^d\) 2 Corinthians iv. 18.
\(^e\) St. Mark x. 31.
\(^f\) St. Mark x. 31.
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πρὸς τοὺς πολυκτήμονας, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς πρὸς ἀπαντας ἀνθρώπους τοὺς πίστει καθάπαξ ἔαυτος ἐπιδιδόν- 
τας. ὡστε τοῦτο μὲν ἀνακείσθω τὰ νῦν. τὸ δὲ 
γε προκείμενον ἡμῶν οἶμαι μηδὲν τι ἐνδεέστερον ἡ 
ἐπαγγελίας δεδείχθαι, ὅτι τοὺς πλουσίους οὐδένα 
τρόπον οὐ σωτήρ κατ' αὐτόν γε τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν 
περιβολὴν τῆς κτῆσεως ἀποκέκλεικεν οὐδ' αὐτοῖς 
ἀποτετάφρευκεν τὴν σωτηρίαν, εἰ γε δύναντο καὶ 
βούλωντο ὑποκύπτειν τοῦ θεοῦ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ 
tῶν προσκαίρων προτιμῆσαι τὴν ἐαυτῶν ζωὴν καὶ 
βλέπουν πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἀτενεὶ τῷ βλέμματι, 
καθάπερ εἰς ἀγαθὸν κυβερνήτου νευμα δεδορκότες, 
tί βούλεται, τί προστάσσεται, τί σημαινεῖ, τί διδωσι 
tοῖς αὐτοῦ ναύταις [τὸ]² σύνθημα, ποῦ καὶ πόθεν 
tὸν ὅμον ἐπαγγέλλεται. τί γὰρ ἀδικεῖ τις, εἰ 
προσέχων τὴν γνώμην καὶ φειδόμενος πρὸ τῆς 
πίστεως βίον ἱκανὸν συνελέξατο; ἢ καὶ <τὸ>³ τοῦτο 
μᾶλλον ἀνέγκλητον, εἰ εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ τῆς 
tῦχην⁴ νέμοντος εἰς οἶκον τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων εἰσ- 
ψκίσθη καὶ γένος ἀμφιλαφὲς τοῖς χρήμασιν [ἰσχύοιν]⁵ 
kαὶ τῷ πλοῦτῳ κρατοῦν; εἰ γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἀκούσων 
ἐν πλοῦτῳ γένεσιν ἀπελήλαται ζωῆς, ἀδικεῖται 
μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ γειναμένου ⁶ θεοῦ, προσκαίρου μὲν 
ἡδυπαθείας κατηξιωμένος, αἰδίου δὲ ζωῆς ἀποστε- 
ρημένος. τί δ' ὅλως πλοῦτον ἐχρῆν ἐκ γῆς ἀνα- 
tελλαὶ ποτε, εἰ χορηγὸς καὶ πρόξενος ἐστὶ θανάτου;

¹ ἐνδεέστερον Ghisler. διεέστερον ms.
² [τὸ] Stählin. ³ <τὸ> inserted by Ghisler.
⁴ τῦχην Segaaar. ψυχή ms. ⁵ [ἰσχύοιν] Wilamowitz.
⁶ γειναμένου Ghisler. γινομένου ms.

* i.e. the gospel promise of salvation for all men.

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have great possessions, but generally to all men who once devote themselves to faith. So for the time being let it be reserved. But as to the question before us, I think it has been shown that the promise does not fall short in any respect, because the Saviour has by no means shut out the rich, at any rate so far as their actual riches and investments of property are concerned, nor has He trenches off salvation from them, provided they are able and willing to stoop beneath God's commandments and that they value their own life above temporal things and look to the Lord with steadfast gaze, like sailors on the watch for the nod of a good pilot to see what are his wishes, his commands, his signals, what watchword he gives them, where and whence he proclaims the harbour. For what wrong does a man do, if by careful thought and frugality he has before his conversion gathered enough to live on; or, what is still less open to censure, if from the very first he was placed by God, the distributor of fortune, in a household of such men, in a family abounding in riches and powerful in wealth? For if he has been banished from life for being born, through no choice of his own, in wealth, it is rather he who is wronged by God who brought him into existence, seeing that he has been counted worthy of temporal comfort, but deprived of eternal life. Why need wealth ever have arisen at all out of earth, if it is the provider and agent of death? But if a man

Salvation is possible for rich men if they will obey God

It is not wrong to save money

Nor to be born in a rich family

\[b\] Literally, "clothing" or "covering," as on p. 277, n. a.

\[c\] The word is used in Greek politics of a man who was appointed to represent the citizens of another State than his own, and to act as their friend and protector when they visited his city. Hence it has the meaning of our Consul, or Agent.
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ἀλλ’ εἰ δύναται τις ἐνδοτέρω τῶν ὑπαρχόντων κάμπτειν τῆς ἐξουσίας καὶ μέτρια φρονεῖν καὶ σωφρονεῖν καὶ θεῶν μόνον ἥττην καὶ θεῶν ἀνασπίνειν καὶ θεωρεῖν καὶ συμπολιτεύεσθαι, πτωχὸς οὖτος παρέστηκε ταῖς ἐντολαῖς, ἐλεύθερος, ἀνήσυχος, ἀνοσοὺς, ἀρωτοὺς ὑπὸ χρημάτων· εἰ δὲ μὴ, θάττων κάμπλος διὰ βελόνης εἰσελήφθη ἢ τοιοῦτος πλούσιος ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ παρελεύφη. σημαίνετο μὲν οὖν τι καὶ ὑπηλότερον ἢ κάμπλος διὰ στενής οδοῦ καὶ τεθλημένης φθάνουσα τὸν πλούσιον, ὅπερ ἐν τῇ περὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ θεολογίας ἐξηγήσει μυστήριον τοῦ σωτήρος ὕπάρχει μαθεῖν. 27. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τὸ γε φαινόμενον πρῶτον καὶ δὴ λέλεκται τῆς παραβολῆς παρεχέσθω. διδασκέτω τοὺς εὐποροῦντας ώσ ὁὐκ ἀμελητέον τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας ὡς ἦδη προκατεγνωσμένους οὐδὲ καταποντιστέον αὐτὸ πάλιν τὸν πλούσιον οὐδὲ καταδικαστέον ὡς | τῆς ζωῆς ἐπὶ- βουλων καὶ πολέμων, ἀλλὰ μαθητέον τίνα τρόπον καὶ πῶς πλούτων χρηστέον καὶ τῆς ζωῆς κτητέον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὕτε ἐκ παντὸς ἀπόλλυται τοῖς, ὅτι πλούτει δεδιός, οὕτε ἐκ παντὸς σωζεῖται ἠλειφαίος καὶ πιστεύων ὡς σωθήσεται, φέρε σκέπτειν ἦταν τὴν ἐλπίδα αὐτοῦς ὅ σωτῆρ ὑπογράφει, καὶ πῶς ἄν τὸ μὲν ἀνελπίστου ἐξέγγυον γένοιτο, τὸ δὲ ἐλπισθὲν εἰς κτῆσιν ἀφίκοιτο.

a Literally, “can bend within the power of his posses- sions,” probably a metaphor from the chariot-race, in which the driver was required to pass close to the turning-post, yet not to touch it. The rich man must not let his wealth run away with him. With Clement’s remark about the power of possessions Stählin compares Thucydides i. 38—“the insolence and power of wealth.”

b St. Mark x. 25.
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can keep within bounds the power that possessions bring, and can be modest in thought and self-controlled, seeking God alone, living in an atmosphere of God and as a fellow-citizen with God, here is one who approaches the commandments as a poor man, as free, unconquered, untouched by the diseases or wounds of riches. If not, a camel shall more quickly enter through a needle than shall such a rich man reach the kingdom of God. Now the camel, that passes through a strait and narrow way sooner than the rich man, must be understood to have some higher meaning, which, as a mystery of the Saviour, can be learnt in my Exposition concerning First Principles and Theology. Here, however, let me set forth the first and obvious meaning of the illustration, and the reason why it was used. Let it teach the well-to-do that their salvation must not be neglected on the ground that they are already condemned beforehand, nor on the contrary must they throw their wealth overboard or give judgment against it as insidious and inimical to life, but they must learn how and in what manner wealth is to be used and life acquired. For since a man is neither absolutely being lost if he is rich but fearful, nor absolutely being saved because he is bold and confident that he will be saved, let us now go on to inquire what hope it is that the Saviour outlines for the rich, and how the unhoped for may become secure, and the hoped for pass into possession.

d In iii. Stromateis 13. 1 and 21. 2, Clement mentions a projected work on "First Principles"; but it has not come down to us.

Literally, "parable"; but it is hardly a parable in our sense of the word.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

Φησὶν οὖν ὁ διδάσκαλος, τῖς ἡ μεγίστη τῶν ἐντολῶν ἡρωτημένος· "ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς δυνάμεως σου," ταύτης μείζω μηδεμίαν ἐντολὴν εἶναι, καὶ μᾶλα εἰκότως. καὶ γὰρ καὶ περὶ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ περὶ τοῦ μεγίστου παρῆγγελται, αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, δὲ οὐ καὶ γέγονε καὶ ἔστι τὰ πάντα καὶ εἰς ὃν τὰ σωζόμενα πάλιν ἐπανέρχεται. ὁπό τοῦτο τοῖς προαγαπηθέντας καὶ τοῦ γενέσθαι τυχόντας οὐχ ὅσον ἀλλο τι πρεσβύτερον ἄγειν καὶ τιμώτερον, ἐκτίνοιται μόνην τὴν χάριν ταύτην μικρὰν ἐπὶ μεγίστοις, ἀλλο δὲ μηδοτιοῦν ἤχοντας ἀνενδεῖ καὶ τελείω θεῷ πρὸς ἁμοιήθην ἐπινοήσαι, αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ἁγιᾶν τὸν πατέρα εἰς οἰκείαν ἱσχύν καὶ δύναμιν ἀφθαρσίαν κομιζομένους. ὅσον γὰρ ἁγαπᾷ τις θεόν, τοσοῦτοι καὶ πλέον ἐνδοτέρω τοῦ θεοῦ παραδύσεται.

28. Δευτέραν δὲ τάξει καὶ οὐδὲν τι μικρότεραν ταύτης εἶναι λέγει τό· "ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν," οὐκοίν τὸν θεόν ὑπὲρ σεαυτόν. πυθανομένου δὲ τοῦ προσδιαλεγομένου "τῖς ἐστὶν πλησίον;" οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον Ἰουδαίους προ- ὁρίσατο τὸν πρὸς αἷμας οὐδὲ τὸν πολίτην οὐδὲ τὸν προσήλυτον οὐδὲ τὸν ὁμοίας περιτετμητέμονον οὐδὲ τὸν ἐνὶ καὶ ταύτῳ νόμῳ χρώμενον. ἀλλὰ ἄνωθεν καταβαίνοντα ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλήμ ἀγεῖ τῷ λόγῳ τινὰ εἰς Ἰεριχὼ καὶ τοῦτον δείκνυσιν ὑπὸ ληστῶν συγκεκεντημένον, ἐρριμμένου ἡμιβητὴ ἐπὶ

1 αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ Ghisler. αὐτῷ δὲ τὸ ms.
2 ἀφθαρσίαν Wilamowitz. ἀφθαρσίας ms.
3 καταβαίνοντα Ghisler. καταβαίνων ms.

a St. Mark xii. 30–31.

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When asked which is the greatest of the commandments the Teacher says, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul and with all thy power," and that there is no commandment greater than this—a—and quite naturally. For indeed it is a precept concerning the first and the greatest existence, God Himself our Father, through whom all things have come into being and exist, and to whom the things that are being saved return again. As therefore we were first loved by Him and took our beginning from Him, it is not reverent to consider any other thing as more venerable or more honourable. This is the only thanks we pay Him, a small return for the greatest blessings; and we are not able to think of the slightest thing else to serve as recompense for a God who is perfect and in need of nothing. But by the very act of loving the Father to the limit of our personal strength and power we gain incorruption. For in proportion as a man loves God, he enters more closely into God.

28. Second in order, and in no way less important than this, is, He says, the commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself"—God therefore you must love more than yourself. And when His questioner inquires, "Who is a neighbour?" He did not point, in the same way as the Jews did, to their blood-relation, or fellow-citizen, or proselyte, or to the man who like them was circumcised, or to a keeper of one and the same law, but He describes a man going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, showing him stabbed by robbers and flung half dead upon

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b See Romans xi. 36.  c See 1 St. John iv. 19.
St. Luke x. 27.  d St. Luke x. 29.
See St. Luke x. 30-37.
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τής δοῦ, ὑπὸ ἱερέως παροδευόμενον, ὑπὸ Δευτήν παρορώμενον, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Σαμαρείτου τοῦ ἐξωνε- δισμένου καὶ ἀφωρισμένου κατελευέμενον, δὲ οὐχὶ κατὰ τύχην ὁς ἐκεῖνοι παρῆλθεν, ἀλλ’ ἦκε συνεσ- κευασμένος ὅν ὁ κωνυνεύων ἐδείτο, οἶνον, ἐλαιον, ἐπιδέσμους, κτήνος, μισθὸν τῷ πανδοχεὶ, τὸν μὲν ἶδῃ διδόμενον, τὸν δὲ προσυπαχνούμενον. “τίς,” ἐφη, “τούτων γέγονε πλησίον τῷ τὰ δεινὰ παθόντι;” τοῦ δὲ ἀποκριμαμένου ὅτι “ὁ τὸν ἔλεον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιδείξαμεν· καὶ σὺ τοῖς πορευθέντις οὐτω ποιεῖς, ὡς τῆς ἀγάπης βλαστανούσης εὐποιῶν.

29. Ἐν ἀμφότεραις μὲν οὖν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς ἀγάπην εἰσηγεῖται, τάξει δ’ αὐτὴν διήρκει, καὶ ὅπου μέν τὰ πρωτεῖα τῆς ἀγάπης ἀνάπτει τῷ θεῷ, ὅπου δὲ τὰ δευτερεία νέμει τῷ πλησίον. τίς δ’ ἂν ἄλλος οὕτως εἰπή πλὴν αὐτὸς ὁ σωτήρ; ἡ τίς μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς ἐλεήσας | ἐκείνοι, τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν κοσμοκρατόρων τοῦ σκότους ὁλίγον τεθανατωμένους τοὺς πολλοῖς τραύμασι, φόβοις, ἐπιθυμίαις, ὀργαῖς, λύπαις, ἀπά- ταις, ἤδοναῖς; τούτων δὲ τῶν τραυμάτων μόνος ἵππος Ἰησοῦς, ἐκκόπτων ἀρδήν τὰ πάθη πρόρριζα, οὔχ ὡσπερ ὁ νόμος ψιλὰ τὰ ἀποτελέσματα, τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν ποιηρῶν φυτῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀξίνην τὴν ἐαυτοῦ πρὸς τὰς ρίζας τῆς κακίας προσαγαγόν. οὕτος δὲ τὸν οἶνον, τὸ αἷμα τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς Δαβίδ, ἐκχέας ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὰς πετρωμένας ψυχὰς, <οὕτος> τὸ τὸ ἐλαιον, τὸν ἐκ σπλάγχνων πατρὸς ἔλεον, προσενεκῶν καὶ ἐπιδαφιλεύμενος, οὕτος δ’ τοὺς

1 ὅν Ghisler. ὅν ms. 2 <ὁ> inserted by Ghisler.
3 <οὕτως> inserted by Wilamowitz: <ὁ τὸ ἐλαιον> by Lindner.

a See St. Luke x. 31. b Ephesians vi. 12.
c See St. Matthew iii. 10; St. Luke iii. 9.

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the road. A priest passes him by; a Levite disregards him; but he is pitied by the scorned and outcast Samaritan, who did not pass along by chance as the others, but had come fully equipped with what the man in danger needed, wine, oil, bandages, a beast, and payment for the innkeeper, some being given there and then and a further amount promised. "Which of these," He said, "proved neighbour to him who endured this outrage?" And when he answered, "He that showed pity towards him," the Lord added, "Go thou therefore and do likewise." For love bursts forth into good works.

29. In both commandments therefore He introduces love, but He makes a distinction of order, in one place attaching to God the highest exercise of love and in the other allotting its secondary exercise to our neighbour. And who else can this be but the Saviour himself? Or who more than He has pitied us, who have been almost done to death by the world-rulers of the darkness with these many wounds—with fears, lusts, wraths, griefs, deceits and pleasures? Of these wounds Jesus is the only healer, by cutting out the passions absolutely and from the very root. He does not deal with the bare results, the fruits of bad plants, as the law did, but brings His axe to the roots of evil. This is He who poured over our wounded souls the wine, the blood of David's vine; this is He who has brought and is lavishing on us the oil, the oil of pity.

Cp. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles ix. 1–2, "with regard to the giving of thanks (i.e. the Eucharist), in this way give thanks: first with regard to the cup; 'We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David Thy Son, which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus Thy Son.'"
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30. Πρῶτος μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔστων ὁ Χριστὸν ἀγαπῶν, δεύτερος δὲ τὸς ἑκεῖνον πεπιστευκότος τιμῶν καὶ περιέπων. ὁ γὰρ ἂν τις εἰς μαθητὴν ἔργασθαι, τούτῳ εἰς ἐαυτὸν ὁ κύριος ἐκδέχεται καὶ πᾶν ἐαυτοῦ ποιεῖται. “δεῦτε, οἱ εὐλογημένοι τοῦ πατρός μου, κληρονομήσατε τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ὑμῖν βασιλείαν ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου. ἐπείνασα γὰρ καὶ ἐδώκατε μοι φαγεῖν, καὶ ἐδίψησα καὶ ἐδώκατέ μοι πιεῖν, καὶ ξένοι ἠμῶν καὶ συνηγάγετε με, γυμνὸς ἠμῶν καὶ ἐνδυσάτε με, ἡσθένησα καὶ ἐπεσκέφασθέ με, ἐν φυλακῇ ἠμῶν καὶ ἠλθεῖσθε πρὸς με. τότε ἀποκριθήσονται αὐτῷ οἱ δίκαιοι λέγουντες: κύριε,

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a 1 Corinthians xiii. 13.
b See Hebrews i. 14; Ephesians iii. 10.
c See Romans viii. 19–21. St. Paul speaks of “the whole creation” being freed from corruption. The special 332
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from the Father’s heart; this is He who has shown us the unbreakable bands of health and salvation, love, faith and hope; a this is He who has ordered angels and principalities and powers b to serve us for great reward, because they too shall be freed from the vanity of the world at the revelation of the glory of the sons of God. c Him therefore we must love equally with God. And he loves Christ Jesus who does His will and keeps His commandments. d “For not everyone that saith unto Me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of My Father.” e And, “Why call ye Me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things that I say?” f And “Blessed are ye that see and hear what neither righteous men nor prophets saw and heard,” if ye do what I say. g

30. He then is first who loves Christ, and the second is he who honours and respects those who believe on Christ. For whatever service a man does for a disciple the Lord accepts for Himself, and reckons it all His own. “Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was hungry and ye gave Me to eat, and I was thirsty and ye gave Me to drink, and I was a stranger and ye took Me in, I was naked and ye clothed Me, I was sick and ye visited Me, I was in prison and ye came unto Me. Then shall the righteous answer Him saying, Lord, thought of the angelic powers as destined to share in this deliverance seems to be Clement’s own, though possibly it was in St. Paul’s mind when he wrote.

a See St. John xiv. 15.

b St. Matthew vii. 21.

c St. Luke vi. 46.

d See St. Matthew xiii. 16–17; St. John xiii. 17.
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πότε σε εἶδομεν πεινῶντα καὶ ἐθρέψαμεν, ἡ δυσώντα καὶ ἐποτίσαμεν; πότε δὲ εἶδομέν σε ξένων καὶ συνηγάγομεν, ἡ γυμνῶν καὶ περιβάλομεν; ἡ πότε σε εἶδομεν ἀσθενοῦντα καὶ ἐπεσκεψάμεθα; ἡ ἐν φυλακῇ καὶ ἠλθομεν πρὸς σέ; ἀποκρίθεις ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐρεῖ αὐτοῖς· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐφ’ ὅσον ἐποιήσατε ἐν τούτων τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου τῶν ἐλαχίστων, ἐμοὶ ἐποιήσατε.” πάλιν ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων τοὺς ταῦτα μὴ παρασχόντας αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐμβάλλει τὸ αἰώνιον, ὡς αὐτῷ μὴ παρεσχηκότας. καὶ ἄλλαξον: “ὁ ὑμᾶς δεχόμενος ἐμὲ δέχεται, ὁ ὑμᾶς μὴ δεχόμενος ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ.”


a St. Matthew xxv. 34–40.
b See St. Matthew x. 40 ; St. Luke x. 16.
c See St. Mark x. 24 ; St. John xxi. 5 ; St. Matthew xi. 25 ; St. John xv. 15 ; St. Luke xii. 4.

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when saw we Thee hungry and fed Thee, or thirsty and gave Thee drink? When saw we Thee a stranger and took Thee in, or naked and clothed Thee? Or when saw we Thee sick and visited Thee? Or in prison and came unto Thee? The King shall answer and say unto them; Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these My brethren, even these least, ye did it unto Me."a Again, on the other hand, those who did not provide these things for them He casts into the eternal fire, on the ground that they have not provided them for Him. And in another place: "He that receiveth you receiveth Me; he that receiveth you not rejecteth Me."b

31. These who believe on Him He calls children and young children and babes and friends;c also little ones here,d in comparison with their future greatness above. "Despise not," He says, "one of these little ones, for their angels always behold the face of My Father who is in heaven."e And elsewhere; "Fear not, little flock, for it is the Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom"f of heaven. After the same manner He says that the least in the kingdom of heaven, that is, His own disciple, is greater than the greatest among them that are born of women, namely John.g And again, "He that receiveth a righteous man or a prophet shall obtain the reward meet for these, and he that hath given a cup of cold water to a disciple in the name of a disciple shall not lose his reward."h This then is

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a See St. Matthew x. 42.  
St. Matthew xviii. 10.  
f St. Luke xii. 32.  
g See St. Matthew xi. 11; St. Luke vii. 28.  
h St. Matthew x. 41-42.  

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ἀπολλύμενος ἐστι. καὶ ἀδής. "ποιήσατε ἐαυτοῖς φίλους ἐκ τοῦ μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας, ἵνα ὅταν ἔκλιπῃ, ἤ δέξωνται ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς αἰωνίους σκηνὰς." φύσει μὲν ἄπασαν κτῆσιν, ἵνα αὐτὸς τις ἐφ’ ἐαυτοῦ κέκτηται ὡς ἰδίαν οὐσαν καὶ οὐκ εἰς κοινὸν τοῖς δεομένοις κατατίθησιν, ἀδικὸν οὖσαν ἀποφαίνων, ἕκ δε ταύτης τῆς ἀδικίας ἐνὸν καὶ πράγμα δίκαιον ἐργάσασθαι καὶ σωτηρίου, ἀναπαύοσι τινα τῶν ἐχόντων αἰώνιον σκηνήν παρὰ τῷ πατρί.

Ὁρα πρῶτον μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἀπαίτεισθαί σε κεκέλευ-κεν οὐδὲ ἐνοχλεῖσθαι περιμένειν, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸν ζητεῖν τοὺς εἰς πεισομένους άξιοὺς τε ὅντας τοῦ σωτήρος μαθητᾶς. καλὸς μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἀποστόλου λόγος. “ιλαρόν γάρ δόθην ἀγάπα ὁ θεός,” χαίροντα τῷ διδόναι καὶ μὴ φειδομένως 2 ὁπείροντα, ἵνα μὴ οὕτως καὶ θερίσῃ, δίχα γογγυσμῶν καὶ διακρίσεως καὶ λύπης [καὶ] 3 κοινωνοῦντα, ὅπερ ἐστίν εὐεργεσία καθάρα. 4 κρείττων δὲ ἐστὶ τούτου ὁ τοῦ κυρίου λελεγμένος ἐν ἀλλῳ χωρίῳ. “παντὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ τι σε δίδου.” θεοῦ γάρ ὅντως ἡ τουαύτη φιλοδωρία. οὕτως δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑπὲρ ἀπασάν ἐστὶ θεότητα, μηδὲ αὐτεἰσθαῖ περιμένειν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν ἀναζητεῖν ὅστις ἁξίου εἰς παθεῖν, ἐπειτα τηλικοῦτον μισθὸν ὄρισα τῆς κοινωνίας, αἰώνιον σκηνήν. 32. ὁ καλὸς ἐμπόριας, ὁ θείας ἀγορᾶς. ὕπειται χρημάτων τις ἀφθαρσίαν,

1 ἔκλιπῃ Stahlin. ἔκλιπητε ms.
2 φειδομένως (from 2 Cor. ix. 6) Segaar. φειδομένων ms.
3 [καὶ] Segaar.
4 καθαρά Segaar. καθά ms.

α St. Luke xvi. 9.
a The phrase comes from Acts iv. 32.
b 2 Corinthians ix. 7.
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the only reward that cannot be lost. And once more: "Make to yourselves friends from the mammon of unrighteousness, that when it shall fail, they may receive you into the eternal habitations." Thus He declares that all possessions are by nature unrighteous, when a man possesses them for personal advantage as being entirely his own, and does not bring them into the common stock for those in need; but that from this unrighteousness it is possible to perform a deed that is righteous and saving, namely, to give relief to one of those who have an eternal habitation with the Father.

See, first, how His command is not that you should yield to a request or wait to be pestered, but that you should personally seek out men whom you may benefit, men who are worthy disciples of the Saviour. Now the Apostle's saying also is good, "God loveth a cheerful giver," one who takes pleasure in giving and sows not sparingly, for fear he should reap sparingly, but shares his goods without murmurings or dispute or annoyance. This is sincere kindness. Better than this is that which is said by the Lord in another place; "Give to everyone that asketh thee;" for such generosity is truly of God. But more divine than all is this saying, that we should not even wait to be asked, but should personally seek after whoever is worthy of help, and then fix the exceedingly great reward of our sharing, an eternal habitation. 32. What splendid trading! What divine business! You buy incorruption with

*d See 2 Corinthians ix. 6.  
*e St. Luke vi. 30.  
*f Clement interprets the saying, "Make to yourselves friends . . . ," as a command to the rich man to give without being asked.
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καὶ δοὺς τὰ διολλήμενα τοῦ κόσμου μονὴν τοῦτων αἰώνιον ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀντιλαμβάνει. πλεῦσον ἐπὶ ταύτην, ἃν σωφρονής, τὴν πανήγυριν, ὦ πλοῦσε, κἀν δέη, περίελθε γῆν ὡλην, μὴ φείση κωδύνων καὶ πόνων, ἵν’ ἐνταιθα βασιλείαν οὐράνιον ἀγοράσῃς.

τί σε λίθοι διαφανεῖς καὶ σμάραγδοι τοσοῦτον εὐφραίνουσι καὶ οἰκία, τροφὴ πυρὸς ἡ χρόνου παῖγμον ἡ σεισμῶν πάρεργον ἡ θυρίσμα τυράννου; ἔπιθυμησον ἐν οὐρανοῖς οἰκησια καὶ βασιλέσοις μετὰ θεοῦ ταύτην σοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀνθρωπος δώσει θεόν ἀπομομούμενον. ἐνταιθα μικρά λαβῶν ἐκεῖ δι’ ὠλων αἰώνων σύνοικον σε ποιήσεται. ἴκετευσον

954 π. ἵνα λάβῃ σπεύσον, ἀγωγίασον, φοβηθητι μὴ σε ἀτμάσῃ. οὐ γὰρ κεκέλευσον λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ σοὶ παρασχεῖν. οὐ μὴν οὔδ’ εἰπεν ο ἐκρικος δόσ, ἡ παράσχες, ἡ εὐεργέτησον, ἡ βοήθησον, φίλον δὲ ποίησαι. ο δὲ φίλον οὐκ έκ μιᾶς δόσεως γίνεται, ἀλλ’ ε’ ὃ ὁλης ἀναπαύσεως καὶ συνυσίας μακρας. οὔτε γὰρ η πίστις οὔτε η ἀγάπη οὔτε ἡ καρτερία μιᾶς ήμερας, ἀλλ’ “ο ὑπομείνα εις τέλος, οὔτος σωθήσεται.”

33. Πώς οὖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ταύτα δίδωσιν; ὦτι διὰ τὴν ἐκεῖνον τιμήν καὶ εὐνοιαν καὶ οἰκεῖον τοῦ κύριος δίδωσι. “δίσω ὅποι οὖ μόνον τοῖς φίλοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις τῶν φίλων.” καὶ τίς οὔτος ἐστιν ο θεοῦ φίλος τοῦ θεοῦ; οὐ μὲν μὴ κρίνε, τίς ἄξιος καὶ τίς

1 γῆν Combevis. τὴν ms.
2 οἰκία Combevis. οἰκεία ms.
3 οὔτε . . . οὔτε . . . οὔτε Stählin. οὔδε . . . οὔτε . . . οὔτε ms.

*The word means “assembly” and was applied to the great national and religious festivals of the Greeks at 338*
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money. You give the perishing things of the world and receive in exchange for them an eternal abode in heaven. Set sail, rich man, for this market, if you are wise. Compass the whole earth if need be. Spare not dangers or toils, that here you may buy a heavenly kingdom. Why so delighted with glittering stones and emeralds, with a house that is fuel for fire or a plaything for time or sport for an earthquake or the object of a tyrant’s insolence? Desire to live and reign in heaven with God. This kingdom a man, imitating God, shall give you. Having taken little from you here, he will make you through all the ages a fellow-inhabitant there. Beg him to take it. Hasten, strive earnestly, fear lest he reject you. For he has not been commanded to take, but you to provide. Furthermore, the Lord did not say, “give,” or “provide,” or “benefit,” or “help,” but “make a friend”; and a friend is made not from one gift, but from complete relief and long companionship. For neither faith nor love nor patience is the work of one day, but “he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved.”

33. How then does a man give these things? Why, the Lord gives them, on account of your esteem and favour and relationship with this man. “For I will give not only to my friends, but also to the friends of my friends.” And who is this friend of God? Do not yourself decide who is worthy and

Olympia and elsewhere. It is used of the Christian church in Hebrews xii. 23. As we should expect, these gatherings were made the occasion of fairs and markets (Strabo 486). It is this aspect of them which Clement seems to have most in mind here.

b St. Luke xvi. 9. c St. Matthew x. 22. d This saying is not found in the gospels.

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ἀνάξιος. ἐνδέχεται γάρ σε διαμαρτεῖν περὶ τὴν δόξαν. ὡς ἐν ἀμφιβολω δὲ τῆς ἀγνοίας ἁμενον καὶ τοὺς ἀναξίους εὐ ποιεῖν διὰ τοὺς ἀξίους ἢ φυλασσόμενον τοὺς ἡςον ἁγαθοὺς μηδὲ τοὺς ὑπουργοὺς περιπετεῖαι. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ φείδεθαι καὶ προσποιεῖσθαι δοκιμάζων τοὺς εὐλόγως ἢ μὴ τευξομένους ἐνδέχεται σε καὶ θεοφιλῶν ἁμελήσαι τινων, οὐ τὸ ἐπτῖμων κόλασις ἔμπυρος αἰώνιος· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ προτεσθαι πᾶσιν ἔξης τοῖς χρήζουσιν ἀνάγκη πάντως εὐρεῖν των καὶ τῶν σώσαι παρὰ θεῷ δυναμένων. "μὴ κρίνε" τοίνυν, "ἀνα μὴ κριθῆς· ὃ μέτρω μετρεῖς, τούτῳ καὶ ἀντιμετρηθήσεται σοί· μέτρον καλὸν, πεπιστεμένον καὶ σεσυλεμένον, ὑπερεκχυνόμενον, ἀποδοθήσεται σοί." πᾶσιν ἄνω οξον τὰ σπλαγχνα τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ μαθηταῖς ἀπογεγραμμένοις, μὴ πρὸς σώμα ἀπιδῶν ὑπερόπτως, μὴ πρὸς ἡλικίαν ἁμελῶς διατεθείς, μηδὲ εἰ τις ἀκτήμων ἢ δυσείμων ἢ δυσειδῆς ἢ ἀσθενῆς φαίνεται, πρὸς τοῦτο τῇ ψυχῇ δυσχεράνης καὶ ἀποστραφῆς. σχήμα τοῦτο ἐστιν ἐξωθεὶν ἥμιν περιβεβλημένον τῆς εἰς κόσμων παρόδου προφάσει, ἡ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τοῦτο παιδεύσειν εἰσελθεὶν δυνηθῶμεν· ἀλλ’ ἐνδον κρυπτὸς ἐνοικεί ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ τοῦτον παῖς ὁ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόν καὶ μεθ’ ἡμῶν ἀναστάς.

34. Τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα τὸ βλεπόμενον ἐξαπατᾶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὸν διάβολον· ὁ γὰρ ἐντὸς πλοῦτος καὶ τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῖς ἀθέατός ἐστι· καὶ μαίνονται περὶ τὸ σαρκίων, οὐ καταφρονοῦσον ὡς ἁσθενοῦσ, τῶν ἐνδον ὄντες τυφλοὶ κτημάτων, οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι

1 προφάσει Wilamowitz. προφάσις ms.
2 ὁ before πατὴρ Stählin: before κρυπτός ms.
who unworthy, for you may happen to be quite mis-
taken in your opinion; so that when in doubt through 
ignorance it is better to do good even to the un-
worthy for the sake of the worthy than by being on 
your guard against the less good not to light upon 
the virtuous at all. For by being niggardly and by 
pretending to test who will deserve the benefit and 
who will not, you may possibly neglect some who 
are beloved of God, the penalty for which is eternal 
punishment by fire. But by giving freely to all in 
turn who need, you are absolutely certain to find 
one of those men who have power to save you 
with God. Therefore, “judge not, that you may 
not be judged; with what measure you mete, it 
shall be measured to you again. Good measure, 
pressed down and shaken together, running over, 
shall be given back to you.”a Open your heart to 
all who are enrolled as God’s disciples, not gazing 
scornfully on their body, nor being led to indifference 
by their age. And if one appear needy or ill-clad 
or ungainly or weak, do not in your soul take offence 
at this and turn away. This is a form thrown round 
us from without for the purpose of our entrance into 
the world, that we may be able to take our place in 
this universal school; but hidden within dwells the 
Father, and His Sonb who died for us and rose 
with us.

34. This form that is seen deceives death and the 
devil; for the inward wealth and beauty are invisible 
to them. And they rage round the bit of flesh, 
which they despise as weak, while they are blind to 
the inner possessions, not knowing how great a

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a See St. Matthew vii. 1; St. Luke vi. 38.
b See St. John xiv. 23.
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πηλίκοι τινά "θησαυρὸν ἐν ὅστρακίνῳ σκέψει" βαστάζομεν, δυνάμει θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ αἴματι θεοῦ παιδὸς καὶ δρόσῳ πνεύματος ἀγίου περιτετειχισμένον. ἀλλὰ σὺ γε μὴ ἑξαπατηθῆς, ὁ γεγενεμένος ἀληθείας καὶ κατηχημένος τῆς μεγάλης λυτρώσεως, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐναντίον τοῖς ἀλλοις ἀνθρώποις σεαυτῶ κατάλεξον στρατόν ἀσπίδων, ἀπόλεμον, ἀναίμακτον,

955 P. ἀόργητον, ἀμίαντον, γέροντας | θεοσεβεῖς, ὁρφανοὺς θεοφιλεῖς, χήρας προσήχη ὑπλυσμένας, ἀνδρας ἀγάπη κεκοσμημένους. τουοῦτος κτήσαι τῷ σῷ πλούτῳ καὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ δορυφόρους, ἢν στρατηγεῖ θεός, δι’ οὐς καὶ ναίς βαπτιζομένη κουφίζεται μόναις ἀγίων εὐχαίς κυβερνώμενη, καὶ νόσος ἀκμάζονα δαμάζεται χειρῶν ἐπιβολαείς διωκομένη, καὶ προσβολή ληστῶν ἀφοπλίζεται εὐχαίς εὐσεβείς σκυλευμένη, καὶ δαιμόνων βία θραύσεται προστάγμασι συντόνοις ἐλεγχομένη.

35. Ἐνεργοῖ 1 οὗτοι πάντες [οἱ] 2 στρατιῶται καὶ φύλακες βέβαιοι, οὐδεὶς ἄργος, οὐδεὶς ἀχρεῖος. ὁ μὲν ἐξαιτήσασθαι σε δύναται παρὰ θεοῦ, ὁ δὲ παραμυθήσασθαι κάμνοντα, ὁ δὲ δακρύζοι καὶ στενάξαι συμπαθῶς ὑπὲρ σοῦ πρὸς τῶν κύριον τῶν ὁλων, ὁ δὲ διδάξει τὶ τῶν πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν χρησίμων, ὁ δὲ νοεθῆσαι μετὰ παρρησίας, ὁ δὲ συμβουλεύεσαι μετ’ εὐνοίας, πάντες δὲ φιλεῖν ἀληθῶς, ἀδόλως, ἀφόβως, ἀνυποκρίτως, ἀκολακεύτως, ἀπλάστως. ὃ γλυκεία θεραπεῖαι φιλούντων, ὁ μακάριοι διακονίας θαρρουντῶν, ὁ πίστως εἰλικρίνης θεοῦ μόνον δεδιότων, ὁ λόγων ἀληθεία παρὰ τοῖς ψεύσασθαι μὴ δυναμένοις, ὁ κάλλος ἑργῶν παρὰ τοῖς θεῶν

1 ἐνεργοὶ Stählin. ἐν ἐργοῖς ms.
2 [οἱ] Schwartz.

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“treasure” we carry “in an earthen vessel,” fortified by the power of God the Father and the blood of God the Son and the dew of the Holy Spirit. Do not you be deceived, however, who have tasted of truth, and have been deemed worthy of the great redemption; but, contrary to the rest of men, enlist on your behalf an army without weapons, without war, without bloodshed, without anger, without stain, an army of God-fearing old men, of God-beloved orphans, of widows armed with gentleness, of men adorned with love. Obtain with your wealth, as guards for your body and your soul, such men as these, whose commander is God. Through them the sinking ship rises, steered by the prayers of saints alone; and sickness at its height is subdued, put to flight by the laying on of hands; the attack of robbers is made harmless, being stripped of its weapons by pious prayers; and the violence of daemons is shattered, reduced to impotence by confident commands.

35. Effective soldiers are all these, and steadfast guardians, not one idle, not one useless. One is able to beg your life from God, another to hearten you when sick, another to weep and lament in sympathy on your behalf before the Lord of all, another to teach some part of what is useful for salvation, another to give outspoken warning, another friendly counsel, and all to love you truly, without guile, fear, hypocrisy, flattery or pretence. What sweet services of loving friends! What blessed ministries of men of good cheer! What pure faith of those who fear God alone! What truth of speech among those who cannot lie! What beauty of deeds among those who are resolved

* 2 Corinthians iv. 7.
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diakonein pereusmenein, peidein theon, aresekein thein, ou sarkei tis stis apatesthai dokousin, alla tis eautou psuxhps ekastos, ouk adelphi lalei, alla tw basilei tov aiwvn ev soi katoikounti.

36. Pantes oin oi pistoi kaloi kal theoprepheis kal tis prosoporia axi, h wter diadhma perikeintai. ou mhn alla eisin hdei tws kai twv eklektwn eklektoterov, kal tosoh tw mallo

<δ>1 hpton episiemi, trpoun twa ek tov kludwnos tov kosmov neolkounites eautous kal etanagnontes ep' asofaleis, ouv boulobein dokein aghv, kai epie tis, aiexunomein, ev badei gnwmis apokrptonites ta aneklalheta mysthria, kal tis aughtev eugeneiai uperfpanouintes en kosmov blepsesthai, ows o logos "phs tov kosmov" kai "alas tis yh" kalei. touti esti to stpema, eikov kal omoios theov, kal teknoi aughtev gnhsion kal kleronomov, wter ep tina xeniteian. entaudi pempomenon upo megaleis oikonomias kal analoqias tov patros. di 2 kai ta fanerai kai ta afanei tov kosmov dedemounygetai, ta mewn eis douleian, ta de eis askeian, ta de eis madosin aughtov, kal pantai, mechrion en entaudi to stpema meh, sunegetai, kal sunacthentos aughtov pantai 3 takstita luthsetai.

1 <δ> inserted by Segaar.
2 di' o Schwartz. di' ovd ms.
3 pantai Schwartz. taïta ms.

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1 Timothy i. 17.
2 St. Matthew v. 13-14.
3 See Genesis i. 26; Romans viii. 17; 1 Timothy i. 2; Titus i. 4.
4 The "seed" is a gnostic term for those higher souls who contain within themselves in a special degree the spark of divine life. They walk by knowledge, or direct intuition, 344.
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to minister to God, to persuade God, to please God! They seem to touch not your flesh but each his own soul, not to be talking with a brother but with the King of the ages who dwells in you.

36. All the faithful then are noble and godlike, and worthy of their title, which they wear as a diadem. Not but that there are already some who are even more elect than the elect, and more elect in proportion as they are less conspicuous. These are they who in a manner haul themselves up out of the surf of the world and retire to a place of safety, who do not wish to appear holy, and are ashamed if one calls them so, who hide in the depth of their mind the unutterable mysteries, and scorn to let their nobility of nature be seen in the world. These the Word calls “light of the world” and “salt of the earth.” This is the seed, God’s image and likeness, and His true child and heir, sent here, as it were, on a kind of foreign service by the Father’s high dispensation and suitable choice. For his sake both the visible and invisible things of the world have been created, some for his service, others for his training, others for his instruction; and all are held together so long as the seed remains on earth, and when it has been gathered in all will speedily be dissolved.

rather than by faith. Justin Martyr (2 Apology ch. 7) makes the same statement as Clement, viz. that the world is preserved solely on account of the “seed”; but he means by this term the whole body of Christians. Clement however seems plainly to restrict it to those who are “more elect than the elect.” For the “gathering in” of the elect see St. Matthew iii. 12 and xxiv. 31; Teaching of the Twelve Apostles ix. 4 and x. 5; Clement’s Extracts from Theodotus xxvi. 3.
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956 P. 37. Τι γὰρ ἐτί δεῖ; θεῷ τὰ τῆς ἀγάπης μυστήρια, καὶ τότε ἐποπτεύσεις τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς, διὰ οὐ μονογενῆς θεὸς μόνος ἐξηγήσατο. ἔστι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἀγάπη καὶ δι’ ἀγάπην ἡμῖν ἔθεάθη.¹ καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄρρητον αὐτοῦ πατήρ, τὸ δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς συμπαθῆς γέγονε μήτηρ. ἀγαπήσας ὁ πατήρ ἐθηλύνθη, καὶ τοῦτο μέγα σημείον ὃν αὐτὸς ἐγέννησεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὁ τεχθεὶς ἐξ ἀγάπης καρπὸς ἀγάπη. διὰ τούτο καὶ αὐτὸς κατῆλθε, διὰ τούτῳ ἀνθρωπόν ἐνέδυ, διὰ τούτῳ τὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐκών ἐπαθεν, ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἄσθένειαν οὓς ἡγάπησε μετρηθεὶς ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὴν ἐαυτὸν δύναμιν ἀντιμετρῆσῃ. καὶ μέλλων σπένδεσθαι καὶ θύτην ἐαυτὸν ἐπίδονσι καὶ την ἡμῖν διαθήκην καταλαμπάνει. ἂν ἀγάπην ἡμᾶς διδωμί την ἔμη. τις δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτῇ καὶ πόσῃ; ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐκαστοῦ κατέθηκε ² τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἀνταξίαν τῶν ὅλων. ταύτην ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ ἄλληλων ἀνταπαίτει. εἰ δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ὀδεῖλομεν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, καὶ τοιαύτην τὴν συνθήκην πρὸς τὸν σωτῆρα ἀνθρωμολογῆμεθα, ἐτὶ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου, τὰ πτωχὰ καὶ ἀλλότρια καὶ παραρρέωτα, καθείρζομεν ταμειόμενοι; ἄλληλων ἀποκλείσομεν, ἃ μετὰ μικρὸν ἔξει τὸ πῦρ; θείως γε καὶ ἐπιτυπώσως ³

¹ ἔθεάθη (κρ. v. Στροματεῖς 16. 5) Lindner. ἔηράθη ms.
² κατέθηκε Segear. καθηκε ms.
³ ἐπιτυπώσωs Lindner. ἐπιτυπώσι ms.

ᵃ St. John i. 18. This passage strongly supports the reading noted in the margin of the Revised Version.
ᵇ See 1 St. John iv. 8, 16.
ᶜ This thought of the Motherhood of God has a parallel in Synesius (Bishop of Ptolemais in Libya early in the fifth century), Hymn II. 63–4:

Thou art Father, thou art Mother,
Thou art male, and thou art female.
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37. What else is necessary? Behold the mysteries of love, and then you will have a vision of the bosom of the Father, whom the only-begotten God alone declared. God in His very self is love, and for love's sake He became visible to us. And while the unspeakable part of Him is Father, the part that has sympathy with us is Mother. By His loving the Father became of woman's nature, a great proof of which is He whom He begat from Himself; and the fruit that is born of love is love. This is why the Son Himself came to earth, this is why He put on manhood, this is why He willingly endured man's lot, that, having been measured to the weakness of us whom He loved, He might in return measure us to His own power. And when He is about to be offered and is giving Himself up as a ransom He leaves us a new testament: "I give you my love." What love is this, and how great? On behalf of each of us He laid down the life that is equal in value to the whole world. In return He demands this sacrifice from us on behalf of one another. But if we owe our lives to the brethren, and admit such a reciprocal compact with the Saviour, shall we still husband and hoard up the things of the world, which are beggarly and alien to us and ever slipping away? Shall we shut out from one another that which in a short time the fire will have? Divine indeed and

Gnostic speculation introduced a Mother as the cause of Creation (cp. Irenaeus i. 4), but the present passage would seem to have no connexion at all with this. Clement is simply trying to account, in a mystical way, for the love of God as shown in the Incarnation.

a i.e. as a drink-offering—the same word that St. Paul uses of himself in 2 Timothy iv. 6.

b See St. John xiii. 34; xiv. 27.

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ο Ἰωάννης "ὁ μὴ φιλῶν" φησὶ "τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἔστι," στέρμα τοῦ Κάιν, θρέμμα τοῦ διαβόλου. θεοὶ σπλάγχνον οὐκ ἔχει, ἐλπίδα κρειττόνων οὐκ ἔχει, ἀσπορός ἐστιν, ἀγνόσ ἐστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν κλήμα τῆς ἀεὶ ζωῆς ὑπερουργίας ἀμπελοῦν, ἐκκόπτεται, τὸ πῦρ ἄθροιον ἀναμένει.

38. Σὺ δὲ μάθε τὴν "<καθ>" ἕνεκαντο Παύλου, ἐπὶ σωτηρίαν· "ἡ ἁγάπη τὰ ἐαυτῆς οὐ ζητεῖ," ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκκέχυται· περὶ τοῦτον ἐπτόθται, περὶ τοῦτον σωφρόνως μαίνεται. "ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἀμαρτιῶν· ἡ τελεία ἁγάπη ἐκβάλλει τὸν φόβον· οὐ περπερεύεται, οὐ φυσιώται, οὐκ ἐπιχαίρει τῇ ἄδικε, συγχαίρει δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· πάντα στέγει, πάντα πιστεύει, πάντα ἐλπίζει, πάντα ὑπομένει· ἡ ἁγάπη οὐδέποτε ἐκκόπτει. προφητεῖαι καταργοῦνται, γλῶσσαι παύονται, ἱάσεις ἐπὶ γῆς καταλεῖπονται. μένει δὲ τὰ τρία ταῦτα, πίστις, ἐλπίς, ἁγάπη· μεῖζον δὲ ἐν τούτοις ἡ ἁγάπη." καὶ δικαίως. πίστις μὲν γὰρ ἀπέρχεται, ὅταν αὐτοψίᾳ πεισθῶμεν ἱδονές θεον, καὶ ἐλπίς ἀφαιρεῖται τῶν ἐπιστήμων ἀποδοθέντων, ἁγάπη δὲ εἰς πλῆρωμα συνέρχεται καὶ μᾶλλον αὐξεῖται τῶν τελείων παραδοθέντων· εὰν ταύτην ἐμβάληται τις τῇ ψυχῇ, δύναται, κἂν ἐν ἀμαρτήμασιν ἢ γεγενημένος, κἂν πολλὰ τῶν κεκολυμένων εἰργασµένος, αὐξήσας τὴν ἁγάπην καὶ μετάνοιαν καθαρὰν λαβὼν ἀναμαχέσασθαι τὰ ἐπταυσµένα.

1 <καθ> inserted by Combeifis from 1 Corinthians xii. 31.

—1 St. John iii. 15.
2 See St. John xv. 5-6.
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inspired is the saying of John: “He that loveth not his brother is a murderer,” a seed of Cain, a nursling of the devil. He has no tender heart of God, no hope of better things. He is without seed and without offspring. He is no branch of the everliving heavenly vine. He is cut off; he awaits the fire at once. b

38. But do you learn the “more excellent way” c to salvation, which Paul shows. “Love seeketh not its own,” d but is lavished upon the brother. For him love fluttereth with excitement, for him it is chastely wild. “Love covereth a multitude of sins. Perfect love casteth out fear. Love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, rejoiceth not in unrighteousness, but rejoiceth with the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Love never faileth; prophecies are done away, tongues cease, healings are left behind on earth; but these three remain, faith, hope, love; and the greatest among these is love.” e And rightly; for faith departs, when we believe through having seen God with our own eyes; and hope vanishes away when what we hoped for has been granted; but love goes with us into the fulness of God’s presence and increases the more when that which is perfect has been bestowed. Even though a man be born in sins, and have done many of the deeds that are forbidden, if he but implant love in his soul he is able, by increasing the love and by accepting pure repentance, to retrieve his failures.

 c 1 Corinthians xii. 31.
 d 1 Corinthians xiii. 5.
 e See 1 St. Peter iv. 8; 1 St. John iv. 18; 1 Corinthians xiii. 4–13.

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957 P. μηδὲ 1 γὰρ τούτῳ εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν σοι καὶ ἀπόνοιαν καταλελείφθω, εἰ καὶ τὸν πλοῦσιον μάθως ὡστὶς ἑστὶν ὁ χώραν ἐν οὐρανοῖς οὐκ ἔχων καὶ τίνα τρόπον τοῖς οὕσι χρόνειον (39) ἀν τις τὸ τε ἐπιρρήτον 2 τοῦ πλούτου καὶ χαλεπὸν εἰς ζωὴν διαφύγοι καὶ δύνατο τῶν αἰώνων [τῶν] 3 ἁγαθῶν ἑπαύρασθαι, εἰ τῇ δὲ τετυχηκὼς καὶ δὴ ἄγνοιαν ἢ δὲ ἀσθενείαν ἢ περίστασιν ἀκούσιον μετὰ τὴν σφαγίδα καὶ τὴν λύτρωσιν περιπετείας τις ἀμαρτήμασιν ἢ παραπτώμασιν, ὡς ὑπεννέχθαι τέλεον, <ὅτι> 4 οὕτος κατεβήσεται παντάπασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. παντὶ γὰρ τῷ μετ’ ἀληθείας ἐς ὅλης τῆς καρδίας ἐπιστρέψατε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀνεφαγασίαν αἱ θύρας καὶ δέχεσθαι τρισάμενους πατήρ υἱὸν ἀληθῶς μετανοοῦντα. ἢ δ’ ἀληθινὴ μετάνοια τὸ μυκέτι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνοχὸν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἄρδην ἐκμισθῶσαί τῆς φυχῆς ἐφ’ οἷς ἐαυτοῦ κατέγνω τάνατον ἀμαρτήμασιν. τούτων γὰρ ἀναιρεθέντων αὐθίς εἰς σὲ θεὸς εἰςοκικαθήσεται. μεγάλην γὰρ φησί καὶ ἀνυπέρβλητον εἶναι χαρὰν καὶ ἔορτὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἐνὸς ἀμαρτωλοῦ ἐπιστρέψατο καὶ μετανοήσαντος. διὸ καὶ κέκρα-

1 μηδὲ Dindorf. μήτε ms. 2 ἐπιρρήτον Segar. ἐπιρρῆει τὸν ms. 3 αἰώνων [τῶν] Ghisler. αἰῶνων τῶν ms. 4 <ὅτι> inserted by Stählin.


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For if you understand who is the rich man that has no place in heaven, and also in what manner a man may so use his substance (39) as to win his way to life through the censure and difficulties caused by wealth, and to be able to enjoy the eternal good things,—yes, even though he has happened either because of ignorance or of weakness or of circumstances not of his own choice to fall after the baptismal seal and redemption into certain sins or transgressions so as to have become completely subject to them,—let not this thought remain with you to lead to despair and despondency, namely, that such an one has been condemned outright by God. For to every one who turns to God in truth with his whole heart the doors are opened and a thrice-glad Father receives a truly penitent son. And genuine repentance is to be no longer guilty of the same offences, but utterly to root out of the soul the sins for which a man condemned himself to death; because when these have been destroyed God will once again enter in and dwell with you. For He says that there is great and unsurpassable joy and feasting in heaven for the Father and the angels when one sinner has turned and repented. a Accordingly He cries, “I wish for mercy and not sacrifice, I desire not the death of the sinner, but his repentance. Though your sins be as scarlet wool, I will whiten them as snow; though blacker than the darkness, I will wash them and make them as white wool.” b For God alone can grant remission of sins and not reckon trespasses, c though even we

a See St. Matthew ix. 13; xii. 7 (from Hosea vi. 6); Ezekiel xviii. 23; Isaiah i. 18.

b See St. Mark ii. 7; St. Luke v. 21; 2 Corinthians v. 19.
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κελεύεται τῇς ἡμέρας ἐκάστης ὁ κύριος ἀφιέναι τοὺς ἀδελφοῖς μετανοοῦσιν. εἰ δὲ ἡμεῖς πονηροὶ ὄντες ἱσμεν ἀγαθὰ δόματα διδόναι, πόσῳ μᾶλλον “ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἴκτυρμῶν.” ὁ ἀγαθὸς πατὴρ “πάσης παρακλήσεως,” ὁ πολύσπαγχος καὶ πολυέλεος πέφυκε μακροθυμεῖν τοὺς ἐπιστρέφαντας περιμένει. ἐπιστρέφαι δὲ ἐστὶν ὄντως ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τὸ παύσασθαι καὶ μηκέτι βλέπειν εἰς τὰ ὁπίσω.

40. Τῶν μὲν οὖν προγεγενημένων θεὸς δίδωσιν ἄφεσιν, τῶν δὲ ἐπιόντων αὐτὸς ἔκαστος ἕαντοι. καὶ τοῦτο" ἐστι μεταγωγῆς, τὸ καταγωγῶν τῶν παραχωμένων καὶ αἰτήσασθαι τούτων ἀμετρίαν παρὰ πατρός, διὸ μόνον τῶν ἀπάντων οἶδας τε ἐστίν ἀπρακτα ποιήσαι τὰ πεπραγμένα ἑλώ τῷ παρ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ δρόσῳ πνεύματος ἀπαλείψας τὰ προημαρτημένα. “ἐφ’ οἷς γὰρ ἄν εὐρω ύμᾶς,” φησίν, “ἐπὶ τούτως καὶ κρίνω." καὶ παρ’ ἐκαστά βοᾷ τὸ τέλος πάντων· ὡστε καὶ τῷ τὰ μέγιστα εὗ πεποιήκοτι κατὰ, τὸν βίον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τέλους ἐξοκείλαντι πρὸς κακίαν, ἀνόνητοι² πάντες οἱ πρόσθεν πόνου, ἐπὶ τῆς κατα- στροφῆς τοῦ δράματος ἐξάθλω γενομένως, τῷ τε τῷ χείρον καὶ ἐπισευμμένως βιώσαντι πρότερον ἐστὶν ὕστερον μετανοήσαντι πολλοῦ χρόνου πολιτείαιν

1 <κατὰ> inserted by Segar (from Sac. Par.).
2 ἀνόνητοι Ghisler (from Sac. Par.). ἀνόνητοι ms.

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a See St. Luke xvii. 3-4.
b St. Matthew vii. 11; St. Luke xi. 13.
c 2 Corinthians i. 3. d St. James v. 11.
e St. Luke ix. 62.
f This saying, not found in our gospels, is mentioned in slightly different form by Justin Martyr (Dialogue with Trypho 47) who expressly attributes it to our Lord. It has some
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are exhorted by the Lord each day to forgive our brothers when they repent. And if we, being evil, know how to give good gifts, how much more does "the Father of mercies." The good Father "of all comfort," full of pity and full of mercy, is by nature long-suffering. He waits for those who turn to Him. And to turn to Him truly is to cease from sins and no more to look back.

40. Of sins already committed, then, God gives remission, but of those that are to come each man procures his own remission. And this is repentance, to condemn the deeds that are past and to ask forgetfulness of them from the Father, who alone of all is able to make undone what has been done, by wiping out former sins with the mercy that comes from Him and with the dew of the Spirit. "For in whatever things I find you," He says, "in these will I also judge you;" and at each step He proclaims the end of all things. So that even when a man has done the greatest works faithfully through life, but at the end has run on the rocks of evil, all his former labours bring him no profit, since at the turning-point of the drama he has retired from the contest; whereas he who has at first led an indifferent and slip-shod life may, if afterwards he repents, utterly wipe out a wicked course of long continuance with the time

resemblance to Ezekiel xxxiii. 20 (Sept.) — "I will judge you each one in his ways"—and in both Clement and Justin it occurs in connexion with teaching drawn from Ezekiel xxxiii. 10-20.

The "catastrophe" or turning-point towards the end of a play when the issue stands definitely revealed. Used here, as elsewhere in Greek literature, for the conclusion of life, when a man might be expected to have settled down to a course either good or evil.
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πονηρὰν ἐκνικήσαι τῷ μετὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν χρόνῳ ἀκριβείας δὲ δεὶ πολλῆς, ἀστερ τοῖς μακρᾷ νόσῳ πεπονηκόσι σώμασι διαίτης χρεία καὶ προσοχῆς πλείονος. ὁ κλέπτης, ἀφεσιν βούλει λαβεῖν; μηκέτι κλέπτε· ὁ μοιχεύσας, μηκέτι πυροῦνθω· ὁ πορ- νεύσας, λοιπὸν ἀγνευέτω· ὁ ἀρπάσας, ἀποδίδου καὶ προσπαθείμενος, ἀλήθειαν ἁσκήσων· ὁ ἐπιορκος, μηκέτι ὠμυνε· καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάθη σύν- τεμε, ὀργήν, ἐπιθυμίαν, λύπην, φόβον, ἵνα εὐρεθῇ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξόδου πρὸς τὸν ἀντίδικον ἐντάθα διαλεύθονθαι φθάνων. ἔστω μὲν οὖν ἀδύνατον ἵσως ἀθρόως ἀποκύψαι πάθη σύντροφα, ἀλλὰ μετὰ θεοῦ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀνθρωπεῖας ἰκεσίας καὶ ἀδελφῶν βοηθεῖας καὶ εἰλικρινοῦς μετανοιας καὶ συνεχοῦς μελέτης κατορθοῦται.

41. Διὸ δεῖ πάντως σε τὸν σοφαρὸν καὶ δυνατὸν καὶ πλοῦσιν ἐπιστήσασθαι ἑαυτῷ τινὰ ἀνθρωπὸν θεοῦ καθάπερ ἀλείπτην καὶ κυβερνήτην. αἰδοῦ κὰν ἐνα, φοβοῦ κὰν ἐνα, μελέτησον ἀκούειν κὰν ἐνὸς παρ- ρησιαξομένου καὶ στύφοντος ἀμα καὶ θεραπεύνοντος. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς συμφέρει τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον ἀκολαστοὺς μένειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δακρύσας καὶ δηχθῆναι ποτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ύγείας τῆς πλείονος. οὕτω καὶ ἱσχυῖ διηνεκὸς ἡδονῆς οὐδὲν ὀλεθρωτέρου· ἀποτυφλού- ται γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς τήξεως, ἐὰν ἀκινήτος τῷ παρρη- σιαξομένῳ διαμείνῃ λόγῳ. τούτοι καὶ ὀργισθέντα φοβῆθητι, καὶ στενάζαντα λυπήθητι, καὶ ὄργῃ ταύτα ἀιδέσθητι, καὶ κόλασιν παραιτούμενον

1 στενάζαντα λυπήθητι Mayor. στενάζαντα ἐπιλαβήθητι Segaar. δυσωπήθητι Schwartz. Stählin and Barnard mark the passage as corrupt.

2 παραιτούμενον Segaar. παραιτούμενον ms.

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left after his repentance. But great care is needed, just as bodies that are labouring under a long disease require treatment and special attention. Thief, do you wish to receive forgiveness? steal no more.\textsuperscript{a} Adulterer, no longer burn.\textsuperscript{b} Fornicator, keep pure in future. Extortioner, repay with interest. False witness, practise truth. Oath-breaker, swear no more. And repress the rest of the passions, anger, lust, grief, fear, in order that at your departure you may be found to have already become reconciled here on earth with your adversary.\textsuperscript{c} Now it is perhaps impossible all at once to cut away passions that have grown with us, but with God's power, human supplication, the help of brethren, sincere repentance and constant practice success is achieved.

41. It is therefore an absolute necessity that you who are haughty and powerful and rich should appoint for yourself some man of God as trainer and pilot. Let there be at all events one whom you respect, one whom you fear, one whom you accustom yourself to listen to when he is outspoken and severe, though all the while at your service. Why, it is not good for the eyes to remain all our life-time undisciplined; they should sometimes weep and smart for the sake of better health. So, too, nothing is more destructive to the soul than incessant pleasure, the softening influence of which blinds it, if it continues obstinate against the outspoken word. Fear this man when he is angry, and be grieved when he groans; respect him when he stays his anger, and be before him in begging release from punishment.

\textsuperscript{a} See Ephesians iv. 28.
\textsuperscript{b} See 1 Corinthians vii. 9.
\textsuperscript{c} See St. Matthew v. 25; St. Luke xii. 58.
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"θεός οὕτως μυκτηριζεί" ουδέ προσέχει κενός ρήμασι· μόνος γάρ ἀνακρίνει μνευόμενος καὶ νεφροῦς καρδίας καὶ τῶν ἐν πυρί κατακόμμει καὶ τῶν ἐν κολίᾳ κήπους ἤκενόντων ἔξακούει καὶ πάσων ἐγγύως ἐστὶ τοῖς πιστευόντοι καὶ πόρω τοῖς ἀθέεοις, ἃν μὴ μετανοήσωσιν.

42. "Ἰνα δὲ ἐπιθαρρήσῃς," οὕτω μετανόησας ἀληθῶς, ὅτι σοὶ μένει σωτηρίας ἐλπίς αξίωρεσ, ἀκουσόν μῦθον οὐ μῦθον, ἀλλὰ οὐνό λόγον περὶ

959 Ρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου παραδεδομένον καὶ μνήμη πεφυλαγμένον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νῆσος μετῆθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον, ἀπήγει παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιόνωρα τῶν ἔθνων, ὅπως μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσω, ὅπως δὲ ὀλαὶ ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσων, ὅπως δὲ κλήρον ἑνα γέ ᾨ τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σημαινομένων. ἔλθων οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τινα

1 ἐπιθαρρήσῃς Barnard and Stählin (from Maximus Confessor). ἐτὸς βαρῆς ms.

2 ᾨ Stählin (from Eusebius and Maximus Confessor).

te ms.

a Galatians vi. 7.

b For this sentence see Hebrews iv. 12; Jeremiah xvii. 10; Psalm vii. 9; Daniel iii.; Jonah ii.; Revelation ii. 23.

c Domitian, by whom St. John is said to have been exiled, is generally thought to be referred to here. But he died in A.D. 96, and it is practically certain that St. John the apostle's active ministry must have ended before this date.

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Let him spend many wakeful nights on your behalf, acting as your ambassador with God and moving the Father by the spell of constant supplications; for He does not withstand His children when they beg His mercies. And this man will beg them, if he is sincerely honoured by you as an angel of God and is in nothing grieved by you, but only for you. This is unfeigned repentance. "God is not mocked," a nor does He attend to empty phrases. For He alone discerns the marrow and reins of the heart; and hears those who are in the fire; and listens to those who in the whale's belly entreat Him; and is near to all believers and far from the godless unless they repent. b

42. And to give you confidence, when you have thus truly repented, that there remains for you a trustworthy hope of salvation, hear a story that is no mere story, but a true account of John the apostle that has been handed down and preserved in memory. When after the death of the tyrant c he removed from the island of Patmos to Ephesus, he used to journey by request to the neighbouring districts of the Gentiles, in some places to appoint bishops, in others to regulate whole churches, in others to set among the clergy some one man, it may be, of those indicated by the Spirit. d He came then to one of the cities Either his exile was earlier, i.e. in Nero's reign, or else there has been a confusion between the apostle and John the presbyter of Ephesus.

d The phrase κληρώσων κληρον means literally "to allot a lot." Κληρον was used to designate a "lot" or "share" in the Christian ministry (cp. Acts i. 17) and its use was afterwards extended to the ministers themselves or "clergy." In this passage both meanings are suggested. Those "indicated by the Spirit" would be men whose spiritual gifts, such for instance as pastoral authority or teaching, marked them out as fit candidates for office in the Church.
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τῶν οὐ μακρὰν πόλεων, ἃς καὶ τούνομα λέγουσιν ἔννοι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀναπαύσας τοὺς ἀδελφούς, ἐπὶ πάσι τῷ καθεστώτι προσβλέψας ἐπισκόπῳ, νεανίσκον ἰκανὸν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν όψιν ἀστείον καὶ θερμὸν τῷ ψυχήν ἱδών, "τούτον" ἐφη "σοὶ παρακατατίθεμαι" μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μάρτυρος." τοῦ δὲ δεχομένου καὶ πάνθ' ὑποχνιμένου καὶ πάλιν τὰ αὐτὰ διετέινατο καὶ διεμαρτύρατο. ἐτὰ ὁ μὲν ἀπήρεν ἐπὶ τὴν "Εφεσον, ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος ἀναλαβὼν οἰκαδε τὸν παραδοθέντα νεανίσκον ἐτρεφε, συνείχεν, ἐθαλπε, τὸ τελευταίον ἐφώτισε· καὶ μετὰ τούτο ὑφήκε τῆς πλείων ἐπιμελείας καὶ παραφυλακῆς, ὅσ τὸ τέλειον αὐτῶ φυλακτήριων ἐπιστήσας τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ κυρίου. τῷ δὲ ἀνέσεως πρὸ ὀρας λαβομένῳ προσφθείροντα τινὲς ἡλικε ἀργοὶ καὶ ἄπερρωγότες, ἐθάδες κακῶν· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν δι᾿ ἐστιάσεως πολυτελῶν αὐτῶν ὑπάγοντα, εἰτὰ πον καὶ νῦκτωρ ἐπὶ λωποδυσίαν ἐξιόντες συνετάγονται, εἰτὰ τι καὶ μείζον συμπράττειν ἡζίουν. ὁ δὲ κατ’ ὀλύον προσεθΐζετο καὶ διὰ μέγεθος φύσεως ἐκστάσω ὦσπερ ἅστομος καὶ εὐρωστός ἵππος ὀρθῆς

1 παρακατατίθεμαι Stählin (from Eus. and Max. Conf.). παρατίθεμαι ms.

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a It will be noticed that Clement here applies the terms "bishop" and "presbyter" to the same person. This may be due to the fact that in this story he followed a written authority coming down from a time when the two terms were synonymous, as they are in the New Testament. On the other hand, it is possible that the sharp distinction between "bishop" and "presbyter," though well-known elsewhere, was not yet recognized at Alexandria. Jerome 358
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not far distant, the very name of which is told by some. After he had set the brethren at rest on other matters, last of all he looked at him who held the office of bishop, and, having noticed a strongly built youth of refined appearance and ardent spirit, he said: "This man I entrust to your care with all earnestness in the presence of the church and of Christ as witness." When the bishop accepted the trust and made every promise, the apostle once again solemnly charged and adjured him in the same words. After that he departed to Ephesus; but the presbyter took home the youth who had been handed over to him, and brought him up, made a companion of him, cherished him, and finally enlightened him by baptism. After this he relaxed his special care and guardianship, thinking that he had set over him the perfect guard, the seal of the Lord. But the youth had obtained liberty too soon. Certain idle and dissolute fellows, accustomed to evil deeds, form a ruinous companionship with him. At first they lead him on by means of costly banquets; then perhaps on their nightly expeditions for robbery they take him with them; then they urge him to join in some even greater deed. He on his part gradually became used to their life; and, like a restive and powerful horse which starts aside from the right path and takes the bit between its teeth, he rushed all the

(Epistle cxlvi.) says that until the times of Heraclas and Dionysius (A.D. 233) the presbyters at Alexandria always elected a bishop from among their own number. Clement in other places sometimes mentions two orders of the ministry, sometimes three; and it is not easy to discover his actual belief. For a short summary of Clement's references to this subject see Tollinton, Clement of Alexandria, ii. 111-114.

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όδοι καὶ τῶν χαλινῶν ἐνδακὼν μειξόνως κατὰ τῶν βαράθρων ἐφέρετο. ἀπογνωσὶ δὲ τελέως τὴν ἐν θεῷ σωτηρίαν οὐδὲν ἔτι μικρὸν διενοεῖτο, ἀλλὰ μέγα τι πράξας, ἐπειδὴ περ ἀπαξ ἀπολῶλει, ἵσα τοῖς ἄλλοις παθεῖν ἥξιον. αὐτοῖς δὴ τούτοις ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ληστήριον συγκροτήσας, ἔτοιμοι λῃστάρχος ἦν, βιαιότατος, μαίνοντάτος, χαλεπώτατος. χρόνος ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ τυχὸς ἐπιπεσοῦσις χρείας ἀνακαλοῦσι τὸν Ιωάννην. ὁ δὲ, ἔπει τὰ ἄλλα ὅπως ἦκεν κατεστήσατο, ἓν ἢ δὴ, ἔφη, ὡ ἑπίσκοπε, τὴν παραθήκην ἀπόδος ἤμων, ἦν ἐγὼ τε καὶ ὁ Χριστός ἵ σοι παρακατεθύμεθα ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἦς προκαθέξῃ, μάρτυρος. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξεπλάγη, χρήματα οἰκομενος, ἀπερ οὐκ ἔλαβε, συκοφαντεύονθαι, καὶ οὐτε πιστεύων ἐλευθερών ὑπὲρ ὅν οὐκ ἔλευθεν οὔτε ἄπιστεϊν Ἰωάννην. ὅς δὲ "τὸν νεανίσκον" ἔπειν ἀπαίτω καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἄδελφου," στενάξας κάτωθεν ὁ πρεσβύτης καὶ τι καὶ ἐπιδικρύσας, "ἐκεῖνος" ἔφη "τέθνηκε." "πῶς καὶ τίνα θάνατον;" "θεῷ τέθηκεν" ἔπειν. "ἀπέβη γὰρ πονηρὸς καὶ ἐξώλης καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον ληστής, καὶ νῦν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸ ὄρος κατείληφε μὴ ὄμοιον στρατιωτικοῦ. καταρρήξαμεν τὴν ἐσθήτα ὁ ἀπόστολος καὶ μετὰ μεγάλης οἰ- μουνής πληξάμενος τὴν κεφαλῆς, "καλὸν γε" ἔφη "φύλακα τῆς τάδελφος ψυχῆς κατέλυσαν. ἀλλ᾽ ἵππος ἢδει μοι παρέστω καὶ ἡγεμόνι γενέσθω μοι τις τῆς ὅδοι." ἠλαυνε ὁσπερ εἶξεν, αὐτόθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ἑλθὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ χωρίον ὑπὸ τῆς

1 Χριστός Eusebius. σωτῆρ ms.
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more violently because of his great nature down towards the pit. Having quite given up hope of salvation in God he no longer meditated any slight offence, but, seeing he was lost once and for all, decided to do something great and to suffer the same penalty as the rest. So he took these very men, and organized a robber band, of which he was a ready chieftain, the most violent, the most blood-thirsty, the most cruel. Time went by, and some need having arisen the church again appeals to John, who, when he had set in order the matters for the sake of which he had come, said: "Now, bishop, return us the deposit which Christ and I together entrusted to your care in the presence and with the witness of the church over which you preside." The bishop was at first amazed, thinking he was being falsely accused about money which he had not received; and he could neither believe a charge that concerned what he did not possess nor could he disbelieve John. But when he said, "It is the youth and the soul of our brother that I demand back," the old man groaned deeply and even shed tears. "That man," he said "is dead." "How and by what manner of death?" "He is dead to God" he replied; "for he turned out a wicked and depraved man, in short a robber, and now deserting the church he has taken to the hills in company with a troop of men like himself." The apostle, rending his clothes and with a loud groan striking his head, said: "A fine guardian of our brother’s soul it was that I left! But let a horse be brought me at once, and let me have someone as a guide for the way." Just as he was he rode right from the very church; and when he came to the
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προφυλακής τῶν ληστῶν ἀλίσκεται, μῆτε φεύγων μῆτε παραιτούμενος, ἀλλὰ βοῶν. "ἐπὶ τοῦτο ηλία- λυθα, ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα ὑμῶν ἀγάγετε με." Ὄσ τεῦσι, ὦσπερ ὀπλιστό, ἀνέμενον· ὡς δὲ προσιόντα ἐγνώρισε τὸν Ἰωάννην, εἰς φυγήν αἰδεσθεὶς ἐτρά- πετο. ὁ δὲ ἐδώκεν ἀνὰ κράτος, ἐπιλαθόμενος τῆς ἡλικίας τῆς ἐαυτοῦ, κεκραγώς. "τί με φεύγεις, τέκνον, τὸν σαυτόν πατέρα, τὸν γυμνόν, τὸν γέροντα; ἔλεγον με, τέκνον, μὴ φοβοῦ· ἔχεις ἐτι ζωῆς ἐλπίδας· ἐγὼ Χριστῷ λόγον δώσω ὑπὲρ σοῦ· ἄν δέχῃ, τὸν σὸν θάνατον ἔκων ὑπομενῶ, ὡς ὁ κύριος τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν· ὑπὲρ σοῦ τὴν φυγήν ἀντιδώσω τὴν ἐμὴν. στῆθι, πίστευον, Χριστὸς με ἁπέστειλεν." ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας πρῶτον ἔστη μὲν κἀκεῖ ἑκέσω, ἔτα ἔρριμε τὰ ὅπλα, ἔτα τρέμων ἔκλαιε πικρῶς. προσ- ελθόντα δὲ τὸν γέροντα περιέλαβεν, ἀπολογούμενος ταῖς οὐμογαῖς ὡς ἐνύνατο καὶ τοῖς δάκρυσι βαπτιζόμενος ἐκ δευτέρου, μόνην ἅποκρύπτων τὴν δεξιὰν. ὁ δὲ ἐγγυώμενος, ἐπομνύμενος ὡς ἄφεσιν αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος εὐρηται, δεόμενος, γονυπετῶν, αὐτὴν τὴν δεξιὰν ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς μετα- νοιας κεκαθαρμένην καταφίλων, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπανήγαγε, καὶ δαμιλείσι μὲν εὐχαίς ἐξαιτούμε- νος, συνεχέσι ὑπὲρ στέλεις συναγωνιζόμενος, ποι- κίλαις δὲ σειρήσι λόγων κατεπόδων αὐτῶν τὴν γνώμην, οὐ πρότερον ἀπῆλθεν, ὡς φασί, πρὸν αὐτὸν

α See Hebrews xiii. 17.
β See St. Matthew xxvi. 75; St. Luke xxii. 62.
γ In the illustration which forms the frontispiece of the present volume, the artist has represented this scene as a baptism in the literal sense.
δ If we read ἀποκατέστησε (with Barnard) or some
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place he is captured by the robbers’ sentry, not attempting to fly or to expostulate, but shouting, “I have come for this purpose; bring me to your leader.” For a time the leader, armed as he was, awaited them; but when he recognized John approaching he turned to flight, smitten with shame. Forgetful of his years John followed after him with all his strength, crying out: “Why do you fly from me, child, from your own father, from this old, unarmed man? Have pity on me, child, do not fear. You have still hopes of life, I myself will give account to Christ for you. If need be, I will willingly undergo your penalty of death, as the Lord did for us. I will give my own life in payment for yours. Stand; believe; Christ has sent me.” On hearing this he at first stood still, looking down; then threw away his weapons; then trembling began to weep bitterly. When the old man had come near the robber embraced him, making excuse as best he could by his groans, and being baptized a second time with his tears, hiding his right hand alone. But the apostle gave his pledge and solemn assurance that he had found pardon for him from the Saviour. Kneeling down and praying, and tenderly kissing the right hand itself as having been purified by his repentance, he then brought him back to the church. There he interceded for him with abundant prayers, helped his struggles by continual fasting, and by manifold siren-like words laid a soothing spell upon his mind. Nor did he depart, as they say, before he had set him over the church,

similar word, the translation will be “restored him to the church.” But εἰστησαί is almost certainly right. See note on text, p. 364.
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ἐπιστῆσαι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, διδόν μέγα παράδειγμα μετανοιας ἀληθινῆς καὶ μέγα γνώρισμα παλιγ-γενεσίας, τρόπαιον ἀναστάσεως βλεπομένης.

. . . φαιδοὺς γεγηθότες, ὑμνοῦντες, ἀνοιγνύντες τοὺς οὐρανοὺς. πρὸ δὲ πάντων αὐτὸς ὁ σωτήρ προσαπαντᾷ δεξιούμενος, φῶς ὁ ὀρέγων ἁσκιον, ἀπαυ-στον, ὄδηγῶν εἰς τοὺς κόλπους τοῦ πατρός, εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν, εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. πιστευέτω ταῦτά τις καὶ θεοῦ μαθηταίς καὶ ἐγ-γυνηθῇ θεῷ, προφητείας, εὐαγγελίον, λόγου ἀπο-στολικοῖς· τούτοις συζών καὶ τὰ ὄτα ὑπέχων καὶ τὰ ἐργα ἁσκών ἐπὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἔξοδον τὸ τέλος καὶ τὴν ἐπίδειξιν τῶν δογμάτων ὁφειται. ὁ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τὸν ἁγγελον τῆς μετανοιας προσήμενον οὐ μετα-νοησε τότε, ἤνικα ἂν καταλίθη τὸ σῶμα, οὐδὲ κατασχυνθῆσεται, τὸν σωτήρα προσώπων μετὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης καὶ στρατιῶς ἰδών· οὔ δὲ τοῦ πύρ· εἰ δὲ τις αἱρεῖται μένειν ἐπεξαμαρτάνων ἐκάστοτε ἐπὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς καὶ τὴν ἐνταῦθα τρουφήν τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς προτιμᾷ καὶ διὸντος τοῦ σωτήρος ἁφεσιν ἀποστρέφεται, μὴ τὸν θεὸν ἔτι μὴ τὸν πλοῦτον μὴ τὸ προπεσεῖν αἰτιάσω, τὴν δὲ έαυτοῦ ψυχήν ἐκουσίως ἀπολοιμένην. τῷ δὲ ἐπι-βλέποντι τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ ποθόντι καὶ μετὰ ἀναιδείας καὶ βίας αὐτοῦ θέλει τὴν ἀληθινὴν κάθαρσιν καὶ τὴν ἀτρεπτὸν ζωὴν ὁ σωτήρ ὁ ἁγαθός ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Ὁ διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἰησοῦ

1 ἐπιστῆσαι Stählin, from some mss. of Eusebius. Other mss. give ἀπεστῆσαι, κατέστησε, ἀποκατέστησεν, etc. Rufinus translates: "Nec prius abstitit, quam eum in omnibus emendatum etiam ecclesiae praeficeret." 364
THE RICH MAN'S SALVATION

thus affording a great example of sincere repentance and a great token of regeneration, a trophy of a resurrection that can be seen

... with bright faces rejoicing, singing praises, opening the heavens. And before them all the Saviour Himself comes to meet him, greeting him with His right hand, offering shadowless, unceasing light, leading the way to the Father's bosom, to the eternal life, to the kingdom of heaven. In this let a man trust to the authority of God's disciples and of God their surety, to the authority of the prophecies, gospels and words of the apostles. If he dwells with these, giving ear to them and practising their works, he will see at the very moment of his departure hence the end and proof of the doctrines. For he who here on earth admits the angel of repentance will not then repent when he leaves the body; nor will he be put to shame when he sees the Saviour approaching with His own glory and heavenly host. He does not dread the fire. If, however, a man chooses to remain in his pleasures, sinning time after time, and values earthly luxury above eternal life, and turns away from the Saviour when He offers forgiveness, let him no longer blame either God or wealth or his previous fall, but his own soul that will perish voluntarily. But he who looks for salvation and earnestly desires it and asks for it with importunity and violence shall receive the true purification and the unchanging life from the good Father who is in heaven, to whom through His Son Jesus

a About twenty lines here are lost. See Introduction, p. 268.
b See St. Luke xi. 8; St. Matthew xi. 12.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

Χριστοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος εἰς δόξα, τιμή, κράτος, αἰώνιος μεγαλειώτης καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς γενεάς γενεών καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

\(^\text{a}\) See Romans xiv. 9.
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Christ, the Lord of living and dead, and through the Holy Spirit be glory, honour, might, and eternal majesty both now and for all generations and ages to come. Amen.

With this doxology compare 1 Clement of Rome lxii. and lxv. (Loeb Classical Library, Apostolic Fathers, vol. i. pp. 117 and 121).
EXHORTATION TO ENDURANCE

OR

TO THE NEWLY BAPTIZED

INTRODUCTION

The following fragment was discovered by Barnard in the Escurial Library with the heading "Precepts of Clement," and was issued by him as an appendix to his edition of "The Rich Man" (Texts and Studies, edited by J. Armitage Robinson D.D., vol. v. No. 2). He conjectured that it might be part of a work mentioned by Eusebius (H.E. vi. 13) as being written by Clement of Alexandria and entitled "Exhortation to Endurance, or, To the Newly Baptized." Stählin has accordingly printed it in his edition of Clement under this title. There can be little doubt but that Barnard's conjecture was right, as the style and thoughts are quite suitable both to Clement and to the subject. If this is so, we have a notable addition to our knowledge of Clement as teacher. Small though the fragment is, it is enough
EXHORTATION TO ENDURANCE

to present a clear and beautiful picture of the ideal of Christian conduct as he understood it; indeed, it would be hard to find another work which, in the same short compass, could give advice that so perfectly described the good manners, the self-control, the purity of heart, the strenuous activity, the hopeful courage and the wide sympathy of the true Christian gentleman.

The fragment has been translated in full by J. Patrick in his *Clement of Alexandria*, pp. 183–185.
Ο ΠΡΟΤΡΕΠΤΙΚΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΥΠΟΜΟΝΗΝ
Η
ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΝΕΩΣΤΙ ΒΕΒΑΙΤΙΣΜΕΝΟΥΣ

ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΛΜΑΤΑ

Stählin
vol. iii.
p. 221

'Ησυχίαν μὲν λόγοις ἐπιτήδευε, ἡσυχίαν δὲ ἔργοις,
ὡσαυτώς δὲ ἐν γλώττῃ καὶ βαδίσματι· σφοδρότητα
dὲ ἀπόφευγε προπετή· οὕτως γὰρ ὁ νοῦς διαμενεὶ
βέβαιος, καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς σφοδρότητος ταραχόδης
γενόμενος ἁσθενὴς ἐσται καὶ βραχὺς περὶ φρόνησιν
καὶ σκοτεινὸν ὄρων¹. οὐδὲ ἠττηθήσεται μὲν γαστρι-
μαργάς, ἠττηθήσεται δὲ ἐπιξένοντος θυμοῦ, ἠττη-
θήσεται δὲ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν, ἐτοιμὸν αὐτοῖς
ἀρπαγμα προκείμενοι. τὸν γὰρ νοῦν δεὶ τῶν
παθῶν ἐπικρατεῖν ψυχῆν ἐπὶ ζύγου ἡρῴου²
cαθῆμενον ἀφορῶντα πρὸς θεόν. μηδὲν ἡξυχολίας
ἀνάπλεος ἐσο περὶ ὅργα, μηδὲ νοβρός³ ἐν λόγοις,
μηδὲ ἐν βαδίσμασιν ὁκνοῦ πεπληρωμένοις, ἵνα σοι
ῥυθμὸς ἀγαθὸς τὴν ἡσυχίαν κοσμῇ καὶ θειώδες τι

¹ σκοτεινὸν ὄρων J. A. Robinson. σκοτεινῶν ὄρων ms.
² ὠρόνου Barnard. ὠρόν ms.
³ μηδὲ νοβρός Barnard. μὴ δὲν νοβρὸς ms.

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EXHORTATION TO ENDURANCE

OR

TO THE NEWLY BAPTIZED

PRECEPTS OF CLEMENT

Cultivate quietness in word, quietness in deed, likewise in speech and gait; and avoid impetuous eagerness. For then the mind will remain steady, and will not be agitated by your eagerness and so become weak and of narrow discernment and see darkly; nor will it be worsted by gluttony, worsted by boiling rage, worsted by the other passions, lying a ready prey to them. For the mind, seated on high on a quiet throne looking intently towards God, must control the passions. By no means be swept away by temper in bursts of anger, nor be sluggish in speaking, nor all nervousness in movement; so that your quietness may be adorned by good proportion and your bearing may appear something divine

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CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

καὶ ιερὸν τὸ σχῆμα φαίνηται. φυλάττου δὲ καὶ τῆς ύπερηφανίας τὰ σύμβολα, σχῆμα ύπαυχευόν οὐ καὶ κεφαλὴν ἐξηρμένην καὶ βῆμα ποδῶν ἀβρον καὶ μετέωρον.

"Ἡπία σοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας ἑστω τὰ ῥήματα, καὶ προσηγορίας γλυκείαν. αἰδὼς δὲ πρὸς γυναῖκας καὶ βλέμμα τετραμμένον εἰς γην. λάλει δὲ περιεσκεμένως ἀπαντά, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τὸ χρῆσμον p. 222 ἀποδίδου, τῇ χρείᾳ τῶν ἀκουόντων τὸ φθέγμα μετρῶν, ἀχρὶ ἀνα ἐκάκουντον ἤ, καὶ μήτε διαφεύγον τὴν ἀκοὴν τῶν παρόντων ὑπὸ σμύρκοτητος, μήτε ὑπερβάλλον μειζόν τῇ κραυγῇ. φυλάττου δὲ ὅπως μηδὲν ποτε λαλήσῃς ὁ μή προεσκέψῃ καὶ προενόησας. μηδὲ προχείρως καὶ μεταξὺ τῶν τοῦ ἐτέρου λόγων ὑπὸβαλλε τοὺς σαυτοὺ. δεὶ γὰρ ἀνα μέρος ἀκούειν καὶ διαλέγεσθαι, χρόνῳ μερίζοντα λόγον καὶ σιωπῆς μάνθανε δὲ ἁσμένως, καὶ ἀφθόνος δίδασκε, μηδὲ ὑπὸ φθόνον ποτὲ σοφίαν ἀποκρύπτον πρὸς τοὺς ἐτέρους, μηδὲ μαθήσεως ἀφίστασο δι’ αἰδὼ. ὑπείκε πρεσβυτέροις ἵσα πατράσιν. τίμα θεράποντας θεοῦ κάταρχε σοφίας καὶ ἅρτης. μηδὲ ἑρικτικὸς ἐσο πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, μηδὲ χλεναστῇς κατ’ αὐτῶν καὶ γελωτοποίος. ψείδος δὲ καὶ δόλου καὶ ὠβρὶν ἵσχυρῶς παραίτου. σὺν εὐφημίᾳ δὲ φέρε καὶ τὸν ὑπερήφανον καὶ ὑβριστὴν ὁ ὅσ τε καὶ μεγαλόψυχος ἀνήρ.

Κείσθω δὲ σοι πάντα εἰς θεὸν καὶ ἕργα καὶ λόγοι

1 μετρῶν J. A. Robinson. μετρῶν ms.
2 ἀν Wilamowitz. δὴ ms. 3 η Wilamowitz. εἰη ms.
4 διαφεύγον Wilamowitz. διαφεύγων ms.
5 ὑπερβάλλον Wilamowitz. ὑποβάλλων ms.

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and sacred. Guard also against the signs of arrogance, a haughty bearing, a lofty head, a dainty and high-treading footstep.

Let your speech be gentle towards those you meet, and your greetings kind; be modest towards women, and let your glance be turned to the ground. Be thoughtful in all your talk, and give back a useful answer, adapting the utterance to the hearers' need, just so loud that it may be distinctly audible, neither escaping the ears of the company by reason of feebleness nor going to excess with too much noise. Take care never to speak what you have not weighed and pondered beforehand; nor interject your own words on the spur of the moment and in the midst of another's; for you must listen and converse in turn, with set times for speech and for silence. Learn gladly, and teach ungrudgingly; a never hide wisdom from others by reason of a grudging spirit, nor through false modesty stand aloof from instruction. Submit to elders just as to fathers. b Honour God's servants. Be first to practise wisdom and virtue. Do not wrangle with your friends, nor mock at them and play the buffoon. Firmly renounce falsehood, guile and insolence. Endure in silence, as a gentle and high-minded man, the arrogant and insolent.

Let everything you do be done for God, both deeds

a This generous precept finds an echo in Chaucer's
And gladly wolde he lerne, and gladly teche.

(Canterbury Tales, Prologue l. 308.)

b Cp. 1 Timothy v. 1. In several places this fragment reminds us of the Pastoral Epistles.

6 τῶν inserted by Barnard.
7 σαύρων Stählin. abiōv ms.
8 ἄνω Barnard. ἐνα ms. 9 ως inserted by Schwartz.

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καὶ πάντα ἀνάφερε Χριστῷ τὰ σαυτοῦ, καὶ πυκνῶς ἐπὶ θεοῦ τρέπεται τὴν ψυχήν, καὶ τὸ νόημα ἐπέρειδε τῇ Χριστοῦ δυνάμει ὡσπερ ἐν λυμένι τῳ τῷ θείῳ φωτὶ τοῦ σωτήρος ἀναπαυόμενον ἀπὸ πάσης λαλίας τε καὶ πράξεως. καὶ μὴν ἥμεραν πολλάκις [μὲν] ἀνθρώπων κοίνων τὴν σεαυτοῦ φρόνησιν, θεῷ δὲ ἐπὶ πλείοντον ἐν νυκτὶ ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν ἴμερα· μὴ γὰρ ἕτος σε ἐπικρατεῖτω πολὺς τῶν πρὸς θεόν εὐχῶν τε καὶ ὑμνῶν· θανάτῳ γὰρ ὁ μακρὸς ἕτος ἐφαμιλλός. χριστοῦ άεὶ καθίστασθαι <τοῦ> τὴν θείαν αὐγὴν καταλάμποντος εἴς οὐρανόν· εὐ-φροσύνη γὰρ ἔστων σοι διήνεκὴς καὶ ἀπαντότος ὁ Χριστός.

Μηδὲ λυτὰ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς τόνον ἐν εὐωχία καὶ ποτῶν ἀνέσει, ἵκανον δὲ ἤργον τῷ σώματι τὸ χρειώδες. καὶ μὴ πρόσθεν ἐπείγουν πρὸς τροφὸς πρὶν ἡ καὶ δείπνου παρῆ καιρὸς· ἄρτος δὲ ἔστω σοι τὸ δείπνον, καὶ ποιά γῆς προσέστωσαν καὶ τὰ ἐκ δέντρων ὥραία. ἢν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τροφὴν εὐσταθῶς καὶ μὴ λυπωδός γαστρομαργίαν ἐπιφαίνων· μηδὲ σαρκοβόρος μηδὲ φίλοινος ἐσο, ὅποτε μὴ νόσος τις ἱσαν ἐπὶ ταύτην ἁγιό. ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἴδονων τὰς ἐν λόγοις θείους καὶ ὑμνοῖς εὐφροσύνας αἴροι τῇ παρὰ θεοῦ σοι χορηγούμενας σοφία, οὐρανῶς τε ἀεὶ σε φρονίστας ἀναγέων πρὸς οὐρανόν.

Καὶ τὰς πολλὰς περὶ σώματος ἀνεὶ μερίμνας τεθαρσηκῶς ἐλπίσι ταῖς πρὸς θεοῦ, ὅτι σοι γε τὰ

1 πολλάκις [μὲν] after ἥμεραν Stählin: after θεῷ δὲ ms.
2 <τοῦ> inserted by Barnard. 3 ίδι Mayor. ἵσθι ms.
4 εὐσταθῶς Wilamowitz. ἀσταθῶς ms.
5 νόσος Barnard. νόσου ms.
6 χορηγούμενας Stählin. χορηγουμένη ms.

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and words; and refer all that is yours to Christ; and constantly turn your soul to God; and lean your thought on the power of Christ, as if in some harbour by the divine light of the Saviour it were resting from all talk and action. And often by day communicate your thoughts to men, but most of all to God at night as well as by day;\(^a\) for let not much sleep prevail to keep you from your prayers and hymns to God, since long sleep is a rival of death. Show yourself always a partner of Christ who makes the divine ray shine from heaven;\(^b\) let Christ be to you continual and unceasing joy.

Relax not the tension of your soul with feasting and indulgence in drink, but consider what is needful to be enough for the body. And do not hasten early to meals before the time for dinner comes; but let your dinner be bread, and let earth’s grasses and the ripe fruits of trees be set before you; and go to your meal with composure, showing no sign of raging gluttony. Be not a flesh-eater nor a lover of wine, when no sickness leads you to this as a cure.\(^c\) But in place of the pleasures that are in these, choose the joys that are in divine words and hymns,\(^d\) joys supplied to you by wisdom from God; and let heavenly meditation ever lead you upward to heaven.

And give up the many anxious cares about the body by taking comfort in hopes towards God; because for you He will provide all necessary things

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\(^a\) Cp. 1 Timothy v. 5.
\(^b\) This and the previous sentence may allude to Ephesians v. 14.
\(^c\) Is there an allusion to 1 Timothy v. 23?
\(^d\) Cp. Ephesians v. 18, 19.
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p. 228 ἀναγκαία παρέξει διαρκῆ τροφῆν τε τὴν εἰς ἱερήν καὶ κάλυμμα σώματος καὶ χειμερινοὺ ψύχους ἀλεξητήρια. τοῦ γὰρ ὅτι σοῦ βασιλέως γῇ τε ἀπασα καὶ ὅσα ἐκφύτευται· ὅς μέλη δὲ αὐτοῦ 1 τῶν αὐτοῦ θεραπόντων ὑπερβαλλόντως περιέπει καθάπερ ἱερὰ καὶ νοοῦς αὐτοῦ. διὰ δὴ τούτῳ μηδὲ νόσους ὑπερβαλλούσας δεδιδὴ μηδὲ γῆρως ἐφοδοῦν χρῶν προσδοκώμενο· παύσεται γὰρ καὶ νόσος, ὅταν ὀλοψύχω προθέσει ποιῶμεν τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐντολάς.

Ταῦτα εἰδὼς καὶ πρὸς νόσους ἑσχυρὰν κατασκεύαζε τὴν ψυχήν, εὐθάρσησον ὡσπερ τις ἀνήρ ἐν σταδίοις ἄριστος ἀτρέπτῳ τῇ δυνάμει τοὺς πόνους υφίστασθαι. μηδὲ ὑπὸ λύπης πάνω πιέζου τὴν ψυχήν, εἰτε νόσους ἑπικειμένη βαρύνει εἰτε ἄλλο τι συμπίπτει δυσχερές, ἀλλὰ γενναίως ἀνθίστα τοῖς πόνοις τὸ νόημα, χάριτας ἀνάγων θεῷ καὶ ἐν μέσωι τοῖς ἐπιπόνοις πράγμασι ἀτε ἰδον σοφότερα τε ἀνθρώπων προανενεργεῖ καὶ ἄπερ οὐ δυνατῶν οὐδὲ ράδιον ἀνθρώπων εὑρεῖν. εἴλει δὲ κακουμένους, 2 καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βοήθειαν ἐπὶ ἀνθρώποις αὐτοῦ· ἐπιφύσει γὰρ αὐτοῦτι τῷ φίλῳ τὴν χάριν, καὶ τοῖς κακουμένοις 3 ἑπικουρίαν παρέξει, τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν γνώριμον ἀνθρώποις καθιστάναι βουλόμενος, ὡς ἂν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ θεῶν ἀνίσωσιν καὶ τῆς αἰωνίου μακαριότητος ἀπολαύσωσιν, ἐπεῖδαι ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ υἱὸς παραγένεσαι ἀγαθὰ τοῖς ίδιοις ἀποκαθιστῶν.

1 Barnard and Stählin insert τὰ σῶματα after αὐτοῦ.
2 κακουμένους Stählin. καλουμένουs ms.
3 κακουμένους Stählin. καλουμένουs ms.

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in sufficiency, food to support life, covering for the body, and protection against winter cold. For to your King belongs the whole earth and all that is produced from it; and God treats the bodily parts of His servants with exceeding care, as if they were His, like His own shrines and temples. On this account do not dread severe diseases, nor the approach of old age, which must be expected in time; for even disease will come to an end when with whole-hearted purpose we do His commandments.

Knowing this, make your soul strong even in face of diseases; be of good courage, like a man in the arena, bravest to submit to his toils with strength unmoved. Be not utterly crushed in soul by grief, whether disease lies heavily upon you, or any other hardship befalls, but nobly confront toils with your understanding, even in the midst of your struggles rendering thanks to God; since His thoughts are wiser than men’s, and such as it is not easy nor possible for men to find out. Pity those who are in distress, and ask for men the help that comes from God; for God will grant grace to His friend when he asks, and will provide succour for those in distress, wishing to make His power known to men, in the hope that, when they have come to full knowledge, they may return to God, and may enjoy eternal blessedness when the Son of God shall appear and restore good things to His own.

b Cp. 1 Corinthians vi. 15 and 19.
c Cp. Romans ix. 22.
APPENDIX ON THE GREEK MYSTERIES

Meaning of the Term "Mysteries."—The term is applied to certain religious rites, the details and meaning of which are kept secret from all except those who have been formally initiated. Μυστήριον is derived from μύειν, to close the lips (cp. mure, mutter), and thus the idea of secrecy is contained in the word itself. Clement suggests three derivations different from this,¹ but they are plainly no more than random guesses. Rites analogous to the Greek Mysteries are found among primitive peoples all over the world. In Greece, however, the Mysteries reached a high degree of development, and proved themselves able for many centuries to provide some satisfaction to the cravings of men for communion with the divine.

Origin of the Mysteries.—The Mysteries are generally connected with the gods called chthonic; i.e. earth divinities, whose worship goes back to a time before the arrival of the anthropomorphic gods of Greece. M. Foucart holds that the Eleusinian Mysteries were

¹ See p. 31.
imported from Egypt,¹ and that Demeter is the same as the Egyptian Isis. But while it is possible, we may even say probable, that the intercourse which existed between Egypt and Greece from the earliest times helped to shape the ideas of the Mysteries, most authorities believe that at Eleusis, as elsewhere, an ancient nature-worship, with magical rites designed to secure the fertility of the soil, was the source from which later developments sprang. When Greece was overrun by warlike tribes from the north, the inhabitants of the plain of Eleusis kept secret, we may suppose, these rites upon which so much depended, entrusting the performance of them to certain priestly families ² who were careful to preserve the old ceremonies unaltered. By degrees, as the prestige of these Mysteries grew, other ceremonies were added, and legends, symbolic explanations, and religious teaching about the future life gradually gathered round the primitive institution.

The Mysteries in Classical Times.—The Mysteries of Eleusis overshadowed all others in importance during the classical period, a fact partly due, no

¹ P. Foucart, Les Mystères d'Éleusis, chs. i.—v. Clement mentions the tradition that Melampus brought the Mysteries of Demeter from Egypt (p. 33).

² These families, the Eumolpidae and the Heralds, are mentioned on p. 41. It is sometimes thought that the Heralds were an Athenian family who were given a share in the management of the Mysteries when Eleusis became part of the Athenian state. On the other hand, they are often closely coupled with the Eumolpidae, and Clement (p. 40) seems to include both when he speaks of τὸ ἱεροφαντικὸν ὀν γένος. This use of the singular noun also occurs in a phrase (τὸ γένος τὸ Κηρυκὸν καὶ Ἐμολπιδῶν) quoted from an inscription by Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, vol. iii. p. 163.

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doubt, to the connexion of Eleusis with Athens. The chief deities concerned in them were Demeter, her daughter Core (i.e. the Maiden) or Persephone, and Pluto or Hades. The first two are an older and a younger form of the earth-mother, the great goddess who under various names and titles (Rhea, Cybele, etc.) was worshipped from very early days in all the lands bordering on the eastern Mediterranean.\(^1\) Pluto is the god of the underworld, the giver of wealth (in the form of fruits of the earth), as his name, connected with *ploutos*, wealth, implies. By the seventh century B.C. the ancient ritual had given rise, under the influence of the Greek spirit, to the legend embodied in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. Persephone, while gathering flowers, is seized by Pluto and carried down to the underworld. Demeter is in deep distress at the loss of her daughter, and wanders everywhere to seek her.\(^2\) Failing to find her, she refuses to help the corn to grow, and mankind is in danger of perishing, when Zeus prevails upon Pluto to restore the maiden to the upper world for eight months of each year. The growth of the corn, so plainly pictured here, seems to have been the chief original concern of the rites, though there were doubtless other elements in them with which the poet did not deal.

About the sixth century B.C. another deity was introduced into the Mysteries, viz. Iacchus,\(^3\) who is a form of Dionysus. Under yet another form, that

\(^1\) Thus Demeter is the mother of Zeus (p. 35; cp. Arnobius, *Adv. Nationes* v. 20), instead of his sister as in the later Greek mythology.

\(^2\) The legend is alluded to by Clement; see pp. 31 and 37.

\(^3\) See p. 47.
of Zagreus, Dionysus was worshipped by the Orphics, whose teaching dealt with the soul’s destiny in the future life. Though we know little of the actual course of events, it is likely that the deepening of religious thought in Greece in the sixth century, of which Orphism was one sign, had its effect at Eleusis. The legend of the rending of Dionysus is told by Clement,¹ who omits, however, to say that from the head, preserved by Athena, a fresh Dionysus was born. The story is, in fact, one of death and resurrection, akin to those of Osiris in Egypt and Attis in Phrygia;² and in spite of its details, repulsive as they are to us, it probably served as a basis for teaching on the subject of human immortality.

The events of the Eleusinian festivals were briefly as follows:—

A ceremony called the Lesser Mysteries was celebrated at Agra³ on the Ilissus, close to Athens, in February each year. This was regarded as a preparation for the more important rites of Eleusis. A late author says that the Agra festival consisted of "a representation of the things that happened to Dionysus."⁴

The Greater Mysteries began on the 13th day of the month Boedromion (corresponding to our September), when Athenian youths went in procession to Eleusis and brought back the "sacred objects" (τὰ ἱερά). These ἱερά were perhaps the

¹ See pp. 37–39.
² Clement mentions (p. 41) that some identified Dionysus with Attis.
³ See p. 71.
⁴ Stephanus Byz., quoted in A. B. Cook, Zeus, i. 692, and in Farnell, op. cit. vol. iii. p. 352. The Mysteries held at Halimus in Attica (p. 71) were also concerned with Dionysus; see Arnobius, Adv. Nationes v. 28.
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playthings of Dionysus mentioned by Clement.\(^1\) They were enclosed in chests\(^2\) and carefully guarded from sight. Their resting-place while in Athens was the temple of Demeter and Core, called the Eleusinum.\(^3\) On the 15th a gathering was held of candidates for initiation, at which a herald proclaimed the conditions—that no criminal or barbarian could be admitted. Certain instruction was then given by officials called mystagogues (i.e. introducers or guides) as to the various acts and formulas,\(^4\) a knowledge of which was necessary in the course of the initiation; and to this may have been added a symbolic explanation of the ἰερά and of the dramatic scenes represented in the Mysteries. There were also some fasts and abstinences to be observed. Strict secrecy was enjoined on all. On the following day the cry “To the sea, mystae” (ἀλαδε μύσται) was raised, and the candidates underwent a ceremonial purification by bathing in the sea at Phalerum, and by offering a pig to the goddesses.

The return journey to Eleusis took place on the 19th. Besides the ἰερά there was carried a statue of Iacchus, to whom hymns were sung along the road.\(^5\) The next four days were occupied with the Mysteries proper. The site of the Hall of Initiation (τελεστήριον) has been found and examined. The

\(^1\) Pp. 37–39. Foucart (op. cit. pp. 408–12) denies that Clement is here speaking of the Eleusinian Mysteries. He thinks that the most important of the ἰερά was an archaic wooden image of Demeter.

\(^2\) These “mystic chests” are mentioned on pp. 41, 43 and 45.

\(^3\) Clement (p. 99) describes this temple as being “under the Acropolis.”

\(^4\) See p. 43.

\(^5\) Aristophanes, Frogs 325 ff.
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Hall was large and capable of seating about three thousand people. There is no trace of secret passages, or of any arrangement for producing startling scenic effects. The roof, or perhaps a second story, was supported by many columns; and there was a lantern (ονταίον) above the shrine (ἀνάκτορον) of Demeter.

There are many references to the Mysteries in ancient writers, but they are for the most part vague and general. Only the Christian Fathers profess to give details, and even they do not attempt a complete description, but select those parts which will help their attack on the old religion. The following list will give some idea of the ceremonies, though we cannot be sure of the order in which they took place.

(i.) Solemn sacrifice to Demeter and Core.
(ii.) Ritual acts to be performed and a formula to be said. Included in the acts was the drinking of a draught similar to that which Demeter had drunk when wandering in search of Core.
(iii.) A journey representing the progress of the soul after death through the lower regions to the abode of the blessed. After much wandering in darkness amid scenes of terror

1 Plutarch (Pericles 13) speaks of the "upper columns" as distinct from those on the ground.
2 See p. 43.
3 There may also have been the sacramental eating of a cake from the chest, if the emendation ἐγγενοδέμενος (p. 42, n. b) is right. But this is by no means certain. Arnobius (Adv. Nationes v. 26), who seems to follow Clement in this passage, leaves out the expression, which may mean that he read ἐργασάμενος and could not understand it. Probably some ritual action with the contents, whatever they were, of the chest is purposely concealed under a vague word.

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the initiate was suddenly introduced into brilliant light.¹

(iv.) An exposition of the ἵερα, or sacred objects, by the hierophant, who derives his name (δ ἵερα φαίνων) from this office.

(v.) Dramatic representations of the Rape of Core, the sorrowful wandering of Demeter, and the finding of Core.²

(vi.) The exposition of an ear of corn, a symbol of Demeter.³

(vii.) Representation of a marriage between Zeus and Demeter,⁴ and the announcement that Demeter (under her name Brimo) has borne a son Brimos.⁵

(viii.) Magical cries uttered by the initiates, e.g. νε, κυν (rain! conceive!),⁶ and a ceremony consisting of the pouring of water from two jars on to the earth.⁷ This was evidently an ancient fertility charm.

It is probable that a pilgrimage was also made to the sacred places round Eleusis visited by Demeter in her wanderings. It may have been on this journey, when the well called Callichorus⁸ was reached, that

¹ Clement's language on p. 257 alludes to this.
² See p. 31. There seems also to have been a torchlight search for Core, in which the initiates joined.
³ Hippolytus, Ref. om. haer. v. 8.
⁴ The complete evidence for this can be found in Foucart, op. cit. pp. 475 ff. Not all authorities admit, however, that this ceremony formed part of the Eleusinian Mysteries. But there must have been something to account for the language of Clement on pp. 45-47, and the sacred marriage, of which other Christian writers speak in definite terms, would account for it.
⁵ Hippolytus, op. cit. v. 8. ⁶ Ib. v. 7.
⁷ Athenaeus, p. 496 A. ⁸ Pausanias i. 38. 6.
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the initiates were forbidden to make any signs of grief.¹ As a rule they were required to imitate the goddess, and this prohibition is singular.

There were two grades of initiates at Eleusis. The story of Zeus and Demeter, together with the exposition of the ear of corn, seems to have been revealed only to the highest grade, the ἐποπταί (i.e. those admitted to a vision of the sacred things; from ἐποπτεύειν).

The Eleusinian Mysteries were held in high repute for many centuries, and ancient writers (if we exclude the Christian Fathers) speak frequently of the good effect they produced on those who were initiated.² The annual death and rebirth of nature, expressed in various mythological forms such as the rape of Core and the rending and rebirth of Dionysus, was made to point to a future life for man. By the actual initiation, a bond was created between the two goddesses and their worshippers, which assured the latter of divine protection on earth and beyond the grave. If the child of the sacred marriage was Plutus (wealth),³ then the union of the deities would symbolize the blessings they together brought to mankind. But we need not suppose that the ancients inquired so curiously as we do into the exact meaning of their holy rites. They were for the most part content to observe in all simplicity old customs that came to them with divine sanction, and upon the due performance of which they believed so much depended, both of social well-being and of the soul's future destiny.

It should be noticed that, so far as Eleusis is con-

¹ See p. 41. ² e.g. Cicero, De legibus ii. 36. ³ Foucart, op. cit. p. 479.
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cerned, Clement, in spite of his vehement language, makes no charge of immoral practices. He considers the legends to be absurd and repulsive; while the sacred objects and the marriage of Zeus and Demeter seem to him indecent. But what he attacks is chiefly the interpretation he puts upon these things, an interpretation, we must admit, that is not altogether unreasonable. The worst item in his indictment—the story of Baubo—comes, as he frankly says, from the Orphic poems.¹ The Hymn to Demeter gives a different account of Demeter drinking the draught—she is persuaded to do so by the harmless pleasantry of a servant maid.² This was no doubt the official account at Eleusis.

Many other mysteries existed in classical times, notably the Phrygian, the Samothracian, and those that were celebrated at Andania in Messenia. None of them enjoyed such widespread fame as those of Eleusis. There was, of course, a certain broad resemblance between all mysteries, and the Eleusinian may be taken as the highest instance of this type of religious worship.

Mysteries in the Hellenistic Age.—After the conquests of Alexander, the popularity of mystery cults increased, reaching its height towards the end of the second century A.D. Thus Clement was making his attack upon them at a critical time, when they were in full vigour and serious rivals of Christianity. Most, if not all, of those he mentions were doubtless of ancient origin, but there had been much cross influence at work. Clement speaks of mysteries associated with Aphrodite, Deo or Demeter, Attis

¹ See p. 43.
² Hymn to Demeter 202 ff.
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and Cybele, the Corybantes, the Cabeiri, Dionysus, Zeus Sabazius and Ge Themis. He also tells us that the mysteries of Attis and Cybele were similar to those of Zeus Sabazius and Demeter.¹ Both of these had their home in Phrygia. The legend of Zeus consorting with Demeter under the form of a bull, and then again with Persephone under the form of a snake, is common to Phrygia and Eleusis.² But the cult seems to have been differently worked out, if we may judge by the two formulas that Clement has left us. In Phrygia the worshipper underwent a mystical marriage with the god, who was represented by his proper symbol, a serpent.³ At Eleusis the marriage was between the two deities. We may suspect that the omission of repulsive elements, and the general refinement and idealization of the legends, was carried further at Eleusis than elsewhere.

The Mysteries and Christianity.—Two questions may be asked, and briefly answered, here. (i.) Was Clement’s attack on the Mysteries justified? (ii.) What influence did the Mysteries have on Christianity?

(i.) Rites which were held in respect by men like Sophocles and Cicero cannot have been merely the mass of stupidity and immorality that Clement might at first sight lead us to suppose. He makes no

¹ See p. 35.
² This seems to be Clement’s meaning; see pp. 35–37.
³ See the sign on p. 35, “the god over the breast.” According to this, the worshipper must have assumed the character of a feminine consort of the god. But the formula “I stole into the bridal chamber” suggests a mystical union with the goddess, in which the worshipper must have been considered as masculine. The difficulty is dealt with by A. B. Cook, Zeus, i. 392 ff.
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attempt to describe the Mysteries fully, nor does he give them credit for any good they contained. Yet it can hardly be doubted that he was on the whole right. What angers him is not so much the general ideas and teaching of the Mysteries (with much of which he certainly must have been in sympathy) as the symbols displayed in them—the childish playthings, the phalloi, the representation of sacred marriages, etc. These things had their origin in a rude society, where they were natural enough. But a time comes when a civilized people ought no longer to be content with the relics, however venerable, of a past age, when in fact such relics suggest quite different thoughts from those associated with them in the beginning, and when they have as a consequence to be continually explained afresh in order to meet moral or intellectual objections. The Greeks of the second century A.D. were no longer an unsophisticated people, and the ritual of the Mysteries was not an adequate expression of their highest religious ideas.

(ii.) Much has been written on this question and widely different views are held. Christianity was preached by St. Paul to people who were well acquainted with the terminology of the Mysteries, and probably in many cases with the rites themselves. St. Paul uses words like τέλειος and μυστήριον, adapting them without difficulty to Christian teaching. Clement goes so far as to describe the whole Christian scheme of salvation in mystery language. The bitter hostility of the Church towards the Mysteries would forbid any direct or conscious borrowing; but

1 e.g. 1 Corinthians ii. 6, 7; xv. 51.
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when words are taken, ideas are apt to come with them. It is not without significance that the word "mysteries" was afterwards used to describe the Christian sacraments, and above all the rite of Holy Communion. Moreover, both Christianity and the mystery religions were aiming at the same end: both promised "salvation" to their adherents. Christianity had a far truer idea than the Mysteries of what salvation meant, and this is one reason why it survived while the Mysteries died. But since both had to deal with the same human hopes and fears, the same problems of sin, purification, death and immortality, it would be surprising if the one owed nothing at all to the other. A comparison of the Synoptic Gospels with the developed theology of the fourth and fifth centuries will make it plain that, while Christianity had from the first its own distinctive character, which it never lost, it did not refuse the help of any elements in current thought and practice by means of which its message could be presented in a clearer or more acceptable form.
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