THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY
EDITED BY
E. CAPPS, PH.D., LL.D. T. E. PAGE, LITT.D. W. H. D. ROUSE, LITT.D.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA
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 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.
CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION . . . . . . xi

BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . . . xix

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Sanctuaries, oracles, sacred springs and trees are now out of date.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.
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 dei-fication 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
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.
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 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.

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.
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

INDICES . 391-409
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 Pantaenius 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 Pantaenius 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.
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 betray's 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.

xiv
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
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 in-
stinctively 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 funda-
mental ideas of the mysteries were not refused
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-ellation 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
INTRODUCTION

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.
The chief editors of Clement of Alexandria are as follows:—


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:—


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.
ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΣ
ΠΡΟΤΡΕΠΤΙΚΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΑΣ

I

'Αμφίων ὁ Θηβαῖος καὶ Ἄριων ὁ Μηθυμναῖος ἁμφω μὲν ἡστην ὕδικῳ, μῦθος δὲ ἁμφω· καὶ τὸ ἄσμα εἰσέτι τούτῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀδεται | χορῷ, τεχνῇ τῇ μουσικῇ ὁ μὲν ἵθυν δελέασας, ὁ δὲ Θηβαῖος τειχίσας. Θράκιος δὲ ἄλλος σοφιστής (ἄλλος οὖτος μῦθος Ἑλληνικός) ἐτυθάσευε τὰ θηρία γυμνῇ τῇ ωδῇ καὶ δὴ τὰ δένδρα, τὰς φηγούς, μετεφύτευε τῇ μουσικῇ. ἔχομι· ἂν σοι καὶ ἄλλον τούτους ἄδελφον διηγήσασθαι μῦθον καὶ ωδόν, Εὐνόμον τὸν Δοκρόν καὶ τέττιγα τὸν Πυθικόν. πανήγυρις Ἑλληνική ἐπὶ νεκρῷ δράκοντι συνεκροτεῖτο Πυθοῖ, ἐπιτάφιον ἔρπετον ἄδοντος Εὐνόμου· ὑμνος ἡ θρῆνος ὀφεὼς

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.
AMPHION of Thebes and Arion of Methymna were both minstrels. 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\textsuperscript{a} and the other to build the walls of Thebes.\textsuperscript{b} There was also a Thracian wizard,\textsuperscript{c}—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.\textsuperscript{d} A solemn assembly of Greeks, held in honour of a dead serpent, was gathering at Pytho,\textsuperscript{e} and Eunomus sang a funeral ode for the reptile. Whether his song was a hymn

\textsuperscript{a} i.e., Orpheus. Cp. Euripides, \textit{Rhesus} 924, δεινῷ σοφίστῃ Θρηκί.
\textsuperscript{b} Strictly cicala, here and elsewhere.
\textsuperscript{c} i.e., Delphi. According to the Greek legend the serpent was the ancient guardian of the Delphic shrine, and was slain by Apollo.
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.
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, 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
CAP. γὰρ τὰ μὲν δράματα καὶ τοὺς ληναίοντας ποιητάς, τέλεον ἡδὴ παροιμοῦντας, κυττῷ ποὺ ἀναδήσαντες, ἀφραίνοντας ἐκτόπως τελετῇ βακχικῇ, αὐτοῖς σατύροις καὶ θιάσῳ μανόλῃ, σὺν καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ δαμόνων χορῷ, <ἐν> 1 Ἐλυκώνι καὶ Κυθαιρώι κατακλείσωμεν γεγηρακόσων, κατάγωμεν δὲ ἄνωθεν ἐξ οὐρανῶν ἀλήθειαν ἁμα φανοτάτῃ φρονήσει εἰς ὅρος ἄγιον θεοῦ καὶ χορὸν τὸν ἄγιον τὸν προφητικόν. ἡ δὲ ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα τηλαγύες ἀποστίλβουσα φῶς καταναγάζετω πάντη τοὺς ἐν σκότει κυλωδομένους καὶ τῆς πλάνης τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπαλλαττέτω, τὴν ὑπερτάτην ὄρεγουσα δεξιάν, τὴν σύνεσιν, εἰς σωτηρίαν. οἱ δὲ ἀνανεύσατες καὶ ἀνακύψαντες Ἐλυκώνα μὲν καὶ Κυθαιρώνα καταλειπτών, οἰκούντων δὲ Σιων. "ἐκ γὰρ Σιων ἐξελεύσεται νόμος, καὶ λόγος κυρίου ἐξ Ἰερουσαλήμ," λόγος οὐράνιος, ὁ γνήσιος ἄγνωστῆς ἐπὶ τῷ παντὸς κόσμου θεάτρῳ στεφανούμενος. ἢ δὲ γε ἐν Εὐνομίᾳ ὁ ἐμὸς ὁ τὸν Τερπάνδρον νόμον οὐδὲ τὸν Καπίωνος, οὐδὲ μὴν Φρύγιον ἢ Δύδιον ἢ Δώριον, ἀλλὰ τῆς καὶνῆς ἀρμονίας τὸν ἄδιδον νόμον, τὸν φερόνυμον τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ ἀσμα τὸ καινόν, τὸ Δευτικόν, "νηπενθές τ' ἀ- χιλόν τε, κακῶν ἐπίληθες ἀπάντων." γλυκὺ τι καὶ ἀληθινὸν φάρμακον πειθοῦς 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 (ἀρμολαι, 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 6
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.  

\[a\] Homer, *Odyssey* iv. 221.  
\[b\] A slight change in the Greek, suggested by Reinkens, would give the meaning "remedy against grief."
'Εμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκοῦν ο Ὑράκιος ἔκεινος Ὁρφεὺς καὶ ο Ὑθβαῖος καὶ ὁ Μηθυμναῖος, ἀνδρεῖς τινές οὐκ ἀνδρεῖς, ἀπατηλοὶ γεγονέναι, προσαχήματι <τε> μουσικῆς λυμηνάμενοι τὸν βίον, ἐντέχνω τινὶ γοητείᾳ δαμονώντες εἰς διαφθοράς, ὑβρεῖς ὅργανέοντες, πένθη ἐκθειάζοντες, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τὰ εἰδώλα χειραγωγήσαι πρῶτοι, ναὶ μὴν λίθοις καὶ ξύλοις, τούτεστιν ἀγάλμασι καὶ σκιαγραφίαις, ἀνουκοδομήσαι τὴν σκιαότητα τοῦ ἔθους, τὴν καλὴν ὄντως ἐκείνην ἐλευθερίᾳ τῶν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν πεπολυτευμένων ὃδαις καὶ ἐπώδαις ἑσχάτη δουλεία καταξεύσαντες.

'Ἀλλ' οὐ τοιόσοι ὁ ὡδὸς ὁ ἐμὸς οὐδ' εἰς μακρὰν καταλύσων ἀφίκται τὴν δουλείαν τὴν πυκνὰν τῶν τυραννοῦντων δαμῶν, ὡς ἀπὸ τὸν πρᾶον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον τῆς θεοσεβείας μετάγων ἡμᾶς ζυγὸν αὕθια εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνακαλεῖται τοὺς εἰς γῆν ἔρρυμένους. μόνος γοῦν τῶν πῶποτε τὰ ἀργαλεώτατα θηρία, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἑτιθάσευν, πτηνὰ μὲν τοὺς κούφους αὐτῶν, ἔρπετα δὲ τοὺς ἀπατεώνας, καὶ λέοντας μὲν τοὺς θυμικοὺς, σύνας δὲ τοὺς ἱδονικοὺς, λύκους δὲ τοὺς ἀρτακτικοὺς. λίθου δὲ καὶ ξύλα οἱ ἄφρονες· πρὸς δὲ καὶ λίθων ἀναστηθότερος ἀνθρώπος ἀγνοία βεβαπτισμένος. μάρτυς ἡμῖν προφητικὴ παρὰτη φωνῆ, συνφοδὸς ἀληθείας, τοὺς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ ἀνοίᾳ κατατετειμένους οἰκτείρουσα. “δυνατὸς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων ἑγείραι τέκνα τῷ Ἀβραὰμ.” Ὁς κατελεύσας τὴν ἀμαθίαν τὴν πολλὴν

1 [Ὅρφεὺς] Wilamowitz.
2 <τε> inserted by Wilamowitz.

a For examples see pp. 35–43.
b St. Matthew iii. 9; St. Luke iii. 8.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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 men, changes stones, i.e. men without understanding, into virtuous men.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. καὶ τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν τῶν εἰς τὴν ἄλθειαν λειωμένων ἔγειρεν θεοσεβείας σπέρμα ἀρετῆς αἰσθόμενον ἐκ λίθων ἐκείνων, τῶν λίθων πεπιστευκότων ἔθνων. αὕτες οὖν ἱσόλοις τινάς καὶ παλιμβόλους ὕποκριτάς ἐφοδεύοντας δικαιοσύνην "γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν" κέκληκε ποι. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων εἰς τὸν ὁφεὼν μετανοήσαι ἐκών, ἐπόμενος δὴ τῷ λόγῳ "ἀνθρώπος" γίνεται "θεοῦ." "λύκους" δὲ ἄλλους ἀλληγορεῖ προβάτων κωδίους ἡμφιεσμένους, τοὺς ἐν ἀνθρώπων μορφαῖς ἀρπακτικοὺς αἰνιττόμενοι. καὶ πάντα ἡρα τά ἀγριώτατα θηρία καὶ τοὺς τοιοῦτοις λίθους οὐρανός ὁδὴ αὐτὴ μετεμόρφωσεν εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἡμέρους. ἣ μεν γὰρ, ἤμεν ποτε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνόητοι, ἀπειθεῖς, πλανώμενοι, δουλεύοντες ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις ποικίλαις, ἐν κακία καὶ φθόνῳ διάγοντες, στυγητοῖς, μισοῦντες ἀλλήλους," ἢ φησιν ἡ ἀποστολική γραφὴ | "ὅτε δὲ ἡ χρηστότης καὶ ἡ φιλανθρωπία ἐπέφανη τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ, οὐκ ἐξ ἐργών τῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ἣ ἐποιήσαμεν ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔλεος ἐσώσεται ἡμᾶς.

"Ορα τὸ ἄσμα τὸ καίων ὃς σον ἱσχυσεν· ἀνθρώπους ἐκ λίθων καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἐκ θηρίων πεποήκεν. οἱ δὲ τηνάλλωσι νεκροί, οἳ τῆς ὄντως οὐσίας ἀμέτοχοι ζωῆς, ἀκροατικὸν μόνον γενόμενοι τοῦ ἁσματος ἀνεβίωσαν. τοῦτο τοι καὶ τὸ πάν ἐκόσμησεν ἐμμελῶς καὶ τῶν στοιχείων τῆς διαφωνίας εἰς τὰξιν ἐνέτευξε συμφωνίας, ὅτα ὅλος ὁ κόσμος αὐτῷ ἀρμονία γενήται· καὶ θάλατταν μὲν ἀνήκεν λειμένην, γῆς δὲ ἐπιβαίνειν κεκώλυκεν αὐτὴν, γῆν δὲ ἐμπαλιν ἐστερέωσεν φερομένην καὶ ὄρον αὐτὴν 1

1 αὐτὴν Stählin. αὐτὴ mss.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

whose hearts are petrified against the truth, did raise 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" 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." Others are figuratively called "wolves" 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." 

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

The New Song also gave order and harmony to the universe.

---

\[ a \] 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. 1 ἐπηξεν θαλάττης· ναὶ μὴν καὶ πυρὸς ὅμηρην ἐμάλαξεν ἀέρι, οἷονεὶ Δώρων ἀρμονίαν κεράσας Λυδίων· καὶ τὴν ἀέρος ἀπήνῃ ψυχότητα τῇ παραπλοκῇ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐτιθάσευεν, τοὺς νεάτους τῶν ὦλων φθόγγους τούτους κυρνάς ἐμμελῶς. καὶ δὴ τὸ ἄσμα τὸ ἀκήρατον, ἑρείσμα τῶν ὦλων καὶ ἀρμονία τῶν πάντων, ἀπὸ τῶν μέσων ἐπὶ τὰ πέρατα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκρῶν ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα διαταθέν, ἥρμοσατο τὸδε τὸ πάν, οὐ κατὰ τὴν Ὀράκιον μουσικήν, τὴν παραπλήσιον 'Ιουβαλ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πάτριον τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν, ἢν ἐξήλωσε Δαυὶδ. ὁ δὲ ἐκ Δαυὶδ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, λύραν μὲν καὶ κιθάραν, τὰ ἄψυχα ὄργανα, ὑπεριδών, κόσμον δὲ τόνδε καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν σμικρὸν κόσμον, τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, ψυχῆν τε καὶ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, ἀγίων πνεύματι ἁρμοσάμενος, ψάλλει τῷ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ πολυφώνου ὄργανον καὶ προσάδει τῷ ὀργάνῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ. "σὺ γὰρ εἰ κιθάρα καὶ αὐλὸς καὶ ναὸς ἐμοί", κιθάρα διὰ τὴν ἁρμονίαν, αὐλὸς διὰ τὸ πνεῦμα, ναὸς διὰ τὸν λόγον, ἢν ἡ μὲν κρέκη, τὸ δὲ ἐμπνέῃ, ὁ δὲ χωρήσῃ τὸν κύριον. ναὶ μὴν ὁ Δαυὶδ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὁ κιθαριστῆς, οὐ μικρῶς πρόσθεν ἐμμησθημεν, προὔτρεπεν ὡς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀπέτρεπε δὲ εἰδώλων, πολλοὺ γε ἐδει ὡμενιν αὐτοῦ τοὺς δαίμονας ἁλῆθει πρὸς αὐτοῦ διωκόμενοι μουσική, ἢ τοῦ Σαουλ ἐνεργουμένου ἕκεινος ᾅδων μόνον αὐτὸν ἰάσατο. καλὸν ὁ κύριος ὄργανον ἐμ-

1 τοῦ Σαουλ ἐνεργουμένου Mayor. τῷ Σαουλ ἐνεργουμένῳ M. τῷ ἑαυτὸς ὁ ἐνεργοῦμενος P.
2 ἐκεῖνος Stählin.

a See p. 6, n. c. b See Genesis iv. 21. c The source of this quotation is unknown. It may be a fragment of an early Christian hymn, the metaphors being
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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.

See 1 Samuel xvi. 23.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. πυον τόν ἀνθρωπόν ἑξειργάσατο κατ’ εἰκόνα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ· ἀμέλει καὶ αὐτὸς ὄργανόν ἔστι τοῦ θεοῦ παναρμόνου, ἐμμελὲς καὶ ἁγιόν, σοφία ὑπερκόσμιος, οὐράνιος λόγος.

Τῇ δὲ οὖν τῷ ὄργανον, δ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, δ κύριος, καὶ τὸ ἄσμα τὸ καινὸν βούλεται; ὄφθαλμοὺς ἀναπετάσαι τυφλῶν καὶ ἕτα ἀνοίξαι κωφῶν καὶ σκάζοντας τῷ πόθε ἡ πλανωμένους εἰς δικαίωσύνην χειραγωγήσαι, θεον ἀνθρώπους ἀφραίνουσιν ἐπιδείξαι, παῦσαι φθοράν, νικῆσαι θάνατον, νῖον ἀπειθεῖς διαλλάξαι πατρί. 'φιλάνθρωπον τὸ ὄργανον τοῦ θεοῦ· δ κύριος ἔλεει, παιδευεῖ, προτρέπει, νουθετεῖ, σώζει, φιλάττει καὶ μισθὸν ἡμῖν τῆς μαθήσεως ἐκ περιουσίας βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν ἐπιαγγέλλεται, τοῦτο μόνον ἀπολαύων ἥμων, δ σωζόμεθα. κακία μὲν γὰρ τῆν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβόσκεται φθοράν, ἢ δὲ ἀλήθεια ὑστερ ἡ μέλιτα, λυμαωμένη τῶν ὁντων οὐδέν, ἐπὶ μόνης τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἄγαλλεται σωτηρίας. ἔχεις οὖν τὴν ἐπαγγελιαν, ἔχεις τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν· τῆς χάριτος μεταλάμβανε.

Καὶ μου τὸ ἄσμα τὸ σωτήριον μὴ καινὸν οὕτως υπολάβης ὡς σκεῦος ἡ ὡς οἰκίαν· "πρὸ ἐωσφόρου" γὰρ ἂν, καὶ "ἐν ἀρχῇ ἂν τὸ λόγον καὶ τὸ λόγος ἄν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ θεος ἂν τὸ λόγος". πολαὶ δὲ ἡ πλάνη, καινὸν δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια φανεται. εἶτ’ οὖν ἀρχαίους τοὺς Φρύγας διδάσκοντον αἴγες μωθικαί, εἶτε αὖ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας οἱ προσελήνους,ἀναγράφοντεσ

---

a Psalm cix. 3 (Septuagint).
b St. John i. 1.
c See the story in Herodotus ii. 2. Psammetichus, king of Egypt, being desirous of discovering which was the most ancient people, put two children in charge of a herdsman.
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 pitied, 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"; and, "in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." 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; 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. 1 ποιηταὶ, εἴτε μὴν αὖ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους οἱ καὶ πρώτην ταῦτην ἀναφήναι τὴν γῆν θεοὺς τε καὶ ἀνθρώπους ὄνειρωσσοντες· ἀλλ᾽ οὐ πρὸ γε τοῦ κόσμου τοῦτο τούτων οὐδὲ εἰς, πρὸ δὲ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου καταβολῆς ἴμείς, οἱ τῷ δείν ἔσσεσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ πρότερον γεγεννημένοι τῷ θεῷ, τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου τὰ λογικὰ πλάσματα ἴμεῖς, δὴ ὁν ἄρχαιζομεν, ὅτι “ἐν ἀρχῇ ὁ λόγος ἦν.” ἀλλ᾽ ὁτι μὲν ἦν ὁ λόγος ἀνωθεν, ἄρχηθεα τῶν πάντων ἦν τε καὶ ἔστιν· ὅτι δὲ νῦν ὀνόμα ἔλαβεν τὸ πάλαι καθωσιωμένον, δυνάμεως ἁξιον, ὁ Χριστός, καινὸν ἄσμα μοι κέκληται.

7 Ρ. Ἀʹ τίων ἥ γον ὁ λόγος, ὁ Χριστός, καὶ τοῦ εἶναι πάλαι ἡμᾶς (ἡ γὰρ ἐν θεῷ), καὶ τοῦ εὐ εἶναι· νῦν ἡ ἐπεφάνη ἀνθρώπους αὐτὸς οὕτος ὁ λόγος, ὁ μόνος ἀμφω, θεὸς τε καὶ ἀνθρωπος, ἀπάντων ἡμῖν αὖτις ἀγαθῶν· παρ᾽ οὐ τὸ εὖ ζῆν ἐκδιδασκόμενοι εἰς αἴδιον ζωὴν παραπεμψθηκα. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν θεσπέσιον ἐκείνον τοῦ κυρίου ἀπόστολον “ἡ χάρις ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ σωτήριος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐπεφάνη, πανδεύουσα ἡμᾶς ἢν ἀρνησάμενο τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐπιθυμίας σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως καὶ εὐσεβῶς ξῆσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι, προσδεχόμενοι τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.” τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ ἄσμα τοῦ καινοῦ, ἡ ἐπιφάνεια ἡ νῦν ἐκλάμψασα ἐν ἡμῖν τοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ οὕτος καὶ πρὸντος λόγου· ἐπεφάνη δὲ ἐναγχὸς ὁ προὼν σωτήρ, ἐπι- εφάνη ὁ ἐν τῷ ὄντι ὄν, ὃτι “ὁ λόγος ἡ πρὸς

1 aitios Stählin. οὕτος 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, CHAP. I
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.” a

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.” b

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 c (because “the Word

The Word recently appeared on earth

The Word recentl

b

17
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. ΤΟΝ ΘΕΟΥ, "ΔΙΔΆΣΚΑΛΟΣ, ἘΠΕΦΆΝΗ Ὡ Τᾀ ΠΆΝΤΑ ΔΕΔΗΜΟΥΡΓΗΤΑΙ ΛÓΓΟΣ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΖΗΝ ΕΝ ἌΡΧΗ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΛΆΣΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΣΧῼΝ ὩΣ ΔΗΜΟΥΡΓόΣ, ΤΟ ΕΥ ΖΗΝ ᾖΔΙΔΑΞΕΝ ἘΠΙΦΑΝΕΙΣ ὩΣ ΔΙΔΆΣΚΑΛΟΣ, ΊΝΑ ΤΟ ΑΕΙ ΖΗΝ ὍΣΤΕΡΟΝ ὩΣ ΘΕός ΧΟΡΗΓΗΣΗ.

"Ο ΔΕ ΟΥ ΒΩΝ ΓΕ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ὩΚΤΕΙΡΕΝ ἩΜΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΛΆΝΗΣ, ἈΛΛ' ἈΝΩΘΕΝ ἌΡΧΗΘΕΝ, ΒΩΝ ΔΕ ἩΔΗ ᾖΠΟΛ-

ΛΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ ἘΠΙΦΑΝΕΙΣ ΠΕΡΙΣΕΧΩΚΕΝ. ΤΟ ΓΑΡ ΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ἘΡΣΗΣΤΙΚΟΝ ΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΓΟΥΤΕΪΘΟΝ ΚΑΤΑΔΟΥΛΟΝΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΙΚΙΞΕΤΑΙ ΕΙΣΕΤΙ ΒΩΝ ΤΟΥΣ ἈΝΘΡΩΠΟΥΣ, ᾖΜΟΙ ΔΟΚΕΙΝ, ΒΑΡΒΑΡΙΚΩΣ ΤΙΜΩΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ, Οῼ ΝΕΚΡΟΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΪΧΜΑ-

ΛΩΤΟΥΣ ΣΥΝΔΕΙΝ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΑΙ ΣΩΜΑΣΑΙ, ἙΣΤ' ἂΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΣΣΑΠΩΣΙΝ. Ο ΓΟΥΝ ΠΟΝΗΡΟΣ ΟΥΤΟΙΣ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΡΆΚΩΝ, ΟΥΣ ΑΝ ΟΙΟΣ ΤΕ ᾖ1 ΕΚ ΓΕΝΕΤΗΣ ΣΦΕΤΕ-

ΡΙΣΑΣΘΑΙ, ΛΙΘΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΞΥΛΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ἈΓΑΛΜΑΣΑΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΙΣ ΤΙΟΝ ΕΙΔΩΛΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΣΘΗΚΧΑΣ ΤΩ ΔΕΥΣ-

ΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΙ ἈΘΛΙΩΝ ΔΕΣΜΩΝ, ΤΟΥΤΟ ΔΗ ΤΟ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΝ, ΖΩΝΤΑΣ ἘΠΙΦΕΡΩΝ ΣΥΝΕΘΑΙΠΝΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ, ἙΣΤ' ἂΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΜΦΘΑΡΩΣΙΝ. Οῼ ΔΗ ΧΆΡΙΝ (ΕΙΣ ΓΑΡ Ο ΑΠΑΤΕΩΝ ἈΝΩΘΕΝ ΜΕΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΥΑΝ, ΒΩΝ ΔΕ ἩΔΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ἈΛΛΟΥΣ ἈΝΘΡΩΠΟΥΣ ΕΙΣ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ ὩΠΟΣΕΡΩΝ) ΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΣ < ᾖ2 ἘΠΙΚΟΥΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΒΟΘΘΟΣ ΗΜῼΙΝ Ὡ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ, ΠΡΟΜΗΧΩΝ ἌΡΧΗΘΕΝ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΚΩΣ, ΒΩΝ ΔΕ ἩΔΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΑΡΓΩΣ ΕΙΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΝ ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΩΝ.

ΦΥΓΩΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ ἈΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΗ ΠΕΙΘΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΛΙΑ "ΤΟΝ ἈΡΧΟΝΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΕΡΟΣ, ΤΟΥ ΠΝΕΥ-

ΜΑΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΒΩΝ ἘΝΕΡΓΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΟΙΟΙΣ ΤΗΣ ἈΠΕΙ-

ΘΕΙΑΣ," ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΣΩΤΗΡΙ ΤΩ ΚΥΡΙΩ ΠΡΟΣΘΡΑΜΜΕΝ, Δῼ ΚΑΙ ΒΩΝ ΚΑΙ ἈΕΙ ΠΡΟΫΠΡΕΠΕΝ ΕΙΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΝ, ΔΙΑ

1 ᾖ Mayor. ἙΙΗ MSS. 2 <ὁ> inserted by Mayor.

a St. John i. 1. b Ephesians ii. 2.
was with God") 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." And let us take refuge with the Saviour, the Lord, who even now exhorts men to salvation, as He ever
CAP. τεράτων καὶ σημείων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ἐν ἑρήμῳ < δὲ >1 διὰ τῆς βάτου καὶ τῆς ἀκολουθοῦσης χάρτηι φιλανθρωπίας θεραπαίνης δίκην Ἂβραίους νεφέλης. τούτων μὲν δὴ τῷ φόβῳ τοὺς σκληροκαρδίους προϋπερπεν. ἕδη δὲ καὶ διὰ Μωσέως τοῦ πανσόφου καὶ τοῦ φιλαλήθους Ἡσαΐα καὶ παντὸς τοῦ προφητικοῦ χρονοῦ λογικῶτερον ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον ἐπιστρέφει τοὺς ὡτα 2 κεκτημένους· καὶ ἐσθ' ὅπη μὲν λοιπο更强, ἐστὶν δ' οὖ καὶ ἀπειλεῖ· τοὺς δὲ καὶ θρηνεῖ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἂδει δὲ ἄλλοις, καθάπερ ἰατρὸς ἀγαθὸς τῶν νοσουντῶν σωμάτων τα μὲν καταπλάττων, τα δὲ καταλείπων, τα δὲ καταντλῶν, τα δὲ καὶ συδήρω διαρρόν, ἐπικαίνων δὲ ἀλλὰ, ἐστι δ' οὖ καὶ ἀποπρίὼν, εἰ πως οἶον τε κἂν παρὰ μέρος ἡ μέλος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑγιάναι. πολύφωνος γε ὁ σωτήρ καὶ πολύτροπος εἰς ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίαν ἀπειλῶν νουθετεῖ, λοιδορούμενος ἐπιστρέφει, θρηνών ἔλεει, ψάλλων παρακαλεῖ, διὰ βάτου λαλεῖ (σημείων ἐκείνοι καὶ τεράτων ἔχρηζον) καὶ τῷ πυρὶ δεδιττεται τούς ἀνθρώπους, ἀνάπτων ἐκ κιόνος τῆς φλόγα, δεήμα ὁμοί χάριτος καὶ φόβου· ἐὰν ὕπακούσης, τὸ φῶς, ἐὰν παρακούσῃς, τὸ πῦρ. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ κιόνος καὶ βάτου ἡ σάρξ τμιωτέρα, προφητεῖ μετ' ἐκείνα φθέγγονται, αὐτῶς ἐν Ἁσαΐα ὁ κύριος λαλῶν, αὐτὸς ἐν Ἡλία, ἐν στόματι προφητῶν αὐτὸς· σὰρξ ἄλλ' εἶ προφητεῖς μὴ πιστεύεις, μῦθον δ' ὑπολαμβάνει καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τὸ

1 <δὲ> inserted by Stählin.
2 τοὺς ὡτα Mayor. τοὺς τὰ ὡτα 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 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 afterwards, through all-wise Moses and truth-loving Isaiah and the whole company of the prophets, He converts to the Word 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 Himself 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 ὁ κύριος, "ὅσ ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἄρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ὁσα θεῶ· ἐκένωσεν δὲ ἐαυτὸν" ὁ φιλοκτήρμων θεὸς, σῶσαι τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν γλυκόμενον· καὶ αὐτὸς ἦδη σοι ἐναργῶς ὁ λόγος λαλεῖ, δυσωπῶν τὴν ἀπιστίαν, ναὶ φημί, ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνθρωπὸς γενόμενος, ἴνα δὴ καὶ σοῦ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου μάθης, πῇ ποτε ἄρα ἀνθρώπος γένηται θεὸς.

Εἴτ' οὐκ ἄτοπον, ὁ τοῦ μὲν θεοῦ αἰὲ προτρέπειν ἡμᾶς ἐπ' ἀρετήν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀναδύσθαι τὴν ὑφέλειαι καὶ ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν; ἢ γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ Ἰωάννης ἐπὶ σωτηρίαν παρακαλεῖ καὶ τὸ πᾶν γίνεται φωνὴ προτρεπτική; πυθώμεθα τοῖνυν αὐτοῦ. "τὸς πόθεν εἰς ἄνδρων;" Ἡλίας μὲν οὐκ ἔρει, Χριστὸς δὲ εἶναι ἀρνησταί· φωνῇ δὲ ὑμολογήσει ἐν ἐρήμῳ βοῶσα. τὸς οὖν ἑστὶν Ἰωάννης; ὡς τύπω λαβεῖν, ἐξεστώ εἰπεῖν, φωνῇ τοῦ λόγου προτρεπτικῇ ἐν ἐρήμῳ βοῶσα. τὶ βοᾶς, ὁ φωνῇ; "εἰπὲ καὶ ἡμῖν." "εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς ὀδοὺς κυρίου." πρόδρομος Ἰωάννης καὶ ἡ φωνὴ πρόδρομος τοῦ λόγου, φωνῇ παρακλητικῇ, προ- ετομάζοσα εἰς σωτηρίαν, φωνῇ προτρέπουσα εἰς κληρονομίαν οὐρανῶν· δι' ἢν ἡ στείρα καὶ ἔρημος

9 P. ἄγονος οὐκέτι.

Ταῦτην μοι τὴν κυνοφορίαν προεθέσπισεν ἀγγέλου φωνῇ· πρόδρομος ἦν κάκειν τοῦ κυρίου, στείραν εὐαγγελιζομένῃ γυναίκα, ὥς Ἰωάννης τὴν ἐρήμων. διὰ ταῦτην τοῖνυν τοῦ λόγου τὴν φωνὴν ἡ στείρα

---

a Philippians ii. 6-7. b Homer, Odyssey i. 170, etc.

See St. John i. 20-23. a Odyssey i. 10.

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.

22
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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," 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?" He will say he is not Elijah; he will deny that he is Christ; but he will confess, "a voice crying in the desert." 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." "Make straight the ways of the Lord." 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, 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
CAP. εὐτεκνεῖ καὶ ἡ ἐρήμως καρποφορεῖ. αἱ πρόδρομοι τοῦ κυρίου φωναί δύο, ἀγγέλου καὶ Ἰωάννου, αἰνίσσονται μοι τὴν ἐναποκειμένην σωτηρίαν, ὡς ἐπιφανέντος τοῦ λόγου τοῦδε εὐτεκνίας ἡμᾶς καρπὸν ἀπενέγκασθαι, ζωὴν ἀἰώνιον. ἄμφω γοῦν ἐς ταῦταν ἀγαγοῦσα τὰ φωνὰ ἡ γραφή σαφῆνιζε τὸ πάν. "ἀκούσατω ἢ οὐ τίκτουσαν. θησάτω φωνὴν ἡ οὐκ ἀδύνουσα, ὅτι πλείονα τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἡ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα." ἡμῖν εὐηγγελίζετο ἀγγέλος, ἡμᾶς προφτρεπεν Ἰωάννης νοῆσαι τὸν γεωργὸν, ζητήσαι τὸν ἄνδρα. εἰς γὰρ καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος, ὁ τῆς στείρας ἁνήρ, ὁ τῆς ἐρήμου γεωργός, ὁ τῆς θείας ἐμπλήσας δυνάμεως καὶ τὴν στείραν καὶ τὴν ἐρήμον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς εὐγενοῦς, ἀπαίς δὲ ἦν διὰ ἀπείδειαν ἡ πολύπαις ἀνέκαθεν Εβραία γυνή, ἡ στείρα τὸν ἄνδρα λαμβάνει καὶ ἡ ἐρήμος τὸν γεωργὸν. εἶτα ἡ μὲν καρπῶν, ἡ δὲ πιστῶν, ἄμφω δὲ μητέρες διὰ τὸν λόγον. ἀπίστοις δὲ εἰσέτι νῦν καὶ στείρα καὶ ἐρήμος περιλεῖπται.

Ὁ μὲν Ἰωάννης, ὁ κήρυξ τοῦ λόγου, ταύτη τῇ παρεκάλει ἐτοίμους γίνεσθαι εἰς θεοῦ, τοῦ Χριστοῦ, παρουσιάν, καὶ τούτο ἦν ὁ ἄνισσετο ἡ Ζαχαρίου σιωπή, ἀναμένουσα τὸν πρόδρομον τοῦ Χριστοῦ καρπῶν, ἵνα τῆς ἁλθείας τὸ φῶς, ὁ λόγος, τῶν προφητικῶν αἰνημάτων τὴν μυστικὴν ἀπολύσηται σιωπῆν, εὐαγγέλων γενόμενον: σὺ δὲ εἰ ποθεῖς

---

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
CAP. idêiv òs ãlhthôs tòv theôv, katharâiôn metalogmabane 
theoprepéwv, ou dâfnes petaîwv kai taunvoun twv 
èrav kai porphûra pepeuklîmévwn, dikaiosúnh dé 
ánadigmavnos kai tîs ègkratēs thà pétâla pere 
thémévnon polupraamónie Xristovn. "ègyw gár eîmî h 
thyra," phêsí pou' òn èkmathein deî noêsai thelîsac 
tòn theôv, oîpws òmîn áthraas twv ouranvón ãna- 
petâsì tâs pûlân: logikai gár aî toû lògon pûlai,
10 P. pîstews | ãnoignytemai kleidi: "theôv oudeis ègyw, 
ei mh' ò vîdos kai òv àn ò vîdos apokalûpsì." thûran 
de ev oîd' óti tîn ãpokokleuménh têwos ò ãnoignvì 
ûsteron apokalûpptei tândov kai deíkynvsu ã mhè 
gnînan oîn te òn prôteron, ei mh' ìa Xristovù 
poporevmenôs, di' ou mónov theôs èpopeuteîta.

II

"Adûta toîwv ãthea mh' polupraamoneîte mh'dè 
baràðrovn stómatâ terateías èmplea ñ lêbê- 
ta Theoprôtovn ñ tríptoda Kûraîon ñ Ìóðôv-
nâiôn ãhalkeión: geraúndroun dé ìfmwos èrîmâus 
tetmhmévov kai to autôthi manteíov autûg dève 
memaraasmévov mhôinov gegnraakôsi kataleípate. 
sègyntai goûn ñ Kastaliás þegî kai Kolofônâos 
âlhl þegî, kai tà âlhl omiôwos téthnke nâmata

a St. John x. 9.  
b See p. 20, n. a. 
èq., the cave of Trophonius at Lebadeia in Boeotia. 
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 
26
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," 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, opened by the key of faith. "No man knoweth God, save the Son, and him to whom the Son revealeth Him." 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, nor the Thesprotian caldron, nor the Cirrhaean tripod, nor the Dodonian copper. As for the old stump honoured by the desert sands, 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. μαντικά καὶ δὴ τοῦ τύφου κενὰ ὄψε μὲν, ὡμως δὴ οὖν διελήλεγκται τοὺς ἴδιους συνεκρεύσαντα μύθους. διήγησαι ἡμῖν καὶ τῆς ἀλλης μαντικῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ μανικῆς, τὰ ἄχρηστα χρηστήρια, τὸν Κλάριον, τὸν Πύθιον, τὸν Διδυμέα, τὸν Ἀμφιάρεω, τὸν † Απόλλων,¹ τὸν Ἀμφιλοχον, εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ τερατοσκόπους καὶ οἰωνοσκόπους καὶ τοὺς δυνέρων κριτὰς ἀνιέρου σὺν αὐτοῖς. στήσον δὲ ὅμοι παρὰ τὸν Πύθιον τοὺς ἀλευρομάντεις ἁγωνίας καὶ κριθομάντεις καὶ τούς εἰσέτι παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς τετυμή- μένους ἐγγαστριμοῦς: ναι μὴν ἄδυτα Διονυπτίων καὶ Τυρρηνῶν νεκυομάντειαι σκότω παραδιδόσθων. μανικὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἄληθῶς ἀνθρώπων ἀπίστων σοφιστήρια καὶ πλάνης ἀκράτου κυβερνήματα. συν- ἐμποροὶ τήσει τῆς γοητείας αἴγεις αἰ ἐπὶ μαν- τικήν ἡσκημέναι καὶ κόρακες ἄνθρώποις χρᾶν ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων διδασκόμενοι.

Τι δ’ εἰ σοι καταλέγομι τὰ μυστήρια; οὐκ ἔξορχήσομαι μὲν, ὡσπερ Ἀλκιβιάδην λέγουσιν, ἄπογυμνώσω δὲ εὐ μὰλα ἄνα τὸν τῆς ἄληθειας λόγον τὴν γοητείαν τὴν ἐγκεκρυμμένην αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτοὺς γε τοὺς καλουμένους ὑμῶν θεοὺς, ὅν αἱ τελεταὶ <αἰ> ² μυστικαί, οἷον ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τοῦ βίου τοὺς

¹ τὸν † Απόλλων is probably corrupt. τὸν Τροφόφωνο (Cobet) and τὸν Μόψων (Wilamowitz) have been suggested. Markland puts τὸν † Απόλλων 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).
Stripped of their absurd pretensions, though none 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 Amphiarus and Amphi-lochus; 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

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

c 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.

The gods of the mysteries
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκκυκλήσως θεαταῖς. Διόνυσον ματινόλην ὄργιάζουσι Βάκχοι ωμοφαγία τήν ιερομανίαν ἁγοντες καὶ τελίσκουσι τὰς κρενομίας τῶν φόνων ἀνεστημένου τοὺς ὁφειν, ἐπολολύζοντες Εὐάν, Εὐαν ἐκείνην, δεὶ ἢν ἡ πλάνη παρηκολούθησεν καὶ σημεῖον ὄργιῶν βακχικῶν ὁφις ἐστὶ τετελεσμένος. αὐτίκα γοῦν κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβῶ τῶν 'Ἑβραϊῶν φωνήν τὸ ὄνομα τὸ Ἑνία δασυνόμενον ἐρμηνεύεται ὁφίς ἡ | θήλεια. Δὴ δὲ καὶ Κόρη δράμα ἦδη ἐγενέσθην μυστικὸν, καὶ τὴν πλάνην καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγήν καὶ τὸ πένθος αὐτῶν Ἑλευσίς δαδουχεῖ.

Καί μοι δοκεῖ τὰ ὄργια καὶ τὰ μυστήρια δεῖν ἐτυμολογεῖν, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄργης τῆς Δηοῦς τῆς πρὸς Δία γεγενημένης, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μύσους τοῦ συμβεβηκότος περὶ τῶν Διόνυσον· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Μυοῦντὸς τινος Ἀττικοῦ, ὅτι ἐν κυνηγίᾳ διαφαρήναι Ἀπολλόδωρος λέγει, οὐ φθόνος· ὦμιῶν δεδοξασται τὰ μυστήρια ἐπιτυμβίῳ τιμή. πάρεστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλως μυθηρίᾳ σοι νοεῖν ἀντιστοιχοῦντων τῶν γραμμάτων τὰ μυστήρια· θηρεύοντο γὰρ εἰ καὶ ἄλλοι τίνες, ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ οἱ μῦθοι οἱ τουοίδε Θρακῶν τοὺς βαρβαρικωτάτους, Φρυγῶν τοὺς ἀνοητοτάτους, Ἐλλήνων τοὺς δεισδαίμονας. ὅλουτο οὖν ὁ τῆς ἀρξας τῆς ἀπάτης ἀνθρώποις, εἴτε ὁ Δάρδανος, ὁ Μητρὸς θεῶν καταδείξας τὰ μυστήρια, εἴτε Ἡνίων, ὁ τὰ Σαμοθράκων ὄργια καὶ τελετᾶς

a "Eva" (ἐῶa, εἰῶa) is one form of the cry "evoe" or "evae" (ἐῶoi, εἰῶai) 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
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 Eétion, who founded the Samothracian orgies and rites; or

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

\[a\] See p. 35.

\[b\] See p. 73.

\[c\] See p. 35.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. II ὑποστησάμενος, εἰτε ὁ Φρυξ ἐκείνος ὁ Μίδας, ὁ παρὰ τοῦ 'Οδρύσου μαθὼν, ἔπειτα διαδοὺς τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις ἐντεχνὸν ἀπάτην. οὐ γὰρ με ὁ Κύπριος ὁ νησιώτης Κινύρας παραπείσαι ποτ' ἂν, τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην μαχλώντα οργία ἐκ νυκτὸς ἦμέρα παραδοῦναι τολμήσας, φιλοτιμούμενος θείασι πόρνην πολίτιδα. Μελάμποδα δὲ τὸν Ἀμυθάνον ἅλλοι φασίν εξ Ἀϊγύπτου μετακομίσαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι.

13 P. τὰς Δηοὺς ἐορτάς, πένθος ὑμνούμενον. τούτους ἔγγοι ἀν ἄρχεκάκους φήσαμι μόθων ἀθέων καὶ δεισδαιμονίας ὀλθρίου πατέρας, σπέρμα κακίας καὶ φθορᾶς ἐγκαταφυτεύσατας τῷ βίῳ τὰ μυστήρια.

"Ἡδη δέ, καὶ γὰρ καιρὸς, αὐτὰ ὑμῶν τὰ οργία ἐξελέγξω ἀπάτης καὶ τερατείας ἐμπλεα. καὶ εἰ μεμύησθε, ἐπιγελάσεσθε μᾶλλον τοῖς μόθοις ὑμῶν τούτοις τοῖς τιμωμένοις. ἀγορεύσω δὲ ἀναφαίδον τὰ κεκρυμμένα, οὐκ αἵδουμενοι λέγειν ὁ προσκυνεῖν οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε. ή μὲν οὖν "αἱρογενῆς" τε καὶ "κυπρογενῆς," ἡ Κινύρα φίλη (τὴν 'Αφροδίτην λέγω, τὴν "φιλομηδέα, ὅτι μηθὲν εξεφαάνθη," μηθέων ἑκείνων τῶν ἀποκεκομμένων Οὐρανοῦ, τῶν λάγων, τῶν μετὰ τὴν τομὴν τὸ κῦμα βεβιασμένων), ὥς ἀσελγῶν ὑμῶν μορίων ἄξιος ['Αφροδίτη] 1 γίνεται καρπός, ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς ταὐτῆς τῆς πελαγίας ἡδονῆς τεκμήριον τῆς γονῆς ἅλων χόνδρος καὶ φαλλὸς τοῖς μουμένοις τὴν τέχνην τὴν μοιχικὴν ἐπιδίδοται. νόμισμα δὲ εἰσφέρουσιν αὐτῆ οἱ μουμενοὶ, ὡς ἑταῖρα ἑρασταί.

1 ['Αφροδίτη] Schwartz.

---

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

32
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 Philomèdes because she was born from the mèdea, 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.
CAP. 

Δῆος δὲ μυστήρια αἰ ¹ Δίος πρὸς μητέρα

Δήμητρα ἀφροδίσιοι συμπλοκαὶ καὶ μήνις (οὐκ

οἶδ’ ὁ τι φῶ λοιπόν, μητρὸς ἡ γυναικὸς) τῆς Δηοῦς,

ής δὴ χάριν Βρεμῶ προσαγορευθῆναι λέγεται, < καὶ >²

ικετηριαί Διός καὶ πόμα χολῆς καὶ καρδιουλκίας καὶ

ἀρρητοργίας· ταυτὰ οἱ Φρύγεσ τελίσκοντων "Αττιδὶ

καὶ Κυβέλῃ καὶ Κορύβασιν· τεθρυλήκασιν δὲ ὡς

ἀρά ἀποστάσασι θ Ζεὺς τοῦ κριοῦ τοὺς διδύμους

φέρων ἐν μέσοις ἔρριψε τοῖς κόλποις τῆς Δηοῦς,

τιμωρίαν φευδὴ τῆς βιαίας συμπλοκῆς ἐκτυπῶν,

ὡς ἐκατον δῆθεν ἐκτεμῶν. τὰ σύμβολα τῆς μνή-

σεως ταύτης ἐκ περιουσίας παρατεθέντα οἴδ’ ὄτι

κυνήσει γέλωτα καὶ μὴ γελασείουσιν ὑμῖν διὰ
toὺς ἔλεγχους· "ἐκ τυμπάνου ἐφαγον· ἐκ κυμ-

βάλου ἔπιον· ἐκερνοφόρησα· ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν

ὑπέδυν." ταὐτὰ οὖχ ὑβρις τὰ σύμβολα; οὐ χλεύη

τὰ μυστήρια; τί δ’ εἰ καὶ τὰ ἐπίλυσα προσθείην;

κυρεὶ μὲν ἡ Δημήτηρ, ἀνατρέφεται δὲ ἡ Κόρη,

μὴ γυναικεῖοι δ’ αὕτης ὡς γεννήσας οὗτοι Ζεὺς, τῇ

Φερεφάττῃ, τῇ ἱδίᾳ θυγατρί, μετὰ τὴν μητέρα τὴν

Δηνῇ, ἐκλαθόμενος τοῦ προτέρου μύσου (πατὴρ

καὶ φθορεῖς κόρης θ Ζεὺς ³) καὶ μὴ γυναικεῖος ἀδράκων

gενόμενος, ὥς ἦν, ἐλεγχέας. Σαβαζίων γοῦν

μυστηρίων σύμβολον τοῖς μυσιμένοις διὰ

κόλπον θεοῦ· ἀδράκων δὲ ἐστὶν οὗτος, διελκόμενος

toῦ κόλπου τῶν τελομένων, ἐλεγχος ἀκρασίᾳ

¹ a 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.

² i.e. the Grim or Terrible One.
³ 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.

CAP.

Δῆος δὲ μυστήρια αἰ ¹ Δίος πρὸς μητέρα

Δήμητρα ἀφροδίσιοι συμπλοκαὶ καὶ μήνις (οὐκ

οἶδ’ ὁ τι φῶ λοιπόν, μητρὸς ἡ γυναικὸς) τῆς Δηοῦς,

ής δὴ χάριν Βρεμῶ προσαγορευθῆναι λέγεται, < καὶ >²

ικετηριαί Διός καὶ πόμα χολῆς καὶ καρδιουλκίας καὶ

ἀρρητοργίας· ταυτὰ οἱ Φρύγεσ τελίσκοντων "Αττιδὶ

καὶ Κυβέλῃ καὶ Κορύβασιν· τεθρυλήκασιν δὲ ὡς

ἀρά ἀποστάσασι θ Ζεὺς τοῦ κριοῦ τοὺς διδύμους

φέρων ἐν μέσοις ἔρριψε τοῖς κόλποις τῆς Δηοῦς,

τιμωρίαν φευδὴ τῆς βιαίας συμπλοκῆς ἐκτυπῶν,

ὡς ἐκατον δῆθεν ἐκτεμῶν. τὰ σύμβολα τῆς μνή-

σεως ταύτης ἐκ περιουσίας παρατεθέντα οἴδ’ ὄτι

κυνήσει γέλωτα καὶ μὴ γελασείουσιν ὑμῖν διὰ
toὺς | ἔλεγχους· "ἐκ τυμπάνου ἐφαγον· ἐκ κυμ-

βάλου ἔπιον· ἐκερνοφόρησα· ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν

ὑπέδυν." ταὐτὰ οὖχ ὑβρις τὰ σύμβολα; οὐ χλεύη
ta μυστήρια; τί δ’ εἰ καὶ τὰ ἐπίλυσα προσθείην;

κυρεὶ μὲν ἡ Δημήτηρ, ἀνατρέφεται δὲ ἡ Κόρη,

μὴ γυναικεῖοι δ’ αὕτης ὡς γεννήσας οὗτοι Ζεὺς, τῇ

Φερεφάττῃ, τῇ ἱδίᾳ θυγατρί, μετὰ τὴν μητέρα τὴν

Δηνῇ, ἐκλαθόμενος τοῦ προτέρου μύσου (πατὴρ

καὶ φθορεῖς κόρης θ Ζεὺς ³) καὶ μὴ γυναικεῖος ἀδράκων

gενόμενος, ὥς ἦν, ἐλεγχέας. Σαβαζίων γοῦν

μυστηρίων σύμβολον τοῖς μυσιμένοις διὰ

cόλπου θεοῦ· ἀδράκων δὲ ἐστὶν οὗτος, διελκόμενος

toῦ κόλπου τῶν τελομένων, ἐλεγχος ἀκρασίᾳ

¹ a 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.

² i.e. the Grim or Terrible One.
³ 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.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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 Фερέφαττα παίδα ταυρόμορφον ἀμέλει, φησί τις ποιητὴς εἰδωλικός,

taύρος δράκοντος καὶ πατήρ ταύρου δράκων, 
ἐν ὄρει τὸ κρύφιον, βουκόλος, τὸ κεντρίον,\[1

βουκολικόν, οἶμαι,\[2 κέντρον τὸν νάρθηκα ἐπικαλῶν, 
ὅν δὴ ἀναστέφουσιν οἱ βάκχοι. βουλεῖ καὶ τὰ 
Φερεφάττης ἀνθολογία διηγήσωμαι\[3 σοι καὶ τὸν 
κάλαθον καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀιδώνεως καὶ 
τὸ χάσμα \[4 τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰς ὅσ τὰς Εὐβουλέως 
τὰς συγκαταποθείσας ταῖν θεαῖν,\[5 δι᾽ ἣν αἰτίαν ἐν 
τοῖς Θεσμοφορίοις μεγαρίζοντες χοίρους ἐμβάλ-

λουσιν; ταύτην τὴν μυθολογίαν αἱ γυναῖκες ποι-

κίλως κατὰ πόλιν ἑορτάζουσι, Θεσμοφορία, Σκυρο-

15 ὁ. φόρια, Ἀρρητοφορία, πολυτρόπως τὴν Φερεφάττης 
ἐκτραγωδοῦσαι ἀρπαγὴν.

Τὰ γάρ Διονύσου μυστήρια τέλεον ἀπάνθρωπαν ὅντα ἐνόπλω κινήσει περιχο-

ρευόντων Κουρήτων, δόλῳ δὲ ὑποδύσων Τιτάνων, 
ἀπατήσαντες παιδαριώδεσιν ἀθύρμασιν, οὕτωι δὴ 
οἱ Τιτάνες διέσπασαν, ἔτι νηπίαξον ὅντα, ὡς ὁ τῆς 
Τελετῆς ποιητῆς Ὀρφεὺς φησιν ὁ Θράκιος.

κώνος καὶ ὅμοιος καὶ παίγνια καμπεύγνια, 
μῆλα τε χρύσα καλὰ παρ’ Ἐσσερίδων λυγυ-

φώνων.

καὶ τῆσε ὅμων τῆς τελετῆς τὰ ἄχρεα σύμβολα οὐκ 
ἄχρειον εἰς κατάγνωσιν παραθέσθαι ἀστράγαλος,

1 κεντρίον Dindorf. κέντρον mss.
2 ἐν . . . οἴμαι] ὅν ὑρεσι κρύφιον βουκολῶ κέντρον φέρων
3 διηγήσωμαι Dindorf. διηγήσομαι mss.
4 χάσμα from Eusebius. σχίσμα mss.
5 τοῖν θεοῖν Wilamowitz. τῷ θεῶ Rohde.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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, 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 symbols of this rite of yours in order to excite condemnation:

* The Greek reads, "the two goddesses"; but Clement can hardly have meant this.
* For the word-play see p. 28, n. a.
CAP. σφαῖρα, στράβιλος, μῆλα, ρόμβος, ἔσοπτρον, πόκος.

II Ἀθηνᾶ μὲν οὖν τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ Διονύσου ὑφελομένη Παλλᾶς ἐκ τοῦ πάλλειν τὴν καρδίαν προσηγορεύθη· οἱ δὲ Τιτάνες, οἱ καὶ διασπάσαντες αὐτῶν, λέβητα τινα τρίποδι ἐπιθέντες καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου ἐμβαλόντες τὰ μέλη, καθήψουν πρότερον ἔπειτα ὀβελίσκοις περιπείραντες "ὑπείρεχον Ἡφαίστοιο." Ζεὺς δὲ ὦστερον ἐπίφανεις (εἰ θεὸς ἦν, τάχα που τῆς κνίσις τῶν ὀπτωμένων κρεών μεταλαβών, ᾧ δὴ τὸ "γέρας λαχείν" ὤμολογοῦσιν ὡμῶν οἱ θεοὶ) κεραυνῷ τούς Τιτάνας αἰκίζεται καὶ τὰ μέλη τοῦ Διονύσου Ἀπόλλων τῷ παϊδὶ παρακατατίθεται καταθάψαι. ὃ δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἤπείθησε Διό, εἰς τὸν Παρνασσὸν φέρων κατατίθεται διεσπασμένον τὸν νεκρὸν.

Εἰ θέλεις δὲ ἐποπτεύσαι καὶ Κορυβάντων ὁργια, 16 Ρ. τοῦ τρίτου ἃδελφον ἀποκτεῖναι οὕτω τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ νεκροῦ φοινικίδι ἐπεκαλυψάτην καὶ καταστέψαντε ἔθαψάτην, φέροντες ἐπὶ χαλκὴς ἀστίδος ὑπὸ τὰς υπωρείας τοῦ Ὀλύμπου καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐστὶ τὰ μυστήρια, συνελόντε φάναι, φόνοι καὶ τάφοι· οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς οἱ τῶνδε, οὕς Ἀνακτοτελετᾶσα οῖς μέλον καλεῖν καλοῦσι, προσεπιτετρατεύονται τῇ συμφορᾷ, ὀλορίζουν ἀπαγορεύοντε σέλινον ἐπὶ τραπέζης τυ-θέναι· οὗνται γὰρ δὴ ἐκ τοῦ αἰματος τοῦ ἀπορρυέντος τοῦ Κορυβαντικοῦ τὸ σέλινον ἐκπεφυκέναι ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ αἱ θεσμοφοριάζουσαι τῆς ροίας τοῖς κόκκους παραφυλάττουσιν ἐσθίειν τοὺς ἀπο-

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.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

the knuckle-bone, the ball, the spinning-top, apples, CHAP. 11 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. πεπτωκότας χαμαί, ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Διονύσου αἵματος 

πταγόνων βεβλαστηκέναι νομίζονσαι τα σοιάς. 

Καβείρους δὲ τοὺς Κορύβαντας καλούντες καὶ 

tελετήν Καβειρικήν καταγγέλλουσιν· αὐτῶ γὰρ ἐπὶ 

tούτω τοῦ ἀδελφοκτόνῳ τὴν κίστην ἀνελομένω, ἐν ἦ 

tο τοῦ Διονύσου αἴδοιον ἀπέκειτο, εἰς Τυρρηνίαν 

κατήγαγον, εὐκλεοῦς ἐμποροὶ φορτίου· κάνταιθα 

dιετριβέτην, φυγάδε ὄντε, τὴν πολυτίμητον εὐσεβεῖας 

dιδασκαλίαν, αἴδοια καὶ κίστην, θρησκεύέν παρα- 

θεμένων Τυρρηνοῖς. δι᾽ ἦν αἰτιὰν οὐκ ἀπεικότως 

tὸν Διόνυσον τινὲς "Ἀττιν προσαγορεύεσθαι θέλουσιν, 

αἴδοιῶν ἐστηρεμένοιν.

Καὶ τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ Τυρρηνοὶ οἱ βάρβαροι αἰσχροῖς

οὕτως τελίσκονται παθήμασιν, ὅπου γε Ἀθηναίοις 

καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάδι, αἴδοιμαι καὶ λέγειν, αἰσχύνης 

ἐμπλέως ἢ περὶ τὴν Δημοκρίτου; ἀλωμένη 

gὰρ ἦν Δῆμος κατὰ ξήτησιν τῆς ὑγιείος τῆς Κόρης 

περὶ τὴν "Ἐλευσίνα (τῆς 'Ἀττικῆς δὲ ἐστι τοῦτο τὸ 

χωρίον) ἀποκάμενε καὶ φρέατι ἐπικαθίζει λυπουμένη. 

tοῦτο τοῖς μνομένοις ἀπαγορεύεται εἰσεῖτί νῦν, 

ίνα μὴ δοκοῖεν οἱ τετελεσμένοι μιμεῖσθαι τὴν

17 Ρ. ὅθυρωμένην. ὡκουν | δὲ τηνκάδε τὴν "Ἐλευσίνα οἱ 

gηγενεῖς· ὅνοματα αὐτῶς Βαυβῶ καὶ Δυσαύλης 

καὶ Τριπτόλεμος, ἐτι δὲ Ἐὔμολπος τε καὶ Ἐὐβου- 

λεύς· βουκόλος ὁ Τριπτόλεμος ἦν, πομήν δὲ ὁ 

Ἐὔμολπος, συβώτης δὲ ὁ Ἐὐβουλεύς· ἅφ’ ὦν τὸ 

Εὐμολπίδων καὶ τὸ Κηρύκων τὸ ἱεροφαντικὸν δὴ 

tοῦτο "Ἀθηνησίος γένος ἥνθησεν. καὶ ἦ (οὐ γὰρ 

ἄνησῳ μὴ οὖχι εἰπεῖν) ἐξεἰσάσα ἡ Βαυβῶ τὴν Δημ

1 νομίζουσαι Wilamowitz. νομίζουσι μισσ.

a i.e. Persephone.

b Literally, "the hierophantic clan." The hierophant

40
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

seeds which fall to the ground, being of opinion that 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. II

δρέγει κυκέωνα αὐτῆ· τῆς δὲ ἀναινομένης λαβεῖν καὶ πιεῖν οὐκ ἐθελούσης (πενθήρης γὰρ ἤν) περι- 
αλγῆς ἢ Βαυβῶν γενομένη, ὡς ὑπεροραθεῖσα δῆθεν, 
ἀναστέλλεται τὰ αἴδοια καὶ ἐπιδεικνύει τῇ θεω· ἢ 
δὲ τέρπεται τῇ ὁψεὶ ἢ Δημ καὶ μόλις ποτὲ δέχεται 
τὸ ποτόν, ἡσθεία τῷ θεάματι. ταῦτ' ἐστι τὰ 
κρύφια τῶν 'Αθηναίων μυστήρια. ταῦτα τοι καὶ 
'Oρφεὺς ἀναγράφει. παραθήσομαι δὲ σοι αὐτὰ τοῦ 
'Oρφέως τὰ ἐπει, ἃν ἔχεις μάρτυρα τῆς ἀναισχυντιάς 
τὸν μυσταγωγὸν.

ὡς εἶποῦσα πέπλους ἀνεσύρετο, δείξε δὲ πάντα | 18 Ρ. σώματος οὐδὲ πρέποντα τύπον· παῖς δ' ἦν "Ἰακχος, 
χειρί τὲ μιν ῥίππασκε γελῶν Βαυβοὺς ύπὸ κόλποις. 
ἡ δ' ἐπεί ὁνὶ μείδησε θεά, μείδησα' ἐνὶ θυμῷ, 
δέξατο δ' αἰώλον ἄγγος, ἐν ὃ κυκέων ἐνέκειτο.

κάστι τὸ σύνθημα 'Ελευσινῶν μυστηρίων· "ἐνή-
στευσα, ἔπιον τὸν κυκέωνα, ἔλαβον ἐκ κίστης, 
ἐργασάμενος ἄπεθέμην εἰς κάλαθον καὶ ἐκ καλάθου 
eis kisthn." kalà ge tâ theamata kai theâ prêponta. 
axios mév oni nuktos tà telēsmata kai purós kai 
tou "megálítoros," màllon dê mataiófronos 
' Ἑρεχθειδῶν δήμου, πρός dê kai tòn ἄλλων 
'Ελλήνων, oústinas "ménei telenytsantas âsas 

1 ἐγγενεσάμενος Lobeck.

a 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.

b 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

42
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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. οὐδὲ ἐλπονται." τίσι δὴ μαντεύεται Ἡράκλειτος

τοῦ Ἐφέσιος; "νυκτιπόλοιος, μάγοις, βάκχους, λήναις,

μύσταις," τούτους ἀπειλεῖ τά μετὰ θάνατον, τούτους

μαντεύεται τὸ πῦρ. "τὰ γὰρ νομιζόμενα κατὰ ἀν-

θρώπους μυστήρια ἀνερωστὶ μυοῦνται."

Νόμος οὖν καὶ ὑπόλειψις κενή τὰ μυστήρια 1 καὶ

tοῦ δράκοντος ἀπάτη τίς ἔστω θρησκευομένη, τὰς ἀμυντίτικας ὄντως μυςείς καὶ τὰς ἀνοργιάστους 

tελετὰς εὐσεβεία νόθω προστρεπομένων. οἱ δὲ καὶ αἱ κίσται αἱ μυστικαί. δεὶ γὰρ ἀπογυμνώσαι 

tὰ ἁγία αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἁρρητὰ ἔξεπεῖν. οὐ σησαμαὶ 

tαυτὰ καὶ τυραμίδες καὶ τολύται καὶ πόπανα 

pολυώφαλα χόνδροι τε ἀλῶν καὶ δράκων, ὄργιον 

Διονύσου Βασσάρου; οὐχὶ δὲ βοιαὶ πρὸς τοῖσικε καὶ 

κράδαι 2 νάρθηκες τε καὶ κιττοί, πρὸς δὲ καὶ φθοῖς καὶ 

μῆκωνες; ταῦτ’ ἐστιν αὐτῶν τὰ ἁγία. καὶ προσ-

ἐτι Γῆς 3 Θέμιδος τὰ ἀπόρρητα σύμβολα ὀρίγανον, 

λύχνος, ξίφος, κτεῖς γυναικεῖος, ὃς ἔστω, εὐφήμος 

καὶ μυστικὸς ἐπείν, μόριον γυναικεῖον. ὃς τῆς 

ἐμφανοῦς ἀναισχυντιᾶς. πάλαι μὲν ἀνθρώποις 

σωφρονοῦσιν ἐπικάλυμμα ἥδους νῦς ἢν σιωπωμένη; 

νυνὶ δὲ τοῖς μυσμένοις πεῖρα 4 τῆς ἀκρασίας νῦς 

ἔστι λαλομένη, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐλέγχει τὰ πάθη 

dαδουχούμενον. ἀπόσβησον, οὐ εἰροφάντα, τὸ πῦρ -

1 τὰ μυστήρια after κενὴ Mayor: after δράκοντος mss.

2 κράδαι Morellus. καρδίαὶ mss.

3 Γῆς Wilamowitz. τῆς mss.

4 πεῖρα Wilamowitz. ἡ ierā mss.

See the mention of the chest in the Cabeiric rite, p. 41, and in the Eleusinian formula, p. 43.

b Gē Themis is the result of an emendation of Wilamowitz, accepted by Stählin. It necessitates only a minute change 44.
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 chests: 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 Gê Themis, 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.

45
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. αἰδέσθητι, διδόχει, τὰς λαμπάδας· ἐλέγχει σου τὸν Ἰακχον τὸ φῶς· ἐπίτρεψον ἀποκρύψαι τῇ νυκτὶ τὰ μυστήρια· σκότει τετμησθὼ τὰ ὀργία. τὸ πῦρ ὑποκρίνεται· ἐλέγχειν καὶ κολάζειν κελεύται.

Ταῦτα τῶν ἀθέων τὰ μυστήρια: ἀθέοις δὲ εἰκότως ἀποκαλῶ τούτους, οἱ τὸν μὲν ὄντως ὄντα θεόν ἡγονήκασιν, παιδίον δὲ ύπὸ Τιτάνων διασπώμενον καὶ γύναιον πενθοῦν καὶ μόρια ἁρρητά ὡς ἀληθῶς ὑπ' αἰσχύνης ἀναισχύντως σέβουσιν, δι' ἐνεσχημένοι τῇ ἁθεότητι, προτέρα μὲν, καθ' ἂν ἀγνοοῦσι τὸν θεόν, τὸν ὄντως ὄντα μὴ γνωρίζοντες θεόν, ἐτέρα δὲ καὶ δευτέρα δὴ ταύτη τῇ πλάνῃ τοὺς οὐκ ὄντας ὡς ὄντας νομίζοντες καὶ θεοὺς τούτους ὀνομάζοντες τοὺς οὐκ ὄντως ὄντας, μάλλον δὲ οὐδὲ ὄντας, μόνου δὲ τοῦ ὀνόματος τετυχηκότας. διὰ τούτῳ τοι καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος διελέγχει ἡμᾶς "καὶ ἢτε ἔσον" λέγων "τῶν διαθηκῶν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, ἐλπίδα μὴ ἔχοντες καὶ ἄθεοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ."

Πολλὰ κἀγαθὰ γένοιτο τῷ τῶν Σκυθῶν βασιλεῖ, ὡστὶς ποτὲ ἤν ['Ανάχαρσις].1 οὕτως τὸν πολίτην τὸν ἐαυτὸν, τὴν παρὰ Κυζικηνοῖς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν τελετὴν ἀπομιμούμενον παρὰ Σκύθαις τύμπανόν τε

1 ['Ανάχαρσις] Casaubon.

---

<sup>a</sup> 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.

<sup>b</sup> The Greek ἄθεος means something more than “godless,” and yet less than the positive English word “atheist.” It was applied (see next paragraph) to philosophers who denied
flaming brands, torchbearer. The light convict your Iacchus. Suffer night to hide the mysteries. Let the orgies be honoured by darkness. The fire is not acting a part; to convict and to punish is its duty.

These are the mysteries of the atheists. And 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." 

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.

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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. II. ἐπικτυποῦντα καὶ κύμβαλον ἐπηχοῦντα καὶ τοῦ τραχήλου τύνα μηναγύρτην ἐξηρτημένον, κατετόξευσεν, ὡς ἀνάνδρον αὐτὸν τε παρ᾽ Ἑλλησίᾳ γεγενημένον καὶ τῆς θηλείας τοῖς ἄλλοις Σκυθῶν διδάσκαλον νόσουν. ὃν ἡ χάριν (οὐ γὰρ οὐδαμῶς ἀποκρυπτέον) θαυμάζειν ἐπεισὶ μοι ὅτῳ τρόπῳ Εὐήμερον τὸν Ἄκρα γαντίνον καὶ Νικάνορα τὸν Κύπριον καὶ Διαγόραν καὶ Ἰππώνα τῷ Μηλίῳ 1 τὸν τε Κυπρηναῖον ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκεῖνον ([odable] 2 Θεόδωρος ὄνομα αὐτῶ)

21. καὶ τινας ἄλλους συχνοὺς, σωφρόνως βεβιωκότας καὶ καθεωρακότας ἐξύτερον ποὺ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων τήν ἁμβία τοὺς θεοὺς τούτους πλάνην, ἀθέους ἐπικεκλήκας, εἰ καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτὴν μὴ νεοκότας, ἀλλὰ τὴν πλάνην γε ὑποπτευκότας, ὅπερ οὐ σμικρὸν εἰς ἀλήθειαν 3 φρονήσεως ζύπυρον ἀναφύεται σπέρμα· ὃν ὁ μὲν τις παρεγγύα τοῖς Ἀιγυπτίοις, "ἐἰ θεοὺς νομίζετε, μὴ θρηνεῖτε αὐτοὺς, μηκέτι τούτους ἤγειρον εἰναὶ θεοὺς," ὁ δ՚ Ἡρακλεά ἐκ ξύλου λαβὼν κατεσκευασμένον (ἔτυχε δὲ ἐφών τι οἴκου, οἷα εἰκός) "ἐὰν δὴ, ὅ Ἡρακλεῖς," εἶπεν· "νῦν σοι ἴδῃ καιρός, ὥσπερ Εὐρυσθεῖ, ἀτάρ δὴ καὶ ἡμῖν ὑπουργῆσαι τὸν τρισκαλέκατον τοῦτον ἄθλον καὶ Διαγόρα τοῦφον 4 παρασκευάσαι." κἀτ’ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐνέθηκεν ὃς ξύλον.

1 τῷ Μηλίῳ Μünkzel. τὸν μῆλιον mss.
2 [odable] Dindorf.
3 ἀλήθειαν Sylburg. ἀληθείας mss.
4 τοῦφον Cobet. τοῦτον 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.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

clanging a cymbal, and by having images of the CHAP. II 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 ί and De Is. et Osir. 379 ί. 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" is Ezekiel viii. 14 is an example of Adonis-worship.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. II. 'Akrot'tes ápà ámabhías átheótis' kai deisi'damio-

νία, ὧν ἐκτὸς μένειν σπουδαστέον. οὐχ ὅρας τὸν ἕροφάντην τῆς ἀληθείας Μωσέα προστάττοντα θλαδίαν καὶ ἀποκεκομμένον μὴ ἐκκλησιάζειν, καὶ προσέτι τὸν ἐκ πόρνης; αἰνὴτεται δὲ διὰ μὲν τῶν προτέρων τὸν ἄθεον τρόπον τὸν τῆς θείας καὶ γονίμου δυνάμεως ἐστερημένον, διὰ δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ τοῦ τρίτου τὸν πολλοὺς ἐπιγραφόμενον ψευδωνύμους θεούς ἀντὶ τοῦ μόνου ὄντος θεοῦ, ὡσπερ ὦ ἐκ τῆς πόρνης τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπιγράφεται πατέρας ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ πρὸς ἀληθείαν πατρός. ἦν δὲ τις ἐμφυτὸς ἁρχαίᾳ πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀνθρώπους κοινωνία, ἀγνοίᾳ μὲν ἐσκοτισμένη, ἀφινὸ δὲ που διεκθρόσκουσα τοῦ σκότους καὶ ἀναλάμπουσα, οἶον δὴ ἐκεῖνο λεξεῖται τινὶ τὸ

ὅρας τὸν υψὸῦ τόνδ' ἀπειρον αἰθέρα
καὶ γῆν περίξ ἐκονθ' ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλαις;
καὶ τὸ

ὅ γῆς ὀχήμα κατὶ γῆς ἐκων ἔδραν,
ὅστις ποτ' εἰ σὺ, δυστόπαστος εἰσιδεῖν, τ

22 Ρ. καὶ ὁσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ποιητῶν ἄδουσι παίδες.

"Εννοιαί δὲ ἡμαρτημέναι καὶ παρηγγείλας τῆς εὐθείας, ὀλέθριαι ως ἀληθῶς, τὸ οὐράνιον φυτὸν,
tὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, οὐρανίου ἐξέτρεψαν διαίτης καὶ ἔξετάνυσαν ἐπὶ γῆς, γηνίους προσανέχειν ἀναπει-
σασαι πλάσμασιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐθέως ἀμφὶ τὴν

а “Hierophant” is the literal rendering. For the hierophant’s office see p. 40, n. й, and Appendix p. 385.

b See Deuteronomy xxiii. 1, 2.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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

Euripides, Frag. 935.
Euripides, Trojan Women 884–5.
Plato, Timaeus 90a; cp. p. 217.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. II  οὔρανοῦ θέαν ἀπατώμενοι καὶ ὁφει μόνη πεπιστευκότες τῶν ἀστέρων τὰς κινήσεις ἐπιθεώμενοι έθαύμασάν τε καὶ ἐξεθείασαν, θεοὺς ἐκ τοῦ θείων ὄνομάσαντες τοὺς ἀστέρας, καὶ προσεκύνησαν ἢλιον, ὡς Ἰνδοὶ, καὶ σελήνην, ὡς Εὐρυγές. οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐκ γῆς φυομένων τοὺς ἡμέρους δρεπόμενοι καρποὺς Δῆλὼν τὸν σῖτον, ὡς Ἀθηναίοι, καὶ Δίωνυσος τὴν ἀμπέλον, ὡς Θηβαῖοι, προσηγόρευσαν. ἄλλοι τάς ἀμοιβάς τῆς κακίας ἐπισκοπήσαντες θεοποιοῦσι τὰς ἀντιδόσεις προσκυνοῦντες καὶ τὰς συμφοράς. ἐντεῦθεν τὰς Ἐφινύας καὶ τὰς Εὐμενίδας Παλαμαίους τε καὶ Προστροπαίους, ἐτὶ δὲ Ἀλαστορας ἀναπεπλάκασιν οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν σκηνήν ποιηταί. φιλοσοφοῖς δὲ ἤδη τινες καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τοὺς ποιητικοὺς τῶν ἐν ὑμῖν παθῶν ἀνειδωλοποιοῦσι τύπους τῶν Φόβου καὶ τὸν Ἐρωτα καὶ τὴν Χαράν καὶ τὴν Ἑλπίδα, ὥσπερ ἀμελεῖ καὶ Ἐπιμενίδης ὁ παλαιὸς Ἄβρεως καὶ Ἀναδείας Ἀθήνησον ἀναστήσας βωμοῦς· οἱ δὲ εἴς αὐτῶν ὀρμώμενοι τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκθεοῦνται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ σωματικῶς ἀναπλάττονται, Δίκη τις καὶ Κλωθὼ καὶ Λάξεσις καὶ Ἀτρόπος καὶ Εἰμαρμένη, Αὐξώ τε καὶ Θαλλὼ, αἱ Ἀττικαί. ἐκτός ἐστὶν εἰσηγητικὸς τρόπος ἀπάτης θεῶν περιποιητικός, καθ’ ὑπὸ ἀριθμοῦσι θεους τοὺς διόδεκα· ὁν καὶ θεογονίαν Ἡσίοδος ἂδει τὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁσα θεολογεῖ Ομηρος. 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
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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. avenging deities.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. II. θείας ευεργεσίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κατα-
γινομένης ὁμομενος. τὸν γὰρ εὐεργετοῦντα μὴ
συνιέντες θεὸν ἀνέπλασάν τινας σωτηρίας Διοσκού-
ρους καὶ Ἡρακλέα ἀλεξίκακον καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν

23 P. ιατρόν.

Αὐταὶ μὲν αἱ ὀλισθηραὶ τε καὶ ἐπιβλαβεῖς παρ-
εκβάσεις τῆς ἀληθείας, καθέλκουσαι οὐρανόθεν τὸν
ἀνθρωπον καὶ εἰς βάραθρον περιτρέπουσαι. ἐθέλω
δὲ ύμῶν ἐν χρῷ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπιδείξαι ὅποιοὶ
tines καὶ εἰ tines, ὥν ἡδη ποτὲ τῆς πλάνης λήξητε,
αὕθις δὲ παλινδρομήσητε εἰς οὐρανόν. "ἡμεν γάρ
που καὶ ἡμεῖς τέκνα ὅργης, ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ. ὁ δὲ
θεὸς πλούσιος ὡν ἐν ἐλέει, διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἀγάπην
αὐτοῦ, ἦν ἡγάπησεν ἡμᾶς, ὅντας ἡδη νέκρους τοὺς
παραπτώμασιν συνεξωσοῦσαι τῷ Χριστῷ." ᾧν
γάρ ὁ λόγος καὶ <ὁ>1 συνταφεῖς Χριστῷ συνυψώταται
θεῷ. οἱ δὲ ἔτι ἄπιστοι "τέκνα ὅργης" ὀνομάζον-
tαι, τρεφόμενα ὅργη. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ὅργης θρέμματα
ἐτί, οἱ τῆς πλάνης ἀπεσπασμένοι, ἄσσοντες δὲ ἐπὶ
tὴν ἀλήθειαν. ταύτη τοι ἡμεῖς οἱ τῆς ἀνομίας νῦι
ποτε διὰ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν τοῦ λόγου νῦι νῦι
γεγόναμεν τοῦ θεοῦ. υμῶν δὲ καὶ ὁ ύμέτερος
ὑποδύεται ποιητὴς ὁ Ἀκραγαντῖνος Ἐμπεδοκλῆς.

tοιγάρτοι χαλεπῆσιν ἀλύνοντες κακότητιν
οὐ ποτε δειλαῖων ἀχέων λωφήσετε θυμόν.

τὰ μὲν δὴ πλείστα μεμύθενται καὶ πέπλασται περὶ
θεῶν ύμῶν. τὰ δὲ ὁσα καὶ 2 γεγενήσθαι ὑπείληπται,
taúta δὲ περὶ ἀνθρώπων αἰσχρῶν καὶ ἀσελγῶς
βεβιωκότων ἀναγέραται.

1 <ὁ> inserted by Schwartz.
2 ὁσα καὶ Mayor. [καὶ] ὁσα Stählin. καὶ ὁσα mss.

54
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. 145 Diels.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. II  
tύφω καὶ μανή Discussions δε βαδιζετε καὶ τρίβον ὅρθην  
εὐθείαν προλυτόντες ἀπῆλθετε τῇν δι' ἀκανθῶν  
καὶ σκολόπων. τὶ πλανᾶσθε, βροτοί; παῦσασθε,  
mάταιοι,  
καλλίπετε σκοτίν νυκτός, φωτός δε λάβεσθε.

24 P. ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἡ προφητικὴ παρεγγυοὶ καὶ ποιητικὴ  
Σίβυλλα: παρεγγυα δε καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια, γυμνοῦσα  
tων καταπληκτικῶν τούτων καὶ ἐκπληκτικῶν  
προσωπείων τὸν όχλον τῶν θεών, συνωνυμίας τισὶ  
tὰς δοξοποιώσα διελέγχουσα.

Αὐτίκα γούν εἰσὶν ὦ τρεῖς τοὺς Ζήνας ἀναγρά-  
φουσιν, τὸν μὲν Αἰθέρος ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ, τῶ δὲ λουπὼ  
tοῦ Κρόνου παίδε, τούτων τὸν μὲν ἐν Κρήτῃ, θάτερον  
dε ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ πάλιν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ πέντε Ἀθηναίας  
ὑποτίθενται, τὴν μὲν Ἡφαίστου, τὴν Ἀθηναίαν·  
tὴν δὲ Νείλου, τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν· τρίτην <τὴν>¹ τοῦ  
Κρόνου, τὴν πολέμου εὐρέτων· τετάρτην τὴν Δίος,  
ἣν Μεσσηνιοὶ Κορυφασίαν ἀπὸ τῆς μετρὸς ἐπι-  
κεκλήκασαν· ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὴν Πάλλαντος καὶ Τιτανίδος  
tῆς Ὀκεανοῦ, ἢ τὸν πατέρα δυσσεβῶς καταθύμασα  
tῷ πατρῷω κεκόσμηται δέρματι ὡσπερ κωδίῳ.

¹ <τὴν> inserted by Wilamowitz.

---

a Sibylline Oracles, Preface, 23–25, 27.
b The word Sibyl was applied to prophetesses who delivered oracles at certain shrines, such as Cumae or Erythrae. 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-
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

But ye in pride and madness walk; ye left the true, straight path, and chose the way through thorns. Why err, ye mortals? Cease, vain men! Forsake dark night, and cleave unto the light.

This is what the prophetic and poetic Sibyl 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: 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; 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.

With this paragraph compare Cicero, *De natura deorum* iii. 53–59. Both Cicero and Clement are using the work of the "theologians" (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, *Manual of Greek Antiquities*, pp. 95–96.

A goddess worshipped at Sais in Egypt, whom the Greeks identified with Athena. See Herodotus ii. 59, etc.

57
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

C. nai μὴν Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλης πρῶτον Ἡφαίστου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς (ἐνταῦθα δὴ οὐκέτι παρθένος ἢ Ἀθηνᾶ), δεύτερον ἐν Κρήτῃ τὸν Κύρβαντος, τρίτον τὸν Διὸς καὶ τέταρτον τὸν Ἀρκάδα τὸν Σιλήνου. Νόμισος οὖν τὸν ἠκληταὶ παρὰ Ἀρκάσων· ἐπὶ τούτων τὸν Διὸν καταλέγει τὸν Ἀμμωνος· ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος ὁ γραμματικὸς τούτους ἔκτων ἐπιφέρει τὸν Μάγνητος. πόσοι δὲ καὶ νῦν Ἀπόλλωνες, ἀναρίθμητοι θυγατέρι καὶ ἐπίκηροι 1 тинес ἀνθρώπων, εἰσίν, οἱ παραπλησίως τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐκείνοις κεκλημένοι; τί δ' εἰ σοι τοὺς πολλοὺς εὐποιμ' Ἀσκληπιων ἢ τοὺς Ἐρμᾶς τοὺς ἀριθμομένους ἢ τοὺς Ἡφαίστους τοὺς μυθολογομένους; μὴ καὶ περίττος εἰναι δόξω τὰς ἀκόας ὑμῶν τοῖς πολλοῖς τούτους ἐπικλύξων ὄνομασιν; ἀλλ' αἱ γε πατρίδες αὐτοὺς καὶ αἱ τεχναὶ καὶ οἱ βίοι, πρὸς δὲ γε καὶ οἱ τάφοι ἀνθρώπους γεγονότας διελέγχουσιν.

"Ἀρης γοῦν ὁ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς, ὡς οἴον τε, τετιμημένοι,

"Ἀρες, Ἀρες, βροτολογεῖ, μιαφόνε, τειχεσιπλῆτα,

25 Π. ὁ ἀλλοπρόσαλλος οὖτος καὶ ἀνάρσιος, ὡς μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος φησι, Σπαρτιάτης ἢν. Σοφοκλῆς δὲ Ὁρᾶκα οἴδεν αὐτόν. ἄλλοι δὲ Ἀρκάδα. τούτων δὲ Ὁμηρος δεδέσθαι φησίν ἐπὶ μῆνας τρισκαίδεκα.

1 ἐπίκηροι Mayor. ἐπίκουροi miss.

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.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

fleece.* 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 nomeus a shepherd.

c Homer, Iliad v. 31 and 455.
CAP. 11

τλη μὲν Ἀρης, ὅτε μιν Ὄτοσ κρατερὸς τ᾽ Ἐφιάλτης, παῖδες Ἀλωνῆς, δῆσαν κρατερὸ ἐνὶ δεσμῷ. χαλκέω δ᾽ ἐν κεράμῳ δέδετο τρισκαίδεκα μήνας. πολλὰ κάγαθὰ Κᾶρες σχοὶεν, οἱ καταβύονουν αὐτῶ τοὺς κύνας. Σκύθαι δὲ τοὺς ὄνους ἐρεύοντες μὴ πανέσθων, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος φησι καὶ Καλλίμαχος,

Φοῖβος Ὑπερβορείους ὄνων ἐπιτελλεται ἱροῖς.

ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ ἄλλαξοι

tέρπουσιν λιπαρὰι Φοῖβον ὄνοσφαγίαι.

"Ἡφαίστος δὲ, ὅν ἔρρυσεν ἐξ Ὄλυμπου Ζεὺς "βηλοῦ ἀπὸ θεσπεσίοιο," ἐν Δήμην καταπεσοῦν ἐχάλκευε, πηρωθεῖς τῶ πόδε, "ὑπὸ δὲ κνῆμα ρώστο ἀραιά." ἔχεις καὶ ἰατρὸν, οὐχὶ χαλκέα μόνον ἐν θεοῖς. ὁ δὲ ἰατρὸς φιλάργυρος ἢν, Ἀσκληπιὸς οἴνομα αὐτῶ. καὶ σοι τὸν σὸν παραθησομαι ποιητήν, τὸν Βουώτιον Πίνδαρον.

ἐτραπε κάκεινον ἀγάνορι μισθῷ χρυσός ἐν χερσὶ̃

faneis.

26 P. χερσὶ̃ δ᾽ ἀρα Κρονίων | ρύσας δι᾽ ἀμφοῖν ἀμπνοαὶ̃ 1

στερίνων καθείλεν

ὥκεως, αἰθῶν δὲ κεραυνὸς ἐνέσκηψε 2 μόρον,

καὶ Εὐριπίδης

Ζεὺς γὰρ κατακτᾶς παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν αἴτιος

'Ασκληπιίον, στέρνουσιν ἐμβαλὼν φλώγα.

1 ἀμπνοαὶ̃ Pindar. ἀμπνοὰς mss.

2 ἐνέσκηψε Pindar. ἐσκηψε 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.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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

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.

Elsewhere the same writer says:

Rich sacrifice of asses Phoebus loves.

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

And Euripides says:

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

---

a Homer, *Iliad* i. 591.  
b *Iliad* xviii. 411.  
c Pindar, *Pythian Odes* iii. 97, 100–105.  
d *Iliad* xviii. 411.  
*Pindar, Pythian Odes* iii. 97, 100–105.  
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

οὖτος μὲν οὖν κεῖται κεραυνωθεῖς ἐν τοῖς Κυνοσ-ουρίδοις ὄριοις. Φιλόχορος δὲ ἐν Τήνῳ Ποσειδώνα
φησι τιμᾶθαι ἱατρόν, Κρόνῳ δὲ ἐπικείσθαι Σικε-
λίαν καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸν τεθάφθαι. Πατροκλῆς τε
ὁ Θεόριος καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ὁ νεώτερος ἐν τισι¹ τρα-
γῳδίαις ἱστορεῖτον² τοῖν Διοσκούρων³ πέρι· ἀνθρώ-
πιν τινὲ τούτῳ τῷ Διοσκοῦρῳ ἐπικήρῳ ἐγενέσθην,⁴
εἰ τῷ ἰκανὸς πιστώσασθαι ὁμηρος τὸ λελεγμένον

τούς ὁ' ἡδὴ κάτεχεν φυσίζοος αἰα
ἐν Λακεδαιμονι αὐθί, φίλη ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ.

κάστωρ μὲν θυητός, θανάτου δὲ οἱ αἰσα πέπρωται.
αὐτῷ ὁ γ' ἄθανατος Πολυδεύκης, ὁξος ᾿Αρης.

τούτῳ μὲν ποητικῶς ἐψεύσατο. ὁμηρος δὲ ᾿αξιο-
πιστότερος αὐτοῦ εἰπὼν περὶ ἀμφοῖν τοῖν Διο-
κοῦρον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὁρακλέα εἰδωλον ἐλέγξας.

“φῶτα” γὰρ ὁ Ὁρακλῆς, μεγάλων ἐπιστορα
ἔργων.” Ὁρακλέα ὁν καὶ αὐτοῦ ὁμηρος θυητὸν
οἶδεν ἄνθρωπον, Ἰερώνυμος δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ
tὴν σχέσιν αὐτοῦ υφηγεῖται τοῦ σώματος, μυκρὸν,
φριξότριχα, ῥωστικὸν. Δικαίαρχος δὲ σχιζαν,
νευρώδη, μέλανα, γρυπὸν, ὑποχαροπόν, τετανό-
τριχα. οὔτος οὖν ὁ Ὁρακλῆς δύο πρὸς τοῖς
πεντήκοντα ἑτη βεβωκῶς κατέστρεψε τὸν βιὸν διὰ

27 Ρ. τῆς ἐν Οἰῆ πυρᾶς | κεκηδεμένον.

¹ ἐν τισ Welcker. ἐν τριστ mss.
² ἱστορεῖτον Sylburg. ἱστορεῖτον mss.
³ τοῖν Διοσκούρων Sylburg. τῷ Διοσκοῦρῳ 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 ere 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 versesb 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 “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.

b 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.

c Homer, Odyssey xxi. 6.
Τὰς ἀρχαῖας ἔρωτις καὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶν τὸν Χρονόν τῶν διεθαρμένων ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ, τὴν Ἀμφιτρίτην, τὴν Αμυμώνην, τὴν Ἀλόπην, τὴν Μελανίππην, τὴν Ἀλκυόνην, τὴν Ἰπποθόνην, τὴν Χιόνην, τὰς ἄλλας τὰς μυρίας· ἐν αἷς δὲ καὶ τοσαῦτας οὕτως ἔτι τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ὑμῶν ἔστενοξωρεῖτο τὰ πάθη· κάλει μοι καὶ τὸν

1 Ἀλκμάν Bergk. Ἀλκμάνδρος mss.
2 τεκενίζουσιν Sylburg. μὲν ζουσιν mss.
3 Μυσᾶς Stählin. μούσας mss.

64
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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 evels, their embraces, their tears, passions and disolute pleasures. Call Poseidon, and the band of maidens corrupted by him, Amphitrite, Amymone, Alcione, Melanippe, Alcyone, Hippothoë, Chione and the thousands of others. Yet in spite of this greatumber, the passions of your Poseidon were still un-

4 Moisas Müller. μῦσας MSS.
5 αὐτὰς Stählin. αὐταῖς MSS.
CAP. 11. Απόλλων. Φοίβος ἐστιν οὕτος καὶ μάντις ἀγνὸς καὶ σύμβουλος ἀγαθός. ἀλλ’ οὐ ταῦτα ἡ Στερόπη λέγει οὐδὲ ἡ Αἴθουσα οὐδὲ ἡ Ἀρσινόη οὐδὲ ἡ Ζευξίππη οὐδὲ ἡ Προδότη οὐδὲ ἡ Μάρτησσα οὐδὲ ἡ Ὕπτυλη. Δάφνη γὰρ ἐξέφυγε μόνη καὶ τῶν μάντων καὶ τὴν φθοράν. αὐτὸς τε ὁ Ζεὺς ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἥκετω, ὁ “πατήρ” καθ’ ὑμᾶς “ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.” τοσοῦτος περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἐξεχύθη, ὡς ἐπιθυμεῖν μὲν πασῶν, ἐκπληροῦν δὲ εἰς πάσας τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. ἐνεπίμπλατο γοῦν γυναικῶν οὐχ ἦττον ἡ αἰγών ὁ Θομοιτὼν τράγος. καὶ σοῦ, ὦ Ὁμήρε, τεθαύμακα τὰ ποιήματα.

28 P. ἡ, καὶ κυνάγησιν ἐπ’ ὃφρυσι νεῦσε Κρονίων· ἀμβρόσια δ’ ἀρα χαίται ἐπερρόσαντο ἀνάκτος κρατὸς ἀπ’ ἀθανάτου. μέγαν δ’ ἐλεύθερον Ὀλυμπον. σεμνὸν ἀναπλάττεις, Ὁμήρε, τὸν Δία καὶ νεῦμα περιάπτεις αὐτῷ τετμημένον. ἀλλ’ ἐὰν ἐπιδεῖξης μόνον, ἀνθρώπε, τὸν κεστὸν, ἐξελέγχεται καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ ἡ κόμη κατασχύνεται. εἰς ὅσον δ’ ἐλήλακεν1 ἀσελγείας ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκείνος ὁ μετ’ Ἀλκμήνης τοσαῦτας ἡδυπαθήσας νύκτας. οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ νύκτες αἱ ἐννέα τῷ ἀκολαστῷ μακράι (ἀπας δὲ ἐμπαλων

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. Stromateis 118. 5) as a type of the sensual man.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

satisfied. Call Apollo, too. He is Phoebus, a holy prophet and good counsellor! But this is not the opinion of Sterope, or Aethusa, or Arsinoë, or Zeuxippe, or Prothoë, or Marpessa, or Hypsipyle. For Daphne was the only one who escaped the prophet and his corruption. Above all, let Zeus come too, he who is, according to your account, "father of gods and men." 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 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.

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 licentiousness did this great Zeus reach when he spent so many nights in pleasure with Alcmene! Nay, not even the nine nights were a long period for this debauchee,—

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.

According to the usual story Heracles was begotten in three nights (Lucian, Dialogi deorum 10), whence he was called τρεῖςπέρος (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 ἀκρασία βραχύς ἦν), ὥν δὴ ἡμῖν τὸν ἀλεξικακὸν σπειρή θεὸν. Διὸς υἱὸς 'Ἡρακλῆς, Διὸς ὃς ἀληθῶς, ὃ ἐκ μακρᾶς γεννώμενος νυκτός, τοὺς μὲν ἄθλους τοὺς δώδεκα πολλῷ ταλαπωρησάμενοι χρόνῳ, τὰς δὲ πεντήκοντα Θεστίου θυγατέρας νυκτὶ διαφθείρας μιᾷ, μοιχὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ νυμφίος τοσούτων γενόμενος παρθένων. οὐκοιν ἀπεικότως οἴ ποιήσαί "σχέτλιον" τοῦτον καὶ "ἀισυλοεργὸν" ἀποκαλοῦσαν. μακρὸν δ' ἂν εἶχ μοιχείας αὐτοῦ παντοῦ παῖδων διηγείσθαι φθοράς. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ παῖδων ἀπέσχοντο οἱ παρ' ὑμῖν θεοί, ὃ μὲν τις Ἄγλα, ὃ δὲ Ὑακίνθου, ὃ δὲ Πέλοπος, ὃ δὲ Χρυσίππου, ὃ δὲ Γανυμήδους ἔρωντες. τούτους ὑμῶν αἱ γυναίκες προσκυνοῦντων τοὺς θεοὺς, τοιοῦτος δὲ εὐχέσθων εἶναι τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἑαυτῶν, οὕτω σώφρονας, ἐν' ὧν ὁμοι στὸς θεός τὰ ἵσα ἐξηλωκότες· τούτους ἠθιζόντων οἱ παῖδες ὑμῶν σέβειν, ἵνα καὶ ἄνδρες γένωνται εἰκόνα πορνείας ἐναργῆ· τοὺς θεοὺς παραλαμβάνοντες.

'Αλλ' οἱ μὲν ἁρρένες αὐτοῖς τῶν θεῶν ἱσως μόνοι ἅττουσι περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια

θηλύτεραι δὲ θεαὶ μένον αἰδοὶ οἴκου ἐκάστη,

φησιν ὁ Ὑμηρος, αἰδούμεναι αἱ θεαὶ διὰ σεμνότητα ἀφροδίτην ἰδεῖν μεμοιχευμένην· αἱ δὲ ἀκολοσταῖνουσιν ἐμπαθέστερον ἐν τῇ μοιχείᾳ δεδεμέναι, Ἡώς ἐπὶ Τιθωνῷ, Σελήνη <δ' ἐπ'> ἐνυμίων,

1 ἐναργῆ Markland. ἐναγῆ mss.
2 [αἱ θεαὶ] Valckenaer: Stählin.
3 <δ' ἐπ'> inserted by Wilamowitz.
indeed, a whole lifetime was short for his incontinence, 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." 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, 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.
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.

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.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

with Aeacus, Thetis with Peleus, Demeter with CHAP.
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," in which, for the sake of an apple, the goddesses stripped and presented themselves naked to the shepherd, 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, 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 have been confined to Athens; on the other hand, the contests are now a world-

c See p. 3, n. e.

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

CAP. καὶ οἱ φαλλοὶ οἱ Διονύσων ἐπιτελοῦμενοι, κακῶς ἐπινενεμημένοι τὸν βίον.

Διόνυσος γὰρ κατελθείν εἰς "Αἰδοὺ γλυχόμενος ἦγνοι τὴν ὀδὸν, ὑπισχνεῖται δ' αὐτῷ φράσειν <τις>,

30 P. Πρόσυμνος τούνομα, οὐκ ἅμισθι: δὲ μισθὸς οὐ καλὸς, ἀλλὰ Διονύσων καλὸς· καὶ ἀφροδίσιος ἢ ἡ χάρις, δ' μισθὸς δὲ ἥτειτο Διόνυσος: βουλομένως δὲ τῷ θεῷ γέγονεν ἡ αἰτήσις, καὶ δὴ ὑπισχνεῖται παρέξειν αὐτῷ, εἰ ἀναζεῦσι, ὅρκω πιστωσάμενος τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν. μαθὼν ἀπῆρεν· ἔπανήλθεν αὖθις· οὐ καταλαμβάνει τὸν Πρόσυμνον (ἔτεθνήκει γάρ): ἀφοσιούμενος τῷ ἐραστῇ ὁ Διόνυσος ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ὁμᾶ καὶ πασχητικοί. κλάδων οὖν συκῆς, ὅς ἐτυγχα, ἐκτεμῶν ἀνδρείου μορίου σκευάζεται τρόπον ἐφεξεται τε τῷ κλάδῳ, τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἐκτελῶν τῷ νεκρῷ. ὑπόμνημα τοῦ πάθους τούτου μυστικῶν φαλλοῦ κατὰ πόλεις ἀνύστανται Διονύσων. "εἰ μὴ γὰρ Διονύσων πομπὴ ἐποιοῦντο καὶ ὁμον άσμα ἄιδοίουσιν, ἀναιδέστατα εἵργαστ' ἀν, φησιν Ἡράκλεις, ωὔτος δὲ Ἀιδὸς καὶ Διόνυσος, οὕτω μαινονται καὶ ληναίζουσιν," οὐ διὰ τὴν μέθην τοῦ σώματος, ὃς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, τοσοῦτον ὅσον διὰ τὴν ἐπονείδιστον τῆς ἀσελγείας ἱεροφαντίαν.

Εἰκότως ἀρα οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὑμῶν θεοὶ <δοῦλοι>, δοῦλοι παθῶν γεγονότες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῶν Εἰλώτων

1 <τις> inserted by Dindorf.
2 ἁσματα Heinsius: Stählin. ἁσματα, δ Dindorf.
3 εἱργαστ' ἀν Schleiermacher. εἱργασται mss.
4 <δοῦλοι> inserted by Schwartz.
5 πρὸ Münzel. πρὸς mss.

a Heracleitus, Frag. 127 Bywater, 15 Diels. Dionysus 72
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 seemly one, though to Dionysus it was seemly 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."
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP.  Καλουμένων τῶν παρὰ Λακεδαίμονίοις δούλειον ὑπεισῆλθεν ζυγὸν 'Απόλλων 'Αδμήτω ἐν Φεραίς, Ἡρακλῆς ἐν Σάρδεσσῳ Ὀμφάλῃ, Λαομέδουντι ὁ ἔθη-τευθεῖς Ποσειδῶν καὶ 'Απόλλων, καθάπερ ἄχρεος οἰκέτης, μηδὲ ἐλευθερίας ἐπήποθεν διννῃεῖς τυχεῖν παρὰ τοῦ προτέρου δεσπότου· τότε καὶ τὰ Ἰλίου τείχῃ ἀνψικοδομησάτην τῷ Φρυγί. "Ομηρος δὲ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν οὐκ αἰσχύνεται παραφαινείς λέγων τῷ Ὀδυσσείς "χρύσεον λύχνον ἐχούσαν" ἐν χεροῖς τῆς δὲ Ἀφροδίτην ἀνέγνωμεν, οἷον ἀκόλαστόν τι θεραπανίδιον, παραθεὶσαν φέρουσαν τῇ Ἑλένῃ τὸν δίφρον τοῦ μοιχοῦ κατὰ πρόσωπον, ὅπως αυτὸν εἰς συνοικίαν ὑπαγάγηται. Πανύσσισ γὰρ πρὸς τούτως καὶ ἄλλους παμπόλλους ἄνθρώποις λατρεῦσαι θεοῦν ἑστορεῖ ὡδὲ πως γράφων.

τῇ μὲν Δημήτηρ, τῇ δὲ κλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις, τῇ δὲ Ποσειδάμων, τῇ δ’ ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων ἄνδρὶ παρὰ θητῷθετεύμεν̣ 1 εἰς ἐνιαυτόν̣. τῇ δὲ καὶ 2 ὀβρυμόθυμος Ἀρης ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἀνάγκης, καὶ τὰ ἐπί τούτως.

Τούτῳ οὖν εἰκότως ἔπεται τοὺς ἑρωτικοὺς ύμῶν 31Ρ. καὶ παθητικοὺς τούτους θεοὺς ἄνθρωποπαθεῖς ἐκ παντὸς εἰσάγειν τρόπον. "καὶ γάρ θην κεῖνος θητῶν χρῶς." τεκμηριῶν δὲ "Ομηρος, μᾶλα ἄκριβῶς Ἀφροδίτην ἐπὶ τῷ τραύματι παρεισάγων δέν καὶ μέγα ἱάχουσαν αὐτῶν τε τὸν πολεμικῶτατον Ἀρη ὑπὸ τοῦ Διομήδους κατὰ τοῦ κενεῶνς οὐτα-σμένου δυναύμενος. Πολέμων δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν

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

ο Homer, Odyssey xix. 34.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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, Heracleia, Frag. 16 Kinkel. Iliad xxi. 568. Iliad v. 343. Iliad v. 855 and following lines.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. ὑπὸ Ὄρνύτου τρωθήναι λέγει· καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν Ἀιδωνέα ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους τοξευθήναι "Ομήρος λέγει καὶ τὸν Ἡλιον [Ἀυγέαν] 1 Πανύσσασις ἔστορει. ἦδη δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἡραν τὴν ζυγίαν ἔστορει ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλέους ὁ αὐτὸς οὖτος Πανύσσασις "ἐν Πῦλῳ ἰμαθόεντι." Σωσίβιος δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα πρὸς τῶν Ἰπποκοωντιδῶν κατὰ τῆς χειρὸς οὐτασθήναι λέγει. εἰ δὲ 2 τραύματα, καὶ αἷμα· οἱ γὰρ ἱχώρες οἱ ποιητικοὶ εἰδεχθέστεροι καὶ τῶν αἷμάτων, σήμες γὰρ αἷματος ἱχώρ νοεῖται. ἀνάγκη τοῖνυν θεραπείας καὶ τροφὰς παρεισάγειν αὐτοῖς, ὥν εἰσιν ἐνδεεῖσ. διὸ τράπεζας καὶ μέθαι καὶ γέλωτες καὶ συννοσίαι, οὐκ ἂν ἄφροδισίοις χρωμένων ἄνθρωπίνοις 3 οὐδὲ παιδοποιουμένων οὐδὲ μην ὑπνωσόντων, εἰ ἀθάνατοι καὶ ἀνενδεεῖς καὶ ἀγήρω 4 ὑπήρχον. μετέλαβεν δὲ καὶ τραπέζης ἄνθρωπίνης παρὰ τοῖς Αἰθίοψι, ἀπανθρώπου δὲ καὶ ἀθέσμου αὐτοῦ ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Λυκάοι τῷ Ἀρκάδι ἐστιώμενος· ἄνθρωπεῖν γοῦν ἐνεφορεῖτο σαρκῶν οὐχ ἐκών. ἦγνοει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἄρα Λυκάων ὁ Ἀρκάς ὁ ἐστιάτωρ αὐτοῦ τὸν παῖδα κατασφάξας τὸν αὐτοῦ (Νῦκτιμος ὅνομα αὐτῷ) παραθεὶ ὠψον τῷ Δί. καλὸς γε ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ μαντικός, ὁ ξένιος, ὁ ἰκέσιος, ὁ

1 τὸν Ἡλιον [Ἀυγέαν] Schwartz. τὸν Ἡλείον αὐγέαν mss.
2 δὲ Mayor. δὴ mss.
3 ἄνθρωπίνοις Reinkens. ἄνθρωποις mss.
4 ἀγήρω Potter. ἀγήρως mss.

b Iliad v. 395–397.
c Panyasis, Heracleia, Frag. 6. 20 Kinkel.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP.  II  μειλίχιος, ὁ πανομφαῖος, ὁ προσπροταῖος· μᾶλλον 
δὲ <ὁ> ἄδικος, ὁ ἄθεσμος, ὁ ἄνομος, ὁ ἀνόσιος, ὁ ἀπάνθρωπος, ὁ βίαιος, ὁ φθορεύς, ὁ μοιχός, ὁ ἑρωτικός. ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ἢν, ὅτε τοιοῦτον ἢν, ὅτε ἀνθρωπὸς ἢν, νῦν δὲ ἤδη μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ οἱ μῦθοι ὑμῖν γεγρακέναι. δράκων ο Ζεὺς οὐκέτι, οὐ κύκνος ἑστίν, οὐκ ἄετός, οὐκ ἀνθρωπὸς ἑρωτικός· οὐχ ἰπταται θεός, οὐ παϊδεραστεί, οὐ φιλεί, οὐ βιάζεται, καίτοι πολλαὶ καὶ καλαὶ καὶ νῦν ἐτὶ γυναῖκες καὶ Λήδας εὐπρεπέστεραι καὶ Σεμέλης ἀκμαίότεραι, μειράκια δὲ ὁραίότεραι καὶ πολιτικότεραι τοῦ Φρυγίου βουκολοῦ. ποῦ νῦν ἔκεινος ὁ ἄετός; ποῦ δὲ ὁ κύκνος; ποῦ δὲ αὐτός ὁ Ζεὺς; γεγρακε μετὰ τού πτεροῦ· οὐ γάρ δήπον μετανοεῖ τοῖς ἑρωτικοῖς οὐδὲ παϊδεύεται σωφρονεῖν. γυμνόται δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ μῦθος· ἀπέθανεν ἡ Λήδα, ἀπέθανεν ὁ κύκνος, ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἄετός. ζήτει σοι τὸν Δία· μὴ τὸν οὐρανόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν γῆν πολυπραγμόνηι. ὁ Κρής σοι διηγήσεται, παρ’ ὦ καὶ τέθαπται, Καλλιμαχὸς ἐν ὑμνοῖς

καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο
Κρῆτης ἐτεκτήναντο.

tέθνηκε γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς (μὴ δυσφόρει) ὡς Λήδα, ὡς κύκνος, ὡς ἄετός, ὡς ἀνθρωπὸς ἑρωτικός, ὡς δράκων.

<ὁ> inserted by Sylburg.
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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. II "Ἡδη δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ φαίνονται ὦ δεισιδαιμόνες ἀκοντες μὲν, ὡμως δ' οὖν συνιέντες τὴν πλάνην τὴν περὶ τούς θεούς."

οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυός εἰσι παλαιφάτου οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης, ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν γένος εἰσὶ, μικρὸν δὲ ὑστερον καὶ δρύες ὄντες εὑρεθήσονται καὶ πέτραι. 'Αγαμέμνονα γοῦν τινα Δία ἐν Σπάρτῃ τιμᾶσθαι Στάφυλος ἱστορεῖ. Φανοκλῆς δὲ ἐν "Ερωσὶν ἦ 1 Καλοῖς 'Αγαμέμνονα τὸν 'Ελλήνων βασιλέα 'Αργύτον νεῶν 'Αφροδίτης ἱστασθαι ἐπ' 'Αργύννω τῷ ἐρωμένῳ. "Αρτεμιν δὲ Ἀρκάδες 'Απαγχομένην καλουμένην προστρέπονται, ὦς φησὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐν Αἰτίοις. καὶ Κον- δυλίτις ἐν Μηθύμνη ἔτερα τετύμηται "Αρτεμις. ἐστι δὲ καὶ Ποδάγρας ἀλλὰ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν τῇ Δακωνικῇ ἱερόν, ὦς φησὶ Σωσίβιος. Πολέμων δὲ Κεχυντός 'Απόλλωνος οἶδεν ἀγαλμα, καὶ Ὄψις 33 P. φάγου | πάλιν 'Απόλλωνος ἀλλο ἐν "Ηλιì δι τιμώ- μενον. ἐνταῦθα 'Απομιῶν Δι' θύοντι 'Ηλείου. 'Ρωμαίοι δὲ Ἀπομιῶν 'Ἡρακλεί καὶ Πυρετῷ δὲ

1 ἦ Leopardus. τοῖς Sylburg. τίς mss.

---

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.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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 Agamemnonc honoured at Sparta, according to Staphylusd; and Phanocles, in his book entitled Loves, or Fair Youths, says that Agamemnon the king of the Greeks set up a temple to Aphroditie Argynnus, in honour of Argynnus whom he loved.e

Arcadians worship an Artemis called “the goddess who is hanged,” as Callimachus says in his Causesf; and at Methymna another, an Artemis Condylitis, is honoured.g There is also another, a “gouty” Artemis, with a shrine in Laconia, as Sosibius says.h

Polemon knows a statue of “yawning” Apollo; and another, too, of Apollo “the epicure,” honoured in Elis.i These Eleans sacrifice to Zeus “averter of lies,” k and the Romans to Heracles of the same title,

Artemis seems to have been “hanged” annually at Condylea in Arcadia. See Pausanias 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.

Condylitis may mean “striking,” from κονδυλίζεων. But possibly this is another form of “Artemis of Condylea,” called Artemis Condyleatis in Pausanias viii. 23. 6.


G 81
CAP. καὶ Φόβωθος θύωνυν, οὕς καὶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν ἀμφὶ
τὸν Ἦρακλέα ἐγγράφουσιν. ἦδε δὲ Ἄργειος,
'Αφροδίτην Τυμβωρύχον θηρσκεύουσιν Ἀργείῳ καὶ
Δάκωνες, καὶ Χελύτιδα δὲ Ἀρτεμιν Σπαρτιᾶται
σέβομαι· ἐπεὶ τὸ βήττευν χελύττευν καλοῦσιν.

Οἴει ποθὲν παρέγγραπτα δὲ ταύτα σοι κομίζεσθαι
tὰ ύφ᾽ ἢμῶν παρατιθέμενα; οὔδε τοὺς σοὺς γνωρί-
ζειν ἑοκας συγγραφεῖς, οὕς ἐγὼ μάρτυρας ἐπὶ τὴν
σὴν ἀπίστιαν καλῶ, ἀθέου χλεύης, ὡς δεῖλαιοι, τὸν
πάντα ἢμῶν ἅβιωτον ὀντῶς βίον ἐμπεπληκτότας.

οὐχὶ μέντοι Ζεὺς φαλακρὸς ἐν Ἀργεῖ, τιμώρος δὲ
ἀλλὸς ἐν Κύπρῳ τετίμησθον 4; οὐχὶ δὲ Ἀφροδίτη
περιβασοῖν 5 μὲν Ἀργεῖοι, ἑταίρα δὲ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ
καλλιπύγων 6 θύουσιν Συρακούσιοι, ἣν Νίκανδρος
ὁ ποιητής "καλλίγλουτόν" ποιν κέκληκεν; Διό-
νυσον δὲ ἦδη σωτῷ τὸν χοιροψάλαν· Σικυώνω
τοῦτον προσκυνοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῶν γυναικεῖων τάξαντες
τὸν Διόνυσον μορίων, ἔφορον αὐχοῦς τὸν ὑβρεως
σεβάζοντες ἀρχηγὸν, τοιοῦδε μὲν αὐτῶι οἱ θεοὶ,
τοιοῦδε καὶ αὐτοὶ, παίζοντες ἐν θεοὶς, μάλλον δὲ
ἐμπαίζοντες καὶ ἐνυβρίζοντες σφίσιν αὐτοῖς.
καὶ πόσῳ βελτίως Αἰγύπτιοι κωμηδόν καὶ κατὰ πόλεις
tὰ ἄλογα τῶν ζώων ἐκτετμηκότες ἦπερ Ἐλληνες
tουτούς προσκυνοῦντες θεοῦς; τὰ μὲν γὰρ εἰ
cαὶ θηρία, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ μοιχία, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ μάχλα, παρὰ
φύσιν ἀπὸ τὴν εἰδοῦν υπὲρ ἐν. οἱ δὲ ὀποῖοι.

1 καὶ Δάκωνες placed by Stahlin after Ἄργειος (l. 2).
2 ποθὲν παρέγγραπτα Stahlin. ποθὲν παραγέγραπται MSS.
3 ἐμπεπληκτός Stahlin. ἐμπεπληκτός MSS.
4 τετίμησθον Sylburg. τετίμησθον MSS.
5 περιβασοὶ Dindorf. περιβαση MSS.
6 καλλιπύγω Sylburg. καλλιπύγω MSS.

82

a Nicander, Fray. 23 Schneider.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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 a 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 ewd, and not one of them seeks for pleasure contrary to its own nature. But as for the character of the

83
CAP. τί καὶ χρή λέγειν ἔτι, ἀποχρώντως αὐτῶν διελη- λεγμένων;

'Ἀλλ' οὖν γε Αἰγύπτιοι, ὃν νῦν δὴ ἐμνήσθην,
κατὰ τὰς θρησκείας | τὰς σφῶν ἐσκεδανταί: σέβουσι
dὲ αὐτῶν Συννύται 1 φάγρον τὸν ἰχθύν, μαυτήν δὲ
(ἄλλος 2 οὖτος ἰχθύς) οἱ τὴν 'Ελεφαντίνην οἴκοντες,
Ὁξυρυχίται τὸν φερόνυμον τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν
ὀμοίως ἰχθύν, ἐτι γε μὴν 'Ἡρακλεοπολῖται ἰχνεύ-
μονα, Σαῦται δὲ καὶ Ὑθβαιοι πρόβατον, Λυκο-
πολῖται δὲ λύκον, Κυνοπολῖται δὲ κύνα, τὸν 'Ἀπω
Μεμφῖται, Μουσικὸι τὸν τράγον. οὕμεις δὲ οἱ
πάντες ἀμείνους Αἰγυπτίων (ὅκνῳ δὲ ἐἵπειν χείρους),
oἱ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους δισμένια γελῶντες οὐ παύσεθε, 3
ποιὸι 4 τινες καὶ περὶ τὰ ἀλογα ζώα; Ὑθσαλοι μὲν
ὑμῶν τοὺς πελαργοὺς τετμήκασι διὰ τὴν συνήσθειαν,
Ὑθβαιοι δὲ τὰς γαλᾶς διὰ τὴν 'Ἡρακλέους γένεσιν.
τὶ δὲ πάλιν Ὑθσαλοί; μύρμηκας ἱστοροῦνται
σέβειν, ἐπεὶ τὸν Δία μεμαθήκασιν ὀμοιωθέντα
μύρμηκι τῇ Κλήτορος θυγατρὶ Εὐρυμεδοῦσῃ μιγῆσαι
καὶ Μυμιὼνα γεννῆσαι. Πολέμων δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ
tὴν Τρωάδα κατοικοῦντας ἱστορεῖ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους
μοὺς <σέβειν>, 5 οὐς σμύθους καλοῦσιν, ὡτι τὰς νευρὰς

1 Συννύται Ortelius and Canter (in Sylburg). οὐνύται mss.
2 ἄλλος Potter. οὐνύται mss.
3 παύσεθε Heinsius. παύσεσθε mss.
4 ποιὸι Wilamowitz. ὅποιοι mss.
5 <σέβειν> 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
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 phagus; the inhabitants of Elephantine another fish, the maeotes; 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 Alcmena's companion Galinthias (cp. galē, a weasel) told them that the birth was by the will of Zeus, whereupon they ceased opposing it. They punished Galinthias, 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.

a 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 Σμύρνιον

II Ἀπόλλωνα ἀπὸ τῶν μυών ἐκείνων ἐπεφήμισαν. Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ἐν Κτίσεσιν ἴερῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀκαρ- νανίαιν φησὶν, ἐνθὰ τὸ Ἀκτίνῳ ἔστιν ἀκρωτήριον καὶ τοῦ Απόλλωνος τοῦ Ἀκτίνου τὸ ἴερόν, ταῖς μνείασι προθυσθαι βοῦν. οὐδὲ μὴν Σαμίων ἐκ- λήσομαι (πρόβατον, ὡς φησιν Εὐφορίων, σέβομαι

35 Ρ. Σάμμοι) οὐδὲ γε τῶν τὴν Φουκίκην Σύρων | κατ- οικούντων, ὥν οἱ μὲν τὰς περιστεράς, οἴ δὲ τοὺς ἱκθοὺς οὕτω σέβομαι περιττῶς ὡς Ἡλείοι τῶν Δία. Εἴειν δὴ· ἐπειδὴ οὐ θεοί, οὐς θρησκευετε, αὐτὸς ἐπισκέφασθαι μοι δοκεῖ εἰ οὕτως εἴεν δαίμονες, δευτέρα ταύτη, ὡς ὑμεῖς φατέ, ἐγκαταλεγόμενοι τάξει. εἰ γὰρ οὗν δαίμονες, λίχνοι τε καὶ μιαρῶι. ἐστὶ μὲν ἐφευρεῖν καὶ ἀναφανδὸν οὕτω κατὰ πόλεις δαίμονας ἐπιχωρίους τιμὴν ἐπιδρεπομένους, παρὰ Κυνθίους Μενέδημον, παρὰ Τηνίους Καλλισταγόραν, παρὰ Δηλίους Ἀινιοῦ, παρὰ Δάκωσιν Ἀστράβακον. 

τιμᾶται δὲ τις καὶ Φαληροὶ κατὰ πρύμναν ἤρωι. καὶ ἡ Πυθία συνέταξε θύειν Πλαταείδου  'Ἀνδρο- 

κράτει καὶ Δημοκράτει καὶ Κυκλαιῶ καὶ Λεύκωνι 

τῶν Μηδικῶν ἀκμαζόντων ἀγώνων. ἔστι καὶ

a Compare the story in Herodotus ii. 141, where Sennacherib'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.

86
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, Cyclaeus and Leucon when the struggles with the Medes were at their height. And the man

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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. α'λλοις παμπόλλους συνιδείν δαίμονας τῶ γε καὶ σμικρόν διαθρείν δυναμένων:

τρὶς γὰρ μύροι εἰσὶν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρη
daίμονες ἄθανατοι, φύλακες μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.
tίνες εἰσὶν οἱ φύλακες, ὡς Βοιώτεια, μὴ φθονέσθης λέγειν. ἦ δῆλον ὡς οὕτω καὶ οἱ τούτων ἐπιτυμότεροι, οἱ μεγάλοι δαίμονες, ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ἡ Ἀρτεμίς, ἡ Λητώ, ἡ Δημήτηρ, ἡ Κόρη, ὁ Πλοῦτων, ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, αὐτὸς ὃ Ζεύς. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀποδράναι ἡμᾶς φυλάττουσιν, Ἀσκραίε, μὴ ἀμαρτάνειν δὲ ἵσως, οἱ ἀμαρτών δῆτα οὐ πεπεφυγμένοι. ἐνταῦθα δὴ τὸ παροιμιώδες ἐπιφθέγξασθαι ἁρμόττει

"πατὴρ ἀνουθέτητα ¹ παῖδα νουθετεῖ." еἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ εἰσὶ φύλακες οὕτω, οὐκ ἐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς περιπαθεῖς, τῆς δὲ ύμεδαπῆς ἀπωλείας ἐχόμενοι, κολάκων δίκην, ἐγχρίμπτονται τῷ βίῳ, δελεαζόμενοι κατη. αὐτοὶ πον ἐξομολογοῦνται οἱ δαίμονες τὴν γαστριμαργίαν τὴν αὐτῶν, λοιβῆς τε κνίσης τε: τὸ γὰρ λάχομεν γέρας ἤμεισ, |

36 Ρ. λέγοντες. τίνα δ' ἂν φωνὴν ἄλλην, εἰ φωνὴν λάβοιν Ἄιγυπτίων θεοί, οἷα αἴλουροι καὶ γαλαί, προῆσονται ἡ τῆς Ὀμηρικῆν τε καὶ ποιητικῆν, τῆς κνίσης τε καὶ ὀμαρτυρικῆς φίλην; τοτεὶδε μέντοι παρ' ὕμιν οἱ τε δαίμονες καὶ οἱ θεοὶ καὶ εἰ τίνες

¹ ἀνουθέτητα Wilamowitz. ἀνουθέτητος mss.

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

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. - Hesiod}

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 Asca! 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. 

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. 

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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

II

ἡμίθεου ὦσπερ ἡμίονοι κέκληται· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ὀνομάτων ὑμῖν πενία πρὸς τὰς τῆς ἀσεβείας συνθήσεις.

III

Φέρε δὴ οὖν καὶ τοῦτο προσθῶμεν, ὡς ἀπ- ἀνθρωποί καὶ μισάνθρωποι δαίμονες εἰνεν ὑμῶν οἱ θεοί καὶ οὐχὶ μόνον ἐπιχαίροντες τῇ φρενοβλαβείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρωποκτονίας ἀπο- λαύοντες· νυνὶ μὲν τὰς ἐν στάδιοις ἐνόπλους φιλονεικίας, νυνὶ δὲ τὰς ἐν πολέμους ἀναρίθμους φιλοτιμίας ἀφορμὰς σφίσων ἡδονῆς πορεύομενοι, ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα ἔχοιεν ἀνθρωπείων ἀνέδην ἐμ- φορείσθαι φόνων· ἡδη δὲ κατὰ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη, οἰονεῖ λοιμοὶ ἐπισκήπταντες, σπονδᾶς ἀπήτησαν ἀνημέρους. Ἀριστομενὴς γοῦν ὁ Μεσοήνιος τῷ Ἰθωμήτῳ Διὶ τριακοσίοις ἀπέσφαξεν, τοσαῦτας ὄμοι καὶ τοιαῦτας καλλιερεῖν οἰόμενοι ἐκατόμβας· ἐν οἷς καὶ Θεόπομπος ἢν <ὅ> 1 Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς, ἱερεῖον εὐγενεῖς. Ταῦτα δὲ τὸ ἔθνος, οἱ περὶ τὴν Ταυρικὴν χερρόνησον κατοικοῦντες, οὔς ἄν τῶν

1 <ὅ> inserted from Eusebius, Praep. Ev. iv. 16.

---

a 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
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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.

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. ξένων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐλωσι, τούτων δὴ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπταικότων, αὐτίκα μάλα τῇ Ταυρικῇ καταθύουσιν 'Αρτέμιδι. ταύτας σου τὰς θυσίας Εὐριπίδης ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τραγῳδεῖ. Μόνιμος δ' ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ τῶν θαυμασιῶν συναγωγῇ ἐν Πέλλῃ τῆς Θεταλίας 'Αχαίον ἄνθρωπον Πηλέι καὶ Χείρωνι καταθύεσθαι. Λυκτίους 1 γὰρ (Κρητῶν δὲ ἐθνὸς εἰσὶν οὗτοι 2) 'Ἀντικλείδης ἐν Νόστοις ἀποφαίνεται ἄνθρωποι ἀποσφάττειν τῷ Δί, καὶ Λεσβίους Διονύσῳ τῇ ὁμοίᾳ προσάγειν θυσίαν Δωσίδας λέγει. 'Φωκαῖος δὲ (οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὺς παραπέμψιμοι)—τούτους Πυθοκλῆς ἐν τρίτῳ Περί ὁμοιοίᾳ τῇ Ταυροπόλω 'Αρτέμιδι ἄνθρωπον ὀλοκαντεῖν 3 ἱστορεῖ. Ἐρεχθεὺς δὲ ὃ 'Αττικὸς καὶ Μάριος ὃ 'Ρωμαιὸς τὰς αὐτῶν ἑθυσάτην θυγατέρας· ὃν ὁ μὲν τῇ Φερεφάττῃ, ὡς Δημάρατος ἐν πρώτῃ Τραγῳδουμένων, ὃ δὲ τοῖς Ἀποτροπαῖοις, ὃ Μάριος, ὡς Δωρόθεος ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ Ἑλληνικῶν ἱστορεῖ.

Φιλάνθρωποί γε ἐκ τούτων καταφαίνονται οἱ δαίμονες. τῶς δὲ οὐχ ὅσοι ἀναλόγως οἱ δεισι- δαίμονες; οἱ μὲν σωτήρες εὐφημοῦμενοι, οἱ δὲ σωτηρίαν αὐτούμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐπιβουλῶν σωτηρίας. καλλιερεῖν γοῦν τοπάξοντες αὐτοῖς σφᾶς

---

1 Λυκτίους from Eusebius. Λυκίους mss.
2 οὗτοι from Eusebius. οὕτως mss.
3 ὀλοκαντεῖν from Eusebius. ὀλοκανεῖν 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.

92
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 Lyctians, 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 saviours; the latter beg for safety from those who plot to destroy safety. Certainly while they suppose that they are

---

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

b Also at Pella.

c Also human sacrifices offered by Lyctians, Lesbians, Phocaeans.

d 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.

e And Dosidas says that Lesbians offer a similar sacrifice to Dionysus.


g 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.
CAP. αὐτοὺς λειλήθασιν ἀποσφάττοντες ἀνθρώπους. οὐ γὰρ οὖν παρὰ τῶν τόπων ἱερεῖον γίνεται ὁ φόνος, οὐδ’ εἰ Αρτέμιδι τις καὶ Δί ἐν ἱερῷ δῆθεν χωρὶς μᾶλλον ἡ ὁργὴ καὶ φιλαργυρία, ἄλλοις ὁμοίους δαίμοσιν, ἔπι βωμοῖς ἡ ἐν ὅδοις ἀποσφάττοι τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, [ἱερὸν] ¹ ἱερεῖον ἐπιφημίσας, ἄλλα φόνος ἔστι καὶ ἀνδροκτασία ἡ τοιαύτη θυσία. τί δὴ οὖν, ὃ σοφώτατοι τῶν ἄλλων ζῶν ἄνθρωποι, τὰ μὲν θηρία περιφεύγομεν τὰ ἀνήμερα, κἂν που περιτύχωμεν ἄρκῳ ἡ λέοντι, ἐκτρεπόμεθα,

ὡς δ’ ὅτε τίς τε δράκοντα ἵδων παλύνορος ἀπέστη οὐρεος ἐν βῆσσης, ὑπὸ τε τρόμος ἐλλαβε γυῖα, ἄψ τ’ ἀνεχώρησεν.

δαίμονας δὲ ἀλεθρίους καὶ ἀληθηρίους ἐπιβούλους τε καὶ μισανθρώπους καὶ λυμεδώνας δυνας προσιθό-μενοι καὶ συνιέντες οὐκ ἐκπρέπεσθε οὐδὲ ἀποστρέ-φεσθε; τί δ’ ἂν καὶ ἀληθεύσαειν οἱ κακοί, ἡ τίνα ἂν ὕφελήσαειν; αὐτίκα γοῦν ἔχω σοι βελτίων τῶν ὑμεδαπῶν τούτων θεῶν, τῶν δαιμόνων, ἐπι-δείξαι τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ μαντικοῦ τὸν Κύρων καὶ τὸν Σόλωνα. φιλόδωρος ύμῶν ὁ Φοίβος, ἀλλ’ οὐ φιλάνθρωπος. προῦδωκε τὸν Κροίσον τὸν φίλον καὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ ἐκλαθόμενος (οὗτω φιλόδοξος ἢν) ἀνήγαγε τὸν Κροίσον διὰ τοῦ Ἀλνος ἐπὶ τὴν πυρᾶν. οὕτω φιλοῦντες οἱ δαίμονες ὁδηγούσιν εἰς τὸ πῦρ. ἀλλ’, ὃ φιλάνθρωπότερε καὶ ἀληθέστερε τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀνθρωπε, τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πυρᾶς οἴκτειρον δεδεμένον, καὶ οὐ μὲν, ὃ


* Homer, Iliad iii. 33–35.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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; a

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.

95
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. III. Σόλων, μάντευσαί τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐ δὲ, ὃ Κύρε, κέλευσον ἀποσβεσθῆναι τὴν πυρῶν. σωφρόνησον ἄστατον γοῦν, ὃ Κροῖςε, τῷ πάθει μεταμαθὼν· ἀχάριστός ἐστιν δὲν προσκυνεῖς, λαμβάνει τὸν μισθὸν καὶ μετὰ τὸ χρυσὸν ψεύδεται πάλιν. τέλος ἀρα οὐχ ὃ δαίμων, ἀλλὰ ὃ ἀνθρωπὸς σοι λέγει. οὐ λοξὰ μαντεύεται Σόλων· τοῦτων εὐρήσεις ἅληθῆ μόνον, ὃ βάρβαρε, τὸν χρησμὸν· τοῦτων ἐπὶ τῆς πυρᾶς δοκιμάσεις.

"Ὁθεν ἐπεισὶ μοι θαυμάζειν τίσι ποτὲ φαντασίας ἀπαχθέντες οἱ πρώτοι πεπλανμένοι δεσιδαιμονίαν ἀνθρώποις κατήγγειλαν, δαίμονας ἀληθίριους νομοθετοῦντες σέβεις, εἰτε Φορωνεύς ἐκεῖνος ἢν εἰτε Μέροψ εἰτε ἄλλος τις, οἱ νεοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς ἀνέστησαν αὐτοῖς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ θυσίας παραστῆσαι πρῶτοι μεμύθενται. καὶ γὰρ ἡ καὶ κατὰ χρόνους ὑστερον ἀνέπλαττον θεοὺς, οἰς προσκυνοῖεν. ἀμέλει τὸν Ἔρωτα τοῦτον ἔντον 2 ἐν τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοισ τῶν θεῶν εἰναι λεγόμενον ἐτίμα πρότερον οὖδὲ εἰς πρὶν ἡ Χάρμον μειράκιον τι ἔλειν καὶ βωμὸν ἱδυρύσασθαι ἐν Ἀκαδημία χαριστήριον 3 ἐπιτελοῦσι γενομένης ἐπιθυμίας· καὶ τῆς νόσου τῆς ἀσέλγειαν Ἔρωτα κεκλήκασι, θεοποιοῦντες ἀκόλαστον ἐπιθυμιάν.

39 P. Ἀθηναίου δὲ οὖδὲ τὸν Πάνα ῥῆσαν ὅστις ἦν, | πρὶν ἡ Φιλιππίδην εἶπείν αὐτοῖς.

1 εὐρήσεις Canter. εὐ θήσεις mss.

2 "τὸν" inserted by Markland.

3 χαριστήριον Valckenaeer; see Protrepticus 27 P. (p. 64 above) and 42 P. (p. 106). χαριστήριον mss.

See the whole story in Herodotus i. 30–33 and 85–88.

Cf. Pausanias i. 30. 1, Athenaeus xiii. p. 609 D; and, for the antiquity of Eros, Plato, Symposium 178 α–c, and Hesiod, Theogonia 120, with Paley’s note ad loc. The ancient 96
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.a

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!b Nor did Athenians know who even Pan was, before Philippides told them.c

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 Barnell, Cults of the Greek States, ii. pp. 625–6.

Herodotus vi. 105.

97
Εἰκότως ἂρα ἀρχήν ποθεν ἡ δεισιδαιμονία λαβοῦσα κακίας ἀνοητοῦ γέγονε πηγή· εἶτα δὲ μὴ ἀνακοπεῖσα, ἀλλ' εἰς ἑπίδοσιν ἐλθοῦσα καὶ πολλὴ δὴ ῥυεῖσα, δημιουργὸς πολλῶν καθίσταται δαμόνων, ἐκατόμβας θύουσα καὶ πανηγύρεις ἐπιτελοῦσα καὶ ἀγάλματα ἀνιστάσα καὶ νεῶς ἀνοικοδομοῦσα, τοὺς δὴ—οὔδε γὰρ οὔδὲ τούτους σωμπήσομαι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξελέγξω—νεῶς μὲν εὐφήμως ὅνομαζομένους, τάφους δὲ γενομένους [τουτέστι τοὺς τάφους νεῶς ἐπικεκλημένους].

1 ὡμεῖς δὲ ἀλλὰ κἂν νῦν δεισιδαιμονίας ἐκλάθεσθε, τοὺς τάφους τιμᾶν αἰσχυνόμενοι. ἐν τῷ νεῶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν Δαρίῳ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τάφος ἐστὶν Ἀκριδίου, Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ ἐν ἀκροπόλει Κέκροπος, ὃς φησιν Ἀντίοχος ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ τῶν Ἰστοριῶν. τί δὲ Ἑριχθύνως; οὐχὶ ἐν τῷ νεῶ τῆς Πολιάδος κεκηδευταί; Ημμαράδος 3 δὲ οὐκ Ἐὐμόλπον καὶ Δαείρας οὐχὶ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ τοῦ Ἑλευσινίου τοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει; αἰ δὲ Κέλεω θυγατέρες οὐχὶ ἐν Ἑλευσίνι τετάφαται; τί σοι καταλέγω τὰς ἐξ 4 Ἰεροπορέων γυναίκας; Ἰεροπόρχη καὶ Λαοδίκη κέκλησθον, ἐν τῷ Ἀρτεμισίω ἐν Δήλῳ κεκηδευσθον, τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δηλίου ἐστὶν Ιερῷ. Δεάνδριος δὲ Κλέοχον 5 ἐν Μιλήτῳ τεθάφθαι ἐν τῷ Διδυμῶι φησίν. ἐνταῦθα τῆς Λευκοφώνης τὸ μνημεῖον οὐκ ἀξίω παρελθεῖν ἐπομένους Ζήνην τῷ Μυνδίῳ, ἤ ἐν τῷ Ιερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν | Μαγνησίᾳ κεκηδευταί, οὔδε μὴν

1 τοὺς Schwartz. οὔς mss.
3 Ημμαράδος from Pausanias i. 5. 2, etc. Ημμαρος mss.
4 <ἐξ> from Eusebius, Praep. Ev. ii. 6.
5 Κλέοχον Muller from Arnobius vi. 6 and Apollodorus iii. 1. 2. κλέαρχον mss.

98
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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 Immaradus, the son of Eumolpus and Daeira, lie in the enclosure of the Eleusinium 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 Didymaeum 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

---


*b* Leandrius (or Meandrius), Frag. 5 *Frag. hist. Graec.* ii. p. 336. The Didymaeum is the temple of Zeus and Apollo at Didyma near Miletus.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. III τὸν ἐν Τελμησσῷ ¹ βωμὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· μνήμα εἴναι καὶ τούτον Τελμησσοῦ ² τοῦ μάντεως ἱστοροῦσιν. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Ἀγνασάρχου ἐν τῷ α' τῶν περὶ τὸν Φιλοπάτορα ἐν Πάφῳ λέγει ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ιερῷ Κινύραν τε καὶ τοὺς Κινύρου ἀπογόνους κεκηδεῦσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπίοντι μοι τοὺς προσκυνομένους ὑμῖν τάφους ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ὁ πᾶς ἂν ἀρκέσαι ³ χρόνος· ὑμᾶς δὲ εἰ μὴ ὑπεισέχεται τις αἰσχύνῃ τῶν τολμημένων, νεκροὶ ἄρα τέλεον ὄντες νεκροῖς ὁντως ⁴ πεπιστευκότες περιέρχεσθε·

ἀ δειλοί, τί κακὸν τόδε πάσχετε; νυκτὶ μὲν ὑμῶν εἰλήφαται κεφαλαί.

IV

Εἰ δ' ἐν τούτοις φέρων ὑμῖν τὰ ἀγάλματα αὐτὰ ἐπισκοπεῖν παραθεῖν, ἐπιόντες ὡς ἀληθῶς λήρον εὑρήσετε τὴν συνήθειαν, "ἐργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων" ἀναίσθητα προστρεπόμενοι. ⁵ πάλαι μὲν οὖν οἱ Σκύθαι τὸν ἄκινάκην, οἱ Ἀραβεῖς τὸν λίθον, οἱ Πέρσαι τὸν ποταμὸν προσεκύνουν, καὶ τῶν

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

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

100
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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

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

Homer, Odyssey xx. 351–352.

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.

Psalm cxv. 4.

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

CAP. IV. ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων οἱ ἐτί παλαιότεροι ξύλα ἵδρυον-το περιφανῆ καὶ κιόνας ἵστον ἐκ λῖθων. ἓ δὴ καὶ ξόανα προσηγορεύετο διὰ τὸ ἀπεξέσθαι τῆς ὕλης. ἀμέλει ἐν Ἰκάρῳ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὸ ἄγαλμα ξύλον ἦν οὐκ εἰργασμένον, καὶ τῆς Κιθαιρωνίας Ἡρας ἐν Θεσπείᾳ πρέπον ἐκκεκομένου καὶ τὸ τῆς Σαμίας Ἡρας, ὡς φησιν Ἀέθλιος, πρότερον μὲν ἦν σανίς, ύστερον δὲ ἐπὶ Προκλέους ἀρχιτός.

41 P. ἀνδριαντοεἰδὲς ἐγένετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἀπεικονίζεσθαι τὰ ξόανα Ἱήρατο, βρέτη τὴν ἐκ βροτῶν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐκαρπώσατο. ἐν Ῥώμῃ δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν δόρυ φησὶ γεγονέναι τοῦ Ἄρεως τὸ ξόανον Οὐάρρων ὁ συγγραφεὺς, οὐδέπω τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν εὐπρόσωπον ταύτην κακοτεχνίαν ὑφυμηκότων. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦνθησεν ἡ τέχνη, ἦξη̂σεν ἡ πλάνη.

'Ὡς μὲν οὖν τοὺς λίθους καὶ τὰ ξύλα καὶ συνελόντι φάναι τὴν ὕλην ἀγάλματα ἀνδρείκελα ἐποιήσαντο, οἷς ἐπιμορφάζετε εὑσέβειαν συκοφαντοῖν τῇ ἀλήθειαν, ἥδη μὲν αὐτόθεν δῆλον· οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ ἀποδείξεως ποσῆς ἐπιδειμένου τοῦ τόπου οὐ παραίτητον. τὸν μὲν οὖν Ὅλυμπίασι Δία καὶ τὴν Ἀθήνησι Πολιάδα ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἑλέφαντος κατασκευάσαι Φειδίαν παντὶ ποὺ σαφές· τὸ δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ τῆς Ἡρας ξόανον Σμῖλίδι τῷ Ἐυκλείδον πεποίησα τῷ Ὅλυμπιχος ἐν Σαμιακοῖς ἱστορεῖ. μὴ οὖν ἀμφιβάλλετε, εἰ τῶν Σεμνῶν Ἀθήνησι καλομέ·

1 Σμῖλιδι τῷ Λοβιτ. σμῆ οὐς μεῖν.

---

a Aethlius of Samos, Fr. 1 Frag. hist. Graec. iv. p. 287.
c Olympichus, Fr. 1 Frag. hist. Graec. iv. p. 466.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

conspicuous wooden poles and set up pillars of *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 Cithaerionic 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 *bretê,* 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 Eucleides. Do not doubt, then, that of the goddesses at Athens called "venerable" two were

*a* 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. vνων θεῶν τὰς μὲν δύο Σκόπας ἐποίησεν ἐκ τοῦ καλουμένου λυχνεῶς λίθου, Κάλως δὲ τὴν μέσην αὐταῖν ἱστοροῦντα ἔχω σοι1 Πολέμωνα δεικνύοι ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν πρὸς Τίμαιον2 μηδ’ εἰ3 τὰ ἐν Πατάροις τῆς Δυνίας ἀγάλματι Διός καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Φειδίας πάλιν ἐκεῖνοι3 [τὰ ἀγάλματα]4 καθάπερ τοὺς λέοντας τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀνακειμένους εἰργασταί· εἰ δὲ, ὡς φασὶ τινες, Βραβίδοιος ἡ5 τέχνη, οὗ διαφέρομαι ἔχεις καὶ τούτον ἀγάλματοργον· ὤποτερον αὐτοῖν βούλει ἐπίγραφε. καὶ μὴν Τελεσίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, ὡς φησι Φιλόχορος, ἔργον εἰσὶν ἀγάλματα ἐννεαπήχη Ποσειδώνοι καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτης ἐν Τήνω προσκυνούμενα. Δημήτριος γὰρ ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν Ἀργολικῶν τοῦ ἐν Τίρυνθε τῆς Ἡρας ἔσοντο καὶ τὴν ύλὴν ὀγχυνὴν καὶ τὸν ποιητήν Ἁργον ἀναγράφει. πολλοὶ δ’ ἄν τάχα που θαυμάσειαν, εἴ μάθουεν τὸ

42 P. Παλλάδιον τὸ διοπτεῖς καλούμενον, ἢ Ἄρμιήδης καὶ Ὄδυσσεὺς ἱστοροῦνται μὲν ἄφελεσθαί ἀπὸ Ἰλίου, παρακαταθέσθαι δὲ Δημοφώντι, ἐκ τῶν Πέλοπος ὡστῶν κατεσκευάσθαι, καθάπερ τὸν Ὀλυμπιον ἐξ ἀλλῶν ὡστῶν Ἰνδικοῦ θηρίου. καὶ δὴ τὸν ἱστοροῦντα Διονύσιον ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ μέρει τοῦ Κύκλου παρίστημι. Ἀπελλάς δὲ ἐν τοῖς

1 τὴν μέσην ... σοι Jahn. ἢ μέσην αὐταῖν ἱστοροῦνται ἔχουσαι mss.
2 μηδ’ εἰ Münzel. μηδὲ mss.
3 ἐκεῖνος Wilamowitz. ἐκεῖνα mss.
4 [τὰ ἀγάλματα] Stählin. [πάλιν ... ἀγάλματα] Heyse.
5 ἡ Wilamowitz. ἢ mss.

Lychneus is mentioned by Athenaeus (205 r) 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

104
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).

b Polemon, Fr. 41 Frag. hist. Graec. iii. p. 127.
d Demetrius of Troezen, Fr. 5 Diels (Frag. hist. Graec. iv. p. 383).
e Compare this with the image of Artemis at Ephesus, mentioned in Acts xix. 35, which is also called diopetes, 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. Δελφικοίς δύο φησὶ γεγονέναι τὰ Παλλάδια, ἀμφοῦ δ’ ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων δεδημουργῆσθαι. ἀλλ’ ὅπως μηδὲς ὑπολάβῃ καὶ ταῦτα με ἀγνοίᾳ παρεικέναι,1 παραθήσομαι τοῦ Μορύχου Διονύσου τὸ ἅγαλμα 'Ἀθήνης γεγονέναι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φελλάτα καλομεῖνον λίθου, ἔργον δὲ εἶναι Σίκωνος τοῦ Εὐπαλάμου, ὃς φησὶ Πολέμων ἐν τινὶ ἐπιστολῇ. ἐγενέσθην2 δὲ καὶ ἄλλως τινὲς δύω Κρητικῶν οἶμαι ἀνδριαντούοι (Σκύλλις 3 καὶ Δίποιους ὑμομαζέσθην). τούτω δὲ τὰ ἐν Ἀργεῖ τοῖς Διοσκούροις ἅγαλματα κατεσκευασάτην καὶ τὸν ἐν Τίρυνθι Ἡρακλέους ἀνδριάντα καὶ τὸ τῆς Μουνυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἔδανον ἐν Σικυώνι.

Καὶ τὸ περὶ ταῦτα διατρίβω, ἐξὸν αὐτὸν τὸν μεγαλοδαίμονα ἕμιν ἐπιδείξαι ὅστις ἦν, ὅποι δὴ κατ’ ἐξοχὴν πρὸς πάντων σεβασμοῦ κατηξιωμένον ἁκούομεν, τοῦτον <ὅν> 4 ἁχειροποιητὸν εἰπεῖν τετολμήκασω, τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Σάραπιν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἵστοροῦσιν χαριστήριον ὑπὸ Σινωπέων Πτολεμαίων τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ τῷ Αἰγύπτιῳ πεμφθῆναι βασιλεῖ, ὅς λιμῷ τρυχομένους αὐτοὺς ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου μεταπεμψάμενους 5 οἴτον [ὁ Πτολεμαῖος] 6 ἀνεκτήσατο, εἶναι δὲ τὸ ἔδανον τοῦτο ἅγαλμα Πλούτωνος· ὁ δὲ 7 δεξάμενος τὸν ἀνδριάντα καθίδρυσεν ἐπὶ τῆς

1 παρεικέναι Sylburg. παρηκέναι mss.
2 ἐγενέσθην Sylburg. γενέσθην mss.
3 Σκύλλις Sylburg (from Pausanias ii. 15. 1, etc.). ἐκύλης mss.
4 <ὅν> inserted by Markland.
5 μεταπεμψάμενου Sylburg. μεταπεμψάμενος mss.
6 [ὁ Πτολεμαῖος] Arcerius.
7 ὁ δὲ Heyse. ὃς mss.

106
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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

---


\(^b\) 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. άκρας, ἢν νῦν Ἰακώτων καλοῦσιν, ἐνθα καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τετίμηται τοῦ Σαράπιδος, γευτιφὶ δὲ τοῖς τόποις τὸ νῦν χωρίον. Βλιστίχην ὅτι τὴν παλλακίδα τελευτήσασαν ἐν Κανώβω μεταγαγὼν δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ἔθαψεν ὑπὸ τὸν προδεδηλωμένον σηκόν. ἀλλοι δὲ φασι Ποντικὸν εἶναι βρέτας τὸν Σάραπιν, μετήχθαι δὲ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μετὰ τιμῆς πανηγυρικῆς. Ἐυδώρος μόνος παρὰ Σελευκέων τῶν πρὸς Ἀντιοχεία τὸ ἀγαλμα ἐναληθηκόντα λέγει, ἐν σιτοδείᾳ καὶ αὐτῶν γευμένων καὶ ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου διατραφέντων. ἀλλ' ὁ γε Ἀθηνόδωρος ὁ τοῦ Σάνδωνος ἀρχαῖζει τὸν Σάραπιν βουλθεῖς οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως περεῦσεν, ἐλέγξας αὐτὸν ἄγαλμα εἶναι γενήτων. Σέσωστρίν φησι τὸν Αἰγύπτιον βασιλέα, τὰ πλείστα τῶν παιρ Ἐλλησι παραστησάμενον ἐθνῶν, ἐπανελθὼν εἰς Αἰγύπτιον ἐπαγαγέσθαι τεχνίτας ἰκανοὺς τὸν ὁμιρφαντὸρα τοῦ αὐτοῦ δαίμονο γενοῦσαι άαντισκεύαζε δὲ αὐτῶν Βρυξίδος δήμουργος, οὐχ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἄλλος δὲ τῆς ὁμώνυμος ἐκείνω τῷ Βρυξίδῳ ὅς ὑλὴ κατακέρτηται εἰς δημουργίαν μικτῇ καὶ ποικίλῃ. ρώμη γὰρ χρυσῷ ἢν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ χαλκῷ τε καὶ σιδηρῷ καὶ μολύβδῳ, πρὸς δὲ καὶ καστετέρου, λίθων δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ἐνεδεί οὐδ' ἐις σαπφεῖρον καὶ αἰματίτου θραύσματα σμαράγδου τε, ἀλλ' καὶ τοπαζίων. λεάνας οὖν τὰ πάντα καὶ ἀναμίξας ἤρωσε κυάνῳ, οὐ δὴ χάριν μελαντερον

1 τάφοις Mayor. (The map of ancient Alexandria shows the Serapeum to be adjacent to Necropolis.) But τόποι = τάφοι in Euripides, Heracleidae 1041.
2 Βλιστίχην Dindorf. βλιστίχιν MSS.
3 'Ἀντιοχεία Cobet. ἀντιόχειαν MSS.
4 οτί Schwartz: Stählin.
set it up upon the promontory which they now call CHAP. IV 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 a 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

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IV. τὸ χρώμα τοῦ ἀγάλματος, καὶ τῷ ἐκ τῆς Ὀσίριδος καὶ τοῦ "Ἀπίος κηδείας ὑπολειπιμένῳ φαρμάκῳ φυράσας τὸ πάντα διέπλασεν τὸν Σάραπιν· οὗ καὶ τούνομα αἰνίττεται τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς κηδείας καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ταφῆς δημιουργίαν, σύνθετον ἀπὸ τε Ὀσίριδος καὶ Ἀπίος γενόμενον Ὀσίραπις.

Καὶ νῦν δὲ ἄλλον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ὀλίγου δεῖν καὶ παρ’ Ἑλλησί, σεβασμὸς τεθείακεν θεὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Ῥωμαίων τὸν ἐρώμενον ὑφαίστατον ὁφόδρα γενόμενον. Ὁ Ἀντύνου [ὁν] [5] ἀνέρρωσεν οὔτως ὃς Γανυμήδην ὁ Ζεὺς· οὗ γὰρ κωλύεται ῥαδίως ἐπιθυμία φόβον ὡς ἔχουσα· καὶ νῦκτας ἠερᾶς τὰς Ἀντινοῦ προσκυνοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι νῦν, ὃς αἰσχρὰς ἡπίστατο ὁ συναγρυπνήσας ἔραστῃς. τί μοι θεὸν καταλέγεις τὸν πορνεία τετημημένοις; τί δὲ καὶ ὃς καὶ ὃς θρηνεῖται προσέταξας; τί δὲ καὶ τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῦ διηγή; αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶ τὸ κάλλος ὑβρεί μεμαρμέμενον. μὴ τυραννήσῃς, ἄνθρωπε, τοῦ κάλλους μηδὲ ἐνυβρίσῃς ἄνθοῦντι τῷ νέῳ τήρησον αὐτὸ καθαρῶν, ὃν ἤ καλὸν. βασιλεὺς τοῦ κάλλους γενοῦ, μὴ τύραννος· ἐλεύθερον [ὁν] [6] μεινάτω· τότε σου γνωρίσω τὸ κάλλος, ὅτε [ὁν] [6] καθαρὰν τετήρηκας τὴν εἰκόνα· τότε προσκυνήσω τὸ κάλλος, ὅτε [ὁν] [6] ἀληθινὸν ἀρχέτυπον ἐστὶ | τῶν καλῶν. ἦδη δὲ τάφος ἐστὶ τοῦ ἐρωμένου, νεώς ἐστὶν Ἀντινοῦ καὶ πόλις· καθάπερ

1 ὑφαίστατον from Eusebius, Praep. Ev. ii. 6. ὑφαῖν τῶν mss.
2 [ὁν] 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.

110
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

the whole with the pigment left over from the funeral rites of Osiris and Apis, a 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 b 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.
δὲ, οἶμαι, οἱ ναὸι, οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ τάφοι θαυμάζονται, πυραμίδες καὶ μανσόλεια καὶ λαβύρινθοι, ἄλλοι ναὸι τῶν νεκρῶν, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι τάφοι τῶν θεῶν. διδάσκαλον δὲ ὑμῖν παραθήσομαι τὴν προφήτην Σιβυλλαν

οὺ ψευδοὺς Φοίβου χρησμηγόρον, ὃν τε μάταιον ἀνθρωποὶ θεὸν εἶπον, ἔπεισεντο δὲ μάντιν, ἀλλὰ θεοῦ μεγάλου, τὸν οὐ χέρες ἐπλασαν ἀνδρῶν εἰδώλοις ἀλάλουις λιθοξέιστουσιν ὀμοιον.

αὕτη μέντοι ἐρείπια τοὺς νεῶς προσαγορεύει, τὸν μὲν τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος "χάσμασι καὶ σει- σμοῖς" καταποθήσεσθαι προμηνύουσα οὕτως,

ὦττια δ' οὐμόξει Ἐφεσος κλαίουσα παρ' ὀχθας καὶ νηὸν ξητοῦσα τὸν οὐκέτι ναιετάοντα·

τὸν δὲ Ἰσιδος καὶ Σαράπιδος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κατ- ενεχθήσεσθαί φησι καὶ ἐμπροθήσεσθαι·

Ἰσι, θεὰ τρυτάλαινα, μένεις ἐπὶ χεῦμασι ¹ Νεῖλου μούνη, μανιᾶς ἀναυδὸς ἐπὶ ψαμάθοις Ἀχέροντος, εἶτα ὑποβάσα.

καὶ σὺ, Σάραπι λίθους ἄργους ἐπικείμενε πολλοὺς, κεῖσαι πτῶμα μέγιστον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τρυταλαίνῃ.

σὺ δὲ ἄλλη εἰ μὴ προφήτιδος ἑπακούεις, τοῦ γε σοῦ ἀκουσον φιλοσόφοι, τοῦ Ἐφεσίου Ἡρακλείτου, τὴν ἀναισθησίαν ὀνειδίζοντο τοῖς ἀγάλμασι· "καὶ τοῖς ἀγάλμασι τουτέσοισιν εὑχοῦται, ὁκοῦν εἰ τις

¹ χεῦμασι Sibylline Oracles. χεύματα Stählin : mss.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

seems to me that tombs are objects of reverence 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.*

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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IV. <τοῖς> ἢ γὰρ οὐχὶ τερατώδεις οἱ λίθους προστρεπόμενοι, εἰτὰ μέντοι καὶ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ιστάντες αὐτούς ὡς ἐνεργεῖς, Ἐρμήν προσκυνοῦντες ὡς θεοῦ καὶ τὸν Ἀγνεά θυρωφόν ιστάντες; εἰ γὰρ ὡς ἀναισθήτους ὑβρίζουσιν, τί προσκυνοῦσι τί θεοῦς; εἰ δὲ αἰσθήσεως αὐτούς μετέχειν οἴονται, τί τούτοις ἰστάσι θυρωφόν;

'Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὰ μέγιστα κατορθώματα τῇ Τύχῃ ἀνατιθέντες καὶ ταύτην μεγίστην οἰόμενοι θεὸν, φέροντες εἰς τὸν κοπρῶνα ἀνέθηκαν αὐτὴν, άξιον νεών τὸν ἀφεδρῶνα νέμαντες τῇ θεῷ.

Αλλὰ γὰρ ἀναισθήτων λίθῳ καὶ ἕλῳ καὶ χρυσίῳ πλουσίῳ οὖν ὅτιοι μέλει, οὐ κνίσῃς, οὐχ αἵματος, οὐ καπνοῦ, ὥ δὴ τιμώμενοι καὶ τυφόμενοι ἐκμελαίνονται. ἀλλ' οὔδε τιμής, οὐχ ὑβρεῖς: τὰ δὲ καὶ παντὸς ἐστὶν ἀτιμότερα ζώου, τὰ ἀγάλματα. καὶ ὅπως γε τεθείασται τὰ ἀναισθήτα, ἀπορεῖν ἑπεισί μοι καὶ κατελεεῖν τοὺς πλανωμένους τῆς ἀνοίας ὡς δειλαίους: εἰ γὰρ καὶ τινά τῶν ζώων οὐχὶ πάσας ἔχει τὰς αἰσθήσεις, ὡσπερ εὐλαί καὶ κάμπαι καὶ ὅσα διὰ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως εὐθὺς ἀνάπτυρα φαίνεται, καθάπερ οἱ σπάλακες καὶ ἡ μυγαλή, ἡν φήσων ὁ Νίκανδρος "τυφλὴν τε σμερδνήν τε". ἀλλὰ γε ἀμείνους εἰσὶ τῶν ξοάνων τούτων καὶ τῶν

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

a Heracleitus, 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.

114
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

if one were to chatter to his house.”

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.

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”; yet these are better than those images and statues are quite without sense or feeling.

Nicander calls the field-mouse “terrible” in reference to its plague-bearing powers. The complete line (Theriaca 815) is τυφλήν τε σμερδύνην τε βροτῶις ἐπὶ λοιγῶν ἁγουσαν μυγαλέην.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IV

ἀγαλμάτων τέλεου ὄντων κωφῶν ἐξουσιο γὰρ αἰσθησιν μίαν γε τινα, φέρε εἴπεῖν ἀκουστικὴν ἡ ἀπτυκὴν ἡ τὴν ἀναλογούσαν τῇ ὀσφρήσει ἡ τῇ γεύσει· τὰ δὲ οὐδὲ μᾶς αἰσθήσεως μετέχει, τὰ ἀγαλματα. πολλὰ δὲ ἐστὶ τῶν ζῴων, ὥσα οὔτε ὁρᾷν ἔχει οὔτε ἀκοὴν οὔτε μὴν φωνήν, οἶνον καὶ τὸ τῶν ὀστρέων γένος, ἀλλὰ ξῆ γε καὶ αὐξέσαι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῇ σελήνῃ συμπάσχει· τὰ δὲ ἀγαλματα ἀργά, ἀπρακτα, ἀναίσθητα, προσδεῖται καὶ προσκαθηλουται καὶ προσπήγνυται, χωνεύται, βιώται, πρίεται, περιέεται, γλύφεται. κωφὴν μὲν δὴ γαίαν ἀεικίζουσιν οἱ ἀγαλματοποιεῖ, τῆς οἰκείας ἐξουσίας ἐξουσίας φύσεως, ὑπὸ τῆς τέχνης προσκυνεῖν ἀναπείθοντες· προσκυνοῦσιν δὲ οἱ θεοποιοι οὐ θεούς καὶ δαίμονας κατὰ γε αἴσθησιν τὴν εἰμή, γην δὲ καὶ τέχνην, τὰ ἀγαλματα ὑπὲρ ἐστίν. ἐστιν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ ἀγαλμα ὑλὴ νεκρὰ τεχνῖτον χειρὶ μεμορφωμένη· Ἦμιν δὲ οὐχ ὑλὴς αἰσθητῆς αἰσθητοῖν, νοητὸν δὲ τὸ ἀγαλμά ἐστιν. νοητὸν, οὐκ αἰσθητοῖν ἐστι [τὸ ἀγαλμα] 3 ο θεός, ο μόνος ὄντως θεός.

Καὶ δὴ ἐμπαλιν ἐν αὐτᾶς που ταῖς περιστάσεσι οἱ δεισιδαίμονες, οἱ τῶν λίθων προσκυνηταί, ἐργὼν μαθόντες ἀναίσθητον ὑλὴν μὴ σέβειν, αὐτῆς ἤττῳ μενοι τῆς χρείας ἀπολλυνται ἀπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας· καταφρονοῦντες δ ὁμοῖ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων, φαύνεσθαι δὲ μὴ βουλόμενοι αὐτῶν ὀλωσ 4 περιφρονοῦντες, ἐλέγχονται ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν, οῖς δὴ τὰ ἀγαλμάτα ἐπιπεφῆμισα. Διονύσιος μὲν γὰρ ὁ

1 οὔτε Mayor. οὐδὲ mss. 2 οὐδὲ Mayor. οὔτε mss. 3 [τὸ ἀγαλμα] Wilamowitz. 4 ὀλως Sylburg. ὀλων mss.

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

---

b A verbal reminiscence of Homer, Iliad xxiv. 54.

c i.e. the gods cannot help them out of their difficulties.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IV

τύραννος ο ονεώτερος θοιμάτων το χρύσεων περι
ελώμενος τού Διός έν Σικελία προσέταξεν αύτῷ
ἐρεύνην περιτεθήναι, χαριέντως φήσας τούτο ἀμεινον
ἐίναι τοῦ χρυσέουν, καὶ θέρους κουφότερον καὶ
κρύους ἀλευνότερον. 'Αντίοχος δὲ ο Κυζικηνὸς
ἀπορούμενος χρημάτων τοῦ Διός τὸ ἁγαλμα τὸ
χρυσοῦν, πεντεκαίδεκα πηχῶν τὸ μέγεθος ὄν,
προσέταξε χωνεύσαι καὶ τῆς ἁλλης τῆς ἁτμοτέρας
ὑλῆς ἁγαλμα παραπλήσιον ἐκείνω πετάλοις κε
χρυσωμένον ἀναθεῖναι πάλιν. αἷ δὲ χελιδόνες καὶ
τῶν ὅρνεῶν τὰ πλεύστα κατεξερώσου ἡ αὐτῶν τῶν
ἀγαλμάτων εἰσπετόμενα, οὐδὲν φροντίσαντα οὔτε
'Ολυμπίου Διός οὔτε 'Επιδαυρίου 'Ασκληπιοῦ οὔθε
μην 'Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδος ἡ 'Σαράπιδος Αἰγυπτίου.
πάρ' ὃν οὔθε αὐτῶν τὴν ἀναισθησιαν τῶν ἁγαλ
μάτων ἐκμαθάνετε. ἀλλ' εἰσὶ μὲν κακούργοι τινες
ἡ πολέμιοι ἐπιθέμενοι, οἱ δ' αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἔδήμω
σαν τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἐσύλησαν ἡ κα
αὐτὰ ἐχόνευσαν τὰ ἁγάλματα. καὶ εἰ Καμβύσης
tις ἡ Δαρείδος ἡ ἄλλος μανώμενος τοιαῦτα ἄττα
ἐπεχείρησεν καὶ εἰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τις ἀπέκτεινεν
'Ἀπιν, γελῶ μὲν ὅτι τὸν θεὸν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν,
ἀγανακτῷ δὲ εἰ κέρδους χάριν ἐπλημμέλει. ἐκὼν
οὖν ἐκλήσιμαι τῇς τῆς κακουργίας, πλεονεξίας
ἐργα, οὔχι δὲ ἄδρανείας τῶν εἰδώλων ἐλεγχο
νομίζων. ἀλλ' οὔτι γε τὸ πῦρ καὶ οἱ σεισμοὶ
kερδαλέωι, οὔθε μὴν φοβοῦνται ἡ δυσωποῦνται οὐ
tοὺς δαίμονας, οὐ τὰ ἁγάλματα, οὐ μάλλον ἡ τῖς
ψηφίδας τὰς παρὰ τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς σεσωρευμένας
tὰ κύματα. οἴδα ἑγὼ πῦρ ἐλεγκτικόν καὶ δεισ-

1 χρυσέου Cobet. χρυσίου MSS.
2 κατεξερώσατι Sylburg. κατεξερώσαν MSS.
EXhortation to the Greeks

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;

\[a\] 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

CAP. δαιμονίας ἱατικὸν· εἰ βούλει παύσασθαι τῆς ἀνοίας, φωταγωγήσει σε τὸ πῦρ. τοῦτο τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὸν ἐν 47 P. Ἀργεὶ νεῶν σὺν καὶ τῇ ἱερείᾳ | κατέφλεξεν Χρυσίδι, καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος δεύτερον μετὰ Ἀμαζόνας καὶ τὸ ἐν Ρώμη Καπιτώλιον ἐπι- νενέμηται πολλάκις· οὐκ ἀπέσχετο δὲ ὦδὲ τοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρεων πόλει Σαράπιδος ἱεροῦ. Ἀθήνης γὰρ τοῦ Διονύσου τοῦ Ἐλευθερέως κατήρευε τὸν νεῶν, καὶ τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος πρότερον ἦρπασεν θύελλα, ἐπειτα ἤφανσε πῦρ σωφρονοῦν. τοῦτο σοι προοίμιον ἐπιδεικνυται δὲν ὑπισχνεῖται τὸ πῦρ.

Οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων δημιουργοι οὐ δυσωποῦσιν ύμῶν τοὺς ἔμφρονας τῆς ὕλης καταφρονεῖν; οὐ μὲν Ἀθηναίος Φειδίας ἐπὶ τῶ δακτύλῳ τοῦ Δίως τοῦ Ὁλυμπίου ἐπιγράψας "Παντάρκης καλὸς"· οὐ γὰρ καλὸς αὐτῷ ὁ Ζεὺς, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐρώμενος ἦν' ὁ Πραξιτέλης δὲ, ὅσσος Ποσείδιππος ἐν τῷ περὶ Κνίδου 1 διασαφεῖ, τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἁγαλμα τῆς Κνίδιας κατασκευάζων τῷ Κρατίνης τῆς ἐρωμένης εἴδει παραπλησίων πεποίηκεν αὐτήν, ὦν ἔχοιεν οἱ δείλαιοι

1 Κνίδου Sylburg. κνίδιον mss.

a 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 Phlius.

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

c 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 Cratina, that the miserable people might

De nat. deor. ii. 41, and the Stoics applied to it various epithets, such as τεχνικόν, "skilful," and φρόνιμος, "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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IV. τὴν Πραξιτέλους ἐρωμένην προσκυνεῖν. Φρύνη δὲ ὁπνείκα ἰδιθεὶς ἢ ἑταῖρα ἡ Θεσπιακή, οἱ ζωγράφοι πάντες τὰς Ἀφροδίτης εἰκόνας πρὸς τὸ κάλλος ἀπεμμοῦντο Φρύνης, ὡσπερ αὐτὶ καὶ οἱ λιθόγροι τοὺς Ἐρμᾶς Ἀθήνης πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην ἀπείκαζον. ὑπολείπεται τῆς σῆς κρίσεως τὸ ἐργὸν ἐπάξαι, εἰ βούλει καὶ τὰς ἑταῖρας προσκυνεῖν.

Ἐντεῦθεν, οἴμαι, κινηθέντες οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ παλαιοὶ, καταφρονοῦντες τῶν μῦθων τούτων, ἀνέδην διὰ τὸ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀκίνδυνον σφᾶς αὐτῶσ ποιεῖν ἀνηγόρευν, ταύτη κάκεινος διὰ τὴν δοξᾶν ἀπηθανατίσθαι διδάσκοντες. Κῆνις μὲν ὁ Αἰώλου Ζεὺς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀλκυόνης τῆς γυναικὸς, Ἀλκυόνη δὲ ἀθίς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Ἡρα προσαγορευμένη. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ τέταρτος Διόνυσος ἐκαλεῖτο, καὶ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Ποντικὸς Διόνυσος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀμμωνος νῦς εἶναι δοκεῖν καὶ κερασφόρος ἀναπλάττεσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἀγαλματοποιῶν, τὸ καλὸν ἀνθρώπον πρόσωπον ὑβρίσαι σπεύδων κέρατι. καὶ οὔτι γε βασιλεῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδιώται θεῖαι προσηγορίαι σφᾶς αὐτῶσ ἐσέμνυν, ὡς Μενεκράτης ὁ ἱατρός, Ζεὺς οὗτος ἐπικεκλημένος. τὸ μὲ δεὶ καταλέγειν Ἀλέξαρχον (γραμματικὸς οὗτος τὴν ἐπιστήμην γεγονός, ὡς ἵστορεῖ Ἅριστος ὁ Σαλαμίνος, αὐτὸν κατεσχημάτιζεν εἰς Ἡλιοῦ); τῷ δὲ καὶ Νικαγόρου μεμνημόθα (Ζελείτης τὸ γένος ἦν κατὰ τοὺς Ἀλέξανδρουν

1 <τὰς> inserted by Schäfer.
2 ἀπηθανατίσθαι Sylburg. ἀπηθανατήσθαι mss.

"Ammon was the Egyptian ram-headed god whom the
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

have the sculptor's mistress to worship. When Phryne CHAP. IV
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 Alcibiades 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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IV гегονός χρόνους. Ἐρμής προσηγορεύετο ὁ Νυκ-αγόρας καὶ τῇ στολῇ τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ ἐκέχρητο, ὡς αὐτὸς μαρτυρεῖ; ὅπου γε καὶ Ολὰ ἔθυν καὶ πόλεις αὐτανδροί, κολακεῖαν ὑποδύομεναι, ἐξευτε-λίζοντιν τοὺς μύθους τοὺς περὶ τῶν θεῶν, ἱσοθέους ἀνθρωποί κατασχηματίζοντες έαυτοῦς, ὑπὸ δόξης πεφυσιμένου, ἐπιψηφιζόμενοι τιμᾶς έαυτοῖς ὑπερ-όγκους· νῦν μὲν τὸν Μακεδόνα τὸν ἐκ Πέλλης τὸν 'Αμύντου 1 Φίλιππου ἐν Κυνοσάργει νομοθετοῦντες προσκυνεῖν, τὸν "τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγότα καὶ τὸ σκέλος πεπηρωμένον," ὃς ἐξεκόπη τὸν ὁθαλμόν· αὐθὶς δὲ τὸν Δημήτριον θεοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀναγορεύον-τες· καὶ ἕνθα μὲν ἀπέβη τοῦ ὕππου 'Αθηναίει εἰσινών, Καταβάτου έερόν ἐστι Δημήτριου, βωμοὶ δὲ πανταχοῦ· καὶ γάμος ὑπὸ 'Αθηναίων αὐτῶ ὁ τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς ητρεπιζέτο· ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν θεοῦ ὑπερ-ηφάνει, τὸ ἀγαλμα γῆμαι μὴ δυνάμενοι. Λάμαν δὲ τὴν ἐταίραν ἔχουν εἰς άκρόπολιν ἀνήει κἀν τῷ τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς συνεφύρετο παστῷ,2 τῇ παλαιᾷ παρθένῳ τῇ νέᾳ ἐπιδεικνύσα ἐταίρας σχήματα. οὐ νέμεσις τοῦν οὐδὲ "Ἰππων άπαθανατίζοντι τὸν θάνατον τὸν έαυτοῦ· ὡς Ἰππων οὐτος ἐπιγραφήναι ἐκέλευσεν τῷ μνήματι τῷ έαυτοῦ τόδε τὸ ἐλεγείον·

"Ἰππώνος τόδε σήμα, τὸν ἀθανάτους θεοὺς ἱσον ἐποίησεν Μοῦρα καταφθίμενον.

1 'Αμύντου Cobet. ἀμύντωρος ΜΙΣΣ.
2 καὶ τῷ τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς συνεφύρετο παστῷ Mayor. καὶ τῷ τῆς ἀθηνᾶς ἐνεφυράτῳ παστῷ ΜΙΣΣ.

a See Athenaeus 289 c, where Baton is given as the authority for this story. Cp. Baton, Frag. 1 Frag. hist. Graec. iv. p. 348.


124
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

the time of Alexander, who was addressed as Hermes and wore the garb of Hermes, according to his own evidence? 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. 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, 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. We must not be angry, therefore, even with Hippo, who represented his death as a deification of himself. This Hippo ordered the following couplet to be inscribed on his monument:

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

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


e Hippo has been mentioned before, among those dubbed atheists by the Greeks; see p. 49. For the couplet see Bergk, Poet. lyr. Graec. ii. p. 259 (ed. 1915).
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IV  

εὐ γε, Ἱππων, ἐπιδεικνύεις ἡμῖν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην πλάνην. εἰ γὰρ καὶ λαλοῦντι σοι μὴ πεπιστεύκασιν, νεκροὺς γενέσθωσαν μαθηταί. χρησίμος οὐτὸς ἐστιν Ἱππωνος· νοήσωμεν αὐτὸν. οἱ προσκυνοῦμενοι παρ’ ὑμῖν, ἀνθρωποί γενόμενοι ποτε, εἰτα μέντοι τεθνάσαν· τετήμηκεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ μόθος καὶ ὁ χρόνος. φιλεὶ γάρ πως τὰ μὲν παρὸντα συνηθείᾳ καταφρονεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ παρωχηκότα τοῦ παραυτίκα ἐλέγχου κεχωρισμένα χρόνων ἄδηλα τετιμήθησαν τῷ πλάσματι, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπιστεύθησαν, τὰ δὲ καὶ βαυμάζεσθαι. αὐτίκα γοῦν οἱ παλαιοὶ νεκροὶ τῷ πολλῷ τῆς πλάνης χρόνων σεμνοῦμενοι τοῖς ἔπειτα νομίζονται θεοί. πίστις ὑμῖν τώνδε αὐτὰ ὑμῶν τὰ μυστήρια, αἱ πανηγύρεις, δεσμὰ καὶ τραύματα καὶ δακρύσαντες θεοί.

ὡ μοι ἐγώ, ὦτε μοι Σαρπηδόνα φίλτατον ἀνδρῶν μοῖρ' ὑπὸ Πατρόκλου Μενοιτάδαο δαμήναι.

κεκράτηται τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Διὸς καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ὑμῖν διὰ Σαρπηδόνα οἰμώξει νεικημένοις.

Εἰδώλα γοῦν εἰκῶτως αὐτοῖς καὶ δαίμονος ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ κεκλήκατε, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν αὐτὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς κακία τιμήσας Ὅμηρος δαίμονας προσηγόρευσεν·

ἡ δ' Ὄλυμπόνδε βεβήκει 

dώματι' ἐς αἰγιόχου ἄλοιπος μετὰ δαίμονας ἄλλους.

---

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 126
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

Well done, Hippo, you point out for us the error of CHAP. IV 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 Menoetius. 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. But she was gone to Olympus, Home of shield-bearing Zeus, to join the rest of the daemons.

The gods, being dead men, are rightly called “shadows” and “daemons” fornication,” or “whose honour comes from fornication,” on pp. 110–11.

* Homer, Iliad i. 221–222.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IV

πῶς οὖν ἐτι θεοὶ τὰ εἴδωλα καὶ οἱ δαίμονες, βδελυγμένως καὶ πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα, πρὸς πάντων ὄμω- λογούμενα γῆνα καὶ δεισαλέα, κάτω βρίθοντα, "περὶ τοὺς τάφους καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα καλυπτοῦμενα," περὶ ἂ δὴ καὶ ὑποφαίνονται ἁμαρτώς "σκιοειδῆς φαντάσματα"; ταῦθ' ὑμῶν οἱ θεοὶ τὰ εἴδωλα, αἱ σκιαὶ καὶ πρὸς τούτοις <αἱ> \(^1\) "χωλαί" ἑκείηαι καὶ "ῥυσαὶ, παραβλάβητε ὀφθαλμῷ, \(^2\)" αἱ Λυται αἱ Θερσίτου μάλλον ἡ Δίως θυγατέρες, ὥστε μοι δοκεῖν χαριέντως φάναι τὸν Βίωνα, πῶς ἄν ἐνδίκως.

50 Ρ. οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ παρὰ τοῦ Δίως αἰτήσονται \(^3\) τὴν εὐ- τεκίαν, ἢν οὖν ἀυτῶ παρασχέει ἴσχυσιν; οὔμοι τῆς ἀθεώτητος· τὴν ἀκήρατον οὐσίαν, τὸ ὅσον ἐφ' ὑμῖν, κατορύπτετε καὶ τὸ ἄχραντον ἑκεῖνο καὶ τὸ ἄγιον τοὺς ἑπικεχώκατε, τῆς ἀληθῶς ὄντως οὐσίας συλήσαντες τὸ θείον. τὴν οὖν τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς οὐ θεοὶ προσευκῆμεν γέρα; τὰ δὲ καταλυτόντες τὸν οὐρανόν τὴν γῆν τετμήκατε; τὰ δ' ἄλλο χρυσός ἡ ἀργυρός ἡ ἀδάμας ἡ σίδηρος ἡ χαλκὸς ἡ ἐλέφας ἡ λίθος τίμιοι; οὐχὶ γῆ τε καὶ ἐκ γῆς; οὐχὶ δὲ μᾶς μητρὸς ἐκγονα, τῆς γῆς, τὰ πάντα ταῦτα ὅσα ὅρᾶς; τὸν δὴ οὖν, ὡ μάταιοι καὶ κενόφρονες (πάλιν γὰρ δὴ ἐπαναληγομαῖ), τὸν ὑπερουράνιον βλασφημήσας τὸπον εἰς τοῦτοφις κατεσύρατε τὴν εὐσέβειαν, χθονίους ὑμῖν ἀναπλάτ- τοντες θεοὺς καὶ τὰ γενήτα ταῦτα πρὸ τοῦ ἀγενήτου μετιόντες θεοῦ βαθύτερῳ περιπετώκατε ζόφω;

\(^1\) <αἱ> inserted by Kroll.
\(^2\) ὀφθαλμῶ Homer. ὀφθαλμῶν mss.
\(^3\) αἰτήσονται Cobet. αἰτήσωνται mss.

\(^a\) See Plato, Phaedo 81 c d. \(^b\) Iliad ix. 502–503.
\(^c\) Thersites is Homer’s ridiculous character, hump-backed.

128
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.


See Plato, Phaedrus 247 c.
CAP. IV. καλὸς ὁ Πάριος λίθος, ἀλλ' οὐδέπω Ποσειδῶν. καλὸς ὁ ἐλέφας, ἀλλ' οὐδέπω Ἄλαμπιος. ἐνδὴς ἀεὶ ποτὲ ἡ ὕλη τῆς τέχνης, ὁ θεὸς δὲ ἀνενδὴς. προῆλθεν ἡ τέχνη, περιβέβληται τὸ σχῆμα ἡ ὕλη, καὶ τὸ πλούσιον τῆς οὐσίας πρὸς μὲν τὸ κέρδος ἀγώγμον, μόνῳ δὲ τῷ σχῆματι γίνεται σεβάσμιον. χρυσός ἐστὶ τὸ ἀγαλμάτι σου, χύλον ἐστίν, λίθος ἐστίν, γῆ ἐστίν, εὰν ἀνωθέν νοήσῃς, μορφὴν παρὰ τοῦ τεχνίτου προσλαβοῦσα. γῆν δὲ ἐγὼ πατείν, οὗ προσκυνεῖν μεμελέτηκα· οὐ γὰρ μοι θέμις ἐμπιστεύσαί ποτὲ τοὺς ἄψυχους τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐλπίδας.

' Ἰτέον οὖν ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα ἐγγυτάτω τῶν ἀγαλμάτων, ὡς οἰκεία ἡ πλάνη κακὸς τῆς προσώπες ἐλέγχηται. ἔναπομέμακται γὰρ πάνυ δὴ σαφῶς τὰ εἰδὴ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τῆς διάθεσιν τῶν δαμόνων. εἰ γοῦν τις γραφᾶς καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα περινοστῶν θεῶτο, γνωριεῖ ύμῶν παραυτίκα τους θεοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἑπονειδίστων σχημάτων, τὸν Διὸνυσον ἀπὸ τῆς στολῆς, τὸν Ἡρακλείτον ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης, τὴν Δην ἀπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς, ἀπὸ τοῦ κρηδέμου τὴν Ἰνώ, ἀπὸ τῆς τριάντης τῶν Ποσειδῶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ κύκνου τῶν Δία. τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα δείκνυσιν ἡ πυρά, κἂν γυμνὴν ἢν τις ἀνάγραπτην γυναίκα, τὴν "χρυσῆν" Ἀφροδίτην νοεί. οὖν ὁ Κύπριος ὁ Πυγμαλίων.
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" 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. 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 μὴν τῇ λίθῳ. Ποσείδιππος ἰστορεῖ, ὦ μὲν πρότερος ἐν τῷ περὶ Κύπρου, ὦ δὲ ἐτερος ἐν τῷ περὶ Κυίδου. τοσούτων ὑσχυσεν ἀπατήσαι τεχνη προαγωγος ἀνθρώπους ἐρωτικοῖς εἰς βάραθρον γενομένη. δραστήριος μὲν ἡ δημιουργική, ἀλλ’ οὗ τε αὐτή σαν ἀπατήσαι λογικόν οὐδὲ μὴν τούς κατὰ λόγου βεβιωκότας. ἡγραφίας μὲν γὰρ Ἔμοιοτητα σκιαγραφήταις περιστεραῖς¹ προσέπτησαν πελειάδες καὶ ἵππους καλῶς γεγραμμέναις προσεχρεμένις ἵπποι. ἔρασθήναι κόρην εἰκόνος λέγουσι καὶ νέον καλὸν Κυίδίου ἀγάλματος, ἀλλ’ ἦσαν τῶν θεστῶν ἀι ὁμείς ἡπατημέναι ὑπὸ τῆς τέχνης. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν θεᾶ τις συνεπλάκη, οὐδ’ ἦν νεκρὰ τις συνετάφη, οὐδ’ ἦν ἡράσθη δαίμονος καὶ λίθον ἀνθρωπος σωφρονών. ἡμᾶς δὲ ἄλλη γοητεία ἀπατᾶ ἡ τέχνη, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔραν προσάγουσα, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὸ τιμᾶν καὶ προσκυνεῖν τα ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰς γραφάς. ὅμοια γε ἡ γραφὴ ἐπαυείσθω μὲν ἡ τέχνη, μὴ ἀπατάτω δὲ τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἀλλ’ ἔλθεν. ἐσπηκο τὸ ἵππος ἴσχυρὰ, ἡ πελειάς ἀτρεμίας, ἀργὸν τὸ πτερόν, ἡ δὲ βοῦς ἡ Δαιδάλου ἡ ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου πεποιημένη ταῦρον εἰλὲν ἄγριον καὶ κατηγάκασεν τὸ θηρίον ἡ τέχνη πλανήσασα ἐρώσης ἐπιβήναι γυναικὸς. τοσοῦτον οἴστρον ἀι τέχναι κακοτεχ-

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

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
Procuress to the Lords of Hell.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

love with this and has intercourse with the marble, CHAP. IV  
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 
beeguile 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. 

Compare Philostratus, Apollonius of Tyana vi. 40 

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.  

133
CAP. νοῦσαι τοὺς ἀνοίτους ἐνεποίησαν. ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν πιθήκους οἱ τούτων τροφεῖς καὶ μελέδωνοι τεθαυ-
μάκασιν, ὅτι τῶν κηρίων ή πηλίων ὁμοιωμάτων καὶ κοροκοσμίων ἁπατᾷ τούτους οὕδεν ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀρα καὶ πιθήκων χείρος γενήσεσθε λιθίνους καὶ εὐλίνους καὶ χρυσέοις καὶ ἑλεφαντίνους ἀγαλματίους καὶ γραφαῖς προσανέχοντες. τοιούτων ὑμῖν [οἱ] ¹ ἰημουργοὶ ἄθυματῶν ὀλεθρίων οἱ λυθοξοὶ καὶ οἱ ⁵² Ρ. ἀνδριαντοποιοὶ γραφεῖς τε αὐ καὶ τέκτονες καὶ ποιηταὶ, πολύν τινα καὶ τοιούτων ὄχλον παρ-
eισάγοντες, κατ’ ἄγροις μὲν Σατύρους καὶ Πάνας, ἀνὰ δὲ τὰς ὦλας Νύμφας τὰς ὀρειάδας καὶ τὰς ἀμα-
δραδὰς, ναὶ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὰ ὦδατα καὶ περὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς καὶ τὰς πηγὰς τὰς Ναῆδας καὶ περὶ τὴν θάλατταν τὰς Νηρείδας. μάγοι δὲ ἦδη ἄσεβείας τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν ὑπηρέτας δαίμονας 
ἀλχοῦσιν, ὁικέτας αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς καταγράψαντες, τοὺς κατηναγκασμένους δουλοὺς ταῖς ἐπαοῦδαις 
πεποηκότες.

Γάρ όι τε οὖν ἔτι καὶ παιδοποιοὶ καὶ λοχεῖαι 
θεῶν μηνομενόμεναι καὶ μοιχεῖα συνιόμεναι καὶ 
evωχία καμψίαμεναι καὶ γέλωτες παρὰ πότον 
eἰσαγόμενοι προτρέπουσι δὴ ² μὲ ἀνακραγεῖν, κἀν 
σιωπήσαι θέλω, οίμοι τῆς ἄθετητος σκηνὴν 
πεποιήκατε τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸ θεῖον ὑμῖν 
dράμα 
γεγένηται καὶ τὸ ἄγιον προσωπείους δαμονίων 
κεκωμιδήκατε, τὴν ἀληθῆ θεοσέβειαν δεισιδαι-
μονίας σατυρίσαντες.

αὐτὰρ ὁ φορμίζων ἀνεβάλλετο καλὸν ἀείδειν,

¹ τοιοῦτων . . [οἱ] Wilamowitz. τοσοῦτων . . οἱ mss. ² δή Höschel. δὲ mss.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

their vicious artifices, implant in creatures without sense. Even monkeys know better than this. They astonish their rearers and keepers, because no manner of waxen or clay figures or girls' toys can deceive them. But you, strange to say, will prove yourselves inferior 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 Homer, Odyssey viii. 266.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. 4. ἂσον ἡμῖν, "Ομηρε, τὴν φωνῆν τὴν καλῆν,

ἀμφ' Ἀρεως φιλότητος ἐυστεφάνου τ' Ἀφροδίτης· ὡς τὰ πρῶτα μίγησαν ἐν Ἐφαίστου δόμουι λάθρῃ· πολλὰ δ' ἐδωκε, λέχος δ' ἦσχυνε καὶ εὐνήν Ἐφαίστου ἀνακτος.

κατάπαυσον, "Ομηρε, τὴν ψήδήν· οὐκ ἔστι καλῆ, μοιχεῖαν διδάσκει· πορνεῦει δὲ ἡμεῖς καὶ τὰ ὅτα παρητήμεθα. ἡμεῖς γάρ, ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν οἱ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ θεοῦ περιφέροντες ἐν τῷ ξὺντι καὶ κυνομένῳ τοῦτῳ ἄγάλματι, τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, σύνοικον εἰκόνα, σύμβουλον, συνόμιλον, συνέστιον, συμπαθή, ὑπερπαθή· ἀνάθημα γεγονάμεν τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ· "ἡμεῖς τὸ γένος τὸ ἐκλεκτὸν, τὸ βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνοι ἄγιον, λαὸς περιουσίος, οἱ ποτὲ οὐ λαὸς, νῦν δὲ λαὸς τοῦ θεοῦ". οἱ κατὰ τὸν Ἰωάννην οὐκ ὄντες "ἐκ τῶν κατώ," παρὰ δὲ τοῦ ἁγιαθεν ἐλθόντος τὸ πᾶν μεμαθηκότες, οἱ τὴν οἰκονομίαν τοῦ θεοῦ κατανεονηκότες, οἱ "ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατεῖν" μεμελετηκότες.

'Ἀλλ' οὐ ταῦτα φρονοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ. ἀπορριψάντες δὲ τὴν ἁίδῳ καὶ τὸν φόβον οἴκοι τοὺς τῶν δαμόων ἐγγράφονται πασχητισμοῦς. πιστικὸς 53 Ρ. γοῦν | τισὶ καταγράφοις μετεωρότερον ἀνακειμένους προσευχῆκτοι ἀσελγεία τοὺς θαλάμους κεκοσμήκασι, τὴν ἀκολασίαν εὐθείαν νομίζωντες· κατ' τοῦ σκίμποδος κατακειμένοι παρ' αὐτὰς ἐτι τὰς περιπλοκὰς ἀφορώσων εἰς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἐκείνην

---

a Odyssey viii. 267-270.  
b 1 St. Peter ii. 9-10.  
c St. John viii. 23.  
d See St. John iii. 31.  
e 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.\(^a\)

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."\(^b\) We are they who, according to John, are not "from below,"\(^c\) but have learnt the whole truth from Him who came from above,\(^d\) who have apprehended the dispensation of God, who have studied "to walk in newness of life."\(^e\)

But most men are not of this mind. Casting off indecent 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
bound with the invisible chains which Hephaestus had made to entrap her. *Odyssey* viii. 270–299.

Demosthenes, *Olynthiacs* iii. 19.

i.e. in houses; see p. 137.
lies bound in her adultery. 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. 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 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 Philaenis 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; and, stranger still, before the embrace you have committed adultery by your looks. 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;
CAP. IV. αὐτῶν τὴν ἄκρασιαν, ἀπιστεῖτε δὲ τῷ θεῷ σωφροσύνην μὴ φέροντες. καὶ τὰ μὲν κρείττως μεμισθήκατε, τὰ δὲ ἦττω τετμηκατε, ἀρετὴς μὲν θεαταί, κακίας δὲ ἀγωνισταί γεγενημένοι.

54 P. ""Ολβιοι" | μόνοι τοίνυν, ώς ἐποσ εἴπειν, ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐκεῖνοι πάντες κατὰ τὴν Σίβυλλαν

οἱ ναοὺς <μὲν> ¹ πάντας ἀπαρνήσονται ἱδόντες καὶ βωμοῦς, εἰκαία λίθων ιδρύματα κωφῶν, καὶ λίθων ξόανα καὶ ἀγάλματα χειροποίητα, ² αἴματι ἐμψύχῳ μεμισθήκατε καὶ θυσίασι τετραπόδων, διπόδων, πτηνῶν θηρῶν τε φόνοισιν.

καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀπηγόρευτα ἦμῖν ἀναφανδὸν ἀπατηλόν ἐργάζεσθαι τέχνην. "οὐ γὰρ ποιήσεις," φησίν ὁ προφήτης, "παντὸς ὁμοίωμα, οὐσα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω καὶ οὐσα ἐν τῇ γῇ κάτω." ἢ ποῦ γ' ἀν ἔτι τὴν Πραξιτέλους Δήμητρα καὶ Κόρην καὶ τὸν Ἰακχον τὸν μυστικὸν θεοὺς ὑπολάβομεν ἢ τὰς Δουίππου τέχνας ἢ τὰς χείρας τὰς 'Απελλικάς, αἱ δὴ τῆς θεοδοξίας τὸ σχῆμα τῇ ὕλῃ περιπετείακασιν; ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν ὅπως ποτὲ ὁ ἀνδριάς ὅτι μάλιστα ὡραίοτατος τεκταίνηται, προσκαρτερεῖτε, ὅπως δὲ αὐτοὶ μὴ ὁμοίοι δι' ἀναισθησίαν τοῖς ἀνδριάσῳ ἀποτελεσθήτε, οὐ φροντίζετε· πάνυ γοῦν ἐμφανῶς καὶ συντόμως ὁ προφητικὸς ἐλέγχει τὴν συνήθειαν λόγοι ὅτι "πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἑθνῶν δαιμονίων εἰσὶν εἴδωλα· ὃ δὲ θεὸς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐποίησεν"

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

a Sibylline Oracles iv. 24, 27–30.

140
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 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."

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." 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," and the things in heaven.

b Exodus xx. 4; Deuteronomy v. 8.
c Psalm xcvi. 5.
CAP. IV. καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. πλανώμενοι γοῦν τινες ἤν-
tεῦθεν οὐκ οἶδ’ ὡπως θείαν μὲν τέχνην, πλὴν ἀλλ’ οὐ
θεον προσκυνοῦσιν ήλιον τε καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὸν
ἀλλον τῶν ἄστερων χορόν, παραλόγως τούτους
θεοὺς ὑπολαμβάνοντες, τὰ ὀργάνα τοῦ χρόνου.
“τῷ γὰρ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ ἐστερεώθησαν καὶ τῷ
πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ πάσα ἡ δύναμις
αὐτῶν.” ἀλλ’ ἡ μὲν ἀνθρωπεῖα τέχνη οὐκίας τε καὶ
ναὸς καὶ πόλεις καὶ γραφὰς δημιουργεῖ, θεὸς δὲ
πῶς ἃν εἴποιμι ὅσα ποιεῖ; ὅλον ἵδε τὸν κόσμον,
ἐκείνου ἔργον ἔστιν· καὶ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἤλιος καὶ ἄγ-
55 Ρ. γελοι καὶ ἀνθρωποί “ἔργα τῶν δακτύλων | αὐτοῦ.”
ὁση γε ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ. μόνον αὐτοῦ τὸ βού-
λημα κοσμοποιία· μόνος γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν, ἐπεὶ
καὶ μόνος ὄντως ἐστὶ θεός. ψιλῷ τῷ βουλεσθαί
dημιουργεῖ καὶ τῷ μόνον ἐθελήσαι αὐτὸν ἐπεται
τὸ γεγενήθαι. ἐνταῦθα φιλοσόφων παρατρέπεται
χορὸς πρὸς μὲν τὴν οὐρανοῦ θέαν παγκάλως
gegonénai toν ἀνθρωπον ὀμολογοῦντων, τὰ δὲ ἐν
οὐρανῷ φαινόμενα καὶ ὅσει καταλαμβανόμενα προσ-
κυνοῦντων. εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἔργα
τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ, ἀλλὰ γοὺς ἀνθρώπως δεδημουρ-
γηται. καὶ μὴ τὸν ἤλιον τις ὑμὸν προσκυνεῖτω,
ἀλλὰ τὸν ἤλιον ποιητὴν ἐπιποθεῖτω, μηδὲ τὸν
κόσμον ἐκθειαζέτω, ἀλλὰ τὸν κόσμον δημιουργὸν
ἐπιζητησάτω. μόνη ἀρα, ὡς ἔοικεν, καταφυγὴ τῷ
μέλλοντι ἐπὶ τὰς σωτηρίους ἀφικνεῖσθαι θύρας
ὑπολείπεται σοφία θείκη; ἐνετεῦθεν ὡσπερ εὖ ἰερὸς
τινος ἀσύλου οὐδενὶ οὐκέτι ἀγώγιμος τῶν δαμάλων
ὁ ἀνθρωπος γίνεται σπεύδων εἰς σωτηρίαν.

a See Genesis i. 14.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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; for "by His word were they firmly established; and all their power by the breath of His mouth." 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." 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, 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.

Some men worship the heavenly bodies instead of God

These are but God's handiwork

Seek after God and not the works of God

Psalm xxxiii. 6. Psalm viii. 3.

Cp. Cicero, De natura deorum ii. 140 "Providence . . . 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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

V

Ἐπιδράμωμεν δὲ, εἰ βούλει, καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων τὰς δόξας, οἷς αὐχώοις περὶ τῶν θεῶν, εἰ πως καὶ φιλοσοφίαν αὐτὴν κενοδοξίας ἔνεκεν ἄνειδωλο- ποιοῦσαν τὴν ὕλην ἐφεύρωμεν, ἦ καὶ δαμόνια ἅττα ἐκθειάζουσαν κατὰ παραδρομὴν παραστῆσαι δυνηθῶμεν ὑνειρώττουσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. στοιχεῖα μὲν οὖν ἄρχας ἀπέλιπον ἐξυμνήσαντες Θαλής ὁ Μιλήσιος τὸ ὑδωρ καὶ Ἀναξιμένης ὁ καὶ αὐτὸς Μιλήσιος τὸν ἁέρα, Ὄ Διογένης ύστερον ὁ Ἀπολλωνιάτης κατηκολούθησεν. Παρμενίδης δὲ ὁ Ἐλεάτης θεοὺς εἰσηγήσατο πῦρ καὶ γῆν, θάτερον δὲ αὐτῶν μόνου, τὸ πῦρ, θεον ὑπειλήφατον Ἰππασός τε ὁ Μεταποντῖνος καὶ ὁ Ἐφέσιος Ὁράκλειτος Εμπεδοκλῆς γὰρ ὁ Ἀκραγαντίνος εἰς πλῆθος ἐμπεσὼν πρὸς τοῖς τέτταροι στοιχείοις τοῦτοι νεῖκος καὶ φιλιῶν καταριθμεῖται.

"Αθεοῦ μὲν δὴ καὶ οὕτω, σοφία των ἀσόφως τὴν ὕλην προσκυνήσαντες καὶ λίθους μὲν ἦν ἡ ἔλεα οὐ τιμήσαντες, γῆν δὲ τὴν τοῦτων μιστέρα ἐκθειάσαντες καὶ Ποσειδῶνα μὲν οὖν ἀναπλάστων, ὑδωρ δὲ αὐτὸ προστρεπόμενοι. τὶ γὰρ ἔστι ποτε δὲ Ποσειδῶν ἤ ἡγρά τις οὐσία ἐκ τῆς πόσεως ὅνοματοποιούμενη; ὥσπερ ἀμέλει ὁ πολέμιος ἂρης ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρσεως

1 ὁ Diels. εἰ mss.
2 ἀπέλιπον Cobet. ἀπέλειπον mss.
3 μόνον Sylburg. μόνοιν mss.
4 ποτε ὁ Wilamowitz. πρῶτερον mss. ἐτερον 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-
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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 Acragas, 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."

b See p. 47 with note.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

...καὶ ἀναιρέσεως κεκλημένος, ἢ καὶ δοκοῦσι μοι πολλοὶ μάλιστα τὸ ἔλφος μόνον πήξαντες ἐπιθύμενως ὡς "Ἀρεί: ἔστι δὲ Σκυθῶν τὸ τουτοῦν, καθάπερ Εὐδοξος ἐν δευτέρᾳ Γῆς 1 περιόδου λέγει, Σκυθῶν δὲ οἱ Σαυρομάται, ὡς φησιν Ἰκέσιος ἐν τῷ περὶ μυστηρίων, ἀκινάκην σέβουσιν. τούτῳ τοι καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἱράκλειτον τὸ πῦρ ὡς ἄρχηγον σέβοντες πεπόνθασιν· τὸ γὰρ πῦρ τοῦτο ἐτερον Ἡφαιστον ἀνάμασαν. Περσῶν δὲ οἱ μάγοι τὸ πῦρ τετμικὰσαν καὶ τῶν τῆς Ἄσιαν κατοικοῦντων πολλοῖς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνες, ὡς φησιν Διογένης ἐν αἴ Περσικῶν. τὶ μοι Σαυρομάτας κατάλεγεν, οὐς Νυμφόδωρος ἐν Νομίμοις βαρβαρικοῖς τὸ πῦρ σέβειν ἱστορεῖ, ἦ τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ τοὺς Μήδους καὶ τοὺς μάγους; θύειν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τούτους δ Ἰάνων λέγει, θεῶν ἄγαλματα μόνα τὸ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ νομίζους τα. οὐκ ἀπεκρυβάμην οὐδὲ τὴν τούτων ἁγνοίαν. εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀποφεύγειν οὖνται τῆς ὕπη πλάνης, ἀλλ’ εἰς ἐτέραν κατολισθαίνουσαν ἀπατὴν, ἄγαλματα μὲν θεῶν οὐ δύλα καὶ λίθους ὑπευλήφασιν ὁπερ Ἔλληνες οὐδὲ μὴν ἰβιδας καὶ ἰχνεύμονας καθάπερ Αἰγυπτιω, ἀλλὰ πῦρ τε καὶ ὕδωρ ὡς φιλόσοφοι. μετὰ πολλὰς μέντοι ὑστερον περιόδους ἐτῶν ἀνθρωποειδῆ ἄγαλματα σέβειν αὐτοὺς Βήρωσ-

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

"Cp. Plutarch, Amatorius 757 in "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.

146
Ares is so called from *arsis* and *anairesis,*\(^a\) abolition 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,*\(^b\) while the Sauromatians, a Scythian tribe, worship a dagger, according to Hicesius in his book on *Mysteries.*\(^c\) 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.*\(^d\) Why need I instance Sauromatians, whom Nymphodorus in *Barbarian Customs*\(^e\) 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.\(^f\) 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

---

\(^a\) Diogenes of Cyzicus, Fr. 4 *Frag. hist. Graec.* iv. p. 392.
\(^b\) Eudoxus, Fr. 16 Brandes (*Jahrb. class. Phil.* 1847, Suppl. 13, p. 223).
\(^c\) Hicesius, Fr. 1 *Frag. hist. Graec.* iv. p. 429.
\(^d\) Diogenes of Cyzicus, Fr. 4 *Frag. hist. Graec.* iv. p. 392.
\(^e\) Nymphodorus, Fr. 14 *Frag. hist. Graec.* ii. p. 379.
\(^f\) Dinon, Fr. 9 *Frag. hist. Graec.* ii. p. 91.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. σος ἐν τρίτῃ Χαλδαϊκῶν παρίστησι, τοῦτο Ἀρτα-ξέρξου τοῦ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὄχου εἰσηγησαμένου, διὶ πρώτος τῆς Ἀφροδίτης Ἀνατίδος ¹ τὸ ἁγαλμα ἀναστήσας ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ Σούσιοι καὶ Ἐκ-βατάνωι Πέρσαις καὶ Βάκτροις καὶ Δαμασκῷ καὶ Σάρδεσιν ὑπέδειξε σέβειν. ὄμολογοὺντων τῶν οἱ φιλόσοφοι τοὺς διδασκάλους τοὺς σφῶν Πέρσαις ἢ Σαυρωμάτας ἢ μάγους, παρ’ ὑν τὴν ἀθέοτητα τῶν σεβασμῶν αὐτοῖς μεμιαδήκασιν ἄρχων, ἀρχοντα τῶν πάνων ποιητὴν καὶ τῶν ἄρχων αὐτῶν δημουρ-γόν ἀγνοοῦντες, τὸν ἄναρχον θεόν, τὰ δὲ “πτωχὰ” ταῦτα καὶ “ἀσθενῆ,” ἢ φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος, τὰ εἰς τὴν ἀνθρώπων ὑπηρεσίαν πεποιημένα “στοιχεία” προστρεπόμενοι.

Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων φιλόσοφων ὁσι τὰ στοιχεῖα ὑπερβάντες ἐπολυτραγμόνησαν τὶ ψηλότερον καὶ περιπτότερον, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τὸ ἄπειρον καθύμνησαν, ὡς Ἀναξίμανδρος (Μιλήσιος ἢ) καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας ὁ Κλαξομένιος καὶ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Ἀρχέλαος. τούτω μὲν γε ἄμφω τὸν νοῦν ἐπεστησάτην τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ, ὁ δὲ Μιλήσιος Λευκιππος καὶ ὁ Χῖος Μητρόδωρος διυτᾶς, ὡς ἔουσεν, καὶ αὐτῶν ἄρχας ἀπελιπέτην, τὸ πλῆρες καὶ τὸ κενὸν: προσέθηκε δὲ λαβὼν τούτων τοὺς δευτὲα τὰ εἰδωλα ὁ Ἀρδηρίτης Δημόκριτος. ὁ

58 P. γάρ τοι Κροτωνιάτης Ἀλκμαιών | θεοῦς ῥετο τοὺς ἀστέρας εἶναι ἐμψύχους ὄντας. οὐσιωθεσομεν τὴν τούτων ἀνασκυντίαν. Ἑυκράτης (Καλχηδόνιος οὗτος) ἐπτὰ μὲν θεοὺς τοὺς πλανήτας, ὡγδοον δὲ

¹ 'Ανατίδος Bochart. τανατίδος mss.

a Berosus, Fr. 16 Frag. hist. Graec. ii. p. 508.
b Galatians iv. 9.
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, Sauro- 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

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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. V. τὸν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἀπλανῶν ¹ συνεστῶτα κόσμου αἰνῶτεται. οὐδὲ μὴν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς παρελεύσομαι διὰ πάσης ὑλῆς, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀτιμοτάτης, τὸ θείον διήκειν λέγοντας, οἱ κατασχύνουσιν ἀτεχνῶς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν. οὐδὲν δὲ οἶμαι χαλεπῶν ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Περπάτου μνησθῆναι: καὶ ὁ γε τῆς αἱρέσεως πατήρ, τῶν ἀλώνι ὡς νοήσας τὸν πατέρα, τὸν καλοῦμενον ἑὐπατον' ψυχὴν εἶναι τοῦ παντὸς οἴεται. τοιτεστὶ τοῦ κόσμου τὴν ψυχὴν θεον ὑπολαμβάνων αὐτὸς αὐτῷ περιπετείται. ὁ γὰρ τοι μέχρι τῆς σελήνης αὐτῆς διορίζων τὴν πρόνοιαν, ἐπειτα τὸν κόσμον θεον ἡγοῦμενος περιπετεύεται, τὸν ἄμοιρον τοῦ θεοῦ θεον δογματίζων. ὃ δὲ Ἕρεσιον ἐκεῖνον Θεόφραστος ὁ Ἀριστοτέλεως γνώριμοι πη μὲν οὐρανόν, πη δὲ πνεῦμα τὸν θεον ὑπονοεῖ. Ἐπικούρον μὲν γὰρ μόνον καὶ έκαν ἐκλήσομαι, ὃς οὐδὲν ² μέλεων οἴεται τῷ θεῷ, διὰ πάντων ἄσεβῶν. τὶ γὰρ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός; ἐσθ' ὅπῃ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰ Δημοκρίτου καὶ αὐτὸς κατασύρεται εἰδωλα;

VI

Καὶ πολὺς μοι ἐπιρρέει τοιοῦτοι ὀχλος, οἰονεὶ μορμῶ τινα, δαιμονιῶν παρεισάγων ξένων ἄτοπον

¹ τῶν ἀπλανῶν Davies. αὐτῶν mss. ἀστρῶν Diels.
² οὐδὲν Lowth. οὐδὲ mss.

¹ i.e. Aristotle.
² Aristotle sharply divided the celestial spheres, which were the divine part of the universe, from the sublunary 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
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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."
CAP. σκιαγραφίαν, μυθολογῶν 1 θῆλω γραϊκῆς. πολλοὶ γε δεὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτρέπειν ἀκροαθαι τοιούτων λόγων, οἳ μηδὲ τοὺς παίδας τοὺς ἑαυτῶν, τούτῳ δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, κλαυθμορίζομένους ἐθίζομεν παρηγορεῖσθαι μυθίζοντες, ὄρρωδοῦντες συνανατρέφειν αὐτοῖς ἀθεότητα τὴν πρὸς τῶν δοκησισόφων 2 δὴ τούτων καταγγελλομένην, μηδέν τι νηπίων μᾶλλον τάληθες εἰδότων. τί γάρ, ὃ πρὸς τῆς ἀληθείας, τοὺς σοὶ πεπιστευκότας δεικνύεις ρύσει καὶ φορα 3 δίναις τε ἀτάκτους 4 ὑποβεβλημένους; τί δὲ μοι εἰδώλων ἀναπίμπλης τὸν βίον, ἀνέμους τε ἡ ἀέρα ἢ πῦρ ἢ γῆν ἢ λίθους ἢ ἐξίλα ἢ σίδηρον, κόσμον τόνδε, θεοὺς ἀναπλάττουσα, θεοὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας τοὺς πλανήτας, τοὺς ὄντως πεπλανημένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς πολυβρυχίνου ταύτης ἀστρολογίας, οὐκ ἀστρονομίας, μετεωρολογίας καὶ ἀδολεσχύσα; τὸν κύριον τῶν πνευμάτων ποθῶ, τὸν κύριον τοῦ πυρός, τὸν κόσμου δημιουργόν, τὸν ἡλίου φωταγωγὸν. θεοὺς ἐπίζητω, οὐ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ. τίνα δὴ λάβω παρὰ σοῦ συνεργῶν τῆς ζητήσεως; οὐ γὰρ παντάπασιν ἀπεγνώκαμεν σε. εἰ βούλει, τὸν Πλάτωνα. πὴ δὴ οὖν ἔξικνεύεσκον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃ Πλάτων; "τὸν γὰρ πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τοῦ τοῦ παντὸς εὑρέιν

1 μυθολογῶν Mayor. μυθολόγων mss.
2 δοκησισόφων Potter. δοκησεισόφων mss.
3 φορὰ Münzel. φθορὰ mss.
4 δίναις τε ἀτάκτους Heyse. δεινάς τε καὶ ἀτάκτους mss.

a The doctrine of “flux” was taught by Heracleitus in his well-known phrase, “All things flow” (πάντα ῥεῖ). “Motion” and “irregular vortices” refer to Anaxagoras, who supposed the primitive elements to have been set in 152
absurd picture of strange daemons, and romancing with all an old wife’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 rotary motion by Mind (νοῦς). 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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

Cap. VI

τε ἔργον καὶ εὑρόντα εἰς ἀπαντας ἐξειπέιν ἀδύνατον." 

dia τι δήτα, ὦ πρὸς αὐτοῦ; "ρητὸν ¹ γὰρ οὔδαμῶς ἐστίν." eu γε, ὦ Πλάτων, ἑπαφάσαι τῆς ἀληθείας· ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποκάμης· ξὺν μοι λαβοῦ τῆς ζητήσεως τάγαθος πέρι· πᾶσιν γὰρ ἀπαξαπλῶς ἀνθρώποις, 

μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς περὶ λόγους ἐνδιατρίβουσιν ἐνέστακ-

ταί τίς ἀπόρροια θεῖκη. οὐ δὴ χάριν καὶ ἄκοντες 

μὲν ὀμολογοῦσιν ἐνα γε ² εἶναι θεόν, ἀνώλεθρον καὶ 

ἀγένητον τοῦτον, ἄνω που περὶ τὰ νῦτα τοῦ 

οὐρανοῦ ἐν τῇ ἱδίᾳ καὶ οἰκείᾳ περιωπῆ  ὄντως 

ὄντα ἀεὶ.

θεὸν δὲ ποιοῦν, εἰπὲ μοι, νοητέον; 

τὸν πάνθ’ ὄρωντα καυτὸν οὐκ ὄρωμενον,

Εὐριπίδης λέγει. πεπλανήσθαι γοῦν ὦ Μένανδρός 

μοι δοκεῖ, ἐνθα φησίν

ἡλιε, se γὰρ δεὶ προσκυνεῖν πρῶτον θεῶν, 

di’ ὃν θεωρεῖν ἐστὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς·

οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡλιος ἐπιδείξει ποτ’ ἀν τὸν θεόν τὸν 

ἀληθῆ, ὦ δὲ λόγος ὁ ὑγιής, ὃς ἐστὶν ἡλιος ψυχῆς, 

di’ ὃν μόνου ἐνδοτ ἀνατελλόντος ἐν τῷ βάθει 

τοῦ νοῦ ³ αὐτῆς ⁴ κατανυγάζεται τὸ ὀμία. οὐθεν 

οὐκ ἄπεικότως ὁ Δημόκριτος "τῶν λογίων ἀνθρώπων

---

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

---

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
universe, and when you have found Him, it is im-
possible to declare Him to all." VI

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 ν–249.

d Euripides, Frag. 1129 Nauck.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. ὄλγους " φησίν " ἀνατείναντας τὰς χειρὰς ἐνταῦθα ὁν νῦν ἥερα καλέομεν οἱ "Ελλήνες, [πάντα] Δία μυ- θείσθαι. 

καὶ <γὰρ> πάντα οὕτως οἶδεν καὶ διδοὶ <πάντα> καὶ ἀφαιρεῖται, καὶ βασιλεύς οὕτως τῶν πάντων." ταῦτη τῇ καὶ Πλάτων | διανοούμενος τὸν θεὸν αἰνίττεται "περὶ τὸν πάντων βασιλέα πάντ' ἑστι, κάκεινο αὕτιον ἀπάντων <τῶν> kalóν." 
tὸς οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν πάντων; θεὸς τῆς τῶν ὄντων ἀληθείας τὸ μέτρον. ὥσπερ οὖν τῷ μέτρῳ κατα- ληπτά τὰ μετροῦμενα, οὕτωσι δὲ καὶ τῷ νοῆσαι τὸν θεὸν μετρεῖται καὶ καταλαμβάνεται ἡ ἀλήθεια. 

ὁ δὲ ἱερὸς οὖν τὸς Ἡμώνης "οὐκ ἐστιν," φησίν, "ἐν τῷ μαρσίππῳ σον στάθμιον καὶ στάθμιον μέγα ἡ μικρόν, οὐδὲ ἑστιν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου μέτρον μέγα ἡ μικρόν, ἀλλ' ἡ στάθμιον ἀληθινὸν καὶ δίκαιον ἑστι σοι," στάθμιον καὶ μέτρον καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν ὄλων ὑπολαμβάνων τὸν θεὸν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀδικα καὶ ἄνίσα εἴδωλα οἶκοι ἐν τῷ μαρσίππῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ὡς ἐπεὶ ἤντειν ῥυπώσῃ ψυχῇ κατακέκρυπται. 

τὸ δὲ μόνον δίκαιον μέτρον, ὁ μόνος οὖν τὸς θεός, ἵσος ἄει κατὰ τὰ αὐτά καὶ ὠσαύτως ἔχων, μετρεῖ τὲ πάντα καὶ σταθμᾶται, οἴονε τρυτάνῃ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἀρρενῶς περιλαμβάνων καὶ ἀνέχων φύσιν. "ὁ μὲν δὴ θεός, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ πολαιός λόγος, ἀρχὴν <τε> καὶ τελευτήν καὶ μέσα τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων ἔχων, εὐθείαν περαινει κατὰ φύσιν περι-

1 Δία μυθεσθαι Heinsius. διαμυθεσθαι 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.

156
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

of reason a 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." b 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." c 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." d 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, e 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

---

a Λόγιος means learned, but here it seems to refer back to λόγος.
b Democritus, Frag. 30 Diels, Vorsokratiker ii. pp. 70-1 (1912).
c Plato, Epistles ii. p. 312 e.
d Deut. xxv. 13–15.
e See Plato, Phaedo 78 d.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. πορευόμενος· τῷ ¹ ἅ ἀεὶ ξυνέπεται δίκη τῶν ἀπολευτομένων τοῦ θείου νόμου τιμωρός.” πόθεν, ὦ Πλάτων, ἀλήθειαν αἰώντη; πόθεν ἢ τῶν λόγων αἴθωνος χορηγία τὴν θεοσέβειαν μαντεύεται; σοφωτερά, φησίν, τούτων βαρβάρων τὰ γένη. οἴδας σου τους διδασκάλους, κάν ἀποκρύπτειν ἐθέλη· γεωμετρίαν παρ’ Ἀγνυπτῖων μανθάνεις, ἀστρονομίαν παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων, ἐπωδᾶς τὰς ύγιεῖς παρὰ Ὀρακὼν λαμβάνεις, πολλὰ σε καὶ Ἀσσύριοι πεπαιδεύκασι, νόμους δὲ τοὺς ὁσοὶ ἀληθείς καὶ δόξαν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ παρ’ αὐτῶν ὕφελησαν τῶν Ἑβραίων,

οἶτινες οὐκ ἀπάτησι κεναῖς, οὐδ’ ἐργ’ ἄνθρώπων χρύσεα καὶ χάλκεια καὶ ἀργυροῦ ἡδ’ ἐλέφαντος καὶ ξυλίνων λιθίνων τε βροτῶν εἰδώλα θανόντων τιμῶσιν, ὡσα πέρ τε βροτοὶ κενεόφρονι βουλῆ· ἄλλα γὰρ ἀείρουσί ² πρὸς ὑφανὸν ὑλένας ἁγνάς, ἐρθροὶ εἴς εὐνής, ἀεὶ χρόα ἁγνίζοντες ὕδασι, καὶ τιμῶσι μόνον τὸν ἅ ἀρκετοῦν ἀθάντον.

Καὶ μοι μὴ μόνον, ὦ φιλοσοφία, ἐνα τοῦτον Πλάτωνα, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους παραστήσας σπούδασον, τὸν ἑνα  ὀντως μόνον θεὸν ἀναφθεγγομένους θεὸν κατ’ ἐπίπνυοις αὐτοῦ, εἴ ποι τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπιδράξαντο. Ἄντισθένης μὲν γὰρ οὐ Κυνικὸν ἤ τοῦτο ἐνενόησεν, Σωκράτους δὲ ἄτε γνώριμος “θεὸν οὐδεν ἐοικέναι” φησίν: “διὸ περ αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς έκμαθεῖν εἴς εἰκόνος δύναται.” Ξενο-

¹ τῷ from Plato and Clement, ii. Strom. 132. 2. τὴν mss.
² ἀείρουσί Sibylline Oracles. αἰρεθη mss.

158
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

path, revolving according to nature; but ever there follows along with him Right, to take vengeance on those who forsake the divine law." a "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." b 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. c

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." d And Xenophon the Athenian

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. VI

φῶν δέ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος διαρρήδην ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐγγράφει τι μαρτυρῶν ὡς Σωκράτης, εἰ μὴ τὸ Σωκράτους ἐδείκει φάρμακον οὐδὲν δὲ ἦττον αὐτίττετα. “δ” γοῦν “τὰ πάντα,” φησίν, “σείων καὶ ἀτρεμίζων ώς μὲν μέγας τις καὶ δυνατός, φανερός· ὁποῖος δὲ τὴν ² μορφὴν, ἀφανής· οὐδὲ μὴν ὁ παμφαίης δοκῶν εἶναι ἦλιος οὐδ’ αὐτὸς ἐοικεν ὅραν αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέπειν, ἀλλ’ ἦν τὰς ἀναιδῶς αὐτὸν θεάσθαι, τὴν οὖν ἀφαιρεῖται.” πόθεν ἄρα ὁ τοῦ Γρύλλου σοφίζεται ἡ δηλαδὴ παρὰ τῆς προφήτηδος τῆς Ἑβραίων θεσπιζούσης ὡδὲ πως;

τις γὰρ σάρξ δύναται τὸν ἑπούρανον καὶ ἀληθῆ ὄφθαλμοισιν ἰδεῖν θεὸν ἀμβροτον, ὡς πόλον οἰκεί; ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἀκτίνων κατεναντίον ἥλιοι ἀνθρωποὶ στῆναι δυνατοί, θυντοὶ γεγαώτες.

Κλεάνθης δὲ ὁ Πηδασεύς, ³ ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοὰς φιλόσοφος, οὐ θεογονίαν ποιητικὴν, θεολογίαν δὲ ἀληθεῖν ἐνδεικνυται. οὐκ ἀπεκρύψατο τοῦ θεοῦ πέρι ὅτι περ εἰχεν φρονών.

τάγαθον ⁴ ἐρωτᾶς μ’ οἶόν ἐστ’; ἀκουε δὴ· τεταγμένων, δίκαιων, ὅσιων, εὐσεβέσεως, κρατοῦν ἑαυτοῦ, χρήσιμων, καλῶν, δέον, | αὐστηρῶν, αὐθέκαστον, αἰε συμφέρον, ἀφοβον, ἀλυπον, λυσιτελές, ἀνώδυνον, ἀφέλιμον, εὐάρεστον, ἀσφαλές, φίλον, ἐντυμον, ὑμολογούμενον

62 P.

---

1 ἐγγράφει Dindorf. ἀναγράφει mss.
2 δέ τὴν Stobaeus (Eclog. ii. 1). δὲ τις mss. δ’ ἐστὶν Clement, v. Strom. 108. 5.
3 Πηδασεύς Wilamowitz (see Strabo xiii. p. 611). πισαδεύς mss.
4 τάγαθον Clement, v. Strom. 110. 3. ei τὸ ἀγαθὸν mss.

160
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."a

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 . . .

---

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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. VI

εὐκλεὲς, ἀτυφοῦ, ἐπιμελὲς, πράον, σφοδρόν, χρονιζόμενον, ἂμεμπτον, ἂεὶ διαμένον.

ἀνελεύθερος πάς ὁ στίς εἰς δόξαν βλέπει, ὥσ δὴ παρ’ ἐκείνης τευξόμενος καλοῦ τινος.

ἐνταῦθα δὴ σαφῶς, οὕτως, διδάσκει ὁ ποιῶς ἔστιν ὁ θεός, καὶ ὡς ἡ δόξα ἡ κοινή καὶ ἡ συνήθεια τοὺς ἐπομένους αὐταίν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸν θεὸν ἐπιζητοῦντας, ἐξανδραποδιζέσθην. οὐκ ἀποκρυπτέον οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Πυθαγόραν, οἳ θαυμῶν "ὅ μὲν θεὸς εἰς, οὕτος ἐς οὐ, ὥσ τινες ὑπονοοῦσιν, ἐκτὸς τάς διακοσμήσιος, ἀλλ’ ἐν αὐτῇ, ὥς ἐν ὡλῳ τῷ κύκλῳ, ἐπίσκοπος πᾶσας γενέσιος, κράσις τῶν ὁλῶν αἰῶνων καὶ ἐργάτας τῶν αὐτοῦ δυνάμων καὶ ἐργῶν ἀπάντων ἐν οὐρανῷ φωστήρ καὶ πάντων πατήρ, νοῦς καὶ ψύχως τῷ ὡλῷ κύκλῳ, πάντων κύκλως." ἀπόχρη καὶ τάδε εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν θεοῦ ἐπιπνοῖα θεοῦ πρὸς αὐτῶν μὲν ἀναγεγραμμένα, πρὸς δὲ ἡμῶν ἐξει- λεγμένα τῷ γε καὶ σμικρὸν διαθρεῖν ἀληθείαν δυναμένω.

VII

'Ἰτω δὲ ἡμῖν (οὐ γὰρ αὐτάρκει μόνον ἡ φιλοσοφία) ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῇ ἡ ποιητικὴ ἡ περὶ τὸ πεύκος τὰ πάντα ἡσυχολημένη, μόλις ποτὲ ἡδὴ ἀλήθειαν μαρτυρήσουσα, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐξομολογομένη τῷ θεῷ τὴν μυθώδη παρέκβασιν. παρίτω δὴ ὁ στίς καὶ βούλεται

1 οὕτος Wilamowitz. χοίτος MSS. αὐτὸς Justin (Cohor. ad Graec. 19).
2 αἰῶνων Justin. αἰῶν MSS.
3 τῷ ὡλῳ κύκλῳ Stahlin. τῷ ὡλῳ κύκλῳ MSS.
4 ἡ inserted by Markland.

162
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

Renowned, not puffed up, careful, gentle, strong,
Enduring, blameless, lives from age to age.\(^a\)

Slavish the man who vain opinion heeds,
In hope to light on any good from that.\(^b\)

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

\(^a\) 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."

\(^b\) Pearson, p. 320 (Fr. 101).
CAP. VII ουτής πρώτος. "Αρατος μὲν οὖν διὰ πάντων τῆν
dύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ διήκειν νοεῖ,

όφρ' ἐμπεδα πάντα φύωνται,
tῷ μιν ἄει πρῶτον τε καὶ ὑστατὸν ἱλάσκονται.
χαίρε, πάτερ, μέγα θαυμα, μέγ' ἀνθρώπουσιν
οὖν εἰρ.

ταύτη τοι καὶ ὁ Ἀσκραῖος αἰνίττεται Ἡσίωδος τὸν
θεόν." |

63 ρ. αὐτὸς γὰρ πάντων βασιλεὺς καὶ κοίρανός ἐστιν,
ἀθανάτων τέο δ' 1 οὖτις ἐρήμοσται κράτος ἀλλὸς.

ήδη δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς παραγυμνοῦσι τὴν
ἀλήθειαν. ο μὲν καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰθέρα καὶ εἰς τὸν
οὐρανὸν ἀναβλέφας "τόνδε ἣγου θεόν," φησίν,
Εὐρυπίδης. o δὲ τοῦ Σοφίλλου Σωφοκλῆς,

εἰς ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν, εἰς ἐστὶν θεὸς,
ὅς οὐρανὸν τ᾽ ἐτευξὲ καὶ γαίαν μακρὴν
ποῦντο τε χαροπόν οἴδιμα κανέμων βίας.
θνητοὶ δὲ πολλὰ 2 καρδίᾳ πλανῶμενοι
ἰδρυσάμεθα πημάτων παραψυχὴν
θεῶν ἀγάλματ᾽ ἐκ λίθων, ἥ χαλκέων
ἡ χρυσοτεύκτων ἡ ἐλεφαντίνων τύπους.
θυσίας τε τοῦτοις καὶ κενὰς πανηγύρεις
νέμοντες, οὗτως εὐσεβεῖν νομίζομεν.

οὗτοι μὲν ἦδη καὶ παρακεκυδυνεμένως ἐπὶ τῆς
σκηνῆς τῆν ἀλήθειαν τοῖς θεαταῖς παρεισῆγαγεν.

1 τέο δ' Stählin. σέο δ' Clement, v. Strom. 112. 3. τέ
οἱ Buttmann. τε ὅδ' mss.
2 πολλὰ Heyse. πολλοὶ mss.

164
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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."

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

For He is king and master over all;
No other god hath vied with Thee in strength."

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."
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."

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

---

a Aratus, Phaenomena 13-15.
b Hesiod, Frag. 195 Rzach.
c Euripides, Frag. 941 Nauck.
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

ο δὲ Θράκιος ἱεροφάντης καὶ ποιητὴς ἀμα, ὁ τοῦ Ὀιάγρου Ὀρφεὺς, μετὰ τὴν τῶν ὄργιων ἱεροφαντίαν καὶ τῶν εἰδώλων τὴν θεολογίαν, παλινωδῶς ἀληθείας εἰσάγει, τὸν ἱερὸν οὖν τοῦτο δὴ ποτε, ὅμως δὲ οὖν ἄδων λόγον:

φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμισ ἐστὶ· θύρας δὲ ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι

πάντες ὅμως· σὺ δὲ ἄκουε, φαεσφόρον ἐκγονε Μήνης,

Μουσαί', ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα, μηδὲ σε τὰ πρὶν ἐν στήθεσι φανέντα φίλης αὐώνος ἀμέρση.

εἰς δὲ λόγον θείου βλέψας τούτω προσέδρευε,

θύμων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος· εἶ δὲ ἐπίβαυε ἀτραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δὲ ἐσόρα κόσμου ἀνακτα ἀθάνατον.

εἶτα ὑποβὰς διαρρήδην ἐπιφέρει· |

64 Ρ. εἰς ἐστ', αὐτογενῆς, ἐνὸς ἐκγονα πάντα τέτυκται· ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περινύσσεται, οὐδὲ τις αὐτὸν εἰσόρας θυητῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ γε πάντας ὀρᾶται.

οὔτως μὲν δὴ Ὀρφεὺς· χρόνῳ γέ' 1 ποτε συνήκεν πεπλανημένος.

ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ μέλλων, βροτὲ ποικιλόμητι, βράδυνε,

ἀλλὰ παλιμπλαγκτος στρέψας θεοῦ ἔλασκοιο.

εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐναύσματα τινα τοῦ λόγου τοῦ θείου λαβόντες Ἔλληνες ὅλιγα ἀττα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐφθέγξαντο, προσμαρτυροῦσι μὲν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς οὐκ ἀποκεκρυμμένην, σφάς δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐλέγχουσιν ἄσθενεῖς, οὐκ ἐφικόμενοι τοῦ τέλους.

νὴδι γὰρ οἷμαι παντὶ τῶν δὴλον γεγονέναι ὡς τῶν

1 γέ Stählin. τέ mss.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

And the Thracian interpreter of the mysteries, who 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:

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.\(^a\)

Then, lower down, he adds explicitly:

One, self-begotten, lives; all things proceed
From One; and in His works He ever moves:
No mortal sees Him, yet Himself sees all.\(^a\)

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

Inconstant mortal, make no more delay,
But turn again, and supplicate thy God.\(^b\)

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

\(^a\) Orpheus, Frag. 5 Abel.
\(^b\) Sibylline Oracles iii. 624–625.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. VII. χωρίς τοῦ λόγου τῆς ἀληθείας ἐνεργοῦντων τι ή καὶ 
φθεγγομένων ὀμοίων ὄντων τοῖς χωρίς βάσεως 
βαδίζειν βιαζομένοις.

Δυσωπούντων δὲ σε εἰς σωτηρίαν καὶ οἱ περὶ 
τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῶν ἔλεγχοι, οὗς διὰ τὴν ἀληθείαν 
ἐκβιαζόμενοι κωμωδοῦσι ποιηταί. Μένανδρος γοῦν 
δ' κωμικὸς ἐν Ἡμιόχῳ [ἐν Ὀποβολιμαίῳ] 1 τῷ 
δράματι

οὕδεις μ' ἀρέσκει (φησὶ) περιπατῶν ἐξω θεὸς 
μετὰ γραός, οὐδ' εἰς οἰκίας παρεισών 
ἐπὶ τοῦ σανιδίου;

[μητραγῦρτης] 2 τοιοῦτοι γὰρ οἱ μητραγύρται. ὅθεν 
eἰκότως ὁ Ἀντισθένης ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς μετατοῦσιν: 
"οὐ τρέφω τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν, ἥν οἱ θεοὶ τρέφου-
σιν." πάλιν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς κωμῳδοῦσί ἐν Ἰερείᾳ 
τῷ δράματι χαλεπαίνων πρὸς τὴν συνήθειαν δι- 
ἐλέγχειν πειράται τὸν ἄθεον τῆς πλάνης τύφον, 
ἐπιφθεγγόμενος ἐμφρόνως

εἰ γὰρ ἔλκει τὸν θεὸν 
τοῖς κυμβάλοις ἀνθρωπος εἰς ὁ βούλεται, 
ὁ τούτο ποιῶν ἐστὶ μείζων τοῦ θεοῦ; 
ἀλλ' ἔστι τόλμης καὶ βίου 3 ταῦτ' ὀργανα 
εὑρημέν' ἀνθρώπωσιν.

1 [ἐν Ὀποβολιμαίῳ] Clericus (missing from Justin, De mon. 5). 
2 [μητραγῦρτης] Dindorf. 3 blas 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
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

plain to everybody that those who do anything or utter 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.

For this is what the priests of Cybele 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." 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.

and μητραγύρτης 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."
καὶ οὖχι μόνος ὁ Μένανδρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Ὄμηρος καὶ Ἕλενη ψήευν ὑμῶν τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ λοιδορείσθαι οὐ δεδίασιν οὔδὲ καθ’ ὀπόσον αὐτοῖς. αὐτίκα τὴν Ἄθηνᾶν "κυνάμυηαν" καὶ τὸν Ἡφαίστον "ἀμφιγύην" καλοῦσιν, τῇ δὲ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἢ Ἐλένη φησὶ

μηκέτι σοὶς πόδεσσιν ὑποστρέψειας "Ολυμπον.

ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου ἄναφανδὸν "Ομήρος γράφει

ὁς ποτε μαυνομένου Διωνύσου τιθήμας
σεῦ κατ’ ἡγάθεου Νυσήνον. αἱ δ’ ἁμα πᾶσαι
θύσθλα χαμαὶ κατέχευαν ὑπ’ ἀνδροφόνου Δυκοῦργου.

ἀξίως ώς ἀληθῶς Σωκρατικῆς διατριβῆς ὁ Ἔυριπίδης
εἰς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀπιδών καὶ τοὺς θεατὰς ὑπερδών,
ποτὲ μὲν τὸν Ὀμπόλωνα,

ὁς μεσομφάλους ἑδρας

ναίει βροτοῖς στόμα νέων σαφέστατα,

dieléγχων,

κείνῳ πιθόμενος 1 τὴν τεκοῦσαν ἑκτανοῦν,
ἐκεῖνον ἤγεισθ’ ἀνόσιον καὶ κτείνετε. 2
ἐκεῖνος ἤμαρτ’, οὐκ ἔγω,
ἀμαθέστερος γ’ ὅν 3 τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς δίκης,

totε δ’ ἐμμανή εἰσάγων Ἡρακλεᾶ καὶ μεθύοντα

ἀλλαχόθι καὶ ἀπληστοῦν πώς γὰρ οὖχι; ὁς ἐστιώ-

μενος τοῖς κρέασι

1 τούτῳ πιθόμενος Euripides. κείνῳ πειθόμενος mss.
2 κτείνετε Euripides. κτείνατε mss.
3 γ’ ὅν Euripides. ὅν mss.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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,

---

a Homer, Iliad xxii. 394, 421.

b Iliad i. 607 etc.

c Iliad iii. 407.

d Iliad vi. 132–134.

e Euripides, Orestes 591–592.

f Orestes 594–596, 417.

g i.e. in the Hercules Furens.

h Alcestis 755–760.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. VII

χλωρά σῶκ’ ἐπῆσθιεν ἀμουσ’ ὑλακτῶν ὡστε βαρβάρω μαθεῖν.

η’δη δὲ ἐν Ἰωνὶ τῷ δράματι γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐκκυκλεῖ τῷ θεáτρῳ τοὺς θερόν.

πῶς οὖν δίκαιον τοὺς νόμους ὑμᾶς βροτοῖς γράφαντας αὐτοὺς ἀδικίας ὁφλισκάνεν;
εἰ δ’, οὐ γὰρ ἔσται, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ χρήσομαι,
δίκας βιαῖων δώσετ’ ἀνθρώποις γάμων,
σὺ καὶ Ποσειδών Ζεὺς θ’, ὃς οὐρανοῦ κρατεῖ,
ναοὺς τίνοτες ἀδικίας κενώσετε.

VIII

"Ὤρα τοῖνυν τῶν ἄλλων ἡμῖν τῇ τάξει προδημην-

σμένων ἐπὶ τᾶς προφητικὰς ἑνεῖ γραφάς· καὶ γὰρ

ὁχησομεί τάς εἰς τήν θεσάβειαν ἡμῖν ἀφορμάς

ἐναργείσατα προτείνοντες θεμελιοῦσι τήν ἀλήθειαν

γράφαί δὲ αἱ θεῖαι καὶ ἡ πολιτεία σῶφρονες, σύντομοι

σωτηρίας ὁδοῖς γυμναὶ κομμωτικῆς καὶ τῆς ἐκτὸς

καλλιφωνίας καὶ στωμηλίας καὶ κολακείας ὑπάρ-

χουσαι ἀνιστῶσιν ἀγχόμενον ὑπὸ κακίας τῶν ἀνθρω-

πον, ὑπεριδοῦσαι τὸν ὀλισθὸν τῶν βιωτικῶν, μιᾶ καὶ

tῇ αὐτῇ φωνῇ πολλὰ θεραπεύουσαι, ἀποτρέπουσαι

μὲν ἡμᾶς τῆς ἐπιζήμιου ἀπάτης, προτρέπουσαι δὲ

ἐμφανῶς εἰς προόπτου σωτηρίαν. αὐτίκα γοῦν ἡ

1 αἱ θεῖαι, <ei> καὶ Schwartz: Stählin.
2 θεραπεύουσαι Sylburg. θεραπεύουσαι mss.

---

a Euripides, Frag. 907 Nauck.
b Literally, "with head bare." c Ion 442–447.
d For other references to the "short road" to salvation see pp. 217, and 240, n. a. Clement means to say that
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 provide 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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. ΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΣ ἩΜΙΝ ἌΣΑΤΩ ΠΡΩΤΗ ΣΙΒΥΛΛΑ ΤΟ ἈΣΜΑ ΤΟ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΟΝ.

οὗτος ὑδοὺ πάντεσσι 1 σαφῆς ἀπλάνητος ὑπάρχει· ἐλθετε, μὴ σκοτίην δὲ διώκετε καὶ ζόφον αἰεὶ. ἥελον γλυκυδερκές, ὑδού, φάσο ἐξοχα λάμπει. 

γνώτε δὲ κατθέμενοι σοφίην ἐν στήθεσιν ὑμῶν. 

εἰς θεὸς ἐστι, βροχὰς, ἀνέμους, σεισμοὺς τ' ἐπιπέμπων, 

ἀστεροπάς, λυμοὺς, λουμοὺς καὶ κήδεα λυγρά 

καὶ ὑφετοὺς καὶ τάλλα, 2 τι δὴ καθ' ἐν ἐς- 

ἀγορεύων; 

οὐρανοὶ ἦγεῖται, γαῖς κρατεῖ αὐτὸς ἀπ' ἄρχης. 3

ἐνθέως σφόδρα τὴν μὲν ἀπάτην ἀπεικάζουσα τῷ 

σκότει, τὴν δὲ γνώσιν ἠλίῳ καὶ φωτὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, 

ἀμφόθεν δὲ παραθεμένη τῇ συγκρίσει, τὴν ἐκλογὴν 

dιδάσκει· τὸ γὰρ ψεῦδος οὐ ψυλή τῇ παραθέσεi 

τάληθος διασκεδάζονται, τῇ δὲ χρήσει τῆς ἀληθείας 

ἐκβιαζόμενον φυγαδεύεται. 'Ἰερεμίας δὲ οἱ προφήτης 

ὁ πάνσοφος, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐν 'Ἰερεμία τὸ ἄγων πνεύμα 

ἐπιδεικνυότα τὸν θεόν. "θεὸς ἐγνώειν ἐγώ εἰμί," 

φησί, "καὶ οὐχὶ θεὸς πόρρωθεν. εἰ ποιήσει τι ἀν-

θρώπος ἐν κρυφαίοις, καὶ ἐγώ οὐκ ὀψομαι αὐτόν; 

οὐχὶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐγώ πληρῶ; 

λέγει κύριος." πάλιν δὲ αὐτὶ διὰ 'Ησαίου "τὸς 

μετρήσεις," φησί, "τὸν οὐρανον σπιθαμή καὶ πᾶσαν 

τὴν γῆν δρακι;" ὁρὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ 

καταπλάγητα. τοῦτον προσκυνήσωμεν, ἐφ' οὐ φησιν 

ὁ προφήτης "ἀπὸ προσώπου σου ὄρη τακύσουνται, 

1 πάντεσσι Sib. Or. and Clement, v. Strom. 115. 6. πάντ' 

ἐστι mss. 

2 καὶ τάλλα Cobet. κρύσταλλα mss.: Stählin. 

3 ἀπ' ἄρχης Mayor. υπάρχει mss.: Stählin. 

174
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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."

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?”

Once again, the same Spirit says through Isaiah: “Who shall measure the heaven with a span, and the whole earth with a hand-breadth?” 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

CAP. ως ἀπὸ προσώπου πυρὸς τήκεται κηρός." οὕτως, φησίν, ἔστιν ο θεός, "οἱ θρόνοι μὲν ἔστιν ο οὐρανός, ὑποπόδιον δὲ ἡ γῆ," ὁς "ἐὰν ἄνοιξῃ τὸν οὐρανὸν, τρόμος σε λήψεται." βούλει καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰδώλων ἕκοψαί τι φησίν <ὁ> ² προφήτης οὕτως; "παραδειγματισθήσονται ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ ήλίου καὶ ἔσται τὰ

67. θυσίαμα αὐτῶν βρώματα τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς γῆς, καὶ σαπήσεται ὑπὸ τοῦ ήλίου καὶ τῆς σελήνης, αὐτὸι ἡγάπησαν καὶ οἷς αὐτοὶ ἔδούλευσαν, καὶ ἐμπρησθήσεται ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν." φθαρήσεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ τὸν κόσμον σὺν καὶ αὐτοῖς λέγει: "ἡ γῆ," φησί, "παλαιωθήσεται καὶ ο οὐρανός παρελεύσεται," "τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα κυρίου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα." 

τὸ δὲ ὅταν πάλιν ἐαυτὸν δεικνύναι ο θεός βουλὴθη διὰ Μωυσέως; "ἰδεπ ἱδεῖ ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι καὶ οὐκ ἐστι θεὸς ἐτερος πλὴν ἐμοῦ. ἐγώ ἀποκτενῶ καὶ ξην ποιήσω: πατάξω κάγω ἱάσομαι, καὶ οὐκ ἐστιν ὅτι ἔξελείται ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου."

Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτέρου ἐπακούσας θέλεις χρησιμοδοῦν; ἔχεις τὸν χορὸν πάντα τὸν προφητικόν, τοὺς συνθηκασίωτας τοῦ Μωυσέως. τὸ φησίν αὐτοῖς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἁγιόν διὰ Ωσῆ; οὐκ ὁκνήσω λέγειν "ἰδοὺ, ἐγὼ στερεὼν βροντήν καὶ κτίζων πνεῦμα," οὐ αἱ χεῖρες τὴν στρατιὰν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐθεμελήσωσαν. ἔτι

1 εἰδώλων: can this be a scribe's mistake for εἰδωλολατρῶν (cp. p. 178, l. 12)?

2 <ὁ> inserted by Dindorf.

a See Isaiah lxiv. 1–3.  b Isaiah lxvi. 1.

c See Isaiah lxiv. 1 (Septuagint).

da 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.

176
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

from before the face of the fire." a He is God, the prophet says again, "whose throne is heaven, and the earth His footstool" b; before whom "if He open heaven, trembling shall seize thee." e Would you hear too, what this prophet says about idol-worshippers? d "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." e 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." f 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." g

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," h whose hands established the host of heaven. i

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).
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. VIII

δὲ καὶ διὰ Ἡσαίου (καὶ ταῦτῃν ἀπομνημονεύσωσι
σοι τὴν φωνήν) “ἐγὼ εἰμι, ἐγὼ εἰμὶ,” φησίν, “ὁ
κύριος ὁ λαλῶν δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀναγγέλλων ἀλή-
θειαν: συνάχθητε καὶ ἥκετε: βουλεύσασθε ἡμα, οἱ
σωζόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν. οὐκ ἐγνωσαν οἱ ἀὗροντες
τὸ ἔγινε γλύμμα αὐτῶν, καὶ προσευχόμενοι θεοὶ
οἱ οὗ σώσοσιν αὐτοὺς.” εἰθ’ ὑποβάς “ἐγὼ,”
φησίν, “ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶ πλῆν ἐμοῦ δίκαιος,
καὶ σωτήρ οὐκ ἐστὶ πάρεξ ἐμοῦ: ἐπιστράφητε πρὸς
με καὶ σωθήσεσθε οἱ ἀπ’ ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς. ἐγὼ
εἰμὶ ὁ θεός καὶ οὐκ ἐστίν ἄλλος: κατ’ ἐμαυτοῦ
ομνυν.” τοῖς δὲ εἰδωλολάτραις δυσχεραίνει λέγων
“τίνι ὁμοιόμοιον κύριον; ἢ τίνι ὁμοώματι ὁμοιό-
ματι αὐτὸν; μὴ εἰκόνα ἐποίησεν τέκτων, ἢ χρυσο-
χόος χαλκεύσας χρυσίον περιεχρύσωσεν αὐτὸν;”
καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις. μὴ οὖν ἔτι ὑμεῖς εἰδωλο-
λάτραι; ἀλλὰ κἂν νῦν φυλάξασθε τὰς ἀπειλὰς
ολολύσεις γὰρ τὰ γλυπτὰ καὶ τὰ χειροποίητα, μάλ-
λον δὲ οἱ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς πεποιθότες, ἀναίσθητος γὰρ
ἡ ὕλη. ἔτι φησίν. “ὁ κύριος σείσει πόλεις κατ-
οικομένης καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην καταλημνεῖ
tῇ χειρὶ ὃς νοσσιάν.” τί σοι σοφίας ἀναγγέλλω
μυστήρια καὶ ρήσεις ἐκ παιδὸς Ἑβραίου σεσοφισμέ-
nον; “κύριος ἔκτισεν με ἀρχὴν ὡδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς
ἐργα αὐτοῦ,” καὶ “κύριος δίδωσι σοφίαν καὶ ἀπὸ
προσώπου αὐτοῦ γνώσεις καὶ σύνεσις.” “ἐως πότε,
ὀκνηρέ, κατάκεισαι; πότε δὲ ἐξ ὑπνου ἐγερθήσῃ;

c Isaiah xl. 18–19.  d Isaiah x. 10–11, 14 (Septuagint).
e i.e. Solomon; see 1 Kings iii. 7; iii. 12.
) Proverbs viii. 22. “Wisdom” is, of course, the speaker.
Clement’s quotation, here as everywhere else, is taken from
178
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. 

179
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA


νῦν δὴ οὖν σύνετε, ὦ ἀνθρώποι, κατὰ τὸν μακάριον ἑλμομένου ἐκεῖνον τὸν Δαβίδ. “δράξασθε παιδείας, μὴ ποτὲ ὅργιον κύριος, καὶ ἀπολείσθη ἐξ ὅδος δικαίας, ὅταν ἐκκαυθῇ ἐν τάχει ὁ θυμὸς αὐτοῦ. μακάριοι πάντες οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ’ αὕτῳ.” ἢδη δὲ ὑπερουκτειρῶν ἡμᾶς ὁ κύριος τὸ σωτήριον ἐνδίδωσι μέλος, οἶνον ἐμβαθῆριον ῥυθμὸν. “νιὸν ἀνθρώπων, ἕως ποτὲ βαρυκάρδιοι; ἵνα τὶ ἀγαπᾶτε ματαιότητα καὶ ζητεῖτε ψεῦδος;” τίς οὖν ἡ ματαιότης καὶ τί τὸ ψεῦδος; ὁ ἄγιος ἀπόστολος τοῦ κυρίου τοῦς Ἑλλήνας αἰτίωμενος ἐξηγήσεται σοι. “ὅτι γνώντες τὸν θεὸν οὐχ ὡς θεὸν ἐδοξάσαν ἡ ἑυχαριστησαν, ἀλλ’ ἐματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡλλαξαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ

1 αὕτη ἡ Mayor. αὐτὴ mss.

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
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

If thou art diligent, there shall come to thee as a fountain thy harvest,_GUIA that is, the Word of the Father, the good lamp, the Lord who brings light, faith and salvation to all. For "the Lord, who made the earth in His strength," as Jeremiah says, "re-


stored the world in His wisdom," since, when we have fallen away to idols, wisdom, which is His Word, restores us to the truth. This is the first resurrection, 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": and "thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and Him only shalt thou serve." 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." 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?" 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."

See Revelation xx. 5.

Deuteronomy vi. 13; x. 20; St. Matthew iv. 10; St. Luke iv. 8.

Psalm ii. 12 (Septuagint).
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. en ómouómáti eikónos fíthartoú anvtherópoj, kai
elátrusvan t'j ktísei para tòn ktízanta. ’’ kai
mên o ge theos ódotos, òs “en árchi étstoije tòn
óuravan kai t'ìn gêì”. Soù dé tòv mèn theón ou noeís,
tòn dé óuravan prosokeivn, kai páw sou ásebeîs;
akoune pâlin profojíto légojontos “ékleíphei mèn o
élyios kai o óuravan skotissthsetai, lámmhei dé o
pantokrátov eîs tòn aîwâna, kai ai òwnaimeîs tîn
óuravan sâlavnsthsontai kai oî óuranoî eîlvjghsonta
ês dérrjès èktenómenoi kai suvstelâjmenoi” (aîtai
yâr ai profojítvai fowwâ) “kai h gê fêvýsetai
àpô prosópov kúriov.”

IX

Kai múrias òn éxoumî sou grafâs parafernêi,
òn ou’dè “keraîa paraelvousñei múa,” múi ou’cì
építelîs vgeoménhî. Tò yâr stóma kúriov, tò
ájwov pnevîma, élâljsev tâvta. “mêm toîwv nûk-
éi,” phjsoîn, “nîcî mou, ólignôrei pæideias kúriov,
mu’dè èklyûvo úp’ autov èleyxhòmenos.” ò tîs úper-
balloûvns fílanvtherpîas: ou’dè òs maphetaîs ô
didáskalos ou’dè òs oikétais ô kúriov ou’dè òs

69 P. theos anvtherîpoj, “pátiâr dé òs òpîos” vouthetî
vîous. èîta Mwvsehûs mév òmolojgei “èmfobos ìnai
kai ènvromos,” akouvn peri tòv lógou, ou’dè tòv

a Romans i. 21, 23, 25.
b Genesis i. 1.
c 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. Stîhlin thinks that the whole may
possibly be taken from the Apocalypse of Peter, with which
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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, $H.E.$ vi. 14).

$^a$ See St. Matthew v. 18; St. Luke xvi. 17.
$^b$ Proverbs iii. 11.
$^c$ Homer, $Odyssey$ ii. 47.
$^d$ Hebrews xii. 21.

183
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IX  λόγου ἀκροώμενος τοῦ θείου οὐ δέδιας; οὐκ ἄγωνιᾶς; οὐχὶ ἁμα τε εὐλαβη καὶ σπεύδεις ἐκμαθεῖν, τοιτέστι σπεύδεις εἰς σωτηρίαν, φοβοῦμενος τὴν ὀργήν, ἀγαπήσας τὴν χάριν, ξηλώσας τὴν ἐλπίδα, ἵνα ἐκκλίνης τὴν κρίσιν; ηκετε ηκετε, ὦ νεολαία ἡ ἐμὴ. "ὢν γὰρ μὴ αὕθις ὡς τὰ παιδία γένησθε καὶ ἀναγεννηθῆτε," ὥς φησιν ἡ γραφή, τὸν ὄντως ὄντα πατέρα οὐ μὴ ἀπολάβητε, "οὐδ' οὐ μὴ εἰσελεύσεσθε ποτὲ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν." πῶς γὰρ εἰσελθεῖν ἐπιτέτραπτος τῷ ἔξων; ἀλλ' ὅταν, ὦμια, ἐγγραφῇ καὶ πολιτευθη καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀπολάβη, τότε "ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς" γενήσεται, τότε κληρονομήσαι καταξιωθῆσεται, τότε τῆς βασιλείας τῆς πατρίως κοινωνήσει τῷ γνησίῳ, τῷ "ἡγαπημένῳ"· αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ πρωτότοκος ἐκκλησία η ἐκ πολλῶν ἁγαθῶν συγκεκριμένη παιδίων· ταύτ' ἔστι τὰ "πρωτότοκα τὰ ἐναπογεγραμμένα ἐν οὐρανοῖς" καὶ τοσαῦτας "μυρίασιν ἄγγελων" συμπανηγυρίζοντα· πρωτότοκοι δὲ παιδεῖς ἡμεῖς οἱ τρόφιμοι τοῦ θεοῦ, οἱ τοῦ "πρωτοτόκου" γνήσιοι φίλοι, οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τῶν θεοῦ νεονηκότες, οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἀμαρτίων ἀπεσπασμένοι, οἱ πρῶτοι τοῦ διαβόλου κεχωρισμένοι.

Νυνὶ δὲ τοσοῦτῳ τινές εἰσιν ἂθεῶτεροι, ὅσῳ φιλανθρωπότερος ὁ θεός· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ δούλων νεός ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι βουλεῖται, οἱ δὲ καὶ νεόι γενέσθαι ὑπερηφανήκασιν. ὡς τῆς ἀπονοαὶς τῆς πολλῆς· τῶν κύριον ἐπαισχύνεσθε. ἐλευθερίαν 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.

184
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.
CAP. ύμεῖς δὲ εἰς δουλείαν ἀποδιδράσκετε. σωτηρίαν χαρίζεται, ύμεῖς δὲ εἰς θάνατον ὑποφέρεσθε. ζωὴν δωρεῖται αἰώνιον, ύμεῖς δὲ τὴν κόλασιν ἀναμένετε· καὶ "τὸ πῦρ" δὲ προσκοπεῖτε, "ο ἡτοίμασεν ὁ κύριος τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ." διὰ τοῦτο ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος "μαρτυρομαί ἐν κυρίῳ," φησίν, "μηκέτι ὑμᾶς περιπατεῖν, καθὼς καὶ τὰ ἐθνη περιπατεῖ ἐν ματαιότητι τοῦ νοὸς αὐτῶν, ἑσκοτισμένοι τῇ διανοίᾳ ὑντες καὶ ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ θεοῦ, διὰ τὴν ἁγνοιαν τὴν ὡθαν ἐν αὐτοῖς, διὰ τὴν πώρωσιν τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν. οἶνοι εἰς ἑαυτοὺς παρέδωκαν ἡ ἀπηλλεγέοι εἰς ἐργασίαν ἀκαθαρσίας πάσης καὶ πλεονεξίας." τοιούτου μάρτυρος ἐλέγχοντος τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἁνοιάν καὶ θεον ἐπιβουμένου, τί δὴ ἔτερον ὑπολείπεται τοῖς ἀπίστοις ἡ κρίσις καὶ καταδίκη; οὐ κάμνει δὲ ὁ κύριος παρακνών, ἐκφοβών, προτρέπων, διεγείρων, νουθετῶν. ἀπυνίζει γε τοι καὶ τοι ὁ σκότος αὐτοῦ τοῖς πεπλανημένοις διανιστηνίας· "ἔγειρε," φησίν, "ὁ καθεύδων καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἐπιφανεῖσθαι σοι ὁ Χριστὸς κύριος," τῇ ἀναστάσεως ἡμῖν, ὁ "πρὸ ἐωσφόρου" γεννώμενος, ὁ ζωῆς χαρισμένος ἀκτίσιον Ἴδιον.

Μὴ οὖν περιφρονεῖτω τις τοῦ λόγου, μὴ λάθῃ καταφρονῶν ἑαυτοῦ. λέγει γάρ που ἡ γραφή: "σήμερον εὰν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε, μὴ σκληρύνητε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν ὡς ἐν τῷ παραπίκρασμῷ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ περασμοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, οὐ ἐπείρασαν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἐν δοκι-  

1 θάνατον Stählin. ἀπώλειαν Sylburg. ἀνθρωπον mss.  
2 οὖν κάμνει Münzel. οὐκ ἀμελεῖ mss.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

into—slavery! He bestows salvation, but you sink CHAP. IX 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.

He exhorts us to hear His voice to-day

---

\(^a\) St. Matthew xxv. 41. \(^b\) Ephesians iv. 17–19. 
\(^c\) Ephesians v. 14. \(^d\) Psalm cix. 3 (Septuagint). 
\(^e\) Hebrews iii. 7–11, from Psalm xcv. 8–11.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IX. μασία." η δὲ δοκιμασία τής ἑστὶν εἰ θέλεις μαθεῖν, τὸ ἁγιόν σοι πνεύμα εξηγήσεται: "καὶ εἶδον τὰ ἑργὰ μου," φησὶ, "τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη: δι’ ὁ προσώπωσις τῇ γενέα ταύτῃ καὶ εἶπον· ἀλλὰ πλανῶμεν τῇ καρδίᾳ: αὐτὸι δὲ οὐκ ἐγνώσαν τὰς ὀδοὺς μου· ὡς ὤμοσα ἐν τῇ ὑργῇ μου, εἰ εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν μου." ὅρατε τὴν ἀπειλήν· ὅρατε τὴν προτοπήν. ὅρατε τὴν τιμήν· τί δὴ οὖν ἐτὶ τὴν χάριν εἰς ὑργὴν μεταλλάσσομεν καὶ οὐχὶ ἀναπέπτα- μέναις ταῖς ἀκοαῖς καταδεχόμενοι τὸν λόγον ἐν ἄγναίς ἐξενοδοχοῦμεν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὸν θεόν; μεγάλη γὰρ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας αὐτοῦ ἡ χάρις, "ἐὰν σήμερον τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούσωμεν;" τὸ δὲ σήμερον καθ’ ἐκάστην [αὐτοῦ] 1 αὔξεται τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐστ’ ἂν ἡ σήμερον ὀνομάζηται. μέχρι δὲ συντελείας καὶ ἡ σήμερον καὶ ἡ μάθησις διαμένει· καὶ τότε ἡ ὄντως σήμερον ἡ ἀνελληπτὴς τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμέρα τοῖς αἰῶνι συνεκτείνεται.

Ἀεὶ οὖν τῆς φωνῆς ὑπακούώμεν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου· ἡ σήμερον γὰρ ἁδίου αἰῶνός 2 ἑστὶν εἰκών, σύμβολον δὲ τοῦ φωτὸς ἡ ἡμέρα, φῶς δὲ ὁ λόγος ἀνθρώπους, δι’ οὐ κατανικάζομεθα τὸν θεόν. εἰκότως ἄρα πιστεύσαμε μὲν καὶ ὑπακούονσιν ἡ χάρις ὑπερπλεονάσει, ἀπειθήσασι δὲ καὶ πλανο- μένοις κατὰ καρδίαν ὀδοὺς τε τὰς κυριακὰς μὴ ἐγνωκόσιν, ἃς εὐθείας ποιεῖν καὶ εὐτρεπίζειν παρῆγ- γελεν Ἰωάννης, τούτοις δὲ προσώχθισεν ὁ θεός καὶ ἀπειληθεῖ· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς ἀπειλῆς αἰνειμα- τὶ π. τωδώς ἀπειλῆφθας οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν Ἐβραίων

1 [αὐτοῦ] Stählin.
2 ἁδίου αἰῶνος Arcearius. ἁδίος αἰῶν mss.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

If you wish to learn what this "proving" is, the 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.

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. 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

πλανήταιοι γὰρ "εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν" λέγονται διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν, πρὶν ἡ σφάς αὐτοῦς κατακολούθησαντας τῷ Μωσεῖς διάδοχῳ ὡς ποτὲ ἔργῳ μαθεῖν οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως σωθήναι μὴ οὐχὶ ὡς Ἰησοῦς πεπιστευκότας.

Φιλάνθρωπος δέ ὁ κύριος πάντας ἀνθρώπους "εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἁληθείας" παρακαλεῖ, ὁ τὸν παράκλητον ἀποστέλλων. τίς οὖν ἡ ἐπίγνωσις; θεοσέβεια: "θεοσέβεια δὲ πρὸς πάντα ωφέλιμοι" κατὰ τὸν Παύλον, "ἐπαγγελιάν ἔχουσα ζωῆς τῆς νῦν καὶ τῆς μελλοῦσης." πόσου ωμολογήσατε, ὃ ἀνθρωποι, εἰ ἐπιπράσκετο σωτηρία αἴδιος, ωνήσασθαί ἂν; οὐδὲ εἰ τὸν Πακτωλόν τις ὀλον, τοῦ χρυσίου τὸ βέβημα τὸ μυθικόν, ἀπομετρήσαι, ἀντ-ἀξιον σωτηρίας μισθὸν ἀριθμήσει. μὴ οὖν ἀποκάμητε. ἐξεστών οὕτων, ἡν ἐθέλητε, ἐξωνήσασθαι τὴν πολυτιμητὸν σωτηρίαν οἰκείω θησαυρῷ, ἀγάπῃ καὶ πίστει, ζωῆς ὑπὸ ἑστὶν ἀξιόλογος μισθὸς. ταῦταν ἥδεως τὴν τιμὴν ὁ θεὸς λαμβάνει. "ἡλπίκαμεν γὰρ ἐπὶ θεῷ ζῶντι, ὃς ἑστὶ σωτῆρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, μάλιστα πιστῶν," οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι περιπεφυκότες τῷ κόσμῳ, οἱα φυκία τινα ἐνάλοις πέτρας, άθανασίας ὁλυγωρούσην, καθάπερ ὁ Ἰθακήσιος γέρων οὐ τῆς ἁληθείας καὶ τῆς ἐν οὐρανῷ πατρίδος, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοῦ ὄντως οὕτως ἰμειρόμενοι φωτός, ἀλλὰ τοῦ καπνοῦ.

1 ἀγάπῃ καὶ πίστει ζωῆς, ὡς . . . μισθὸς. Stählin. The punctuation given above is suggested by Mayor.
2 ἰμειρόμενοι Markland. ἰμειρόμενοι mss.

a 1 Timothy ii. 4.
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


Τῆς δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἁδείς, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπιστοι, μήτε αὐτῶν πειθόμενοι τῷ κυρίῳ μήτε τῷ Παύλῳ, καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ δεδεμένως.¹ “γεύσασθε

¹ δειμένῳ correction in P (cp. 2 Corinthians v. 20).

---

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

192
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." 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." 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." 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."

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 χρηστός ὁ θεός." ἦ πίστις εἰσάξει, ἡ πείρα διδάξει, ἡ γραφὴ παιδαγωγῆσαι "δεῦτε, ὦ τέκνα," λέγουσα, "ἀκούσατε μου, φόβου κυρίου διδάξω ὑμᾶς." εἶτα ὅση πεπιστευκόσι συντόμως ἐπιλέγει "τίς ἐστιν ἀνθρώπος ὁ θέλων ἡμῶν, ἀγαπῶν ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν ἀγαθάς;" ἦμεις ἐσμεν, φήσομεν, οἱ τάγαθού προσκυνηταί, οἱ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ξηλωταί. ἀκούσατε οὖν "οἱ μακράν," ἀκούσατε "οἱ ἐγγύς"; οὐκ ἀπεκρύψη τυνᾶς ὁ λόγος. φῶς ἐστι κοινόν, ἐπιλάμπει πάσιν ἀνθρώποις. οὐδεὶς Κιμμέριος ἐν λόγῳ· σπεύσωμεν εἰς σωτηρίαν, ἐπὶ τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν· εἰς μίαν ἀγάπην εὐσχῆναι οἱ πολλοὶ κατὰ τὴν τῆς μοναδικῆς υστίας ἐνωσιν σπεύσωμεν. ἀγαθοεργοῦμενοι ἀναλόγως ἐνότητα διώκωμεν, τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐκζητοῦντες μονάδα. ἡ δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν ἐνωσις ἐκ πολυφωνίας καὶ διασπορᾶς ἀρμονιαν λαβοῦσα θεϊκὴν μία γίνεται συμφωνία, ἐνι χορευτῇ καὶ διδασκάλῳ τῷ λόγῳ ἐπομένη, ἐπὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀλῆθειαν ἀναπαυμένην, "Ἀββᾶ" λέγουσα "ὁ πατήρ". ταύτην ὁ θεὸς τὴν φωνὴν τὴν ἀληθινὴν ἀσπάζεται παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ παιδῶν πρῶτην καρποῦμενος.

1 Stählin suggests ἀγέλην.

---

"Psalm xxxiv. 8.  
Psalm xxxiv. 11.  
Psalm xxxiv. 12.  
Isaiah lxvi. 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 ἀγέλη 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.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

and see that God is good." a Faith shall lead you, 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.

h 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."

i See St. Mark xiv. 36; Romans viii. 15 and Galatians iv. 6.
X

'Αλλ' ἐκ πατέρων, φατέ, παραδεδομένον ἡμῖν ἐθος ἀνατρέπειν οὐκ εὐλογον. καὶ τί δὴ οὐχὶ τῇ πρώτῃ τροφῇ, τῷ γάλακτι, χρώμεθα, ὃ δὴπουθεν συνείθισαν ἡμᾶς ἐκ γενετῆς αἱ τίθαι; τί δὲ
78 p. αὐξάνομεν ἢ μειοῦμεν τὴν πατρώαν οὐσίαν, καὶ οὐχὶ τὴν ᾦς, ὡς παρειλήφαμεν, διαφυλάττομεν; τί δὲ οὐκέτι τοῖς κόλποις τοῖς πατρώοις ἑναποβλυ- ζομεν, ἢ καὶ τὰ ἀλλα, ἃ νηπιάζοντες ὑπὸ μητράσιν τε ἐκτρεφόμενοι γέλωτα ὄφλομεν, ἐπιτελοῦμεν ἐτι, ἀλλὰ σφᾶς αὐτούς, και εἰ μὴ παιδαγωγῶν ἑτύχομεν ἁγαθῶν, ἐπανωρθώσαμεν; εἰτὰ ἐτὶ τῶν πλώνον 1 αἱ παρεκβάσεις καίτοι ἐπιζήμιοι καὶ ἐπισοφαλεῖς οὐδαί, ὡς γλυκεῖαι πως προσπέπτουσιν, ἐτὶ δὲ τοῦ βίου οὐχὶ τὸ ἔθος καταλυπότε 2 τὸ πονηρὸν καὶ ἐμπαθῆς καὶ ἄθεον, καὶ οἱ πατέρες χαλεπαίνωσιν, ἐτὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐκκλινοῦμεν καὶ τὸν ὅντως οντα πατέρα ἐπιζητήσομεν, 3 οἱον δηλητήριον φάρμακον τὴν συν- ήθειαν ἀπωσάμενοι; τοῦτ' αὐτὸ γὰρ τοί τὸ κάλ- λιστον τῶν ἐγχειρουμένων ἑστιν, ὑποδείξαν ἡμῖν ὡς ἀπὸ μανίας καὶ τοῦ τρυσαθλίου τούτον ἐθους ἐμυκήθη ἡ θεοσέβεια. οὔ γὰρ ἄν ἐμυκήθη ποτὲ ἡ ἄπηγορεύθη ἁγαθὸν τοσοῦτον, οὔ μείζον οὐδὲν ἐκ θεοῦ δεδώ- ρηται πω τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γενέσει, εἰ μὴ συν- αρπαζόμενοι τῷ ἐθεί, εἰτα μέντοι ἀποβυσαντες ἢ ὅτα ἡμῖν, οἴον ὑποι σκληραύχειν ἀφηνιάζοντες, τοὺς χάλινους ἐνδακόντες, ἀπεφεύγετε 4 τοὺς λόγους,

---

1 πλὼν Cobet. παίδων Schwartz. παθῶν mss.
2 καταλυπότε Cobet. καταλείποντες mss.
3 ἐπιζητήσεων Sylburg. ἐπιζητήσωμεν mss.
4 ἀπεφεύγετε . . . ὑπελαμβάνετε Stählin. ἀποφεύγετε . . . ὑπολαμβάνετε mss.

196
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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. ἀποσείσασθαι μὲν τοὺς ἡμιόχους ύμῶν τοῦ βίου ἡμᾶς ἐπιποθοῦντες, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς κρημνοὺς τῆς ἀπωλείας ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνοίας φερόμενοι ἐναγη τῶν ἁγιων ὑπελαμβάνετε 1 τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου. ἔπεται τοι- γαροῦν ύμῖν κατὰ τὸν Σοφοκλέα τὰ ἐπίχειρα τῆς ἐκλογῆς,

νοὺς φροῦδος, ὡς ἀξρεία, φροντίδες κεναί,

καὶ οὐκ ᾦσε ὡς παντὸς μᾶλλον τοῦτο ἀληθὲς, ὅτι ἄρα οἱ μὲν ἁγαθοὶ καὶ θεοσεβεῖς ἁγαθὴς τῆς ἁμοιβῆς τεῦξονται τὰγαθὸν τετιμηκότες, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων πονηροί τῆς καταλλήλου τιμωρίας, καὶ τῷ γε ἄρχοντι τῆς κακίας ἑπιρρηται κόλασις. ἀπελεί γοῦν αὐτῷ ὁ προφήτης Ζαχαρίας "ἐπι- τιμήσαι ἐν σοὶ ὁ ἐκλεξάμενος τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμν. ὦν ῦδον τοῦτο δαλὸς ἐξεστασμένος ἐκ πυρός," τίς οὖν ἔτι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὅρεξις ἐγκείται θανάτου ἐκουσίου; τί δὲ τῷ δαλῷ τῷ θανατηφόρῳ τοῦτω

74 P. προσπεφεύγασιν, μεθ' οὗ καταφλεχθήσονται, ἐξ' ὑπελαμβάνεται τοῦ βιαίων καλῶς κατὰ τὸν θεόν, οὐ κατὰ τὸ θεός; θεὸς μὲν γὰρ ξυνή χαρῆται, ἐθός δὲ πονηροῦ μετὰ τὴν ἐνθέντε ἀπαλλαγὴν μετάνοιαν κενήν ἀμα τιμωρία προστίβεται, "παθὼν δὲ τε νόησις έγνω," ὠς ἀπολλύει δεισιδαιμονία καὶ σῶζει θεοσεβεία.

'Ἰδέτω τις ύμῶν τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς εἰδώλοις λατρεύοντας, κόμη ῥυπώντας, ἐσθῆτι πιναρᾷ καὶ κατ-

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

a Clement plays upon the similarity between hagios, holy, and enaiés, accursed.

b Sophocles, Frag. 863 Nauck.

c Zechariah iii. 2.

198
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

\[ a \] A play upon the words *theos* (God) and *ethos* (custom).  
\[ e \] Hesiod, *Works and Days* 218.
CAP. ερρωγυία καθυβρισμένους, λουτρών μὲν παντάπασιν ἀπειράτους, ταῖς δὲ τῶν ὄνυχων ἀκμαίς ἐκτεθηρωμένους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν αἰδοίων ἀφηρημένους, ἔργῳ δεικνύντας τῶν εἰδῶλων τὰ τεμενή τάφους τινὰς ἡ δεσμωτήρια. οὕτοι μοι δοκοῦσι πενθεῖν, οὐ θρησκεύειν τοὺς θεούς, ἐλέου μᾶλλον ἡ θεοσεβείας ἀξία πεπονθότες. καὶ ταῦτα ὀρῶντες ἔτι τυφλώττετε καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην τῶν πάντων καὶ κύριον τῶν ὦλων ἀναβλέψετε; οὐχὶ δὲ καταφεύγεσθε, ἐκ τῶν ἐνταῦθα δεσμωτηρίων ἐκφεύγοντες, ἐπὶ τὸν ἔλεον τὸν ἕξ ὄυρανῶν; ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἐκ πολλῆς τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἀντέχεται τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὥσπερ ἐκ καλίας ἐκπίπτοντος νεοτοῦ ἡ μήτηρ ὄρνις ἐφίππαται. εἰ δὲ που καὶ θηρίων ἐρπηστικοῦ περιχάνου τῷ νεοτῷ,

μήτηρ δὲ ἀμφιποτάται ὀδυρομένη φίλα τέκνα.

ὅ δὲ θεὸς πατήρ καὶ ζητεῖ τὸ πλάσμα καὶ ἱᾶται τὸ παράπτωμα καὶ διώκει τὸ θηρίον καὶ τὸν νεοτόν αὕτης ἀναλαμβάνει ἐπὶ τὴν καλιάν ἀναπτήναι παρομών. εἰτὰ κόινες μὲν ἢδη πεπλανημένοι ὀδμαῖς ῥυγλατοῦντες ἐξίχνευσαν τὸν δεσπότην καὶ ἱπποῦ τὸν ἀναβάτην ἀποσεισάμενοι ἐνὶ που συρίγματι υπῆκουσαν τῷ δεσπότῃ. "Ἔγνω δὲ," φησί, "βοῦς τὸν κτησαμένον καὶ ὄνος τὴν φάτνη τοῦ κύριον αὐτοῦ, Ἰσραὴλ δὲ με οὐκ ἔγνω." τι οὖν ὁ κύριος; οὐ μνησικακεῖ, ἐτὶ ἔλεε, ἐτὶ τὴν μετάνοιαν ἀπαίτει. ἐρέσθαι δὲ ὑμᾶς βούλομαι, εἰ οὐκ ἄτοπον ὑμῖν δοκεῖ πλάσμα ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιγεγονότας

1 ἐπιγεγονότας mss. [ἐπὶ]γεγονότας Stählin.

200
hair, in squalid and tattered garments, complete CHAP.
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.\textsuperscript{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."\textsuperscript{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,

\textsuperscript{a} Homer, \textit{Iliad} ii. 315.
\textsuperscript{b} Isaiah i. 3.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

75 P. πολίτης εἶναι δυνάμενος ἐρεβος | διώκει, ἐξὸν παράδεισον γεωργεῖν καὶ οὐρανὸν περιπολεῖν καὶ τῆς ζωτικῆς καὶ ἀκηράτου μεταλαμβάνειν πηγῆς, κατ’ ἱχνὸς ἐκείνης τῆς φωτεινῆς ἀεροβατοῦντα νεφέλης, ὦσπερ ὁ Ἡλίας, θεωροῦντα τὸν ὅπερν <τὸν> κατὰ σωτήριον; οἱ δὲ σκωλήκων δίκην περὶ τέλματα καὶ βορβόρους, τὰ ἔδοχος πεύματα, καλυ- 
δούμενοι ἀνοικτοὺς καὶ ἀνοίτους ἐκβόσκονται τρυφάς, ὑδάες τινὲς ἀνθρωποὶ. ὦς γὰρ, φησὶν, ἡ ἔδοχος βορβόρω” μᾶλλον ἡ καθαρὰ ὑδατ ἡ ἡ ἐν τῷ τελῶν "ἐπὶ φορτυτὸ μαργαίνουσιν" κατὰ Δημόκριτον. 

Μετανοήσωμεν οὖν καὶ μετατότωμεν ἐξ ἀμαθίας εἰς ἐπιστήμην, ἐξ ἀφροσύνης εἰς φρόνησιν, ἐξ ἀκρασίας εἰς ἐγκράτειαν, ἐξ ἀδικίας εἰς δικαιοσύνην, ἐξ ἀθέοτητος εἰς θεόν. καλὸς ὁ κίνδυνος αὐτομολεῖν

1 <τὸν> inserted by Sylburg.

a Clement has drawn together the Elijah of the Trans-figuration (St. Matthew xvii. 5) and the Elijah of Mount Carmel (1 Kings xviii. 44).
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

who have received your soul from Him, and are 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? 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" more than in pure water; and they "are greedy for offal," according to Democritus. Let us not then, let us not be made slaves, nor become swinish, but as true "children of the light," 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

---

a Ephesians v. 8.
b The words are from Heracleitus: Frag. 54 Bywater, 13 Diels.
c Democritus, Frag. 23 Natorp, 147 Diels.
d Ephesians v. 8.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. X

πρὸς θεόν. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἔστων ἀπολαῦσαι ἀγαθῶν τοὺς δικαιοσύνης ἑραστάς, οἱ τὴν αἶδοι διώκομεν σωτηρίαν, ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ δὲν αὐτὸς αἰών τεταί ὁ θεὸς διὰ ΄Ησαῖου λαλῶν "ἔστι κληρονομία τοῦς θεραπεύουσιν κύριον". καλὴ γε καὶ ἑρά σμιος ἡ κληρονομία, οὐ χρυσὸν, οὐκ ἄργυρος, οὐν ἔσθης, τὰ τῆς γῆς, ἕνθα που σῆς καὶ ληστῆς ποι καταδύεται περὶ τὸν χαμαίζηλον πλοῦτον ὀφθαλμῶν ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ὁ θησαυρὸς τῆς σωτηρίας, πρὸς ὃν γε ἐπείγεσθαι χρῆ φιλολόγους γενομένους, συναπαίρε δὲ ἤμιν ἐνθέντε ὁ τὰ ἔργα τὰ ἀστεία καὶ συνίπταται τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας πτέρῳ.

Ταῦτην ἡμῖν τῆν κληρονομίαν ἐγχειρίζει ἡ αἴδιος διαθήκη τοῦ θεοῦ τῆν αἴδιον δωρεὰν χορηγοῦσα· ὁ δὲ φιλόστοργος οὗτος ἧμων πατὴρ, ὁ ὄντως πατήρ, οὐ παῦεται προτρέπων, νουθετῶν, παιδεύων, φιλῶν· οὔδε γὰρ σύζων παῦεται, συμβουλεύει δὲ τὰ άμιστα· "δὲκαιοι γένεσθε, λέγει κύριος· οἱ δυσώντες πορεύεσθε ἑφ' ύδωρ, καὶ ὅσοι μὴ ἔχετε ἄργυριον, βαδίσατε καὶ ἀγοράσατε καὶ πίετε ἀνευ ἄργυριον." ἐπὶ τὸ λουτρόν, ἐπὶ τῆν σωτηρίαν, ἐπὶ τὸν φωτισμὸν παρακαλεῖ μονον-

76 p. οὐχὶ | βοῶν καὶ λέγων· γῆν σου διδωμι καὶ θάλατταν, παιδίον, οὐρανόν τε καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα ζῶα σοι χαρίζομαι· μόνον, ὁ παιδίον, δύψησος τοῦ πατρός, ἀμοῦσθει σοι δειχθήσεται ὁ θεός· οὐ καπηλεύεται ἡ ἀλήθεια, διδωσὶ σου καὶ τὰ πτηνὰ καὶ τὰ νηκτὰ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· ταῦτα σου

1 τὰ τῆς γῆς after ἔσθης Markland: after σῆς καὶ mss: καὶ [τὰ τῆς γῆς] Stählin.

a Isaiah liv. 17 (Septuagint).

204
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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 ye, 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, 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 hat are thirsty, come to the water; and as many s have no money, go ye, and buy and drink without money." 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 he 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 ea and all that is upon the earth. These things

b See St. Matthew vi. 19, 20.

" Isaiah liv. 17 (Septuagint); lv. 1.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. ταῖς εὐχαρίστως τρυφαῖς δεδημούργηκεν ὁ πατὴρ. ἄργυρῳ μὲν ὤνησεται ὁ νόθος, διὰ ἀπωλείας ἐστὶ παιδίον, διὰ "μαμώνα δουλεύειν" προήρηται, σοὶ δὲ τὰ σὰ ἐπιτρέπει, τῷ γνησίῳ λέγω, τῷ φιλούντι τὸν πατέρα, δι' ἄν ἐτί ἐργάζεται, ὃ μόνῳ καὶ ὑπισχνεῖται λέγων: "καὶ ἡ γῆ οὐ πραδήσεται εἰς βεβαίωσιν". οὐ γὰρ κυριοῦ τῇ φθορᾷ: "ἐμὴ γάρ ἔστω πᾶσα ἡ γῆ," ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ σή, ἐὰν ἀπολάβῃ τὸν θεόν. οθὲν ἡ γραφὴ εἰκότως εὐαγγελίζεται τοῖς πεπιστευκόσιν: "οἱ δὲ ἄγιοι κυρίον κληρονομήσουσι τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ." ποίαν, ὃ μακάριε, δόξαν, εἰπέ μοι: "ἠ̣ ὁ ὕθαλμος οὐκ εἶδεν οὐδὲ οὐς ἦκουσεν, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἄνθρωπον ἀνέβη: καὶ χαρῆσονται ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ κυρίου αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν." ἔχετε, ὃ ἀνθρωποι, τὴν θείαν τῆς χάριτος ἐπαγγελίαν, ἀκηκόατε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τῆς κολάσεως ἀπελήνη, δι' ὅν ὁ κύριος σώζει, φόβῳ καὶ χάριτι παιδαγωγῶν τὸν ἀνθρωπόν τί μέλλομεν; τί οὐκ ἐκκλίνομεν τὴν κόλασιν; τί οὐ καταδεχόμεθα τὴν δωρεὰν; τί δὲ οὖν αἱρούμεθα τὰ βελτίωνα, θεὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ, καὶ σοφίαν εἰδωλολατρείας προκρίνομεν καὶ ζωὴν ἀντικαταλλασσόμεθα. 2 θανάτου 3; "iosis τέθεια πρό

1 λέγω Stählin. ἔγει mss.
2 ἀντικαταλλασσόμεθα Heinsius. ἀντικαταλλασσόμενοi 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."
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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

a Leviticus xxv. 23.
b 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 Elijah. Doubtless the rest of the passage, as given by Clement, comes from the same source.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA


77 P. Βουλεσθε ὑμῖν ἄγαθος γένωμαι σύμβουλος; ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν ἄκουσατε· ἐγὼ δὲ, εἰ δυνατόν, ἐνδείξομαι. ἔχρην μὲν ὑμᾶς, ὃ ἀνθρωποι, αὐτοῦ πέρι ἐννοομένους τοῦ ἄγαθον ἐμφυτον ἐπάγεσθαι πίστιν, μάρτυρα ἀξιόχρεων αὐτόθεν οὐκοθέν, περιφανὸς αἱρουμένην τὸ βελτιστόν, μηδὲ [ζητεῖν] εἰ μεταδωκτέον ἐκπονεῖν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τῷ μεθυστέον, φέρε ἐπειν, ἀμφιβάλλειν χρή. ὑμεῖς δὲ πρὶν ἡ ἐπισκέψασθαι μεθύσετε· καὶ εἰ ὑβριστέον, οὐ πολυπραγμονεῖτε, ἀλλ' ἡ τάχος υβρίζετε. μόνον δ' ἀρα εἰ θεοσεβητέον, ζητεῖτε, καὶ εἰ τῷ σοφῷ τούτῳ [δῇ] τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ κατακολουθήτεον, τούτῳ δῇ βουλής καὶ σκέψεως ἀξιότευτον, οὐδ' ὃ πρέπει θεῷ, ὃ τι ποτὲ ἔστι, νευνήκότες. πιστεύσατε ἡμῖν καὶ ως μέθη, ἵνα σωφρονήσητε· πιστεύσατε καὶ ως ὑβρεί, ἵνα ζήσητε. εἰ δὲ καὶ πειθέσθαι βουλεσθε τὴν ἐναργὴν

1 πειθεσθαι Sylburg. πειθεσθε mss.
2 πίστιν, μάρτυρα ἀξιόχρεων Wilamowitz. μάρτυρα ἀξιόχρεων, πίστιν mss.
3 [ζητεῖν] Mayor. Stählin retains ζητεῖν, and inserts τῷ δ' ἄγαθῳ (Schwartz) before ἐκπονεῖν.
4 ἡ Sylburg. ἡ mss.
5 [δῇ] Stählin.
6 δῇ Stählin. δὲ mss.

a Deuteronomy xxx. 15. b Isaiah i. 19, 20.

208
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

your face," He says, "death and life." \(^a\) 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;" \(^b\) 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 an inborn faith shows what is good a trustworthy witness from within ourselves, with the utmost clearness choosing what is best.\(^c\) You ought not to have toiled to discover whether or no 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

\(^b\) Chapter X  
\(^c\) P 209
CAP. τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐποπτεύοντες πόσιν, φέρε ὃμων ἐκ
περιουσίας τὴν περὶ τοῦ λόγου παραθήσομαι πειθῶ.
ὑμεῖς δὲ, ὅ γάρ τὰ πάτρια ὑμᾶς ἔτι τῆς ἀληθείας
ἀπασχολεῖ ἐθή προκατηχημένους, ἀκοῦσέ ἃν ἢδη
τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ὅπως ἔχει· καὶ δὴ μὴ τις ὑμᾶς τοῦτο
tοῦ ὀνόματος αἰσχύνῃ προκαταλαμβάνετω, ὡς ἂν
ἀνδρας μέγα σίνεται," παρατρέπουσα σωτηρίας.

Ἀποδυσάμενοι δ' ὅν ἀριστοψ ἐν τῷ τῆς
ἀληθείας σταδίῳ γνησίως ἀγωνιζόμεθα, βραβεύ-
οντος μὲν τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἁγίου, ἀγωνοθετοῦντος δὲ
tοῦ δεσπότου τῶν ὄλων. οὐ γάρ σμικρὸν ἦμιν τὸ
ἄθλον ἄθανασία πρόκειται. μὴ οὖν ἔτι φροντίζετε
μηδὲ [ei] ὅλιγον, τὶ ὑμᾶς ἁγορεύουσι σύρφακες
τινὲς ἁγοραῖοι, δεισιδαιμονίας ἅθεοι χορευταί, ἄνοια
καὶ παρανοία ἐς αὐτὸ ὁδούμενοι τὸ βαράθρον,
εἰδώλων ποιηταί καὶ λίθων προσκυνηταί. οἶδε γὰρ
ἀνθρώπους ἀποθεοῦν τετολμηκασί, τρισκαιδέκατον
'Αλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα ἀναγράφοντες θεόν, "ἀν
Βαβυλών ἡλεγξε νεκρόν." ἀγαμαί τούν τὸν Ἑἰνον
σοφιστήν, Θεόκριτος ὄνομα αὐτῷ· μετὰ τὴν 'Αλέξ-
ἀνδρον τελευτὴν ἐπισκόπτων ὁ Θεόκριτος τὰς δόξας
tὰς κενὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων δὲ εἴχον περὶ θεῶν, πρὸς
τοὺς πολίτας | "ἀνδρες," εἰπεν, "θαρρεῖτε ἄχρι
ἀν ὀράτε τοὺς θεοὺς πρότερον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄπο-

1 ἐποπτεύοντες Potter. ὑποπτεύοντες mss.
2 [ei] Kontos.
3 Ἑἰνον Cobet. θεῖον mss.

a 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.

b Homer, Iliad xxiv. 45; Hesiod, Works and Days 318.

c Sibylline Oracles v. 6. Alexander was called the
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. θησικοντας." θεοὺς δὲ δὴ τοὺς ὀρατοὺς καὶ τὸν σύγκλιδα τῶν γενητῶν τούτων ἄχλον ὁ προσκυνῶν καὶ προσεταιριζόμενος, αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν δαιμόνων ἀθλιώτερος μακρῷ. θεὸς γὰρ οὐδαμὴ οὐδαμῶς ἀδικος ὧσπερ οἱ δαίμονες, ἀλλ' ὡς οἶνον τε δικαιότατος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ ὄμοιότερον οὐδὲν ἡ ὢς ἄν ἡμῶν γένηται ὅτι δικαιότατος.

βατ' εἰς οὗδον δὴ πᾶς ὁ χειρώνας λεῶς, οἱ τὴν Δίος γοργῶπιν Ἄργανναν θεόν στατοίαι λίκνοις προστρέπεσθε,2 ἕλθοι τῶν λίθων δημιουργοί τε καὶ προσκυνηταί. ὁ Φειδίας ὦμῶν καὶ ὁ Πολύκλειτος ἥκοντων Πραξιτέλης τε αὖ καὶ Ἀπελλῆς καὶ ὅσοι τὰς βαναύσους μετέρχονται τέχνας, γῆνοι γῆς ὢντες ἐργάται. τότε γὰρ φησὶ τις προφητεία δυστυχήσεων τὰ τῆς πράγματα, ὅταν ἀνδριάσι πιστεύσωσιν. ἥκοντων οὖν αὕθισ, οὐ γὰρ ἁνήσω καλῶν, οἱ μικροτέχναι. οὐδεὶς ποι τούτων ἐμπνεον εἰκόνα δεδημιουργηκεν, οὐδὲ μὴν ἐκ γῆς μαλθακὴν ἐμάλαξε σάρκα. τίς ἐτησε μυελὸν ἡ τίς ἐπηξεν ὡστέα; τίς νεύρα διετενεν3; τίς φλέβας ἐφύσησεν; τίς αἷμα ἐνέχεεν ἐν αὐταῖς ἢ τίς δέρμα περιέτενεν; ποῦ δ' ἄν τις αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμοὺς πούσηα βλέποντας; τίς ἐν- ἐφύσησε ψυχήν; τίς δικαιοσύνην ἐδωρήσατο; τίς ἀθανασίαν ὑπέσχηται; μόνος ὁ τῶν ὀλῶν δημιουργός, ὁ "ἀριστοτέχνας πατήρ," τοιούτων ἀγαλμα ἐμψυχον [ἡμᾶς] 4 τὸν ἀνθρώπων ἑπλάσεν. ὁ δὲ

1 Ἄργανναν from Plutarch, De Fortuna 99 A. ἐργάτην mss. 2 προστρέπεσθε Plutarch. προτρέπονται mss. 3 διετενεν Ἡ Wilamowitz. 4 [ἡμᾶς] Mayor.

a Cp. Plato, Theaetetus 176 B-c.

212
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.\textsuperscript{a}

Go forth into the way, ye craftsmen all,
Who supplicate, with winnowing fans aloft,
The goddess Industry, stern child of Zeus,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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,"\textsuperscript{d} formed such a living statue as man; but your

\textsuperscript{a} Sophocles, Frag. 760 Nauck. The goddess "Industry," whom the craftsmen worshipped in their processions, is Athena. See Plutarch, \textit{De Fortuna} 99 A.

\textsuperscript{b} See Pindar, Frag. 57 Schroeder.

\textsuperscript{c} The source of this quotation is unknown.

\textsuperscript{d} The craftsman's work is paltry, when compared with God's
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.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. υίδος εἰ, τὸ ἱδίατατον, ἀναγνώρισον τῶν πατέρας· σὺ
dὲ ἔτι ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις παραμένεις, προστετηκὼς
ἥδοναίς; τῶν λαλήσει κύριος "ὑμῶν ἔστω ἡ
βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν"; ὑμῶν ἔστω, ἐὰν θελήσῃ
τῶν πρὸς τὸν θεόν τὴν προάγεσσα ἐσχηκότων· ὑμῶν,
ἐὰν ἑθελήσῃ ὁ πιστεύσαι μόνον καὶ τῇ συντομίᾳ τοῦ
κηρύγματος ἐπεσθαί, ἂς ὑπακούσαντες οἱ Νινεῦται
τῆς προσδοκηθείσης ἀλώσεως μετανοία γνησίῳ τὴν
καλὴν ἀντικατηλάξαντο σωτηρίαν.

Πῶς οὖν ἀνέλθω, φησίν, εἰς οὐρανοὺς; "ὁδὸς "
ἔστω τὸ κύριος, "στενὴ" μὲν, ἀλλ' "ἐξ οὐρανῶν,"
στενὴ μὲν, ἀλλ' εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναπέμπουσα· στενὴ
ἐπὶ γῆς ὑπερορωμένη, πλατείᾳ ἐν οὐρανοῖς προσ-
κυνομένη. εἰδ' ὁ μεδ' ἀπυφοτος τοῦ λόγου συγγνώμην
τῆς πλάνης ἔχει τὴν ἀγνοιαν, ὁ δὲ εἰς ὥτα βαλλόμενος
καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ παρὰ τῆς γνώμης φέρει τὴν ἀπείθειαν,
καὶ ὅσω γε φρονιμώτερος εἶναι δόξης, πρὸς κακοῦ ἢ
σύνεσις αὐτῷ, ὅτι τῇ φρονίσει κέχρηται κατηγόρῳ
τὸ βέλτιστον ὃν ἐλόμενος· πέφυκε γὰρ ὃς ἁνθρω-
πος οἰκείως ἔχειν πρὸς θεόν. ὥσπερ οὖν τὸν ἄπων
ἀρουν οὐ βιαζόμεθα οὖδὲ τὸν ταύρον κυνηγετεῖν,
πρὸς τὸ πέφυκε δὲ ἐκαστον τῶν ζῴων περιέλκομεν,
οὕτως ἀμέλει καὶ τὸν ἁνθρωπὸν ἐπὶ τὴν οὐρανοῦ
γενόμενον δέαν, φυτὸν οὐράνιον ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἐπὶ τὴν
γνώσιν παρακαλοῦμεν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ οἰκεῖον αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἑξαίρετον καὶ ἰδιωματικῶν παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα
κατειλημμένοι, αὐταρκεῖ εὐφόδιοι αἰῶνων, θεοσέ-

1 ὃς Schwartz. ἀλλως 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
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?” a 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. b This it is which the Ninevites obediently heard; and by sincere repentance they received, in place of the threatened destruction, that glorious salvation. c

“How then,” you may say, “am I to go up into heaven?” The Lord is “the Way” d; a “narrow” way, but coming “from heaven”; a “narrow” way, but leading back to heaven. e 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

217
CAP. X. 

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

βειαν, παρασκευάζοντας συμβουλεύοντες. γεώργει, φαμέν, εἰ γεώργος εἶ, ἄλλα γνώθι τὸν θεὸν γεωρ-γῶν, καὶ πλείθι 1 ο τῆς ναυτιλίας ἐρῶν, ἄλλα τὸν οὐράνιον κυβερνήτην παρακαλῶν· στρατευόμενον σε κατεύθυνεν ἡ γνώσις· τοῦ δίκαια σημαίνοντος ἀκούε στρατηγοῦ.

Καθάπερ οὖν κάρω καὶ μέθη βεβαρημένου ἀνα-νήματε καὶ διαβλέπαντες ὁλίγον ἐννοήθητε, τί θέλουσιν ὕμιν οἱ προσκυνοῦμενοι λίθοι καὶ ἃ περὶ τῆς ἡλικίας κενοσπούδας δαπανάτε· εἰς ἄγνων ταῖς χρήματα καὶ τὸν βίον ὡς τὸ ζήν ὑμῶν εἰς θάνατον καταναλώσκετε, τοῦτο μόνον τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἐλπίδος εὐρόμενοι τὸ πέρας, οὐδὲ αὐτοὺς οἶοι τε ὁντες οὐκέτειραν, ἀλλ’ ουδὲ τοὺς κατελέων ὑμᾶς τῆς πλάνης ἐπιτήδειοι πείθεσαί γίνεσθε, συνηθεῖα κακή δεδουλωμένοι, ἢς ἀπηρτημένοι αὐθαίρετοι μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀναπνοῆς εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπο-φέρεσθε· "ὅτι τὸ φῶς ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἡγάτης σαν οἱ ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον τὸ σκότος ἡ τὸ φῶς;" ἐξον ἀπομάκρασθαι τὰ ἐμποδῶν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ τὸν τύφου καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὸν φόβου, ἐπιθυμήσαντες τὸ ποιητικὸν ἡ τοῦτο

πῇ δῇ χρήματα πολλὰ φέρω τάδε; πῇ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς πλάζομαι;

οὐ βούλεσθε οὖν τὰς φαντασίας ταύτας τὰς κενὰς ἀπορρίπαντες τῇ συνηθείᾳ αὐτῇ ἀποτάξασθαι, κενο-δοὺς ἐπιλέγοντες.

ψευδεῖς ὁνειροὶ χαίρετ’, οὐδὲν ἢτ’ ἄρα;

1 πλείθι Sylburg. πλήθι mss.

a St. John iii. 19.  
b Homer, Odyssey xiii. 203-4.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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,” a 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? b

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. c

---

c Euripides, Iphigeneia among the Taurians 569.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. Ti gar ἥγείσθε, ὦ ἀνθρωποι, τὸν Τύχωνα

Χ 81 P. Ἐρμήν καὶ τὸν Ἀνδοκίδου καὶ τὸν Ἀμύντου; ἦ παντὶ τῷ δήλῳ ὅτι λίθους, ὥσπερ καὶ <άυτὸν> τὸν Ἐρμήν. ὃς δὲ οὐκ ἔστι θεὸς ἢ ἄλως καὶ ὃς οὐκ ἔστι θεὸς ἢ ἀριστ. ἀλλὰ πάθη ἄερος καὶ νεφών, καὶ ὃν τρόπον οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμέρα θεός, οὐδὲ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐναιστὸς οὐδὲ χρόνος ο ἐκ τούτων συμπληροῦμενος, οὐτως οὐδὲ ἠλιος οὐδὲ σελήνη, οἷς ἐκαστὸν τῶν προειρημένων διορίζεται. τὸς ἀν οὐν τὴν εὐθυναν καὶ τὴν κόλασιν καὶ τὴν δίκην καὶ τὴν νέμεσιν εὖ φρονῶν ὑπολάβοι θεοὺς; οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ’ ἐρινὺς οὐδὲ μοίραι οὐδὲ εἰμαρμένη, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ πολιτεία μηδὲ δόξα μηδὲ πλοῦτος θεοί, ὃν καὶ ἥωγράφοι τυφλὸν ἐπιδεικνύουσιν. εἰ δὲ αἰῶν καὶ ἔρωτα καὶ ἄφροδίτην ἐκθειάζετε, ἀκολουθοῦντων αὐτοῖς αἰσχύνη καὶ δρμή καὶ κάλλος καὶ συνονία. οὐκοιν ἔτε ἃν εἰκότως ὑπὸ καὶ θάνατος ἔθω διδυμάονε παρ’ ὑμῖν νομίζοντο, πάθη ταῦτα περὶ τὰ ζώα συμβαίνοντα φυσικῶς. οὐδὲ μὴν κῆρα οὐδὲ εἰμαρμένη οὐδὲ μοίρας θεᾶς ἐνδίκωσ ἐρείτε. εἰ δὲ ἥρις καὶ μάχη οὐ θεοί, οὐδὲ ’Ἀρης οὐδέ Ἐνυώ. ἔτι τε <εἰ> 5 αἰ ἀστραπαῖ καὶ οἱ κεραυνοί καὶ οἱ ὦμβροι οὐ θεοί, πῶς τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὸ θύσωρ

1 Τύχωνα Meurs (see Hesychius s.v.). τυφώνα mss.
2 Ἀνδοκίδου Heinsius. ἀνδοκίδην mss.
3 <άυτὸν> inserted by Mayor.
4 ἄερος Markland. ἄερων mss. 5 <εἰ> inserted by Sylburg.

a 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 phallus, which points to Hermes being originally a fertility god. He was, therefore, easily identified with Tycho, an Attic nature divinity of similar character to 220
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

Why, my fellow-men, do you believe in Hermes Tycho and in the Hermes of Andocides and the one called Amyetus? 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?

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 Hermae 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.
CAP. θεοί; πῶς δὲ καὶ οἱ διάσσοντες καὶ οἱ κομῆται
diὰ πάθος ἀέρος γεγενημένοι; ο̄ δὲ τὴν τύχην θεον
λέγων καὶ τὴν πράξιν λεγέτω θεόν. εἰ δὴ οὐν
tοῦτων οὐδὲ ἐν θεός εἶναι νομίζεται οὐδὲ μὴν
ἐκεῖνων τῶν χειροκμήτων καὶ ἀναισθήτων πλασμά-
tων, πρόνοια δὲ τις περὶ ἡμᾶς καταφαίνεται δυνά-
μεως θεϊκῆς, λείπεται οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ τοῦτο ὁμολογεῖν,
ὅτι ἁρὰ ὄντως μόνος ἐστὶ τε καὶ ύφεστηκεν ὁ μόνος
ὄντως ύπάρχων θεός.

'Αλλὰ γὰρ μανδραγόραν ἢ τι ἄλλο φάρμακον
πεπωκόσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐοίκατε οἱ ἀνόητοι, θεὸς δὲ
ὐμῖν ἀνανήψας δοῦῃ ποτὲ τοῦτο τοῦ ὑπνοῦ καὶ
συνέναι θεόν μηδὲ χρυσὸν ἢ λίθον ἢ δένδρον ἢ
πράξιν ἢ πάθος ἢ νόσον ἢ φόβον ὑνάλλασσαι ὡς
θεόν. "τρίς γὰρ μύροι εἰσίν" ὡς ἀληθῶς "ἐπὶ
χθοὺν πουλυβοτείρη δαίμονες" οὐκ "ἀθάνατοι"
οὐδὲ μὴν θυμαί (οὐδὲ γὰρ αἰσθήσεως, ἡν καὶ
θανάτον, μετειλήφασιν), λίθων δὲ καὶ ξύλων δε-
σπόται ἀνθρώπων, ὑβρίζουτε καὶ παρασπονδοῦντες
τὸν βίον διὰ τῆς | συνηθείας. "ἡ γῆ δὲ τοῦ κυρίου,
φησὶ, "καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς" εἰστα τι τολμᾶς
ἐν τοῖς τοῦ κυρίου τρυφῶν ἁγιοεῖν τὸν δεσπότην;
κατάλειπε τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐμῆν, ἔρει σοι ὁ κύριος, μὴ
θύγης τοῦ ύδατος ὁ ἐγὼ ἀναδίδωμι, τῶν καρπῶν
ὅν ἐγὼ γεωργῶ μὴ μεταλάβανε· ἀπόδος, ἀν-
θρωπε, τὰ τροφεῖα τῷ θεῷ· ἐπίγνωσί σου τὸν
despóτην· ἵδιον εἰ πλάσμα τοῦ θεοῦ· τὸ δὲ οἰκείων
αὐτοῦ πῶς ἂν ἐνδίκως ἀλλότριον γένοιτο; τὸ γὰρ

1 ἐοίκατε οἱ Schwartz. ἐοίκασιν mss.

a Hesiod: quoted above, p. 89.

222
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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,

We must then confess that there is but one true God

They who think otherwise are in some deep sleep

Daemons are not immortal

They are not even mortal, but lifeless stones

Man belongs to God; how can he become another’s?

b Psalm xxiv. 1.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. X

ἀπηλλοτριωμένον στερόμενον τῆς οἰκείοτητος στέρεται τῆς ἁληθείας. ἢ γὰρ οὐχ ἢ Νιόβη τρόπον τινά, μᾶλλον δὲ ὃν μυστικότερον πρὸς ύμᾶς ἀποφθέγμαι, γυναῖκος τῆς Ἑβραίας δίκην (Λῶτ ἐκάλουν αὐτὴν οἱ παλαιοὶ) εἰς ἀναισθησίαν μετατρέπετε; λευθωμένην ταύτην παρειλήφαμεν τὴν γυναίκα διὰ τὸ Σοδόμων ἔραν. Σοδομίται δὲ οἱ ἄθεοι καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἁσέβειαν ἐπιστρεφόμενοι σκληροκάρδιοι τε καὶ ἡλίθιοι. ταύτας οἰοὺ θεόθεν ἐπιλέγασθαί σοι τὰς φωνὰς. μὴ γὰρ οἴον λίθους μὲν εἶναι ἑρα καὶ Ἕλη καὶ ὅρνεα καὶ ὑβει, ἀνθρώπους δὲ μὴ. πολὺ δὲ τοῦνατίον ἱεροὺς μὲν ὀντὼς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπολάμβανε, 1 τὰ δὲ θηρία καὶ τοὺς λίθους ὑπέρ εἰσίν. οἱ γὰρ τοῦ δεῖλαιοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἄθλιοι διὰ μὲν κόρακος καὶ κολοῦν νομίζουσι τὸν θεὸν ἐμβοάν, διὰ δὲ ἀνθρώπου σιωπᾶν, καὶ τὸν μὲν κόρακα τετιμήκασιν ώς ἀγγελον θεοῦ, τὸν δὲ ἀνθρώπον τοῦ θεοῦ διώκουσιν, οὐ κρύζουτα, οὐ κλώζοντα, φθεγγόμενον δὲ οἷοι, λογικῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως κατηχοῦντα ἀποσφάττειν ἀπανθρώπως ἐπιχειροῦσιν, ἐπὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην καλοῦντα, οὐτε τὴν χάριν τὴν ἀνωθεν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι οὐτε τὴν κόλασιν ἐκτρεφόμενοι. οὐ γὰρ πιστεύοισι τῷ θεῷ οὕσε ἐκμισθάνουσι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν.

Οὐ δὲ ἀρρητος ἡ φιλανθρωπία, τούτων ἄχρητος ἡ μισοπονηρία. τρέφει δὲ δὲ μὲν θυμὸς τὴν κόλασιν ἐπὶ ἄμαρτία, εὗ ποιεῖ δὲ ἐπὶ μετανοία ἡ φιλανθρωπία. οὐκτρότατον δὲ τὸ στέρεσθαι τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπικουρίας. ὰμμάτων μὲν οὖν ἡ πήρωσις καὶ τῆς

1 ὑπολάμβανε Markland. ὑπολαμβάνετε mss.

a Genesis xix. 26. b Or, an angel.

224
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. 8  άκοΰς ἡ κάφωσις ἀλγεινοτέρα παρὰ τὰς λοιπὰς τοῦ πονηροῦ πλεονεξίας. ἡ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀφήρηται τῆς οὐρανίου προσόψεως, ἡ δὲ τῆς θείας μαθήσεως ἑστέρηται. ὡμεῖς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀνάπτυροι καὶ τυφλοὶ μὲν τὸν νοῦν, κωφοὶ δὲ τὴν σύνεσιν οὖντες οὐκ ἀλγείτε, οὐκ ἀγανακτείτε, οὐ τὸν οὐρανὸν ιδεῖν καὶ τὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ποιητὴν ἐπεθυμήσατε, οὐδὲ τὸν τῶν πάντων δημιουργὸν καὶ πατέρα ἀκούσαί καὶ μαθεῖν ἐξεξητήσατε, τὴν προαίρεσιν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ συνάψαντες. ἐμποδῶν γὰρ ἱσταταί οὐδὲν τῷ σπεύδοντι πρὸς γνῶσιν θεοῦ, οὐκ ἀπαιδευσία, ὃς πενία, οὐκ ἀδοξία, οὐκ ἀκτημοσύνη. οὐδὲ τις τὴν ὀντός ἀληθῆ σοφίαν "χαλκῷ δημόσια" μεταλλάξαι εὐχεταί οὐδὲ σιδήρῳ. εὐ γὰρ τοι παντὸς μᾶλλον τοῦτο εὑρήται.

ὁ χρηστὸς ἡ ἑστὶ πανταχοῦ σωτήριος.

ὁ γὰρ τοῦ δικαίου ζηλωτῆς, ὡς ἂν τοῦ ἀνευδεούς ἑραστῆς, ὀλυγοδεής, οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἂ ἐν αὐτῷ [καὶ] 3 τῷ θεῷ τὸ μακάριον θησαυρίσας, ἐνθα οὐ σῆς, οὐ ληστῆς, οὐ πειρατῆς, ἀλλ' ὁ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἁδιός δοτήρ. ἄρα οὖν εἰκότως ὠμοίωσθε τοῖς ὀφειν ἐκείνοις, οἴς τὰ ὥτα πρὸς τοὺς κατεσπάντοτας ἀποκέκλεισαί. "θυμὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς," φησίν ἡ γραφή, "κατὰ τὴν ὀμοίωσιν τοῦ ὀφεὼς, ὅσει ἀσπίδος κωφῆς καὶ βυσσοῦσι τὰ ὥτα αὐτῆς, ἦτος οὐκ εἰσ-

1 ἀπαιδευσία Hopfenmüller. ἀπαιδία mss.
2 χρηστὸς Blass (from Stobaeus, Flor. 37. 6). χριστὸς mss.
3 [καὶ] Barnard. ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ Dindorf.

* 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
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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," 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.

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, 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.


See St. Matthew vi. 19, 20.
CAP.  aκούσεται φωνῆς ἐπαδόντων." ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς γε κατεπάσθητε τὴν ἀγριότητα καὶ παραδέχασθε τὸν ἴμερον καὶ ἴμετερον λόγον καὶ τὸν ἰὸν ἀποπτύσατε τὸν δηλητήριον, ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα ὑμῖν τὴν φθοράν, ὥς ἐκείνοις τὸ γῆρας, ἀποδύσασθαι δοθῇ.

'Aκούσατε μου καὶ μή τὰ ὅτα ἀποβύσητε μηδὲ τὰς ἀκοὰς ἀποφράξητε, ἀλλ' εἰς νοῦν βάλεσθε τὰ λεγόμενα. καλὸν ἐστι τὸ φάρμακον τῆς ἀθανασίας· στήσατε ποτε τοὺς ὅλκους τοὺς ἐρπηστικοὺς. "ὑε γὰρ ἔχθροι κυρίου χοῦν λείξουσιν," φησίν [ἡ γραφὴ λέγει] 2· ἀνανεύσατε τῆς γῆς εἰς αἰθέρα, ἀναβλέψατε εἰς οὐρανόν, θαυμάσατε, παύσασθε καραδοκοῦντες τῶν δικαίων τὴν πτέρναν καὶ "τὴν ὄδον τῆς ἀληθείας" ἐμποδίζοντες. φρονίμου γένεσθε καὶ ἄβλαβεῖς· τάχα ποι ὁ κύριος ἀπλότητος ὑμῖν δωρήσεται πτερόν (πτερώσαι προήρηται τοὺς γηγενεῖς), ἵνα ὅτι τοὺς χρηματίς καταλείποντες οἰκήσητε τοὺς οὐρανούς. μόνον ἔξ ὄλης καρδίας μετανοήσωμεν, ὥς ὄλη καρδία δυνηθήναι χωρῆσαι τὸν θεόν. "ἐλπίσατε ἐπ' αὐτὸν," φησί, "πᾶσα συναγωγὴ λαοῦ, ἐκχέετε ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν." πρὸς τοὺς κενοὺς τῆς πονηρίας λέγει· ἐλεεῖ 84 Ρ. καὶ δικαιοσύνης πληροῦ· πίστευσον, ἄνθρωπε, ἄνθρωπω καὶ θεῷ· πίστευσον, ἄνθρωπε, τῷ παθόντι καὶ προσκυνουμένῳ. θεῷ ζωντὶ πιστεύσατε οἱ δούλοι τῷ νεκρῷ· πάντες ἄνθρωποι πιστεύσατε μόνοι τῷ πάντων ἄνθρώπων θεῷ· πιστεύσατε καὶ μισθὸν λάβετε σωτηρίαν. "ἐκζητήσατε τὸν θεόν,

1 ἀγριότητα Heyse. ἀγιότητα mss.
2 [ἡ γραφὴ λέγει] Mayor.

a Psalm Iviii. 4, 5. b Psalm lxxii. 9.
voice of charmers." But as for you, let your wildness 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." Lift up your head from earth to the sky, look up to heaven and wonder, cease watching for the heel of the just and hindering "the way of truth." Become wise and yet harmless; perchance the Lord will grant you wings of simplicity (for it is His purpose to supply earth-born creatures with wings) 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." 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

---

\[\text{e} \text{ Genesis iii. 15: Psalm lv. 7 (Septuagint).} \]
\[\text{d} \text{ 2 St. Peter ii. 2.} \]
\[\text{e} \text{ See St. Matthew x. 16.} \]
\[\text{f} \text{ See Plato, } \text{Phaedrus} 248 \text{c, and elsewhere.} \]
\[\text{g} \text{ Psalm lxii. 8.} \]
CAP. καὶ ζήσεται ἢ ψυχὴ υμῶν. ὁ ἐκζητῶν τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἴδιαν πολυπραγμονεὶ σωτηρίαν. εὗρες τὸν θεόν, ἐξεισ τὴν ψωψ. ζητήσωμεν οὖν, ἵνα καὶ ζήσωμεν. ὁ μισθὸς τῆς εὐρέσεως ζωῆς παρὰ θεῷ. "ἀγαλ-λάσθωσαν καὶ εὐφρανθήσωσαν ἐπὶ σοὶ πάντες οἱ ζητοῦντες σε καὶ λεγέτωσαν διὰ παντὸς, μεγαλυνθήτω ὁ θεός." καλὸς ὦμνος τοῦ θεοῦ ἀθανάτου ἀνθρωπος, δικαιοσύνη οἱκοδομούμενος, ἐν ὧν τὰ λόγια τῆς ἀληθείας ἐγκεχάρακται. ποῦ γὰρ ἀλ-λαχόθι ἢ ἐν σώφρονι ψυχῇ δικαιοσύνην ἐγγραπτέουν; ποῦ ἁγάπην; αἰδώ δὲ ποῦ; πραότητα δὲ ποῦ; ταύτας, οἷμαι, τὰς θείας γραφὰς ἐναποσφραγισμέ-νους χρὴ τῇ ψυχῇ καλὸν ἀφετήριον σοφίαν ἣνεῖσθαι τοῖς ἑφ' ὑτιοῦν τοῦ βίου τραπεῖσι μέρος, ὀρμον τε τῆν αὐτὴν ἕκυμον σωτηρίας σοφίαν νομίζειν. δι' ἢν ἁγαθοὶ μὲν πατέρες τέκνων οἱ τῷ πατρὶ προσδεδραμηκότες, ἁγαθοὶ δὲ γονεῦσιν υἱῶν 2 οἱ τὸν υἱὸν νεοκότες, ἁγαθοὶ δὲ ἀνδρὲς γυναικῶν οἱ μεμημένοι τοῦ νυμφίου, ἁγαθοὶ δὲ οἰκετῶν δεσπόται οἱ τῆς ἐσχάτης δουλείας λευτρωμένοι.

"Ω μακαρίωτερα τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώπωι πλάνης τὰ θηρία. ἐπινέμεται τὴν ἁγνοιαν, ως υμεῖς, οὐκ υποκρίνεται δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν· οὐκ ἔστι παρ' αὐτοῖς κολάκων γένη, οὐ δεισιδαιμονοῦσιν ἰχθύες, οὐκ εἰδωλολατρεῖ τὰ ὀρνεά, ἐνα μόνον ἐκπλήττεται τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἐπεὶ θεὸν νοήσαι μὴ δύναται ἀπεξιωμένα τοῦ λόγου. εἰτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀλογωτέρους πεποιηκότες, οἱ διὰ το-σοῦτων ἥλκουν ἐν ἀθεότητι κατατετριφθε; παῖδες

1 τῆν αὐτὴν Mayor. τὸν αὐτὸν mss.
2 γονεῦσιν vioi Potter. γονεῖσ υἱῶν mss.

a Psalm lxix. 32. b Psalm lxx. iv.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

"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. x

γεγόνατε, εἴτε μειράκια, εἴτε ἔφηβοι, εἴτε ἄνδρες, χρηστοὶ δὲ οὐδέποτε. κἂν τὸ γῆρας αἴδεσθητε, ἐπὶ δύσμαις τοῦ βίου γενόμενοι σωφρονήσατε, κἂν ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ βίου τὸν θεόν ἐπίγνωτε, ὥς δὴ τὸ τέλος ὑμῶν τοῦ βίου ἀρχὴν ἀναλάβοι σωτηρίας. γηράσατε1 πρὸς δεισιδαιμονίαν, νέοι ἀφίκεσθε πρὸς θεοσέβειαν· παίδας ἀκάκους ἐγκρυνεῖ θεός. οὐ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναίος τοῖς Σόλωνοι ἐπέσθω νόμοις καὶ ὁ Ἀργεῖος τοῖς Φορωνέως καὶ ὁ Σπαρτιάτης τοῖς Λυκοῦργοι, εἰ δὲ σεαυτόν ἀναγράφεις τῷ θεῷ, ὑμαῖνοι μὲν σοι ἡ πατρίς, ὃ δὲ θεὸς νομοθέτης. τίνες δὲ καὶ οἱ νόμοι; "οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου." εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τούτων τὰ παραπληρώματα, λόγιοι νόμοι καὶ ἀγιοι λόγοι ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγγραφόμενοι ταῖς καρδίαις. "ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν," καὶ "τῷ τύπτοντι σε εἰς τὴν σιαγόνα πάρεξε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην," καὶ "οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις, ἐπιθυμία γὰρ μόνη μεμοίχευκας." πόσῳ γοῦν ἀμεινοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοῦ τυχάνειν τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀρχὴν μηδὲ ἐπιθυμεῖν ἔθελεν ὡν μὴ δει.

'Αλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν τὸ αὐστηρὸν τῆς σωτηρίας ὑπομένεις οὐ καρτερεῖτε, καθάπερ δὲ τῶν συτίων τοῖς γλυκέσιν ἡδόμεθα διὰ τὴν λειτουργία τῆς ἡδονῆς προτιμώντες, ιἀται δὲ ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑπαίζει τὰ πικρά

1 εγηράσατε Wilamowitz: Stählin.

---

a 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.

232
been boys, then lads, then youths, then men, but 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

---

b Leviticus xix. 18, and often in New Testament.
c St. Luke vi. 29.
d See St. Matthew v. 28.
The epithets are applied by Homer to Ithaca. See Odyssey ix. 27.

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 234
us to health, the severity of the remedies strengthening 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 rearer of youth," $^a$ 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.$^b$ Nor is truth hard of approach, nor impossible to grasp, but it is our innermost neighbour, dwelling, as the all-wise Moses darkly says, in the three parts of our being, "hands and mouth and heart."$^c$ 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,$^d$ but in very deed is adored; who is the real Purifier, Saviour and Gracious One,$^e$ 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."$^f$ 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.

$^a$ Deuteronomy xxx. 14.  
$^b$ Nor is it far off.  
$^c$ Once found we shall not forsake it for custom.  
$^d$ See Isaiah liii. 3.  
$^e$ Titles of Zeus.  
$^f$ St. John i. 1.  

235
CAP. X. τὸ πρῶτον προεκκηρύχθη, ἀπεισθηθεὶς, οὐθ’ ὅτε τὸ ἀνθρώπου προσωπεῖον ἀναλαβὼν καὶ σαρκὶ ἀναπλασάμενος τὸ σωτήριον δράμα τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ὑπεκρίνετο, ἀγνοθείς· γνήσιος γὰρ ἦν ἀγωνιστὴς καὶ τοῦ πλάσματος συναγωνιστὴς, τάχιστα δὲ εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους διαδοθεῖς θάττον ἦλιον ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀνατείλας τῆς πατρικῆς βουλήσεως, βάστα ἦμων ἐπέλαμψε τὸν θεόν, οἴε. τὸν αὐτὸς καὶ ὅς ἦν, δι’ ὄν ἐδίδαξεν καὶ ἐνεδείξατο, παραστησάμενος, ὁ σπονδοφόρος καὶ διαλλακτὴς καὶ σωτήρ ἦμων λόγος, πηγὴ ζωοποίος, εἰρηνικὴ, ἕπὶ πάν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς χεόμενος, δι’ ὅν ὡς ἐπος εἰπεῖν τὰ πάντα ἦδη πέλαγος γέγονεν ἀγαθῶν.

XI

Μικρὸν δὲ, εἰ βούλει, ἀνωθεν ἄθρει τῇν θείαν εὐεργεσίαν. ὁ πρῶτος [ὅτε] 1 ἐν παραδείσῳ ἐπαίζε λευμένος, ἐπεὶ παῦδον ἦν τοῦ θεοῦ. ὅτε δὲ ὑποπίπτων 2 ἡδονή (ὅφις ἀλληγορεῖται ἡδονή ἐπὶ γαστέρα ἐρποῦσα, κακία γηνή, εἰς ὅλας τρε-φομένη 3) παρήγετο ἐπιθυμίαι, ὁ παῖς ἀνδριζόμενος ἀπειθεία καὶ παρακούσας τοῦ πατρὸς ἡγχύνετο τὸν θεόν. οἶνος ἱσχύσεν ἡδονή· ὁ δὲ ἀπλότητα λευμένος ἀνθρωπος ἁμαρτίαις εὐφρέθη δεδεμένος. τῶν δεσμῶν λύσαι τοῦτον ὁ κύριος αὖθις ἠθέλησεν, καὶ σαρκὶ ἐνεδείξαι (μυστήριον θείον τοῦτο) τὸν ὕψων ἐχειρώσατο καὶ τὸν τύραννον ἐδουλώσατο, τὸν

1 [ὅτε] Stahlin. ὅτε μὲν Dindorf. ὅτε ἦν Markland.
2 ὑποπίπτων Schwartz. ὑπέπιπτεν mss.
3 στρεφομένη Heyse: Stahlin.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

When at the first His coming was proclaimed the message was not disbelieved; nor was He unrecog-
nized 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 earthly 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; a

a Because it feeds on earth; cp. Genesis iii. 14.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. XI. θάνατον, καὶ, τὸ παραδοξότατον, ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἀνθρω-πον τὸν ἥδονὴ πεπλανημένον, τὸν τῇ φθορᾷ δεδεμέ-νον, χερῶν ἡπλωμέναις ἐδειξε λελυμένον. ὁ θαύμα-τος μυστικοῦ· κέκλιται μὲν ὁ κύριος, ἀνέστη δὲ ἀνθρωπὸς καὶ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου πεσὼν μείζον ὑπακοής ἀθλον, οὐρανοῦ, ἀπολαμβάνει. διὸ μου δοκεῖ, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς ἤκεν ὡς ἡμᾶς οὐρανόθεν ὁ λόγος, ἡμᾶς ἐπ' ἀνθρωπίνην ἴναι μὴ χρῆμα διδασκαλίαν ἔτι, Ἀθήνας καὶ τὴν Ἀλήνη Ἑλλάδα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ Ἰωνίαν πολυπραγμονοῦτας. εἰ γὰρ ἡμῖν [ὁ] 1 δι-δάσκαλος ὁ πληρώσας τὰ πάντα δυνάμεις ἄγιας, δημιουργία σωτηρία εὐεργεσία νομοθεσία προφη-τεία διδασκαλία, πάντα νῦν ὁ διδάσκαλος κατήχει καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἦδη Ἀθήναι καὶ Ἑλλας γέγονεν τῷ λόγῳ. οὐ γὰρ δὴ μῦθῳ μὲν ἐπιστεύετε ποιητικῷ τὸν Μίνω τὸν Κρῆτα τοῦ Δίδος οἰκοστὴν ἀναγράφοντι, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀπιστήσετε μαθητᾶς θεοῦ γεγονότας, τὴν ὄντως ἀληθῆ σοφίαν ἐπανηρμηνεύουσα, ἣν φιλοσοφίας ἄκροι μόνον ἦνιέιστο, οὗ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθηταί καὶ κατειλήφασι καὶ ἀνεκήρυξαν. καὶ δὴ καὶ πᾶς, ὡς ἑπος εἰπεῖν, 2 ὁ Χριστὸς οὐ μερίζεται· οὔτε βάρβαρος ἐστιν οὔτε Ἰουδαῖος οὔτε Ἑλλήν, οὐκ ἄρρεν, οὐκ θήλυ· καὶνὸς δὲ ἀνθρωπὸς θεοῦ πνεύματι ἀγίῳ μεταπεπλασμένος.

Εἴθε αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι συμβουλαί τε καὶ ὑποθήκαι

1 [ὁ] Heyse.
2 Stählin, following Schwartz, suspects an omission between εἰπεῖν and ὁ Χριστὸς.

a 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
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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. 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," 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. c

Further, all other counsels and precepts, as, for and is alluded to by Justin (I. Apol. 35) and by Irenaeus (v. 17. 4), though the word used in each of these passages is ἐκτείνω and not ἀπλάο. Basil uses ἀπλάο in this connexion; cp. In Psalm. xlv. p. 272, "having his hands outstretched ἐπιστολωμένας) in the manner of the cross." Perhaps Clement wishes to suggest both meanings.

b Homer, Odyssey xix. 179.
c See 1 Corinthians i. 13; Galatians iii. 28; Ephesians v. 24; Colossians iii. 9-11.
CAP. Λυπράλ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους εἰσίν, εἰ γαμητέον,
εἰ πολιτευτέον, εἰ παιδοποιητέον· καθολικὴ δὲ ἁρὰ
προτροπὴ μόνῃ καὶ πρὸς ὅλον δηλαδὴ τὸν βίον, ἐν
παντὶ καιρῷ, ἐν πάσῃ περιστάσει πρὸς τὸ κυριώ-
tatov τέλος, τὴν ζωὴν, συντείνουσα ἡ θεοσέβεια·
kαθ’ ὃ καὶ μόνον ἐπάναγκες ἐστὶ ζῆν, ἢν ζῆσω-
μὲν αἰεὶ· φιλοσοφία δὲ, ἢ φασιν ὦ προσβύτεροι,
pολυχρόνιος ἐστὶ συμβούλη, σοφίας αἴδιον μνη-
στευμένη ἔρωτα. "ἐντολὴ δὲ κυρίου τηλαυγῆς,
φωτίζουσα ὀφθαλμοὺς." ἀπόλαβε τῶν Χριστόν,
ἀπόλαβε τὸ βλέπειν, ἀπόλαβε σου τὸ φῶς,

"ὁφρ’ ἐν γνώσικοι ήμὲν θεόν ἡδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα.

"ποθεινὸς" ἐν λόγος ὁ φωτίσας ἡμὰς "ὑπὲρ
χρυσίου καὶ λίθον τίμιων· γλυκὺς ἐστιν ὑπὲρ μέλι
καὶ κηρίου." πῶς γὰρ οὐ ποθεινὸς ὥς τὸν ἐν σκότει
κατορωμογμένον νοῦν ἐναργῇ ποιησάμενος καὶ τὰ
"φωσφόρα" τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποξύνας "ὁμματα"· καὶ
γὰρ ἀποτελεί "ἡλίου μὴ ὅντος ἐνεκα τῶν ἄλλων
ἀστραν νυξ ἢν ἦν τὰ πάντα," οὕτως εἰ μὴ τὸν λόγον
ἐγνωμεν καὶ τοῦτο καθηγάσθημεν, οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν
συνευμένων ὀρνίθων ἐλευθόμεθα, ἐν σκότει πιανό-
μενοι καὶ θανάτῳ τρέφομενοι. χωρῆσωμεν τὸ φῶς,

88 P. ἢν χωρῆσωμεν τὸν θεόν· χωρῆσωμεν τὸ φῶς καὶ
μαθητεύσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ. τοῦτο τοι καὶ ἐπηγγελταί

1 ποθεινὸς—γλυκὺς Mayor (see Psalm xviii. 11 Sept.).
γλυκὺς—ποθεινὸς MSS.

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).

240
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

\[g\] The same simile occurs in Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* iv. 3.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. XI
to patri "diaphísoi to únoma sou tois adelphois mou. ev mésw ekklhsiás umnísw se." umnhsou kai dihínhsaí mou to on patéra sou ton theon. sóseis sou ta dihínmata, paideúseis me ἡ ὁδή. ὡς méxhri ōn éplaneúmen ejttαωn ton theon, épeí de me flω- aγωγεῖς, κύριe, kai ton theon eὑρίσκω dia σου kai ton patéra apolambánω para σου, γίνομαι σου συγκληρονόμοs, épeí ton adelphon ώκ ἐπησχύνθηs.

'Αφέλωμεν οὖν, ἀφέλωμεν τὴν λήθην τῆς ἀληθείας. τὴν ἀγνοίαν καὶ τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐμποδῶν ὡς ἀχλῶν ὄψεως καταγαγόντες τὸν ὄντως ὄντα θεὸν ἐποπτεύ- σωμεν, ταῦτην αὐτῶν πρῶτον ἀνυψηλότατος τὴν φωνὴν "χαίρε φῶς". φῶς ἡμῖν ἔξουραν τοῖς ἐν σκότει κατοργωμένοις καὶ ἐν σκιᾷ θανάτου κατακεκλεισμένους ἐξέλαμψεν ἡλίου καθαρώτερον, ζωῆς τῆς ἐνταύθα γυμνότερον. τὸ φῶς ἐκεῖνο ζωή ἐστιν άίδιος, καὶ ὁσα μετείληθεν αὐτοῦ, ζῆ, ἡ νυκτί δὲ εὐλαβεῖται τὸ φῶς καὶ δύνουσα διὰ τὸν φόβουν παραχωρεῖ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κυρίου. τὰ πάντα φῶς ἀκοιμη- τον γέγονεν καὶ ἡ δύσις εἰς ἀνατολὴν περιέστηκεν.1
to to ἡ κτίσις ἡ καυχή βεβούληται. ὁ γὰρ τὰ πάντα καθηπτεύων "δικαιοσύνης ἠλίου" ἐπ' ὕσις περιπολεῖ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, τὸν πατέρα μμούμε- νος, ὃς "ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀνατέλλει τὸν ἠλίου αὐτοῦ," καὶ κατασκέαζε τὴν δρόσον τῆς ἀληθείας. οὕτος τὴν δύσιν εἰς ἀνατολὴν μετήγαγεν καὶ τὸν θάνατον εἰς ζωὴν ἀνεσταύρωσεν, ἐξαρπάσας δὲ τῆς ἀπωλείας τὸν ἀνθρωπόν προσεκρέμασεν αἰθέρι,

1 els ἀνατολὴν περιέστηκεν Wilamowitz. ἀνατολὴ πεπληστευκεν

mss.

a Psalm xxii. 22. b See Romans viii. 17. c See Hebrews ii. 11.

242
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." 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 with Thee, since Thou wert not ashamed of Thy brother.

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 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." For He who rides over the universe, "the sun of righteousness," visits mankind impartially, imitating His Father, who "causes His sun to rise upon all men," 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

CAP. XI

metaphysewv tòn phoràv eis ápharésian kai gèn metabállov eis óuránoûs, ó toû theu geyografos, "dezìa sòmaínwv, laou's d' épì ërygon," ágathôn "égierìn, mvmnìskôn bìòtoî" álthìvou, kai tôn mégan òntwos kai theiûn kai ánafaírètov toû patrôs klìron xarizómenos ëmìn, òuráníw dìdaskalìa theo-

potiûn tòn ìnthrwpon, "díduîs nómuos eis tìn diànoiavn autòv kai épi kàrdìavn gráfwv autouv." tînas ùpograîfei nómuos; "òti ðantës eîsonvai tòn theu àpò mikrou dìs megálou, kai ïleuvos," ðhòv ð theòs, "ësoumai autòis kai tòn ãmartywn autòw õu mú mnèsthw." dezìmèthta tòus nómuov tîs õwèh, pèisòvmen protretpomènh theû, màðwmen autôn, õna ïleuvos ë, ãpodòvmen kai mú deoménh músthòn eú-

xáristovn eûpadeias,1 oîon tî ènoikiov [tîn eû-

sèbeian]² tò theû tîs èntadhà ènoikísewos.

Χρύσεα χαλκείων, έκατόμβοι έννεαβοίων.

òlìgnhs pîstewos gèn sou ðîdwsou tîn tòsaútyn geyrogeîn, ùdwr pínwein kai állo pleîvin, òéra ãna-
pnevû, ðòp ùpouyreîn, kòsmov oîkeîn. èntevden eis óurânoûs ãpokîian stèlassaî sou sýngkexwrikheven tâ megálà tauta kai tòsaútâ sou dìmourygìmatâ kai xarísmata òlìgnhs pîstewos mèmîsthkek. eìth oî mév toîs gòshoi pe epistènukítèstes tà perîapta kai tás èpaoiðas õs sotírìous ðìthen ãpodèxontau, òmeîs dê ou boulesev tòn òurâvnon autôv perîáfai-

ståi, tòn swtìhra lógon, kai tî èpìdêî tòu theu

1 eûpadeias Mayor. eûpadeian mss. eûpeîbeian Heyse.
2 [tîn eûsèbeian] Heyse.

244
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," 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." 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." 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.

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, 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 ἀπαλλαγὴναὶ μὲν παθῶν, α δὴ ψυχῆς νόσου, ἀποσπασθῆναι δὲ ἀμαρτίας; θάνατος γὰρ ἀδίος ἀμαρτία. ἦ τέλεον νωδοὶ καὶ τυφλοὶ καθάπερ οἱ σπάλακες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἡ ἐσθίοντες ἐν σκότω διαντάσθη, περικαταρρέοντες τῇ φθορᾷ. ἀλλὰ ἔστιν, ἔστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια ἡ κεκραγυῖα "ἐκ σκότους φῶς λάμψει." λαμψάτω οὖν ἐν τῷ ἀποκεκρυμμένῳ τού ἀνθρώπου, ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, τὸ φῶς, καὶ τῆς γνώσεως αἱ ἀκτίνες ἀνατελάτωσαν τὸν ἐγκεκρυμμένον ἔνδον ἐκφαίνονται καὶ ἀποστίλβουσιν ἀνθρώπου, τὸν μαθητὴν τοῦ φωτός, τὸν Χριστοῦ γνώριμον τε καὶ συγκληρονόμον, μάλιστα ἐπειδὰν τὸ τιμωτάτον καὶ σεβασμώτατον εὐσεβεί τε καὶ ἁγαθῷ παιδὶ ἁγαθοῦ πατρὸς ὠνομα εἰς γνώσιν ἀφίκηται, προστάττοντος ἡπια καὶ τῷ παιδὶ ἐγκελευομένον τὰ σωτηρία. ὁ δὲ πειθόμενος αὐτῷ κατὰ πάντα δὴ πλεονεκτεῖ· ἐπεται τῷ θεῷ, πεῖθεται τῷ πατρί, ἐγνω πλανώμενος αὐτῶν, ἡγάπησε τὸν θεόν, ἡγάπησε τὸν πλησίον, ἐπιλήψε τὴν ἐντολήν, τὸ ἄθλον ἐπίζητεῖ, τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀπαιτεῖ.

Πρόκειται δὲ ἂεὶ τῷ θεῷ τὴν ἀνθρώπων ἀγέλην σώζειν. ταύτῃ καὶ τὸν ἁγαθὸν ποιμένα δὴ ἁγαθοῦ ἀπέστειλεν θεὸς. ἀπλώσας δὲ ὁ λόγος τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἔδειξε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ υψὸς τῆς σωτηρίας, ὅπως ἢ μετανοήσαντες σωθῶσιν ἡ μὴ ὕπακοῦσαντες κριθῶσιν. τοῦτο τῆς δικαιοσύνης τὸ κήρυγμα, ὕπακούσων εὐαγγέλιον, παρακούσασιν κριτήριον. ἀλλὰ σάλπιγξ μὲν ἡ μεγαλόκλονος ἡχῆσασα στρατιώτας συνήγαγεν καὶ πόλεμον κατηγγειλεν,
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\(^a\) 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.”\(^b\) 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.\(^c\) 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;

\(^a\) Νωδόλ 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.

“Ὡς τῆς ἀγίας καὶ μακαρίας ταύτης δυνάμεως, δι' ἦς ἀνθρώπους συμπολιτεύεται θεός. λόγον οὖν καὶ ἄμεινον τῆς ἀρίστης τῶν ὄντων οὐσίας μυθήθην ὁμοῦ καὶ θεραπευτὴν γενέσθαι· οὐ γὰρ μιμεῖσθαι τις δυνήσεται τὸν θεόν ἢ δι' ὅλως θεραπεύει φθειρόν τινα οὐδ' αὖ θεραπεύει καὶ σέβεται η δυνάμεως. ο γὰρ τοῖς οὐράνιοι καὶ θείος ὄντως ἐρως ταύτη προσχύνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν ἐν αὐτῇ που τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ ὄντως καλῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου λόγου ἀναξιωτυπούμενον ἐκλάμπειν δυνηθῆ· καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἀμα τῷ

1 θεραπεύει Schwartz. θεραπεύει MSS.

248
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-

\[ a \text{ See Eph. vi. 14-17; 1 Thess. v. 8.} \]
\[ b \text{ Eph. vi. 16.} \]
\[ c \text{ The allusion is to Baptism.} \]
\[ d \text{ Isa. lviii. 9.} \]
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. XI — Βουλήθηναι γνησίως τὸ σωθῆναι συντρέχει, ὁμο-ζυγοῦντων, ὡς ἔτος εἰπεῖν, προαιρέσεως καὶ ζωῆς. τοιγάρτων μόνη αὐτὴ τῇ ἄληθείᾳ προτροπῆ τοῖς πιστοτάτοις ἀπεικοσταί τῶν φίλων μέχρι τῆς ἐσχά-της ἀναπνοῆς παραμένουσα καὶ παραπομπὸς ἀγαθή ὅλω καὶ τελείω τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς πνεύματι τοὺς εἰς οὐρανόν ἀπαίρουσι γενομένη. τί δὴ σε προτρέπω; σωθῆναι σε ἑπείγομαι. τούτο Χριστὸς βούλεται· ἐνὶ λόγῳ ζωῆς σοι χαρίζεται. καὶ τίς ἐστὶν οὕτως; μάθε συντόμως· λόγος ἄληθείας, λόγος ἀφθαρσίας, ὁ ἀναγεννῶν τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, εἰς ἄληθείαν αὐτοῦ ἀναφέρων, τὸ κέντρον τῆς σωτηρίας, ὁ ἐξελαύνων τὴν φθοράν, ὁ ἐκδιώκων τὸν θάνατον, ὃ ἐν ἀνθρώπων οἰκοδομήσας νεῶν, ἤν ἐν ἀνθρώπως ἱδρύσῃ τὸν θεόν. ἀγνισον τὸν νεῶν, καὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς βαθμίας ὀσπέρ ἀνθὸς ἐφήμερον καταλίμπανε ἀνέμω καὶ πυρί, σωφροσύνης δὲ τοὺς καρποὺς γεώργησον ἐμφρόνως, καὶ σεαυτὸν ἀκροθίνιον | ἀνάστησον τῷ θεῷ, ὅπως οὐκ ἔργον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ χάρις ὃς τοῦ θεοῦ· πρέπει δὲ ἀμφότερο ὁ Χριστὸς 2 γνωρίμω, καὶ βασιλείας ἅξιον φανῆαι καὶ βασιλείας κατηξιώθαι.

XII

Φύγωμεν οὖν τῇ τῆς συνήθειαν, φύγωμεν οὖν ἀκραν χαλεπῇ ἡ Χαρύβδεως ἀπειλήν ἡ Σειρήνας μυθικάς· ἄγχει τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, τῇ ἄληθείᾳ ἀποτρέπει, ἀπάγει τῆς ζωῆς, παγίς ἐστίν, βάραθρον ἐστίν, βόθρος ἐστί, λίχνον 3 ἐστὶν κακῶν ἡ συνήθεια.

1 ὃς Wilamowitz. ὃς mss.
2 Χριστὸς Mayor. Χριστὸς mss.
3 λίχνον Mayor. λίχνος mss.

250
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.
κεῖνου μὲν καπνοῦ καὶ κύματος ἐκτὸς ἔργεν νῆα.

φεύγωμεν, ὃ συνναῦται, φεύγωμεν τὸ κύμα τοῦτο, πῦρ ἐρεύγεται, νῆσος ἐστὶ πονηρὰ ὀστοῖς καὶ νεκροῖς σεσωρευμένη, ᾧδε δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ πορνίδων ὑραίων, ἡδονῆ, πανδήμω τερπόμενον μονακὴ.

δεῦρ’ ἄγ’ ἱῶν, πολύαιν’ Ὅδυσσεΐ, μέγα κύδος Ἀχαϊῶν,

νῆα κατάστησον, ἵνα θειοτέρην ὅπ’ ἁκούσῃς.

ἐπανεῖ σε, ὡ ναῦτα, καὶ πολυύμνητον λέγει, καὶ τὸ κύδος τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡ πόρνη σφετερίζεται· ἔασον αὐτήν ἐπινέμεσθαι τοὺς νεκροὺς, πνεῦμα σοὶ 1 οὐράνιον βοήθει· πάριθ τὴν ἡδονῆν, βουκολεῖ.

μηδὲ γυνὴ σε νόον πυγοστόλος ἐξαπατάτω, αἰμύλα κωτίλλουσα, τεὴν διφώσα καλινήν.

παράπλει τὴν ψηλὴν, θάνατον ἐργάζεται· ἔαν ἐθέλῃς μόνον, νενίκηκας τὴν ἀπώλειαν καὶ τῶν ἄγων προσδεδεμένος ἀπάσθη ἐστὶ τῆς φθορᾶς λειμένον, κυβερνήσει σε ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ 2 τοῖος λιμένι καθορμίσει τῶν οὐρανῶν το πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον· τότε μου κατοπτεύσεις τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις ἐκείνοις τελεσθῆσῃ μυστηρίων καὶ τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀπολαύσεις ἀποκεκρυμμένων, τῶν ἐμοὶ τετηρημένων, "ἄ οὔτε οὐδ’ ἥκουσεν οὔτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνέβη" τινός.

1 σοι 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.
252
WIDE of that smoke and wave direct, O helmsman, thy vessel.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{d}

Sail past the song; it works death. Only resolve, and thou hast vanquished destruction; bound to the wood of the cross\textsuperscript{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"\textsuperscript{f} of any man.

\textsuperscript{a} Hesiod, \textit{Works and Days} 373–4.
\textsuperscript{b} An allusion to Odysseus being bound to the mast of his vessel as it passed the land of the Sirens. \textit{Odyssey} xii. 178.
\textsuperscript{c} 1 Corinthians ii. 9.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

92 P. bakchḗuvn ἐλεγέν τις εἰδώλοις, ἀγνοίᾳ μεθύων ἀκράτω· ἐγὼ δ' ἄν

1 αὐτὸν οἰκτείραμι παραξεύοντα καὶ τὸν οὐτω παρανοοῦντα ἑπὶ σωτηρίαν παρακάλεσαί σωφρονοῦσαν, ὅτι καὶ κύριος μετάνοιαν ἀμαρτωλοῦ καὶ οὐχὶ θάνατον ἀσπάζεται. ἦκε, ὃ παραπλήξε, μὴ θύρωσ σκηνιτόμενος, μὴ κυτῆρον ἀναδομένον, ῥυσόν τὴν μίτραν, ῥυσόν τὴν νεβρίδα, σωφρόνησον. δεῖξω σοι τὸν λόγον καὶ τοῦ λόγου τὰ μυστήρια, κατὰ τὴν σὴν δειγμάτους εἰκόνα. ὁρὸς ἐστὶ τοῦτοθεὶςφηλιμημένον, οὐ τραγῳδίας ὡς Κιθαρίων ὑποκείμενον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀληθείας ἀνακείμενον δράμασιν, ὁρὸς νηφάλιον, ἀγναὶς ὧλοις σύσκιοι. bakchḗounai δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ οὐχ Σεμέλης "τῆς κεραυνίας" ἀδελφαί, αἱ μαῖνας, αἱ δύσαγνον κρεανομίαν μυοῦμεναι, ἀλλ' αἱ τοῦ θεοῦ θυγατέρες, αἱ ἀμανάκαι ἅλκαι, τὰ σεμνὰ τοῦ λόγου θεσπίζουσαι ὀργία, χορόν ἀγείρουσαι σώφρονα. δ' χοιρὸς οἱ δίκαιοι, τὸ ἄσμα νῦν ἐστὶ τοῦ πάντων βασιλέως ψάλλουσιν αἱ κόραι, δοξάζουσιν ἀγγελοι, προφητεῖ λαλοῦσιν, ἤχος στέλλεται μουσικής, δρόμῳ 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 254
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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).

e 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.
Τίασον διώκουσιν, σπεύδουσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι πατέρα ποθοῦντες ἀπολαβεῖν. ἦκε μοι, ὁ πρέσβυ, καὶ σὺ, τὰς Θήβας λιπὼν καὶ τὴν μαντικὴν καὶ τὴν βακχεῖαν ἀπορρίμας πρὸς ἄληθειν χειραγωγοῦ· ἵδον οὖν τὸ ξύλον ἐπερείδεσθαι δίδωμι· σπεύδουν, Τερεσία, πίστευσον· ὅφει· Χριστὸς ἐπιλάμπει φαινότερον ἥλιον, δι' ὅν ὀφθαλμοί τυφλῶν ἀναβλέπουσιν· νῦς σε φεύξεται, πῦρ φοβηθήσεται, θάνατος οἰχήσεται· ὅφει τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ὦ γέρον, ὁ Θήβας μὴ βλέπων.

"Ὡ τῶν ἄγιων ὡς ἀληθῶς μυστηρίων, ὁ φωτὸς ἀκηράτου. δαδουχοῦμαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐποπτεύσαι;² ἁγίων γίνομαι μυστέμενος, ἱεροφαντεὶ δὲ τὸ κύριος καὶ τὸν μύστην σφραγίζεται φωταγώγων, καὶ παρατίθεται τῷ πατρί τὸν πεπεισμόντα αἰῶνα πηρούμενον. ταῦτα τῶν ἐμῶν μυστηρίων τὰ βακχεύματα· εἰ βούλει, καὶ σὺ μνοῦ, καὶ χορεύσεις μετ' ἁγγέλων ἀμφί τὸν ἁγενητὸν καὶ ἀνώλεθρον καὶ μόνον ὄντως θεόν, συνυπονύμος ἤμων τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου. αἴδιος | οὕτος Ἰησοῦς, εἰς [δ] ³ μέγας ἄρχιερεύς θεοῦ τε ἐνὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ πατρός, ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων εὐχεταί καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἐγκελεύεται "κέκλυτε, μυρία φύλα," μάλλον δὲ ὦσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων λογικοί, καὶ βάρβαροι καὶ Ἐλληνες· τὸ πάν ἀνθρώπων γένος καλῶ, ὥν ἐγὼ δημιουργός θελήματι πατρός. ἢκετε ὡς ἐμέ, ὧφ' ἐνα ταχθησο-μενοι θεοῦ καὶ τὸν ἑνα λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ μὴ μόνον τῶν ἁλόγων ζύων πλεονεκτεῖτε τῷ λόγῳ, ἐκ δὲ τῶν θνητῶν ἀπάντων ὑμῖν ἀθανασίαν μόνοις καρ-

1 βακχεῖαν Wilamowitz. βακχικήν mss.
2 ἐποπτεύσαι Schwartz. ἐποπτεύσας mss.
3 [δ] Wilamowitz.

² i.e. instead of Teiresias' staff; cp. Bacchants 363-4.
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

\(^a\) Homer, Iliad xvii. 220.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. XII

πώσασθαι δίδωμι. ἐθέλω γάρ, ἐθέλω καὶ ταύτης ύμιν μεταδοθαίναι τῆς χάριτος, ὀλοκληροῦν χορηγῶν τὴν εὐεργεσίαν, ἀφθαρσίαν· καὶ λόγον χαρίζομαι ύμιν, τὴν γνώσιν τοῦ θεοῦ τέλειον ἐμαυτὸν χαρίζομαι. τοῦτό εἰμι ἐγώ, τοῦτο βούλεται ὁ θεός, τοῦτο συμφωνία ἐστὶ, τοῦτο ἁρμονία πατρός, τοῦτο υἱός, τοῦτο Χριστὸς, τοῦτο ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, βραχίων κυρίου, δύναμις τῶν ὅλων, τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός. ὁ 1 πάλαι μὲν εἰκόνες, οὐ πάσαι δὲ ἐμφερεῖς, διορθώσασθαι ύμᾶς πρὸς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον βουλόμαι, ἵνα μοι καὶ ὅμοιοι γένησθε. χρίσω ύμᾶς τῷ πίστεως ἀλείμματι, δι' οὗ τὴν φθοράν ἀποβάλλετε, καὶ γυμνὸν δικαιοσύνης ἐπίδειξιν τῷ σχῆμα, δι' οὗ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀναβαίνετε. "δεῦτε πρὸς με πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες καὶ πεφορτισμένοι, κἀγὼ ἀναπαύσω ύμᾶς· ἀρατε τὸν ζυγόν μου ἐφ' ύμᾶς καὶ μάθετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ὅτι πραύς εἰμι καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ, καὶ εὐρήσετε ἀνάπαυσιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ύμῶν· ο γὰρ ζυγός μου χρηστὸς καὶ τὸ φορτίον μου ἑλαφρὸν ἐστιν." σπεύσωμεν, δράμωμεν, ὁ θεοφιλή καὶ θεοεἰκελα τοῦ λόγου [ἀνθρωποί] 2 ἀγάλματα· σπεύσωμεν, δράμωμεν, ἀρωμεν τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτοῦ, ύπολάβωμεν ἀφθαρσίαν, 3 καλὸν ἡμίονον ἀνθρώπων τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγαπῆσωμεν· τὸν πῶλον ύποζυγίων ἱγγαγε σὺν τῷ παλαιῷ· καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν συνωρίδα καταζεύξας, εἰς ἀθανασίαν κατιθύνει τὸ ἁρμα, σπευδών πρὸς τὸν θεὸν πληρώσαι ἐναργὼς ὁ ἡμῖνετο, πρότερον μὲν εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ, νῦν δὲ εἰσελαύνων

1 ὁ Wilamowitz. ἐν mss.
2 [ἀνθρωποί] Heyse.
3 ὑπολάβωμεν ἀφθαρσίαν Mayor. ὑποβάλωμεν ἀφθαρσία mss. επιβάλωμεν ἀφθαρσία Wilamowitz (whom Stählin follows).

258
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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

a St. Matthew xi. 28–30.
b See St. Matthew xxii. 1–7.

259
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. οὐρανοὺς, κάλλιστον θέαμα τῷ πατρὶ νῖός αἵδιος νυκηφόρος. φιλότιμοι τοίνυν πρὸς τὰ καλὰ καὶ θεοφιλεῖς ἀνθρώποι γενώμεθα, καὶ τῶν ἁγαθῶν τὰ μέγιστα, θεὸν καὶ ζωὴν, κτησόμεθα. ἀρωγὸς δὲ ὁ λόγος: θαρρῶμεν αὐτῷ καὶ μὴ ποτε ἡμᾶς τοσοῦτος ἀργύρου καὶ | χρυσοῦ, μὴ δόξης ἐπέλθη πόθος, ὅσοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγου. οὔδε γὰρ οὗδε τῷ θεῷ αὐτῷ ἀρεστόν, εἰ ἡμεῖς τὰ μὲν πλεῖστον ἀξία περὶ 2 ἐλαχίστου ποιούμεθα, ἁγνοιάς 3 δὲ καὶ ἀμαθίας καὶ ῥαθυμίας καὶ εἴδωλολατρείας ὑβρεῖς περιφανεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην δυσσεβείαν περὶ πλεῖον αἱρούμεθα. 4

Οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ τρόπου φιλοσόφων παίδες πάντα ὅσα πράττουσιν οἱ ἀνόητοι, ἀνουργητοὶ καὶ ἁσβεβιν νομίζουσι καὶ αὐτὴν γε [ἐτ] 5 τὴν ἁγνοιαν μανίας εἴδος ὑπογράφοντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἡ μεμηνέναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ὀμολογούσων. οὐ δὴ οὐν ἀμφιβάλλειν αἰρεῖ 6 ὁ λόγος, ὅποτερον αὐτοὶ ἁμενον, σωφρονεῖν ἡ μεμηνεύναι ἐχομένους δὲ ἀπρίξ τῆς ἀληθείας παντὶ σθένει ἑπεσθαι χρὴ τῷ θεῷ σωφρονοῦντας καὶ πάντα αὐτοῦ νομίζειν, ὡσπερ ἐστι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν κτημάτων μεμαθηκότας ὅντας αὐτοῦ, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέπειν τῷ θεῷ, ἁγαπῶντας κύριον τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοῦτο παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον ἔργον ἡγουμένους. εἰ δὲ "κοινὰ τὰ φίλων," θεοφιλὴς δὲ ὁ ἀνθρώπος (καὶ γὰρ οὖν φίλος τῷ θεῷ, 7 μεσιτεύοντος τοῦ λόγου), γίνεται δὴ οὖν

1 ἁγαθῶν Stählin. ἀπαθῶν mss. 2 περὶ Cobet. ὑπὲρ mss. 3 ἁγνοιὰς Markland. ἁνοιὰς mss. 4 αἱρούμεθα Stählin. αἱρώμεθα mss. 5 [ἐτ] Wilamowitz. 6 αἰρεῖ Cobet. ἐρεῖ mss. 7 τῷ θεῷ after φίλος Wilamowitz, after ἀνθρώπος mss. [τῷ θεῷ] Cobet.

260
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

---

*a* The philosophers referred to are the Stoics; cp. Cicero, *Paradoxon* iv. and *Tusc. disp.* iii. 5.

*b* Greek proverb. See Plato, *Phaedrus* 279 c.

---

261
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. XII τὰ πάντα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὥστε τὰ πάντα τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ κοινὰ ἀμφοῖν τῶν φίλων τὰ πάντα, τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπου. ὥρα οὖν ἡμῖν μόνου τὸν θεοσεβῆ [Χριστιανὸν] 1 εἰπεῖν πλούσιον τε καὶ σώφρονα καὶ εὐγενὴ καὶ ταύτη εἰκόνα τοῦ θεοῦ μεθ’ ὀμοώσεως, καὶ λέγειν καὶ πιστεύειν "δίκαιον καὶ όσιον μετὰ φρονήσεως" γενόμενον ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον ὄμοιον ἡδὴ καὶ θεῶ. οὐκ ἀποκρύπτεται γούν ὁ προφήτης τὴν χάριν λέγων, "ἓγώ εἰπον ὧτι θεοὶ ἑστε καὶ νεών ὑψίστου πάντες." ἡμᾶς γάρ, ἡμᾶς εἰσπεποίηται καὶ ἡμῶν ἐθέλει μόνων κεκλήσθαι 95 P. | πατήρ, οὐ τῶν ἀπειθοῦντων. καὶ γὰρ οὖν ὃδε πως ἔχει τὰ ἡμέτερα τῶν Χριστοῦ ὀπαδῶν· οἶαι μὲν αἴ βουλαί, τοίοι καὶ οἱ λόγοι, ὅποιοί δὲ οἱ λόγοι, τουαίδε καὶ αἱ πράξεις, καὶ ὅποια τὰ ἔργα, τουοῦτος ὁ βίος· χρηστὸς ὁ σύμπας ἀνθρώπων βίος τῶν Χριστῶν ἐγνωκότων.

"Ἀλίς οἴμαι τῶν λόγων, εἰ καὶ μακροτέρῳ προ- ἧλθον ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας ὃ τι περ εἰχον ἐκ θεοῦ ἐκχέων, ὡς ἄν ἔτι τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἁγαθῶν, τὴν σωτηρίαν, παρακαλῶν· περὶ γὰρ τοῦ τῆς παῦλον ὄνταμι ὀνταμίς ἑχούσης ζωῆς οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν οὐδὲ οἱ λόγοι παύσασθαι ποτὲ ἐρεφαντοῦντες. ὑμῖν δὲ ἔτι τοῦτο περιλεῖπται πέρας τὸ λυσίτε- λοῦν ἐλέσθαι, ἥ κρίσιν ἡ χάριν· ὡς ἐγνωκε οὖν ἀμφι- βάλλειν ἀξίω, πότερον ἀμενον αὐτοῦ· οὖδὲ μὴν συγκρίνεσθαι θέμες ζωῆν ἀπωλείᾳ.


a The Stoics said all 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
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. The Christian rule of life

belong to the wise man alone. But even they admit that he is exceedingly hard to find."

He whom Christ makes holy becomes God's son

The reader is exhorted to make his choice between death and life

The entire life of men who have come to know Christ is good.
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
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
THE RICH MAN'S SALVATION

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
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 beggery; 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 Escurial 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
THE RICH MAN'S SALVATION

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 τοὺς ἐγκωμιαστικοὺς λόγους τοῖς πλουσίοις δωροφοροῦντες οὐ μόνον κόλακες καὶ ἀνελεύθεροι δικαίως ἂν ἔμοιγε κρίνεσθαι δοκοῖεν, ὡς ἐπὶ πολλῷ προσποιούμενοι χαρίσασθαι τὰ ἀχάριστα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσέβεις καὶ ἑπίβουλοι. ἀσέβεις μὲν, ὅτι παρέντες αἰνεῖν καὶ δοξάζειν τὸν μόνον τέλειον καὶ ἀγαθὸν θεόν, ἦς ὅτι τὰ πάντα καὶ δι᾽ ὅτι τὰ πάντα καὶ εἰς ὅτι τὰ πάντα, περιάπτουσι τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ γερασ ἀνθρώποις ἂν ἂν ὄρος καὶ βορβορόδει. βίῳ κυλιν- δομένοις καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον ὑποκειμένοις τῇ κρίσει τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπίβουλοι δέ, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴς τῆς περιουσίας καθ᾽ αὐτὴν ἰκανὴς οὕσης χανάσασα τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν κεκτημένων καὶ διαφθείραι καὶ ἀπο- στῆσαι τῆς ὁδοῦ, δι᾽ ἢ ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐστὶ σωτηρίας, οἷς προσκεκλήσουσι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν πλουσίων ταῖς ἰδιονείς τῶν ἀμέτρων ἑπαίνων ἑπάρκοντες καὶ καθάπαξ τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων πλήν τοῦ πλούτου, δι᾽ ὅτι θαυμάζουσι, παρασκευάζουσι ὑπερφρονεῖν, τὸ δὴ τοῦ λόγου πῦρ ἐπὶ πῦρ μετοχετεύνουτες, τῦφω

1 το<ὑτου> Lindner: Stahlin. (The bracketed words and letters are to fill blank spaces in the ms.)
2 ἂν<ὑτω καὶ βορβορόδει> Lindner: Stahlin.
3 <καί> Segaaar.
4 ὑποκειμενοι Combesis. ὑποκειμενον ms.

" Romans xi. 36.

270
THE RICH MAN’S SALVATION

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.”


CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

tύφων ἐπαντλοῦντες καὶ ὁγκον πλοῦτῳ προσανατιθέντες βαρεὶ φύσει φορτίων βαρύτεροι, οὗ μάλλον ἐχρῆν ἀφαιρεῖν καὶ περικόπτειν, ώς σφαλεροῦ νοσήματος καὶ ἐνατηφόρου. τῷ γὰρ ύψομένῳ καὶ μεγαλυνομένῳ παραπέπηγεν¹ ἀντίστροφος ἡ πρὸς τὸ ταπεινὸν μεταβολή καὶ πτώσις, ώς ὁ θεῖος διδάσκει λόγος. ἐμοὶ δὲ φαίνεται μακρῷ φιλανθρωπότερον εἶναι τοῦ θεραπευέων ἀνελευθέρως² τοὺς πλουτοῦντας καὶ ἐπανεῖν³ ἐπὶ κακῷ τὸ συναιρεῖθαι τὴν ζωήν καὶ⁴ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῶν κατεργάζεσθαι⁵ ἀπαντα τὸν δυνατὸν τρόπον, τοῦτο μὲν ἐξαιτομένους παρὰ θεοῦ τοῦ βεβαιῶς καὶ ἴδεως τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ τέκνοις τὰ τοιαῦτα προϊμένουν, τοῦτο δὲ λόγῳ ἐν τῇ χάριτος τοῦ σωτήρος ἤμενοις τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν, φωτίζοντας καὶ προσάγοντας ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας κτήσιν, ἢς οἱ τυχῶν καὶ ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς ἔλλαμπρονόμενος μόνος τὸν βραβεῖν τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς ἀναιρήσεται. δεῖται δὲ καὶ ἡ εὐχή ψυχῆς εὐρώστου καὶ λυπαροῦ ἄχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἡμέρας τοῦ βίου συμμετρημένης καὶ ἡ ἰδιωτικά διαθέσεως χρηστῆς καὶ μονίμου καὶ πάσαις ταῖς ἐντολαῖς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐπεκτεινομένης.

2. Κινδυνεύει δὲ οὐχ ἄπλοῦν τι εἶναι τὸ αὐτὸν τοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας χαλεπώτεραν τοῖς πλουτοῦσι δοκεῖν ἢ τοῖς ἀχρημάτοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ ποικίλον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸθεν καὶ προχείρως ἀκούσαντες τῆς τοῦ κυρίου φωνῆς, ὅτι ρᾴδου κάμηλος διὰ τρήματος ραβίδος διεκδύσατο ἡ πλοῦσιος εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀπογνώντες ἐαυτοὺς ὡς οὐ βιωσόμενοι.

¹ παραπέπηγεν from Antonii Melissa: missing from ms.  
² <ἀνελευθέρως> Fell.  
³ <καὶ ἐπανεῖν> Barnard.  
⁴ <τὴν ζωὴν καὶ> Stählin.  
⁵ <κατεργάζεσθαι> Fell. 

272
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.\(^a\) 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\(^b\) 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,\(^c\) despair of themselves,

\(^a\) i.e. St. Matthew xxiii. 12.

\(^b\) Literally, "stretches out towards." The same word is used by St. Paul in Philippians iii. 13.

\(^c\) St. Mark x. 25.

\(^6\) \(\lambda\gamma\varphi\) Seguari. \(\lambda\gamma\varphi\) ms.

\(^7\) \(\tau\delta\) Stählin. \(\sigma\tau\sigma\) ms.

\(^8\) \(<\eta>\) inserted by Barnard.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

tω κόσμῳ πάντα χαριζόμενοι καὶ τῆς ἐνταῦθα ζωῆς ὃς μόνης ἐαυτοῖς ὑπολειπομένης ἐκκρεμασθέντες ἀπέστησαν πλέον τῆς ἐκεῖ ὄνδοι, μηκέτι πολυπραγ-μονήσαντες μήτε τίνας τοὺς πλούσιους ὁ δεσπότης καὶ διδάσκαλος προσαγορεῦει μήτε ὅπως τὸ ἀδύνα-τον ἐν ἄνθρώπωι ἕν δυνατὸν γίνεται. ἄλλοι δὲ τοῦτο μὲν συνήκαν ὅρθως καὶ προσηκόντως, τῶν δὲ ἔργων τῶν εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀναφερόντων ὀλιγωρήσαντες οὐ παρεσκευάσαντο τὴν δέονσαν παρασκευὴν εἰς τὸ τῶν ἐλπιζόμενων τυχεῖν. λέγω 2 δὲ ταῦτα ἐκάτερα περὶ 3 τῶν πλούσιων τῶν καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ τῆς ἐπιφανοῦς σωτηρίας ἕσθημένων, τῶν δὲ ἀμυντῶν τῆς ἀληθείας ὁλίγον μοι μέλει.

3. Χρῆ τούνν τοὺς φιλαλήθως καὶ φιλαδέλφως <διακειμένους> 4 καὶ μήτε καταθρασυνομένους αὐ-θάδως τῶν πλούσιων κλητῶν μήτε αὖ πάλιν ὑπο-πίπτοντας αὐτοῖς διὰ οἰκείων φιλοκέρδειαν, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν ἔξαιρεῖν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς κενῆν 5 ἀπόγνωσιν καὶ δηλοῦν μετὰ τῆς δεούσης ἐξηγήσεως τῶν λογίων τοῦ κυρίου | διότι οὐκ ἀποκέκοπται τέλεον αὐτοῖς ἡ κληρονομία τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐὰν ὑπ-ακούσωσι ταῖς ἐντολαῖς. εἰθ' ὅποταν μάθωσιν ὃς ἄδεες δεδίασι δέος καὶ ὦτι βουλομένους αὐτοὺς ὁ σωτὴρ ἀσμένως δέχεται, τότε καὶ προδεικνύει καὶ μυσταγωγεῖν ὅπως ἂν καὶ δ' οὕτων ἔργων τε καὶ διαθέσεων ἑπαύραντο τῆς ἐλπίδος, ὡς οὔτ' ἀμη-χάνου καθεστώσης αὐτοὶς οὔτε τοῦναντίον εἰκῇ

1 ἄνθρωπος Barnard. ἄνθρωπῳ ἡ ms.
2 λέγω Ghisler. λέγων ms. 3 περὶ Barnard. ἀπέρ ἐπὶ ms.
4 <διακειμένους> Fell. 5 κενῆν Combevis. καινὴν ms.

"a Literally, "the rich who are called"; cp. 1 Corinthians i. 24, and Jude ver. 1.

274
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.
PERIGRYMOIENHS. ἈΛΛ' ὁντερ τρόπον ἔχει το τῶν ἀρκητῶν, ἔνα μικρὰ καὶ ἐπίκηραι μεγάλους καὶ ἀφθάρτους παραβάλωμεν, τουτί καὶ ἔφ' ἐαυτοῦ ὁ κατὰ κόσμου πλούτων λογιζέσθω. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνων ὁ μὲν ὁτι δυνήσεται νικάν καὶ στεφάνων τυγχάνειν ἀπελπίσας οὐδ' ὀλως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀθλησιν ἀπεγράψατο, ὁ δὲ ταύτην μὲν ἐμβαλόμενος τῇ γνώμῃ τὴν ἑλπίδα, πόνους δὲ καὶ γυμνάσια καὶ τροφὰς μὴ προσιέμενος προσφόρους, ἀστεφάνωτος διεγένετο καὶ διήμαρτε τῶν ἐλπίδων. οὕτως τις καὶ τὴν ἐπίγειον ταύτην περιβεβλημένος περιβολὴν μῆτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐαυτοῦ τῶν άθλων τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐκκηρυσσέτω, πιστὸς γε ὃν καὶ τὸ μεγαλείον συνορῶν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φιλ- ανθρωπίας, μῆτε μὴν ἄθις ἀνάσκητος καὶ ἀν- αγώνιστος μείνας ἀκονίτε κανιδρωτὶ τῶν στεφάνων τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἐλπιζέτω μεταλαβεῖν. ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ὑποβαλέτω φέρων γυμναστῆ μὲν τῶ λόγῳ, ἀγωνο- θέτη δὲ τῷ Χριστῷ τροφὴ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ποτὸν γενέσθω τεταγμένον ἡ καὶ διαθήκη τοῦ κυρίου, γυμνάσια δὲ αἱ ἐντολαὶ, εὐσχημοσύνη δὲ καὶ κόσμος αἱ καλαὶ διαθέσεις, ἀγάπη, πίστις, ἐλπίς, γνῶσις ἀληθείας, ἑπιείκεια, πραότης, εὐσπλαγχ- νία, σεμνότης, ἦν ὅταν ἡ ἐσχάτη σάλπιγξ ὑπο- σμήνη τὸ τέλος τοῦ δρόμου καὶ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἐξοδον καθάπερ ἐκ σταδίου τοῦ βίου, μετ' ἀγαθῷ τοῦ συνεδότος τῷ ἀθλοθέτῃ παραστῆτος υικηφόρος, ὁμολογημένος τῆς ἄνω πατρίδος ἄξιος, εἰς ἧν

1 εαυτοῦ Mayor. εαυτῷ ms.
2 ἀκονίτε κανιδρωτὶ Ghisler. ἀκωνεῖται καὶ ἰδρώτι ms.
3 <ἐπιείκεια> Fell (lacuna in ms.).
4 <ἡ> inserted by Schwartz.
5 <τὸ τέλος> inserted by Stahlin (cp. 2 Timothy iv. 7).
6 τὴν ... ἐξοδον Stahlin. τῆς ... ἐξοδου ms.
THE RICH MAN'S SALVATION

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 a 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 b as trainer and to Christ as master of the contests. Let his appointed food and drink be the Lord's new covenant, c his exercise the commandments, his grace and adornment the fair virtues of love, faith, hope, d knowledge of the truth, goodness, gentleness, compassion, gravity; in order that, when the last trumpet e 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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

μετὰ στεφάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἁγγελικῶν ἐπανέρχεται.

4. Δοιχ τοινων ἡμῖν ὁ σωτήρ ἐντεθεὶς ἀρξαμένους τοὐ λόγου τάληθρα καὶ τὰ πρέποντα καὶ τὰ σωτήρια συμβαλέσθαι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα πρῶτον αὐτὴν καὶ δεύτερον πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἐλπίδος προσαγωγήν. ὁ δὲ χαρίζεται δεομένοις καὶ αὐτούς ταῖς διδάσκει καὶ λύει τὴν ἀγνοιαν καὶ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν ἀποσείεται, τοὺς αὐτοὺς πάλιν εἰσάγων λόγους περὶ τῶν πλουσίων, ἑαυτῶν ἐρμηνεῖας γινομένους καὶ ἔξηγητάς ἀσφαλείς. οὔδὲν γὰρ οἶδαν αὐτῶν αὕθις ἀκούσαι τῶν ῥήτων, ἀπερ ἡμᾶς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις ἀχρι νῦν διετάρασσεν ἀβασανιστῶς καὶ διημαρτημένως ὑπὸ νηπιότητος ἀκρωμένους.

“Ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ ἐῖσ ὁδὸν προσελθῶν τις ἐγνωστεῖ τι λέγων: διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσω, ἵνα ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομῆσο; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς λέγει: τί με ἀγαθὸν λέγεις; οὖδεις ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἰς ὁ θεὸς. τὰς ἐντολὰς οἶδας: μὴ μοιχεύσης, μὴ φονεύσης, μὴ κλέψης, μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσης, τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα. ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεῖς λέγει αὐτῷ: πάντα ταῦτα ἐφυλάξα <ἐκ νεοτητὸς μου>2. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐμβλέψας ἡγάπησεν αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπεν: ἐν σοὶ ὑστερεῖς: εἰ θέλεις τέλειος εἶναι, πώλησον ὅσα ἑχεις καὶ διάδος πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἑξεῖς θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ δεῦρο ἀκολούθησι μοι. ὁ δὲ στυγνάσας ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἀπῆλθε λυπούμενος: ἦν γὰρ ἑχων χρήματα πολλα καὶ ἀγροὺς. περιβλεψά-

1 αὐτοῦ Barnard. αὐτῷ ms.
2 <ἐκ νεοτητὸς μου> inserted by Segar; see pp. 286, 290.

278
THE RICH MAN'S SALVATION

which with angelic crowns and proclamations he now ascends.  

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 answer- ing 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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

μενος δὲ ὁ Ἰσσοῦς λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· πώς δυσκόλως οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ ἐθαμβοῦντο ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ. πάλιν δὲ ὁ Ἰσσοῦς ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει αὐτοῖς· τέκνα, πώς δύσκολον ἐστι τοὺς πεποιθότας ἐπὶ χρήμασιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν· εὐκόλως διὰ τῆς τρυφειας τῆς βελόνης κάμηλος εἰσελεύσεται ἡ πλούσιος εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. οἱ δὲ περισσῶς ἐξεπλήσσοντο καὶ ἔλεγον· τίς οὖν δύναται σωθῆναι; οἱ δὲ ἐμβλέψας αὐτοῖς εἶπεν· οἱ τι παρὰ ἀνθρώπους ἀδύνατον, παρὰ θεῷ δύνατον. ἦρξατο δὲ Πέτρος λέγειν αὐτῷ· ίδὲ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν πάντα καὶ ἱκολουθήσαμεν σου. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰσσοῦς λέγει· ἀµὴν ὑµῖν λέγω, ὅσ ἂν ἀφῆ τὰ ἴδια καὶ γονεῖς καὶ ἄδελφοις καὶ χρήματα ἐνεκεν ἐµοῦ καὶ ἐνεκεν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ἀπολύσεται ἕκατον ταπασίων. νῦν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ἄγροις καὶ χρήματα καὶ οἰκίαι καὶ ἄδελφοις ἑξεν μετὰ διωγµῶν εἰς ποῦ; 1 ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔρχομενον ζωήν ἐστιν αἰώνιος· [ἐν δὲ] 3 ἔσονται οἱ πρῶτοι ἐσχατοί, καὶ οἱ ἐσχατοί πρῶτοι."

5. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγελίῳ γέγραπται· καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ πάσων <τοῖς> 4 ἀνωμολογημένοις ὁλίγον μὲν ὅσον ἐκασταχοῦ τῶν ῥήματων ἐναλλάσσει, πάντα δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς γνώμης συμφωνίαν ἐπιδείκνυται. δειδὲ σαφῶς εἰδότας ὅσ οὖδὲν ἀνθρωπίνως ὁ σωτήρ, ἀλλὰ πάντα θεία σοφία καὶ μυστικὴ διδάσκει τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, μὴ σαρκίνως ἀκροαθαί τῶν λεγομένων, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐν

1 εἰς ποῦ; Stählin. εἰς ποῦ ms. εἰργοῦν Barnard.
2 ζωή Ghisler. ζωήν ms.
4 <τοῖς> inserted by Wilamowitz.

280
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 he 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.

5. This is written in the gospel according to Mark, and in all the other accepted 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.

\[a\] 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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

autōis kekrammēnōn νοῦν μετὰ τῆς ἀξίας ζητήσεως καὶ συνέσεως ἐρευνᾶν καὶ καταμανθάνειν. καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου δοκοῦντα ἦπλώθαι πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς τῶν ἤνιγμα ῶων ύπειρημένων οὐδὲν ἦπτονος ἀλλὰ πλείονος ἐτι καὶ νῦν τῆς ἐπιστάσεως εὐρίσκεται δεόμενα διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν τῆς φρονήσεως ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπερβολήν. ὅπου δὲ καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ διοίχθαι τοῖς ἔσω καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς τῆς βασιλείας τέκνοιν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καλομένους ἐτι χρῆσει φροντίδος πλείονος, ἢ ποῦ γε τὰ δόξαντα μὲν ἀπλῶς ἐξεννέχθαι καὶ διὰ τούτο μηδὲ διηρω-

939 P. τημένα πρὸς τῶν ἄκουσάντων, | εἰς ὅλον δὲ τὸ τέλος αὐτὸ τῆς σωτηρίας διαφέροντα, ἐσκεπασμένα 1 δὲ θαυμαστῷ καὶ ὑπερουρανῶ διανοίας βάθει, οὐκ ἐπιπολαίως δέχεσθαι ταῖς ἀκοαῖς προσθῆκεν, ἀλλὰ καθιέντας τὸν νοῦν ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ σωτήρος καὶ τὸ τῆς γνώμης ἀπόρριτον.

6. Ἡρώτηται μὲν γὰρ ἡδέως ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ σωτὴρ ἐρώτημα καταληλότατον αὐτῷ, ἡ ζωὴ περὶ ζωῆς, ὁ σωτὴρ περὶ σωτηρίας, ὁ διδασκάλος περὶ κεφαλαίων τῶν διδασκομένων δογμάτων, <ἡ> 2 ἀλήθεια περὶ τῆς ἀληθινῆς ἀθανασίας, ὁ λόγος περὶ τοῦ πατρῶν λόγου, ὁ τέλειος περὶ τῆς τελείας ἀναπάυσεως, ὁ ἀφθαρτος περὶ τῆς βεβαιώς ἀφθαρσίας. ἥρωτηται περὶ τούτων ὑπὲρ ὃν καὶ κατελήλυθεν, ἀ παιδεύει, ἀ διδάσκει, ἀ παρέχει, ὅνα δείξῃ τὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ὑπόθεσιν, ὁτι δόσις ἐστὶν αἰωνίου ζωῆς. πρόοιδε δὲ ὡς θεὸς καὶ ἀ μέλλει διερω-

ηθήσεσθαι καὶ ἀ μέλλει τις αὐτῷ ἀποκρίνεσθαι.

1 διαφέροντα, ἐσκεπασμένα Stählin. διαφερόντων, ἐσκεπασμέ-

νων ς. 2 <ἡ> inserted by Barnard.

282
THE RICH MAN'S SALVATION

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, a 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

a St. Matt. xiii. 38.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

tís γὰρ καὶ μᾶλλον ἡ ὁ προφήτης προφητῶν καὶ κύριος παντὸς προφητικοῦ πνεύματος; κληθεὶς δὲ ἀγαθός, ἀπ' αὑτοῦ πρώτου τοῦ ῥήματος τούτου τὸ ἐνδόσιμον λαβῶν ἐπευθεῖν καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἀρχεῖται, ἐπιστρέφων τὸν μαθητὴν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ πρῶτον καὶ μόνον ζωῆς αἰώνιον ταμίαν, ἢν ὁ νῖος δίδωσιν ἧμῖν παρ' ἐκεῖνον λαβῶν.

7. Οὐκοῦν τὸ μέγιστον καὶ κορυφαῖότατον τῶν πρὸς τὴν ζωὴν μαθημάτων ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ἐγκαταθέσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ δεῖ, γνῶναι τὸν θεὸν τὸν αἰώνιον καὶ δοτὴρα αἰωνίων καὶ πρῶτον καὶ ὑπέρτατον καὶ ἕνα καὶ ἀγαθὸν θεὸν. <ὅν>1 ἔστι κτήσασθαι διὰ γνώσεως καὶ καταλήψεως· αὐτῇ γὰρ ἀτρεπτός καὶ ἀσάλευτος ἀρχή καὶ κρητὶς ζωῆς, ἐπιστήμη θεοῦ τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος καὶ τὰ ὄντα, τούτεστι τὰ αἰώνια, δωρουμένου, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸ εἶναι τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπάρχει καὶ τὸ μεῖναι λαβεῖν. ἢ μὲν γὰρ τούτου ἀγνοια θάνατός ἐστιν, ἢ δὲ ἐπίγνωσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκείωσις καὶ ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγάπη καὶ ἐξομοίωσις μόνη ζωῆ.

8. Τούτων οὖν πρῶτον ἐπιγνώναι τῷ ζησομένῳ τῆς ὄντως ζωῆς παρακελεύεται, διὸ “οὔτεις ἐπιγνώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ νῖος καὶ ὁ ἄν ὁ νῖος ἀποκαλύψῃ”. ἔπειτα τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σωτῆρος μετ’ ἐκεῖνον καὶ τῆς καινότητας τῆς χάριτος μαθεὶν, ὅτι δὴ κατὰ τὸν

1 <ὅν> inserted by Wilamowicz.

---

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.

284
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.\(^b\)

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.\(^c\) 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,\(^d\) 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"\(^e\): and then to understand the Saviour's greatness, next to Him, and the newness of His grace; because, according to the apostle, "the law

\(^a\) The thought of "becoming like God" is taken from Plato, *Theaetetus* 176 b, a passage to which Clement often refers.

\(^b\) St. Matthew xi. 27.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

ἀπόστολον "ὁ νόμος διὰ Μωσέως ἔδόθη, ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ". καὶ οὐκ ἦσα τὰ διὰ δούλου πιστοῦ διδόμενα τοῖς ὑπὸ [τοῦ] 1 υἱῶν γνησίου δωρουμένοις. εἰ γοῦν ἰκανὸς ἦν ὁ Μωσέως νόμος ζωὴν αἰώνιον παρασχεῖν, μάτην μὲν ὁ σωτὴρ αὐτὸς παραγίνεται καὶ πάσχει δι' ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ γενέσεως μέχρι τοῦ σημείου τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα διατρέχων, μάτην δὲ ὁ πάσας πεποιηκὼς "ἐκ νεότητος" τὰς νομίμους ἐντολὰς παρὰ ἄλλον αἰτεὶ 2 γονυπητῶν ἀθανασίαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ πεπλήρωκε μόνον τὸν νόμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἠρξάμενος· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὶ μέγα ἡ ὑπέρλαμπρον γῆρας ἄγονον ἀδικημάτων δὲν ἐπιθυμεῖ τίκτουσιν νεανικὰ δὲ ὁργὴ ξέουσα ἡ ἐρωτικὴ ἀρχηγίων· ἀλλ' εἰ τις ἐν σκιρτήματι νεοτησίῳ καὶ τῷ καυσώνι τῆς ἡλικίας παρέσχηται φρόνημα πεπανόν καὶ πρεσβύτερον τοῦ χρόνου, θαυμαστὸς οὗτος ἁγωνιστὴς καὶ διαπρεπὴς καὶ τὴν γνώμην πολιός 3. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὗτος ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀκριβῶς πέπεισται, διότι αὐτῷ πρὸς μὲν δικαιοσύνην οὐδὲν ἐνδεῖ, ζωῆς δὲ ὅλως προσδεί. διὸ αὐτὴν αἰτεὶ παρὰ τοῦ δοῦναι μόνον δυναμένου· καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸν νόμον ἁγεῖ παρρησίαν, τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ τὸν οὐν ἴκετεύει. "ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν" μετατάσσεται. ὡς σφαλερός ἐν νόμῳ σαλεύων καὶ ἐπικυνδύνως ναυλοχῶς εἰς τὸν σωτῆρα μεθορμίζεται.

9. Ὁ γοῦν Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἐλέγχει μὲν αὐτὸν ὅσ πάντα τὰ ἐκ νόμου μὴ πεπληρωκότα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγαπᾷ καὶ

1 [τοῦ] Stählin.
2 αἰτεῖ J. A. Robinson. ἐτὶ ms.
3 πολιός Stählin. πολιφτερὸς ms.

a St. John i. 17.

286
was given through Moses, grace and truth through Jesus Christ," and gifts given through a faithful slave 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, running His human course from birth to the cross; 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." 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

\[ \text{The reference is to Moses in Hebrews iii. 5.} \]

\[ \text{See Galatians ii. 21.} \]

\[ \text{Literally, the "sign," a term often used to denote the cross; cp. Ep. Barnabas xii. 5.} \]

\[ \text{Romans i. 17.} \]
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

υπερασπάζεται τῆς ἐν οἷς ἐμαθεὶς εὐπειθείας, ἄτελῆ
δὲ εἶναι φησιν ὡς πρὸς τὴν αἰώνιον ζωήν, ὡς οὐ
tέλεια πεπληρωκότα, καὶ νόμου μὲν ἑργάτην,
ἀργὸν δὲ ζωῆς ἀληθινῆς. καλὰ μὲν ὦν κάκεινα
(τίς δ' οὖ φησιν; ἥ γὰρ "ἐντολὴ ἀγία") ἀχρὶ
pαιδαγωγίας τινὸς μετὰ φόβου καὶ προπαιδείας
ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ νομοθεσίαν τὴν ἄκραν καὶ χάριν
προχωροῦντα, πλήρωμα δὲ "νόμου Χριστὸς εἰς
dικαιοσύνην παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι," οὐχὶ δὲ δούλους
ποιῶν ὡς δούλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῖνος καὶ ἀδελφοὺς καὶ
συγκληρονόμους τοὺς ἐπιτελοῦντας τὸ θέλημα τοῦ
πατρός.

10. "Εἰ θέλεις τέλειος γενέσθαι." οὐκ ἄρα πω
tέλειος ἦν. οὐδὲν γὰρ τελείου τελειότερον. καὶ
θείως τὸ "εἰ θέλεις" τὸ αὐτεξούσιον τῆς προσ-
dιαλεγομένης αὐτῷ ψυχῆς ἐδήλωσεν. ἐπὶ τῷ
ἀνθρώπῳ γὰρ ἦν ἡ αἴρεσις ὡς ἐλευθέρῳ, ἐπὶ θεῷ
dὲ ἡ δόσις ὡς κυρίῳ. δίδωσι δὲ βουλομένους καὶ
ὑπερεπουδακόσι καὶ δεομένους, ἵν' οὕτως ὑδιον
αὐτῶν ἡ σωτηρία γένηται. οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκάζει ὁ
θεός, βία γὰρ ἐξηρῶν θεῷ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔστιν
πορίζει καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ σώματι παρέχει καὶ τοῖς
κρούονοις ἀνοίγει. εἰ θέλεις οὖν, εἰ ὄντως θέλεις καὶ μὴ
ἔαυτὸν ἐξαπατᾶς, κτῆσαι τὸ ἐνδεόν. "Ἐν σοι
λείπει," τὸ ἐν, τὸ ἐμὸν, τὸ ἁγαθὸν, τὸ ἄγαθον, τὸ ὠρῴ
νόμον, ὀπερ νόμος οὐ δίδωσιν, ὀπερ νόμος οὐ

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. 50, and Romans viii. 14-17.  f See St. Matthew xix. 21.

288
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

\[h \text{ St. Mark x. 21; St. Luke xviii. 22.}\]
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

χωρεῖ, ὃ τῶν ζωντων ἵδιον ἔστιν. ἀμέλει ὁ πάντα τά τοῦ νόμου πληρώσας "ἐκ νεότητος" καὶ τά ὑπέρογκα φρουξάμενος τὸ ἐν τούτῳ προσθείναι τοῖς ὀλοις οὐ δεδύνηται, τοῦ τοῦ σωτήρος ἔξαιρετον, ἵνα λάβῃ ζωὴν αἰώνιον, ἢν ποθεῖ· ἀλλὰ δυσχεράνας ἀπῆλθεν, ἀχθεσθεὶς τῷ παραγγέλματι τῆς ζωῆς, ὑπέρ ἦς ἰκέτευν. οὐ γὰρ ἀληθῶς ζωὴν ἦθελεν, ὡς ἐφασκεν, ἀλλὰ δόξαν προαιρέσεως ἀγαθῆς μόνην περιεβάλλετο, καὶ περὶ πολλὰ μὲν οἶδος τε ἢν ἁσχολείσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἐν, τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ἔργον, ἀδύνατος καὶ ἀπρόθυμος καὶ ἀσθενῆς ἐκτελεῖν· ὀποῖον τι καὶ πρὸς τὴν Μάρθαν εἶπεν ὁ σωτὴρ ἁσχολουμένην <περὶ> 1 πολλὰ καὶ περιελκομένην καὶ παρασομένην 2 διακοικώς, τὴν δὲ ἄδελφην αἰτιωμένην, ὅτι τὸ ὑπηρετεῖν ἀπολυποῦσα τοῖς ποσίν αὐτοῦ παρακάθηται μαθητικὴν ἄγουσα σχολήν· "σὺ περὶ πολλὰ ταράσσῃ, Μαρία δὲ τὴν ἁγαθὴν μερίδα ἐξελέξατο, καὶ οὐκ ἀφαιρεθήσεται αὐτῆς." οὕτως καὶ τοῦτον ἐκέλευε τῆς πολύπραγμοσύνης ἀφέμενον ἐνὶ προστετηκέναι καὶ προσκαθέξεσθαι, τῇ χάριτι τοῦ ζωῆς αἰώνιον προστιθέντος.

11. Τὶ τοῦτον ἦν τὸ προτρεψάμενον αὐτῶν εἰς φυγήν καὶ ποιήσαν ἀπαυγομολῆσαι τοῦ διδασκάλου, τῆς ἰκετείας, τῆς ἐλπίδος, τῆς ζωῆς, τῶν προ- πεπονημένων; "πώλησον τὰ ὑπάρχοντά σου." τι δὲ τούτο ἐστιν; οὐχ ὁ προχειρὸς δέχονται τινες, τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν οὐσίαν ἀπορρίψαι προστάσσει καὶ ἀποστήναι τῶν χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ τὰ δόγματα τὰ περὶ χρημάτων ἐξορίσαι τῆς ψυχῆς, τὴν πρὸς αὐτὰ

1 <περὶ> inserted by Segaar.
2 ταρασομένη Ghisler. παρατασομένη ms. παρατασο- σομένη Barnard,

290
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

---

\[a\] See St. Luke x. 38-42.
\[b\] St. Matthew xix. 21; St. Mark x. 21.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

συμπάθειαν, τὴν ὑπεράγαν ἐπιθυμίαν, τὴν περὶ αὐτὰ πτοιαν καὶ νόσουν, τὰς μερίμνας, τὰς ἀκάνθας τοῦ βίου, αἱ τὸ σπέρμα τῆς ζωῆς συμπνίγουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ μέγα καὶ ξηλωτὸν τὸ τηνάλλως ἀπορεῖν χρημάτων μὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ λόγω ζωῆς (οὔτω μὲν γ' ἂν ἦσαν οἱ μηδὲν ἔχοντες μηδαμῆ, ἀλλὰ ἐρήμου καὶ μεταίται τῶν ἐφ' ἡμέραιν, οἱ κατὰ τὰς ὀδοὺς ἐφημμένου πτωχοί, "ἀγνοοῦντες" δὲ θεόν καὶ "ἀδικασθηνὴν θεοῦ," κατ' αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ ἀκρως ἀπορεῖν καὶ ἀμηχανεῖν βίον καὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων σπανίζειν μακαρισταὶ καὶ θεοφιλέστατοι καὶ μόνοι ζωῆς ἔχοντες αἰώνιον) οὔτε καὶνὸν τὸ ἀπείπασθαι πλοῦτον καὶ χαρίσασθαι πτωχοῖς ἢ πατρίσιω, ὅ πολλοὶ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρας καθόδου πεποιήκασιν, οἱ μὲν τῆς εἰς λόγους σχολῆς καὶ νεκρᾶς σοφίας ἐνεκεν, οἱ δὲ φήμης κενῆς καὶ κενοδοξίας, Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ Δημόκριτος καὶ Κράτητες.

12. Τί οὖν ὃς καὶνὸν καὶ ἰδιὸν θεοῦ παραγγέλλει καὶ μόνον ζωοποιοῦν, ὅ τοὺς προτέρους οὐκ ἔσωσεν; εἰ δὲ ἐξαιρέτον τι ἡ "καὶνή κτίσις," ὁ νῦν τοῦ θεοῦ, μηνύει καὶ διδάσκει, οὐ τὸ φαινόμενον, ὁπερ ἄλλου

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

292
excessive desire, its morbid excitement over them, its anxious cares, the thorns of our earthly existence which choke the seed of the true life. 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," 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.

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," 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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

пеpоиήκασι, παpeγγυά, ἀλλ' ἐτερόν τι διὰ τούτου σημανόμενον μείζον καὶ θείωτερον καὶ τελεώτερον, τὸ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν γυμνώσαι τῶν ὑπόντων παθῶν καὶ πρόρριζα τὰ ἀλλότρια τῆς γνώμης ἐκτεμεῖν καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν. τοῦτο γὰρ ὣδειον μὲν τοῦ πιστοῦ τὸ μάθημα, ἄξιον δὲ τοῦ σωτῆρος τὸ δίδαγμα. οἱ γὰρ τοις πρότεροι, καταφρονήσαντες τῶν ἐκτός, τὰ μὲν κτήματα | ἀφήκαν καὶ παραπώλησαν, τὰ δὲ πάθη τῶν ψυχῶν οἷμαι ὅτι καὶ προσεπετειναν· ἐν ὑπεροφίᾳ γὰρ ἐγένοντο καὶ ἀλαζονεία καὶ κενοδοξία καὶ περιφρονήσει τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, ὡς αὕτω τι ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπῶν ἐργαζόμενοι. πῶς ἂν οὖν ὁ σωτὴρ παρῆκε τοῖς εἰς αὐτοὶ βιωσομένοις τὰ βλάψοντα καὶ λυμανούμενα πρὸς τὴν ζωήν, ἢν ἐπαγγέλλεται; καὶ γὰρ αὐτὶ κακείνῳ ἐστι· δύναται τις ἀποφορτισάμενος τὴν κτήσιν οὐδὲν ἢττον ἐτι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τὴν ὅρεξιν τῶν χρημάτων ἔχειν ἐντετηκυιάν καὶ συζώσαν καὶ τὴν μὲν χρήσιν ἀποβεβληκέναι, ἀπορών δέ ἁμα καὶ ποθῶν ἀπερ ἐσπάθησε διπλῆ λυπεῖσθαι, καὶ τῇ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας ἀπουσία καὶ τῇ τῆς μετανοιας συνουσία. ἀνέφικτον γὰρ καὶ ἀμήχανον δεόμενον τῶν πρὸς τὸ βιοτεύειν ἀναγκαίων μὴ οὐ κατακλᾶσθαι τὴν γνώμην καὶ ἀσχολίαν ἅγειν ἀπὸ τῶν κρευττόνων, ὀπωσοῦν καὶ θεονὸν ταῦτα πειρώμενον ἐκποιῆσιν.

13. Καὶ πόσω χρησιμώτερον τὸ ἐναντίον, ἢκανα κεκτημένον αὐτὸν τε περὶ τὴν κτήσιν μὴ κακοπαθεῖν καὶ οἷς καθήκεν ἐπικουρεῖν; τὶς γὰρ ἂν κοινωνία καταλείποιτο παρὰ ἀνθρώπων, εἰ μηδεὶς ἔχοι μηδὲν;

*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.*

294
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

Those only who have money can obey other commands of the Lord
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

πῶς δ’ ἄν τούτῳ τὸ δόγμα πολλοὺς ἄλλους καὶ καλοὺς τοῦ κυρίου δόγμασιν οὐχὶ φανερῶς ἐναντιούμενον εὐφράσκοιτο καὶ μαχόμενον; “ποιήσατε ἑαυτοῖς φίλοις ἐκ τοῦ μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας, ἵν’ ὅταν ἐκλήτη, δέξωται ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς αἰωνίους σκηνάς.” “κτήσασθε θησαυροὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὅπου μήτε σής μήτε βρώσις ἀφανίζει μήτε κλέπται διωρύσσουσι.” πῶς ἄν τις πεινῶντα τρέφοι καὶ δυσώντα ποτίζοι καὶ γυμνὸν σκεπάζοι καὶ ἀστεγον συνάγοι, ἀ τοῖς μὴ ποιήσασιν ἀπειλεῖ πῦρ καὶ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον, εἰ πάντων αὐτὸς ἔκαστος φθάνοι τούτων ὑστερῶν; ἀλλὰ μὴν αὐτός τε ἐπιξενοῦται Ζακχαῖῳ καὶ Δεινέλ ¹ καὶ Μαθαίῳ τοῖς πλούσιοι καὶ τελῶναις, καὶ τὰ μὲν χρήματα αὐτούς ὡς κελεύει μεθείναι, τὴν δὲ δικαίαν χρήσιν ² ἐπιθεῖς καὶ τὴν ἄδικον ἀφελῶν καταγγέλλει. “σῆμερον σωτηρία τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ.” οὐτὸς τὴν χρείαν αὐτῶν ἐπαινεῖ, ὡστε καὶ μετὰ τῆς προσθήκης ταύτης τὴν κοινωνίαν ἐπιτάσσει, ποτίζειν τὸν δυσώντα, ἄρτον διδόναι τῷ πεινῶντι, ὕποδεχέσθαι τὸν ἀστεγον, ἀμφιενύναι τὸν γυμνόν. εἰ δὲ τὰς χρείας οὐχ οἶδον τε ἐκπληροῦν ταύτας μὴ ἀπὸ χρημάτων, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων ἀφίστασθαι κελεύει, τί ἄν ἔτερον εἰς ποιῶν ὁ κύριος ἡ ³ τὰ αὐτὰ διδόναι τε καὶ μὴ διδόναι παραίνων, τρέφειν καὶ μὴ τρέφειν, ὕποδεχεσθαι καὶ ἀποκλείειν, κοινωνεῖν καὶ μὴ κοινωνεῖν, ὀπερ ἀπάντων ἀλογώτατον;

¹ καὶ Δεινέλ Ι. Α. Robinson. κελεύει ms. ² χρήσιν Olshausen. κρίσιν ms. ³ <ἡ> inserted by Ghisler.

THE RICH MAN'S SALVATION

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." "Acquire treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth consume, nor thieves break through." 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, if each of us were himself already in want of all these things? But further, the Lord Himself is a guest with Zacchaeus and Levi and Matthew, 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, "Today is salvation come to this house." 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.

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.

St. Luke xix. 9.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

14. Οὐκ ἀρα ἀπορριπτέον τὰ καὶ τοὺς πέλας ωφελοῦντα χρήματα· κτήματα γὰρ ἐστὶ κτῆτα ὑπελαβέοις καὶ χρήσιμα ὑπὲρ τοὐθεύον, ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ παρεσκευασμένα, ἑνὶ παράκειται καὶ υποβέβληται καθάπερ ὑλὴ τις καὶ ὅργανα πρὸς χρήσιν ἀγαθὴν τοῖς εἰδοῖς· τὸ ὅργανον, ἐὰν χρητείς τεχνικὸς, τεχνικὸν ἔστιν· ἐὰν ὅστερης τῆς τέχνης, ἀπολαυεῖ τῆς σῆς ἀμοιβάς, ὅν ἀναίτιον. τοιοῦτον καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος ὅργανὸν ἐστὶ. δύνασαι χρησθαι δικαίως αὐτῷ· πρὸς δικαιοσύνην καθυπηρετεῖ· αδικίας τις αὐτῷ χρησία· πάλιν ὑπηρετεῖν, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἀρχεῖν. οὐ χρητεύειν τὸ ἐξ έαυτοῦ μὴ ἔχον μήτε τὸ ἀγαθὸν μήτε τὸ κακὸν, ἀναίτιον ὅν, αἰτιᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ δυνάμενον καὶ καλὸς τούτους χρησθαι καὶ κακῶς, ἀφ’ ὧν ἂν ἐλητηοῖ, κατ’ αὐτὸ νὰ τοιοῦτο αἴτιον ὅν ἀποτάξασθαι πᾶσι τοῖς οὕτως ὑπαρχοῦντως, ἓνα μὴ πᾶν τὰ κτήματα τὰ ἀφαινείτως μᾶλλον ἐὰν πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς, τὰ μὴ συγχωροῦντα τῇ ἁμείνω χρήσιν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἵνα καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος καὶ τούτους τοῖς κτήμασι χρησθαι δυνηθῇ καλῶς. τὸ οὖν ἀποτάξασθαι πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπαρχοῦσι καὶ πωλήσας πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐκδεκτέον ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ψυχικῶν παθῶν διειρρημένον.

15. Ἐγὼ γοῦν κάκεινο φήσαμι· ἂν ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν

---

1 ἀμοιβάς Segner. ἀποφθέγματα ms.
2 <τοιοῦτο αἴτιον ὅν> inserted by Stählin.

---

An attempt is here made to reproduce Clement's play upon the words χρήματα . . . χρήσιμα . . . χρήσιν.

298
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.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

ἐντὸς ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, τὰ δὲ ἕκτος, κἂν μὲν ἡ ψυχὴ χρήται καλῶς, καλὰ καὶ ταῦτα δοκεῖ, εἶν δὲ πονηρῶς, πονηρά, ὁ κελεύων ἀπαλλοτριῶν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πότερον ταῦτα παρατείται διὰ ἀναιρεθέντων ἐτὶ τὰ πάθη μένει, ἡ ἐκεῖνα μᾶλλον ὀν ἀναιρεθέντων καὶ τὰ κτήματα χρήσιμα γίνεται; ὁ τοῖνυν ἀποβαλῶν τὴν κοσμικὴν περιουσίαν ἐτὶ δύναται πλούτειν τῶν παθῶν, καὶ τῆς ὑλῆς μὴ παροῦσης· ἡ γὰρ τοι διάθεσις τὸ αὐτῆς ἐνεργεῖ καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν ἄγχει καὶ πιέζει καὶ φλεγμαίνει ταῖς συντρόφοις ἐπιθυμίαις· οὐδὲν οὐν προοργοῦν γέγονεν αὐτῷ πτωχεύειν χρημάτων πλούτοιντ τῶν παθῶν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἀπόβλητα ἀπέβαλεν, ἄλλα τὰ ἀδιάφορα, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπηρετικῶν ἐαυτὸν περιέκοψεν, ἐξέκαστε δὲ τὴν ὑλῆν τῆς κακίας τὴν ἐμφυτοῦ τῇ τῶν ἕκτος ἀπορία. ἀποτακτέον οὖν τοίς ὑπάρχουσι τοῖς βλαβεροῖς, οὐχὶ τοῖς ἐὰν ἐπίστηται τις τὴν ὀρθὴν χρήσιν καὶ συνωφελεῖν δυναμένους· ὦφελεὶ δὲ τὰ μετὰ φρονήσεως καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ εὐσεβείας οἰκονομουμένα. ἀπωστέα δὲ τὰ ἐπιζήμια, τὰ δὲ ἕκτος οὐ βλάπτει.

Ὅτως οὖν ὁ κύριος καὶ τὴν τῶν ἕκτος χρείαν εἰσάγει, κελεύων ἀποθέοσθαι | οὐ τὰ βιωτικά, ἀλλὰ τὰ τούτοις κακῶς χρῶμενα· ταῦτα δὲ ἵν τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρρωστήματα καὶ πάθη. 16. ὁ τούτων πλοῦτος παρὸν μὲν ἀπασί θανατηφόρος, ἀπολόμενος δὲ σωτήριος· οὐ δὲ ἰκαθαρεύουσαν, τούτεστι πτωχεύουσαν καὶ γυμνὴν τὴν ψυχὴν παραχώμενον

1 δέ ᾧ Ghisler. ὡς ms.

944 P. εἰσάγει, κελεύων ἀποθέοσθαι | οὐ τὰ βιωτικά, ἀλλὰ τὰ τούτοις κακῶς χρῶμενα· ταῦτα δὲ ἵν τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρρωστήματα καὶ πάθη. 16. ὁ τούτων πλουτὸς παρὸν μὲν ἀπασί θανατηφόρος, ἀπολόμενος δὲ σωτήριος· οὐ δὲ ἰκαθαρεύουσαν, τούτεστι πτωχεύουσαν καὶ γυμνὴν τὴν ψυχὴν παραχώμενον

a A Stoic term denoting things that are in themselves neither good nor evil. Clement's reasoning in this passage is strongly influenced by Stoicism.

300
THE RICH MAN'S SALVATION

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
οὗτος ἦδη τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀκούσαι λέγοντος· “δεῦρο ἀκολούθει μοι.” ὁδὸς γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦδη τῷ καθαρῷ τὴν καρδίαν γίνεται, εἰς δὲ ἀκάθαρτον ψυχὴν θεοῦ χάρις οὐ παραδύεται· ἀκάθαρτος δὲ ἡ πλουτοῦσα τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ ὄδυνοσα πολλοῖς ἐρωσι καὶ κοσμικοῖς. ὁ μὲν γὰρ έχων κτήματα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ οἰκίας ὃς θεοῦ δωρεάς, [καὶ]¹ τῷ τε διδόντι θεῷ λειτουργῶν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίαν, καὶ εἰδῶς ὅτι ταῦτα κέκτηται διὰ τοῦς ἀδελφοὺς μᾶλλον ἡ ἐαυτῶν, καὶ κρεῖττων ὑπάρχων τῆς κτήσεως αὐτῶν, μὴ δουλος <ὡς> ὅν κέκτηται, μηδὲ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ταῦτα περιφέρων, μηδὲ ἐν τούτοις ὀρίζων καὶ περιγράφον τὴν ἐαυτῶν ζωὴν, ἀλλὰ τι καὶ καλὸν ἐργὸν καὶ θείον αἰει διαπονῶν, κἂν ἀποστερηθήναι δεὴ ποτὲ τούτων, δυνάμενος ἢλεω τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτῶν ἐνεγκεῖν εξ ἧς καθάπερ καὶ τὴν περιουσίαν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μακαριζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ πτωχὸς τῷ πνεῦματι καλούμενος, κληρονόμος ἐτομος οὐρανοῦ βασιλείας, οὐ πλουσίως ζήσαι μὴ δυνάμενος. 17. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τῶν πλουτῶν φέρων, καὶ ἀντὶ θεοῦ πνεύματος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ χρυσὸν φέρων η ἀγρόν, καὶ τὴν κτήσιν ἀμετρον αἰεὶ ποιών, καὶ ἐκάστοτε τὸ πλεῖον βλέπων, κᾶτω νενευκὼς καὶ τοῖς τοῦ κόσμου θηράτρους πεπεδημένος, γῆ ὡς καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελευσόμενος, πόθεν δύναται βασιλείας οὐρανῶν ἐπιθυμησαι καὶ φροντίσαι, ἀνθρωπος οὐ καρδίας ἀλλὰ ἀγρόν ἡ μέταλλον φορῶν, ἐν τούτοις εὐρεθησόμενος ἐπ-

¹ [καὶ] Schwartz.
² <ὡς> inserted by Mayor.

ᵃ St. Mark x. 21.
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.

G St. Matthew v. 3.

d See Genesis iii. 19.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

ἀνάγκες [ἐν] οἱς εἰλετο; "ὅπου γὰρ ὁ νοῦς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἰκεὶ καὶ ὁ θησαυρὸς αὐτοῦ."


18. "Ὥστε τοὺς πλουσίους μαθηματικῶς ἀκού-

1 ἐπάναγκες 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
"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 e 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 εἰσελευσομένους εἰς τὴν βασι-
λείαν, μὴ σκαίως μηδὲ ἀγροῖκως μηδὲ σαρκίνως· οὐ
gὰρ οὖτως λέγεται. οὖδὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκτῶς ἡ σωτηρία,
οὔτε εἰ πολλὰ οὔτε εἰ ὀλίγα ταῦτα ἡ μικρὰ ἡ μεγάλα
ἡ ἐνδοξὰ ἡ ἀδοξά ἡ εὐδόκιμα ἡ ἄδοκιμα, ἀλλʼ ἐπὶ
tῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετῇ, πίστει καὶ ἐλπίδι καὶ ἀγάπῃ
καὶ φιλαδελφίᾳ καὶ γνώσει καὶ πραότητι καὶ ἀτυφία
καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, ὃν ἄθλον ἡ σωτηρία. οὖδὲ γὰρ διὰ
cάλλος σώματος ζητεῖται τὸς τούναντίου ἀπολεῖται.
ἀλλʼ ὁ μὲν τῶν δοθέντι σώματι ἄγνωσ καὶ κατὰ θεὸν
χρώμενος ζητεῖται, ὁ δὲ φθείρων τὸν ναὸν θεοῦ
φθαρῆται. δύναται δέ τις καὶ αὐξχρὸς ἀσελ-
γαίνει καὶ κατὰ κάλλος σωφρονεῖν οὖδὲ ἴσχὺς
καὶ μέγεθος σώματος ἐξοπλισεῖ, οὖδὲ τῶν μελῶν
οὐδενίᾳ ἀπολλύει, ἀλλʼ ἢ τούτους ψυχὴ χρωμένῃ τὴν
αἰτίαν ἐφʼ ἐκάτερα παρέχεται. ὑπόφερε γοῦν, φησί,
pαιόμενος τὸ πρόσωπον, ὅπερ δύναται καὶ ἴσχυρὸς
τις ὃν καὶ εὐεκτῶν ὑπακούσαι καὶ πάλιν ἀσθενικὸς
tις ὃν ἀκρασία γνώμης παραβῆναι. οὖτως καὶ
ἀπορὸς τις ὃν καὶ ἄβιος εὑρεθείη ποτε ἄν μεθύων
tαῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, καὶ χρήμασι πλούσιος νῆφων καὶ
πτωχεύων ἡδονῶν, πεπεισμένος, συνετός, καθαρός,
κεκολασμένος. εἰ τοίνυν ἔστι τὸ ζησόμενον μάλιστα
καὶ πρῶτον ἡ ψυχή, καὶ περὶ ταύτην ἀρετὴ μὲν
ψυχοῦσι τιμήσει, κακία δὲ θανατοί, δῆλον ἵδη σαφῶς
ὅτι αὕτη καὶ πτωχεύουσα ὅν ἄν τις ὑπὸ πλούτου 1
dιαφθείρηται 2 σώζεται, καὶ πλουτοῦσα τούτων ὃν

1 πλούτου Combeiris. τούτου ms.
2 διαφθείρηται Segnar. διαφθείρει ms.

"See p. 281, n. c."
enter into the kingdom, we must understand the word in the spirit of disciples, and not clumsily, rudely, or literally; a 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. b

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,” c 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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

επιτρίβει πλοῦτος θανατοῦται. καὶ μηκέτι ζητῶμεν ἀλλαχοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ τέλους πλὴν ἐν τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς καταστάσει καὶ διαθέσει πρὸς τε ὑπακοήν θεοῦ καὶ καθαρότητα πρὸς τε παράβασιν ἐντολῶν καὶ κακίας συλλογὴν.

19. 'Ο μὲν ἀρα ἀληθῶς καὶ καλῶς <πλούσιος> ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν ἄρετῶν πλούσιος καὶ πάση τύχη χρήσθαι ὁσίως καὶ πιστῶς δυνάμενος, δὲ δὲ νόθος πλούσιος ὁ κατὰ σάρκα πλούτων καὶ τὴν ψωφὴν εἰς <τὴν> ἐξο κτῆσιν μετεννοχῶς τὴν παρερχομένην καὶ φθειρομένην καὶ ἀλλοτε ἄλλου γνωμένην καὶ ἐν τῷ τέλει μηδενὸς μηδαμῆς. πάλιν αὖ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ γνήσιος πτωχῶς καὶ νόθος ἄλλος πτωχὸς καὶ ψευδώνυμος, μὲν κατὰ πνεῦμα πτωχός, τὸ ἓδην, δὲ κατὰ κόσμον, τὸ ἀλλότριον. τῷ δὴ κατὰ κόσμον <οὗ> πτωχῷ καὶ πλούσιῳ κατὰ τὰ πάθη τοῦ κατὰ πνεῦμα [οὐ] πτωχός καὶ κατὰ θεὸν πλούσιος "ἀπόστηθι," <φησὶ> ἃ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ σου κτημάτων ἀλλοτρίων, ὡνα καθαρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ γενόμενος ἰδῆς τὸν θεόν, ὅπερ καὶ δι᾿ ἐτέρας φωνῆς ἐστίν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν υἱῶν ἁγίων καὶ πὼς αὐτῶν ἀποστῆσαι; πωλήσας. τι οὖν;

1 θανατοῦται Dindorf. θανοῦται MS.
2 <πλούσιος> inserted by Wendland.
3 <τὴν> inserted by Ghisler.
4 <οὗ> inserted by Jülicher.
5 [οὗ] Segaar. Stählin retains this.
6 <φησὶ> 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
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.

St. Matthew v. 8.
χρήματα ἀντὶ κτημάτων λάβης; ἀντίδοσιν πλοῦτον πρὸς πλοῦτον ποιησάμενος, ἐξαργυρίσας τὴν φανερὰν οὐσίαν; οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ ἀντὶ τῶν πρῶτον ἐνυπαρχόντων τῇ ψυχῇ, ἥν σῶσαι ποθεῖς, ἀντεισαγόμενος ἔτερον πλοῦτον θεοποιοῦν καὶ ζωῆς χορηγὸν αἰωνίου, τὰς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διαθέσεις, ἀνθ' ὃν σοι περιέσται μισθὸς καὶ τιμή, διηνεκὴς σωτηρία καὶ αἰώνιος ἀφθαρσία. οὕτως καλῶς πωλεῖς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, τὰ πολλὰ καὶ περισσὰ καὶ ἀποκλειόντα σοι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ἀντικαταλλασσόμενος αὐτῶν τὰ σῶσαι δυνάμενα. ἔκεινα ἐχέτωσαν οἱ σάρκινοι πτωχοὶ καὶ τούτων δεόμενοι, σὺ δὲ τὸν πνευματικὸν πλοῦτον ἀντιλαβῶν ἔχοις ἂν ἥδη θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς.''

20. Ταύτα μὴ συνεις κατὰ τρόπον ὁ πολυχρήματος καὶ ἐννομος ἄνθρωπος, μηδὲ ὅπως ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ πτωχὸς δύναται εἶναι καὶ πλούσιος καὶ ἔχειν τε χρήματα καὶ μὴ ἔχειν καὶ χρήσασθαι τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ μὴ χρῆσαι, ἀπῆλθε στυγνὸς καὶ κατηφῆς, λιπῶν τὴν τάξιν τῆς ζωῆς, ἢς ἐπιθυμεῖν μόνον, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ τυχεῖν ἡδύνατο, τὸ δύσκολον ποιήσας ἄδύνατον αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ. δύσκολον γάρ ἦν μὴ περιάγεσθαι μηδὲ καταστράπτεσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ τῶν προσόντων ἅβρων τῷ προδήλῳ πλοῦτω καὶ ἄνθρωπων γονευμάτων, οὐκ ἄδυνατον δὲ τὸ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ λαβέσθαι σωτηρίας, εἰ τις ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ πλοῦτον ἐπὶ τὸν νοητὸν καὶ θεοδίδακτον μεταγάγοι καὶ μάθοι τοὺς ἀδιαφόρους ἁρχῆσαι καλῶς καὶ ἴδιως καὶ ὃς ἂν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον ὄρμησαι· καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ δὲ τὸ πρῶτον μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ περιδεεῖς καὶ

1 ἀδιαφόροις Ghisler. διαφόρως ms.
2 ὄρμησαι Wilamowitz. ὄρμασαι ms.

" St. Mark x. 21."
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
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

καταπλήγγες γεγόναςιν. ἂκούσαντες τί δῆποτε; ἀρά γε ὅτι χρήματα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκέκτητον πολλά; ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα τὰ δικτύφια καὶ ἄγκιστρα καὶ τὰ ὑπηρετικὰ σκαφίδια ἀφήκαν πάλαι, ἄπερ ἦν αὐτοῖς μόνα. τί οὖν φοβηθέντες λέγουσιν “τίς δύναται σωθῆναι;” καλῶς ἦκουσαν καὶ ἃς μαθηταὶ τοῦ παραβολικῶς καὶ ἀσαφῶς 1 λεχθέντοι ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἢσθοντο τοῦ βάθους τῶν λόγων. ἐνεκα μὲν οὖν χρημάτων ἀκτημοσύνης εὐέλπιδες ἦσαν πρὸς σωτηρίαν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνήδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴπ τὰ πάθη τέλεον ἀποτεθεμένοις 2 (ἀρτιμαθεῖς γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ νεωτέρα πρὸς τὸν σωτήρος ἴμνυρο-

loghménoi), “περισσός εξεπλήσσοντο” καὶ ἀπεγίνωσκον ἑαυτοὺς οὐδὲν τι ἢττον ἐκεῖνον τοῦ πολυχρηματίαν καὶ δεινῶς τῆς κτήσεως περιεχο-

μένου, ἢν γε προέκρινεν ζωῆς αἰώνιον. ἀξιον οὖν ἦν τοῖς μαθηταῖς φόβου πάντως, 3 εἰ καὶ ὁ χρήματα κεκτημένος καὶ ὅ τῶν παθῶν ἐγκυνοσ, ὡν 4 ἐπλούτων καὶ αὐτοῖ, παραπλησίως ἀπελασθήσονται οὐρανῶν. ἀπαθῶν γὰρ καὶ καθαρῶν ψυχῶν ἕστιν ἡ σωτηρία.

21. Ὁ δὲ κύριος ἀποκρίνεται διότι “τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώ-

ποις ἀδύνατον δυνατὸν θεῷ.” πάλιν καὶ τοῦτο μεγά-

λης σοφίας μεστὸν ἔστιν, ὅτι καθ’ αὐτὸν μὲν ἄσκοι καὶ διαπονύμινοι ἀπάθειαν <ὁ> 5 ἀνθρωπος οὐδὲν ἀνύει, εὰν δὲ γένηται δῆλος ὑπερεπιθυμῶν τούτου καὶ διεσπουδακός, τῇ προσθήκῃ τῆς παρὰ θεοῦ δυνάμεως περιγίνεται. βουλομένως μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ο θεὸς συνεπιπνεῖ, εἰ δὲ ἀποσταῖεν τῆς προ-

1 ἀσαφῶς Ghisler. σαφῶς ms.
2 ἀποτεθεμένοις Mayor. ἀποτιθεμένοις ms.
3 πάντως Wilamowitz. παντὸς ms.
4 ὡν Stählin. ὡν ms.
5 <ὁ> inserted by Wilamowitz.

312
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

---

\( ^a \) St. Mark x. 26.  
\( ^b \) St. Mark x. 27.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

θυμίασ, καὶ τὸ δοθὲν ἐκ θεοῦ πνεῦμα συνεστάλη·
τὸ μὲν γάρ ἄκοντας σῶζειν ἐστὶ βιαζομένου, τὸ
δὲ αἱρουμένους χαριζομένου. οὐδὲ τῶν καθευδόν-
των καὶ βλακευόντων ἔστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ,
ἀλλ’ “οἱ βιασταὶ ἀρπάζουσιν αὐτήν”· αὕτη γὰρ
μόνη ἡ θεοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἦττὸνεν. τοιγάρτοι τούτων
ἀκούσας ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος, ὁ ἐκλεκτός, ὁ ἐξαίρε-
τος, ὁ πρῶτος τῶν μαθητῶν, ὅπερ οὖ μόνον καὶ
ἐαυτοῦ τὸν φόρον ὁ σωτήρ ἐκτελεῖ, ταχέως ἡρπασε
καὶ συνέβαλε τὸν λόγον. καὶ τί φησιν; “ἰδε
ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν πάντα καὶ ἥκολονθήσαμεν οὖν.”
τὰ δὲ “πάντα” εἰ μὲν τὰ κτήματα τὰ ἐαυτοῦ λέγει,
tέσσαρας ὀβολοὺς ἰδώς, <τὸ> 4 τοῦ λόγου, καταλιπὼν
μεγαλύνεται καὶ τούτων ἀνταξίαν ἀποφαίνων ἄν
λάθοι τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. εἰ δὲ, ἀπερ
ἀρτι 5 νῦν λέγομεν, τὰ παλαιὰ νοητὰ κτήματα καὶ
ψυχικὰ νοσήματα ἀπορρίψαντες ἐπονταὶ κατ’ ἵχνος
τοὺς διδασκάλους, τοῦτ’ ἂν ἀνάπτυξο 6 ἢ ἄπο τοίς ἐν
οὐρανοῖς ἐγγραφησομένοις. τοῦτο 7 γὰρ ἀκολουθεῖν
όντως τῷ σωτηρί, ἀναμαρτησίαν καὶ τελειώτητα
τὴν ἐκείνου μετερχόμενον καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνου ὄσπερ
κάτοπτρον κοσμοῦντα καὶ ῥυθμίζοντα τὴν ψυχὴν
καὶ πάντα διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως διασπείρετα. |

1 μόνη Stählin (from Sacra Parallela of John of Damascus).
2 biais ... biais Stählin (from Sac. Par.). biais
... biais ms.
3 [συνεχώρησεν] Stählin.
4 <τό> inserted by Segaar.
5 ἀρτι Schwartz. ἀρχι ms.
6 ἀνάπτυξο Mayor. ἀπτοῦτο ms.
7 τοῦτο Wilamowitz. οὕτως ms.
THE RICH MAN'S SALVATION

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."¹ 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,² quickly seized upon and understood the saying. And what does he say? "Lo, we have left all and followed Thee."³ If by "all" he means his own possessions, he is bragging of having forsaken four obols or so,⁴ 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.⁵ 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.

¹ St. Matthew xi. 12.
² See St. Matthew xvii. 27.
³ St. Mark x. 28.
⁴ As we should say, "a few pence." The obol was a small Athenian coin.
⁵ See St. Luke x. 20; Hebrews xii. 23.
948 P.  22. "‘Αποκριθείς δὲ Ἰησοῦς· ἀμὴν ἕμιν λέγω, ὅσ αὐτὴ τὰ ἱδία καὶ γονεῖς καὶ ἄδελφοις καὶ χρή-
ματα ἑνεκεν ἐμοῦ καὶ ἑνεκέν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ἀπο-
lήψεται ἐκατονταπλασίων.’ ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τοῦθ’ ἤμας
ἐπιταρασσέτω, μηδὲ τὸ ἐτὶ τούτου σκληρότερον ἄλλαχον ταῖς φωναῖς ἐξεννηγμένον· ‘ὅσ οὐ μοιεί
πατέρα καὶ μητέρα καὶ παῖδας, προσέτη δὲ καὶ τὴν
ἐαυτοῦ ὕψη, ἐμὸς μαθητής εἰναι οὐ δύναται.’
οὐ γὰρ εἰσηγεῖται μίσος καὶ διάλυσιν ἀπὸ τῶν
φιλτάτων ὁ τῆς εἰρήνης θεός, ὤ γε καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς
ἀγαπῶν παρανῦν. εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀγαπητέον,
ἀνάλογον ἀπ’ ἑκείνων ἀνιόντι καὶ τοὺς ἐγγυτάτω
γένους· ἦ εἰ μισητέον τοὺς πρὸς αἴματος, πολὺ
mάλλον τοὺς ἐχθροὺς προβάλλεσθαι κατών ὁ λόγος
dιδάσκει, ὡστ’ ἀλλήλους ἀναιρεῖστε ἐλέγχουτ’ ἀν
οἱ λόγοι. ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἀναιρεοῦσιν οὐδ’ ἐγγύς, ἀπὸ γὰρ
τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης καὶ διαθέσεως καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ
ὅρῳ πατέρα μισοῦτι τις ἂν <καὶ> ἐχθρὸν ἀγαπῶν
1 ὁ μήτε ἐχθρὸν ἀμμόμενος μήτε πατέρα Χριστοῦ
πλέον αἰδοῦμενος. ἐν ἑκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ
μίσος ἐκκόπτει καὶ κακοποίησαν, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τὴν
πρὸς τὰ σύντροφα δυσωπίαν, εἰ βλάπτοι πρὸς
σωτηρίαν. εἰ γοῦν ἄθεος εἰ’ τινι πατήρ ἢ υἱὸς ἢ
ἀδελφός καὶ κόλυμμα τῆς πίστεως γένοιτο καὶ
ἐμπόδιον τῆς ἄνω ζωῆς, τούτῳ μὴ συμφερέσθω
μηδὲ ὁμονοεῖτω, ἀλλὰ τὴν σαρκικὴν οἰκεῖότητα διά
τὴν πνευματικὴν ἐχθραν διαλυσάτω.
23. Νόμισον εἰναι τὸ πράγμα διαδικασίαν. ὁ μὲν
πατήρ σοι δοκεῖτο παρεστὼς λέγειν "ἐγὼ σε
ἐσπειρα καὶ ἐθρεψα, ἀκολούθει μοι καὶ συναδίκει

1 <καὶ> . . . ἀγαπῶν Ἐστάχλιν. ἀγαπῶν μς.

316
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

\(^a\) St. Mark x. 29. \(^b\) St. Luke xiv. 26.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

καὶ μὴ πείθου τῷ Χριστῷ νόμῳ' καὶ ὅποσα ἂν εἴποι βλάσφημος ἀνθρώπος καὶ νεκρὸς τῇ φύσει. ἐτέρωθεν δὲ ἄκουε τοῦ σωτῆρος. "ἐγὼ σε ἀνεγέννησα, κακῶς ὑπὸ κόσμου πρὸς θάνατον γεγεννημένον, ἥλευθέρωσα, ἰασάμην, ἐλυτρωσάμην" ἐγὼ σοι παρέξω ζωὴν ἀπαντοῦν, αἰώνιον, ὑπερκόσμιον· ἐγὼ σοι δείξω θεοῦ πατρὸς ἀγαθοῦ πρόσωπον· μὴ καλεὶ σεαυτῷ πατέρα ἐπὶ γῆς· οἱ νεκροὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς θαπτέτωσαν, σὺ δὲ μοι ἀκολούθει· ἀνάξω γάρ σε εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν <καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν> ἀρρήτων καὶ ἀλέκτων ἀγαθῶν, ἃ μὴτε οὕθεν μὴτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπων ἀνέβη, εἰς ἀ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἀγγελοί παρακυψάι καὶ ἰδεῖν ἀπερ ἤτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀγαθὰ καὶ τοῖς φιλοῦσιν αὐτοῦν τέκνοις. ἐγὼ σου τροφεὺς ἀρτὸν ἐμαυτον διδούς, οὐ γενομένους οὐδεὶς ἐτι πειραν θανάτου λαμβάνει, καὶ πόμα καθ' ἡμέραν ἐνδιοῦσ ἀθανασίας· ἐγὼ διδάσκαλος ὑπερουρανίων παιδευμάτων· ὑπὲρ σοῦ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον διηγομόμαν καὶ τὸν σὸν ἐξέτισα θάνατον, ὅν ῥηθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῖς προημαρτημένοις καὶ τῇ πρὸς θεον ἀπιστίᾳ." τούτων τῶν λόγων ἔκατερωθεν διακούσας ὑπὲρ σεαυτὸν δίκασον καὶ τὴν ψήφον ἀνένεγκε τῇ σαυτοῦ σωτηρίᾳ· κἂν ἄδελφος ὁμοία λέγη κἂν τέκνον κἂν γυνὴ κἂν ὀστισοῦν, πρὸ | πάντων ἐν σοὶ Χριστὸς ὁ νικῶν ἔστω· ὑπὲρ σοῦ γὰρ ἀγαπώνεται.

24. Δύνασαι καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἐπίπροσθεν εἶναι; φράσον καὶ οὐκ ἀπάγει σε Χριστὸς τῆς κτήσεως, ὁ

1 <καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν> Stählin.

a See 1 St. Peter i. 3.  
b See St. John xiv. 8–9.  
c St. Matthew xxiii. 9.  
d St. Matthew viii. 22.
THE RICH MAN'S SALVATION

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,\(^a\) 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.\(^b\) ‘Call no man your father upon earth.'\(^c\) ‘Let the dead bury their dead, but do you follow Me.’\(^d\) 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.’\(^e\) I am your nurse, giving Myself for bread, which none who taste have any longer trial of death,\(^f\) and giving day by day drink of immortality.\(^g\) 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

\(^a\) See 1 Corinthians ii. 9; 1 St. Peter i. 12.
\(^b\) See St. John vi. 50-51; Hebrews xi. 36.
\(^c\) See St. John iv. 14.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

κύριος οὐ φθονεῖ. ἀλλ’ ὁρᾶς σεαυτὸν ἐπτῶμενον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνατρεπόμενον; ἄφες, βίοιν, μύση-σον, ἀπόταξαι, φύγε: "κἂν ὁ δεξιός σου ὀφθαλμὸς σκανδαλίζῃ σε, ταχέως ἐκκοψον αὐτόν." αἱρετώτε-ρον ἐτεροφθάλμω βασιλεία θεοῦ ἡ ὀλοκλήρω τὸ πῦρ· κἂν χείρ κἂν ποὺς κἂν ἡ ψυχή, μύσησον αὐτὴν· ἄν γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἀποληται ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, ἡ ἐκεῖ σωθήσεται.

25. Ταυτῆς δὲ ὁμοίως ἔχεται τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ ἐπόμενον. "νῦν δὲ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ἀγροὺς καὶ χρήματα καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἔχειν μετὰ διωγμοῦ εἰς ποῦ;" 2" οὕτε γὰρ ἀχρημάτους οὕτε ἀνεστίους οὕτε ἀναδέλφους ἐπὶ τὴν ζωὴν καλεῖ, ἐπεί καὶ πλουσίους κέκληκεν, ἀλλ’ ὅν τρόπον προειρήκαμεν, καὶ ἀδελφοὺς κατὰ ταύτου 3 ὀσπέρ Πέτρου μετὰ Ἀνδρέου καὶ Ἰάκωβου μετὰ Ἰωάννου, τοὺς Ζεβεδαίου παίδας, ἀλλ’ ὁμοούσιον ἄλληλοι τε καὶ Χριστῷ, τὸ δὲ "μετὰ διωγμοῦ" ταῦτα ἔκαστα ἔχειν ἀποδοκιμάζει: διωγμὸς δὲ ὁ μὲν τις ἐξώθεν περιγίνεται τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ δὲ ἐξήθραν ἡ διὰ φθόνον ἡ διὰ φιλοκέρδειαν ἢ κατ’ ἐνέργειαν διαβολικὴν τοὺς πιστοὺς ἐλαυνόντων· ὁ δὲ χαλεπώ-τατος ἐνδοθέν ἐστι διωγμός, ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐκάστῳ τῆς ψυχῆς προσεπεμόμενος λυμαινομένης ὑπὸ ἐπιθυμῶν ἀθέων καὶ ἡδονῶν ποικίλων καὶ φαύλων ἐλπίδων καὶ φθαρτικῶν 4 ὀνειροπολημάτων, ὡτιν, ἅτιν τῶν πλευρῶν ὀρέγομεν καὶ λυσσώσα ὑπὸ ἀγρίων ἐρωτῶν καὶ φλεγομένη, καθάπερ κέντροις ἡ μύση

1 <ἐκεὶ σωθήσεται> Segaar.
2 εἰς ποῦ; Stählin. εἰς ποῦ ms. See p. 280, n. 1.
3 κατὰ ταῦτον Segaar. κατ’ αὐτὸν ms.
4 φθαρτικῶν Mayor. φθαρτῶν ms.

320
THE RICH MAN'S SALVATION

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.  

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?" 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, 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 maddened and inflamed by fierce loves, 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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

toīs proskeimenōn 1 autē pāthesin ἐξαιμάσσοται prōs spoudēs maivōdes kai ᾗς ἀπόγνωσιν kai theou katafrōnhsin. ouτos o diwymos barüteros kai χαλεπωτέροσ, ἐνδοθεν ὃρμῳν, αεὶ συνών, ὅν οὐδὲ ἐκφυγειν ὃ διωκόμενον δύναται: τὸν γὰρ ἔχθρον ἐν ἑαυτῷ περιάγει πανταχοῦ. ouτῳ καὶ πύρωσις ἢ μὲν ἐξωθεν προσπίπτουσα δοκιμασίαν κατεργάζεται, ἢ δὲ ἐνδοθεν θάνατον διαπράσσεται 2. kai polēmos o μὲν ἐπακτὸς ράδίως καταλύεται, ὅ δὲ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ μέχρι θανάτου παραμετρεῖται. metā diwymou toioúton plouton ēan ἔχης τὸν αἰσθητὸν κἀν ἀδελφὸς ὑπὸς πρὸς αἴματος καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐνέχυρα, κατάλυπε τὴν τούτων παγκτησίαν τὴν ἐπὶ κακῷ, εἰρήνην σεαυτῷ παράσχει, ἔλευθερωθητι διωγμοῦ μακροῦ, ἀποστράφηθι πρὸς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἀπ’ ἐκείνων, ἐλοῦ τὸν σωτὴρα πρὸ πάντων, τὸν τῆς σῆς συνήγορον καὶ παράκλητον ψυχῆς, τὸν τῆς ἀπείρου πρύτανιν ἡσυχῆς. “τὰ γὰρ βλεπόμενα πρόσκαιρα, τὰ δὲ μὴ βλεπόμενα αἰώνια.” καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι | χρόνῳ ὁκύμορα καὶ ἄβεβαια, “ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐρχομένῳ ᾗς 3 ἐστὶν αἰώνιος.”

26. “Εἴσονται οἱ πρῶτοι ἐσχατοί καὶ οἱ ἐσχατοί πρῶτοι.” τοῦτο πολύχον μὲν ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν καὶ τὸν σαφήνειον, οὐ μὴν ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι τὴν ζήτησιν ἀπαιτεῖ; οὐ γὰρ μονὸν ῥέπει

1 proskeimenous Seghaar. προκειμένος ms.
2 diaprasessetai Barnard. διαπράσσεται ms.
3 ᾗς Ghisler. ᾗς 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."
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. 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, 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 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;" and in the present time things are fleeting and uncertain, but "in the world to come is life eternal."

26. "The first shall be last and the last first." 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

b 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.

c Literally, "paraclete." But the connexion with "advocate" shows that Clement is thinking of the word in its legal meaning.

2 Corinthians iv. 18.

e St. Mark x. 30.

f St. Mark x. 31.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

πρὸς τοὺς πολυκτήμονας, ἀλλ’ ἀπλῶς πρὸς ἀπαντας ἀνθρώπους τοὺς πίστει καθάπαξ ἐαυτοὺς ἐπιδιδόν- τας. ἀφετε τοῦτο μὲν ἀνακείσθω τὰ νῦν. τὸ δὲ γε προκείμενον ἡμῖν οὐ μηδὲν τι ἐνδεέστερον τῆς ἐπαγγελίας δεδείχθαι, ὅτι τοὺς πλουσίους οὐδένα τρόπον ὁ σωτὴρ κατ’ αὐτὸν γε τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν περιβολὴν τῆς κτήσεως ἀποκέκλεικεν οὐδ’ αὐτοῖς ἀποτετάφρευκεν τὴν σωτηρίαν, εἰ γε δύναντο καὶ βούλοιτο ὑποκύπτειν τοῦ θεοῦ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ τῶν προσκαίρων προτιμώμεν τὴν ἐαυτῶν ζωὴν καὶ βλέποιεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἀτενεί τῷ βλέμματι, καθάπερ εἰς ἀγαθοῦ κυβερνήτου νεῦμα δεδορκότες, τί βούλεται, τί προστάσσει, τί σημαίνει, τί διδωσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ναῦταις [τὸ] ² σύνθημα, ποῦ καὶ πόθεν τὸν ὄρμον ἐπαγγέλλεται. τί γὰρ ἀδικεῖ τις, εἰ προσέχων τὴν γνώμην καὶ φειδόμενος πρὸ τῆς πίστεως βίον ἴκανον συνελέξατο; ἦ καὶ < τὸ > ³ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἀνέγκλητον, εἰ εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ τὴν τύχην ⁴ νέμοντος εἰς οἶκον τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων εἰσ- ψκίσθη καὶ γένος ἀμφιλαφῆς τοῖς χρήμασιν [ἰσχύον] ⁵ καὶ τῷ πλούτῳ κρατοῦν; εἰ γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἀκούσιον ἐν πλούτῳ γένεσιν ἀπεληλαται ζωῆς, ἀδικεῖται μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ γεναμένου ⁶ θεοῦ, προσκαίρου μὲν ἡδυπαθείας κατηξιωμένου, ἀδίκου δὲ ζωῆς ἀπεστε- ρημένου. τί δ’ ὅλως πλοῦτον ἐχρῆν ἐκ γῆς ἀνα- τελλαὶ ποτε, εἰ χορηγὸς καὶ πρόξενος ἐστὶ θανάτου;

¹ ἐνδεέστερον Ghisler. ἀδεέστερον ms.
² [τὸ] Stählin. ³ <τὸ> inserted by Ghisler.
⁶ γεναμένου Ghisler. γενομένου ms.

α i.e. the gospel promise of salvation for all men.

324
THE RICH MAN'S SALVATION

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 trenched 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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

"... and to these servants (the possessions) he says: 'Bend within the power of his possessions,' 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 Stahlin compares Thucydides i. 38—"the insolence and power of wealth.""

a Literally, “can bend within the power of his possessions,” 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 Stahlin compares Thucydides i. 38—“the insolence and power of wealth.”

b St. Mark x. 25.

326
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.*

27. 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.

*St. Matthew vii. 14.*  
*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.*
Φησὶν οὖν ο ὁ διδάσκαλος, τὶς ἡ μεγίστη τῶν ἑντολῶν ἡρωτημένος: "ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς δυνάμεως σου," ταύτης μείζῳ μηδεμίαν ἐντολὴν εἶναι, καὶ μάλα εἰκότως. καὶ γὰρ καὶ περὶ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ περὶ τοῦ μεγίστου παρήγγελται, αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, δι' οὗ καὶ γέγονε καὶ ἐστὶ τὰ πάντα καὶ εἰς ὅν τὰ σωζόμενα πάλιν ἐπανέρχεται. ὑπὸ τούτου τοῖνυν προαγαπηθέντας καὶ τοῦ γενέσθαι τυχόντας οὐχ ὅσιοι ἀλλὸ τι προσβύτερον ἄγειν καὶ τιμώτερον, ἐκτίνοντας μόνην τὴν χάριν ταύτην μικρὰν ἐπὶ μεγίστους, ἀλλοὶ δὲ μηδοτιοῦν ἐχοντας ἀνευδεῖ καὶ τελεῖωθεὶς πρὸς ἀμοιβὴν ἔπυνοισαί, αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ἀγαπᾶν τὸν πατέρα εἰς οἰκείαν ἱσχύν καὶ δύναμιν ἀφθαρσίαν κομιζομένους. ὃςον γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ τις θεοῦ, τοσοῦτω καὶ πλέον ἐνδοτέρω τοῦ θεοῦ παραδύνεται.

28. Δευτέραν δὲ τάξει καὶ οὐδὲν τι μικροτέραν ταύτης εἶναι λέγει τό· "ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν:" οὐκοῦν τὸν θεόν ὑπὲρ σεαυτόν. πυνθανομένου δὲ τοῦ προσδιαλεγομένου "τὶς ἐστὶν πλησίον;" οὐ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τρόπου Ἰουδαίους προ- ωρίσατο τὸν πρὸς αὐτός οὐδὲ τὸν πολίτην οὐδὲ τὸν προσήλυτον οὐδὲ τὸν ὁμοίως περιτετμημένου οὐδὲ τὸν ἐνί καὶ ταύτῳ νόμῳ χρώμενον· ἀλλὰ ἀνωθέν καταβαίνοντα 3 ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἄγει τῷ λόγῳ τινὰ εἰς Ἰεριχώ καὶ τούτων δεικνύσιν ὑπὸ ληστῶν συγκεκεντημένου, ἐρριμμένον ἱματινήτα ἐπὶ

1 αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ Ghisler. αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ms.
2 ἀφθαρσίαν Wilamowitz. ἀφθαρσίας ms.
3 καταβαίνοντα Ghisler. καταβαίνον τοι ms.

a St. Mark xii. 30–31.

328
THE RICH MAN'S SALVATION

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

\[b \text{ See Romans xi. 36.} \quad c \text{ See 1 St. John iv. 19.} \quad d \text{ St. Luke x. 27.} \quad e \text{ St. Luke x. 29.} \quad f \text{ See St. Luke x. 30-37.}\]
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

thē ὁδοῦ, ὑπὸ ἱερέως παροδευόμενον, ὑπὸ Λευτὸν παρορώμενον, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Σαμαρείτου τοῦ ἔξωνει-
diσμένου καὶ ἀφωρισμένου κατελευόμενον, ὃς οὐχὶ κατὰ τύχην ὡς ἐκεῖνοι παρῆλθεν, ἀλλ’ ἦκε συνεσ-
κευασμένος ὃν ὁ κινδυνεύων ἔδειτο, οἶνον, ἐλαιον, ἐπιδέσμους, κτήνος, μισθὸν τῷ πανδοχεῖ, τὸν μὲν ἡδή διδόμενον, τὸν δὲ προσυπισχνούμενον. “τίς,” ἐφ᾽, “τούτων γέγονε πλησίον τῷ τὰ δεινὰ παθόντι,”
tοῦ δὲ ἀποκριναμένου ὃτι “ὁ τὸν ἔλεον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιδεξάμενος· καὶ σὺ τοῖνυ πορευθεὶς οὐτώ poiei,” ὡς τῆς ἀγάπης βλαστανοῦσης εὐποιῶν.

29. Ἐν ἀμφοτέραις μὲν οὖν ταῖς ἑντολαῖς ἀγάπην εἰσηγεῖται, τάξει δ’ αὐτὴν διήρηκε, καὶ ὅποι μὲν τὰ πρωτεῖα τῆς ἁγάπης ἀνάπτει τῷ θεῷ, ὅπου δὲ τὰ δευτερεῖα νέμει τῷ πλησίον. τίς δ’ ἂν ἄλλος οὗτος εἶη πλὴν αὐτὸς ὁ σωτήρ; ἢ τίς μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς

952 P. ἐλεήσας ἐκείνου, τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν κοσμοκρατόρων τοῦ σκότους θλίγου τεθανατωμένους τοὺς πολλοὺς τραύμασι, φόβοις, ἐπιθυμίαις, ὁργαῖς, λύπαις, ἀπά-
tαις, ἡθοναῖς; τούτων δὲ τῶν τραυμάτων μόνος ἑατρός Ἰησοῦς, ἐκκόπτων ἀρδην τὰ πάθη πρὸρρήζα, οὐχ ὡσπερ ὁ νόμος ψιλά τὰ ἀποτελέσματα, τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν πονηρῶν φυτῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἅξιν τὴν ἔαυτον πρὸς τὰς Βίζας τῆς κακίας προσαγαγών.

οὗτος ὃ2 τῶν οἶνον, τὸ ἀἷμα τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς Δαβίδ, ἐκχέας ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὰς τετραμένας ψυχάς, ὁὗτος ὁ τὸ ἔλαιον,3 τὸν ἐκ σπλάγχνων πατρὸς ἔλεον, προσευγκών καὶ ἐπιδαπλευόμενος, οὗτος ὁ τοὺς

1 ὃν Ghisler. ὃν ms. 2 ὃ inserted by Ghisler. 3 ὃ inserted by Wilamowitz: ὃ τὸ ἔλαιον by Lindner.


330
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.’"
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

τῆς υγείας καὶ σωτηρίας δεσμούς ἀλώτους ἐπιδείξας, ἀγάπην, πίστιν, ἔλπίδα, οὕτος οἱ διακονεῖν ἀγγέλους καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ ἐξουσίας ἤμιν ἐπιτάξας ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ μυσθῷ, διότι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐλευθερώθησονται ἀπὸ τῆς ματαιότητος τοῦ κόσμου παρὰ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῆς δόξης τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ. τούτου οὖν ἀγαπᾶν ἵσα χρὴ τῷ θεῷ. ἀγαπᾶ δὲ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ὁ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ποιῶν καὶ φυλάσσων αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐντολάς. "οὐ γὰρ πάς ὁ λέγων μοι κύριε κύριε εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός μου." καὶ "τί με λέγετε κύριε κύριε καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε ἃ λέγω;" καὶ "οὐκεῖς μακάριοι οἱ ὅρωντες καὶ ἀκούοντες ἃ μήτε δίκαιοι μήτε προφήται," εὖν ποιήτε ἃ λέγω.

30. Πρῶτος μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔστιν ὁ Χριστὸν ἀγαπῶν, δεύτερος δὲ ὁ τοὺς ἐκείνως πεπιστευκότας τιμῶν καὶ περιέπων. ὃ γὰρ ἂν τις ἐις μαθητὴν ἐργάσθη, τότε εἰς ἑαυτὸν ὁ κύριος ἐκδέχεται καὶ πᾶν ἑαυτὸν ποιεῖται. "δεῦτε, οἱ εὐλογημένοι τοῦ πατρός μου, κληρονομῆσατε τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ὑμῖν βασιλείαν ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου. ἐπείνασα γὰρ καὶ ἔδωκατε μοι φαγεῖν, καὶ ἐδύψισα καὶ ἔδωκατε μοι πιεῖν, καὶ ἔδωκατε ἡμῖν καὶ συνηγάγετε με, γυμνὸς ἡμῖν καὶ ἐνεδύσατε με, ἡσθένσα καὶ ἐπεσκέφασθέ με, ἐν φυλακῇ ἡμῖν καὶ ἢλθετε πρὸς με. τότε ἀποκριθήσονται αὐτῷ οἱ δίκαιοι λέγοντες· κύριε,

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
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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

πότε σε εἴδομεν πεινώντα καὶ θρέψαμεν, ἡ δυμώντα καὶ ἐποτίσαμεν; πότε δὲ εἴδομέν σε ξένον καὶ συνηγάγομεν, ἡ γυμνόν καὶ περιεβάλομεν; ἡ πότε σε εἴδομεν ἀσθενοῦντα καὶ ἐπεσκεψάμεθα; ἡ ἐν φυλακῇ καὶ ἠλθόμεν πρὸς σέ; ἀποκρίθεις ὅ βασιλεὺς ἐρεῖ αὐτοῖς· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐφ’ ὅσον ἐποιήσατε ἐν τούτων τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου τῶν ἐλαχίστων, ἐμοὶ ἐποιήσατε.” πάλιν ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων τούς ταῦτα μὴ παρασχόντας αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐμβάλλει τῷ αἰῶνι, ὡς αὐτῷ μὴ παρεσχηκότας. καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ· "ὁ υμᾶς δεχόμενος ἐμὲ δέχεται, ὁ υμᾶς μὴ δεχόμενος ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ." 31. Τούτους καὶ τέκνα καὶ παιδία καὶ φίλους ὄνομάζει καὶ μικροὺς ἐνθάδε ὡς πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀνω μέγεθος αὐτῶν, “μὴ καταφρονήσητε,” λέγων, “ἐνὸς | τῶν μικρῶν τοῦτων· τούτων γὰρ οἱ ἀγγελοὶ διὰ παντὸς βλέπουσι τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς.” καὶ ἐτέρωθι· “μὴ φοβεῖσθε, τὸ μικρὸν πούμιν· ύμῶν γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πατὴρ παραδοθῆναι τῇ βασιλείᾳ” τῶν οὐρανῶν. κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τοῦ μεγίστου ἐν γεννήτοις γυναικῶν Ἰωάννου τὸν ἐλαχίστον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν, τούτοις τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μαθητήν, εἶναι μείζων λέγει. καὶ πάλιν. "ὁ δεχόμενος δίκαιον ἥ προφήτην εἰς ὄνομα δικαίον ἥ προφήτην τῶν ἑκείνων μισθῶν λήψεται, ὁ δὲ μαθητὴν ποτίσας εἰς ὄνομα μαθητοῦ ποτήριον ψυχροῦ ὑδατος τὸν μισθὸν οὐκ ἀπολέσει·” οὐκοῦν οὕτως μόνον ὁ μισθὸς οὐκ

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.

334
THE RICH MAN'S SALVATION

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? 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."  

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."  

31. These who believe on Him He calls children and young children and babes and friends; also little ones here, 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." And elsewhere; "Fear not, little flock, for it is the Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom" 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. 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."  

This then is

---

\[d\] See St. Matthew x. 42.  
\[e\] 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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

ἀπολλύμενός ἐστι. καὶ αὕτης: "ποιήσατε ἐαυτοῖς φίλους ἐκ τοῦ μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἄδικιας, ἵνα ὅταν ἐκλύτη, 1 δέξωνται ὡμᾶς εἰς τὰς αἰωνίους σκηνὰς." φύσει μὲν ἀπασαν κτῆσιν, ἢν αὐτὸς τὸς ἐφ’ ἐαυτοῦ κέκτηται ὡς ἱδίαν οὕσαν καὶ οὐκ εἰς κοινὸν τοῖς δεομένοις κατατίθησιν, ἄδικον οὕσαν ἀποφαίνων, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἄδικιας ἐνὸν καὶ πράγμα δίκαιον ἐργασάσθαι καὶ σωτῆριον, ἀναπαύσαι τινὰ τῶν ἐχόντων αἰώνιον σκηνὴν παρὰ τῷ πατρί.

"Ορα πρῶτον μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι σε κεκέλευ- κεν οὐδὲ ἐνοχλείονται περιμένειν, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸν ζητεῖν τοὺς εὐ πεισόμενους ἁξίους τε ὅντας τοῦ σωτήρος μαθητάς. καλὸς μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἀποστόλου λόγος: "ιλαρὸν γὰρ δότην ἁγαπᾷ ὁ θεὸς," χαίροντα τῷ διδόναι καὶ μὴ φειδομένως 2 σπείροντα, ἵνα μὴ οὕτως καὶ θερίσῃ, δίχα γογγυσμῶν καὶ διακρίσεως καὶ λύπης [καὶ] 3 κοινοῦντα, ὅπερ ἔστων εὐεργεσία καθαρά. 4 κρείττων δ’ ἔστὶ τοῦτο ὁ τοῦ κυρίου λελεγμένος ἐν ἄλλω χωρίῳ: "παντὶ τῷ αὐτοῦντί σε δίδουν" θεοῦ γὰρ ὄντως ἡ τοιαύτη φιλοδωρία. οὕτως δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑπὲρ ἀπασαν ἐστὶ θεότητα, μηδὲ αὐτείσθαι περιμένειν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν ἀναζητεῖν ὡστὶς ἁξίων εὐ παθεῖν, ἐπειτα τηλικούτοι μισθὸν ὄρισα τῆς κοινωνίας, αἰῶνιον σκηνήν. 32. ὥς καλῆς ἐμπορίας, ὥς θείας ἄγορᾶς: ωςεῖται χρημάτων τις ἀφθαρσίαν,

1 ἐκλύτη Stählin. ἐκλύτητε ms.
2 φειδομένως (from 2 Cor. ix. 6) Segaar. φειδόμενων ms.
3 καὶ [καὶ] Segaar.
4 καθαρά Segaar. καθά ms.

a St. Luke xvi. 9.
b The phrase comes from Acts iv. 32.
c 2 Corinthians ix. 7.

336
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." a Thus He declares that all possessions are by nature unrighteous, when a man possesses them for personal advantage as being entirely his own, b 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," c one who takes pleasure in giving and sows not sparingly, for fear he should reap sparingly, d 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;" e for such generosity is truly of God. But more divine than all is this saying, that we should not even wait to be asked, f 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

a See 2 Corinthians ix. 6.  

b The great reward of service to Christ's disciples.  
d Clement interprets the saying, "Make to yourselves friends . . .," as a command to the rich man to give without being asked.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

καὶ δοὺς τὰ διολλύμενα τοῦ κόσμου μονὴν τούτων αἰῶνιον ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀντιλαμβάνει. πλεῦσον ἐπὶ ταῦτην, ἂν σωφρονήσῃ, τὴν πανήγυριν, ὁ πλοῦσις, κἂν δέ, περιέλθη γῆν̂ 1 ὡλην, μὴ φείσῃ κινδύνων καὶ πόνων, ἵν’ ἐνταῦθα βασιλείαν οὐράνιον ἀγοράσῃς. τί σε λίθοι διαφανεῖς καὶ σμάραγδοι τοσοῦτον εὐφραίνουσι καὶ οἰκία; 2 τροφὴ πυρὸς ἡ χρόνον παῖγνιν ἡ σεισμὸν πάρεργον ἡ ὑβρίσμα τυράννου; ἐπιθύμησον ἐν οὐρανοῖς οἰκήσαι καὶ βασιλεύσαι μετὰ θεοῦ· ταῦτην σοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀνθρωπος δώσει θεὸν ἀπομιμούμενος· ἐνταῦθα μικρὰ λαβῶν ἐκεῖ δι’ ὀλων αἰῶνων σύνοικον σε ποιήσεται. ἰκέτευσον ἦνα λάβῃ· σπεῦσον, ἀγωνιάσον, φοβήθητι μὴ σε ἀτμάσῃ· οὐ γὰρ κεκέλευσται λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ σὺ παρασχεῖν. οὐ μὴν οὐδ’ εἴπεν ὁ κύριος δὸς, ἡ παράσχεσ, ἡ εὐεργέτησσον, ἡ βοήθησον, φίλον δὲ ποίησαι· ὁ δὲ φίλος οὐκ ἐκ μιᾶς δόσεως γίνεται, ἀλλ’ εξ ὀλης ἀναπαύσεως καὶ συνουσίας μακρὰς· οὔτε γὰρ ἡ πίστις οὔτε ἡ ἀγάπη οὔτε3 ἡ καρτερία μιᾶς ἡμέρας, ἀλλ’ “ὁ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος, οὔτος σωθήσεται.”

33. Πῶς οὖν ὁ ἀνθρωπός ταῦτα δίδωσιν; ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν καὶ εὐνοιαν καὶ οἰκείωσιν ὁ κύριος δίδωσιν: “δῶσω γὰρ οὐ μόνον τοῖς φίλοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις τῶν φίλων.” καὶ τῖς οὔτως ἐστὶν ὁ φίλος τοῦ θεοῦ; σὺ μὲν μὴ κρίνε, τίς ἄξιος καὶ τίς

1 γῆν Combesis. τὴν ms.
2 οἰκία Combesis. οἰκεία ms.
3 οὔτε . . . οὔτε . . . οὔτε Stählin. οὔδε . . . οὔτε . .
οὔτε ms.

a The word means “assembly” and was applied to the great national and religious festivals of the Greeks at 338
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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

άνάξιος· ἐνδέχεται γάρ σε διαμαρτεῖν περὶ τὴν
dόξαν· ὃς ἐν ἀμφιβολω δὲ τῆς ἁγνοίας ἀμείνον καὶ
tούς ἃναξίους εὑ ποιεῖν διὰ τούς ἃξιοὺς η ἡ φυλασ-
σόμενον τοὺς ἠσσον ἁγαθοὺς μηδὲ τοῖς σπουδαῖοις
περιπεσεῖν. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ φείδεσθαι καὶ προσ-
pοιεῖσθαι δοκιμάζειν τοὺς εὐλόγως ἡ μη τευξο-
μένους ἐνδέχεται σε καὶ θεοφιλῶν ἀμελησαί τινων,
οὐ τὸ ἐπιτήμιον κόλασις ἐμπυρὸς αἰώνιος. ἐκ δὲ
tοῦ προϊσθαι πᾶσιν ἔξης τοῖς χρήζουσιν ἀνάγκη
pάντως εὑρίσκεί τινα καὶ τῶν σώσαι παρὰ θεῷ
dυναμένων. "μῆ κρίνε" τοῖνυν, "ἰνα μη κρυθης·
ὁ μέτρῳ μετρεῖς, τοῦτῳ καὶ ἀντιμετρηθήσεταί
σοι· μέτρον καλὸν, πεπισμένον καὶ σεσαλευμένον,
ὑπερεκχυνόμενον, ἀποδοθήσεται σοι." πᾶσιν ἄν-
οιξον τὰ σπλάγχνα τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ μαθηταῖς ἀπο-
geγραμμένοις, μη πρὸς σώμα ἀπιδῶν ὑπερόπτους,
μη πρὸς ἥλικιαν ἀμελῶς διατεθεῖς, μηδὲ εἰ τις ἀκτή-
mων ἡ δυσείμων ἡ δυσείδης ἡ ἀσθενὴς φαίνεται,
πρὸς τούτο τῇ ψυχῇ δυσχεράνθης καὶ ἀποστραφῆς,
σχῆμα τοῦτ' ἐστιν ἔξωθεν ἕμών περιβεβλημένον τῆς
eἰς κόσμον παρόδου προφάσει, ἓν ἐστι τὸ κοινὸν
tοῦτο παιδευτήρων εἰσελθεῖν δυνηθῶμεν· ἀλλ' ἔνδον
cρυπτὸς ἐνοικεὶ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ τούτου πάις ὁ ὑπὲρ
ἡμῶν ἀποθανόν καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἀναστάς.

34. Τούτῳ τὸ σχῆμα τὸ βλεπόμενον ἔξαπατά τὸν
θάνατον καὶ τὸν διάβολον· ὁ γὰρ ἐντὸς πλοῦτος
καὶ τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῖς ἄθεατος ἔστι· καὶ μαίνονται
περὶ τὸ σαρκίων, οὐ καταφρονοῦσιν ὡς ἀσθενοῦς,
tῶν ἔνδον ὄντες τυφλοὶ κηδημάτων, οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι

1 προφάσει Wilamowitz. πρόφασις ms.
2 ὁ before πατὴρ Stählin: before κρυπτὸς ms.

340
THE RICH MAN'S SALVATION

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 Son b 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

a See St. Matthew vii. 1; St. Luke vi. 38.
b See St. John xiv. 23.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

πηλίκον τινά "θησαυρόν ἐν ὀστρακίνῳ σκεύει" βαστάζομεν, δυνάμει θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ άματι θεοῦ παιδὸς καὶ δρόσῳ πνεύματος ἁγίου περιτετειχισμένον. ἀλλὰ σὺ γε μὴ ἐξαπατηθῆς, ο γεγευμένος ἁληθείας καὶ κατηκομμένος τῆς μεγάλης αυτρώσεως, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐναντίον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις σεαυτῷ κατάλεξον στρατὸν ἀσπλοῦν, ἀπόλεμον, ἀναιμακτον, ἀόργητον, ἀμίαντον, γέροντας θεοσεβείς, ὀρφανοὺς θεοφιλεῖς, χήρας πραότητι ὑπλισμένας, ἄνδρας ἀγάπη κεκοσμημένους. τοιούτους κτήσαι τῷ σῷ πλούτῳ καὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ δορυφόρους, ὃν στρατηγεῖ θεός, δι’ οὗ καὶ ναὸς βαπτιζομένη κονφίζεται μόναι ἁγίων εὐχαίς κυβερνομένη, καὶ νόσος ἀκμάζουσα δαμάζεται χειρῶν ἐπιβολαῖς διωκομένη, καὶ προσβολή ληστῶν ἀφοπλίζεται εὐχαίς εὐσεβείς σκυλευομένη, καὶ δαμόλων βία θραύσαι προστάγμασι συντόνους ἐλεγχομένη.

35. 'Ενεργοὶ 1 οὕτως πάντες [οἱ] 2 στρατιώται καὶ φύλακες βέβαιοι, οὐδεὶς ἁργὸς, οὐδεὶς ἀχρείας. ο μὲν ἐξαιτήσασθαι σε δύναται πάρα θεοῦ, ο δὲ παραμυθήσασθαι κάμνοντα, ο δὲ δακρύσαι καὶ στενάξαι συμπαθῶς ὑπὲρ σοῦ πρὸς τὸν κύριον τῶν ὀλων, ο δὲ διδάξαι τι τῶν πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν χρησίμων, ο δὲ νουθετῆσαι μετὰ παραρρήσιας, ο δὲ συμβουλεύσαι μετ’ εὐνοίας, πάντες δὲ φιλεῖν ἀλήθειας, ἀδολως, ἀφόβως, ἀνυποκρίτως, ἀκολακεύτως, ἀπλάστως. ὃ γλυκεῖαι θεραπεῖαι φιλούντων, ὃ μακάριοι διακονίαι θαρροῦντων, ὃ πίστις εἰλικρινής θεοῦ μόνον δεδιότων, ὃ λόγων ἀλήθεια παρὰ τοῖς ψεύσασθαι μὴ δυναμένοις, ὃ κάλλος ἔργων παρὰ τοῖς θεῷ

1 ἐνεργοὶ Stählin. ἐν ἐργαῖς ms.
2 [οἱ] Schwartz.

342
"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

\[2 \text{ Corinthians iv. 7.} \]
diakoneiv pepeisemenv, peithev theon, ariskeven thei: ou sar kokos tis stis appesthai dokouvin, alla tis eautou psuchis ekastos, ouk adelphi lalein, alla tio basilei twn aiwnon ev soi katoikounti.

36. Pantes ouv oi pistoi kalo kai theoprepheis kai tis prosagoriai axioi, hyn wssper diazhma perikeintai. ou mhn alla eisov hdi tvnes kai twn eklektwon eklektoteiroi, kai tosoutw m allo

<1> 1 8tovn episwmoi, tropon tina ek tou klidwvnon tou kosmon nevalkoynites eautos kai evpanagonites ep' ajsfalies, ou oulomevnoi dokiein axioi, kai eipth tis, aixchunomevnoi, ev vabheo gwnomhs apokruptontes ta aneklalheta muosthria, kai tivn autwn evgeneian uperhfanovntes ev kosmon blpesthai, ouv o logos "phos tou kosmon" kai "alas tis ghs" kaley. tout' esti to operma, eikwn kai omoisios theou, kai teknon autou gynhsion kai klironomon, wssper ep' tina xenvteian entadv permpomenv upo megalths oikonomias kai analogias tou patros: di' o2 kai ta faverad kai ta avanv tou kosmon dehmiourghnetai, ta men eis douleian, ta de eis askhson, ta de eis mabhsen autow, kai panta, mecrhs av entadv to oeperma mene, suvexetai, kai suvanaxevntos autov pantar 3 tachista luyshsetai.

1 <1> inserted by Segaar.
2 di' o2 Schwartz. di' o6 ms.
3 pantar Schwartz. tausta ms.

a 1 Timothy i. 17.
b St. Matthew v. 13-14.
c See Genesis i. 26; Romans viii. 17; 1 Timothy i. 2; Titus i. 4.
d 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.
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 \(^a\) 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." \(^b\) This is the seed, God's image and likeness, and His true child and heir, \(^c\) 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. \(^d\)

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.
37. Τι γὰρ ἐτι δει; θεῶ τὰ τῆς ἀγάπης μυστήρια, καὶ τὸτε ἐποπτεύσεις τὸν κόλπον του πατρός, ὥς ὁ μονογενὴς θεὸς μόνος ἐξηγήσατο. ἔστι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἀγάπη καὶ δι’ ἀγάπην ἥμιν ἐθεάθη. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄρρητον αὐτοῦ πατήρ, τὸ δὲ εἰς ἥμᾶς συμπαθεῖς γέγονε μήτηρ. ἀγαπήσας ὁ πατήρ ἐθηλύνθη, καὶ τούτου μέγα σημεῖον ὁν αὐτὸς ἐγέννησεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὁ τεχθεὶς ἐξ ἀγάπης καρπὸς ἀγάπης. διὰ τούτο καὶ αὐτὸς κατῆλθε, διὰ τούτο ἄνθρωπον ἐνέδυ, διὰ τούτο τὰ ἄνθρωπων ἑκὼν ἐπαθεν, ὡν πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀσθένειαν οὐς ἡγάπησε μετρηθεῖς ἥμᾶς πρὸς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἀντιμετρῆσῃ. καὶ μέλλων απενδεσθαι καὶ λύτρον ἔαυτον ἐπιδίδον κατην ἥμιν διαθήκην καταλμπάνει. “ἀγάπην ἥμιν δίδωμι τὴν ἐμὴν.” τὸς δὲ ἐστίν αὐτὴ καὶ πόση; ὑπὲρ ἥμων ἐκάστου κατέθηκε τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἀνταξίαν τῶν ὦλων· ταύτην ἥμᾶς ὑπὲρ ἄλληλων ἀνταπαίτει. εἰ δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ὀφείλομεν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, καὶ τοιαύτην τὴν συνθήκην πρὸς τὸν σωτῆρα ἀνθρωμολογήμεθα, ἐτὶ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου, τὰ πτωχὰ καὶ ἄλλοτρα καὶ παραρρέοντα, καθειρζομεν ταιμενόμενοι; ἄλληλων ἀποκλείσομεν, ἀ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐξεῖ τὸ πύρ; θεῖος γε καὶ ἐπιπνῶσι πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν ἡμετέραν ἀνταπάιτει. εἰ δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ὀφείλομεν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, καὶ τοιαύτην τὴν συνθήκην πρὸς τὸν σωτῆρα ἀνθρωμολογήμεθα, ἐτὶ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου, τὰ πτωχὰ καὶ ἄλλοτρα καὶ παραρρέοντα, καθειρζομεν ταιμενόμενοι; ἄλληλων ἀποκλείσομεν, ἀ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐξεῖ τὸ πύρ; θεῖος γε καὶ ἐπιπνῶσι πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν ἡμετέραν ἀνταπάιτει.

1 ἐθεάθη (ἐπ. v. Stromateis 16. 5) Lindner. ἐθηράθη ms. 2 κατέθηκε SegaaL καθήκε ms. 3 ἐπιπνῶσι Lindner. ἐπιπνῶσι 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.
37. What else is necessary? Behold the mysteries God is love of love, and then you will have a vision of the bosom of the Father, whom the only-begotten God alone declared.\(^a\) God in His very self is love,\(^b\) 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.\(^c\) 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\(^d\) and is giving Himself up as a ransom He leaves us a new testament: "I give you my love."\(^e\) 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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

ο Ἰωάννης "ο μὴ φιλῶν" φησὶ "τὸν ἄδελφον ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἐστὶ," σπέρμα τοῦ Κάιν, θρέμμα τοῦ διαβόλου. θεοῦ σπλάγχνον οὐκ ἔχει, ἐλπίδα κρειττόνων οὐκ ἔχει, ἀσπορός ἐστιν, ἄγονός ἐστιν, οὐκ ἐστὶ κλῆμα τῆς ἄει ζωῆς ὑπερουρανίας ἀμπέλου, ἐκκόπτεται, τὸ πῦρ ἄθροιν ἀναμένει.


1 <καθ> inserted by Combeisis from 1 Corinthians xii. 31.

---

a 1 St. John iii. 15.
b See St. John xv. 5-6.
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 ever-living 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 flutters 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.

349

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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

957 p. μηδὲ ¹ γὰρ τούτο εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν σοι καὶ ἀπόνοιαν καταλελείφθω, εἰ καὶ τὸν πλοῦσιον μᾶθως ὡστὶς ἐστὶν ὁ χώραν ἐν οὐρανοῖς οὐκ ἔχων καὶ τίνα τρόπον τοῖς οὕτω χρόμενοι (39) ἂν τις τὸ τε ἐπίρρητον ἅ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ χαλεπὸν εἰς ζωὴν διαφύγοι καὶ δύνατο τῶν αἰωνίων [τῶν] ³ ἀγαθῶν ἐπαύρασθαι, εἰδὴ δὲ τετυχήκως ἢ δὲ ἀγνοιαν ἢ δὲ ἀσθένειαν ἢ περίστασιν ἀκούσιον μετὰ τὴν σφραγίδα καὶ τὴν λύτρωσιν περιπετείς τουσ ἀμαρτήμασιν ἢ παραπτῶμασιν, ὡς ὑπεννεχθαί τέλεον, <ὅτι> ⁴ οὕτως κατεψήφισται παντάπασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. παντὶ γὰρ τῷ μετ’ ἄλληθείας ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας ἐπιστρέφαντι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀνεώγασιν αἱ θύραι καὶ δέχεται τρισάμενον πατὴρ υἱὸν ἀληθῶς μετανοοῦντα. ἢ δ’ ἀληθὴν μετάνοια τὸ μικρέτοις αὐτοῖς ἐνοχον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἀρδην ἐκριζώσαι τῆς ψυχῆς ἐφ’ ὁς ἑαυτοῦ κατέγνω θάνατον ἀμαρτήμασιν. τούτων γὰρ ἀναρεθέντων αὕτως εἰς σὲ θεὸς εἰσοικισθήσεται, μεγάλην γὰρ φησὶ καὶ ἀνυπέρβλητον εἶναι χαρὰν καὶ ἔρημὴν ἐν οὐρανοίς τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἐνὸς ἀμαρτωλοῦ ἐπιστρέφαντος καὶ μετανοήσαντος. διὸ καὶ κέκραγεν: "ἐλεον θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν. οὐ βουλομαι τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὴν μετανοιαν. κἂν ὦσιν αἱ ἀμαρτίαν ύμῶν ὡς φονικοῦν ἔριον, ως χιόνα λευκανῶ, κἀν μελαντερον τοῦ σκότους, ως ἔριον λευκὸν ἐκνύψας ποιήσω." θεῳ γὰρ μόνω δυνατῶν ἄφεσιν ἀμαρτίων παρασχέσθαι καὶ μὴ λογίσασθαι παραπτῶματα, ὅπον γε καὶ ἡμῖν παρα-


THE RICH MAN’S SALVATION

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.
keleútei ta tís hímeras εκάστης ὁ κύριος ἀφιέναι τοὺς ἀδελφούς μετανοοῦσιν. εἰ δὲ ἡμεῖς πονηροὶ ὄντες ὑσμεν ἀγαθὰ δόματα διδόναι, πόσῳ μάλλον: "ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν." ὁ ἀγαθὸς πατὴρ "πάσης παρακλήσεως," ὁ πολύπλοιχος καὶ πολυέλεος πέφυκε μακροθυμεῖν. τοὺς ἐπιστρέψαντας περιμένει. ἐπιστρέψαι δὲ ἐστιν ὄντως ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τὸ παύσασθαι καὶ μηκέτι βλέπειν εἰς τὰ ὑπόσω.

40. Τῶν μὲν οὖν προγεγενημένων θεὸς δίδωσιν ἁφεσιν, τῶν δὲ ἐπιόντων αὐτὸς ἑκαστὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ τούτῳ ἐστὶ μεταγγίζων, τὸ καταγγέλλει τῶν παρωχημένων καὶ αἰτήσασθαι τούτων ἀμνηστίαν παρὰ πατρός, ὃς μόνος τῶν ἀπάντων οἶδο τέ ἐστιν ἀπρακτα ποιήσαι τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐλέως τῷ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖ καὶ δρόσῳ πνεύματος ἀπαλείψας τὰ προημαρτημένα "ἐφ᾽ οἷς γὰρ ἂν εὑρω ὑμᾶς," φησίν, "ἐπὶ τούτων καὶ κρινών," καὶ παρ᾽ ἑκαστὰ βοᾷ τὸ τέλος πάντων ὡστε καὶ τῷ τὰ μέγιστα εὕ̄ πεποιηκότι <κατὰ> ¹ τοῦ βίου, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τέλους ἑξοκείλαντι πρὸς κακίαν: ἀνόνητοι ² πάντες οἱ πρόσθεν πόνοι, ἐπὶ τῆς καταστροφῆς τοῦ δράματος ἐξάθλω γενομένω, τῷ τε χείρον καὶ ἐπισεσυρμένως βιώσαντι πρότερον ἔστιν ὑστερον μετανοήσαντι πολλοῦ χρόνου πολιτείαιν

1 <κατὰ> inserted by Segaar (from Sac. Par.).
2 ἀνόνητοι Ghisler (from Sac. Par.). ἀνόνητοι MS.

---

a See St. Luke xvii. 3-4.
b St. Matthew vii. 11 ; St. Luke xi. 3.
c 2 Corinthians 1. 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
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 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-hod 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. 0–20.

See 1 St. Peter iv. 7.

The “catastrophe” or turning-point towards the end of play when the issue stands definitely revealed. Used here, elsewhere in Greek literature, for the conclusion of life, then a man might be expected to have settled down to a course either good or evil.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

τὸν μετὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν χρόνῳ ἀκριβείας δὲ δεῖ πολλῆς, ὡσπερ τοῖς μακρὰ νόσῳ πεπονηκόσι σώμασι διαίτῃς χρεία καὶ προσοχῆς πλείονος. ὁ κλέπτης, ἄφεσιν βούλει λαβεῖν; μηκέτι κλέπτε. ὁ μοιχεύσας, μηκέτι πυρούσθω. ὁ πορνεύσας, λουτόν ἁγγενέτω. ὁ ἁρπάσας, ἀποδίδου καὶ προσαποδίδου. ὁ ψευδομάρτυς, ἀλήθειαν ἀσκησον. ὁ ἐπίορκος, μηκέτι ὁμνε. καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάθη σύντεμε, ὁργήν, ἐπιθυμίαν, λύπην, φόβον, ἵνα εὐρεθής ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξόδου πρὸς τὸν ἀντίδικον ἐνταῦθα διαλεύσεις φθάνων. ἔστιν μὲν οὖν ἀδύνατον ἦσως ἀθρώς ἀποκούσαι πάθη σύντροφα, ἄλλα μετὰ θεοῦ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀνθρωπείας ἱκεσίας καὶ ἀδελφῶν βοηθείας καὶ εἰλικρινοῦς μετανοίας καὶ συνεχοῦς μελέτης κατορθοῦται.

41. Διὸ δεῖ πάντως σε τὸν σοβαρὸν καὶ δυνατὸν καὶ πλούσιον ἐπιστήσασθαι έαυτῷ τινὰ ἀνθρωπον θεοῦ καθάπερ ἀλείπτην καὶ κυβερνήτην. αἰσθήν καὶ ἕνα, φοβοῦ καὶ ἐνα, μελέτησον ἀκούει καὶ ἐνὸς παραβιαζόμενον καὶ στύφωσος ἁμα καὶ θεραπεύοντος. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς συμφέρει τὸν ἕνα χρόνον ἂκολόστοις μένειν, ἄλλα καὶ δακρύσαι καὶ δηρίζειν ποτε ὑπὲρ τῆς υγείας τῆς πλείονος. οὕτω καὶ ψυχῇ διηνεκοῦς ἢδους οὑδὲν ὀλεθρωτέρον· ἀποτυφλοῦσαι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς τῇξεως, ἐὰν ἀκίνητος τῷ παρρησιαζομένῳ διαμείνῃ λόγῳ. τούτον καὶ ἀργισθέντα φοβήθητί, καὶ στενάζαντα λυπήθητι,1 καὶ ὀργήν παῦντα αἰδέοθητί, καὶ κόλασιν παραιτούμενον 2

1 στενάζαντα λυπήθης Mayor. στενάζαντα εὐλαβήθης Segaar. δυσεπήθησ Schwartz. Stählin and Barnard mark the passage as corrupt.
2 παραιτούμενον Segaar, παραιτούμενον ms.

354
THE RICH MAN'S SALVATION

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. Adulterer, no longer burn. 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. 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.

a See Ephesians iv. 28.
b See 1 Corinthians vii. 9.
c See St. Matthew v. 25; St. Luke xii. 58.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

φθάσον. οὕτως ὑπὲρ σοῦ πολλὰς νῦκτας ἀγρυπνη-
σάτω, πρεσβεύων ὑπὲρ σοῦ πρὸς θεὸν καὶ λιτανείας
συνήθεσι μαγεύων τὸν πατέρα· οὐ γὰρ ἀντέχει
τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ τὰ σπλάγχνα δεομένους. δεῦσται
dὲ καθαρῶς ὑπὸ σοῦ προτιμώμενος ὡς ἀγγελος τοῦ
θεοῦ καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ σοῦ λυπούμενος, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ σοῦ·
tοῦτο ἐστὶ μετάνοια ἀνυπόκριτος. "θεὸς οὐ μυκτη-
ρίζεται" οὐδὲ προσέχει κενοῖς ῥήμασι· μόνος γὰρ
ἀνακρίνει μνεύσαι καὶ νεφροὺς καρδίας καὶ τῶν ἐν
πυρὶ κατακόψει καὶ τῶν ἐν κοιλίᾳ κήτους ἐκεντοῦν-
tων ἐξακούει καὶ πάσιν ἔγγυς ἐστι τοῖς πιστεύουσι
καὶ πόρρῳ τοῖς ἁθέοις, ἃν μὴ μετανοήσωσιν.

42. "Ἰνα δὲ ἐπιθαρρήσῃς,1 οὕτω μετανοήσας
ἀληθῶς, ὅτι σοὶ μένει σωτηρίας ἐλπὶς ἀξιόχρεως,
ἀκουσον μύθον οὐ μύθον, ἀλλὰ οὖντα λόγον περὶ
ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτή-
σαντος ἄπο τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετήλθεν ἐπὶ
tὴν Ἐφεσον, ἀπήγα γαρ κατακαλουμένος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ
πλησίονα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους κατα-
στήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὀλας ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσων, ὅπου
δὲ κλήρον ἐνα γέ2 των κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ
πνεύματος σημαινομένων. ἔλθων οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τυν
1 ἐπιθαρρήσῃς Barnard and Stählin (from Maximus Con-
fessor). ἔτι θαρρῆς ms.
2 γέ Stählin (from Eusebius and Maximus Confessor).

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.
356
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," 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.

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 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. 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.

The phrase κληρόδωσις κληρος means literally "to allot a lot." Κληρος 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.
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
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 presbyter¹ 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.
οδοῦ καὶ τὸν χαλινὸν ἐνδακὼν μειζόνως κατὰ τῶν βαράθρων ἐφέρετο. ἀπογνοὺς δὲ τελέως τὴν ἐν θεῷ σωτηρίαν οὐδὲν ἐτὶ μικρὸν διενεκτὸ, ἀλλὰ μέγα τι πράξας, ἐπειδὴπερ ἄπαξ ἀπολώλει, ἵσα τοῖς ἄλλοις παθεῖν ἥξιον. αὐτοὺς δὴ τούτους ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ληστήριον συγκροτήσας, ἐτοιμὸς λήσταρχος ἦν, βιαίοτατος, μιαιφονώτατος, χαλεπώτατος. χρόνος ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ τινος ἐπιπεσοῦσης χρείας ἀνακαλοῦσι τὸν Ἰωάννην. ὁ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅν χάριν ἤκεν κατεστήσατο, "ἀγε δή," ἐφη, "ὅ ἐπίσκοπε, τὴν παραθήκην ἀπόδος ἥμιν, ἢν ἐγώ τε καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς 1 σοι παρακατεθέμεθα ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἢς προκαθέξῃ, μάρτυρος." ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξεπλάγη, χρήματα οἰόμενος, ἀπερ οὔκ ἐλαβε, συκοφαντεῖσθαι, καὶ οὔτε πιστεύειν ἐίχεν ὑπὲρ ὅν οὐκ εἶχεν οὔτε ἀπιστεῦν Ἰωάννην ὡς δέ "τὸν νεανίσκον" εἶπεν "ἀπαιτό καὶ τὴν ψυχήν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ," στενάξας κάτωθεν ὁ πρεσβύτης καὶ τι καὶ ἐπιδιακρύσας, "ἐκεῖνος" ἐφη "τέθνηκε." "πῶς καὶ τινα θάνατον;" "θεώ τέθνηκεν" εἶπεν. "ἀπέβη γὰρ πονηρὸς καὶ ἐξώλης καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον ληστής, καὶ νῦν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸ ὀρος κατ- εἰληφε μεθ' ὁμοίου στρατωτικοῦ. καταρρηξάμενος τὴν ἐσθήταν ὁ ἀπόστολος καὶ μετὰ μεγάλης οἰ- μωγῆς πληξάμενος τὴν κεφαλήν, "καλὸν γε" ἐφη "φύλακα τῆς τάδελφοῦ ψυχῆς κατέλιπον. ἀλλ' ὑπος ἢδη μοι παρέστω καὶ ἤγεμὼν γενέσθω μοι τις τῆς ὅδοι." ἦλαννεν, ἀσπέρ εἶχεν, αὐτόθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ χωρίον ύπὸ τῆς

1 Χριστός Eusebius. σωτήρ ms.

360
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
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

προφυλακὴς τῶν ληστῶν ἀλίσκεται, μήτε φεύγων μήτε παραπτομένοις, ἀλλὰ βοῶν. “ἐπὶ τοῦτ’ ἐλήλυθα, ἐπὶ τὸν ἁρχοντα ὑμῶν ἀγάγετε με.” ὃς τέως, ὥσπερ ὁ πλιστο, ἀνέμενεν ὃς δὲ προσώπα τῆν ἣλυσιο τῶν Ἰωάννην, εἰς φυγήν αἰδεθεῖς ἐτράπετο. ὃ δὲ ἐδίωκεν ἀνὰ κράτος, ἐπιλαθόμενος τῆς ἡλικίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, κεκραγὼς: “τί με φεύγεις, τέκνων, τὸν σαυτὸν πατέρα, τὸν γυμνὸν, τὸν γέροντα; ἐλέησόν με, τέκνων, μὴ φοβοῦ. ἔχεις ἐτί ξωὴς ἐλπίδας. ἐγὼ Χριστῷ λόγον δῶσο υπὲρ σοῦ: ἂν δέῃ, τὸν σὸν πάνατον έκὼν ὑπομενῶ, ὡς ὁ κύριος τῶν υπὲρ ἡμῶν. υπὲρ σοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀντιδῶσο τὴν ἑμῆν. στῆθι, πίστευσον, Χριστός με ἀπέστειλεν.” ὃ δὲ ἄκουσας πρῶτον ἐστή μὲν κάτω βλέπων, εἰτα ἔρρυσε τὰ δότα, εἴτα τρέμων ἐκλαυε πικρῶς. προσελθόντα δὲ τὸν γέροντα περιέλαβεν, ἀπολογούμενος ταῖς οὐμωγαῖς ὡς ἐδύνατο καὶ τοῖς δάκρυσι βαπτιζόμενος ἐκ δευτέρου, μόνην ἀποκρύπτων τὴν δεξιὰν. ὃ δὲ ἐγυμνῶμεν ἐπομνύμενος ὡς ἄφεσιν αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος εὑρηται, δεόμενος, γονυπητῶν, αὐτήν τὴν δεξιὰν ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς μετανοίας κεκαθαρμένην καταφιλῶν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπανήγαγα, καὶ δαμιλέης μὲν εὐχαῖς ἐξαιτούμενος, συνεχέσι δὲ νηστείαις συναγωνιζόμενος, ποικίλαις δὲ σειρησὶ λόγων κατεπάδων αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην, ὃς πρότερον ἀπῆλθεν, ὡς φασί, πρὶν αὐτὸν

a See Hebrews xiii. 17.
b See St. Matthew xxvi. 75; St. Luke xxii. 62.
c In the illustration which forms the frontispiece of the present volume, the artist has represented this scene as a baptism in the literal sense.
d If we read ἀποκατέστησε (with Barnard) or some
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 ἐπιστήσαι is almost certainly right. See note on text, p. 364.

363
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

ἐπιστήσαι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, διδοὺς μέγα παράδειγμα μετανοίας ἀληθινῆς καὶ μέγα γνώρισμα παλιγγενεσίας, τρόπαιον ἀναστάσεως βλεπομένης.

. . . φαιδροῖς γεγηθότες, ὑμνοῦντες, ἀνοιγνύντες τοὺς οὐρανοὺς. πρὸ δὲ πάντων αὐτὸς ὁ σωτήρ προαπαντᾷ δεξιούμενος, φῶς ἵνα ὄρεγνων ἄσκιον, ἀπαυγότον, ὁδηγῶν εἰς τοὺς κόλπους τοῦ πατρός, εἰς τὴν αἰῶνιον ζωὴν, εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. πιστευότων ταύτα τις καὶ θεοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἐγνωρίσῃ τοὺς ἁγιοῖς, προφητείας, εὐαγγελίους, λόγους ἁπαστολικοὺς: τούτων συζύγων καὶ τὰ ὀντά ὑπέχουν καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἁσκῶν ἐπὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐξοδού τὸ τέλος καὶ τὴν ἐπίδειξιν τῶν δογμάτων ὁφειται. ὁ γὰρ ἐντάθη τὸν ἁγιολόν τῆς μετανοίας προσέμενος οὐ μετανοήσει τότε, ἡνίκα ἂν καταλίπῃ τὸ σῶμα, οὐδὲ κατασωσθήσεται, τὸν σωτήρα προσιόντα μετὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης καὶ στρατιάς ἑδῶν· οὐ δέδει τὸ πῦρ· εἰ δὲ τις αἰρεῖται μένειν ἐπεξακαρτάνων ἐκάστοτε ἐπὶ ταῖς ἣδοναῖς καὶ τὴν ἐντάθα τρυφήν τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς προτιμᾷ καὶ διδόντος τοῦ σωτήρος ἁφεσιν ἀποστρέφεται, μήτε τὸν θεοῦ ἔτι μήτε τὸν πλοῦτον μήτε τὸ προπεσεῖν αὐτιάσθω, τὴν δὲ ἐαυτοῦ ψυχῆς ἐκουσός ἀπολογμένην· τῷ δὲ ἑπιβλέποντι τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ ποθοῦντι καὶ μετὰ ἀναίδειας καὶ βίας αἰτοῦντι παρέξει τὴν ἀληθινὴν κάθαρσιν καὶ τὴν ἀτρεπτὸν ζωὴν ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἀγάθος ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. ὃ διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἡσυχοῦ

1 ἐπιστήσαι Stählin, from some mss. of Eusebius. Other mss. give ἀπεστήριξεν, 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.
Χριστοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου ζωντών καὶ νεκρῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος εἶναί δόξα, τιμή, κράτος, αἰώνιος μεγαλείοτης καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς γενεάς γενεῶν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

\(a\) See Romans xiv. 9.
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 lxi. 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 ΒΕΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΕΝΟΥΣ

ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΛΜΑΤΑ

Stählin vol. iii. p. 221

‘Η συνήν μὲν λόγοις ἐπιτήδευε, ἡ συνήν δὲ ἔργοις, ὡςαύτως δὲ ἐν γλώττῃ καὶ βαδίσματι· σφοδρότητα δὲ ἀπόφευγε προπετηῇ· οὕτως γὰρ ὁ νοῦς διαμενεῖ βέβαιος, καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς σφοδρότητος ταραχώδης γενόμενος ἁσθενῆς ἐσται καὶ βραχὺς περὶ φρόνησιν καὶ σκοτεινῶν ὄρων. οὐδὲ ἡ τηθήσεται μὲν γαστρομαργίας, ἡ τηθήσεται δὲ ἐπιζέοντος θυμοῦ, ἡ τηθήσεται δὲ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν, ἐστι οὖν αὐτοῖς ἄρταγμα προκείμενος. τὸν γὰρ νοῦν δεὶ τῶν παθῶν ἐπικρατεῖν ὑψηλὸν ἐπὶ ἡσύχου θρόνου καθήμενον ἀφορώντα πρὸς θεόν. μὴ δὲν ἀξύχολιας ἀνάπλεος ἐσο περὶ ὁργάς, μὴ δὲ νωθρὸς ἐν λόγοις, μὴ δὲν βαδίσμασιν ἕκνου πεπληρωμένος, ἢν σοι ῥυθμὸς ἀγαθὸς τὴν ἡσυχίαν κοσμῇ καὶ θειώθεσι τι

1 σκοτεινῶν ὄρων J. A. Robinson. σκοτεινῶν ὄρων ms.
2 θρόνου Barnard. θρόνου ms.
3 μὴ δὲν νωθρῶ Barnard. μὴ δὲν οὐθός ms.

370
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.
καὶ ἔρευν τὸ σχῆμα φαίνεται. φυλάττων δὲ καὶ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας τὰ σύμβολα, σχῆμα ψαυχεῖνοι καὶ κεφαλῆν ἐξηρμένην καὶ βῆμα ποδῶν ἁβρῶν καὶ μετέωρων.

"Ἡπιὰ σοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας ἐστώ τὰ ῥήματα, καὶ προσηγορία γλυκεῖαν ἀίδως δὲ πρὸς γυναίκας καὶ βλέμμα τετραμμένον εἰς γῆν. λάλει δὲ περιεσκεμμένως ἀπαντα, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τὸ χρήσμον ἀποδίδου, τῇ χρείᾳ τῶν ἀκούοντων τὸ φθέγμα μετρῶν, ἀρχι ἄν μὴ καὶ ξέκαυστον ἤ, καὶ μὴ διαφεύγον τὴν ἀκοήν τῶν παρόντων ὑπὸ σμικρότητος, μὴ τε ὑπερβάλλον μείζον τῇ κραυγῇ. φυλάττει δὲ ὅπως μηδὲν ποτε λαλήσῃ ὁ μὴ προεσκέψας, καὶ προερήματα καὶ μεταξὺ τῶν τοῦ ἐτέρου λόγων ὑπόβαλλε τοὺς σαντοῦ. δεὶ γὰρ ἀνα μέρος ἀκούειν καὶ διαλέγεσθαι, χρόνῳ μερίζοντα λόγον καὶ συνήμαι. μάνθανε δὲ ἀσμένως, καὶ ἄφθονος δίδασκε, μηδὲ ὑπὸ φθόνον ποτὲ σοφίαν ἀποκρύπτων πρὸς τοὺς ἐτέρους, μηδὲ μαθήσεως ἀφίστασεν δι’ αἰδῶς. ὑπεικε πρεσβυτέρου ἵσα πατράσιν. τίμα θεράπωνς θεοῦ κάταρχε σοφίας καὶ ἀρετῆς. μηδὲ ἐρυθικὸς ἐστὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, μηδὲ χλευαστὴς καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ γελωτοποιός. πειδος δὲ καὶ ὄλον καὶ ύβριν ἰσχυρῶς παραίτου. σὺν εὐφημία δὲ φέρε καὶ τὸν ὑπερήφανον καὶ υβριστὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ πρᾶος τε καὶ μεγαλόψυχος ἀνήρ.

Κείσθω δὲ σοι πάντα εἰς θεὸν καὶ ἔργα καὶ λόγου,

1 μετρῶν J. A. Robinson. μετρον ms.
2 ἀν Wilamowitz. ἂν ms. 3 ἤ Wilamowitz. εῖη ms.
4 διαφεύγον Wilamowitz. διαφεύγων ms.
5 ὑπερβαλλον Wilamowitz. ὑποβάλλων ms.
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 I. 308.)

b Cp. 1 Timothy v. 1. In several places this fragment reminds us of the Pastoral Epistles.

6 <τῶν> inserted by Barnard.
7 σαύροι Stählin. αὐτοῦ MS.
8 ἀρά Barnard. ἐνα MS. 9 <ὡς> inserted by Schwartz.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

και πάντα ἀνάφερε Χριστῷ τὰ σαυτοῦ, καὶ πυκνῶς ἐπὶ θεον τρέπε τὴν ψυχήν, καὶ τὸ νόημα ἐπέρειδε τῇ Χριστῷ δυνάμει ὦσπερ έν λυμένι τινι τῷ θείῳ φωτὶ τοῦ σωτήρος ἀναπαυόμενον ἀπὸ πάσης λαλίας τε καὶ πράξεως. καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν πολλάκις [μέν]¹ μὲν ἀνθρώποις κοίνον τὴν σεαυτοῦ φρόνησιν, θείῳ δὲ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐν νυκτὶ ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ· μὴ γὰρ ὑπνός σε ἐπικρατεῖτω πολὺς τῶν πρὸς θεῶν εὐχῶν τε καὶ ὑμνῶν· θανάτῳ γὰρ ὁ μακρός ὑπνός ἐφάμιλλος. μέτοχος Χριστοῦ ἀεὶ καθίστασο <τοῦ>² τὴν θείαν αὐγήν καταλάμποντος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· εὐθροσύνη γὰρ ἐστὶ σοι διηνεκῆς καὶ ἀπαυστὸς ὁ Χριστός.

Μηδὲ λῦε τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς τόνον ἐν εὐωχία καὶ ποτῶν ἀνέσει, ἵκανον δὲ ἡγοῦ τῷ σώματι τὸ χρεώδες. καὶ μὴ πρόσθεν ἐπείγου πρὸς τροφὰς πρὶν ἢ καὶ δείπνου παρῆ καιρὸς· ἀρτὸς δὲ ἐστὼ σοι τὸ δείπνον, καὶ πόσι γῆς προσέστωσαν καὶ τὰ ἐκ δένδρων ὁραία· ἵθι³ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τροφὴν εὐσταθῶς⁴ καὶ μὴ λυσσώδη γαστρομαργίαν ἐπιφαίνων· μηδὲ σαρκοβόρος μηδὲ φίλοινος ἐσο, ὅποτε μὴ νόσος⁵ τις ιασίν ἔπὶ ταύτην ἁγοί. ἀλλ’ ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἡδονῶν τὰς ἐν λόγοις θείους καὶ ὑμνῶς εὐθροσύνας αἱροῦ τῇ παρὰ θεοῦ σοι χορηγουμένα⁶ σοφία, οὐράνιός τε ἀεὶ σε φρονίσε ἀναγέτω πρὸς οὐράνον.

Καὶ τὰς πολλὰς περὶ σώματος ἀνίει μερίμνας τεθαρσηκὼς ἐλπίσι ταῖς πρὸς θεῶν, ὅτι σοὶ γε τὰ |

¹ πολλάκις [μέν] after ἡμέραν Stahlin: after θεῷ δὲ MS.
² <τοῦ> inserted by Barnard.
³ ἴθι Mayor. τοτὶ MS.
⁴ εὐσταθῶς Wilamowitz. ἀστάθως MS.
⁵ νόσος Barnard. νόσου MS.
⁶ χορηγουμένας Stahlin. χορηγουμένῃ MS.

374
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

\(^a\) 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.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

p. 223 ἀναγκαῖα παρέξει διαρκὴ τροφῆν τε τὴν εἰς ζωὴν καὶ κάλυμμα σώματος καὶ χειμερινοῦ ψύχους ἀλεξητήρια. τοῦ γὰρ δὴ σοῦ βασιλέως γη τε ἀπασα καὶ ὅσα ἐκφύτεοι· ὥσ μὲλ ἐδ ἀὐτοῦ τῶν αὐτοῦ τερατῶν ὑπερβαλλόντως περιέπα καθάπερ ἵερα καὶ ναοὺς αὐτοῦ. διὰ δὴ τοῦτο μηδὲ νόσους ὑπερβαλλοῦσας δεδιθι μηδὲ γῆρως ἐφοδον χρόνως προσδοκομένοι· παύσεται γὰρ καὶ νόσος, ὅταν ὀλοψήφῳ προθέσει ποιῶμεν τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐντολὰς.

Ταῦτα εἰδὼς καὶ πρὸς νόσους ἱσχυρὸν κατασκευάζει τὴν ψυχήν, εὐθάρσησον ὄσπερ τις ἄνηρ ἐν στάδιοι ἀριστος ἀτρέπτω τῇ δυνάμει τοὺς πόνους υφίστασθαι. μηδὲ ὑπὸ λύπης πάνυ πιέζου τὴν ψυχήν, εἴτε νόσος ἐπικειμένη βαρύνει εἴτε ἄλλο τι συμπέπτει δυσχερές, ἄλα γενναίως ἀνθίστα τοῖς πόνοις τὸ νόημα, χάριτας ἀνάγων θεῷ καὶ ἐν μέσοις τοῖς ἐπιπόνοις πράγμασι ἄτε δὴ σοφώτερά τε ἄνθρωπων φρονοῦντι καὶ ἀπερ οὐ δυνατὸν οὐδὲ βάδιον ἄνθρωπος εὑρεῖν. ἐλέει δὲ κακουμένοις, καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βοήθειαν ἐπ᾽ ἄνθρωποις αὐτοῖς ἐπινεῦσε γὰρ αὐτούντι τῷ φίλῳ τὴν χάριν, καὶ τοῖς κακουμένοις ἐπικουρίαν παρέξει, τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν γνώριμον ἄνθρωπος καθιστάναι βουλόμενος, ὥς ἂν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ θεοῦ ἀνίωσον καὶ τῆς αἰωνίου μακριότητος ἀπολαύσωσιν, ἐπειδὰν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ νῖος παραγένηται ἀγαθὰ τοῖς ἱδίοις ἀποκαθιστῶν.

1 Barnard and Stählin insert τὰ σώματα after αὐτοῦ.
2 κακουμένοις Stählin. καλουμένοις MS.
3 κακουμένοις Stählin. καλουμένοις MS.

376
TO THE NEWLY BAPTIZED

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.

\[a\] Cp. Psalm xxiv. 1.
\[b\] 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 μυεῖν, to close the lips (cp. mute, 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, 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 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 ἱεροφαν-τικὸν . . . γένος. This use of the singular noun also occurs in a phrase (τὸ γένος τὸ Κηρύκων καὶ Εὐμολπίδων) quoted from an inscription by Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, vol. iii. p. 163.

380
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. 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. 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, 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 Agra\(^3\) 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.
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 Eleusinium.\(^3\) 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 μῦσται) 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.
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,\(^1\) was supported by many columns; and there was a lantern (\(\delta\pi\alpha\iota\omicron\nu\)) above the shrine (\(\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}k\tau\omicron\rho\omicron\omicron\nu\)) 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.\(^2\) Included in the acts was the drinking of a draught similar to that which Demeter had drunk when wandering in search of Core.\(^3\)

(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 (\textit{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 \(\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\) (p. 42, n. b) is right. But this is by no means certain. Arnobius (\textit{Adv. Nationes} v. 26), who seems to follow Clement in this passage, leaves out the expression, which may mean that he read \(\epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\) 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.
the initiate was suddenly introduced into brilliant light.¹

(iv.) An exposition of the ἱερά, or sacred objects, by the hierophant, who derives his name (ὁ ἱερὰ 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. ὕε, κῦε (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 Callichorus ⁸ 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.
the initiates were forbidden to make any signs of grief. 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 epoptae (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. 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), 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.
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. 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. 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.

387
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

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. 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. 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. 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.
APPENDIX

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 play-things, the *phallos*, 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.
2 See pp. 255-57.
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.
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

References in italics are to be found in the notes or the Appendix.

References marked with an asterisk (*) are commented on in the notes.

ABDERA, 149, 292
Academia, a spot close to Athens, where Plato and his followers taught, 97
Acrasias, 49, 55, 145
Acrisius, a hero of Larisa, 99
Actium, promontory of, 87
Admetus, 75
Adonis, 49, 71
Aeacus, 71
Aeolic dialect, 65
Aether, 57
Aethlius, 103
Aethusa, 67
Agamemnon, 81
Agra, a suburb of Athens, where the Lesser Mysteries were celebrated, 71, 382*
Alastors, avenging deities, 53
Alcibiades, 29, 123
Alcmaeon, of Croton (about 500 B.C.), an early Greek physician and philosopher, 149
Alcman, lyric poet of Sparta, 7th century B.C., 65
Alcmeone, 67, 85
Alcyone, 65
Alcyone, wife of Ceyx, 123
Alexander the Great, 123, 125, 211, 387
Alexandria, 109, 121, 358-9
Alexarchus, 123
Alope, 65
Amazons, 121
Ammon, Egyptian god, equated with Zeus, 59, 123
Amphiaraus, 29
Amphiloctus, 29
Amphinon, 3*
Amphitrite, 65, 105
Amyetus, 221*
Amyrmon, 65
Anaxagoras, Greek philosopher, 500-428 B.C., 149, 152*, 293*
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Anaximander, early Greek philosopher, 610–547 B.C., 149
Anaximenes, early Greek philosopher, about 550 B.C., 145
Anchises, 71
Andocides, Athenian orator, about 415 B.C., 221*
Androcrates, a Plataean hero, 87
Androgeos, son of Minos king of Crete, 87*
Anius, a hero of Delos, 87
Anticleides, Athenian author, after the time of Alexander, 93
Antinoopolis, 111*
Antinous, 111*
Antiochus, Greek historian, 5th century B.C., 99
Antiochus of Cyzicus, 119
Antisthenes, founder of the Cynic school of philosophy, 159, 169
Antoninus Liberalis, Greek grammarian, about 150 A.D., 84
Apellas, 105
Apelles, Greek painter, about 320 B.C., 141, 213
Aphrodite, 33, 63, 69, 71, 75, 83, 97, 101, 123, 131, 137, 171, 387; Anaitis, 149; Argyrodes, 81; statue at Cnidus, 121, 131
Apis, Egyptian bull god, 85*, 111, 119
Apocalypse of Elijah, 207
Apocalypse of Peter, 182
Apollo, 3, 29, 39, 59, 67, 75, 81, 89, 95, 97, 99, 105, 121, 171; of Actium, 87; of Delos, 99; Smintheus, 87; of the ways, 115
Apollophanes, Athenian writer, about 140 B.C., 31, 61, 98, 133
Apollonia, 145
Arabians, 101
Aratus, poet, flourished in Macedonia about 270 B.C., 165, 245
Arcadia and Arcadians, 15, 57, 59
Archelaus, Athenian philosopher, about 450 B.C., 149
Archermorus, 71
Ares, 59, 71, 75, 103, 145, 147, 221
Argos and Argives, 83, 107, 121, 233
Argus, sculptor, 105
Arion, Greek poet and musician, about 600 B.C., 3*
Aristomenes, Messenian king, 7th century B.C., 91
Aristophanes, 153, 383
Aristotle, 59, 150, 151, 209
Aristus of Salamis in Cyprus, wrote a history of Alexander the Great, 123
Arnobius, Latin Christian Apologist, about 310 A.D., 98, 381, 382, 384
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Arretophoria, an Athenian festival of Demeter and Persephone, 37
Arsinoë, 67
Artaxerxes, 149
Artemis, 31, 83, 89, 95, 105; Taurian, 93; temple at Delos, 99; temple at Magnesia, 99; temple at Ephesus, 113, 121; statue in Icarus, 103; statue at Sicyon, 107
Asclepius, 55, 59, 61, 119
Ascrá, 89
Assyrians, 159
Astrabacus, a Lacedaemonian hero, 87
Athena, 39, 57, 59, 75, 77, 99, 103, 105, 107, 119, 125, 127, 171, 213, 382
Athenaeus, 80, 81, 96, 104, 123, 124, 385
Athenagoras, Christian Apologist, 2nd century A.D., 80, 165
Athenians, 41, 43, 53, 83, 87, 93, 97, 105, 125, 233
Athenodorus, 109
Athens, 41, 53, 71, 99, 103, 107, 121, 123, 125, 149, 239
Attica, 41
Attis, a Phrygian god, consort of Cybele in the Phrygian mysteries, 35, 41, 49, 168, 382, 387
Augustine, St., 102
Avengers, The (Erinyes), 53, 103, 221
Averters of evil, The (Apotropaei), 93
BABYLON and Babylonians, 149, 159, 211
Bacchants, 31, 37, 45
Bacchus and Bacchic rites. See Dionysus
Bactrians, 149
Barnabas, Epistle of, 232, 287
Bassareus, title of Dionysus, 45
Baton, 124
Baubo, 41, 43, 387
Berosus, Babylonian historian, about 250 B.C., 147
Bion of Borysthenes, philosopher, about 250 B.C., 129
Blistiche, mistress of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 109
Brimo, title of Demeter, 35, 385
Bryaxis, Athenian sculptor, about 350 B.C., 105
Bryaxis, sculptor, 109
Cabeiri, gods of the Samothracian mysteries, 39, 41, 388
Callimachus, Alexandrine grammarian and poet, about 260 B.C., 61, 79, 81
Callistagoras, hero of Tenos, 87
Calós, sculptor, 105

393
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Cambyses, 119
Canobus, 109
Capio, 7
Carians, 61
Castalia, sacred spring on Mount Parnassus, 27
Cecrops, legendary first king of Athens and founder of the Athenian State, 99
Cephalus, 99
Ceryx. See Heralds
Ceyx, son of Aeolus, 123
Chalcedon, 149
Charmus, 97
Charybdis, 251
Cheiron, 93
Chione, 65
Chios, 149, 211
Chrysippus, son of Pelops, 69
Chrysis, priestess at Argos, 121*
Cicero, 57, 58, 116, 119, 120, 143, 146, 261, 388
Cimmerians, 195*
Cinyras, ancient ruler of Cyprus, 33, 71, 101
Cirrhæan tripod, at Cirrha, a port close to Delphi, 27
Cithaeron, mountain range between Attica and Boeotia, 5, 7, 255
Clarian oracle, of Apollo, 29
Clazomenae, 80, 149, 292
Cleanthes, Stoic philosopher, about 250 B.C., 161-163

Clement of Rome, Epistle of, 367
Cleochus, 99
Cletor, 85
Cnidus, 121, 133
Colophon, 27
Condylea, in Arcadia, 81*
Corybantes, attendants of the Phrygian goddess Cybele, 35, 39, 41, 388
Coryphasia, title of Athena, 57
Crates, 293*
Cratina, mistress of Praxiteles, 121
Crete and Cretans, 57, 59, 79,* 87
 Cronus, 57, 63
Croton, 149
Curetes, attendants of the infant Zeus or Dionysus, 37
Cybele, Phrygian goddess (The Great Mother), 31, 35, 45, 47, 49, 169, 388
Cyclaeus, a Plataean hero, 87
Cynopolis, 85
Cynosarges, 125
Cynosuris, 63
Cyprian poems, The, 63*
Cyprus, 33, 49, 83, 131, 133
Cyrbas, Cretan father of Apollo, 59
Cyrus, 95, 97
Cythnians, 87
Cyzicus, 47, 119
# INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daedalus, 133</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daeira, wife of Eumolpus, 99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damascus, 149</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daphne, 67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dardanus, 31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darius, 119, 149</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delos and Delians, 87, 99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delphi (or Pytho), seat of the oracle of Apollo, 3, 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demaratus, 93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demeter, 31, 33, 35, 41, 43, 45, 53, 71, 75, 39, 131, 141, 380-8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demetrius, historian, 105</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demetrius Poliorcetes, king of Macedonia about 300 B.C., 125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrates, a Plataean hero, 87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democritus, Greek philosopher, about 430 B.C., 149,* 151, 155-7, 203, 293*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demophon, 105</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demosthenes, 124, 139</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derceto, a Syrian goddess, 86*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diagoras of Melos, called the “Atheist”: Greek philosopher, about 425 B.C., 49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dicaearchus, philosopher and historian, about 300 B.C., 63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didymaean oracle (of Apollo) at Didyma near Miletus, 29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didymaum, temple of Apollo near Miletus, 99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didymus, grammarian, 1st century B.C., 59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinon, 147</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diodorus, 86, 221</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diogenes, historian, 147</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diogenes, of Apollonia, philosopher, 5th century B.C., 145</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diomedes, 75, 105</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dionysius, 105</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dionysius, the younger, tyrant of Syracuse, 117</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dionysus, 4, 31, 37, 39, 41, 45, 53, 73, 83, 93, 107, 121, 123, 131, 171, 254-255, 381-2, 386</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diopetes, “heaven-sent” image of Pallas Athena, 105</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dioscrii. See Twin Brothers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dipoenus, sculptor, 6th century B.C., 107</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dodona, in Epirus: oracle of Zeus, 26, 27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domitian, emperor, 356</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorian mode, 7*, 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorotheus, 93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dosidas, or Dosiades, 93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dysaules, 41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecbatana, 149</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eëtion, reputed founder of Samothracian mysteries, 31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt and Egyptians, 17, 29, 33, 49, 57, 66, 83, 85, 107, 109, 111, 113, 147, 159, 380</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elea, a Greek colony in 395</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

south Italy, birthplace of the philosophers Parmenides and Zeno, called Eleatics, 145
Elephantine, 85
Eleusinum, temple of Demeter at Athens, 99, 333
Eleusis and the Eleusinian mysteries, 31, 34, 41, 43, 46, 99, 379–88
Eleutheræ, 120*
Elijah, 21, 23
Elis and Eleans, 81, 87
Empedocles, Greek philosopher, about 490 B.C., 55, 145
Endymion, 69
Enyo, 221
Eos, 69
Ephesus, 45, 105, 145, 357–9
Epicharmus, 59
Epicurus, founder of the Epicurean school of philosophy, about 300 B.C., 151
Epimenides, 53
Erechtheus and Erechtheidae, 43*, 93
Eresus, 151
Erichthonius, 99
Erinyes. See Avengers
Eros, 97
Ethiopians, 77
Eubouleus, 37, 41
Eudoxus, geographer, about 130 B.C., 147
Euhemerus, Greek philosopher (end of 4th century B.C.), who taught that the gods were deified kings and heroes; a theory afterwards known as Euhemerism, 49
Eumenides, 53, 103*
Eumolpidae, 41*, 380*
Eumolpus, 41, 99
Eunomus, 3, 5, 7
Euphorion, 87
Eurymedusa, 85
Eurystheus, 49
Eve, 19, 30*, 31
Fates, The, 221
Fortuna, Roman goddess, 115
GALINTHIAS, 85*
Ganymedes, 69, 78, 111
Ge Themis, 45*
Greece, 33, 41, 49, 109, 239
Greeks, 31, 43, 83, 111, 147, 159, 253, 257
Hades, or Pluto, god of the underworld, 37, 73, 77, 89, 107, 381
Hadrian, emperor, 111
Halimus, a district near Athens, where mysteries of Dionysus were held, 71, 382*
Halys, river, 95
Hebrews, 21, 159, 189
Helen of Troy, 75, 171
## INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Helicon, mountain range in Boeotia, sacred to Apollo and the Muses</td>
<td>5, 7, 137, 138, 171, 183, 191, 201, 211, 219, 227, 235, 239, 241, 245, 253, 257, 284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helius</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hephaestus</td>
<td>39, 57, 59, 61, 75, 131, 147, 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hera</td>
<td>70, 77, 85, 103, 105, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heracleides of Pontus, 4th century B.C.</td>
<td>87, 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heracleitus, Ephesian philosopher, about 515 B.C.</td>
<td>45, 73, 113–5, 145, 147, 152, 203, 241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heracleopolis</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heracles</td>
<td>49, 55, 63, 67, 69, 75, 77, 81, 83, 85, 89, 107, 131, 139, 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heralds, an Athenian family</td>
<td>41*, 380*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hermes</td>
<td>59, 115, 123, 125, 221*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herodotus</td>
<td>14, 48, 57, 66, 84, 86, 92, 96, 97, 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hesiod</td>
<td>33, 53, 67, 89, 96, 165, 199, 211, 223, 253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hieronymus</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hippasus, Pythagorean philosopher</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hippo, philosopher</td>
<td>49, 125, 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hippolytus, Christian writer</td>
<td>2nd century A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hippothoë</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyacinthus</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyduras</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyperboreans</td>
<td>60, 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyperoche</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypsipyle</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iacchus, name of the infant Dionysus</td>
<td>43, 47, 141, 381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iasion</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIium, or Troy</td>
<td>75, 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immaradus, Athenian hero</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ino</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ionia</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireneus</td>
<td>239, 347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isidorus</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isis</td>
<td>113, 380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isthmian games</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ithome, a mountain in Messenia</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justin Martyr</td>
<td>67, 162, 165, 169, 239, 345, 352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaaba, The, sacred stone at Mecca</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lacedaemonians of Lacedaemonians of Laconians</td>
<td>59, 75, 81, 83, 87, 91, 233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laconia</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamia</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laodice</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

397
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Laomedon, 75
Larissa, 99
Leandrius, 99
Leda, 79, 139
Lemnos, 61
Lenaea, 7*, 73
Lesbians, 65, 93
Leto, 89
Leucippus, 5th-century philosopher, founder of the atomic system developed by Democritus, 149, 153
Leucon, a Plataean hero, 87
Leucophryne, 99
Lot's wife, 225
Lucian, 67
Lycaon, 77
Lycopolis, 85
Lycetians, a Cretan tribe, 93
Lycurgus, 233
Lydian mode, 7*, 13
Lysippus, Greek sculptor, 4th century B.C., 141

Macar, king of Lesbos, 65
Macedonians, 147, 193
Maenads, 255
Magnes, 59
Magnesia, 99
Marius, 93
Marpessa, 67
Maximus of Tyre, 90
Meandrius. See Leandrius
Mecca, The Kaaba at, 101
Medes. See Persians
Megaclo, 65
Melampus, reputed founder of mysteries, 33
Melanippe, 65
Melicertes, 71
Melos, 49
Memphis, 85
Menander, 155, 169, 171
Mendes, 85
Menecrates, 123
Menedemus, a Cythnian hero, 87
Merops, 97
Messenians, 57, 91
Metapontum, 145
Methymna, 3, 81
Metragyrtes, name for a priest of the Great Mother, or Cybele, 48, 169
Metrodorus of Chios, philosopher, about 330 B.C., 149
Midas, 33
Miletus, 99, 145, 149
Minos, 239
Mithridates, 123
Mnemosyne, 65, 67
Monimus, 93
Moses, 7, 21, 51, 157, 177, 181, 183, 191, 235
Mother, The Great (or, Mother of the Gods). See Cybele
Muses, 4, 65, 67
Myrmidon, 55*
Myrsilus of Lesbos, Greek historical writer, 65
Mysteries, 5, 29–47, 71, 257, 379–90
Myus, reputed founder of mysteries, 31
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neilus</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nemean games</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nereis</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nero, emperor</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicagaras of Zeleia</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicander</td>
<td>83, 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicanor</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninevites</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nomius, title of Apollo</td>
<td>59*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyctimus</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nymphodorus</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceanus</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ochus</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odrysae, a Thracian tribe</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odrysus</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odysseus</td>
<td>75, 105, 191, 234-5, 253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oeta, Mt.</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olympia</td>
<td>67, 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olympic games</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olympichus</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olympus, Mt.</td>
<td>39, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omphale</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ornytus</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orpheus</td>
<td>3, 9, 37, 43, 167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osiris</td>
<td>49, 109, 111, 382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ovid</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxyrhynchus</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pactolus, a small river in Lydia, famous for the gold found in its sands</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pallas. See Athena</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pallas, father of Athena</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pan</td>
<td>97, 135, 139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pantarces</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panyasis</td>
<td>75, 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris, son of Priam of Troy</td>
<td>70, 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parmenides, Greek philosopher, about 460 B.C.</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parnassus, Mt.</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasiphaë</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patara, a city in Lycia</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patmos, Isle of</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrocles of Thurium</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pausanias</td>
<td>39, 77, 80, 81, 87, 96, 98, 106, 107, 111, 120, 385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedasis</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peleus</td>
<td>71, 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pella in Macedonia</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pella in Thessaly</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelops</td>
<td>69, 71, 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentheus</td>
<td>255*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peripatetics</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persephone or Core (The Maiden)</td>
<td>31, 35, 37, 41, 71, 89, 93, 141, 381-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persians</td>
<td>87, 101, 147, 149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phaëthon</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phalerum</td>
<td>87, 383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phanocles</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pheidias</td>
<td>67, 71, 103, 105, 121, 213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phereae</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philaenis</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip of Macedon</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippides</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philo Iudaeus</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philochoruses</td>
<td>63, 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philomedes, title of Aphrodite</td>
<td>33*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Philostephanus, 131
Philostratus, 133, 241
Philus, 120
Phoeceans, 93
Phoebus, title of Apollo, 61, 67, 95
Phoenicia, 87
Phoroneus, 97, 233
Phrygian mode, 7*
Phrygians and Phrygia, 15, 31, 33, 35, 53, 71, 75, 387–8
Phryne, 123
Pindar, 61, 213
Pisa, 71
Plataeans, 87
Pliny, 104
Plutarch, 49, 87, 90, 93, 107, 125, 144, 146, 213, 221, 384
Pluto. See Hades
Polemon, 75, 81, 85, 105, 107
Polycleitus, sculptor, about 430 B.C., 213
Pontus, 109, 123
Poseidippus, 121, 131, 133
Poseidon, 63, 65, 75, 105, 131, 145
Praxiteles, sculptor, about 350 B.C., 121, 141, 213
Priapus, 221
Procles, ancient ruler of Samos, 103
Prosymnus, 73
Prothoë, 67
Ptolemaeus, 101
Ptolemy II., Philadelphus, 107, 109
Ptolemy IV., Philopator, 101, 123
Pygmalion, 131
Pythagoreans, 163, 195
Pythian games, 71
Pythian oracle, 29
Pytho, of Delphi, seat of the oracle of Apollo, 3, 5, 71
Pythocles, 93
Rhacotis, 109
Rome and Romans, 81, 93, 103, 115, 121
Samothracian mysteries, 31, 387
Sarapis, 107, 109, 111, 113, 119
Sardis, 75, 149
Sauromatians, 147, 149
Scirophoria, 37
Scopas, Greek sculptor, about 370 B.C., 105
Scyllis, ancient Cretan sculptor, 107
Scythians, 47, 49, 61, 101, 147
Selene, 69
Seleucia, near Antioch in Syria, 109
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Semele, 79, 255
Semiramis, a Syrian goddess, 86*
Sesostris, 109
Sibylline oracles, 57*, 113, 141, 159, 161, 167, 175, 211
Sicily, 63, 119
Sicon, sculptor, 107
Sicyon and Sicyonians, 83, 107
Silenus, 59
Sinope, 107
Sirens, The, 251
Smilis, 103
Socrates, 52, 159-61
Sodom, 225
Solon, 95, 97, 233
Sophocles, 59, 165, 199, 213, 388
Sophocles the younger, 63
Sosibius, 77, 81
Spartans. See Lacedaemonians
Staphylus, 81
Sterope, 67
Stoics and Stoicism, 120, 146, 151, 161, 261, 262-3, 300
Strabo, 27, 67, 160, 221
Susa, 149
Syene, 85
Syracuseans, 83
Taurians, 91
Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, 232, 331, 345
Teiresias, 257
Telesius, 105
Telmessus, 101
Tenes and Tenians, 63, 87, 105
Terpander, ancient Greek lyric poet and musician, 7
Thales, Greek philosopher, about 600 B.C., 145
Thebes and Thebans, 3, 53, 85, 254, 257, 292
Thebes (Egyptian), 85
Theocritus of Chios, 211*
Theodorus, 49
Theophrastus, 151
Theopompus, 91
Theseus, 87
Thesmophoria, festival of Demeter, 37, 39
Thespiae, 103, 123
Thesprotia, 27
Thessalians, 85
Thestius, 69
Thetis, 71
Thmuitans, 67*
Thracians, 3, 5, 31, 37, 59, 159, 167
Thucydides, 120, 221, 326
Thurium, 63
Tiryns, 105, 107
Titanis, 57
Titans, 37, 39, 47
Tithonus, 69
Triptolemus, 41
Troy, or Ilium, 75, 105
Tuscan oracles of the dead, 29
Tuscans, 41
Twin Brothers, 55, 63, 107
Tyche. See Fortuna
Tycho, 220*, 221
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Uranus, 33

Varro, 103
Veuerable goddesses, 103*

Xenocrates, 149
Xenophanes, 49
Xenophon, 159-61

Zagreus, Orphic name for
Dionysus, 382

Zeno of Myndus, 99
Zeuxippe, 67

Zeus Agamemnon,
# INDEX OF SCRIPTURAL PASSAGES

References in italics are to allusions only, or to passages mentioned in notes or Appendix.

For references marked with a † see the Septuagint.

## GENESIS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verse</th>
<th>page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i. 1</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. 14</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. 26</td>
<td>215, 263, 345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. 14</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. 15</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. 19</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. 20</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. 21</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xix. 26</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## EXODUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verse</th>
<th>page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xx. 4</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xx. 13-16</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## LEVITICUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verse</th>
<th>page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xix. 18</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xix. 31</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxv. 23</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## DEUTERONOMY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verse</th>
<th>page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v. 8</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi. 4</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## DEUTERONOMY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verse</th>
<th>page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vi. 5</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi. 13</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x. 20</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xviii. 1-2</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxv. 13-15</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxx. 14</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxx. 15</td>
<td>207-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxxii. 39</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## 1 SAMUEL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verse</th>
<th>page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xvi. 23</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxviii. 7</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## 1 KINGS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verse</th>
<th>page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iii. 7</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. 12</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xviii. 44</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Psalms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verse</th>
<th>page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ii. 12†</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. 2</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii. 9</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii. 3</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

403
### INDEX OF SCRIPTURAL PASSAGES

#### Psalms—contd.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scripture</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vii. 4†</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xix. 8</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xix. 10</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxii. 22</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxiv. 1</td>
<td>223, 377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxxii. 6</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxxiv. 8</td>
<td>193–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxxiv. 11</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxxiv. 12</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lv. 7†</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lvii. 8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lviii. 4, 5</td>
<td>227–9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lxii. 8</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lxix. 32</td>
<td>229–31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lxx. 4</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lxxii. 9</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lxxiii. 6</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xcxi. 3–11</td>
<td>187–9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xcvi. 5</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>civ. 2</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cix. 3†</td>
<td>15, 187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cxv. 4</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cxvii. 105</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Proverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scripture</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ii. 6</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. 11</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi. 9, 11a†</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii. 22†</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xx. 27†</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Isaiah

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scripture</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i. 3</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. 18</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. 19, 20</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. 3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Jeremiah

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scripture</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iv. 26†</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii. 2</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x. 12</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xvii. 10</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiv. 3</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxiii. 23–24</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxxi. 33, 34</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxxiv. 20</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Ezekiel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scripture</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>viii. 14</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xviii. 23</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxvii. 7</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxviii. 20†</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book</td>
<td>Chapter(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel</td>
<td>v. 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v. 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v. 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v. 29-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v. 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v. 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi. 19, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi. 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi. 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii. 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii. 13, 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii. 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii. 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vii. 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>viii. 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ix. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x. 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x. 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x. 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x. 41-42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>x. 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xi. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xi. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xi. 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xi. 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xi. 28-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xii. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xii. 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malachi</td>
<td>iv. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv. 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv. 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v. 3, 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v. 13, 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Matthew</td>
<td>iii. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii. 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv. 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv. 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v. 3, 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v. 13, 14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# INDEX OF SCRIPTURAL PASSAGES

## St. Matthew—contd.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xxxi. 1–7</td>
<td>259</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxiii. 9</td>
<td>319</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxiii. 12</td>
<td>273</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxiv. 29</td>
<td>182</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxiv. 31</td>
<td>345</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxiv. 35</td>
<td>177</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxv. 30–40</td>
<td>333-5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxv. 41</td>
<td>187</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxv. 41–43</td>
<td>296</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxvi. 75</td>
<td>362</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## St. Mark

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i. 3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. 7</td>
<td>351</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. 15</td>
<td>297</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. 19</td>
<td>292</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix. 43–47</td>
<td>321</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x. 17–31</td>
<td>279–81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x. 21</td>
<td>289, 291, 303, 311</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x. 24</td>
<td>334</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x. 25</td>
<td>273, 327</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x. 26</td>
<td>313</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x. 27</td>
<td>313</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x. 28</td>
<td>315</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x. 29</td>
<td>317</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x. 30</td>
<td>321, 323</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x. 31</td>
<td>323</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xii. 30–31</td>
<td>329</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiv. 36</td>
<td>195</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## St. Luke

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i. 7–13</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. 20, 64</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. 79</td>
<td>243</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. 49</td>
<td>185</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. 4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. 7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. 8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>406</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## St. John

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i. 1</td>
<td>15, 17, 19, 235</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### INDEX OF SCRIPTURAL PASSAGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New Testament</th>
<th>i. 21, 23, 25</th>
<th>181-3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. John—contd.</td>
<td>i. 9</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i. 17</td>
<td>285-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i. 18</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i. 20-23</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i. 23</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii. 3, 5</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii. 13, 31</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii. 19</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iii. 31</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iv. 14</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v. 17</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v. 26</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vi. 50-51</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii. 23</td>
<td>137</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x. 9</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x. 11</td>
<td>247</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x. 16</td>
<td>194</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiii. 17</td>
<td>333</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiii. 34</td>
<td>347</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiv. 6</td>
<td>217, 303</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiv. 8, 9</td>
<td>318</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiv. 15</td>
<td>333</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiv. 23</td>
<td>341</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiv. 27</td>
<td>347</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv. 5-6</td>
<td>349</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv. 15</td>
<td>334</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv. 26</td>
<td>191</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xvii. 2</td>
<td>284</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xvii. 3</td>
<td>284</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxi. 5</td>
<td>334</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxi. 25</td>
<td>101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Acts

| i. 17 | 357 |
| iv. 32 | 336 |
| xix. 35 | 105 |

### Romans

| i. 17 | 287 |

### 1 Corinthians

| i. 13 | 239 |
| i. 24 | 274 |
| ii. 6, 7 | 389 |
| ii. 9 | 207, 253, 319 |
| iii. 13 | 46, 322 |
| iii. 17 | 307 |
| vi. 15, 19 | 377 |
| vi. 19 | 13 |
| vii. 9 | 322, 355 |
| ix. 25 | 279 |
| xi. 25 | 277 |
| xii. 31 | 349 |
| xiii. 4-13 | 349 |
| xiii. 5 | 349 |
| xiii. 13 | 277, 332 |
| xv. 51 | 389 |

### 2 Corinthians

<p>| i. 3 | 353 |
| iv. 6 | 247 |
| iv. 7 | 343 |
| iv. 13 | 323 |
| v. 17 | 293 |
| v. 19 | 351 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX OF SCRIPTURAL PASSAGES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>2 Corinthians—contd.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ix. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Galatians</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi. 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ephesians</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. 3-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. 17-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. 18, 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi. 14-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi. 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Philippians</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. 6-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Colossians</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. 15, 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. 9-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1 Timothy</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2 Timothy</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. 16-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Titus</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. 11-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. 3-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hebrews</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. 7-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii. 10-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xi. 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xii. 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xii. 22, 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xii. 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiii. 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>James</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. 11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## INDEX OF SCRIPTURAL PASSAGES

### 1 Peter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i. 3</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. 4</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. 12</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. 9-10</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. 8</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2 Peter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ii. 12</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. 14</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1 John

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iii. 15</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. 8, 16</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. 18</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. 19</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Jude

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Revelation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ii. 23</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xx. 5</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**The End**

*Printed by R. & R. Clark, Limited, Edinburgh.*
THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

"We shall never be independent of our Loeb."—Times Literary Supplement.

VOLUMES ALREADY PUBLISHED

LATIN AUTHORS

APULEIUS, THE GOLDEN ASS (Metamorphoses), W. ADLINGTON (1566). Revised by S. GASELEE.

BOETHIUS, TRACTATES, CONSOLATION, translated by Rev. H. F. STEWART.

CAESAR, CIVIL WARS, translated by A. G. PESKETT.

CAESAR, THE GALIC WAR, translated by H. J. EDWARDS.

CATULLUS, translated by F. W. CORNISH; TIBULLUS, translated by J. P. POSTGATE; and PERVIGILIUM VENERIS, translated by J. W. MACKAIL. [3rd impression.]

CICERO, DE FINIBUS, translated by H. RACKHAM.

CICERO, DE OFFICIIS, translated by WALTER MILLER.

CICERO, LETTERS TO ATTICUS, translated by E. O. WINSTEDT. 3 volumes. [2nd impression.]

CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE, translated by W. WATTS (1631). 2 Volumes. [2nd impression.]

HORACE, ODES AND EPODES, translated by C. E. BENNETT. [2nd impression.]

JUVENAL AND PERSIUS, translated by G. G. RAMSAY.

OVID, HEROIDES AND AMORES, translated by GRANT SHOWERMAN.

OVID, METAMORPHOSES, translated by F. J. MILLER. 2 volumes.

PETRONIUS, translated by M. HESELTINE; and SENeca, APOCOLOCYNTOSIS, translated by W. H. D. ROUSE. [2nd impression.]

PLAUTUS, translated by PAUL NIXON. 5 volumes. Volumes I. and II.

PLINY, LETTERS, Melmoth's translation revised by W. M. L. HUTCHINSON. 2 volumes.

PROPERTIUS, translated by H. E. BUTLER. [2nd impression.]

SENECA, EPISTULAE MORALES, translated by R. M. GUMMERE. 3 volumes. Volume I.

SENECA, TRAGEDIES, translated by F. J. MILLER. 2 volumes.

SUETONIUS, translated by J. C. ROLFE. 2 volumes.

TACITUS, DIALOGUS, translated by Sir WM. PETERSON; and AGRICOLA AND GERMANIA, translated by MAURICE HUTTON.

TERENCE, translated by JOHN SARGEAUNT. 2 volumes. [2nd impression.]

VIRGIL, translated by H. R. FAIRCLOUGH. 2 volumes.
VOLUMES ALREADY PUBLISHED—Continued.

GREEK AUTHORS

ACHILLES TATIUS, translated by S. Gaselee.
APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, translated by R. C. Seaton. [2nd impression.]
The Apostolic Fathers, translated by KirSopp Lake. 2 volumes. [2nd impression.]
Appian's Roman History, translated by Horace White. 4 volumes.
Daphnis and Chloe, Thornley's translation revised by J. M. Edmonds; and Parthenius, translated by S. Gaselee.
Dio Cassius, Roman History, translated by E. Cary. 9 volumes. Volumes I-VI.
Euripides, translated by A. S. Way. 4 volumes. [2nd impression.]
Galen, on the Natural Faculties, translated by A. J. Brock.
The Greek Anthology, translated by W. R. Paton. 5 volumes.
The Greek Bucolic Poets (Theocritus, Bion, Moschus), translated by J. M. Edmonds. [2nd impression.]
Julian, translated by Wilmer Cave Wright. 3 volumes. Volumes I. and II.
Lucian, translated by A. M. Harmon. 7 volumes. Volumes I. and II.
Marcus Aurelius, translated by C. R. Haines.
Philostratus, The Life of Apollonius of Tyana, translated by F. C. Conybeare. 2 volumes. [2nd impression.]
Pindar, translated by Sir J. E. Sandys.
Plato, Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phaedo, Phaedrus, translated by H. M. Fowler. [2nd impression.]
Procopius, History of the Wars, translated by H. B. Dewing. 7 volumes. Volumes I. and II.
Quintus Smyrnaeus, translated by A. S. Way.
Sophocles, translated by F. Storr. 2 volumes. [2nd impression.]
St. John Damascene, Barlaam and Joasaph, translated by the Rev. G. R. Woodward and Harold Mattingly.
Strabo's Geography, translated by H. L. Jones. 8 Volumes. Volume I.
Theophrastus, Enquiry into Plants, translated by Sir Arthur Hort, Bart. 2 volumes.
Xenophon, Cyropaedia, translated by Walter Miller. 2 volumes.
Xenophon, Hellenica, translated by C. L. Brownson. Volume I.

Descriptive Prospectus on Application.

London: William Heinemann
New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons
Clement, of Alexandria, Saint, ca. 150-ca. 215. The exhortation to the Greeks: The rich man's AIU-7043 (ab)