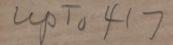


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Early Church Classics.

A HOMILY OF CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

ENTITLED.

WHO IS THE RICH MAN THAT IS BEING SAVED?

BY THE

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PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE TRACT COMMITTEE

LONDON:

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, W.C.; 43, QUEEN VICTORIA STREET, E.C. BRIGHTON: 129, NORTH STREET. New York: E. & J. B. YOUNG & CO.

1901



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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN"

PREFACE

THE Ouis Dives Salvetur of Clement of Alexandria is written in the form of a homily, but it is not clear whether it was intended for viva voce delivery, or only for private reading. Great care was evidently spent on its composition, and the language of the original, as in Clement's other works, is beautiful and forcible, though often very hard to render in English. As the only specimen preserved of the author's popular teaching to Christians, it affords the ordinary reader a good opportunity of entering into the working of his mind, and of judging of his truly Christian and lovable temperament. This translation is made from my edition of the Greek, published in the Texts and Studies Series by the Cambridge University Press in 1897; the text of that edition differs considerably from all previous editions, as the eleventh-century Escurial MS. was for the first time used in its preparation; previous editions

PREFACE

were based on a very inaccurate copy printed by Ghisler from a Vatican MS., which was itself copied from the Escurial MS. The numbering of the sections is that of my edition, which varies only slightly from the others ; when it does, the old numbers are given in brackets. I have made use of Segaar's excellent notes (published at Utrecht, 1816); and it is a pleasure to acknowledge how much assistance I have received towards the proper understanding of Clement's language from the many Scholars who corresponded with me when I was preparing the Greek edition. I am especially indebted to Dr. I. B. Mayor (who has been good enough to look over the proof-sheets of my translation, and has made many valuable suggestions) and to Canon J. Armitage Robinson.

P. MORDAUNT BARNARD.

Headley Rectory, Epsom, 1901.

I

GENUINENESS OF THE HOMILY "WHO IS THE RICH MAN THAT IS BEING SAVED?"

THE evidence, both internal and external, of the genuineness of this short work is unusually strong; its authorship has indeed never been questioned.

I. Internal evidence.—(a) The literary style, the vocabulary, and the methods of scriptural interpretation, are quite characteristic of Clement; this evidence is of great importance in his case, as his writings show marked peculiarities.

(b) In § 26 a work is mentioned as the author's, which we know that Clement contemplated writing (see note on the passage).

(c) The text of the quotations from the New Testament is of the same character as that found in Clement's other writings. Attention

will be called in the notes to striking instances of this.

(d) The allusions are just what we should expect to find in Clement; thus in §§ 16 and 40, and perhaps in §§ 33 and 36, reference is made to extra-canonical "Sayings of the Lord"; in § 29 there is probably a reminiscence of "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles"; in § 43 an undoubted reference to the "Shepherd of Hermas," and a possible verbal reminiscence of St. Clement of Rome's epistle; both these latter writings Clement elsewhere quotes.

II. External evidence.-(a) The manuscripts in which this homily is preserved afford no evidence of the authorship. They are only two in number, one of the eleventh century preserved in the Escurial Library in Spain (Class-mark Ω , III. 19), and a copy of it made in the sixteenth century, and preserved in the Vatican Library at Rome (Vat. Gr. 623). In both MSS. this writing follows the nineteen homilies of Origen on Jeremiah, of which however the author's name is not given; in the former it is headed simply 'Oµiλía, "A Homily"; in the latter, by a natural error, 'Ομιλία κή, "Twentieth Homily." So far, therefore, as manuscript evidence is concerned, we are entirely free to attribute the work to Clement if good reasons can be shown.

(b) Eusebius of Cæsarea, the great historian, writing not later than A.D. 325, mentions among the works of Clement "another discourse of his which bears this heading, *Who is the rich man*

that is being saved?" (Ecclesiastical History, vi. 13). In another part of the same work (iii. 23) he quotes in full the story of St. John and the Young Robber (\S 42), and states that the extract is taken from Clement's treatise entitled Who is the rich man that is being saved? This extract begins at the words, "Hear a legend that is no legend." Almost all later writers who tell or refer to this story most probably owe their knowledge of it to Eusebius, and not directly to Clement.

(c) Jerome, in his Catalogue of Church Writers (§ 38), finished in A.D. 392, in a list of some of the works of Clement, mentions "another book entitled Who is that rich man who is being saved?" His list is very probably drawn from Eusebius, but even so possesses an independent value.

(d) Maximus the Confessor, who died A.D. 662, wrote Scholia, or notes, on the forged writings attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite. Commenting on Epistle X., he says : "Clement also the Alexandrian, in his discourse concerning Who is the rich man that is being saved? mentions the exile in Domitian's reign of the most holy John." Some one was evidently led by this statement to refer to his Clement, and copied out the Young Robber story at the end of his MS. of the Scholia of Maximus; this extract, with others from Polycrates and Philo, is found in many MSS. of the Scholia. It begins at the words, "But that thou mayest have confidence," that is, about two lines earlier than the quotation in Eusebius; it is thus shown to be independent of him, and was no doubt copied direct from Clement. It has the heading (with some variations in the different MSS.), "[An extract] of Clement the Presbyter of Alexandria, head of the school, from his discourse entitled Who is the rich man that is being saved?"

(e) Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, who died about A.D. 891, was a very wide reader; in a work entitled "The Library," he has left notes of the volumes he read. Under Codex cxi. he deals with the *Stromata* of Clement, a work in eight books: "The eighth book," he says, "is different [in different MSS.] both in title and substance. For in some it is entitled *Who is the rich man that is being saved*? and begins thus, 'Those who offer panegyrical speeches, etc.': in some it is entitled *The eighth book of the Stromata*, like the seven which precede it, and begins, 'Not even the most ancient philosophers, etc.'"

(f) Many quotations from our homily are found in the collections of extracts known as *The Bee of Antonius, The Common-places of Maximus*, and the *Sacred Parallels* ascribed to John of Damascus. These quotations are, except for occasional errors in the MSS., assigned to Clement, and in several instances the homily from which they are taken is mentioned by name.

LIFE OF CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, AND IMPORTANCE OF HIS WRITINGS

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TITUS FLAVIUS CLEMENS was probably born about the middle of the second century after Christ. His name affords ground for the conjecture that he was in some way or other connected with the imperial Flavian family; he may perhaps have been a descendant of a freedman of Titus Flavius Clemens, a nephew of Vespasian the emperor, who was Consul in A.D. 95. Epiphanius, an ecclesiastical writer who died at a great age in A.D. 404, says that some called him an Alexandrian, others an Athenian (Haer. xxxii. 6); as there was no obvious reason for connecting him with Athens, Epiphanius probably reproduces an earlier tradition, and Bishop Westcott (in *Dict. of Christian Biography*) says that "we may with reasonable probability conclude that Clement was an Athenian by training if not by origin." He himself states (Strom., I. § 11) that he found his most esteemed teacher in Egypt; he refers no doubt to Pan-

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taenus, head of the Catechetical School at Alexandria. He became the disciple of Pantaenus, and succeeded to his position, and held it from about A.D. 190 till A.D. 203. During this time the great Origen was his pupil. On the outbreak of the persecution under Severus, in A.D. 203, Clement retired from Alexandria, and Origen was appointed to his post. On leaving Alexandria, Clement seems to have travelled, and we know no further details of his life, except that in A.D. 211 he was with an old pupil, Alexander, a Bishop of Cappadocia, and afterwards Bishop of Jerusalem, who wrote of him in laudatory terms.

Clement was a voluminous writer; his works which have been preserved to us, besides the present homily, are as follows—(I) the *Protrepticus*, or *Address to the Greeks*; (2) the *Paedagogus*, or *Tutor*, in three books; (3) the *Stromata*, or *Miscellanies*, in eight books, of which the last is incomplete; many fragments, some of considerable length, are also preserved. He had studied widely the Greek philosophers and poets, and was especially influenced by Plato.

The great importance of Clement's writings is due to the fact that he lived in a period of transition, and forms in many ways a connecting link. We can trace in his works the beginning of a gradual assimilation by Christianity of the best results of Greek thought. This, however, applies only to a limited extent to our homily, which derives its special interest from being the only specimen preserved to us of his popular teaching.

Clement's position in regard to the history of the text of the New Testament is one of peculiar importance. The text generally accepted by modern critics, and represented for English readers by the Revised Version, was probably current mainly in Alexandria, where it can be traced back to the time of Origen. It is of the utmost importance to know whether this text can be traced back further than Origen; if it cannot, it may be the result of a revision, or a mere local development. It is therefore a vital question whether Clement supports this text or not. To a certain extent he does, but he shows a leaning towards a class of readings known as "Western," which, though very early, are generally considered corruptions of the true text. The numerous quotations from the New Testament found in our homily are of great value. It is of course impossible to study them properly except in the original Greek, but an attempt has been made to enable English readers to follow to some extent the evidence they afford. The quotations are printed in dark type, and the translation of them follows the Revised Version wherever Clement has the Greek reading translated by the Revisers. By comparing the quotations therefore with the Revised Version it is possible to see how far Clement differs from the text now usually adopted. It is necessary, however, to bear in mind that he appears to have often quoted loosely from memory, and

also that his quotations may to some extent have been altered by transcribers, though these changes would tend rather to the suppression than to the insertion of unusual readings.

The evidence which even this short homily affords of the unique position of the four Gospels at the beginning of the third century will strike every reader.

Canon Armitage Robinson has kindly called my attention to a passage by F. D. Maurice (*Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, p. 238), which may fitly conclude this short notice—

"On the whole, I do not know where we shall look for a purer or a truer man than this Clemens of Alexandria. I should like to be able to tell you something of his countenance and of his manner, as well as to give you more particulars of his history. But the facts are few and unimportant which his modesty has made known to us, or which his successors have preserved. We must be content to make his acquaintance through the words which he has spoken. Judging from them, he seems to me that one of the old Fathers whom we should all have reverenced most as a teacher, and loved best as a friend."

III

TRANSLATION OF THE HOMILY

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA'S DISCOURSE-

"Who is the rich man that is being saved?"¹

§ 1. Those who offer panegyrical speeches as gifts to the rich may, in my opinion, be rightly judged not only flatterers and servile, since in the hope of a large reward they pretend to give graciously what is ungracious, but also impious and treacherous. They are impious, because, while omitting to praise and glorify the only perfect and good God,² from Whom are all things, and through Whom are all things, and to Whom are all things,³ they attribute His honour to men who wallow in [a profligate] manner of life, [such as],⁴ to sum it up shortly, lies under the

¹ In the MS. no name of author and no title is given : the evidence in regard to both these points is given in the first part of the Introduction.

² Cf. Matt. v. 48, Mark x. 18, and parallel passages.

³ Cf. Rom. xi. 36.

⁴ The Escurial MS. was evidently derived from one in which several words in §§ 1 and 3 were illegible; this

judgment of God. They are treacherous, because, although superabundance of wealth is of itself sufficient to fill with conceit the minds of its possessors, and to corrupt them, and to lead them away from the road by which salvation can be attained, these men nevertheless still further disturb the thoughts of the rich; they excite them by the pleasures of unmeasured praise, and render them contemptuous of absolutely everything except that wealth which brings them renown; in the words of the proverb, they add fire on fire,1 they pour conceit on conceit, and to wealth, which is by nature heavy to bear, they join a yet heavier burden, pride; whereas they ought rather to treat wealth as a dangerous and deadly disease by diminishing it and cutting it back. For to the man that is elated and proud comes suddenly the change and fall to lowliness, as the Divine Word teaches.² But it seems to me that far truer kindness than to pay court to the rich in a harmful manner, is to

may have been due to damage from damp or other causes. The scribe of the Escurial MS. left blank spaces for the words he could not read, and these can now be filled up only by conjecture. In the translation I have inserted only such words as are absolutely necessary to the sense, and these are marked by square brackets.

¹ The verb translated *add* means literally "to conduct water from one place to another by means of pipes or conduits." The proverb was a common one in Greek writers; it is used by Clement in the *Paed.*, II. § 20, of inflaming youthful passions by wine, a use borrowed from Plato, *Laws*, 666*a*.

² Cf. Matt. xxiii. 12.

help them in every possible way to attain to salvation,¹ both by imploring this favour of God, Who surely and gladly grants such boons to His own children, and also by healing their souls through the grace of the Saviour, enlightening them, and leading them on to the possession of the truth; for he alone who obtains this, and is distinguished in good works, shall receive the prize² of eternal life. But prayer requires a soul that remains strong and earnest till the last day of life; and a man's way of life requires a good and steadfast disposition reaching out to all the commandments of the Saviour.³

§ 2. But it may be that the reason why salvation seems more difficult for rich men, than for those without means, is not a simple one, but complicated. For some, understanding in a literal and off-hand way the Saviour's saying, that a camel shall more easily slip through a needle's eye, than a rich man

¹ In this sentence four spaces are left blank in the MS. implying that words have been lost; these words have been supplied by conjecture in different ways, but, as the text will make sense as it stands, I have not attempted to supply the lost words in the translation.

² prize, i. e. the award to the victor in the games. The Greek word is used by St. Paul in a literal sense, I Cor. ix. 24, and in a metaphorical sense, Phil. iii. 14.

³ This difficult sentence apparently refers to the two ways in which Clement has stated that it is possible to help men to salvation, namely, prayer, and reformation of life consequent on a knowledge of the truth. Prayer, he says, requires a life-long earnestness of soul; true reformation of life requires a willingly obedient disposition.

into the kingdom of heaven¹ (Mark x. 25), have despaired of themselves as being destined not to live; giving everything up to this world, and clinging to life here as alone remaining to them, they have departed further from the heavenward road, and no longer trouble to inquire who the rich men are that the Master and Teacher refers to. or how what is impossible among men² becomes possible. Others again have understood this in a proper and fitting manner, but have given no attention to the works that lead up to salvation, and so have failed to make the preparation which is necessary for attaining the objects of their hopes. Both these statements refer to such rich men as have perceived the power of the Saviour and His manifest salvation: with those who are uninitiated in the mysteries of the truth I am little concerned.

§ 3. Those then who love the truth and love their brethren,3 and neither treat with contumacious boldness the called who are rich, nor yet fall under their power through personal love of gain, have to do two things: first, by means of the word they must remove from them their groundless despair, and show them, with the necessary exposition of the oracles of the Lord,

¹ This verse is quoted again, with some verbal differences, in §§ 4 and 26. ² I have adopted the simple emendation, ἐν ἀνθρώποιs for

έν ανθρώπω ή.

³ A word necessary to the construction in the Greek has been lost here, as a space left in the MS. shows, but the sense is not doubtful.

that, if they obey the commands, the inheritance of the Kingdom of Heaven is not altogether denied them; and, secondly, when they have learned that their fear has been needless, and that the Saviour is glad to receive them on their own wish, then, both to show and instruct¹ them in what manner, and by what sort of deeds and dispositions, they may obtain the enjoyment of their hope, which is not rendered impossible for them, and on the other hand does not come to them in a random way. But, to compare small and perishable with great and incorruptible things, let the man who is rich in a worldly sense adopt in his own case the same considerations as apply to athletes. For the athlete who has given up the hope of being able to conquer, and to obtain the garlands, does not even give in his name for the contest; while the one who has conceived this hope in his mind, but does not submit to the fitting labours and diet and exercises, continues ungarlanded, and fails to gain what he hoped for.² In the same way let

¹ A word borrowed from the phraseology of the Greek Mysteries, "to initiate." Cf. "uninitiated," near the end of § 2. Clement is fond of such terms.

² It is necessary, in order to appreciate Clement's imagery, to remember that athletes, before contending in the Greek games, were obliged to submit to a long and rigorous course of training, extending in some cases over ten months. The athlete put himself under the direction of a gymnastes or trainer, who, besides superintending his bodily exercises, prescribed what he should eat and drink. The contests took place in the stadium or racecourse, and the agonothetes or athlothetes (i. e. judge)

B

not a man who is clothed in this earthly covering¹ withdraw his name altogether from the Saviour's contests, if at least he is faithful, and perceives the greatness of God's kindness to man; and again, if he refuses exercise and contest, let him not hope to share in the garlands of incorruption without the dust and sweat of the arena ; but let him at once submit himself to the word as trainer, and to Christ as judge of the contests; let his food and his apportioned drink be the new covenant of the Lord, let his exercises be the commandments, let his gracefulness and adornment be good dispositions, love, faith, hope (I Cor. xiii. 13), knowledge of truth,² gentleness, goodness of heart, dignity; so that, when the last trumpet sounds for the race and the departure hence,³ passing out of this life as out of a race-course, he may stand with a good conscience before the president, acknowledged to be worthy of the heavenly home, into which he passes up with garlands and proclamations of angelic heralds.4

presided over them, from whom the victor received as his prize a garland of wild olive or other leaves. Cf. I Cor. ix. 25.

¹ earthly covering, i. e. probably wealth.

² A space in the MS. shows that a word has been lost here.

³ The imagery is somewhat mixed ; the trumpet, which would give the signal to start the race in the earthly racecourse, is compared with the last trumpet which summons the Christian before the eternal Judge.

⁴ Angels take the place of the herald who proclaimed the earthly victor's name and city to the assembled multitudes.

§ 4. Here then we begin our discourse : may the Saviour grant to us that we may contribute to the brethren things that are true and fitting and lead to salvation, first in regard to the hope itself, and secondly in regard to the attaining of that hope. He gives to those that seek, and teaches those that ask, He dispels their ignorance, and drives away their despair, by bringing forward again the same words concerning the rich-words which become their own interpreters and safe exponents; for there is nothing like hearing again the sayings themselves which used to trouble us before in the Gospels, because, owing to our childishness, we understood them without due examination and in a mistaken way.¹ As ² he was going forth into the way, there came one, and kneeled, saying, Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life? And Jesus saith, Why callest thou me good ? none is good save one, even God.

¹ Clement here states clearly the central principle of all true interpretation of the New Testament, which was so well put into practice by his pupil Origen.

² This long quotation, which Clement explicitly states to be from St. Mark, is of great importance for the textual critic, but while full of interest it is full of difficulties also. A comparison with the Authorised and the Revised Versions will show to how great an extent Clement differed from both those types of text. It does not seem possible that so long a passage was quoted from memory, and we must therefore conclude that, apart from errors introduced by transcribers, we have here the text which he found in his MS. of St. Mark.

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 answereth and saith unto him. All these things have I observed.¹ And Jesus looking loved him, and said. One thing is lacking to thee: 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.² And Jesus looked round about, and saith unto his disciples. How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God! And the disciples were amazed at his words. But again Jesus answereth, and saith unto them. Children, how hard is it for them that trust in riches to enter into the kingdom of God ! Easily shall a camel go in through the needle's eye, rather than a rich man into the kingdom of God. And they were astonished exceedingly, and said, Who therefore can be saved? And he looking upon them said that With men it is impossible, with God possible.³ Peter began to say unto him, Lo, we have left all, and followed Thee. And Jesus answereth and saith. Verily unto you I say, Who-

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¹ The omission here of the words *from my youth* is no doubt accidental, as they are found in \$\$ 8 and 10.

² and lands. This addition is found in two MSS. of the old Latin version of St. Mark.

³ The shorter form of this verse is found in one ancient Greek MS. (Codex *Bezae*) and in several MSS. of the old Latin Version. See also p. 42, note 1. soever shall leave his home, and parents, and brethren, and wealth, for my sake, and for the Gospel's sake, he shall receive a hundredfold: $[but]^1$ now in this time, lands, and wealth, and houses, and brethren, to have with persecutions [refuse];² but in the time to come there is eternal life. The first shall be last, and the last first (Mark x. 17-31).

§ 5. These things are written in the Gospel according to St. Mark; and in all the other

¹ [but]. Added in § 25.

² The Greek, as preserved to us in our only MS., is at this point untranslatable, but it is not clear how it should be corrected. There are some indications that in early times a difficulty was felt about the promise of the multiplication of this world's goods, and that changes were made in the language of St. Mark with the object of getting rid of this promise : some such changes appear to have been made in the copy of the Gospel used by Clement. The way in which vv. 29 and 30 are quoted in §§ 22 and 25 shows that Clement put a colon or full-stop after a hundred fold; in this way the promise is left quite indefinite; also I think that two unintelligible words in the Greek of the following sentence are a corruption of a verb meaning refuse, and that Clement's text of St. Mark formed the foundation for the teaching he so insists on in \$\$ 24, 25, that worldly goods must be given up if they are accompanied by spiritual persecution, that is, temptation to sin. If this view is not adopted the sentence must be translated : shall receive a hundredfold now in this time, lands, and wealth, and houses, and brethren, to have with persecutions to a certain point. The phrase to a certain point is an attempt to translate the two words which in my opinion are a corruption of a verb meaning to refuse, but it is doubtful whether this translation is a possible one, and if possible, it is hard to see any sense in it.

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acknowledged ¹ Gospels there is a slight change perhaps here and there in the words, but all of them give the same general sense. But we must clearly recognize the fact that the Saviour teaches His followers nothing in a merely human way, but all things with divine and mystical wisdom, and not understand His sayings in a fleshly sense, but with due inquiry and understanding search out and learn the meaning hidden in them. For indeed those sayings which appear to have been explained by the Lord Himself to His disciples, are found even now, on account of the exceeding depth of wisdom contained in them, to require not less, but more attention than His enigmatical utterances. And whereas the sayings which are supposed to have been explained by Him to those within, that is, the very men themselves who were called by Him children of the kingdom,² still require more thought, far more is it improper to give a merely superficial hearing to those sayings which seemed to be delivered simply, and therefore caused no questioning on the part of the hearers-but these are of importance for the whole of the very end of salvation, and are hidden with a marvellous and heavenly depth of

¹ acknowledged. Clement distinguishes here the four Gospels from other Gospels which he knew of and sometimes quoted, but to which he did not attribute the same authority: such were "the Gospel according to the Hebrews," "the Gospel according to the Egyptians," and "the Traditions of Matthias."

² Cf. Matt. xiii. 38.

meaning: rather should we let our mind penetrate to the very spirit of the Saviour and to the ineffable meaning of the thought.

§ 6. Our Lord and Saviour was indeed glad to be asked a question corresponding exactly with His character-fas being the Life He was questioned about life, as the Saviour about salvation, as the Teacher about the sum of the doctrines He was teaching, as the Truth about the true immortality, as the Word about His Father's word, as the Perfect One about the perfect rest, as the Incorruptible One about the sure incorruption : He was questioned about the very things on account of which He came down to earth, in which He gives instruction, which He teaches, which He offers, that He may show the purpose of the Gospel, namely, that it is the giving of eternal life. He foreknows as God both what questions He will be asked, and what answers will be given Him; for who could know this better than the Prophet of prophets and Lord of every prophetical spirit? And being addressed as "good," He takes His key-note from this very first word, and begins His teaching from this point, and directs the learner to God Who is good, and before all, and alone dispenser of life eternal, which the Son has received from Him and gives to us.1

§ 7. So then it is necessary to store up in the mind right from the very first the greatest of the lessons that concern true life, and the one that

¹ Cf. John v. 26 ; xvii. 2.

crowns all others, which is, to know God Who is eternal, and giver of eternal gifts, and first, and highest, and one, and good.¹ It is possible to possess God by way of knowledge and apprehension; for this is an immutable and fixed beginning and foundation of life, namely, knowledge of God Who really is, and Who gives the real, that is, eternal gifts, from Whom all else receives existence and continuance. For ignorance of God is death, but full knowledge of Him, and making Him a friend, and love towards Him, and becoming like Him,² is alone life.

§ 8. It is to know this God, first of all, that He exhorts the man, who is to live what is truly life,³ Whom no one knoweth save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son reveals Him (Matt. xi. 27). Next after Him, he exhorts that man to learn the greatness of the Saviour and the newness of His grace, inasmuch as, according to the Apostle, The Law was given through Moses, grace and truth through Jesus Christ (John i. 17): and the things given through a faithful servant ⁴ are not equal to those presented by a true Son. At all events, if the law of Moses was sufficient to afford life eternal, it is in vain that the Saviour comes in

¹ Cf. John xvii. 3.

 2 Cf. Plato, *Theaetetus*, § 25. "We must endeavour to fly from this world to the other as soon as we can. Now that flight means the becoming like to God as much as possible." Clement very frequently refers to this noble statement of Plato.

³ Cf. I Tim. vi. 19. 4 Cf. Heb. iii. 5.

person and suffers for us,1 passing through all human experience from birth up to the sign²; and it is in vain that he who has from his youth fulfilled all the legal commandments³ kneels and asks for immortality from any one else. For he has not only fulfilled the law, but began to do so even from his earliest years: for what is there great or exceeding bright about an old age free from the brood of sins which youthful lusts beget, or burning anger, or love of wealth ? But if any one, in the impetuosity of youth and the heat of early manhood, displays a ripeness of wisdom beyond his years, this man is a wonderful and distinguished champion, and already venerable as regards his intelligence. But all the same this exemplary young man is thoroughly persuaded that, as regards righteousness, nothing is lacking to him, but that there is still altogether a lack of life: therefore he asks for it from Him Who alone is able to give it; and as regards the law he speaks confidently, but he supplicates the Son of God; he passes from faith to faith (Rom. i. 17); mistrusting the stormy and perilous anchorage of the law, he passes over to the haven of the Saviour.

§ 9. At any rate, Jesus does not charge him with not having fulfilled all the requirements of the

¹ Cf. Gal. ii. 21.

² Cf. Phil. ii. 8. "The sign" was a term often used to denote the Cross; cf. Epist. of Barnabas, § 12; Clement's Strom., V. § 35, VI. §§ 84 and 87, VII. § 79; Excerpts from Theodotus, §§ 42 and 43. ³ Cf. Mark x. 20.

law, but both loves him, and welcomes him for his ready obedience in the things he had learned, but says that he is imperfect in respect of the life eternal, in that he had fulfilled only imperfect requirements, and as being a doer of the law indeed, but without the work¹ of life truly so called. Certainly the works he had done were good; who denies it? for the commandment is holy,² so far as to do the work of a tutor,³ with fear and preliminary teaching, going on to the supreme legislation of Jesus and His grace. But Christ is the fulfilment⁴ of the law unto righteousness to every one that believeth (Rom. x. 4), not as a slave making men slaves, but making those who fulfil the will of the Father⁵ both sons, and brethren, and fellow heirs.6

§ 10. If thou wilt become perfect (Matt. xix. 21). He was then not yet perfect; for nothing is more perfect than that which is perfect. And divinely does that phrase, "If thou wilt," show the free-will of the soul with which He was holding converse; for the choice lay in the man's power as being free, but the giving in God's power as being Lord. Now God gives to those

¹ The word translated *without the work of* is an adjective meaning literally *not working at*, and is derived from the same root as the word rendered *doer*.

² Cf. Rom. vii. 12.

³ Cf. Gal. iii. 24, where the word rendered *Tutor* in the R.V. is cognate to the word here used.

⁴ The substitution of *fulfilment* for *end* is due to a reminiscence of Rom. xiii. 10.

⁵ Cf. Matt. xii. 50. ⁶ Cf. Rom. viii. 14, 17.

who desire the gift, and take exceeding great pains, and pray, that thus His salvation may become their own possession. For God does not compel, for force is hateful to God, but provides for those that seek, and supplies to those that ask, and opens to those that knock.1 If thou wilt then, if it is thy real wish, and thou art not deceiving thyself, get what is lacking. One thing thou lackest² (Luke xviii. 22); the one thing, that which is mine, which is good, which is even now above law, which law does not give, which law does not contain, which is the special possession of those that have life. Certainly, the man who had fulfilled all the requirements of the law from his youth, and made overweening boasts, is unable to add to his universal goodness this one thing, this that is especially the Saviour's, that he may receive eternal life, which he desires ; but he went away in disgust, grieved at the precept of that life for which he was making entreaty. For he did not truly wish for life, as he said, but clothed himself with a mere reputation of having a good purpose; and about many things he was able to busy himself, but the one thing, the work of life, he was powerless and backward and weak to perform. Just³ as the Saviour said also to Martha, who was busy over many things and distracted and disquieted like a menial, and who blamed her sister because she left the serving

¹ Cf. Matt. vii. 7, and Luke xi. 9.

² Clement uses the verb found in Luke, not Mark.

³ Cf. Luke x. 39 ff.

and sat at His feet, spending a quiet time in the desire to learn,¹ Thou art disquieted concerning many things, but Mary hath chosen the good part, and it shall not be taken from her² (Luke x. 41 f.); so too He bade this man give up the distractions of business, cling to one thing, and attend closely to the grace of Him Who gives life eternal.

§ II. What then was it that urged him to flee, and made him a deserter from his teacher, from his supplication, his hope, his life, his previous labours?³ Sell that thou hast (Matt. xix. 21). What is the meaning of this? It does not bid him, as some take it in an off-hand manner. cast away the property he has and give up his wealth : but it bids him banish from his soul his opinions concerning wealth, the feeling for it, the excessive desire, the passionate and diseased excitement concerning it, the cares, the thorns of earthly life, which choke the seed of true life.4 For it is no great or enviable thing to be without wealth for any other purpose, except on the score of life. On this ground, forsooth, those who possess absolutely nothing at all, but are destitute

¹ Literally, "leisure befitting a learner."

² Note the shortened form in which Clement quotes the Lord's words to Martha. Perhaps, however, the phrase "but one thing is needful" has been accidentally omitted, as Clement seems to echo it just below, "cling to one thing."

³ his previous labours, i. e. his laborious observance of the law.

⁴ Cf. Mark iv. 19, and the parallel passages in Matt. and Luke.

of, and beggars for, daily necessaries—the poor who are cast along the sides of the roads, **ignorant** of God and **of God's righteousness** (Rom. x. 3) these would be most blessed, and most dear to God, and alone possessors of life eternal, solely on account of their being utterly without means and resources of livelihood, and in want of the least things. Nor again is it a new thing to renounce wealth, and give it to the poor or to one's fatherland : this many did before the descent of the Saviour, some for the sake of gaining leisure time for learning and for the sake of dead wisdom, others for the sake of empty reputation and vanity—such men as Anaxagoras, Democritus, and Crates.¹

§ 12. What then does He announce as new and specially God's and alone life-giving, which did not save men of old? If the New Creation,² the Son of God, reveals and teaches

¹ Anaxagoras was an Ionian Greek, born about B.C. 500, who gave up his property to his relations in order to devote himself to the study of philosophy. The same story is told of Democritus, a philosopher, born about B.C. 460, and of the Cynic Crates (flourished about B.C. 320), who is said to have given the money realized by the sale of his property to his native city Thebes.

² Clement uses the phrase "the New Creation or Creature" to denote the Saviour in the *Protrep.*, § 114. The expression may be founded on Colossians i. 15, "the first-born of all creation," and 2 Cor. v. 17, "if any man is in Christ, he is a new creature, or (with R.V. marg.) there is a new creation;" it is identical in meaning with "the beginning of the creation of God" (Rev. iii. 14), describing Christ as the *source* of the new creation, but was liable to be misunderstood and taken to imply that

something out of the common, He does not commend to us the obvious meaning—not something that others have done—but something thereby signified, greater and more divine and more perfect; and this is, to clear one's very soul and one's disposition of the passions that lurk there, and utterly¹ to cut out and cast out from the mind what is alien² to it. For this learning is the believer's special possession, and worthy of the Saviour is the teaching. For men of old indeed, in their contempt for things external,⁸ gave up and altogether abandoned their possessions, but I consider that they actually intensified the passions of their souls; for they developed arrogance and boastfulness and

the Son was by nature created and not eternal. Photius (*Library*, cod. cix.) says that Clement in his *Outlines* makes the Son a created being ; and Rufinus (*concerning the falsification of Origen's works*) speaks of passages in Clement's writings in which the Son of God is called a creature, which must he thinks have been introduced by heretics. It is possible that ambiguous expressions such as the one now before us may have been taken in a heretical sense by those who did not appreciate Clement's figurative language.

¹ utterly. Literally, "from the roots," "roots and all": a strong word used again in § 29.

 2 alien. The word means properly "belonging to another person"; hence it describes those passions which have no right to exist in man's soul : it is used again in §§ 19 and 37.

³ things external, i. e. things outside a man's soul, over which he cannot have perfect control, as opposed to things within the soul, which are in a man's own power, character, disposition, virtues, etc. Cf. § 15. vanity and contempt for other men, as having themselves performed a superhuman act. How then could the Saviour have recommended to those, who are to live for ever, things hurtful and ruinous in regard to that life which He promises ? For, to repeat, this is indeed the case: a man, who has got rid of the burden of property, can none the less still have the lust of, and eagerness for, wealth sunk deep in him as a part of his life; he may have cast away the employment of wealth, and being at one and the same time in want and desirous of what he squandered, grieve with a double grief, both on account of the absence of ministrations¹ and the presence of regret. For it is inevitable and impracticable for one in want of the necessaries of life not to be broken down in mind, and too much occupied to attend to the higher matters, while striving to provide necessaries by any means and from any source.

§ 13. And how much more profitable is the opposite course — that a man should have sufficient, and himself be in no distress concerning his property, and also help those he ought to. For what charitable fellowship² would be

¹ *ministrations.* Properly the service rendered by under-rowers on a ship : hence used to denote the service rendered by wealth, slaves, etc.

² charitable fellowship. The literal meaning of the Greek word is "a making common," "a sharing," "communion." It came to be used especially of sharing this world's goods with others, and was the regular term for a charitable contribution. In this sense it was employed by St. Paul in Rom. xv. 26, and (with the original idea of

left among men if no one possessed anything? And how could this precept be anything but obviously contradictory to, and at variance with many other noble precepts of the Lord? Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness; that, when it shall fail,¹ they may receive you into the eternal tabernacles (Luke xvi. 9). Get for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth consume nor thieves break through (Matt. vi. 20). How could any one nourish the hungry, and give drink to the thirsty, and cover the naked, and take in the houseless (and to those who fail to do so He threatens fire and the outer darkness),² if each man were himself already in want of all these things? But truly He Himself receives the hospitality of Zacchæus³ and Levi⁴ and Matthew,⁵ who were rich men and pub-

fellowship more apparent) in 2 Cor. viii. 4; ix. 13. Cf. also Phil. i. 5 with Lightfoot's note.

¹ when it shall fail. This is undoubtedly the right reading in St. Luke, and is restored in this passage from the Escurial MS. In § 31, however, the MS. has the later reading, "when ye shall fail"; probably this has arisen through a scribe writing the quotation in the form most familiar to him. In the present passage "it shall fail" has been corrected to "ye shall fail" in the late Vatican MS. of this homily.

² Cf. Matt. xxv. 41 ff. ³ Cf. Luke xix. 6.

 f_5^4 Cf. Mark ii. 15; Luke v. 29. f_5^5 Cf. Matt. ix. 10. Levi and Matthew were considered by some in early times to be the names of two different men. Heracleon, a very early heretic, in a passage quoted by Clement (*Strom.*, IV. § 71), speaks of "Matthew, Philip, Thomas, Levi, and many others."

TRANSLATION OF THE HOMILY

licans, and does not bid them give up their wealth, but imposing just, and taking away unjust judgment, He declares, **To-day there is** salvation to this house (Luke xix. 9). He so praises the use of wealth that He also (for He makes this addition) commands fellowship—to give drink to the thirsty, to give bread to the hungry, to lodge the houseless, to dress the naked. But if it is impossible to satisfy these needs without wealth, and yet He commands us to give up wealth, what else would the Lord be doing but exhorting us to give and not to give the same things, to nourish and not to nourish, to lodge and to shut out, to show fellowship and not to show it ? this would be most irrational.

§ 14. We must then not cast away the wealth that benefits our neighbours also; the term "possessions" is applied to it as being possessed, the term "profits"¹ as being profitable and as prepared by God for the profit of men. Now this wealth is at our disposal, and is supplied to

Origen (against Celsus, I. § 62) speaks of Lebes (i. e. Levi) the publican, and says he was not reckoned among the Apostles except in some copies of St. Mark's Gospel : he evidently took Lebbaeus to be another form of the same name. The text actually given in the present passage in the Escurial MS. is obviously corrupt, but a very slight change, proposed independently by Canon Armitage Robinson and Dr. Paul Koetschau, restores the undoubtedly right reading, "and Levi."

¹ profits. Clement here employs the most usual term for money and property, which I elsewhere render wealth; by derivation it means "things that one uses," and on this meaning Clement plays, saying it is so called as being "capable of being used, and provided for men's use."

С

us, as a sort of material, and as an instrument to be well used by those who know how to do so. An instrument, if you use it skilfully, is skilful; if you are lacking in skill, it suffers for your deficiency, without itself incurring blame. Wealth too is such an instrument. Are you able to use it righteously? then it is your servant for righteousness. Does a man use it unrighteously? then it is found to be a servant of unrighteousness. For its nature is to serve, and not to rule. It is not fitting then to blame that which is blameless, as possessing of itself neither good nor evil ; but we must blame that which is able to use wealth both well and badly, according to its own choice; and this is nothing else than man's mind, as having in itself both a free judgment, and independent power over the management of that which is given to it. Let no one therefore destroy his possessions, but rather the passions of his soul,1 which prevent his making a better use of his property, so that he may become noble and good, and be able to use these possessions too in a noble manner. We must therefore interpret the abandoning of all a man has, and selling all he has, in this way, as being spoken concerning the passions of the soul.

¹ soul. The Greek word, *psyche*, has often to be rendered *life*: it was used to denote the animal life. The *psyche* was looked on as the seat of the desires and passions, and distinguished from the "spirit" of man; hence, "belonging to the soul," "psychical," is equivalent to "fleshly," "carnal," describing what belongs to the natural man.

§ 15. I indeed should state the case as follows: since passions are within the soul, and wealth outside it; and the latter appears good if well used, bad if badly used; does he, who bids a man be rid of what he has, reject that on the removal of which the passions still remain, or those passions on whose removal even possessions become profitable? He then that has cast away worldly superabundance is still able to be rich in passions, although the material for gratifying them be not at hand; for his disposition does its own work, and constrains and weighs down his reason, and inflames it with its congenital passions. He has therefore gained no advantage by being poor in regard to wealth, while rich in regard to passions; for he did not cast away what should have been cast away. but things indifferent; 1 and of things that do service he divested himself, while stirring into flame the inborn material of wickedness by the want of external things. A man then must bid adieu to the harmful things he has, not those which (supposing the right manner of using them to be understood) can even do good service. Now that which is dispensed with prudence, moderation and godliness is of service, but that which entails loss must be cast away: external things however are no hindrance.

§ 16. This then is the way in which the Lord sets before us the use of external things, bidding

¹ *things indifferent.* A term used in the Stoic philosophy to denote things in themselves neither good nor bad.

us lay aside, not the means of livelihood, but the things which use these badly; these we have seen to be the infirmities and passions of the soul. (16.) Wealth of these, if it is present, is for all men death-bringing, but its destruction brings salvation. Of this wealth a man must cleanse his soul, that is, make it poor and naked, and, after thus doing, hear the Saviour saying, Come, follow Me (Mark x. 21). For now He Himself becomes the way to the pure of heart (Matt. v. 8), but into an impure heart God's grace does not penetrate; and impure is the heart that is rich in lusts, and travailing with many worldly desires. For he who considers possessions and gold and silver and houses as God's gifts, and by using them to further men's salvation renders service also to God Who gave them, and knows that he possesses these things more for his brethren's sake than his own; who is superior to his possession of them, not being a slave of what he possesses; who does not bear these things " about in his soul, nor bound and circumscribe his own life in them, but is always working out some noble and divine work; who is able, if ever he must be deprived of these things, to endure the loss of them as contentedly as their superabundance: this is he who is called blessed by the Lord, and poor in spirit (Matt. v. 3), ready to be an heir of the kingdom of heaven : he is not the rich man who cannot have life. (17.) But the man who bears his wealth in his soul, and instead of God's spirit

bears in his heart gold or an estate, and is always occupied in rendering his possessions unlimited; who on every occasion looks for more with head bent down, shackled by the snares of the world; who is earth, and to earth will return:¹ whence can this man have a wish or a thought of the kingdom of heaven, being one who bears about, not a heart, but an estate or a mine, who of necessity will be found in the things he has chosen ?² For where the mind of a man is, there is also his treasure ³ (Matt. vi. 21; Luke xii. 34).

§ 17. Now the Lord recognizes two sorts of treasure. One is good, for The good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good; the other is evil, for The wicked man out of the wicked treasure bringeth forth that which is wicked : since out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh (Luke vi. 45). As then treasure is not single in His judgment (as in ours too there is a treasure that suddenly gives great gain on its being found, but there is also a second that brings no gain, and is undesirable, and evil to possess, and harmful); so also there is one sort of wealth of good, another of evil things, since we know that wealth and treasure are not separate from each other in nature. And the one sort of wealth we may regard as fit to be possessed and gained, the other as not fit to be possessed and to be cast

¹ Cf. Gen. iii. 19. ² See p. 68, note 3.

³ Quoted by Clement, with the same curious transposition, in Strom., VII. § 77.

away. In the same way with poverty also; blessed is spiritual poverty; therefore, too, Matthew made an addition, **Blessed are the poor**—how? in spirit (Matt. v. 3); and again, **Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after the righteousness of God** (Matt. v. 6). Wretched then are the poor of the opposite sort, with no share in God, but still less share in human possessions, and not tasting the righteousness of God.

§ 18. Our explanation therefore of who the rich are, who shall with difficulty enter into the kingdom, must be conceived in a teachable spirit, not in a clumsy, boorish, or fleshly manner; for He spake not in this manner : nor does salvation depend on external things, whether these be many or few, or small or great, or glorious or inglorious, or of good repute or no repute; but it depends on the excellence of the soul, on faith, and hope, and love, and brotherly affection, and knowledge, and meekness, and humility, and truth, of which qualities salvation is the reward : nor again on \ account of beauty of body shall any man have life, nor on the other hand shall any perish; but he who uses the body that has been given him in purity, and after God's will, shall have life, but he that destroyeth the temple of God shall be destroyed (I Cor. iii. 17). But a man though ill-favoured can be licentious, and in spite of beauty can be temperate; for strength and greatness of body does not give life, nor does weakness of limbs entail destruction, but the soul that uses these affords the cause in either

direction. He says indeed, When struck offer thy face.¹ This command a man who is strong and healthy can obey, and furthermore one who is weakly can transgress through incontinence of mind. Thus a man, though without ways and means of living, might prove to be drunken with lusts; and one rich in wealth, prove sober and poor in regard to sensual pleasures, believing, intelligent, pure, chastened. If therefore it is the soul first and foremost that is to have life, and excellence springing up around it saves while evil kills, it is at once clearly evident that if it is poor in those things, a wealth of which is destruction, it is being saved; while if rich in those things, a wealth of which is injurious, it is being killed. Let us therefore no longer seek for the cause of the ultimate result elsewhere than in the condition and disposition of the soul, both in regard to obedience to God and purity, and in regard to transgression of commandments and accumulation of evil.

§ 19. The truly and nobly rich man then is he who is rich in virtues, and able to employ every kind of fortune with holiness and faith; but the spurious rich man is he who is rich according to the flesh, and has transferred his life to his external possessions, that pass away and are being destroyed, and are now here, now there, and in the end nowhere at all. Again in the same manner there is both a genuine poor man, and also another spurious poor man falsely so

¹ Cf. Matt. v. 39; Luke vi. 29

called; the poor as regards the spirit is so in the proper sense, the poor as regards the world in the improper sense. To the man then who is poor as regards the world and rich as regards his passions, says the man who is poor as regards his spirit and rich as regards God, "Depart from the improper possessions which thou hast in thy soul, that thou mayest become pure in heart and see God" (Matt. v. 8); expressed by a different phrase, this is to enter into the kingdom of heaven. And how canst thou depart from them ? "By selling them." What then ? shouldst thou take wealth in exchange for possessions, exchanging riches for riches, and turning thy real property into money? Not in this way by any means, but by bringing in, in place of what thou hadst before in thy soul which thou desirest to save, another kind of wealth, that makes man like God, and is the purveyor¹ of life eternaleven a disposition that follows the commandment of God-in return for which thou shalt have reward and honour, perpetual salvation and eternal incorruption. In this way dost thou nobly sell what thou hast, the many superfluous things that shut heaven against thee, by taking in exchange for them the things that are able to save thee. Let those have thy possessions who are poor in a fleshly sense and in need of

¹ purveyor. This word was a technical term at Athens to denote a man who provided the money to equip and train a chorus for a public play; hence used generally of a person or thing who provided or supplied something. The word is used again in § 26. them; but thou, by receiving in their stead spiritual wealth, mayest already have **treasure in** heaven (Mark x. 21).

§ 20. The wealthy and law-abiding man did not understand these things aright, nor how the same man can be both poor and rich, can both have wealth and not have it, can both use the world and not use it; 1 he went away with fallen and downcast countenance, abandoning the ordinance of that life which he was able only to desire, not to obtain, himself making what was difficult impossible ; for it was difficult to prevent his soul from being led astray and dazzled by the luxuries and the brilliant spells that pertain to visible wealth; but it is not impossible to receive salvation even under these circumstances, if a man turn himself from material wealth to that which is spiritual and comes from the teaching of God, and if he learns to use indifferent² things nobly and properly, as one who has started on his course towards life eternal. Even the disciples themselves were at first very frightened and astounded on hearing the saying. Why indeed ? Was it because they too possessed much wealth? But long ago they had left even their poor nets and fish-hooks, and the small skiffs that served them in their trade ; and this was all they had. Why then do they say in fear, Who can be saved? (Mark x. 26). They understood well, and as disciples should, the parabolical and obscure saying of the Lord, and

¹ Cf. I Cor. vii. 29 ff. ² See p. 35, note I.

perceived the depth of His words. On the score then of absence of wealth they had good hopes as regards salvation ; but since they were conscious that they had not yet entirely laid aside their passions (for they had but lately learnt and were newly enlisted by the Saviour), they were extremely frightened, and despaired of themselves no less than did that very wealthy man who clung terribly to his possessions, which indeed he preferred to life eternal. If, then, both he who possessed wealth, and he who was pregnant with passions were rich, it was a fit subject for all the fear of the disciples lest they too should in like manner be driven away from heaven: for salvation belongs to passionless and pure souls.

§ 21. But the Lord answers that **The impossible among men is possible for God** (Mark x. 27).¹ This again is full of great wisdom, that a man in his own strength, training himself and labouring to attain his freedom from passion, effects nothing, but if he be clearly very desirous of this, and has shown great zeal, he succeeds by the addition of the power that comes from God. For God aids with His inspiration the souls that show this desire, but if they desist from their eagerness, then too the Spirit that is given from God is with-

 $^{-1}$ See p. 20, note 3. The words are quoted here somewhat differently from § 4; very probably the text there should be altered to agree with the text here. Clement seems to be following Luke xviii. 27 (" the things which are impossible with men are possible with God") rather than Mark.

drawn:¹ for to save men against their will is to employ violence, while to save those who choose salvation is to give freely. Further, the kingdom of God is not for sleepers and sluggards, but the men of violence take it by force (Matt. xi. 12): for this alone is noble violence, to use violence on God, and to take life by force from God: while He, knowing those who cling to it steadily (or rather violently) ever gives way and yields; for God delights to be worsted in such encounters. On hearing these things, therefore, the blessed Peter-the elect, the chosen one, the first of the disciples, on behalf of whom alone as well as Himself the Saviour pays the tribute² -quickly caught and understood the saying. And what does he say? Lo, we have left all, and followed Thee (Mark x. 28). If by that "all" he means his own possessions, he boasts of having left perchance four obols' worth, as the proverb has it,3 and fails to see that he is declaring the kingdom of heaven to be the equivalent thereof. But if, as I am all along saving, it was their old spiritual 4 possessions and

¹ The Greek verb means literally "to draw together," then by a special use "to shorten sail," and so generally "to reduce."

² Cf. Matt. xvii. 27.

³ An obol was a small Athenian coin, worth rather more than three half-pence. Pollux, an ancient grammarian, quotes from a lost play of Aristophanes the phrase "worth perchance four obols and the carriage."

⁴ spiritual. The Greek word means "perceptible to the mind," and so "spiritual," as opposed to what is perceived by the senses. So in § 20 material (literally,

the diseases of the soul that they had to cast away to follow in their Teacher's track, Peter's saying would in this sense be applicable to those whose names are to be written in heaven.¹ For in this way it is possible really to follow the Saviour, by seeking to attain to His sinlessness and perfection, and by disposing and ordering the soul after Hi3 example, as though at a mirror, and by arranging all things continually in the same way.

§ 22. But Jesus answered, Verily unto you I say, Whosoever shall leave his home, and parents, and brethren, and wealth, for my sake, and for the Gospel's sake, he shall receive a hundredfold² (Mark x. 29). But let not this saying trouble us, nor yet the still harder one that is elsewhere declared in these words, He that hateth not father, and mother, and children, yea, and his own life also, My disciple he cannot be³ (Luke xiv. 26). For the God of peace, Who indeed exhorts men to love even their enemies,⁴ does not propose to

"sensible") wealth is opposed to spiritual. But the word is generally used in a good sense, and Clement would hardly employ it to denote the fleshly passions; a slight alteration in the Greek would give us a word meaning "unprofitable."

¹ Cf. Luke x. 20. ² See p. 21, note 2.

³ Clement quotes this text in *Strom.*, III. § 97. There, as here, he puts "my disciple" before "he cannot be," and also uses the possessive adjective instead of the genitive case of the personal pronoun for "my." The same variations from St. Luke's Gospel are found in Irenaeus (vol. i. p. 29, ed. Harvey).

4 Cf. Matt. v. 44; Luke vi. 27, 35.

us hatred and separation from those who are dearest. But if a man must love his enemies. he must by analogy, arguing up from them, love those nearest him in race; or, if he must hate those akin to him, much more does reason, arguing downward, teach him to cast away his enemies : so that these sayings would be shown to cancel each other. But they do not cancel each other, or anything of the sort; for owing to one and the same disposition of mind, and with the same object in view, a man can hate his father while loving his enemy, if he neither revenges himself on his enemy, nor reverences his father more than Christ. For by the one saying Christ destroys hatred and evil-doing, by the other excessive deference for natural connections, if they are a hindrance to salvation. If then a man have a godless father or son or brother, who is an impediment to his faith and stands in the way of his higher life, let him not come to terms or be of the same mind with him. but let him break off the fleshly relationship owing to their spiritual enmity.

§ 23. Consider the matter as a lawsuit.¹ Imagine that your father stands by you and says, "I engendered and nourished you; follow me, and join in my wrong-doing, and do not obey the law of Christ," and whatever further things a blasphemous man, and in his nature dead, would say. On the other side hear the

¹ A technical term for a lawsuit brought to decide between two or more claimants.

Saviour, "I begat thee again,¹ when miserably begotten for death by the world, I set thee free, I healed thee, I ransomed thee; I will grant thee life that is unceasing, eternal, supramundane; I will show thee the face of God." the good father;² call no man thy father on earth;³ let the dead bury the dead, but follow thou me (Matt. viii. 22), for I will lead thee up into a rest⁴ of unspeakable and indescribable good things, which neither eye saw, nor ear heard, nor entered they into the heart of men (I Cor. ii. o), which things angels desire to look into (I Pet. i. 12), and to see what good things God prepared (I Cor. ii. 9) for His saints and for His children that love Him. It is I Who nurture thee, giving thee Myself as bread⁵ (and he who has tasted it no longer makes trial of death), and granting thee daily the drink of immortality; I am a teacher of heavenly lessons; on thy behalf I bore the conflict against death, and paid thy penalty of death, which thou didst owe because of thy previous sins and thy faithlessness toward God." After hearing these arguments on either side, give judgment on thine own behalf, and cast thy vote in favour of thine own salvation. Although a brother, although a child, although a wife, although any one soever may say like things, let Christ be before all the conqueror

¹ Cf. 1 Pet. i. 3.

² Cf. John xiv. 8 f.

³ Cf. Matt. xxiii. 9.

⁴ rest. Segaar would alter the word to one meaning "enjoyment."

⁵ Cf. John vi. 50 f.

in thee; for on thy behalf He endures the conflict.

§ 24. Canst thou get the upper hand of wealth too? Say so,¹ and Christ does not draw thee away from thy property—the Lord does not grudge. But dost thou see that thou art worsted and overthrown by wealth? Leave it, cast it away, hate it, give it up, flee from it; though it be thy right eye that cause thee to stumble, quickly cut it out; a more desirable thing is the kingdom of God, though thou art one-eyed, than the fire while thou remainest whole: though it be a hand, or a foot, or thy life, hate it; for if it perish here for Christ's sake [there it shall be saved].²

§ 25. With this same sense in like manner agrees that which follows, **But now in this time**, **lands**, and wealth, and houses, and brethren, to have with persecutions [refuse]³ (Mark x. 30). For He does not call to life only men without wealth, or without home, or without brethren; since He has called rich men, but in the way we have already spoken of, and brethren in the same way, as Peter with Andrew, and James with John, the sons of Zebedee, but they were men

¹ Say so. It is doubtful whether the Greek word can bear this meaning, but the sense of the passage is clear.

² In writing the latter part of this section, Clement evidently had in mind Matt. v. 29 f.; xviii. 8 f.; Mark ix. 43 ff.; Luke xiv. 26. After for Christ's sake something has evidently been lost in the MS.; in accordance with a suggestion of Segaar's, the sense has been completed from Mark viii. 35.

³ See p. 21, note 2.

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of one mind with each other and with Christ: but it is the having these several things with persecutions that He disapproves. Now one kind of persecution comes from without, when men, either through hatred, or through envy, or through love of gain, or because of diabolical suggestion, harass the faithful; but the hardest persecution is from within, and is caused by each man's own soul being disfigured by godless lusts, and varied pleasures, and base hopes, and corrupting¹ dreamings; when, being continually eager to obtain more, and maddened and enflamed with savage desires, it is urged on² by the passions fastened to it, as though by goads and spurs, to frenzied pursuits and despair of life and contempt of God. This persecution is heavier and harder, springing from within, always with the victim, who cannot even flee from it, for everywhere he takes his enemy about within himself. So, too, the fiery trial that attacks from without worketh probation.³ but that from within brings about death: and war if external is easily ended, but if it be in the soul it lasts on till death. If joined with such persecution thou hast material wealth, and brothers according to blood, and other pledges,⁴ leave altogether the possession of these that

¹ I now read $\phi \theta a \rho \tau i \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu$ and, three lines lower, $\pi \rho o \sigma \kappa \epsilon i \mu \epsilon' \nu o i s$, with Dr. J. B. Mayor.

² urged on, literally "made all bloody," of horses urged on by goads and spurs.

³ Cf. Rom. v. 4; 1 Cor. iii. 13.

⁴ *pledges*, i. e. "relatives," "dear ones"; cf. the use of the Latin *pignora* of children.

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tends to evil, grant to thyself peace, be freed from long persecution, be turned from them to the Gospel, choose before all the Saviour, the advocate and comforter¹ of thy soul, the prince of endless life. For the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal (2 Cor. iv. 18); and in the present time are things that die quickly and are insecure, but in the time to come there is eternal life (Mark x. 30).²

§ 26. The first shall be last, and the last first (Mark x. 31). This saying is prolific both in regard to its true meaning and its interpretation ; on the present occasion, however, it requires no examination; for it has reference not merely to those of great possessions, but to all men without exception who once give themselves up to faith. Let this matter then be for the present postponed; but as to the object which we proposed to ourselves, I think I have not fallen short of my promise in proving that the Saviour has in no way shut out the rich on account of their mere wealth and their surroundings 3 of property, and has not fenced off salvation from them. if they are able and willing to submit to the commandments of God, and value their own life before temporal things, and look towards the

¹ Cf. John xiv. 16.

² The whole argument of this section shows that Clement took the words on which he was commenting to command the relinquishing of earthly ties under certain circumstances, and not to promise a hundredfold multiplication of earthly blessings.

³ See p. 18, note 1.

Lord with intent gaze, as though watching for the nod of a good pilot, to see what He wishes, what He commands, what He signals, what token He gives to His sailors, where and on which side He announces the harbour. For what wrong does a man commit, if, by paying attention and living thriftily, he has before his conversion collected a sufficient livelihood? or again (and to this even less blame attaches), if, by the direct act of God Who bestows the soul,¹ he has been placed in the house of such men. and in a flourishing race, strong in riches and powerful in wealth? For if, owing to his involuntary birth amid wealth, he has been driven away from life, he is rather wronged by God Who brought him into life, being deemed worthy of temporal luxury, but deprived of eternal life. But why was it necessary that wealth should ever rise out of the earth at all. if it is the purveyor² and ally³ of death? But

¹ bestows the soul, "assigns the soul to the place it has to occupy." This might be taken to imply a belief in the pre-natal existence of souls, which Origen apparently held; cf. Wisdom viii. 20, "Yea, rather, being good, I came into a body undefiled." But Segaar, by a slight and very probably right change, would alter the word for soul into one meaning "fortune," thus improving the sense considerably—"God who apportions fortune."

² See p. 40, note.

³ ally. The term employed, *Proxenos*, denoted in ancient Greece one whose office corresponded closely with that of our consul or resident agent. It was the duty of the *Proxenos* to entertain and assist the ambassadors and citizens of the state he represented.

if a man is able to confine himself within the limits of what is allowed by his possessions,¹ and to be moderately minded, and to be temperate, and to seek for God only, and to breathe God,² and to have familiar intercourse with³ God-this is a poor man who submits to the commandments, free, unconquered, without disease, unwounded by riches; but if he cannot do so, quicker shall a camel go in through a needle than a rich man of this sort shall enter into the kingdom of God (Mark x. 25). Let the camel then that passes before the rich man through a narrow and straitened way (Matt. vii. 14) be understood to have some higher meaning : about this mystery of the Saviour you can learn in my " Exposition concerning First Principles and Theology."⁴

¹ Dr. J. B. Mayor thinks this is a metaphor derived from the chariot race, "to turn the chariot round the turning-post within the prescribed limits."

² A strange and very forcible expression, to which I know of no parallel, to imply communion with God.

³ Literally, "to live as a fellow-citizen with"; used by Origen (*against Celsus*, IV. § 43) of God's relation to the Patriarchs.

⁴ Cf. Strom., III. § 13, "Against these men we will argue more accurately when we undertake the discussion concerning First Principles," and in § 21 he promises to examine certain opinions "when we discuss concerning the First Principles" (cf. also IV. § 2; V. § 140; and VI. § 4). It would appear therefore that he wrote the work referred to between the Stromata and our homily, but if so it has altogether disappeared. Faye (Clément d'Alexandric, pp. 78 ff.) tries to show that Clement intended to write a book, to be called "The Master," as a continuation of the Protrepticus and the Paedagogus; in this he thinks there was to be one chapter

(27.) Nevertheless, let the obvious meaning and the reason for speaking the parable be first set forth. Let it teach those who are well off that they must not give up care for their own salvation, as being already condemned beforehand, and again that they must not throw their wealth into the sea, nor condemn it as treacherous and inimical to life, but learn in what manner and how they must use wealth and must obtain life. For since a man neither perishes altogether, provided he lives in fear, because he is rich, nor is¹ saved altogether if he has a confident belief that he will be saved, come and let us see what hope the Saviour sketches out for them, and how that which is unhoped for may become secure, and that which is hoped for may come into a man's possession.

§ 27. The Teacher then says, when asked which is the greatest of the commandments, **Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul, and with all thy might**, and that there is no commandment greater than this (Mark xii. 30 f.), and very naturally so; for indeed His precept concerns the first and the greatest, God Himself our Father, through Whom all things are made and are, and to Whom the things that are being saved return again.² Since then He loved men first, and from Him they obtained existence, it is impious to treat any-

on First Principles, and another on Theology. Our passage, however, refers more naturally to a separate work.

¹ Dr. J. B. Mayor suggests that perhaps a word meaning "a poor man" has been lost here. ² Cf. Rom. xi. 36. thing else as more venerable¹ and honourable; this slight gratitude alone can they return for the greatest favours, but they can conceive of nothing else at all, in the way of requital, for a perfect God Who needs naught, while they receive the faculty of loving the Father as far as their strength allows, and the power of incorruption;² for the more a man loves God, the further does he also penetrate into the nature of God.³

§ 28. Second in order, He says, and in no way less than this one, is the commandment, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself (Luke x. 27), and therefore God more than thyself. When the man He was conversing with inquired, Who is a neighbour (Luke x. 29)? He does not define the term, in the same way as the Jews did, to mean kinsman, or fellow-citizen, or proselyte, or one similarly circumcised, or an observer of one and the same law; but in His speech He takes a man down from Jerusalem to Jericho. and shows him stabbed all over by robbers, cast half dead on the road, whom the priest passed by, the Levite disregarded, but the reviled and outcast Samaritan pitied: not by chance did he pass by, as they did, but came prepared

¹ venerable, literally "older," then "worthy of respect on the score of age."

² A slight and very probable correction in the Greek would make this sentence mean, "while by the very act of loving the Father as far as their strength allows they receive also the power of incorruption"; this suits what follows much better.

 3 Literally, "so much the more does he creep further within God."

with what the man in danger needed, wine, oil, bandages, a beast, reward for the host, in part given at once, in part promised. "Which," said He, "of these proved neighbour to the ill-used man?" And when he answered, "He that displayed mercy to him," "Thou also then go and do thus," since love causes well-doing to flourish (Luke x. 30-37).

§ 29. In both the commandments then He proposes love, but He makes a distinction in the order, and in the one ascribes the first share of love to God, in the other assigns the second share to him that is neighbour. But who could this be except the Saviour Himself?¹ or who more than He has pitied us, all but put to death by the world-rulers of the darkness (Eph. vi. 12), with many wounds-fears, lusts, anger, grief, deceits, pleasures? And of these wounds the only physician is Jesus, Who cuts out the passions wholly and utterly, not merely, like the law, their effects-the fruits of bad plants-but brings His axe to the roots of wickedness.² This is He that poureth out on our wounded hearts wine, the blood of the vine of David;3 that brought

¹ Note how Clement, in seeking for a mystical interpretation of the parable, neglects altogether the simple teaching on love to one's neighbour.

² Cf. Matt. iii. 10 (where one old Latin MS., k, has "to the root of evils"), and Luke iii. 9. In *Paced.*, 11. § 51, Clement says, "He is always wonderful in cutting out the roots of sins."

⁸ Cf. *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, § 9 (the Blessing of 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."

and bestowed lavishly on us mercy¹ from the Father's heart; this is He that displayed the indissoluble bonds of health and safety, love, faith, hope; this is He that appointed angels and principalities and powers² to serve us for a great reward, in that they too shall be delivered from the vanity of the world at the revealing of the glory of the sons of God (Rom. viii. 19 ff.). Him, therefore, equally with God, it is right to love; and he loves Christ Jesus that does His will, and keeps His commandments (John xiv. 15). For not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of My Father (Matt. vii. 21); and. Why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say (Luke vi. 46)? and, Ye are blessed that see and hear the things which neither righteous men nor prophets did, if ye do what I say.³

§ 30. This man then is the first who loves Christ; but the second is he who honours and respects believers on Him: for what a man does for a disciple, this the Lord receives for Himself, and makes 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 an

¹ The Greek word for "mercy" was pronounced very like that for "oil," and a play on the words is very common. Observe how Clement gives a mystical interpretation to the terms used in the parable—wine, oil (mercy), bandages (bonds), reward.

² Cf. Heb. i. 14; Eph. iii. 10.

³ Cf. Matt. xiii. 16 f. ; John xiii. 17.

hungred, and ye gave Me meat: and I was thirsty. and ye offered 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, saving, Lord, when saw we Thee an hungred, and fed Thee? or athirst, and gave Thee drink? And when saw we Thee a stranger, and took Thee in? or naked, and clothed Thee? Or when saw we Thee sick, and visited Thee? or in prison, and came unto Thee? The King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you. Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these My brethren, even these least, ye did it unto Me (Matt. xxv. 34-40). Again, on the other hand, those that afford not these things to them He casts into the fire eternal, as not having afforded them to Him. And elsewhere, He that receiveth you receiveth Me (Matt. x. 40); he that receiveth you not rejecteth Me (Luke x. 16).

§ 31. These He names children, and little children, and babes, and friends, and little ones ¹ here, as compared with their greatness that is to be above, saying, Despise not one of these little ones; for the angels of these do always behold the face of My Father Which is in heaven (Matt. xviii. 10). And in another place, Fear ye not, little flock; for to you it is the Father's good pleasure to give over the kingdom of heaven (Luke xii. 32). In the same way He says that the least in the

¹ Cf. Mark x. 24; John xxi. 5; Matt. xi. 25; John xv. 15; Luke xii. 4; Matt. x. 42.

kingdom of heaven, that is, His disciple, is greater than even John, the greatest among them that are born of women (Matt. xi. 11; Luke vii. 28). And again. He that receiveth a righteous man, or a prophet, in the name of a righteous man or of a prophet, shall receive their reward; and he that gives to drink unto a disciple, in the name of a disciple, a cup of cold water shall not lose his reward (Matt. x. 41 f.).¹ So then this reward alone is not being lost. And again, Make to vourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness; that, when ye shall fail,² they may receive you into the eternal tabernacles (Luke xvi. 9). He shows that all possessions are by nature unrighteous, if a man possesses them in his own interest as being specially his, and does not offer them for common use to those in need; but that, by means of this unrighteous thing, it is possible even to work a righteous and a saving deed, namely, to give rest to one of those that have an eternal tabernacle with the Father.

§ 32. (31.) Observe first that He has not commanded thee to wait to be asked or importuned, but thyself to seek those that are to be benefited, as being " worthy disciples of the Saviour. Yea, noble also is the Apostle's saying, For God loveth a cheerful giver (2 Cor. ix.7), rejoicing in giving, and not sowing sparingly, lest he also reap thus (2 Cor. ix. 6), communi-

¹ A good example of Clement's looseness in quoting the New Testament. ² See p. 32, note 1.

³ Read $\gamma \epsilon$ for $\tau \epsilon$, with Dr. J. B. Mayor.

cating¹ without murmurings and disputation and grudging, which is pure well-doing. But better // in another place, Give to every one that asketh thee (Luke vi. 30). For such fondness of giving is indeed of God ; but this saving is beyond all divinity,² not even to wait to be asked, but oneself to seek out who is worthy to be benefited; (32) then to appoint so great a reward of fellowship,¹ an eternal tabernacle. Oh, noble commerce; Oh, divine barter; a man with wealth buys incorruption, and, by giving the perishing things of the world, receives in exchange for these an eternal mansion in heaven. Set sail for this assembly,³ if thou art of sound mind, O rich man: if it be necessary, go round the whole earth, spare not dangers and labours, that here thou mayest buy a heavenly kingdom. Why do transparent gems and emeralds delight thee so much, and the fire's own nursling, or a sport of time, or an earthquake's bye-work, or a tyrant's insolence?⁴ Desire to dwell in heaven and to

¹ See p. 31, note 2.

² Could Clement possibly speak of any good work, as being "beyond all divinity"? A slight change in the Greek would give "beyond all humanity."

³ Cf. Heb. xii. 23.

⁴ The translation of this passage caused great difficulty, until Dr. J. B. Mayor (in a note sent to me for my edition of this homily in Greek) suggested that Clement had in mind some poem or panegyric on an emerald or other jewel, from which he borrowed the strange terms here used. In the *Paed.*, II. § 118, occurs a line which might well come from such a poem, "Emerald, most costly reign with God: this kingdom a man¹ shall give thee, imitating God; receiving small things here, there through all ages he will make thee dwell with him. Supplicate him to receive; hasten, strive, be fearful lest he reject thee: for he is not commanded to receive, but thou to afford. Nay further, the Lord did not say, "Give," or "Afford," or "Benefit," or "Help," but **Make a friend** (Luke xvi.9); now a friend is not formed by one gift, but ·by continual alleviation and long intercourse: for neither faith, nor love, nor endurance, is a matter of one day, but **he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved** (Matt. x. 22).

§ 33. How then does a man give these things ? Because the Lord gives owing to His honour, and good-will, and friendship for him. "For I will give not only to my friends, but also to the friends of friends." ² "And who," thou mayst say, "is this

merchandise." The expression which I translate "the fire's own nursling" would more naturally mean "food of fire," whereas emeralds were among the unburnable gems. Dr. Mayor suggests that the phrase may mean "nursery of fire," *i. e.* scintillating. With "sport of time" he compares the Latin *lusus naturæ* used of fossils. With "an earthquake's bye-work" he compares what Pliny and Theophrastus say of gems being found after violent storms; and in the passage from the *Paced*. already referred to, Clement uses the term "thunder-stones" of some sort of jewel. "A tyrant's insolence" seems to mean that his jewels insult the poverty of the mass of his subjects.

¹ *i. e.* the recipient of charity.

² This is generally taken to be an extra-canonical saying of our Lord's, but more probably we should alter the word for "I will give" into "He will give," when the

friend of God?" Do not thou judge who is worthy, or who is unworthy; for it is possible for thee to be mistaken in thine opinion: but in the uncertainty of ignorance it is better to benefit even the unworthy for the sake of the worthy, than in guarding against the less good not to fall in with the excellent. For by giving sparingly, and by pretending to test who have, and who have not, a good claim to receive, it is possible for thee to neglect some of those dear to God, the penalty for which is eternal fiery punishment: but by giving to all in order that need, thou must of necessity find one of those that have power with God to save. Judge not therefore, that thou be not judged (Matt. vii. 1): with what measure thou metest it shall be measured to thee again; good measure, pressed down and shaken together, running over, shall be given again to thee (Luke vi. 38). To all that are enrolled as the disciples of God, open thine heart, not casting contemptuous glances at their body, not treating them carelessly on account of their appearance; but if any one appears poor, or badly clothed, or ugly, or feeble, do not on this account feel disgust in thy soul and turn away. This is a fashion¹ cast about us from without to give occasion for our entry into the

sentence becomes a statement which fits in well with the context.

¹ The nearest equivalent to the Greek word is the old English "haviour," now used only in the compound "behaviour": see Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 127 f., or Trench, *New Testament Synonyms*, § LXX. world, that we may be able to come into this general training school; but within dwells the hidden Father and His Son,¹ Who for our sakes died, and with us rose.²

§ 34. This fashion is seen by, and deceives, death and the devil; for the inward wealth and beauty is invisible to them ; and they rave concerning the wretched flesh, which they despise as weak, being blind to the possessions within, not understanding how great a treasure we bear in an earthen vessel (2 Cor. iv. 7), walled all round by the might of God the Father, and the blood of God the Son, and the dew of the Holy Spirit. But be not thou deceived, who hast tasted truth, and hast been counted worthy of the great redemption; but do the opposite to other men. and choose for thyself a host unarmed, unwarlike, unbloody, untouched by anger, undefiled-Godfearing old men, orphans dear to God, widows armed with meekness, men adorned with love. Such as these obtain with thy wealth as guards for thy body and thy soul; their general is God ; through them a ship on the point of sinking is lightened, steered only by the prayers of saints; and disease at its height is subdued. chased away by the laying-on of hands; and the assault of robbers is disarmed, despoiled by devout prayers; and the violence of demons is broken, conquered by earnest commands.

§ 35. In actions all these soldiers and guards

¹ Cf. John xiv. 23.

² with us rose, i. e. raised us by His resurrection.

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are reliable, none is idle, none is useless. One is able to obtain thy pardon from God, another to encourage thee when weary, another to weep and groan sympathetically on thy behalf to the Lord of the universe, another to teach thee somewhat of things useful for salvation, another to warn thee with frankness, another to advise thee with good-will—all are able to love thee truly, guilelessly, fearlessly, without hypocrisy, without flattery, without affectation. O sweet services of those that love, O blessed ministrations of those that have confidence, O sincere faith of those that fear God alone, O truth of words with those that cannot lie, O beauty of actions with those determined to serve God, to persuade God, to please God : they seem not to touch thy flesh, but each his own soul; not to speak to a brother, but to the King of the ages (I Tim. i. 17) dwelling in thee.

§ 36. All the faithful then are noble and Godlike, and worthy of the name which they wear around them like a diadem. Yet there are even now some more elect than even the elect,¹ and so much the more are they less conspicuous, for they as it were withdraw² themselves from the surf of the world, and retreat into safety, not wishing to seem holy, and ashamed if one so name them, hiding in the depth of their mind

¹ Perhaps a reference to an extra-canonical saying; cf. *Miscellanies*, VI. § 107, "And there are, He says, some more elect than the elect."

² A metaphorical use of a verb meaning "to haul a ship up on land."

the unutterable mysteries, and disdaining to let their noble birth be seen in the world; these men the word calls light of the world and salt of the earth (Matt. v. 13 f.). This is the Seed,¹ an image and likeness of God, and His true child and heir, sent here as on a sort of foreign service by a great dispensation and analogy² of the Father, by Whom both the visible and the invisible things of the world are created, some to be in slavery to the Seed, others to afford it practice, others instruction; and all things are held together so long as the Seed remains here, and when it is gathered in,³ these shall very quickly be dissolved (2 Pet, iii. 10).

§ 37. What is still wanting? Look at the mysteries of love, and then thou shalt be admitted to see ⁴ the **bosom of the Father**, Whom

¹ Seed. A term used to denote the elect; cf. Clement's *Excerpts from Theodotus*, \S 26, "When He enters in, the Sced too enters in with Him into the fulness through the door, being gathered together and led in."

² analogy may perhaps mean "an arrangement in due proportion," but it is very harsh, and Dr. J. B. Mayor is perhaps right in suggesting the correction of the Greek word to one meaning "up-bringing," so that the sense would be, "as a result of God's plan for training us."

³ Cf. Matt. iii. 12, the passage quoted in note 1, and *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, § 9, "May Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom." Justin Martyr, *Apology* II. chap. 5, says, that God spares to punish and destroy the evil world, for the sake of the holy Seed, the Christians, who are the real reason why God still preserves the order of nature.

⁴ A term borrowed from the old Greek Mysteries, "to view as an *epoptes*," that is, one who has been admitted to the highest grade of initiation.

Keid

the only begotten God 1 alone hath declared (John i. 18). God Himself also is love (1 John iv. 8, 16), and because of love He was seen by us.² And the ineffable part of His nature became Father, but that part which has sympathy for us became Mother. The Father by loving became womanlike, and the great sign of this is the Son Whom He begat of Himself, and the fruit produced from love is love.³ For this cause He Himself came down, for this cause He put on man, for this cause He willingly suffered man's lot, that, having been brought to the measure of the weakness of us, whom He loved, He might bring us in return to the measure of His power. And being about to be offered,⁴ and giving Himself as a ransom. He leaves us a new

¹ This passage affords very important evidence in favour of the reading in St. John, which is placed by the Revisers in the margin, but is almost certainly the right one : this evidence was not known of till recently, as the old editions of Clement gave "the only-begotten Son God"—Son being a marginal correction in the Vatican MS. for God, which in the first edition was introduced into the text. This is a very instructive example of how scribes removed a reading unfamiliar to them.

² He was seen by us. The word thus translated is a correction made by Jülicher for a meaningless word in the MS.; cf. Strom., V. § 16, "When the Word becomes flesh, so that He may also be seen."

³ It is not possible to enter here into the questions suggested by Clement's mystical explanation of the Incarnation, beyond saying that he seems to have been influenced by the speculations of Gnostics.

⁴ Literally, "poured out as a drink-offering"; cf. 2 Tim. iv. 6.

covenant : " My love I give unto you." 1 What means this, and how great is this love ? For the sake of each of us He laid down His life-worth no less than the universe. He demands of us in return our lives for the sake of each other. But if we owe our lives to our brethren, and acknowledge that such is our agreement with the Saviour, shall we still hoard away and shut up the things of the world, that are poor, and not truly our own, and that pass away? Shall we keep back from each other what the fire will shortly have ? Divincly, indeed, and with inspiration, John says. He that loveth not his brother is a murderer (I John iii. 15), seed of Cain, offspring of the devil; he has not the heart of God; he has not hope of better things; he is without seed; he is without children ; he is not a branch of the everliving, heavenly vine, he is cut off, he has to expect the fire at once.²

§ 38. But do thou learn the more excellent way (I Cor. xii. 31) to salvation, which Paul shows: Love seeketh not its own (I Cor. xiii. 5), but spends³ itself over a man's brother; for his sake it is excited, for his sake it is soberly passionate. Love covereth a multitude of sins (I Pet. iv. 8 from Prov. x. 12); perfect Love drives away fear (1 John iv. 18); 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:

¹ Cf. John xiv. 27. ³ Literally, " pours itself out." ² Cf. John xv. 5 f.

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prophecies are done away, tongues cease (I Cor. xiii. 4, 6, 7, 8), cures are left behind on earth. But there abide these three, faith, hope, love; and the greater among these is love (I Cor. xiii. 13). And justly so, for faith departs, when we believe on seeing God with our own eyes; and hope is destroyed, when the objects of hope are granted; but love enters together with us into fulness,¹ and increases the more when the things that are perfect are given.

§ 39. (38.) If a man admits this love into his soul, although he be born in sins (John ix. 34), and although he have wrought many forbidden things, he is able by increasing his love, and by pure repentance, to retrieve his previous failures. For let not this thought remain in thy mind to produce despair and distraction, if thou learnest both who the rich man is that has no place in heaven, and also in what way a man may so employ his possessions (39) as to escape the infamy of wealth, and the difficulty it causes, and attain life, and to be able to enjoy the eternal things, the good things. And if a man has chanced, either through ignorance, or through weakness, or through circumstances beyond his control, after receiving the seal² and redemption, to fall into sins or errors, so as to

¹ fulness. Greek *Pleroma*—a term used by Gnostic heretics to denote the state in which the eternal Aeons lived according to their speculations. Here used of the fulness and perfection of heaven, as in the passage quoted, p. 63, note 1.

² the seal, i. e. Baptism ; cf. § 42.

be completely mastered, even this man is not¹ altogether condemned by God. For to every one that in truth with all his heart turns to God the doors are opened, and with three-fold joy the Father receives the truly repentant son ; but real repentance consists in being no more guilty of the same offences, but altogether rooting out from the soul those sins on account of which a man judged himself worthy of death; for when these are taken away, God will again come and dwell in thee: for He says that great and unsurpassed is the joy and feasting in heaven for the Father and the angels, when one sinner turns and repents.² Wherefore also He cried, I desire mercy, and not sacrifice (Matt. ix. 13; xii. 7 from Hosea vi. 6): I desire not the death of the sinner, but his repentance:³ though your sins be as scarlet wool, I will whiten them as snow, and though they be blacker than darkness. I will cleanse them and make them as white wool.⁴ For to God alone it is possible to grant forgiveness of sins, and not to reckon transgressions:5 indeed the Lord bids us also to forgive our brethren each day on their repentance; ⁶ but if we, being evil,

¹ There is no negative in the MS., but it seems absolutely necessary to the sense to introduce one, as Clement is dwelling on the abounding mercy of God : there is no reason to believe that he shared the views of those Christians who on the strength of Heb. vi. 4 ff., denied the possibility of a second repentance.

² Cf. Luke xv. 7, 10.

⁴ Cf. Isaiah i. 18.

⁶ Cf. Luke xvii. 3 f.

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³ Cf. Ezek. xviii. 23.
 ⁵ Cf. Mark ii. 7 ; Luke v. 21.

know how to give good gifts (Matt. vii. 11), how much more does the Father of mercies, the good Father of all comfort (2 Cor. i. 3), Who is full of pity (James v. 11) and full of mercy,¹ Whose nature it is to show longsuffering—how much more does He wait for those that turn? But really to turn from sins is to cease from them, and not to look back (Luke ix. 62).

§ 40. Of sins then that are passed, God gives remission; but of those that lie in the future, each gives remission to himself;² repentance further consists in condemning the things that are past, and praying the Father that these may be forgotten, Who alone of all is able to render undone past actions, blotting out former sins by the mercy that comes from Him, and by the dew of the Spirit. For He says, "Such things as I shall find you in, in accordance with these will I judge you;"³ and on every occasion He

¹ Cf. Exodus xxxiv. 6, and many other passages of the Old Testament.

² Cf. Clement's *Prophetical Extracts*, § 15, "He that believed received remission of sins from the Lord; but he that is in a state of knowledge, as no longer sinning, receives from himself the remission of other sins."

⁸ Cf. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, §47, "Wherefore also our Lord Jesus Christ said, 'In such things as I happen on you, in these will I judge you.'" Many Christian writers refer to the same saying ; see Resch, *Agrapha*, pp. 112 ff. ; Rope's *Die Sprüche Jesu*, pp. 137 ff. Some ancient writers seem to imply that the words stood in the book of Ezekiel : they certainly sum up the teaching of Ezek. xxxiii. 10-20; cf. especially v. 20 (LXX.), "Each man in his ways I will judge you." Cf. the allusion in § 16. loudly calls the end of all:¹ so that even to a man who has acted most excellently throughout his life, but at the end has run aground² on the shoals of evil, all his previous labours are of no profit, since he is put out of the contest³ at the conclusion 4 of the drama; but a man who has before lived a very bad and lazy life can, if he afterwards repents, prevail over an evil manner of life that has lasted a long time by the time that follows his repentance ; but great precision is necessary, just as, in the case of bodies that have suffered from long illness, there is need of more careful treatment⁵ and of greater attention. Dost thou, O thief, wish to obtain pardon? steal no more;⁶ thou adulterer, lust no more; thou fornicator, for the future be pure; thou extortioner, give back, and give back more; thou false witness, practise truth; thou perjurer, swear no more ; and repress the other passions, anger, lust, grief, fear, so that, at thy departure

¹ The Greek hardly makes sense. An explanation of the previous saying seems to be intended; perhaps Bunsen was right in making an emendation which gives us "demanding from each life its end," *i. e.* judging a man by his state at his life's end.

² For the use of a nautical metaphor, cf. § 8 (last sentence), and p. 62, note 2.

³ A word describing apparently an athlete past service. For the metaphor, cf. § 3.

⁴ conclusion. Greek catastrophe, the turning-point of a play. Used especially of the close of life ; cf. Sophocles, *Œdipus Coloneus*, 103.

⁵ A medical term, from which our word "diet" is derived. ⁶ Cf. Eph. iv. 28.

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hence, thou mayest be found to have already come to terms here with thine adversary.¹ It is indeed perchance impossible to altogether cut away congenital passions, but with God's strength and men's intercession, and brethren's help, and sincere repentance, and continual practice, success is gained.

§ 41. Therefore it is absolutely necessary that thou, the haughty and powerful and rich man, shouldst set over thee some man of God as a trainer² or pilot. Reverence at all events one man, fear at all events one, exercise thyself to hear at all events one man speaking the plain truth both in rebuking and healing. For even the eyes should not remain eyer and always undisciplined, but they should weep and smart for the sake of better health: so, too, for the soul there is nothing more destructive than continual pleasure; for it is blinded by indulgence if it remain undisturbed by freedom of speech. Fear this man when angry, and be grieved when he groans, and reverence him when he abates his anger, and anticipate him when he deprecates punishment. Let this man keep vigil many nights on thy behalf, negotiating on thy behalf with God, and moving the Father with the spell of habitual prayers; for He holds not out against His children when they implore His mercy. And he will implore it, if purely honoured by thee

¹ Cf. Matt. v. 25; Luke xii. 58.

² Literally, "an anointer," hence a trainer or teacher in gymnastic schools, who anointed the athletes in preparation for the exercises.

as an angel of God, in nothing grieved by thee, but for thee. This is repentance unfeigned. **God** is not mocked (Gal. vi. 7), nor does He give heed to empty words; for He alone examines the marrow and reins of the heart,¹ and hears those that are in the fire,² and listens to those that entreat Him in the whale's belly,³ and is near to all that believe, and far from the godless except they repent.

§ 42.⁴ But that thou mayest have confidence, if thou thus truly repent, that there remains for thee a sufficient hope of salvation, hear a legend that is no legend, but a true story concerning John the Apostle, that has been handed down and preserved in memory. For when, on the death of the tyrant,⁵ he removed from the island of Patmos to Ephesus, on being invited, he went also to the neighbouring districts of the Gentiles; in one place appointing Bishops, in another setting in order whole Churches, in another ordaining a ministry,⁶ or individuals of

¹ Cf. Rev. ii. 23; Jer. xvii. 10; Ps. vii. 9.

² Cf. Daniel iii. ³ Cf. Jonah ii.

⁴ The story of St. John and the Young Robber contained in this section became widely known, owing to its being quoted in full by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History*; see Introd., p. 7. It is also found prefixed or appended to many MSS. of the Scholia of Maximus on the works of Dionysius the Areopagite; see Introd., p. 7. St. Chrysostom (*ad Theodorum Lapsum*, I. § 17) refers to the story, but it is impossible to tell whether his knowledge of it was independent of Clement or not.

⁵ Clement no doubt means Domitian (died A.D. 96), who is said to have exiled the Apostle to Patmos.

⁶ a ministry. Greek kleros, Latin clerus, whence our

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those indicated by the Spirit. Being come then to one of the cities not far off (some people also tell its name),¹ and having set the brethren at rest on other matters, at last he fixed his eyes on the presiding Bishop,² and seeing a young man of considerable bodily strength, and fair in appearance, and fervent in soul, he said, "This man I give into thy keeping with all earnestness before the Church and Christ as witnesses." On the Bishop's accepting and promising everything,

word Clergy is derived : it means, literally, "a lot," then, "an allotted portion." Jerome says (Epist. lii. 5, 1), "The Clergy are so called, either because they are of the Lord's lot, or because the Lord Himself is the lot, that is, the share, of the Clergy" (cf. Deut. xviii. 2). On the use of this word, see Lightfoot, *Philippians*, pp. 246 ff.; on p. 248, note 4, he says, that in this passage "the word seems not to be used in this sense," but does not indicate what sense he would give to it.

¹ Smyrna, according to the *Paschal Chronicle* (ed. Bonn., p. 470, 4–10); but as the account there given is derived from Eusebius, this must be a mere guess.

² Episkopos; he is called Presbyteros (Presbyter or elder) below. "In the language of the New Testament the same officer in the Church is called indifferently 'bishop' and 'elder'" (Lightfoot, Philippians, p. 95). Cf. Acts xx. 17 and 28. Clement himself recognized three orders in the ministry (see Lightfoot, *ibid.*, p. 226; in Strom., VII. § 3, where Lightfoot thinks he writes as if there were only two orders, he is thinking only of the ministerial functions of the ministry, and therefore does not mention the Bishops, whose office was to govern). Cf. also Hitchcock, Clement of Alexandria in the "Fathers for English Readers" series (S.P.C.K.), pp. 246 ff. It may well be that in writing the present passage Clement was following a written authority, dating from a time when the two terms were synonymous. he again repeated the same earnest charge and invocation of witnesses. Then the Apostle went away to Ephesus, and the elder taking with him to his home the young man entrusted to him, nourished him, made a friend of him, cherished him, at last enlightened 1 him; and after this he ceased to take further care of him or to watch over him, as having set over him the perfect defence, the seal² of the Lord. But he had received his freedom too soon : certain idle and dissolute companions, men accustomed to evil doings, join in mischievous association with him ; at first they lead him on with expensive banquets; then on occasion, when going out at night to rob, they take him with them ; then they require him to join them in some greater deed. Little by little he grew accustomed to it, and through the greatness of his nature, like a hard-mouthed and strong horse, swerving from the straight course, and taking the bit between his teeth, he was carried on deeper into the gulf. Despairing altogether of salvation in God, without the least further consideration, as being once and for all lost, he claimed by doing some great wrong to share the same fate as the others. Taking with him these same men, he levied a robber band, and was himself ready as a robber-chief,

A enlightened, i. e. baptized, a use of the word probably derived from Heb. vi. 4; x. 32, and common in Christian writers from Justin Martyr downwards. Cf. Paed., I. § 26, "Being baptized we are enlightened."

² See p. 66, note 2.

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most violent, most blood-thirsty,1 most cruel. Time passed, and on some necessity arising they send for John. He, after arranging the affairs for which he had come, said, "Come now, O Bishop, give back the deposit which I and Christ entrusted to thee in the presence of the Church, over which thou presidest, as witness." He was at first astonished, thinking that money which he had not received was being fraudulently claimed from him, and could neither believe concerning what he had not got nor disbelieve John. But when he said, "I demand back the young man, and the soul of thy brother," the elder, with deep groans and even with tears, said, "That man is dead." "How, and when, and by what death?" "He is dead to God," he said, "for he has turned out evil, and reprobate. and, to crown all, a robber; and now, instead of the Church, he has chosen the mountain with a band of men like himself." The Apostle tore his garment, and beat his head, with great groaning. "A fine guardian," he said, "art thou, whom I left in charge of thy brother's soul; but let a horse now be brought me, and let some one be my guide on the way." Just as he was

¹ The page of the Escurial MS., which begins at this point, has been torn out, except for a small strip at the top; the damage was done before the Vatican MS. was copied from it, as it faithfully records the words legible on the slip, but no more. Fortunately the conclusion of the story has been preserved in Eusebius and the Dionysius MSS., but about 1000 letters (equivalent to about 25 lines of this translation) have been lost after the words "a visible resurrection."

he rode straight away from the church itself; and coming to the place, he is seized by the outpost of the robbers; he neither flees, nor asks to be freed, but shouts, "For this purpose am I come; take me away to your leader." The leader, armed as he was, waited for a while ; but, when he recognized John on his approach, he was ashamed and turned to flight. But the Apostle, forgetful of his own age, pursued him with all his might, crying out, "Why dost thou fly from me, my child, thine own father, unarmed, and old? Pity me, my child, fear not; thou hast yet hope of life; I will be surety to Christ for thee; if it be needful, I will willingly suffer the death thou deservest, as the Lord suffered death for us; on thy behalf will I give my own life. Stand, believe, Christ has sent me," He, when he heard, at first stood with downcast eyes, then threw away his weapons, then trembled and wept bitterly. As the old man came towards him he embraced him, excusing himself with his groans as best he could, baptized a second time with his tears, hiding only his right hand.¹ Then the Apostle pledged himself, and vowed that he had found pardon for him from the Saviour, prayed on his knees, kissed his very right hand as cleansed by his repentance, and brought him back to the Church; then he prayed for him with abundant prayers, and joined with him in wrestling in continuous fasts, and soothed

¹ St. Chrysostom says his right hand was covered with blood.

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his mind with varied exhortations, and did not go away, as they say, till he had restored him to the Church, thus affording a great example of real repentance, and a great proof of new birth, a monument of a visible resurrection.

Above all, it is not allowed to Christians to correct by force the failings of those who sin; for God crowns, not those who of necessity, but those who of their own choice abstain from evil.¹

§ 43. $(42) \ldots$ rejoicing² with joyous [faces], singing, opening the heavens. And before all the Saviour Himself comes forward to meet him, greeting him with His right hand, proffering unclouded, unceasing light, leading him to the Father's bosom, to eternal life, to the kingdom of heaven. In this let a man believe the disciples of God, and God Who is surety, and prophecies, and Gospels, and the words of Apostles; if he live with these, and lend his ears, and practise due works, at the very moment of his departure hence, he will see the end and the proof of these doctrines. For he who has here in this world

¹ This fragment is found in several collections of extracts (see Introd., p. 8), and in one is expressly stated to come from this homily. It fits in so well as a summary of the teaching of the story just told, that it is hardly possible to doubt that it formed part of the passage lost through the damage to the leaf of the Escurial MS.

 2 A fresh leaf of the MS. begins with this broken sentence.

admitted the angel of repentance,1 will not then repent when he shall leave the body, nor will he be ashamed when he sees the Saviour coming towards him with His glory and His host : he fears not the fire. But if a man chooses to remain in his lusts, adding on each occasion sin to sin, and prefers luxuriousness in this world to eternal life, and when the Saviour gives pardon refuses it, let him no longer blame God, or wealth, or previous failure, but his own soul that perishes of its own accord. But to him who looks for and desires salvation, and asks with importunity ² and violence, to him the good Father Who is in heaven will give the real cleansing and the unchanging life. To Whom, through His Son Jesus Christ, the Lord of the living and the dead, and through the Holy Spirit, be glory, honour, might, eternal greatness, both now, and for generations of generations, and for the ages of ages. Amen.³

¹ A term borrowed from the "Shepherd of Hermas" (*Similitude*, IX. § 33, and frequently).

² Cf. Luke xi. 8.

³ With this doxology, cf. the Epistle of Clement of Rome, §§ lxi. and lxv.

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