S. JOHN AND THE ROBBER.
NOTE ON ILLUSTRATION

(For the story see pp. 357–365.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 This Apocalypse has recently (1909) been edited for the Roxburghe Club by the Provost of King’s.
THE EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

INTRODUCTION . . . . . . . 3–27

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

DESCRIPTION OF THE GREEK MYSTERIES . 27–51

Sanctuaries, oracles, sacred springs and trees are now out of date.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

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

### The Worship of Statues

The first images were unwrought wood and stone; in later times they were made into human shape. They are all the work of men; as is shown by many examples. Even the image of Sarapis in Alexandria is of human workmanship. The deification of Antinous is another example of god-making; his tomb is now a temple. The Sibyl predicts the destruction of temples with their images. Heracleitus scoffs at image-worship. Images are without life, and sacrifices do them no good. The lowest animals are better than any statues. God's true image is mental, not material. Rulers despise statues, and insult

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them. Thieves steal them. Fire and earthquakes destroy them. Sculptors make them look like their own favourites. Both kings and private persons, scorning image-worship, have styled themselves gods. The epitaph of Hippo shows that all gods were once men. They are now unclean spirits that haunt tombs, and their statues are simply earth and art. The fascination of art has led men to fall in love with statues; now it leads men to worship them. Stories of gods are full of immorality; but Christians are living images of God, and must not listen to them. Indecent pictures hung in houses; indecent symbols on rings; shameful emblems displayed in public. Image-making is forbidden to Christians. Men must seek after God, and not after any created thing.

THE WITNESS OF PHILOSOPHY . . . 145–163 —

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

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

THE WITNESS OF HEBREW PROPHECY . 173-195

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

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

THE CLAIMS OF CUSTOM . . . . 197-237

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

God’s Plan of Redemption . . . 237–251

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

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

THE RICH MAN'S SALVATION ............................... 265-367

TO THE NEWLY BAPTIZED .................................. 368-377

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

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INTRODUCTION

Few facts are known to us concerning the life of Clement of Alexandria. His title comes from the city which was the scene of all his important work; but an early tradition spoke of him as being an Athenian by birth, and this may be correct. The date of his birth can be fixed roughly at 150 A.D. We are told nothing of his parentage or early training. It seems clear, however, that he was not a Christian to begin with. He is so well acquainted with the mystery cults that there is a strong probability that he had been initiated into some of them. We have it on his own authority that he wandered through many lands and heard many teachers. Six of these he singles out for mention, though not by name; they were "blessed and memorable men," who spoke "plain and living words." Doubtless all of them were Christians. The last of the six, who was "first in power," and whom he found in Egypt, is almost certainly Pantaenus, then head of the Catechetical School at Alexandria. Here Clement's wanderings
ceased. He became a presbyter of the Church, and taught in Alexandria for more than twenty years, succeeding Pantaenus as head of the School. On the outbreak of persecution under Severus in 202 A.D. he left Alexandria, never to return. We get one more glimpse of him; in 211 A.D. he was the bearer of a letter from Alexander, afterwards bishop of Jerusalem, to the Church at Antioch. In this letter he is described as "Clement the blessed presbyter, a virtuous and esteemed man . . . who upheld and extended the Church of the Lord." Alexander was one of Clement's old pupils, and a fellow-pupil with the great Origen. Clement must have died not long after this letter was written; for the same Alexander, writing to Origen a few years later, speaks of him together with Pantaenus as "those blessed men who have trodden the road before us."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This translation was first drafted several years ago as part of a complete edition of the Exhortation to the Greeks; and I am still working towards
INTRODUCTION

the accomplishment of this larger plan. A grateful acknowledgment is due to the committee of the Bodington Memorial Fund, in connexion with the University of Leeds, for grants which have materially assisted the progress of my work. I desire also to record my deep indebtedness to the late Dr. Joseph B. Mayor, who in the closing years of his life gave me most generous and patient help both in the details of the translation and in my general study of Clement. Most of all, I thank Professor W. Rhys Roberts, of the University of Leeds, at whose suggestion I first began to read Clement, and to whose kindly encouragement and ungrudging help is largely due my perseverance hitherto in so difficult an undertaking.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

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


This supersedes all previous editions.

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


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


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

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

I

'Αμφίων ο Θηβαῖος καὶ 'Αρίων ο Μηθυμναῖος ἀμφω μὲν ἥστην ὕδικω, μῦθος δὲ ἄμφω· καὶ τὸ ἄσμα εἰσέτι τοῦτο 'Ελλήνων ἄδεται | χορῷ, τέχνῃ τῇ μουσικῇ ὁ μὲν ἱχθὺν δελεάσας, ὁ δὲ Θήβας τεἰχίσας. Θράκιος δὲ ἄλλος σοφιστής (ἄλλος οὖτος μῦθος 'Ελληνικός) ἔτιθάσευε τὰ θηρία γυμνῇ τῇ ψδῇ καὶ δὴ τὰ δένδρα, τὰς φηγούς, μετεφύτευε τῇ μουσικῇ. ἔχοιν ἃν σοι καὶ ἄλλον τούτοις ἀδελφοῖς διηγήσασθαι μῦθον καὶ ψδόν, Εὐνόμου τὸν Δοκρόν καὶ τέττιγα τὸν Πυθικόν. πανήγυρις 'Ελληνική ἐπὶ νεκρῷ δράκοντι συνεκροτεῖτο Πυθοῖ, ἐπιτάφιον ἔριπον ἀδοντος Εὐνόμου· ὑμνὸς ἦ θρῆνος ὅφεως

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

* The stones were said to have moved into their proper places at the sound of Amphion's music.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

THE EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

I.

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

a i.e., Orpheus. Cp. Euripides, Rheus 924, δεινὸς σοφιστήριος Θρησκή.

b Strictly cicada, here and elsewhere.

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

CAP. 1

ἡν ἡ ὄδη, οὐκ ἦχω λέγειν· ἀγών δὲ ἦν καὶ ἐκθάλ-ριζεν ὄρα καθῆτος Εὐνόμος, ὡπεικά οἱ τέττιγες ὑπὸ τοῖς πετάλοις ἦδον ἀνὰ τὰ ὅρη θερόμενοι ἠλίῳ. ἦδον δὲ ἄρα οὐ τῷ δράκοντι τῷ νεκρῷ, τῷ Πυ-θικῷ, ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ τῷ πανσόφῳ αὐτόνομον ἠδὴν, τῶν Εὐνόμου βελτίων νόμων· ρήγματι χορή τῷ Λοκρῷ· ἐφίππταται ό τέττις τῷ ξυνίῳ· ἐτερέτιζεν ὡς ἐπὶ κλάδῳ τῷ ῥαγάνῳ· καὶ τοῦ τέττιγος τῷ ἄσματι ἀρμοσάμενος ὦ ὁδὸς τὴν λείψουσαν ἀνεπλήρωσε χορήν. οὕκοιν ὡδὴ τῇ Εὐνόμου άγεται ἤ τέττις, ὡς ὦ μύθος βούλεται, χαλκοῦν ἀναστήσας Πυθοὶ τῶν Εὐνόμου αὕτη τῇ κιβάρᾳ καὶ τὸν συναγωνιστὴν τοῦ Λοκροῦ· ὦ δὲ ἐκῶν ἐφίππταται καὶ ἢδει ἐκών, Ἔλλησι δὲ ἐδόκει ὑποκρίτης γεγονέναι μουσικής.

Πῇ δὴ οὖν μῦθοι κενοῖς πεποιεύκατε, θέλησαν μουσικῇ τὰ ζώα ὑπολαμβάνοντες; ἀληθείας δὲ ὡμῖν τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ φαίδρον μόνον, ὡς έικέν, ἐπίπλαστον εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἀπουσίαις ὑποπέ-πτωκεν ὀφθαλμοῖς. Κιθαρών δὲ ἄρα καὶ Ἔλκων καὶ τὰ Ὀδυσσών ὢρη καὶ Θρακῶν, τελεστήρια τῆς πλάνης, ἐδὰ τὰ μυστήρια1 τεθείασατι καὶ καθύπνηται. ἔγῳ μὲν, εἰ καὶ μῦθος εἰσι, δυσανασχέτω τοσαύταις ἐκτραγῳδοῦμεναις συμφοραῖς· ὡμῖν δὲ καὶ τῶν 3Ρ. κακῶν αἱ ἀναγραφαὶ | γεγονώς δράματα καὶ τῶν δραμάτων οἱ ὑποκριτίς θυμηδίας θεάματα. ἀλλὰ

1 δοκεῖ Wilamowitz.
2 τελεστήρια τῆς πλάνης, ἐδὰ τὰ μυστήρια Schwartz. τελε-στήρια, τῆς πλάνης τὰ μυστήρια mss.

a Mt. Cithaeron was sacred to Zeus; Mt. Helicon to the Muses; and the Thracian mountains were the home of Dionysus-worship. For the meaning of these mountain-cults in Greek religion see A. B. Cook, Zeus, i. pp. 100–163.
in praise of the snake, or a lamentation over it, chap.
I cannot say; but there was a competition, and
Eunomus was playing the lyre in the heat of the
day, at the time when the grasshoppers, warmed by
the sun, were singing under the leaves along the
hills. They were singing, you see, not to the dead
serpent of Pytho, but to the all-wise God, a spontane-
ous natural song, better than the measured strains of
Eunomus. A string breaks in the Locrian's hands;
the grasshopper settles upon the neck of the lyre
and begins to twitter there as if upon a branch:
whereupon the minstrel, by adapting his music to the
grasshopper's lay, supplied the place of the missing
string. So it was not Eunomus that drew the grass-
hopper by his song, as the legend would have it,
when it set up the bronze figure at Pytho, showing
Eunomus with his lyre, and his ally in the contest.
No, the grasshopper flew of its own accord, and sang
of its own accord, although the Greeks thought it to
have been responsive to music.

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

Why believe
such legends
and yet
disbelieve
the truth?

Mountains
are held
sacred

Dramas are
made from
stories of
misfortune
and wicked-
ness
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. γὰρ τὰ μὲν δράματα καὶ τοὺς ληματζοντας ποιητάς, τέλεον ἦδη παροινοῦντας, κυττῷ που ἀναδήσαντες, ἀφραίοντας ἐκτόπως τελετῇ βαρχυκῇ, αὐτοῖς σατύροις καὶ θιάσῳ μανόλῃ, σὺν καὶ τῷ ἀλλῷ δαμόνων χορῷ, <ἐν>1 Εἰλικῶν καὶ Κιθαιρῶν κατα- κλείσαμεν γεγηρακόσων, κατάγωμεν δὲ ἀνωθὲν εξ οὐρανῶν ἄλθειαν ἁμα φανοτάτῃ φρονίσει εἰς ὅρος ἅγιων θεοῦ καὶ χορὸν τὸν ἅγιον τῶν προφητικῶν. ἦ δὲ ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα τηλυγίας ἀποστιλβοῦσα φῶς κατανυαζότω πάντη τοὺς ἐν σκότει κυλινδομένους καὶ τῆς πλάνης τους ἀνθρώπους ἀπαλλαττέτω, τὴν ὑπερτάτην ὀρέγουσα δεξιάν, τῆν σύνεσιν, εἰς σω- τηρίαν. οἱ δὲ ἀνάνευσαντες καὶ ἀνακύψαντες 'Ελι- κώνα μὲν καὶ Κιθαιρῶνα καταλείποντων, ὀικούντων δὲ Σιών: "ἐκ γὰρ Σιών ἔξελευσεται νόμος, καὶ λόγος κυρίου ἐξ Ίερουσαλήμ," λόγος οὐράνιος, ὁ γνήσιος ἁγωνισθής ἐπὶ τῷ παντός κόσμου θεάτρῳ στεφανούμενος. ἄδει δὲ γε ὁ Εὐνομος ὁ ἐμὸς οὐ τὸν Τερπάνδρου νόμον οὐδὲ τὸν Καπίωνος, οὐδὲ μὴν Φρύγιον ή Λυδίον ή Δώριον, ἀλλὰ τῆς καυνής ἀρμονίας τὸν ἁίδιον νόμον, τὸν φερώμενον τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ ἡμέρα τὸ καίνων, τὸ Λευστικόν, "νηπευθὲς τι ἀ- χόλον τε, κακῶν ἐπίληθες ἀπάντων," γλυκὺ τι καὶ ἀληθινὸν φάρμακον πειθός 2 ἐγκέκριται τῷ ἄσματι.

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

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

b Isaiah ii. 3.

c The modes (ἀρμονίαι, see p. 12, n. a) were the scales in which Greek music was written. Phrygian, Lydian and Dorian were the chief modes, others being, it would seem, formed from them by modification or combination. The 6
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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

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

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

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\[a\] Homer, *Odyssey* iv. 221.

\[b\] A slight change in the Greek, suggested by Reinkens, would give the meaning "remedy against grief."
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

Cap. 1

'Εμοί μὲν οὖν δοκοῦσιν ὁ Θράκιος ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ὄρφεὺς ἔδρας, καὶ Ὁ Θηβαῖος καὶ ὁ Μηθυμναῖος, ἄνδρες τινὲς οὐκ ἂνδρείς, ἀπαθητικοὶ γεγονέναι, προσχήματι <τε> μουσικῆς λυμηνάμενοι τὸν βίον, ἐντέχνῳ τινὶ γονεῖτει δαιμονώντες εἰς διαφθοράς, ὑβρεῖς ὀργιάζοντες, πένθει ἐκθειάζοντες, τοὺς ἄνθρωπους ἐπὶ τὰ εἴδωλα χειραγωγήσαι πρῶτοι, καὶ μὴν λίθους καὶ ἁγίους, τουτέστιν ἀγάλμασι καὶ σκιαγραφίαις, ἁνουκοδομήσαι τὴν σκαιότητα τοῦ ἔθους, τὴν καλὴν ὄντως ἐκεινὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῶν υπ' οὐρανοῦ πεπολυτεμένων ὁμοίας καὶ ἐπίμοιας ἐσχάτη δουλεία καταζεβίζαντες.

'Αλλ' οὐ τοιόσοι δὲ ὁ ὅδος ὁ ἐμὸς οὖν εἰς μακρὰν καταλύσων ἀφικταί τὴν δουλείαν τὴν πικρᾶν τῶν τυραννοῦντων δαμόνων, ὡς δὲ τὸν πάρον καὶ φιλανθρωπὸν τῆς θεοσεβείας μετάγων ἡμᾶς γίγνον ἀδής εἰς οὐρανοῦ ἀνακαλεῖται τοὺς εἰς γῆν ἔρρυμένους. μόνος γοῦν τῶν πώποτε τὰ ἀργαλεώτατα θηρία, τοὺς ἄνθρωπους, ἐτιθάσευν, πτημα μὲν τοὺς κούφους αὐτῶν, ἔρπετὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀπατεώνας, καὶ λέοντας μὲν τοὺς θυμικοὺς, σύνα δὲ τοὺς ἠδονικοὺς, λύκους δὲ τοὺς ἀρπακτικοὺς. λίθοι δὲ καὶ ἕξιλα οἱ ἀφρόνες. πρὸς δὲ καὶ λίθων ἀναισθητότερος ἄνθρωπος ἄγνοια βεβαιεσμένος. μάρτυς ἡμῖν προφητικὴ παράτω φωνή, συνωδὸς ἀληθείας, τοὺς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ ἀνοίᾳ κατατερμέμενους οἰκτείρουσα. "δυνατὸς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων ἐγείραι τέκνα τῶν Ἀβραάμ." ὅς κατελείψας τὴν ἀμαθίαν τὴν πολλὴν

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

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

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

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

CHAP. 1

Orpheus, Amphion and Arion were deceivers

And originators of idolatry

The heavenly minstrel

He tames savage men

He changes stones, i.e. men without understanding into virtuous men

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CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. καὶ τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν τῶν εἰς τὴν ἀλήθειαν λει-θωμένων ἤγειρεν θεοσθεβείας σπέρμα ἁρετής αἰσθό-
μενον ἐκ λίθων ἐκεῖνων, τῶν λίθων πεποιευκτῶν ἑθνῶν. αὐθίς οὖν ἱσοβόλους τινὰς καὶ παλμβόλους
ὑποκριτὰς ἐφοδεύοντας δικαιοσύνη “ γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν” κέκληκε ποι. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων εἰ τις τῶν ὅφεων μετανοησαί ἐκὼν, ἐπόμενος δὴ τῷ λόγῳ “ ἀνθρώπος” γίνεται “ θεοῦ.” “ λύκους” δὲ ἄλλους
ἀλληγορεῖ προβάτων κωδίως ἡμφεισμένους, τοὺς ἐν ἀνθρώπων μορφαῖς ἀρτακτικοὺς αἰωντόμενος.
καὶ πάντα ἄρα ταῦτα τὰ ἀγριώτατα θηρία καὶ τοὺς τουούτους λίθους ὡς ὁμάνοις ὡδὴ αὐτὴ μετεμό-
φωσέν εἰς ἀνθρώποις ἡμέρους. “ ἢμεν γὰρ, ἢμεν
ποτε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνόητοι, ἀπειθεῖς, πλανώμενοι,
δουλεύοντες ἑδοναῖς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις ποικίλους, εν
κακία καὶ φθόνῳ διάγοντες, στυγητοί, μισοῦντες

5P. ἀλλήλους,” ἢ φησιν ἢ ἀποστολικὴ γραφή· “ὅτε
dὲ ἡ χρηστότης καὶ ἡ φιλανθρωπία ἐπεφάνη τοῦ
σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ, οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων τῶν ἐν δικαίωμα,
ἀ ἐποιήσαμεν ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος
ἐσώσεν ἡμᾶς.”

“Ὅρα τὸ ζῆμα τὸ καινὸν ὅσον ἰσχυσεν ἀνθρώπων
ἐκ λίθων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐκ θηρίων πεποιήκεν. οἱ
dὲ τηνάλλως νεκροὶ, οἱ τῆς ὄντως οὐσίας ἀμέτοχοι
ζωῆς, ἀκροατὰ μόνον γενόμενοι τοῦ ἄσματος ἀν-
εβίωσαν. τοῦτο τοι καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἐκόσμησεν ἐμ-
μελῶς καὶ τῶν στοιχείων τὴν διαφωνίαν εἰς τὰς
ἐνέτεινε συμφωνίας, ἵνα δὴ ὁλος ὁ κόσμος αὐτῷ
ἀρμονία γένηται. καὶ θάλατταν μὲν ἀνήκεν λε-
λυμένην, γῆς δὲ ἐπιβάινεν κεκώλυκεν αὐτὴν, γῆν
δ' ἐμπαλιν ἐστερέωσεν φερομένην καὶ ὅτος αὐτὴν

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

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

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

CAP. ἐπήξεν θαλάττης· ναὶ μὴν καὶ πυρὸς ὀρμήν ἐμάλαξεν ἀέρι, οἴονεὶ Δὼριον ἁρμονίαν κεράσας Λυδίων· καὶ τὴν ἀέρος ἀπηνή ψυχρότητα τῇ παραπλοκῇ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐτιθάσευν, τοὺς νεάτους τῶν ὀλῶν φθόγγους τοὺς κυρίας ἐμμελῶς. καὶ δὴ τὸ ἄσμα τὸ ἀκήρατον, ἐρείσμα τῶν ὀλῶν καὶ ἁρμονία τῶν πάντων, ἀπὸ τῶν μέσων ἐπὶ τὰ πέρατα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκρῶν ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα διαταθέν, ἡμόσατο τὸ δὲ τὸ πᾶν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τὴν Θράκιαν μοῦσικῆν, τὴν παραπλησίαν Ἰουβαλ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πάτριον τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν, ἢν ἐξήλωσε Δαυίδ.  ὁ δὲ ἐκ Δαυίδ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, λύραν μὲν καὶ κιθάραν, τὰ ἄθημα ὀργάνα, ὑπεριδῶν, κόσμου δὲ τόνδε καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν σμικρὸν κόσμον, τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ψυχήν τε καὶ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, ἀγίῳ πνεύματι ἁρμοσάμενος, ἑλλεῖ τῷ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ πολυφώνου ὀργάνου καὶ προσέδει τῷ ὀργάνῳ τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ. "οὐ γὰρ εἰ κιθάρα καὶ αὐλὸς καὶ ναὸς ἐμοί", κιθάρα διὰ τὴν ἁρμονίαν, αὐλὸς διὰ τὸ πνεῦμα, ναὸς διὰ τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἡ μὲν κρέγη, τὸ δὲ ἐμπνέῃ, ὁ δὲ χωρήσῃ τὸν κύριον. ναὶ μὴν ὁ Δαυίδ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὁ κιθαριστής, οὐ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθημεν, προστρεπὲν ὡς τὴν ἁλίθειαν, ἀπέτρεπε δὲ εἰδῶλων, πολλοὺ γε ἐδεῖ ὡμεῖν αὐτὸν τοὺς δαίμονας ἀλληθεῖ πρὸς αὐτοῦ διωκομένους μοῦσικῆς, ἢ τοῦ Σαουλ ἐνεργομένου ἕκείνος ἄδων μόνον αὐτὸν ἱάσατο. καὶ δὴ τὸ κύριον ὀργανον ἐμ-

1 τοῦ Σαουλ ἐνεργομένου Mayor. τῷ Σαουλ ἐνεργομένῳ M. τῷ ἑσαυλὸς ὁ ἐνεργομένος P.
2 ἕκείνος Stählin.

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

See 1 Samuel xvi. 23.
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οι πνον τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἐξειργάσατο κατ' εἰκόνα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. ἀμέλει καὶ αὐτὸς ὅργανὸν ἔστι τοῦ θεοῦ παναρμόνιον, ἐμμελές καὶ ἄγιον, σοφία ὑπερκόσμιος, οὐράνιος λόγος.

Τί δὴ οὖν τὸ ὅργανον, ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, ὁ κύριος, καὶ τὸ χζόμα τὸ καίνων βουλεῖται; ὁφθαλμοὺς ἀναπτέσαι τυφλῶν καὶ ὅτα ἁνοίξαι κωφῶν καὶ σκάλοντας τῷ πόδε ἡ πλανωμένους εἰς δικαιοσύνην χειραγωγήσαι, θεον ἀνθρώποις ἁφραίνουσιν ἐπι- δείξαι, παύσαι φθοράν, νικήσαι θάνατον, νίνος ἀπειθεὶς διαλλάξαι πατρὶ. φιλάνθρωπον τὸ ὅργανον τοῦ θεοῦ. ὁ κύριος ἔλεες παίδευε, προτρέπει, νουθετεῖ, σώζει, φυλάττει καὶ μισθὸν ἤμων τῆς μαθήσεως ἕκεν περιουσίας βασιλείαν οὐρανών ἐπ- αγγέλλεται, τούτο μόνον ἀπολαύσων ἡμῶν, ὁ σωζό- μεθα. κακία μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβόσκεται φθοράν, ἡ δὲ ἀλήθεια ὣστερ ἡ μέλιτα, λυμανομένη τῶν ὄντων ὀυδὲν, ἐπὶ μόνης τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀγάλ- λεται σωτηρίας. ἔχεις οὖν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, ἔχεις τὴν φιλάνθρωπίαν τῆς χάριτος μεταλάβατε.

Καὶ μου τὸ ἄσμα τὸ σωτήριον μὴ καὶνὸν οὕτως ὑπολάβῃς ώς σκέδος ἡ ὡς οἰκίαν. "πρὸ ἐσωφό- ρου" γὰρ ἤν, καὶ "ἐν ἀρχῇ ἤν ο λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἤν πρὸς τὸν θεόν καὶ θεός ἦν ο λόγος",...παλαιὰ δὲ ἡ πλάνη, καίνων δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια φαίνεται. εἰτ' οὖν ἀρχαῖος τοὺς Φρύγας διδάσκουσιν αἴγες μυθικαὶ, εἴτε αὖ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας οἱ προσελήνους ἀναγράφοντες

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a Psalm cix. 3 (Septuagint).
b St. John i. 1.
c See the story in Herodotus ii. 2. Psammetichus, king of Egypt, being desirous of discovering which was the most ancient people, put two children in charge of a herdsman.

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breathing instrument, after His own image; and assuredly He Himself is an all-harmonious instrument of God, melodious and holy, the wisdom that is above this world, the heavenly Word.

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

And do not suppose that my song of salvation is new in the same sense as an implement or a house. For it was "before the morning star"; and, "in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." But error is old, and truth appears to be a new thing. Whether then the Phrygians are really proved to be ancient by the goats in the story; or the Arcadians by the poets Goats were to be brought to them for giving milk, but no human speech was to be uttered in their presence. The first articulate sound they made was taken to be the Phrygian word for bread; hence the king assumed that Phrygians were the primitive race.
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CAP. ποιηταί, εἰτε μὴν αὐτοὺς Ἀγαπητοὺς οἱ καὶ πρώτην ταύτην ἀναφέρναι τὴν γῆν θεοὺς τε καὶ ἀνθρώπους δυναστεύετε· ἀλλ’ οὐ πρὸ γε τοῦ κόσμου τοῦτο τοῦτων οὐδὲ εἰς, πρὸ δὲ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου καταβολῆς ἁμεῖς, οἱ τῷ δὲ ἔσοθαὶ ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸτερον γεγενημένοι τῷ θεῷ, τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου τὰ λογικὰ πλάσματα ἁμεῖς, δι’ ὅν ἀρχαίζομεν, ὁτι “ἐν ἀρχῇ ὁ λόγος ἦν.” ἀλλ’ ὅτι µὲν ἢν ὁ λόγος ἀνώθεν, ἀρχὴ θεία τῶν πάντων ἦν τε καὶ ἔστιν· ὅτι δὲ νῦν ὄνομα ἔλαβεν τὸ πάλαί καθωσιώμενόν, δυνάμεως ἁξίων, ὁ Χριστὸς, καὶ νῦν ἁμα μοι κέκληται.

7 P. Αἰτίος 1 γοῦν ὁ λόγος, ὁ Χριστὸς, καὶ τοῦ εἶναι πάλαι ἡμᾶς (ἤν γὰρ ἐν θεῷ), καὶ τοῦ εὗ εἶναι· νῦν ὁ ἐπεφάνη ἀνθρώπως αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ λόγος, ὁ μόνος ἀμφῶς, θεός τε καὶ ἀνθρώπως, ἀπάντων ἡμῖν αἰτίος ἀγαθῶν· παρ’ οὗ τοῦ εὗ ζῆν ἐκδιδασκόμενοι εἰς ἀίδιον λείψην παραπτεπόμεθα. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν θεοπέσιον ἐκεῖνον τοῦ κυρίου ἀπόστολον “ἡ χάρις ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ σωτήριος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώπως ἐπεφάνη, παιδεύονσα ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ἀρνησάμενοι τὴν ἀνέβειάν καὶ τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐπιθυμίας σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως καὶ εὐσεβῶς ἠσθωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰώνι, προσδεχόμενοι τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.” τούτῳ ἐστὶ τὸ ἄσμα τοῦ καινᾶν, ἡ ἐπιφάνεια ἡ νῦν ἐκλάμψασα ἐν ἡμῖν τοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἄρσεν καὶ πρὸντος λόγου· ἐπεφάνη δὲ ἐναγχος ὁ πρῶτος σωτήρ, ἐπεφάνη ὁ ἐν τῷ ἄντι ων, οτι “ὁ λόγος ἢν πρὸς

1 a for St. Thlin. 2 ὁ λόγος de MSS.

a St. John i. 1. b Titus ii. 11–13. c Literally, “He who exists in Him who exists.”
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who describe them as older than the moon; or, again, CHAP.
the Egyptians by those who dream that this land
first brought to light both gods and men; still, not
one of these nations existed before this world. But
we were before the foundation of the world, we who,
because we were destined to be in Him, were begotten
beforehand by God. We are the rational images
formed by God's Word, or Reason, and we date from
the beginning on account of our connexion with
Him, because "the Word was in the beginning." \(a\)
Well, because the Word was from the first, He was
and is the divine beginning of all things; but because
He lately took a name,—the name consecrated of old
and worthy of power, the Christ,—I have called Him
a New Song.

The Word, then, that is the Christ, is the cause
both of our being long ago (for He was in God) and
of our well-being. This Word, who alone is both
God and man, the cause of all our good, appeared
but lately in His own person to men; from whom
learning how to live rightly on earth, we are brought
on our way to eternal life. For, in the words of
that inspired apostle of the Lord, "the grace of
God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men,
instructing us, to the intent that, denying ungodli-
ness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly and
righteously and godly in this present world, looking
for the blessed hope and appearing of the glory
of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ." \(b\)
This is the New Song, namely, the manifestation
which has but now shined forth among us, of Him
who was in the beginning, the pre-existent Word.
Not long ago the pre-existent Saviour appeared on
earth; He who exists in God \(c\) (because "the Word

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

\(b\) The Word, then, that is the Christ, is the cause
both of our being long ago (for He was in God) and
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that inspired apostle of the Lord, "the grace of
God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men,
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ness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly and
righteously and godly in this present world, looking
for the blessed hope and appearing of the glory
of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ."
CAP. τὸν θεόν,’” διδάσκαλος, ἐπεφάνη ὡς τὰ πάντα 
δεδημουργηται λόγος, καὶ τὸ ξῆν ἐν ἀρχῇ μετὰ 
τοῦ πλάσαι παρασχῶν ὡς δημουργός, τὸ εὖ ξῆν 
ἐδίδαξεν ἐπιφανεὶς ὡς διδάσκαλος, ὡς ὁ ἀεὶ ξῆν 
ὑστερον ὡς θεὸς χορηγήσῃ.

'Ο δὲ οὖ νῦν γε πρῶτον ἦκτερεν ἡμᾶς τῆς 
πλάνης, ἀλλ' ἀνωθεν ἀρχῆθεν, νῦν δὲ ἢδη ἀπολ-
λυμένους ἐπιφανεῖς περισσωκεν. τὸ γάρ πονηρὸν 
καὶ ἐρπετστικὸν θηρίον γοητευόν καταδουλοῦται καὶ 
αἰκίζεται εἰςέτι νῦν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, 
βαρβαρικῶς τιμωροῦμεν, οἱ νεκροὶ τοὺς αἰχμα-
λώτους συνδεῖν λέγονται σώμασιν, ἐστ' ἀν αὐτοῖς 
καὶ συσσαπώσιν. ὁ γὰρ πονηρὸς οὔτοις τύπαινο 
καὶ δράκων, οὕς ἀν οἶδο τε ἦ ἐκ γενετῆς σφετε-
ρίσασθαι, λίθοις καὶ ἡδίους καὶ ἀγάλμασιν καὶ 
τοιούτους τοῖς εἰδώλοις προσοφίγξας τῷ δεισι-
δαμονίας ἁθλίῳ δεσμῷ, τούτῳ δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, 
ζώντας ἐπιφέρων συνέδαμεν αὐτοῖς, ἐτῶ· ἂν καὶ 
συμφθαρῶσιν. οὐ δὴ χάριν (εἰς γάρ ὁ ἀπατεῶν 
ἀνωθεν μὲν τὴν Εὐαν, νῦν δὲ ἢδη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους 
ἀνθρώπους εἰς θάνατον ὑποφέρων) εἰς καὶ αὐτοῖς ἦ 
ἐπικουροὺς καὶ βοηθῆς ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος, προμηθύων 
ἀρχῆθεν προφητικῶς, νῦν δὲ ἢδη καὶ ἐναργῶς εἰς 
σωτηρίαν παρακαλῶν.

Φύγωμεν οὖν ἀποστολικῇ πειθόμενοι παραγγελίᾳ 
“τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, τοῦ πνεύ-
ματος τοῦ νῦν ἑνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς υἱῶν τῆς ἀπει-
θείας,” καὶ τῷ σωτήρι τῷ κυρίῳ προσδράμωμεν, 
ὅς καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ προστρεπεν εἰς σωτηρίαν, διὰ

1 ᾨ Mayor. εἰη mss. 2 ᾦ inserted by Mayor.

a St. John i. 1. b Ephesians ii. 2.
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was with God" a) appeared as our teacher; the Word appeared by whom all things have been created. He who gave us life in the beginning when as creator He formed us, taught us how to live rightly by appearing as our teacher, in order that hereafter as God He might supply us with life everlasting.

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

Let us then, in obedience to the apostolic precept, flee from "the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the sons of disobedience." b And let us take refuge with the Saviour, the Lord, who even now exhorts men to salvation, as He ever
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CAP. τεράτων καὶ σημείων ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ, ἐν ἑρήμῳ < δὲ > διὰ τῆς βάτου καὶ τῆς ἀκολουθοῦσας χάριτι φιλανθρωπίας θεραπαίνης δίκην Ἑβραίους νεφέλης. τούτων μὲν δὴ τῷ φόβῳ τοὺς σκληροκαρδίους προμπτοπεποιησάρης ἒργα λειποῦσαι. τοὺς δὲ καὶ διὰ Μωσέως τοῦ πανσόφου καὶ τοῦ φιλαλήθους 'Ἡσαία καὶ παντὸς τοῦ προφητικοῦ χοροῦ λογικώτερον ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον ἐπιστρέψας τοὺς ὡταὶ κεκτημένους· καὶ ἐσθ' ὅπῃ μὲν λοιδορεῖται, ἔστιν δ' οὐ καὶ ἀπελεί· τοὺς δὲ καὶ θρηνεῖ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἄδει δὲ ἄλλοις, καθάπερ ἵστρος ἀγαθὸς τῶν νοσοῦντων σωμάτων τὰ μὲν καταπλάττων, τὰ δὲ καταλείπων, τὰ δὲ καταντλῶν, τὰ δὲ καὶ συνήρω διαιρῶν, ἐπικαίρων δὲ ἄλλα, ἔστι δ' οὖ καὶ ἀπορώνων, εἰ πως οὐν τε καὶ παρὰ μέρος ἡ μέλος τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν ψυχάναι. πολύφωνος γε ὁ σωτήρ καὶ πολύτροπος εἰς ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίαν ἀπειλῶν νουθετεῖ, λοιδοροῦμενος ἐπιστρέφει, θηρηνῶν ἑλείς, ψάλλων παρακαλεῖ, διὰ βάτου λαλεῖ (σημείων ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τεράτων ἔχρηταν) καὶ τῷ πυρὶ διδύττεται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀνάπτων ἐκ κίνοις τὴν φλόγα, δείγμα ὁμοίον χάριτος καὶ φόβου· εὰν ὑπακούηται, τὸ φῶς, ἕαν παρακούσης, τὸ πῦρ. ἐπειδὴ δ' καὶ κίνοις καὶ βάτου ἡ σάρξ τιμωτέρα, προφητεύει μετ' ἑκείνα φθέγγεται, αὐτὸς ἐν Ἡσαία ὁ κύριος λαλῶν, αὐτὸς ἐν Ὕλια, ἐν στόματι προφητῶν αὐτός· σὺ δὲ ἄλλο εἰ προφητεύεις μὴ πιστεύεις, μὴ οὖν δ' ὑπολαμβάνεις καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας καὶ τὸ

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

*a Or, “to reason.” The Greek Logos means either “Word” (personal), or “rational word,” “reason” (impersonal). All through his writings Clement plays upon 20
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did, by wonders and signs in Egypt, and in the desert by the burning bush and the cloud that, through favour of His love, followed the Hebrews like a handmaid. By the fear that these wonders inspired He exhorted the hard-hearted; but afterwards, through all-wise Moses and truth-loving Isaiah and the whole company of the prophets, He converts to the Word by more rational means those who have ears to hear. In some places He rebukes; in others He even threatens; some men He laments; for others He sings: just as a good doctor, in dealing with diseased bodies, uses poulticing for some, rubbing for others, and bathing for others; some he cuts with a knife, others he cauterizes, and in some cases he even amputates, if by any means he can restore the patient to health by removing some part or limb. So the Saviour uses many tones and many devices in working for the salvation of men. His threats are for warning; His rebukes for converting; His lamentation to show pity; His song to encourage. He speaks through a burning bush (for the men of old had need of signs and portents), and He strikes terror into men by fire, kindling the flame out of a cloudy pillar, as a token at the same time of grace and fear,—to the obedient light, to the disobedient fire. But since flesh is of more honour than a pillar or a bush, after those signs prophets utter their voice, the Lord Himself speaking in Isaiah, the Lord Himself in Elijah, the Lord Himself in the mouth of the prophets. As for you, however, if you do not trust the prophets, and if you suppose both the fire and the men who saw it to be a legend, the Lord Himself this double meaning of Logos. Other instances occur on pp. 27, 275, 277.

FINALLY THE LORD HIMSELF SPEAKS, HAVING BECOME MAN
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CAP. 1. τὸς, αὐτὸς σοι λαλήσει ὁ κύριος, "ὁς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ υπάρχων οὐχ ἄρταγμον ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ὡσθε θεῷ· ἐκεῖνωσεν δὲ εαυτὸν" ὁ φιλοκτήριμων θεός, σώσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον γλυκόμενος· καὶ αὐτὸς ἦδη σοι ἐναργῶς ὁ λόγος λαλεῖ, δυσωπῶν τὴν ἀπίστίαν, ναὶ φημι, ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος, ἵνα δὴ καὶ σὺ παρὰ ἄνθρωπον μάθῃς, τῇ ποτὲ ἀρα ἄνθρωπος γένηται θεός.

Εἰτ᾽ οὐκ ἄτοπον, ὃ φιλοί, τὸν μὲν θεὸν ἄει προτρέπειν ἡμᾶς ἐπ' ἀρετήν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀναδύεσθαι τὴν ὀφέλειαν καὶ ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν; ἢ γαρ οὐχὶ καὶ Ἰωάννης ἐπὶ σωτηρίαν παρακαλεῖ καὶ τὸ πᾶν γίνεται φωνῇ προτρεπτικῇ: πυθώμεθα τοῖνυν αὐτοῦ: "τὸς πόθεν εἰς ἄνδρῳ;" Ἡλίας μὲν οὐκ ἔρει, Χριστὸς δὲ εἰναὶ ἁρνήσταται· φωνῇ δὲ ὄμολογησεν ἐν ἑρήμῳ βωόσα. τὸς οὖν ἔστιν Ἰωάννης; ὥς τύπῳ λαβεῖν, ἐξεστῶ εἰπεῖν, φωνῇ τοῦ λόγου προτρεπτικῇ ἐν ἑρήμῳ βωόσα. τί βοᾶς, ὃ φωνῇ; "εἰπὲ καὶ ἡμῖν." "ἐνθείας ποιεῖτε ταῦτα ὁδοὺς κυρίον." πρόδρομος Ἰωάννης καὶ ἡ φωνὴ πρόδρομος τοῦ λόγου, φωνῇ παρακλητικῇ, προ- ετομάζουσα εἰς σωτηρίαν, φωνῇ προτρέπουσα εἰς κληρονομίαν οὐρανῶν· δι' ἤν ἡ στείρα καὶ ἔρημος ἄγονοι οὐκέτι.

Ταύτην μη τῆν κυοφορίαν προεθέσπισεν ἀγγέλου φωνῇ· πρόδρομος ἢν κακεύη τοῦ κυρίου, στείραν εὔαγγελιζομένη γυναίκα, ὡς Ἰωάννης τὴν ἔρημον. διὰ ταύτης τοῖνυν τοῦ λόγου τὴν φωνὴν ἡ στείρα

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

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

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

It was this fruitfulness, I think, which the angel's voice foretold. That voice was also a forerunner of the Lord, inasmuch as it brought good tidings to a barren woman, as John did to the desert. This voice of the Word is therefore the cause of the barren woman being blest with child and of the
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When Clement says that Scripture brings together the two voices, he is interpreting the first clause of this quotation as referring to the desert, and the second as referring to the woman.

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

See St. Luke i. 20, 64.
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desert bearing fruit. The two forerunning voices of the Lord, that of the angel and that of John, seem to me to speak darkly of the salvation laid up in store for us, namely that, after the manifestation of this Word, we should reap the fruit of productiveness, which is eternal life. Certainly the Scripture makes the whole matter plain by bringing together the two voices. For it says, “Let her hear that brings not forth; let her that is not in travail utter her voice; for more are the children of the desolate than of her that hath an husband.” a We are they to whom the angel brought the good tidings; we are they whom John exhorted to recognize the husbandman and to seek the husband. For He is one and the same, the husband of the barren woman and the husbandman of the desert, He who has filled both the barren woman and the desert with divine power. For since the woman of noble birth had many children, but was afterwards childless through unbelief,—that is, the Hebrew woman who had many children to begin with,—the barren woman b receives her husband and the desert its husbandman. So then by reason of the Word both become mothers, the desert of fruits and the woman of believing children; yet even now the words “barren” and “desert” remain for unbelievers.

In some such way as this John, the herald of the Word, summoned men to prepare for the presence of God, that is, of the Christ. And this was the hidden meaning of the dumbness of Zacharias, which lasted until the coming of the fruit which was forerunner of the Christ, c—that the light of truth, the Word, should break the mystic silence of the dark prophetic sayings, by becoming good tidings. But
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CAP. ἰδεῖν ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸν θεόν, καθαρσίων μεταλάμβανε
θεοπρεπῶν, οὐ δάφνης πετάλων καὶ ταυνίων τυών ἔριῳ καὶ πορφύρα πεποικιλένων, δικαιοσύνην δὲ ἀναδησάμενος καὶ τῆς ἐγκρατείας τὰ πέταλα περιθέμενος πολυπραγμόνει Χριστόν. "ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμὶ ἡ θύρα," φησί πον. ἢν ἐκμαθεῖν δεῖ νοήσαι θελήσαι τὸν θεόν, ὅπως ἦμῖν ἄθροις τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀναπτάσῃ τὰς πύλας· λογικαὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ λόγου πύλαι,

10 P. πίστεως ἢ ἀνουγνύμεναι κλειδί· "θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἐγγιν, εἰ μὴ ὁ νῦν καὶ ὃ ἄν ὁ νῦς ἀποκαλύφη." θύραν δὲ εὐ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι τὴν ἀποκεκλεισμένην τέως ὁ ἀνουγνύς ὑστερον ἀποκαλύπτει τάνδον καὶ δείκνυσιν ὁ μηδὲ γνώναι οἶνον τε ἢ πρότερον, εἰ μὴ διὰ Χριστοῦ πεπορευμένοις, δι ʻαὐτοῦ μόνον θεὸς ἐποπτεύεται.

II

"Ἀδύτα τοῖνν ἄθεα μή πολυπραγμονεῖτε μηδὲ βαράθρων στόματα τερατείας ἐμπλέα ἡ λέβητα Θεοπρώτων ἢ τρίποδα Κυρραίον ἢ Δωδωναίον χαλκείον· γεράνδρυν δὲ ψάμμως ἐρήμας τετυμημένον καὶ τὸ αὐτόθι μαντείον αὐτή δρυὶ μεμαρασμένον μύθους γεγηρακόσις καταλείπατε. σεσύνηται γοῦν ἡ Κασταλίας πηγή καὶ Κολοφώνος ἄλλη πηγή, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὁμοίως τέθνηκε νάματα

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a St. John x. 9.  
b See p. 20, n. a.  
c St. Matthew xi. 27.  
d e.g., the cave of Trophonius at Lebadeia in Boeotia.  
e Clement refers to the Libyan oracle of Zeus Ammon. There was a close connexion between this and the oracle of Zeus at Dodona. For the existence of a sacred oak in 26
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as for you, if you long to see God truly, take part in purifications meet for Him, not of laurel leaves and fillets embellished with wool and purple, but crown yourself with righteousness, let your wreath be woven from the leaves of self-control, and seek diligently after Christ. "For I am the door," a He says somewhere; which we who wish to perceive God must search out, in order that He may throw open wide for us the gates of heaven. For the gates of the Word are gates of reason, b opened by the key of faith. "No man knoweth God, save the Son, and him to whom the Son revealeth Him." c And I know well that He who opens this door, hitherto shut, afterwards unveils what is within, and shows what could not have been discerned before, except we had entered through Christ, through whom alone comes the vision of God.

II.

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

Libya see A. B. Cook, Zeus, vol. i, pp. 364–366. Strabo (54 B.C.–A.D. 24) says that in his day the oracle was "almost entirely deserted" (Strabo 813).
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CAP. μαντικά καὶ δὴ τοῦ τύφου κενὰ ὅψε μὲν, ὦμως δ' οὖν διελήλυγκα τοῖς ἴδιοις συνεκρεύσαντα μύθοις. διήγησαι ἡμῖν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης μαντικῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ μανικῆς, τὰ ἁρχηστα χρηστήρια, τὸν Κλάριον, τὸν Πύθιον, τὸν Διδύμεα, τὸν Ἀμφιάρεω, τὸν Ἀπόλλων, τὸν Ἀμφίλοχον, εἰ δὲ βούλει, καὶ τερατοσκόπους καὶ οἰωνοσκόπους καὶ τοὺς ὁνείρων κριτὰς ἀνιέρου σὺν αὐτοῖς. στήσον δὲ ὁμοὶ παρὰ τὸν Πύθιον τοὺς ἀλευρομάντεις ἄγων καὶ κριθομάντεις καὶ τοὺς εἰςετί παρὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς τετμημένους ἐγγαστρυμύθους. καὶ μὴν ἄδυτα Αίγυπτίων καὶ Τυρρηνῶν νεκυομαντείαι σκότω παραδιδόσθων. μανικὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀνθρώπων ἀπίστων σοφιστήρια καὶ πλάνης ἀκράτου κυβευτήρια. συνεμποροὶ τήσει τῆς γοητείας αἴγες αἱ ἐπὶ μαντικῆν ἑσκημέναι καὶ κόρακες ἀνθρώπως χρὰν ἕπο ἀνθρώπων διδασκόμενοι.

Τί δ' εἴ σοι καταλέγομι τὰ μυστήρια; οὐκ ἐξορχήσομαι μὲν, ὡσπερ Ἀλκιβιάδην λέγουσιν, ἀπογυμνώσω δὲ εἰ μὰλα ἀνὰ τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον τὴν γοητείαν τὴν ἐγκεκριμένην αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτοὺς γε τοὺς καλομένους ὑμῖν θεοὺς, ὅν αἱ τελεταὶ ἁμαιτικά, οἶον ἐπὶ σκηνὴς τοῦ βίου τοῖς .

1 τὸν Ἀπόλλων is probably corrupt. τὸν Τροφώνιον (Cobet) and τὸν Μόψον (Wilamowitz) have been suggested. Markland puts τὸν Ἀπόλλων before τὸν Κλάριον, a re-arrangement which has been followed in the translation.
2 <al> inserted by Mayor.

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

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

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

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The Greek word is used in the Septuagint to denote those who have "familiar spirits," such as the witch of Endor (1 Samuel xxviii. 7). Their ventriloquism was employed to simulate the voices of the spirits; see Isaiah viii. 19 ("that chirp and that mutter"). Also Leviticus xix. 31, etc.
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CAP. τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκκυκλήσω θεαταίς. Διόνυσον μαίνολην ὄργαξουσι Βάκχοι ὡμοφαγία τὴν ἱερομανίαν ἄγοντες καὶ τελίσκουσι τὰς κρεονομίας τῶν φόνων ἀνεστεμένου τοῖς ὄφεσιν, ἐπολολύζοντες Εὐών, Εὐαν ἐκεῖνην, δι' ἂν ἡ πλάνη παρηκολούθησεν· καὶ σημεῖον ὀργίων βακχικῶν ὄφις ἔστι τετελεσμένος. αὐτίκα γοῦν κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβὴ τῶν Ἑβραίων φωνὴν τὸ ὄνομα τὸ Ἔνια δασυνόμενον ἐρμηνεύεται ὡφις ἡ | θῆλεια. Δὴ ἡ δὲ καὶ Κόρη δράμα ἡ ἡ ἐγενέσθην μυστικῶν, καὶ τὴν πλάνην καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν καὶ τὸ πένθος αὐτὰιν Ἐλευοίς δάδουχει.

Καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὰ ὀργία καὶ τὰ μυστήρια δεῖν ἐτυμολογεῖν, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς Δηοῦς τῆς πρὸς Δία γεγενημένης, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μύσους τοῦ συμβεβηκότος περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Μυστώτος τινος Ἄττικοῦ, δὲν ἐν κυνηγίᾳ διαφαρηνὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος λέγει, οὐ φθόνος· ύμῶν δεδόξασται τὰ μυστήρια ἐπιτυμβίῳ τιμη. πάρεστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλως μυθηρία σοι νοεῖν ἀντιστοιχούντων τῶν γραμμάτων τὰ μυστήρια· θηρεύοντι γὰρ εἰ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς, ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ οἱ μῦθοι οἱ τοιοῦτοι Θρακῶν τοὺς βαρβαρικώτατοντος, Φρυγῶν τοὺς ἀνοιγτότατον· Ἐλλήνων τοὺς δεισιδαίμονας. ὅλωτο οὖν ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἀπάτης ἀνθρώπους, εἶτε ὁ Δάρδανος, ὁ Μῆτρος θεῶν καταδείξας τὰ μυστήρια, εἶτε Ἡθίων, ὁ τὰ Σαμοθράκων ὄργια καὶ τελετᾶς

"Eva" (εῦν, εὐάν) is one form of the cry "evoe" or "evae" (εὐόι, εὐαί) uttered by worshippers in the orgiastic rites of Dionysus.

Clement catches at a slight verbal resemblance as affording some support for his idea that there is a connexion between Eve and the Bacchic serpent. Elsewhere (Stroma-30
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of truth. The raving Dionysus is worshipped by Bacchants with orgies, in which they celebrate their sacred frenzy by a feast of raw flesh. Wreathed with snakes, they perform the distribution of portions of their victims, shouting the name of Eva, that Eva through whom error entered into the world; and a consecrated snake is the emblem of the Bacchic orgies. At any rate, according to the correct Hebrew speech, the word “hevia” with an aspirate means the female snake. Demeter and Persephone have come to be the subject of a mystic drama, and Eleusis celebrates with torches the rape of the daughter and the sorrowful wandering of the mother.

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

teis iii. 80. 2) he gives the Hebrew derivation, Eve = Life (see Genesis iii. 20).

Derivation of terms “orgy” and “mystery”

The alleged originators of mysteries

a See p. 35.
b See p. 73.
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CAP. II

υποστησάμενος, εἰτε ο Φρύξ ἐκεῖνος ο Μίδας, ο παρὰ τοῦ Ἄθροου μαθὼν, ἔπειτα διαδοὺς τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις ἐντεχυνὸν ἀπάτην. οὐ γὰρ με ο Κύπριος ο νησιώτης Κινύρας παραπείσαι ποτ’ ἄν, τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην μαχλώντα ὀργὰ ἐκ νυκτὸς ἡμέρα παραδοῦν τολμῆσας, φιλοτιμούμενος θείασαι πόρνην πολιτίδα. Μελάμπονα δὲ τὸν Ἀμνθάνον ἄλλοι φασίν ἐξ Ἀιγύπτου μετακομίσαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι

18 P. τὰς Δηνοὺς ἔφορτάς, πένθος ὑμνούμενον. τούτους ἐγών ἄρχετον φήσαιμι μῦθων ἁθέων καὶ δεισιδαμινίας ὀλεθρίου πατέρας, σπέρμα κακίας καὶ φθορᾶς ἐγκαταφυτεύοντας τῷ βίῳ τὰ μυστήρια.

"Ὄνη δὲ, καὶ γὰρ καὶ ρὸς, αὐτὰ ὡμῶν τὰ ὀργὰ ἐξελέγξω ἀπάτης καὶ τερατείας ἐμπλεα. καὶ εἰ μεμύησθε, ἐπιγελάσσεθε μᾶλλον τοῖς μῦθοις ὡμῶν τούτοις τοῖς τιμωμένοις. ἀγορεύσω δὲ ἀναφανδὸν τὰ κεκρυμμένα, οὐκ αἰδούμενος λέγειν ἄ προσκυνεῖν οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε. ἦ μὲν ὁν "ἀφρογενής" τε καὶ "κυπρογενής," ἡ Κινύρα φίλη (τὴν Ἀφροδίτην λέγω, τὴν "φιλομηδέα, ὅτι μηδέων ἐξεφαύνην," μηδέων εκείνων τῶν ἀποκεκομμένων Ὀδρανοῦ, τῶν λάγων, τῶν μετὰ τὴν τομὴν τὸ κύμα βεβαζομένων), ὡς ἀσελγῶν ὡμῶν μορίων ἄξιος [Ἀφροδίτη]1 γίνεται καρπός, ἐν ταῖς τελείαις ταύτῃ τῆς πελαγίας ἠδονῆς τεκμήριον τῆς γονής ἅλων χόνδρος καὶ φαλλὸς τοῖς μυομένοις τῆς τέχνης τῆς μοιχῆς ἐπιδίδοται. νόμισμα δὲ εἰσφέρουσιν αὐτῇ δαὶ μυομένοι, ὡς ἑταῖρα ἐρασταί.

1 [Ἀφροδίτη] Schwartz.

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

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

But now, (and high time too,) I will convict your orgies themselves of being full of deception and jugglery, and if you have been initiated you will smile the more at these legends you are wont to honour. I will tell openly the secret things, and will not shrink from speaking of what you are not ashamed to worship. There is, then, the "foam-born" goddess, the darling of Cinyras. I mean Aphrodite, who received the name Philomèdes because she was born from the mèdea, those lustful members that were cut off from Uranus and after the separation did violence to the wave. See how lewd are the members from which so worthy an offspring is born! And in the rites which celebrate this pleasure of the sea, as a symbol of her birth, the gift of a cake of salt and a phallos is made to those who are initiated in the art of fornication; and the initiated bring their tribute of a coin to the goddess, as lovers do to a mistress.
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CAP. Νηώς δὲ μυστήρια αἰ 1 Δίως πρὸς μητέρα
Δήμητρα ἀφροδίσιοι συμπλοκαὶ καὶ μῆνας (οὐκ ὁδὸς τί φῶ λοιπὸν, μητρὸς ἡ γυναικός) τῆς Δηνώς, ἂς δὴ χάριν Βρυων προσαγορευθῆναι λέγεται, καὶ ἡ κατηκριά Δίως καὶ πόμα χολῆς καὶ καρδιουλκίας καὶ ἀρρητούργίας. ταῦτα οἱ Φρύγες τελέσκοιν "Ἀττιδί καὶ Κυβέλη καὶ Κορύβασιν" τεθρυλήκασιν δὲ ὡς ἄρα ἀποσάσας ζεὺς τοῦ κριοῦ τοὺς διδύμους φέρων ἐν μέσοις ἔρρισε τοὺς κόλπους τῆς Δηνώς, τιμωρίαν ψευδή τῆς βιαίας συμπλοκῆς ἐκτυνών, ὡς ἐαυτὸν δῆθεν ἐκτεμών. τὰ σύμβολα τῆς μυήσεως ταύτης ἐκ περιουσίας παρατεθέντα οἴος ὅτι κινήσει γέλωτα καὶ μὴ γελασείουσιν ὡς κινεῖ

14 ὑ. τοὺς ἐλέγχους. "ἐκ τυμπάνου ἐφαγον. ἐκ κυμβάλου ἐπιον. ἐκερνοφόρησα. ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν." ταῦτα οὐχ ὑβρίς τὰ σύμβολα; οὐ χλευὴ τὰ μυστήρια; τὲ δὲ έκ καὶ τὰ ἐπίλοπτα προσθείην; κυπρὴ μὲν ἡ Δημήτηρ, ἀνατρέφεται δὲ ἡ Κόρη, μίγνυται δ' αὖθις ὁ γεννήσας ὄντος ζεὺς τῇ Φερεφάττῃ, τῇ ίδιᾳ θυγατρί, μετὰ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Δηνώ, ἐκλαθόμενος τοῦ προτέρου μύσους (πατήρ καὶ φθορεὺς κόρης ο ζεὺς) καὶ μίγνυται δράκων γενόμενος, δὲ ἂν, ἐλεγχθεῖς. Σαβαζίων γοὺς μυστηρίων σύμβουλον τοῖς μνομενοῖς ὁ διὰ κόλπου θεοῦ· δράκων δὲ ἔστων οὕτως, διελκόμενος τοῦ κόλπου τῶν τελουμένων, ἐλεγχος ἀκράσιας

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

a i.e. the Grim or Terrible One.
5 Compare this formula of the Phrygian with that of the Eleusinian mysteries, quoted on p. 43. See also the Appendix on the Mysteries, p. 388.

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The mysteries of Demeter commemorate the amorous embraces of Zeus with his mother Demeter, and the wrath of Demeter (I do not know what to call her for the future, mother or wife) on account of which she is said to have received the name Brimo; also the supplications of Zeus, the drink of bile, the tearing out the heart of the victims, and unspeakable obscenities. The same rites are performed in honour of Attis and Cybele and the Corybantes by the Phrygians, who have spread it abroad how that Zeus tore off the testicles of a ram, and then brought and flung them into the midst of Demeter’s lap, thus paying a sham penalty for his violent embrace by pretending that he had mutilated himself. If I go on further to quote the symbols of initiation into this mystery they will, I know, move you to laughter, even though you are in no laughing humour when your rites are being exposed. “I ate from the drum; I drank from the cymbal; I carried the sacred dish; I stole into the bridal chamber.” Are not these symbols an outrage? Are not the mysteries a mockery? But what if I were to add the rest of the story? Demeter becomes pregnant; the Maiden grows up; and this Zeus who begat her has further intercourse, this time with Persephone herself, his own daughter, after his union with her mother Demeter. Totally forgetful of his former pollution Zeus becomes the ravisher as well as father of the maiden, meeting her under the form of a serpent, his true nature being thus revealed. At any rate, in the Sabazian mysteries the sign given to those who are initiated is “the god over the breast”; this is a serpent drawn over the breast of the votaries, a proof of the licentiousness of Zeus. Persephone
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Capp. Διος. κειει και ἡ Φερέφαττα παιδα ταυρόμορφον· ἀμέλει, φησι τις ποιητής εἰδωλικός,

ταύρος δράκοντος καὶ πατὴρ ταύρου δράκων,
ἐν ὅρει τὸ κρύφιον, βουκόλος, τὸ κεντρίον, βουκολικόν, οἴμαι, κέντρον τὸν νάρθηκα ἐπικαλῶ, ὃν ἂν ἀναστέφωσιν οἱ βάκχοι. βούλει καὶ τὰ Φερεφάττης ἀνθολογία διηγήσωμαι σοι καὶ τὸν κάλαθον καὶ τὴν ἀρταγην τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀιδωνέως καὶ τὸ χάσμα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰς ὅσ τὰς Ἑβουλέως τὰς συγκαταποθέσεις ταῖς θεαῖν, δι᾽ ᾧν αἰτίαν ἐν τοῖς Θεσμοφορίοις μεγαρίζοντες χοίρους ἐμβάλλοσι; ταύτην τὴν μυθολογίαν αἱ γυναῖκες ποικίλως κατὰ πόλιν ἑορτάζουσι, Θεσμοφορία, Σκιρο-φορία, Ἀρρητοφόρια, πολυτρόπως τὴν Φερεφάττης ἐκτραγωδοῦσαι ἀρταγην.

Τὰ γὰρ Διονύσου μυστήρια τέλεον ἀπάνθρωπα· ὃν εἰσέτην παιδα ὅντα ἐνόπλω κινήσει περιχο-ρενώτων Κοιρήτων, δόλω δὲ ύποδύντων Τιτάνων, ἀπατήσαντες παιδαριώδεσιν ἀθύμασιν, οὕτῳ δὴ οἱ Τιτάνες διέσπασαν, ἐξ νηπίαχον ὅντα, ὡς ὃ τῆς Τελετῆς ποιητῆς Ὀρφεὺς φησιν ὁ Ὁράκιος· κῶνος καὶ βόμβος καὶ παίγνια καμπσίγνια, μῆλα τε χρύσεα καλὰ παρ᾽ Ἐσπερίδων λιγυ-φώνων.

καὶ τῇς ὑμῖν τῆς τελετῆς τὰ ἀχρεία σύμβολα φηκτὸν εἰς κατάγνωσιν παραθέσθαι· ἀστράγαλος,

1 κέντριον Dindorf. κέντρον mss.
3 διηγήσωμαι Dindorf. διηγήσαμοι mss.
4 χάσμα from Eusebius. σχῆμα mss.
5 τὸν θεόν Wilamowitz. τῇ θεῷ Rohde.
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also bears a child, which has the form of a bull. To be sure, we are told by a certain mythological poet that

The bull begets a snake, the snake a bull;
On hills the herdsman bears his mystic goad,—

the herdsman's goad being, I think, a name for the wand which the Bacchants wreathe. Would you have me also tell you the story of Persephone gathering flowers, of her basket, and how she was seized by Hades, of the chasm that opened in the earth, and of the swine of Eubouleus that were swallowed up along with the two deities,

which is the reason given for the custom of casting swine into the sacred caverns at the festival of the Thesmophoria? This is the tale which the women celebrate at their various feasts in the city, Thesmophoria, Scirophoria, Arretophoria, where in different ways they work up into tragedy the rape of Persephone.

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

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

And it is worth while to quote the worthless symbols of this rite of yours in order to excite condemnation:

a The Greek reads, "the two goddesses"; but Clement can hardly have meant this.
b For the word-play see p. 28, n. a.
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CAP. σφαίρα, στρόβιλος, μῆλα, ρόμβος, ἐσοπτρον, πόκος.

Ἅθενα μὲν οὖν τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ Διονύσου υφελομένῃ Πάλλας ἐκ τοῦ πάλλειν τὴν καρδίαν προσηγορεύμη· οἱ δὲ Τιτάνες, οἱ καὶ διασπάσαντες αὐτόν, λέβητα τινα τρίποδι ἐπιθέντες καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου ἐμβαλόντες τὰ μέλη, καθήψουν πρότερον ἐπειτα ὀβελίσκους περιπεφάντας ὑπείρεχον Ἡφαίστειον." Ζεὺς δὲ ύστερον ἐπιφανεῖς (εἰ θεὸς ἢ, τάχα ποι ὁ κύριος τῶν ὁπτωμένων κρεών μεταλαβών, ἢ δὴ τὸ " γέρας λαχεῖν" ὀμολογοῦσιν ὑμῶν οἱ θεοί) κεραυνῷ τούς Τιτάνας αἰκίζεται καὶ τὰ μέλη τοῦ Διονύσου Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ παιδὶ παρακατατίθεται καταθάμαι. δὲ δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἐπείθεσε Δίι, εἰς τὸν Παρνασσόν φέρων κατατίθεται διεσπασμένον τὸν νεκρόν.

Εἰ θέλεις δ᾿ ἐποπτεύσαί καὶ Κορυβάντων ὄργια,

16 Ρ. τὸν τρίτον ἀδελφὸν ἀποκτείναντες οὗτοι τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ νεκροῦ φώνησεν ἐπεκαλυφάτης καὶ καταστέφανε ἐθαψάτην, φέροντες ἐπὶ χαλκῆς ἀστίδος ὑπὸ τὰς ὑπωρείας τοῦ Ὀλύμπου. καὶ ταῦτα ἔστι τὰ μυστήρια, συνελόντα φάναι, φόνοι καὶ τάφοι· οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς οἱ τῶν, οὐς Ἀνακτοσελεστὰς οἷς μέλον καλεῖν καλοῦσι, προσεπιτεταὐστῶς τῇ συμφορὰ, ὀλόριζον ἀπαγορεύοντες σέλινον ἐπὶ τραπέζης τυδενᾶ· οἴονται γὰρ δὴ ἐκ τοῦ άματος τοῦ ἀπορρυνέτος τοῦ Κορυβαντικοῦ τὸ σέλινον ἐκπεφυκέναι· ὦσπερ ἠμέλει καὶ αἱ θεομοφορίαί εἶναι τῆς ροίας τοὺς κόκκους παραφυλάττουσιν ἐσθίεις τούς ἀπο-

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

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

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

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

CAP. πεπτωκότας χαμάι, ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Διονύσου αἵματος
σταγώνων βεβλαστηκέναι νομίζουσι 1 τὰς ροίας. Καβελρους δὲ τοὺς Κορύβαντας καλοῦντες καὶ
tελετὴν Καβειρμῆν καταγγέλλουσιν: αὐτῷ γὰρ δὴ
tοῦτῳ τῶν ἀδελφοκτόνων τὴν κίστην ἄνελομένω, ἐν ἐρ
τοῦ Διονύσου αἴδοιον ἀπέκειτο, εἰς Τυρρηνίαν
cατηγαγον, εὐκλεοὺς ἐμποροὶ φορτίου· κανταθὰ
dιετριβήτην, φυγάδε ὡντε, τὴν πολυτίμητον εὐσεβείας
dιδασκαλίαν, αἴδοια καὶ κίστην, θρησκευέων παρα-
θεμένων Τυρρηνοῖς. δὲ ἦν αὐτίαν οὐκ ἀπεικότως
tῶν Διόνυσον τινας "Ἀττιν προσαγορεύεσθαι θέλουσιν,
αἴδοιων ἐστερμένουν.

Καὶ τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ Τυρρηνοὶ οἱ βάρβαροι αἰσχροὶ
οὕτως τελίσκονται παθήμασιν, ὅπου γε Ἀθηναῖοι
καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάδι, αἴδοιμαι καὶ λέγειν, αἰσχύνης
ἐμπλευς ἢ περὶ τὴν Δημ μυθολογία; ἀλλιωθὲν
gὰρ ἡ Δημ κατὰ ξήτησιν τῆς θυγατρὸς τῆς Κόρης
περὶ τὴν Ῥευσώνα (τῆς Ἀττικῆς δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ
χωρίον) ἀποκάμνει καὶ φρέατι ἐπικαθίζει λυπομένην.
tοῦτο τοῖς μυστικοῖς ἀπαγορεύεται εἰσεῖτι νῦν,
ἰνα μὴ δοκοῦν οἱ τετελεσμένοι μιμεῖσθαι τὴν
17 Ρ. ὅμορίξων. ὥστε δὲ την κατα τὴν Ῥευσώνα οἱ
gηγενεῖς ὁνόματα αὐτοῖς Βαυβῷ καὶ Δυσαῦλῳ
καὶ Τριπτόλεμῳ, ἔτι δὲ Εὐμολπὸς τε καὶ Εὐβου-
λεῖς· βουκόλος ὁ Τριπτόλεμος ἦν, πομῆν δὲ ὁ
Εὐμολπὸς, συνβύτης δὲ ὁ Εὐβουλεῖς· ἀφ' ὧν τὸ
Εὐμολπίδων καὶ τὸ Κηρύκων τὸ ἱεροφάντοις τὸ
tὸτο τοῦ Ἀθηναίος γένος ἤθησαν. καὶ δὴ (οὐ γὰρ
ἀνήσω μὴ οὐχὶ εἰπέν) ἐξέσασα ἡ Βαυβῶ τὴν Δημ
1 νομίζουσι Wilamowitz. νομίζουσι mss.

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

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

CAP. ὅρεγει κυκεώνα αὐτῇ· τῆς δὲ ἀναιωμένης λαβεῖν καὶ πιεῖν οὐκ ἐθελούσης (πενθῆρης γὰρ ἤν) περι-
αλγῆς ἢ Βαυβῶν γενομένη, ὡς ὑπεροραθεῖσα δῆθεν, ἀναστέλλεται τὰ αἵοια καὶ ἐπιδεικνύει τῇ θεῷ. ἡ̣
δὲ τέρπεται τῇ ὄψιν ἢ Δημῶ καὶ Μόλις ποτὲ δέχεται τὸ ποτὸν, ἡσθεία τῷ θεάματι. ταῦτ' ἐστι τὰ̣
κρύφια τῶν Ἀθηναίων μυστηρία. ταῦτα τοι καὶ Ὀρθεὺς ἀναγράφει. παραθήκομαι δὲ σοι αὕτη τοῦ̣
Ὀρφέως τα ἐπη, ἦ̣ ἕχεις μάρτυρα τῆς ἀναιωνύμιας τὸν μυσταγγών̣

ὡς εἰπότοι δὲ πέπλους ἀνεσύρετο, δειξε δὲ πάντα | 18 Π. σώματος οὐδὲ πρέποντα τύπον· παῖς δ' ἦν Ἰακχος, χειρὶ τὲ μιν ῥίππασκε γελῶν Βαυβῶν ὑπὸ κόλποις· ἦ̣
δ' ἐστὶ οὐν μείδησε θεά, μείδησ' ἐνι θυμῷ, δέχατο δ' αἴόλον ἄγγος, ἐν ὧς κυκεῶν ἐνέκειο̣

κάστι τὸ σύνθημα Ἐλευσινίων μυστηρίων· “ἐνή-
σευσά, ἐπὶ τὸν κυκέωνα, ἐλαβὼν ἐκ κίστης, ἐργασάμενος 1 ἀπεθέμην εἰς κάλαθον καὶ ἐκ καλάθου εἰς κίστην.” καλὰ γε τὰ θεάματα καὶ θεὰ πρέποντα.
ἀξία μὲν οὖν νυκτὸς τὰ τελέσματα καὶ πυρὸς καὶ̣
τοῦ “μεγαλῆτορος,” μᾶλλον δὲ ματαιόφρους Ἐρεθειδῶν δήμου, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων, οὐσινας “μένει τελευτήσαντας ἀσσα

1 ἐγγευσάμενος Lobeck.

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

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

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

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

The great-hearted people of Erechtheus are mentioned in Homer, Iliad ii. 547. Erechtheus, a legendary king of Athens, had a temple, the Erechtheum, on the Acropolis.
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CAP. οὔδὲ ἐλπινται." τίς δὴ μαντεύεται Ἡράκλειτος
Π. ὁ Ἐφέσιος; "νυκτισόλοις, μάγοις, βάκχοις, λήγαις,
μύσταις," τούτοις ἀπειλεῖ τὰ μετὰ θάνατον, τούτοις
μαντεύεται τὸ πῦρ. "τὰ γὰρ νομιζόμενα κατὰ ἀν-
θρώπους μυστήρια ἀνιερωσθὶ μυοῦνται."

Νόμως οὐν καὶ ὑπόληψις κενὴ τὰ μυστήρια ¹ καὶ
tοῦ ἰδέαντος ἀπατή τὸς ἐστὶν θρησκευομένη, τᾶς
ἀμφίτοτα ἀντος, μυθεῖς καὶ τὰς ἀνοργιάστους
tελετὰς εὐσεβεία νόθω προστρεπομένων. οὐλὶ δὲ
καὶ αἱ κύριαι αἱ μυστικαί. δεὶ γὰρ ἀπογυμνώσαι
τὰ ἄγια αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἀγγέλη τεξιπτεῖν. οὐ σησαμαί
ταῦτα καὶ πυραμίδες καὶ τολύται καὶ πότανα
πολυόμφαλα χώοδοι τε ἀλών καὶ ἰδέας, ὄργιον
Διονύσου Βασσάρου; οὐχὶ δὲ οἶοι πρὸς τοιὸδε καὶ
κράδαι ² νάρθηκες τε καὶ κυτταὶ, πρὸς δὲ καὶ φθοῖς καὶ
μήκων; ταῦτ' ἐστὶν αὐτῶν τὰ ἄγια. καὶ προσ-
έτη Γῆς ³ Θέμιδος τὰ ἀπόρρητα σύμβολα ὀργανον,
λύχνος, ξίφος, κτέις γυναικεῖας, ὃς ἐστιν, εὐρήμων
καὶ μυστικῶς εἰπεῖν, μόριον γυναικεῖον. ὥ τῆς
ἐμφανοῦς ἀνασχυντιας. πάλαι μὲν ἀνθρώπους
σωφρονοῦσιν ἐπικάλυμμα ἡδονῆς νῦν ἢ σωπωμένην.
νυνὶ δὲ τοὺς μυομένους πείρα ⁴ τῆς ἀκρασίας νῦν
ἔστι λαλομένη, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἑλέγχει τὰ πάθη
dαδουχοῦμενον. ἀπόσβεσον, ὥ ἱεροφάντα, τὸ πῦρ.

¹ τὰ μυστήρια after κενὴ Mayor: after ἰδέαντος mss.
² κράδαι Morellus. καρδίαι mss.
³ Γῆς Wilamowitz. τῆς mss.
⁴ πείρα Wilamowitz. ἡ λεπὰ mss.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ε Ephesians ii. 12. "Without God" is the rendering in both the Authorized and the Revised Versions; but "atheist" is necessary here to bring out the point.
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II ἐπικτυποῦντα καὶ κύμβαλον ἐπηχοῦντα καὶ τοῦ τραχήλου τινὰ μναγύρτην ἐξηρτημένον, κατετόξευσεν, ώς ἀνανδὴν αὐτόν τε παρ’ Ἑλλησρ ψενημέ-νον καὶ τῆς θηλείας τοις ἄλλοις Κυκθών διδάσκαλον νόσου. ὃν δὴ χάριν (οὐ γὰρ οὐδαμῶς ἄποκρυπτέον) θαυμάζειν ἐπεσί μοι ὅτι τρόπῳ Εὐήμερον τὸν Ἀκραγαντῖνον καὶ Νικάνορα τὸν Κύπριον καὶ Διαγόραν καὶ Ἐππώνα τῷ Μηλίῳ 1 τὸν τε Κυρηναίον ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔκεινον ([ὁ] 2 Θεόδωρος ὅνομα αὐτῷ) καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους συχνοὺς, σωφρόνους βεβιωκότας καὶ καθεωρακότας δεξιτερόν ποι τῶν λουπῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἀμφι τοὺς θεοὺς τούτους πλάνην, ἀθέους ἐπικεκλήκασιν, εἰ καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτὴν μὴ νενοκτότας, ἀλλὰ τὴν πλάνην γε ὑπωπτευκότας, ὥσπερ οὐ σμικρὸν εἰς ἀλήθειαν 3 φρονήσεως ζῶπυρον ἀναφύεται σπέρμα. ὃν ὁ μὲν τις παρεγγυά τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, “εἰ θεοὺς νομίζετε, μὴ βρηκείτε αὐτοὺς μηδὲ κόπτεσθε· εἰ δὲ πενθείτε αὐτοῖς, μηκέτι τούτους ἤγεισθε εἰναὶ θεοὺς,” ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλέα ἐκ ξύλου λαβὼν κατεσκευασμένον (ἔτυχε δὲ ἐξ ἐξών τι σκικοῦ, οὐα εἰκὸς) “εἰς δὴ, ὃ Ἡράκλεις,” εἰπεν· “νῦν σοι ὅθη καιρός, ὥσπερ Εὐρυσθεί, ἀτάρ δὴ καὶ ήμῖν ὑπορρήσαι τὸν τρισκαίδεκατον τοῦτον ἄθλον καὶ Διαγόρα τοῦφον 4 παρασκευάσαι.” κατ’ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐνέθηκεν ὡς ξύλον.

1 τῷ Μηλίῳ Μινζελ. τῶν μηλίων mss.
2 [ὁ] Dindorf.
3 ἀλήθειαν Sylburg. ἀληθειας mss.
4 τοῦφον Cobet. τοῦφων mss.

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

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

CAP. II. 'Akróttetes āra āmabías ādeötis kai deixidamono-

vía, ὁν ἐκτὸς μένεω σπουδαστέον. οὐχ ὀρᾶς τὸν ἱεροφάντην τῆς ἁληθείας Μωσεά προστάττοντα ὅλαδιαν καὶ ἀποκεκομμένον μὴ ἐκκλησιαζείν, καὶ προσέτι τὸν ἐκ πόρνης; αὐνίτεται δὲ διὰ μὲν τῶν προτέρων τὸν ἀθεον τρόπον τὸν τῆς θείας καὶ γονίμου δυνάμεως ἐστερημένον, διὰ δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ τοῦ τρίτου τὸν πολλοὺς ἐπιγραφόμενον ψευδωνύμους

θεούς ἀντὶ τοῦ μόνου ὄντος θεοῦ, ὡστερ ὁ ἐκ τῆς

πόρνης τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπιγράφεται πατέρας ἁγνοίᾳ τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν πατρός. ἦν δὲ τις ἐμφύτους ἀρχαία πρὸς οὐρανον ἀνθρώπως κοινωνία, ἁγνοίᾳ μὲν ἐσκοτισμένη, ξίφων δὲ ποὺ διεκθρύσκουσα τοῦ σκότους καὶ ἀναλάμπουσα, οὗν δὴ ἐκεῖνο λελεκταί τιν τὸ

ὁρᾶς τὸν ὑσοῦ τόνδ’ ἀπειρον αἰθέρα καὶ γῆν περὶ ἔχονθ’ ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλαις;

καὶ τὸ

ὡ γῆς ὃχημα κατὶ γῆς ἔχων ἔδραν, ὅστις ποτ’ ἐὰν σύ, δυστόπαστος εἰσίδεῖν, | 22 P. καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ποιητῶν ἠδονία παῖδες.

"Εννοοῖ δὲ ἡμαρτημέναι καὶ παραγμέναι τῆς εὐθείας, ὅλεθριοι ὡς ἄληθῶς, τὸ οὐράνιον φυτὸν, τὸν ἀνθρωπον, οὐρανίου ἐξέτρεψαν διαίτης καὶ ἐξετάνυσαν ἐπὶ γῆς, γηύνοις προσανέχειαν ἀναπεί-

σασα πλάσμασιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐθέως ἀμφί τὴν

α "Hierophant" is the literal rendering. For the hierophant's office see p. 40, n. 6, and Appendix p. 385.

b See Deuteronomy xxiii. 1, 2.

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

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

and these,

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

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

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

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*a* Euripides, *Frag.* 935.

*b* Euripides, *Trojan Women* 884–5.

*c* Plato, *Timaeus* 90a; cp. p. 217.
This fanciful derivation comes from Plato, Cratylus 397 c–d, where Socrates is made to say that the first Greeks had only the earth and the heavenly bodies for gods. Since these were in perpetual movement (thein, to run) they called
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about the spectacle of the heavens. Trusting solely to sight, they gazed at the movements of the heavenly bodies, and in wonder deified them, giving them the name of gods from their running motion. Hence they worshipped the sun, as Indians do, and the moon, as Phrygians do. Others, when gathering the cultivated fruits of plants that spring from the earth, called the corn Demeter, as the Athenians, and the vine Dionysus, as the Thebans. Others, after reflecting upon the punishments of evil-doing, make gods out of their experiences of retribution, worshipping the very calamities. This is the source from which the Erinyes and Eumenides, goddesses of expiation and vengeance, as well as the Alastors, have been fashioned by the poets of the stage. Even certain of the philosophers themselves, following the men of poetry, came to represent as deities the types of your emotions, such as Fear, Love, Joy, Hope; just as, of course, Epimenides did of old, when he set up altars in Athens to Insolence and Shamelessness. Some gods arise from the mere circumstances of life deified in men’s eyes and fashioned in bodily form; such are the Athenian deities, Right, the Spinner, the Giver of lots, the Inflexible One, Destiny, Growth and Abundance. There is a sixth way of introducing deception and of procuring gods, according to which men reckon them to be twelve in number, of whose genealogy Hesiod sings his own story, and Homer, too, has much to say about them. Finally (for these ways of error are seven in all), there remains that which arises from the divine gods (theoi). On learning about other gods they extended the name to them.

\*i.e. avenging deities.
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II. θείας εὐεργεσίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἄνθρωπους καταγωγομένης ὀρμάμενος. τὸν γὰρ εὐεργητοῦντα μὴ συνιέντες θεὸν ἀνέπλασάν τινας σωτήρας Διοσκοῦρος καὶ Ἡρακλέα ἀλέξικακον καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν

23 P. iatróν.

Αὕτη μὲν αἱ ὀλοσθεραὶ τε καὶ ἐπιβλαβεῖσι παρεκβάεις τῆς ἀληθείας, καθέλκουσαι οὐρανόθεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ εἰς βάραθρον περιτρέπουσαι. ἐθέλω δὲ ύμῖν ἐν χρῷ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπιδείξαι ὁποῖοι τινὲς καὶ εἰ τινὲς, ἵνα ἴδητε τής πλάνης λήξητε, αὕτης δὲ παλινδρομήσῃ εἰς οὐρανόν. "ἡμεν γὰρ που καὶ ἡμεῖς τέκνα ὀργῆς, ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ. ὁ δὲ θεὸς πλούσιος ὁν ἐν ἑλείς, διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἁγάπην αὐτοῦ, ἢν ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἢν νεκροῦς τοὺς παραπτώμασιν συνεξωποίησεν τῷ Χριστῷ." ξών γὰρ ὁ λόγος καὶ <ὁ>1 συντάφεις Χριστῷ συνυψοῦται θεῷ. οἱ δὲ ἔτι ἀπιστοὶ "τέκνα ὀργῆς" ὀνομάζονται, τρεφόμενα ὀργῆ. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ὀργῆς θρέματα ἔτι, οἱ τῆς πλάνης ἀπεσπασμένοι, ἔσοντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν. ταύτη τοῦ ἡμεῖς οἱ τῆς ἀνομίας νῦν ποτὲ διὰ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν τοῦ λόγου νῦν νῦν γεγόναμεν τοῦ θεοῦ. ύμῖν δὲ καὶ ὁ υἱός εὐποίηται θεός ὁ 'Ἀκραγαντῖνος Ἔμπεδοκλῆς'.

τοιγάρτοι χαλεπῆσιν ἀλύνοντες κακότησιν οὐ ποτὲ δειλαίων ἀχέων λυφήσετε θυμόν.

tà μὲν δὴ πλείονα μεμυθένται καὶ πέπλασται περὶ θεών ύμίν. tà δὲ δόα καὶ 2 γεγενήθαι ὑπείληπται, ταύτα δὲ περὶ ἄνθρωπων αἰσχρῶν καὶ ἁσελγῶς βεβισκότων ἀναγέγραπται;

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

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beneficence shown towards men; for, since men did not understand that it was God who benefited them, they invented certain savours, the Twin Brothers, Heracles averter of evils, and Asclepius the doctor.

These then are the slippery and harmful paths which lead away from the truth, dragging man down from heaven and overturning him into the pit. But I wish to display to you at close quarters the gods themselves, showing what their characters are, and whether they really exist; in order that at last you may cease from error and run back again to heaven. "For we too were once children of wrath, as also the rest; but God being rich in mercy, through His great love wherewith He loved us, when we were already dead in trespasses, made us alive together with Christ."\(^a\) For the Word is living, and he who has been buried with Christ is exalted together with God. They who are still unbelieving are called "children of wrath," since they are being reared for wrath. We, on the contrary, are no longer creatures of wrath, for we have been torn away from error and are hastening towards the truth. Thus we who were once sons of lawlessness have now become sons of God thanks to the love of the Word for man. But you are they whom even your own poet, Empedocles of Acragas, points to in these lines:

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

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

\(^a\) Ephesians ii. 3–5. \(^b\) Empedocles, Frag. 145 Diels.
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CAP. II τύφω καὶ μανή δὲ βαδίζετε καὶ τρίβον ὅρθην εὐθείαν προλιπόντες ἀπήλθετε τὴν δὲ ἀκανθῶν καὶ σκολόπων. τὶ πλανᾶσθε, βροτοί; παύσασθε, μάταιοι,

καλλίπετε σκοτίην νυκτός, φωτὸς δὲ λάβεσθε. |

24 Ρ. ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἡ προφητικὴ παρεγγυα καὶ ποιητικὴ Σίβυλλα· παρεγγυα δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια, γυμνοῦσα τῶν καταπληκτικῶν τούτων καὶ ἐκπληκτικῶν προσωπείων τὸν ὄχλον τῶν θεῶν, συνωνυμίας τισὶ τὰς δοξοποιίς διελέγχουσα.

Αὐτίκα γοῦν εἰσὶν οἱ τρεῖς τοὺς Ζῆνας ἀναγρά- 

φουσιν, τὸν μὲν Ἀιθέρος ἐν 'Αρκαδία, τὸν ὅτι 

τοῦ Κρόνου παίδε, τούτων τὸν μὲν ἐν Κρήτῃ, θάτερον 

dὲ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ πάλιν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ πέντε Ἀθηνᾶς 

ὕποτιθενται, τὴν μὲν Ἡφαίστου, τὴν Ἀθηναίαν· 

τὴν ἐν Νείλου, τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν· τρίτην τὴν ἐν 

τοῦ Κρόνου, τὴν πολέμου εὐρέτων· τετάρτην τὴν 

Διός, 

ἡν Μεσσήνου Κορυφασίαν ἀπὸ τῆς μητέρος ἐπι- 

κεκλήκασιν· ἑπὶ πάσι τὴν Πάλλαντος καὶ Τιτανίδος 

τῆς Ὀκεανοῦ, ἡ τὸν πατέρα δυσσεβῶς καταθύσασα 

τῷ πατρίῳ κεκόσμηται δέρματι ὠσπερ κυδίῳ.

1 <τήν> inserted by Wilamowitz.

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

The word Sibyl was applied to prophetesses who 

delivered oracles at certain shrines, such as Cumae or 

Erythrae. It was appropriated by the authors of that long 

series of pseudo-prophetic verses which has come down to 

us under the title of the Sibylline Oracles. These date from 

various periods between the second century B.C. and the 

seventh century A.D. The earliest oracle is a Jewish work, 

written in Egypt. Many of the subsequent ones are of 

Christian, or Jewish-Christian, authorship. Their chief 

object was to denounce the folly of polytheism and image-

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

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

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

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

With this paragraph compare Cicero, De natura deorum
iii. 58–59. Both Cicero and Clement are using the work of
the “theologians” (theologoi), who tried to reduce to some
system the mass of Greek legend. On the reasons for this
multiplication of gods see Gardner and Jevons, Manual of
Greek Antiquities, pp. 95–96.

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

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CAP. ναὶ μὴν Ἀπόλλωνα ὁ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλης πρῶτον Ἰφαίστου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς (ἐνταῦθα δὴ οὐκέτι παρθένος ἢ Ἀθηνᾶ), δεύτερον ἐν Κρήτῃ τὸν Κύρβαντος, τρίτον τὸν Δίος καὶ τέταρτον τὸν Ἀρκάδα τὸν Σιλήνου. Νόμισος οὖτος κέκληται παρὰ Ἀρκάσιων ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν Δίβυν καταλέγει τὸν Ἀμμωνος. ὁ δὲ Δίδυμος ὁ γραμματικὸς τούτος ἔκτον ἐπιφέρει τὸν Μάγνητος. πόσοι δὲ καὶ νῦν Ἀπόλλωνες, ἀναρίθμητοι θυτοὶ καὶ ἐπίκηροι tines ἀνθρώπων, εἰσίν, οἱ παραπλησίως τοὺς προερημένους ἐκείνους κεκλημένους; τί δ’ εἴ σοι τοὺς πολλοὺς εἴπομι Ἀσκληπίων ἢ τοὺς Ἐρμᾶς τοὺς ἀριθμούμενους ἢ τοὺς Ἰφαίστους τοὺς μυθολογομένους; μὴ καὶ περιττός εἶναι δόξω τὰς ἀκοὰς ὑμῶν τοῖς πολλοῖς τούτοις ἐπικλύζων ὀνόμασιν; ἀλλ’ αἱ γε πατρίδες αὐτοὺς καὶ αἱ τέχναι καὶ οἱ βίοι, πρὸς δὲ γε καὶ οἱ τάφοι ἀνθρώπων γεγονότας διεξεύχοντο.

"Ἀρης γοῦν ὁ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς ποιηταῖς, ὡς ὀλόν τε, τετμημένος,

"Ἀρες, Ἄρες, βροτολογοῦ, μιμαφόνε, τειχεσιπλήτα,

25 P. ὁ ἄλλοπρόσαλλος οὗτος καὶ ἀνάρσιος, ὡς μὲν Ἐπίγαρμος φησί, Σπαρτιάτης ἢν. Σοφοκλῆς δὲ Θράκη οἴδει αὐτὸν. ἄλλοι δὲ Ἀρκάδα. τοῦτον δὲ Ὄμηρος δεδέσθαι φησίν ἐπὶ μήνας τρισκαίδεκα.

1 ἐπίκηροι Mayor. ἐπίκουροι mss.

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

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

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

Ares, thou plague of men, bloodguilty one, stormer of cities;

this fickle and implacable god was, according to Epicharmus, a Spartan. But Sophocles knows him for a Thracian, others for an Arcadian. This is the god of whom Homer says that he was bound in chains for a space of thirteen months:

\[ b \] i.e. the "pastoral" god, from nomeus a shepherd.
\[ c \] Homer, *Iliad* v. 31 and 455.
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CAP. τῇ μὲν "Αρης, ὅτε μν "Ωτος κρατερός τ᾽ 'Εφιάλτης, παίδεσ 'Αλωής, δήσαν κρατερῷ ἐνὶ δεσμῷ· χαλκέω δ᾽ ἐν κεράμῳ δἐδετο τρισκαίδεκα μήνας. 
polla kāgath Kāres schoien, oî katabōousan autw toûs kínas. Skûnai de toûs ónous ēreúontes mêt pavanésthen, wós Ἀπολλόδωρος fhsi kai Kallímachos, 

Φοῖβος ἦπερβορέοισιν ὄνων ἐπιτελεῖται ἱρώις. 

ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ ἄλλαχοῦ 

tērponoûn liparai Phoïbov onosfagíai.

"Ηφαιστος δὲ, ὅν ἔρρυψεν ἕξ Ὠλύμπου Ζεὺς "βηλοῦ ἀπὸ θεσπεσίου," ἐν Λήμνῳ καταπεσὼν έχάλκευε, πηρωθεὶς τὸν πόδε, "ὑπὸ δὲ κυνῆι ρώστο ἀραία." ἔχεις καὶ ἱατρόν, οὐχὶ χαλκέα μόνον ἐν θεοῖς· ὁ δὲ ἱατρὸς φιλάργυρος ἤν, Ἀσκληπίων ὄνομα αὐτῷ. καὶ σοὶ τὸν σὸν παραθύσομαι ποιητήν, τὸν Βοιώτιον Πῦνδαρον. 

ἐτράπε κάκεῖνον ἀγάνορ μισθῶ χρυσὸς ἐν χερσὶ χανείς.

26 P. χερσὶ δ᾽ ἄρα Κρονίων ὄμισσ δι᾽ ἀμφοῖν ἀμπνοὰν ἑστέρνων καθεῖλεν 

οἰκέως, αἰθῶν δὲ κεραυνὸς ἐνέσκηψε μόρον, 
kai Eὐριπίδης 

Ζεὺς γὰρ κατακτᾶ ταῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν αἰτίος Ἀσκληπίων, στέρνοισιν ἐμβαλῶν φλόγα. 

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

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

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

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

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

Elsewhere the same writer says:

Rich sacrifice of asses Phoebus loves.

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

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

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

And Euripides says:

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

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1 Homer, Iliad i. 591. • Iliad xviii. 411.
2 Pindar, Pythian Odes iii. 97, 100-105.
3 Euripides, Alcestis 3-4.
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οὗτος μὲν οὖν κεῖται κεραυνωθεὶς ἐν τοῖς Κυνοσούριδος ὤριοις. Φιλόχορος δὲ ἐν Τήνῳ Ποσειδώνα φησὶ τιμᾶσθαι ἵατρόν, Κρόνῳ δὲ ἐπικείσθαι Σικελιάν καὶ ἑνταῦθα αὐτὸν τεθάφθαι. Πατροκλῆς τε ὁ Θεούργος καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ὁ νεῶτερος ἐν τισῑ τραγωδίαις ἱστορεῖτον στοῖ Διοσκούρων πέρι ἀνθρώπων τινὸς τούτω τῷ Διοσκούρῳ ἐπικήρῳ ἐγενέσθην, εἰ τῷ ἰκανὸς πιστώσασθαι ὁμήρος τὸ λελεγμένον τοὺς δ’ ἦδη κάτεχεν φυσίζους αἰα ἐν Δακεδαίμονι αὐθί, φίλῃ ἐν πατρίδι γαϊή.

προσίτω δὲ καὶ ὁ τὰ Κυπριακὰ ποίηματα γράφασ

Κάστωρ μὲν θητός, θανάτου δὲ οἱ αἰσθάνται: αὐτάρ δ’ ἐ’ ἀδάνατος Πολυδεύκης, ὅζος Ἄρης.


1 ἐν τισὶ Welcker. ἐν τρισὶ mss.
2 ἱστορεῖτον Sylburg. ἱστορεῖτον mss.
3 τοῖν Διοσκούρων Sylburg. τῶν Διοσκούρων mss.
4 ἐγενέσθην Dindorf. ἐγενέσθην mss.

* Homer, Πηλίδαι. 243–244.
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This god, then, killed by the thunderbolt, lies on the frontier of Cynosuris. But Philochorus says that in Tenos Poseidon was honoured as a doctor. He adds that Sicily was placed upon Cronus, and there he lies buried. Both Patrocles of Thurium and the younger Sophocles relate the story of the Twin Brothers in some of their tragedies. These Brothers were simply two men, subject to death, if Homer’s authority is sufficient for the statement,

they ere now by life-giving earth were enfolded,

There in far Lacedaemon, the well-loved land of their fathers.¹

Let the author of the Cyprian verses² also come forward:

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

This last line is a poetic falsehood. But Homer is more worthy of credence than this poet in what he said about both the Brothers. In addition, he has proved Heracles to be a shade. For to him “Heracles, privy to great deeds,” is simply “a man.”³ Heracles, then, is known to be mortal man even by Homer. Hieronymus the philosopher sketches his bodily characteristics also,—small stature, bristling hair, great strength. Dicaearchus adds that he was slim, sinewy, dark, with hooked nose, bright gleaming eyes and long, straight hair. This Heracles, after a life of fifty-two years, ended his days, and his obsequies were celebrated in the pyre on Mount Oeta.

¹ i.e. an epic poem bearing the name of Cypris, or Aphrodite. The extant fragments are printed at the end of D. B. Monro’s Homer opera et reliquiae (Oxford 1891), the above lines being on p. 1015.

² Homer, Odyssey xxi. 6.
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CAP. II. Ὁδὲ ὁ Μοῦσας, ἀλλ' Ἀλκμάων̣ Διὸς καὶ Μνημοσύνης γενεαλογεῖ καὶ οἱ λουποὶ ποιηταὶ καὶ συγγραφεῖς ἐκθειάζουσιν καὶ σέβουσιν, ἦδη δὲ καὶ οἱ πόλεις μουσεία τεμενισθοῦσιν 2 αὐταῖς, Μυσᾶς 3 οὐσίας θεραπανίδας ταύτας ἐώνηται Μεγακλώ ἡ θυγάτηρ ἡ Μάκαρος. ὅ δὲ Μάκαρ Λεσβίων μὲν ἐβασίλευεν, διεφέρετο δὲ ἀεὶ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα, ἡγανάκτει δὲ ἡ Μεγακλώ ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρὸς. τί δ’ οὐκ ἔμελλε; καὶ Μυσᾶς θεραπανίδας ταύτας τοσαῦτας τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀνεῖται καὶ καλεῖ Μοῦσας 4 κατὰ τὴν διάλεκτον τὴν Αἰσιόν. ταύτας ἐδιδάσκετο ἄδεια καὶ κύριος ρίζην τὰς πράξεις τὰς παλαιὰς ἐμμελώς. αἱ δὲ συνεχῶς κιθαρίζουσαι καὶ καλῶς κατεπάδουσαι τὸν Μάκαρα ἔθελον καὶ κατέπαυσαν τῆς ὁργῆς. οὐ δὴ χάριν ἡ Μεγακλώ χαριστήριον αὐτὰς 5 ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνέθηκε χαλκᾶ καὶ ἀνὰ πάντα ἐκείνους τιμᾶσθαι τὰ ἰερὰ. καὶ αἱ μὲν Μοῦσαι τουιδέ. ἡ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ Μυραίλῳ τῷ Λεσβίῳ.

Ἀκούετε δὴ οὖν τῶν παρ’ ὑμῖν θεῶν τοὺς ἐρωτας καὶ τὰς παραδόξους τῆς ἀκρασίας μυθολογίας καὶ τραύματα αὐτῶν καὶ δεσμὰ καὶ γέλωτας καὶ μάχας δουλείας τε ἐτί καὶ συμπόσια συμπλοκάς τ’ αἱ καὶ δάκρυα καὶ παθῆ καὶ μαχλώσας ἱδονάς. κάλει μοι τὸν Ποσειδῶν καὶ τὸν χορὸν τῶν διεθθαρ-μένων ύπ’ αὐτοῦ, τὴν Ἀμφιτρίτην, τὴν Ἀμμαθῆν, τὴν Ἀλώτην, τὴν Μελανίππην, τὴν Ἀλκυόνην, τὴν Ἱπποθόνην, τὴν Χιόνην, τὰς ἄλλας τὰς μυρίας. εὖ αἰς δὴ καὶ τοσαῦτας οὕσσεις ἐτί τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ύμῶν ἐστενοχωρεῖτο τὰ πάθη· κάλει μοι καὶ τὸν

1 Ἀλκμάωn Bergk. Ἀλκμανδρός mss.
2 τεμενισθοῦσιν Sylburg. μὲν Ιξουσιν mss.
3 Μυσᾶς Stählin. μούσας mss.

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

Now listen to the loves of these gods of yours; to the extraordinary tales of their incontinence; to their wounds, imprisonments, fits of laughter, conflicts, and periods of servitude. Listen, too, to their revels, their embraces, their tears, passions and dissolute pleasures. Call Poseidon, and the band of maidens corrupted by him, Amphitrite, Amymone, Alope, Melanippe, Alcyone, Hippothoe, Chione and the thousands of others. Yet in spite of this great number, the passions of your Poseidon were still un-
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CAP. Ἀπόλλων. Φοῖβὸς ἔστιν οὗτος καὶ μάντις ἁγνὸς καὶ σύμβουλος ἁγαθὸς. ἀλλ’ οὐ ταῦτα ἡ Στερόπη λέγει οὖδὲ ἡ Ἀἴθουσα οὐδὲ ἡ Ἀρσινὸν οὐδὲ ἡ Ζευξίππη οὐδὲ ἡ Προθον οὐδὲ ἡ Μάρτησσα οὐδὲ ἡ Ὄμηπολη. Δάφνη γὰρ ἐξέφυγε μόνη καὶ τὸν μάντιν καὶ τὴν φθοράν. αὐτὸς τε ὁ Ζεὺς ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἥκετω, ὁ "πατὴρ" καθ’ ύμᾶς "ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε." τοσούτος περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἐξεχύθη, ὡς ἐπιθυμεῖν μὲν πασῶν, ἐκπληροῦν δὲ εἰς πάσας ἡν ἐπιθυμίαν. ἐνεπιμπλατό γοὺς γυναικῶν οὐχ ἦττον ἡ αἰγῶν ὁ Θομουτὼν τράγος. καὶ σοῦ, ὥ "Ομηρε, τεθαῦμακα τὰ ονόματα." |

28 P. ἦ, καὶ κυνάζουσιν ἐπ’ ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρωνίων. ἀμβρόσαι δ’ ἀρα χαίται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος κρατῶς ἀπ’ ἀθανάτου· μέγαν δ’ ἐλέλυξεν "Ολύμπον. σεμνὸν ἀναπλάττεις, "Ομηρε, τὸν Δία καὶ νεῦμα περιάπτεις αὐτῷ τετιμημένον. ἀλλ’ ἐὰν ἐπιδείξῃς μόνον, ἄνθρωπε, τὸν κεστόν, ἐξελέγχεται καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ ἡ κόμη κατασκίνει. εἰς ὅσον δ’ ἐληλακεν ἁσελγείας ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκεῖνος ὁ μετ’ Ἀλκμήνης τοσαύτας ἱδυπαθήσας νύκτας· οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ νύκται αἱ ἐννέα τῷ ἀκολάστῳ μακράι (ἀπᾶς δὲ ἐμπαλιν

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a Homer, Ιliad i. 544 and elsewhere.
b This was probably a sacred goat kept at Thmuis, and treated as the incarnate manifestation of some god. At the neighbouring town of Mendes such an animal was worshipped, as we learn from Herodotus ii. 46; see also Clement, on p. 85 of this volume. Thmuis is mentioned in Herodotus ii. 166 as the name of a town and district in Egypt. The goat, like the bull, would be chosen for veneration on account of its procreative force. Clement regards it (ii. Stromatæis 118. 5) as a type of the sensual man. 66
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satisfied. Call Apollo, too. He is Phoebus, a holy prophet and good counsellor! But this is not the opinion of Sterope, or Aethusa, or Arsinoë, or Zeuxippe, or Prothoë, or Marpessa, or Hypsipyle. For Daphne was the only one who escaped the prophet and his corruption. Above all, let Zeus come too, he who is; according to your account, "father of gods and men." So completely was he given over to lust, that every woman not only excited his desire, but became a victim of it. Why, he would take his fill of women no less than the buck of the Thmuitans does of she-goats. I am astonished at these verses of yours, Homer:

Thus spake the son of Cronus, and nodded assent with his eyebrows;
Lo! the ambrosial locks of the king flowed waving around him
Down from his deathless head; and great Olympus was shaken.

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

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

d According to the usual story Heracles was begotten in three nights (Lucian, Dialogi deorum 10), whence he was called τρεῖςευερος (Justin Martyr, Oratio ad Graecos 3). It is possible that Clement has confused this with the "nine nights" of Zeus and Mnemosyne which preceded the birth of the Muses (Hesiod, Theogonia 56).
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CAP. ο βίος ἀκρασία βραχὺς ἦν), ἵνα δὴ ἢμῶν τὸν ἀλεξί-κακον σπείρη θεόν. Διὸς νῦν Ὅρακλῆς, Διὸς ὡς ἀληθῶς, ὥς ἐκ μακράς γεννώμενος νυκτός, τοὺς μὲν ἀθλοὺς τοὺς δώδεκα πολλῷ ταλαιπωρησάμενος χρόνω, τὰς δὲ πεντήκοντα Θεστίου θυγατέρας νυκτὶ· διαφθείρας μιᾷ, μοιχὸς ὅμοιο καὶ νυμφίος τοσοῦτοι γενόμενος παρθένων. οὕκουν ἀπεικότως οἱ ποιήσαντες "σχέτλιον" τοῦτον καὶ "αἰσθολεργόν" ἀποκαλοῦσι. μακρὸν δὲ ἂν εἴη μοιχείᾳ αὐτοῦ παντοδαπᾶς καὶ παϊδῶν διηγείσας φθορᾶς. οὖδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ παῖδων ἀπέσχοντο οἱ πάρ᾽ ὑμῖν θεοὶ, δὲ μὲν τις Ὄλα, δὲ Ὅγκθον, δὲ Πέλοπος, δὲ Ὡρσίπποι, δὲ Γανυμήδους ἔρωτες. τούτους ὑμῶν αἱ γυναῖκες προσκυνοῦντων τοὺς θεοὺς, τοιούτους δὲ εὐχέσθων εἶναι τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς έαυτῶν, οὕτω σώφρονας, ἰν᾽ ὅσιν ὅμοιο τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ ἴσα ἔξηλωκότες· τούτους ἐξιζόντων οἱ παϊδες ὑμῶν σέβειν, ἵνα καὶ ἄνδρες γένωνται εἰκόνα πορ-νείας ἐναργὴ 1 τοὺς θεοὺς παραλαμβάνουτες.

'Αλλ' οἱ μὲν ἄρρενες αὐτοῖς τῶν θεῶν ἰσως μόνοι ἄποτους περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια·

θηλύτεραι δὲ θεαὶ μένον αἰδοὶ οἶκοι ἐκάστη, φησιν "Ομηρος, αἰδούμεναι αἱ θεαὶ 2 διὰ σεμνότητα Ἀφροδίτην ἱδεῖν μεμοιχευμένην. αἱ δὲ ἀκολο- σταῖνουσιν ἐμπαθέστερον ἐν τῇ μοιχείᾳ δεδεμέναι, Ἡώς ἐπὶ Τιθωνῷ, Σελήνη 〈ὁ ἐπὶ〉 3 Ἑωνυμῶνι,

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

But perhaps in the case of the gods, it is the males only who rush eagerly after sexual delights, while Each in her home for shame the lady goddesses rested, as Homer says, because as goddesses they modestly shrank from the sight of Aphrodite taken in adultery. Yet these are more passionately given to licentiousness, being fast bound in adultery; as, for instance, Eos with Tithonus, Selene with Endymion, Nereis

\[a\] Homer, \textit{Iliad} v. 403. \[b\] \textit{Odyssey} viii. 324.
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CAP. Νηρής επὶ Αἰακῷ καὶ ἐπὶ Πηλεὶ Θέτις, ἐπὶ δὲ Ιασώνι 1 | Δημήτηρ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἄδωνίδι Φερέφατται. Ἀφροδίτη δὲ ἐπ᾽ Ἀρεί κατηχομένη μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ Κινύραν καὶ Ἀγχίσιν ἐγήμεν καὶ Φαέθοντα ἐλόχα καὶ ἥρα Ἄδωνίδος, ἐφιλονείκει δὲ τῇ βοώπῳ καὶ ἀποδύσαμεν διὰ μήλου αἱ θεῖαι γυμναὶ προσείχον τῷ θουμένῳ, εἰ τὰ αὐτῶν δόξει καλῆ.

"Ἡ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἁγώνας ἐν βραχεὶ περιοδεύσαμεν καὶ τὰς ἐπιτυμβίους ταυταί πανηγύρεις καταλύσαμεν. Ἰσθμία τε καὶ Νέμεα καὶ Πύθια καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτων 'Ολυμπία. Πυθοὶ μὲν οὖν οἱ δράκων οἱ Πύθιοι θρησκεύεται καὶ τοῦ ὅφεως ἡ πανήγυρις καταγγέλλεται Πύθια. Ἰσθμοὶ δὲ σκύβαλον προσέπτουσεν ἔλευσον ἡ θάλαττα καὶ Μελικέρτης ὄθυρεται τὰ Ἰσθμία. Νεμέας δὲ ἀλλο παιδίον Ἀρχέμορος κεκήθενται καὶ τοῦ παιδίου ὁ ἐπιτάφιος προσαγορευέται Νέμεα. Πύνα δὲ ὑμῖν τάφος ἔστιν, οὐ Πανελλήνες, ἡμών Φρυγῶς, καὶ τοῦ Πέλοπος τὰς χοάς, τὰ Ὀλυμπία, ὁ Φειδίος σφετερίζεται Ζεὺς. μυιστήρια ἦσαν ἁρα, ὡς έοικεν, οἱ ἁγώνες ἐπὶ νεκροῖς διαθλούμενοι, ὦστερ καὶ τὰ λόγια, καὶ δεδήμενται ἄμφως. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ Ἀγρα 2 μυιστήρια καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀλμοῦντι τῆς Ἀττικῆς Ἀθηνησὶ περιώρισται: ἀθανὸς δὲ ἦδη κοσμικὸν οἱ τε ἁγώνες

1 Ιασώνι Sylburg. lάςωνι mss.
2 Ἀγρα Meurs. σάγραι mss.

a i.ο. Hera. The epithet means, literally, “cow-eyed”; but it is frequently applied to Hera in the Iliad (e.g. i. 551) in the sense of “with large, bright eyes.” For the connexion between Hera and the cow see A. B. Cook, Zeus, i. pp. 444–457.

b i.σ. Paris, son of Priam of Troy. He judged Aphrodite more beautiful than Hera or Athena, and so roused the anger of these two goddesses against Troy.

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

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

\(c\) See p. 3, n. 6.
\(d\) See Appendix on the Mysteries, p. 382.
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CAP. καὶ οἱ φαλλοὶ οἱ Διονύσων ἐπιτελοῦμενοι, κακῶς ἐπινεμημένοι τὸν βίον.

Διόνυσος γὰρ κατέλθειν εἰς Ἡ αἰῶνα γλυκόμενος ἣν νῦες τὴν ὁδόν, ὑποσχεῖται δὲ αὐτῷ φράσεων τις, 1

30 Ψ. Πρόσωμον τούτων, οὐκ ἂμισθ. ὁ δὲ μισθὸς οὐ καλός, ἀλλὰ Διονύσῳ καλός· καὶ ἀφροδίσιος ἢν ἡ χάρις, ὁ μισθὸς δὲ ἰτείτο Διόνυσος· βουλομένως δὲ τῷ θεῷ γέγονεν ἡ αἰτησις, καὶ δὴ ὑποσχεῖται παρεξεῖν αὐτῷ, εἰ ἀναξεύοι, ὅρκως πιστωσάμενος τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν. μαθὼν ἄπερεν ἐπανῆλθεν αὐθίς· οὐ καταλαμβάνειν τὸν Πρόσωμον (ἐπεθνήκει γὰρ) ἀφοσιώμενον τῷ ἑραστῇ δὲ Διόνυσος ἐπὶ τὸ μινημεῖον ὅρμα καὶ πασχητικα. κλάδον οὐν συχίς, ὡς έπυγευ, ἐκτειμῶν ἀνδρείου μορίου σκευάζεται τρόπον ἐφεξεταί τε τῷ κλάδῳ, τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἐκτελῶν τῷ νεκρῷ. ὑπόμνημα τοῦ πάθους τούτου μυστικὸν φαλλοὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἀνίστανται Διονύσῳ· "εἰ μὴ γὰρ Διονύσῳ πομπὴν ἐποιοῦντο καὶ γίνεται ἂσμα ἁίδοίοισιν, ἀναιδεστάτα ἐργαστὶ αὐ, ὁ, "φησίν Ἱράκλειτος, "οὕτος δὲ Ἡ αἰῶνα καὶ Διόνυσος, ὅτε Μαίσσοι καὶ λημάζουσιν," ὁ δὲ τὴν μέθνην τοῦ σώματος, ὡς ἔγιν ὁμια, τοσοῦτον ὅσον διὰ τὴν ἐπονείδισσον τῆς ἀσελγείας ἱεροφαντίαν.

Εἰκότως ἄρα οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὁμῶν θεοὶ <δοῦλοι>, 4 δοῦλοι παθῶν γεγονότες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῶν Εἰλῶτων

1 <τις> inserted by Dindorf.
2 ἄραμα Heinsius: Stählin. ἄραμα, & Dindorf.
3 εὑραστὶ ἀν Schleiermacher. εὑραστὶ mss.
4 <δοῦλοι> inserted by Schwartz.
5 πρὸ Münzel. πρὸ mss.

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

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

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

CAP. kalouménov tów para Lakedaumoníous dómoioi diá théseis 'Apolllwn 'Admítow év Fereíz, 'Hraklís év Sárdesw 'Omphális, Dáomédonti d' éth- teue Posseidôn kai 'Apolllwn, katháper ákreioi oikêtis, páti de elenbherías déptou òmfiheis tuchuiv para tóu protérou despentóv tote kai tó 'Ilóu teíxh ánepoçómumáthn tów Phugí. "Omoíros de tóu "Athennán ouk aíxhítetai paraðafánwes légwv tóv 'Ouvasi "chrúséou lýchnou éxousaiv" én xeroin tóu de 'Aphrodítin ánégwmen, ouí akóloustóv tó therpauníodov, paraðeínav fèrousan tó 'Elenh tóv diýrón tóou moikhó kató prósópoiv, ópwv autón eis swnoupán òmpanájhtai. Pánvassís gar prós tou- tois kai állois pámpóllois ántrwpois lapatreússai thèous ístoriei ódè pws gráfwv:

tlís mév Dhmítir, tle dé klytós 'Ampifugýhis, tle dé Posseidáwv, tle dé arygurótoxós 'Apolllwn ándrói para òntht洮 ótthnéménei 1 eis ēnautóni:
tlís dé kai 2 óbbrmóbymi 'Arhí òpò patróv vànágkhs, kai tó épi tou tois.

Toútois ouí ekótipos épetai tóus érwtoois úmón 81 P. kai paðthnikous toútois thèous ánhrw|topadheis ek pántos eiságwiv trópoiv. "kai gar thn keívous òntht洮 chrós." tekkhmóri dé "Omoíros, mála ákrí- bós 'Aphrodítin épí tóu trauvmati paraisápóv oùn kai méga íáchosan autón te tóon polémówstov "Arhí òpò tóou Díomídoi kató tóu kenuwos ouyta- sménov dígyóuménu. Polémwv dé kai tóu 'Athennán

1 ótthnéménei Sylburg. ótthnéménei mss.
2 kal inserted by Sylburg.

a Homer, Odyssey xix. 34.
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the time of the Helots, as they were called, among the Lacedaemonians, Apollo bowed beneath the yoke of slavery to Admetus in Pherae, and Heracles to Omphale in Sardis. Poseidon and Apollo were serfs to Laomedon, Apollo, like a worthless servant, not having been able, I suppose, to obtain the gift of freedom from his former master. It was then that these two gods built the walls of Ilium for their Phrygian lord. Homer is not ashamed to speak of Athena lighting the way for Odysseus, "holding a golden lamp" in her hands. We read of Aphrodite, how, like a wanton hussy, she brought the stool for Helen, and placed it in front of her paramour, in order that Helen might entice him to her arms. Panyasis, too, relates in addition very many other instances of gods becoming servants to men. He writes in this way:

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

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

b See Iliad iii. 424 and following lines. The paramour was Paris, whose abduction of Helen from Sparta brought about the Trojan war. c Panyasis, Heracleia, Frag. 16 Kinkel. d Iliad xxi. 568. * Iliad v. 343. f Iliad v. 855 and following lines.
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CAP. ύπο Ὄρνυτον τρωθήναι λέγει· ναὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν Ἁίδωνέα ύπο Ἡρακλέους τοξευθήναι ὁμήρος λέγει καὶ τὸν Ἡλιον [Ἀγγέαν] 1 Πανύσσης ἱστορεῖ· ἦδη δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἡράν τὴν ζυγίαν ἱστορεῖ ύπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλέους ὁ αὐτὸς οὖσας Πανύσσης "ἐν Πύλῳ ἠμαθεῖτι." Σωσίβιος δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα πρὸς τῶν Ἰπποκοωντιδῶν κατὰ τῆς χειρὸς οὐτασθήναι λέγει. εἰ δὲ 2 τραύματα, καὶ αἴματα· οἱ γὰρ ἰχώρες οἱ ποιητικοὶ εἰδεχθέστηροι καὶ τῶν αἰμάτων, σήμες γὰρ αἰματος ἰχώρ νοεῖται. ἀνάγκη τοῖν θεραπειας καὶ τροφας παρεισάγεων αὐτοῖς, ὃν εἰσώ ἐνδεείς. διὸ τράπεζα καὶ μέθαι καὶ γέλωτες καὶ συνουσία, οὐκ ἂν ἀφροδισίους χρωμένων ἀνθρωπίνως 3 οὔδε παιδοποιουμένων οὔδε μὴν ὑπνωσόντων, εἰ αἰθάνατοι καὶ ἀνενδεεῖς καὶ ἄγνωρ 4 ὑπήρχον. μετέλαβεν δὲ καὶ τραπέζης ἀνθρωπίνης παρὰ τοῖς Αἰθιοπίων, ἀπανθρώπου δὲ καὶ ἀθέσμου αὐτοῦ ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Δυκάων τῷ Ἀρκάδῳ ἑστιώμενος· ἀνθρωπεῖων γοῦν ἐνεφερεῖτο σαρκῶν οὐχ ἑκῶν. ἦγορει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἄρα Δυκάων ὁ Ἀρκας ὁ ἑστιάτωρ αὐτοῦ τὸν παίδα κατασφάξας τὸν αὐτοῦ (Νῦκτιμος οὖνα παίδως) παραθείη ὑπὸ τῷ Δι. καλὸς γε ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ μαντικός, ὁ ξένος, ὁ ἱκέσιος, ὁ

1 τὸν Ἡλιον [Ἀγγέαν] Schwartz. τὸν ἡλιον αὐγέαν mss.
2 δὲ Mayor. δὴ mss.
3 ἀνθρωπίνως Reinkens. ἀνθρώπως mss.
4 ἄγνωρ Potter. ἄγνωρι mss.

b Iliad v. 395–397.
c Panyasis, Heracleia, Frag. 6. 20 Kinkel.

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

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

Iliad i. 423–424.

See Pausanias viii. 2. 3. The story of Lycaon is discussed in A. B. Cook, Zeus, vol. i. pp. 63–81.
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CAP. μελίγιος, ὁ πανομφαῖος, ὁ προστροπαῖος: μᾶλλον δὲ <ὁ> ἅδικος, ὁ ἄθεσμος, ὁ ἄνομος, ὁ ἀνόσιος, ὁ ἀπάνθρωπος, ὁ βίας, ὁ φθορεύς, ὁ μοιχός, ὁ ἔρωτικός. ἄλλα τότε μὲν ἢν, ὅτε τουτός ἦν, ὅτε ἁνθρωπός ἦν, νῦν δὲ ἥδη μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ οἱ μῦθοι ὑμῖν γεγρακέναι. δράκων ὁ Ζεύς οὐκέτι, οὐκ κύκνος ἐστίν, οὐκ ἄετος, οὐκ ἁνθρωπός ἐρωτικός· οὐχ ἵππαι τε θεός, οὐ παιδεραστεί, οὐ φίλει, οὐ βιάζεται, καίτοι πολλαὶ καὶ καλαὶ καὶ νῦν ἐτί γυναῖκες καὶ Δήδας εὐπρεπέστερα καὶ Ξεμέλης ἀκμαιότερα, μειράκια δὲ ἀραιότερα καὶ πολιτικώτερα τοῦ Φρυγίου βουκόλου. ποῦ νῦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἄετος; ποῦ δὲ ὁ κύκνος; ποῦ δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ Ζεύς; γεγρακε μετὰ τοῦ πτεροῦ· οὐ γὰρ δῆπον μετανοεῖ τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς οὐδὲ παιδεύεται σωφρονεῖν. γυμνοῦται δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ μῦθος· ἀπέθανεν ἡ Δήδα, ἀπέθανεν ὁ κύκνος, ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἄετος. ζήτει σοι τὸν Δία· μη τὸν υἱανόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν γῆν πολυπραγμόνει. ὁ Κρῆς σοι διηγήσεται, παρ᾽ ὦ καὶ τέθαπται, Καλλίμαχος ἐν ὅμως καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἀνά, σεῖο Κρῆτες ἐτεκτήναντο.

τέθνηκε γὰρ ὁ Ζεύς (μη δυσφόρει) ὡς Δήδα, ὡς κύκνος, ὡς ἄετος, ὡς ἁνθρωπός ἐρωτικός, ὡς δράκων.

1 <ὁ> inserted by Sylburg.

a i.e. Ganymedes; see pp. 69 and 111.

b Callimachus, Hymn to Zeus 8–9. This claim of the Cretans to possess the tomb of Zeus is said to have earned for them their traditional reputation as liars. The two lines of Callimachus, when read in full, distinctly assert this. 78
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gracious, the author of all oracles, the avenger of crime! Rather he ought to be called the unjust, the unrestrained, the lawless, the unholy, the inhuman, the violent, the seducer, the adulterer, the wanton lover. Still, there was life about him in those days, when he was all this, when he was a man; but by this time even your legends appear to me to have grown old. Zeus is no longer a snake, nor a swan, nor an eagle, nor an amorous man. He is not a god who flies, or corrupts boys, or kisses, or ravishes; and yet there are still many beautiful women left, fairer even than Leda and nearer their prime than Semele, and lads more blooming and more refined than the Phrygian herdsman. Where is now that famous eagle? Where is the swan? Where is Zeus himself? He has grown old, wings and all. For you may be sure he is not repentant because of his love affairs, nor is he training himself to live a sober life. See, the legend is laid bare. Leda is dead; the swan is dead; the eagle is dead. Search for your Zeus. Scour not heaven, but earth. Callimachus the Cretan, in whose land he lies buried, will tell you in his hymns:

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

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

They run as follows:

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

Cp. Titus i. 12, and, for a discussion on the burial-place of Zeus, A. B. Cook, Zeus, i. 157–163.
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CAP. II. "Ἡδη δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ φαίνονται οἱ δεισιδαίμονες ἂκοντες μὲν, ὃμως δὲ οὖν συνεντεῖ τὴν πλάνην τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεούς:

οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυὸς εἰσὶ παλαιφάτου οὐδ’ ἀπὸ πέτρης,

ἀλλ’ ἀνδρῶν γένος εἰσί, μικρὸν δὲ ὄστερον καὶ δρύες ὄντες εὑρεθήσονται καὶ πέτραι. Ἀγαμέμνονα γοῦν τινα Δία ἐν Σπάρτῃ τιμᾶσθαι Στάφυλους ἱστορεῖ. Φανοκλῆς δὲ ἐν Ἔρωσιν ἦ' Καλοῖς Ἀγαμέμνονα τὸν Ἑλλήνων βασιλέα Ἀργόνυν νεὼν Ἀφροδίτης ἱστασθαι ἐπ᾽ Ἀργόνυν τῷ ἑρωμένῳ. Ἀρτέμιν δὲ Ἀρκάδες Ἀπαγχομένην καλουμένην προστρέπουται, ὡς φησί Καλλίμαχος ἐν Αἰτίοις. καὶ Κονδυλίτης ἐν Μηθύμνη ἐτέρα τετήμηται Ἀρτέμις. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Ποδάγρας ἀλλής Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ ἱερόν, ὡς φησὶ Σωσίβιος. Πολέμων δὲ Κεχνότος Ἀπόλλωνος οἶδεν ἀγαλμα, καὶ Ὀψο-

33 P. φάγου | πάλιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἄλλο ἐν Ἡλιδι τιμώ-

μενον. ἐνταῦθα Ἀπομνῖών Διὸ θύουσιν Ἡλείοι· Ῥωμαίοι δὲ Ἀπομνῖώ Ἡρακλεὶ καὶ Πυρετῷ δὲ

1 ἦ Leopardus. τοῖς Sylburg. τίς mss.

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

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

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


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

Not from the ancient oak nor rock do they take their beginning. a

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

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

Arcadians worship an Artemis called "the goddess who is hanged," as Callimachus says in his Causes f; and at Methymna another, an Artemis Condylitis, is honoured. g There is also another, a "gouty" Artemis, with a shrine in Laconia, as Sosibius says. h Polemon knows a statue of "yawning" Apollo; and another, too, of Apollo "the epicure," honoured in Elis. i These Eleans sacrifice to Zeus "averter of flies," k and the Romans to Heracles of the same title,

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

b Condylitis may mean "striking," from κογδυλίζων. But possibly this is another form of "Artemis of Condylea," called Artemis Condyleatis in Pausanias viii. 23. 6.


CAP. καὶ Φόβῳ θύονσι, οὕς καὶ αὐτοῦς μετὰ τῶν ἁμβλιῶν τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐγγράφουσιν. ἐώς δὲ Ἀργεῖους· Ἀφροδίτην Τυμβωρίχον θρησκεύουσιν Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Δάκωνες, καὶ Χελιύτιδα δὲ Ἀρτεμίν Σπαρτάται σέβονται ἐπεὶ τὸ βήττειν χελιύτειν καλοῦσιν.

Οὔτε ποθὲν παρέγγραπτα ταύτα σοὶ κομίζεσθαι τὰ υἱὲ τῶν παρατιθέμενα; οὐδὲ τούς σοὺς γνωρίζεις ἐκκάθαρσις συγγραφεῖς, οὐς ἐγὼ μάρτυρας ἐπὶ τὴν σὴν ἁπιστίαν καλῶ, ἄθεου χλεύης, ὧ δεῖλαιοι, τὸν πάντα ὑμῶν ἀβίωτον ὄντως βίον ἐμπεπληκτότας. οὐχὶ μέντοι Ζεὺς φαλακρὸς ἐν Ἀργεῖ, τιμωρὸς δὲ ἄλλος ἐν Κύπρῳ τετίμησθοι; οὐχὶ δὲ Ἀφροδίτη περιβασοὶ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι, ἐθαύρᾳ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι καὶ καλλιπόνῳ θύουσιν Συρακούσιοι, ἡν Νίκανδρος ο ποιήτης "καλλιγλυτών" που κέκληκεν; Διώνυσον δὲ ἑδή σωτῆρ τὸν χοροψάλαν. Συκυώνων τοῦτον προσκυνοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῶν γυναικείων τάξαντες τὸν Διώνυσον μορίων, ἐφορον άσχος τὸν ὑβρεῖς σεβάζοντες ἀρχηγόν. τοιοίδε μὲν αὐτοῖς οἱ θεοὶ, τοιοίδε καὶ αὐτοὶ, παίζοντες ἐν θεοῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐμπαιζόντες καὶ ἐνυβρίζοντες σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. καὶ πόσω βελτίως Αἰγύπτιοι κωμηδοὶ καὶ κατὰ πόλεις τὰ ἄλογα τῶν ζῶν ἐκτετμηκότες ἕπερ Ἔλληνες τοιούτους προσκυνοῦντες θεοῦς; τὰ μὲν γὰρ εἰ καὶ θηρία, ἀλλ' οὐ μοιχικά, ἀλλ' οὖ μόχλα, παρὰ φύσιν δὲ θηρεύει ἕδονὴν οὐδὲ ἐν. οὐ δὲ ὅποιον,
as well as to "Fever" and "Fear" which they even CHAP. enroll among the companions of Heracles. I pass by the Argives; Aphrodite the "grave-robb er" is worshipped by them, as well as by the Laconians. Furthermore, Spartans venerate Artemis Chelytis or the "coughing" Artemis, since the verb corresponding to Chelytis is their word for "to cough."

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

'Ἀλλ' οὖν γε Ἀιγύπτιοι, ἃν νῦν δὴ ἐμνήσθην,
34 Ρ. κατὰ τὰς θρησκείας τὰς σφῶν ἐσκέδασθαι: σέβουσι
dὲ αὐτῶν Συνηνίσται 1 φάγρον τὸν ἱχθῦν, μαζώσας δὲ
(ἀλλος 2 οὖτος ἱχθύς) οἱ τὴν Ἐλεφαντίνην οἴκοιντες,
'Oξυρυγχίται τὸν φερώνυμον τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν
όμοιος ἱχθῦν, ἑτὶ γε μὴν Ἡρακλεοπολίται ἰχνεύ-
μονα, Σαίτης δὲ καὶ Θηβαίοι πρόβατον, Λυκο-
pολίται δὲ λύκον, Κυνοπολίται δὲ κύνα, τὸν Ἦπιαν
Μεμφίται, Μενδήσιοι τὸν τράγον. ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ
πάντες ὁμοίως Ἀιγυπτιών (ὅκνῳ δὲ εἴπετο χείρος),
oἱ τοὺς Αἰγυπτιὸς οὐκ ἡμέραι γελώντες οὐ παύεσθε,³
ποῖοι 4 τῖς καὶ περὶ τὰ ἀλογά ζῷα; Θεσσαλοὶ μὲν
ὑμῶν τοὺς πελαγούς τετειμήκασι διὰ τὴν συνῆθεν,
Θηβαῖοι δὲ τὰς γαλάζ διὰ τὴν Ἡρακλέους γένεσιν.
ti δὲ πάλιν Θεσσαλοὶ; μύρισκας ἱστοροῦντα
σέβειν, ἐπεὶ τὸν Δία μεμαθήκασιν ὡμοιώδενα
μύριμη τῇ Κλήτορος θυγατρὶ Εὐρυμεδοῦσῃ μιγήσαι
καὶ Μυρμηδόνα γεννῆσαι. Πολέμων δὲ τοὺς ἅμιθ
τὴν Τρωάδα κατοικοῦντας ἱστορεῖ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους
μύς <σέβειν>,⁵ οὖς σμύρνους καλοῦσιν, ότι τὰς νευρὰς

1 Συνηνίσται Ortelius and Canter (in Sylburg). εἰνηνίσται mss.
2 ἀλλος Potter. δὲ ἄλλος mss.
3 παύεσθε Heinsius. παύεσθε mss.
4 ποῖοι Wilamowitz. ὁποῖοι mss.
5 <σέβειν> inserted by Dindorf.

⁰ The Apis bull was regarded as an incarnation of the god Ptah, or Osiris. Certain peculiar bodily marks distinguished him from other bulls, and when found he was tended with deep veneration in a shrine at Memphis. At his death there was great mourning, and a stately funeral. See Herodotus iii. 27–28.
ⁱ See Herodotus ii. 46.
⁰ The story is given in Antoninus Liberalis, ch. 29. The
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Greek gods, what need is there to say more? They have been sufficiently exposed.

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

d The legendary ancestor of the Myrmidons, a Thessalian tribe. The name may be connected with myrmex, an ant.
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CAP. τῶν πολεμίων διέτρωγον τῶν τόξων· καὶ Σμύρνιον
II Ἀπάλλωνα ἀπὸ τῶν μυῖν ἐκεῖνων ἐπεφήμισαν. Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ἐν Κτίσεσιν ἔρημον περὶ τὴν Ἀκαρ-ναίαν φησὶν, ἕνθα τὸ Ἀκτίνον ἐστὶν ἀκρωτήριον καὶ τοῦ Ἀπάλλωνος τοῦ Ἀκτίνου τὸ ἔρημον, ταῖς μνίαις προθύεσθαι βοῶν. οὖδὲ μὴν Σαμίων ἐκ-λήσομαι (πρόβατον, ὡς φησὶν Εὐφορίων, σέβοναι
85 p. Σάμμοι) οὖδὲ γε τῶν τῆς Φοινίκης Σύρων κατ-οικοῦντων, ὥστιν μὲν τὰς περιστεράς, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἴχθυς οὕτω σέβονε οὐκ ἠπειρᾶτος ὡς Ἡλείοι τοῦ Δία.
Εἰςεν δὴ ἐπείδη οὐ θεοί, οὐς θρησκεύετε, αὕτης ἐπισκέψαθαι μοι δοκεῖ εἰ ὡντος εἶναι ὁμόνοιας, δευτέρα ταύτη, ὃς ὡμείς φατέ, ἐγκαταλεγόμενος τάξει. εἰ γάρ οὖν δαίμονες, λίχνοι τε καὶ μιαροί.
ἐστὶ μὲν ἐφευρέωκαὶ ἀναφαυνθὸν οὕτω κατὰ πόλεις δαίμονας ἐπιχωρίους τιμὴν ἐπιδραπομενοὺς, παρὰ Κυθνίοις Μενέδημον, παρὰ Τηνίοις Καλλισταγγώραν, παρὰ Δηλίοις Ἀννο, παρὰ Λάκωσον Ἀστράβακον.
τιμᾶται δὲ τις καὶ Φαληροὶ κατὰ πρύμναν ἔρως· καὶ ἡ Πυθία συνέταξε θύειν Πλαταμέσσων Ἀνδρο-κράτει καὶ Δημοκράτει καὶ Κυκλαιῶ καὶ Λευκῶν τῶν Μηδίκων ἀκμαζόντων ἁγώνων. ἔστι καὶ

a Compare the story in Herodotus ii. 141, where Sennacherib's army, invading Egypt, was rendered useless by the ravages of mice.


c Heracleides Ponticus, Frag. hist. Graec. ii. p. 197, note 2. See also Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, i. p. 45.

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

e The Syrian goddess Derceto was represented with the body of a fish, and her daughter Semiramis took the form of a dove. See Diodorus ii. 4.

f See Herodotus vi. 69.
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through their enemies' bowstrings; and they named Apollo 'Smintheus' after these mice. Heracleides, in his work on The Founding of Temples in Acarnania, says that on the promontory of Actium, where stands the temple of Apollo of Actium, a preliminary sacrifice of an ox is made to the flies. Nor shall I forget the Samians, who, as Euphorion says, worship the sheep; no, nor yet the Syrian inhabitants of Phoenicia, some of whom worship doves, and others fishes, as extravagantly as the Eleans worship Zeus.

Very well! since they whom you serve are not gods, I am resolved to make a fresh examination to see whether it is true that they are daemons, and should be enrolled, as you say, in this second rank of divinities. For if they really are daemons, they are greedy and foul ones. We can discover perfectly clear examples of daemons of local origin who glean honour in cities, as Menedemus among the Cythnians, Callistagoras among the Tenians, Anius among the Delians and Astrabacus among the Laconians.

Honour is paid also at Phalerum to a certain hero "at the stern," and the Pythian prophetess prescribed that the Plataeans should sacrifice to Androcrates, Democrates, Cyclaeus and Leucon when the struggles with the Medes were at their height. And the man

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

a See Plutarch, Aristeides xi.
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CAP. ἄλλος παμπόλλος συγιδεῖν δαίμονας τῷ γε καὶ σμικρὸν διαθρεῖν δυναμένως.

τρίς γὰρ μύριοι εἰσίν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πολυβοτείρῃ δαίμονες ἀθάνατοι, φύλακες μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.

tίνες εἰσίν οἱ φύλακες, ὃ Βοιώτες, μηθονέος λέγειν. ἡ δὲ λοῦ ὡς οὕτωι καὶ οἱ τοῦτων ἐπιτιμότεροι, οἱ μεγαλοὶ δαίμονες, ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ἡ Ἀρτέμις, ἡ Λευτώ, ἡ Δημήτρι, ἡ Κόρη, ὁ Πλοῦτων, ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, αὐτὸς ὁ Ζεὺς. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀποδράναι ἡμᾶς φυλάττουσαι, Ἀσκαλέ, μὴ ἀμαρτάνειν δὲ ἧσω, οἱ ἀμαρτών δῆτα οὐ πεπεραμένοι. ἔνταθα δὴ τὸ παροιμιώδες ἐπιφθέγξασθαι ἀρκότετε

"πατήρ ἀνουθέτητα ¹ παῖδα νουθετεί."

eι δ' ἄρα καὶ εἰσὶ φύλακες οὕτωι, οὐκ εὑνοῖα τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς περιπαθεῖς, τής δὲ ὑμεδαπῆς ἀπωλείας ἐχόμενοι, κολάκων δίκην, ἐγχρίμπτοται τῇ βίω, δελεαξόμενοι καπνῷ. αὐτοὶ που ἐξομολογοῦνται οἱ δαίμονες τὴν γαστρομαργίαν τὴν αὐτῶν,

λοιβής τε κνίσαις τε· τὸ γὰρ λάχομεν γέρας ἤμεῖς, | 86 Ρ. λέγοντες. τίνα δ' ἄν φωνὴν ἄλλην, εἰ φωνὴν λάβοιεν Αἰγυπτίων θεοί, οἱ αἰλουροὶ καὶ γαλαί, προῆσονται ἐς τὴν Ὀμυρικὴν τε καὶ ποιητικὴν, τῆς κνίσης τε καὶ ὀμφαρτυκῆς φίλην; τοιοῦτε μέντοι παρ' υμῖν οἱ τε δαίμονες καὶ οἱ θεοὶ καὶ εἰ τίνες

¹ ἀνουθέτητα Wilamowitz. ἀνουθέτητος mss.

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¹ Hesiod, Works and Days 252–253. Hesiod was a native of Ascrain in Boeotia, which explains the two appellations that follow this quotation.

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

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

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

The father warns his child but not himself. b

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

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

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

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a Hesiod, Theogony, 545.9
b Homer, Iliad iv. 49.

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

III

Come then, let us add this, that your gods are human and man-hating daemons, who not only exult over the insanity of men, but go so far as to enjoy human slaughter. They provide for themselves sources of pleasure, at one time in the armed contests of the stadium, at another in the innumerable rivalries of war, in order to secure every possible opportunity of glutting themselves to the full with human blood. Before now, too, they have fallen like plagues on whole cities and nations, and have demanded drink-offerings of a savage character. For instance, Aristomenes the Messenian slaughtered three hundred men to Zeus of Ithome, in the belief that favourable omens are secured by sacrifices of such magnitude and quality. Among the victims was even Theopompus, the Lacedaemonian king, a noble offering. The Taurian race, who dwell along the Taurian peninsula, whenever they capture this position from the moral standpoint; the legends and the animal sacrifices prove that all these divinities, whether called gods, demigods, or anything else, were evil in character; there was no distinction between Zeus and the humblest daemon. A clear and valuable account of the matter will be found in Dill, *Roman Society from Nero*, etc. pp. 422–434.

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CAP. ξένων παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐλωσί, τούτων δὴ τῶν κατὰ θαλατταν ἐπτακότων, αὐτίκα μάλα τῇ Ταυρικῇ καταβύσσαν Ἀρτέμιδι: ταύτας σου τὰς θυσίας Εὐριπίδης ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ὑπερώσε. Μόνιμος δὲ ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ τῶν θαυμασίων συναγωγῇ ἐν Πέλλῃ τῆς Θεσσαλίας Ἀχαιῶν ἄνθρωπον Πηλεῖ καὶ Χείρων καταθύεσθαι. Λυκτίους ἡγ. (Κρήτην δὲ ἐθνος εἰς ὁδόν οὖτος 2) Ἀντίκεινες ἐν Νόστου ἀποφαίνεται ἄνθρωπος ἀποσφάττειν τῷ Δίῳ, καὶ Λεσβίος Διονύσῳ τῇ ὁμοίᾳ προσάγειν θυσίαν Δωσίδας λέγει: Φωκαῖος δὲ (οὐδὲ ἡγ. αὐτοὺς παραπέμψομαι)—τούτους Πυθοκλῆς ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ 87 π. ὁμονοιας τῇ Ταυροπόλῳ Ἀρτέμιδι ἄνθρωπων ὀλοκαυτεῖν 3 ἱστορεῖ. Ἐρεχθεὺς δὲ ὁ Ἀττικὸς καὶ Μάριος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος τὰς αὐτῶν ἐθυσάτην θυγατέρας· ὅτι ὁ μὲν τῇ Φερεφάττη, ὡς Δημάρατος ἐν πρώτῃ Τραγῳδομένων, ὁ δὲ τοίς Ἀποτροπαίοις, ὁ Μάριος, ὡς Δωρόθεος ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ Ἰταλικῶν ἱστορεῖ.

Φιλάνθρωποι γε ἐκ τούτων καταθαίρονται οἱ δαίμονες· τῶς δὲ ὅσιοι ἀναλόγως οἱ δεισιδαίμονες; οἱ μὲν σωτηρεῖ εὐφημούμενοι, οἱ δὲ σωτηρίαν αὐτούμενοι παρά τῶν ἐπιβούλων σωτηρίας. καλλιερεῖν γοῦν τοπάζοντες αὐτοῖς σφάς

1 Λυκτίους from Eusebius. Λυκτίου mss.
2 οὖτος from Eusebius. οὖτως mss.
3 ὀλοκαυτεῖν from Eusebius. ὀλοκαῖει mss.

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


c Anticleides, Frag. 9 Müller, Script. rerum Alex. Mag. p. 149.
strangers in their territory, that is to say, men who have been shipwrecked, sacrifice them on the spot to Tauric Artemis. These are your sacrifices which Euripides represents in tragedy upon the stage. Monimus, in his collection of Wonderful Events, relates that in Pella of Thessaly human sacrifice is offered to Peleus and Cheiron, the victim being an Achaean. Thus too, Anticleides in his Homecomings, declares that the Lyctians, a race of Cretans, slaughter men to Zeus; and Dosidas says that Lesbians offer a similar sacrifice to Dionysus. As for Phocaeans, for I shall not pass them over either—these people are reported by Pythocles in his third book On Concord to offer a burnt sacrifice of a man to Taurian Artemis. Erechtheus the Athenian and Marius the Roman sacrificed their own daughters, the former to Persephone, as Demaratus relates in the first book of his Subjects of Tragedy; the latter, Marius, to the "Averters of evil," as Dorotheus relates in the fourth book of his Italian History.

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

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4 Dosidas (or Dosiades), Frag. 5 Frag. hist. Graec. iv. p. 400.
7 Marius is said to have been warned in a dream to sacrifice his daughter Calpurnia, in order to obtain a victory over the Cimbri by whom he was hard pressed. Plutarch, Collect. parall. 20; Dorotheus, Frag. 3 Müller, Script. rerum Alex. Mag. p. 156.
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CAP. aὐτοὺς λελήθασιν ἀποσφάττοντες ἀνθρώπους, οὐ γὰρ οὐν παρὰ τὸν τόπον ἵπποιον γίνεται ὁ φόνος, οὐδὲ εἰ Ἀρτέμιδι τις καὶ Δίου ἐν ἵππῳ δῆθεν χωρὶς μάλλον ἡ ὀργὴ καὶ φιλαργυρία, ἄλλοις ὁμοίως δαίμονιν, ἐπὶ βωμοὶς ἡ ἐν ὁδοὶς ἀποσφάττοι τὸν ἀνθρώπον, [ἱερόν] ἵπποιον ἑπιφημίσας, ἀλλὰ φόνος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνθρωποκασία ἡ τοιαύτη θυσία. τι δὴ οὖν, ὃ σοφώτατοι τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων ἄνθρωποι, τὰ μὲν θηρία περιφεύγομεν τὰ ἀνήμερα, κἂν ποὺ περιτύχωμεν ἄρκῳ ἡ λέοντι, ἐκτρεπόμεθα.

ὡς δ’ ὅτι τε ἐτέ δράκοντα ἰδὼν παλένορσος ἀπέστη οὐρεοὺς ἐν βῆσεσι, ὑπὸ τε τρόμος ἐλλαβε γυνία, ἀφ’ τ’ ἀνεχώρησεν.

daίμονας δὲ ὀλεθρίους καὶ ἀλτυρίους ἐπιβούλους τε καὶ μισανθρώπους καὶ λυμεῶνας ὅντας προαισθο-μένοι καὶ συνέντες οὐκ ἐκτρεπόσθαι οὐδὲ ἀποστρέ-φεσθαι; τι δ’ ἂν καὶ ἄληθεύσας εἰς κακοῖς, ἢ τίνα ἂν ωφελήσας; αὐτίκα γοῦν ἔχω σοι βελτίων τῶν ύμεδαπῶν τούτων θεῶν, τῶν δαίμόνων, ἐπι-δεῖξαι τὸν ἀνθρώπον, τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ μαντικοῦ τὸν Κύρου καὶ τὸν Σύλωνα. φιλόδωρος ὑμῶν ὁ Φοῖβος, ἀλλ’ οὗ φιλανθρωπός. προῦδωκε τὸν Κρόισον τὸν χάλον καὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ ἐκλαθόμενος (οὗτῳ φιλόδοξος ἦν) ἀνήγαγε τὸν Κρόισον διὰ τοῦ Ἀλνος ἐπὶ τὴν πυραν. οὕτως φιλοῦτες οἱ δαίμονες ὀδηγοῦσιν εἰς τὸ πῦρ. ἀλλ’, ὅ φιλανθρωπότερε καὶ ἀληθέστερε τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀνθρωπε, τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πυρὰς οἴκτειρον δεδεμένον, καὶ οὐ μέν, ὃ


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

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

yet when faced by deadly and accursed daemons, you do not turn aside nor avoid them, although you have already perceived and know quite well that they are plotters and man-haters and destroyers? What possible truth could evil beings utter, or whom could they benefit? At any rate, I can at once prove to you that man is better than these gods of yours, the daemons; that Cyrus and Solon are better than Apollo the prophet. Your Phoebus is a lover of gifts but not of men. He betrayed his friend Croesus, and, forgetful of the reward he had received (such was his love of honour), led the king across the river Halys to his funeral pyre. This is how the daemons love; they guide men to the fire! But do thou, O man of kinder heart and truer speech than Apollo, pity him who lies bound upon the pyre.
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C. Sólon, μάντευσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὔ δέ, οὐδὲ, ὁ Κύρη, κέλευσον ἀποσβεβήναι τὴν πυράν. σωφρόνησαν ὡστάτον γοῦν, ὁ Κροῖσε, τῷ πάθει μεταμαθών· ἀχάριστος ἐστιν ὃν προσκυνεῖς, λαμβάνει τὸν μισθὸν καὶ μετὰ τὸ χρυσὸν ψεύδεται πάλιν. τέλος ἀρά οὖχ ὁ δαίμων, ἀλλὰ ὁ ἀνθρωπὸς σοι λέγει. οὖ λοξὰ μαντεύεται Σόλων· τοῦτον εὐρήσεις ἁληθή μόνον, ὃ βάρβαρε, τὸν χρησμὸν· τοῦτον ἐπὶ τῆς πυρᾶς δοκιμάσεις.

"Οθεν ἐπεισὶ μοι θαυμάζειν τίσι ποτὲ φαντασίας ἀπαχθέντες οἱ πρῶτοι πεπλανημένοι δεισιδαιμονίαν ἀνθρώποις κατῆγγειλαν, δαίμονας ἀληθήριας νομοθετοῦντες σέβειν, εἴτε Φορωνεὺς ἐκεῖνος ἂν εἴτε Μέροψ εἴτε ἄλλος τις, οὐ νεὼς καὶ βωμοὺς ἀνέστησαν αὐτοῖς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ θυσίας παραστῆσθαι πρῶτοι μεμύθενται. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ κατὰ χρόνους ὑστερον ἀνέπλαττον θεοῦ, οἷς προσκυνοῖν. ἀμέλει τὸν Ἔρωτα τοῦτον τὸν τὸν τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν θεῶν εἶναι λεγόμενον ἐτήμα πρότερον οὐδὲ οἷς πρὶν ἣ Χάρμον μειράκιον τι ἔλειν καὶ βωμὸν ἱδρύσασθαι ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ χαριστήριον ἐπιτελοῦσ γενομένης ἐπιθυμίας· καὶ τῆς νόσου τὴν ἀσέλγειαν Ἐρωτα κεκλήκασι, θεοποιοῦντες ἀκόλαστον ἐπιθυμίαν.

39 P. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ οὐδὲ τὸν Πάνα ἠδεσαν ὅστις ἦν, πρὶν ἢ Φιλιππίδην εἶπεῖν αὐτοῖς.

1 εὐρήσεις Cant. εὐθέσεις MSS.
2 <τὸν> inserted by Markland.
3 χαριστήριον Valckenaer; see Protrepticus 27 P. (p. 64 above) and 42 P. (p. 106). χαριστήριον MSS.

See the whole story in Herodotus i. 30–33 and 85–88.
Cp. Pausanias i. 30. 1, Athenaeus xiii. p. 609 D; and, for the antiquity of Eros, Plato, Symposium 178 a–c, and Hesiod, Theogonia 120, with Paley’s note ad loc. The ancient
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Do thou, Solon, utter an oracle of truth. Do thou, Cyrus, bid the flaming pyre be quenched. Come to thy senses at the eleventh hour, Croesus, when suffering has taught thee better. Ungrateful is he whom thou dost worship. He takes the reward of gold, and then deceives thee once again. Mark! it is not the daemon, but the man who tells thee the issue of life. Unlike Apollo, Solon utters no double-meaning prophecies. This oracle alone shalt thou find true, O barbarian. This shalt thou prove upon the pyre."

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

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

a Herodotus vi. 105.
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CAP. III

Εἰκότως ἀρα ἄρχήν ποθεὶ η δεισιδαμονία λαβοῦσα κακίας ἀνοίητου γέγονε πηγή· εἶτα δὲ μὴ ἀνακοπεῖσα, ἀλλ’ εἰς ἐπίδοσιν ἐλθοῦσα καὶ πολλὴ δὴ ῥυέσαι, δημουργὸς πολλῶν καθίσταται δαιμόνων, ἐκατόμβας θύουσα καὶ πανηγύρεις ἐπιτελοῦσα καὶ ἀγάλματα ἀνιστάσα καὶ νεὼς ἁνοικοδομοῦσα, τοὺς ἕν—οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τούτους σωστίσαμαι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξελέγξα—νεῶς μὲν εὐθήμως ὁνομαζομένους, τάφους δὲ γενομένους [toumēste tois táphous neów épikokhlméneous].

ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀλλὰ κἂν νῦν δεισιδαμονίας ἐκλάθησθε, τοὺς τάφους τιμῶν αἰσχυνόμενοι. εν τῷ νεῶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς εν Δαρίσι ἐν τῇ ἀκρόπολει τάφος ἐστὶν Ἀκρείου, Ἀθηνησοῦ δὲ ἐν ἀκρόπολει Κέκροπος, ὡς φησιν Ἀντίοχος εν τῷ ἑνάτῳ τῶν Ἰστορίων. τί δὲ Ἑρικθύνοις; οὔχι εν τῷ νεῶ τῆς Πολυάδος κεκήδευται; Ἰμμάραδος δὲ ὁ Ἐυμόλπου καὶ Δαείρας οὐχὶ εν τῷ περιβόλῳ του Ἐλευσινίου τοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκρόπολει; αἰ δὲ Κελεοῦ θυγατέρες οὔχι εν Ἐλευσινὶ τετάφαται; τί σοι καταλέγω τὰς <έξ> Τιπερβορέων γυναίκας; Τιπερόχη καὶ Λασίκη κέκλησθον, εν τῷ Ἀρτεμίσι ἐν Δήλῳ κέκηδευσθον, τό δὲ εν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δηλίου ἐστὶν ιερῷ. Λεάνδρος δὲ Κλέοχον εν Μιλήτῳ τεθάφαι εν τῷ Διδυμαῖ φησίν. ἐνταῦθα τῆς Δευκοφρύνης τοῦ μνημείου οὐκ ἄξιον παρελθεῖν ἐπομένους Ζήνων τῷ Μυνδίῳ, ἡ ἐν τῷ ιερῷ τῆς Αρτέμιδος εν | Μαγνησία κεκήδευται, οὐδὲ μὴν

1 τοὺς Schwartz. οδὸς mss.
3 Ἰμμάραδος from Pausanias i. 5. 2, etc. Ἰμμαρος mss.
4 <έξ> from Eusebius, Praep. Ev. ii. 6.
5 Κλέοχον Müller from Arnobius vi. 6 and Apollodorus iii. 1. 2. κλέαρχον mss.

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

a Antiochus, Frag. 15 Frag. hist. Graec. i. p. 184.
b Leandrius (or Meandrius), Frag. 5 Frag. hist. Graec. ii. p. 336. The Didymaeum is the temple of Zeus and Apollo at Didyma near Miletus.
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CAP. III. τὸν ἐν Τελμησσῷ ἀρχιτέχνην τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· μνήμα εἶναι καὶ τοῦτον Τελμησσοῦ τοῦ μάντεως ἱστοροῦσιν. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Ἀγγείαρχου ἐν τῷ α' τῶν περὶ τὸν Φιλοπάτορα ἐν Πάφῳ λέγει ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερῷ Κινύραν τε καὶ τοὺς Κινύρου ἀπογόνους κεκηδεύεθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπιοῦντι μοι τοὺς προσκυνούμενους ὡμοὶ τάφους

ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ὃ πᾶς ἀν ἀρκέσαι 3 χρόνος· ὑμᾶς δὲ εἰ μὴ ὑπεισέρχεται τις αἰσχύνη τῶν τολμωμένων, νεκροί ἄρα τέλεον ὄντες νεκροίς [ὀντως] 4 πεπιστευκότες περιέρχεσθε·

ἀ δειλοί, τί κακόν τόδε πάσχετε; νυκτὶ μὲν ὑμῶν εἰλύναι κεφαλαί.

IV

Εἰ δ' ἐτι πρὸς τούτοις φέρων ὑμῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα αὐτὰ ἐπισκοπεῖς παραθείην, ἐπιοῦτες ὡς ἁληθῶς λήφθων εὑρήσετε τὴν συνήθειαν, "ἑξεργαλείρων ἀνθρώπων" ἀναίσθητα προστρέπομενοι. 5 πάλαι μὲν οὖν οἱ Σκύθαι τὸν ἀκινάκην, οἱ Ἀραβεῖς τὸν λιθοῦν, οἱ Πέρσαι τὸν ποταμὸν προσεκύνουν, καὶ τῶν

1 Τελμησσῷ Ὀσμάν from Arnobius, and one ms. of Eusebius. τελμησσῷ mss.
2 Τελμησσῷ Σταθλίν. τελμησσῷ mss.
3 ἀρκέσαι from Eusebius. ἀρκέσῃ mss.
4 [ὀντως] Heyse.
5 προστρέψαμενοι Potter. προστρέψαμενοι mss.

α Ptolemaeus of Megalopolis, Frag. 1 Frag. hist. Graec. ii. p. 66.
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at Telmessus, which is reported to be a monument to the prophet Telmessus. Ptolemaeus the son of Agesarchus in the first volume of his work About Philopator says that in the temple of Aphrodite at Paphos both Cinyras and his descendants lie buried. But really, if I were to go through all the tombs held sacred in your eyes,

The whole of time would not suffice my need. As for you, unless a touch of shame steals over you for these audacities, then you are going about utterly dead, like the dead in whom you have put your trust.

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

IV

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

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

 c Homer, Odyssey xx. 351–352.

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

 e Psalm cxv. 4.

 f i.e. the Kaaba at Mecca.

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CAP. IV. άλλων ἀνθρώπων οἱ ἔτι παλαιότεροι ξύλα ἱδρύον- 
το περιφανῆ καὶ κίονας ἱστῶν ἐκ λίθων. οἱ δὲ 
καὶ ξόνα προσηγορεύετο διὰ τὸ ἀπεξέσθαι τῆς
ύλης. ἀμέλει ἐν Ἰκάρῳ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὸ ἁγαλμα 
ξύλον ἢν οὐκ εἰργασμένον, καὶ τῆς Κιθαιρωνίας 
Ἡρας ἐν Θεσσεία πρέμυν ἐκκεκομμένον. καὶ τὸ 
τῆς Σαμίας Ἡρας, ὡς φησιν Ἀέθλιος, πρότερον 
μὲν ἢν σανίς, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπὶ Προκλέους ἀρχοντος 
ἀνδριαντοειδῆς ἐγένετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἅπα
εἰκονίζεσθαι τὰ ξόνα ἡρξατο, βρέτη τὴν ἐκ 
βροτῶν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐκαρπώσατο. ἐν Ῥώμῃ δὲ τὸ 
παλαιόν δόρυ φησὶ γεγονέναι τοῦ Ἀρεώς τὸ 
ξόνον Οὐάρρων ὁ συγγραφεὺς, οὐδὲπό τῶν τεχνι
tῶν ἐπὶ τὴν εὐπρόσωπον ταύτην κακοτεχνίαν
ἀφομοίωτον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦνθησεν ἡ τέχνη, ηὔξησεν
ἡ πλάνη.

'Ως μὲν οὖν τοὺς λίθους καὶ τὰ ξύλα καὶ συνελόντι 
φάναι τὴν ύλὴν ἁγάλματα ἄνθρωπολ ἐποιήσαντο, 
οἷς ἐπιμορφάξετε εὐσέβειαν συνομάντοντες τὴν 
ἀλήθειαν, ἤδη μὲν αὐτόθεν δῆλον· οὐ μὴν ἄλλα 
καὶ ἀποδείξεως ποσῆς ἐπιδεουμένον τοῦ τόπου οὗ 
παρατητεύον. τὸν μὲν οὖν Ὀλυμπίασι Δία καὶ 
tὴν Ἀθηναίοι Πολιάδα εκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλεφαντο 
κατασκευάσαι Φειδίαν παντὶ που σαφές· τὸ δὲ ἐν 
Σάμω τῆς Ἡρας ξόνον Σμύλιδα τῶν Ἄνθρωποις 
πεποίησαν Ὀλυμπικὸς ἐν Σαμαικὸς ἱστορεῖ. μὴ 
οὖν ἀμφιβάλλετε, εἰ τῶν Σεμνῶν Ἀθηναίοι καλομέ-

1 Σμύλιδα τῷ Cobet. συμβ. τῇ mss.

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

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

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

d These are the same as the Erinyes, goddesses of vengeance, mentioned on p. 53. They were called Eumenides, the kindly ones, and at Athens Semnai, the venerable ones, these titles being euphemistic substitutes for their real and dreaded name.
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CAP. νων θεῶν τὰς μὲν δύο Σκόπας ἐποίησεν ἐκ τοῦ καλου-
μένου λυχνίεως λίθου, Κάλως δὲ τὴν μέσην αὐταῖν
ιστοροῦντα ἔχω σοι [1] Πολέμωνα δεικνύναι ἐν τῇ
tετάρτῃ τῶν πρὸς Τίμαιον. μηδ' εἰς τὰ ἐν Πατάριοις
tῆς Δυσίας ἀγάλματα Διὸς καὶ Απόλλωνος Φείδιας
πάλιν ἐκεῖνος [3] [τὰ ἀγάλματα] [4] καθάπερ τοὺς λέον-
tας τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀνακειμένους εἴργασται. εἰ δὲ,
ὡς φασὶ τινες, Βρανάζιος ἢ [5] τεχνη, οὐ διαφέρομαι
ἐχεις καὶ τούτων ἀγαλματουργὸν. ὅποτέρον αὐτοῖν
βουλεῖ ἐπίγραφε. καὶ μὴν Τελεσίων τοῦ Ἀθηναίου,
ὡς φησὶ Φιλόχορος, ἔργον εἰς ἀγάλματα ἐνεα-
πῆχη. Ποσειδώνος καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτης ἐν Τήνῳ προσ-
kυνοῦμενα. Δημήτριος γὰρ ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν Ἀρ-
γολικῶν τοῦ ἐν Τίρυνθι τῆς Ἡρας ἔσανοι καὶ τὴν
ὑλὴν ὀγχὴν καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν Ἄργον ἀναγράφει.
πολλοὶ δὲ ἀν τάχα που ἐμψάσειν, εἰ μᾶθοιν τὸ

42 P. Παλλάδιον τὸ διοπτέτις καλούμενον, ὅ δὲ Διομήδης
καὶ Ὅδυσσεύς ἰστοροῦντα μὲν ὄφελέσθαι ἀπὸ
Ἰλίου, παρακαταθέσθαι δὲ Δημοφῶντι, ἐκ τῶν
Πέλοπος ὀστῶν κατασκευάσθαι, καθάπερ τῶν
Ὀλυμπίων εἰς ἄλλων ὀστῶν Ἰνδικοῦ θηρίου. καὶ
ὁ τῶν ἰστοροῦντα Διονύσιον ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ μέρει
τοῦ Κύκλου παρίστημι. Ἀπέλλασ δὲ ἐν τοῖς

1 τὴν μέσην . . . σοι Jahn. ἤν μέσην αὐταῖν ἰστοροῦντα
ἐξουσία mss.
2 μηδ' εἰ Münzel. μηδὲ mss.
3 ἐκεῖνος Wilamowitz. ἐκεῖνα mss.
5 ἢ Wilamowitz. ἢ mss.

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

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

a Polemon, Fr. 41 Frag. hist. Graec. iii. p. 127.
c Demetrius of Troezen, Fr. 5 Diels (Frag. hist. Graec. iv. p. 383).
d Compare this with the image of Artemis at Ephesus, mentioned in Acts xix. 35, which is also called diopetes, or "fallen from heaven" (R.V. margin).
i.e. the tusks of an elephant.

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CAP. IV. Καὶ τί περὶ ταῦτα διατρίβω, ἐξὸν αὐτὸν τὸν μεγαλοδάκτυον ὑμῖν ἐπιδείξαι ὅτις ἦν, διὰ δὴ κατ’ ἐξοχήν πρὸς πάντων σεβασμοῦ κατηγορίων ἀκούμενον, τούτων ὁδήγηται ἀρχιπολιτικόν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Σάραπιν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἱστοροῦσιν χαριστήριον ὑπὸ συνωπέων Πτο- λεμαίων τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ περιβραβεύει βασιλεῖ, ὃς λιμῷ τρυχιμένους αὐτοὺς ἀπὶ Αἰγύπτου μεταπεμψαμένους σῖτον τὸν [ο Ἡρακλέους] ἄνεκτή- σατο, 'Ελλατὶ δὲ τὸ ξόανον τούτῳ ἀγαλμα Πλούτωνος· ὁ δὲ ἐξόμενος τὸν ἀνδριάντα καθίσκυε τῷ θῃ
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in his *Delphic History* says that there are two such images of Pallas, and that both are of human workmanship. I will also mention the statue of Morychian Dionysus at Athens,—in order that no one may suppose me to have omitted these facts through ignorance,—that it is made out of the stone called *phellatas*, and is the work of Sicon the son of Eupalamus, as Polemon says in a certain letter. There were also two other sculptors, Cretans I believe, whose names were Scyllis and Dipoenus. This pair made the statues of the Twin Brothers at Argos, the figure of Heracles at Tiryns and the image of Munychian Artemis at Sicyon.

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

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

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IV. Άκρας, ἦν νῦν Ἄρακώτων καλοῦσαν, ἐνθα καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τετήμηται τοῦ Σαράπιδος, γειτνιᾷ δὲ τοῖς τόποις τὸ χωρίον. Βλιστίχην δὲ τὴν παλλακίδα τελευτήσασαν ἐν Κανώβω μεταγαγών ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἔθαψεν ὑπὸ τὸν προδεδηλωμένου σηκών. ἄλλοι δὲ φασὶ Ποντικόν εἶναι βρέτας τὸν Σάραπιν, μετήχθαι δὲ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μετὰ τιμῆς πανηγυρικῆς.

Ἰσίδωρος μόνον παρὰ Σελευκέων τῶν πρὸς Ἀντιοχεία τὸ ἁγιαμα μεταχεῖν λέγει, ἐν σιτοδεία καὶ αὐτῶν γενομένων καὶ ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου διατραφέντων. ἄλλο γε Ἀθηνόδωρος | ὁ τοῦ Σάραπων ἀρχαῖζεν τὸν Σάραπιν βουληθεῖς οὗ καὶ ὅπως περιέπεσεν, ἐλέγξας αὐτὸν ἁγιαμα εἶναι γενητόν. Σέσωστριν φησὶ τὸν Αἰγυπτιον βασιλέα, τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν παρ' Ἐλλησι παραστησάμενον ἔθνων, ἐπανελθόντα εἰς Αἰγυπτον ἐπαγαγέονθαι τεχνίτας ἱκανοὺς τὸν οὖν ὁσίῳ τὸν προπάτορα τὸν αὐτοῦ δαιδαλῆθαι ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῦ εὐλη πολυτελῶς, κατακευάζει δὲ αὐτὸν Βρυάξις ὁ δημιουργός, οὕς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἄλλος δὲ τὶς ὀμώνυμος ἐκεινῷ τῷ Βρυάξιδι· δὲ ὧλη κατακέχρηται εἰς δημιουργίαν μικτῇ καὶ ποικιλῇ. ρίνημα γὰρ χρυσῷ ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀργυρῷ χαλκῷ τε καὶ σιδήρου καὶ μολίβδου, πρὸς δὲ καὶ καστερὸν, λίθων δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ἐνδέχεται οὐδὲ εἰς σαπφέρου καὶ αἰματίτου θραύσματα σμαράγδου τε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοπαζίων, λέανας οὖν τὰ πάντα καὶ ἀναμίξας ἔχρωσε κυάνως, ὥθη καὶ χαίρε μελάντευρον

1 τάφοι Mayor. (The map of ancient Alexandria shows the Serapeum to be adjacent to Necropolis.) But τόπος = τάφοι in Euripides, Heracleides 1041.
2 Βλιστίχην Dindorf. βλιστίχις mss.
3 Ἀντιοχεία Cobet. ἀντιόχειαν mss.
4 δὴ Schwartz : Stählin.

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


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CAP. IV. τὸ χρῶμα τοῦ ἀγάλματος, καὶ τῷ ἐκ τῆς Ὀσίριδος καὶ τοῦ Ἀπίου κηδείας ὑπολειμμένων φαρμάκῳ φυράσας τὰ πάντα διέπλασεν τὸν Σάραπιον οὐ καὶ τούνομα αὐνήττεται τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς κηδείας καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ταφῆς δημιουργίαν, εὐθυγενὸν ἀπὸ τὸ Ὀσίριδος καὶ Ὀσίριον γενόμενον Ὀσίρισι.

Καίνον δὲ ἄλλον ἐν Ἀἰγύπτῳ, ὄλγου δεῖν καὶ παρ' Ἔλλησι, σεβασμῖς τεθείακεν θεόν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Ῥωμαίων τὸν ἑρωμένου ὁραίότατον ὁδόρα γενόμενον. Ἀντίνουν [ὅν] ἀνερρωσεν οὕτως ὃς Γανυμήδην ὁ Ζεὺς· οὐ γὰρ κωλύεται μαθώς εὐθυμία φόβον οὐκ ἔχουσα· καὶ νύκτας ἱερὰς τὰς Ἀντινόου προσκυνοῦσιν ἀνθρωποί νῦν, ὃς αἰσχρὰς ἠπίστατο ὁ συναγρυπνήσας ἔρασθης· τί μοι θεόν καταλέγεις τὸν πορνείας τετυμημένον; τί δὲ καὶ οὕτω νῦν θρηνεύοθαί προσέταξας; τί δὲ καὶ τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῦ διηγῇ; αἰσχρὸν ἐστι τὸ κάλλος ὑβρεί μεμαραμμένον. μὴ τυραννήσῃς, ἀνθρωπε, τοῦ κάλλους μηδὲ ἐνυβρίσῃς ἀνθυπνύτι τῷ νέῳ· τήρησον αὐτὸ καθαρόν, ὥσπερ καλὸν· βασιλεὺς τοῦ κάλλους γενοῦ, μὴ τύραννος· ἠλεύθερον μεμάτω· τότε σου γνωρίσω τὸ κάλλος, ὃτε καθαρὰν τετήρηκας τὴν εἰκόνα· τότε προσκυνήσω τὸ κάλλος, ὃτε ἀληθινὸν ἀρχέτυπον ἐστὶ | τῶν καλῶν. ἥδη δὲ τάφος ἐστὶ τοῦ ἑρωμένου, νεώς ἐστιν Ἀντινόου καὶ πόλις· καθάπερ

1 ὁραίσιαν τῶν mss.
2 [ὅν] Eusebius.
3 ἠλεύθερον Wilamowitz. ἠλεύθερος mss.
4 ὅτε Wilamowitz. ὅτι mss.
5 ὅτε Stählin. τὸ mss. ὅ before ἀρχέτυπον in M; above the line in P.

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

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

\textsuperscript{a} For the burial of the Apis bull see p. 84, n. a, and A. B. Cook, \textit{Zeus}, i. pp. 434–5.
\textsuperscript{b} \textit{i.e.} Hadrian. When Antinous was drowned in the Nile, Hadrian gave way to extraordinary grief. He ordered him to be enrolled among the gods, and built Antinoopolis in his memory. See Pausanias viii. 9. 7–9.
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CAP. IV

dé, oímuai, oí vaioi, oútω dé kai oí táfωi thaimažontai, πυραμίδες kai μαυσωλεια kai λαβύρινθοι, ἄλλων ναοί τῶν νεκρῶν, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι τάφοι τῶν θεῶν. διδᾶσκαλον δὲ ὑμῖν παραθήσομαι τὴν προφήτων Σίβυλλαν

οὐ ψευδοῦς Φοίβου χρησμηγόρον, ὃν τε μάταιο ἄνθρωποι θεοὶ εἶπον, ἑπεφεύγαντο δὲ μάντιν, ἀλλὰ θεοὺς μεγάλους, τὸν οὐ χέρες ἐπιλασαν ἄνδρῶν εἰδώλων ἀλάλους λιθοξέουσιν ὀμοῖον.

αὕτη μέντοι ἑρείπια τοὺς νεῶς προσαγορεῦει, τὸν μὲν τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος "χάσμασι καὶ σεισμοῖς" καταποθήσεσθαι προφήτωνσα ὀυτῶς,

ὑπτια δ' οἶμφξει Ἐφεσος κλαίουσα παρ' ὀχθαίς καὶ νηὸς ζητοῦσα τὸν οὐκέτι ναιετάντα.

τὸν δὲ Ἰσίδος καὶ Σαράπιδος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κατενεχθήσεσθαι φησί καὶ ἐμπρησθήσεσθαι.

Ἰσὶ, θεὰ τριτάλαινα, μένεις ἕπὶ χεύμαι ¹ Νεῖλου μουνή, μανὰς ἀναῦδος ἕπὶ ψαμάδοις Ἀχέροντος, εἶτα ὑποβάσα.

καὶ σὺ, Σάραπι λίθους ἀργοὺς ἐπικείμενε πολλοὺς, κεῖσαι πτῶμα μέγιστον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τριταλαίᾳ.

οὖ δὲ ἄλλ' εἰ μή προφήτηδος ἐπακούεις, τοῦ γε σοῦ ἁκούσων φιλοσόφου, τοῦ Ἐφεσίου Ἡρακλείτου, τὴν ἀνασθησίαν ὁνειδίζοντος τοῖς ἀγάλμασι· "καὶ τοῖς ἀγάλμασι τουτεύοισι εὐχομαι, ὀκοῖον εἰ τις

¹ χεύμαι Sibylline Oracles. χεύματα Stählin: mss.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Then lower down:

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

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

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CAP. <τοῖς>¹ δόμοις λεσχηνεύουτο.” ἢ γὰρ οὐχὶ τερατώ-

1 ⁴ \nThe text continues in Greek.

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IV. ⁴⁵ ἐις τὸν κοιπήμαν ἀνέδθηκαν αὐτὴν, ἀξίων

neōν τῶν ἀφεθράνα νείμαντες τῇ θείᾳ.

'Αλλὰ γὰρ ἀνασθήτω λίθῳ καὶ ξύλῳ καὶ χρυσίῳ

πλούσιῳ οὐδὸ ὅπισθος μέλει, οὐ κνίσθη, οὐχ ἀμιατος,

οὐ καπνοῦ, οὐ ἡ τιμώμενοι καὶ τυφόμενοι ἔκμε-

λαίνονται: ἀλλ' οὖν ἡ τιμή, οὐχ ὑβρις: τὰ δὲ καὶ

παντὸς ἐστὶν ἀτμότερα κζοῦν, τὰ ἀγάματα. καὶ

ὁπώς γε τεθείαται τὰ ἀναίσθητα, ἀπορεῖν ἐπεισὶ

μοι καὶ κατελεείν τοὺς πλανωμένους τῆς ἀνοίας

ὡς δειλαίους· εἰ γὰρ καὶ τινὰ τῶν κζοῶν οὐχὶ

πάσας ἔχει τὰς αἰσθήσεις, ὡσπερ εὐλαὶ καὶ κἄμπια

καὶ ὁσα διὰ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως εὐθὺς ἀνάτηρα

φαίνεται, καθάπερ οἱ σπάλακες καὶ ἡ μυγαλή, ἡν

φησαν ὁ Νίκανδρος "τυφλὴν τε σμερδήνη τε".

ἀλλά γε ἀμεινοὺς εἰς τῶν ἐξοάνων τούτων καὶ τῶν

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

² Heracleitus, Fr. 126 Bywater, 5 Diels.

³ Fortuna was originally an earth deity, a goddess of

fertility, and only later became a personification of chance

or luck. Mr. A. B. Cook (Zeus, i. 271–2) cites this passage

as tending to establish her connexion with the earth.

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

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

Nicander calls the field-mouse "terrible" in reference to its plague-bearing powers. The complete line (Theriaca 815) is τυφλὴν τε σμερδών τε βροτὸις ἐπὶ λογὸν ἀγούσαν μυγαλέναν.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

C. \( \lambda \alpha \gamma \alpha \lambda \mu \mu \tau \nu \tau \circ \nu \nu \) têle óvtwv kwpóv. \( \varepsilon \chi o u s o w g \) àr aìsòthqin mía ùt tin, fèrë eìpeí̄n àkouostikèn ÷ àptikèn ÷ tìn ìn ànaloçòsoan tì ìnòfrìzít ÷ tì ìn gevêse. tà ðè oûdè miàs àiðhèsewos metéxhe, tà ànà âlmatà. pòllà ðè èstì tòn ìón ðìón, ðòà oûtë\(^1\) ðòàsòw èçèi oûtë àkòhìn oûdè\(^2\) ìnà àfòwì, òòò và tò tò ósttrèw ìónos, ìllà ìí à kài àùçtai, pròs ðè kài òtì sèlàñhì ìmìpàsçhe: tà ðè ànà àlmatà árgà, ápàrakta, ànàìçòthqta, pròòòòtì kài pròòòòkaçòthòtòntì kài pròòòòòòkòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòòö
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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

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

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

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

CAP. τύραννος ὁ νεώτερος θοιμάτιον τὸ χρύσεον περι-

elόμενος τοῦ Διὸς ἐν Σικελίᾳ προσέταξεν αὐτῷ ἐρεοῦν περιτεθῆ-ναι, χαριέντως φήσας τούτῳ ἄμενον εἶναι τοῦ χρυσέου, ἑ καὶ θέρους κοινοφόρετον καὶ κρύος ἀλευνότερον. ᾿Αντίοχος δὲ ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἀπορούμενος χρημάτων τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἀγαλμα τὸ χρυσοῦν, πεντεκαίδεκα πηχὼν τὸ μέγεθος ὅν, προσέταξε χωνεύσαι καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς ἀτμοτέρας ὑλῆς ἀγαλμα παραπλῆσιον ἐκεῖνῳ πετάλοις κε-χρυσωμένον ἀναθεῖναι πάλιν. αἱ δὲ χελιδόνες καὶ τῶν ὀρνέων τὰ πλείστα κατεξερώσαν ἑ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀγαλμάτων εἰσπετόμενα, οὐδὲν φροντίσαντα οὔτε Ῥωμιγίου Διὸς οὔτε Ῥῃπαρίου Ῥ hakkηπου ἐν οὔθε μὴ Ῥ Αθηνᾶς Πολιάδος ᾿Η Σαράπιδος ᾿Αἰγυπτίου Ῥ παρ’ ὅλον οὔθε αὐτῶν τὴν ἀνασηθήσων τῶν ἀγαλ-
mάτων ἐκμανθάνετε. ἀλλ’ εἰσὶ μὲν κακοῦργοι τὼς ἡ πολέμιοι ἐπιθέμενοι, οἱ δὲ αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἐδήμω-ςαν τὰ ἑκρα καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἐσύλησαν ἢ καὶ αὐτὰ ἐχὼνευσαν τὰ ἀγάλματα. καὶ εἰ Καμβύσης τίς ᾿Η Δαρείος ᾿Η ἀλλὸς μανόμενος τοιαῦτα ἄττα ἐπετείρησαν καὶ εἰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τίς ἀπέκτεινεν ὢν ὁ, γελῶ μὲν ὅτι τὸν θεὸν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν, ἀγανακτῶ δὲ εἰ κέρδους χάριν ἐπηλμέλει. ἐκὼν ὅπεν ἐκλήσομαι τῇ χῆς κακουργίας, πλεονεξίας ἔργα, ὡς εἰ ἀδρανείας τῶν εἰδῶλων ἔλεγχων νομίζων. ἀλλ’ οὔτε γε τὸ πῦρ καὶ οἱ σεισμοὶ κερδαλέοι, οὔθε μὴν φοβοῦνται ἢ δυσσωποῦνται οὐ τοὺς δαίμονας, οὐ τὰ ἀγάλματα, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς ψηφίδας τὰς παρὰ ποτὸς αἰγιαλοῖς σεσωρευμένας τὰ κύματα. οἴδα ἐγὼ πῦρ ἐλεγκτικὸν καὶ δεισι-

1 χρυσέου Cobet. χρυσίου mss.
2 κατεξερώσαν Sylburg. κατεξαίρουσι mss.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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

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

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

CAP. Δαμονίας ιατικών: eis boúlei paúsoasa tai tῆς ἀνοίας, IV
φωταγωγήσει σε τὸ πῦρ. τούτο τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὸν ἐν
47 P. Ἄρχει νεῶν σὺν καὶ τῇ ἱερείᾳ | κατέφλεξεν Χρυσίδη, καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος δεύτερον μετὰ Ἄμαζόνας καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἐρύμη Καπιτώλιον ἐπι-
νεσέμηται πολλάκις· οὐκ ἀπέσχετο δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρεών πόλει Σαράπιδος ἔρη.
Ἀθηναίοι γὰρ τοῦ Διονύσου τοῦ Ἐλευθέρεως κατήρευσε τὸν νεῶν, καὶ τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος πρότερον ἠρπασεν θύελλα, ἐπειτα ἡφάνισε πῦρ σωφρονών.
tούτο σοι προοίμιον ἐπιδείκνυται ὡς ὑπερείηται τὸ πῦρ.

Οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων δημοφυροὶ οὐ δυσωποῦσιν ὕμῶν τοὺς ἐμφρονας τῆς ύλῆς καταφρονεῖν; ο ἐμὲν Ἀθηναίως Φειδίας ἐπὶ τῷ δακτύλῳ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὁλυμπίων ἐπιγράφας "Παντάρκης καλὸς"· οὐ γὰρ καλὸς αὐτῷ ὁ Ζεὺς, ἀλλ' ὁ ἔρωμενος ἤν· ὁ Πραξιτέλης δὲ, ὡς Ποσείδυππος ἐν τῷ περὶ Κνίδου
1 διασαφεῖ, τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀγαλμα τῆς Κνίδιας κατασκευάζων τῷ Κρατίνης τῆς ἑρωμένης εἰδεὶ παραπλήσιον πεποίηκεν αὐτήν, ἢν ἔχοειν οἱ δείλαιοι

1 Κνίδου Συλβοργ. κνίδιου mss.

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

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

c According to Stoic teaching, fire was the creative and sustaining principle diffused throughout the universe. But this was an ethereal fire, different from common fire (Cicero, 120
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if you wish to cease from folly, the fire shall be your guiding light. This fire it was that burnt up the temple in Argos together with its priestess Chrysis, and also that of Artemis in Ephesus (the second after the time of the Amazons); and it has often devoured the Capitol at Rome, nor did it spare even the temple of Sarapis in the city of Alexandria. The temple of Dionysus Eleuthereus at Athens was brought to ruin in the same way, and that of Apollo at Delphi was first caught by a storm and then utterly destroyed by the "discerning fire." Here you see a kind of prelude to what the fire promises to do hereafter.

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

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

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


Marble copies of this celebrated statue are to be seen at Munich and in the Vatican. For a photographic illustration of the latter see Cambridge Companion to Greek Studies (1906), p. 258.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

Cap. IV

Clement of Alexandria, ερωμένην προσκυνεῖν. Φρύνη δὲ ὁπνικά ἦν θεοποιήματι. ὁ Θεοπαρθένως ὀψιναφόστις ἔκοινα πρὸς τὸ κάλλος ἀπερμοῦντο Φρύνης, ὥσπερ αὐτή καὶ οἱ λυθόζοι τούς Ἕρμας Ἀθήνης πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην ἀπείκαζον. Ἕπολείπεται τῆς σῆς κρίσεως τὸ ἔργον ἐπάξαι, εἰ βούλει καὶ τὰς ἑταίρας προσκυνεῖν.

Ἐνεδέθην, οὕτως κυνηγήσετε οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ παλαιοὶ, καταφρονοῦντες τῶν μύθων τούτων, ἀνέδην διὰ τὸ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀκίνδυνον σφᾶς αὐτοὺς θεοῦς ἀνηγόρευν, ταύτης κακείνους διὰ τὴν δόξαν ἀπηθανατίσθαι. Κηνὲς μὲν ὁ Ἑιδώλην Ζεὺς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀλκυόνης τῆς γυναικός, Ἀλκυόνη δὲ αὖθις ὑπὸ τούτῳ ἁνδρός Ὅρα προσαγορευμένη. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ τρίτης Διόνυσος ἐκάλείτην. 48 Ρ. καὶ Ἔθριδάτης ὁ Ποντικὸς Διόνυσος καὶ αὐτός ἔβολετο δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀμμοῦνος νῦν εἶναι δοκεῖν καὶ κερασφόρος ἀναπλάττεσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἀγαλματοποιών, τὸ καλὸν ἀνθρώπων πρόσωπων ὑ- βρίσιοι σπείδων κέρατι. καὶ οὕτως γε βασιλεῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ιδιώται θείας προσηγορίας σφᾶς αὐτούς ἐσέμυνον, ὡς Μενεκράτης ο ἱατρός, Ζεὺς οὗτος ἐπικεκλημένος. τί με δεῖ καταλέγειν Ἀλέξαρχον (γραμματικὸς οὗτος τὴν ἐπιστήμην γεγονός, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἄριστος ὁ Σαλαμών, αὐτόν κατεσχημά- τιζεν εἰς Ἡλιον); τί δεῖ καὶ Νικαγόρον μεμνη- σθαι (Ζελείτης τὸ γένος ἦν κατὰ τούς Ἀλέξανδρου

1 <τας> inserted by Schäfer.
2 ἀπηθανατίσθαι Sylburg. ἀπηθανατίσθαι mss.

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

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

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

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

CAP. IV γεγονός χρόνους. Ἐρμής προσηγορεύετο ὁ Νικαγόρας καὶ τῇ στολῇ τοῦ Ἐρμοῦ ἐκέχρητο, ὡς αὐτὸς μαρτυρεῖ; ὅπου γε καὶ ολα ἐθνή καὶ πόλεις αὐτανδροί, κολακείαν ὑποδομόμεναι, ἐξευτελίζοσιν τοὺς μύθους τοὺς περὶ τῶν θεῶν, ἴσοθέους ἀνθρωποὶ κατασχηματίζοντες έαυτούς, ὡς δόξης πεφυσιμένης νομισματικής τιμας έαυτοφυς ὑπερόγκους.· νῦν μὲν τὸν Μακεδόνα τὸν Ἐκ Πέλλης τὸν Ἀμύντου. 1 Φίλιππον ἐν Κυνοσάργει νομοθετοῦντες προσκυνεῖν, τὸν "τὴν κλεῖν καταγότα καὶ τὸ σκέλος πεπεμβάμενον," ὅς ἐξεκόπη τὸν ὄφθαλμον αὐθίς δὲ τὸν Δημήτριον θεόν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀναγορεύοντες· καὶ ἐναὶ μὲν ἀπέβη τοῦ Ἰπποῦ Ἀθηναίες εἰσιν, Καταβάτου ἔρων ἑστὶ Δημητρίου, βωμοὶ δὲ πανταχοῦ καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων αὐτῷ ὁ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ηὐτρεπήτης· ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν θεὸν ὑπερηφάνει, τὸ ἀγαλμα γῆμαι μὴ δυνάμενος. Λάμιαν δὲ τὴν ἑταίραν ἐχων εἰς ἀκρόπολιν ἅγιες καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς συνεφύρετο παστῷ, 2 τῇ παλαιᾷ παρθένῳ τὰ τῆς νέας ἐπιδεικνύσεται ἑταίρας σχήματα. οὐ νέμεσις τοῖς οὐδὲ ὁ Ἰπποῦ ἀπαθανατίζοντι τὸν θάνατον τὸν έαυτοῦ· ὁ Ἰπποῦν οὕτως ἐνόμηγναι ἐκέλευσεν τῷ μνήματι τῷ έαυτοῦ τὸ δέ ἐλεγεῖον.

"Ιππωνος τὸς σῆμα, τὸν ἀθανάτους θεοῦς ἵσον ἐποίησεν Μοῖρα καταφθίμενον.

1 Ἀμύντου Cobet. ἀμύντορος mss. 2 καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς συνεφύρετο παστῷ Mayar. καὶ τῷ τῆς ἀθηνᾶς ἐνεφυράτῳ παστῷ mss.

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


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

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

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


*c* Hippo has been mentioned before, among those dubbed atheists by the Greeks; see p. 49. For the couplet see Bergk, *Poet. lyr. Graec.* ii. p. 259 (ed. 1915).
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CAP. ev ge, Ἰππων, ἐπιδεικνύεις ὡμῶν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην πλάνην. εἰ γὰρ καὶ λαλοῦντι σοι μὴ πεπιστεύκασί, νεκροῦ γενέσθωσαν μαθηταί. χρησμὸς οὐτός ἐστιν ὸμπωνος: νοήσωμεν αὐτὸν. οἱ προσκυνούμενοι
49 P. παρ’ ὑμῖν, | ἀνθρωποί γενόμενοι ποτε, εἰτα μέντοι τεθνάσων: τετίμηκεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ μόθος καὶ ὁ χρόνος. φιλεὶ γάρ πως τὰ μὲν παρὸντα συνθεία σατανοφοινθείσαι, τὰ δὲ παραχθήκοτα τῷ παρατικῷ ἐλέγχῳ κεχωρισμένα χρόνων ἀδηλία τετιμηθήσαν τῷ πλάσματι, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπιστείθεσθαι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ταυμάζεσθαι. αὐτίκα γοῦν οἱ παλαιοὶ νεκρὸ τῷ πολλῷ τῆς πλάνης χρόνων σεμνούμενοι τοῖς ἐπειτὰ νομίζονται θεοί. πίστεις ὑμῖν τῶν δὲ αὐτὰ ὑμῶν τὰ μυστήρια, αἱ πανηγύρεις, δεσμὰ καὶ τραύματα καὶ δακρύνοντες θεοί.

ὦ μοι ἔγω, ὅτε μοι Σαρπηδόνα φίλτατον ἀνδρῶν μοῦρ’ ὑπὸ Πατρόκλου Μενοιτιάδαο δαμήναι.

κεκράτηται τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Δίὸς καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ὑμῖν διὰ Σαρπηδόνα οἰμώζει νενικημένος.

Εἰδὼλα γοῦν εἰκότως αὐτοὺς καὶ δαίμονας ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ κεκλήκατε, ἐπεί καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν αὐτὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς κακία τιμήσας "Ομηρος δαίμονας προσηγόρευσεν

ἡ δ’ Ὀλυμπόνδε βεβήκει
dώματ’ ἐς αἰγιόχοιο Δίὸς μετὰ δαίμονας ἄλλους.

a Homer, Iliad xvi. 433–434.

b The word is generally translated "idols" or "images," but it also means "shades" or "phantoms," which is the sense wanted here.

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

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

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

You are right then in having yourselves called the gods "shadows" and "daemons." For Homer spoke of Athena herself and her fellow-deities as "daemons," paying them a malicious compliment.

But she was gone to Olympus, Home of shield-bearing Zeus, to join the rest of the daemons.

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"shadows," or "whose honour comes from fornication," on pp. 110–11.

Homer, Iliad i. 221–222.
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CAP. IV πῶς οὖν ἐτι θεοὶ τὰ εἴδωλα καὶ οἱ δαίμονες, βδελυρά ὄντως καὶ πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα, πρὸς πάντων ὁμολογοῦμενα γήμα καὶ δεισιλέα, κάτω βριθοντα, "περὶ τοὺς τάφους καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα καλυπτούμενα," περὶ ἀ δὴ καὶ ὑποφαίνονται ἀμινδρῶς "σκοιεινη φαντάσματα"; ταῦθ' ὑμῶν οἱ θεοὶ τὰ εἴδωλα, αἱ σκιαὶ καὶ πρὸς τούτους <αι>¹ "χωλαὶ" ἐκεῖνοι καὶ "ρυσαὶ, παραβλάψεις ὀφθαλμῶν,"² αἱ Διται αἱ Θερσίτου μᾶλλον ἡ Διὸς θυγατέρες, ὥστε μοι δοκεῖν χαρίεντως φάναι τὸν Βιώνα, πῶς ἂν ἐνδίκως 50 ὁ ἀνθρωποὶ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς αἰτήσονται τὴν εὐτεκίαν, ἢν οὐδὲ αὐτῷ παρασχέων ἱσχύσειν; ὥστε τῆς ἀθέοτητος τὴν ἀκήρατον οὐσίαν, τὸ ὅ σον ἐφ' ὑμῖν, κατορύπτεται καὶ τὸ ἀχραντὸν ἔκεινο καὶ τὸ ἀγον τοὺς τάφους ἐπικεχώκατε, τῆς ἀληθῶς ὄντως οὐσίας συλήσαστε τὸ θείον. τῇ δὴ ὃν τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς οὐ θεοὶ προσευκήματε γέρα; τῇ δὲ καταλιπόντες τὸν οὐρανὸν τὴν γῆν τετυμήκατε; τῇ δ' ἄλλο χρυσὸς ἡ ἄργυρος ἡ ἀδάμας ἡ σίδηρος ἡ χαλκὸς ἡ ἐλέφας ἡ λίθοι τίμιοι; οὐχὶ γη τε καὶ ἐκ γῆς; οὐχὶ δὲ μιᾶς μητρὸς ἐκγονα, τῆς γῆς, τὰ πάντα ταῦτα ὅσα ὅρας; τῇ δὲ οὖν, ὦ μέταιοι καὶ κενόφρονες (πάλιν γὰρ δὴ ἐπαναλήψομαι), τὸν υπερουράνιον βλασφημήσατε τόπον εἰς τοῦδαφος κατεσύρατε τὴν εὐσέβειαν, χθονίους υμῖν ἀναπλάτυντες θεοὺς καὶ τὰ γενητὰ ταῦτα πρὸ τοῦ ἀγενήτου μετιόντες θεοῦ βαθυτέρως περιπεπτώκατε ζῴῳ;

¹ <αι> inserted by Kroll.
² ὀφθαλμῶν Homer. ὀφθαλμῶν mss.
³ αἰτήσονται Cobet. αἰτήσωνται mss.

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α See Plato, Phaedo 81 C D.  
ᵦ Iliad ix. 502–503.  
ᶜ Thersites is Homer's ridiculous character, hump-backed,
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How then can the shadows and daemons any longer be gods, when they are in reality unclean and loathsome spirits, admitted by all to be earthy and foul, weighed down to the ground, and "prowling round graves and tombs,"\(^a\) where also they dimly appear as "ghostly apparitions\(^a\)? These are your gods, these shadows and ghosts; and along with them go those "lame and wrinkled cross-eyed deities," the Prayers,\(^b\) daughters of Zeus, though they are more like daughters of Thersites\(^c\); so that I think Bion made a witty remark when he asked how men could rightly ask Zeus for goodly children, when he had not even been able to provide them for himself.\(^d\)

Alas for such atheism! You sink in the earth, so far as you are able, the incorruptible existence, and that which is stainless and holy you have buried in the tombs. Thus you have robbed the divine of its real and true being. Why, I ask, did you assign to those who are no gods the honours due to God alone? Why have you forsaken heaven to pay honour to earth? For what else is gold, or silver, or steel, or iron, or bronze, or ivory, or precious stones? Are they not earth, and made from earth? Are not all these things that you see the offspring of one mother, the earth? Why then, vain and foolish men,—once again I will ask the question,—did you blaspheme highest heaven\(^e\) and drag down piety to the ground by fashioning for yourselves gods of earth? Why have you fallen into deeper darkness by going after these created things instead of the lame and bandy-legged, with an impudent tongue into the bargain. *Iliad* ii. 211–277.


\(^b\) See Plato, *Phaedrus* 247 c.
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CAP. IV. καλὸς ὁ Πάριος λίθος, ἀλλ' οὐδέπω Ποσειδῶν· καλὸς ὁ ἐλέφας, ἀλλ' οὐδέπω Ὄλυμπιος· ἐνδείης ἂεί ποτε ἡ ὑλή τῆς τέχνης, ὁ θεὸς δὲ ἀνενδείης. προῆλθεν ἡ τέχνη, περιβέβλητα τὸ σχῆμα ἡ ὑλή, καὶ τὸ πλούσιον τῆς οὐσίας πρὸς μὲν τὸ κέρδος ἀγώγμον, μόνῳ δὲ τῷ σχῆματι γίνεται σεβάσμον. χρυσὸς ἐστὶ τὸ ἀγαλμάτις, ξύλου ἐστὶν, λίθος ἐστὶν, γῆ ἐστιν, εὰν ἀνωθεν νοῦσης, μορφὴν παρὰ τοῦ τεχνίτου προσλαβοῦσα. γῆν δὲ ἐγὼ πατεῖν, οὐ προσκυνεῖν μεμελέτηκα· οὐ γάρ μοι θέμας ἐμπιστεύσαί ποτε τοῖς ἀψύχους τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐλπίδας.

Ἰτέον ὄν ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα ἐγγυτάτω τῶν ἀγαλμάτων, ὡς οἰκεῖα ἡ πλάνη κάκ τῆς προσόψεως ἐλέγχεται· ἐναπομέμακται γὰρ πάνυ δὴ σαφῶς τὰ εἴδη τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τῆς διάθεσιν τῶν δαμόνων. εἰ γοῦν τις γράφας καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα περινοστῶν θεῶτο, γνωριεῖ ὑμῶν παρατίκα τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐπονειδίστων σχημάτων, τὸν Διόνυσον ἀπὸ τῆς στολῆς, τὸν Ἰαμαστόν ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης, τὴν Δημ. ἀπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς, ἀπὸ τοῦ κρηδίμου τὴν Ἰνώ, ἀπὸ τῆς τριαίνης τὸν Ποσειδῶ, ἀπὸ τοῦ κύκλου τὸν Δία. τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα δείκνυσθαι ἡ πυρά, καὶ γνωμήν ὑδη τις ἀνάγραπτον γνωάικα, τὴν "χρυσήν" Ἀφροδίτην νοεῖ. οὕτως ὁ Κύπριος ὁ Πυγμαλίων

51 P. ἐκείνος ἐλεφαντίνου ἡράσθη ἀγάλματος· τὸ ἀγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης ἦν καὶ γυνὴ ἦν· νικάται ὁ Κύπριος τοῦ σχῆματι καὶ συνέρχεται τῷ ἀγάλματι, καὶ τοῦτο Φιλοστέφανος ἱστορεῖ· Ἀφροδίτη ἐδὲ ἄλλη ἐν Κνίδῳ λίθος ἦν καὶ καλὴ ἦν, ἔτερος ἡράσθη ταύτης

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

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

\[ \text{The forms of the statues show whom they represent.} \]

\[ \text{Men have fallen in love with beautiful statues.} \]

\[ ^a \text{Homer, } \textit{Odyssey} \text{ iv. 14.} \]
\[ ^b \text{Philostephanus, } \textit{Frag. 13 Frag. hist. Graec.} \text{ iii. p. 31.} \]
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CAP. IV καὶ μὴν πρὸτερος ἐν τῷ περὶ Κύπρου, ὁ δὲ ἔτερος ἐν τῷ περὶ Κνίδου. τοσοῦτον ἔμυθεν ἀπατήσαι τέχνῃ προαγωγὸς ἀνθρώποις ἑρωτικοῖς εἰς βάραθρον γενομένην. δραστήριος μὲν ἡ δημιουργική, ἀλλ' οὐχ οἷα τε ἀπατήσαι λογικὸν οὔδε μὴν τοὺς κατὰ λόγον βεβιωκότας. ζωγραφίας μὲν γὰρ δι’ ὁμοίωτη ἑπιγραφῆς τηρομετρῶν καὶ ἔντιος καλὸς γεγραμμέναις προσεχρεμένιαι οὕτως ἀποδεικνύεται εἰς τὴν τέχνην. οὔδε γὰρ ἂν θέλῃ τις συνεπλάκη, οὔδ' ἂν νεκρὰ τις συνετάφη, οὔδ' ἂν ἡράσθη δαιμόνος καὶ λίθον ἀνθρωπος σωφρονων. ὅμως δὲ ἄλλη γοητεία ἀπατά ἡ τέχνη, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔραν προσάγουσα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ τιμᾶν καὶ προσκυνεῖ τά τε ἁγάλματα καὶ τὰς γραφάς. ὁμοία γε ἡ γραφή ἐπαινεῖσθω μὲν ἡ τέχνη, μὴ ἀπατάτω δὲ τῶν ἀνθρωπον ὡς ἄλθεια. ἐστικεν ὁ θεός ἵσυχη, ἡ πελευς ἀκμής, ἄργον τὸ πτερόν, ἡ δὲ βοῦς ἡ Δαίδαλος ἡ ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου πεποιημένη ταῦτα ηλειν ἀγριον καὶ κατηγάκασαν τὸ θηρίον ἡ τέχνη πλανήσασα ἐρώσις ἐπιβήναι γυναικός. τοσοῦτον οἶστρον οἱ τέχναι κακοτεχνικοί.

1 σκιαγραφήταις περιστεραίς Stählin. σκιαγραφίαις περιστεραίς Mayor.

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

b Literally, "procuress." Compare Tennyson's "In Memoriam," 53.

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

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


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

νοῦσαι τοὺς ἀνωτέρους ἐνεποίησαν ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν πιθήκους οἱ τούτων τροφεῖς καὶ μελεδωνοι τεθαυμάκασιν ὥστε τὰν κηρίν ἢ πηλίνων ὁμοιωμάτων καὶ κοροκοσμίων ἀπατᾶ τούτους οὐδέν ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀρα καὶ πιθήκων χείρων γενήσεσθε λυθίνους καὶ ἐυλίνους καὶ χρυσέοις καὶ ἑλεφαντίνους ἀγαλματίως καὶ γραφαῖς προσανέχοντες τοιούτων ὑμῖν [οἱ] ¹ δημιουργοι ἀθυμάτων ὀλοθρίων οἱ λυθοῦντὶ καὶ οἱ ἄνδραντοποιοι γραφεῖς τε αὐτοὶ καὶ τεκτόνες καὶ ποιηταί πολλὸν τινα καὶ τοιοῦτον ὅχλον παρεισάγοντες κατὰ ἄγροὺς μὲν Σατύρους καὶ Πάνας ἀνὰ δὲ τὰς Ἰλλαύς Νύμφας τὰς ὀρειάδας καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτανάς ναὶ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὰ ὕδατα καὶ περὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς καὶ τὰς πηγὰς τὰς Ναίδας καὶ περὶ τὴν θάλατταν τὰς Νηρείδας μάγοι δὲ ἴδη ἀσεβείας τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν ὑπηρέτας δαίμονας αὐχοῦσιν οἰκέτας αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοὺς καταγράψαντες τοὺς κατηγαγακσμένους δούλους ταῖς ἐπαυιδίαις πεποιηκότες.

Γάμοι τε οὖν ἐτι καὶ παιδοποιοὶ καὶ λοχεῖαι θεῶν μημονευόμεναι καὶ μοιχεῖαι ἄδομεν καὶ εὐωχίαι κωμωδοῦμεναι καὶ γέλωτες παρὰ πότῳ εἰσαγόμενοι προτρέπουσιν δὴ ² με ἀνακραγεῖν κἂν σωπῆσαι θέλων οὐμοί τῆς ἄθετοτητος σκηνήν πεποιηκάτε τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸ θεῖον ὑμῖν δράμα γεγένηται καὶ τὸ ἄγιον προσωπεῖον δαίμονι ταύτως κεκωμῳδήκατε τὴν ἀληθῆ θεοσέβειαν δεισίδαιμονία σατυρίσαντες.

αὐτὰρ ὁ φορμίζων ἀνεβάλλετο καλὸν ἀειδεῖν,

¹ τοιούτων . . [οἱ] Wilamowitz. τοσούτων . . οἱ mss. ² δὴ Höschel. δὲ mss.

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their vicious artifices, implant in creatures without CHAP.
sense. Even monkeys know better than this. They
astonish their rearers and keepers, because no manner
of waxen or clay figures or girls’ toys can deceive them.
But you, strange to say, will prove yourselves inferior
even to monkeys through the heed you pay to statues
of stone and wood, gold and ivory, and to paintings.
Such are the pernicious playthings made for you
by marble-masons, sculptors, painters, carpenters and
poets, who introduce this great multitude of gods,
Satyrs and Pans in the fields, mountain and tree
Nymphs in the woods, as well as Naiads about the
lakes, rivers and springs, and Nereids by the sea.
Magicians go so far as to boast that daemons are
assistants in their impious deeds; they have enrolled
them as their own servants, having made them
slaves perforce by means of their incantations.

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

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

a Homer, Odyssey viii. 266.
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CAP. iv. Ξανθ ημιν, "Ομηρε, την φωνη την καλην,

άμφι "Αρεως φιλότητος ευστεφάνου τ’ Ἀφροδίτης·

ως τα πρώτα μίγησαν εν Ἡφαιστου δόμους

λάθρη· πολλά δ’ έδωκε, λέχος δ’ ἤσχυνε καὶ εὐνὴν

Ἡφαιστου ἀνακτος.

κατάπαυσον, "Ομηρε, την ψηθην· ουκ ἔστι καλη,

μοιχείαν διδάσκει· πορνείειν δὲ ἡμεὶς καὶ τὰ ὁτα

παρχήμεθα· ἡμεὶς γάρ, ἡμεὶς ἐσμέν οἱ τὴν εἰκόνα

tοῦ θεοῦ περιφέροντες ἐν τῷ ξύντι καὶ κυνομένῳ

tούτῳ ἀγάλματι, τῶν ἀνθρώπων, σύνοικον εἰκόνα,

σύμβουλον, συνόμλοις, συνέστιοι, συμπαθη, ὑπερ-

παθη· ἀνάθημα γεγόναμεν τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ·

"ἡμεῖς τὸ γένος τὸ ἐκλεκτὸν, τὸ βασίλειον ἱερά-

tευμα, ἔθνος ἄγιον, λαὸς περιοῦσοι, οἱ ποτὲ οὐ

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

οὐκ οὔτε "ἐκ τῶν κάτω," παρὰ δὲ τοῦ ἀνωθὲν

ἔλθοντο τὸ πᾶν μεμαθηκότες, οἱ τὴν οἰκονομίαν

tοῦ θεοῦ κατανεονκότες, οἱ "ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς

περιπατείν" μεμελετηκότες.

Αλλ’ οὐ ταῦτα φρονοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ· ἀπορρί-

ψαντες δὲ τὴν αἰδὼ καὶ τὸν φόβον οίκοι τῶν τῶν

dαιμόνων ἐγγράφονται πασχητισμοῖς. πινακίως

53 ρ. γον ἐν τοι καταγράφοις μετεωροτερον ἀνακεμίων

προσεσχηκότες ἁσελγεία τοὺς θαλάμους κεκοσμη-

cασι, τὴν ἄκολοσιαν εὔσέβειαν νομίζοντες· κάτι

tοῦ σκέμποδος κατακείμενο παρ’ αὐτὰς ἑτὶ τὰς

περιπλοκὰς ἀφορώσω εἰς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἔκεινην


a Odyssey viii. 267-270.  b 1 St. Peter ii. 9-10.


e Romans vi. 4.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

Sing us that beautiful strain, Homer,

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

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

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

CAP. IV  
τὴν γυμνὴν, τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ συμπλοκῇ δεδεμένην, καὶ τῇ Ἀθηναίους περιποτώμενον τὸν ὀριν τὸν ἑρωτικὸν, τῆς θηλύτητος ἀποδεχόμενοι τὴν γραφήν, ἀποτυπώσας ταῖς σφενδόναις, σφραγίζοι θρόμμενοι καταλήλῳ τῇ Δίος ἄκολος. ταύτα ὦμῶν τῆς ἤδυπαθείας τὰ ἀρχέτυπα, αὕτη τῆς ὑβρεως αἱ θεολογίαι, αὕτη τῶν συμπορευόντων ὦμῶν θεῶν αἱ διδάσκαλαι. "ο γὰρ βουλεία, τοῦθε ἐκάστος καὶ οἰεῖται" κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηναίον Ῥήτορον. οἶαι δὲ αὖ καὶ ἄλλα ὦμῶν εἰκόνες, πανίκους τινές καὶ γνυμαὶ κόραι καὶ σάτυροι μεθύντες καὶ μορίων ἐντάσεις, ταῖς γραφαῖς ἀπογυμνοῦμεναί, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκραίας ἐλεγχόμεναι. ἣδη δὲ ἀναφαίνον τῆς ἄκολοπᾶς ὀλης τὰ σχῆματα ἀνάγραφτα πανδημείαι θεώμενοι οὐκ αἰσχύνοντε, φυλάττετε δὲ ἐτί μάλλον ἀνακείμενα, ὡστε ἀμέλει τῶν θεῶν ὦμῶν ταῖς εἰκόνας, στῆλαι ἀναιρεχυντίας καθερώσαντες οἴκου, ἐπ’ ἱσης ἐγγραφῶμεν τὰ Φιλανίδος σχῆματα ὅτα Ἡρακλέους ἄθληματα. τούτων οὐ μόνον τῆς χρήσεως, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς ὀψεως καὶ τῆς ἀκοῆς αὕτης ἀμνηστίαν καταγγέλλομεν. ἡταίρηκεν ὦμῖν τὰ ὡτά, πεπορνεύκασιν οἱ φθαλμοὶ καὶ τὸ καυνότερον πρὸ τῆς συμπλοκῆς αἱ ὀψεως ὦμῶν μεμοιχεύκασιν. ὦ βιασάμενοι τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν καὶ τὸ ἔνθεον τοῦ πλάσματος ἐλέγχει ἄπαράξαντε, πάντα ἀπίστευτε, ἦν ἑκπαθείησθε· καὶ πιστεύετε μὲν τοῖς εἰδώλοις ζηλοῦντες

1 πιστεύετε Arcerius. πιστεύητε mss.

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

b Demosthenes, *Olynthiacs* iii. 19.

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

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EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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

\[d\text{ Cp. 2 St. Peter ii. 14.} \quad e\text{ Cp. St. Matthew v. 28.}\]
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. IV. αὐτῶν τὴν ἀκρασίαν, ἀπιστεῖτε δὲ τῷ θεῷ σωφροσύνην μὴ φέροντες: καὶ τὰ μὲν κρείττων μεμοσήκατε, τὰ δὲ ἦττω τετμῆκατε, ἀρετὴς μὲν θεαταί, κακίας δὲ ἀγωνισταί γεγενημένοι.

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

οἱ ναοὺς <μὲν>¹ πάντας ἀπαρνήσονται ἰδόντες καὶ βωμοὺς, εἰκαία λίθων ἱδρύματα κωφῶν, καὶ λίθων ἡγίαν καὶ ἀγάλματα χειροποίητα.²

αἵματι ἐμμύχῳ μεμισσέμενα καὶ θυσίαις τετραπόδων, διπόδων, πτημῶν θηρῶν τε φόνοισιν.

καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀπηγόρευται ἦμῖν ἀναφανδὸν ἀπατηλὸν ἐργάζεσθαι τέχνην. "οὐ γὰρ ποιήσεις," φησιν ὁ προφήτης, "παντὸς ὁμοίωμα, ὅσα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ γῇ κάτω." ἢ ποῦ γ' ἀν ἔτι τὴν Πραξιτέλους Δήμητρα καὶ Κόρην καὶ τὸν Ἰακχοῦν τὸν μυστικὸν θεοῦ ὑπολάβοιμεν ἡ τὰς Δυσίππου τέχνας ἡ τὰς χεῖρας τὰς Ἀπελλάκας, αἰ δὴ τῆς θεοδοξίας τὸ σχῆμα τῇ ύλῃ περιπεθεῖκας; ἀλλ' ἔμεις μὲν ὅπως ποτὲ ὁ ἀνδριάς ὁτι μάλιστα ώραιότατος τεκταίνηται, προσκαρτερεῖτε, ὡπως δὲ αὐτοὶ μὴ ὁμοίων δὴ ἀνασθησίαν τοῖς ἀνδριάσιν ἀποτελεσθῆτε, οὐ φροντίζετε: πάνυ γοῦν ἐμφανῶς καὶ συντόμως ὁ προφητικὸς ἐλέγχει τὴν συνήθειαν λόγος ὅτι "πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν δαμονίων εἰσὶν εἴδωλα· ὁ δὲ θεὸς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐποίησεν"

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

a Sibylline Oracles iv. 24, 27–30.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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

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

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

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

° Exodus xx. 4; Deuteronomy v. 8.
® Psalm xcvi. 5.

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CAP. IV

καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. πλανῶμεν γονὶς τινὲς ἐν- 
tεῦθεν οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὡς θείαν μὲν τέχνην, πλὴν ἄλλ᾽ οὐ 
θεὸν προσκυνοῦσιν ἦλιον τε καὶ σελήνη καὶ τὸν 
ἄλλον τῶν ἀστέρων χορόν, παραλόγως τούτους 
θεοὺς ὑπολαμβάνοντες, τὰ ὄργανα τοῦ χρόνου. 
"τῷ γὰρ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ ἐστερεώθησαν καὶ τῷ 
πνεύματι τοῦ στόματός αὐτοῦ πάσα ἡ δύναμις 
αὐτῶν." ἀλλ᾽ ἡ μὲν ἀνθρωπεία τέχνη οἰκίας τε καὶ 
ναῦς καὶ πόλεως καὶ γραφάς δημιουργεῖ, θεὸς δὲ 
τὰς ἅ ἐπίσημοι ὅσα ποιεῖ; ὅλον ἰδεῖ τὸν κόσμον, 
ἐκείνου ἔργον ἔστιν καὶ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἦλιος καὶ ἄγ- 
γελου καὶ ἀνθρωπος "ἔργα τῶν δακτύλων | αὐτοῦ."

ὅση γε ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ. μόνον αὐτοῦ τὸ βού-
λημα κοσμοποιοῦ· μόνος γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν, ἑπεί 
καὶ μόνος ὄντως ἐστὶ θεός: ψιλὸ τῷ βούλεσθαι 
δημιουργεῖ καὶ τῷ μόνον ἔθελήσαι αὐτὸν ἔπεται 
τὸ γεγενηθαι. ἐνταῦθα φιλοσόφων παρατρέπεται 
χορὸς πρὸς μὲν τὴν οὐρανοῦ θέαν παγκάλως 
γεγονέναι τὸν ἀνθρώπον ὁμολογοῦντων, τὰ δὲ ἐν 
οὐρανῷ φανόμενα καὶ ὅφει καταλαμβανόμενα προσ-
κυνοῦντων. εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ ἀνθρώπινα τὰ ἔργα 
τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ, ἀλλὰ γονὶς ἀνθρώποις δεδημιοῦ-
γηται. καὶ μὴ τὸν ἦλιον τοὺς ὑμῶν προσκυνεῖτως, 
ἀλλὰ τὸν ἦλιον ποιητὴν ἐπιποθεῖτω, μηδὲ τὸν 
κόσμον ἐκθειαζέτω, ἀλλὰ τὸν κόσμον δημιουργὸν 
ἐπιξηθησάτω. μόνη ἁρα, ὥσ ἐσχήν, καταφυγῇ τῷ 
μέλλοντι ἐπὶ τὰς σωτηρίους ἄφικενθαθαί θύρας 
ὑπολείπεται σοφία θείκη· ἐντεῦθεν ὡσπερ ἐξ ἱεροῦ 
tων ἁγίων ὁ σωτηρίους ἄφικενθαθαί θύρας ὑπολείπεται σοφία θείκη. 

\[a\] See Genesis i. 14.

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

*Psalm xxxiii. 6.*

*Psalm viii. 3.*

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

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CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

V

'Επιδράμωμεν δὲ, εἶ δοκεῖ, καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων τὰς δόξας, ὡς αὐχοῦσι περὶ τῶν θεῶν, εἰ πως καὶ φιλοσοφίαν αὐτὴν κενοδοξίας ἕνεκεν ἀνειδωλο-
ποιούσαν τὴν ἐλπὶν ἐφεύρωμεν, ἡ ¹ καὶ δαμώνια
ἀττα ἐκθειώσασιν κατὰ παραδρομὴν παραστῆσαι
dυνηθῶμεν ὀνειρώττοσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. στοιχεῖα
μὲν οὖν ἁρχὸς ἀπελιπὼν ² ἐξυμνήσαστας Θαλῆς
ὁ Μιλῆσιος τὸ ὦδωρ καὶ Ἀναξιμένης ὦ καὶ
αὐτὸς Μιλῆσιος τὸν αέρα, ὃ Διογένης ὑστερον ὁ
'Απολλωνιάτης κατηκολούθησεν. Παρμενίδης δὲ ὁ
'Ελεάτης θεοὺς ἐἰσογήσατο πῦρ καὶ γῆν, θάτερον δὲ
αὐτῶν μόνων, ³ τὸ πῦρ, θεόν ὑπελήφατον Ἰππασός
τε ὁ Μεταποντῖνος καὶ ὁ Ἐφέσιος Ἡράκλειτος.
'Ἐμπεδοκλῆς γὰρ ὁ ὁ Ἀκραγαντῖνος εἰς πλήθος
56 P. ἐμπεσὼν πρὸς τοὺς τέτταρις στοιχείοις τούτων
νεῖκος καὶ φιλίαν καταριθμεῖται.

Ἀθεοὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ οὕτωι, σοφία τινὶ ἀσοφίῳ τὴν
ἐλπὶν προσκυνήσαστας καὶ λίθους μὲν ἡ Ἕξιλα οὐ
τιμήσαστες, γῆν δὲ τὴν τούτων μητέρα ἐκθειώσαστες
καὶ Ποσειδώνα μὲν οὖκ ἀναπλάττοντες, ὦδωρ δὲ
αὐτὸ προστρεπόμενοι. τί γὰρ ἐστὶ ποτὲ ὁ ὁ
Ποσειδῶν ἡ ὑγρὰ τις οὐσία ἐκ τῆς πόσεως ὀνοματοποιουμένη; 
ὡσπερ ἀμέλει ὁ πολέμιος Ἀρης ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρσεως

¹ Ἡ Diels. εἰ mss.
² ἀπελιπὼν Cobet. ἀπελιπὼν mss.
³ μόνων Sylburg. μόνων mss.
⁴ ποτὲ ὁ Wilamowitz. πρῶτον mss. ἔτερον Mayor.

a i.e. gets a feeble grasp of it. Cp. Plutarch, De Is. et Osir. 382 f "The souls of men, while on earth and en-
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EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

V

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

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

See p. 47 with note.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

Cap. 1

καὶ ἀναιρέσεως κεκλημένος, ἢ καὶ δοκοῦσι μοι πολλοὶ μάλιστα τὸ ξίφος μόνον πήξαντες ἐπιθύνειν ὡς Ἀρει. ἔστι δὲ Σκυθῶν τὸ τουτοῦν, καθάπερ Εὐδοξος ἐν δευτέρα Γῆς 1 περίοδον λέγει, Σκυθῶν δὲ οἱ Σαυρομάται, ὡς φησὶν Ἰκέσιος ἐν τῷ περὶ μυστηρίων, ἀκυνάκην σέβουσιν. τούτῳ τοῖς καὶ οἱ ἀμφί τοῖς Ἡράκλειον τὸ πῦρ ὡς ἀρχέγονον σέβοντες πεπόνθασιν· τὸ γὰρ πῦρ τοῦτο ἔτερον Ἡφαιστον ἥνυμασαν. Περσῶν δὲ οἱ μάγοι τὸ πῦρ τετμήκασι καὶ τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντων πολλοί, πρὸς δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνες, ὡς φησὶν Διογένης ἐν α' Περσικῶν. τὶ μοι Σαυρομάτας καταλέγειν, οὐς Νυμφόδωρος ἐν Νομίμοις βαρβαρικοῖς τὸ πῦρ σέβειν ἱστορεῖ, ἡ τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ τοὺς Μῆδους καὶ τοὺς μάγους; θύειν ἐν ὑπαιθρῷ τούτους ὁ Δίνων λέγει, θεῶν ἀγάλματα μόνα τὸ πῦρ καὶ ύδωρ νομίζοντας. οὐκ ἀπεκρυφάμην οὐδὲ τὴν τούτων ἁγνοιαν. εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀποφεύγειν οἴνονται τῆς 51 Ρ. πλάνης, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐτέραν κατοικισθαίνουσιν ἡ ἀπάτην ἀγάλματα μὲν θεῶν οὐ ξύλα καὶ λίθους ὑπελήφασιν ὥσπερ Ἑλληνες οὐδὲ μὴν ὑβίδας καὶ ἰχνεύμονας καθάπερ Αἰγυπτίου, ἀλλ' πῦρ τε καὶ ύδωρ ὡς φιλόσοφοι. μετὰ πολλὰς μέντοι ύστερον περιόδους ἔτων ἀνθρωποειδή ἀγάλματα σέβειν αὐτοὺς Ἡφίστω-

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

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

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EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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

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


*f* Dinon, Fr. 9 *Frag. hist. Graec.* ii. p. 91.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

C.A. sors in tertia Chaldaicae paritia, toto 'Arta-

Xérezou tui Dafreion toW Óxhoun eiseghshaménon, ós

prwthos tih Æfrodítis Ænástidos1 to agalma

ánasthias en Baphulwv kai Soúsoi kai 'Ek-

bathánous Pérssai kai Baktrois kai Damoskvi kai

Sárdeis úpédhia sebev. ómologous tonwn

oi filósofoi tous didaskalous tous sfwv Pérssas H

Savromatás H mágous, par' dh thn theótita ton

sebasmwn autov meibhikas arxhwn, arhonta ton

pantwn poutthn kai ton arxhwn autovn dhmowr-

ghvn angoúntes, ton anarxhov theoiv, tâ de "piochâ"

tauta kai "asvesth," h fheiv o apóstolos, tâ eis

thn anmhpwn uphresiain pepoihmena "stoicheia"

prostrepomevou.

Twn de allon filosóphon osow tâ stoicheia

uperbántes epoluphragmónhsan tî yphiloteron kai

perittóteron, oî mev autovn to apieron kathumnhsan,

wâ 'Anaximándros (Milhós H) kai 'Anaxagóras

H Klazoménios kai H 'Athnaios 'Arkelaos. toútov

mèn ge amfôw ton vovn épeosthsatîn th apiería,

H de Milhúsos Leúkippos kai H Chios Mhtôdwsos

diattás, wâ eîkev, kai autô arxhás apeupetth, to

plhres kai to kenvn' prosóthke de lavbwn toup

tovn duév tâ eîdwsa H 'Abdhritis Dhmékritos. H

58 P. gar toî Krotowntítths 'Alkmawv 1 theous ùeto toûs

ástoras eînai eîmychous òntas. ou swsthsomai tîn

toupwv ánaimvntian. Ëenokratîths (Kalchdwnos

úntos) épnta mev theous touts planhthas, ógdoon de

1 'Anastidos Bochart. òavadíos mss.

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

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

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

The theory of Democritus was that all natural objects gave off small particles of themselves, which he called "images." These came into contact with the organs of sense and were the cause of perception.
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CAP. τὸν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἀπλανῶν¹ συνεστῶτα κόσμου αἰώντεταί. οὐδὲ μὴν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Στοάς παρελεύσομαι διὰ πάσης ὥλης, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀτμιμοτάτης, τὸ θεῶν δυνήκειν λέγοντας, οὐ κατασκύνουσιν ἀτεχνώς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν. οὐδὲν δὲ οἶμαι χαλεπὸν ἐνταῦθα γενόμενοι καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου μνησθήναι· καὶ ο γε τῆς αἱρέσεως πατήρ, τῶν ὅλων οὐ νοήσας τὸν πατέρα, τὸν καλούμενον "ὑπατόν" ψυχὴν εἰναι τοῦ παντὸς οἷεται· τοιτέομεν τοῦ κόσμου τῆς ψυχῆς θεῶν ὑπολαμβάνων αὐτὸς αὐτῷ περιπείρεται. ο γὰρ τοι μέχρι τῆς σελήνης αὐτής διορίζον τὴν πρόνοιαν, ἐπειτα τὸν κόσμον θεῶν ἡγούμενος περιτρέπεται, τὸν ἀμοιρον τοῦ θεοῦ θεον δογματίζων. ο δὲ Ἐρέσιος ἐκεῖνος Θεόφραστος ὁ Ἀριστοτέλειος γνώριμος πῇ μὲν οὐρανόν, πῇ δὲ πνεῦμα τὸν θεὸν ὑπονοεῖ. Ἑπικούρου μὲν γὰρ μόνου καὶ ἑκὼν ἐκλήσιμαι, οὐδὲν δὲ μέλειν οἶεται τῷ θεῷ, διὰ πάντων ἁσθένων. τὶ γὰρ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς; ἐσθ' ὅπῃ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰ Δημοκρίτου καὶ αὐτὸς κατασύρεται εἰδωλα;

VI

Καὶ πολὺς μοι ἐπηρρέει τοιοῦτος ὄχλος, οἰονεὶ μορμώ τινα, δαμασών παρεισάγων ξένων ἀτοπον

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

a i.e. Aristotle.

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

VI

And a vast crowd of the same description swarms upon me, bringing in their train, like a nightmare, an absurd doctrines, not worth attention. (trans.) says: "Both Christian and heathen opponents have distorted this to mean that the Divine Providence reaches only as far as the moon and does not extend to the earth. How far this representation agrees with the true Aristotelian doctrine may be gathered from what has been already said, at pp. 403, 410, and 421."
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CAP. VI. οὐδὲ γραῖκώ· πολλοῦ γε δὲ ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτρέπειν ἀκροάσθαι τοιοῦτων λόγων, οἱ μηδὲ τοὺς παῖΔας τοὺς ἑαυτῶν, τούτῳ δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, κλαυθμωριζομένους ἔθιζομεν παρηγορεῖσθαι μυθίζοντες, ὁρωδουῦτες συναντρέφειν αὐτοῖς ἀθέτητα τὴν πρὸς τῶν δοκησόφων δὴ τούτων καταγγελλομένην, μηδὲν τι νηπίων μᾶλλον τάληθες εἰδότων. τί γὰρ, ὥς πρὸς τῆς ἀληθείας, τοὺς σοὶ πεπιστευκότας δεικνύεσθαι ρύσει καὶ φορᾷ δίναις τε ἀτάκτοις ὑποβεβλημένους; τί δὲ μοι εἰδώλων ἀναπίμπλης τὸν βίον, ἀνέμους τε ἡ ἀερὰ ἡ πῦρ ἡ γῆν ἡ λίθους ἡ ξύλα ἡ σίδηρον, κόσμον τόνδε, θεοὺς ἀναπλάττουσα, θεοὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας τοὺς πλανῆτας, τοῖς ὄντως πεπλανημένοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς πολυθρυλῆτος ταύτης ἀστρολογίας, οὐκ ἀστρονομίας, μετεωρολογοῦσα καὶ ἄδολεσχοῦσα; τὸν κύριον τῶν πνευμάτων ποθῶν, τὸν κύριον τοῦ πυρὸς, τὸν κόσμον δημιουργὸν, τὸν ἡλίου φωταγωγὸν, θεοὺς ἐπιζητῶ, οὐ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ. τίνα δὴ λάβω πορὰ σοῦ συνεργῆν τῆς ξητῆσεως; οὐ γὰρ παντάπασιν ἀπεγνωκαμέν σε. εἰ βούλει, τὸν Πλάτωνα. πὴ δὴ ὁ ἐξιχνυτέων τὸν θεόν, ὁ Πλάτων; "τὸν γὰρ πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τούτῳ τοῦ παντός εὐρεῖν

1 μυθολόγων Mayor. μυθολόγων mss.
2 δοκησόφων Potter. δοκησόφων mss.
3 φορᾷ Münzel. φορᾷ mss.
4 δίναις τε ἀτάκτοις Heyse. δειναῖς τε καὶ ἀτάκτοις mss.

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

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

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

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CAP. VI. τε ἔργου καὶ εὑρόντα εἰς ἀπαντας ἐξειπεὶν ἀδύνατον." 

διὰ τί δῆτα, ὡς πρὸς αὐτοῦ; "ῥητὸν 1 γὰρ οὐδαμῶς ἑστίν." εὖ γε, ὡς Πλάτων, ἐπαφάσαι τῆς ἀληθείας· ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποκάμψης· ἔξιν μοι λαβοῦ τῆς ἱητήσεως τάγαθοῦ πέρι· πάσιν γὰρ ἀπαξαπλῶς ἀνθρώποις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς περὶ λόγους ἐνδιατρίβουσιν ἐνέστακται τις ἀπόρροια θείκη. οὐ δὴ χάριν καὶ ἄκοντες μὲν ὁμολογοῦσιν ἕνα γε 2 εἰναι θεόν, ἀνώλεθρον καὶ ἀγένητον τοῦτον, ἀνώ ποιεῖ τὰ νῦτα τοῦ ὀὐρανοῦ ἐν τῇ ἱδίᾳ καὶ οἰκείᾳ περιωπῆ ὅντως ὄντα ἀεί.

 theology de poιν, εἰπέ μοι, νοητέων; 

tόν πάνθω ὄφρωντα καυτόν οὐχ ὄρωμεν,

Εὐριπίδης λέγει. πεπλανήθαι γοῦν ὁ Μένανδρός μοι δοκεῖ, ἐνθα φησίν

ἡλις, σὲ γὰρ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν πρῶτον θεῶν, 

di' ὃν θεωρεῖν ἐστὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς·

οὔτε γὰρ ἡλίος ἐπιδείξει ποτ' ἀν τὸν θεόν τὸν ἀληθῆ, ὁ δὲ λόγος ὁ ψυχής, ὃς ἐστιν ἡλίος ψυχής, 

δι' οὗ μόνου ἐνδον ἀνατελέλυτος ἐν τῷ βάθει τοῦ νου 3 αὐτῆς 4 καταγάζεται τὸ ὁμα. ὃθεν οὐκ ἀπεικότως ὁ Δημόκριτος "τῶν λογίων ἀνθρώπων

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

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

What nature, say, must man ascribe to God? He seeth all; yet ne'er Himself is seen, says Euripides. Certainly Menander seems to me to be in error where he says,

O Sun, thee must we worship, first of gods, Through whom our eyes can see the other gods.

For not even the sun could ever show us the true God. The healthful Word or Reason, who is the Sun of the soul, alone can do that; through Him alone, when He has risen within in the depth of the mind, the soul's eye is illuminated. Whence Democritus not unreasonably says that "a few men think of the heavens as a series of spheres revolving above the earth. The dwelling-place of God (or Plato's "real existence") is on the outer side of the topmost sphere. See the whole passage, *Phaedrus* 246 d–249.

*d* Euripides, Frag. 1129 Nauck.
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CAP. τόλγονς " φησίν " ἀνατείναντας τὰς χεῖρας ἐνταῦθα ὅπις τῶν ἄρα καλέομεν οἱ "Εὐλήνες, [πάντας] Δία μυθεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ πάντα οὔτος οἶδεν καὶ διδοῖ πάντα καὶ ἀφαιρεῖται, καὶ βασιλεὺς ὄντος τῶν πάντων." ταύτῃ τῇ καὶ Πλάτων θεῶν, καὶ ἀναστάτεται "περὶ τῶν πάντων βασιλέα πάντ᾽ ἔστιν, κάκεινον ἀπαντῶν <τῶν> καλῶν."

τίς οὖν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν πάντων; θεός τῆς τῶν ὄντων ἀληθείας τὸ μέτρον. ὥσπερ οὖν τῷ μέτρῳ καταληπτὰ τὰ μετρούμενα, οὔτωσι δὲ καὶ τῷ νοῆσαι τοῦ θεοῦ μετρεῖται καὶ καταλαμβάνεται ἡ ἀληθεία. οὐ δὲ ἐφος ὄντως Μυσσης "οὐκ ἔσται," φησίν, "ἐν τῷ μαραίττει σοι στάθμιον καὶ στάθμιον μέγα ἡ μικρόν, οὐδὲ ἔσται ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου μέτρον μέγα ἡ μικρόν, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ στάθμιον ἀληθινὸν καὶ δίκαιον ἔσται σοι," στάθμιον καὶ μέτρον καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν ὄλων ὑπολαμβάνων τὸν θεόν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀδίκα καὶ ἀνίσα εἴδωλα οἴκοι ἐν τῷ μαραίττει καὶ ἐν τῇ ὑς ἐπος εἰπεῖν ῥυπώση ψυχή κατακέκρυπται. τὸ δὲ μόνον δίκαιον μέτρον, ὁ μόνος ὄντως θεός, ἵσος ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὠσαύτως ἔχων, μετρεῖ τε πάντα καὶ σταθμάται, οἴονε τριτάνη τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἀρσεπῶς περιλαμβάνων καὶ ἄνεχων φύσιν. "ο ποῦ ἐκθεός, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ πολαῖος λόγος, ἄρχην <τὴν> καὶ τελευτήν καὶ μέσα τῶν ὄντων ἀπαντῶν ἔχων, εὐθείαν περαινεί κατὰ φύσιν περι-

1 Δία μυθείσθαι Heinsius. διαμυθείσθαι mss.
2 καί γὰρ πάντα . . . καί διδοὶ πάντα (with omission of πάντα in previous line) Wilamowitz. καί πάντα . . . καί διδοὶ καί . . . mss.
3 <τῶν> from Plato (but cp. Plotinus i. 8. 2).
5 <τὴν> from Plato, and Clement, ii. Strom. 132. 2.

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of reason stretch out their hands towards that which we Greeks now call air and speak of it in legend as Zeus; for Zeus knows all, he gives and takes away all, and he is king of all things.”

Plato also has a similar thought, when he says darkly about God: “All things are around the king of all things, and that is the cause of everything good.”

Who, then, is the king of all things? It is God, the measure of the truth of all existence. As therefore things measured are comprehended by the measure, so also by the perception of God the truth is measured and comprehended. The truly sacred Moses says, “There shall not be in thy bag divers weights, a great and a small, neither shall there be in thy house a great measure and a small, but thou shalt have a weight true and just.” Here he is assuming God to be the weight and measure and number of the universe. For the unjust and unfair idols find a home hidden in the depths of the bag, or, as we may say, the polluted soul. But the one true God, who is the only just measure, because He is always uniformly and unchangeably impartial, measures and weighs all things, encircling and sustaining in equilibrium the nature of the universe by His justice as by a balance. “Now God, as the ancient saying has it, holding the beginning and end and middle of all existence, keeps an unswerving

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1 Deut. xxi. 13-15.
2 See Plato, Phaedo 78 n.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. πορευόμενος· τῶν ἕνεκη τῶν ἀπολειπομένων τοῦ θείου νόμου τιμωρός.’’ πόθεν, ὡς Πλάτων, ἀλήθειαν αἰνίττῃ; πόθεν ἡ τῶν λόγων ἄφθονος χορηγία τὴν θεοσέβειαν μαντεύεται; σοφώτερα, φησίν, τούτων βαρβάρων τὰ γένη. οἶδα σοι τοὺς διδασκάλους, κἂν ἀποκρύπτειν ἑθέλῃς· γεωμετρίαν παρὰ Αἰγυπτίων μανθάνεις, ἀστρονομίαν παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων, ἑπωδάς τὰς ύγιείς παρὰ Θρακῶν λαμβάνεις, πολλὰ σε κἀ̂ς Ἀσσύριοι πεπαυδεύκασι, νόμους δὲ τοὺς ὁσοὶ ἀληθείς καὶ δόξαι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ παρ᾿ αὐτῶν ὠφέλησαί τῶν Ἑβραίων,

οἶτως οὐκ ἀπάτησι κεναῖς, οὐδὲ ἔργο ἀνθρώπων χρύσεα καὶ χάλκεα καὶ ἀργύρου ἡ ἐλέφαντος καὶ ξυλίνων λιθίνων της βροτῶν εἴδωλα θανόντων τιμῶσιν, ὡσ περ τε βροτοὶ κενεόφρονι βουλή· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀείροισι 2 πρὸς οὐρανὸν ὠλένας ἀγνάς, ἄρθροις ἐξ εὐνῆς, ἀεὶ χρόα ἀγνίζοντες ὑδαία, καὶ τιμῶσι μόνον τὸν ἀεὶ μεδεόντα ἄθανατον.

Καὶ μοι μὴ μόνον, ὡς φιλοσοφία, ἐνα τούτων Πλάτωνα, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους παραστήσαι σπουδασόν, τὸν ἐνα ὄντως μόνον θεῶν ἀναθήγωγομένως θεῶν κατ’ ἐπίπτνους αὐτοῦ, εἴ ποι τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπιδράξαντο. Ἀντισθένης μὲν γὰρ οὐ Κυνικὸν δὴ τοῦτο ἐνενόησεν, Σωκράτους δὲ ἄτε γνώριμος “θεῶν οὖδεν ἐοικέναι” φησίν· “διὸ περ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἐκμαθεῖν εἴ ἐικόνος δύναται.” Ἐνο-

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

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path, revolving according to nature; but ever there follows along with him Right, to take vengeance on those who forsake the divine law." a "Whence, Plato, do you hint at the truth? Whence comes it that this abundant supply of words proclaims as in an oracle the fear of God?" "The barbarian races," he answers, "are wiser than the Greeks." b I know your teachers, even if you would fain conceal them.

You learn geometry from the Egyptians, astronomy from the Babylonians, healing incantations you obtain from the Thracians, and the Assyrians have taught you much; but as to your laws (in so far as they are true) and your belief about God, you have been helped by the Hebrews themselves:

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

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

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a Plato, Laws 715 E, 716 A.
b Phaedo 78 A.
c Sibylline Oracles iii. 586-588, 590-594.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. VI

Φῶν δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος διαρρήτην αὖ καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐγεγράφει· τι μαρτυρῶν ὡς Σωκράτης, εἰ μὴ τὸ Σωκράτους ἐδείκει φάρμακον· οὖδέν δὲ ἦττων αὐτὶ· τὰ πάντα, φησί, "αὐτὸς καὶ ἀτρεμίζων ὡς μὲν μέγας τις καὶ δυνατός, φανερός· ὁ πρὸς τὴν μορφήν, ἀφανῆς· ονομα τὸ παμφαίνο λόγον εἶναι ἦλιος οὕτω αὐτὸς ἐπικείμενον ὑπὸ αὐτὸν ἐπιτρέπεται, ἀλλ' ἡ τὰς ἀναίδους ἀυτὸν θεάσηται, τὴν ὦπην ἀφαίρεται." ποθεν ἄρα ὁ τού Γρύλλου σοφίζεται η δηλαδὴ παρὰ τῆς προφήτευσις τῆς Ἑβραίων θεσπιζούσης ἀδεί πως, τῆς γὰρ σάρξ δύναται τὸν ἐπουράνιον καὶ ἀλήθη ὑφαλμούν ιδεῖν θεόν ἄμβροτον, ὡς πόλον οἰκεῖ; ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀκτίνων κατεναντίον ἠξίωσαν ἄνθρωποι στήματι δυνατοί· θυμοί γεγαώτες.

Κλεάνθης δὲ ὁ Πηθασεύς, τοῦ τῆς Στοᾶς φιλοσοφος, οὐ θεογονίαν ποιητικὴν, θεολογίαν δὲ ἀληθινὴν ἐνδείκνυται. οὐκ ἀπεκρύψατο τοῦ θεοῦ πέρι ὅτι περὶ εἰχεν φρονῦν.

τάγαθὸν ἐρωτᾶς μ' οἷον ἐστ'; ἀκοῦε δὴ·
τεταγμένον, δίκαιον, ὀσίον, εὐσεβές,
κρατοῦν ἑαυτοῦ, χρήσιμον, καλὸν, δέον,
ἀυτηρόν, αὐθέκαστον, ἀεί συμφέρον,
ἄφοβον, ἀλυπον, λυσιτελές, ἀνώδυνον,
ὡφέλιμον, εὐάρεστον, ἀσφαλές, φίλον,
ἐντιμον, ὀμολογοῦμενον

1 ἐγεγράφει Dindorf. ἀναγράφει MSS.
2 δὲ τὴν Stobaeus (Eclog. ii. 1). δὲ τις MSS. δ' ἐστὶ
Clement, v. Strom. 108. 5.
3 Πηθασεύς Wilamowitz (see Strabo xiii. p. 611). πισαδεύς
MSS.
4 τάγαθὸν Clement, v. Strom. 110. 3. ei τὸ ἄγαθὸν MSS.

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would himself have written explicitly concerning the truth, bearing his share of witness as Socrates did, had he not feared the poison which Socrates received; none the less he hints at it. At least, he says: "He who moves all things and brings them to rest again is plainly some great and mighty One; but what His form is we cannot see. Even the sun, which appears to shine upon all, even he seems not to allow himself to be seen; but if a man impudently gazes at him, he is deprived of sight."

From what source, pray, does the son of Gryllus draw his wisdom? Is it not clearly from the Hebrew prophetess, who utters her oracle in the following words?

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

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

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

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

CAP. VI

εὐκλεές, ἀτυφον, ἐπιμελές, πρᾶδον, σφοδρόν, χρονιζόμενον, ἀμεμπτόν, ἀεὶ διαμένον.

ἀνελεύθερος πᾶς ὁ σώτης εἰς δόξαν βλέπει, ὦς δὴ παρ' ἐκείνης τευχόμενοι καλὸν τύσος.

ἐνταῦθα δὴ σαφῶς, οἶμαι, διδάσκει ὁποιός ἐστιν ὁ θεός, καὶ ὡς ἡ δόξα ἡ κοινὴ καὶ ἡ συνήθειά τους ἐπομένους αὐταῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸν θεὸν ἐπιζητοῦντας, εξανθραποδιζόμεθα. οὐκ ἀποκρυπτέον οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀμφί τὸν Πυθαγόραν, οἱ φασὶν ὁ μὲν θεὸς εἰς, οὗτος 1 δὲ οὐκ, ὡς τινες ὑπονοοῦσιν, ἐκτὸς τὰς διακοσμήσιας, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ, ὁλος ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κύκλῳ, ἐπίσκοπος πάσας γενέσιος, κράσις τῶν ὅλων αἰώνων 2 καὶ ἐργάτας τῶν αὐτοῦ δυνάμων καὶ ἔργων ἀπάντων ἐν οὐρανῷ φωστήρ καὶ πάντων πάτηρ, νοῦς καὶ ψυχώς τῷ ὅλῳ κύκλῳ, 3 πάντων κίνασις. ἀπόχρη καὶ τάδε εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν θεοῦ ἐπιπνοῖα θεοῦ πρὸς αὐτῶν μὲν ἀναγεγραμμένα, πρὸς δὲ ἡμῶν ἐξειλεγμένα τῷ γε καὶ σμικρὸν διαθρεῖν ἀλήθειαν δυναμένω.

VII

"Ἰτω δὲ ἡμῖν (οὐ γὰρ αὐταρκεῖ μόνον ἡ φιλοσοφία) ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῇ <ἡ> 4 ποιητικὴ ἢ περὶ τὸ ψεῦδος τὰ πάντα ἡσυχιμένη, μόλις ποτὲ ἦδη ἀλήθειαν μαρτυρίουσα, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐξομολογημένη τῷ θεῷ τὴν μυθώδη παρέκβασιν. παρίτω δὴ ὅστις καὶ βούλεται 1 οὗτος Wilamowitz. χοθτος mss. αὐτὸς Justin (Cohor. ad Graec. 19).

2 αἰώνων Justin. ἀεὶ ὁ mss.
3 τῷ ὅλῳ κύκλῳ Stählin. τῷ ὅλῳ κύκλῳ mss.
4 <ἡ> inserted by Markland.

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EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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

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

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

VII

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

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

\(^b\) Pearson, p. 320 (Fr. 101).
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. VII ποιήσεις πρῶτος. Ἄρατος μὲν οὖν διὰ πάντων τῆν δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ διήκειν νοεῖ,

ὁφρ' ἐμπέδα πάντα φύωνται,

τῷ μν ἀεὶ πρῶτον τε καὶ ὕστατον ἠλάσκονται·

χαίρε, πάτερ, μέγα θαύμα, μέγ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὄνειαρ.

ταύτη τοι καὶ ὁ Ἀσκραῖος αἰνίττεται Ἡσίοδος τὸν θεόν· |

68 P. αὐτὸς γὰρ πάντων βασιλεὺς καὶ κοίρανος ἐστίν,

ἀθανάτων τέο δ' 1 οὕτως ἐρήμισται κράτος ἄλλος.

ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς παραγυμνοῦσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν· ὁ μὲν καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰθέρα καὶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβλέψας "τόνδε ἦγοι θεόν," φησίν,

Εὐρυπίδης· ὁ δὲ τοῦ Σοφίλλου Σοφοκλῆς,

εἰς ταῖς ἀληθείαις, εἰς ἔστιν θεός,

ὁς οὐρανὸν τ' ἔτευξε καὶ γαίαν μακρὴν πότου τε χαροπον οἶδα κανέμων βίας·

θητοὶ δὲ πολλὰ 2 καρδίᾳ πλανώμενοι

ἰδρυσάμεθα πημάτων παραφυκὴν

θεῶν ἀγάλματ' ἐκ λίθων, ἡ χαλκέων

ἡ χρυσοτεύκτων ἡ ἐλεφαντίων τύποσ·

θυσίας τε τούτοις καὶ κενᾶς πανηγύρεις

νέμοντες, οὕτως εὐσεβεῖ ὁμιλοῦμεν.

οὕτωςι μὲν ἡδὴ καὶ παρακεκινδυνευμένως ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῖς θεαταῖς παρεισήγαγεν.

1 τέο δ' Stählin. σέο δ' Clement, v. Strom. 112. 3. τέ

οἱ Buttmann. τε ὅδ' mss.

2 πολλὰ Heyse. πολλοὶ mss.

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EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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

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

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

For He is king and master over all;
No other god hath vied with Thee in strength.\(^b\)

Further, even upon the stage they unveil the truth. One of them, Euripides, after gazing at the upper air and heaven, says, “Consider this to be God.”\(^c\) Another, Sophocles the son of Sophillus, says:

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

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

\(^b\) Hesiod, Frag. 195 Rzach.
\(^c\) Euripides, Frag. 941 Nauck.
\(^d\) [Sophocles] Frag. 1025 Nauck. These lines are also quoted by Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Eusebius, and other Christian writers. They are of Jewish or Christian origin, as their teaching proves; certainly not from Sophocles.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. VII

ο δὲ Θράκιος ἱεροφάντης καὶ ποιητὴς ἄμα, ο τοῦ Ὀλάγρου Ὀρφεύς, μετὰ τὴν τῶν ὀργίων ἱεροφαντίαν καὶ τῶν εἰδώλων τὴν θεολογίαν, παλινωδίαν ἀληθείας εἰσάγει, τὸν ἱερὸν ὄντως ὁψε ποτε, ὦμως δ’ οὖν ἄδων λόγον·

φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστὶ· θύρας δ’ ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι

πάντες ὄμως· σὺ δ’ ἄκουε, φασοφόρου ἐκγονε
Μήνης,

Μουσαί’, ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα, μηδὲ σὲ τὰ πρὶν ἐν στῆθεσι φανέντα φίλης αἰώνος ἁμέρῃ.

εἰς δὲ λόγον θείων βλέψας τούτω προσέδρευε, ἰδίων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος· εὖ δ’ ἐπίβαινε ἀτραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ’ ἑσόρα κόσμου ἀνάκτα ἀθάνατον.

ἐτα ὑποβᾶς διαρρήδην ἐπιφέρει. |
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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

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

Then, lower down, he adds explicitly:

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

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

Inconstant mortal, make no more delay,
But turn again, and supplicate thy God.

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

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

CAP. VII χωρίς τοῦ λόγου τῆς ἀληθείας ἐνεργούντων τι ἢ καὶ φθεγγομένων ὑμών ὄντων τοῖς χωρίς βάσεως βαδίζειν βιαζομένως.

Δυσοπουντων δὲ σε εἰς σωτηρίαν καὶ οἱ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῶν ἔλεγχοι, οὐ διὰ τὴν ἀληθείαν ἑκβιαζόμενοι κωμωδοῦσι ποιηταί. Μένανδρος γοῦν ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Ἰνιόχω [ἐν Ἡποβολιμαίῳ] τῷ δράματι

οὐδεὶς μ’ ἀρέσκει (φησὶ) περιπατῶν ἐξω θεὸς μετὰ γραός, οὐδ’ εἰς οἰκίας παρεισών ἐπὶ τοῦ σανδίου.

[ὑπεραγύρτης] ς των τοῦ γὰρ οἱ ὑπεραγύρται. οἴθευν εἰκότως ὁ Ὁντισθένης ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς μεταίσθησιν. “οὐ τρέφω τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν, ἢν οἱ θεοὶ τρέφουσιν.” πάλιν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν Ἰερείᾳ τῷ δράματι χαλεπαίνων πρὸς τὴν συνήθειαν δι- ελέγχειν πειράται τὸν ἄθεον τῆς πλάνης τύφον, ἐπιφθεγγόμενος ἐμφρόνως

ei γαρ ἐλκεὶ τὸν θεοῦ
toῖς κυμβάλοις ἄνθρωπος εἰς ὁ βούλεται, ὁ τοῦτο ποιών ἐστὶ μείζων τοῦ θεοῦ. ἀλλ’ ἐστὶ τόλμης καὶ βίου ταῦτ’ ὅργανα εὐρημέν’ ἄνθρωποισιν.

1 [ἐν Ἡποβολιμαῖῳ] Clericus (missing from Justin, Dem. 5).
2 [ὑπεραγύρτης] Dindorf.
3 βιος Bentley : Stählin.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

b i.e. Metragyrtae. See p. 48, n. a.

c Antisthenes, Frag. 70 Mullach, Frag. phil. Graec. ii. p. 287.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. καὶ οὖν μόνος ὁ Μένανδρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Ομηρός καὶ Εὐριπίδης καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ ποιηταὶ διελέγχουσιν ὕμων τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ λοιδορείσθαι οὐ δεδίασιν οὔδε καθ’ ὁπόσον αὐτοῖς. αὐτίκα τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν “κυνάμμυν” καὶ τὸν Ἡφαιστον ἃμφιγήν” καλοῦσιν, τῇ δὲ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἢ Ἐλένη φησὶν,
mηκέτι σοὶς πόδεσσιν ὑποστρέφειας Ὠλυμπον.

ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου ἀναφανδὸν ὁ Ομηρός γράφει

ὁς ποτε μαινομένου Διονύσου πιθήνας
σεῦ κατ’ ἡγάθεου Νυσῆου, αἱ δὲ ἀμα πᾶσαι
θύσθλα χαμαι κατέχεναι ὑπ’ ἀνδροφόνου Λυκοῦργου.

άξιος ὡς ἀλήθως Σωκρατικῆς διατριβῆς ὁ Εὐριπίδης
eis τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀπίδων καὶ τοὺς θεατᾶς ὑπεριδὼν,
potē men ton Ἀπόλλωνα,

ὁς μεσομφάλους ἔδρας
ναίει βροτοῖς στόμα νέμων σαφέστατα,

dieλέγχων,

κείων πιθόμενος 1 τὴν τεκούσαν ἐκτανον,
ἐκείων ἡγεῖοθ’ ἀνόσιον καὶ κτεῖνετε· 2
ἐκείνος ἡμαρτ’, οὐκ ἔγω,
ἀμαθέστερος γ’ ὥν 3 τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τῆς δίκης,

totē δ’ ἐμμανή εἰσάγων Ἡρακλέα καὶ μεθύοντα
ἀλλαχόθι καὶ ἀπληστον. πῶς γὰρ οὐχί; ὃς ἐστιώμενος τοῖς κρέασι

1 τοῦ ἔλαιον Euripides. κείων πιθόμενος mss.
2 κτεῖνετε Euripides. κτείνατε mss.
3 γ’ ὥν Euripides. ὥν mss.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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

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

Of Dionysus Homer writes openly:

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

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

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

he thus exposes him:

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

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

a Homer, Iliad xxi. 394, 421.

b Iliad i. 607 etc.

c Iliad iii. 407.

d Iliad vi. 132–134.

e Euripides, Orestes 591–592.

f Orestes 594–596, 417.

g i.e. in the Hercules Furens.

h Alcestis 755–760.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. VII

χλωρὰ σῶκ' ἐπήσθιεν ἁμοῦσ' ἥλακτῶν ὁστε βαρβάρῳ μαθεῖν.

ηδὴ δὲ ἐν Ἰωνι τῷ δράματι γυμνῆ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐκκυκλεῖ τῷ θεάτρῳ τοὺς θεούς.

πῶς οὖν δίκαιον τὸν ὑμᾶς βροτοῖς γράφαντας αὐτούς ἀδικίας ὄφλισκάνεν;

εἰ δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἔσται, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ χρήσομαι, δίκαιοι βιαῖοι δώσετ' ἀνθρώποις γάμων,

σὺ καὶ Ποσειδῶν Ζεὺς θ', ὅς ὀφρανὸν κρατεῖ, ναοὺς τίνοτες ἀδικίας κενώσετε.

VIII

"Ὡρα τοῖνυν τῶν ἀλλων ἡμῖν τῇ τάξει προδιηνυσμένων ἐπὶ τὰς προφητικὰς ἁέρας· καὶ γὰρ οἱ χρησμοὶ τὰς εἰς τὴν θεοσέβειαν ἡμῶν ἀφορμᾶς ἐγναγέστατα προτείνοντες θεμελιοῦσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν·

γραφαί δὲ αἱ θεῖαι καὶ μελετεῖ τοὺς πολυτρόνες, σύντομοι σωτηρίας ὁδὸι· γυμναὶ κομμωτικὴς καὶ τῆς ἐκτὸς καλλιφωνίας καὶ στομυλίως καὶ κολακείας ὑπάρχουσι ἀνιστῶσιν ἀνυμομενὸν ὑπὸ κακίας τῶν ἄνθρωπον, ὑπεριδοῦσι τὸν ὀλισθὸν τῶν βιωτικὸν, μιᾷ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ φωνῇ πολλὰ θεραπεύουσαν, ἀποτρέπουσας μὲν ἡμᾶς τῆς ἐπιζημίαν ἀπάτης, προτρέπουσαι δὲ ἐμφανῶς εἰς προοπτὸν σωτηρίαν. αὐτίκα γοῦν ἡ

1 αἱ θεῖαι, <εἶ> καὶ Schwartz: Stahlin.
2 θεραπεύουσαι Sylburg. θεραπεύοις mss.

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a Euripides, Frag. 907 Nauck.
b Literally, "with head bare." c Ion 442–447.
c For other references to the "short road" to salvation see pp. 217, and 240, n. a. Clement means to say that 172
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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

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

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

VIII

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

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

"snare" in 
reference to feasting (ii. 9. 4), wine (ii. 23. 1, 28. 2, 29. 2), 
and laughter (ii. 47. 3).
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. VIII

προφήτης ἤμιν ἀσάτω πρώτη Σίβυλλα τὸ ἄσμα τὸ σωτήριον.

οὗτος ἵδοι πάντεσι 1 σαφῆς ἀπλάνητος ὑπάρχει: ἐλθετε, μὴ σκοτήν δὲ διώκετε καὶ ζόφον αἰεὶ. ηελίου γλυκύδερκες, ἱδού, φάος ἐξοχὰ λάμπει. γνώτε δὲ καθέμενοι σοφίν ἐν στήθεσιν υμῶν. εἰς θεὸς ἔστι, βροχᾶς, ἀνέμους, σεισμοὺς τ ἐπιπέμπων,

ἀστεροπάσ, λυμοὺς, λοιμοὺς καὶ κήδεα λυγρὰ καὶ νυφετοὺς καὶ τάλλα,2 τὶ δὴ καθ ἐν εξ- αγορεύων;

οὐρανοῦ ἤγείται, γαῖς κρατεῖ αὐτὸς ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς.3 ἐνθέως σφόδρα τὴν μὲν ἀπάτην ἀπεικάζουσα τῷ σκότει, τὴν δὲ γνώσιν ἡλίω καὶ φωτὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀμφοῦ δὲ παραθεμένη τῇ συγκρίσει, τὴν ἐκλογὴν διδάσκει: τὸ γὰρ ψεύδεσ τούτῳ ἐν κρίσει παραθέτειν τάληθος διασκεδάζεται, τῇ δὲ χρήσει τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκβιαζόμενον φυγαδεύεται. Ἰερεμίας δὲ ὁ προφήτης τοῦ πάνσοφος, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐν Ἰερεμία τὸ ἁγιόν πνεύμα ἐπιδείκνυσι τὸν θεόν. "θεὸς ἐγγίζων ἐγὼ εἰμί," φησίν, "καὶ οὐχὶ θεὸς πόρρωθεν. εἰ ποιήσει τι ἀνθρώπος ἐν κρυφαῖς, καὶ ἐγὼ οὐκ ὄψομαι αὐτόν; οὐχὶ τοὺς οὐρανούς καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐγὼ πληρῶ; λέγει κύριος." πάλιν δὲ αὐτὸ διὰ 'Ἡσαΐου "τις μετρήσει," φησὶν, "τὸν οὐρανὸν σπιθαμῆ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἀρακί;" ὁρα τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ καταπλάγηθι. τοῦτον προσκυνήσωμεν, ἐφ' οὗ δέ φησιν ὁ προφήτης "ἀπὸ προσώπου σου ὅρη τακτήσονται,


2 καὶ τάλλα Κοβετ. κρύσταλλα μss.: Stählin.

3 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Μayor. ὑπάρχει μss.: Stählin.

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EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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

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

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

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

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\textit{Sibylline Oracles, Preface 28–35.}

\textit{Jeremiah xxiii. 23–24.}

\textit{Isaiah xl. 12.}
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA


Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτέρον ἑπακούσαν θέλεις χρησμωδὸν; ἐχεις τὸν χορὸν πάντα τὸν προφητικόν, τοὺς συνθιασώτας τοῦ Μωυσέως. τί φησίν αὐτοῖς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἁγιόν διὰ Ἡση; οὐκ ὄκνησον λέγειν "ἰδοὺ, ἐγὼ στερεών βροντήν καὶ κτέζων πνεῦμα," οὐ αἱ χεῖρες τὴν στρατιάν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐθεμελίωσαν. έτι 1 εἰδώλων: can this be a scribe's mistake for εἰδωλολατρῶν (cp. p. 178, l. 12)? 2 <δ> inserted by Dindorf.

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a See Isaiah lxiv. 1–3.  
b Isaiah lxvi. 1.  
c See Isaiah lxiv. 1 (Septuagint).  
d The text gives "idols," but the quotation refers to their worshippers. It is possible that there is a slight error in the text. See textual note.
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from before the face of the fire."  a He is God, the prophet says again, "whose throne is heaven, and the earth His footstool" b; before whom "if He open heaven, trembling shall seize thee."  c Would you hear too, what this prophet says about idol-worshippers?  d "They shall be made a spectacle before the sun; and their dead bodies shall be meat for the fowls of the heaven and the beasts of the earth, and shall be rotted by the sun and the moon, things which they themselves loved and served; and their city shall be burnt up."  e He says also that the elements and the world shall be destroyed with them. "The earth shall grow old, and the heaven shall pass away;" but "the word of the Lord abideth for ever."  f What does God say when at another time He wishes to reveal Himself through Moses?  "Behold, behold, I am He, and there is no other god beside Me. I will kill and I will make alive; I will smite and I will heal, and there is none that shall deliver out of my hands."  g

But will you listen to yet another giver of oracles? You have the whole company of the prophets, who are joined with Moses in this sacred fellowship. What says the Holy Spirit to them through Hosea? I will not hesitate to tell you. "Behold, I am He that giveth might to the thunder, and createth the wind,"  h whose hands established the host of heaven.  i

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a A collection of passages from Jeremiah, not Isaiah. See viii. 2; xxxiv. 20; iv. 26.
b Isaiah li. 6; also compare St. Matthew xxiv. 35 and Isaiah xl. 8.
c Deuteronomy xxxii. 39.
d Amos iv. 13; not Hosea.
e See Jeremiah xix. 13 and Psalm viii. 4 (Septuagint).
f *See Jeremiah xix. 13 and Psalm viii. 4 (Septuagint).
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. VIII

δὲ καὶ διὰ Ὅσατον (καὶ ταῦτην ἀπομνημονεύσω σοι τὴν φωνῆν) "ἔγω εἰμὶ, ἔγω εἰμὶ," φησίν, "ὁ κύριος ὁ λαλῶν δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀναγγέλλων ἁλήθειαν· συνάχθητε καὶ ἕκετε· βουλεύσασθε ἁμα, οἱ σωζόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν. οὐκ ἔγνωσαν οἱ αἱροντες τῷ ξύλῳ γλύμμα αὐτῶν, καὶ προσευχόμενοι θεοὶ οἱ οὗ σωσοῦν αὐτοὺς." εἰθ' ὑποβάς "ἔγω," φησίν, "ὁ θεὸς, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι πλήν ἐμοῦ δίκαιος, καὶ σωτήρ οὐκ ἔστι πάρεξ ἐμοῦ· εἰποτράφητε πρός με καὶ σωθήσασθε οἱ ἀπ' ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς. ἔγω εἰμὶ ὁ θεὸς καὶ οὐκ ἔστων ἄλλος· κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ ὁμνῶν." τοὺς δὲ εἰδωλολάτραις δυσχεραίνει λέγων "τίνι όμοιώσατε κύριον; ἡ τίνι ὁμοιώματι όμοιώσατε αὐτῶν; μὴ εἰκόνα ἐποίησεν τέκτων, ἡ χρυσοχώς χωνεύσας χρυσὸν περιεχρύσωσεν αὐτὸν;" καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦτοις. μὴ οὖν ἐτί ύμεῖς εἰδωλολάτραι; ἀλλὰ κἂν νῦν φυλάξασθε τὰς ἀπειλὰς· ὀλολύξει γὰρ τὰ γλυπτὰ καὶ τὰ χειροποίητα, μᾶλλον δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς πεπουθότες, ἀναίσθητος γὰρ ἡ ὑλή. ἐτί φησίν: "ὁ κύριος σείσει πόλεις κατοικουμένας καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅπλην καταλήπτει τῇ χειρὶ ὡς νοσσιάν." τῷ σοι σοφίας ἀναγγέλλω μυστήρια καὶ ῥήσεις ἐκ παιδῶς Ἑβραίων σεσοφισμένων; "κύριος ἐκτισάμεν με ἀρχὴν ὀδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ," καὶ "κύριος δίδωσι σοφίαν καὶ ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ γνώσις καὶ σύνεσις." "ἐχω πότε, ὁκνηρέ, κατάκεισαι; πότε δὲ ἐξ ὑπὸν ἐγερθῆσῃ;

a Isaiah xlvi. 19–20.  b Isaiah xlvi. 21–23.  c Isaiah xlv. 18–19.  d Isaiah xlv. 10–11, 14 (Septuagint).  e i.e. Solomon; see 1 Kings iii. 7; iii. 12.  f Proverbs vili. 22. "Wisdom" is, of course, the speaker. Clement’s quotation, here as everywhere else, is taken from 178.
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And again through Isaiah (this utterance too I will remind you of): "I, even I," he says, "am the Lord that speaketh righteousness and declareth truth. Assemble yourselves and come. Take counsel together, ye that are being saved out of the nations. They have no knowledge, who set up their carved image of wood, and pray to gods who shall not save them." Then, lower down, he says: "I am God and there is none righteous except Me, there is no Saviour beside Me. Turn ye unto Me and ye shall be saved, ye who come from the end of the earth. I am God, and there is no other. By Myself do I swear." But He is displeased with idol-worshippers and says: "To whom did ye liken the Lord? Or to what likeness did ye liken Him? Did the carpenter make an image? Did the goldsmith smelt gold and gild it?"—and what follows. Are you then still idol-worshippers? Yet even now beware of God's threats. For the carved images made by hand shall cry out, or rather they who trust in them; for the material is incapable of feeling. Further he says: "The Lord shall shake the inhabited cities, and in His hand shall grasp the whole world as it were a nest." Why tell you of mysteries of wisdom, and of sayings that come from a Hebrew child who was endowed with wisdom? "The Lord created me in the beginning of His ways, for His works"; and, "the Lord giveth wisdom, and from His face are knowledge and understanding." "How long dost thou lie at rest, thou sluggard; when wilt thou awake from the Septuagint. The Hebrew text of this verse gives a different meaning—"possessed" instead of "created"; but see R.V. margin.

CHAP. VIII

Further witness from Isaiah

Isaiah predicts God's judgment on idolatry

The wise Solomon speaks of God as the source of wisdom

Proverbs ii. 6.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. έδων δε αὐκνοσ ἢς, ἦξει σοι ὥσπερ πηγή ὁ ἀμητός σου, ο λόγος ὁ πατρικός, ὁ ἀγαθὸς λύχνος, ὁ κύριος ἔπαγγε τὸ φῶς, τὴν πίστιν πάσι καὶ σωτηρίαν. "κύριος" γὰρ "ὁ ποιήσας τὴν γῆν ἐν τῇ ἱσχύ αὐτοῦ," ὡς φησιν Ἱερεμίας, "ἀνώρθωσεν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ," ἀποπεσόντας γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ εἰδώλα ἡ σοφία, ἡ ἑστὶν ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ, ἀνορθοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν. καὶ αὕτη ἡ

1 πρώτη τοῦ παραπτώματος ἀνάστασις. ὃθεν ἀποτρέπτων εἰδωλολατρείας ἀπάσης ὁ θεσπέσιος παγκόσμιος ἀνακέκραγε Μωυσῆς. "ἄκοντε Ἰσραήλ· κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου, κύριος ἐς ἑστὶ," καὶ "κύριον τὸν θεὸν σου προσκυνήσεις καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις."

νῦν δὴ οὖν σύνετε, ὡς ἀνθρωποί, κατὰ τὸν μακάριον ψαλμῳδὸν ἔκεινον τὸν Δαβὶδ. "δραξαθε παιδείας, μὴ ποτὲ ὅργισθή κύριος, καὶ ἀπολείπθε εξ ὅδοι δικαιας, ὅταν ἐκκαθηθῆ ἐν τάχει ὁ θυμὸς αὐτοῦ. μακάριοι πάντες οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ' αὐτῷ." ἡδὴ
dὲ ὑπεροκτείρων ἡμᾶς ὁ κύριος τὸ σωτήριον ἐνδίδωσε μέλος, οἴον ἐμβαθηρίαν ῥυθμὸν. "ιεὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἔως πότε βαρυκάρδου; ἢνα τὶ ἀγαπάτε ματαιότητα καὶ ζήτετε ψεῦδος;" τὸς οὖν ἡ ματαιότης καὶ τὶ τὸ ψεῦδος; ὁ ἄγιος ἀπόστολος τοῦ κυρίου τοῦς "Ελληνας αἰτιώμενος ἐξηγήσεται σοι. "ὅτι γνώντες τὸν θεὸν οὐχ ὡς θεὸν ἐξοδέσαν ἡ νυχαρίστησαν, ἀλλ' ἐματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἦλθαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ

1 aúth ἤ Mayor. aúth mss.

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

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

Clement of Rome i. 21. 2). Cp. also Psalm cxix. 105, where, however, the Septuagint (cxviii. 105) has "Thy law" instead of "Thy word."\(^{o}\) Jeremiah x. 12.  
\(^{a}\) See Revelation xx. 5. \(^{o}\) Deuteronomy vi. 4. 
\(^{b}\) Deuteronomy vi. 13; x. 20; St. Matthew iv. 10; St. Luke iv. 8. 
\(^{c}\) Psalm ii. 12 (Septuagint). \(^{h}\) Psalm iv. 2.

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CAP. έν ομοώματι εἰκόνος φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ελάττευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα.” καὶ μὴν ὁ γε θεὸς οὗτος, ὃς “ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησε τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν”· οὐ δὲ τὸν μὲν θεὸν οὐ νοεῖς, τὸν δὲ οὐρανὸν προσκυνεῖς, καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἀσβεῖς; ἀκονε πάλιν προφήτου λέγοντος “ἐκλείψει μὲν ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς σκοτισθήσεται, λάμψει δὲ ὁ παντοκράτωρ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν σαλευθήσονται καὶ οἱ οὐρανοὶ εἰλιγήσονται ὡς δέρρις ἐκτενώμενοι καὶ συστελλόμενοι” (ἀδται γὰρ αἱ προφητικαὶ φωναὶ) “καὶ ἡ γῆ φεύγεται ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου.”

IX

Καὶ μνήμας ἃν ἔχομι σοι γραφᾶς παραφέρειν, ὥν οὐδὲ “κεραίᾳ παρελεύσεται μία,” μὴ οὐχὶ ἐπιτελῆς γενομένη· τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου, τὸ ἀγνὸν πνεῦμα, ἐλάλησεν ταῦτα. “μὴ τοῖνυν μηκέτι,” φησίν, “νεε μου, ὁλιγώρει παϊδείας κυρίου, μηδ’ ἐκλύου ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχόμενος.” ὥ τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης φιλανθρωπίας. οὐδ’ ὡς μαθηταὶ ὁ διδάσκαλος οὐδ’ ὡς οἰκέταις ὁ κύριος οὐδ’ ὡς θεὸς ἀνθρώπων, “πατήρ δὲ ὡς ήπιος” ϊόθετει νιους. εἰτα Μωυσῆς μὲν ὁμολογεῖ “ἐμφοβοὶ εἰναι καὶ ἐντρομοῦ,” ἀκούων περί τοῦ λόγου, οὐ δὲ τοῦ

a Romans i. 21, 23, 25.

b Genesis i. 1.

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

IX

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

" See St. Matthew v. 18; St. Luke xvi. 17.
* Proverbs iii. 11.
† Homer, Odyssey ii. 47.
§ Hebrews xii. 21.
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IX

Cap. λόγου ἀκροώμενος τοῦ θείου οὐ δέδιας; οὐκ ἅγων
νάς; οὐχὶ ἀμα τε εὐλαβὴ καὶ σπεύδεις ἐκμαθεῖν,
toutέστι σπεύδεις εἰς σωτηρίαν, φοβοῦμενος τὴν
ὁργὴν, ἁγαπήσας τὴν χάριν, ζηλώσας τὴν ἔλπίδα,
ὑν ἐκκλήσης τὴν κρίσιν; ἤκετε ἤκετε, ὁ νεολαία
η ἐμη: " ἂν γὰρ μὴ ἁθῆσαι ὡς τὰ παιδία γένησθε καὶ
ἀναγεννηθῆτε," ὡς φησιν ἡ γραφή, τὸν ὄντως ὄντα
πατέρα οὐ μὴ ἀπολάβητε, "οὔδ' οὐ μὴ εἰσελεύσεσθέ
ποτε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν." πῶς γὰρ
εἰσελθεῖν ἐπιτέτραπται τῷ ξένῳ; ἀλλ' ἄταν, οἷμαι,
ἐγγραφὴ καὶ πολιτευθή καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀπολάβη,
tοτε "ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς" γενῆσται, τότε
κληρονομήσαι καταξιωθήσεται, τότε τῆς βασιλείας
τῆς πατρίας κοινωνήσει τῷ γνησίῳ, τῷ "ἡγα-
pημένῳ": αὕτη γὰρ ἡ πρωτότοκος ἐκκλησία ἡ ἐκ
πολλῶν ἁγαθῶν συγκεκμενὴ παιδίων· ταύτ' ἠστὶ τὰ
"πρωτότοκα τὰ ἑναπογέγραμμένα ἐν οὐρανοῖς"
καὶ τοσαύταις "μυρίασιν ἀγγέλων" συμπανηγυρί-
ζοντα: πρωτότοκοι δὲ παιδεῖς ἡμεῖς οἱ τρόφιμοι
tοῦ θεοῦ, οἱ τοῦ "πρωτοτόκου" γνήσιοι φίλοι,
οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν άλλων ἀνθρώπων τῶν θεῶν γεννηκότες,
οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἀπεσπασμένοι, οἱ πρῶτοι
tοῦ διαβόλου κεχωρισμένοι.

Νυνὶ δὲ τοσοῦτον τινὲς εἰσών ἀθεώτεροι, ὅσοι
φιλανθρωπότεροι ὁ θεός: ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ δούλων
νιώθεις ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι βούλεται, οἱ δὲ καὶ νιώθεις
ὑπερηφανήσασιν. ὥς τῆς ἀπονοίας τῆς πολλῆς: τῶν
κύριοι ἐπαισχύνεσθε. ἐλευθερίαν ἐπαγγέλλεται,

a St. Matthew xviii. 3; St. John iii. 3, 5.
b St. Luke ii. 49. c St. Matthew iii. 17 etc.

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

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

* Colossians i. 15, 18; Hebrews i. 6.

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CAP. ήμεῖς δὲ εἰς δουλείαν ἀποδιδράσκετε. σωτηρίαν χαρίζεται, ήμεῖς δὲ εἰς θάνατον ὑποφέρεσθε. ζωὴν δωρεῖται αἰώνιον, ήμεῖς δὲ τὴν κόλασιν ἀναμένετε· καὶ "τὸ πῦρ" δὲ προσκοπεῖτε, "δὴ ἦτοίμασεν ὁ κύριος τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ." διὰ τούτῳ ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος "μαρτύρομαι ἐν κυρίῳ," φησίν, "μηκέτι ὑμᾶς περιπατεῖν, καθὼς καὶ τὰ ἔθνη περιπατεῖ ἐν ματαιότητι τοῦ νοὸς αὐτῶν, ἐσκοτισμένοι τῇ διανοίᾳ ὄντες καὶ ἀπηλλοτρωμένοι τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ θεοῦ, διὰ τὴν ἀγνοίαν τὴν ὀδοὺν ἐν αὐτοῖς, διὰ τὴν πώρωσιν τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν. οἶτινες 70. ἔστω παρεξεῖκαν ἀπηλληγκότες τῇ ἀσελγείᾳ εἰς ἐργασίαν ἀκαθαρσίας πάσης καὶ πλεονεξίας." τοιοῦτον μάρτυρον ἐλέγχοντος τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄνοιας καὶ θεοῦ ἑπιβουμένου, τι δὴ ἔτερον ὑπολείπεται τοῖς ἀπίστοις ἦ κρίσις καὶ καταδίκη; οὐ κάμυνε δὲ ὁ κύριος παρανών, ἐκφοβῶν, προτρέπων, διεγείρων, νουθετῶν· ἀφυπνίζει γέ τοι καὶ τοῦ σκότους αὐτοῦ τούς πεπλανημένους διανίστησιν "ἐγειρε," φησίν, "ὁ καθεύδων καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἐπιφανείας σοι ὁ Χριστὸς κύριος," ὁ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἄλογος, ὁ "πρὸ ἐωσφόρου" γεννώμενος, ὁ ζωὴν χαρισάμενος ἀκτίσιν ἀδίας.

Μὴ οὖν περιφρονεῖτω τις τοῦ λόγου, μὴ λάθη καταφρονῶν ἐαυτοῦ. λέγει γὰρ ποῦ ἡ γραφή· "σήμερον ἐὰν τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε, μὴ σκληρύνητε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν ὡς ἐν τῷ παραπτασμῷ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πειρασμοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, οὐ ἐπείρασαν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἐν δοκι-

1 θάνατον Stählin. ἀπώλειαν Sylburg. ἀνθρωπὸν mss.
2 οὐ κάμυνε Münzel. οὐκ ἀμελεῖ mss.
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into—slavery! He bestows salvation, but you sink down into death. He offers eternal life, but you await His punishment; and you prefer "the fire, which the Lord has prepared for the devil and his angels"! Wherefore the blessed apostle says: "I testify in the Lord, that ye no longer walk as the Gentiles also walk, in the vanity of their mind, being darkened in their understanding and alienated from the life of God, because of the ignorance that is in them, because of the hardening of their heart, who being past feeling gave themselves up to lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness and greediness." When such a witness reproves the folly of men and calls upon God to hear, what else remains for unbelievers but judgment and condemnation? Yet the Lord does not weary of admonishing, of terrifying, of exhorting, of arousing, of warning; no indeed, He awakes men from sleep, and those that have gone astray He causes to rise from out the darkness itself. "Awake, thou that sleepest," He cries, "and arise from the dead, and there shall shine upon thee Christ the Lord," the sun of the resurrection, He that is begotten "before the morning star," He that dispenses life by His own rays.

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

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

—St. Matthew xxv. 41.  
—Ephesians iv. 17–19.  
—Ephesians v. 14.  
—Psalm cix. 3 (Septuagint).  
—Hebrews iii. 7–11, from Psalm xcv. 8–11.  

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'Αεὶ οὖν τῆς φωνῆς ὑπακούώμεν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου. ἡ σήμερον γὰρ αἴδιον αἰῶνός 2 ἐστιν εἰκὼν, σύμβολον δὲ τοῦ φωτὸς ἡ ήμέρα, φῶς δὲ ὁ λόγος ἄνθρωπος, δι᾽ οὗ κατανυκτίζεθα τὸν θεόν. εἰκότως ἀρα πιστεύσωμεν καὶ ἅπακούνσωμ ἡ χάρις ὑπερπλεονάσει, ἀπειθήσωμεν δὲ καὶ πλανωμένοις κατὰ καρδίαν ὁδοὺς τε τὰς κυριακὰς μὴ ἔγνωκόσι, ἃς εὐθείας ποιεῖν καὶ εὐθερπίδην παρῆγειλεν Ἰωάννης, τούτως δὲ προσώχθισεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἀπειλεῖ· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς ἀπειλῆς αἰνιγματικῶς ἀπειλήφασιν οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν Ἑβραίων

1 [αὐτοῦ] Stählin.
2 αἴδιον αἰῶν Arcestius. αἴδιος αἰῶν mss.

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

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

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

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

\[\text{Hebrews iii. 7-11, from Psalm xcv. 8-11.}\]

\[\text{See Hebrews iii. 13.}\]

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CAP. IX

πλανήται· οὐ γὰρ "εἰς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσιν"

λέγονται διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν, πρὶν ἡ σφάς αὐτοῦς

κατακολουθήσαντας τῷ Μωναέως διαδόχῳ ὄψε

ποτε ἔργῳ μαθεῖν οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως σωθήναι μὴ

οὐχὶ ὡς Ἰησοῦς πεπιστευκότας.

Φιλάνθρωπος δὲ ὃν ὁ κύριος πάντας ἀνθρώπους

"εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἁληθείας" παρακαλεῖ, ὦ τὸν

παράκλητον ἀποστέλλων. τὰς οὖν ἡ ἐπίγνωσις;

θεωσέβεια. "θεωσέβεια δὲ πρὸς πάντα ωφέλιμος"

κατὰ τὸν Παύλου, "ἐπαγγελιάν ἔχουσα ζωῆς τῆς

νῦν καὶ τῆς μελλοῦσης." πόσου ὦμολογήσατε, ὦ

ἀνθρώποι, εἰ ἐπιπράσκετο σωτηρία αἶδος, ἀνή-

σαθαι ἂν; οὐδὲ εἰ τὸν Πακτωλὸν τις ὄλον, τοῦ

χρυσίου τὸ βείμα τὸ μυθικόν, ἀπομετρήσαι, ἀντ-

άξιον σωτηρίας μυσθόν ἀριθμήσει. μὴ οὖν ἀπο-

κάμητε· ἔξεστιν ύμῖν, ἡν ἑθέλητε, ἐξωνήσασθαι τὴν

πολυσύμβουλον σωτηρίαν οἴκείῳ θησαυρῷ, ἀγάπῃ καὶ

πίστει, ζωῆς ὃς ἑστὶν ἄξιολογος μισθός. " ταότιν

ἡδεως τὴν τιμὴν ὁ θεὸς λαμβάνει. " ἡλπικαμεν

γὰρ ἐπὶ θεώ ζωῆς, ὃς ἑστι σωτηρ πάντων ἀν-

θρώπων, μάλιστα πιστῶν." οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι περὶ-

πεφυκότης τῷ κόσμῳ, οἷα φυκία τινὰ ἐνάλοις

πέτραις, ἄθανασίας ἀληθείας, καθάπερ ὁ Ίθα-

κήσος γέρων οὖ τῆς ἁληθείας καὶ τῆς ἐν ὑμνῳ

πατρίδος, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος ἱμειρόμενοι

φωτός, ἄλλα τοῦ καπνοῦ.

1 ἀγάπῃ καὶ πίστει ζωῆς, δς . . . μισθός. Stählin. The

punctuation given above is suggested by Mayor.

2 ήμειρόμενοι Markland. ήμειρόμενος mss.

a 1 Timothy ii. 4.

b St. John xv. 26. There is a play on words in the Greek

which it is hard to reproduce in English. The word para-

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

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

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

CAP. IX. Θεοσέβεια δὲ, εξομοιώσα τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν τὸν ἀνθρωπόν, κατάλληλον ἐπιγράφεται δι- δάσκαλον θεὸν τὸν καὶ μόνον ἀπεικάσαι καὶ ἀξίαν δυνάμενον ἀνθρωπὸν θεῷ. ταῦτῃ τῷ ἀπόστολῳ τὴν διδασκαλίαν θείαν ὑπός ἐπιστάμενος "σὺ δὲ, ὁ Τιμόθεε," φησίν, "ἀπὸ βρέφους ίερὰ γράμματα οἶδας, τὰ δυνάμενά σε σοφίαι εἰς σωτηρίαν διὰ πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ." ίερὰ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς τὰ ἱεροποιοῦντα καὶ θεοποιοῦντα γράμματα, εἰς ὅν γραμμάτων καὶ συλλαβῶν τῶν ίερῶν τὰς συγκεκριμένας γραφὰς, τὰ συντάγματα, ὃ αὐτὸς ἀκολουθῶς ἀπόστολος "θεοπνεύστους" καλεῖ, "ἀφελίμους οὖσας πρὸς διδασκαλίαν, πρὸς ἐλεγχού, πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν, πρὸς παιδείαν τὴν ἐν ἰδιαίτερῇ, ἵνα ἅρτιος ἢ τὸ θεὸν ἀνθρωπὸς πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐξηρτημένος." οὐκ ἂν τὸς οὕτως ἐκπλαγεὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄγιων τὰς προτροπὰς ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν Κύριον τὸν φιλάνθρωπον. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἥττο ἔργον μόνον ἐστὶν αὐτῷ σύζευξιν τὸν ἀνθρωπόν. βοᾷ γοῦν ἐπείγως εἰς σωτηρίαν αὐτὸς "ἡγικεῖν ἢ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν"· ἐπιστρέφει τοὺς ἀνθρώ- πους πλησιάζοντας τῷ φόβῳ. ταῦτῃ καὶ ὁ ἀπό- στολος τοῦ κυρίου παρακαλῶν τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐρμηνεύεις γίνεται τῆς θείας φωνῆς, "ὁ κύριος ἡγικεῖν" λέγων, "εὐλαβεῖσθε μὴ καταληφθῶμεν κενοί." Ιλμείς δὲ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἄδεεις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπιστοὶ, μήτε αὐτῷ πειθόμενοι τῷ κυρίῳ μήτε τῷ Παύλῳ, καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ δεδεμένων.1 ι" γεύσασθε

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

a 2 Timothy iii. 15. b 2 Timothy iii. 16, 17.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

Now when godliness sets out to make man as CHAP. IX
far as possible resemble God, it claims God as a suitable teacher; for He alone has the power worthily to conform man to His own likeness. This teaching the apostle recognizes as truly divine, when he says, "And thou, Timothy, from a babe hast known the sacred letters, which have power to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith in Christ." For the letters which make us sacred and divine are indeed themselves sacred, and the writings composed from these sacred letters and syllables, namely, the collected Scriptures, are consequently called by the same apostle "inspired of God, being profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness; that the man of God may be complete, thoroughly furnished unto every good work." No one could be so deeply moved at the exhortations of other holy men as at those of the Lord Himself, the lover of men; for this, and nothing else, is His only work, that man may be saved. In His own person He cries out, urging men on to salvation: "The kingdom of heaven is at hand." He converts men when they draw nigh to Him through fear. On this point the Lord's apostle becomes an interpreter of the divine voice when in appealing to the Macedonians he says, "The Lord is at hand; take care lest we be found empty." But you have so little fear, or rather faith, that you obey neither the Lord Himself, nor Paul, though Paul was a prisoner for the sake of Christ. "O taste

\[c St. Matthew iv. 17.\]
\[d Philippians iv. 5; the latter half of the saying is not found in the New Testament.\]
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CAP. 9. καὶ ἰδεῖτε ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ θεός." ἡ πίστις εἰσάξει, ἡ πείρα διδάξει, ἡ γραφὴ παιδαγωγήσει "δεύτε, ὦ τέκνα," λέγουσα, "ἀκούσατε μοι, φόβον κυρίου διδάξω ὑμᾶς." εἶτα ὡς ἦδη πεπιστευκόσι συντόμως ἐπιλέγει "τίς ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ὁ θέλων ἐκεῖνον ἀγαθά;" ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν, φίλοι ἡμῶν, οἱ τάγαθόι προσκυνήται, οἱ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἤλοσται. ἀκούσατε οὖν "οἱ μακράν," ἀκούσατε "οἱ ἐγγύς," οὐκ ἀπεκρύβη τινὰς ὁ λόγος. φῶς ἐστὶ κοινὸν, ἐπιλάμπει πάσιν ἄνθρωποις ὑδεῖς Κυμέριος ἐν λόγῳ. σπεύδωμεν εἰς σωτηρίαν, ἐπὶ τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν εἰς μίαν ἀγάπην 1 συναχθῆται οἱ πολλοὶ κατὰ τὴν τῆς μοναδικῆς οὐσίας ἔνωσιν σπεύδωμεν. ἀγαθοεργοῦμενοι ἀναλόγως ἐντότα διώκωμεν, τὴν ἀγάθην ἐκζητούντες μονάδα. ἢ δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν ἔνωσις ἐκ πολυφωνίας καὶ διαστοπάς ἀρμονίαν λαβοῦσα θεϊκὴν καὶ συνωφυνίαν, ἐνὶ χορεύτῃ καὶ διδασκάλῳ τῷ λόγῳ ἐπομένη, ἐπὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀλῆθειαν ἀναπαυομένη, "Ἀββα" λέγουσα "ὁ πατὴρ" ταῦταν ὁ θεὸς τὴν φωνὴν τὴν ἀληθινὴν ἀσπάζεται παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ παιδῶν πρώτην καρποῦμεν. 1

1 Stählin suggests ἀγέλην.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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

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

i See St. Mark xiv. 36; Romans viii. 15 and Galatians iv. 6.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

X

'Αλλ' ἐκ πατέρων, φατέ, παραδεδομένον ἕμων ἔθος ἀνατρέπεσ τού εὐλογον. καὶ τί δὴ οὐχὶ τῇ πρώτῃ τροφῇ, τῷ γάλακτι, χρώμεθα, ὧ δὴπουθεν συνείδιαν ἡμᾶς ἐκ γενετής αἴ τίθαι; τί δὲ

78 R. αὐξάνομεν ή μειοῦμεν τὴν πατραφαν τοσίαν; καὶ οὐχὶ τὴν ἱσθεν, ὡς παρειλήφαμεν, διαφυλάττομεν; τί
dὲ οὐκέτι τοὺς κόλπους τοὺς πατρός ἐναποβλύζομεν, ἥ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ἡ νηπιάζοντες ὑπὸ μητράσιν
tε ἐκτρεφόμενοι γέλωτα ὕφλομεν, ἐπιτελοῦμεν ἔτι, ἄλλα σφάς αὐτοὺς, καὶ εἰ μὴ παιδαγωγῶν ἐτύχομεν
ἀγαθῶν, ἐπανωρθώσαμεν; ἔτα ἔτι τῶν πλώνν 1 αἱ

παρεκβάσεις καὶ οἱ ἐπιζήμιοι καὶ ἐπισφαλεῖς οὕσαι, ὄμως γλυκεῖα πῶς προσπέπτουσιν, ἔτι δὲ τοῦ βίου
οὐχὶ τὸ ἔθος καταλιπόντες 2 τὸ πονηρόν καὶ ἐμπαθές
καὶ ἄθεον, καὶ οἱ πατέρες χαλεπαίνωσιν, ἔτι τὴν
ἀληθείαν ἐκκλινοῦμεν καὶ τὸν ὄντως ὄντα πατέρα
ἐπιζήτησομεν; 3 οἶον δηλητήριον φάρμακον τὴν συν-

ήθειαν ἀπωσάμενοι; τοῦτ' αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ τὸ κάλ-

λιστὸν τῶν ἐγχειρουμένων ἔστω, ὑποδείξαι ύμῖν ὡς
ἀπὸ μανίας καὶ τοῦ τρισαθλίου τούτου ἔθους ἐμισθή-

ἡ θεοσέβεια. οὔ γὰρ ἂν ἐμισθήσῃ ποτὲ ἡ ἀπηγορεύθη
ἀγαθὸν τοσοῦτον, οὐ μείζων οὐδὲν ἐκ θεοῦ δεδώ-

ρηται πώ τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γενέσει, εἰ μὴ συν-

αρταλάζομεν τῷ ἔθει, ἐταὶ μέντοι ἀποβύςαντες τὰ

ώτα ἡμῖν, οἶον ἰπποὶ σκληραύχειν ἀφηνιάζοντες,
tοὺς χαλινοὺς εὐδακόντες, ἀπεφεύγετε 4 τοὺς λόγους,

1 πλῶν Cobet. παλῶν Schwartz. παθῶν MSS.
2 καταλιπόντες Cobet. καταλείποντες MSS.
3 ἐπιζήσομεν Sylburg. ἐπιζήσομεν MSS.
4 ἀπεφεύγετε . . . ὑπελαμβάνετε Stahlin. ἀποφεύγετε . . .

υπολαμβάνετe MSS.

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X.

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

CAP. άποσείσασθαι μεν τοὺς ἡμίχους ύμων τοῦ βίου ἡμᾶς ἐπιποδοῦντες, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς κρημνοὺς τῆς ἀπωλείας ύπὸ τῆς ἀνοίας φερόμενοι ἐναγῄ τὸν ἄγιον ὑπελαμβάνετε τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου. ἔπεται τοι- γαροῦν ύμῖν κατὰ τὸν Σοφοκλέα τὰ ἐπίχειρα τῆς ἐκλογῆς.

νοῦς φρούδος, ὥτ' ἀχρεία, φροντίδες κεναί,

καὶ οὖν ἴστε ὡς παντὸς μᾶλλον τοῦτο ἀληθὲς, ὅτι ἄρα οἱ μὲν ἁγαθοὶ καὶ θεοσεθεῖς ἁγαθῆς τῆς ἁμοιῆς τεύχονται τάγαθον τετμηκότες, οἵ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων πονηρῶν τῆς καταλήλης τιμωρίας, καὶ τῷ γε ἄρχοντι τῆς κακίας ἐπήρτηται κόλασις. ἀπειλεῖ γοῦν αὐτῷ ὁ προφήτης Ζαχαρίας "ἐπι- τιμήσαι ἐν σοί ὁ ἐκλεξάμενος τὴν Ἱεροναλήμ: οὖν ἴδοι τοῦτο δαλὸς ἔξεσπασμένος εἰ πυρὸς;" τίς οὖν ἐτὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὀρεξὶ ἐγκεῖται θανάτου ἐκουσίον; τί δὲ τῷ δαλῷ τῷ θανατηφόρῳ τούτῳ 74 P. προσπεφεύγασιν, μεθ' οὗ καταφλεξήσονται, ἔξων βιώναι καλῶς κατὰ τὸν θεόν, οὐ κατὰ τὸ ξόος; θεὸς μὲν γὰρ ζωὴν χαρίζεται, έθος δὲ πονηρῶν μετὰ τὴν ἐνθέντε ἀπαλλαγὴν μετάνοιαν κενὴν ἀμα τι- μωρία προστρίβεται, "παθῶν δὲ τε νῆπιος ἕγνω," ὃς ἀπολλύει δεισιδαιμονία καὶ σύξει θεοσέβεια.

'Ἰδέτω τις ύμῶν τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς εἰδώλοις λα- τρεύοντας, κόμη ρυπῶντας, ἐσθῆτι πιναρῆ καὶ κατ-

1 ἀποφέύγετε . . . ὑπελαμβάνετε Stählin. ἀποφέύγετε . . . ὑπολαμβάνετε mss.

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

b Sophocles, Frag. 863 Nauck.

c Zechariah iii. 2.

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

Lost senses, useless ears, and fruitless thoughts;

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

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

A play upon the words theos (God) and ethos (custom).

Hesiod, Works and Days 218.
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CAP. ερρωγυία καθυβρισμένος, λοτρών μὲν παντάπασιν ἀπειράτους, ταῖς δὲ τῶν ὁνύχων ἀκμαῖς ἐκτεθηριῳμένους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν αἰδοίων ἀφηρημένους, ἔργων δεικνύντας τῶν εἰδώλων τὰ τεμένη τάφους τινάς ἡ δεσμωτήρια· οὗτοί μοι δοκοῦσι πενθεῖν, οὐ θρησκεύειν τοὺς θεούς, ἐλέου μᾶλλον ἡ θεοσεβείας ἄξια πεποιθότες. καὶ ταύτα ὀράντες ἔτι τυφλώττετε καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην τῶν πάντων καὶ κύριον τῶν ὅλων ἀναβλέψετε; οὐχὶ δὲ καταφεύ-ξεοθε, ἐκ τῶν ἐνταῦθα δεσμωτηρίων ἐκφεύγοντες, ἐπὶ τὸν ἐλευ τὸν ἐξ οὐρανῶν; ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἐκ πολλὰς τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἀντέχει ποι θαρώπον, ὦσπερ ἐκ καλιᾶς ἐκπλήπτοντος νεοττοῦ ἡ μήτηρ ὄρνης ἐφίππταται· εἰ δὲ ποι καὶ θηρίων ἔρπηστικον περιχάνοι τῷ νεοττῷ,

μήτηρ δ’ ἀμφιποτάται ὀδυρομένη φίλα τέκνα·

ὁ δὲ θεὸς παντὴρ καὶ ξητεῖ τὸ πλάσμα καὶ ἱάται τὸ παράπτωμα καὶ διώκει τὸ θηρίον καὶ τὸν νεοττόν αὖθις ἀναλαμβάνει ἐπὶ τὴν καλιὰν ἀναπτήναρ παρ-ορμῶν. εἶτα κύνες μὲν ἡδη πεπλανημένοι ὀδαῖς ῥυμηλατοῦντες ἐξίγνενουν τὸν δεσπότην καὶ ἱπποὶ τὸν ἀναβάτην ἀποσεισάμενοι εἰνὶ ποι συρίγματι ὕπνουσαν τῷ δεσπότῃ. “ἐγνω δὲ,” φησί, “βοῖς τὸν κτησάμενον καὶ ὄνος τὴν φάτνην τοῦ κυρίου αὑτοῦ, Ἁραχὴ δὲ με οὐκ ἔγνω.” τί οὖν ὁ κύριος; οὐ μνησικακεῖ, ἔτι ἐλεεί, ἔτι τὴν μετάνοιαν ἀπαίτει. ἐρέσθαι δὲ ύμᾶς βούλομαι, εἰ οὐκ ἀτοποὶ ύμῶν δοκεῖ πλάσμα ύμᾶς τούς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιγεγονότας. ⁴

⁴ ἐπιγεγονότας mss. [ἐπι]γεγονότας Stühlin.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

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

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

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

CAP. τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν εἰληφότας καὶ ὄντας ὅλως τοῦ θεοῦ ἐτέρω δουλεύειν δεσπότη, πρὸς δὲ καὶ θεραπεύειν ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν τύραννον, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τὸν πονηρόν. τίς γάρ, ὃ πρὸς τῆς ἀληθείας, σωφρονών γε τάγαθον καταλείπων κακία σύνεστιν; τίς δὲ ὅστις τον θεὸν ἀποφεύγων δαιμονίως συμβολ; τίς δὲ νόσο εὖναι
 δυνάμενος τοῦ θεοῦ δουλευέων ἦδεται; η τίς οὐρανοῦ

75 P. πολίτης εἶναι δυνάμενος ἑρέθος | διώκει, εξὸν παρά-
δεισον γεωργεῖν καὶ οὐρανὸν περιπολεῖν καὶ τῆς
ζωτικῆς καὶ ἀκριβάτων μεταλαμβάνειν πηγῆς,
καὶ ἰχνος ἑκείνης τῆς φωτεινῆς ἀεροβατοῦντα
νεφέλης, ὡσπερ ὁ Ἰλίας, θεωροῦντα τὸν ὑπὸν
<τὸν>¹ σωτῆριον; οἱ δὲ σκωλήκων δίκην περὶ
tέλματα καὶ βορβόρους, τὰ ἦδοντα ἐρυματα, καλν-
δουμένων ἀνοιχτῶς καὶ ἀνοίγτως ἐκβόσκονται
τρυφάς, ὑώδεις τινὲς ἀνθρώποι. ὅσο γάρ, φησίν,
"ἡδοναι βορβόρω" μᾶλλον ἡ καθαρὸ ὅδατι καὶ
"ἐπὶ φορητῷ μαργαίνουσιν" κατὰ Δημόκριτον. μὴ
dῆτα σὺν, μὴ δῆτα ἕξαντραποδισθῶμεν μηδὲ ὑώ-
δεις γενώμεθα, ἀλλ’ "ὡς τέκνα φωτὸς" γνήσια,
ἀναθρήσωμεν καὶ ἀναβλέψωμεν εἰς τὸ φῶς, μὴ
νόθου ἡμᾶς ἐξελέγξῃ ὁ κύριος ὡσπερ ὁ ἠλίους
τοὺς ἄντοις.

Μετανοήσωμεν οὖν καὶ μεταστώμεθεν εἰς ἀμαθίας
eis ἐπιστήμην, εἰς ἀφροσύνης εἰς φρόνησιν, εἰς
ἀκρασίας εἰς ἐγκράτειαν, εἰς ἀδικίας εἰς δικαιοσύνην,
eἰς ἁθεότητος εἰς θεόν. καλὸς ο κύνδυνος αὐτομολειν

¹ <τὸν> inserted by Sylburg.

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a Clement has drawn together the Elijah of the Transfiguration (St. Matthew xvii. 5) and the Elijah of Mount Carmel (1 Kings xviii. 44).

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who have received your soul from Him, and are entirely His, should serve another master; aye, and more than that, should pay homage to the tyrant instead of to the rightful king, to the wicked one instead of to the good? For, in the name of truth, what man in his senses forsakes that which is good to keep company with evil? Who is there that flees from God to live with daemons? Who is pleased with slavery, when he might be a son of God? Or who hastens to a region of darkness, when he might be a citizen of heaven; when it is in his power to till the fields of paradise, and traverse the spaces of heaven, when he can partake of the pure and life-giving spring, treading the air in the track of that bright cloud, like Elijah, with his eyes fixed on the rain that brings salvation? a But there are some who, after the manner of worms, wallow in marshes and mud, which are the streams of pleasure, and feed on profitless and senseless delights. These are swinish men; for swine, says one, "take pleasure in mud" b more than in pure water; and they "are greedy for offal," according to Democritus. c Let us not then, let us not be made slaves, nor become swinish, but as true "children of the light," d direct our gaze steadily upward towards the light, lest the Lord prove us bastards as the sun does the eagles.

Let us therefore repent, and pass from ignorance to knowledge, from senselessness to sense, from intemperance to temperance, from unrighteousness to righteousness, from godlessness to God. It is a

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

CAP. πρὸς θεόν. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἐστιν ἀπολαύσαι ἁγαθῶν τοὺς δικαιοσύνης ἔραστας, οἵ τινι ἀΐδιον διώκομεν σωτηρίαν, ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ ὃν αὐτὸς αἰνίτεται ὁ θεὸς διὰ 'Ἡσαίου λαλῶν ἀν ν ῆ ἐστι κληρονομία τοῖς θεραπεύουσι κύριοιν'· καλὴ γε καὶ ἐράσμιος ἡ κληρονομία, ο全媒体 χρυσόν, ο全媒体 ἀγρύριον, ο全媒体 ἐσθής, τὰ τῆς γῆς. ἕνθα ποι ἁς καὶ λησθῇς ποι καταδύεται περὶ τῶν χαμαίζηλον πλοῦτον ὀφθαλμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ὁ θησαυρὸς τῆς σωτηρίας, πρὸς ὃν γε ἐπείγεσθαι χρὴ φιλολόγους γενομένους, συναπαίρει δὲ ἡμῖν ἐνθέντε ἡ ἐργα ὧν ἀστεία καὶ συνίπταται τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας πτερό. ἢ

Ταύτῃν ἡμῖν τῆς κληρονομίαν ἐγχειρίζει ἡ ἀΐδιος διαθήκη τοῦ θεοῦ τῆν ἀΐδιον δωρεὰν χορηγοῦσα· ὁ δὲ φιλόστοργος οὗτος ἡμῶν πατήρ, ὁ ὄντως πατήρ, ο全媒体 παῦσαι πρὸτρέπων, ο全媒体 θετῶν, παιδεύων, φιλῶν· ο全媒体 γὰρ ὁμίζων παῦσαι, συμβουλεύει δὲ τὰ ἀριστά· "δίκαιον γένεσθε, λέγει κύριος· ο全媒体 ψωμίται πορεύεσθε ἐφ' ὑδρῷ, καὶ ὃσοι ἡ ἐχεῖ το ἀγρύριον, βαδίσατε καὶ ἀγοράσατε καὶ πίετε ἀνευ ἀγρυρίῳ. ἔπὶ τὸ λουτρὸν, ἔπὶ τῆς σωτηρίας, ἐπὶ τῶν φωτισμῶν παρακαλεῖ μονον-

76 P. υνὴ θ ῥ ν καὶ λέγων· ἡν σοι δίδωμι καὶ βάλαται, παιδίον, ο全媒体 σα ὑπεράν τε καὶ τά ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα ζῷα σοι χαρίζωμι· μόνον, ὁ παιδίον, δύψησιν τοῦ πατρός, ἀμωθεί σοι δειχθῆσαι ὁ θεὸς· ο全媒体 κατηεκέρται ᾧ ἀλήθεια, δίδωσι σοι καὶ τά πτημα καὶ τά νηκτα καὶ τά ἔπτ τῆς γῆς· ταυτά σου

1 τά τῆς γῆς after ἐσθής Markland: after σῆς καὶ mss. : καὶ [τά τῆς γῆς] Stählin.

a Isaiah liv. 17 (Septuagint).

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glorious venture to desert to God's side. Many are lovers of righteousness, who follow after eternal salvation; but the best of all are those to which God Himself alludes when He says through Isaiah, "there is an inheritance to those who serve the Lord." Aye, and a glorious and lovely inheritance it is, not of gold, not of silver, not of raiment, things of earth, into which perchance moth and robber may find a way, casting longing eyes at the earthly riches; but that treasure of salvation, towards which we must press forward by becoming lovers of the Word. Noble deeds set out from hence in our company, and are borne along with us on the wing of truth.

This inheritance is entrusted to us by the eternal covenant of God, which supplies the eternal gift. And this dearly loving Father, our true Father, never ceases to exhort, to warn, to chasten, to love; for He never ceases to save, but counsels what is best. "Become righteous, saith the Lord. Ye that are thirsty, come to the water; and as many as have no money, go ye, and buy and drink without money." It is to the font, to salvation, to enlightenment that He invites us, almost crying out and saying: Earth and sea I give thee, my child; heaven too, and all things living in earth and heaven are freely thine. Only, my child, do thou thirst for the Father; without cost shall God be revealed to thee. The truth is not sold as merchandise; He gives thee the fowls of the air and the fishes of the sea and all that is upon the earth. These things

b See St. Matthew vi. 19, 20.

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CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. ταῖς εὐχαρίστοις τρυφαῖς δεδημούργηκεν ὁ πατὴρ.

αργυρῷ μὲν ὄνησται ὁ νόθος, ὁς ἀπωλείας ἐστὶν παιδίον, ὁς "μαμωνᾶ dουλεύειν" προῆρηται, σοὶ δὲ τὰ σὰ ἐπιτρέπει, τῶ γνησίῳ λέγω, ἃ τῷ φιλοῦντι τὸν πατέρα, δι’ δὲν ἐτι ἐργάζεται, ὃ μόνῳ καὶ ὑπισχύεται λέγων: "καὶ ἡ γῆ οὐ πραθήσεται εἰς βεβαιώσων"· οὐ γὰρ κυροῦται τῇ φθορᾷ: "ἐμὴ γάρ ἐστιν πάσα ἡ γῆ," ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ σῇ, ἕαν ἀπολάβῃς τὸν θεόν. ᾐδεν ἡ γραφὴ εἰκότως εὐαγγελίζεται τοῖς πεπιστευκόσιοι· "οἱ δὲ ἄγιοι κυρίων κληρονομοῦσιν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ." ποιὰν, ὃ μακάριε, δόξαν, εἰπέ μοι: "ἡν ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν οὐδὲ οὐδὲ ἦκουσεν, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη καὶ χαρῆσονται ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ κυρίου αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν." ἔχετε, ὃ ἄνθρωποι, τὴν θείαν τῆς χάριτος ἐπαγγελίαν, ἀκηκόατε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τῆς κολάσεως ἀπειλήν, δι’ ὅν ὁ κύριος σώζει, φόβω καὶ χάριτι παιδαγωγῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον· τί μέλλομεν; τί οὐκ ἔκκλινομεν τὴν κόλασιν; тί οὐ καταδεχόμεθα τὴν δωρεάν; τί δὲ οὐχ αἰροῦμεθα τὰ βελτίωνα, θεόν ἀντὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ, καὶ σοφίαν εἰδωλολατρείας προκρίνομεν καὶ ζωῆν ἀντικαταλασσόμεθα 2 θανάτου 3; "Ἰδοὺ τέθεικα πρὸ

1 λέγω Stählin. λέγει mss.
2 ἀντικαταλασσόμεθα Heinsius. ἀντικαταλασσόμενοi mss.
3 θανάτου Mayor. θανάτῳ mss.

a St. Matthew vi. 24; St. Luke xvi. 13.
b See St. John v. 17.
c Leviticus xxv. 23.
d Clement takes the Old Testament phrase in a spiritual sense. It is the "inheritance incorruptible . . . reserved in heaven" (1 St. Peter i. 4) which is not "delivered over to corruption."

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the Father hath created for thy pleasant delights. CHAP.

The bastard, who is a child of destruction, who has chosen to "serve mammon," shall buy them with money; but to thee, that is, to the true son, He commits what is thine own,—to the true son, who loves the Father, for whose sake the Father works until now, and to whom alone He makes the promise, "and the land shall not be sold in perpetuity"; for it is not delivered over to corruption. "For the whole land is mine," He says; and it is thine also, if thou receive God. Whence the Scripture rightly proclaims to believers this good news: "The saints of the Lord shall inherit God's glory and His power." What kind of glory, thou Blessed One? Tell me. A glory "which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man. And they shall rejoice in the kingdom of their Lord for ever, Amen." You have, my fellow-men, the divine promise of grace; you have heard, on the other hand, the threat of punishment. Through these the Lord saves, training man by fear and grace. Why do we hesitate? Why do we not shun the punishment? Why do we not accept the gift? Why do we not choose the better things, that is, God instead of the evil one, and prefer wisdom to idolatry and take life in exchange for death? "Behold, I have set before

* Leviticus xxv. 23.

† The first part of this passage is from 1 Cor. ii. 9, where it is introduced by St. Paul as a quotation. Origen tells us, in his Commentary on St. Matthew (see Migne, Origen vol. iii. p. 1769), that St. Paul took it from the Apocalypse of Elijah. Doubtless the rest of the passage, as given by Clement, comes from the same source.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA


77 Ρ. Βούλεσθε ύμιν ἁγαθὸς γένωμαι σύμβουλος; ἀλλ' ύμείς μὲν ἀκούσατε· ἔγω δὲ, εἰ δυνατόν, ἐνδείξομαι. ἔχρην μὲν ύμᾶς, ὃ ἀνθρωποί, αὐτοῦ πέρι ἐννοούμενος τοῦ ἁγαθοῦ ἐμφυτοῦ ἔπαγεσθαι πίστιν, μάρτυρα ἀξιόχρεως 2 αὐτόθεν οἰκοθεν, περιφανῶς αἰρομενὴν τὸ βέλτιστον, μηδὲ [ζητεῖν] 3 εἰ μεταδιωκτέον ἐκπονεῖν. καὶ γάρ εἰ τῷ μεθυστέον, φέρε εἰπεῖν, ἀμφιβάλλειν χρῆ· ύμείς δὲ πρὶν ἡ ἐπισκέψασθαι μεθύσατε· καὶ εἰ ὑβριστέον, οὐ πολυπραγμονεῖτε, ἀλλ' ἡ τάχος υβρίζετε. μόνον δ' ἀρα εἰ θεοσεβητέον, ζητεῖτε, καὶ εἰ τῷ σοφῷ τούτῳ [δὴ] 5 τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ κατακολουθέον, τοῦτο δὴ 6 βουλής καὶ σκέψεως ἀξιούσε, οὐδ' ὃ πρέπει θεῷ, ὃ τι ποτὲ ἐστι, νενοηκότες. πιστεύσατε ἡμῖν κἂν ὡς μέθη, ἵνα σωφρονήσῃ· πιστεύσατε κἂν ὡς υβρεί, ἵνα ζήσητε, εἰ δὲ καὶ πείθεσθαι βούλεσθε τὴν ἐναργή

1 πείθεσθαι Sylburg. πείθεσθε mss.
2 πίστιν, μάρτυρα ἀξιόχρεων Wilamowitz. μάρτυρα ἀξιόχρεων, πίστιν mss.
3 [ζητεῖν] Mayor. Stählin retains ζητεῖν, and inserts τὸ δ' ἁγαθὸν (Schwartz) before ἐκπονεῖν.
4 ἡ Sylburg. ἡ mss.
5 [δὴ] Stählin. ἡ δὴ Stählin. ἡ δὲ mss.

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

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your face,” He says, “death and life.” a The Lord chap.
solicits you to choose life; He counsels you, as a X
father, to obey God. “For if ye hearken to Me,” He says, “and are willing, ye shall eat the good of
the land,”—the grace follows upon obedience. “But
if ye hearken not to Me, and are unwilling, a sword
and fire shall devour you,”—the judgment follows
upon disobedience. “For the mouth of the Lord
hath spoken it;” b and a word of the Lord is a law
of truth.

Would you have me become a good counsellor to you? Then do you hearken; and I, if it be possible,
will show myself one. When reflecting upon the
good itself, you ought, my fellow-men, to have
called to your aid faith, implanted in man, which is
a trustworthy witness from within ourselves, with
the utmost clearness choosing what is best. c You
ought not to have toiled to discover whether or no
the best is to be followed. Let me give you
an illustration: you ought to doubt whether it is
right for a man to get drunk; but your practice is
to get drunk before considering the question. Or
in the case of riotous indulgence, you do not make
careful examination, but indulge yourselves with all
speed. Only, it would seem, when godliness is in
question, do you first inquire; and when it is a
question of following this wise God and the Christ,
this you think calls for deliberation and reflection,
when you have no idea what it is that befits God.
Put faith in us, even as you do in drunkenness, that
you may become sober. Put faith in us, even as
you do in riotous indulgence, that you may live.
And if, after having contemplated this clear faith


b

c
CAP. τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐποπτεύσαντες ¹ πίστιν, φέρε ὑμῖν ἐκ
περιουσίας τὴν περὶ τοῦ λόγου παραθήκομαι πειθώ.
ὑμεῖς δέ, οὐ γὰρ τὰ πάτρια υμᾶς ἔτι τῆς ἀληθείας
ἀπασχολεῖ ἐκ τοῦ προκατηχημένου, ἀκούοιτ' ἃν ἢδη
τὸ μετὰ τούτο ὅπως ἔχει· καὶ δὴ μὴ τις υμᾶς τοῦτο
tοῦ ὁνόματος αἰσχύνῃ προκαταλαμβανέτω, "ητ' ἀνδρας μέγα σινεται," παρατρέποντα σωτηρίας.
'Αποδυσάμενοι δ' οὖν περιφανῶς ἐν τῷ τῆς
ἀληθείας σταδίῳ γνησίως ἀγωνιζόμεθα, βραβεύ-
οντος μὲν τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἀγίου, ἀγωνιζόμεθα δὲ
tοῦ δεσπότου τῶν ὁλων. οὐ γὰρ σμικρὸν ἡμῖν τὸ
ἀθλὸν ἀθανασία πρόκειται. μὴ οὖν ἐτί φροντίζετε
μηδὲ [el] ² ὅλιγον, τι υμᾶς ἀγορεύουσι σύρφακες
τινες ἀγοραίοι, δεισιδαιμονίας ἀθεοὶ χωρεύτω, ἀνοία
καὶ παρανοια ἐς αὐτὸ ἀθούμενοι τὸ βάραθρον,
eἰδῶλων ποιηταί καὶ λίθων προσκυνηταί. οἴδε γὰρ
ἀνθρώπων ἄποθεοῦν τετολμήκασι, τρισκαίδεκατον
'Αλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα ἀναγράφοντες θεοῦ, "ὅν
Βαβυλών ἥλεγξε νεκρόν." ἀγαμαί τοῖν τὸν Χισον³
σοφιστήν, Θεόκριτος ὅνομα αὐτῶ. μετὰ τὴν 'Ἀλε-
ξανδροῦ τελευτὴν ἐπισκόπων ὁ Θεόκριτος τὰς δόξας
tὰς κενᾶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢς εἶχον περὶ θεῶν, πρὸς
78 P. τοὺς πολίτας | "ἀνδρεσ," εἶπεν, "θαρρεῖτε ἄχρις
αν ὀρᾶτε τοὺς θεούς πρότερον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπο-

² [el] Kontos.
³ Χίων Cobet. θείον mss.

¹ ἐποπτεύσαντες Potter. ἐποπτεύσαντες mss.

This seems to refer to the "implanted faith" mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph. It may, perhaps, refer only to the preceding sentence; in which case we should translate, "this clear proof of the virtues," i.e. the proof derived from studying the lives of Christians.

⁶ Homer, Iliad xxiv. 45; Hesiod, Works and Days 318.
⁷ Sibyline Oracles v. 6. Alexander was called the

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in the virtues, you desire to be obedient, come then, I will lay before you in abundance persuasive arguments concerning the Word. On your part (for it is no longer the case that the ancestral customs, in which you have formerly been instructed, prevent you from attending to the truth), listen now, I pray you, to the nature of the words that follow. Moreover, let no feeling of shame for the name of Christian deter you; for shame “does great hurt to men,” when it turns them aside from salvation.

Having then stripped before the eyes of all, let us join in the real contest in the arena of truth, where the holy Word is umpire, and the Master of the universe is president. For the prize set before us is no small one, immortality. Cease then to pay any further heed, even the slightest, to the speeches made to you by the rabble of the marketplace, godless devotees of daemon-worship, men who are on the very verge of the pit through their folly and insanity, makers of idols and worshippers of stones. For these are they who have dared to deify men, describing Alexander of Macedon as the thirteenth god, though “Babylon proved him mortal.” Hence I admire the Chian sage, Theocritus by name, who in ridicule of the vain opinions which men held about gods, said to his fellow-citizens after the death of Alexander, “Keep a cheerful heart, comrades, so long as you see gods dying before men.” But “thirteenth god” because his name was added to the twelve deities of Olympus, to whom Clement alludes on p. 53 of this volume.

For this and other witty remarks attributed to Theocritus of Chios (quite a different person from the poet Theocritus) see Frag. hist. Graec. ii. p. 86.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. θυνῆσκοντας. θεοὺς δὲ δὴ τοὺς ὀρατοὺς καὶ τὸν σύγκλιδα τῶν γενητῶν τούτων ὄχλουν ὁ προσκυνῶν καὶ προσέταιριζόμενος, αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν δαιμόνων ἀθλιώτερος μακρῷ. θεὸς γὰρ οὐδαμὴ οὐδαμῶς ἄδικος ὦσπερ οἱ δαιμονεῖς, ἀλλ' ὡς οἶον τε δικαίο-

τατος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστων αὐτῶ ὀμοιότερον οὕδεν ἢ ὅσ ἂν ἡμῶν γένηται ὁτι δικαίωτατος.

βατ' εἰς ὅδον δὴ πᾶς ὁ χειρῶναξ λέως,

οἱ τὴν Δίος γοργῶπτην Ἐργάνην¹ θεὸν

οτατοῖοι λίκνοι προστρέπεσθε,²

ηλίθιοι τῶν λίθων δημιουργοί τε καὶ προσκυνηταί.

ὁ Φειδίας ὕμων καὶ ὁ Πολύκλειτος ἡκόντων Πραξι-

τέλης τε αὐ καὶ Ἀπελλής καὶ ὅσοι τὰς βαναύσους

μετέρχονται τέχνας, γήινοι γης ὅντες ἑργάται. τὸτε

γὰρ φησὶ τὶς προφητεία δυστυχώσεων τά τῇδε

πράγματα, ὅταν ἀνδραίας πιστεύσωσι. ἡκόντων

οὐν αὖθις, οὐ γὰρ ἀνήσων καλῶν, οἱ μικροτέχναι.

οὐδείς του τούτων ἔμπνουν εἰκόνα δεδημιουργηκένη,

οὐδὲ μὴν ἐκ γῆς μαλθακῆν ἐμαλαξέ σάρκα. τὸς

ἐτηςει μυελὸν ἢ τὸς ἐπιχεῖν όστέα; τὸς νεῦρα δι-

ἐτεινεν³; τὸς φλέβας ἐφύσησεν; τὸς αἷμα ἐνέχεεν ἐν

αὐταίς ἢ τὸς δέρμα περιέτεινεν; ποῦ δ' ἂν τῶν

αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμοὺς ποιῆσαι βλέποντας; τὸς ἐν-

ἐφύσης πνεύμαν; τὸς δικαιοσύνην ἠδωρήσατο; τὸς

ἀθανασίαν ὑπέσχεται; μόνος ὁ τῶν ὀλων δημι-

ουργός, ὃ "ἀριστοτέχνας πατήρ," τοιοῦτον ἀγαλμά

ἐμψυχον [ἡμᾶς]⁴ τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἐπλασεν. ὁ δὲ

¹ Ἐργάνη from Plutarch, De Fortuna 99 a. ἐργάνην mss.
² προστρέπεσθε Plutarch. προτρέπεσθε mss.
³ διέτεινεν ἢ Wilamowitz. [ἡμᾶς] Mayor.

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²12

a Cp. Plato, Theaetetus 176 b-c.
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indeed, as for gods that can be seen, and the motley multitude of these created things, the man who worships and consorts with them is far more wretched than the very daemons themselves. For God is in no way unrighteous as the daemons are, but righteous in the highest possible degree, and there is nothing more like Him than any one of us who becomes as righteous as possible.\(^a\)

Go forth into the way, ye craftsmen all, Who supplicate, with winnowing fans aloft, The goddess Industry, stern child of Zeus,\(^b\)

—stupid fashioners and worshippers of stones! Let your Pheidias and Polycleitus come hither, Praxiteles too, and Apelles, and all the others who pursue the mechanical arts, mere earthly workers in earth. For a certain prophecy says that misfortune shall overtake this world of ours, on the day when men put their trust in statues.\(^c\) Let them come then, I say again,—for I will not cease to call,—puny artists that they are. Not one of them has ever fashioned a breathing image, or made tender flesh out of earth. Who gave its softness to the marrow? Who fixed the bones? Who stretched out the sinews? Who inflated the arteries? Who poured blood into them and drew the skin around? How could any of these men make eyes that see? Who breathed life into man? Who gave him the sense of right? Who has promised immortality? None but the Creator of the universe, the "Father, the supreme artist,"\(^d\) formed such a living statue as man; but your

\(^a\) Sophocles, Frag. 760 Nauck. The goddess "Industry," whom the craftsmen worshipped in their processions, is Athena. See Plutarch, De Fortuna 99 a.

\(^b\) See Pindar, Frag. 57 Schroeder.

\(^c\) The source of this quotation is unknown.

\(^d\) See Pindar, Frag. 57 Schroeder.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. Ὅλομπιος ὑμῶν, εἰκόνος εἰκών, πολὺ τῇ ἄλη-
θείᾳ ἀπάδων, ἔργον ἐστὶ κωφὸν χειρῶν Ῥωμαῖον. ἂν
τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ θεοῦ (καὶ 

υἱὸς τοῦ νοῦ γνήσιος θεοῦ λόγος, φωτὸς ἀρχή-
νοῦ τοῦ φώς), εἰκών δὲ τοῦ λόγου ὁ ἀνθρώπος ὁ ἁτρωπος ὁ

ἀληθινός, ὁ νοῦς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ, ὁ θεός εἰκόνα

τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῷ ὅμοιωσον" διὰ τοῦτο γεγενήθη αὐτῷ

λεγόμενος, τῇ κατὰ καρδίαν φρονήσει τῷ θείῳ

παρεικαζόμενος λόγῳ καὶ ταύτῃ λογικός. ἀνθρώπῳ
dὲ τοῦ ὁμοίου τοῦ γνησίου γνήσιος εἰκὼν τὰ

ἀγάλματα τὰ ἀνδρείκελα καὶ τὸ ἀληθινοὶ

ἐπίκαιρον ἐκμαγεῖον καταφαίνεται. οὔδεν οὖν

ἄλλ᾽ ἡ μανία ἐμπλέως οἶδ᾽ ἔδοξε μοι γεγονέναι,
tοσαύτῃ σπουδῆ περὶ τὴν ἄληθν καταγνώμενος.

'Επιτεθραπται τῇ ὑπὸ κενῆς δόξης ἡ συνήθεια

dουλείας μὲν γεύσασα ὑμᾶς καὶ ἄλογον περι-

ἐγραφίας. νοημῶν δὲ ἄνωμοι καὶ ἀπαιτήλων ὑπο-

κρίσεων ἄγνοια αἰτία, ἢ ὅτε κατασκευάσα εἰσάγονα

εἰς τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος κηρῶν ὀλθέργων καὶ
eἰδώλων ἐπιστυγῶν πολλάς τῶν δαμόνων ἐπινοή-

σασα μορφᾶς, κηλίδα τοῖς ἐπομενοῖς αὐτῇ ἐν-

απεμάζατο θανάτου μακροῦ. λάβετε οὖν ὡδῷ

λογικόν, λουσάθε οἱ μεμολυμένοι, περιρράνατε

αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συνήθειας ταῖς ἀλθειώνοις οἰκογόνοι.

καθαροὺς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναβηκά δει. ἀνθρωπος εἰς

tὸ κοινῶτατον, ἐπιζήτησον τὸν δημιουργὴν σετὴ

1 ὁ inserted by Mayor. 2 καὶ inserted by Wilamowitz.

3 ἐπιτεθραπται Mayor. ἐπιτεθραπται mss.

4 κατασκευάς εἰσάγονα εἰς Schwartz. κατασκευασθείσα mss.

Stählin marks the passage as corrupt.

a A reminiscence of the Platonic theory of ideas, in which
there are three stages of reality: first, the archetypal idea;
secondly, the object, which is a visible expression and a
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

Olympian Zeus, an image of an image, far removed from the truth, is a dumb lifeless work of Attic hands. For "the image of God" is His Word (and the divine Word, the light who is the archetype of light, is a genuine son of Mind); and an image of the Word is the true man, that is, the mind in man, who on this account is said to have been created "in the image" of God, and "in His likeness," because through his understanding heart he is made like the divine Word or Reason, and so reasonable. But statues in human form, being an earthen image of visible, earthborn man, and far away from the truth, plainly show themselves to be but a temporary impression upon matter. In my opinion, then, nothing else but madness has taken possession of life, when it spends itself with so much earnestness upon matter.

Now custom, in having given you a taste of slavery and of irrational attention to trifles, has been fostered by idle opinion. But lawless rites and deceptive ceremonies have for their cause ignorance; for it is ignorance that brought to mankind the apparatus of fateful destruction and detestable idolatry, when it devised many forms for the daemons, and stamped the mark of a lasting death upon those who followed its guidance. Receive then the water of reason. Be washed, ye that are defiled. Sprinkle yourselves from the stain of custom by the drops that truly cleanse. We must be pure to ascend to heaven. In common with others, thou art a man; seek after Him who created thee. In thine own particular instance of the idea; thirdly, the picture, which is but a representation of the object, nothing more than the image of an image, three stages removed from reality.

\footnote{a} i.e. the Father. \textit{Cp. v. Strom. 8. 7.}  
\footnote{b} i.e. the Father. \textit{Cp. v. Strom. 8. 7.}  
\footnote{c} Genesis i. 26.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. viiıs el, to idiaítatoν, anagnórisoν ton patéra. ou

dé eti taíς amartíaς paraμéneis, proostetíkáς

ήdoνais; tín lalísie kúrios "ýmow ëstín ñ

basileía tón ouρaνóν"; ýmow ëstín, én

thelísie, tów pòs tôn theón tìn proaírésew ésoχkótoνw

ýmow, én ëthelísie pístetwsi mónon kai tì

sýntomía tòu

khrýgmatos ëpeðeðai, ñs úpakoúßantes ëi

Ninveítai

tìs prosoðokíshìs álóswes me tá

vìoνia γnòswi tìn

kalhí antukatallázeantìs swtoríaw.

Pòs ówv ãnélbíth, phsíw, eis ouρaνóus; "ôdzôs"

ëstíw ñ kúrios, "stëner" méν, ãllì "ëx ouρaνów,"

stënet méν, ãllì eis ouρaνóus anaçêmpousa. stënet

ëpì gí̂s úpkoðoùmëni, plateia èn ouρaνóis proos-

kynoumëni. ëvò ñ mév áπustòs tòu lógon suγgíswmì

tìs plánìs ñxei tìn ágìoun, ñ ðè eis áîta bállòmènon

cai ñ ðì ñþúìhì pàra tìs gnóìs ñfèrì tìn ìpòiteïèn, 

cai ðòsw ñe ìrròmìóteròs ñvìa ñòçëì, pròs kákoù ñ

sùnèsws ñwñá, ñtí tì ñfroñhìsì këxhìsì kàtìhìròw

tò bélìistòw | ñhì ñloméwos. péfìκìs ìgàr ñs-¹

ånthro-

pos ðìkèìsws ñxèw pròs ðeòw. ñòçëì ðòwv tòn ìppòw

árovì ou bíaðòmeða ouètì tòn taíron kùnnygëtëùn, 

pròs ñ péfìkìs dè èkástòw tòw ìzwìs periéìłkòwmen, 

ouòsw úmèìw ñaì tòn ånthrówpon ëpì tìn ouρaνów

gënòméwv ðèaw, fùtòv ouρáwì sou ìlìthòsw, ëpì tìn

gnòswi pràkakalòùméwv tòu ðeòw, tò ðìkèìw ñwñá

cai èxaiρòtòw kai ðìwòmaiðìkòw pàra tì ñlìa ñía

càtìlìmëménoì, àutàpìkìs èfòdòwv álòwvìw, ðèòse-
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

self thou art a son; recognize thy Father. But thou, dost thou still abide by thy sins, engrossed in pleasures? To whom shall the Lord say, "Yours is the kingdom of heaven?" It is yours, if you wish, for it belongs to those who have their will set upon God. It is yours, if you are willing simply to trust and to follow the short way of our preaching. This it is which the Ninevites obediently heard; and by sincere repentance they received, in place of the threatened destruction, that glorious salvation.

"How then," you may say, "am I to go up into heaven?" The Lord is "the Way"; a "narrow" way, but coming "from heaven"; a "narrow" way, but leading back to heaven. It is narrow, being despised upon earth; and yet broad, being adored in heaven. Accordingly he who has never heard the Word can plead ignorance as an excuse for his error; whereas he whose ears ring with the message deliberately nurses his disobedience in the soul itself; and, the wiser he may seem to be, his intelligence ever proves a source of evil, because he finds wisdom an accuser, once he has failed to choose what is best. For it is his nature, as man, to be in close fellowship with God. As, then, we do not force the horse to plough, nor the bull to hunt, but lead each animal to its natural work; for the very same reason we call upon man, who was made for the contemplation of heaven, and is in truth a heavenly plant, to come to the knowledge of God. Having laid hold of what is personal, special and peculiar in his nature, that wherein he surpasses the other animals, we counsel him to equip himself with godliness, as a sufficient provision for
Clement of Alexandria

CAP. X ἐπειν, παρασκευάζεσθαι συμβουλεύοντες. γεώργιεί, φαμέν, εἰ γεωργὸς εἶ, ἀλλὰ γνώθι τὸν θεὸν γεωρ-γῶν, καὶ πλείθι ὁ τῆς ναυτιλίας ἔρων, ἀλλὰ τὸν οὐράνιον κυβερνήτην παρακαλῶν· στρατευόμενον σε κατείληφεν ἢ γνώσις· τοῦ δίκαιου σημαίνοντος ἄκουε στρατηγοῦ.

Καθάπερ οὖν κάρω καὶ μέθη βεβαρημένοι ἀνα-νήματε καὶ διαβλέψαντες ὅλγον ἐννοήθητε, τί θέλουσιν υἱὲν οἱ προσκυνούμενοι λίθοι καὶ ἃ περὶ τῆς ὑλῆς κενοσπούδως διαπανάτε· εἰς ἄγνοιαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὸν βίον ὃς τὸ ἔργῳ ἔρων ἐς ἃ νάτατον καταναλίσκετε, τούτῳ μόνον τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἑλπίδος εὑρόμενοι τὸ πέρας, οὔδε αὐτοὺς οἷοὶ τε ὅντες οἰκτείραι, ἀλλ' οὖνδε τοὺς κατελεώσαν ύμᾶς τῆς πλάνης ἐπιτιθείοι πείθεσθαι γίνεσθε, συννθεία κακῇ δεδουλωμένοι, ἣν ἀπηρτημένοι αὐθαίρετοι μέχρη τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀναπνοῆς εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπο-φέρεσθε. "ὅτι τὸ φῶς ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἡγάπησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι μᾶλλον τὸ σκότος ἢ τὸ φῶς," ἔξον ἀπομάξασθαι τὰ ἐμποδών τῇ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ τὸν τύφον καὶ τὸν πλούτον καὶ τὸν φόβον, ἐπιφθεγγομένους τὸ ποιητικὸν ὑπὸ τοῦτο

πὴ δὴ χρήματα πολλὰ φέρω τάδε; πὴ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς πλάζομαι;

οὐ βούλεσθε οὖν τὰς φαντασίας ταύτας τὰς κενὰς ἀπορρώθατε τῇ συννθείᾳ αὐτῇ ἀποτάξασθαι, κενο-δοξία ἐπιλέγοντες.

ψευδῆς ὅνειροι χαίρετ', οὐδὲν ἦτ' ἄρα;

1 πλείθι Sylburg. πλήθι mss.

a St. John iii. 19. b Homer, Odyssey xiii. 203-4.
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his journey through eternity. Till the ground, we say, if you are a husbandman; but recognize God in your husbandry. Sail the sea, you who love sea-faring; but ever call upon the heavenly pilot. Were you a soldier on campaign when the knowledge of God laid hold of you? Then listen to the commander who signals righteousness.

Ye men that are weighed down as with torpor Money and drink, awake to soberness. Look about you and consider a little what is the meaning of your worship of stones, and of all that you squander with useless zeal upon mere matter. You are wasting both money and livelihood upon ignorance, just as you are wasting your very life upon death. For nothing but death have you gained as the end of your vain hope. You cannot pity yourselves,—nay, you are not even in a fit state to be persuaded by those who have compassion upon you for your error. Enslaved to pernicious custom, you cling to it of your own free will until the latest breath, and sink down into destruction. "For the light has come into the world, and men loved the darkness rather than the light," a though they might sweep away the hindrances to salvation, absurd folly and riches and fear, by repeating this verse of the poet:

Whither this wealth do I bear; my journey, where doth it lead me? b

Do you not then wish to fling away these vain fancies, and bid good-bye to custom itself, saying these last words to vain opinion?—

Farewell, deceitful dreams; for ye were nought.c

Euripides, Iphigeneia among the Taurians 569.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

Cap. Ti yap rjyeiade, o ànthropoi, ton Túxwna | 81 Π, 'Ερμήν καὶ τὸν 'Ανδοκίδου καὶ τὸν 'Αμύητον; ἡ παντὶ τῶν δήλων ὄτι λίθους, ὥσπερ καὶ <αὐτόν> τὸν 'Ερμήν. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶ θεὸς ἡ ἁλως καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἐστὶ θεὸς ἡ ἱρος, ἀλλὰ πάθη ἄερος καὶ νεφών, καὶ οὔτε τρόπον οὐκ ἐστὶν ἡμέρα θεὸς, οὐδὲ μὴν ουδὲ ἐναυτὸς οὐδὲ χρόνος ο ἐκ τούτων συμπληροῦμενος, οὔτως οὐδὲ ἥλιος οὐδὲ σελήνη, οἷς ἐκαστὸν τῶν προειρημένων διορίζεται. τίς ἂν οὖν τὴν εὐθυναν καὶ τὴν κόλασιν καὶ τὴν δίκην καὶ τὴν νέμεσιν εὐ φρονών ὑπολάβοι θεοῦ; οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐρινὸς οὐδὲ μοῖραι οὐδὲ εἰμαρμένη, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ πολυτελεὶ μηδὲ δόξα μηδὲ πλοῦτος θεοῦ, ὅν καὶ ζωγράφου τυφλὸν ἐπιδεικνύονοι. εἰ δὲ αἰῶν καὶ ἔρωτα καὶ ἀφροδίτην ἐκθεάζετε, ἀκολουθοῦντες αὐτοῖς ἀισχύνη καὶ ὀρμὴ καὶ κάλλος καὶ συνοῦσια. οὐκον εὖ ἂν εἰκότως ὑποσ καὶ θάνατος θεῷ διδυμάνει παρ' ὑμῖν νομίζοιτο, πάθη ταῦτα περὶ τὰ ζῷα συμβαίνοντα φυσικῶς. οὐδὲ μὴν κῆρα οὐδὲ εἰμαρμένην οὐδὲ μοῖρας θεῶς ἐνδίκως ἔρειτε. εἰ δὲ ἐρίς καὶ μάχῃ οὐ θεοῦ, οὐδὲ Ἄρης οὐδὲ Ἐνυώ. ἔτι τε <ei> αἱ ἀστραπαὶ καὶ οἱ κεραυνοὶ καὶ οἱ ὀμβροὶ οὔ θεοῖ, πῶς τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ

1 Túxwna Meurs (see Hesychius s.v.). τυφώνα mss.
2 'Ανδοκίδου Heinsius. ἀνδοκίδην mss.
3 <αὐτόν> inserted by Mayor.
4 ἄερος Markland. ἄερων mss. 5 <ei> inserted by Sylburg.

a The Hermes was a stone pillar ending in a bust, which was set up in fields and roads as a landmark, and also before the doors of Athenian houses. An essential part of the figure was a phallus, which points to Hermes being originally a fertility god. He was, therefore, easily identified with Tycho, an Attic nature divinity of similar character to 220.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

Why, my fellow-men, do you believe in Hermes Tycho and in the Hermes of Andocides and the one called Amyetus? Surely it is plain to everyone that they are stones, just as Hermes himself. And as the halo is not a god, nor the rainbow either, but conditions of the atmosphere and clouds; and precisely as day is not a god, nor month, nor year, nor time which is made up of these; so also neither is the sun or moon, by which each of the before-mentioned periods is marked off. Who then in his right mind would imagine such things as audit, punishment, right and retribution to be gods? No, nor even the Avengers, nor the Fates, nor destiny are gods; for neither is the State, nor glory, nor wealth, the last of which painters represent as blind. If you deify modesty, desire and love, you must add to them shame, impulse, beauty and sexual intercourse. No longer, then, can sleep and death be reasonably held among you to be twin gods, since these are conditions which naturally affect all animals; nor indeed will you rightly say that doom, destiny, or the Fates are goddesses. And if strife and battle are not gods, neither are Ares and Enyo. Further, if flashes of lightning, thunderbolts and showers of rain are not gods, how can fire and water be such?

Priapus (Diodorus iv. 6; Strabo 588). For the identification see Hesychius s.v., and A. B. Cook, Zeus, i. pp. 175–6. In 415 B.C., just before the sailing of the expedition to Sicily, all the Hermæ in Athens were mutilated except one, which stood in front of the house of Andocides and was called the “Hermes of Andocides” (Plutarch, Nicia xiii.). The account of the excitement caused by this outrage, and the accusation made against Andocides, is found in Thucydides vi. 27, and in Andocides, On the Mysteries. The Hermes Amyetus was, according to Hesychius, on the Acropolis at Athens.
CAP. theoi; πώς δὲ καὶ οἱ διάσοντες καὶ οἱ κομῆται διὰ πάθος ἄερος γεγενημένοι; ὦ δὲ τὴν τύχην θεον λέγων καὶ τὴν πράξιν λεγέτω θεόν. εἰ δὴ οὖν τούτων οὐδὲ ἐν θεὸς εἶναι νομίζεται οὐδὲ μὴν ἐκεῖνων τῶν χειροκμήτων καὶ ἀνασθήτων πλασμάτων, πρόνοια δὲ τις περὶ ἡμᾶς καταφαίνεται δυνάμεως θείκης, λείπεται οὐδὲν ἃλλο ἢ τούτο ὄμολογεῖν, ὅτι ἀρα ὄντως μόνος ἔστι τε καὶ υφέστηκεν ὁ μόνος ὄντως υπάρχων θεός.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ μανδραγόραν ἡ τι ἀλλὸ φάρμακον πεπωκός ἀνθρώποις οὐδίκατε οἱ ἀνόητοι, θεός δὲ ύμῖν ἀνανήμαι δοίχ ποτὲ τούτῳ τοῦ ὄπισθου καὶ συνιέναι θεόν μὴδὲ ἱχυσῶν ἡ λίθον ἡ δένδρον ἡ πράξιν ἡ πάθος ἡ νόσον ἡ φόβον ἰδιάλλεσθαι ὡς θεόν. "τρίς γὰρ μύριοι εἰσιν" ὡς ἀληθῶς "ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ δαίμονες" ὅπος "ἀθάνατοι" οὖδὲ μὴν θνητοὶ (οὐδὲ γὰρ αἰσθήσεως, ὅταν καὶ πανάτου, μετευλήφασιν), λίθοι δὲ καὶ ξύλοι δεσπόται ἀνθρώπων, ύβριζοντες καὶ παραπόνδοντες ἐν τοῖς μιὸν διὰ τῆς | συνηθείας. "ἡ γῆ δὲ τοῦ κυρίου," φησὶ, "καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς:" εἰστα τι τολμᾶς ἐν τοῖς τοῦ κυρίου τρυφῶν ἀγγοείν τὸν δεσπότην; κατάλειπε τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐμῆν, ἔρει σοι ὁ κύριος, μὴ θύγης τοῦ ὀόδος ὁ ἐγὼ ἀναδίωμι, τῶν καρπῶν ὁν ἐγὼ γεωργῶ μὴ μεταλάμβανε· ἀπόδος, ἀνθρωπε, τὰ τροφεία τῶ θεῶ· ἐπιγυνωθὲ σοι τὸν δεσπότην· ἢδον εἴ πλάσμα τοῦ θεοῦ· τὸ δὲ οἴκειον αὐτοῦ πῶς ὁ ἐνδίκως ἀλλότριον γένοιτο; τὸ γὰρ

1 οὐκάτε οἱ Schwartz. οὐκάσων mss.

a Hesiod: quoted above, p. 89.

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How, too, can shooting stars and comets, which come about owing to some condition of the atmosphere? Let him who calls fortune a god, call action a god also. If then we do not believe even one of these to be a god, nor yet one of those figures made by hand and devoid of feeling, but there is manifest round about us a certain providence of divine power, then nothing remains save to confess that, after all, the sole truly existing God is the only one who really is and subsists.

But verily, you who do not understand are like men that have drunk of mandrake or some other drug. God grant that one day you may recover from this slumber and perceive God, and that neither gold nor stone nor tree nor action nor suffering nor disease nor fear may appear to you as God. For it is quite true that "there are thrice ten thousand daemons upon all-nourishing earth," but they are not "immortal" as the poet says. No, nor yet mortal,—for they do not partake of feeling, and therefore cannot partake of death,—but they are stone and wooden masters of mankind, who insult and violate human life through custom. It is written, "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof." Then how do you dare, while enjoying the delights of the Lord's possessions, to ignore their Master? Leave My earth, the Lord will say to you; touch not the water I send forth; partake not of the fruits My husbandry produces. Give back, O man, to God the recompense for your nurture. Acknowledge your Master. You are God's own handiwork; and how could that which is His peculiar possession rightly become another's? For that which is alienated,

Psalm xxiv. 1.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. X

ἀπηλλοτριωμένον στερόμενον τῆς οἰκειότητος στερε- ταί τῆς ἀληθείας. ἦ γὰρ οὖν ἡ Νιώβη τρόπον τινά, μᾶλλον δὲ ἔνα μυστικότερον πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀποφθέγ- ξωμαί, γυναῖκας τῆς Ἑβραίας δύτην (Δωτ ἐκάλουν αὐτὴν οἱ παλαιοὶ) εἰς ἀναισθησίαις μετατρέπεσθε; λειτουρμένην ταύτην παρειλήφαμεν τὴν γυναίκα διὰ τὸ Σοδόμων ἔραν. Σοδομίται δὲ οἱ άθεοί καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὴν ἀσέβειαν ἔπιστρεφόμενοι, σκληροκάρδιοι τε καὶ ἡλίθιοι. ταύτας οἶνον θεόθεν ἐπιλέγεσθαι σοι τὰς φωνὰς· μὴ γὰρ οἶνον λίθους μὲν εἶναι ἑρα καὶ ξύλα καὶ ὄρνεα καὶ φειδε, ἀνθρώπους δὲ μὴ· πολὺ δὲ τούναντιον ἱέρους μὲν ὅντως τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπολάμβανε, τὰ δὲ θηρία καὶ τοὺς λίθους ὅπερ εἰσίν. οἱ γὰρ τοῦ δείλατοι τῶν ἀνθρώ- πων καὶ ἄθλιοι διὰ μὲν κόρακος καὶ κολοκύθι νομίζουσι τὸν θεὸν ἐμβοᾶν, διὰ δὲ ἀνθρώπου σιωπᾶν, καὶ τὸν μὲν κόρακα τετμηκασιν ὡς ἁγγελὸν θεοῦ, τὸν δὲ ἀνθρωπὸν τοῦ θεοῦ διώκουσιν, οὐ κρύζοντα, οὐ κλώζοντα, φθεγγόμενον δὲ· οἴμοι, λογικῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως κατηχόντα ἀποσφάττειν ἀπανθρώ- πως ἐπιχειροῦσιν, ἐπὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην καλοῦντα, οὕτε τὴν χάριν τὴν ἀνωθὲν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι οὕτε τὴν κόλασιν ἐκτρεπόμενοι. οὐ γὰρ πιστεύουσι τῷ θεῷ οὐδὲ ἐκμαθάνουσι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ.

Οὗ δὲ ἀρρητος ἡ φιλανθρωπία, τούτοις ἀχώρητος ἡ μυσόπονηρία. τρέφει δὲ ὁ μὲν θυμὸς τὴν κόλασιν ἐπὶ ἀμαρτία, εὖ ποιεῖ δὲ ἐπὶ μετανοία ἡ φιλανθρωπία. οἰκτρώτατον δὲ τὸ στέρεσθαι τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπικουρίας. ὀμμάτων μὲν οὖν ἡ πήρωσι καὶ τῆς

1 ὑπολάμβανε Markland. ὑπολαμβάνετε mss.

a Genesis xix. 26. b Or, an angel.
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being deprived of its connexion with Him, is deprived of the truth. Are you not turned into a state of insensibility after the manner of Niobe, or rather— to address you in more mystical language—like the Hebrew woman whom the ancient people called Lot's wife? This woman, tradition tells us, was turned into stone on account of her love of Sodom; and by Sodomites we understand the atheists and those who are devoted to impiety, who are both hard of heart and without sense. Believe that these utterances are being spoken to you from heaven. Do not believe that stones and stocks and birds and snakes are sacred things, while men are not. Far rather regard men as really sacred, and take beasts and stones for what they are. For indeed the timid and wretched among men believe that God cries out through a raven or a jackdaw, but is silent through man; and they have given honour to the raven as a messenger of God, while they persecute the man of God, who neither caws, nor croaks, but speaks. Yes, alas! they set to work with inhuman hatred to slaughter him when he instructs them with reason and human love, and calls them to righteousness, while they neither look for the grace that comes from above, nor do they seek to avoid the punishment. For they do not trust in God, nor do they fully understand His power.

But He whose love for man is unspeakably great, has also an unbounded hatred for sin. His wrath breeds the punishment to follow upon sin; on the other hand, His love for man brings blessings upon repentance. It is a most pitiable thing to be deprived of the help that comes from God. Now the blinding of the eyes and deafening of the ears are more
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CAP. άκοης ή κώφωςις ἀλγεινοτέρα παρὰ τὰς λοιπὰς τοῦ ποιητοῦ πλεονεξίας. ἢ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀφήνηται τῆς οὐρανίου προσόψεως, ἢ δὲ τῆς θείας μαθήσεως ἐστέρηται. οὐκ εἰς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀνάπτυροι καὶ τυφλοὶ μὲν τῶν νοῶν, κωφοὶ δὲ τὴν σύνεσιν ὄντες οὐκ ἀλγεῖτε, οὐκ ἀγανακτεῖτε, οὐκ ὀφειλεῖτε, οὐκ ὀφείλετε, οὐκ ὀφεῖλον οἶνον καὶ τὸν ὀφειλέταν ποιητὴν ἔπεθυμήσατε, οὐδὲ τὸν τῶν πάντων δημιουργὸν καὶ πατέρα ἀκοῦσαι καὶ μαθεῖν ἐξεξήγησάτε, τὴν προαίρεσιν τῆς σωτηρίας συνάψατε: ἐμποδῶν γὰρ ἵσταται οὐδὲν τῷ σπεύδοντι πρὸς γνῶσιν θεοῦ, οὐκ ἀπαίδευσια, οὐ πενία, οὐκ ἄδοξία, οὐκ ἄκτισμος; οὐδὲ τὰ τὴν ὄντως ἀληθῆ σοφίαν "χαλκῷ δημόσιο" μεταλλάξας εύχεται οὐδὲ σκήνῳ: εὐ γὰρ τοις πάντοις μᾶλλον τοῦτο ἐίρηται.

ὁ χρηστὸς ἡ σωτηρίας ἡ γὰρ τοῦ δικαίου ζηλωτὴς, ὡς ἄν τοῦ ἄνενδεοῦς ἐραστῆς, ὀλυγοθῆς, οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ τυλικῷ ή ἐν αὐτῷ [καὶ] τῷ θεῷ τῷ μακάριον θησαυρίσας, ἕνθα οὐ σῆς, οὐ ληστῆς, οὐ πειρατῆς, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἄδιδυς δοτήρ. ἁρα οὖν εἰκότως ωμοίωσθε τοῖς ὀφεισιν ἑκείνοις, οἷς ἡ ὁτα πρὸς τοὺς κατεπέδωσας ἀποκέκλημα. "θυμὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς," φησίν ἡ γραφὴ, "κατὰ τὴν ὀμοίωσιν τοῦ ὀφείου, ὡσεὶ ἀσπίδος καρφῆς καὶ βυσσοῦς τὰ ὡτα αὐτῆς, ἦτις οὐκ εἰσ-

1 ἀπαίδευσια Hopfenmüller. ἀπαιδεία mss.
2 χρηστὸς Blass (from Stobaeus, Flor. 37. 6). χριστὸς mss.
3 [kai] Barnard. εν αὐτῷ καὶ Dindorf.

Homer, Iliad viii. 534. The phrase, well known, no doubt, to Clement's first readers, is used metaphorically. Cp. the "sword of the Spirit" in Ephesians vi. 17. The
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grievous than all the other encroachments of the
evil one; for by the first of these we are robbed of
the sight of heaven, and by the second we are
deprived of the divine teaching. But you, though
maimed in respect of the truth, darkened in mind
and deaf in understanding, still are not grieved, are
not pained, have felt no longing to see heaven and
its maker, nor have you sought diligently to hear
and to know the Creator and Father of the universe,
by fixing your choice on salvation. For nothing
stands in the way of him who earnestly desires to
come to the knowledge of God, not want of instruc-
tion, not penury, not obscurity, not poverty. And
when a man has “conquered by brass,” or by iron
either, the really true wisdom, he does not seek to
change it. Indeed no finer word has ever been said
than this:

In every act the good man seeks to save.

For he who is zealous for the right, as one would
expect from a lover of Him who is in need of nothing,
is himself in need of but little, because he has stored
up his blessedness with none other than God Himself,
where is no moth, no robber, no pirate, but only
the eternal giver of good things. With good reason,
therefore, have you been likened to those serpents
whose ears are closed to the enchanters. “For their
heart,” the Scripture says, “is after the likeness of
the serpent, even like an adder that is deaf and
stoppeth her ears, who will not give heed to the
earthly warrior is ever bent on fresh conquests and spoils:
the spiritual warrior finds “the true wisdom” a sufficient
prize, and seeks to save others rather than to destroy.

c See St. Matthew vi. 19, 20.

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CAP. akou'setai phonìs ἐπαδόντων." ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς γε κατεπάσθητε τὴν ἀγριότητα καὶ παραδεξασθε τὸν ἥμερον καὶ ἥμετερον λόγον καὶ τὸν ίδιον ἀποπτύσατε τὸν δηλητήριον, ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα ὑμῖν τὴν φθοράν, ὡς ἕκεινοι τὸ γῆρας, ἀποδύσασθαι δοθῇ.

'Ακούσατε μου καὶ μὴ τὰ ὥτα ἀποβύστητε μηδὲ τὰς ἀκοὰς ἀποφράξητε, ἀλλ' εἰς νοῦν βάλεσθε τὰ λεγόμενα. καλὸν ἄστι τὸ φάρμακον τῆς ἀθανασίας· στήσατε ποτε τοὺς ὅλους τοὺς ἔρπηστικούς. "οἱ γὰρ ἐχθροὶ κυρίου χοῦν λείξουσι," φησίν [ἡ γραφὴ λέγει] ἀνανεύσατε τῆς γῆς εἰς αἰθέρα, ἀναβλέψατε εἰς οὐρανὸν, θαυμάσατε, παύσασθε καραδοκοῦντες τῶν δικαίων τὴν πτέρναν καὶ "τὴν ὅδον τῆς ἀληθείας" ἐμποδίζοντες φρόνιμοι γένεσθε καὶ ἄβλαβεῖς· τάχα του ὁ κύριος ἀπλότητος ὑμῖν δωρήσεται πτερόν (πτερώσαι προήρηται τοὺς γνησίους), ὑνα δὴ τοὺς χηραμοὺς καταλείποντες οἰκήσητε τοὺς οὐρανοὺς. μόνον εἷς ὁλης καρδίας μετανοήσωμεν, ὡς ὁλη καρδία δυνηθῆναι χωρῆσαι τὸν θεόν." ἐλπίσατε ἐπ' αὐτὸν," φησί, "πάσα συναγωγὴ λαοῦ, ἐκχέετε ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ πάσος τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν." πρὸς τοὺς κενοὺς τῆς πονηρίας λέγει· ἐλεεῖ 84 Ρ. καὶ δικαιοσύνης πληροῖ· πιστευον, ἄνθρωπε, ἄνθρωπῳ καὶ θεῷ· πιστευον, ἄνθρωπε, τῷ πάθοντι καὶ προσκυνομένῳ. θεῷ ζῶντι πιστεύσατε οἱ δούλοι τῷ νεκρῷ· πάντες ἄνθρωποι πιστεύσατε μόνῳ τῷ πάντων ἄνθρωπων θεῷ· πιστεύσατε καὶ μισθὸν λάβετε σωτηρίαν· "ἐκζητήσατε τὸν θεόν,

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

a Psalm lviii. 4, 5. b Psalm lxxii. 9.

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voice of charmers." But as for you, let your wild-
ness be charmed away, and receive the gentle Word
we preach, and spit out the deadly poison, in order
that as fully as possible it may be given you to cast
off corruption, as serpents cast their old skin.

Listen to me, and do not stop up your ears or shut
off your hearing, but consider my words. Splendid
is the medicine of immortality; stay at length your
serpent-like windings. For it is written: "the
enemies of the Lord shall lick the dust." Lift up
your head from earth to the sky, look up to heaven
and wonder, cease watching for the heel of the just
and hindering "the way of truth." Become wise
and yet harmless; perchance the Lord will grant
you wings of simplicity (for it is His purpose to
supply earth-born creatures with wings) in order
that, forsaking the holes of the earth, you may dwell
in the heavens. Only let us repent with our whole
heart, that with our whole heart we may be able to
receive God. "Hope in Him," the Scripture says,
"all ye congregations of people; pour out all your
hearts before Him." He speaks to those who are empty of wickedness; He pities them and fills
them with righteousness. Trust, O man, in Him
who is man and God; trust, O man, in Him who
suffered and is adored. Trust, ye slaves, in the living
God who was dead. Trust, all men, in Him who
alone is God of all men. Trust, and take salvation
for reward. "Seek after God, and your soul shall

\[\text{\textsuperscript{c}} \text{Genesis iii. 15: Psalm lv. 7 (Septuagint).}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{a}} \text{2 St. Peter ii. 2.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{b}} \text{See St. Matthew x. 16.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{d}} \text{See Plato, \textit{Phaedrus} 248 c, and elsewhere.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{e}} \text{Psalm lxii. 8.}\]
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CAP. καὶ ζήσεται ἡ ψυχή ύμων." ὁ ἐκζητῶν τὸν θεὸν τὴν ὑδίαν πολυπραγμονεῖ σωτηρίαν εὑρεῖ τὸν θεὸν, ἔχεις τὴν ψωμιν. ζητήσωμεν οὖν, ἵνα καὶ ζήσωμεν. ὁ μισθὸς τῆς εὐρέσεως ψωμὶ παρὰ θεῷ. "ἀγαλμάσθωσαν καὶ εὐφρανθήτωσαν ἐπὶ σοι πάντες οἱ ζητοῦντες σε καὶ λεγέτωσαν διὰ παντὸς, μεγαλυθήτω ὁ θεὸς." καλὸς ὤμος τοῦ θεοῦ ἄθανατος ἄνθρωπος, δικαιοσύνη οἴκοδομοῦμενος, ἐν ὃ τὰ λόγια τῆς ἁλθείας ἐγκεχάρακται. ποῦ γὰρ ἀλλαχόθι ἢ ἐν σῶφρον ψυχῇ δικαιοσύνην ἐγγραπτέον; ποῦ ἀγάτην; αἰῶν ἔς ποῦ; πρασότητα ἔς ποῦ; ταῦτα, οἷμαι, τὰς θείας γραφὰς ἐναποσφραγισμένους χρῆ τῇ ψυχῇ καλὸν ἀφετήριον σοφίαν ἥγεισθαι τοῖς ἐφ᾽ ὅτιον τοῦ βίου τραπεῖσι μέρος, ὁμον τε τὴν αὐτὴν 1 ἀκύμωνα σωτηρίας σοφίαν νομίζων, δι᾽ ἐν ἀγαθοὶ μὲν πατέρες τέκνων ὁ τῷ πατρὶ προσδεδραμηκότες, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ γονεῖσιν ύποί 2 οἱ τῶν υἱῶν νεονηκότες, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες γυναικῶν οἱ μεμνημένοι τοῦ νυμφίου, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ οἰκετῶν δεσπόται οἱ τῆς ἐσχάτης δουλείας λευτρωμένοι.

"Ω μακαριώτερα τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώπους πλάνης τὰ θηρία. ἐπινέμεται τὴν ἄγνοιαν, ὥσ τις ὑμεῖς, οὐχ ὑποκρίνεται δὲ τὴν ἁλθείαν. οὐκ ἔστι παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς κολάκων γένη, οὔ δεισιδαιμονοῦσαν ἱχθύες, οὐκ εἰδωλολατρεῖ τὰ ὀρνεῖα, ἐνα μόνον ἐκπλήττεται τὸν οὐρανόν, ἐπεὶ θεὸν νοητοῖς μὴ δύναται ἀπηξιωμένα τοῦ λόγου. ἐς 3 ών αἰσχύνεσθε καὶ τῶν ἄλογων σφᾶς αὐτοῖς ἀλογωτέρους πεποιηκότες, οἱ διὰ τοσοῦτων ἤλκιων ἐν ἀθεότητι κατατέρωθε; παῖδες

1 τὴν αὐτὴν Mayor. τῶν αὐτῶν mss.
2 γονεῖσιν υἱοί Potter. γονεῖσι υἱάσιν mss.

Psalm lxix. 32. b Psalm lxx. iv.

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live."

He who seeks after God is busy about his own salvation. Have you found God? you have life. Let us seek then, that we may also live. The reward of finding is life with God. "Let all who seek Thee be joyful and glad in Thee, and let them say always, God be exalted." A beautiful hymn to God is an immortal man who is being built up in righteousness, and upon whom the oracles of truth have been engraved. For where else but in a temperate soul should righteousness be inscribed? or love, or modesty, or gentleness? We ought, I think, by having these divine writings stamped deeply into the soul, to regard wisdom as a noble starting-point, to whatever lot in life men turn, and to believe that the same wisdom is a calm haven of salvation. For it is because of wisdom that they whose course has led them to the Father are good fathers of their children; that they who have come to know the Son are good sons to their parents; that they who have been mindful of the Bridegroom are good husbands of their wives; that they who have been ransomed from the deepest slavery are good masters of their servants.

Surely the beasts are happier than men who live in error! They dwell in ignorance, like you, but they do not falsely pretend to truth. Among them are no tribes of flatterers. Fishes do not fear daemons; birds do not worship idols. One heaven alone they marvel at, since God they cannot come to know, having been deemed unworthy of reason. When you think of this, are you not ashamed to have made yourselves less reasonable than even the creatures without reason, you who have wasted so many stages of life in atheism? You have
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'Αλλ' ύμείς μὲν τὸ αὐτηρὸν τῆς σωτηρίας ὑπομένεις οὐ καρπερεῖτε, καθάπερ δὲ τῶν σιτίων τοῖς γλυκέσις ἡδὸμεθα διὰ τὴν λειτουργια τῆς ἡδονῆς προτιμώντες, ιάται δὲ ἡμᾶς καὶ υγιάζει τὰ πικρά

1 ἐγηράσατε Wilamowitz: Stählin.

*a* See Exodus xx. 13–16; Deuteronomy vi. 5. For the added commandment “Thou shalt not corrupt a boy” see the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles ii. 2; Epistle of Barnabas xix. 4. The prevalence of this vice in the early centuries of Christianity doubtless led to the insertion of the precept.
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been boys, then lads, then youths, then men, but good you have never been. Have respect to your old age; become sober now you have reached the sunset of life; even at the end of life acknowledge God, so that the end of your life may regain a beginning of salvation. Grow old to daemon-worship; return as young men to the fear of God; God will enroll you as guileless children. Let the Athenian, then, follow the laws of Solon, the Argive those of Phoroneus, and the Spartan those of Lycurgus, but if you record yourself among God’s people, then heaven is your fatherland and God your lawgiver. And what are His laws? “Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not corrupt a boy; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not bear false witness; thou shalt love the Lord thy God.”

There are also the complements of these, wise laws and holy sayings inscribed in the very hearts of men; “Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,” and, “to him that smiteth thee on the one cheek, offer also the other,” and, “thou shalt not lust, for lust by itself is an act of adultery.” How much better is it for men not to have the least wish to lust after forbidden things, rather than to obtain the object of their lusts?

But you do not patiently endure the severity of the way of salvation. Nevertheless, just as we take delight in sweet foods, preferring them because they are smooth and pleasant, and yet it is the bitter medicines, rough to the taste, which cure and restore

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b Leviticus xix. 18, and often in New Testament.

c St. Luke vi. 29.

d See St. Matthew v. 28.
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CAP. τραχύνοντα τὴν αἴσθησιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς τὸν στόμαχον ῥώμισσον ἢ τῶν φαρμάκων αὐστηρία, οὖτως ἦδει μὲν καὶ γαργαλίζει ἡ συνήθεια, ἀλλ’ ἡ μὲν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ὠδεί, ἡ συνήθεια, ἡ δὲ εἰς οὗρανόν ἀνάγει, ἡ ἀλήθεια, “τραχεία” μὲν τὸ πρῶτον, “ἀλλ’ ἁγαθὴ κοινοτρόφος”· καὶ σεμνὴ μὲν ἡ γυναικωνίτις αὐτή, σώφρων δὲ ἡ γερουσία. οὖδέ ἐστι δυσπρόσιτος οὔδε ἀδύνατος λαβεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐστιν ἐγκυντάτω ἔνοικος ἡμῶν, ἡ φησιν ἀνυπόμενος ὁ πάνοφος Μωσῆς, τρισὶ τοῖς καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐν- διαιτωμενή μέρει, “χερσὶ καὶ στόματι καὶ καρδία.” σύμβολον τούτο γνήσιον τρισὶ τοῖς πάσι συμπληρωμένης τῆς ἁληθείας, βουλή καὶ πράξει καὶ λόγῳ. μηδὲ γάρ τόδε δείματε, μη σὲ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἐπιτερτή φανταζόμενα ἄφελται σοφίας· αὐτὸς ἐκών ὑπερβηθῆ τὸν λὴρον τῆς συνηθείας, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ παῖδες τὰ ἀθύρματα ἄνδρες γενόμενοι ἀπέρριψαν. τάχει μὲν δὴ ἀνυπερβλήτω εὔνοια τε εὐπροσίτω ἡ δύναμις ἡ θείκη ἐπιλάμψα τὴν γῆν

86 Ρ. σωτηρίου σπέρματος ἐνέπλησε | τὸ πᾶν. οὐ γὰρ ἄν οὐτὼς ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τοσοῦτον ἔργον ἀνεύ θείας κομιδῆς ἐξήνυσεν ὁ κύριος, ὅσει καταφρονοῦμενος, ἔργως προσκυνοῦμενος, ὁ καθάρσις καὶ σωτήριος καὶ μειλίχιος, ὁ θείος λόγος, ὁ φανερώτατος οὕτως θεός, ὁ τῷ δεσπότῃ τῶν ὀλίγων ἐξισοθεῖς, ὥστε ἡν νῦος αὐτοῦ καὶ “ὁ λόγος ἦν ἐν τῷ θεῷ,” οὐθ’ ὅτε

1 ἐνοίκος Markland. ἐν οἴκοις mss.
2 φανταζόμενα Stählin. φανταζόμενον mss.

The epithets are applied by Homer to Ithaca. See Odyssey ix. 27.

Having compared truth to Ithaca, the home of Odysseus, Clement goes on to divide it into two parts, sanctity and prudence, one being represented by the women’s
us to health, the severity of the remedies strengthening those whose stomachs are weak; so custom pleases and tickles us, but thrusts us into the pit, whereas truth, which is "rough" at first, but a "goodly reaper of youth," a leads us up to heaven. And in this home of truth, the chamber of the women is the abode of sanctity; while the assembly of the old men is prudent. b Nor is truth hard of approach, nor impossible to grasp, but it is our innermost neighbour, dwelling, as the all-wise Moses darkly says, in the three parts of our being, "hands and mouth and heart." c This is a genuine symbol of truth, which is made complete by three things in all, by purpose and action and speech. And be not afraid of this, that the many delights of the imagination may draw you away from wisdom; of your own accord you will willingly pass beyond the childishness of custom, just as boys throw away their playthings on reaching manhood. With a swiftness beyond parallel and a goodwill that is easy of approach, the divine power has shone forth upon the earth and filled the whole world with the seed of salvation. For not without divine care could so great a work have been accomplished, as it has been in so short a time by the Lord, who to outward seeming is despised, d but in very deed is adored; who is the real Purifier, Saviour and Gracious One, e the Divine Word, the truly most manifest God, who is made equal to the Master of the universe, because He was His Son and "the Word was in God." f chamber, the other by the council of old men. Perhaps, too, there is an allusion to the chastity of Penelope and the prudence of Odysseus.

a Deuteronomy xxx. 14. b Nor is it far off. c See Isaiah liii. 3. d See Isaiah liii. 3. e Titles of Zeus. f St. John i. 1.
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CAP. X

to próton proekhrúkhè, àpsisthèseis, ouò the to ánðròpou proswpeíon análabwów kai sarqì ánà-plasáménon to sóthíron dràma tìs ánðroppòttìs òpékriñeto, ángnòthèseis. gnìsoos gar òn anagnóstìs kai toú plásmatìs synaganwístìs, táxìsta de eìs pàntas ánðròpous diadothèis òattòn òlíou eì autìs ãnateìlas tìs patríkìs boùlìsèwos, ráìsta òmìn épélamìs toù theòn, òthèn te òn autòs kai òs ònì, di' òn èdidàzexen kai ènndeìzato, parasthèsámènos, ð sporándòforos kai diállakhtìs kai sóthí òmìn lògos, pìghì zwopòus, èirìnikì, èpì pàn to próswpon tìs gìs xèómenos, di' òn òs òpòs eìpetìn tà pànta òdï pèlagnos gégonen ágathwòv.

XI

Mícron dé, ei boùleì, ánðwèn àdheì tìn theìan evthegíasian. ð prótotos [òtè] 1 en parádeìsìi èpatìsè lelwìmnènìs, èpetì pàdìnì òn toù theòu. òtè de ùpopèttìon 2 hòvì (òphìs ìllìghoreìtai hìvì) èpì ìastèra èrpuasa, kakìa gnìnì, eìs ùlas trephòmènì 3) parìghñetò èpithìmìais, ð paìs ánðriqìzmènos àpêìèia kai parakaòùsas toù patrôs hìxùnteto toù theòu. òlon ìoxusèn hòvì. ðì ìplòtìta lelwìmènìs ánðròpopos àmàrtìais èuðèthì deðèmènos. tòn dêsmìwòn lússai toûtò ð kúrìos àthìs ìthèlìshen, kai sarqì ènndeìeis (muqitìmìn theòin toûtò) ðòn òfìn èxeiròsàto kai toû tûránnou édoulýsato, tòn

1 [òtè] Stählin. òtè mèn Dindorf. òtè òn Markland.
2 ùpopèttìon Schwartz. ùpèttìtèn mss.
3 strefìmènì Heyse: Stählin.

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EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

When at the first His coming was proclaimed the message was not disbelieved; nor was He unrecognized when, having assumed the mask of manhood and received fleshly form, He began to act the drama of salvation for humanity. For He was a true champion, and a fellow-champion with His creatures; and, having been most speedily published abroad to all men,—for swifter than the sun He rose from the very will of the Father—He readily lighted up God for us. Through His teachings and signs He showed whence He came and who He was, namely, the Word our herald, mediator and Saviour, a spring of life and peace flooding the whole face of the earth, thanks to whom the universe has now become, so to speak, a sea of blessings.

XI

Now consider briefly, if you will, the beneficence of God from the beginning. The first man played in Paradise with childlike freedom, since he was a child of God. But when he fell a victim to pleasure (for the serpent, that creeps upon the belly, an earthy evil, reared to return to matter, is an allegory for pleasure), and was led astray by lusts, the child, coming to manhood through disobedience and refusing to listen to the Father, was ashamed to meet God. See how pleasure prevailed! The man who by reason of innocence had been free was discovered to be bound by sins. The Lord purposed once again to loose him from his bonds. Clothing Himself with bonds of flesh (which is a divine mystery), He subdued the serpent and enslaved the tyrant death;

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

CAP. XI

θάνατον, καὶ τὸ παραδοξότατον, ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἀνθρω-
πον τὸν ἢδονὴν πεπλανημένον, τὸν τῇ φθορᾷ δεδεμέ-
νον, χερσὶν ἡπλωμέναις ἐδειξε λελυμένον. ὡς θαῦμα-
τος μυστικοῦ· κέκλιται μὲν ὁ κύριος, ἀνέστη δὲ
ἀνθρωπός καὶ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου πεσὼν μείζον
ὐπακοῆς ἄθλον, οὐρανοῦ, ἀπολαμβάνει. διὸ μοι
δοκεῖ, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς ἤκειν ὡς ἡμᾶς σωματόθεν ὁ λόγος,
ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ ἀνθρωπίνην ἦναι μὴ χρήναι διδασκαλίαν
ἐτί, Ἀθήνας καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ
Ἰωνίαν πολυπραγμονοῦντας. εἶ γὰρ ἦμῖν [ὁ] 1 δι-
δάσκαλος ὁ πληρώσας τὰ πάντα δυνάμειν ἀγίας,

87 P. δημιουργία σωτηρία εὐεργεσία νομοθεσία προφη-
τεία διδασκαλία, πάντα νῦν ὁ διδάσκαλος καθισέ
c καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἦδη Ἀθήναι καὶ Ἑλλάς γέγονεν τῷ
λόγῳ. οὐ γὰρ δὴ μῦθω μὲν ἐπιστεύετε ποιητικῷ
tῶν Μίνω τὸν Κρήτη τοῦ Δίως ὀδηστήν ἀναγράφοντι,
ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀπιστήσετε μαθητὰς θεοῦ γεγονότας, τὴν
οὐντὸς ἀληθῆ σοφίαν ἐπανηρμένους, ἡν φιλοσοφίας
άκροι μόνον ἦνίξατο, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθηταί
c καὶ κατελήφασι καὶ ἀνεκήρυξαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ πᾶς,
ὡς ἔτοις εἰπέων, 2 ὁ Χριστὸς οὐ μερίζεται· οὔτε
βάρβαρός ἐστιν οὔτε Ἰουδαῖος οὔτε Ἑλλήν, οὐκ
ἂρρεν, οὐ θῆλυ· καὶ δὲ ἀνθρωπος θεοῦ πνεύματι
ἀγίων μεταπεπλασμένος.

Εἴθ' αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι συμβουλαί τε καὶ υποθήκαι

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

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a It is possible that the Greek means only "with hands
unloosened." But the outstretching of Christ's hands upon
the cross was a familiar thought to the Christian Fathers,
and, most wonderful of all, the very man who had erred through pleasure, and was bound by corruption, was shown to be free again, through His outstretched hands. O amazing mystery! The Lord has sunk down, but man rose up; and he who was driven from Paradise gains a greater prize, heaven, on becoming obedient. Wherefore it seems to me, that since the Word Himself came to us from heaven, we ought no longer to go to human teaching, to Athens and the rest of Greece, or to Ionia, in our curiosity. If our teacher is He who has filled the universe with holy powers, creation, salvation, beneficence, lawgiving, prophecy, teaching, this teacher now instructs us in all things, and the whole world has by this time become an Athens and a Greece through the Word. For surely, after believing in a poetic legend which records that Minos the Cretan was “a familiar friend of Zeus,” you will not disbelieve that we, who have become disciples of God, have entered into the really true wisdom which leaders of philosophy only hinted at, but which the disciples of the Christ have both comprehended and proclaimed abroad. Moreover, the whole Christ, so to speak, is not divided; there is neither barbarian nor Jew nor Greek, neither male nor female, but a new man transformed by the Holy Spirit of God.

Further, all other counsels and precepts, as, for and is alluded to by Justin (I. Apol. 35) and by Irenaeus (v. 17. 4), though the word used in each of these passages is ἐκτείνω and not ἀπλάω. Basil uses ἀπλάω in this connexion; cp. In Psalm. xlv. p. 279, “having his hands outstretched (ἡπλωμένας) in the manner of the cross.” Perhaps Clement wishes to suggest both meanings.

b Homer, Odyssey xix. 179.

c See 1 Corinthians i. 13; Galatians iii. 28; Ephesians iv. 24; Colossians iii. 9–11.
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CAP. XI λυπραί καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους εἰσίν, εἰ γαμητέον, εἰ πολυτεντέον, εἰ παιδοποιητέον. καθολική δὲ ἀρὰ προτροπῆ μόνη καὶ πρὸς ὅλον δηλαδή τὸν βίον, ἐν παντὶ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ περιστάσει πρὸς τὸ κυρώ- τατον τέλος, τὴν ζωήν, συντείνουσα ή θεοσέβεια.
καὶ δὲ καὶ μοῦν ἐπάναγκες ἐστὶ ζῆν, ὡς ἢ πάνω-
μεν ἀεὶ. φιλοσοφία δὲ, ἡ φασίν οἱ πρεσβυτεροὶ,
πολυχρόνιος ἐστὶ συμβουλή, σοφίας άιδιον μη-
στενομένη ἔρωτα. "ἐντολὴ δὲ κυρίου τηλαγής,
φωτίζουσα ᾠφθαλμοὺς." ἀπόλαβε τὸν Χριστόν,
ἀπόλαβε τὸ βλέπειν, ἀπόλαβε σοῦ τὸ φῶς,

"οἷς εὖ γνώσκοις ἦμεν θεὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα.
ποθεωνὸς" ἐν σχόλιον καὶ λίθον τίμων. γλυκύς ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ μέλι
cαι κηρίου. τῶν γὰρ οὐ ποθεωνὸς ὁ τῶν ἐν σκότει
κατορωμυμένον νῦν ἐναργῆ ποιησάμενος καὶ τὰ
"φωσφόρα" τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποξύνας "ὀμματα"; καὶ
γὰρ ὥσπερ "οἶλον μὴ ὄντος ἐνεκα τῶν ἀλλων
ἄστρων νυσ δὲ ἢν τὰ πάντα," οὕτως εἰ μὴ τῶν λόγων
ἐγνωμεν καὶ τούτω κατηγάσθημεν, οὐδὲν ἢν τῶν
συτενομένων ὁμίθων ἔλειπόμεθα, ἐν σκότει πιανό-
μενοι καὶ ἄνωτερ τρέφομεν. χωρήσωμεν τὸ φῶς,
İNΑ χωρήσωμεν τὸν θεόν. χωρήσωμεν τὸ φῶς καὶ
μαθητεύσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ. τούτῳ τοι καὶ ἐπιγγελται

1 ποθεωνὸς—γλυκύς Mayor (see Psalm xviii. 11 Sept.).
γλυκύς—ποθεωνὸς mss.

Compare this with what Clement says about the "short way" of the gospel preaching, pp. 173 and 217.
Psalm xix. 8. Homer, Iliad v. 128.
Psalm xix. 10.
Compare Plato, Timaeus 45 b.
Heracleitus, Frag. 31 (Bywater), 99 (Diels).
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instance, whether a man should marry, or take part CHAP. XI
in politics, or beget children, are of small account and of special application. The exhortation that alone would seem to be universal, and concerned plainly with the whole of existence, reaching out in every season and every circumstance towards the supreme end, life, is piety towards God. And it is only necessary to live according to piety, in order to obtain eternal life; whereas philosophy, as the elders say, is a lengthy deliberation, that pursues wisdom with a never-ending love. But "the commandment of the Lord shines afar, giving light to the eyes." Receive the Christ; receive power to see; receive thy light;

Thus shalt thou well discern who is God and who is but mortal.

The Word who has given us light is "to be desired above gold and precious stone; He is sweet above honey and the honeycomb." How can we help desiring Him who has made clear the mind that lay buried in darkness, and sharpened the "light-bearing eyes" of the soul? For just as "if the sun were not, the world would have been in perpetual night, for all the other heavenly bodies could do"; so unless we had come to know the Word, and had been enlightened by His rays, we should have been in no way different from birds who are being crammed with food, fattening in darkness and reared for death. Let us admit the light, that we may admit God. Let us admit the light, and become disciples of the Lord. This is the promise

a The same simile occurs in Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* iv. 3.
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CAP. XI. τῷ πατρὶ "διηγήσομαι τὸ ὄνομά σου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου· ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε." ὑμνήσεων καὶ διήγησαί μοι τὸν πατέρα σου τὸν θεόν· σώσει σου τὰ διηγήματα, παιδεύσει με ἡ ὤδη. ὥς μέχρι νῦν ἐπιπλάνωμην ζητῶν τὸν θεόν, ἐπεὶ δὲ με φωτ- αγωγεῖς, κύριε, καὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐρύσκω διὰ σοῦ καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀπολαμβάνω παρὰ σοῦ, γίνομαι σου συγκληρονόμος, ἐπεὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐκ ἐπηρεύμην.

Αφελομεν οὖν, ἀφελομεν τὴν λήθην τῆς ἁλθείας· τὴν ἄγνοιαν καὶ τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐμποδῶν ὡς ἀχλῶν ὄψεως καταγαγόντες τὸν ὄντως ὄντα θεὸν ἐποπτεύ- σωμεν, ταύτην αὐτῷ πρῶτον ἀνυμνήσαντες τὴν φωνὴν "χαίρε φῶς". φῶς ἢμῖν εἰς οὐρανοῦ τοῖς ἐν σκότει κατορωματικός καὶ ἐν σκίᾳ βανατοῦ κατακεκλεισμένοις ἐξελάμψει ἕλιου καθαρώτερον, ζωῆς τῆς ἐνταῦθα γλυκύτερον. τὸ φῶς ἐκεῖνο ἣν ἐστὶν ἀίδιος, καὶ ὅσα μετέληφεν αὐτοῦ, ζῆ, ἢ νῦξ δὲ εὐλαβεῖται τὸ φῶς καὶ δύνουσα διὰ τὸν φόβον παραχωρεῖ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κυρίον· τὰ πάντα φῶς ἀκοιμη- τον γέγονεν καὶ ἡ δύσις εἰς ἀνατολὴν περιέστηκεν.1
tοῦτο ἡ κτίσις ἢ κανή βεβούληται· ὁ γὰρ τὰ πάντα καθιστεύων "δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος" ἐπ" ἢσθη περιπολεῖ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, τὸν πατέρα μμούμε- νος, ὡς "ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀνατέλλει τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ," καὶ κατακεκάει τὴν ἄδοσον τῆς ἀλθείας. οὐδεὶς ἡν ὑπὸ εἰς ἀνατολὴν μετήγαγεν καὶ τὸν θάνατον εἰς ἣν ἀνεσταύρωσεν, ἐξαρπάσας δὲ τῆς ἀπωλείας τὸν ἀνθρώπον προσεκρέμασεν αἰθέρι,

1 εἰς ἀνατολὴν περιέστηκεν Wilamowitz. ἀνατολὴ πεπιστευκεν Mss.

a Psalm xxii. 22. b See Romans viii. 17. c See Hebrews ii. 11.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

He has made to the Father; "I will declare Thy name to my brethren; in the midst of the congregation will I sing praises to Thee." Sing praises, and declare unto me God Thy Father. Thy story shall save, Thy song shall instruct me. Until now I was erring in my search for God, but since Thou, Lord, dost become my guiding light I find God through Thee, I receive the Father at Thy hands, I become joint-heir with Thee, since Thou wert not ashamed of Thy brother. Let us then banish ignorance and darkness that spreads like a mist over our sight; and let us get a vision of the true God, first raising to Him this voice of praise, "Hail, O Light." Upon us who lay buried in darkness and shut up in the shadow of death a light shone forth from heaven, purer than the sun and sweeter than the life of earth. That light is life eternal, and whatsoever things partake of it, live. But night shrinks back from the light, and setting through fear, gives place to the day of the Lord. The universe has become sleepless light and the setting has turned into a rising. This is what was meant by "the new creation." For He who rides over the universe, "the sun of righteousness," visits mankind impartially, imitating His Father, who "causes His sun to rise upon all men," and sprinkles them all with the dew of truth. He it was who changed the setting into a rising, and crucified death into life; who having snatched man out of the jaws of destruction raised him to the sky, transplanting

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*d See Isaiah ix. 2 (St. Matthew iv. 16 and St. Luke i. 79).
* Galatians vi. 15. (Revised Version margin.)
* Malachi iv. 2.
* St. Matthew v. 45.

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CAP. XI. μεταφυτεύων τὴν φθορὰν εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ γῆν μεταβάλλων εἰς οὐρανοὺς, ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ γεωργός, "δεξιὰ σημαίνων, λαοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ ἐργὸν" ἀγαθὸν "ἐγείρων, μυμνήσκων βιότοιο" ἀληθινοῦ, καὶ τὸν μέγαν ὄντως καὶ θείον καὶ ἀναφαίρετον τοῦ πατρὸς κλήρον χαριζόμενος ἡμῖν, οὐρανίω διδασκαλία θεο-ποιών τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, "διδοὺς νόμους εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν γράφων αὐτοὺς." τίνας ὑπογράφει νόμους; "ὅτι πάντες εἰσονται τὸν θεόν ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἐως μεγάλου, καὶ ἱλεως," φησίν ὁ θεός, "ἐσομαι αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν οὐ μή μνησθῶ." δεξώμεθα τοὺς νόμους τῆς ζωῆς, πεισθῶμεν προτρεπομένων θεῶ, μάθωμεν αὐτὸν, ἐν ἱλεως ἢ, ἀποδώμεν καὶ μὴ δεσμένῳ μισθὼν εὐ-χάριστον εὐπαθείας.¹ οἶνον τι ἐνοίκιον [τῆν εὐ- σέβειαν]² τῷ θεῷ τῆς ἐνταῦθα ἐνοικήσεως.

χρύσεα χαλκεῖν, ἔκατομβοι' ἐννεαβοίων.

ὀλίγης πίστεως· γῆν σοι δίδωσι τὴν τοσαύτην γεωργεῖν, ὒδωρ πίνειν καὶ ἄλλο πλεῖν, ἀέρα ἀνα-πνεῖν, τόρ ὑποργεῖν, κόσμον οἰκεῖν. ἐντεῦθεν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀποκιάν στελάσθαι σοι συγκεχάρηκεν τὰ μεγάλα ταῦτα καὶ τοσαύτα σοι δημιουργήματα καὶ χαρίσματα ὀλίγης πίστεως μεμίσθωκεν. ἐδ᾿ οἱ μὲν τοὺς γόνης πεπιστευκότες τὰ περίπατα καὶ τὸς ἐπαοιδᾶς ὡς σωτηρίους δῆθεν ἀποδέχονται, ὡμεῖς δὲ οὐ βούλεσθε τὸν οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν περιάψι- σθαι, τὸν σωτηρά λόγον, καὶ τῇ ἐπῳδῇ τοῦ θεοῦ

¹ εὐπαθέλας Mayor. εὐπάθειαν mss. εὐπελθείαν Heyse.
² [τὴν εὐσέβειαν] Heyse.

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corruption to the soil of incorruption, and transform- ing earth into heaven. He is God's husbandman, "who gives favourable omens, and rouses the people to a work" that is good, "reminding us of the true livelihood," and granting to us the Father's truly great, divine and inalienable portion, making men divine by heavenly doctrine, "putting laws into their minds and writing them upon the heart." To what laws does He allude? "That all shall know God from the small to the great; and," God says, "I will be gracious to them and not remember their sins." Let us receive the laws of life; let us obey God when He exhorts us; let us learn about Him, that He may be gracious; let us render Him (though He is in need of nothing) a recompense of gratitude for His blessings, as a kind of rent paid to God for our dwelling here below.

Gold in exchange for brass, a hundred oxen for nine's worth. At the price of a little faith He gives thee this great earth to till, water to drink, other water to sail on, air to breathe, fire to do service, and a world to dwell in. From hence He has granted thee power to send forth a colony into heaven. All these great works of creation and gracious gifts He has let out to thee in return for a little faith. Again, men who believe in wizards receive amulets and charms which are supposed to bring safety. Do you not rather desire to put on the heavenly amulet, the Word who truly saves, and, by trusting to God's enchant-

\[a\] These words are quoted from Aratus, Phaenomena, 6–7. 
\[b\] Jeremiah xxxi. 33, 34 (quoted Hebrews viii. 10–12).
\[c\] Homer, Iliad vi. 236.
\[d\] See Plato, Charmides 157 a.

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CAP. XI. πιστεύσαντες ἀπαλλαγήναι μὲν παθῶν, ὃ δὴ ψυχῆς νόσου, ἀποστασθήναι δὲ ἄμαρτίας; θάνατος γὰρ ἀίδιος ἄμαρτία. ἦ τέλεον νωδοὶ καὶ τυφλοὶ καθάπερ οἱ σπάλακες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἐσθίοντες ἐν σκότῳ διαμάθοντος, περικαταρρέοντες τῇ φθορᾷ. ἀλλ᾽ ἐστιν, ἐστὶν ἡ ἀλήθεια. ἡ κεκραγμένα "ἐκ σκότους φῶς λάμψει." λαμψάτων οὖν ἐν τῷ ἀποκεκρυμμένῳ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, τὸ φῶς, καὶ τῆς γνώσεως αἱ ἄκτινες ἀνατελλόμεναι τὸν ἐγκεκρυμμένον ἐνδον ἐκφαίνουσαι καὶ ἀποστίλβουσαι ἀνθρώπου, τὸν μαθητήν τοῦ φωτός, τὸν Χριστὸν γνώριμόν τε καὶ συγκληρονόμον, μάλιστα ἐπειδὰν τὸ τιμώτατον καὶ σεβασμώτατον εὐσεβεῖ τε καὶ ἁγαθῷ παιδί ἁγαθοῦ πατρὸς ὅνωμα εἰς γνώσιν ἀφίκηται, προστάτων ἡ παία καὶ τῷ παιδὶ ἐγκεκλευμένο τὰ σωτήρια. ὃ δὲ πειθόμενος αὐτῷ κατὰ πάντα δὴ πλεονεκτεῖ εἶπεν τῷ θεῷ, πείθεται τῷ πατρί, ἐγὼ πλανώμενος αὐτόν, ἡγάπησε τὸν θεόν, ἡγάπησε τὸν πλησίον, ἐπιθέρωσε τὴν ἐντολήν, τὸ ἄθλον ἐπιζητεῖ, τὴν ἑπαγγελίαν ἀπαίτει.

Πρόκειται δὲ ἂν τῷ θεῷ τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀγέλην σάξεων. ταύτῃ καὶ τὸν ἁγαθὸν πομέναν ὁ ἁγαθὸς ἀπέστειλεν θεός. ἀπλώομα δὲ ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀλῆθειαν ἐδείξει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ ψεός τῆς σωτηρίας, ὡς ἰδοὺ, μὴ ἵππος ἡμεῖς, οὐκ ἑταίραι, ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ καταδεικνύσει τοῦ κήρυγμα, ὑπακούοντες εὐαγγέλιον, παρακούσαν κριτήριον. ἀλλὰ σάλπιγξ μὲν ἡ μεγαλόκλονος ἡχήσασα στρατιϊᾶς συνήγαγεν καὶ πόλεμον κατήγγειλεν,
ment, to be freed from passions, which are dis-CHAP.
eases of the soul, and to be torn away from sin? For sin is eternal death. Surely you are altogether
bereft of sense a and sight, spending your lives,
like moles, in darkness, doing nothing but eat, and
falling to pieces through corruption. But it is the
truth, I say, which cries, "Light shall shine out of
darkness." b Let the light then shine in the hidden
part of man, in his heart; and let the rays of know-
ledge rise, revealing and illuminating the hidden
man within, the disciple of the light, friend of Christ
and joint-heir with Him; more especially since there
has come to our knowledge the name, worthy of
all honour and reverence, of one who is a good
Father to a good and dutiful child, whose precepts
are kindly, and whose commands are for His child's
salvation. He who obeys Him gains in all things.
He follows God, he obeys the Father; when erring
he came to know Him; he loved God; he loved
his neighbour; he fulfilled God's commandment; he
seeks after the prize; he claims the promise.

It is ever God's purpose to save the flock of man-
kind. For this cause also the good God sent the
good Shepherd. c And the Word, having spread
abroad the truth, showed to men the grandeur of
salvation, in order that they may either be saved if
they repent, or be judged if they neglect to obey.
This is the preaching of righteousness; to those
who obey, good news; to those who disobey, a
means of judgment. But when the shrilling trumpet
blows, it assembles the soldiers and proclaims war;

a Νωσοί means literally "toothless," as applied to the aged.
Clement seems to use it metaphorically for senile decay.
b 2 Corinthians iv. 6.  c See St. John x. 11.
CAP. Χριστὸς δὲ εἰρηνικὸν ἐπὶ τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς ἐπιπενεύσας μέλος οὐ συνάξει ἄρα τοὺς εἰρηνικοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς έαυτοῦ; συνήγαγε μὲν οὖν, ὥστε άνθρωπε, τὸ στρατιωτικὸν τὸ ἀνάμακτον αἴματι καὶ λόγῳ, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν αὐτοῖς ἐνεχείρισεν. σάλπιγξ ἐστὶ Χριστοῦ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῦ· ὃ μὲν ἐσάλπισεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἢκουσαμεν. ἐξοπλισώμεθα εἰρηνικῶς, "ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν θύρακα τῆς δικαιοσύνης" καὶ τὴν ἁστιδα τῆς πίστεως ἀναλαβόντες καὶ τὴν κόρυν τοῦ σωτηρίου περιθέμενοι καὶ "τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύματος, ὁ ἐστὶ βῆμα θεού," ἀκονήσωμεν. οὖτως ἡμᾶς ὁ ἀπόστολος εἰρηνικῶς ἐκτάττει ταῦτα ἡμῶν τὰ ὅπλα τὰ ἄτρωτα· τούτοις ἐξοπλισάμενοι παραταξώμεθα τῷ πονηρῷ· τὰ πεπυρακτωμένα τοῦ πονηροῦ ἀποσβέσωμεν βέλη ταῖς ὑδατίναις ἀκμαῖς ταῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου βεβαμμέναις, εὐχαρίστως ἀμεβόμενοι τὰς εὐποίας εὐλογίας καὶ τὸν θεὸν τῷ θείῳ γεραιρόντες λόγῳ. "ἐτί γὰρ λαλούντος σοι ἔρει," φησίν, "ἵδιον πάρεμι." Ἡ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μακαρίας ταύτης δυνάμεως, δι᾽ ἡς ἀνθρώποις συμπολιτεύεται θεός. λῷον οὖν καὶ ἀμενον τῆς ἁρίστης τῶν οὐντων οὐσίας μιμητίν ὁμοῦ καὶ θεραπευτὴν γενέσθαι· οὐ γὰρ μιμεῖσθαι τις δυνήσεται τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ δι᾽ ἄν ὅσιος θεραπεύει 1 οὐδὲ αὖ θεραπεῦει καὶ σέβειν ἡ μιμούμενος. ὁ γε τοι οὐράνιος καὶ θείος οὖν ἐρως ταύτη προσγίνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, όταν ἐν αὐτῇ που τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ οὖν καλὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου λόγου ἀναξωπυροῦμενον ἐκλάμπειν δυνηθῇ· καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἀμα τῷ

1 θεραπεύει Schwartz. θεραπεύσει mss.

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and shall not Christ, think you, having breathed to the ends of the earth a song of peace, assemble the soldiers of peace that are His? Yes, and He did assemble, O man, by blood and by word His bloodless army, and to them He entrusted the kingdom of heaven. The trumpet of Christ is His gospel. He sounded it, and we heard. Let us gird ourselves with the armour of peace, “putting on the breast-plate of righteousness,” and taking up the shield of faith, and placing on our head the helmet of salvation; and let us sharpen “the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God.” Moreover does the apostle marshal us in the ranks of peace. These are our invulnerable arms; equipped with these let us stand in array against the evil one. Let us quench the fiery darts of the evil one with the moistened sword-points, those that have been dipped in water by the Word, returning thankful praises to God for His benefits and honouring Him through the divine Word. “For while thou art yet speaking,” it says, “He will answer, behold, I am with thee.”

O sacred and blessed power, through which God becomes a fellow-citizen with men! It is then better and more profitable for man to become at the same time both imitator and servant of the highest of all beings; for he will not be able to imitate God except by serving Him holily, nor yet to serve and worship except by imitating Him. Now the heavenly and truly divine love comes to men in this way, whenever somewhere in the soul itself the spark of true nobility, kindled afresh by the divine Word, is able to shine out; and, greatest thing of all, salva-

a See Eph. vi. 14-17; 1 Thess. v. 8.  
b Eph. vi. 16.  
c The allusion is to Baptism.  
d Isa. lviii. 9.  

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. XI. Βουληθήναι γνησίως τὸ σωθῆναι συντρέχει, ὁμοιογονύτων, ὡς ἐπος εἰπεῖν, προαιρέσεως καὶ ζωῆς.

τοιγάρτων μόνη αὐτῇ ῥῆ ἡ ἀληθείας προτρόπη τοίς πιστοτάτοις ἀπεικασται τῶν φίλων μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀναπνοῆς παραμένουσα καὶ παραπομπὸς ἁγάθη ὅλω καὶ τελείω τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς πνεύματι τοῖς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀπαύγουσι γενομένη. τῇ δὲ σε προτρέπεις; σωθήναι σε ἐπείγομαι. τοῦτο Χριστὸς βούλεται· ἐν λόγῳ ζωῆς σοι χαρίζεται. καὶ τὰς ἑστίν οὕτως; μάθε συντόμως· λόγος ἀληθείας, λόγος ἀφθαρσίας,

ὁ ἀναγεννῶν τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, εἰς ἀληθείαν αὐτὸν ἀναφέρων, τὸ κέντρον τῆς σωτηρίας, ὁ ἐξελαύνων τὴν φθοράν, ὁ ἐκδιώκων τὸν θάνατον, ὁ ἐν ἀνθρώποις οἰκοδομήσας νεών, ἵνα ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἱδρύῃ τὸν θεόν. ἄγνισον τὸν νεών, καὶ τὰς ἴδινας καὶ τὰς ῥαθυμίας ὅσπερ ἄνθος ἐφήμερον καταλύμπανε ἀνέμω καὶ πυρί, σωφροσύνης δὲ τοὺς καρποὺς γεώργησον.

91 P. ἐμφρόνως, καὶ σεαυτὸν ἀκροβύνω | ἀνάστησιν τῷ θεῷ, ὡς οὐκ ἔργον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ χάρις ἔστιν τοῦ θεοῦ. πρέπει δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τῷ Χριστῷ γνωρίμω, καὶ βασιλείας ἄξιον φανεῖν καὶ βασιλείας κατηξιώσθαι.

XII

Φύγωμεν οὖν τὴν συνήθειαν, φύγωμεν οἷον ἀκραν χαλεπὴν ἡ Χαρύβδεως ἀπειλήν ἡ Σειρῆνας μυθικάς. Ἀγχει τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποτρέπει, ἀπάγει τῆς ζωῆς, παγίς ἑστιν, βάραθρον ἑστιν, βόθρος ἑστι, λίχνου ἑστιν κακὸν ἡ συνήθεια.

1 ἦς Wilamowitz. 2 mss. Χριστοῦ Mayor. 3 Xριστοῦ mss. Λίχνου Mayor. Λίχνος mss.
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

...tion itself runs side by side with the sincere desire for it, will and life being, as we may say, yoked together.
Wherefore this exhortation to the truth, and this alone, is like the most faithful of our friends; for it remains with us until our latest breath, and proves a good escort for the whole and perfect spirit of the soul to those who are setting out for heaven.

What then is my exhortation? I urge thee to be saved. This is the wish of Christ; in one word, He freely grants thee life. And who is He? Understand briefly: the Word of truth; the Word of incorruption; He who regenerates man by bringing him back to the truth; the goad of salvation; He who banishes corruption and expels death; He who has built His temple in men, that in men He may set up the shrine of God. Purify the temple, and abandon your pleasures and careless ways, like the flower of a day, to the wind and fire; but labour in wisdom for the harvest of self-control, and present yourself as first-fruits to God, in order that you may be not only His work, but also His delight. Both things are necessary for the friend of Christ: he must show himself worthy of a kingdom, and be counted worthy of a kingdom.

XII

Let us then shun custom; let us shun it as some dangerous headland, or threatening Charybdis, or the Sirens of legend. Custom strangles man; it turns him away from truth; it leads him away from life; it is a snare, an abyss, a pit, a devouring evil.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CAP. XII

κείνου μὲν καπνοῦ καὶ κύματος ἐκτὸς ἔρημος ἡμ.

φεύγωμεν, ὡς συνυωται, φεύγωμεν τὸ κύμα τοῦτο, πῦρ ἐρεύγεται, νῆσός ἐστὶ πονηρὰ ὀστοῖς καὶ

νεκρῶς σεσωρευμένη, ὃδε ἐν αὐτῇ πορνίῳν ὕραίον, ἤδονή, πανδήμῳ τερπόμενον μουσικῇ.

dεῦρ' ἄγ' ἰών, πολύων ὁδυσεῖ, μέγα κύδος Ἀχαϊῶν,

νῆα κατάστησον, ἵνα θειοτέρην ὑπ' ἀκούσης.

ἔπαινει σε, ὡς ναῦτα, καὶ πολυμυρητον λέγει, καὶ

tὸ κύδος τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡ πόρνη σφετερίζεται:

ἐασων αὐτὴν ἐπινέμεσθαι τοὺς νεκροὺς, πνεύμα σοὶ

οὐράνιον βοηθεῖ· πάριθι τὴν ἤδονήν, βουκολεῖ·

μηδὲ γυνὴ σε νὸν πυγοστόλος ἐξαπατάτω,

αἰμύλα κωτίλλουσα, τεὴν διφώσα καλιῆν.

παράπλει τὴν ὄδηγν, θάνατον ἑργάζεται· ἐὰν ἐθέλησ

μόνον, νενίκηκας τὴν ἀπόλειαν καὶ τῷ ξύλῳ προσ-

dεδεμένος ἀπάσης ἐστὶ τῆς φθορᾶς λελυμένος, κυβερ-

νήσει σε ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τοὺς λιμέσι

καθορμίσει τῶν οὐρανῶν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον· τότε

μου κατοπτεύσεις τὸν θεόν καὶ τοὺς ἄγιους ἐκείνους

tελεσθήσῃ μυστηρίους καὶ τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀπο-

λαύσεις ἀποκεκρυμμένων, τῶν ἐμοὶ τετηρημένων,

"ἀ ὀὔτε οὕς ἤκουσεν οὔτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνέβη" τινός.

1 σε Höschel. σε mss. 2 καὶ Mayor. καὶ mss.

a Homer, Odyssey xii. 219–20. b See Odyssey xii. 45–46. c Odyssey xii. 184–5.

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EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

Wide of that smoke and wave direct, O helmsman, thy vessel.\(^a\)

Let us flee, comrades, let us flee from this wave. It belches forth fire; it is an island of wickedness heaped with bones and corpses,\(^b\) and she who sings therein is pleasure, a harlot in the bloom of youth, delighting in her vulgar music.

Hither, renowned Odysseus, great glory of all the Achaeans: Bring thy ship to the land, that a song divine may entrance thee.\(^c\)

She praises thee, sailor, she calls thee renowned in song; the harlot would make the glory of the Greeks her own. Leave her to roam among the corpses; a heavenly wind comes to thine aid. Pass by pleasure; she beguiles.

Let not thy heart be deceived by a woman with trailing garment, Coaxing with wily words to find the place of thy dwelling.\(^d\)

Sail past the song; it works death. Only resolve, and thou hast vanquished destruction; bound to the wood of the cross\(^e\) thou shalt live freed from all corruption. The Word of God shall be thy pilot and the Holy Spirit shall bring thee to anchor in the harbours of heaven. Then thou shalt have the vision of my God, and shalt be initiated in those holy mysteries, and shalt taste the joys that are hidden away in heaven, preserved for me, “which neither ear hath heard nor have they entered into the heart”\(^f\) of any man.

\(^a\) Hesiod, Works and Days 373-4. 
\(^b\) An allusion to Odysseus being bound to the mast of his vessel as it passed the land of the Sirens. Odyssey xii. 178. 
\(^c\) 1 Corinthians ii. 9.
CAP. XII                καὶ μὴν ὃραν μοι δύο μὲν ἦλιος δοκῶ, 
                     δισσάς δὲ Θῆβας |

92 Ρ. βακχεύσων ἐλεγέν τις εἰδώλοις, ἀγνοῖα μεθύων ἀκράτως· ἐγὼ δὲ Ἔριδια ἑαυτὸν οὐκείραιμι παροιηθοῦντα καὶ τὸν οὐτὸ παραοιηθοῦντα ἐπὶ σωτηρίαν παρακάλεσαμι σωφρονοῦσαν, ὅτι καὶ κύριος μετάνοιαν ἀμαρτωλοῦ καὶ οὐχὶ θάνατον ἀσπαζέται. ἦκε, ὁ παραπλήξης, μὴ θύρσῳ σκηνοτόμενος, μὴ κυττῷ ἀναδούμενος, ἤψων τὴν μίτραν, ἤψων τὴν νεβρίδα, σωφρόνησον· δεῖξω σοι τὸν λόγον καὶ τοῦ λόγου τὰ μυστήρια, κατὰ τὴν σὴν δυναμενὸν εἰκόνα. ὁρος ἑστὶ τοῦτο θεῷ πεφυλημένον, οὐ τραγῳδίαις ὡς Κιθαιρὼν ὑποκείμενον, ἀλλὰ τῶς ἀληθείας ἀνακείμενον δράμασιν, ὁρος νηφάλιον, ἀγναῖς υλάς σύσκιον· βακχεύσων δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ οὐχ ἀι Σιμέλης “τῆς κεραυνίας” ἀδελφαί, αἱ μαίναδες, αἱ δύσαγνον κρεανομίαν μυούμεναι, ἀλλ' αἱ τοῦ θεοῦ θυγατέρες, αἱ ἀμνάδες αἱ καλαί, τὰ σεμνὰ τοῦ λόγου θεσπίζουσαι οργα, χορὸν ἀγείρουσαι σώφρονα. ὁ χορὸς οἱ δίκαιοι, τὸ ἄσμα ύμνος ἑστὶ τοῦ πάντων βασιλέως· ψάλλουσιν αἱ κόραι, δοξάζουσιν ἀγγελού, προφήται λαλοῦσιν, ἦχος στελλεται μουσικῆς, δρόμῳ τὸν

1 ᾧ inserted by Stählin.

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* Euripides, *Bacchants* 918–9. The speaker is Pentheus, king of Thebes, who was stricken with madness for refusing to worship the god Dionysus. The legend, which tells how Dionysus took vengeance by visiting the Theban women with his frenzy and driving them out into the hills, and how the mad king, in trying to spy out their revels, was torn to pieces by his own mother and her companions, is the subject of Euripides’ play, the *Bacchants*. In the paragraph following this quotation, Clement has the *Bacchants* constantly in 254
EXHORTATION TO THE GREEKS

And lo! methinks I see a pair of suns
And a double Thebes, a

said one who was revelling in frenzy through idols, drunk with sheer ignorance. I would pity him in his drunkenness, and would appeal to him to return from this madness to sober salvation, seeing that the Lord also welcomes the repentance, and not the death, of a sinner. Come, thou frenzy-stricken one, not resting on thy wand, not wreathed with ivy! Cast off thy headdress; cast off thy fawnskin; b return to soberness! I will show thee the Word, and the Word’s mysteries, describing them according to thine own semblance of them. This is the mountain beloved of God, not a subject for tragedies, like Cithaeron, but one devoted to the dramas of truth, a wineless mountain, shaded by hallowed groves. Therein revel no Maenads, sisters of “thundersmitten” c Semele, who are initiated in the loathsome distribution of raw flesh, but the daughters of God, the beautiful lambs, d who declare the solemn rites of the Word, assembling a sober company. The righteous form this company, and their song is a hymn in praise of the King of all. The maidens play the harp, angels give glory, prophets speak, a noise of music rises; swiftly they pursue the sacred band, e

mind, and his allusions can only be understood by reading the play.

b For the description see Euripides, Bacchants 833, 835.
c Euripides, Bacchants 6, 26.
d The Greek amnades, lambs, is meant as a play upon Mainades (Maenads, or women worshippers of Dionysus).
• Gr. thiasos, or band of Dionysus’ followers (cp. Bacchants 56). The word is here used of the company of maidens, angels and prophets, whom the Christian must follow to reach, not Dionysus, but the Father.

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CAP. θίασον διώκοντος, σπεύδοντος οἱ κεκλημένοι πατέρα

1. ἤκε μοι, ὁ πρέσβυ, καὶ σὺ, τὰς Θήβας λιπὼν καὶ τὴν μαντικὴν καὶ τὴν βακχείαν ἀπορρίψας πρὸς ἀλῆθειαν χειραγωγοῦ· ἰδοὺ σοι τὸ ξύλον ἑπερείδεσθαι δίδωμι· σπεύδον, Τειρεσία, πιστευον· ὅμει· Χριστὸς ἐπιλάμπει φαίδροτερον ἠλίου, δι’ ὃν ὀφθαλμοί τυφλῶν ἀναβλέπουσι· νῦς σε φεύξεται, πῦρ φοβηθήσεται, θάνατος οἰχήσεται· ὅμει τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ὁ γέρου, ὁ Θήβας μὴ βλέπων. ὁμως τῶν ἁγίων ὡς ἁληθῶς μυστηρίων, ὁ φωτὸς ἀκηράτου. δαδουχοῦμαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐποπτεύσαι, ἄγιος γίνομαι μνοῦμένος, ιερο-φαντεί δὲ ὁ κύριος καὶ τὸν μύστην σφαγίζεται φωταγωγῶν, καὶ παρατίθεται τῷ πατρὶ τὸν πεπι-στευκότα αἴώνιον τηρούμενον. ταῦτα τῶν ἐμῶν μυστηρίων τὰ βακχεύματα· εἰ βούλει, καὶ σὺ μνοῦ, καὶ χορεύσεις μετ’ ἀγγέλων ἀμφὶ τὸν ἀγένητον καὶ ἀνώλεθρον καὶ μόνον ὄντως θεόν, συνυμνοῦντος

93 P. ὅμως τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου. ἄιδιος | οὕτος Ἡσύους, εἰς [ὁ] μέγας ἀρχερεύς θεοῦ τε ἐνὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ πατρός, υπὲρ ἄνθρωπων εὐχεταὶ καὶ ἄνθρωποι εὐγέλευται "κέκλυτε, μυρία φίλα," μᾶλλον δὲ ὅσοι τῶν ἄνθρωπων λογικαί, καὶ βάρβαροι καὶ Ἑλληνες· τὸ πᾶν ἄνθρωπον γένος καλῶ, ἃν ἐγὼ δημιουργὸς θελήματι πατρός. ἤκετε ὡς ἐμέ, ὅφ’ ἐνα ταχθηρο-μένου θεον καὶ τὸν ἐνα λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ μὴ μόνον τῶν ἅλογων ζῶων πλεονεκτεῖτε τῷ λόγῳ, ἐκ δὲ τῶν θυτῶν ἀπάντων ὑμῖν ἀθανασίαν μόνοις καρ-

1 βακχείαν Wilamowitz. βακχικὴ mss.
2 ἐποπτεύσαι Schwartz. ἐποπτεύσας mss.

*a i.e. instead of Teiresias' staff; cp. Bacchantes 363-4.

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those who have been called hasting with eager longing to receive the Father. Come to me, old man, come thou too! Quit Thebes; fling away thy prophecy and Bacchic revelry and be led by the hand to truth. Behold, I give thee the wood of the cross to lean upon. Hasten, Teiresias, believe! Thou shalt have sight. Christ, by whom the eyes of the blind see again, shineth upon thee more brightly than the sun. Night shall flee from thee; fire shall fear thee; death shall depart from thee. Thou shalt see heaven, old man, though thou canst not see Thebes.

O truly sacred mysteries! O pure light! In the blaze of the torches I have a vision of heaven and of God. I become holy by initiation. The Lord reveals the mysteries; He marks the worshipper with His seal, gives light to guide his way, and commends him, when he has believed, to the Father's care, where he is guarded for ages to come. These are the revels of my mysteries! If thou wilt, be thyself also initiated, and thou shalt dance with angels around the unbegotten and imperishable and only true God, the Word of God joining with us in our hymn of praise. This Jesus being eternal, one great high priest of one God who is also Father, prays for men and encourages men: "'Give ear, ye myriad peoples, b or rather, so many of mankind as are governed by reason, both barbarians and Greeks; the whole race of men I call, I who was their Creator by the Father's will. Come to me, that ye may be marshalled under one God and the one Word of God; and do not surpass the irrational creatures in reason only, for to you alone of all mortal beings I offer the fruit

b Homer, Iliad xvii. 920.
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CAP. XII. πώσασθαι δίδωμι. έθελω γάρ, έθελω καὶ ταύτης ὑμῶν μεταδοῦναι τῆς θάριτος, οἰκληρόν χορηγῶν τὴν εὐεργεσίαν, ἀφθαρσίαν· καὶ λόγον χαρίζομαι ὑμῖν, τὴν γνώσιν τοῦ θεοῦ τέλειον ἐμαυτὸν χαρίζομαι. τούτο εἰμὶ ἐγώ, τούτο βούλεται ὁ θεὸς, τούτο συμφωνία ἐστί, τούτο ἀρμονία πατρός, τούτο ὑίος, τούτο ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, βραχίων κυρίου, δύναμις τῶν ὅλων, τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός. ὁ 1 πάλαι μὲν εἰκόνες, οὐ πᾶσαι δὲ ἐμφερεῖς, διορθώσασθαι ὑμᾶς πρὸς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον βούλομαι, ἵνα μοι καὶ ὄμοιοι γένησθε. χρίσω ὑμᾶς τῷ πίστεως ἀλείμματι, δι' οὗ τὴν φθορὰν ἀποβάλλετε, καὶ γνωμὸν δικαιοσύνης ἐπιδείξω τὸ σχῆμα, δι' οὗ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀναβάινете. "δεῦτε πρὸς με πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες καὶ πεφορτισμένοι, κἂν ἀναπόσω ὑμᾶς· ἀρατε τὸν ἡγοῦν μου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς καὶ μάθετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ὅτι προὰς εἰμὶ καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ, καὶ εὐρήσετε ἀνάπαυσιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν· ὁ γὰρ ἡγοῦς μου χρυστὸς καὶ τὸ φορτίον μου ἐλαφρῶν ἐστὶν," σπεύσωμεν, δράμωμεν, ὡς θεοφιλὴ καὶ θεοεἰκελα τοῦ λόγου [ἀνθρωποι]. 2 ἀγάλματα· σπεύσωμεν, δράμωμεν, ἀρωμέν τὸν ἡγοῦν αὐτοῦ, ὑπολάβωμεν ἀφθαρσίαν, καὶ καλὸν ἡνίοχον ἀνθρώπων τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγαπήσωμεν· τὸν πῶλον ὑποζύγιον ἤγαγε σὺν τῷ παιδί· καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπων τὴν συνωρίδα καταξεύσας, εἰς ἀθανασίαν κατεπνεύει τὸ ἄρμα, σπεύδων πρὸς τὸν θεὸν πληρώσαι ἐναργῶς ὁ ἡνίξατο, πρότερον μὲν εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ, νῦν δὲ εἰσελαύνων

1 Ὡ Wilamowitz. ὁν mss.
2 [ἀνθρωποί] Heyse.
3 ὑπολάβωμεν ἀφθαρσίαν Mayor. ὑποβάλωμεν ἀφθαρσίαν mss. ἐπιβάλωμεν ἀφθαρσία Wilamowitz (whom Stählin follows).

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of immortality. I desire, yea, I desire to impart to you even this gracious favour, supplying in its fulness the good gift of incorruption. And I freely give you divine reason, the knowledge of God; I give you Myself in perfection. For this is Myself, this is God’s desire, this is the concord, this the harmony of the Father: this is the Son, this is Christ, this is the Word of God, the arm of the Lord, the might of the universe, the Father’s will. O ye who of old were images, but do not all resemble your model, I desire to conform you to the archetype, that you may become even as I am. I will anoint you with the ointment of faith, whereby you cast away corruption; and I will display unveiled the figure of righteousness, whereby you ascend to God. ‘Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take My yoke upon you and learn of Me; for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For My yoke is easy and My burden is light.’”

Let us hasten, let us run, we who are images of the Word, beloved of God and made in His likeness. Let us hasten, let us run; let us take up His yoke; let us take upon ourselves incorruption; let us love Christ, the noble charioteer of men. He led the foal and its parent under the same yoke, and now having yoked together the team of mankind, He shapes the course of His chariot for the goal of immortality. He hastens to God that He may fulfil clearly what before He darkly hinted at; for He drove at the first into Jerusalem, but now into heaven, a most noble

— St. Matthew xi. 28-30.
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CAP. οὐρανοῦς, κάλλιστον θέαμα τῷ πατρὶ νῦν άίδιος νικηφόρος. φιλότιμοι τοῖνυ πρὸς τα καλὰ καὶ θεοφιλείς ἄνθρωποι γενώμεθα, καὶ τῶν ἁγαθῶν τα μέγιστα, θεον καὶ ζωήν, κτησώμεθα. ἀρωγὸς δὲ δο λόγος, θαρρῶμεν αυτῷ καὶ μὴ ποτε ἡμᾶς τοσοῦτος ἀγχύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ, μη δόξης ἐπέλθη πόθος, ὅσος αὐτῷ τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγου. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τῷ θεῷ αὐτῷ ἀρεστόν, εἰ ἦμεις τὰ μὲν πλείστουν ἄξια περὶ ἕλαχιστον ποιοῦμεθα, ἁγνοιάς δὲ καὶ ἀμαθίας καὶ βαθμίας καὶ εἰδωλολατρείας ὑβρεῖς περιφανεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην δυσσέβειαν περὶ πλείονος αἰρούμεθα. 4

Οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ τρόπου φιλοσόφων παῖδες πάντα ὅσα πράττουσιν οἱ ἀνόητοι, ἀνοιοργεῖν καὶ ἀσεβεῖν νομίζουσιν καὶ αὐτὴν γε [ἐτί] 5 τὴν ἁγνοιαν μανίας εἶδος ὑπογράφοντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ μεμηνέρα τοὺς πολλοὺς όμολογοὺς. οὐ δὲ οὖν ἀμφιβάλλειν ἀιρεῖ 6 ὁ λόγος, ὅποτερον αὐτῶν ἁμενον, σωφρονεῖν ἢ μεμηνέναι ἐχομένους δὲ ἀπρίξ τῆς ἀληθείας παντὶ θένει ἐπεσθαί χρὴ τῷ θεῷ σωφρονοῦντας καὶ πάντα αὐτῶν νομίζειν, ὡσπερ ἐστὶ, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν κτημάτων μεμαθηκότας ὅντας αὐτοῖ, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέπειν τῷ θεῷ, ἀγαπώντας κύριον τὸν θεον καὶ τούτο παρ’ ὅλον τὸν βίον ἔργον ἡγομένους. εἰ δὲ “κοινὰ τὰ φίλων,” θεοφιλής δὲ ὁ ἀνθρωπός (καὶ γὰρ οὖν φίλος τῷ θεῷ, 7 μεστεύοντος τοῦ λόγου), γίνεται δὴ οὖν

1 ἁγαθῶν Stählin. ἀπαθῶν mss. 2 περὶ Cobet. ἐπί mss. 3 ἁγνοιάς Markland. ἀνοιάς mss. 4 αἰρούμεθα Stählin. αἰρώμεθα mss. 5 [ἐτί] Wilamowitz. 6 αιρεί Cobet. ἐρεῖ mss. 7 τῷ θεῷ after φίλος Wilamowitz, after ἀνθρωπὸς mss. [τῷ θεῷ] Cobet.
spectacle for the Father, the eternal Son bringing victory! Let us be zealous, therefore, for what is noble, and become men beloved of God; and let us get possession of the greatest of good things, God and life. The Word is our helper; let us have confidence in Him, and let no longing after silver and gold, or after glory, ever come upon us so strongly as the longing after the Word of truth Himself. For surely it cannot be pleasing to God Himself if we hold in least esteem those things which are of the greatest moment, while we choose as of higher worth the manifest excesses and the utter impiety of ignorance, stupidity, indifference and idolatry.

The sons of the philosophers not inaptly consider that all the works of foolish men are unholy and impious, and by describing ignorance itself as a form of madness they acknowledge that the mass of men are nothing else but mad. Now reason does not allow us to doubt which of the two is better, to be sane or to be mad. Holding fast the truth with all our might we must follow God in soundness of mind, and consider all things to be His, as indeed they are; and further we must recognize that we are the noblest of His possessions and entrust ourselves to Him, loving the Lord God, and looking upon that as our work throughout the whole of life. And if "the goods of friends are common," and man is beloved of God (for he is indeed dear to God through the mediation of the Word), then all things become man's, because

\[a\] The philosophers referred to are the Stoics; cp. Cicero, Paradoxon iv. and Tusc. disp. iii. 5.
\[b\] Greek proverb. See Plato, Phaedrus 279 c.

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 тома тов антровон, оти тома тов теоу, кай конва амфов тов филов тома пантта, тов теоу кай антропоу. ἥρα οὔν ἥμιν μόνον των θεοσεβη [Χριστιανόν] ἐίπειν πλοῦσιόν τε και σώφρονα και εὐγενὴ και ταύτη εἰκόνα τοῦ θεοῦ μεθ' ὄμοιώσεως, και λέγει και πιστεύειν "δικαίον και σωσίν μετὰ φρονήσεως" γενόμενον ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ και εἰς τοσοῦτον ὄμοιον ἧδη καὶ θεwake. οὐκ ἄποκρύπτεται γοὺν ὁ προφήτης τὴν χάριν λέγων, "ἐγὼ εἶπον ὅτι θεοὶ ἐστε καὶ νῦν υἱόντων πάντες." ἡμᾶς γὰρ, ἡμᾶς εἰσπεποίηται καὶ ἡμῶν ἔθελε μόνων κεκλήθαι πατὴρ, οὐ τῶν ἀπειθοῦντων, καὶ γὰρ οὖν ὡδὲ πως ἔχει τὰ ἡμέτερα τῶν Χριστοῦ ὁπάδων· οῖα μὲν αἱ βουλαί, τοῖοι καὶ οἱ λόγοι, ὅποιοι δὲ οἱ λόγοι, τοιαύτη καὶ αἱ πράξεις, καὶ ὅποια τὰ ἔργα, τοιοῦτος ὁ βίος· χρηστὸς ὁ σύμπας ἀνθρώπων βίος τῶν Χριστοῦ ἐγνωκότων.

"Ἀλλα ὁμως τῶν λόγων, εἳ καὶ μακροτέρῳ προ- ἑτθον ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας ὃ τι περ εἴχον ἐκ θεοῦ ἐκχεών, ὡς ἄν ἐπὶ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τὴν σωτηριαν, παρακαλῶν· περὶ γὰρ τοῦ τῆς πάυλαν οὐδαμην οὐδαμῶς ἐχουσης ἑωθης οὐκ ἐβέλουσιν οὐδ' οἱ λόγοι παύσασθαι ποτε ἱεροφαντούντες. ὡμοι δὲ ἔτι τοῦτο περιλείπεται πέρα το λυσιτε- λοῦν ἐλέοςαι, ἡ κρίσιν ἡ χάριν· ὡς ἔγωγε οὐδ' ἀμφι- βάλλειν ἀξίω, πότερον άμενον αὐτῶν· οὐδὲ μὴν συγκρίνεσθαι θέμις ζωῆν ἀπωλείᾳ.


The Stoics said all this of their "wise man," as Clement tells us elsewhere (ii. Strom. 19. 4): "The Stoic philosophers hold this doctrine, that kingship, priesthood, prophecy, legislation, wealth, true beauty, noble birth and freedom
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all things belong to God and are common to both friends, God and man. It is time then for us to affirm that only the God-fearing man is rich and of sound mind and well-born, and therefore the image, together with the likeness, of God; and to say and believe that when he has been made by Christ Jesus "just and holy with understanding," he also becomes in the same degree already like to God. So the prophet openly reveals this gracious favour when he says, "I said, ye are gods, and ye are all sons of the Most High." 

Now we, I say, are they whom God has adopted, and of us alone He is willing to be called Father, not of the disobedient. For indeed this is the position of us who are Christ's attendants: as are the counsels, so are the words; as are the words, so are the actions; and as are the deeds, such is the life. The entire life of men who have come to know Christ is good.

Enough, I think, of words. It may be that, moved by love of man, I have run on too long in pouring out what I have received from God, as is natural when one is inviting men to the greatest of good things—salvation. For of a truth, the very words are unwilling ever to cease revealing the mysteries of that life which knows no manner of ending. But with you still rests the final act, namely this, to choose which is the more profitable, judgment or grace. For my own part, I claim that there is no shadow of doubt which of the two is better; nay, it is sinful even to compare life with destruction.

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

Plato, Theaetetus 176 b.

Psalm lxxxii.6.

This phrase is an allusion to Plato, Phaedrus 252 c: "the attendants of Zeus" (τῶν Διός ὅραμα).

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INTRODUCTION

The Rich Man's Salvation, or, to give the work its literal title, "Who is the rich man that is being saved?" is the only complete example left us of Clement's popular teaching. Although composed in the form of a sermon, it would seem too long to have been delivered orally on any single occasion. Possibly it may be the expansion and elaboration of an actual sermon; but, whether this is so or not, we may be sure that the teaching it contains formed the subject of many a discourse addressed by Clement to the rich Christians of Alexandria. In all probability the Church came into close touch with the cultured and well-to-do classes earlier at Alexandria than elsewhere. Consequently, the problem of reconciling Christianity with the possession of worldly wealth would be likely to have become acute there in the second century. It was not an easy problem to solve. The rich man who was well-disposed towards the new religion had to consider many things which, as Clement in this treatise admits, often drove him to the conclusion that the Church had no place for him. There was
the poor and simple life of Christ Himself and of His apostles; there were the numerous gospel warnings about the dangers of wealth; there was the severe command to the rich man to sell all that he had; there was the communism of the first Christians; there was the undoubted fact that the Church had spread among poor people and had always been chiefly composed of them. All these considerations, augmented and strengthened by the conviction that a gospel of the eternal life had but little to do with comfort in this world, made it difficult both for the rich to enter the Church and for the poor to receive them there without jealousy or suspicion. Clement's extensive learning, for the acquisition of which money and leisure were certainly necessary, and his familiarity with the customs of refined society, show that he was himself a man of at least some wealth and position. He was therefore personally interested in the question which he sets out to answer in the work now before us.

He takes as a basis for his inquiry the passage about the rich man in St. Mark x. 17–31. Here was the hardest stumbling-block of all to the rich who wanted to become Christians, and Clement removes it in characteristic fashion by denying that Christ's words mean what they seem to say. Apparently it never occurred to him that, on the theory of "diversities of gifts," one man might be ordered to give up his wealth and another to keep it for wise and generous use. He knew that even in pre-Christian days some men had felt that their highest work could only be done at the cost of sacrificing their possessions; but he was unwilling to allow that Anaxagoras, Democritus and Crates had, to the
best of their ability, fulfilled the very ideal that Christ had placed before the rich man. It must be something fundamentally different from this that Christ meant, so Clement says. What then was His meaning? The wealth He bade His questioner renounce must be taken in a spiritual sense; it was a wealth of passions, a brood of sins in the soul; not money itself, but the love of money. The rich man might have kept his wealth, and by following Jesus have learned to use it rightly. All that rich men in general have to do, therefore, is to eradicate selfishness and to spend their money liberally for the relief of their poorer brethren, who by interceding with God for such benefactors will return an abundant recompense.

As a result of this exegesis we are robbed of one of the most striking appeals to a man's heroism and contempt of consequences that even the gospels contain. There can be no question that the Christian Church has suffered much, and is still suffering, from that avoidance of the plain meaning of historical records which is characteristic of the Alexandrine system of spiritual or allegorical interpretation. It would, however, be unfair, as well as ungracious, to lay the whole blame of this upon Clement. He was but the exponent of a system for which the age in which he lived was responsible. Nor must we forget the positive advantages that were gained by this interpretation. The mission of Clement and the Alexandrine Church was to give Christianity a firm footing in the world, and to allow it to assimilate all that was good of human thought and culture. In Clement's day the belief in a speedy return of Christ was passing away, and consciously or unconsciously...
the Church was preparing for its own continuance as a permanent institution in human society; a citizenship on earth was being claimed alongside of St. Paul's "citizenship in heaven." When once this is admitted, neither philosophy, nor science, nor art, nor even the leisure and refinement that are associated with wealth, can be utterly excluded from the Church. In the Stromateis we see Clement boldly claiming for Greek philosophy a place in the life of Christian people; in the "Rich Man's Salvation" we see him making the same bold claim on behalf of wealth. There is no virtue, he says, in beggary; there are certain good things which wealth alone can bring; and if the rich man will but learn to spend his riches in the alleviation of suffering and the brightening and comforting of other lives, he need not despair of a place among the followers of Christ.

The present translation of "The Rich Man," like that of the "Exhortation to the Greeks," has been made from Stählin's edition of Clement, and the text printed here is in the main Stählin's text. Any deviations of importance from the reading of the chief manuscript are noted at the foot of each page. This manuscript is the one in the Escurial library, known as S. A page is missing from the end of S, and also from the Vatican manuscript which was copied from it. This page, however, consisting of the story of St. John and the robber, is almost completely recoverable from Eusebius who quotes it (H.E. iii. 23), and from the Scholia of Maximus Confessor on Dionysius the Areopagite. About twenty lines are still lost. A few words that are missing from the first three
paragraphs have been inserted in the following text according to what seemed the best conjectures available. Before Stählin's edition was issued the text of S had been carefully edited and the manuscript described by P. M. Barnard (Texts and Studies, edited by J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., vol. v. No. 2), who has also published a separate translation (S.P.C.K.).
ΤΙΣ Ο ΣΩΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΠΛΟΤΣΙΟΣ

935 Ρ. 1. Οἱ μὲν τοὺς ἐγκυμοσυνικοὺς λόγους τοῖς πλουσίοις δωροφοροῦντες οὐ μόνον κόλακες καὶ ἀνελεύθεροι δικαίως οὐ έμοιγε κρίνεσθαι δοκοῖεν, ὡς ἐπὶ πολλὰ προσποιούμενοι χαρίσασθαι τὰ ἀχάριστα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἐπίβουλοι. ἀσεβεῖς μὲν, ὡς παρέντες αἰνεῖν καὶ δοξάζειν τὸν μόνον τελειον καὶ ἀγαθὸν θεόν, ἐξ οὐ τὰ πάντα καὶ δι’ οὐ τὰ πάντα καὶ εἰς ὑμεῖς τὰ πάντα, περιάπτοντοι τοῦτον1 τὸ γέρας ἀνθρώπως ἐν ἄσ<ὀτω καὶ βορβορώδει>2 βίῳ κυλιν- δομένοις <καὶ>3 τὸ κεφάλαιον ὑποκειμένους4 τῇ κρίσει τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐπίβουλοι δὲ, ὡς καὶ αὐτής τῆς περιουσίας καθ’ αὐτὴν ἱκανῆς ὤψες χαύνωσαι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν κεκτημένων καὶ διαφθείραι καὶ ἀπο- στῆσαι τῆς ὀδοῦ, δι’ ἢ ἐπιτυχεῖν ἔστι σωτηρίας, οὐδὲ προσεκπλήσσουσι τὰς γνώμας τῶν πλουσίων ταῖς ἴδιοις τῶν ἀμέτρων ἡπαίνων ἑπαίροντες καὶ καθάπαξ τῶν διὰν πραγμάτων πληθ τοῦ πλοῦτον, δι’ ὑμεῖς ταυμάζονται, παρασκευάζοντες ὑπερφρονεῖν, τὸ δὴ τοῦ λόγου πῦρ ἐπὶ πῦρ μετοχετεύοντες, γάρ

1 το<ὕτου> Lindner: Stählin. (The bracketed words and letters are to fill blank spaces in the ms.)
2 ἄσ<celed καὶ βορβορώδει> Lindner: Stählin.
3 <καὶ> Segaar.
4 ὑποκειμένοις Combefis. ὑποκειμένον ms.

"Romans xi. 36.

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1. Men who offer laudatory speeches as presents to the rich may rightly be classed, in my opinion, not only as flatterers and servile, since in the hope of a large return they make a show of granting favours that are really no favours, but also as impious and insidious. They are impious, because, while neglecting to praise and glorify the only perfect and good God, from whom are all things and through whom are all things and to whom are all things, they invest with His prerogative men who are wallowing in a riotous and filthy life and, in short, are lying under the judgment of God. They are insidious, because, although mere abundance is by itself quite enough to puff up the souls of its possessors, and to corrupt them, and to turn them aside from the way by which salvation can be reached, these men bring fresh delusion to the minds of the rich by exciting them with the pleasures that come from their immoderate praises, and by rendering them contemptuous of absolutely everything in the world except the wealth which is the cause of their being admired. In the words of the proverb, they carry fire to fire, when

A common Greek proverb, equivalent to our “Carrying coals to Newcastle.” See Plato, Laws 666 a. The verb translated “carry” means literally “to conduct water through pipes.”

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túfou ἐπαντλοῦντες καὶ ὄγκον πλοῦτῳ προσανατιθέντες βαρεῖ φύσει φορτίον βαρύτερον, οὐ μᾶλλον ἔχρην ἁφαιρεῖν καὶ περικόπτεν, ὡς σφαλερῷ νοσήματος καὶ θανατηφόρου. τῷ γὰρ ύψουμένῳ καὶ μεγαλυνομένῳ παραπέτηγεν ἁντίστροφος ἡ πρὸς τὸ ταπεινὸν μεταβολή καὶ πτώσις, ὡς ὁ θεὸς διδάσκει λόγος. ἐμοὶ δὲ φαίνεται μακρῷ φιλανθρωπότερον εἶναι τοῦ θεραπεύειν ἁνελευθέρως τοὺς πλουτοῦντας καὶ ἐπὶ κακῶ τὸ συνάρπεσθαι τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκτεταμένοις παρὰ θεοῦ τοῦ βεβαιῶς καὶ ἰδέως τοῖς ἑαυτῷ τέκνοις τὰ τοιαῦτα προείμενον, τοῦτο δὲ λόγῳ διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ σωτῆρος ἱαμένους τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν, φωτίζοντας καὶ προσάγοντας ἐπί τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας κτήσιν, ἂς ὁ τυχὼν καὶ ἐργοὺς ἀγαθοῖς ἐλλαμπρούμενοι μόνος τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς ἀναιρῆσεται. δεῖται δὲ καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ ψυχῆς εὐρύστου καὶ λυπαροῦς ἀχρὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἁμέρας τοῦ βίου συμμετρημένης καὶ ἡ πολιτεία διαθέσεως χρηστῆς καὶ μονίμου καὶ πάσας ταῖς ἐντολαῖς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐπεκτεινομένης.

2. Κινδυνεύει δὲ οὐχ ἀπλοῦν τι εἶναι τὸ αἰτίον τοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας καλεστέραν τοῖς πλουτοῦσι δοκεῖν ἢ τοῖς ἀχρημάτοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ ποικίλον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶθεν καὶ προχείρως ἀκούσαντες τῆς τοῦ κυρίου φωνῆς, ὅτι βάσιν κάμηλος διὰ τρήματος ῥαβίδος διεκδύσεται ἡ πλοῦσιος εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀπογνώντες ἑαυτοὺς ὡς οὐ βιωσόμενοι,

1 παραπέτηγεν from Antonii Melissa : missing from ms.
2 ἁνελευθέρως Fell. 3 καὶ ἐπαινεῖν Barnard.
4 τὴν ζωὴν καὶ Stählin. 5 κατεργάζεσθαι Fell.

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they shower pride upon pride, and heap on wealth, heavy by its own nature, the heavier burden of arrogance. Rather they ought to have diminished and curtailed wealth, as a perilous and deadly disease; for the man who exalts and magnifies himself is in danger of a complete reversal of fortune, namely, the change and fall into low estate, as the divine word teaches. It seems to me an act far kinder than servile attention to the rich and praise that does them harm, if we share the burden of their life and work out salvation for them by every possible means; first by begging them from God, who unfailingly and gladly accords such gifts to His own children, and then by healing their souls with reason, through the Saviour’s grace, enlightening them and leading them on to the possession of the truth. For only he who has reached the truth and is distinguished in good works shall carry off the prize of eternal life. But prayer requires a soul that runs its course strong and persevering until the last day of life, and the Christian citizenship requires a disposition that is good and steadfast and that strains to fulfil all the Saviour’s commandments.

2. Now the reason why salvation seems to be more difficult for the rich than for men without wealth is probably not a simple one, but complex. For some, after merely listening in an off-hand way to the Lord’s saying, that a camel shall more easily creep through a needle’s eye than a rich man into the kingdom of heaven, despair of themselves,

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The Christian’s duty is rather to pray for the rich

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 Reasons why salvation seems difficult for rich men

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The same word is used by St. Paul in Philippians iii. 13.  

6 λογω Segar. λέγω ms.  
7 το Stählin. ὅτος ms.  
8 ς inserted by Barnard.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

tò kòsmoù vànta xarizómenoi kai tìs éntaútha zôihs ὃς μόνης εαυτοῖς ὑπολειπομένης ἐκκρεμαθέντες ἀπέστησαν πλέον τῆς ἐκεῖ ὀδοῦ, μηκέτι πολυπραγμονήσαντες μήτε τίνας τοὺς πλουσίους ὁ δεσπότης καὶ διδάσκαλος προσαγορεύει μήτε ὅπως τὸ ἀδύνατον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὑποτεύχων γίνεται. Ἀλλοι δὲ τούτο μὲν συνήκαν ὅρθως καὶ προσηκόντως, τῶν δὲ ἔργων τῶν εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀναφερόντων ολγωρησάντες οὐ παρεσκευάσαντο τὴν δέουσαν παρασκευήν εἰς τὸ τῶν ἐλπιζομένων τυχεῖν. λέγω δὲ ταῦτα ἐκάτερα περὶ τῶν πλουσίων τῶν καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ σωτήρου καὶ τῆς ἐπιφανείας σωτηρίας ἡσθημένων, τῶν δὲ ἀμηνητῶν τῆς ἀληθείας ὅλογον μοι μέλει.

8. Χρῆ τοῖνυν τοὺς φιλαλήθους καὶ φιλαδέλφους της ἀνθρωπομομένος καὶ μέτε καταθρασυνομένους αὐτός καὶ τοῖς πλουσίως κλητῶν μήτε ἀδίκων ὑποπίπτοντας αὐτοῖς διὰ οἶκείας πολυκερδείας, πρώτων μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξαιρεῖ τῷ λόγῳ τὴν κενή ἀπόγνωσιν καὶ δηλοῦν μετὰ τῆς δεουσῆς εξηγήσεως τῶν λογίων 937 π. τοῦ κυρίου | διότι οὐκ ἀποκέκοπται τέλεον αὐτοῖς ἡ κληρονομία τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐὰν ὑποκύψωσι ταῖς ἐντολαῖς. εἰ δ' ὅποταν μάθωσιν ὡς ἀδεῖες δεδίασι δέος καὶ ὅτι βουλομένους αὐτοῖς ὁ σωτήρ ἁσμένως δέχεται, τότε καὶ προδεικνύω καὶ μυσταγωγεῖν ὅπως ἀν καὶ δι' οἰων ἔργων τε καὶ διαθέσεων ἐπαύραντο τῆς ἐλπίδος, ἠθ' ἀμη-χάνου καθεστώσης αὐτοῖς οὔτε τούναντίον εἰκῇ

1 ἀνθρώποις Barnard. ἀνθρώπῳ ἦ ms.
2 λέγω Ghisler. λέγων ms. 3 περὶ Barnard. ἀπερ ἐπὶ ms.
4 <διακειμένους> Fell. 5 κενή Combes. κακῆν ms.

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

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feeling that they are not destined to obtain life. So, complying with the world in everything, and clinging to this present life as the only one left to them, they depart further from the heavenward way, taking no more trouble to ask who are the rich men that the Master and Teacher is addressing nor how that which is impossible with men becomes possible. Others however understand the saying rightly and properly, but, because they make light of the works which bear upon salvation, do not provide the necessary preparation for the satisfaction of their hopes. In both cases I am speaking of the rich who have learnt of the Saviour's power and His splendid salvation; with those who are uninitiated in the truth I have little concern.

3. It is the duty, therefore, of those whose minds are set on love of truth and love of the brethren, and who neither behave with insolent rudeness towards the rich members of the church, nor yet cringe to them through personal love of gain, first, by means of the word of scripture, to banish from them their unfounded despair and to show, with the necessary exposition of the Lord's oracles, that the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven is not completely cut off from them, if they obey the commandments; and afterwards, when they have learnt that their fears are groundless, and that the Saviour gladly receives them if they desire, to point out and instruct them how and through what kind of works and resolves they can enjoy the object of their hope, which is neither beyond their reach nor, on the contrary, to be obtained without settled purpose.

Or perhaps, "by means of reason." See p. 20, n. a.
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пергивоменит. ἀλλ' ὅπερ τρόπον ἔχει τὸ τῶν ἀθλητῶν, ἵνα μικρὰ καὶ ἐπίκηρα μεγάλους καὶ ἀφθάρτους παραβάλωμεν, τοτε καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἦν κατὰ κόσμον πλούτων λογιζόμεθα. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνων ὦ μὲν ὅτι δυνητεσαι νικᾶν καὶ στεφάνων τυγχάνειν ἀπελπίσας οὐδ' ὅλως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀθλησιν ἀπεγράψετο, δὲ ταύτην μὲν ἐμβαλόμενος τῇ γνώμῃ τὴν ἐλπίδα, πόνους δὲ καὶ γυμνάσια καὶ τροφὰς μὴ προσέμενοι προσφόρους, αὐστεφάνωτος διεγένετο καὶ διήματε τῶν ἐλπιδῶν. οὕτως τις καὶ τὴν ἐπίγειον ταύτην περιβεβλημένος περιβολὴν μῆτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἑαυτοῦ τῶν ἀθλῶν τοῦ σωτήρος ἐκκηρυσσέτω, πιστῶς γε ὃν καὶ τὸ μεγαλεῖον συνορῶν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φιλοκερασίας, μῆτε μὴ αὕτης ἀνάσκητος καὶ ἀναγώνιστος μείνας ἀκονιτί κανίδρωτι τῶν στεφάνων τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἐλπιζέτω μετάλαβείν. ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ὑποβαλέτων φέρων γυμναστῇ μὲν τῷ λόγῳ, ἀγωνοθέτῃ δὲ τῷ Χριστῷ. τροφή δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ποτὸν γενέσθω τεταγμένον ἡ κατὶ διαθήκη τοῦ κυρίου, γυμνάσια δὲ αἱ ἑντολαί, εὐσχημοσύνη δὲ καὶ κόσμος αἱ καλαὶ διαθέσεις, ἀγάπη, πίστις, ἐλπίς, γνώσις ἀληθείας, ἡπιείκεια, ἡπράοτης, εὐσπλαγχνία, σεμνότης, ἰδιαὶ δὲ τῶν ἐσχατίας ὑποσημήνη τὸ τέλος τοῦ δρόμου καὶ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἔξοδον καθάπερ ἐκ σταδίου τοῦ βίου, μετ' ἀγαθοῦ τοῦ συνειδότος τῷ ἀθλοθετή παραστῆ νυκτὸρος, ὁμολογημένου τῆς ἄνω πατρίδος ἐξίως, εἰς ἂν

1 ἑαυτοῦ Mayor. ἑαυτῷ ms.
2 ἀκονιτί κανίδρωτι Ghisler. ἀκωνιτίται καὶ ἱδρώτι ms.
3 ἡπιείκεια Fell (lacuna in ms.).
4 ἡ inserted by Schwartz.
5 τὸ τέλος inserted by Stählin (ep. 2 Timothy iv. 7).
6 τὴν . . . ἔξοδον Stählin. τῆς . . . ἔξοδον ms.

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Well then, as is the case with athletes—if we may compare things small and perishable with things great and incorruptible—so let him who is rich in this world consider it to be with himself. For the athlete who has no hope of being able to win and to obtain crowns does not even enrol himself for the contest; while the one who at heart entertains this hope, but does not submit to hard training and exercises and suitable food, comes out uncrowned and entirely misses the fulfilment of his hopes. In the same way let not one who is clothed with this earthly covering proclaim himself barred at the start from the Saviour's prizes, if, that is, he is faithful and surveys the magnificence of God's love to men; nor, once again, let him hope, by remaining undisciplined and unused to conflict, to partake of the crowns of incorruption without dust and sweat. But let him come and subject himself to reason as trainer and to Christ as master of the contests. Let his appointed food and drink be the Lord's new covenant, his exercise the commandments, his grace and adornment the fair virtues of love, faith, hope, knowledge of the truth, goodness, gentleness, compassion, gravity; in order that, when the last trumpet signals the end of the race and his departure from the present life as from a course, he may with a good conscience stand before the judge a victor, admitted to be worthy of the fatherland above, into

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*a.* i.e. riches.
*b.* Again we have the comprehensiveness in the meaning of *logos*. See p. 20, n. a. In Clement's thought the different meanings tend to mingle with one another.
*c.* See 1 Corinthians xi. 25.
*d.* See 1 Corinthians xiii. 13.
*e.* See 1 Corinthians xv. 52.
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μετὰ στεφάνων καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἀγγελικῶν ἐπανέρχεται.

4. Δοιάς τοινήν ἦμιν ὁ σωτήρ ἐντεῦθεν ἀρξαμένοις τοῦ λόγου τάληθή καὶ τὰ πρέποντα καὶ τὰ σωτήρια συμβαλέσθαι τοῖς ἄδελφοῖς πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα πρῶτον αὐτὴν καὶ δεύτερον πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἐλπίδος προσαγωγήν. ὁ δὲ χαρίζεται δεομένοις καὶ αὐτοῦν τας διδάσκει καὶ λύει τὴν ἄγνοιαν καὶ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν ἀποσεῖται, τοὺς αὐτοὺς πάλιν εἰςάγων λόγους περὶ τῶν πλουσίων, ἐαυτῶν ἐρμηνείας γινομένους καὶ ἐξηγητὰς ἁσφαλεῖς. οὐδὲν γὰρ οἶν αὐτῶν αὐθείς ἀκούσαι τῶν ῥήτων, ἀπερ ἦμιας ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις ἄχρι νῦν διετάρασσον ἀβασανίστως καὶ διημαρτημένως ὑπὸ νηπιότητος ἀκρωμένους.

"Εκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ 1 εἰς ὅδον προσελθὼν τις ἑγονυπέτει λέγων· διδάσκαλε ἀγαθὲ, τὰ ποιήσω. 278 P. ὦνα | ζωῆν αὐώνων κληρονομήσω; ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς λέγει· τί με ἀγαθὸν λέγεις; οὔδεῖς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἰς ὁ θεός. τας ἐντολὰς οἶδας· μὴ μοιχεύσῃς, μὴ φονεύσῃς, μὴ κλέψῃς, μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσῃς, τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα. ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει αὐτῷ· πάντα ταῦτα ἐφύλαξα ἕκ νεότητός μου 2. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐμβλέψας ἡγάπησεν αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπεν· ἐν σοι ὦστερεῖ· εἰ θέλεις τέλειος εἶναι, πώλησον ὅσα ἔχεις καὶ διάδος πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἔξεις θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ δεῦρο ἀκολούθει μοι. ὁ δὲ στυγνάσας ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἀπῆλθε λυποῦμενος· ἦν γὰρ ἔχων χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ ἄγροις. περιβλεψά-

1 αὐτῶ Barnard. αὐτῷ ms.
2 ἕκ νεότητός μου inserted by Segaar; see pp. 286, 290.
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which with angelic crowns and proclamations he now ascends.a

4. May the Saviour grant us power, then, as we begin our address at this point, to impart to the brethren true and fitting and salutary thoughts, first with regard to the hope itself, and secondly with regard to the means of reaching it. He gives freely to those who need, and teaches them when they ask, and disperses their ignorance, and shakes off their despair, by bringing up again the self-same words about the rich and showing them to be their own sure interpreters and expositors. For there is nothing like hearing once more the actual sayings which, because in our childishness we listened to them uncritically and mistakenly, have continued until now to trouble us in the gospels.

As He was going forth into the way, one came and kneeled before Him, saying, Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life. And Jesus says, Why callest thou me good? None is good save one, even God. Thou knowest the commandments; do not commit adultery, do not kill, do not steal, do not bear false witness, honour thy father and mother. And he answering says to Him, All these things have I observed from my youth. And Jesus looking upon him loved him, and said, One thing thou lackest. If thou wilt be perfect, sell whatsoever thou hast and distribute to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, follow Me. But his countenance fell at the saying, and he went away sorrowful; for he was one that had great riches and lands.

a The imagery in this fine passage is taken from the Greek games, which St. Paul also had used as an illustration of the spiritual conflict. See 1 Corinthians ix. 25.
μενος δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· πῶς δυσκόλως οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες εἰσελθοῦσονται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ ἔθαμβοῦντο ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ. πάλιν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀποκριθεῖς λέγει αὐτοῖς· τέκνα, πῶς δύσκολον ἐστι τοὺς πεπουθότας ἐπὶ χρήμασιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐισελθεῖν· εὐκόλως διὰ τῆς τρυμαλίας τῆς βελόνης κάμηλος εἰσελθεῖται ἡ πλούσιος εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. οἱ δὲ περισσώς ἐξεπλήθοσσοντο καὶ ἔλεγον· τίς οὖν δύναται σωθῆναι; ὁ δὲ ἐμβλέψας αὐτοῖς ἔστη· ὁ τι παρὰ ἀνθρώπωι ἀδύνατον, παρὰ θεῷ δυνατόν. ἤρξατο ὁ Πέτρος λέγειν αὐτῷ· ὥστε ἠμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν πάντα καὶ ἱκουλουθησάμεν σοι. ἀποκριθεῖς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει· ἀμὴν ὑμῖν λέγω, ὅτι ἂν ἀφῇ τὰ ἱδία καὶ γονεῖς καὶ ἄδελφους καὶ χρήματα ἔνεκεν ἐμοῦ καὶ ἔνεκεν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ἀπολύσεται ἐκατονταπλάσιονα. νῦν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ἄγροι καὶ χρήματα καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἄδελφους ἐχειν μετὰ διωγμῶν εἰς τούτοις· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐρχομένῳ χρόνῳ δυνάμενος εἰσῆλθεν οἱ πρῶτοι ἐσχάτοι, καὶ οἱ ἐσχάτοι πρῶτοι.

5. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγελίῳ γέγραπται· καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ πᾶσιν <τοῖς> ἀνωμολογημένοις ὄλγοι μὲν ἵσως ἐκασταχοὶ τῶν ῥημάτων ἀναλάλλοι, πάντα δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς γνώμης συμφωνιάν ἐπιδείκνυται. δεῖ δὲ σαφῶς εἰδότας ὡς οὐδὲν ἀνθρωπίνως ὁ σωτὴρ, ἀλλὰ πάντα θεία σοφία καὶ μυστικὴ διδάσκει τοὺς έαυτοῦ, μὴ σαρκίνως ἀκροαθαί τῶν λεγομένων, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐν

1 elsirov; Stählin. elsirov ms. elsgrov Barnard. 
2 ἤσω̣ θην̣ Ghisler. ἤσω̣ θην ms. 3 [ἐν δὲ] Ghisler. 
4 <τοῖς> inserted by Wilamowitz.
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And Jesus looked round about, and says to His disciples, How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God! And the disciples were amazed at His words. But Jesus answering again says to them, Children, how hard is it for them that trust in riches to enter into the kingdom of God! A camel shall more easily enter through the eye of the needle, than a rich man into the kingdom of God. And they were exceedingly astonished and said, Who then can be saved? But He looking upon them said, That which is impossible with men is possible with God. Peter began to say to him, Lo, we have left all and followed thee. And Jesus answering says, Verily I say to you, whoever leaves his home and parents and brothers and riches for My sake and for the gospel's sake, shall receive back a hundredfold. To what end is it that in this present time we have lands and riches and houses and brothers with persecutions? But in the time to come is life eternal. The first shall be last and the last first.\(^a\)

5. This is written in the gospel according to Mark, and in all the other accepted\(^b\) gospels the passage as a whole shows the same general sense, though perhaps here and there a little of the wording changes. And as we are clearly aware that the Saviour teaches His people nothing in a merely human way, but everything by a divine and mystical wisdom, we must not understand His words literally,\(^c\)

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\(^a\) St. Mark x. 17–31. It will be noticed that the text of St. Mark's gospel used by Clement differed in a number of small points from that with which we are familiar.

\(^b\) Clement distinguishes the four gospels from others which he knew, and occasionally uses, but to which he did not attribute the same authority.

\(^c\) The Greek word is "fleshly" or "carnally"; the fleshly meaning was the one that lay on the surface, as contrasted with the hidden or spiritual meaning. "Literally" seems the nearest equivalent in modern English.
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αυτοῖς κεκρυμμένου νοῦν μετὰ τῆς ἄξιας ζητήσεως καὶ συνέσεως ἔρευνᾶν καὶ καταμαθάνειν. καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου δοκοῦντα ἡπλῶσθαι πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς τῶν ἡμιγιμένως ὑπερημένων οὐδὲν ἥττονος ἅλλα πλείονος ἐτί καὶ νῦν τῆς ἐπιστάσεως εὑρίσκεται δεόμενα διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν τῆς προνήσεως ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπερβολὴν. ὅπου δὲ καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ διοίκαί τοῖς ἔσω καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς τῆς βασιλείας τέκνοις ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καλομένους ἔτι χρῆζει προντίδος πλείονος, ἣ ποὺ γε τὸ δόξαντα μὲν ἀπλῶς ἐξευνέκαθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μυθὲς διηρω- 989 π. τημένα πρὸς τῶν ἀκοουσάντων, εἰς ὅλον δὲ τὸ τέλος αὐτὸ τῆς σωτηρίας διαφέροντα, ἐσκεπασμένα.1 δὲ θαυμαστῶ καὶ ὑπερουργαί διανοίας βάθει, οὐκ ἐπιπολαίως δέχεσθαι ταῖς ἀκοαῖς προσήκεν, ἅλλα καθενές τοῦ νοῦν ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ σωτήρος καὶ τὸ τῆς γνώμης ἀπόρρητον.

6. Ἡρώτησαι μὲν γὰρ ἥδεως ὁ κυρίος ἦμῶν καὶ σωτὴρ ἐρώτημα καταληλότατον αὐτῷ, ἢ ζωὴ περὶ ζωῆς, ὁ σωτὴρ περὶ σωτηρίας, ὁ διδάσκαλος περὶ κεφαλαίω τῶν διδασκομένων δογμάτων, <ἡ>2 ἀλήθεια περὶ τῆς ἀληθινῆς ἀθανασίας, ὁ λόγος περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς λόγου, ὁ τέλειος περὶ τῆς τελείας ἀναπαύσεως, ὁ ἀφθαρτος περὶ τῆς βεβαιας ἀφθαρσίας. ἡρώτηται περὶ τούτων ὑπὲρ ὅν κατελήλυθεν, ἄ παιδεύει, ἄ διδάσκει, ἄ παρεχεί, ἵνα δείξῃ τὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ὑπόθεσιν, ὥστι δόσις ἐστὶν αἰωνίου ζωῆς. πρόωδε δὲ ὡς θεός καὶ ἄ μέλλει διερω- τηθήσεσθαι καὶ ἄ μέλλει τις αὐτῷ ἀποκρίνεσθαι.

1 διαφέροντα, ἐσκεπασμένα Stählin. διαφέροντας, ἐσκεπασμένων MS.
2 <ἡ> inserted by Barnard.

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but with due inquiry and intelligence we must search out and master their hidden meaning. For the sayings which appear to have been simplified by the Lord Himself to His disciples are found even now, on account of the extraordinary degree of wisdom in them, to need not less but more attention than His dark and suggestive utterances. And when the sayings which are thought to have been fully explained by Him to the inner circle of disciples, to the very men who are called by Him the children of the kingdom, still require further reflection, surely those that had the appearance of being delivered in simple form and, for that reason were not questioned by the hearers, but which are of importance for the whole end of salvation, and are enveloped in a wonderful and super-celestial depth of thought, should not be taken as they strike the careless ear, but with an effort of mind to reach the very spirit of the Saviour and His secret meaning.

6. For our Lord and Saviour is pleased to be asked a question most appropriate to Him; the Life is asked about life, the Saviour about salvation, the Teacher about the chief of the doctrines He was teaching, the Truth about the true immortality, the Word about the Father’s word, the perfect one about the perfect rest, the incorruptible about the sure incorruption. He is asked about the things for which He has even come to earth, and which are the objects of His training, His teaching, His bounty; in order that He may reveal the purpose of the gospel, that it is a gift of eternal life. As God He knows beforehand both what questions He will be asked and

\[ \text{St. Matt. xiii. 38.} \]
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tis gar kai mallown he o propheteis profhton kai kymos pantos profhtikou pneumatos; klhtheis de agathos, ap' autou prwtou tou rhamatos toutou to enodosmon labwvn entheven kai tis didaskalia arxetai, epistrefwv ton mahhtan epiv ton theon ton agathon kai prwtou kai monon zwhs aiwniou tamian, hyn o vidos didwson hmin par' ekeinou labwn.

7. Oukouv to megiston kai korufaiotaton ton pro toin zwhn mahmatwn apo tis arxh eunous ekkatathsetai tis psikh di, gnwv ton theon ton aiwnion kai dotipa aiwnion kai prwtov kai upertaton kai eva kai agathon theon. <dv>1 esti kthiasathai dia gnwsew kai katalhsews auti gar atrpetos kai asaleutos arxh kai khrh zwhs, episthme theou tov ontow ontov kai ta onta, toutestai ta aiwnia, douroumenov, ev kai to evnai tois alles uparchei kai to meivnai labewn. h men gar tou ton anoina thanatos estin, h de epitignwos autov kai oikeiws kai h pro avton agaphe kai exomoiwsis monh zwh.

8. Tou tov oin prwtov epitignwovn to zhesoumenv toin ontov zwh parakelevetai, onn oudeis epitignwnoskei eis mh o vidos kai o an o vidos apokaluph. epistata to megisto tov swteros met' ekeinon kai tivn kainotita tois charitos maein, hti dh kata tov

1 <dv> inserted by Wilamowitz.

a The word used here (tamias) is applied in Homer (Iliad iv. 84) and Plato (Rep. 379 e) to Zeus, and Clement is doubtless alluding to these passages.

b See St. John v. 26; xvii. 2.

c See St. John xvii. 3.
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what answers will be given Him. For who should know this more than the prophet of prophets and the Lord of every prophetic spirit? And when He is called good, He takes His key-note from this very first word and makes it the starting-point of His teaching, turning the disciple to God who is good, and first of all, and alone dispenser of eternal life, which the Son gives to us after receiving it from Him. b

7. We must therefore store up in the soul right from the beginning the greatest and chiefest of the doctrines that refer to life, namely, to know the eternal God as both giver of eternal gifts and first and supreme and one and a good God. c And we can get possession of God through knowledge and apprehension; for this is a firm and unshakable beginning and foundation of life,—the knowledge of God who truly exists and who is the bestower of things that exist, that is, of eternal things, from whom it is that the rest of things take both their existence and their continuance. Ignorance of Him is death, but full knowledge of Him, and close friendship, and love to Him, and growth in His likeness, d is alone life.

8. He therefore that aims at living the true life is bidden first to know Him whom “no man knows except the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son reveals Him” e: and then to understand the Saviour’s greatness, next to Him, and the newness of His grace; because, according to the apostle, “the law

a The thought of “becoming like God” is taken from Plato, Theaetetus 176 b, a passage to which Clement often refers.

b St. Matthew xi. 27.

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ἀπόστολον "δ' νόμος διὰ Μωσέως ἔδόθη, ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ ἁλήθεια διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ". καὶ οὐκ ἦσα τὰ διὰ δούλου πιστοὶ διδόμενα τοῖς ὑπὸ [τοῦ] 1 ὕπο γνησίου δωρομένοις. εἰ γοῦν ἰκανὸς ἤν ὁ Μωσέως νόμος ζωὴν αἰώνιον παρασχεῖν, μάτην μὲν ὁ σωτὴρ αὐτὸς παραγίνεται καὶ πάσχει δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ γενέσεως μέχρι τοῦ σημείου τῆς ἀνθρωπότητας διατρέχων, μάτην δὲ ὁ πάσας πεποιηκὼς "ἐκ νεότητος" τὰς

940 ὅ νομίμως ἐντολάς παρὰ ἄλλου αἴτε 2 γονυπετῶν ἀθανασίαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ πεπλήρωκε μόνον τὸν νόμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἀρξάμενος· ἐπεὶ καὶ τί μέγα ἡ ὑπέρλαμπρον γῆρας ἀγωνὸν ἀδικημάτων ἄν ἐπιθυμεῖς τίκτουσι νεανικαὶ ἡ ὀργὴ ξέουσα ἡ ἐρωτὶς χρημάτων; ἀλλ' εἶ τις ἐν σκιρτήματι νεοτησίας καὶ τῷ καύσωνι τῆς ἡλικίας παρέσχηται φρόνημα πεπανό καὶ πρεσβύτερον τοῦ χρόνου, θαυμαστὸς οὗτος ἁγωνισθῆς καὶ διαπρεπῆς καὶ τῆς γνώμης πολιός 3. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὗτος ὁ τουτὸς ἀκριβῶς πέπεισται, διὸτι αὐτῷ πρὸς μὲν δικαιοσύνην οὐδὲν ἐνδεί, ζωῆς δὲ ὅλως προσδεί. διὸ αὐτὴν αἴτε παρὰ τοῦ δοῦναι μόνον δυναμένον· καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸν νόμον ἀγεὶ παρρησίαν, τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ τὸν υἱὸν ἱκετεύει. "ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν" μετατάσσεται· ὃς σφαλερῶς ἐν νόμῳ σαλεύων καὶ ἐπικυνδύνως ναυλοχῶν εἰς τὸν σωτῆρα μεθορμίζεται.

9. 'Ὁ γοῦν Ἰησοῦς ὅπως ἐλέηγχε μὲν αὐτὸν ὡς πάντα τὰ ἐκ νόμου μὴ πεπληρωμοῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγαπᾷ καὶ

1 [τοῦ] Stählin.
2 αἴτε J. A. Robinson. ἐτι ms.
3 πολιός Stählin. πολιότερος ms.

a St. John i. 17.
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was given through Moses, grace and truth through Jesus Christ,” a and gifts given through a faithful slave b are not equal to those bestowed by a true son. At any rate, if the law of Moses was able to supply eternal life, it is in vain that the Saviour comes Himself to us and suffers on our account, c running His human course from birth to the cross d; in vain, too, that he who has kept “from youth” all the commandments of Moses’ law kneels and asks immortality from another. For not only has he fulfilled the law, but he began to do so right from his earliest years. For what is there great or especially distinguished about an old age free from the brood of sins that are born of youthful lusts or boiling anger or passion for riches? But if a man in the heyday and heat of youth displays a ripe spirit older than his years, he is a wonderful and illustrious champion and hoary in judgment. Nevertheless the young man in question is positively convinced that while, as regards righteousness, nothing is lacking to him, life is lacking altogether. So he asks it from Him who alone is able to give it. As regards the law, too, he speaks with boldness, but to the Son of God he makes supplication. He passes over “from faith to faith.” e As he tosses perilously in the dangerous roadstead of the law he is brought to a safe anchorage with the Saviour.

9. Certainly Jesus does not convict him of not having fulfilled all the demands of the law. No, He

b The reference is to Moses in Hebrews iii. 5.

c See Galatians ii. 21.

d Literally, the “sign,” a term often used to denote the cross; cp. Ep. Barnabas xii. 5.

e Romans i. 17.
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"περαστάζεται τῆς ἐν οἷς ἔμαθεν εὑπεθέλειας, ἀτελη
dὲ εἶναὶ φησιν ὡς πρὸς τὴν αἰώνιον ζωήν, ὡς οὐ
tέλεια πεπληρωκότα, καὶ νόμου μὲν ἐργάτην,
ἀργὸς δὲ ζωῆς ἀληθινῆς. καλὰ μὲν οὖν κἀκεῖνα
(τίς δ’ οὖ φησιν; ἡ γὰρ “ἐντολὴ ἀγία”) ἀχρ
παιδαγωγίας τινὸς μετὰ φόβον καὶ προσαυτοῦ
eπὶ τήν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ νομοθεσίαν τῇ ἄκραν καὶ χάρων
προχωροῦντα, πλῆρωμα δὲ “νόμου Χριστὸς εἰς
dικαιοσύνην παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι,” οὐχὶ δὲ δοῦλος
ποιῶν ὡς δοῦλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐδελφοὺς καὶ
συγκληρονόμους τοὺς ἐπιτελοῦντας τὸ θέλημα τοῦ
πατρὸς.

10. “Εἰ θελεῖς τελειος γενέσθαι.” οὐκ ἀρα πω
tέλειος ἢν οὐδὲν γαρ τελειον τελειότερον. καὶ
θείως τὸ “εἰ θελεῖς” τὸ αυτεξούσιον τῆς προσ-
dιαλεγομένης αὐτῶ ψυχῆς ἐδήλωσεν. ἐπὶ τῷ
ἀνθρώπῳ γαρ ἢν ἡ αἱρέσις ως ἐλευθέρῳ, ἐπὶ θεί
δὲ ἡ δόσις ὡς κυρίω. διδωσὶ δὲ βουλομένους καὶ
ὑπερσουδακόσι καὶ δεομένοις, ἐν οὕτως ἴδιον
αὐτῶν ἡ σωτηρία γένηται. οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκάζει ὁ
θεὸς, βία γὰρ ἐχθρὸν θεῷ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ζητοῦσι
πορίζει καὶ τοῖς αἰτοῦσι παρέχει καὶ τοῖς κρούοντος
ἀνοίγει. εἰ θελεῖς οὖν, εἰ οὕτως θελεῖς καὶ μὴ
ἐαυτὸν ἐξαπατᾶς, κτῆσαι τὸ ἐνδέον. “ἐν σοι
λείπει,” τὸ ἐν, τὸ ἐμον, τὸ ἀγαθόν, τὸ ἴδη ὑπὲρ
νόμον, ὅπερ νόμον οὐ δίδωσιν, ὅπερ νόμος οὐ

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a Romans vii. 12.  b See Galatians iii. 24.
c Romans x. 4, and xiii. 10.  d i.e. Moses; cp. Hebrews iii. 5-6.
e See St. Matthew xiii. 50, and Romans viii. 14-17.  f St. Matthew xix. 21.

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loves him and warmly welcomes him for his ready obedience in what he has learnt. Yet He calls him imperfect as regards eternal life, on the ground that he has fulfilled deeds that are not perfect, and that though he is a worker of the law, he is idle in respect of true life. Now the works of the law are good—who will deny it? for "the commandment is holy," —but only to the extent of being a kind of training, accompanied by fear and preparatory instruction, leading on to the supreme law-giving and grace of Jesus. On the other hand "Christ is the fulfilment of the law unto righteousness to every one that believes," and those who perfectly observe the Father's will He makes not slaves, in the manner of a slave, but sons and brothers and joint-heirs.

10. "If thou wilt become perfect." So he was not yet perfect; for there are no degrees of perfection. And the "if thou wilt" was a divine declaration of the free-will of the soul that was talking with Him. For the choice lay with the man as a free being, though the gift was with God as Lord. And He gives to those who desire and are in deep earnest and beg, that in this way salvation may become their very own. For God does not compel, since force is hateful to God, but He provides for those who seek, He supplies to those who ask, and He opens to those who knock. If thou wilt, then, if thou really wilt and art not deceiving thyself, get possession of that which is wanting. "One thing thou lackest," the one thing, that which is Mine, the good, that which is already above law, which law does not give, which law does not contain, which

\[h\] St. Mark x. 21; St. Luke xviii. 22.
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χωρεῖ, ὁ τῶν ζωτῶν ὑδίων ἐστιν. ἀμέλει τὸ πάντα τὰ τοῦ νόμου πληρώσας "ἐκ νεότητος" καὶ τὰ ὑπέρογκα φρουξάμενος τὸ ἐν τούτῳ προσθείη τοῖς ὅλοις οὐ δεδύνηται, τὸ τοῦ σωτήρος ἐξαίρετον, ἣν λάβῃ ζωὴν αἰώνιον, ἢν ποθεὶ: ἀλλὰ δυσχεράνας ἀπῆλθεν, ἀχθεσθεὶς τῷ παραγγέλματι τῆς ζωῆς, ὑπὲρ ἡς ικέτευεν. οὐ γὰρ ἀληθῶς ζωὴν ἦθελεν, ὡς ἔφασκεν, ἀλλὰ δόξαν προαιρέσεως ἀγαθῆς μόνην περιεβάλλετο, καὶ περὶ πολλὰ μὲν οἶδος τὲ ἢν ἀσχολεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἐν, τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ἔργον, ἀδύνατος καὶ ἀπρόθυμος καὶ ἀσθενής ἐκτελεῖν: ὅποιόν τι καὶ πρὸς τὴν Μάρθαν ἐπεν ὁ σωτὴρ ἀσχολομένην <περὶ> 1 πολλὰ καὶ περιεκλομένην καὶ ταρασσομένην 2 διακονικῶς, τὴν δὲ ἀδελφὴν αἰτιωμένην, ὅτι τὸ ὑπηρετεῖν ἀπολίπουσα τοῖς ποιῶν αὐτοῦ παρακάθηται μαθητικὴν ἀγούσα σχολήν. "οὐ περὶ πολλὰ ταράσσῃ, Μαρία δὲ τὴν ἀγαθὴν μερίδα ἐξελέγατο, καὶ οὐκ ἀφαιρεθήσεται αὐτῆς." οὕτως καὶ τοῦτον ἐκέλευε τῆς πολυπραγμοσύνης ἀφέμενον ἐνι προστετηκέναι καὶ προσκαθέξεσθαι, τῇ χάριτι τοῦ ζωῆς αἰώνιον προστιθέντος.

11. Τι τοῖνυν ἢν τὸ προτρεψάμενον αὐτὸν εἰς φυγὴν καὶ ποιήσαν ἀπαντομολόγησα τοῦ διδασκάλου, τῆς ἱκετείας, τῆς ἑλπίδος, τῆς ζωῆς, τῶν προ- πεπονημένων; "πιστεύσου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα σου." τι δὲ τούτῳ ἐστιν; οὐχ ὁ προχείρος δέχονται τυνες, τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν οὐσίαν ἀπορρίψα προστάσσει καὶ ἀποστήναι τῶν χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ τὰ δόγματα τὰ περὶ χρημάτων ἐξορίζαι τῆς ψυχῆς, τὴν πρὸς αὐτὰ

1 <περὶ> inserted by Segaar.
2 ταρασσομένη Ghisler. παρατασσομένη ms. παραταρασ- σομένη Barnard.
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is peculiar to those who live. Yet indeed he who has fulfilled every demand of the law "from youth" and has made extravagant boasts, is unable to add to the tale this one thing singled out by the Saviour, in order to obtain the eternal life which he longs for. He went away displeased, being annoyed at the precept concerning the life for which he was making supplication. For he did not truly wish for life, as he said, but aimed solely at a reputation for good intentions. He could be busy about many things, but the one thing, the work that brings life, he was neither able nor eager nor strong enough to accomplish. And just as the Saviour said to Martha when she was busy about many things, distracted and troubled by serving, and chiding her sister because she had left the household work and was seated at His feet spending her time in learning: "Thou art troubled about many things, but Mary hath chosen the good part, and it shall not be taken away from her," —so also He bade this man cease from his manifold activities and cling to and sit beside one thing, the grace of Him who adds eternal life.

11. What then was it that impelled him to flight, and made him desert his teacher, his supplication, his hope, his life, his previous labours? "Sell what belongs to thee." And what is this? It is not what some hastily take it to be, a command to fling away the substance that belongs to him and to part with his riches, but to banish from the soul its opinions about riches, its attachment to them, its

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*a* See St. Luke x. 38-42.

*b* St. Matthew xix. 21; St. Mark x. 21.
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συμπάθειαν, τὴν ὑπεράγαν ἐπιθυμίαν, τὴν peri αὐτὰ πτοιαν καὶ νόσον, τὰς μερίμνας, τὰς ἀκάνθας τοῦ βίου, αἱ τὸ σπέρμα τῆς ζωῆς συμπνίγουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ μέγα καὶ ἐγκλωτὸν τὸ τηνάλλως ἀπορεῖν χρημάτων μὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ λόγῳ ζωῆς (οὔτω μὲν γ' ἂν ἦσαν οἱ μηδὲν ἑχοντες μηδαμή, ἀλλὰ ἔρημοι καὶ μεταίται τῶν ἐφ' ἡμέραν, οἱ κατὰ τὰς ὅδους ἔρρημεν οἱ πτωχοὶ, ἀνθρώποι καὶ "ἀγνοοῦντες" δὲ θεοῦ καὶ "δικαιοσύνηθεν θεοῦ," κατ' αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ ἀκρως ἀπορεῖν καὶ ἀμηχανεῖν βίου καὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων σπανίζειν μακαριωτάτου καὶ τεσσαλωτάτου καὶ μόνοι ζωῆς ἑχοντες αἰώνιον) οὔτε καίνον τὸ ἀπείπασθαί πλοῦτον καὶ χαρίσασθαι πτωχοῖς ἡ πατρίσιν, ὅ πολλοί πρὸ τῆς τοῦ σωτήρος καθόδου πεποίηκασιν, οἱ μὲν τῆς εἰς λόγους σχολῆς καὶ νεκρᾶς σοφίας ἔνεκεν, οἱ δὲ φήμης κενῆς καὶ κενοδοξίας, Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ Δημόκριτοι καὶ Κράτητες.

12. Τι οὖν ὂς καίνον καὶ ἰδιον θεοῦ παραγγέλλει καὶ μόνον ζωοποιοῦν, ὅ τοὺς πρωτέρους οὐκ ἔσωσεν; εἰ δὲ εξαίρετον τι ἡ "καίνη κτίσις," ὁ νῦν τοῦ θεοῦ, μηνύει καὶ διδάσκει, οὗ τὸ φαινόμενον, ὅπερ ἄλλοι

a The allusion is to the parable of the Sower. See St. Mark iv. 19 and parallel passages.
b Romans x. 3.
c Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, 500-428 B.C., gave up his property in order to have more leisure for philosophy. Democritus of Abdera (about 460-361 B.C.) is said to have spent a large fortune on travels undertaken in search of knowledge. Crates, the Cynic philosopher (about 320 B.C.) gave his wealth to his native city Thebes.
d When Clement speaks of the "new creation" (the phrase comes from Galatians vi. 15 and 2 Corinthians v. 17), he is thinking in the first place of the great transformation.
excessive desire, its morbid excitement over them, its anxious cares, the thorns of our earthly existence which choke the seed of the true life. For it is no great or enviable thing to be simply without riches, apart from the purpose of obtaining life. Why, if this were so, those men who have nothing at all, but are destitute and beg for their daily bread, who lie along the roads in abject poverty, would, though “ignorant” of God and “God’s righteousness,” be most blessed and beloved of God and the only possessors of eternal life, by the sole fact of their being utterly without ways and means of livelihood and in want of the smallest necessities. Nor again is it a new thing to renounce wealth and give it freely to the poor, or to one’s fatherland, which many have done before the Saviour’s coming, some to obtain leisure for letters and for dead wisdom, others for empty fame and vainglory—such men as Anaxagoras, Democritus and Crates.

12. What then is it that He enjoins as new and peculiar to God and alone life-giving, which did not save men of former days? If the “new creation,” the Son of God, reveals and teaches something else, then His command does not refer to the which has resulted from the presence and work of Jesus Christ on earth: the fear of death has given place to an assurance of union with God and immortality. The life thus opened out to man is eloquently described in the *Exhortation to the Greeks*, 88–89 P. (see pp. 243–7 of this volume). But Clement can also apply the term “new creation” to Christ Himself, the result of Christ’s work being gathered up, as it were, into the person of its author. This is what he seems to do here. Yet the main thought is still that the old world has been so entirely left behind that Christ’s teaching must in every detail go far beyond anything taught or practised before.

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πεποιήκασι, παρεγγυῶ, ἂλλ᾽ ἔτερον τι διὰ τούτου σημανώμενον μείζον καὶ θειότερον καὶ τελεώτερον, τὸ τὴν ψυχήν αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν γυμνῶσαι τῶν ὑπόντων παθῶν καὶ πρόρρηζα τὰ ἀλλότρια τῆς γνώμης ἐκτεμένι καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν. τούτῳ γάρ ὁδοιον μὲν τοῦ πιστοῦ τὸ μάθημα, ἄξιον δὲ τοῦ σωτήρος τὸ δίδαγμα. οἱ γάρ τοι πρότεροι, καταφρονήσαντες τῶν ἐκτός, τὰ μὲν κτήματα | ἁφήκαν καὶ παραπώλησαν, τὰ δὲ πάθη τῶν ψυχῶν οἷμαι ὅτι καὶ προσεπέτεινα· ἐν ὑπεροφίᾳ γάρ ἐγένοντο καὶ ἀλαζονεία καὶ κενοδοξία καὶ περιφρονήσει τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς αὐτοὶ τὶ ὑπέρ ἀνθρωπων ἐργασάμενοι. πώς ἀν οὖν ὁ σωτὴρ παρῆκε τοῖς εἰς ὡς ἔνει βιωσομένοις τὰ βλάψας καὶ λυμανύμενα πρὸς τὴν ζωῆν, ἂν ἐπαγγελλέται; καὶ γὰρ ἄδα κάκειν ἔστι· δύναται τις ἀποφορτισάμενος τὴν κτήσιν οὐδὲν ἢττον ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τὴν ὀρεξὶν τῶν χρημάτων ἔχειν ἐντετηκιαὶ καὶ συζώσαν καὶ τὴν μὲν χρήσιν ἀποβεβληκέναι, ἀπορῶν δὲ ἢμα καὶ ποθῶν ἀπερ ἐσπάθησε διπλῆς λυπεῖσθαι, καὶ τῇ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας ἀποσύσι καὶ τῇ τῆς μετανοίας συνοσία. ἀνέφικτον γὰρ καὶ ἀμήκανον δεόμενον τῶν πρὸς τὸ βιοτεύειν ἀναγκαίων μὴ οὐ κατακλᾶσθαι τῷ γνῶμῃ καὶ ἀσχολίαν ἀγεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων, ὁπωσοῦν καὶ ὃθενοῦν τᾶτα πειρόμενον ἐκπορίζειν.

13. Καὶ πόσῳ χρησιμώτερον τὸ ἐναντίον, ἣνα κεκτημένον αὐτὸν τε περὶ τὴν κτήσιν μὴ κακοπαθεῖν καὶ οἷς καθήκεν ἐπικουρεῖν; τὸς γὰρ ἄν κοινωνία καταλεῖποντο παρὰ ἀνθρώποις, ἐι μηδεις ἔχοι μηδέν;

a Strictly, service rendered by rowers on a ship, in relation to the work of sailors and pilot; hence, services rendered by wealth, etc., for the support and comfort of life.
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visible act, the very thing that others have done, but
to something else greater, more divine and more
perfect, which is signified through this; namely, to
strip the soul itself and the will of their lurking
passions and utterly to root out and cast away all
alien thoughts from the mind. For this is a lesson
peculiar to the believer and a doctrine worthy of the
Saviour. The men of former days, indeed, in their
contempt for outward things, parted with and sacri-
ficed their possessions, but as for the passions of the
soul, I think they even intensified them. For they
became supercilious, boastful, conceited and disdainful
of the rest of mankind, as if they themselves had
wrought something superhuman. How then could
the Saviour have recommended to those who were to
live for ever things that would be harmful and in-
jurious for the life He promises? And there is this
other point. It is possible for a man, after having un-
burdened himself of his property, to be none the less
continually absorbed and occupied in the desire and
longing for it. He has given up the use of wealth,
but now being in difficulties and at the same time
yearning after what he threw away, he endures a
double annoyance, the absence of means of support a
and the presence of regret. For when a man lacks
the necessities of life he cannot possibly fail to be
broken in spirit and to neglect the higher things, as
he strives to procure these necessities by any means
and from any source.

13. And how much more useful is the opposite
condition, when by possessing a sufficiency a man is
himself in no distress about money-making and also
helps those he ought? For what sharing would be
left among men, if nobody had anything? And how

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πῶς δ' ἂν τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα πολλοὶς ἄλλοις καὶ καλοῖς τοῦ κυρίου δόγμασιν οὐχὶ φανερῶς ἐναντιοῦμενον εὐρισκοῦτο καὶ μαχόμενον; "ποιήσατε ἑαυτοὶς φίλους ἐκ τοῦ μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας, ἵν' ὅταν ἐκλίπῃ, δέξωνται ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς αἰωνίους σκηνάς." "κτήσασθε θησαυροὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὅπου μήτε σής μήτε βρῶσις ἀφανίζει μήτε κλέπται διορύσσουσι." πῶς ἢν τις πεινῶντα τέρφοι καὶ διψῶντα ποτίζοι καὶ γυμνὸν σκεπάζοι καὶ ἀστεγον συνάγοι, ἃ τοῖς μὴ ποιήσασιν ἀπειλεῖ πῦρ καὶ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον, εἰ πάντων αὐτὸς ἔκαστος φθάναι τούτων ὑστερῶν; ἀλλὰ μὴν αὐτὸς τε ἐπιξενοῦται Ζακχαῖω καὶ Λευεὶ 1 καὶ Μαθαίων τοῖς πλουσίοις καὶ τελώναις, καὶ τὰ μὲν χρήματα αὐτοὺς οὐ κελεύει μεθείναι, τὴν δὲ δικαίαν χρήσων 2 ἐπιθεῖς καὶ τὴν ἁδικον ἀφελῶν καταγγέλλει. "σήμερον σωτηρία τῷ οἶκῳ τούτῳ." οὕτω τὴν χρείαν αὐτῶν ἐπαινεῖ, ὥστε καὶ μετὰ τῆς προσβήκης ταύτης τὴν κοινωνίαν ἐπιτάσσει, ποτίζειν τὸν διψῶντα, ἅρτον διδόναι τῷ πεινῶντι, ὑποδέχεσθαι τὸν ἀστεγον, ἀμφιεννύναι τὸν γυμνὸν. εἰ δὲ τὰς χρείας οὐχ οἶνον τε ἐκπληροῦν ταύτας μὴ ἀπὸ χρημάτων, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων ἀφίστασθαι κελεύει, τί ἂν ἐτερον εἰχ' ποιών ὁ κύριος <ἡ> 3 τὰ αὐτὰ διδόναι τε καὶ μὴ διδόναι παραίνον, τρέφειν καὶ μὴ τρέφειν, ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ ἀποκλειέων, κοινωνεῖν καὶ μὴ κοινωνεῖν, ὅπερ ἀπάντων ἀλογώτατον;

1 καὶ Λευεὶ J. A. Robinson. κελεύει ms.  
2 χρήσωn Olshausen. κρίσωn ms.  
3 <ἡ> inserted by Ghisler.

a St. Luke xvi. 9.  
b St. Matthew vi. 20.  
c See St. Matthew xxv. 41–43.  
d See St. Luke xix. 5.

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could this doctrine be found other than plainly contradictory to and at war with many other noble doctrines of the Lord? "Make to yourselves friends from the mammon of unrighteousness, that when it shall fail they may receive you into the eternal habitations." "Acquire treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth consume, nor thieves break through." How could we feed the hungry and give drink to the thirsty, cover the naked and entertain the homeless, with regard to which deeds He threatens fire and the outer darkness to those who have not done them; if each of us were himself already in want of all these things? But further, the Lord Himself is a guest with Zacchaeus and Levi and Matthew, wealthy men and tax-gatherers, and He does not bid them give up their riches. On the contrary, having enjoined the just and set aside the unjust employment of them, He proclaims, "Today is salvation come to this house." It is on this condition that He praises their use, and with this stipulation,—that He commands them to be shared, to give drink to the thirsty and bread to the hungry, to receive the homeless, to clothe the naked. And if it is not possible to satisfy these needs except with riches, and He were bidding us stand aloof from riches, what else would the Lord be doing than exhorting us to give and also not to give the same things, to feed and not to feed, to receive and to shut out, to share and not to share? But this would be the height of unreason.

* See St. Mark ii. 15 and parallel passages. The reading "Levi" is obtained by a slight change in the ms. Clement regards Levi and Matthew as two different persons.

* St. Luke xix. 9.
14. Οὐκ ἂρα ἀπορριπτέον τὰ καὶ τοὺς πέλας ὡφελοῦντα χρήματα· κτήματα γὰρ ἐστὶ κτητὴ ἄντα, καὶ χρήματα χρήσιμα ὄντα καὶ εἰς χρῆσιν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ παρεσκευασμένα, ἀ δὴ παράκειται καὶ υποβέβληται καθάπερ ὑλή τις καὶ ὁργανά πρὸς χρήσιν ἄγαθήν τοῖς εἰδόσι. τὸ ὁργανόν, εἰς χρῆ τεχνώς, τεχνικῶν ἕστιν· εἰς ύστερῆς τῆς τέχνης, ἀπολαῦει τῆς σῆς ἁμοιοσίας, ἵνα ἀναίτιον. τοιοῦτον καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος ὁργανόν ἔστιν. δύνασαι χρησθαι δικαίως αὐτῶ. πρὸς δικαιοσύνην καθυπηρετεί· ἀδίκως τις αὐτῷ χρήται· πάλιν ὑπηρέτης ἀδικίας εὐρίσκεται· πέρευκε γὰρ ὑπηρετεῖν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἄρχειν. οὐ χρῆ τοῖς τὸ ἔξ ἦαυτοῦ μὴ ἔχον μήτε τὸ ἀγαθὸν μήτε τὸ κακόν, ἀναίτιον ὅν, αἰτιάσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ δυνάμενον καὶ καλῶς τοῦτος χρησθαὶ καὶ κακῶς, ἀφ’ ὃν ἢν ἔληται, κατ’ αὐτὸ ἀντίοι ὅν, τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶ νοὸς ἀνθρώπου, καὶ κριτήριον ἐλεύθερον ἔχων ἐν ἦαυτῷ καὶ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον τῆς μεταχειρίσεως τῶν δοθέντων· ὅστε μὴ τὰ κτήματά τις ἀφανιζέτω μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς, τὰ μὴ συγχωροῦντα τὴν ἁμείνω χρήσιν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἵνα καλῶς καὶ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος καὶ τοῦτος τοῖς κτήμασι χρησθαὶ δυνηθῇ καλῶς. τὸ σῦν ἀποτάξασθαι πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι καὶ πωλήσας πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐκδεκτέον ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ψυχικῶν παθῶν διειρημένον.

15. Ἐγὼ γοῦν κάκεινο φήσαιμι ἂν· ἐπειδὴ τὰ μὲν

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1 ἁμοιοσίας Segarra. ἁμοιοσίας ms.
2 <τοῦτο αἰτίον ὅν> inserted by Stählin.

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a An attempt is here made to reproduce Clement's play upon the words χρήματα . . . χρήσιμα . . . χρῆσιν.
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14. We must not then fling away the riches that are of benefit to our neighbours as well as ourselves. For they are called possessions because they are things possessed, and wealth because they are to be welcomed and because they have been prepared by God for the welfare of men. Indeed, they lie at hand and are put at our disposal as a sort of material and as instruments to be well used by those who know. An instrument, if you use it with artistic skill, is a thing of art; but if you are lacking in skill, it reaps the benefit of your unmusical nature, though not itself responsible. Wealth too is an instrument of the same kind. You can use it rightly; it ministers to righteousness. But if one use it wrongly, it is found to be a minister of wrong. For its nature is to minister, not to rule. We must not therefore put the responsibility on that which, having in itself neither good nor evil, is not responsible, but on that which has the power of using things either well or badly, as a result of choice; for this is responsible just for that reason. And this is the mind of man, which has in itself both free judgment and full liberty to deal with what is given to it. So let a man do away, not with his possessions, but rather with the passions of his soul, which do not consent to the better use of what he has; in order that, by becoming noble and good, he may be able to use these possessions also in a noble manner. “Saying good-bye to all we have,” and “selling all we have,” must therefore be understood in this way, as spoken with reference to the soul's passions.

15. I for my part would put the matter thus.

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εντός ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς, κἂν μὲν ἡ ψυχὴ χρήσαι καλῶς, καλὰ καὶ ταῦτα δοκεῖ, εἰν δὲ πονηρῶς, πονηρά, ὁ κελεύων ἀπαλλοτριοῦν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πότερον ταῦτα παρατείνατ᾽ ἢν ἀναφεθέντων ἐτὶ τὰ πάθη μένει, ἡ ἐκείνα μᾶλλον ἢν ἀναφεθέντων καὶ τὰ κτήματα χρήσιμα γίνεται; ὁ τούτων ἀποβαλὼν τὴν κοσμικὴν περιουσίαν ἐτὶ δύναται πλούτειν τῶν παθῶν, καὶ τῆς ὦλης μή παροῦσης. ἡ γὰρ τοις διάθεσις τὸ αὐτῆς ἐνεργεῖ καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν ἀγχεῖ καὶ πιέζει καὶ φλεγμαίνει ταῖς συντρόφοις ἐπιθυμίαις. οὐδὲν οὗν προςρυχοῦν γέγονεν αὐτῷ πτωχεύειν χρημάτων πλουτοῦντι τῶν παθῶν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἀπόβλητα ἀπέβαλεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἅδηστα, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπηρετικῶν ἐαυτὸν περιέκομεν, ἐξεκαστε οὖ τῇ ὦλῃ τῆς κακίας τῆς ἐμφυτον τῇ τῶν ἐκτός ἀπορία. ἀποτακτεόν οὖν τοῖς ὑπάρχοντι τοῖς βλαβεροῖς, οὐχι τοῖς ἐὰν ἐπιστητείν τις τῆς ὀρθῆς χρήσιν καὶ συνοφελεῖν δυναμένοις ὁμολογεῖ δὲ τὰ μετὰ φρονήσεως καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ εὐσεβείας οἰκονομοῦμενα. ἀπωστέα δὲ τὰ ἐπιζήμια, τὰ δὲ ἐκτός οὗ βλάπτει.

Οὕτως οὖν ὁ κύριος καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐκτός χρείαν εἰσάγει, κελεύων ἀποθέσθαι | οὐ τὰ βιωτικά, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦτοις κακῶς χρώμενα ταῦτα δὲ ἢν τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρρωστήματα καὶ πάθη. 16. ὁ τούτων πλοῦτος παρὼν μὲν ἀπασθανατηφόρος, ἀπολόμενος δὲ σωτήριος οὗ δὲ 1 καθαρεύουσαν, τούτεστι πτωχεύουσαν καὶ γυμνῆν τὴν ψυχήν παρασχόμενον

1 ὁ θ. Ghisler. ἡ μ. s.

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

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Since possessions of one kind are within the soul, and those of another kind outside it, and these latter appear to be good if the soul uses them well, but bad if they are badly used, which of the two is it that He, who orders us to get rid of what we have, asks us to renounce? Is it those after whose removal the passions still remain, or rather those after whose removal even outward possessions become useful? He who has cast away his worldly abundance can still be rich in passions even though his substance is gone. For his disposition continues its own activity, choking and stifling the power of reasoning and inflaming him with its inbred desires. It has proved no great gain then for him to be poor in possessions when he is rich in passions. For he has cast away not the worthless things but the indifferent, and while depriving himself of what is serviceable he has set on fire the innate material of evil by the lack of outward things. A man must say good-bye, then, to the injurious things he has, not to those that can actually contribute to his advantage if he knows the right use of them; and advantage comes from those that are managed with wisdom, moderation and piety. We must reject what is hurtful; but outward things are not injurious.

In this way then the Lord admits the use of outward things, bidding us put away, not the means of living, but the things that use these badly; and these are, as we have seen, the infirmities and passions of the soul. 16. Wealth of these brings death whenever it is present, but salvation when it is destroyed. Of this wealth a man must render his soul pure, that is, poor and bare, and then only must he listen
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οὗτος ἦδη τοῦ σωτήρος ἀκούσαί λέγοντος· "δεύτερο ἀκολούθει μοι." ὃδέος γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦδη τῷ καθαρῷ τὴν καρδίαν γίνεται, εἰς δὲ ἀκάθαρτον ψυχὴν θεοῦ χάρις οὐ παραδύνεται· ἀκάθαρτος δὲ ἡ πλούτουσα τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἡ ὑδίνουσα πολλοῖς ἔρωσι καὶ κοσμικοῖς. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἑξων κτήματα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργυρὸν καὶ οἰκίας ὡς θεοῦ δωρεάς, [καὶ] ὅ τι τε διδόντες ἑτερογενῶς ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίαν, καὶ εἰδὼς ὅτι ταῦτα κέκτηται διὰ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς μᾶλλον ἡ ἑαυτῶν, καὶ κρείττων ὑπάρχου τῆς κτήσεως αὐτῶν, μὴ δοῦλος <ὁν> ὅν κέκτηται, μηδὲ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ταῦτα περιφέρων, μηδὲ ἐν τούτοις ὄριζων καὶ περιγράφων τὴν ἑαυτὸς λοιμῆν, ἀλλὰ τι καὶ καλὸν ἐργὸν καὶ θείον ἀεὶ διαπονών, κἂν ἀποστερηθῆναι δέ ἐπὶ ποτὲ τούτων, δυνάμενος ἰλέω τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τὴν ἀπαλλαγήν αὐτῶν ἐνεγκείνει ἐξ οὗν καθάπερ καὶ τὴν περιουσίαν, οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ μακρι-ζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ πτωχός τῷ πνεύματι καλούμενος, κληρονόμος ἐστομος οὐρανοῦ βασιλείας, οὐ πλούσιος ἥσσαι μὴ δυνάμενος. 17. ὦ δὲ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τὸν πλούτων φέρων, καὶ ἀντὶ θεοῦ πνεύματος ἐν τῇ καρδία χρυσὸν φέρων ή ἁγρόν, καὶ τὴν κτήσιν ἀμετρον ἀεὶ ποιῶν, καὶ ἔκαστοτε τὸ πλεῖον βλέπων, κάτω νευεκάζει καὶ τοῖς τοῦ κόσμου θηρατροῖς πεπεδήμενος, γῇ ὁν καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελευσόμενος, πόθεν δύναται βασιλείας οὐρανῶν ἐπιθυμήσαι καὶ φροντίσαι, ἀνθρώπος οὐ καρδίαν ἀλλὰ ἁγρόν ἡ μέταλλον φορῶν, ἐν τούτοις εὐρεθησόμενος ἐπ-

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

a St. Mark x. 21.
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to the Saviour when He says, "Come, follow Me." For He Himself now becomes a way to the pure in heart; but into an impure soul God's grace does not steal. An impure soul is that which is rich in lusts and in travail with many worldly affections. For he who holds possessions and gold and silver and houses as gifts of God, and from them ministers to the salvation of men for God the giver, and knows that he possesses them for his brothers' sakes rather than his own, and lives superior to the possession of them; who is not the slave of his possessions, and does not carry them about in his soul, nor limit and circumscribe his own life in them, but is ever striving to do some noble and divine deed; and who, if he is fated ever to be deprived of them, is able to bear their loss with a cheerful mind exactly as he bore their abundance—this is the man who is blessed by the Lord and called poor in spirit, a ready inheritor of the kingdom of heaven, not a rich man who cannot obtain life. 17. But he who carries his wealth in his soul, and in place of God's spirit carries in his heart gold or an estate, who is always extending his possession without limit, and is continually on the look-out for more, whose eyes are turned downwards and who is fettered by the snares of the world, who is earth and destined to return to earth—how can he desire and meditate on the kingdom of heaven? A man that bears about not a heart, but an estate or a mine, will he not perforce be found among these things on which he fixed his choice?

See St. John xiv. 6; St. Matthew v. 8. See St. Matthew v. 3. See Genesis iii. 19.
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άναγκες¹ [ἐν]² οἷς εἶλετο; "ὅπου γὰρ ὁ νοῦς τοῦ ἄνθρωπου, ἑκεῖ καὶ ὁ θησαυρὸς αὐτοῦ."

Θησαυροῦς δὲ γε ὁ κύριος οἴδε δικτούσ, τὸν μὲν ἀγαθὸν, "ὁ" γὰρ "ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θησαυροῦ τῆς καρδίας προφέρει τὸ ἀγαθὸν," τὸν δὲ πονηρόν, "ὁ" γὰρ "κακὸς ἐκ τοῦ κακοῦ θησαυροῦ προφέρει τὸ κακόν, ὅτι ἐκ περισσεῦματος τῆς καρδίας τὸ στόμα λαλεῖ." ὥσπερ οὖν θησαυρὸς οὐχ εἶς παρ᾽ αὐτῷ καθὸ καὶ παρ᾽ ἧμιν, ὁ τὸ αἰφνίδιον μέγα κέρδος ἐν εὑρήσει διδούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεύτερος, ὁ ἀκριβῆς καὶ ἁγιός καὶ δύσκτητος καὶ ἐπιτιζήμιος, οὕτως καὶ πλοῦτος ὁ μὲν τις ἀγαθὸν, ὁ δὲ κακὸν, εἰ γε τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὸν θησαυρὸν οὐκ ἀπερημένους ἰσομεν ἄλληλων τῇ φύσει. καὶ ὁ μὲν τις πλοῦτος κτῆτος ἂν εἰη καὶ περίβλητος, ὁ δὲ ἀκτητος καὶ ἀπόβλητος· τὸν αὐτὸν | δὲ τρόπον καὶ πτωχεία μακαριστῇ μὲν ἡ πνευματική. διὸ καὶ προσέθηκεν ὁ Ματθαῖος· "μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ" πῶς; "τῷ πνεύματι." καὶ πάλιν· "μακάριοι οἱ πεινώντες καὶ δυσώντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην τοῦ θεοῦ." οὐκοῦν ἄθλιοι οἱ ἐναντίοι πτωχοί, θεοῦ μὲν ἁμοιοῦ, ἁμοιρότεροι δὲ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης κτήσεως, ἀγενοστοὶ δὲ δικαιοσύνης θεοῦ.

18. "ἀποτε τοὺς πλουσίους μαθηματικῶς ἀκού-

¹ επάναγκες Stählin. ἐπ᾿ ἀνάγκαις ms.
² [ἐν] Stählin.

* See St. Matthew vi. 21; St. Luke xii. 34. Clement quotes this saying elsewhere in the same form (vii. Stromateis 77. 6).
  b St. Luke vi. 45.
  c St. Matthew v. 3. In this and the following quotation, the qualifying words "in spirit" and "after righteousness" are omitted from St. Luke's account. St. Matthew's form
"For where the mind of a man is, there is his treasure also." "

Now as for treasures, the Lord knows them to be of two kinds, one good, for "the good man out of the good treasure of the heart brings forth that which is good"; and the other bad, for "the evil man out of his evil treasure brings forth that which is evil, because out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks." As therefore treasure is, with Him as with us, not single only, there being that kind which brings great and immediate gain in the finding, but a second kind also that is without gain, unenviable, undesirable and harmful, so also there is one wealth of good things, another of evil; since we know that wealth and treasure are not by nature separate from each other. And the one kind of wealth would be desirable and worth getting; the other undesirable and worthless. In the same manner also poverty is blessed, that is, the spiritual kind. Therefore Matthew added to "Blessed are the poor"; how? "in spirit." And again, "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after God's righteousness." Those then who are poor in the opposite sense are miserable, being destitute of God, more destitute still of human possessions, and unacquainted with God's righteousness.

18. So with regard to the rich, who shall hardly probably represents the meaning of the original sayings. The word "poor" was applied in an ethical sense among the Jews to those humble souls who waited in patient trust for the coming of the Kingdom. "

St. Matthew v. 6.

e i.e. those who possess no money, and do not hunger after righteousness.
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στέον, τοὺς δυσκόλως εἰσελευσμένους εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν, μὴ σκαίως μηδὲ ἁγροίκοις μηδὲ σαρκίσως· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως λέλεκται. οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑκτὸς ἡ σωτηρία, οὔτε εἰ πολλὰ οὔτε εἰ ὁλίγα ταῦτα ἡ μικρὰ ἡ μεγάλα ἡ ἐνδοξα ἡ ἄδοξα ἡ εὐδόκιμα ἡ ἁδόκιμα, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρέτῃ, πίστει καὶ ἐλπίδι καὶ ἀγάπῃ καὶ φιλαδελφίᾳ καὶ γνώσει καὶ πραότητι καὶ ἀτυφίᾳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, ὃν ἄθλον ἡ σωτηρία. οὐδὲ γὰρ διὰ κάλλος σῶματος ζῆσεται τις τούναντίον ἀπολεῖται· ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν τῷ δοθέντι σῶματι ἁγνῶς καὶ κατὰ θεὸν χρωμενὸς ζῆσεται, ὁ δὲ φθείρων τὸν ναὸν θεοῦ φθαρῆσεται. δύναται δὲ τις καὶ ἀἰσχρός ἀσελγαῖνει καὶ κατὰ κάλλος σωφρονεῖν· οὐδὲ ἱσχὺς καὶ μέγεθος σῶματος ζωοποιεῖ, οὐδὲ τῶν μελῶν οὐδενία ἀπολλύει, ἀλλ’ ὁ τοῦτος ψυχῆς χρωμενὴ τὴν αἰτίαν ἑφ’ ἐκάτερα παρέχεται. ὑπόφερε γοῦν, φησί, παῖσανον τῷ πρόσωπῳ, ὃπερ δύναται καὶ ἰσχυρὸς τις ἢ καὶ εὔεκτῶν ὑπακούσαι καὶ πάλιν ἀσθενικὸς τις ὅν ἀκρασία γνώμης παραβήναι. οὕτως καὶ ἀπορός τις ὧν καὶ ἄμιος εὐρεθεὶς ποτ’ ἂν μεθύων ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, καὶ χρήμασι πλούσιος νήφων καὶ πτωχεύων ἦδονῶν, πεπεισμένος, συνετός, καθαρός, κεκολασμένος· εἰ τοῖνυν ἐστὶ τὸ ζησόμενον μάλιστα καὶ πρῶτον ἡ ψυχῆ, καὶ περὶ ταύτην ἀρετὴ μὲν φυσικὴ σφύζει, κακία δὲ θανάτοι, δὴ λόγον ἢ σφάζει ὅτι αὐτῇ καὶ πτωχεύουσα ὃν ἂν τις ὑπὸ πλούσιον 1 διαφθείρηται 2 σφύζεται, καὶ πλούτοισα τούτων ἃν

1 πλούσιον Combevis. τούτου ms.
2 διαφθείρηται Segaar. διαφθείρει ms.

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* See p. 281, n. c.

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enter into the kingdom, we must understand the word Spiritual
in the spirit of disciples, and not clumsily, rudely, or
literally; for it is not spoken thus. Salvation does not depend upon outward things, whether they are
many or few, small or great, splendid or lowly,
glorious or mean, but upon the soul's virtue, upon faith, hope, love, brotherliness, knowledge, gentleness, humility and truth, of which salvation is the prize. For a man will not obtain life on account of bodily beauty, nor perish for want of it; but he who uses holily and according to God's will the body that was given him shall obtain life, and he who destroys the temple of God shall be destroyed. It is possible for a man, though ugly, to be licentious, and in beauty to be chaste. Strength and greatness of body do not give life, nor does insignificance of the limbs destroy, but the soul by its use of these provides the cause that leads to either result. Accordingly the scripture says, "When thou art struck, offer thy face," which a man can obey even though he is strong and in good health; whereas one who is weakly can transgress through an uncontrolled temper. Thus a man without means of livelihood might perchance be found drunk with lusts, and one rich in possessions sober and poor as regards pleasures, believing, prudent, pure, disciplined. If then it is first and foremost the soul which is destined to live, and virtue growing in the soul saves it while evil kills, it is at once abundantly clear that the soul is being saved when it is poor in those things by wealth of which a man is destroyed, and that it is being killed when it is rich in those things a wealth

b See 1 Corinthians iii. 17.
c See St. Matthew v. 39; St. Luke vi. 29.
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ἐπιτρίβει πλοῦτος θανατούται1· καὶ μηκέτι ζητῶμεν ἄλλαχος τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ τέλους πλὴν ἐν τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς καταστάσει καὶ διαθέσει πρὸς τε ὑπακοήν θεοῦ καὶ καθαρότητα πρὸς τε παράβασιν ἐντολῶν καὶ κακίας συλλογήν.

19. Ὅ μὲν ἄρα ἀληθῶς καὶ καλῶς <πλούσιος> ἡ <τῆς> ἐστιν ὁ τῶν ἀρετῶν πλούσιος καὶ πάση τῇ χρήσθαι σοιως καὶ πιστῶς δυνάμενος, ὁ δὲ νόθος πλούσιος ὁ κατὰ σάρκα πλουτῶν καὶ τῆς ζωῆς εἰς <τὴν>3 ἐξω κτήσιν μετεννοιχοῦσι τὴν παρερχομένην καὶ φθειρο-μένην καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλου γνωμήνην καὶ ἐν τῷ τέλει μηδενὸς μηδαμίαν. | πάλιν αὐτὸν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ γνήσιος πτωχὸς καὶ νόθος ἄλλος πτωχὸς καὶ ψευδώνυμος, ὁ μὲν κατὰ πνεῦμα πτωχός, τὸ ἴδιον, ὁ δὲ κατὰ κόσμον, τὸ ἄλλοτριον. τῷ δὴ κατὰ κόσμον <οὐ> ἢ πτωχῷ καὶ πλουσίῳ κατὰ τὰ πάθη ὁ κατὰ πνεῦμα [οὐ] ἢ πτωχός καὶ κατὰ θεὸν πλούσιος "ἀπόστηθι," <φησί>6, "τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ σου κτημάτων ἄλλοτρίων, ἴνα καθαρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ γενόμενος ὢς τὸν θεόν, ὅπερ καὶ δὲ ἐτέρας φωνής ἐστίν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ πῶς αὐτῶν ἀποστῆς; πωλήσας. τί οὖν;

1 θανατούται Dindorf. θανατοῦται ms.
2 <πλούσιος> inserted by Wendland.
3 <τῆς> inserted by Ghisler.
4 <οὐ> inserted by Jülicher.
5 [οὐ] Segaar. Stählin retains this.
6 <φησί> inserted by Ghisler.

a Clement's involved antitheses are often difficult to follow, and this passage has given much trouble to commentators. I take his meaning to be this: there is a truly rich man and a truly poor man in the spiritual sense, independently of outward possessions. On the other hand there is a spurious
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of which brings ruin. So let us no longer seek for the cause of our end anywhere else except in the character and disposition of the soul with regard to its obedience to God and its purity, to its transgression of commandments and accumulation of evil.

19. The man who is truly and nobly rich, then, is he who is rich in virtues and able to use every fortune in a holy and faithful manner; but the spurious rich man is he who is rich according to the flesh, and has changed his life into outward possessions which are passing away and perishing, belonging now to one, now to another, and in the end to no one at all. Again, in the same way there is a genuine poor man and also a spurious and falsely-named poor man, the one poor in spirit, the inner personal poverty, and the other poor in worldly goods, the outward alien poverty. Now to him who is not poor in worldly goods and is rich in passions the man who is poor in spirit and is rich towards God says, "Detach yourself from the alien possessions that dwell in your soul, in order that you may become pure in heart and may see God, which in other words means to enter into the kingdom of heaven. And how are you to detach yourself from them? By selling them. What rich (i.e. a moneyed man), and a spurious poor man (i.e. a beggar). The appeal that follows is addressed by the one who has the right sort of poverty and the right sort of riches to him who has neither of these, i.e. a rich man who lives for his riches. These riches which occupy his soul must be exchanged, not for money, but for the true spiritual wealth. That the “alien possessions” dwelling in the soul are outward wealth and not mere covetous desires is shown by iv. Strom. 29. 1, where Clement points out that these latter could hardly be “given to the poor.” See notes on text.

b St. Matthew v. 8.
χρήματα ἀντὶ κτημάτων λάβης; ἀντίδοσιν πλούτου πρὸς πλούτον ποιησάμενος, ἐξαργυρίσας τὴν φανερὰν οὐσίαν; οὐδαμῶς. ἀλλὰ ἀντὶ τῶν πρῶτον ἐνυπαρ-χόντων τῇ ψυχῇ, ἦν σῶσαι ποθεῖς, ἀντευπαγόμενος ἔτερον πλούτον θεοποιῶν καὶ ζωῆς χορηγὸν αἰωνίου, τὰς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διαθέσεις, ἀνθ' ὅν σοι περιέσται μισθὸς καὶ τιμὴ, διηνεκῆς σωτηρία καὶ αἰώνιος ἀδιαφορία. οὕτως καλῶς πωλεῖς τὰ ὑπάρ-χοντα, τὰ πολλὰ καὶ περισσὰ καὶ ἀποκλείοντά σοι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ἀντικαταλλασσόμενος αὐτῶν τὰ σῶσαι δυνάμεια. ἐκεῖνα ἐχέτωσαν οἱ σάρκινοι πτωχοὶ καὶ τούτων δεόμενοι, σὺ δὲ τὸν πνευματικὸν πλούτον ἀντιλαβὼν ἔχεις ἀν ἦδη θησαυρὸν εἰς οὐρανοῖς."  

20. Ταύτα μὴ συνείς κατὰ τρόπον ὁ πολυπρή-ματος καὶ ἔννομος άνθρωπος, μηδὲ ὅπως ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ πτωχὸς δύναται εἶναι καὶ πλούσιος καὶ ἔχειν τε χρήματα καὶ μὴ ἔχειν καὶ χρῆσαι τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ μὴ χρῆσαι, ἀπῆλθε στυγνός καὶ κατηφόρης, λυπῶν τὴν τάξιν τῆς ζωῆς, ἦς ἐπιθυμεῖν μόνον, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ τυχεὶν ἡδύνατο, τὸ δύσκολον ποιῆσαι ἄδικαν αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ. δύσκολον γὰρ ἂν μὴ περιήγεσθαι μηδὲ καταστράπτεσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ τῶν προσ-όντων ἄβρων τῷ προδήλῳ πλούτῳ καὶ ἀνθρώπων γονητευμάτων, οὐκ ἄδικαν δὲ τὸ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ λαβέσθαι σωτηρίας, εἰ τις ἐαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνιαν πλούτου ἑπὶ τὸν νοητὸν καὶ θεοδίδακτον μεταγάγων καὶ μάθοι τοῖς ἀδιαφόροις 1 χρῆσαι καλῶς καὶ ἱδώς καὶ ὡς ἐν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον ὀρμῆσαι 2. καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ δὲ τὸ πρῶτον μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ περιδεεισ καὶ

1 ἀδιαφόροι Ghisler. διαφόρως ms.  
2 ὀρμῆσαι Wilamowitz. ὀρμᾶσαι ms.  

a St. Mark x. 21.
then? Are you to take riches for possessions, to make an exchange of one wealth for another by turning real estate into money? Not at all. But in place of that which formerly dwelt in the soul you long to save, bring in another kind of wealth that makes you divine and provides eternal life, namely, resolves that are fixed in accord with God's commandment; and in return for these you shall have abundant reward and honour, perpetual salvation and eternal incorruption. In this way you make a good sale of what you have, of the many things that are superfluous and that shut heaven against you, while you receive in exchange for them the things that have power to save. As for the first, let the fleshly poor who need them have them; but you, having received in their stead the spiritual wealth, will now have treasure in heaven."

20. The very rich and law-abiding man, not understanding these things aright, nor how the same man can be both poor and wealthy, can have riches and not have them, can use the world and not use it, went away gloomy and downcast. He abandoned the rank of that life which he could desire indeed, but could not attain to; since what was hard he himself had made impossible. For it was hard to prevent the soul being led away and dazzled by the luxuries and splendid allurements that are associated with visible wealth, yet it was not impossible even amid this to lay hold of salvation, if one would but transfer himself from the sensible wealth to that which belongs to the mind and is taught by God, and would learn to make good and proper use of things indifferent and how to set out for eternal life. Even the disciples themselves are at first filled with fear.
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καταπλήγησε γεγόνασιν. ἄκουσαντες τί δήποτε; ἀρά
γε ὅτι χρήματα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκέκτρητο πολλά; ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα τὰ δικτύφια καὶ ἄγκιστρα καὶ τὰ ὑπηρετικὰ σκαφίδια ἀφήκαν πάλαι, ἀπερ ἦν αὐτοῖς μόνα. τί οὖν φοβηθέντες λέγουσιν. "τίς δύναται σωθῆναι;" καλῶς ἦκουσαν καὶ ως μαθηταὶ τοῦ παραβολικῶς καὶ ἀσαφῶς 1 λεχέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἠσθοντο τοῦ βαθοῦς τῶν λόγων. ἐνεκα

947 P. μὲν οὖν χρημάτων ἀκτημοσύνης εὐθελπίδες ἦσαν πρὸς σωτηρίαν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνήδεσαν εαυτοῖς μῆτω τὰ πάθη τέλεον ἀποτεθεμένοις 2 (ἀρτιμαθεῖς γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ νεωτέρο πρὸς τοῦ σωτήρος ἰδιολογημένοι), "περισσῶς ἐξεπλήσσοντο" καὶ ἀπεγίνωσκον εαυτοὺς οὐδὲν τι ἦττον ἐκείνῳ τοῦ πολυχρημάτου καὶ δεινῶς τῆς κτήσεως περιεχομένου, ἣν γε προέκρινεν ἥψης αἰώνιον. ἄξιον οὖν ἦν τοῖς μαθηταῖς φῶβου πάντως, 3 εἰ καὶ ὁ χρήματα κεκτημένος καὶ ὁ τῶν παθῶν ἔγκυος, ὃν 4 ἐπλύτουν καὶ αὐτοῖ, παραπλησίως ἀπελασθήσοντοι οὐρανῶν ἀπαθῶν γὰρ καὶ καθαρῶν ψυχῶν ἐστιν ἡ σωτηρία.

21. "Ὁ δὲ κύριος ἀποκρίνεται διότι "τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώπως ἀδύνατον δυνάτον θεῷ." πάλιν καὶ τούτῳ μεγάλης σοφίας μεστὸν ἐστιν, ὃ στὶ καθ' αὐτὸν μὲν ἀσκῶν καὶ διαποιούμενος ἀπάθειαν <ὁ> 5 ἀνθρωπος οὐδὲν ἀνύει, ἐὰν δὲ γένεται δῆλος ὑπερεπιθυμιῶν τούτῳ καὶ διεσπουδακώς, τῇ προσθήκῃ τῆς παρὰ θεοῦ δινάμεως περιγίνεται. Βουλομέναις μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὁ θεὸς συνεπιπεδεῖ, εἰ δὲ ἀποσταίει τῆς προ-

1 ἀσαφῶς Ghisler. σαφῶς ms.
2 ἀποτεθεμένοις Mayor. ἀποτεθεμένοις ms.
3 πάντως Wilamowitz. παυτὸς ms.
4 ὃν Stählin. ὃν ms.
5 <ὁ> inserted by Wilamowitz.
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and amazement. For what reason think you? Was it because they too possessed great riches? Why, their very nets and hooks and fishing-boats they had left long ago, and these were all they had. Why then do they say in fear, “Who can be saved?” a It was because they understood well and as disciples should that which was spoken in dark parables by the Lord, and perceived the depth of His words. As far as lack of riches and possessions went they had good hopes for salvation, but since they were conscious that they had not yet completely put away their passions—for they were fresh disciples and but lately enlisted by the Saviour—“they were exceedingly amazed,” a and began to despair of themselves no less than did that very rich man who clung desperately to his possession, which indeed he preferred to eternal life. It was then for the disciples an altogether fit occasion for fear, if both the possessor of outward wealth and also he who carries a brood of passions—in which even they were rich—are equally to be banished from heaven. For salvation belongs to pure and passionless souls.

21. But the Lord answers: “that which is impossible with men is possible for God.” b This again is full of great wisdom, because when practising and striving after the passionless state by himself man achieves nothing, but if he makes it clear that he is eagerly pursuing this aim and is in deep earnest, he prevails by the addition of the power that comes from God. For God breathes His own power into souls when they desire, but if ever they desist from their

a St. Mark x. 26.  

b St. Mark x. 27.
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θυμίας, καὶ τὸ δοθὲν ἐκ θεοῦ πνεῦμα συνεστάλη·
tὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀκοντας σῶζειν ἐστὶ βιαζόμενον, τὸ
de αἵρουμένους χαριζομένου. οὐδὲ τῶν καθευδόν-
tων καὶ βλακευόντων ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ,
ἀλλ' "οι βιασταὶ ἀρπάζουν αὐτήν"· αὐτὴ γὰρ
μόνη 1 βία καλῆ, θεὸν βιάσασθαι καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ ζωὴν
ἀρπάσαι, ὃ δὲ γνωστι βιαίως, μᾶλλον δὲ βεβαιώς 2
ἀντεχομένους [συνεχώρησεν] 3 εἶχεν· χαίρει γὰρ ὁ
θεὸς τὰ τουιάτα ἤττωμενος. τοιγάρτοι τούτων
ἀκούσας ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος, ὁ ἐκλεκτός, ὁ ἔξαιρε-
tος, ὁ πρῶτος τῶν μαθητῶν, ὑπὲρ οὗ μόνου καὶ
ἔαυτοῦ τὸν φόρον ὁ σωτὴρ ἐκτελεῖ, ταχέως ἢρπασε
καὶ συνεβάλε τὸν λόγον. καὶ τὰ φησιν; " ἦδε
ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν πάντα καὶ ἱκολουθήσαμεν σοι;" 
tὰ δὲ "πάντα" εἰ μὲν τὰ κτήματα τὰ ἐαυτοῦ λέγει,
tέσσαρας ὁβολοὺς ἱσως,< τὸ > 4 τοῦ λόγου, καταληψών
μεγαλύνεται καὶ τούτων ἀνταξίαν ἀποφαίνων ἂν
λάθοι τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν αὐθρανῶν. εἰ δὲ, ἀπερ
ἀρτι 5 νῦν λέγομεν, τὰ πολλά νοητὰ κτήματα καὶ
ψυχικὰ νοσήματα ἀπορρίμαντες ἐπονταὶ καὶ ἵχνος
tοῦ διδασκάλου, τοῦτο 4 ἀν ἀνάπτωτο 6 ἡδὴ τοῖς ἐν
οὐρανοῖς ἐγγραφησομένους. τοῦτο 7 γὰρ ἁκολουθεῖ
ὄντως τῷ σωτηρί, ἀναμαρτησίαν καὶ τελείωτητα
τὴν ἑκείνου μετεχομένου καὶ πρὸς ἑκείνου ἔστερ
κάτοπτρον κοσμοῦντα καὶ ἐνθμῖζοντα τὴν ψυχήν
καὶ πάντα διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως διατιθέντα. |

1 μόνη Stählin (from Sacra Parallela of John of Damascus).
2 βιαίως ... βεβαιώς Stählin (from Sac. Par.). βεβαιώς
... βιαίως ms.
3 [συνεχώρησεν] Stählin.
4 <τὸ> inserted by Segaar.
5 ἀρτι Schwartz. ἄρτι ms.
6 ἀνάπτωτο Mayor. ἀπτοῦ ms.
7 τοῦτο Wilamowitz. ὀτῶς ms.

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eagerness, then too the spirit given from God is withdrawn; for to save men against their will is an act of force, but to save them when they choose is an act of grace. Nor does the kingdom of God belong to sleepers and sluggards, but "the men of force seize it." This is the only good force, to force God and to seize life from God; and He, knowing those who forcibly, or rather persistently, cling to Him, yields; for God welcomes being worsted in such contests. Therefore on hearing these things the blessed Peter, the chosen, the pre-eminent, the first of the disciples, on behalf of whom alone and Himself the Saviour pays the tribute, quickly seized upon and understood the saying. And what does he say? "Lo, we have left all and followed Thee." If by "all" he means his own possessions, he is bragging of having forsaken four obols or so, as the saying goes, and he would be unconsciously declaring the kingdom of heaven a suitable equivalent to these. But if, as we are just now saying, it is by flinging away the old possessions of the mind and diseases of the soul that they are following in the track of their teacher, Peter's words would at once apply to those who are to be enrolled in heaven. For this is the true following of the Saviour, when we seek after His sinlessness and perfection, adorning and regulating the soul before Him as before a mirror and arranging it in every detail after His likeness.

\[a\] St. Matthew xi. 12.  
\[b\] See St. Matthew xvii. 27.  
\[c\] St. Mark x. 28.  
\[d\] As we should say, "a few pence." The obol was a small Athenian coin.  
\[e\] See St. Luke x. 20; Hebrews xii. 23.
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948 P. 22. "'Αποκριθείς δὲ Ἰησοῦς· ἀμὴν υμῖν λέγω, δός ἂν ἀφῇ τὰ ἱδία καὶ γονεῖς καὶ ἀδελφοὺς καὶ χρήματα ἑνεκεν ἐμοῦ καὶ ἑνεκεν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ἀπολήψεται ἑκατονταπλασίων." ἄλλα μηδὲ τοῦθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπιταρασσέτω, μηδὲ τὸ ἐτί τοῦτο πελάγοτερον ἅλλαχον ταῖς φωναῖς ἐξενηγημένον· "δός οὐ μισεῖ πατέρα καὶ μητέρα καὶ παῖδα, προσέτε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ψυχήν, ἐμὸς μαθητής εἶναι οὐ δύναται." οὐ γὰρ εἰσηγεῖται μῦσος καὶ διάλυσιν ἀπὸ τῶν φυλτάτων ὁ τῆς εἰρήνης θεός, ὁ γε καὶ τοὺς ἔχθρους ἀγαπῶν παραίνων. εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἔχθρους ἀγαπητέον, ἀνάλογον ἀπ' ἐκεῖνων ἀνιόντι καὶ τοὺς ἐγγυτάτω γένους· ἢ εἰ μισητέον τοὺς πρὸς αἴματος, πολὺ μάλλον τοὺς ἔχθρους προβάλλεσθαι κατιῶν ὁ λόγος διδάσκει, ὡστ' ἀλλήλους ἀναιροῦντες ἐλέγχουσ' ἀν οἱ λόγοι. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀναιροῦσιν οὐδ' ἐγγύς, ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης καὶ διαθέσεως καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ὅρῳ πατέρα μισοί τις ἂν <καὶ> ἔχθρον ἀγαπών 1 ὁ μήτε ἔχθρον ἀμασμόνος μήτε πατέρα Χριστοῦ πλέον αἰδούμενος. ἐν ἐκεῖνῳ μὲν γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ μῦσος ἐκκόπτει καὶ κακοποιάν, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὰ σύντροφα δυσωπιάν, εἰ βλάπτοι πρὸς σωτηρίαν. εἰ γοῦν ἄθεος εἰς τινὶ πατήρ ἡ νῖός ἡ ἀδελφὸς καὶ κόλυμα τῆς πίστεως γένους καὶ ἐμπόδιον τῆς ἄνω ζωῆς, τούτῳ μὴ συμφερέσθω μηδὲ ὄμονοιτω, ἀλλὰ τὴν σαρκικὴν οἰκειότητα διὰ τὴν πνευματικὴν ἔχθραν διαλυσάτω.

23. Νόμισον εἶναι τὸ πράγμα διαδικασίαν. ὁ μὲν πατήρ σοι δοκεῖτω παρεστῶς λέγειν "ἐγὼ σε ἐσπείρα καὶ ἔθρεψα, ἀκολούθει μοι καὶ συνάδικει

1 <καὶ> ... ἀγαπών Stählin. ἀγαπῶν ms.
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22. And Jesus answered, "Verily I say to you, whoever leaves his home and parents and brothers and riches for My sake and for the gospel's sake shall receive back a hundredfold." a Let not this saying however disturb us, nor yet the still harder one uttered elsewhere in the words, "He that hates not father and mother and children, yes and his own life also, cannot be My disciple." b For the God of peace, who exhorts us to love even our enemies, does not propose that we should hate and part from our dearest ones. If a man must love his enemies, he must also by the same rule, reasoning upward from them, love his nearest of kin. Or if he must hate his blood relations, much more does reason, by a downward process, teach him to abhor his enemies; so that the sayings would be proved to cancel one another. But they do not cancel one another, nor anything like it; for from the same mind and disposition, and with the same end in view, a man may hate a father and love an enemy, if he neither takes vengeance on his enemy nor honours his father more than Christ. For in the one saying Christ cuts at the root of hatred and evil-doing, in the other of false respect for our kindred, if they do us harm as regards salvation. If, for instance, a man had a godless father or son or brother, who became a hindrance to his faith and an obstacle to the life above, let him not live in fellowship or agreement with him, but let him dissolve the fleshly relationship on account of the spiritual antagonism.

23. Think of the matter as a lawsuit. Imagine your father standing by you and saying, "I begat you and brought you up, follow me, take part in my

καὶ μὴ πείθου τῷ Χριστῷ νόμῳ” καὶ ὅποσα ἂν εἴποι βλάσφημος ἄνθρωπος καὶ νεκρὸς τῇ φύσει. ἔτερωθεν δὲ ἄκουε τοῦ σωτῆρος· “ἐγὼ σε ἀνεγέννησα, κακῶς ὑπὸ κόσμου πρὸς θάνατον γεγεννημένον, ἡλευθέρωσα, ἰασάμην, ἔλυσεσάμην”· ἐγὼ σοι παρέξω ζωὴν ἀπαντον, αἰώνιον, ὑπερκόσμιον· ἐγὼ σοι δείξω θεοῦ πατρὸς ἁγαθοῦ πρόσωπον· μὴ κάλει σεαυτῷ πατέρα ἐπὶ γῆς· οἱ νεκροὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς θαπτέτωσαν, σὺ δὲ μοι ἀκολούθει· ἀνάξω γάρ σε εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν <καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν> 1 ἀρρήτων καὶ ἀλέκτων ἁγάθων, ἀ μήτε φθαλμὸς εἰδε μήτε οὐς ἠκούσε μήτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἄνθρωπον ἀνέβη, εἰς ἀ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι καὶ ἰδεῖν ἀπερ ἠτίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγίοις ἁγάθα καὶ τοῖς φιλούσιν αὐτῶν τέκνοις. ἐγὼ σοι τροφεὺς ἄρτον ἐματών διδοὺς, οὐ γενόμενος οὐδεὶς ἐτί πείραν θανάτου λαμβάνει, καὶ πόμα καθ’ ἠμέραν ἐνδίδους ἁθανάσιας· ἐγὼ διδάσκαλος ὑπερουργῶν παιδευμάτων. ὑπέρ σου πρὸς τὸν θάνατον διηγομάσμην καὶ τὸν σὸν ἔξετίσα θάνατον, δι’ ὑφελες ἐπὶ τοῖς προημαρτημένοις καὶ τῇ πρὸς θεὸν ἁπιστίαν.” τούτων τῶν λόγων ἐκατέρωθεν διακούσας ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ δίκασον καὶ τὴν ψήφον ἀνέγεικε τῇ σαυτῷ σωτηρίᾳ· κἂν ἄδελφὸς ὁμοία λέγῃ κἂν τέκνον κἂν γυνὴ κἂν ὀστισοῦν, πρὸ τῶν πάντων ἐν σοὶ Χριστὸς ὁ νικῶν ἔστω· ὑπὲρ σου γὰρ ἀγωνίζεται.

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

1 <καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν> Stählin.

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*a* See 1 St. Peter i. 3.  
*b* See St. John xiv. 8-9.  
*c* St. Matthew xxiii. 9.  
*d* St. Matthew viii. 22.
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wrong-doing and do not obey the law of Christ," and whatever else a man who was a blasphemer and in nature dead might say. But from the other side hear the Saviour; "I gave you new birth, when by the world you were evilly born for death; I set you free, I healed you, I redeemed you. I will provide you with a life unending, eternal, above the world. I will show you the face of God the good Father. "

'Call no man your father upon earth.' "Let the dead bury their dead, but do you follow Me." For I will lead you up to a rest and to an enjoyment of unspeakable and indescribable good things ' which eye has not seen nor ear heard, nor have they entered into the heart of man, which angels desire to look into and to see what good things God has prepared for His saints and for His children that love Him.'

I am your nurse, giving Myself for bread, which none who taste have any longer trial of death, and giving day by day drink of immortality. I am a teacher of heavenly instructions. On your behalf I wrestled with death and paid your penalty of death, which you owed for your former sins and your faithlessness towards God." When you have listened to these appeals from each side pass judgment on your own behalf and cast the vote for your own salvation. Even though a brother says the like, or a child or wife or any one else, before all let it be Christ that conquers in you; since it is on your behalf He struggles.

24. Can you also rise superior to your riches? Say so, and Christ does not draw you away from the

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* See 1 Corinthians ii. 9; 1 St. Peter i. 12.
† See St. John vi. 50-51; Hebrews xi. 36.
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κύριος οὖ φθονεί. ἀλλ' ὀραὶ σεαυτὸν ἔττωμενον ὑπ' αυτῶν καὶ ἀνατρεπόμενον; ἀφες, ρύμον, μύση-σον, ἀπόταξαι, φύγε. "κἂν ὁ δεξιός σου οἴθαλμος σκανδαλίζῃ σε, ταχέως ἔκκοψοι αυτὸν" αἱρετῶτε-ρον ἐτεροθάλμῳ βασιλείᾳ θεοῦ ἡ ὀλικλήρῳ τὸ πῦρ. κἂν χείρ κἂν ποὺς κἂν ἡ ψυχή, μύσην αὐτῆν. ἄν γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἀπόληται ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, ἐκεῖ σωθήσε-ται. ¹

25. Ταῦτας δὲ ὁμοίως ἔχεται τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ ἐπόμενον "νῦν δὲ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ἀγροὺς καὶ χρήματα καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἀδέλφους ἔχειν μετὰ διωγ-μῶν εἰς ποῦ;" ὡστε γὰρ ἄχρημάτως οὔτε άν-εστίν οὔτε ἀναδέλφους ἔπι τὴν ζωὴν καλεῖ, ἐπεὶ καὶ πλουσίους κέκληκεν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τρόπον προερήκαμεν, καὶ ἀδέλφους κατὰ ταύταν ³ ὡσπερ Πέτρον μετὰ Ἀνδρέου καὶ Ἰάκωβον μετὰ Ἰωάννου, τούς Ζεβε-δαίον παῖδας, ἀλλ’ ὁμοούσιας ἀλλήλως τε καὶ Χριστῷ. τὸ δὲ "μετὰ διωγμῶν" ταῦτα ἐκαστά ἔχειν ἀποδοκιμάζει. διωγμός δὲ ὁ μὲν τις ἔξωθεν περιγίνεται τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ δὲ ἐξήθραν ἡ διὰ φθόνον ἡ διὰ φιλοκέρδειαν ἡ κατ’ ἐνέργειαν δια-βολικὴν τοὺς πιστοὺς ἐλαυνόντων. ὁ δὲ χαλεπώ-τατος ἐνδοθέν ἐστὶ διωγμός, εἰς αὐτῆς ἐκάστῳ τῆς ψυχῆς προπεμπόμενος λυμανομένης ὑπὸ ἐπιθυμίων ἀθέων καὶ ἡδονῶν ποικίλων καὶ φαύλων ἐλπίδων καὶ φθαρτικῶν ⁴ ὀνειροπολημάτων, ὅταν, ἀεὶ τῶν πλειόνων ὀρεγομένη καὶ λυσσώσα ὑπὸ ἀγρίων ἔρωτων καὶ φλεγομένη, καθάπερ κέντροι ἡ μύση

¹ <ἐκεῖ σωθήσεται> Segaar.
² eis poi; Stählin. eis poiou ms. See p. 280, n. 1.
³ κατὰ ταύταν Segaar. κατ’ αὐτῶν ms.
⁴ φθαρτικῶν Mayor. φθαρτῶν ms.
possession of them; the Lord does not grudge. But do you see yourself being worsted and overthrown by them? Leave them, cast them off, hate them, say good-bye to them, flee from them. "And if thy right eye cause thee to stumble, quickly cut it out." Better the kingdom of God with one eye, than the fire with both. And if it be a hand or a foot or thy life, hate it. For if here it perishes for Christ's sake, there it shall be saved.\(^a\)

25. This meaning attaches likewise to the passage which follows. "To what end is it that in this present time we have lands and riches and houses and brothers with persecutions?"\(^b\) For it is not simply men without riches or homes or brothers that He calls to life, since He has also called rich men (though in the sense we have before stated); and brothers likewise, as Peter with Andrew, and James with John, the sons of Zebedee, though these were brothers of one mind with each other and with Christ. But He disapproves of our having each of these things "with persecutions." Now one kind of persecution comes from without, when men, whether through hatred, or envy, or love of gain, or by the prompting of the devil,\(^c\) harry the faithful. But the hardest persecution is that from within, proceeding from each man's soul that is defiled by godless lusts and manifold pleasures, by low hopes and corrupting imaginations; when, ever coveting more, and maddened and inflamed by fierce loves,\(^d\) it is stung by

\(^a\) See St. Matthew v. 29-30; xviii. 8; and St. Mark ix. 43-47.
\(^b\) St. Mark x. 30.
\(^c\) Or perhaps, "by slanderous activity."
\(^d\) The phrase comes from Plato, \textit{Phaedrus} 81 a; cp. \textit{Republic} 329 c.
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tois proskemeneois 1 authe pathean exaimasetai pros apostolas manwdeis kai zwhs apogynswon kai theou katafronhsin. oytos o diwymos baruteiros kai xalepwtetos, enodheven ormovmenos, aiei synwvn, dein oude ephgyein o diwakomevos dunatai. ton gar echrion ev eaxtiv periagei pantachou. outh kai purwosis mev eixwthen prosstipounsa dokimasiaan katergazei, de einoth tavan ton diaprassetai 2. kai polemos o mev epaktos radious katalyetai, de ev tis psykhe mechrh thavaton parametreita. metata diwymou toioouton plouton evan echrh ton aiodhtovn kai adefloous ton pros aimaatow kai ta alla enexhura, kataplpse ton touton pagonktisian ton epuni kakh, eirhnhn seautow paraskhes, elenuberhti diwymou makrodi, apostrafithi pros t o euaggelion ap' ekteinw, elou ton swthira pro pantwn, ton ths sthn synhgaron kai parakklin ton psykhes, ton ths apoiron prwtanw zwhs. "ta gar blepomeva proskaiera, ta de me blepomeva aiwnia." kai ev mew tu paronti | chrhwn oikymora kai abebai, "ev de tew erchomewn zwh 3 estin aiwnios."

26. "Estonta ois prwtois eschatoi kai ois eschatoi prwtoi." touto polhchon mew esti kata thn uponian kai ton safhmosin, ou mewn ev ge twn paronti th zhtin apaitei. ou gar monon repesi

1 proskemeneis Segar. proskemeneis ms.
2 diaprassetai Barnard. diaprassetai ms.
3 zwh Ghisler. zwhn ms.

a Clement seems to have in mind Romans vi. 4 ("worketh probation") and 1 Corinthians iii. 13 ("the fire shall prove each man's work"). The "inward burning which works death" may be a reminiscence of 1 Corinthians vii. 9.

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its attendant passions, as by goads or a gad-fly, into states of frenzied excitement, into despair of life and contempt of God. This persecution is heavier and harder, because it arises from within and is ever with us; nor can the victim escape from it, for he carries his enemy about within himself everywhere. So too with regard to burning; that which falls on us from without effects a testing, but that from within works death. And war also; that which is brought against us is easily ended, but war in the soul accompanies us till death. If joined with such persecution you have visible wealth and brothers by blood and all the other separable possessions, abandon your sole enjoyment of these which leads to evil, grant to yourself peace, become free from a persecution that lasts, turn away from them to the gospel, choose before all the Saviour, the advocate and counsel for your soul, the president of the infinite life. "For the things that are seen are temporal, but the things that are not seen are eternal;" and in the present time things are fleeting and uncertain, but "in the world to come is life eternal."

26. "The first shall be last and the last first." This saying, though fruitful in its deeper meaning and interpretation, does not call for examination at the present time, for it applies not merely to those who

b Or "pledges," a term used in Attic law to denote movable property that could be offered as security for debt. In this passage it may mean "dear ones," like the Latin pignora.

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

d 2 Corinthians iv. 18.

e St. Mark x. 30.

f St. Mark x. 31.
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πρὸς τοὺς πολυκτήμονας, ἀλλ’ ἀπλῶς πρὸς ἀπαντας ἀνθρώπους τοὺς πίστει καθάπαξ ἔαυτος ἐπιδιδόντας. ὁστε τοῦτο μὲν ἀνακείσθω τὰ νῦν. τὸ δὲ γε προκείμενον ἢμῖν οἶμαι μηδὲν τι ἐνδεέστερον τῆς ἐπαγγελίας δεδείχθαι, ὅτι τοὺς πλουσίους οὐδένα τρόπον ὅ σωτὴρ κατ’ αὐτόν γε τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν περιβολὴν τῆς κτήσεως ἀποκέκλεικεν οὐδ’ αὐτοῖς ἀποτετάφρευκεν τὴν σωτηρίαν, εἰ γε δύναντο καὶ βούλοιτο ὑποκύπτειν τοῦ θεοῦ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ τῶν προσκαίρων προτιμῶν τὴν ἐαυτῶν ζωῆν καὶ βλέπουν πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἀτένει τῷ βλέμματι, καθάπερ εἰς ἀγαθοῦ κυβερνήτου νεώμα δεδορκότες, τί βούλεται, τί προστάσσει, τί σημαίνει, τί δίδωσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ναυταῖς [τὸ] ἕκτηα σύνθημα, ποῦ καὶ πόθεν τὸν ὁμον ἐπαγγέλλεται. τί γὰρ ἄδικεί τις, εἰ προσέχων τὴν γνώμην καὶ φειδόμενος πρὸ τῆς πίστεως βιῶν ἑκατόν συνελέξατο; ἢ καὶ <τὸ> τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἄνεγκλητον. εἰ εὐθὺς ύπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ τῆς τύχης νέμοντο εἰς οἶκον τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων εἰσφυσιόθη καὶ γένος ἀμφιλαφές τοῖς χρήμασιν [ἰσχύον] καὶ τῷ πλούτῳ κρατοῦν; εἰ γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἄκούσαν ἐν πλούτῳ γένεσιν ἀπελήλαται ζωῆς, ἄδικείται μᾶλλον ύπὸ τοῦ γεναμένου θεοῦ, προσκαίρου μὲν ἡπιπαθείας κατηξίωμενος, άδικῶν δὲ ζωῆς ἀπεστερημένος. τί δ’ ὅλως πλοῦτον ἐρχὴν ἐκ γῆς ἀνατελαί ποτε, εἰ χορηγὸς καὶ πρόξενος ἐστὶ θανάτου;

1 ἐνδεέστερον Ghisler. ἀδεέστερον ms.
2 [τὸ] Stählin. 3 <τὸ> inserted by Ghisler.
4 τύχην Segaaar. ψυχήν ms. 5 [ἰσχύον] Wilamowitz.
6 γεναμένου Ghisler. γυνακίου ms.

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

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have great possessions, but generally to all men who once devote themselves to faith. So for the time being let it be reserved. But as to the question before us, I think it has been shown that the promise does not fall short in any respect, because the Saviour has by no means shut out the rich, at any rate so far as their actual riches and investments of property are concerned, nor has He trenched off salvation from them, provided they are able and willing to stoop beneath God's commandments and that they value their own life above temporal things and look to the Lord with steadfast gaze, like sailors on the watch for the nod of a good pilot to see what are his wishes, his commands, his signals, what watchword he gives them, where and whence he proclaims the harbour. For what wrong does a man do, if by careful thought and frugality he has before his conversion gathered enough to live on; or, what is still less open to censure, if from the very first he was placed by God, the distributor of fortune, in a household of such men, in a family abounding in riches and powerful in wealth? For if he has been banished from life for being born, through no choice of his own, in wealth, it is rather he who is wronged by God who brought him into existence, seeing that he has been counted worthy of temporal comfort, but deprived of eternal life. Why need wealth ever have arisen at all out of earth, if it is the provider and agent of death? But if a man

Salvation is possible for rich men if they will obey God

nor to be born in a rich family

It is not wrong to save money

b Literally, "clothing" or "covering," as on p. 277, n. a.

c The word is used in Greek politics of a man who was appointed to represent the citizens of another State than his own, and to act as their friend and protector when they visited his city. Hence it has the meaning of our Consul, or Agent.
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ἀλλ’ εἰ δύναται τις ἐνδοτέρω τῶν ὑπαρχόντων κάμπτειν τῆς ἐξουσίας καὶ μέτρια φρονεῖν καὶ σωφρονεῖν καὶ θεὸν μόνον ἥτηειν καὶ θεὸν ἀναπνεῖν καὶ θεῷ συμπολιτεύεσθαι, πτωχὸς ὁδὸς παρέστηκε ταῖς ἐντολαῖς, ἐλεύθερος, ἀήττητος, ἀνοσος, ἀτρωτος ὑπὸ χρημάτων· εἰ δὲ μὴ, θάττων κάμηλος διὰ βελόνης εἰσελύσεται ἢ ὁ τουοῦτος πλούσιος ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ παρελύσεται. σημαίνετω μὲν οὐν τι καὶ ὑψηλότερον κάμηλος διὰ στενῆς ὀδοῦ καὶ τεθλυμμένης φθάνουσα τὸν πλούσιον, ὅπερ ἐν τῇ περὶ ἄρχῶν καὶ θεολογίας ἐξηγήσετε μυστήριον τοῦ σωτήρος ὑπάρχει μαθεῖν. 27. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τὸ γε φαινόμενον πρῶτον καὶ δι’ ὃ λέλεκται τῆς παραβολῆς παρεχέσθω. διδασκέτω τοὺς εὐποροῦντας ὡς ὅτι ἀμελητέον τῆς ἐαυτῶν σωτηρίας ὡς ἦδη προκατεγνωσμένοις οὐδὲ καταποντιστέοιν αὐτάν πάλιν

961 R. τὸν πλούτον οὐδὲ καταδικαστέον ὡς τῆς ἴωθῆς ἐπι- βουλον καὶ πολέμων, ἀλλὰ μαθητέον τίνα τρόπον καὶ πώς πλούτω χρηστείῃ καὶ τὴν ζωῆν κτητέον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὔτε ἐκ παντὸς ἀπόλυται τοῖς, ὅτι πλουτεῖ δεδιώς, οὔτε ἐκ παντὸς σῴζεται θαρρῶν καὶ πιστεύων ὡς σωθήσεται, φέρε σκεπτέον ἡμίνα τὴν ἐλπίδα αὐτοῖς ὁ σωτὴρ ὑπογράφει, καὶ πώς ἂν τὸ μὲν ἀνέλπιστον ἑξέγγυον γένοιτο, τὸ δὲ ἐλπισθέν εἰς κτῆσιν ἀφίκοιτο.

⁶ a Literally, "can bend within the power of his possessions," probably a metaphor from the chariot-race, in which the driver was required to pass close to the turning-post, yet not to touch it. The rich man must not let his wealth run away with him. With Clement’s remark about the power of possessions Stählin compares Thucydides i. 38—“the insolence and power of wealth.”

⁷ b St. Mark x. 25.

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can keep within bounds the power that possessions bring, and can be modest in thought and self-controlled, seeking God alone, living in an atmosphere of God and as a fellow-citizen with God, here is one who approaches the commandments as a poor man, as free, unconquered, untouched by the diseases or wounds of riches. If not, a camel shall more quickly enter through a needle than shall such a rich man reach the kingdom of God. Now the camel, that passes through a strait and narrow way sooner than the rich man, must be understood to have some higher meaning, which, as a mystery of the Saviour, can be learnt in my *Exposition concerning First Principles and Theology*. Here, however, let me set forth the first and obvious meaning of the illustration, and the reason why it was used. Let it teach the well-to-do that their salvation must not be neglected on the ground that they are already condemned beforehand, nor on the contrary must they throw their wealth overboard or give judgment against it as insidious and inimical to life, but they must learn how and in what manner wealth is to be used and life acquired. For since a man is neither absolutely being lost if he is rich but fearful, nor absolutely being saved because he is bold and confident that he will be saved, let us now go on to inquire what hope it is that the Saviour outlines for the rich, and how the unhoped for may become secure, and the hoped for pass into possession.

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*c* St. Matthew vii. 14.

*d* In iii. *Stromateis* 13. 1 and 21. 2, Clement mentions a projected work on "First Principles"; but it has not come down to us.

*e* Literally, "parable"; but it is hardly a parable in our sense of the word.
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Φησιν οὖν ὁ διδάσκαλος, τίς ἡ μεγίστη τῶν ἐντολῶν ἁρωτημένος. "ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς δυνάμεως σου," ταύτης μείζω μηδεμίαν ἐντολὴν εἶναι, καὶ μάλα εἰκότως. καὶ γὰρ καὶ περὶ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ περὶ τοῦ μεγίστου παρῆγγελται, αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, δὲ οὗ καὶ γέγονε καὶ ἔστι τὰ πάντα καὶ εἰς ὅν τὰ σωζόμενα πάλιν ἐπανέρχεται. ὑπὸ τούτου τοίνυν προαγαπηθέντας καὶ τοῦ γενέσθαι τυχόντας οἷς οὕσιν ἄλλο τι πρεσβύτερον ἄγειν καὶ τιμιώτερον, ἐκτίνοντας μόνην τὴν χάριν ταύτην μικρὰν ἐπὶ μεγίστοις, ἄλλο δὲ μηδοτινὸν ἔχοντας ἀνενδεἰ καὶ τελείω θεῶ πρὸς ἀμοιβὴν ἐπινοήσαι, αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ἕνεκαν τὸν πατέρα εἰς οἰκεῖον ἰσχύν καὶ δύναμιν ἀφθαρσίαν κομίζομένους. οὗτος γὰρ ἄγαπᾷ τις θεοῦ, τοσοῦτος καὶ πλέον ἐνδοτέρῳ τοῦ θεοῦ παραδύεται.

28. Δευτέραν δὲ τάξει καὶ οὐδέν τι μικροτέραν ταύτης εἶναι λέγει τὸ. "ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν." οὕκοιν τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ σεαυτόν. πυθανομένου δὲ τοῦ προσδιαλεγομένου "τίς ἐστιν πλησίον," οὐ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τρόπον Ἰουδαίοις προ- ωρίσατο τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸς οὐδὲ τὸν πολίτην οὐδὲ τὸν προσήλυτον οὐδὲ τὸν ὁμοίως περιτετμημένον οὐδὲ τὸν ἐνὶ καὶ ταύτῳ νόμῳ χρώμενον. ἀλλὰ ἀνωθὲν καταβαίνοντα ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλήμ ἄγει τῷ λόγῳ τινὰ εἰς Ἰεριχώ καὶ τούτον δεῖκνυσιν ὑπὸ λῃστῶν συγκεκευμένου, ἐρριμμένου ἡμιβνήτα ἐπὶ

1 αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ Ghisler. αὐτῷ δὲ τὸ ms.
2 ἀφθαρσίαν Wilamowitz. ἀφθαρσίας ms.
3 καταβαίνοντα Ghisler. καταβαίνων ms.

a St. Mark xii. 30–31.
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When asked which is the greatest of the commandments the Teacher says, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul and with all thy power," and that there is no commandment greater than this—and quite naturally. For indeed it is a precept concerning the first and the greatest existence, God Himself our Father, through whom all things have come into being and exist, and to whom the things that are being saved return again. As therefore we were first loved by Him and took our beginning from Him, it is not reverent to consider any other thing as more venerable or more honourable. This is the only thanks we pay Him, a small return for the greatest blessings; and we are not able to think of the slightest thing else to serve as recompense for a God who is perfect and in need of nothing. But by the very act of loving the Father to the limit of our personal strength and power we gain incorruption. For in proportion as a man loves God, he enters more closely into God.

28. Second in order, and in no way less important than this, is, He says, the commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself"—God therefore you must love more than yourself. And when His questioner inquires, "Who is a neighbour?" He did not point, in the same way as the Jews did, to their blood-relation, or fellow-citizen, or proselyte, or to the man who like them was circumcised, or to a keeper of one and the same law, but He describes a man going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, showing him stabbed by robbers and flung half dead upon...
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tēs ὁδοῦ, ὑπὸ ἑρείως παροδενόμενον, ὑπὸ Δεύτην παροπώμενον, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Σαμαρείτου τοῦ ἐξωνε- 
δυμένον καὶ ἀφωρισμένον κατελεύμενον, δι’ οὐχὶ 
cατὰ τύχην ὡς ἐκεῖνοι παρῆλθεν, ἀλλ’ ἢ ἴκε 
συνεσ- 
κενασμένος ὡς 1 οἱ κινδυνεύων ἔδειτο, οἶνον, ἐλαίον, 
ἐπιδέσμους, κτήνους, μισθὸν τῷ πανδοχεῖ, τὸν μὲν 
هة διδόμενον, τὸν ἐπισυπισχοὺμενον. "τίς," 
ἐφή, "τούτων γέγονε πλησίον τῷ τὰ δεινὰ παθόντι;" 
tοῦ δὲ ἀποκριναμένου οὖθεν "ὁ τὸν ἔλεον πρὸς αὐτὸν 
ἐπιδεξάμενος καὶ σὺ τοῖνον πορευθεὶς ὦτῳ 
ποίει, ὥς τῆς ἁγάπης ἡλαστανόντως εὐποιῶν.

29. Ἐν ἀμφοτέραις μὲν οὖν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς ἁγάπην 
elpoxetai, tagei d' autin dierhke, kai opon men tα 
πρωτεία τῆς ἁγάπης ἀνάπτει τῷ θεῷ, ὅπου δὲ τα 
πληροφορεία νέμει τῷ πληθύνον. τίς δ' ἄν ἄλλος οὗτος 
ei plēn autōs o sothr; h tis māllon ἥμας

952 R. ἐλεήσας ἐκεῖνον, τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν κοσμοκρατόρων 
τοῦ σκότους ὀλίγον τεθανατωμένους τοὺς πολλοῖς 
τραύμασι, φόβοις, ἐπιθυμίαις, ὀργαίς, λύπασι, ἀπά-

tais, ἡδοναῖς; τούτων δὲ τῶν τραυμάτων μόνος 
ιατρὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκκόπτων ἀρδῆν τὰ πάθη πρόρριζα, 
οὐχ ὡσπερ ὁ νόμος ψιλὰ τὰ ἀποτελέσματα, τοὺς 
καρποὺς τῶν ποιημάτων φυτῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἁζίνην τὴν 
ἐαυτὸν πρὸς τὰς ῥίζας τῆς κακίας προσαγαγών. 
οὗτος ὡς 2 τὸν οἶνον, τὸ ἀίμα τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς 
Δαβίδ, ἐκχέας ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὰς τετραμένας ψυχὰς, <οὗτος ὡς 
to ἐλαιον,> 3 τὸν ἐκ σπλάγχνων πατρὸς ἔλεον, 
προσευγκών καὶ ἐπιδαπνευμόμενος, οὗτος τὸ 

1 ὡς Ghisler. ὡς ms. 2 ὡς inserted by Ghisler. 
3 <οὗτος> inserted by Wilamowitz: <ὁ τὸ ἐλαιον> by Lindner. 

a See St. Luke x. 31. b Ephesians vi. 12. 
c See St. Matthew iii. 10; St. Luke iii. 9.
the road. A priest passes him by; a Levite disregards him; but he is pitied by the scorned and outcast Samaritan, who did not pass along by chance as the others, but had come fully equipped with what the man in danger needed, wine, oil, bandages, a beast, and payment for the innkeeper, some being given there and then and a further amount promised. "Which of these," He said, "proved neighbour to him who endured this outrage?" And when he answered, "He that showed pity towards him," the Lord added, "Go thou therefore and do likewise." For love bursts forth into good works.

29. In both commandments therefore He introduces love, but He makes a distinction of order, in one place attaching to God the highest exercise of love and in the other allotting its secondary exercise to our neighbour. And who else can this be but the Saviour himself? Or who more than He has pitied us, who have been almost done to death by the world-rulers of the darkness with these many wounds— with fears, lusts, wraths, griefs, deceits and pleasures? Of these wounds Jesus is the only healer, by cutting out the passions absolutely and from the very root. He does not deal with the bare results, the fruits of bad plants, as the law did, but brings His axe to the roots of evil. This is He who poured over our wounded souls the wine, the blood of David's vine; this is He who has brought and is lavishing on us the oil, the oil of pity.

\[d\textup{Cp. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles ix. 1-2, "with regard to the giving of thanks (i.e. the Eucharist), in this way give thanks: first with regard to the cup; 'We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David Thy Son, which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus Thy Son.'"} \]
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA


30. Πρῶτος μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸν ἀγαπῶν, δεύτερος δὲ ὁ τοὺς ἐκείνως πεπιστευκότας τιμῶν καὶ περιπέτων. ὁ γὰρ ἂν τις εἰς μαθητὴν ἐργάσηται, τούτο εἰς ἐαυτὸν ὁ κύριος ἐκδέχεται καὶ πάν ἐαυτὸν ποιεῖται. "δεῦτε, οἱ εὐλογημένοι τοῦ πατρὸς μου, κληρονομήσατε τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ἕμῖν βασιλείαν ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου. ἐπείνασα γὰρ καὶ ἔδωκατέ μοι φαγεῖν, καὶ ἔδωκα μοι πιεῖν, καὶ ξένοις ἠμῖν καὶ συνηγάγετε με, γυμνὸς ἡμῖν καὶ ἐνευδόσατε με, ἡσθένσας καὶ ἐπεσκέφασθέ με, ἐν φυλακῇ ἠμῖν καὶ ἠλθεῖς πρὸς με. τότε ἀποκριθήσονται αὐτῷ οἱ δίκαιοι λέγοντες· κύριε.

a 1 Corinthians xiii. 13.
b See Hebrews i. 14; Ephesians iii. 10.
c See Romans viii. 19-21. St. Paul speaks of "the whole creation" being freed from corruption. The special 332
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from the Father’s heart; this is He who has shown us the unbreakable bands of health and salvation, love, faith and hope; this is He who has ordered angels and principalities and powers to serve us for great reward, because they too shall be freed from the vanity of the world at the revelation of the glory of the sons of God. Him therefore we must love equally with God. And he loves Christ Jesus who does His will and keeps His commandments. “For not everyone that saith unto Me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of My Father.” And, “Why call ye Me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things that I say?” And “Blessed are ye that see and hear what neither righteous men nor prophets saw and heard,” if ye do what I say.

30. He then is first who loves Christ, and the second is he who honours and respects those who believe on Christ. For whatever service a man does for a disciple the Lord accepts for Himself, and reckons it all His own. “Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was hungry and ye gave Me to eat, and I was thirsty and ye gave Me to drink, and I was a stranger and ye took Me in, I was naked and ye clothed Me, I was sick and ye visited Me, I was in prison and ye came unto Me. Then shall the righteous answer Him saying, Lord, thought of the angelic powers as destined to share in this deliverance seems to be Clement’s own, though possibly it was in St. Paul’s mind when he wrote.

* See St. John xiv. 15.
* St. Matthew vii. 21.
* St. Luke vi. 46.
* See St. Matthew xiii. 16-17; St. John xiii. 17.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

πότε σε εἴδομεν πενώντα καὶ ἐθρέψαμεν, ἡ δυσώντα καὶ ἐποτίσαμεν; πότε δὲ εἴδομεν σε ξένον καὶ συν-
ηγάγωμεν, ἡ γυμνόν καὶ περιβάλομεν; ἡ πότε σε εἴδομεν ἀσθενοῦντα καὶ ἐπεσκεψάμεθα; ἡ ἐν φυλακῇ
καὶ ήλθομεν πρὸς σέ; ἀποκρίθεισι οἱ βασιλεῖς ἑρεὶ
αὐτοῖς· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐφ' ὅσον ἐποιήσατε ἐν
τούτων τῶν ἁδελφῶν μου τῶν ἐλαχίστων, ἐμοὶ ἐποιήσατε." πάλιν ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων τοὺς ταῦτα
μὴ παρασχόντας αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐμβάλλει τὸ
αιώνιον, ὡς αὐτῷ μὴ παρεσχηκότας. καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ·
"ὁ ὑμᾶς δεχόμενος ἔμε δέχεται, ὁ ὑμᾶς μὴ δεχόμε-
νος ἔμε ἀθετεῖ." 31. Τούτων καὶ τέκνα καὶ παιδία καὶ
φίλους ὀνομάζει καὶ μικροὺς ἐνθάδε ὡς πρὸς τὸ
μέλλον ἄνω μέγεθος αὐτῶν, "μὴ καταφρονήσητε,"
λέγων, "ἐνὸς | τῶν μικρῶν τούτων· τούτων γὰρ οἱ
ἀγγέλοι διὰ παντὸς βλέπουσι τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ
πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς." καὶ ἐτέρωθι· "μὴ
φοβεῖσθε, τὸ μικρὸν ποίμνον· ὑμῖν γὰρ ηὐδόκησεν ὁ
πατὴρ παραδοθῆναι τὴν βασιλείαν" τῶν οὐρανῶν.
κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τοῦ μεγίστου ἐν γεννητοῖς
γυναικῶν Ἰωάννου τὸν ἐλαχίστον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ
tῶν οὐρανῶν, τοιτέστι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μαθητήν, εἶναι
μείζων λέγει. καὶ πάλιν· "ὁ δεχόμενος δίκαιον
ἡ προφήτην εἰς ὁνόμα δικαίου ἡ προφήτην τὸν
ἐκείνων μισθὸν λήμεται, ο δὲ μαθητὴν ποτίσας εἰς
ὁνόμα μαθητοῦ ποτήριον ψυχροῦ ὑδατός τὸν μισθὸν
οὐκ ἀπολέσει." οὐκοῦν οὕτως μόνος ο ὑμὸς οὐκ

a St. Matthew xxv. 34–40.
b See St. Matthew x. 40; St. Luke x. 16.
c See St. Mark x. 24; St. John xxi. 5; St. Matthew xi.
25; St. John xv. 15; St. Luke xii. 4.
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when saw we Thee hungry and fed Thee, or thirsty
and gave Thee drink? When saw we Thee a stranger
and took Thee in, or naked and clothed Thee? Or
when saw we Thee sick and visited Thee? Or in
prison and came unto Thee? The King shall answer
and say unto them; Verily I say unto you, inasmuch
as ye did it unto one of these My brethren, even
these least, ye did it unto Me." Again, on the other
hand, those who did not provide these things for
them He casts into the eternal fire, on the ground
that they have not provided them for Him. And in
another place: "He that receiveth you receiveth
Me; he that receiveth you not rejecteth Me." b

31. These who believe on Him He calls children
and young children and babes and friends; c also little
ones here, d in comparison with their future greatness
above. "Despise not," He says, "one of these
little ones, for their angels always behold the face
of My Father who is in heaven." e And elsewhere;
"Fear not, little flock, for it is the Father's good
pleasure to give you the kingdom f of heaven.
After the same manner He says that the least in the
kingdom of heaven, that is, His own disciple, is
greater than the greatest among them that are born
of women, namely John. g And again, "He that
receiveth a righteous man or a prophet shall obtain
the reward meet for these, and he that hath given
a cup of cold water to a disciple in the name of a
disciple shall not lose his reward." h This then is

a See St. Matthew x. 42.
b St. Matthew xviii. 10.
c St. Luke xii. 32.
d See St. Matthew xi. 11; St. Luke vii. 28.
e This then is
f St. Matthew x. 41-42.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

ἀπολλύμενός ἐστι. καὶ αὐθις. "ποιήσατε έαυτοῖς
φίλους ἐκ τοῦ μαμώνα τῆς ἀδικίας, ἵνα ὅταν ἐκλῖτη,
δὲξιωταί υμᾶς εἰς τὰς αἰώνιας σκηνᾶς." φύσει
μὲν ἀπασαν κτήσων, ἦν αὐτὸς τις ἐφ’ ἐαυτοῦ κέκτηται
ὡς ἱδίαν οὔς καὶ οὐκ εἰς κοινὸν τοῖς δεομένοις
κατατίθησιν, ἄδικον οὔς άποφαίνων, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης
τῆς ἀδικίας ἐνόν καὶ πράγμα δίκαιον ἐργάσασθαι
καὶ σωτήριον, ἀναπαύσαι τινα τῶν ἐχόντων αἰώνιον
σκηνήν παρὰ τῷ πατρί.

"Ὅρα πρῶτον μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἀπαίτεσθαί σε κεκέλευ-
κεν οὔδε ἐνοχλεῖσθαι περιμένειν, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸν ζητεῖν
τοὺς εἰς πεισομένους ἄξιον τε ἴνα τοῦ σωτήρος
μαθητάς. καλὸς μὲν οὖν καὶ δ’ τοῦ ἀποστόλου
λόγος. "Ἰλαρόν γὰρ δότην ἀγαπᾶ ὁ θεὸς," χαίροντα
tῷ διδόναι καὶ μὴ φειδομένως ² ἑπείροντα, ἵνα μὴ
οὕτως καὶ θερίσῃ, δίχα γογγυσμῶν καὶ διακρίσεως
καὶ λύπης [καὶ] ³ κοινωνοῦντα, ὅπερ ἔστιν εὐεργεσία
καθαρά. ⁴ κρείττων δ’ ἐστὶ τούτον δ’ τοῦ κυρίου
λελεγμένος ἐν ἄλλῳ χωρίῳ. "παντὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ
σε δίδουν." θεοῦ γὰρ οὕτως ἡ τοιαύτη φιλοδωρία.
οὕτως δὲ δ’ λόγος ὑπὲρ ἀπασάν ἐστὶ θεότητα, μηδὲ
aιτεῖσθαι περιμένειν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν ἀναλητεῖν ὡς τῶν
ἀξίων εἰς παθεῖν, ἐπείη τηλικοῦτον μισθὸν ὄρισκεν τῆς
κοινωνίας, αἰώνιον σκηνήν. 32. οῷ καλῆς ἐμπορίας,
ὡς ἔχεις ἀγορᾶς. ὑνεῖται χρημάτων τις ἀφθαρσίαν,

¹ ἐκλῖτη Stählin. ἐκλῖτητε ms.
² φειδομένως (from 2 Cor. ix. 6) Segaar. φειδόμενον ms.
³ [καὶ] Segaar.
⁴ καθαρά Segaar. καθα ms.

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

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the only reward that cannot be lost. And once more: "Make to yourselves friends from the mammon of unrighteousness, that when it shall fail, they may receive you into the eternal habitations." a Thus He declares that all possessions are by nature unrighteous, when a man possesses them for personal advantage as being entirely his own, b and does not bring them into the common stock for those in need; but that from this unrighteousness it is possible to perform a deed that is righteous and saving, namely, to give relief to one of those who have an eternal habitation with the Father.

See, first, how His command is not that you should yield to a request or wait to be pestered, but that you should personally seek out men whom you may benefit, men who are worthy disciples of the Saviour. Now the Apostle's saying also is good, "God loveth a cheerful giver," c one who takes pleasure in giving and sows not sparingly, for fear he should reap sparingly, d but shares his goods without murmurings or dispute or annoyance. This is sincere kindness. Better than this is that which is said by the Lord in another place; "Give to everyone that asketh thee;" e for such generosity is truly of God. But more divine than all is this saying, that we should not even wait to be asked, f but should personally seek after whoever is worthy of help, and then fix the exceedingly great reward of our sharing, an eternal habitation. 32. What splendid trading! What divine business! You buy incorruption with

a See 2 Corinthians ix. 6.
 b St. Luke vi. 30.
 c Clement interprets the saying, "Make to yourselves friends . . .," as a command to the rich man to give without being asked.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

καὶ δοὺς τὰ διολλύμενα τοῦ κόσμου μοιὴν τούτων αἰώνιον ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀντιλαμβάνειν. πλεῦσον ἐπὶ ταύτην, ἢν σωφρονής, τὴν πανήγυριν, ὦ πλοῦς, καὶ δέξῃ, περιέλθῃ γῆν ὁλην, μὴ φείσῃ κινδύνων καὶ πόνων, ἢ ἐνταῦθα βασιλείαν οὐράνων ἀγοράσῃς.

τι σε λίθοι διαφανεῖς καὶ σμάραγδοι τοσοῦτον εὐφραίνουσι καὶ οἰκία, τροφή πυρός ἡ χρόνου παίγνιον ἡ σειρμοῦ πάρεργον ἡ ὑβρισμα τυράννου; ἐπιθύμησον ἐν οὐρανοῖς οἰκῆσαι καὶ βασιλεύσει μετὰ θεοῦ· ταύτην σοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἄνθρωπος δώσει θεὸν ἀπομιμημένος· ἐνταῦθα μικρὰ λάβων ἐκεῖ δι’ ὅλων αἰώνων συνοικίων σε ποιήσεται. ἱκέτευσον ἵνα λάβῃ· σπεῦσον, ἀγωνίασον, φοβήθητι μὴ σε ἀτμάσῃ· οὐ γὰρ κεκέλευσαι λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ σὺ παρασχεῖν. οὐ μὴν οὔδε ἐπεν ὁ κύριος δός, ἡ παράσχες, ἡ εὐεργετησον, ἡ βοήθησον, φίλον δὲ ποίσαι· ὁ δὲ φίλος ὁυκ ἐκ μιᾶς δόσεως γίνεται, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ὅλης ἀναπαύσεως καὶ συνονωσίας μακρὰς· οὔτε γὰρ ἡ πίστις οὔτε ἡ ἀγάπη οὔτε ἡ καρτερία μιᾶς ἡμέρας, ἀλλ’ "ὁ ὑπομείναις εἰς τέλος, οὔτος σωθήσεται."

33. Πῶς οὖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ταῦτα δίδωσιν; ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἐκεῖνον τιμὴν καὶ εὐνοιαν καὶ οικείωσιν ὁ κύριος δίδωσιν. "δόσῃ γὰρ οὐ μόνον τοὺς φίλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φίλους τῶν φίλων," καὶ τίς οὔτος ἐστιν ὁ φίλος τοῦ θεοῦ; ὀύ μὲν μὴ κρίνε, τίς ἄξιος καὶ τίς

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

"The word means "assembly" and was applied to the great national and religious festivals of the Greeks at 338"
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money. You give the perishing things of the world and receive in exchange for them an eternal abode in heaven. Set sail, rich man, for this market, if you are wise. Compass the whole earth if need be. Spare not dangers or toils, that here you may buy a heavenly kingdom. Why so delighted with glittering stones and emeralds, with a house that is fuel for fire or a plaything for time or sport for an earthquake or the object of a tyrant's insolence? Desire to live and reign in heaven with God. This kingdom a man, imitating God, shall give you. Having taken little from you here, he will make you through all the ages a fellow-inhabitant there. Beg him to take it. Hasten, strive earnestly, fear lest he reject you. For he has not been commanded to take, but you to provide. Furthermore, the Lord did not say, "give," or "provide," or "benefit," or "help," but "make a friend"; and a friend is made not from one gift, but from complete relief and long companionship. For neither faith nor love nor patience is the work of one day, but "he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved." 33. How then does a man give these things? Why, the Lord gives them, on account of your esteem and favour and relationship with this man. "For I will give not only to my friends, but also to the friends of my friends." And who is this friend of God? Do not yourself decide who is worthy and

Olympia and elsewhere. It is used of the Christian church in Hebrews xii. 23. As we should expect, these gatherings were made the occasion of fairs and markets (Strabo 486). It is this aspect of them which Clement seems to have most in mind here.

b St. Luke xvi. 9. c St. Matthew x. 22.
d This saying is not found in the gospels.
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

34. Τοῦτο τὸ σχήμα τὸ βλεπόμενον ἐξαπατᾶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὸν διάβολον: ὁ γὰρ ἐντὸς πλούτου καὶ τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῖς ἀθέατός ἐστι· καὶ μαίνονται περὶ τὸ σαρκίον, οὐ καταφρονοῦσιν ὡς ἀσθενοῦσι, τῶν ἐνδον ὅντες τυφλοὶ κτημάτων, οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι

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

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who unworthy, for you may happen to be quite mistaken in your opinion; so that when in doubt through ignorance it is better to do good even to the unworthy for the sake of the worthy than by being on your guard against the less good not to light upon the virtuous at all. For by being niggardly and by pretending to test who will deserve the benefit and who will not, you may possibly neglect some who are beloved of God, the penalty for which is eternal punishment by fire. But by giving freely to all in turn who need, you are absolutely certain to find one of those men who have power to save you with God. Therefore, "judge not, that you may not be judged; with what measure you mete, it shall be measured to you again. Good measure, pressed down and shaken together, running over, shall be given back to you." Open your heart to all who are enrolled as God's disciples, not gazing scornfully on their body, nor being led to indifference by their age. And if one appear needy or ill-clad or ungainly or weak, do not in your soul take offence at this and turn away. This is a form thrown round us from without for the purpose of our entrance into the world, that we may be able to take our place in this universal school; but hidden within dwells the Father, and His Son who died for us and rose with us.

34. This form that is seen deceives death and the devil; for the inward wealth and beauty are invisible to them. And they rage round the bit of flesh, which they despise as weak, while they are blind to the inner possessions, not knowing how great a

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*See St. Matthew vii. 1; St. Luke vi. 38.*

*See St. John xiv. 23.*
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

πηλίκον τινά "θησαυρὸν ἐν ὀστρακίνῳ σκεύει" βαστάζομεν, δυνάμει θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ αἷματι θεοῦ παιδὸς καὶ δρόσῳ πνεύματος ἀγίου περιτετειχισμένον. ἀλλὰ σὺ γε μὴ ἐξαπατηθῇς, ὁ γεγενέμενος ἀληθείας καὶ κατηξιωμένος τῆς μεγάλης λυτρώσεως, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐναντίον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις σεαυτῷ κατάλεξον στρατόν ἁσπλον, ἄπολεμον, ἀναίμακτον, ἀόργητον, ἀμίαντον, γέροντας | θεοσεβείς, ὀρφανοὺς θεοφιλεῖς, χήρας πραότητι ὑπλουσίμας, ἄνδρας ἀγάπη κεκοσμημένους. τοιούτους κτήσαι τῷ σῷ πλούτῳ καὶ τῷ σῶματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ δορυφόρους, ὥν στρατηγεῖ θεός, δι' οὐς καὶ ναὸς βαπτιζομένη κούφιζεται μόναι ἀγίων εὐχαίς κυβερνώμενή, καὶ νόσος ἀκμάζονα δαμάζεται χειρῶν ἐπιβολαῖς διωκομένη, καὶ προσβολή λῃστῶν ἀφοπλίζεται εὐχαίς εὐσεβέσι σκυλευμένη, καὶ δαμόνων βίᾳ θραύσεται προστάγμασι συντόνοις ἐλεγχομένη.

35. Ἐνεργοὶ ὁ μὲν ἐξαυτῆς σαβαίοι, οὐδεὶς ἀργός, οὐδεὶς ἀχρεῖος. ὁ δὲ παραμυθήσασθαι κἀκεκομνών, ὁ δὲ δακρύσας καὶ σταμάξαι συμπαθῶς ὑπὲρ σοῦ πρὸς τὸν κύριον τῶν ὅλων, ὁ δὲ διδάξαι τι τῶν πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν χρησίμων, ὁ δὲ νουθητήσαι μετὰ παραρθησίας, ὁ δὲ συμβουλεῦσαι μετ' εὐνοίας, πάντες δὲ φιλεῖν ἄληθῶς, ἀδόλως, ἀφόβως, ἀνυποκρίτως, ἀκολακεύτως, ἀπλάστως. ὃς γὰρ κείμεναι θεραπεῖαν φιλοτύπων, ὃς μακάριον διακονὶα παραρροῦντων, ὃς πίστευε εἰλικρινὴς θεοῦ μόνον δεδιότων, ὃς λόγων ἀληθεία παρὰ τοῖς ἑυποστήθηκεν μὴ δυναμένοις, ὃς κάλλος ἐργῶν παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς

1 Ἐνεργοὶ Stählin. ἐν ἐργοῖς ms.
2 [οἱ] Schwartz.
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"treasure" we carry "in an earthen vessel," fortified by the power of God the Father and the blood of God the Son and the dew of the Holy Spirit. Do not you be deceived, however, who have tasted of truth, and have been deemed worthy of the great redemption; but, contrary to the rest of men, enlist on your behalf an army without weapons, without war, without bloodshed, without anger, without stain, an army of God-fearing old men, of God-beloved orphans, of widows armed with gentleness, of men adorned with love. Obtain with your wealth, as guards for your body and your soul, such men as these, whose commander is God. Through them the sinking ship rises, steered by the prayers of saints alone; and sickness at its height is subdued, put to flight by the laying on of hands; the attack of robbers is made harmless, being stripped of its weapons by pious prayers; and the violence of daemons is shattered, reduced to impotence by confident commands.

35. Effective soldiers are all these, and steadfast guardians, not one idle, not one useless. One is able to beg your life from God, another to hearten you when sick, another to weep and lament in sympathy on your behalf before the Lord of all, another to teach some part of what is useful for salvation, another to give outspoken warning, another friendly counsel, and all to love you truly, without guile, fear, hypocrisy, flattery or pretence. What sweet services of loving friends! What blessed ministries of men of good cheer! What pure faith of those who fear God alone! What truth of speech among those who cannot lie! What beauty of deeds among those who are resolved

\[2\text{ Corinthians iv. 7.}\]
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

diakonein pepseusmeinos, peideun theon, areskein theo. ou sarkeis ths sth saptseis dokousin, alla ths easou psichis ekastos, ouk adelpho lalein, alla tw basilei twn aionwn en soi katoikontai.

36. Pantes oin ois pistoi kalo kai theoprepseis kai ths prosochorias axiou, gin oster diadhma periexentai. ou mhn all' eisin othi tineis kai twv eklektwn eklektoteroi, kai tosooutw malloin <\i> 1 11tton episimou, tropon twa ek tou kludwos tou kosmou neulkoynites easou kai epapagontes ep' asphalnes, ou boulomenoi dokein angoi, kai eiphe tis, aisxunomenei, en badei gnwmis apokruptontes ta aneklalheta muntria, kai thn autwn eugenein uperphavanvtes en kosmow blepseisai, ou o logos "fws tou kosmou" kai "alas ths ghs" kalei. tout' esti to sperma, eikwn kai omoiwn theou, kai teknon autou gnhsion kai klironomon, oster ep' twa xeniteian. entaitha pemptomenui upo megalhs oikonomias kai anagogias tou patros. di' 2 kai ta fanerata kai ta afanh tou kosmou dedymuynetai, ta men eis douleian, ta de eis askhion, ta de eis mahnin autwn, kai pantan, mechrin an entaitha to sperma meno, synegetai, kai sunaxhentos autou pantan ³ tachiosta luthsetai.

1 <\i> inserted by Segaar.
2 di' o Schwartz. di' ood ms.
3 pantan Schwartz. tahta ms.

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a 1 Timothy i. 17.
b St. Matthew v. 13-14.
c See Genesis i. 26; Romans viii. 17; 1 Timothy i. 2; Titus i. 4.
d The "seed" is a gnostic term for those higher souls who contain within themselves in a special degree the spark of divine life. They walk by knowledge, or direct intuition, 344.
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to minister to God, to persuade God, to please God! They seem to touch not your flesh but each his own soul, not to be talking with a brother but with the King of the ages who dwells in you.

36. All the faithful then are noble and godlike, and worthy of their title, which they wear as a diadem. Not but that there are already some who are even more elect than the elect, and more elect in proportion as they are less conspicuous. These are they who in a manner haul themselves up out of the surf of the world and retire to a place of safety, who do not wish to appear holy, and are ashamed if one calls them so, who hide in the depth of their mind the unutterable mysteries, and scorn to let their nobility of nature be seen in the world. These the Word calls "light of the world" and "salt of the earth." This is the seed, God's image and likeness, and His true child and heir, sent here, as it were, on a kind of foreign service by the Father's high dispensation and suitable choice. For his sake both the visible and invisible things of the world have been created, some for his service, others for his training, others for his instruction; and all are held together so long as the seed remains on earth, and when it has been gathered in all will speedily be dissolved.

rather than by faith. Justin Martyr (2 Apology ch. 7) makes the same statement as Clement, viz. that the world is preserved solely on account of the "seed"; but he means by this term the whole body of Christians. Clement however seems plainly to restrict it to those who are "more elect than the elect." For the "gathering in" of the elect see St. Matthew iii. 12 and xxiv. 31; Teaching of the Twelve Apostles ix. 4 and x. 5; Clement's Extracts from Theodotus xxvi. 3.

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37. Τι γὰρ ἐτι δεῖ; θεῦ τὰ τῆς ἀγάπης μυστήρια, καὶ τὸτε ἐποπτεύσεις τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρός, διὸ ὁ μονογενὴς θεὸς μόνος ἐξηγήσατο. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἀγάπη καὶ δι' ἀγάπην ἢμῖν ἔθειάθη. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀρητὸν αὐτοῦ πατήρ, τὸ δὲ εἰς ἢμᾶς συμπαθῆς γέγονε μήτηρ. ἀγαπήσας ὁ πατὴρ ἐθηλώθη, καὶ τούτου μέγα σημεῖον διὸ αὐτὸς ἐγέννησεν εἰς αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὁ τεχθεὶς εἰς ἀγάπης καρπὸς ἀγάπη. διὰ τούτο καὶ αὐτὸς κατῆλθε, διὰ τοῦτο ἀνθρωπὸν ἐνέδυ, διὰ τούτο τὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐκών ἐπαθεν, ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἠμετέραν ἀθένειαν οὐς ἡγάπησε μετρηθεὶς ἢμῖν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἀντιμετρῆσαι. καὶ μέλλων σπένδεσθαι καὶ λύτρον ἑαυτῶν ἐπιδίδουσι καὶνήν ἢμῖν διαθήκην καταλίπανεν· "ἀγάπην ἢμῖν διδωμι τὴν ἐμὴν." τίς δὲ ἐστιν αὐτὴ καὶ πόση; ὑπὲρ ἢμῶν ἐκάστου κατέθηκε 2 τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἀνταξίαν τῶν ὅλων· ταύτην ἢμᾶς ὑπὲρ ἄλληλων ἀνταπαίτει. εἰ δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ὀφείλομεν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, καὶ τοιαύτην τὴν συνθῆκην πρὸς τὸν σωτῆρα ἀνθρωμολογήμεθα, ἔτι τὰ τοῦ κόσμου, τὰ πτωχὰ καὶ ἅλλοτρια καὶ παραρρέοντα, καθείρξομεν ταμειεύμενοι; ἄλληλων ἀποκλείσομεν, ἀ μετὰ μικρὸν ἔξει τὸ πῦρ; θείως γε καὶ ἐπιπνόως

1 ἔθειάθη (cp. v. Stromateis 16. 5) Lindner. ἑσπράθη ms.
2 κατέθηκε Segaar. καθήκε ms.
3 ἐπιπνόωs Lindner. ἐπιπνώμι ms.

a St. John i. 18. This passage strongly supports the reading noted in the margin of the Revised Version.

b See 1 St. John iv. 8, 16.

c This thought of the Motherhood of God has a parallel in Synesius (Bishop of Ptolemais in Libya early in the fifth century), Hymn II. 63–4:

Thou art Father, thou art Mother,
Thou art male, and thou art female.

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37. What else is necessary? Behold the mysteries God is love of love, and then you will have a vision of the bosom of the Father, whom the only-begotten God alone declared. God in His very self is love, and for love's sake He became visible to us. And while the unspeakable part of Him is Father, the part that has sympathy with us is Mother. By His loving the Father became of woman's nature, a great proof of which is He whom He begat from Himself; and the fruit that is born of love is love. This is why the Son Himself came to earth, this is why He put on manhood, this is why He willingly endured man's lot, that, having been measured to the weakness of us whom He loved, He might in return measure us to His own power. And when He is about to be offered and is giving Himself up as a ransom He leaves us a new testament: "I give you my love." What love is this, and how great? On behalf of each of us He laid down the life that is equal in value to the whole world. In return He demands this sacrifice from us on behalf of one another. But if we owe our lives to the brethren, and admit such a reciprocal compact with the Saviour, shall we still husband and hoard up the things of the world, which are beggarly and alien to us and ever slipping away? Shall we shut out from one another that which in a short time the fire will have? Divine indeed and Gnostic speculation introduced a Mother as the cause of Creation (cp. Irenaeus i. 4), but the present passage would seem to have no connexion at all with this. Clement is simply trying to account, in a mystical way, for the love of God as shown in the Incarnation.

* i.e. as a drink-offering—the same word that St. Paul uses of himself in 2 Timothy iv. 6.
*c See St. John xiii. 34; xiv. 27.
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ο Ἰωάννης “ὁ μὴ φιλῶν” φησὶ “τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἔστι,” σπέρμα τοῦ Καίων, θρέμμα τοῦ διαβόλου. θεοῦ απλάγχυν οὐκ ἔχει, ἐλπίδα κρείττονών οὐκ ἔχει, ἀποπορός ἔστιν, ἀγονὸς ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστι κλῆμα τῆς ἁεὶ ζώσης ὑπερουργίας ἀμφέλου, ἐκκόπτεται, τὸ πῦρ ἀθρόου ἀναμένει.


1 <καθ’> inserted by Combeitis from 1 Corinthians xii. 31.

a 1 St. John iii. 15.
b See St. John xv. 5–6.

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inspired is the saying of John: "He that loveth not his brother is a murderer," \(^a\) a seed of Cain, a nursling of the devil. He has no tender heart of God, no hope of better things. He is without seed and without offspring. He is no branch of the ever-living heavenly vine. He is cut off; he awaits the fire at once.\(^b\)

38. But do you learn the "more excellent way" \(^c\) to salvation, which Paul shows. "Love seeketh not its own," \(^d\) but is lavished upon the brother. For him love flutters with excitement, for him it is chastely wild. "Love covereth a multitude of sins. Perfect love casteth out fear. Love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, rejoiceth not in unrighteousness, but rejoiceth with the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Love never faileth; prophecies are done away, tongues cease, healings are left behind on earth; but these three remain, faith, hope, love; and the greatest among these is love." \(^e\) And rightly; for faith departs, when we believe through having seen God with our own eyes; and hope vanishes away when what we hoped for has been granted; but love goes with us into the fulness of God's presence and increases the more when that which is perfect has been bestowed. Even though a man be born in sins, and have done many of the deeds that are forbidden, if he but implant love in his soul he is able, by increasing the love and by accepting pure repentance, to retrieve his failures.

\(^a\) 1 Corinthians xii. 31.
\(^b\) 1 Corinthians xiii. 5.
\(^c\) See 1 St. Peter iv. 8; 1 St. John iv. 18; 1 Corinthians xiii. 4-13.
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957 P. μηδὲ¹ γὰρ τοῦτο εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν σοι καὶ ἀπόνοιαν καταλελείφθω, εἰ καὶ τὸν πλοῦσιον μάθοις ὅστις ἐστὶν ὁ χώραν ἐν οὐρανοῖς οὐκ ἔχων καὶ τίνα τρόπον τοῖς οὐσί χρώμενος (39) ἀν τις τὸ τε ἔπιρημην² τοῦ πλούτου καὶ χαλεπὸν εἰς ζωὴν διαφύγοι καὶ δύνατο τῶν αἰωνίων [τῶν]³ ἄγαθῶν ἐπαύρασθαι, εἰς δὲ τετυχηκός ἢ δὲ ἄγνοιαν ἢ δὲ ἁσθενεῖαν ἢ περίστασιν ἀκούσουν μετὰ τὴν σφραγίδα καὶ τὴν λύτρωσιν περιπετείας τις ἀμαρτήμασιν ἢ παραπτώμασιν, ὡς ὑπεννέχθα λέλεου, <ὁτι>⁴ οὗτος κατεψήφισται παντάπασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. παντὶ γὰρ τῷ μετ’ ἀληθείας ἢς ὑλὴς τῆς καρδίας ἐπιστρέψατυ πρὸς τὸν θεοὺς ἀνεφύσαν αἱ θύραι καὶ δέχεται τρισαμενὸς πατὴρ υἱὸν ἀληθῶς μετανοοῦντα. ἢ δ’ ἀληθινὴ μετάνοια τὸ μηκέτι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔνοχον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἁρδὴν ἐκρυζώσαι τῆς φυσῆς ἐφ’ οἷς ἐαυτὸν κατέγνω θάνατον ἀμαρτήμασι τούτων γὰρ ἀναιρεθέντων αὕτης εἰς σὲ θεῷ εἰσουκιαθήσεται. μεγάλην γὰρ φησὶ καὶ ἀνυπέρβλητον εἶναι χαρὰν καὶ ἐορτὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἐνός ἀμαρτωλοῦ ἐπιστρέψαντος καὶ μετανοῆσαντος. διὸ καὶ κέκραγεν. "Εἴλεον θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν οὐ βούλομαι τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν. καὶ ἂν ἄντι ἄμαρτία ὑμῶν ὡς φοινικῶν ἔριον, ὡς χίόνα λευκοῖν, καὶ μελάντερον τοῦ σκότους, ὡς ἔριον λευκὸν ἐκνύμασι ποὺσω." θεῷ γὰρ μόνῳ δυνατὸν ἄφεσιν ἀμαρτίῶν παρασχέσθαι καὶ μὴ λογίσασθαι παραπτώματα, ὅπως γε καὶ ἡμῖν παρα-

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¹ μηδὲ Dindorf. μὴτε ms. ² ἕπιρημην Segaar. ἐπιρρητὶ τὸν ms. ³ αἰώνιων [τῶν] Ghisl. αἰώνων τῶν ms. ⁴ <ὁτι> inserted by Stahlin.

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For if you understand who is the rich man that has no place in heaven, and also in what manner a man may so use his substance (39) as to win his way to life through the censure and difficulties caused by wealth, and to be able to enjoy the eternal good things,—yes, even though he has happened either because of ignorance or of weakness or of circumstances not of his own choice to fall after the baptismal seal and redemption into certain sins or transgressions so as to have become completely subject to them,—let not this thought remain with you to lead to despair and despondency, namely, that such an one has been condemned outright by God. For to every one who turns to God in truth with his whole heart the doors are opened and a thrice-glad Father receives a truly penitent son. And genuine repentance is to be no longer guilty of the same offences, but utterly to root out of the soul the sins for which a man condemned himself to death; because when these have been destroyed God will once again enter in and dwell with you. For He says that there is great and unsurpassable joy and feasting in heaven for the Father and the angels when one sinner has turned and repented. According He cries, "I wish for mercy and not sacrifice, I desire not the death of the sinner, but his repentance. Though your sins be as scarlet wool, I will whiten them as snow; though blacker than the darkness, I will wash them and make them as white wool." For God alone can grant remission of sins and not reckon trespasses, though even we

\[a\] See St. Matthew ix. 13; xii. 7 (from Hosea vi. 6); Ezekiel xviii. 23; Isaiah i. 18.
\[b\] See St. Mark ii. 7; St. Luke v. 21; 2 Corinthians v. 19.
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κελευεται τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκάστης ὁ κύριος ἀφιέναι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς μετανοεῖσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἡμεῖς πονηροὶ ὄντες ἴσωμεν ἅγαθὰ δόματα διδόναι, πόσῳ μᾶλλον "ὁ πατήρ τῶν οἰκτηρῶν." ὁ ἁγάθος πατήρ "πάσης παρακλήσεως," ὁ πολύσπαρος καὶ πολυέλεος πέφυκε μακροθυμεῖν τοὺς ἐπιστρέφοντας περιμένει. ἐπιστρέψαι δὲ ἐστίν ὄντως ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τὸ παύσασθαι καὶ μηκέτι βλέπειν εἰς τὰ ὁπίσω.

40. Τῶν μὲν οὖν προγεγενήμενων θεὸς δίδωσιν ἀφεσιν, τῶν δὲ ἐπιόντων αὐτὸς ἐκατοσ ἐαντῷ. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ μεταγγύναι, τὸ καταγγυνά τῶν παρωχημένων καὶ αἰτήσασθαί τούτων ἀμνηστίαν παρὰ πατρός, ὁς μόνος τῶν ἀπάντων οὐδὲ τέστιν ἀπράκτα ποιήσου τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐλέῳ τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δρόσῳ πνεύματος ἀπαλείψας τὰ προημαρτημένα. "ἐφ' ὀίς γὰρ ἄν εὑρὼ ύμᾶς," φησίν, "ἐπὶ τούτους καὶ κρινῶν," καὶ παρ' ἐκατοτ βοᾷ τὸ τέλος πάντων· ὠστε καὶ τῷ τὰ μέγιστα ἐδοξοῦν τὴν <κατὰ> 1 τὸν βίον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τέλους ἐξοκείλαντί πρὸς κακίαν, ἀνόησαν 2 πάντες οἱ πρόσθεν πόνου, ἐπὶ τῆς καταστροφῆς τοῦ δράματος ἔξαθλω γενομένω, τῷ τε χείρον καὶ ἐπισευμμένως βιώσαντι πρότερον ἐστίν ὑστερον μετανόησαντι πολλοῦ χρόνου πολιτείαν

1 <κατὰ> inserted by Segaar (from Sac. Par.).
2 ἀνόητος Ghisler (from Sac. Par.). ἀνόητοι ms.

2 Corinthians i. 3.
St. James v. 11.
This saying, not found in our gospels, is mentioned in slightly different form by Justin Martyr (Dialogue with Trypho 47) who expressly attributes it to our Lord. It has some
are exhorted by the Lord each day to forgive our brothers when they repent. And if we, being evil, know how to give good gifts, how much more does "the Father of mercies." The good Father "of all comfort," full of pity and full of mercy, is by nature long-suffering. He waits for those who turn to Him. And to turn to Him truly is to cease from sins and no more to look back.

40. Of sins already committed, then, God gives remission, but of those that are to come each man procures his own remission. And this is repentance, to condemn the deeds that are past and to ask forgetfulness of them from the Father, who alone of all is able to make undone what has been done, by wiping out former sins with the mercy that comes from Him and with the dew of the Spirit. "For in whatever things I find you," He says, "in these will I also judge you;" and at each step He proclaims the end of all things. So that even when a man has done the greatest works faithfully through life, but at the end has run on the rocks of evil, all his former labours bring him no profit, since at the turning-point of the drama he has retired from the contest; whereas he who has at first led an indifferent and slipshod life may, if afterwards he repents, utterly wipe out a wicked course of long continuance with the time resemblance to Ezekiel xxxiii. 20 (Sept.)—"I will judge you each one in his ways"—and in both Clement and Justin it occurs in connexion with teaching drawn from Ezekiel xxxiii. 10–20.

The "catastrophe" or turning-point towards the end of a play when the issue stands definitely revealed. Used here, as elsewhere in Greek literature, for the conclusion of life, when a man might be expected to have settled down to a course either good or evil.
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ponsan ékunikhsai to meta têin metanôian xronôs·
âkrîbeias de de polhês, ãsper tois makrâv nósw
peonikhôn swmâsi diaîthês xreia kai prosôkhês
pleîonos. o klêptês, afesn boûlei lâbeîn; ìmêkêti
klêpte· o moixhêsas, ìmêkêti puroûthw· o por-
neûsas, loupor åganevêtô· o årpaças, åpodidôn kai
prosapidôdôn. o ìvedomârtus, ìlîtheiav åskhêson
o epîorkos, ìmêkêti òmune· kai tâ allâ páthi swî-
temê, òrgnîn, epîthumîn, lûtnîn, fôbîon, ìna eûrethês
êpî tês èzîdon prôs tôn antîdikôn èntaîda
dialêûsthâi phánwv. êstwv mên ouv ådûnavon ìsos
åthrôs apókôpsai pâthi swîntrofa, allâ metabo thôou
dunâmewos kai ånthrwpotîas ikeiôs kai ådelfwv
bosphêias kai eîlikrîwos metanôias kai sunechôs
mêlêthês katôrboûtai.

41. Dîo deî pântwos se tôn sobarôn kai dûnavon
kai ploûsion èpisthêsothai èautôv tûn ånthrowvon
thoû katháper åleîpthn kai kûberhnthn. âidovv ÷an
êna, fôboû ÷an êna, melêthson akôwvên kai ènos par-
rrhiaxômênov kai stûphontos áma kai therapeûntovs.
oûde gár tois õfthalmoûs súmferei tôn ìei xronôn
åkolástovs mènein, allâ kai dàkruvai kai ðêkthnai
pote ùîpèr tês òngiâs tês pleîonos. oûtw kai ýnchî
ðînnekoûs õndovh oûdevn õlethrîwterov· ãpotoûflov-
tai gar ìpò tês òîxês, ñan åkîntos tû parrrh-
riauxômênè diameînè lógyv. tûtvon kai õrgiônta
phishêti, kai stênâvanta lûthêthi,1 kai õrgnîn
pâvnanta aîdêsthêti, kai kôlason paraîtoûmenv.2

1 stênâvanta lûthêthi Mayor. stênâvanta eîlalbîthêti
Segaar. ìswswhêthêti Schwartz. Stâhlin and Barnard mark
the passage as corrupt.

2 paraîtoûmenv Segaar. paraîtoûmenv ms.

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left after his repentance. But great care is needed, just as bodies that are labouring under a long disease require treatment and special attention. Thief, do you wish to receive forgiveness? steal no more. Adulterer, no longer burn. Fornicator, keep pure in future. Extortioner, repay with interest. False witness, practise truth. Oath-breaker, swear no more. And repress the rest of the passions, anger, lust, grief, fear, in order that at your departure you may be found to have already become reconciled here on earth with your adversary. Now it is perhaps impossible all at once to cut away passions that have grown with us, but with God's power, human supplication, the help of brethren, sincere repentance and constant practice success is achieved.

41. It is therefore an absolute necessity that you who are haughty and powerful and rich should appoint for yourself some man of God as trainer and pilot. Let there be at all events one whom you respect, one whom you fear, one whom you accustom yourself to listen to when he is outspoken and severe, though all the while at your service. Why, it is not good for the eyes to remain all our life-time undisciplined; they should sometimes weep and smart for the sake of better health. So, too, nothing is more destructive to the soul than incessant pleasure, the softening influence of which blinds it, if it continues obstinate against the outspoken word. Fear this man when he is angry, and be grieved when he groans; respect him when he stays his anger, and be before him in begging release from punishment.

a See Ephesians iv. 28.
b See 1 Corinthians vii. 9.
c See St. Matthew v. 25; St. Luke xii. 58.
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φθάσον. οὗτος ύπερ σοῦ πολλὰς νύκτας ἀγρυπνησάτω, προσβεύων ύπερ σοῦ πρὸς θεόν καὶ λιτανείας συνήθεσι μαγεύων τῶν πατέρας· οὐ γὰρ ἀντέχει τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ τὰ σπλάγχνα δεομένοις. δεῖσται δὲ καθαρῶς ὑπὸ σοῦ προτιμώμενος ώς ἄγγελος τού θεοῦ καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ σοῦ λυπούμενος, ἀλλὰ ύπερ σοῦ· τοῦτο ἦστι μετάνοια ἀνυπόκριτος. "θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται" οὐδὲ προσέχει κενοῖς ρήμασι· μόνος γὰρ ἀνακρίνει μνείους καὶ νεφροὺς καρδίας καὶ τῶν ἐν πυρὶ κατακόψει καὶ τῶν ἐν κοιλίᾳ κήτους ἱκετεύοντων ἐξακούει καὶ πᾶσιν ἐγγὺς ἐστὶ τοῖς πιστεύονσι καὶ πόρρω τοῖς ἄθεοῖς, ἂν μὴ μετανοήσωσιν.

42. "Ἰνα δὲ ἐπιθαρρήσης, " οὕτω μετανοήσας ἀληθῶς, ὅτι σοὶ μένει σωτηρίας ἐλπὶς ἄξιόχρεως, ἀκουσόν μῦθον οὐ μῦθον, ἀλλὰ ἄντα λόγον περὶ ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου παραδεδομένον καὶ μνήμη πεφυλαγμένον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετήλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον, ἀπῆλε παρακαλοῦμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσαν, ὅπου δὲ ὁλαῖ ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσων, ὅπου δὲ κλῆρον ἐνα γε τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σημαινομένων. ἐλθὼν οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τίνα

959 Ρ. Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου παραδεδομένου καὶ μνήμη πεφυλαγμένον. ἐπειδή γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετήλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον, ἀπῆλε παρακαλοῦμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσαν, ὅπου δὲ ὁλαῖ ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσων, ὅπου δὲ κλῆρον ἐνα γε τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σημαινομένων. ἐλθὼν οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τίνα

1 ἐπιθαρρήσῃ: Barnard and Stählin (from Maximus Confessor). ἔτι θαρρῆς μς.
2 γε Stählin (from Eusebius and Maximus Confessor).

a Galatians vi. 7.
b For this sentence see Hebrews iv. 12; Jeremiah xvii. 10; Psalm vii. 9; Daniel iii.; Jonah ii.; Revelation ii. 23.
c Domitian, by whom St. John is said to have been exiled, is generally thought to be referred to here. But he died in A.D. 96, and it is practically certain that St. John the apostle's active ministry must have ended before this date.

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Let him spend many wakeful nights on your behalf, acting as your ambassador with God and moving the Father by the spell of constant supplications; for He does not withstand His children when they beg His mercies. And this man will beg them, if he is sincerely honoured by you as an angel of God and is in nothing grieved by you, but only for you. This is unfeigned repentance. "God is not mocked," a nor does He attend to empty phrases. For He alone discerns the marrow and reins of the heart; and hears those who are in the fire; and listens to those who in the whale's belly entreat Him; and is near to all believers and far from the godless unless they repent.b

42. And to give you confidence, when you have thus truly repented, that there remains for you a trustworthy hope of salvation, hear a story that is no mere story, but a true account of John the apostle that has been handed down and preserved in memory. When after the death of the tyrant c he removed from the island of Patmos to Ephesus, he used to journey by request to the neighbouring districts of the Gentiles, in some places to appoint bishops, in others to regulate whole churches, in others to set among the clergy some one man, it may be, of those indicated by the Spirit.d He came then to one of the cities Either his exile was earlier, i.e. in Nero's reign, or else there has been a confusion between the apostle and John the presbyter of Ephesus.

d The phrase κληρώσων κλήρον means literally "to allot a lot." Κλήρος was used to designate a "lot" or "share" in the Christian ministry (cp. Acts i. 17) and its use was afterwards extended to the ministers themselves or "clergy." In this passage both meanings are suggested. Those "indicated by the Spirit" would be men whose spiritual gifts, such for instance as pastoral authority or teaching, marked them out as fit candidates for office in the Church.
It will be noticed that Clement here applies the terms "bishop" and "presbyter" to the same person. This may be due to the fact that in this story he followed a written authority coming down from a time when the two terms were synonymous, as they are in the New Testament. On the other hand, it is possible that the sharp distinction between "bishop" and "presbyter," though well-known elsewhere, was not yet recognized at Alexandria. Jerome 358
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not far distant, the very name of which is told by some. After he had set the brethren at rest on other matters, last of all he looked at him who held the office of bishop, and, having noticed a strongly built youth of refined appearance and ardent spirit, he said: "This man I entrust to your care with all earnestness in the presence of the church and of Christ as witness." When the bishop accepted the trust and made every promise, the apostle once again solemnly charged and adjured him in the same words. After that he departed to Ephesus; but the presbyter took home the youth who had been handed over to him, and brought him up, made a companion of him, cherished him, and finally enlightened him by baptism. After this he relaxed his special care and guardianship, thinking that he had set over him the perfect guard, the seal of the Lord. But the youth had obtained liberty too soon. Certain idle and dissolute fellows, accustomed to evil deeds, form a ruinous companionship with him. At first they lead him on by means of costly banquets; then perhaps on their nightly expeditions for robbery they take him with them; then they urge him to join in some even greater deed. He on his part gradually became used to their life; and, like a restive and powerful horse which starts aside from the right path and takes the bit between its teeth, he rushed all the

Epistle cxlvi.) says that until the times of Heraclas and Dionysius (A.D. 233) the presbyters at Alexandria always elected a bishop from among their own number. Clement in other places sometimes mentions two orders of the ministry, sometimes three; and it is not easy to discover his actual belief. For a short summary of Clement's references to this subject see Tollinton, Clement of Alexandria, ii. 111-114.
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όδοι καὶ τὸν χαλινὸν ἐνδακὼν μειζόνως κατὰ τῶν βαράθρων ἐφέρετο. ἀπογνοῦσθε τε τελέως τὴν ἐν θεῷ σωτηρίαν οὔτεν ἔτι μικρὸν διενοιτίζει, ἀλλὰ μέγα τι πράξας, ἐπειδήπερ ἀπαξ ἀπολώλει, ἵσα τοῖς ἄλλοις παθεῖν ἥξιον. αὐτοὺς δὲ τούτους ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ληστήριον συγκροτήσας, ἐτοιμὸς λῃσταρχὸς ἤν, βιαότατος, μαιφονώτατος, χαλεπώτατος. χρόνοις ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ τινος ἐπιπεσοῦσθι χρείας ἀνακαλοῦσι τὸν 'Ἰωάννην. ὁ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅν χάριν ἤκεν καταστήσατο, "ἄγε δὴ," ἐφη, "ὅ ἐπίσκοπε, τὴν παραθήκην ἀπόδος ἥμων, ἢν ἐγὼ τε καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ σοὶ παρακαταθέμεθα ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἢς προκαθέζη, μάρτυρος." ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξεπλάγη, χρήματα οἰόμενος, ἀπερ ωκ ἐλαβε, συκοφαντείσθαι, καὶ οὔτε πιστεύεως εἶχεν ύπὲρ ὅν ὁμὴν εἶχεν οὔτε ἀπιστεῖν Ἰωάννην. ὥς δὲ "τὸν νεανίσκον" εἶπεν "ἀπατῶ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ," στενάξας κάτωθεν ὁ πρεσβύτης καὶ τι καὶ ἐπιδικρύσας, "ἐκεῖνος" ἐφη "τέθηκε." "πῶς καὶ τίνα θάνατον;" "θεῶ τέθηκεν" εἶπεν. "ἀπέθη γὰρ ποιήσαν καὶ ἐξώλη καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον ληστής, καὶ νῦν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸ ὄρος κατείληθε μεθ' ὁμοίου στρατιωτικοῦ. καταρρήσαμεν τὴν ἐσόθητα ὁ ἀπόστολος καὶ μετὰ μεγάλης οἰ- μωγῆς πλησάμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν, "καλὸν γε" ἐφη "φύλακα τῆς ταξιλοφοῦ ψυχῆς κατέληπτον· ἀλλ' ἵππος ἢδη μοι παρέστη καὶ ἡγεμόνι γενέσθω μοι τῆς ὁδοῦ." ἦλθεν, ὥσπερ εἶχεν, αὐτόθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ἑλθὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ χωρίον ὑπὸ τῆς

1 Χριστὸς Eusebius. σωτήρ ms.

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more violently because of his great nature down towards the pit. Having quite given up hope of salvation in God he no longer meditated any slight offence, but, seeing he was lost once and for all, decided to do something great and to suffer the same penalty as the rest. So he took these very men, and organized a robber band, of which he was a ready chieftain, the most violent, the most blood-thirsty, the most cruel. Time went by, and some need having arisen the church again appeals to John, who, when he had set in order the matters for the sake of which he had come, said: “Now, bishop, return us the deposit which Christ and I together entrusted to your care in the presence and with the witness of the church over which you preside.” The bishop was at first amazed, thinking he was being falsely accused about money which he had not received; and he could neither believe a charge that concerned what he did not possess nor could he disbelieve John. But when he said, “It is the youth and the soul of our brother that I demand back,” the old man groaned deeply and even shed tears. “That man,” he said “is dead.” “How and by what manner of death?” “He is dead to God” he replied; “for he turned out a wicked and depraved man, in short a robber, and now deserting the church he has taken to the hills in company with a troop of men like himself.” The apostle, rending his clothes and with a loud groan striking his head, said: “A fine guardian of our brother’s soul it was that I left! But let a horse be brought me at once, and let me have someone as a guide for the way.” Just as he was he rode right from the very church; and when he came to the
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προφυλακής τῶν ληστῶν ἄλωκεται, μήτε φεύγων μήτε παραίτούμενος, ἀλλὰ βοῶν. "ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἐλήλυθα, ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα ὕμων ἀγάγετέ με." ὁ δὲ τέως, ὡσπερ ὁπλιστο, ἀνέμενεν· ὡς δὲ προσώντα ἐγνώρισε τὸν Ἰωάννην, εἰς φυγὴν αἰδεσθεὶς ἐτράπετο. ὁ δὲ ἐδώκεν ἀνὰ κράτος, ἐπιλαθόμενος τῆς ἤλικίας τῆς ἐαυτοῦ, κεκραγός· "τι με φεύγεις, τέκνον, τὸν σαυτόν πατέρα, τὸν γυμνὸν, τὸν γέροντα; ἐλέησόν με, τέκνον, μὴ φοβοῦ· ἔχεις ἐτι ζωῆς ἐλπίδας· ἐγώ Χριστῷ λόγον δώσω ὑπὲρ σοῦ· ἢν δέ, τὸν σὸν θάνατον ἐκὼν ὑπομενὼ, ὡς ὁ κύριος τὸν ὑπὲρ ἦμων· ὑπὲρ σοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀντιδώσω τὴν ἐμῆν. στῆθι, πίστευσόν, Χριστός με ἀπέστειλεν." ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας πρῶτον ἔστη μὲν κάτω βλέπων, εἶτα ἔρριψε τὰ ὄπλα, εἶτα τρέμων ἐκλαίε τικρῶς. προσελθόντα δὲ τὸν γέροντα περιέλαβεν, ἀπολογούμενος ταῖς οἴμωγαῖς ὡς ἐδύνατο καὶ τοῖς δάκρυσι βαπτιζόμενος ἐκ δευτέρου, μόνην ἀποκρύπτων τὴν δεξιάν. ὁ δὲ ἐγγυνώμενος, ἐπομνύμενος ὡς ἀφεσιν αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ σωτηρός εὐρηταί, δεόμενος, γονυπετῶν, αὐτὴν τὴν δεξιὰν ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς μετανοίας κεκαθαρμένην καταφιλῶν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπανήγαγε, καὶ δαμιλέει μὲν εὐχαῖς ἔξαιτομενος, συνεχέσθι δὲ νηστείαις συναγωγών ὁμοίως, ποικίλαις δὲ σειρῆς λόγων κατεπάθων αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην, οὐ πρότερον ἀπήλθεν ὡς φασί, πρὶν αὐτὸν

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*a See Hebrews xiii. 17.
*b See St. Matthew xxvi. 75; St. Luke xxii. 62.
*c In the illustration which forms the frontispiece of the present volume, the artist has represented this scene as a baptism in the literal sense.
*d If we read ἀποκατέστησε (with Barnard) or some
place he is captured by the robbers’ sentry, not attempting to fly or to expostulate, but shouting, “I have come for this purpose; bring me to your leader.” For a time the leader, armed as he was, awaited them; but when he recognized John approaching he turned to flight, smitten with shame. Forgetful of his years John followed after him with all his strength, crying out: “Why do you fly from me, child, from your own father, from this old, unarmed man? Have pity on me, child, do not fear. You have still hopes of life, I myself will give account to Christ for you. If need be, I will willingly undergo your penalty of death, as the Lord did for us. I will give my own life in payment for yours. Stand; believe; Christ has sent me.” On hearing this he at first stood still, looking down; then threw away his weapons; then trembling began to weep bitterly. When the old man had come near the robber embraced him, making excuse as best he could by his groans, and being baptized a second time with his tears, hiding his right hand alone. But the apostle gave his pledge and solemn assurance that he had found pardon for him from the Saviour. Kneeling down and praying, and tenderly kissing the right hand itself as having been purified by his repentance, he then brought him back to the church. There he interceded for him with abundant prayers, helped his struggles by continual fasting, and by manifold siren-like words laid a soothing spell upon his mind. Nor did he depart, as they say, before he had set him over the church, similar word, the translation will be “restored him to the church.” But ἐπιστήμων is almost certainly right. See note on text, p. 364.
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... φαιδροῖς γεγενθότες, ὑμνοῦντες, ἀνοιγνύντες τοὺς οὐρανοὺς. πρὸ δὲ πάντων αὐτὸς ὁ σωτὴρ προσαντὰ δεξιοῦμενος, φῶς ἢ ὅρεγὼν ἀσκίον, ἀπαυγόντον, ὀδηγῶν εἰς τοὺς κόλπους τοῦ πατρός, εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον ζωήν, εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. πιστευότων ταῦτά τις καὶ θεὸς μαθηταῖς καὶ ἐγγυτήθη θεῷ, προφητεῖαις, εὐαγγελίοις, λόγοις ἀποστολικοῖς: τούτοις συζών καὶ τὰ ὀτρὰ ὑπέχων καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἁσκῶν ἐπ’ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐξόδου τοῦ τέλους καὶ τὴν ἐπίδειξιν τῶν δογμάτων ὤψεται. ὁ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τὸν ἀγγέλων τῆς μετανοίας προσέμενον οὐ μετανοήσει τότε, ἦνικα ἂν καταλίθη τὸ σῶμα, οὐδὲ κατασχυνθήσεται, τὸν σωτήρα προσώντα μετὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης καὶ στρατιάς ἰδών: οὐ δεδιε τὸ πῦρ· εἰ δὲ τις αἱρέται μένει ἐπεξαμαρτάνων ἐκάστοτε ἐπὶ ταῖς ἤδοναῖς καὶ τὴν ἐνταῦθα τρυφὴν τῆς αἰώνιον ζωῆς προτιμᾷ καὶ διδόντος τοῦ σωτήρος ἁφες ἀποστρέφεται, μὴ τὸν θεόν ἔτι μὴτον πλοῦτον μὴτον προπεσεῖν αἰτίασθω, τὴν δὲ ἑαυτοῦ ψυχήν ἐκουσίως ἀπολουμένην. τῷ δὲ ἐπιβέλτων τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ ποθοῦντι καὶ μετὰ ἀναδείας καὶ βίας αἰτοῦντι παρέξει τὴν ἀληθινὴν κάθαρσιν καὶ τὴν ἀτρεπτὸν ζωὴν ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἀγαθὸς ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. ὃ διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἰησοῦ

1 ἐπιστῆσαι Stählin, from some mss. of Eusebius. Other mss. give ἀπεστήσεις, κατέστησε, ἀποκατέστησεν, etc. Rufinus translates: "Nec prius abstitit, quam eum in omnibus emendatum etiam ecclesiae praeficeret."
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thus affording a great example of sincere repentance and a great token of regeneration, a trophy of a resurrection that can be seen

... with bright faces rejoicing, singing praises, opening the heavens. And before them all the Saviour Himself comes to meet him, greeting him with His right hand, offering shadowless, unceasing light, leading the way to the Father's bosom, to the eternal life, to the kingdom of heaven. In this let a man trust to the authority of God's disciples and of God their surety, to the authority of the prophecies, gospels and words of the apostles. If he dwells with these, giving ear to them and practising their works, he will see at the very moment of his departure hence the end and proof of the doctrines. For he who here on earth admits the angel of repentance will not then repent when he leaves the body; nor will he be put to shame when he sees the Saviour approaching with His own glory and heavenly host. He does not dread the fire. If, however, a man chooses to remain in his pleasures, sinning time after time, and values earthly luxury above eternal life, and turns away from the Saviour when He offers forgiveness, let him no longer blame either God or wealth or his previous fall, but his own soul that will perish voluntarily. But he who looks for salvation and earnestly desires it and asks for it with importunity and violence shall receive the true purification and the unchanging life from the good Father who is in heaven, to whom through His Son Jesus

a About twenty lines here are lost. See Introduction, p. 268.
b See St. Luke xi. 8; St. Matthew xi. 12.
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Χριστοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου ζωντων καὶ νεκρῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος εἰὴ δόξα, τιμή, κράτος, αἰώνιος μεγαλειότης καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς γενεὰς γενεῶν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

* See Romans xiv. 9.
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Christ, the Lord of living and dead, and through the Holy Spirit be glory, honour, might, and eternal majesty both now and for all generations and ages to come. Amen.

With this doxology compare 1 Clement of Rome lxii. and lxv. (Loeb Classical Library, Apostolic Fathers, vol. i. pp. 117 and 121).
EXHORTATION TO ENDURANCE
OR
TO THE NEWLY BAPTIZED

INTRODUCTION

The following fragment was discovered by Barnard in the Escurial Library with the heading "Precepts of Clement," and was issued by him as an appendix to his edition of "The Rich Man" (Texts and Studies, edited by J. Armitage Robinson D.D., vol. v. No. 2). He conjectured that it might be part of a work mentioned by Eusebius (H.E. vi. 13) as being written by Clement of Alexandria and entitled "Exhortation to Endurance, or, To the Newly Baptized." Stählin has accordingly printed it in his edition of Clement under this title. There can be little doubt but that Barnard's conjecture was right, as the style and thoughts are quite suitable both to Clement and to the subject. If this is so, we have a notable addition to our knowledge of Clement as teacher. Small though the fragment is, it is enough
EXHORTATION TO ENDURANCE

to present a clear and beautiful picture of the ideal of Christian conduct as he understood it; indeed, it would be hard to find another work which, in the same short compass, could give advice that so perfectly described the good manners, the self-control, the purity of heart, the strenuous activity, the hopeful courage and the wide sympathy of the true Christian gentleman.

The fragment has been translated in full by J. Patrick in his *Clement of Alexandria*, pp. 183–185.
Ο ΠΡΟΤΡΕΠΤΙΚΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΥΠΟΜΟΝΗΝ
Η
ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΝΕΩΣΤΙ ΒΕΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΕΝΟΥΣ

ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΛΜΑΤΑ

Stählin
vol. iii.
p. 221

'Ἡσυχίαν μὲν λόγους ἐπιτίθενε, ἡσυχίαν δὲ ἔργους,
ὡσαύτως δὲ ἐν γλώττῃ καὶ βαδίσματι· σφοδρότητα
dὲ ἀπόφευγε προπετή· οὔτως γὰρ ο οὖν διάμενεὶ
βέβαιος, καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς σφοδρότητος ταραχώδης
γενόμενος ἁσθενῆς ἔσται καὶ βραχὺς περὶ φρόνησιν
καὶ σκοτεινὸν ὄρον. οὐδὲ ἡττηθήσεται μὲν γαστρι-
μαργάλια, ἡττηθήσεται δὲ ἐπιζέοντος θυμοῦ, ἡττη-
θήσεται δὲ τῶν ἀλλῶν παθῶν, ἐτοιμὸν αὐτοῖς
ἀρπαγμα προκείμενος. τὸν γὰρ νοῦν δει τῶν
παθῶν ἐπικρατεῖν ψηλὸν ἐπὶ ἡσυχίου θρόνου
καθήμενον ἀφορώντα πρὸς θεόν. μηδὲν ἡδυχολίας
ἀνάπλεος ἔσοι περὶ ὀργάς, μηδὲ νωθρὸς
ἐν λόγοις,
μηδὲ ἐν βαδίσμασιν ὄκνου πεπληρωμένος, ἢν σοὶ
ῥυθμὸς ἄγαθὸς τὴν ἡσυχίαν κοσμῆ καὶ θειάδες τι

1 σκοτεινὸν ὄρων J. A. Robinson. σκοτεινῶν ὄρων ms.
2 θρόνον Barnard. θρόνον ms.
3 μηδὲ νωθρὸς Barnard. μὴ δὲν ωθὸς ms.

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EXHORTATION TO ENDURANCE

OR

TO THE NEWLY BAPTIZED

PRECEPTS OF CLEMENT

Cultivate quietness in word, quietness in deed, likewise in speech and gait; and avoid impetuous eagerness. For then the mind will remain steady, and will not be agitated by your eagerness and so become weak and of narrow discernment and see darkly; nor will it be worsted by gluttony, worsted by boiling rage, worsted by the other passions, lying a ready prey to them. For the mind, seated on high on a quiet throne looking intently towards God, must control the passions. By no means be swept away by temper in bursts of anger, nor be sluggish in speaking, nor all nervousness in movement; so that your quietness may be adorned by good proportion and your bearing may appear something divine.
καὶ ἵερὸν τὸ σχῆμα φαίνεται. φυλάττον δὲ καὶ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας τὰ σύμβολα, σχῆμα υψαυχευοῦν καὶ κεφαλὴν ἐξηρμένην καὶ βῆμα ποδῶν ἀβρὸν καὶ μετέωρον.

"Ἡπία σοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας ἐστὼ τὰ ρήματα, καὶ προσηγορία γλυκέας· αἰδῶς δὲ πρὸς γυναῖκας καὶ βλέμμα τετραμμένον εἰς γῆν. λάλει δὲ περιεσκεμένως ἀπαντά, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τὸ χρήσιμον ἀποδίδου, τῇ χρείᾳ τῶν ἁκούοντων τὸ φθέγμα μετρῶν, ἀρχὰς ἀν καὶ ἐξάκουστον ἢ καὶ μήτε διαφεύγον τὴν ἁκοήν τῶν παρόντων ὑπὸ συμκρότητος, μήτε ὑπερβάλλων μείζων τῇ κραυγῇ. φυλάττου δὲ ὀπώς μηδὲν ποτε λαλήσῃς ὁ μὴ προεσκέψας καὶ προενόησας· μηδὲ προχείρως καὶ μεταξὺ τῶν τοῦ ἐτέρου λόγων ὑπὸβαλλε τοὺς σαυτοῦ· δεῖ γὰρ ἀνα ἡμέρος ἁκούειν καὶ διαλέγεσθαι, χρόνῳ μερίζοντα λόγον καὶ σοφὴν μάνθανε δὲ ἁσμένως· καὶ ἁφθόνως δίδασκε, μηδὲ ὑπὸ φθόνον ποτὲ σοφιὰν ἀποκρύπτων πρὸς τοὺς ἐτέρους, μηδὲ μαθήσεως ἁφίστασο δι’ αἰδῶν. ὑπεικε πρεσβυτέρους ἵσα πατράσων· τίμα θεράποντας θεοῦ· κάταρχε σοφίας καὶ ἀρετῆς. μηδὲ ἐρυστικὸς ἐσο πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, μηδὲ χλευασθῆς κατ’ αὐτῶν καὶ γελωτοποιῆς· ὄντος δὲ καὶ δόλων καὶ ὑβρίν ἵσχυρῶς παραίτου· σὺν εὐφημία δὲ φέρε καὶ τὸν ὑπερήφανον καὶ ὑβριστὴν <ὡς> πρᾶσο τε καὶ μεγαλοψυχὸς ἀνήρ.

Κείσθω δὲ σοι πάντα εἰς θεὸν καὶ ἔργα καὶ λόγοι.

1 metrōn J. A. Robinson. metrōn ms.
2 ἀν Wilamowitz. ἰν ms. 3 ἢ Wilamowitz. ἦν ms.
4 διαφεύγων Wilamowitz. διαφεύγων ms.
5 ὑπερβάλλων Wilamowitz. ὑποβάλλων ms.
TO THE NEWLY BAPTIZED

and sacred. Guard also against the signs of arrogance, a haughty bearing, a lofty head, a dainty and high-treading footstep.

Let your speech be gentle towards those you meet, and your greetings kind; be modest towards women, and let your glance be turned to the ground. Be thoughtful in all your talk, and give back a useful answer, adapting the utterance to the hearers’ need, just so loud that it may be distinctly audible, neither escaping the ears of the company by reason of feebleness nor going to excess with too much noise. Take care never to speak what you have not weighed and pondered beforehand; nor interject your own words on the spur of the moment and in the midst of another’s; for you must listen and converse in turn, with set times for speech and for silence. Learn gladly, and teach ungrudgingly; a never hide wisdom from others by reason of a grudging spirit, nor through false modesty stand aloof from instruction. Submit to elders just as to fathers. b Honour God’s servants. Be first to practise wisdom and virtue. Do not wrangle with your friends, nor mock at them and play the buffoon. Firmly renounce falsehood, guile and insolence. Endure in silence, as a gentle and high-minded man, the arrogant and insolent.

Let everything you do be done for God, both deeds

a This generous precept finds an echo in Chaucer’s
And gladly wolde he lerne, and gladly teche.
(Canterbury Tales, Prologue l. 308.)
b Cp. 1 Timothy v. 1. In several places this fragment reminds us of the Pastoral Epistles.

6 \(\tau\omega\nu\) inserted by Barnard.
7 \(\sigma\alpha\upsilon\rho\sigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\) Stählin. \(\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\upsilon\) ms.
8 \(\delta\upsilon\alpha\) Barnard. \(\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\) ms. 9 \(\omega\xi\) inserted by Schwartz.

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καὶ πάντα ἀνάφερε Χριστῷ τὰ σαυτοῦ, καὶ πυκνῶς ἑπὶ θεον τρέπε τὴν ψυχήν, καὶ τὸ νόημα ἐπέρειδε τῇ Χριστῷ δυνάμει ὠσπερ ἐν λιμένι τοῦ θείω φωτὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου ἀναπαυόμενον ἀπὸ πάσης λαλίας τε καὶ πράξεως. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν πολλάκις [μὲν] ¹ μὲν ἀνθρώπων κοίνον τὴν σεαυτοῦ φρονήσων, θεῶ δὲ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐν νυκτὶ ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μὴ γὰρ υπνὸς σε ἔπικρατεῖτω πολὺς τῶν πρὸς θεον εὐχῶν τε καὶ ύμνῶν τιθατο γὰρ ὁ μακρὸς υπνὸς ἐφάμιλλος. μέτοχοις Χριστῷ ἀεὶ καθίστασο <τοῦ> ² τὴν θείαν αὐγὴν καταλάμποντος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. εὐ-φροσύνη γὰρ ἐστώ σοι δυνηκῆς καὶ ἀπαυστὸς ὁ Χριστὸς.

Μηδὲ λῦε τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς τόνον ἐν εὐωχίᾳ καὶ ποτῶν ἀνέσει, ίκανόν δὲ ήγοῦ τῷ σώματί τὸ χρειῶδες. καὶ μὴ πρόσθεν ἐπείγου πρὸς τροφὰς πρὶν ἢ καὶ δείπνου παρῇ καιρός. ἄρτος δὲ ἐστώ σοι τὸ δείπνον, καὶ πάντες γῆς προσέστωσαν καὶ τὰ ἐκ δένδρων ύπαίᾳ. ἢμι ³ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τροφὴν εὐσταθώς ⁴ καὶ μὴ λυσσόδη μαστριμαργίαν ἐπιφαίνων. μηδὲ σαρκοβόρος μηδὲ φίλονος ἔσο, ὅπερ μὴ νόσος ⁵ τὸς ἰασων ἐπὶ ταύτην ἄγω τ. ἀλλ' ἀντι τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἡδονῶν τὰς ἐν λόγοις θείοις καὶ ύμνοις εὐφροσύνας αὑρὸν τῇ παρὰ θεοῦ σοι χορηγούμενας ⁶ σοφία, οὐράνιος τε ἀεὶ σε φροντὶς ἀναγέτω πρὸς οὐρανόν.

Καὶ τὰς πολλὰς περὶ σώματος ἀνύει μερίμνας τεθαρσηκὼς ἐλπίσι ταῖς πρὸς θεοῦ, ὅτι σοί γε τὰ

¹ πολλάκις [μὲν] after ἡμέραν Stählin: after θεῶ δὲ ms.
² <τοῦ> inserted by Barnard.
³ ίμι Mayor. ἰσθι ms.
⁴ εὐσταθῶς Wilamowitz. ἀσταθῶς ms.
⁵ νόσος Barnard. νόσου ms.
⁶ χορηγούμενας Stählin. χορηγουμένη ms.
and words; and refer all that is yours to Christ; and constantly turn your soul to God; and lean your thought on the power of Christ, as if in some harbour by the divine light of the Saviour it were resting from all talk and action. And often by day communicate your thoughts to men, but most of all to God at night as well as by day; for let not much sleep prevail to keep you from your prayers and hymns to God, since long sleep is a rival of death. Show yourself always a partner of Christ who makes the divine ray shine from heaven; let Christ be to you continual and unceasing joy.

Relax not the tension of your soul with feasting and indulgence in drink, but consider what is needful to be enough for the body. And do not hasten early to meals before the time for dinner comes; but let your dinner be bread, and let earth's grasses and the ripe fruits of trees be set before you; and go to your meal with composure, showing no sign of raging gluttony. Be not a flesh-eater nor a lover of wine, when no sickness leads you to this as a cure. But in place of the pleasures that are in these, choose the joys that are in divine words and hymns, joys supplied to you by wisdom from God; and let heavenly meditation ever lead you upward to heaven.

And give up the many anxious cares about the body by taking comfort in hopes towards God; because for you He will provide all necessary things

\[a\] Cp. 1 Timothy v. 5.
\[b\] This and the previous sentence may allude to Ephesians v. 14.
\[c\] Is there an allusion to 1 Timothy v. 23?
\[d\] Cp. Ephesians v. 18, 19.
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p. 228 ἀναγκαία παρέξει διαρκῆ τροφῆν τε τὴν εἰς ζωήν καὶ κάλυμμα σώματος καὶ χειμερινοῦ ψύχους ἀλεξητήρια. τοῦ γὰρ δὴ σοῦ βασιλέως γῆς τε ἄπασα καὶ ὅσα ἐκφύεται. ὡς μέλη δὲ αὐτοῦ1 τῶν αὐτοῦ θεραπόντων ὑπερβαλλόντως περιέπει καθάπερ ἑρά καὶ ναινό αὐτοῦ. διὰ δὴ τοῦτο μηδὲ νόσους ὑπερβαλλούσας δεδιδὴ μηδὲ γῆρως ἐφοδον χρόνῳ προσδοκομένουν παύσεται γὰρ καὶ νόσος, όταν ὀλοψύχως προθέσει ποιώμεν τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐντολᾶς.

Ταῦτα εἰδότα καὶ πρὸς νόσους ἵσχυρὰν κατα- σκεύαξε τὴν ψυχὴν, εὐθάρσεισαν ὅσπερ τις ἀνήρ ἐν σταδίοις ἁριστὸς ἀτρέπτως τῇ δυνάμει τοὺς πόνους ὑφίστασθαι. μηδὲ ὑπὸ λύπης πάντα πέζου τὴν ψυχὴν, εἰτε νόσος ἐπικειμένη βαρύνει εἰτε ἀλλο τι συμπίπτει δυσχερές, ἀλλὰ γενναῖως ἄνθιστα τοῖς πόνοις τὸ νόμιμα, χάριτας ἀνάγων θεῷ καὶ ἐν μέσοις τοῖς ἐπιπόνοις πράγμασι ἄτε δὴ σοφώτερα τε ἄνθρωπων φρονοῦντι καὶ ἁπέρ οὔ δυνατῶν οὐδὲ ῥᾴδιον ἄνθρωποις εὑρεῖν. ἐλεέει δὲ κακουμένους,2 καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βοήθειαν ἔπὶ ἄνθρωπος αὐτοῦ· ἐπινεύσει γὰρ αἰτοῦντι τῷ φίλῳ τὴν χάριν, καὶ τοῖς κακουμένοις3 ἐπικουρίαν παρέξει, τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν γνώρισαι ἄνθρωπος καθιστάναι θεολόγους, ὡς ἀν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἔλθωντες ἐπὶ θεοῦ ἀνίσων καὶ τῆς αἰώνιος μακαρώττητος ἀπολαύσωσιν, ἐπειδὰν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ υἱὸς παραγένηται ἁγαθὰ τοῖς ἱδίοις ἀποκαθιστῶν.

1 Barnard and Stählin insert τὰ σώματα after αὐτοῦ.
2 κακουμένους Stählin. καλουμένουs ms.
3 κακουμένους Stählin. καλουμένουs ms.
in sufficiency, food to support life, covering for the body, and protection against winter cold. For to your King belongs the whole earth and all that is produced from it; and God treats the bodily parts of His servants with exceeding care, as if they were His, like His own shrines and temples. On this account do not dread severe diseases, nor the approach of old age, which must be expected in time; for even disease will come to an end, when with whole-hearted purpose we do His commandments.

Knowing this, make your soul strong even in face of diseases; be of good courage, like a man in the arena, bravest to submit to his toils with strength unmoved. Be not utterly crushed in soul by grief, whether disease lies heavily upon you, or any other hardship befalls, but nobly confront toils with your understanding, even in the midst of your struggles rendering thanks to God; since His thoughts are wiser than men’s, and such as it is not easy nor possible for men to find out. Pity those who are in distress, and ask for men the help that comes from God; for God will grant grace to His friend when he asks, and will provide succour for those in distress, wishing to make His power known to men, in the hope that, when they have come to full knowledge, they may return to God, and may enjoy eternal blessedness when the Son of God shall appear and restore good things to His own.


b Cp. I Corinthians vi. 15 and 19.

c Cp. Romans ix. 22.
Meaning of the Term "Mysteries."—The term is applied to certain religious rites, the details and meaning of which are kept secret from all except those who have been formally initiated. Μυστήριον is derived from μύειν, to close the lips (cp. mute, mutter), and thus the idea of secrecy is contained in the word itself. Clement suggests three derivations different from this,¹ but they are plainly no more than random guesses. Rites analogous to the Greek Mysteries are found among primitive peoples all over the world. In Greece, however, the Mysteries reached a high degree of development, and proved themselves able for many centuries to provide some satisfaction to the cravings of men for communion with the divine.

Origin of the Mysteries.—The Mysteries are generally connected with the gods called chthonic, i.e. earth divinities, whose worship goes back to a time before the arrival of the anthropomorphic gods of Greece. M. Foucart holds that the Eleusinian Mysteries were

¹ See p. 31.
imported from Egypt, and that Demeter is the same as the Egyptian Isis. But while it is possible, we may even say probable, that the intercourse which existed between Egypt and Greece from the earliest times helped to shape the ideas of the Mysteries, most authorities believe that at Eleusis, as elsewhere, an ancient nature-worship, with magical rites designed to secure the fertility of the soil, was the source from which later developments sprang. When Greece was overrun by warlike tribes from the north, the inhabitants of the plain of Eleusis kept secret, we may suppose, these rites upon which so much depended, entrusting the performance of them to certain priestly families who were careful to preserve the old ceremonies unaltered. By degrees, as the prestige of these Mysteries grew, other ceremonies were added, and legends, symbolic explanations, and religious teaching about the future life gradually gathered round the primitive institution.

The Mysteries in Classical Times.—The Mysteries of Eleusis overshadowed all others in importance during the classical period, a fact partly due, no

1 P. Foucart, Les Mystères d'Éleusis, chs. i.–v. Clement mentions the tradition that Melampus brought the Mysteries of Demeter from Egypt (p. 33).

2 These families, the Eumolpidae and the Heralds, are mentioned on p. 41. It is sometimes thought that the Heralds were an Athenian family who were given a share in the management of the Mysteries when Eleusis became part of the Athenian state. On the other hand, they are often closely coupled with the Eumolpidae, and Clement (p. 40) seems to include both when he speaks of τὸ ἱεροφαντικὸν ... γένος. This use of the singular noun also occurs in a phrase (τὸ γένος τὸ Κηρύκων καὶ Εὐμολπίδων) quoted from an inscription by Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, vol. iii. p. 163.
doubt, to the connexion of Eleusis with Athens. The chief deities concerned in them were Demeter, her daughter Core (i.e. the Maiden) or Persephone, and Pluto or Hades. The first two are an older and a younger form of the earth-mother, the great goddess who under various names and titles (Rhea, Cybele, etc.) was worshipped from very early days in all the lands bordering on the eastern Mediterranean.\(^1\) Pluto is the god of the underworld, the giver of wealth (in the form of fruits of the earth), as his name, connected with \textit{ploutos}, wealth, implies. By the seventh century B.C. the ancient ritual had given rise, under the influence of the Greek spirit, to the legend embodied in the \textit{Homeric Hymn to Demeter}. Persephone, while gathering flowers, is seized by Pluto and carried down to the underworld. Demeter is in deep distress at the loss of her daughter, and wanders everywhere to seek her.\(^2\) Failing to find her, she refuses to help the corn to grow, and mankind is in danger of perishing, when Zeus prevails upon Pluto to restore the maiden to the upper world for eight months of each year. The growth of the corn, so plainly pictured here, seems to have been the chief original concern of the rites, though there were doubtless other elements in them with which the poet did not deal.

About the sixth century B.C. another deity was introduced into the Mysteries, viz. Iacchus,\(^3\) who is a form of Dionysus. Under yet another form, that

\(^{1}\) Thus Demeter is the mother of Zeus (p. 35; cp. Arnobius, \textit{Adv. Nationes} v. 20), instead of his sister as in the later Greek mythology.

\(^{2}\) The legend is alluded to by Clement; see pp. 31 and 37.

\(^{3}\) See p. 47.
of Zagreus, Dionysus was worshipped by the Orphics, whose teaching dealt with the soul's destiny in the future life. Though we know little of the actual course of events, it is likely that the deepening of religious thought in Greece in the sixth century, of which Orphism was one sign, had its effect at Eleusis. The legend of the rending of Dionysus is told by Clement, who omits, however, to say that from the head, preserved by Athena, a fresh Dionysus was born. The story is, in fact, one of death and resurrection, akin to those of Osiris in Egypt and Attis in Phrygia; and in spite of its details, repulsive as they are to us, it probably served as a basis for teaching on the subject of human immortality.

The events of the Eleusinian festivals were briefly as follows:—

A ceremony called the Lesser Mysteries was celebrated at Agra on the Ilissus, close to Athens, in February each year. This was regarded as a preparation for the more important rites of Eleusis. A late author says that the Agra festival consisted of "a representation of the things that happened to Dionysus." 4

The Greater Mysteries began on the 13th day of the month Boedromion (corresponding to our September), when Athenian youths went in procession to Eleusis and brought back the "sacred objects" (τὰ ἱερά). These ἱερά were perhaps the

1 See pp. 37–39.
2 Clement mentions (p. 41) that some identified Dionysus with Attis.
3 See p. 71.
4 Stephanus Byz., quoted in A. B. Cook, Zeus, i. 692, and in Farnell, op. cit. vol. iii. p. 352. The Mysteries held at Halimus in Attica (p. 71) were also concerned with Dionysus; see Arnobius, Adv. Nationes v. 28.
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playthings of Dionysus mentioned by Clement.\(^1\) They were enclosed in chests\(^2\) and carefully guarded from sight. Their resting-place while in Athens was the temple of Demeter and Core, called the Eleusinium.\(^3\) On the 15th a gathering was held of candidates for initiation, at which a herald proclaimed the conditions—that no criminal or barbarian could be admitted. Certain instruction was then given by officials called mystagogues (i.e. introducers or guides) as to the various acts and formulas,\(^4\) a knowledge of which was necessary in the course of the initiation; and to this may have been added a symbolic explanation of the \(\text{iēpá}\) and of the dramatic scenes represented in the Mysteries. There were also some fasts and abstinences to be observed. Strict secrecy was enjoined on all. On the following day the cry "To the sea, mystae" (\(δαλαδε \muνοται\)) was raised, and the candidates underwent a ceremonial purification by bathing in the sea at Phalerum, and by offering a pig to the goddesses.

The return journey to Eleusis took place on the 19th. Besides the \(\text{iēpá}\) there was carried a statue of Iacchus, to whom hymns were sung along the road.\(^5\) The next four days were occupied with the Mysteries proper. The site of the Hall of Initiation (\(τελεωτηριον\)) has been found and examined. The

\(^1\) Pp. 37–39. Foucart (op. cit. pp. 408–12) denies that Clement is here speaking of the Eleusinian Mysteries. He thinks that the most important of the \(\text{iēpá}\) was an archaic wooden image of Demeter.

\(^2\) These "mystic chests" are mentioned on pp. 41, 43 and 45.

\(^3\) Clement (p. 99) describes this temple as being "under the Acropolis."

\(^4\) See p. 43.

\(^5\) Aristophanes, Frogs 325 ff.
Hall was large and capable of seating about three thousand people. There is no trace of secret passages, or of any arrangement for producing startling scenic effects. The roof, or perhaps a second story, was supported by many columns; and there was a lantern (οπαίον) above the shrine (ἀνάκτορον) of Demeter.

There are many references to the Mysteries in ancient writers, but they are for the most part vague and general. Only the Christian Fathers profess to give details, and even they do not attempt a complete description, but select those parts which will help their attack on the old religion. The following list will give some idea of the ceremonies, though we cannot be sure of the order in which they took place.

(i.) Solemn sacrifice to Demeter and Core.

(ii.) Ritual acts to be performed and a formula to be said. Included in the acts was the drinking of a draught similar to that which Demeter had drunk when wandering in search of Core.

(iii.) A journey representing the progress of the soul after death through the lower regions to the abode of the blessed. After much wandering in darkness amid scenes of terror

1 Plutarch (Pericles 13) speaks of the “upper columns” as distinct from those on the ground.

2 See p. 43.

3 There may also have been the sacramental eating of a cake from the chest, if the emendation ἔγγευσάμενος (p. 42, n. b) is right. But this is by no means certain. Arnobius (Adv. Nationes v. 26), who seems to follow Clement in this passage, leaves out the expression, which may mean that he read ἔγγευσάμενος and could not understand it. Probably some ritual action with the contents, whatever they were, of the chest is purposely concealed under a vague word.

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the initiate was suddenly introduced into brilliant light.¹

(iv.) An exposition of the ἱερά, or sacred objects, by the hierophant, who derives his name (ὁ ἱεράς φαίνων) from this office.

(v.) Dramatic representations of the Rape of Core, the sorrowful wandering of Demeter, and the finding of Core.²

(vi.) The exposition of an ear of corn, a symbol of Demeter.³

(vii.) Representation of a marriage between Zeus and Demeter,⁴ and the announcement that Demeter (under her name Brimo) has borne a son Brimos.⁵

(viii.) Magical cries uttered by the initiates, e.g. νέα ψε, κύνε (rain! conceive!),⁶ and a ceremony consisting of the pouring of water from two jars on to the earth.⁷ This was evidently an ancient fertility charm.

It is probable that a pilgrimage was also made to the sacred places round Eleusis visited by Demeter in her wanderings. It may have been on this journey, when the well called Callichorus⁸ was reached, that

¹ Clement’s language on p. 257 alludes to this.
² See p. 31. There seems also to have been a torchlight search for Core, in which the initiates joined.
³ Hippolytus, Ref. om. haer. v. 8.
⁴ The complete evidence for this can be found in Foucart, op. cit. pp. 475 ff. Not all authorities admit, however, that this ceremony formed part of the Eleusinian Mysteries. But there must have been something to account for the language of Clement on pp. 45-47, and the sacred marriage, of which other Christian writers speak in definite terms, would account for it.
⁵ Hippolytus, op. cit. v. 8. ⁶ Ib. v. 7.
⁷ Athenaeus, p. 496 a. ⁸ Pausanias i. 38. 6.
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the initiates were forbidden to make any signs of grief.\(^1\) As a rule they were required to imitate the goddess, and this prohibition is singular.

There were two grades of initiates at Eleusis. The story of Zeus and Demeter, together with the exposition of the ear of corn, seems to have been revealed only to the highest grade, the \(\text{epoptae}\) (\(i.e.\) those admitted to a \textit{vision} of the sacred things; from \(\epsilon\tau\omega\pi\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\nu\)).

The Eleusinian Mysteries were held in high repute for many centuries, and ancient writers (if we exclude the Christian Fathers) speak frequently of the good effect they produced on those who were initiated.\(^2\) The annual death and rebirth of nature, expressed in various mythological forms such as the rape of Core and the rending and rebirth of Dionysus, was made to point to a future life for man. By the actual initiation, a bond was created between the two goddesses and their worshippers, which assured the latter of divine protection on earth and beyond the grave. If the child of the sacred marriage was Plutus (wealth),\(^3\) then the union of the deities would symbolize the blessings they together brought to mankind. But we need not suppose that the ancients inquired so curiously as we do into the exact meaning of their holy rites. They were for the most part content to observe in all simplicity old customs that came to them with divine sanction, and upon the due performance of which they believed so much depended, both of social well-being and of the soul’s future destiny.

It should be noticed that, so far as Eleusis is con-

\(^1\) See p. 41.  
\(^2\) \textit{e.g.} Cicero, \textit{De legibus} ii. 36.  
\(^3\) Foucart, \textit{op. cit.} p. 479.

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cerned, Clement, in spite of his vehement language, makes no charge of immoral practices. He considers the legends to be absurd and repulsive; while the sacred objects and the marriage of Zeus and Demeter seem to him indecent. But what he attacks is chiefly the interpretation he puts upon these things, an interpretation, we must admit, that is not altogether unreasonable. The worst item in his indictment—the story of Baubo—comes, as he frankly says, from the Orphic poems.\(^1\) The *Hymn to Demeter* gives a different account of Demeter drinking the draught—she is persuaded to do so by the harmless pleasantry of a servant maid.\(^2\) This was no doubt the official account at Eleusis.

Many other mysteries existed in classical times, notably the Phrygian, the Samothracian, and those that were celebrated at Andania in Messenia. None of them enjoyed such widespread fame as those of Eleusis. There was, of course, a certain broad resemblance between all mysteries, and the Eleusinian may be taken as the highest instance of this type of religious worship.

*Mysteries in the Hellenistic Age.*—After the conquests of Alexander, the popularity of mystery cults increased, reaching its height towards the end of the second century A.D. Thus Clement was making his attack upon them at a critical time, when they were in full vigour and serious rivals of Christianity. Most, if not all, of those he mentions were doubtless of ancient origin, but there had been much cross influence at work. Clement speaks of mysteries associated with Aphrodite, Deo or Demeter, Attis

\(^1\) See p. 43.

\(^2\) *Hymn to Demeter* 202 ff.
and Cybele, the Corybantes, the Cabeiri, Dionysus, Zeus Sabazius and Ge Themis. He also tells us that the mysteries of Attis and Cybele were similar to those of Zeus Sabazius and Demeter.¹ Both of these had their home in Phrygia. The legend of Zeus consorting with Demeter under the form of a bull, and then again with Persephone under the form of a snake, is common to Phrygia and Eleusis.² But the cult seems to have been differently worked out, if we may judge by the two formulas that Clement has left us. In Phrygia the worshipper underwent a mystical marriage with the god, who was represented by his proper symbol, a serpent.³ At Eleusis the marriage was between the two deities. We may suspect that the omission of repulsive elements, and the general refinement and idealization of the legends, was carried further at Eleusis than elsewhere.

The Mysteries and Christianity.—Two questions may be asked, and briefly answered, here. (i.) Was Clement’s attack on the Mysteries justified? (ii.) What influence did the Mysteries have on Christianity?

(i.) Rites which were held in respect by men like Sophocles and Cicero cannot have been merely the mass of stupidity and immorality that Clement might at first sight lead us to suppose. He makes no

¹ See p. 35.
² This seems to be Clement’s meaning; see pp. 35-37.
³ See the sign on p. 35, “the god over the breast.” According to this, the worshipper must have assumed the character of a feminine consort of the god. But the formula “I stole into the bridal chamber” suggests a mystical union with the goddess, in which the worshipper must have been considered as masculine. The difficulty is dealt with by A. B. Cook, Zeus, i. 392 ff.
attempt to describe the Mysteries fully, nor does he
give them credit for any good they contained. Yet
it can hardly be doubted that he was on the whole
right. What angers him is not so much the general
ideas and teaching of the Mysteries (with much of
which he certainly must have been in sympathy) as
the symbols displayed in them—the childish play-
things, the phalloi, the representation of sacred
marriages, etc. These things had their origin in a
rude society, where they were natural enough. But
a time comes when a civilized people ought no longer
to be content with the relics, however venerable, of
a past age, when in fact such relics suggest quite
different thoughts from those associated with them
in the beginning, and when they have as a conse-
quence to be continually explained afresh in order
to meet moral or intellectual objections. The
Greeks of the second century A.D. were no longer
an unsophisticated people, and the ritual of the
Mysteries was not an adequate expression of their
highest religious ideas.

(ii.) Much has been written on this question and
widely different views are held. Christianity was
preached by St. Paul to people who were well
acquainted with the terminology of the Mysteries,
and probably in many cases with the rites themselves.
St. Paul uses words like τέλειος and μυστήριον,1
adapting them without difficulty to Christian teaching.
Clement goes so far as to describe the whole Christian
scheme of salvation in mystery language.2 The
bitter hostility of the Church towards the Mysteries
would forbid any direct or conscious borrowing; but

1 e.g. 1 Corinthians ii. 6, 7; xv. 51.
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when words are taken, ideas are apt to come with them. It is not without significance that the word "mysteries" was afterwards used to describe the Christian sacraments, and above all the rite of Holy Communion. Moreover, both Christianity and the mystery religions were aiming at the same end: both promised "salvation" to their adherents. Christianity had a far truer idea than the Mysteries of what salvation meant, and this is one reason why it survived while the Mysteries died. But since both had to deal with the same human hopes and fears, the same problems of sin, purification, death and immortality, it would be surprising if the one owed nothing at all to the other. A comparison of the Synoptic Gospels with the developed theology of the fourth and fifth centuries will make it plain that, while Christianity had from the first its own distinctive character, which it never lost, it did not refuse the help of any elements in current thought and practice by means of which its message could be presented in a clearer or more acceptable form.
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NEW YORK: G. P. PUTNAM’S SONS

Dec 20 1920