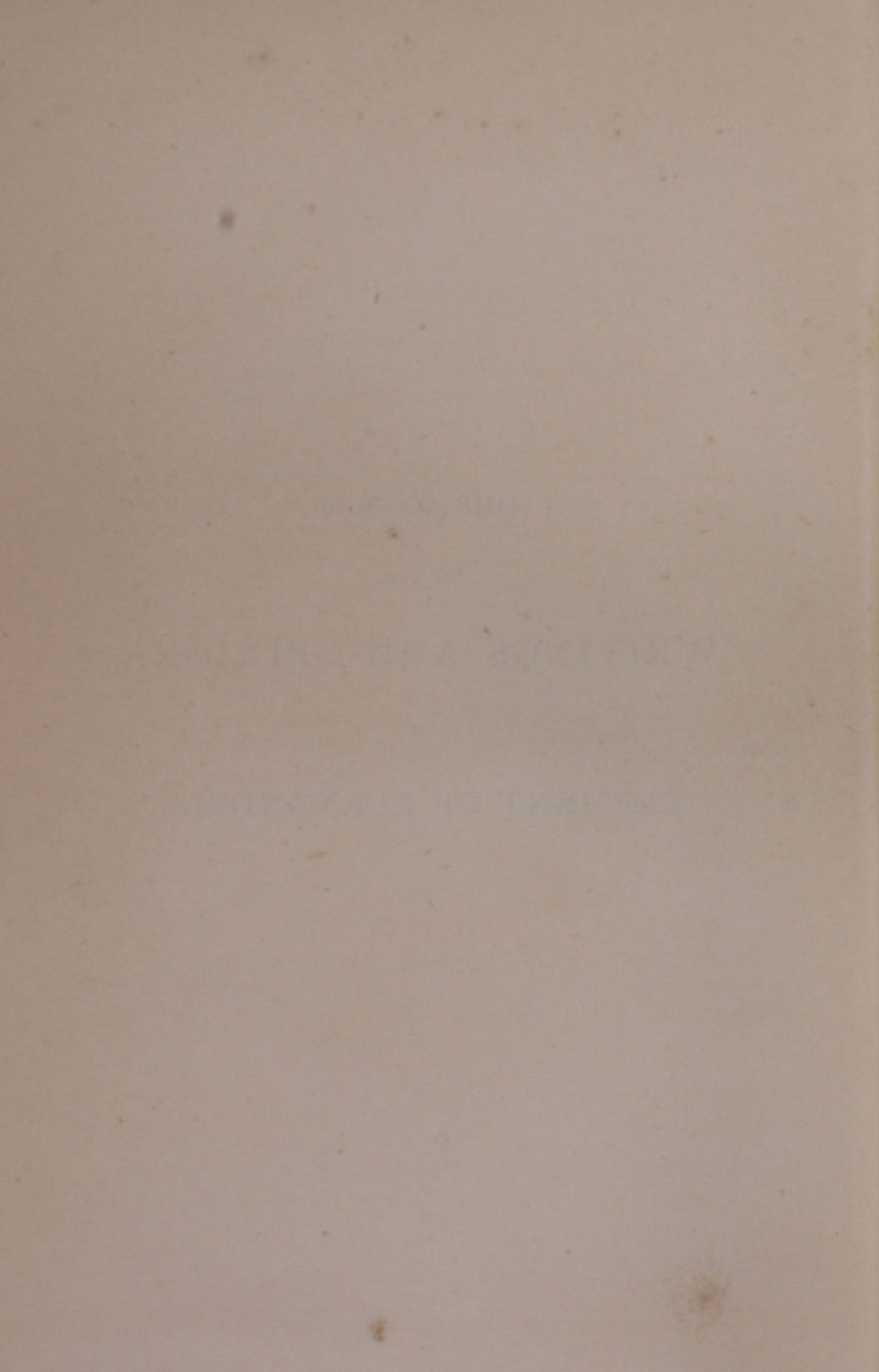


Fernando Pessoa.



SOME ACCOUNT
OF THE
WRITINGS AND OPINIONS
OF
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA



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OF
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

By JOHN KAYE, D.D
LATE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN



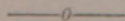
LONDON
GRIFFITH FARRAN OKEDEN & WELSH
NEWBERY HOUSE, CHARING CROSS ROAD
AND SYDNEY

WILLIAMS AND GUNN
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA



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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.



THE learned author of the following work, John Kaye, was born at Hammersmith in 1783, received his early education under the well-known Greek scholar Dr. Burney, and afterwards became a member of Christ's College, Cambridge. He graduated at the head both of the Classical and Mathematical honour lists in 1804. The only other instance on record of a man winning such honours is that of Baron Alderson. In 1814 he became Master of his College, and in 1816 succeeded Bishop Watson as Regius Professor of Divinity. It was in this important position that he delivered his lectures on Tertullian and Justin Martyr. In 1820 Lord Liverpool selected him, at an unusually early age, for the Bishopric of Bristol, advancing him in 1827 to Lincoln. In this large Diocese he found time to publish the work before us, with many Sermons and Charges. To some he never attached his name; such were his *Remarks on Dr. Wiseman's Lectures and Reply to the Travels of an Irish Gentleman*. His last work, *Some Account of the Council of Nicea*, had not emerged from the press when he died, in 1853. He was an acute reasoner, and his works are marked with a singular fairness and calmness. Each question is touched with precision and accuracy, and this it is which makes his writings so valuable to the candid inquirer after truth.

The work now before us will be found interesting to the student of Church History, as introducing him to the great representative of the Alexandrian School of Divinity. Our series has already comprised the earliest Fathers of the East and West, as well as the "Father of Latin Christianity," Tertullian, and the first of his great successors, Cyprian. The Alexandrian divines occupied a ground quite distinct from those of any other school. The hasty judgment upon them is that they were mystics, corrupting the Faith by mingling Greek and Oriental philosophy with it. Doubtless there was a danger, as there is danger in the teaching of every great leader of thought, of giving undue preponderance to those doctrines and principles which are dear to him; and, as F. D. Maurice somewhere says, "it was not always possible for men educated in the hot lecture-rooms of Alexandrian philosophers to enter into the healthful simplicity of the scenes in the mountains and pastures of Palestine." We may admit, then, that Origen sometimes fell into errors, and came short of a full understanding of Hebrew theology. Yet, in spite of their

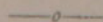
defects, the Alexandrian theologians were the founders of Biblical interpretation and criticism. They presented Christianity to the minds of cultivated and scientific intellects, as no other preachers could, in a form which met their deepest aspirations, and yet without losing hold of the truths which came home to the meanest slaves. They showed how the Gospel is for men, for all men—for the wise and prudent who are content to learn of God, as well as for those who are unlearned and ignorant men.

Alexandria had produced more teachers of the manifold forms of Gnosticism than any Church. But in the good providence of God their errors were removed out of the way by the setting up of a true Gnosis, which, like Aaron's rod, swallowed up the evil things. Even as St. John had directed aright the teaching which men had gotten from Philo of a Divine Logos, and had declared that this teaching was true and that the Logos had been made flesh and dwelt among us, so this later school of Christian doctors did not set up Dogmatism against Gnosticism, as if they were in absolute antagonism. They affirmed that God had given to His children a true knowledge, which was the antidote of the false, and showed how Plato had been a forerunner of Christ.

It is true that they made much of a "Reserve" in teaching, and have excited enmity in some minds thereby, who allege that herein they were relapsing into heathenism. But the charge is not sustained. The heathen philosophers, it is true, had *Mysteries* which they concealed from the mob, the vulgar herd; they gave them the husks to eat, and prided themselves upon a monopoly of an esoteric knowledge, too sacred to be profaned by vulgar eyes. But so did not Clement and his fellows. They declared that the whole of the mysteries of God were open to all alike,—to philosophers and to slaves,—and that the only test was a moral one, not an intellectual. They forbade their disciples to deal with hallowed things before they had put off the shoes from their feet, in the consciousness that they were treading hallowed ground. Who does not realize the profound truth of such a method? How many young men "inquire,"—ask questions boldly,—cavil at received opinions,—all the while that their heart is unmoved, and they have no desire to walk in the light of the truth that they discover, and so end in negations and unbelief? It was this danger from which the Alexandrian teachers sought to protect their disciples, and their success lay in the fact that they were able to produce a vast moral improvement in Alexandrian life, so that that which was ready to perish revived again. How Alexandrian Christianity in process of time produced the great Athanasius, we know—a man admitted by the sceptical Gibbon to be the greatest man of the fourth century. A great philosopher and subtle thinker, he was strong in the Faith; and the teaching of Clement shone forth visibly blessed by God, in this his greatest disciple.

W. B.

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SOME ACCOUNT OF THE WRITINGS
OF
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

—o—
CHAPTER I.

ST. PAUL, in the infancy of the church of Corinth, writing to the new converts, directed their attention to the fact that they could not reckon in their number "many wise men after the flesh, many mighty, or many noble;" and there is every reason to suppose that the Apostle's remark was equally applicable to other Christian communities. The causes which indisposed the higher, and as they are usually esteemed the better-informed orders of society, to the reception of the Gospel, lay in the passions and prejudices of human nature, and were consequently of general operation. The dread of innovation and the desire of maintaining established authority influenced alike the Jewish high priest and the Roman governor; while the Rabbi and the philosopher, alike accustomed to look down with contempt on the great body of their fellow-men, were indignant at the temerity of the teachers of the new religion, who told them that, notwithstanding their pretensions to superior knowledge, they were, in fact, as ignorant as those whom they affected to despise, and had not advanced a single step towards the attainment of true wisdom. Yet, though the first converts were for the most part taken from the humbler ranks of life, we learn from the writings of the New Testament that, even in the days of the Apostles, the Gospel was not without its wealthier and more learned adherents—that it had made its way into the palace of Cæsar, and was deemed not unworthy of consideration by some at least among the followers of Zeno

and Epicurus. In the age immediately subsequent to that of the Apostles, the heathen philosopher, how reluctant soever to believe that a religion issuing from Judea could deserve his regard, would still be unable to close his eyes against its rapid progress, and the extraordinary effects which it was daily producing. The union of gentleness and fortitude in the Christian character—the sincere and unalterable affection which the members of the Christian community displayed towards each other—the unshrinking courage with which they encountered the persecutions of their adversaries—the strict conformity of their lives to the belief which they professed—a conformity sought in vain in the manners and morals even of the teachers of Gentile philosophy—these were phenomena which could scarcely fail to arrest attention, and to excite a wish to obtain a nearer acquaintance with the causes in which they originated. When, however, the philosopher began to make Christianity the subject of his speculations, and to investigate its evidences, his previous pursuits and modes of thinking would lead him to regard it under a peculiar point of view. With him the argument from prophecy would have comparatively little weight, because he had not, like the Jew, been nurtured in the expectation that a great deliverer, pointed out by a long series of predictions, was about to appear on the earth; nor would the exertions of supernatural power, to which Christ Himself appealed in proof of His divine mission, produce their due effect on the mind of one whom the heathen mythology had rendered familiar with stories of portents and prodigies; he would regard Christianity chiefly as a rule of life, and estimate it by its tendency to improve the dispositions and the practice of mankind. Under this point of view Christianity was regarded by Justin, who became a convert to it because, as he assures us, he found it to be the only true, and sound, and safe philosophy; under this point of view it was regarded by Clement of Alexandria, of whose works I purpose giving an account in the present volume.

Clement, according to Jerome, was¹ a Presbyter of the church of Alexandria, the² scholar of Pantænus, and after

¹ ἵγχι ποιμίνης ἰσμίν, οἱ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν προηγούμενοι, κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ποιμίνος. *Pædagog.* L. i. c. 6. cxx. 28.

² Eusebius says that Clement in the Hypotyposes expressly mentioned

his decease Master of the Catechetical School at Alexandria. While he presided in it he had the honour of numbering the great Origen among his scholars. He flourished during the reigns of Severus and Caracalla (*i.e.* between A.C. 192 and 217), and was¹ contemporary with Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, from whom he was the bearer of a letter to the church of Antioch. Jerome² gives the following list of his works, describing them as replete with learning and eloquence, and embracing both sacred and profane literature.

Στρωματεῖς in eight books.

³ Hypotyposes in eight books.

Pantænus as his master. See *Eclogæ ex Proph. Scripturis*, lvi. He supposes also that Clement alludes to Pantænus in a passage in the *Stromata*, in which he is giving an account of the most distinguished men of the Apostolic succession, with whom he had met. L. 5. c. 11. L. 6. cc. 6. 13. Phot. Cod. 109.

¹ According to Eusebius he was prior to Victor, Bishop of Rome. L. 5. c. 28. See also L. 6. cc. 6. 14. Alexander appears to speak of Clement as his master, in a passage quoted by Eusebius, L. 6. c. 14. Clement brings down the chronology of the Roman Emperors to the death of Commodus, *i.e.* A.C. 192. For the various opinions respecting the dates of Clement's works, see Cave.—Dodwell, *Diss. Iren.* iii. Sect. 27.

² Compare Eusebius, L. 6. c. 13.

³ The word *ἰσοτύψεις* is used by Clement to express the delineation, form, or outline of a thing. S. L. I. CCCXXIV. 22. CCCXXV. 19. CCCXLVIII. 34. L. 4. DLXIV. 2. 10. L. 6. DCCXXXVI. 27. Cassiodorus, who has preserved some fragments of a Commentary on the Canonical Epistles—probably a portion of the Hypotyposes—appears to have translated *ἰσοτύψεις*, *Adumbratio*. In the Hypotyposes Clement, according to Eusebius, L. 6. c. 14, gave a summary account of the books of Scripture, not omitting those of which the genuineness has been questioned—the Epistle of Jude, and the other Catholic Epistles; the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Revelation of Peter. According to him, the Epistle to the Hebrews was written in Hebrew by St. Paul, and translated by St. Luke; which circumstance accounts for the similarity of the style to that of the Acts of the Apostles. St. Paul did not prefix his name, as in his other Epistles, on account of the prejudice entertained against him by the Jews, whom the very sight of his name would have prevented from reading the Epistle; or as Clement states, on the authority of one whom he calls *the blessed Presbyter*, St. Paul would not style himself an Apostle to the Hebrews, because that title belonged exclusively to Christ; his office was to preach to the Gentiles. Clement appears also, on the authority of a tradition handed down in the church, to have stated, with respect to the Gospels, that those containing the genealogies were first composed, and to have ascribed the following origin to the Gospel of Mark. While Peter was preaching at Rome by the inspiration of the Spirit, Mark, who had

One book addressed to the Gentiles.

Three books entitled *Παιδαγωγός*.

¹ One book concerning Easter.

long been his companion, at the request of the hearers, committed his preaching to writing,—Peter, being informed of the circumstance, expressed neither approbation nor disapprobation. (See, however, Eusebius, L. 2. c. 15, where, on the authority of the sixth book of the Hypotyposes, St. Peter is said to have sanctioned St. Mark's work.) St. John was the last of the Evangelists, and composed his Gospel at the suggestion of his friends. He saw that the other Gospels dwelt principally on points connected with the body: he therefore composed a spiritual Gospel, under the influence of the Spirit. In L. 2. c. 9, Eusebius tells a story respecting the martyrdom of James, Bishop of Jerusalem, which he had extracted from the seventh book of the Hypotyposes. We learn from the Paschal Chronicle, p. 224, that Clement, in the fifth book of the Hypotyposes, treated of the seventy disciples whom Christ commissioned to preach the Gospel; and the chronicler probably found in the same work the statement, which he gives on the authority of Clement, that St. John lived till the time of Trajan, and travelled about Asia and the neighbouring provinces, appointing bishops and deacons, p. 251.

However deeply we may regret the loss of this work, on account of the information which we might have derived from it respecting the early history of Christianity, it appears, if the account given of it by Photius is correct, to have been in other respects of little value. He describes it as containing some truth amidst much that was impious and fabulous; that in it matter was represented as eternal, and forms as introduced according to certain fixed decrees; that the Son was degraded into a creature; that the doctrine of transmigration was asserted, and a succession of worlds before Adam; that an obscene and impious account of the origin of Eve was given, at variance with the Scriptural narrative; that the angels were stated to have cohabited with women; that the Word was affirmed to have assumed flesh not in reality, but in appearance; that the existence of two Words of the Father was asserted, of whom the inferior appeared to men, or, to speak more accurately, not even the inferior; for the words of Clement are, "The Son is called the Word, bearing the same name as the paternal Word: but it is not he who was made flesh, nor yet the paternal Word; but a certain power of God, being as it were an emanation from his Word, which, being made mind, pervaded the hearts of men." These notions Clement endeavoured to confirm by quotations from Scripture. Photius, however, suggests a doubt whether Clement was really the author of these absurdities, from which he admits that Clement's other writings are free. He describes the work as consisting of interpretations of Genesis, Exodus, the Psalms, the Epistles of St. Paul, the Catholic Epistles, and Ecclesiasticus.

¹ This book, according to Eusebius, was occasioned by a work of Melito, and written at the request of his friends, who entreated him to commit to writing the traditions which he had received from the elders with whom he had conversed. L. 4. c. 26. L. 6. c. 13. It is quoted in the Paschal Chronicle, p. 7. Potter gives two fragments of this work, *MXVII.* 15.

A Discourse concerning Fasting.

A Discourse entitled, "Who is the Rich Man that shall be Saved?"

¹ One book on Slander.

One on the Ecclesiastical Canons, and against those who follow the errors of the Jews, addressed to Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem.

This account of the works of Clement is principally derived from ² Eusebius, who also mentions an Exhortation to Patience, addressed to the newly baptized. The address to the Gentiles, the Pædagogus, the Stromata, and the tract entitled "Who is the Rich Man that shall be Saved?" have come down to us nearly entire. Of the other works we have only fragments.

¹ See Potter's edition, MXX. 40.

² L. 6. cc. 13, 14. Clement speaks as if he had composed a work on Contenance, *πρὸς ἰσχυροσύνης*, P. L. 2. c. 10. CCXXVI. 20. But Fabricius thinks that he here alludes to the third book of the Stromata, see DXX. 15; as well as when he says, P. L. 2. c. 6. CXCIX. 25, *διελύφισται ἐν βαθυτέρῳ λόγῳ*. Another on the Resurrection, P. L. 1. c. 6. CXXV. 42. L. 2. c. 10. CCXXXII. 33, and one on Marriage (*ἐν τῷ γαμικῷ λόγῳ*, P. L. 3. c. CCLXXVIII. 24), unless we suppose him there to refer to what he had said on the subject of marriage in the second book, c. 10. There is a passage preserved by Maximus and Ioannes Damascenus, which Grabe supposes to be a fragment of the *γαμικὸς λόγος*, MXXII. Ed. Potter.

There are in the works of Maximus, T. 2. pp. 144, 152, two quotations from a work of Clement, entitled *πρὸς προνοίας*. Potter, MXXVI. Clement speaks frequently of his intention to write on Principles or Causes, *πρὸς ἀρχῶν*, S. L. 3. DXVI. 10. DXX. 9. L. 4. DLXIV. 10. DCIV. 7. L. 5. DCCXXXIII. 15. L. 6. DCCXXXVII. 28. DCCCXXI. 3, where Louth erroneously understands by the words *τὸν ἀρχικὸν λόγον*, the Word or Son of God, referring to L. 7. DCCCXXII. 38. See DCIV. 7. Quis Dives salvetur, DCCL. 41.

He speaks also of a work concerning the Soul, S. L. 2. CCCLXXXVIII. 16. L. 3. DXVI. 22. L. 4. DCI. 33. DLXXI. 17. L. 5. DCXCIX. 5. Potter gives two fragments supposed to be from this work, as quoted by Maximus, de Animâ, MXX.

He speaks of his intention to write against Heresies, S. L. 4. DCIV. 26. Probably in his work on Principles. Compare DCIV. 7.

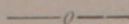
Of a work on Prophecy, S. L. 1. CCCXVI. 14. L. 4. DCV. 3. L. 5. DCXCIX. 5.

Of a work concerning Angels, S. L. 6. DCCLV. 15. *πρὸς τοῦ Διαβόλου*. L. 4. DCI. 34.

Of a work concerning the Origin of the World, probably also a part of the work on Principles, S. L. 6. DCCCXXVII. 39. See C. v. S. L. 3. DLIV. 24. From Eusebius, L. 6. c. 13, we might infer that it was a work on the Book of Genesis.

From ¹ Eusebius we further learn that Clement was a convert from heathenism. According to ² Epiphanius, he was by some called an Athenian, by others an Alexandrian; whence Cave infers that he was born at Athens, and studied at Alexandria. The account given by Photius of the works of Clement, and of the time in which he lived, agrees with that of Jerome.

We will proceed to examine the writings of Clement, taking them in the order in which they stand in Potter's edition.



CHAPTER II.

³ THE first is the Hortatory Address to the Greeks. ⁴ Clement begins with remarking, that the Greeks gave credit to the various fables which had been handed down to them respecting the power of music; they believed that Amphion by his lyre had raised the walls of Thebes, and that Orpheus had tamed wild beasts by the sweetness of his song. "Yet," he proceeds, "though the face of truth is now revealed to them in all its brightness, they look at it with suspicious eyes. Let us leave them to their Cithæron and Helicon, and the feasts of Bacchus, and their dramatic exhibitions, which are chiefly founded on the calamities and crimes of man. Let us turn to the mountain of God, and to the holy prophetic choir, and draw down from heaven Truth, with her companion Wisdom; that, diffusing her light around, she may enlighten all who are involved in darkness, and may free men from error, extending to them intelligence (*σύνεσις*) as it were a hand to guide them to salvation. Orpheus, Amphion, Arion, and the Greek musicians employed their skill in confirming the perverseness of man, and leading him to idols, and stocks, and stones. Not so the Christian musician: he comes to destroy

¹ Præp. Evang. L. 2. c. 2. sub fine. Compare P. L. I. c. I. xcvii. 7. *ἰφ' ᾧ μάλα γαννύμενοι καὶ τὰς παλαιὰς ἀπομύμνητοι δοξὰς πρὸς σωτηρίαν νιάζομεν.*

² Hæc. XII. or XXXII.

³ Clement refers to the Hortatory Address, P. L. I. c. I. sub in. S. I. 7. DCCCXLI. 16. *τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀποτρέπει ὁ Κύριος, L. 6. DCCLXVI. 18.*

⁴ C. I.

the bitter tyranny of demons; to substitute in its place the mild and gentle yoke of piety; to raise to heaven those who had been cast down upon the earth. ¹ He alone has tamed man, the most savage of beasts; and has indeed made men out of stones, by raising up a Holy Seed from among the Gentiles who believed in stones.—Such is the power of the New Song; it has converted stones and beasts into men. They, who were dead, without any portion of the real life, have revived at the mere sound.”

Clement pursues the same figure, comparing the combination of the elements in the formation of the universe to the skilful combination of the different kinds of music; and stating incidentally that the Gentile music was derived from ² Tubal, the Christian from David. He then proceeds, “He who sprang from David, yet *was* before David, the Word of God, disdaining inanimate instruments, the harp and lyre, adapts this world, and the little world, man, both his soul and body, to the Holy Spirit, and thus celebrates God.—What then does the instrument, the Word of God, the Lord, the New Song mean? To open the eyes of the blind, and the ears of the deaf; to guide the lame and the wanderer to righteousness; to show God to foolish man; to put an end to corruption; to overcome death; to reconcile disobedient children to their Father. The instrument of God loves man. The Lord pities, disciplines, exhorts, admonishes, saves, guards, and of His abundance promises the kingdom of heaven as the reward of learning from *Him*, requiring nothing from *us* but that we shall be saved.—³ Think not, however, that the Song of Salvation is new.—We existed before the foundation of the world; existing first in God Himself, inasmuch as we were destined to exist; we were the rational creatures of the Reason (or Word) of God; we ⁴ were in the beginning through the Word,

¹ Clement here compares men to different kinds of animals in reference to their different dispositions; passionate men to lions; followers of pleasure to swine, etc. iv. 15. See S. L. 4. DLXVIII. 41.

² According to Gen. iv. 21, Jubal, not Tubal, was the inventor of musical instruments.

³ So S. L. 7. DCCXCIV. 20. *τῷ καινῷ μὲν λιγυμίνῳ, ἀρχαιοτάτῳ δὲ, μὴ ἰσχυρίσῃ ἄσματος.*

⁴ Clement here plays on the word ἀρχή. *δι’ ἧν ἀρχαίζομεν, ὅτι ἐν ἀρχῇ ἡ αἰώνος ἦν.* vi. 38.

because the Word was in the beginning. The Word was from the beginning, and therefore was and is the divine beginning of all things; but now that He has taken the name, which of old was sanctified, *the Christ*, He is called by me a New Song. This Word, the Christ, was from the beginning the cause both of our being, for He was in God; and of our well-being. Now He has appeared to men, being alone both God and man, the Author to us of all good; by Whom, being instructed how to live well, we are speeded onwards to eternal life.—This is the New Song—the manifestation, now shining forth in us, of the Word, Who was in the beginning and before the beginning. The pre-existent Saviour has appeared nigh unto us; He Who exists in the Self-Existent has appeared; the Word, Who was with God, has appeared as our teacher; the Word, by Whom all things were made, Who in the beginning, when He formed us, gave us life as our Maker, appearing as our teacher, has taught us to live well, in order that hereafter He may, as God, give us life eternal.—He has appeared to assist us against the serpent who enslaves men, binding them to stocks, and statues, and idols, by the wretched bond of superstition.—He offered salvation to the Israelites of old by signs and wonders in Egypt and in the desert; at the burning bush, and in the cloud which followed the Hebrews like a servant maid: He spoke to them by Moses, and Isaiah, and the whole prophetic choir.—But He speaks to us directly by Himself. He is made man, that we may learn from man how man may become God. Is it not then strange that God should invite us to virtue, and that we should slight the benefit, and put aside the proffered salvation?”

¹ Clement afterwards inveighs in a contemptuous strain against the ancient oracles, and exposes the obscene character of the sacred rites and mysteries of the different deities. ² He discovers in the rites of Bacchus an allusion to the deception practised by the serpent upon Eve. ³ He accuses the Greeks

¹ C. 2.

² ἰστοροῦντες Εὐάν, Εὐάν ἰκίονη δι' ἣν ἡ πλάνη παρρηλούθησε. καὶ σημείων ἱερίων Βακχικῶν ὄφεις ἰστί τετιλισμένοι. αὐτίκα γοῦν κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβῆ τῶν Ἑβραίων φωνῆν, τὸ ὄνομα τὸ Εὐία δασυνόμιον ἱερηνύεται ὄφεις ἢ θήλια.

xi. 19.

³ xx. 1.

of a twofold Atheism; they refused to acknowledge the true God, and acknowledged as gods those who were not gods. ¹ "Atheism and superstition," he proceeds, "are the extremes of ignorance. Originally there was a native intercourse of man with Heaven; but erroneous opinions have withdrawn him, the offspring of Heaven, from heavenly converse, and prostrating him on the earth, have caused him to attach himself to earthly creatures, and to invent seven kinds of idolatry. ² He has deified the heavenly bodies; the fruits of the earth, hence Ceres, Bacchus; the punishments inflicted on evil deeds, hence the Furies; the passions and affections, hence Hope, Fear; the incidents of life, hence Fate, Justice; the twelve gods, whose origin is described by Hesiod; the benefactors of mankind."

³ Clement proceeds to describe the flagitious amours ascribed by the Gentiles to their gods. He inveighs against the public games; and ⁴ points out the bloodthirsty character of the demons, who delighted in combats of gladiators, in war, in human sacrifices, being in respect of benevolence and kindness inferior to man. ⁵ He describes the progress of idolatry, and enumerates the places where many of the deities, worshipped by the Gentiles, were buried. ⁶ Before the arts of sculpture and carving were known, men worshipped rude symbols,—a sword, a stone, a column. Afterwards statues were erected, of which Clement mentions the most celebrated, together with the names of the artists who made them. ⁷ "The makers of gods," he continues, "worship not, as far as I can understand, gods and demons, but earth and art, of which the images are composed. For the image is in truth dead matter, formed by the hand of the artificer. But our God, the only true God, is not an object of sense, made out of matter: he is comprehended by the understanding. ⁸ Alas for your impiety! You bury, as much as lies in your power, the pure essence; and hide in tombs that which is uncontaminated and holy, robbing that which is divine of its true essence. Why do you thus give the honour due to God to those who are no gods? Why, leaving heaven, do you honour earth? For what are gold,

¹ xxi. 14.

⁴ C. 3.

⁷ xlv. 29.

² Compare lxxxi. 3, et seq.

⁵ xxxviii. 22.

⁸ l. 2.

³ xxvii. 17.

⁶ C. 4.

and silver, and adamant, and iron, and brass, and ivory, and precious stones, but earth, and from the earth? Are not all these objects which you behold the offspring of our mother, the earth? Why, vain and foolish men, blaspheming the celestial abode, do you drag down piety to the ground, forming to yourselves earthly gods? and, following these created things in preference to the uncreated God, immerse yourselves in thickest darkness?—The Parian stone is beautiful, but is not Neptune; the ivory is beautiful, but is not Olympian Jove. Matter always stands in need of art; but God needs nothing. Art comes forth, and matter puts on a form: the costliness of the substance makes it convertible to the purposes of gain; but the form alone renders it an object of veneration. Your statue is gold, or wood, or stone, or earth; if you consider its origin, it received its form from the workman. I have learned to tread upon the earth, not to adore it; nor is it lawful for me to trust the hopes of my soul to things without a soul (*τῶν ἀψύχων*).”

Again¹.—“We are they who bear about the image of God in this living and moving statue, man,—the image which dwells with us: our counsellor, our companion both abroad and at home, who suffers with us, who suffers for us. We are dedicated to God for Christ’s sake. We are² ‘the chosen race, the royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people; we who once were not a people, but are now the people of God;’ we who, according to³ John, are not from below, but have learned everything from Him Who came from above; we who comprehend the dispensation of God, and are trained to walk in newness of life.—⁴Some, instead of God, adore the workmanship of God,—the sun, the moon, and starry choir,—absurdly taking for gods what are only the instruments whereby to measure time (*τὰ ὄργανα τοῦ χρόνου*).—Human art forms houses, and ships, and cities, and pictures; but how can I declare the works of God? Behold the universe—it is His work; the heavens, and the sun, and angels, and men, are the works of His fingers. How great is the power of God! His mere volition is the creation of the world; for God alone created it, since He alone is truly God. He creates by His

¹ lli. 27.³ viii. 23, iii. 31, iv. 25.² 1 Pet. ii. 9, 10.⁴ liv. 22.

mere will, and the effects follow upon His mere volition. Herein consists the error of the philosophers, who rightly admit that man is made for the contemplation of heaven, yet worship the heavenly bodies, which are objects of sight; for though the heavenly bodies are not the works of man, they were created for man. Adore not then the sun, but raise your affections to Him Who made the sun; deify not the universe, but seek the Creator of the universe. Divine wisdom is left as the only refuge of him who would reach the gates of salvation; thence proceeding, as from a sacred asylum, man hastens to salvation, no longer liable to be led astray by demons."

¹ Clement proceeds to enumerate the opinions of the philosophers respecting the gods, and the first principles of things. Having pointed out their errors, he says, ² "I long for the Lord of spirits, the Lord of fire; I seek not the works of God, but the Creator of the world, the God who gives light to the sun. But whom must I take as the assistant of my search? Perhaps you will say, Plato. Where then, O Plato, must we seek for God? You answer, that it is difficult to discover the Father and Maker of the universe; and, when we have discovered, impossible to declare Him to all. Why so? He is ineffable. You say well, O Plato; you almost touch the truth. But do not faint; take up with me the inquiry concerning the good (*τἀγαθὸν*): for a certain Divine effluence distils upon all men, but chiefly upon those who employ themselves in rational inquiries; on which account they confess, even against their will, that there is one God, imperishable, uncreated.—³ You say yourself that all things are around the King of all things, and that He is the cause of all. Who then is the King of all things? God, the measure of the truth of things. As things measured are comprehended by the measure, so the truth is measured and comprehended by comprehending God.—⁴ Even the poets, the dealers in fiction, have approached the truth in speaking of the gods."

⁵ From the consideration of the opinions of the heathen philosophers, Clement proceeds to the descriptions of the Deity given by the prophets, taking his first instance from the

¹ C. 5.

² C. 6. lix. 1.

³ lx. 1.

⁴ C. 7.

⁵ C. 8.

Sibyl. He¹ then exclaims: "O the exceeding love towards man! God speaks to us, not as a master to his scholars,—not as a lord to his servants,—not as God to men; but He gently admonishes us as a father his children. Moses confessed that he was afraid and trembled, when he heard only *concerning* the Word. Do you not fear, when you actually hear the Divine Word? Do you feel no deep anxiety? Do you not at the same time fear, and hasten to learn, that is, hasten to salvation, dreading the wrath, loving the grace, emulously seeking the hope, that you may avoid the judgment? Come, come, O you, my youthful charge; for unless you again become as children, and are born again, as the Scripture says, you cannot receive the really existing Father, or enter into the kingdom of heaven."

² Clement's account of the progress of the convert is, that he is introduced by faith, taught by experience, instructed by Scripture, which says, "'Come, O children, listen to me: I will teach you the fear of the Lord.' Then, as if addressing those who have already believed, it adds, 'What man is he who wishes for life, who longs to see good days?' We, we will answer, the worshippers of the good (*τὰγαθὸν*), the followers of that which is good. Hear, ye who are afar off, and ye who are near. The Word is concealed from no one. He is a common light; He shines on all; there is no darkness in the Word. Let us hasten to salvation,—let us hasten to the Regeneration;³ though we are many, let us hasten to be united in one love according to the union of the indivisible (*μοναδικῆς*) Essence. Let us, who have received good, hasten; let us in turn follow after unity, seeking the good Indivisible (*μονάδα*). The union out of many, which out of discord and division receives a Divine harmony, becomes one concord, following one leader of the chorus and teacher, the Word; reposing on truth itself, saying Abba, Father: God favourably accepts this true voice, when for the first time he hears it from his children."

Clement⁴ next supposes a heathen to object, that it is not

¹ C. 9. lxxviii. 42.

² lxxii. 11.

³ *παλιγγενεσίαν*. Matt. xix. 28. S. L. 3. dxxxix. 3. Quis Dives Salvetur.

DCDLX. 42.

⁴ C. 10.

credible to subvert the customs handed down to us by our forefathers. "Yet," he replies, "you forsake the kind of food with which the nurse supplied you in your infancy. You increase or diminish your paternal inheritance, and do not preserve it exactly as you received it.—Why then should you not forsake a custom wicked and disturbed by passions (*ἐμπαθῆς*), and godless? and even though your fathers should take it amiss, why should you not turn to the truth, and seek the truly existing Father, and reject custom as a deadly poison? for this is the most glorious of our undertakings, to show you that piety has been hated through madness and this thrice miserable custom. So great a good, than which a greater has not been given by God to the human race, would not have been hated and rejected, if hurried away by custom, and stopping your ears against us, you had not avoided our discourses, tossing the reins like hard-necked horses, and biting the bit; and if, desiring to cast us off who are the guides of your life, and borne headlong by folly to the precipices of destruction, you had not deemed the Holy Word of God accursed.—¹ God gives life: but wicked custom, after our departure hence, brings fruitless repentance, accompanied by punishment. Even a fool learns by experience, that superstition destroys and piety saves. Look at those who are in the service of idols, with matted hair, with torn and squalid garments, never washed, with nails of enormous length like wild beasts, many of them emasculated, effectually showing that the groves of the idols are sepulchres or prisons. These men appear to me to mourn, not to worship the gods; undergoing sufferings, of which the effect is rather to excite pity than to evince piety. Yet seeing this, you still are blind, and look not up to the Master and Lord of the universe; or take refuge from these prisons here below in the pity which is from above.—² Let us not be enslaved, or like unto swine: but like legitimate children of the light, let us look upwards to the light, lest the Lord should prove us to be spurious, as the sun proves the eagles. Let us then repent, and pass over from ignorance to knowledge; from folly to wisdom; from intemperance to temperance; from unrighteousness to righteousness; from ungodliness to God. To be a deserter to God is an honourable hazard. The lovers of righteousness, who follow

¹ lxxiv. 2.

² lxxv. 9.

after eternal salvation, have many other good things to enjoy—those especially to which God alludes, speaking through Isaiah, ‘there is an inheritance for the servants of the Lord:’ a fair and lovely inheritance: not gold, not silver, not raiment, which the moth corrupts; not earthly things, which the thief breaks through to steal; but that treasure of salvation, to which we ought to hasten, becoming ¹ lovers of the Word.—² You have received, O man, the Divine promise of grace: you have heard the opposite threat of punishment. By these the Lord saves, disciplining man by fear and grace. Why do we delay? Why do we not avoid the punishment? Why do we not receive the gift? Why do we not choose the better part, taking God instead of the evil one? Wisdom instead of idolatry? Life instead of death?—‘Behold,’ he says, ‘I have placed before your face death and life.’ The Lord proves you that you may choose life: as a father, He counsels you to obey God. ‘If ye hearken to me and are willing, ye shall eat the good of the land.’ Grace follows obedience. ‘But if ye will not hearken or be willing, the sword and fire shall devour you.’ Judgment follows disobedience. The mouth of the Lord hath spoken it: the law of truth, the Word of the Lord.”

Still inveighing against custom, Clement says,³ that custom induces men to drink to excess, to commit injuries, to deify dead men, to worship idols.—“But though the artisan can make an idol, ⁴ he has never made a breathing image, or formed soft flesh out of earth. Who liquified the marrow? who hardened the bones? who extended the nerves? who inflated the veins? who infused blood into them? who stretched the skin around them? who made the eye to see? who breathed a soul into the body? who freely gave righteousness? who has promised immortality? The Creator of all things alone, the Supreme Artisan, made man a living image; but your Olympian Jove, the image of an image, far differing from the truth, is the dumb work of Attic hands. The image of God is His Word: the legitimate Son of Intelligence, the Divine Word, the original Light of light; and the image of the Word is the true man, the mind which is in man, who on this account is said to be made in the image and likeness of God,

¹ φιλαλόγους γινωσκόμενος, lxxv. 26.

² lxxvii. 8.

³ lxxvi. 21.

⁴ lxxviii. 18.

being assimilated to the Divine Word (or Reason) by the understanding in his heart, and therefore rational. But the earthly image of the visible man, the man sprung from the earth, the resemblance of man, appears as it were a momentary impression (*ἐκμαγεῖον*), far removed from the truth.—¹ He who has never heard the Word may urge ignorance in excuse of his error; but with respect to him who, having heard, is deliberately disobedient, his knowledge will be injurious to him, because it will convict him of having rejected that which is best. Man is born to hold intercourse with God. As we apply animals to the uses for which they were naturally designed, so we invite man, who was made for the contemplation of heaven, who is indeed a heavenly plant, to the knowledge of God. Let him perform the duties of his earthly calling, whatever they may be, but perform them in subordination to his duty towards God. What is it but custom which causes men to worship stones, to expend their wealth and even life on matter? Enslaved by it, they become unable to take compassion on themselves, and unfitted to obey those who would take compassion on them, and voluntarily go on to destruction, even to their latest breath. Custom induces men to deify stones, and the phenomena of nature, and the elements, and the heavenly bodies, and the passions and actions of men, and their bodily affections.—But ² when a certain providence of Divine power clearly appears around us, why do we refuse to confess that God, Who alone is God?—‘The earth is the Lord’s, and the fulness thereof.’ While then we luxuriate in that which is His, how dare we to be ignorant of the Master? Quit my earth, the Lord will say to you; touch not the water, which I cause to spring up, or the fruits which I plant; pay back the price of your sustenance to God; recognise your Master; you are the peculiar workmanship of God; how can His property be justly alienated? for that which is alienated, being deprived of its proper owner (*στερόμενον τῆς οικειότητος*), is deprived of truth.—³ Blinded by your folly, you think that God speaks by a crow or a jackdaw; you honour a crow as the messenger of God; but persecute

¹ lxxix. 35. See S. L. 2. ccclxi. 3. I have here given the substance of Clement’s reasoning, not his words.

² *πρῖναι τις δυνάμεισ θεϊκῆσ*, lxxxi. 31. *ἡ δύναμις ἡ θεϊκή*, lxxxv. 36.

³ lxxxii. 22.

and strive to kill the man of God, who does not caw or chatter, but speaks rationally, and instructs lovingly, and calls you to righteousness. You neither receive the grace nor dread the punishment from above; for you believe not God, nor understand His power. His hatred of wickedness is as incomprehensible as His love to man is ineffable. His anger prepares punishment for sin: His love to man benefits, in order to lead man to repentance. Most pitiable is the state of him who is deprived of Divine assistance. The blindness of the eyes and the deafness of the ears are the most grievous of the calamities inflicted by the evil one; the one deprives us of the sight of heaven, the other of Divine instruction. But you, maimed as it were with respect to the truth, blind as to your mind, deaf as to your understanding, neither grieve, nor feel indignant, nor desire to see the heavens and the Maker of the heavens, nor strive to hear and to understand the Creator and Father of all things, nor apply your choice to salvation. No obstacle stands in the way of him who hastens to the knowledge of God: neither want of offspring, nor poverty, nor obscurity of station, nor want of possessions; nor would any one take brass or iron in exchange for true knowledge: this he rightly prefers to all things. Christ is under all circumstances a Saviour; for he who is an imitator of the Just One has few wants, because he is a lover of Him Who has no wants, laying up a treasure of blessedness, not in others, but in himself and God, where there is neither moth, nor robber, nor pirate, but the eternal Giver of good. —¹ Believe, O man, in man and God: believe, O man, in Him Who suffered and is adored, the living God. Believe, O servants, in Him Who died. All men, believe in Him Who alone is God of all. Believe, and receive salvation as your reward. ‘Seek ye the Lord, and your soul shall live.’ He who seeks God is active about his own salvation. Have you found God? You have life. Let us then seek Him that we may live. The reward of the discovery is life in the presence of God.” Still urging the Gentiles to abandon their idolatrous and vicious practices, ² Clement says, “Let the Athenian follow the laws of Solon; the Argive, those of Phoroneus; the Spartan, those of Lyncurgus; but if you enrol yourself among the citizens of God, heaven is your country, and God your lawgiver. And what are His laws?

¹ lxxxiv. 1.² lxxxiv. 41.

'Thou shalt not murder; thou shalt not commit adultery,' etc. But besides these laws, there are others perfective of them, rational and holy laws, written upon the very heart. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. To him who smites thee on one cheek, turn the other. Thou shalt not covet.' Clement¹ proceeds to ascribe the rapid success of the Gospel to the superintending providence of God. "The Divine power, shining upon the earth, has with celerity not to be surpassed and benevolence easy of access, filled the universe with the seed of salvation. For without the providence of God, the Lord could not have accomplished so great a work in so short a time—the Lord, Who was despised as to His outward appearance, but worshipped in act, the Expiator, the Saviour, the mild (*μειλιχίος*), the Divine Word, manifested as truly God, equalled to the Lord of all; for He was His Son, and 'the Word was in God;' neither disbelieved when He was first announced, nor unknown when, taking the² person of man and formed in the flesh, He acted the drama of man's salvation. He was a true combatant, and combated in conjunction with the creature; and being most rapidly diffused throughout all mankind, rising more swiftly than the sun according to His Father's will, He caused God to shine upon us: proving whence He was and Who He was, by what He taught and did—the Bearer of Peace—the Reconciler—the Word our Saviour—a fountain giving life and peace, poured over the whole face of the earth—through Whom, so to speak, the universe has become a sea of good."

³ Clement proceeds to magnify the goodness of God, first in placing man in paradise, and then in restoring him to liberty, after he had fallen, and by his disobedience brought himself under the dominion of sin. He interprets the history of the Fall allegorically, saying, that by the serpent is meant pleasure. Speaking of the assumption of human flesh by Christ, in order to redeem man, he calls it a Divine mystery, and exclaims, "O mystical wonder! the Lord stooped down, and man arose; and he who fell from paradise receives a greater reward of obedience, even heaven. Since then the Word Himself came to us from heaven, we ought not, idly busy, to go for human instructions to Athens, or any other part of Greece, or to

¹ Ixxxv. 35.

² *πρωσσωπιόν*, lxxxvi. 8.

³ C. II.

Ionia. For if He is our teacher, Who has filled all things with holy powers, creation, salvation, benefits, laws, prophecy, doctrine, our teacher instructs everywhere, and the Word has made the whole world, Athens, and Greece. Surely you will not believe the poetic fable, that the Cretan Minos was the boon companion of Jove; yet disbelieve us who have become the disciples of God, and embraced the true wisdom, at which the greatest philosophers scarcely hinted, but which the disciples of Christ comprehend and proclaim. Human philosophy deals in particular precepts: it inquires whether men should marry, or engage in public affairs, or beget children; but Divine philosophy extends to the whole life of man, to every season and circumstance, and looks to the accomplishment of one object, the attainment of everlasting life."

After a glowing description of the light which the Word has shed on mankind, Clement exhorts all men to break out into the following strain of thanksgiving: ¹ "Hail, O light: for light has shone upon us from heaven, upon us who were buried in darkness, and shut up in the shadow of death—light purer than the sun, sweeter than our present life. That light is eternal life; and whatsoever partakes of it, lives. But the night avoids the light; and setting through fear, gives way to the day of the Lord. All things have become light, never again to set, and the setting has believed in the rising. This is the new creation. For the Son of righteousness, visiting all things in his career, comes alike to all mankind, imitating the Father, Who causes His sun to rise, and the dew of truth to fall on all men. He has brought the setting to the rising; and crucifying death, has raised up life; and snatching man from destruction, has elevated him into the air, transplanting corruption into incorruption, and converting earth into heaven."

From the consideration of the benefits, temporal and spiritual, conferred by God on man, Clement infers the necessity of believing in Him. "God," ² he says, "asks only faith in return; and do we refuse it?" ³ The Word, revealing the truth, has shown to man the great salvation, that either repenting he may be saved, or disobeying he may be judged. This

¹ lxxxviii. 14.² lxxxix. 12.³ lxxxix. 40.

is the preaching of righteousness ; good tidings to the obedient, judgment to the disobedient. The loud-sounding trumpet calls together the soldiers, and denounces war. Shall not Christ then, breathing forth a peaceful strain to the very extremities of the earth, collect his peaceful army? O man, by His blood and His word, He has collected a bloodless army, and entrusted the kingdom of heaven to its care. The trumpet of Christ is His Gospel ; He has sounded it, and we have heard.—¹ The imitation of God consists in paying Him holy worship ; and we best worship by imitating Him. Then do men possess heavenly and Divine love, when that which is truly fair, kindled by the Divine Word, shines forth in the soul. Have but a right will, and you have life ; they are necessarily yoked together.—Christ freely offers you life ; and who is Christ? The Word of truth, the Word of incorruption, Who regenerates man, Who leads him back to the truth, Who is the centre (τὸ κέντρον) of salvation, Who drives away corruption, Who expels death, Who builds up a temple in men, that He may place God in them. Purify the temple ; cast pleasure and sloth, like a perishable flower, to the winds and flames ; cultivate the fruits of temperance, and dedicate yourself, as an offering of first-fruits to God, that not only the work, but also the grace, may be his. It is fitting that he who is the disciple of Christ should both appear worthy of the kingdom, and should be pronounced worthy of it.”

“ Let ² us then,” continues Clement, “ shun custom ; let us shun it as a dangerous headland, or the threats of Charybdis, or the fabled Sirens : it strangles man, it turns him aside from the truth ; it leads him away from life ; it is a snare, an abyss, a pit.” After comparing the danger arising to man from the seductions of pleasure to the temptation of Ulysses by the Sirens, and running a parallel between the mysteries of Bacchus and the doctrines of Christ, he exclaims,³ “ O the truly sacred Mysteries ! O the pure light ! I am led by the light of the torch to the view of heaven and of God ; I become holy by initiation. The Lord is the hierophant, Who, leading the candidate for initiation to the light, seals him, and presents the believer to the Father to be preserved for ever. These are the orgies of my mysteries ; if thou wilt, be thou also initiated,

¹ xc. 24.

² C. 12.

³ xcii. 30.

and thou shalt join in the dance with the angels around the uncreated, and imperishable, and only true God, the Word of God joining in the strain. He, the eternal Jesus, the one great High Priest of the one God and Father, prays for men, exhorts men. Hear, He says, ye innumerable tribes, or rather all who are endowed with reason, Barbarians and Greeks. I call the whole human race, whose Creator I am by the will of the Father; come to Me, to be arrayed under one God, and the one Word of God; be not content merely to excel irrational animals by the possession of reason. To you alone of all mortal beings I give immortality. I wish to make you partakers of this grace; to confer upon you a benefit entire in all its parts—in corruption. I freely give you the Word, the knowledge of God; I freely give you My whole self. This I am; this God wills; this is the musical concert, the harmony of the Father; this is the Son, Christ, the Word of God, the arm of the Lord, the power of the Universe, the will of the Father; of which things there were formerly images, but not all resemblances. I wish to guide you to the original, that you may all become like to Me. I will anoint you with the ointment of Faith, through which you cast off corruption. I will show you the naked form of righteousness, through which you ascend to God. ‘Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.’—This¹ is the counsel of the Word, not to hesitate whether it is better to be sane or insane; but laying fast hold upon the truth, to follow God with all our might, in soberness of mind, and to deem all things His, as they are; having learned, moreover, that we are the fairest of his possessions, let us commit ourselves to God, and loving the Lord God, esteem this our business through the whole of life. If friends have all things in common, and man is the friend of God (and he is the friend, through the mediation of the Word), all things belong to man, because all things belong to God; and all things are common to both the friends, God and man. It remains then to pronounce the pious Christian alone rich, and wise, and noble; and in this respect to call and believe him the image and likeness of God; because he has been made just and holy and wise by Jesus Christ, and so far like even to God.” Clement says in conclusion, “I have placed before you

¹ xciv. 11.

Judgment and Grace: doubt not which is the better; for life must not be compared with destruction."

The foregoing sketch of the Hortatory Address to the Gentiles will sufficiently confirm the character given by Jerome of the writings of Clement. The work bespeaks a familiar acquaintance with the Scriptures and with profane literature. He, however, who shall open it with the expectation of finding a systematic exposition either of the evidences or doctrines of Christianity, will be greatly disappointed. In order justly to appreciate its merits, we must carry ourselves back to the times in which it was written, and endeavour to obtain a correct notion of the moral and religious condition of the Gentile world—of the modes of thinking and reasoning then prevalent. I have said¹ elsewhere, that we ought to give the Fathers credit for knowing what arguments were best calculated to affect the minds of those whom they were addressing. It was unnecessary for them to establish by a long train of reasoning, the probability that a revelation may be made from Heaven to man; or to prove the credibility of miracles. Some few philosophers might altogether deny the existence of the gods; others, admitting their existence, might deny that they interfered in the concerns of men; but the majority, both of the learned and unlearned, were fixed in the belief that the Deity exercised an immediate control over the human race, and consequently felt no predisposition to reject that which purported to be a communication of his Will. They would rather inquire of him who professed to be the bearer of such a communication, as the Athenians did of St. Paul, *what is this new doctrine whereof thou speakest?* and would judge of its pretensions to a Divine origin, not by external evidence, but by what it taught and enjoined. Accustomed as they were to regard the various systems proposed by the teachers of philosophy as matters of curious speculation, designed to exercise the understanding, not to influence the conduct, the chief difficulty of the advocate of Christianity was to prevent them from treating it with the same levity; and to induce them to view it in its true light, as a revelation declaring truths of the highest practical importance—truths which they could not disregard without endangering their dearest interests.

¹ In my work on Tertullian.

The point, therefore, at which Clement aims in his Hortatory Address, is to show the infinite superiority of the Gospel to the religious systems, if systems they could be called, and to the philosophy of the Gentile world. With respect to the former, his task was easy. He had only to contrast the objects of Christian and Heathen worship—the all-powerful, all-wise, all-perfect God, to whom the Christian bowed the knee, with the frail and vicious and monstrous deities with which Polytheism had filled the universe. He had only to contrast the pure and spiritual service which the Gospel enjoined, with the impure and sensual and degrading rites by which the heathen strove to propitiate their deities. It is true that idolatry possessed, in the corruption of human nature, a stronghold from which it could with difficulty be dislodged; it retained men under its dominion by the gratifications which it offered to their licentious appetites; but it was indefensible by argument. Its advocates, when pressed, could only plead prescription in its behalf; could only allege the authority of their forefathers, and declaim on the discredit of forsaking, for a religion which was the growth of yesterday, opinions, and usages, and rites which had been handed down to them from the remotest antiquity. Hence it was that the early apologists of Christianity employed so much labour in proving the superior antiquity of Moses, and in showing that the Gentile philosophers were indebted to his writings for whatever their own contained, in any degree approximating to the truth, concerning the Divine Nature or the obligations of morality. They wished to convince the defenders of Heathenism that, even on the ground of antiquity, Christianity was entitled to the preference.

The professed aim of Gentile philosophy was to accomplish the amelioration of human nature; to render man superior both to external circumstances and to his own appetites and passions, by placing before him a model of perfect virtue, of which he was never to lose sight, and to which he was to conform his whole life and conversation. The philosopher failed to effect his object, because he was alike ignorant of the true source of moral obligation, and of the true standard of moral excellence; and because he could supply no adequate sanctions to ensure obedience to his injunctions. The main

design of the Hortatory Address is to show that the Gospel possessed the requisites in which philosophy was deficient. It proceeded from the one true God, to Whose superintending Providence alone its rapid progress could be ascribed. The bearer of the revelation was the Son of God—¹ “the Word, Who is the sun of the soul, by Whom alone, rising in the inmost recesses of the understanding, the eye of the understanding is enlightened.” ² From this Divine fountain of light some rays had flowed even to the Greeks, who had thereby been enabled to discover faint traces of the truth. But the Word Himself has now appeared in the form of man to be our teacher; and the sanctions by which He confirms His precepts are the most powerful which can be proposed to a rational being—an eternity of happiness to the obedient, of misery to the disobedient.”

Man, according to Clement, was created in the image of God, and was designed to enjoy the Divine intercourse; but seduced into disobedience, he forfeited these high privileges. The Word descended upon earth to replace him in the situation from which he had fallen; to enable him to fulfil the purposes of his being, by exercising himself in the contemplation, and aspiring to the knowledge of God. He then, who lends a willing ear to the message of the Word, reconciled to God by the mediation of Christ, and transformed by the Holy Spirit of God, continually advances in righteousness, wherein his resemblance to God consists; so that he becomes the friend of God and like unto God; nay, he is as it were made God; for piety, ³ according to Clement, raises the human nature to Divine.

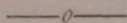
The purifying and sanctifying influence of the Gospel is the theme to which Clement continually recurs. In enlarging upon it, he expresses himself with an energy and fervour which, in the opinion of the pious Christian, will compensate

¹ lix. 26.

² lixiv. 8.

³ ἵνα δὲ καὶ ἐν παρὰ ἀνθρώπου μάθη, πῶς ποτε ἄρα ἄνθρωπος γίνεται θεός. VIII. 31. τὸν καὶ μόνον ἀπικάσαι κατ' ἀξίαν δυνάμειον ἄνθρωπον Θεῷ. LXXI. 26. τὰ ἱεροποιῶντα καὶ θεοποιῶντα γράμματα. 32. θεοποιῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον. LXXXVIII. 33. καθ' ἣν ἰκθυσόμενοι. P. L. 1. c. 12. CLVI. 33. ἰζομοιοῦμενοι τῷ θεῷ. CLVII. 24.

many offences against good taste and many defects in reasoning. The character under which he delights to contemplate Christ is that of the restorer of man to original purity, of the Creator of man anew in righteousness and holiness. If he touches upon the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel, it is chiefly to point out the motives which they supply to increased exertions in well-doing. If his subject leads him to mention the miraculous acts by which Christ, during His residence on earth, gave proof of His Divine mission, Clement instantly reverts to the spiritual miracles which were to be accomplished by the preaching of the Word, in removing the film from the mental eye—in opening the ear of the understanding to the reception of Divine truth—in raising the morally lame and impotent from the ground, and enabling them so to run that they may obtain the prize of salvation. This may be said to be neither a systematic nor a complete, but it cannot justly be called a low or unworthy view of the Gospel dispensation. It gives birth to lofty and exalted notions of the purposes of our being: it is indeed an expansion of our blessed Lord's injunction, "Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect."



CHAPTER III.

THE design of Clement in the Hortatory Address was to convert those whom he was addressing from Heathenism to Christianity. His design in the *Pædagogue*, the work which we shall next proceed to examine, was to instruct the new convert how to regulate his future conduct. The duties of a Christian have usually been divided into two classes, his religious and his moral duties; those of which God is directly, and those of which He is indirectly the object; for as God is the Author of the relations out of which our obligations to our neighbours arise, in fulfilling our duty towards our neighbour, we at the same time fulfil our duty towards God. From this division of our duties it is evident that we are liable to fall into two opposite errors. We may err by allowing ourselves to be entirely engrossed by the relation in which we

stand to God; to be entirely absorbed in meditation on the Divine perfections, and in anticipating the happiness of a glorified state. Giving ourselves up to the guidance of our imagination, we may fancy that we are already separated from all connexion with the earth, and raised far above all human ties and obligations. We may err, on the other hand, and it is an error of far more frequent occurrence, by giving our attention exclusively to the duties arising out of the relations in which we stand to our fellow-creatures, and fulfilling them from motives wholly unconnected with any regard to the will of the Author of those relations. The Gospel supplies a preservative from both these errors. Assuming the existence of the relations in which we stand to God, it makes them the foundation of moral obligation; and thus enforces the necessity of active virtue by teaching us to refer our whole behaviour to the will of God. But it contents itself with pointing out generally the frame and temper of mind which the Christian ought to acquire; it does not descend into particulars; it does not teach morality systematically. Clement was not insensible to this peculiarity in the Gospel; on the contrary,¹ he derived from it an argument in proof of the superiority of Christianity to Gentile philosophy; the latter, he said, dealt in particular precepts; the former regulated the springs of action, the thoughts and affections of the heart. Yet in his *Pædagogogue*, written in order to fill up as it were the outline of the Christian character sketched in the Gospel, he has himself descended into the minutest details of human conduct, and given rules for the direction of the convert in the common transactions of daily life.

Clement begins with stating that in man three things are to be considered, moral² principles, actions, passions or affections.

¹ See p. 18.

² ἠθῶν, πράξεων, παθῶν. It is evident that in this threefold division Clement means to refer to his three works: The Hortatory Address, which had in view the conversion of the Gentile to Christianity, and the formation of right principles in him; the *Pædagogogue*, which was designed to regulate the practice of the convert, and to fit him to receive the instruction conveyed in the *Stromata* (παιδαγωγῶντος ἐν Θεῷ τοῦ λόγου τὴν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθένειαν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐπὶ τὴν νόησιν. P. L. 1. c. 12. cccciv. 3), which were to carry him onward to perfection, to make him perfect in knowledge,—in other words, to make him the true Gnostic. See XCIX. 5. The design of the

His Hortatory Address had treated of principles, guiding the heathen to piety, and laying, as it were, the keel on which the vessel of faith was to be built. The discourse, which regulates actions, must be of a preceptive: that which regulates the passions of a suatory character. "Yet it is the same Word Who, now by exhortation, now by precept, now by persuasion, rescues man from the dominion of worldly habit, and leads him to the salvation which is of faith in God. When the heavenly guide, the Word, calls men to salvation, the name of Hortatory then peculiarly belongs to Him. But when, proceeding onward, He assumes at once the healing and preceptive character, we then give Him the appropriate name of Pædagogues; his object being¹ practical, not methodical or doctrinal—to ameliorate, not to instruct the soul—to point the way to soberness of living, not to knowledge. The same Word is doubtless occasionally a teacher, but not in the present instance; for when He is a teacher, he is employed in the explication of doctrines; but the Pædagogues, being practical, having first directed us to the formation of moral principles, then exhorts us to the performance of that which is right, delivering pure precepts, and holding up the images of former errors to those who come after. Both modes are most useful: the preceptive to produce obedience; while that which places images before us operates in a twofold manner—it induces us to imitate the good, and to avoid the evil. The cure of the passions is effected by the persuasive power of these images, the Pædagogues strengthening the soul, and preparing the sick by benevolent precepts, as it were by gentle medicines, for the perfect knowledge of the truth. Health comes through the application of remedies; knowledge through instruction. Man

Pædagogues is thus stated by Clement: φάσας δι' ὁ Παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῖν, ἐν τρισὶ διακρούμενος βιβλοῖς, πὴν ἐκ παίδων ἀγωγὴν τε καὶ τροφὴν παρίστανει, τουτίστιν, ἐκ κατηχησῆως συναύξουσαν τῇ πίστιι πολιτείαν καὶ προπαρασκευάζουσαν τοῖς εἰς ἀνδρας ἰγγραφομένοις ἐνάριτον τὴν ψυχὴν, εἰς ἰπιστήμης γνωστικῆς παραδοχὴν. S. L. 6. DCCXXXVI. 7. See also DCCLXXVI. 19.

¹ See C. 3. CH. 31. L. 2. c. 9. CCXV. 25. ἀλλ' ἐξέβην γὰρ τοῦ παιδαγωγικοῦ τόπου, τὸ διδασκαλικὸν εἶδος παρισάγων. It is evident from this passage that by the διδασκαλικὸν εἶδος, Clement meant instruction in the mystical interpretation of Scripture, the knowledge of which was essential to the true Gnostic. See also L. 1. c. 3. CH. 30. L. 3. c. 11. CCCIV. 5. ὅσα μὲν οὖν εἶποι κ. τ. ἰ. CCCIX. 30. S. L. 1. CCCXLII. 38. ἀλλ' ὁ νοῦς γι τοῦ προφητικοῦ καὶ τοῦ διδασκαλικοῦ πνύματος κ. τ. ἰ.

must be restored to perfect health before he can enter upon the course of doctrinal instruction.—The diseased soul first needs the Pædagogue to heal its passions; then the teacher, to purify it and render it meet for knowledge. Such is the economy of the benevolent Word: He is first hortatory, then acts the part of the Pædagogue, lastly of a teacher.”

Having said that the Word is the Pædagogue, ¹ Clement goes on to describe Him as “like unto God His Father—sinless, blameless, not subject to passion—pure God in the form of man—the minister of His Father’s will—God the Word—in the Father, on the right hand of the Father—God in the form of God. He is our spotless² exemplar; and our strenuous endeavour must be to bring our soul to a resemblance to His. But He is altogether exempt from human passions; the only Judge, because He alone is sinless; *our* utmost aspiration must be to sin as little as possible.—The best state is that of him who sins not at all; this is the Divine state. The second, of him who commits no deliberate sin; this is peculiar to the wise man. The third, of him who commits few involuntary sins; this is peculiar to those who are well brought up under the Pædagogue. The last state is that of him who does not continue long in sin. The safety of those who are called to repentance consists in renewing the fight against sin.—The Word took upon Him the office of Pædagogue in order that He might prevent sin.—He is the physician Who heals the infirmities of man.—The good Pædagogue, the Wisdom, the Word of the Father, Who created man, watches over the whole of His workmanship. The Saviour, the all-sufficient physician of man, heals both the body and soul.—The soul He heals by precepts and gifts of grace (*χαρίσμασιν*); but His gifts precede His precepts. He begins with giving remission to us sinners: ‘Thy sins,’ he says, ‘are forgiven.’—His disposing care was first employed on the external world, the heavens, for man’s sake; then on man, His greatest work.”

“The Lord,” Clement³ proceeds, “as God, remits the sins of man: as man, disciplines him so that he may not sin. Man is dear to God, inasmuch as he is God’s workmanship: other beings He created by a command; but man He fashioned with

¹ C. 2.

² *ἰσχύων*, with reference to Gen. i. 26.

³ C. 3.

His own hands, and breathed into him something peculiar to Himself. That, therefore, which was made by God, and after His own image, was created by Him, either being selected on its own account, or on account of something else. If on its own account, He Who is good loves that which is good; and that which is called the Inspiration or breath (*τὸ ἐμφύσημα*) of God is the inward charm (*τὸ φίλτρον*) which renders man dear to God. If selected on account of something else, God could have no other motive for creating him than this—that, unless he existed, God could not be a good Creator, or man arrive at the knowledge of God. For, unless man had been made, God would not have made that on account of which man was made; and that force, which He possessed hidden in His will, He perfected through the external power of creation, receiving from man that which made man (that on account of which man was made), and He saw him whom He had (made), and that which He willed took effect. Nothing is impossible with God. Man, therefore, whom God made, was selected on his own account; but that which is selected on its own account belongs, as it were, to Him by Whom it is so selected, and is therefore dear to Him. How, indeed, could man be otherwise than dear to God? man, on whose account the Only-Begotten descended from the bosom of the Father, the Word of faith, the superabundance of faith?"

Clement's reasoning is somewhat obscure; but his meaning seems to be, that the object of man's creation must either be to display the goodness of God, or to enable man to arrive at the knowledge of God; in either case, man was not created on account of anything exterior to him, but on his own account. The conclusion is, that we must in turn love Him, Who through His love of us has become our guide into the best course of life; and must live according to the precepts which express His will; not merely doing what is commanded, or avoiding what is forbidden, but also turning aside from some of the images (¹ *εἰκόνων*), or examples set before us, and imitating others, and thus performing the works of the Pædagogus after His likeness; so that we may realize the words, "in His image, after His likeness."

¹ Compare c. I. xcviii. 20. S. L. 3. dlxxii. 19. P. L. 3. c. 8. cclxxx. 1.

¹ Clement next shows that the Pædagogus's instructions are alike applicable to men and women. The feelings and habits of Gentile antiquity might render it necessary for him seriously to discuss points on which we should deem it impossible even to raise a question.

Having shown who the Pædagogus is, ² Clement proceeds to inquire who are the *παῖδες*, the children. "We," he answers, "who are Christians." He proves this assertion by referring to the passages in Scripture in which Christians are called *children, infants, sons, a new people, colts, lambs*. "Let it not," ³ he says, "be supposed that we are called children because childhood is the age when the reason is not matured; nor let us ignorantly misinterpret the words of Christ, 'Unless ye become as these children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of God.' We do not, like infants, roll upon the ground; or creep upon the earth as heretofore, like serpents, twisting (*ἔλυσπόμενοι*, f. *εἰλυσπόμενοι*, a word expressing the motion of a snake) our whole body around senseless desires; but stretching upwards in thought, renouncing the world and sin, touching the earth lightly with our toe, so as just to appear to be in the world, we follow after holy wisdom, which seems folly to those who are sharpened in craftiness. We are truly children who know God alone as our Father, simple, infantine, pure, lovers of the horn of the unicorn (worshippers of one God). ⁴ As the word child implies a learner, the word man implies an instructor; and in Scripture it is used to signify that which is perfect. The Lord is called a man on account of His being perfect in righteousness; and we shall be perfected when we become the church, having received Christ the head. Clement ⁵ puts interpretations sufficiently fanciful on many of the passages of Scripture which he quotes in order to establish his point."

⁶ He next combats an opinion, advanced by some of the

¹ C. 4. Compare S. L. 4. D XC. 15. DCXVII. 8.

² C. 5. ³ cvii. 20.

⁴ cviii. 10.

⁵ cviii. 36. He discusses the etymology of the word *νήπιος*, qu. *νήπιος*, not *νη* (privative), and *ήπιος*. In cxi. we find more than one strange application of events in the history of Isaac to Christ.

⁶ C. 6.

Gnostic sects, that the word *children* was applied to ordinary Christians, who know, as it were, only the rudiments of Christianity, in contradistinction from themselves, the enlightened few, who had attained to perfect knowledge. "On the contrary, immediately upon our regeneration we attained the perfection, for the sake of which we were pressing forwards; for we were enlightened, that is, enabled to know God. He who knows that which is perfect is not himself imperfect." In confirmation of this statement, Clement appeals to the circumstances which took place at the baptism of our Lord, Who was perfected by lavation only (He was baptized in order to fulfil *all* righteousness), and sanctified by the descent of the Holy Spirit. The ¹same is the case with us, to whom Christ was an example; being baptized, we are enlightened; being enlightened, we receive the adoption of sons; having received the adoption, we are perfected; being perfected, we are rendered immortal. It seems, however, that the perfection in baptism of which Clement speaks, is not so much an actual as a prospective perfection—the commencement of a perfection to be hereafter accomplished. For he adds that, "as all things take place as soon as God commands, so the completion of grace follows upon His mere will to confer it. He anticipates the future by the power of His will. Moreover, the deliverance from evils is the beginning of salvation. Christians then alone, when they first touch the boundaries of life, are already perfect; separated from death, they already live. To follow Christ is salvation. ²For that which was made in Him is life. He Himself says, 'He who hears My words, and believes in Him Who sent Me, has eternal life, and comes not into judgment, for he has passed from death to life.' Thus only to believe and to be born again is perfection in life; for God

¹ Baptism, Clement says, is called grace (*χάρισμα*), and illumination, and perfection, and lavation. Lavation, because by it we are cleansed from our sins. Grace, because by it the penalty due to our sins is remitted. Illumination, because by it we behold that holy, saving light,—that is, we discern the Divine nature. Perfection, because that which is perfect needs nothing; and what can he need who knows God? It is absurd to call that which is imperfect the grace of God. cxiii. 27.

² An allusion to John i. 3, 4. But Clement entirely alters the meaning of the passage by a different punctuation. See Potter's Note, cxiv. 4. Compare P. L. 2. c. 9. ccviii. 17.

never fails in power. ¹ As His will is an effect (*ἔργον*) and is called the universe (*κόσμος*), ² so also His design is the salvation of man, and this is called the church. He knows them whom He has called, whom He has saved. He saved them when He called them." Clement ³ compares the state of a baptized person to that of one who has been couched for a cataract. The operator does not supply light from without, but removes the impediment to the transmission of light to the pupil. So in the case of the baptized person, the sins which obscured the Holy Spirit being removed, the spiritual eye, by which alone we behold the Deity, becomes free and unobstructed and clear, the Holy Spirit flowing into it from heaven.—"Perhaps," Clement proceeds, "it may be said that he has not yet received the perfect gift. I admit it; but he is in the light, and ⁴ the darkness does not comprehend him. There is no intermediate state between light and darkness. The end is reserved to the resurrection of believers, of which no man can partake unless he partakes of the promise previously professed (of which he professed his belief in baptism). We mean not to say that the arrival at the end and the anticipation of the arrival are simultaneous; for eternity (*αἰών*) and time are not the same; or the starting for the goal and the arrival at it; but both relate to one object, and ⁵ one person is concerned in both. Faith, then, which is generated in time, may be termed the starting; and the attainment of the promise, which is established through eternity, the goal. Clement's conclusion is, that believers possess that which will be after the resurrection, as if it already was, anticipating it by faith. ⁶ Knowledge, then, is in illumination (baptism), and the end of knowledge is rest, which is the ultimate object of desire.—The bonds of sin are loosed by faith on the part of man, by grace on the part of God, there being one healing remedy—rational baptism, or baptism by the Word (*λογικῶ*). We are by it cleansed from all our sins, and immediately cease to be wicked. This is one grace of illumination, that

¹ Compare c. lv. i. quoted in p. 10.

² οὕτως καὶ τὸ βούλημα αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπων ἰστί σωτηρία, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκκλησία κίκληται· οἷον οὖν οὐς κίκληκιν, οὐς σίσωκιν. κίκληκιν δὲ ἅμα καὶ σίσωκιν. Perhaps we should read, οἷον οὖν οὐς κίκληκιν. οὐς δὲ κίκληκιν, ἅμα καὶ σίσωκιν. cxiv. II.

³ cxiv. 23.

⁴ John i. 5.

⁵ ἡ εἶς, perhaps the one Lord or Saviour, cxv. II.

⁶ cxvi. I.

our conversation is not the same after baptism as before." Clement¹ goes on to show, in opposition to the exclusive system of the Gnostics, that the offer of redemption is made to all. He quotes Gal. iii. 23 and 1 Cor. xii. 13, and infers from these passages that the distinction of believers into *γνωστικοὶ* and *ψυχικοὶ* was without foundation; but that all, having put off fleshly lusts, are equal and spiritual before the Lord.

The Gnostics,² against whom Clement is arguing, appear to have called the recollection of better things, the filtering, straining out³ (*δινλισμὸν*) of the Spirit; meaning that the separation of the worse parts was effected by the recollection of the better; but as he who is reminded of what is better necessarily repents of what is worse, according to this representation the Spirit repents. They seem to have insisted on 1 Cor. xiii. 11, where St. Paul says, "When I was a child, I thought as a child, I spake as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things." But here, Clement observes, "the apostle speaks of his conversation under the law, when like one not arrived at the age of reason, minding childish things, he persecuted; and speaking childish things, he blasphemed the Word. When he who himself⁴ professed to preach childishness, sends it as it were into banishment; he alludes not to any imperfection in age or stature, or to any definite measure of time, or to any *secret* instruction in manly and more perfect learning. He calls them who were under the law, children; who were disturbed by fears, as children are frightened by masks; and he calls those who obey the Word and are free agents, men; who have believed, being saved by free choice, under the influence of a rational, not irrational fear—childhood in Christ is perfection with reference to the law."

Clement runs into a long digression respecting the meaning of 1 Cor. iii. 2, which was urged by the Gnostics in support of their opinion. Milk,⁵ according to them, meant the first

¹ cxvi. 23.

² cxvii. 4.

³ Matt. xxiii. 24. See the *Eclogæ ex Prophetarum Scripturis*. vii. τὰ καὶ πνίματα ἀκάθαρτα, συμπεσιληγμένα τῇ Ψυχῇ, διυλιζισθαι ἀπὸ τῆς γνίσεως τῆς καινῆς τε καὶ πνιματικῆς.

⁴ 1 Cor. xiv. 20.

⁵ cxxi. 13.

rudiments of Christianity; meat meant spiritual knowledge. In the course of this digression, Clement takes an opportunity of displaying his physical science by describing the mode in which milk is formed in the breast of the mother for the nourishment of the infant. He gives various explanations of the words of St. Paul, most of them fanciful and far-fetched. His¹ conclusion is, that we are in all respects united to Christ; ransomed by His blood, nourished by the Word, and guided to immortality by His discipline. Blood is symbolical of the passion, milk of the teaching of the Lord. After comparing milk and the different modes in which it is used, with the instruction conveyed in the Gospel, Clement² reproves the Gnostics for daring to call themselves perfect, in defiance of the express³ declaration of St. Paul that he was not himself perfect. If he ever calls Christians perfect, it is with reference to their renunciation of their former sins, and their regeneration into the faith of Him Who alone is perfect. He calls them so, not as perfect in knowledge, but as aspiring to perfection.

Clement had before stated that the Word was the Pædagog. He⁴ now goes on to explain more fully the manner in which the Word performs the office, mentioning incidentally that the names of Saviour and Shepherd are given to the Word. The way in which the scholar is led (*παιδαγωγία*) is piety, which is the science of the worship of God, instruction in the knowledge of the Truth, the right discipline which leads directly to Heaven. The word *παιδαγωγία* is variously used: with reference to him who is led and taught; to him who leads and teaches; to the discipline itself; to the things taught, for instance to the commandments. But when used with reference to Divine things, it is the direction of truth by rule (*κατευθυνσμός ἀληθείας*) to the contemplation of God, and the delineation of holy actions in perpetual perseverance.

⁵ Clement goes on to say that Christ acted the part of the Pædagog in bringing the Israelites out of Egypt, and guiding them through the wilderness. He it was Who appeared to

¹ cxxvii. 20.

² cxxix. 1.

³ Phil. iii. 12.

⁴ C. 7.

⁵ Clement calls the ears of the child the rudder by which the Pædagog directs his course. cxxx. 18.

Abraham, Who wrestled with Jacob, Who instructed Moses how to lead the people out of Egypt. Them He led by the hand of Moses; His new people, the Christians, He leads face to face. ¹ His covenant with His former people was communicated through a Mediator, and appealed to their fears; His covenant with us was communicated by the Word Himself, and appeals to our love. Clement adds that the law was temporary,² because given by Christ through Moses, His servant: the Gospel eternal, because not given, but *being* through Christ Himself.

Clement³ proceeds to combat the error of those heretics, who inferred from the passages of the Old Testament, which represent God as threatening and chastising, that he could not be the same God of mercy and goodness Who gave the Gospel. "There is nothing," he⁴ says, "which the Lord hates; for He does not hate anything, and yet wish what He hates to exist; nor does He wish anything not to exist, and yet cause the existence of that which He wishes not to exist; nor does that exist which He wishes not to exist. If the Word hates anything, He wishes it not to exist; but nothing exists of which God does not cause the existence; nothing, therefore, is hated by God, or by the Word, for both are one, viz. God. For He has said, 'In the beginning the Word was in God, and the Word was God.' If, then, He hates nothing which He has made, He loves it; especially man, the most beautiful of the works of creation, an animal capable of loving God. God loves man; the Word loves man; and he who loves anything, wishes to benefit it. But that which benefits is better than that which does not benefit. But nothing is better than the Good (τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ). The Good, therefore, benefits: God is confessed to be good; God therefore benefits. But the Good, inasmuch as it is good, does nothing but benefit: God therefore benefits universally. But He does not benefit without caring for man; nor does He care for, without watching over man. That which benefits by choice or de-

¹ cxxxiii. 17.

² Ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ νόμου, ἰδόθη φησὶ μόνον ἡ δὲ ἀλήθεια, χάρις οὕσα τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἔργον ἰστί τοῦ Λόγου αἰώνιον· καὶ οὐκ ἴσθι δίδωσθαι λέγεται, ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ γίνεσθαι, οὗ χάρις ἰγένετο οὐδὲ ἔν. cxxxiv. 5.

³ C. 8.

⁴ Compare S. L. 7. DCCCLXXIII. 27.

liberation (κατὰ γνώμην) is better than that which benefits, but not by choice; but nothing is better than God. To benefit man by choice is nothing else than to watch over him: God, therefore, cares for and watches over man: this He shows by acts; for He guides man as a child (παιδαγωγῶν) by the Word, Who is the genuine coadjutor (συναγωνιστῆς γνήσιος) of the love of God towards man. The Good is not said to be good, because it has virtue: in like manner as Justice (ἡ δικαιοσύνη) is said to be good, not because it has virtue (for it is virtue), but because it is good in itself and by itself. That which is expedient (τὸ συμφέρον) is said to be good also on another account; not because it pleases, but because it benefits. On all these accounts Justice is good, both as it is virtue and as it is eligible of itself: not because it pleases; for it aims not at gratifying by its judgments, but distributes to each according to his deservings. That which benefits follows that which is expedient. Whatever description you give of the Good, the same will apply to Justice; both equally partaking of the same qualities, and being consequently equal and like to each other. Justice therefore is good. You will perhaps ask, If God loves man and is good, why is He angry? why does He punish?" Clement, in answer to this objection, compares the discipline to which the Christian is subjected, to the severe and unpleasant remedies to which the surgeon and physician have recourse. ¹ "Reproof is like a medicine which softens the callosities of the affections, and purges the impurities of an intemperate life, and levels the tumours of pride, and reduces man to a sound and healthy state. Admonition is, as it were, the diet of the diseased soul, counselling what it should take and what it should avoid. All these things tend to safety and perpetual health.—² To censure is a mark of good-will, not of hatred. The enemy and the friend alike reprove: but the former in derision, the latter in good-will. The Lord does not upbraid men through hatred; He has even suffered for us, whom He might destroy ³ for our sins. When God threatens or chastises, He does it for the good of man: no argument, therefore, can thence be drawn against the Divine goodness. ⁴ Plato was of opinion that they who are justly punished for their transgressions, are benefited

¹ CXXXVII. I.

³ παρὰ τὰς ἰδίας αἰτίας. CXXXVII. 30.

² CXXXVII. 25.

⁴ In Gorgia.

by the punishment, because their souls are amended ; consequently in his estimation Goodness and Justice were compatible. The threatenings of God are striking proofs of His goodness : He threatens in order to deter men from sin. If we wilfully persist in sinning, the fault is our own : we choose punishment. ¹ In punishing us, God is not moved by anger, but considers what is just ; and it is not expedient that what is just should be left undone on our account. ² God wishes not to look upon that which is evil, for He is good ; while He purposely averts His eye, wickedness springs up through man's unbelief. In Him who is good, inasmuch as He is essentially (*φύσει*) good, there must exist hatred of evil. Wherefore I admit that God punishes unbelievers (for punishment is for the good and benefit of him who is punished ; it is the bringing back to rectitude of that which has swerved from it), but I do not admit that God wishes to avenge Himself ; for vengeance is the retribution of evil for the benefit of the avenger ; and He Who teaches us to pray for those who insult us cannot desire to avenge Himself." Clement further shows that in Scripture the epithets of good and just are alike applied to God. ³ But he seems to say that the appellation of good belongs more particularly to God as the Father ; that of just to God as the Word or Son, because He is to judge the world. ⁴ Christ addresses the Father as the Creator of the world, and calls Him God ; but the Gnostics themselves allowed that the Creator of the world was just. Clement's ⁵ conclusion is, that the course pursued by God in His discipline of men is various ; but always designed for their salvation. The Pædagogus bears testimony to the good ; He invites to better things those who have been called (*τοὺς κλητούς*), and arrests in their career those who are hastening to sin, and exhorts them to turn to a better life.

⁶ In continuation of the same subject, Clement says that the Pædagogus adopts at different times different measures in order to save His children. ⁷ He admonishes, He reproveth, He rebukes, He convinces, He threatens, He heals, He promises, He gratuitously gives. But whatever measures the Pædagogus

¹ cxxxix. 11.² cxxxix. 36.³ cxi. 37.⁴ cxli. 15.⁴ cxlii. 18.⁶ C. 9.⁷ Of these terms Clement gives definitions, which he confirms by quotations from Scripture.

adopts, they are all directed to one object, the salvation of mankind. Sometimes He uses gentle, sometimes rougher remedies. "They who are sick," Clement¹ proceeds, "need a Saviour; they who have wandered, a guide; they who are blind, one who shall lead them to the light; they who thirst, the living fountain, of which he who partakes shall thirst no more; the dead need life; the sheep a shepherd; children a Pædagog; all mankind need Jesus." "All these offices the Pædagog performs for man. If, therefore, He addresses them through their fears, it is not because He is not good as well as just; but² because mere goodness is too often despised, and it is consequently necessary to hold out the terrors of Justice. There are two kinds of fear; one accompanied by reverence, such as children feel towards their parent; the other by hatred, such as slaves feel towards harsh masters. The Justice of God is shown in His reproofs; His goodness in his compassion. There is no incompatibility between justice and goodness. The physician who announces to the patient that he has a fever, has no ill-will to him: nor is God, Who convinces man of sin, unfriendly to him. God of Himself is good: but He is just on our account: and just because good. He has displayed His justice to us through His Word, from the time that He became Father. For before the creation was, He was God, He was good; and on this account He chose to be Creator and Father; and in this relation of love originated justice; He caused the sun to shine (in the natural creation), He sent down His Son (in the spiritual creation). The Son first announced from heaven that justice is good, when He said, 'No one has known the Son but the Father; or the Father but the Son.' This reciprocal and equally poised knowledge is the symbol of primitive justice. Justice then descended to men: in the Letter and in the Body, in the Word and in the Law, constraining mankind to a saving repentance; for it is good. If then thou art disobedient to God, blame thyself who bringest the judge upon thee."

Having shown that the passages of Scripture, in which God holds out threatenings, are not inconsistent with His goodness, because they are manifestly designed to lead men

¹ cxlvii. 31.

² cxlix. 21.

to repentance, Clement¹ proceeds to quote other passages in which God aims at effecting the same object by the language of exhortation, and counsel, and encouragement, and benediction. Praise and reproof are to be used as the instruments of reforming men, according to their different dispositions and circumstances. God uses both, and is equally good, when He praises and when He reproves.

Clement² repeats his statement that the Word had acted the part of the Pædagogues through Moses and the prophets: so that it was evident that Jesus, the one true, good, just Son, "in the image and after the likeness of the Father," the Word of God, had been uniformly the instructor of mankind. ³ "In His character goodness is mingled with severity; He commands, yet His commands are such as may be obeyed. He formed man out of the dust; regenerates him by water; causes him to grow by the Spirit; instructs him by the word, directing him by holy precepts to adoption and salvation, in order that transforming by his access (*ἐκ προσβάσεως*) the earth-born into a holy and heavenly man, he may fulfil the Divine words—'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.' This Christ was in perfection; the rest of mankind are only *in the image*. Let us, O children of the good Father, pupils of the good Pædagogue, perform the will of the Father, listen to the Word, and express the truly saving life of our Saviour; practising even here that heavenly conversation, by which being made as it were Divine, we may be anointed with the pure, ever flourishing, sweet-smelling ointment of gladness, having the conversation of the Lord as a clear pattern of incorruption, and following the footsteps of God: to whom alone it appertains to consider, and who therefore cares, how and in what manner the life of man may be rendered more healthy.—On this account the Word is called Saviour; he devises remedies to bring man to a healthy sense and to salvation; watching favourable opportunities, detecting lurking mischief, laying open the causes of the affections, cutting up the roots of irrational desires, admonishing man from what he ought to abstain; furnishing every kind of antidote, in order to save them who are diseased. For to save man is the greatest and most royal work of God.—The business of man, a

¹ C. 10.² C. 11. See p. 33.³ C. 12.

rational animal, is to contemplate the Divine nature; to contemplate also the nature of man, and to live as truth prescribes; exceedingly to love the Pædagogues and His commands, on account of their suitableness to each other and their harmony; and modelling himself by the image of the Pædagogues, so to live, that his actions may be in unison with his words."

Clement¹ goes on to say, that whatever is contrary to right reason is sin; "lust, fear, pleasure, are sinful, as contrary to right reason. On the other hand, obedience to the Word or reason, which we call faith, is productive of that which is called duty² (*καθήκον*). For virtue itself is a consistent disposition of the soul regulated by reason in every part of life.—Obedience is based on commands; which being the same as precepts (*ὑποθήκαι*), having truth for their aim, lead on to the ultimate object of desire, which is called the end. The end of piety is eternal rest in God; and our end is the beginning of eternity.—The Christian life in which we are now trained, is a certain system of rational actions, that is, a faultless performance of that which is taught by the Word. This we have called faith. The system is the commandments of the Lord, which being Divine opinions, spiritual suggestions, have been written for us, as suitable to us and to our neighbour (to the regulation of social life).—In the description of duties, some relate to life itself, some to a good life." As the former had been sufficiently discussed by the Gentile writers, Clement proposes to consider those which relate to a good life, and consequently to eternal life. Throughout this chapter Clement studiously uses the terms employed by the Stoics, and applies them to the Christian doctrine.

Having shown in the first book Who the Pædagogues is, who are they whom He instructs, and what the course pursued

¹ C. 13.

² *Perfectum officium rectum, opinor, vocemus, quod Græci καθήκονα hoc autem commune καθήκον vocant.* Cicero de Officiis, l. i. c. 3.

by Him in their instruction, Clement, in the second book, descends to particulars. He¹ begins with the duties which man owes to himself, premising that our first business is to clear the eye of the soul; "we are, however, at the same time, to purify the flesh, in order that being freed from those parts of our nature, in respect of which we are dust, we may proceed directly to the apprehension of God. With respect, therefore, to food, we must eat in order to live, not live in order to eat; for food is not our business, or pleasure our object; but food is necessary during the time of our sojourning here, while the Word is disciplining us for incorruption. Like truth, therefore, our food should be simple, not exquisite (*ἀπερίεργος*); suited to the simplicity of children; fitted to preserve life, not to pamper luxury. Our present life consists of two things, health and strength; these are best promoted by a simple diet, which is easy of digestion, and contributes to lightness of body."

Clement² proceeds to inveigh against the art of cookery, as the principal cause of disease; and gives a catalogue of the delicacies most prized by the³ gourmands of his day. He complains of the abuse of the word⁴ *agape*, by those who applied it to luxurious and riotous entertainments. Referring to the original meaning of the word, he⁵ says that the entertainment ought to have its rise in charity, not in luxury. After⁶ delivering some precepts respecting food offered to idols, he⁷ proceeds: "It should be our aim to raise our eyes to the truth, firmly to lay hold of the Divine food from above, and to be filled with the inexhaustible contemplation of Him Who really exists, tasting the unchangeable, enduring, pure pleasure. For the food of Christ signifies that we ought to look for this *agape*. But it is in a high degree absurd and unprofitable, and scarcely human, to be fattened like cattle in order to die; to have our eyes turned downwards to the earth, always bending over tables which are furnished from the earth."

¹ C. 1.² Of a gourmand he says, *καὶ μοι δοκίη ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνθρώπος οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ γνάθος εἶναι.* CLXV. 5.⁴ clxv. 16.⁶ clxviii. 22.² clxiii. 16.⁵ clxvi. 15.⁷ clxix. 19.

Clement's¹ conclusion is, that we must be moderate, and even sparing in our diet; purchasing, however, and eating every kind of food without scruple. He says that Christians, when invited to the entertainments of the heathen, were not required to abstain from a variety of food; but they were not to be anxious about it, or guilty of excess. He² graphically describes the eagerness with which many persons scrutinized the various dishes at an entertainment, and the ridiculous gestures by which that eagerness was expressed. He³ cautions his readers against all ungentlemanlike behaviour at meals; against soiling their hands, or couches, or beards; against eating too quickly; against speaking or drinking with a full mouth. He appears to have considered fish as a pure and simple food; because our Lord fed the multitude with fish, and Peter at His command caught a fish, to pay the tribute money. "All⁴ things were made for man; but it is not right to use all things, or to use them at all times. Opportunity, and time, and manner, and purpose, are of great importance with reference to the benefit of him who is instructed by the Pædagogus.—⁵We must avoid those kinds of food which pamper the appetite, or stimulate us to eat when we are not hungry. A moderate frugality supplies a wholesome variety of dishes; roots, olives, vegetables, milk, cheese, fruits in their season, and whatever is cooked without gravy or sauce: if we must have meat, we⁶ should eat roast rather than boiled. Christians may also eat sweetmeats and honey cakes."

In this chapter are many references to the First Epistle to the Corinthians, to which Clement's attention was necessarily directed by the subjects of which he was treating. We have only to compare Clement with St. Paul, in order to be convinced of the superiority of that mode of moral instruction, which lays down general principles, and leaves them to be applied by the discretion and conscience of each individual,

¹ clxix. 33.

² clxxi. 8.

³ clxxii. 10.

⁴ clxxiii. 11.

⁶ clxxiii. 31. See S. L. 2. ccccxcii. 24, where Clement quotes the authority of Socrates for this precept.

⁶ Clement grounds this injunction on Luke xxiv. 41. clxxiv. 5. I adopt Casaubon's emendation. Compare S. L. 7. dcccclix. 9.

according to his particular circumstances, to that which professes to regulate every single action, and by its minuteness becomes at once burthensome and ridiculous. Having shown how a Christian ought to conduct himself with reference to eating, ¹ Clement proceeds to drinking. "Water is the natural drink of man: this the Lord gave to the Israelites, while they were wandering in the wilderness: though when they came into their rest, the sacred vine brought forth the prophetic grape.—² Boys and girls ought to be confined strictly to water; wine heats the blood and inflames the passions."—³ Clement allows only bread, without any liquid, for breakfast or luncheon (*τὸ ἀριστον*) to those who are in the flower of their age. At supper he allows wine in small quantities. "They who are advanced in life may drink more freely, in order to warm their chilled blood; they must not, however, drink so much as will cloud their reason, or affect their memory, or cause them to walk unsteadily." These permissions and restrictions Clement grounds on medical reasons. He ⁴ quotes an author, named Artorius, who wrote on longevity, and said that men ought only to drink enough to moisten their food. "Wine may be used on two accounts, for health and relaxation. Wine drunk in moderation softens the temper.—As ⁵ life consists of that which is necessary and that which is useful, wine, which is useful, should be mixed with water, which is necessary." After describing the effects of drunkenness, ⁶ Clement proceeds to refute the opinion of those who contended that no serious subjects should be discussed over wine. He argues, that perfect wisdom, being the knowledge of things human and divine, comprehending everything in its superintendence of the human race, becomes as it were the art of life; and is always present through the whole of life, producing its proper effect, a good life. If, then, wisdom is driven away from our entertainments, drunkenness follows with all its train of evils, of which Clement draws a picture, at once, to use his own expressions, ridiculous and exciting pity. ⁷ He compares the body of him who drinks to excess to a ship, absorbed into the abyss of intemperance;

¹ C. 2.² clxxviii. 11.³ clxxix. 1.⁴ clxxx. 2.⁵ Clement talks of the watery sense of the law into which Christ infused blood, producing at the appointed time the drink of the vine of truth, the mixture of the old law and the new Word. clxxxiv. 4.⁶ clxxx. 15.⁷ clxxxiii. 26.

while the helmsman, the understanding, is tossed about in the billows, and dizzy amidst the darkness of the storm, misses the harbour of truth, steers towards that of pleasure, and striking on sunken rocks, makes miserable shipwreck. ¹ "Wine may be used in winter to keep out the cold; at other seasons to comfort the bowels. As we ought to drink only because we are thirsty, we ought not to be curious about ² wines. In ³ drinking, as in eating, we must be careful not to show any indecent eagerness; we must not drink with so much haste as to hiccup or spill the wine over our beard or dress." ⁴ Clement observes that the most warlike nations were those most given to drinking. Christians, therefore, a peaceful race, should drink in moderation, as Christ drank when He was made man for us. In conclusion, ⁵ Clement cautions females to be guarded in their manner of drinking, and not to fall into any indecency. In this chapter Clement has borrowed much from Plato.

From drinking Clement ⁶ proceeds to drinking-cups, furniture, etc. He ⁷ condemns all splendour and expense in these articles, "since Christians ought always to bear in mind the Apostle's declaration, that 'the time is short.' 'Sell that thou hast,' was our Saviour's injunction, 'and give to the poor; and come, follow me;' follow God, stripped of haughtiness, stripped of transitory pomp; possessing only that which is thine, that which is good, that which alone cannot be taken away, faith in God, confession of Him Who suffered, beneficence towards man—the most precious of possessions. The costliest articles are not more useful than the meanest. ⁸ In his food, his dress, his furniture, a Christian ought to preserve a decent consistency, according to his person, age, pursuits, and the particular occasion. ⁹ Wealth ill-directed is the citadel (*ἀκρόπολις*) of wickedness. They who are earnest about salvation must understand that all possession is for use;

¹ clxxxiv. 12.

² Clement enumerates the wines most in request, clxxxiv. 25, etc.

³ clxxxv. 18. ἡ δ' οὖν πρὸς ἱρυγὴν ἀναπλωτάζουσα τοῦ αἵρος ἐφίπτιξίς ἡσυχῆ παραπιμπτία. clxxxvii. 9.

⁴ clxxxvi. 1.

⁵ clxxxvi. 27.

⁶ C. 3.

⁷ So C. 2. clxxxvii. 4. καὶ οὐχὶ ἀλαβάστροις πίνιν κεκαλύκαμιν· ἀλλὰ τὸ ἱπιστηδίον ἐν τούτοις μόνον πίνιν ὡς ἀλαζονικὸν περικόπτομιν.

⁸ cxc. 22.

⁹ cxc. 2.

and that use is for sufficiency, which may be obtained from little. — The best wealth is a poverty of desires; and true greatness consists not in priding ourselves on wealth, but in despising it.—Wisdom cannot be purchased with earthly money, or in the market; it is sold only in heaven, sold for true money, the incorruptible Word, the royal coin.”

Clement ¹ proceeds to say, that all excess, and drunkenness, and revelling, must be banished from the entertainments of Christians; the pipe too, and the flute, as better suited to beasts than man—not that the Gospel condemns all social entertainments, or all ² music. “Christians may, like David, sing the praises of God to the lyre or harp. ³ As it is fitting that before our meals we should praise God, the Maker of all things; so in taking our wine, we who participate in that which He has made, should sing psalms to Him. A psalm is a sober thanksgiving, composed in measure; the Apostle terms it a spiritual song. In like manner, before we lie down to sleep, we who enjoy God’s grace and bounty should give Him thanks, and so go immediately to rest.”

Clement ⁴ next delivers rules respecting laughter. “All buffoons and imitators of that which is ridiculous must be banished from Christian society. Our words are the fruit of our inward dispositions and sentiments; if we either utter or delight in hearing that which is ridiculous, we show that we are ourselves light and frivolous.—We may be facetious; but must not lay ourselves out to excite laughter. We must control our laughter; for though, when our manner of laughing is suitable, it bespeaks propriety, in other cases it bespeaks want of due restraint. In general, we must not attempt to eradicate that which is natural to man; we must rather try to regulate and restrict it to proper occasions. Man is a laughing animal, but he must not always be laughing; as a horse, though a neighing animal, is not always neighing. Like rational animals, we must rightly temper our severer cares and anxieties by relaxing ourselves according to rule, not by disregarding all rule.”

¹ C. 4.

² Clement interprets in a fanciful manner the musical instruments mentioned in Psalm 150. cxciii. 5.

³ cxciv. 24. Compare S. L. 6. dclxxv. 9. 1. 7. dcccxi. 1. ⁴ C. 5.

Clement¹ then distinguishes between the laughter which he permits, and that which he condemns. "We ought not to laugh in the presence of those who are older than ourselves, or whom we ought to reverence; unless² they say something facetious in order to make us gay. We must not laugh with every one we meet, or in all places, or with all men, or at everything." Clement, however, objects to moroseness and severity of countenance.

He³ goes on to say, "that we must ourselves abstain from all licentiousness of language, and testify our disapprobation of it in others by looks, and gestures, and severe reproofs. The Divine Pædagogoe guards the ears of His scholars against that which is indecent, by covering them with chaste precepts, and their eyes by directing them to the contemplation of that which is good and fair."⁴ A great protection against this danger is the company and conversation of the virtuous.—We must not hear, or say, or behold that which is indecent: much less must we do it.—The Pædagogoe aims at plucking up the very roots of sin; He regulates the principles of action; when He says, 'do not lust,' He in fact says, 'do not commit adultery,' of which lust is the root. Licentiousness of language is a kind of preparation for licentiousness of action; but chastity of conversation tends to purity of conduct. Indecent language consists not in mentioning those parts of the body which it is unusual to mention, but in talking of their employment to vicious purposes."

⁵ Jesting and scurrility must be excluded from the festive meetings of Christians. "The object of their meetings is to evince their mutual charity; how can that object be promoted by scurrility which leads to quarrels and enmities?—On the whole, however, it is better that young men and women should absent themselves altogether from such entertainments, lest they should hear and see that which is improper, and which, their faith being yet unsettled, may inflame their thoughts; especially as the unsteadiness of their age causes them more

¹ cxcvi. 20.

² Clement gives some amusing instances of what he deems facetious sayings. c. 7. ccii. 29.

³ C. 6.

⁴ cxcviii. 29.

⁵ C. 7.

readily to yield to their desires. ¹ An unmarried woman ought not to be voluntarily present at any drinking parties of men." Clement gives many minute directions respecting the position in which men ought to sit or lie at table, the manner in which they ought to eat and drink, speak, sneeze, blow the nose, etc. The sum of his directions is, that the whole deportment of a Christian should be sedate, calm, peaceable: ² in conformity with the Christian parting wish, "Peace be unto you."

"There ³ is no necessity for using crowns or ointments, which are incentives to pleasure, especially as night approaches. It is true that the Lord was not displeased with the woman who anointed His feet; but the action had a mystical meaning; and the woman had not yet partaken of the Word: she was still a sinner. In like manner the crowns of gold, adorned with precious stones, which were worn by the kings of Judah, had a symbolical meaning. ⁴ Aristippus, of Cyrene, defended the use of ointment, by contending that, when applied to a horse or dog, it did not affect their qualities. Why then should it be injurious to a man?" Clement's answer is not very satisfactory. "The horse," he says, "or dog, has no reason whereby to distinguish the ointment; but man, whose senses are rational, and therefore can make distinctions, is more censurable for using effeminate perfumes." Clement enumerates and describes the several kinds of ointment most in use; and says, that ⁵ makers of ointments and dyers of wool were banished from well-regulated states. "Christians should smell, not of ointments, but of virtue: and Christian females should be anointed with the ambrosial unction of chastity, delighting in the holy ointment, the Spirit. This Christ prepares for His disciples, the unction of a sweet savour, compounding it of heavenly aromatics.—If we have prohibited luxury with reference to the taste, we must also prohibit it with reference to the sight and smell. It is useless to guard one avenue, and to leave others unclosed. ⁶ The luxurious man is assailed through all his senses; and dragged along by perfumes, like a bull by a cord fastened by a ring through his nose." Clement does not, however, condemn the use of

¹ cci. 18.² cciii. 22. cciv. 40.³ C. 8.⁴ ccvii. 1.⁵ ccviii. 1. Compare S. L. 1. cccxlv. 35.⁶ ccix. 17.

perfumes indiscriminately; "all do not affect the head, or act as provocatives to lust; some are of a healing nature, and relieve the head, and strengthen the stomach.—Silly women anoint their hair: of which the only ¹ effect is to render them grey at an earlier period than they would otherwise be. As dogs trace wild beasts by the scent, so we trace the luxurious by the fragrance of the perfumes which they use."

Clement prohibits the use of garlands, partly for medical reasons; partly because ² flowers, which are intended to gratify the senses of smell and sight, when placed upon the head, gratify neither; they are not applied to their natural use. After discussing the qualities of different flowers, he ³ says, that "the ancient Greeks wore no garlands; neither the suitors of Penelope, nor the luxurious Phæacians wore them; they were introduced after the Persian war, and first worn by the victors at the games. Another reason why Christians ought not to wear garlands is, that ⁴ the flowers of which they are composed are for the most part consecrated to the Heathen deities: as the rose to the muses; the lily to Juno; the myrtle to Diana. It was the custom also to crown the statues of the gods; ⁵ but the living image of God ought not to be crowned like a dead idol. A crown of amaranth is reserved for him who leads a holy life; a ⁶ flower which earth is not capable of bearing, and heaven alone produces. ⁷ When our Lord was crowned with thorns, shall we, insulting, as it were, His passion, put on garlands of flowers?" Clement discovers many mystical meanings in the crown of thorns worn by Christ; he ⁸ says, for instance, "that when God began to legislate by the Word, and wished to manifest His power to Moses, a Divine vision of light under a defined form was exhibited to Moses in a burning thorn; and when the Word had fulfilled His office of

¹ Clement attempts to account for this effect. ccx. 20.

² Compare Tertullian de Coronâ Militis. c. 5.

³ ccxii. 26.

⁴ Compare Tertullian de Coronâ. c. 7.

⁶ ccxiv. 1.

⁶ Milton, Paradise Lost. B. III. :

"Immortal Amaranth, a flower, which once
In Paradise fast by the tree of life
Began to bloom; but soon for man's offence
To heaven removed, where first it grew, there grows."

⁷ Compare Tertullian de Coronâ. c. 14.

⁸ ccxv. 11.

legislator and His sojourning among men, He was mystically crowned with thorns; thereby showing that, as He was first seen through a thorn, and at last taken up through a thorn, the whole was the work of one power; He Himself being one, His Father being also one, the beginning and the end of time."

Clement¹ concludes this part of his subject by saying that flowers and ointments and perfumes may be used for medical purposes, and for moderate recreation, but not for luxury. We may enjoy the scent of flowers, but not put them on our heads.

The ²next subject discussed by Clement is sleep. "After our meal, having given thanks to God for the good things of which we have been partakers, and for having been conducted in safety through the day, we may address ourselves to sleep. We must not be nice about the softness or costliness of our beds. For, not to mention that such nicety bespeaks a luxurious character, soft beds impede digestion.—But as, on the one hand, we must not affect magnificence in our beds, so, on the other, we must not affect coarseness; though in a case of necessity we must be content to sleep on the ground, as Jacob slept when he saw the heavenly vision. We should accommodate our bed-coverings to the season of the year." Clement objects to carved bedsteads, because the carving frequently harbours reptiles. ³"Sleep is to be considered as a rest or relaxation of the body; it should be light, so that we may easily awake; for we ought to rise frequently in the night, in order to give thanks to God.—That our sleep may be light, our food must be light. Deep sleep resembles death, suspending the ⁴activity both of the mind and of the senses, shutting out the light by closing the eyelids. Let not us, who are the children of the true light, exclude this light; but turning inwards to ourselves, enlightening the eyes of the hidden man, and contemplating the truth itself, and partaking of its influence, let us clearly and discreetly interpret such dreams as are

¹ Clement points out the medical virtues of different ointments. ccxv. 34.

² C. 9.

³ ccxvii. 39.

⁴ δι' ἄνοιαν εἰς ἀναισθησίαν ὑποφρομένην. ccxviii. 36.

true; not such as trouble the sleep of men oppressed with food and wine." Clement alludes to Lot's transgression, in proof of the mischief occasioned by indulgence in wine and sleep. "We who have the Word, the watchman, dwelling in us, must not sleep through the night, but must struggle against sleep, quietly and gradually acquiring such habits as will enable us to pass the larger portion of life awake; for sleep, like a tax-gatherer, divides our life with us. Far be it from those to sleep by day, who ought to pass the greater part of the night in watching. Above all, we should bear in mind that it is not the soul which requires sleep; the soul is always in motion; but the body, composed to rest, is in a state of relaxation, the soul no longer acting upon it, but meditating within itself. On this account true dreams are to him, who rightly considers, the reasonings of the sober soul, which is not then distracted by its sympathy with the body, and takes the best counsels for itself. Total rest is the destruction of the soul. Wherefore always contemplating God, and by its constant intercourse with Him communicating to the body its own watchfulness, the soul raises man to a level with the angels; anticipating eternal life by practising watchfulness."

Clement ¹ proceeds to treat of the intercourse of the sexes, which he permits only between man and wife; and between them only with a view to the procreation of children. We cannot, however, follow him through the details into which he enters. He admits that the continuation of the human species is agreeable to the will of God; but ² evidently gives the preference to a life of celibacy. He speaks of the mischievous effect of lust in sinking man below humanity; and ³ alluding to the Apostle's declaration, "this mortal must put on immortality," he says that "this will take place when insatiable desire, which hurries men into licentiousness, being disciplined by continence, and no longer in love with corruption, shall yield man up to eternal chastity." He ⁴ takes occasion

¹ C. 10. Compare S. L. 2. CCCCLXXV. 24. οὐ δὲ ἡδονῆς ἀπόλαυσιν. CCCCLXXXI. 17. CCCLXXXV. 29. CCCCXCJ. 20. L. 3. DXXXVI. 2. DXLIII. 25. DLIV. 41. DLXI. 21. L. 6. DCCXC. 12.

² CCXXVI. 18; CCXXVII. 16; CCXXXVI. 4. Compare S. L. 3. DXXXIV. 26. L. 4. DCXXI. 13. DCXXX. 28. L. 7. DCCCLXXIV. 25.

³ CCXXX. 19.

⁴ CCXXXI. 14.

to condemn all nicety and carefulness about dress and diet, entering in the course of his observations into all the details of a lady's toilette. "The¹ design of clothing is to protect man from cold and heat; hence the dress of males and females ought to be the same, since they stand in equal need of protection from the inclemency of the weather. If any² concession is to be made to female weakness, women may be allowed to use garments of a finer texture; but they must not wear dyed garments. ³White garments are best suited to Christians who are pure within." Clement proceeds to deliver various precepts respecting female dress, and ⁴particularly insists on the use of veils, which must not, however, be purple, since they would only serve to attract the gaze of man. His conclusion is, that "whatever is covered is better than that which covers it—the statue than the temple which contains it, the soul than the body, and the body than the garment. Now, on the contrary, if a female were to sell her body it would fetch only a thousand drachmæ, whereas she buys a single garment for ten thousand talents. Why," he asks, "do we seek after that which is rare and expensive in preference to that which is at hand, and of low price? Because we are ignorant of that which is truly fair and good; and instead of the reality pursue the semblance, like insane persons, who mistake white for black."

Clement⁵ next condemns all ostentation respecting the covering of the feet—for instance, the adorning of sandals and slippers with gold or precious stones; some even having engraved upon them lascivious figures. We should look only to the use of shoes—that they are intended to cover and protect the feet. Women, according to Clement, should go with their feet covered; men barefooted. He confines women to the use of

¹ ccxxxiii. 31.

² Compare L. 3. c. 11. cclxxxvii. 4. Clement enumerates the various dyes used in his day, ccxxxv. 16, and the fleeces most in request, ccxxxvii. 20.

³ ccxxxv. 1. According to Clement, Christ wore a garment reaching to his foot. *καὶ τὸν ποδῆρα τῆς παραφίση τοῦ Κυρίου.* ccxxxviii. 12. Probably he took the statement from the ancient tradition of the Church. Compare L. 3. c. 1. ccl. 6. *οὐδὲ ποδηφορῶν.*

⁴ ccxxxviii. 30.

⁵ C. 11. Compare Tertullian de cultu fœminarum. L. 1. c. 7.

white shoes, excepting on a journey. His ¹ censure is next directed against a fondness for gold and precious stones. He compares those who admire them to children who are attracted by the brightness of the fire, and run to touch it through ignorance of the danger which they incur. "How foolish to set so high a value upon a pearl, the produce of a shell-fish, when they have it in their power to be adorned with a sacred stone, the Word of God, called in Scripture a pearl, the transparent and pure Jesus, the eye which contemplates God, though in the flesh, the transparent Word, through Whom the flesh is rendered precious, being regenerated by water."

The ² ladies seem to have defended their use of precious stones by asking, "Why should we not use what God has given? Why should we not take pleasure in that which we have? For whom were precious stones intended, if not for us?" Clement replies, "that such questions imply a total ignorance of the will of God. Whatever is absolutely necessary, as water and air, lies open to all; what is not necessary, as gold and pearls, is concealed beneath the earth or water.—Man, though the whole heaven is expanded before him, seeks not God; but sets condemned criminals to dig for gold and precious stones, in direct opposition to Scripture, which cries aloud, 'Seek ye first the kingdom of heaven, and all these things shall be added unto you.' Even if all things are given and permitted unto us, the Apostle says that all things are not expedient. God has admitted the human race to communion with Him, having first made them partakers of that which is His, and given His Word in common to all, making all things for all mankind. All things, therefore, are common, and let not the rich claim more than their share. To say, 'I have and abound; why then should I not indulge myself?' is not suited to the social character of man. It bespeaks greater charity to say, 'I have: why should I not give to those who are in need?' Such a man is perfect, fulfilling the injunction, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' This is true luxury; this the wealth really treasured up. That which is expended in vain desires is not expended, but lost. God has given us the power of using, but so far only as is necessary; and He means the use to be common. It is unreasonable that

¹ C. 12.

² ccxlii. 10.

one should live in luxury, while many are in want. How much more glorious is it to benefit many than to dwell in splendour! How much more rational to spend money on our fellow-men, than on gold and precious stones! How much more advantageous to possess friends adorned with virtue (*κοσμίους*) than lifeless ornaments! and what profit is there in estates equal to that of conferring benefits?"

Clement¹ proceeds to answer another objection which was urged on the part of the lovers of ornament—"If all prefer that which is least costly, who is to possess that which is most costly?" "Man," he answers, "provided that he contracts not too great a fondness for precious stones, and sets not too high a value upon them. They who have renounced the world (*τὸν κόσμον*) must not be curious about ornaments (*τὰ κόσμια*). They must be adorned within; since beauty and deformity are seen only in the soul."

Clement² makes particular objections to many of the ornaments worn by females; for instance, "to chains of gold, by wearing which they show an anxiety to resemble criminals; to ornaments in the form of snakes or serpents, the form under which Satan deceived Eve.—If³ women are handsome, nature is sufficient, and art should not attempt to vie with it; for that is as if deceit vied with truth; if they are plain, they convict themselves of want of beauty by their attempts to appear beautiful. Frugality becomes the servant of Christ. Frugality paves the way to holiness, levelling all inordinate desires, and deriving from the commonest things all the benefit which superfluity can confer. For frugality, as the name implies (*τὸ λιτὸν*), lifts not up itself, and is not puffed up; but is always smooth, and equable, and without superfluity, and consequently sufficient to itself; and such a sufficiency is a habit attaining its proper end without excess, without defect. Justice is the mother of these qualities; contentment (*ἀντάρκεια*) their nurse.—Let the ornaments on the hands of females be holy, a readiness to communicate, and to perform domestic duties. Let the ornaments of their feet be promptness to do good and to

¹ ccxliii. 17.

² ccxliv. 17. Compare Tertullian de cultu foeminarum. L. 1. c. 7.

L. 2. c. 10.

³ ccxlvii. 10.

act justly; the ornaments of their neck, modesty and continence. Of these ornaments God is the maker.—Let them not, against nature, bore their ears, in order to suspend from them gold or precious stones. The best ornament of the ear is instruction in the truth, descending through the natural channels of hearing; eyes anointed by the Word, and ears pierced to the understanding, enable man to hear and to contemplate Divine things, the Word displaying before him true beauty, which eye hath not seen, or ear heard before.”

Clement proceeds in the third book to inquire wherein true beauty consists. “The greatest knowledge,”¹ he says, “is to know one’s self. He who knows himself will know God; and knowing God, will be likened to God, in doing good and having as few wants as possible; for God alone has no wants.”—Alluding to the Platonic division of the soul, he says, “that the intellectual or reasoning part is the inner man, who governs this visible man, and is governed by God. The angry part (τὸ θυμικόν) being of the nature of the brute creation, is nearly allied to madness. The part in which appetite resides (τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν) assumes various forms, like Proteus.—But in the man in whom the Word dwells there are no such changes; he has the form of the Word; he is likened to God; ² he is beautiful, not beautified; he is the true beauty, for he is God; that man becomes God, because God so wills. Well then did Heraclitus say, ‘Men are gods, gods are men;’ the Word Himself is an ³ apparent mystery; God in man, and man God. The Mediator fulfils the Father’s will; for the Word is the Mediator, being common to both, the Son of God, the Saviour of man; *His* Minister, our Pædagogus.—Why should we be careful about adorning the flesh, the outward man, who is called a servant by the Apostle? especially as God, by taking upon Himself flesh, has restored it to liberty, and delivering it from corruption and deadly and bitter servitude, has conferred upon it the holy ornament of immortality.—Charity is another ornament of men.” Clement grounds another argument against carefulness respecting the

¹ C. I.

² καλός ἐστιν, οὐ καλλωπιζέται. CCLI. 17.

³ μυστήριον ἱμφανές, a mystery exhibited to man.

adorning of the person, on the inference erroneously drawn by the ancient fathers from the words of ¹ Isaiah, that the personal appearance of Christ was mean; "though Christ displayed the true beauty both of soul and body; of the one in doing good, of the other in His immortality. Our care,² therefore, should be employed, not in ornamenting the outward man, but in adorning the soul with virtue and the flesh with continence. They who adorn only the outward, but neglect the inward man, are like the Egyptian temples, presenting every species of external decoration, but containing within not a deity, but a cat, or crocodile, or some vile animal." In pursuing this comparison, Clement takes an opportunity of inveighing against the artifices of female dress, which he ascribes to the suggestions of Satan. But his ³ principal argument is, that females, by the pains which they bestow upon the adorning of their persons, cast a reflection on their Creator, as if He had not sufficiently adorned them. He ⁴ pronounces gluttony and drunkenness less mischievous than the love of dress. "A certain expense will satisfy the cravings of the former, but for the latter all the wealth both above and under the earth is not sufficient.—Birds and beasts are content with the plumage and hue which they received from nature; women alone must curl and plait their hair in a variety of fashions." Clement ⁵ is particularly vehement against mirrors. "Moses forbade men to make any likeness, in opposition, as it were, to the workmanship of God; how then can women be excused for making their own likeness by reflexion?" As Clement inserts long quotations from the writings of the comic poets, we may hope that his descriptions applied chiefly to the Gentile females; otherwise the Christian community must have sadly degenerated from its primitive simplicity and purity.

The love of dress appears, however, not to have been confined to the females. Clement ⁶ goes on to expose the folly and effeminacy of the fine gentlemen of his day. "They think," he ⁷ says, "that, like snakes, they can cast off old age from

¹ liii. 2, 3.

² C. 2.

³ Compare Tertullian de cultu foeminarum. L. 2. c. 4.

⁴ cclvii. 18.

⁶ cclviii. 22. Tertullian urges this argument against the masks used by actors. De Spectaculis. c. 23.

⁶ C. 3.

⁷ cclxi. 37.

their heads, and make themselves young. But though they dye their hair, they cannot escape wrinkles; though they conceal the effects of time, they cannot conceal themselves from death. Why should we fear the appearance of old age when we cannot escape the reality? The nearer man draws to his end, the more honourable does he in truth become, since he has no one older than himself but God, Who is eternally old, older than all existing things. Scripture calls Him 'the Ancient of days.'" The practice of dyeing the hair, in order to conceal the effects of age, appears particularly to have excited Clement's indignation: it was in direct contradiction to the declaration of Christ, that man cannot make a hair of his head black or white.

Clement¹ next inveighs against shaving, and the practice of plucking out the hair from the parts of the body on which it grows. A beard is the distinguishing mark of manhood, and begins to appear when man arrives at the age of reason. The² beard is older than Eve, and the sign of a superior nature.—³ Christians, whom God has predestined to be conformed to the image of His Son, are guilty of great impiety if they cast indignity on that body which is conformed to the Lord. Clement draws a frightful picture of the profligacy of the age in which he lived.—"Christians," he⁴ concludes, "should imitate the simple and frugal mode of life practised by the barbarians. For they are called by the Lord, stripped of vanity and pride, bearing only the tree (ξύλον) of life, and having no other covering than salvation."

The⁵ number of servants maintained by the rich, and the sums expended by them on birds, and dogs, and monkeys, furnishes Clement with the next subject of invective. The picture which he draws in this chapter of the morals of the females of his day is not more flattering than that which we have⁶ already noticed. He⁷ complains of their luxurious baths, and of their indecent custom of bathing promiscuously

¹ cclxiii. 2.

² Observe the references to Aaron's beard. cclxvi. 6. Compare c. 11. cclxxxix. 16, 25.

³ cclxiv. 19.

⁴ cclxviii. 2.

⁵ C. 4.

⁶ See p. 54.

⁷ C. 5.

with the men. "We ought," he says,¹ "to respect our parents and domestics at home; in the streets those whom we meet; females in the baths; ourselves in solitude; the Word everywhere, Who is everywhere, and 'without Whom nothing was made.' He alone will never fall who thinks that God is always present with him."

Clement² proceeds to treat of the use of wealth. "We must impart it benevolently; neither meanly nor ostentatiously. We must not allow our love of that which is beautiful to run into selfishness or excess; lest it should be said to us, 'His horse, or his farm, or his servant, or his plate, is worth fifteen talents, but he himself would be dear at three farthings.'—Wealth is like a viper, which is harmless, if a man knows how to take hold of it; but if he does not, it will twine round his hand and bite him.—Not³ he who has and keeps, but he who imparts, is rich; to impart, not to possess, renders man happy: and readiness to impart is the fruit of the soul. Riches are situated in the soul. That which is good can only be acquired by the good. Christians are good; a foolish and intemperate man can have no sense of that which is good, neither can he acquire it; that, therefore, which is good can be acquired by Christians alone; no wealth can be more precious than this good: Christians, therefore, alone are rich. Righteousness is true wealth, and the Word is more valuable than all treasure: this wealth admits no increase from cattle or lands: but, being the gift of God, cannot be taken away. The soul alone is the treasure of the Word, the best possession, rendering man truly blessed; for he who has it desires nothing which is not in his own power, and he obtains what he desires. How can he who, when he asks, receives from God what he piously desires, how can he be otherwise than the possessor of all things, having a perpetual treasure, even God? 'To him,' he says, 'who asks it shall be given: and to him who knocks it shall be opened.' If God denies nothing, all things belong to the pious." "Man,"⁴ continues Clement, "is a lofty animal, and magnificent, and disposed to seek for that which is fair, inasmuch as he is the workmanship of the only God: but a⁵ sensual life is unseemly, and opprobrious, and hateful, and contemptible."

¹ cclxxiii. 23.² C. 6.³ cclxxv. 11.⁴ C. 7.⁵ In the original *ὁ ἐνὶ γαστήρῳ βίος*, which is intended to convey the

Clement then condemns excess of every kind, in food, in dress, in ornaments, and commends frugality and contentment. "The Christian, who is a traveller, ought not to be encumbered with the things of this world. ¹ He who vehemently presses forward towards heaven should take bounty as his staff, and by imparting his wealth to the afflicted, become himself a partaker of the true rest. For the Scripture confesses that a man's wealth is the ransom of his soul; that is, if he is rich, he shall be saved by dispensing his riches. For as wells which are fed by springs, notwithstanding that water is drawn from them, rise to their former level: so almsgiving, being a good fountain of benevolence, after it has given drink to the thirsty, is filled again.—Should any one say that he has often seen the righteous man wanting bread, we answer that this is rare, and occurs only when no other righteous man is near. Let the objector read, moreover, 'The righteous man shall not live by bread alone, but by the Word of the Lord; Who is the true bread, the bread from heaven.' The good man shall never want so long as he preserves his confession towards God; for it is his privilege to ask and to receive what he needs from the Father of the universe, and to enjoy what is his own, if he holds fast the Son. It is his privilege also to feel no want. The Word, Who is our instructor, gives us wealth; and they who through Him are exempt from want, excite no envy by their wealth. He who has this wealth shall inherit the kingdom of God."

Clement ² proceeds to show that temperance and frugality are a good preparation for enduring persecution. "The Pædagogus," he ³ observes, "teaches by example, and deters us from sin by setting before us the punishment inflicted upon sinners." This remark he illustrates by the destruction of Sodom.

"Baths," he ⁴ says, "are used for four purposes, to promote cleanliness, warmth, health, pleasure." He peremptorily forbids the use of them for pleasure, and thinks the use of them for warmth unnecessary; women may bathe for cleanliness

meaning both of a sensual life and of the life of an animal which crawls on its belly, in opposition to the erect attitude of man.

¹ cclxxvii. 20.

² C. 8.

³ cclxxix. 25.

⁴ C. 9.

and health; men only for health. He adds some curious remarks on the effects of bathing. The great object is to wash the soul with the purifying Word; this washing is spiritual.

Clement¹ next recommends gymnastic exercises both for men and women; but the latter must not wrestle or contend in the race. "To spin, to be active in the management of a family, to bake and cook, and make the beds, are appropriate exercises for them. Scripture furnishes many examples of the attention of females to domestic duties. Men may wrestle, or play at ball, or walk, or dig, or draw water, or chop wood. Reading aloud is to some a good exercise. Exercise must be used in moderation, excess being hurtful. A man should be able to do all things for himself, put on his shoes, wash his feet, etc., and be able also to perform those offices for another in time of sickness," etc.

In the eleventh chapter Clement recapitulates the precepts which he had delivered in the previous part of the work, and enforces them by additional reasons. With respect to dress, he says "it should not be costly, and the colour should be white. White² garments befit those who are peaceful and enlightened (*φωτεινοῖς*). Such³ garments bespeak the disposition, as smoke bespeaks fire; and a good colour and a good pulse, health.—Cloth which has not undergone the process of fulling retains the heat, and is suited to winter.—⁴ Women may wear garments of a softer texture than men, but suited to their age, person, figure, character, pursuits. They⁵ must not bore their ears. ⁶ They may wear a gold ring, not as an ornament, but as a mark of good housewifery, to keep everything valuable in the house carefully under seal. Some allowance must be made for women who are compelled to study dress in order to please their husbands; their care, however, should be to bring their husbands gradually to a better mind. Men should not wear rings on the joints of the fingers,

¹ C. 10.

² See L. 2. c. 10. ccxxxv. 1, quoted in p. 50.

³ cclxxxvi. 25.

⁴ See L. 2. c. 10. ccxxxiv. 17, quoted in p. 50.

⁵ See L. 2. c. 12. cclxviii. 1.

⁶ cclxxxvii. 25. Clement says that the dishonesty of men renders seals necessary. See also cclxxxviii. 21.

but on the little finger. The ¹emblems on our rings should be a dove, or a fish, or a ship sailing before the wind, or a lyre, or an anchor; not the figure of an idol, which a Christian is forbidden to reverence; or a sword, or a bow, ill-suited to a follower of peace; or a cup, ill-suited to the temperate; still less a naked figure. ²The hair on the head of man should be thin, ³his beard thick." Clement gives various reasons for these injunctions, viz. "when the hair is thin the skull becomes accustomed to cold and heat; whereas when it is thick it acts as a sponge, and retains the moisture to the injury of the brain. ⁴Women should be content to bind up their hair close to the neck with a simple clasp, and should not torture it into curls, so that they are afraid to touch it, or even to go to sleep, lest they should spoil the shape. False hair is on no account to be worn. For on whom does the Presbyter lay his hand? whom does he bless? not the woman herself, but the hair of another head, and through it that head. If the man is the head of the woman, and God of the man, must it not be impious to fall into a double sin? to deceive man by a quantity of false hair, and to dishonour God by adorning themselves, as much as in them lies, after the manner of harlots, and by disguising their head which is really fair? ⁵It is also sinful to dye the hair, especially grey hair, which is the honour of old age. The face must not be painted; the best beauty is that of the soul, when it is adorned with the Holy Spirit, and the refulgence of His gifts, with righteousness, wisdom, courage, temperance, love of that which is good, and modesty. Bodily beauty consists in symmetry of limbs and a good colour." Clement then points out the effects of diet upon beauty. "It is absurd," ⁶he proceeds, "for those who are made in the image and after the likeness of God to superinduce an adventitious beauty, as if they despised their archetype, preferring vile human art to the Divine workmanship. ⁷Women ought to be clothed with the works of their own hands. A domestic wife is the most beautiful work, who clothes herself and her husband with her own ornaments, on account of which

¹ cclxxxix. 4. See C. liii. 10. S. L. 5. DCLXII. 4. ² See L. 3. c. 3.

³ See L. 3. c. 3. cclxiii. 4. cclxvi. 6. Clement makes a distinction between ζυρόν and αἱ δύο μάχαιραι αἱ πουρικαὶ ἢ ἡ διττῆ μάχαιρα. ccxc. 5.

⁴ ccxc. 20.

⁵ ccxc. 13. See L. 3. c. 3. cclxii. 10.

⁶ ccxcii. 24. See L. 3. c. 2. ccliv. 17.

⁷ ccxcii. 42.

they all rejoice; the children in their mother, the husband in his wife; she in them, and all in God.—Women ought also to be correct in their gestures, looks, gait, tone of voice. ¹ Even the female slaves who follow their mistresses should avoid all indecent words and actions; for any want of decorum in them reflects on their mistresses, who are supposed to approve what they do not reprehend. ² Men ought not to waste their time in the shops in order to look at the females as they pass, and to excite laughter by profane jests; neither should they play at dice nor gamble. They who act thus do it from idleness.”

Clement ³ proceeds to declaim against spectacles and theatrical exhibitions. “‘But all,’ ⁴ you will say, ‘do not aspire to philosophy.’ Do we not all pursue life? What do you say? How did you then believe? How do you love God and your neighbour, unless you love philosophy? or how do you love yourself, unless you love life? You will reply, ‘I have not learned letters.’ But if you have not learned to read, there is no excuse for not hearing, since hearing is not taught. Faith is the possession of those who are wise, not according to the world, but to God; it is learned without letters; and its writing, which is at once Divine, and accommodated to the ignorant, is called love; a spiritual composition. To engage in public affairs is not incompatible with the study of Divine wisdom; nor are you forbidden to mix in the world, if you mix in it decorously, according to the will of God. Buyers and sellers ought not to have two prices; nor in dealing should recourse be had to ⁵ oaths, which ought on all occasions to be avoided. The man and woman should come into the congregation decently attired, with simplicity of gait; in silence, with love unfeigned; pure in body, pure in heart, fit to address God in prayer. Let ⁶ the women, moreover, be always veiled, excepting at home, lest they should betray others into sin.—

¹ ccxcvi. 5.

² ccxcvii. 9.

³ ccxcviii. 16. Compare S. L. 2. CCCCLXV. 1. L. 7. DCCCLII. 12. DCCCLXXVII. 38. DCCCLXXXIII. 42. In some of these passages Clement connects public executions with theatrical exhibitions. See also Tertullian *de Spectaculis* passim.

⁴ ccxcix. 15.

⁵ Compare S. L. 7. DCCCLXII. 10, 18.

⁶ See L. 2. c. 10. ccxxxviii. 30. Clement says that the wife of Æneas refused to lay aside her veil even when Troy was taken, and she was flying from the flames.

In their appearance and deportment throughout the whole tenor of life, Christians should show the same gravity as in the congregation, being equally gentle, pious, and affectionate. But they seem for the most part to change their behaviour and manners with the place; like the polypus, which is said to take the colour of the rock to which it adheres." After inveighing at some length against this inconsistency, ¹ Clement speaks of the kiss of peace, and says that it had been abused, and given occasion of scandal to the Gentiles.—He adds, "that it is the duty of a Christian so to live, that he may be free, not only from impurity, but from the suspicion of impurity."

Clement,² pursuing his remarks respecting the demeanour befitting Christians, cautions husbands against embracing or saluting their wives in the presence of servants. At length, escaping from these minute details, he says, "that the end of the Gospel is the sanctification of man; and that the office of the Word is to lead on human weakness³ from the objects of sense to those of the understanding. What we should observe, and how we should regulate our life at home, has,"⁴ he says, "been sufficiently declared by the Pædagogues; but His conversation with His children on the road, until He brings them to the Teacher, is summarily stated in Holy Scripture: He lays down simple precepts, fitting them to the length of time during which His scholars are under His guidance, but committing the interpretation of them to the Teacher; for His law aims at dissipating fear, giving the will freedom to believe." Clement then gives the discourse which he supposes the Pædagogue to address to the child. "Hear, O child, the sum of salvation; for I will unfold to thee My morality, and suggest to thee those fair precepts, through which thou shalt reach salvation; for I will conduct thee in the way of salvation. Follow the good road by which I shall lead thee, lending to Me ready ears, and I will give thee treasures, hidden, secret, unseen by the Gentiles, seen by us. The treasures of wisdom are inexhaustible, in

¹ ccci. 10. ² C. 12. ³ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐπὶ τὴν νόησιν. ccciv. 4.

⁴ In thus distinguishing between the Pædagogues and the Teacher (ὁ Παιδαγωγὸς and ὁ Διδάσκαλος), the office of the former being to lay before the Christian the practical precepts of the Gospel, of the latter to unfold to him their deep and hidden meaning, Clement intends to describe the different purposes of his two works, the Pædagogues and the Stromata. Compare cccix. 30. See p. 26. Note 1.

admiration of which the Apostle says, 'O the depth of the riches and wisdom.' These various treasures are supplied by one God; some through the law; some through the prophets; some by the Divine mouth; some in unison with the seven-fold Spirit; but the Lord, Who is one, is the same Pædagogus through all. There is one summary, practical precept, which comprehends all: 'As you wish that men should do unto you, do ye also unto them.' All the commandments may be comprised in two: 'Thou shalt love thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself.' The Pædagogus, for our easier instruction, has expanded these precepts in the Decalogue."

Clement proceeds to quote passages of Scripture respecting the true nature of ¹ prayer, of fasting, of sacrifice; respecting forbearance, the duties of soldiers, tax-gatherers, judges, stewards, or managers of property (*οικονομικοί*); respecting charity, the duties of citizens, oaths, placability, and compassion, faith, the treatment of servants, vanity, repentance, liberality. ² "These are the reasonable laws, the consolatory words, not written on tables of stone, engraved by the finger of the Lord, but on the hearts of men, which alone are not exposed to destruction.—Both laws ministered to the Word for the instruction of man: the one through Moses; the other through the Apostles.—³ Many precepts in Scripture are addressed to select persons, as to presbyters, bishops, deacons, widows; many are delivered enigmatically; many in parables; but the explication of these belongs not to the Pædagogus, but to the Teacher, to whom we must next go." "O pupils," ⁴ Clement exclaims, "of a good education (*παιδαγωγίας*), let us complete the fair person of the church, and run like children to the good mother; and if we are hearers of the Word, let us glorify the blessed economy, through which man is instructed, and sanctified as the child of God, and becomes a citizen of heaven, his preparation having been carried on below; and he then receives as his Father Him Whom he learns on earth. The Word does, and teaches all things, and acts the part of the Pædagogus in all things.—O the Divine workmanship; O the Divine injunctions."—⁵ "Let the water roll its billows within itself; let the fire restrain its rage; let the air wander through

¹ cccv. 16.² cccvii. 31.³ cccix. 25.⁴ cccx. 9.⁵ Clement supposes the Word to speak thus.

the sky; let the earth become solid and move along; when I wish to create man and wish for matter, I have the elements as matter; I dwell with My own creation; if you will know Me, fire shall be your servant.' So great is the Word: He is the Pædagogus, the Creator of the universe and of man."

Clement concludes with the following prayer to the Word: "Be propitious, O Pædagogus, to Thy children; O Father, charioteer¹ (ἡνίοχε) of Israel, Son and Father, both One, O Lord, grant that we, who follow Thy injunctions, may perfect² the likeness of the image, and may, as far as is in our power, recognise at once a good God and a mild Judge. Grant that we³ all, living in Thy peace, translated into Thy city, safely sailing through the waves of sin, may be tranquilly borne along together with the Holy Spirit, the ineffable wisdom; and day and night until the perfect day, may praise with thanksgiving, and give thanks with praise, to the only Father and Son, Son and Father, the Son, the Pædagogus and Teacher, together with the Holy Spirit, all things in one; in Whom are all things; through Whom all things are one; through Whom is eternity; Whose members we all are; Whose is the glory, the ages⁴ (αἰῶνες). To the All-good, All-fair, All-wise, All-just, be glory now and for ever. Amen."

M.⁵ Barbeyrac has given what he calls a general idea of the three books of the Pædagogus. If the reader compares it with

¹ With reference, perhaps, to 2 Kings ii. 12. See S. L. 2. ccccxcv. 16.

ἰνὸς ἡνίοχου κ. τ. λ.

² With reference to Gen. i. 26. See C. xciv. 26.

³ I read ἅπαντας.

⁴ Grabe translates *whose glory are the Æons*, the celestial Spirits. Notes on Bp. Bull's Def. Fid. Nic. Sect 2. c. 6. p. 89.

⁵ *Traité de la Morale des Peres*. c. 5. M. Barbeyrac says "that Clement was wholly ignorant of Hebrew." He makes this remark with reference to P. L. 1. c. 2. c. 15, where Clement, following the Septuagint version of Numbers vi. 12, καὶ αἱ ἡμέραι αἱ πρότεροι ἄλογοι ἴσονται, interprets the words ἄλογοι ἴσονται, *shall be irrational*, instead of *shall not be reckoned*. The passage itself proves nothing either for or against Clement's knowledge of Hebrew. I suspect, however, that he did not understand it. He seems in general to borrow his interpretations of Hebrew words from Philo; thus P. L. 1. c. 5. cx. 26. c. 7. cxxxii. 17, 21. c. 8. cxliv. 5. S. L. 1. cccxxxiv. 1, 3, 12. L. 2. cccxxxix. 7. ccclvi. 7. L. 5. DCXLVIII. 12. See also the whole of the sixth chapter of the fifth book. L. 7. DCCXCIV. 19, compared with L. 1. CCXXXV. 1. Yet having said

the foregoing account of the work, he will perhaps be disposed to think that the learned writer's selections have scarcely been made in a spirit of fairness and impartiality. It may be true that, as a system of morality, the Pædagogus is most defective; or, to borrow M. Barbeyrac's words, that "there is not a single virtue of which the nature is so explained as to place man in a capacity rightly to practise it; not a single duty established on sound foundations; not a single obligation, resulting from the relations between man and man, traced to its true principles, or so developed that it may be rightly applied in all different cases." All this may be true. It may also be true that Clement was wholly incompetent to the task of composing a system of morality. But the question is, Was it his intention to compose one? Surely not. His intention was to deliver rules for the guidance of his fellow-Christians, in the common intercourse of life; many of his rules are puerile, many grounded on false principles; but there is mingled with them much that may even now be read with profit; much that is fitted to give a religious tone to the mind, and to inspire it with the love of purity and virtue. When, too, we censure the minutiae into which Clement descends, we should bear in mind that, situated as Christians then were, it was desirable to draw as marked a line of distinction as possible between their manner of life and that of the heathens, by whom they were surrounded. To prescribe strict rules for their guidance in matters indifferent, was an effectual mode of securing them against being betrayed into vicious or criminal compliances with the customs of the Gentile world.

repeatedly, on the authority of Philo, that Rebekah in Hebrew is equivalent to ἡσσομένη in Greek, in S. L. 4. DCXXXVII. 11, he makes it equivalent to Θεοῦ δόξα. In C. XI. 21, we find αὐτίκα γοῶν, κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβῆ τῶν Ἑβραίων φωνὴν, τὸ ὄνομα τὸ Εὐία δασυλόμιμον ἰρμηνεύεται ὄψις ἢ θήλεια. In P. L. I. c. 5. CIV. 37, Clement interprets Hosanna, or as he writes it 'Ως ἀννά, φῶς καὶ δόξα καὶ αἶνος μετ' ἰκετηρίας τῷ κυρίῳ. In S. L. I. CCCXXXII. 10, Jerusalem is interpreted, ἄρασις εἰρήνης. In the Eclogæ ex Prophetarum Scripturis LVII. our Saviour's exclamation, Eli, Eli, is referred to the Greek word ἤλιος, and in P. L. 3. c. 12. CCCIX. 39, Clement appears to refer the name Jesus to the Greek word ἰᾶσθαι. See S. L. I. ccccxxii. 30.

CHAPTER IV.

WE proceed to the Stromata. Some sentences are wanting at the commencement ; we then find Clement engaged in inquiring whether it is right to compose works and to leave them in writing to be transmitted to posterity. This he determines in the affirmative. ¹ “The sole object of the writer must be the welfare of his readers ; he must not be impelled to write by emulation or vainglory. On the other hand, the reader must not come to the perusal of Divine discourses through mere curiosity, or through a desire of obtaining a share of those worldly benefits which Christians were ready to impart. ² Neither must he judge of them by comparison with the writings of those who are versed in the arts of rhetoric. He who possesses faith will judge most rationally, and be most firmly established for the reception of Divine truths.”—After some other remarks, Clement ³ proceeds thus : “This work is not intended for an exhibition of art ; but I have treasured up these memoranda against old age, to be a remedy against forgetfulness, and as it were an image and outline of the clear and living words which I have been deemed worthy to hear from men blessed and really deserving of honour. ⁴ With one of them I met in Greece, the Ionian ; with another in Magna Græcia—the former was from Cœle-Syria, the latter from Egypt. Some also there were from the East ; one from Assyria ; another, an Hebrew by descent, from Palestine. He with whom I last met was the first in power ; and having discovered ⁵ him lying concealed in Egypt, I desisted from further search. For he was in truth a Sicilian bee, who, cropping the

¹ cccxcix. 1.

² cccxx. 2.

³ cccxxii. 1. Compare cccxxiv. 19. L. 6. dccxxvi. 29. *ἢ καὶ λιμῶνας τοὺς, καὶ ἰλικῶνας, καὶ κήρια, καὶ πύλους, συναγωγὰς φιλομαθῆς ποιήσας, καὶ ἰλιμῶνας, συνεγράψαντο· τοῖς δ' ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐπὶ μνήμην Ἰλλουῶσι, καὶ μῆτι τῷ τάξῳ μῆτι τῇ φράσει διαπικθαυμένους, διασπαρμένους δὲ ἐπίτηδες, ἀναμῆξ ἢ τῶν Στρωματίων ἡμῖν ὑποτύψεις, λιμῶνας δίκην πεισοκίλται, καὶ δὴ ὡς ἔχοντες ἡμῶν τι ὑπομήματα εἶναι ἂν ζώοντα, τῶν τε εἰς γῆρας ἐπιτηδίων, ἢ πως περιόχων τοῖσι, πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον καὶ ἀφίλιμον μετὰ ἰδρωτός ἢ ζήτησις γίνονται. L. 7. dccccii. 6.*

⁴ I here follow the interpretation of Valesius, Eusebii Hist. Eccl. L. 5.

c. 11.

⁵ Clement is here supposed to speak of Pantænus.

flowers of the prophetic and apostolic meadow, caused a pure knowledge to grow up in the minds of his hearers. These men preserved the true ¹ tradition of the blessed doctrine, as delivered by Peter, and James, and John, and Paul, the holy apostles, having received it in succession, the son from his father, though few resemble their fathers. At length, by the blessing of God, they have deposited the apostolic seed received from their forefathers with us; and I well know that they will rejoice—not that they will be pleased with the mere exposition, but with the accurate representation of what they delivered.” Reverting then to the benefit resulting from the labours of authors, ² Clement asks, “What is the value of wisdom which does not make wise him who is able to hear? The Saviour is still engaged in the task of salvation; still works as He sees the Father work. He who teaches at the same time learns; and while he speaks, hears together with his hearers. For there is one teacher both of him who speaks and of him who hears, *he* who waters both the understanding and the speech (*τὸν λόγον*). Wherefore the Lord has not forbidden us to ³ rest from good; but has permitted us to impart the Divine mysteries and that sacred light to those who can receive them. He did not, however, ⁴ immediately reveal to all that which was not intended for all; but to a few only, to whom he knew it to be suited, who were capable of receiving it and being wrought into a resemblance to it. That which is not proper to be revealed is committed to speech, not to writing.” Having ⁵ given some further explanation of the

¹ Compare L. 6. DCCLXXIV. 27.

² cccxxiii. 14.

³ ἀπὸ ἀγαθοῦ σαββατίζειν. cccxxiii. 21.

⁴ Compare cccxxviii. 1. L. 5. DCLXXXV. 10. L. 6. DCCXXXVI. 1. DCCLXXIV. 27. DCCXCVIII. 36. DCCC. 33. DCCCII. 44. DCCCIII. 33. DCCCV. 22. DCCCVI. 25. DCCCVII. 5. L. 7. DCCLXXXVI. 9. DCCCI. 34.

⁵ Compare L. 6. DCCXXXVI. 19. L. 7. DCCCII. 36, where he says that the Stromata resemble not a trim garden, in which the trees are planted in rows; but rather a wood, in which are mixed trees bearing, and trees not bearing, fruit. *ἰσίκαισι δὲ πως εἰ Στρωματίαις οὐ παραδείσοις ἐξησκημένοις, ἰκίνοισι τοῖς ἐν στοίχῳ καταφυτευμένοις εἰς ἠδονὴν ὄψιαι· ὅρι δὲ μᾶλλον συσκήν τινι καὶ δάσει· κυπαρίσσοις καὶ πλατάνοις, δάφνῃ τε καὶ κισσῷ, μηλαίαις τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἰλαίαις καὶ συκαῖς καταφυτευμένα, ἐξῆσιτιθῆαι ἀναμιγμένης τῆς φυτείας καρποφόρον τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀκάρπων δένδρον, διὰ τοὺς ὑφαιρίσθαι καὶ κλείπτειν τολμῶντας τὰ ἄρια, ἰθιλοῦσαι λανθάνειν τῆς γραφῆς· ἐξ ἧν δὴ μεταμοσχίσασαι καὶ μεταφυτεύσασαι, ὁ γεωργὸς ἄριον κατακοσμήσει παράδεισον καὶ ἄλλοις ἰατρικαῖς.*

nature of the work, and ¹ stated his reasons for introducing into it much of the Greek philosophy, he ² adds, that "the Stromata (*Στρωματεῖς*) will contain the truth mixed up with the doctrines of philosophy; or rather concealed by them, as the eatable part of a nut by the shell; for the seeds of the truth ought to be kept solely for the husbandmen of the faith.—Some there are who think that ³ philosophy was the invention of some evil one, and that it has crept privily into life, to the injury of man. But I will show, through the whole of this work, that evil, being by nature evil, cannot cultivate that which is good, and that philosophy is the work of Divine Providence."

Clement proceeds to justify his frequent references to the Greek philosophy, which he ⁴ describes as a clear image of the truth, a gift given from Heaven to the Greeks. ⁵ "Before the coming of the Lord philosophy was necessary to the Greeks for justification; now it is useful to piety, being a kind of preliminary exercise to those who obtain faith through demonstration. We cannot err if we refer what is good, whether it be Greek or Christian, to Providence. For God is the cause of all that is good, sometimes immediately or principally (⁶ *κατὰ προηγούμενον*), as of the old and new covenants; sometimes, by consequence, as of philosophy. Perhaps it was given even immediately to the Greeks, before God called them; it was to

¹ CCCXXV. 11. He alleges the example of St. Paul in his defence. CCCL. 27. CCCLXXII. 17.

² CCCXXVI. 21. In L. 3, sub fine, Clement calls his work Commentaries (*ὀπισμῆματα*) on the true Gnostic philosophy. See also L. 4. DLXV. 1, 33. L. 6. DCCXXXVI. 1, 16. L. 7. DCCCXCV. 17.

³ Compare CCCXLII. 32. CCCLXVI. 19. L. 6. DCCLXXXIII. 17. DCCLXXX. 18. DCCCXXII. 26.

⁴ *ἀληθείας οὖσαν εἰκόνα ἰναργῆ, εἰς τὰς θωμαῖαν Ἑλλησι διδομένην.* CCCXXVII. 24. In like manner he says that all human arts and sciences proceed from God. CCCXXXI. 3. See L. 6. DCCCXIX. 25. DCCCXXXIII. 29.

⁵ CCCXXXI. 22. Compare CCCXXXII. 3. CCCXXXVIII. 36. CCCLXXVII. 5. L. 7. DCCCXXXII. 8.

⁶ *κατὰ προηγούμενον* means that purpose which God had directly and principally in view. So *οὐ κατὰ προηγούμενον λόγον τῆς φιλοσοφίας παρασιλθούσης.* CCCXXVII. 32. It is here opposed to *κατ' ἰτακολούθημα*, as in L. 8. DCCLXXVII. 39, to *κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον* in L. 7. DCCLXXXV. 32, to *ἀναγκαίως* in DCCLXXIV. 22, and in CCCXXVI. 12, to *εἰκονομούμενος* and *συμπεριφερόμενος*. See also CCCXXXVII. 23. L. 3. DXI. 12. L. 6. DCCLXIII. 25. DCCLXXXIX. 8. DCCCXI. 37. L. 7. DCCLXIII. 25.

them a schoolmaster, as the law to the Hebrews, to lead them to Christ. It is preparatory, opening the way to him who is afterwards perfected by Christ.—The way of truth is one, for streams run into it from different quarters as into a perennial river.—The ¹direction of Scripture is, that we should use the wisdom of the world, but not entirely devote ourselves to it. As the sciences of music, geometry, grammar, rhetoric, contribute to philosophy, their mistress; so philosophy contributes to the acquisition of wisdom, which is the knowledge of things divine and human, and of their causes.” Clement confirms these statements by allegorical interpretations of the story of ²Abraham, Sarah, and Hagar, which are borrowed from Philo. ³“Discipline in those things which are comprehended by the understanding purifies the soul from the objects of sense, and kindles a spark within it, so that it is enabled to see the truth. ⁴There is doubtless in some a greater natural aptitude to virtue than in others; but perfection in virtue is attained through education; since many, ill-disposed by nature, have, through suitable discipline, become virtuous; and many well-disposed have, through neglect, become vicious. God has created us fit for society, and just; we must not, however, say that justice results from constitution alone; but that what is good in our nature is stirred up by precept, the soul being instructed by discipline willingly to choose what is best.—It is not faith alone, but a faith enlightened by instruction, which causes us to admit what is well, and to reject what is ill said.—We can more easily and more speedily attain to virtue by means of previous discipline, though we may succeed without it; but even then we must have learned, and *our senses must be exercised.*”

The ⁵preliminary Grecian discipline then, together with philosophy itself, appears to come from God to man. In speaking of philosophy Clement ⁶meant not the Stoic, or Platonic, or Epicurean, or Aristotelian; but the Eclectic,

¹ cccxxxii. 33. Compare cccxlii. 8. ccclxxxiii. 21. ccclxxvi. 40.

² cccxxxiii. 15. Abraham attained to wisdom, passing through the contemplation of the heavens to faith in God and righteousness. cccxxxiv. 7. Compare L. 5. dcxlviii. 10. L. 6. dcclxxx. 13. dcclxxxi. 37.

³ cccxxxv. 34.

⁴ cccxxxvi. 21.

⁵ cccxxxvii. 21.

⁶ cccxxxviii. 11.

which takes whatever is well said by each of the sects, and teaches righteousness with pious knowledge. When, however, Clement talks of philosophy as justifying the Greeks, he excludes those who had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Scriptures; which, according to him, were translated into Greek for the express purpose of depriving the Greeks of the excuse of ignorance. A life of obedience in such a case, without faith, will not avail; for Abraham was justified, not by works, but by faith.—There are many roads, but that which is in righteousness is that which is in Christ; and blessed are they who enter into it.

The arts of sophistry are, Clement¹ says, “little calculated to advance the cause of truth.” He² declares himself, however, opposed to the opinion of those who, assuming the title of orthodox (*ὀρθοδοξάσται*), said that faith alone was sufficient, and rejected the aid of human learning,³ referring the invention of philosophy and logic to Satan. He contends, on the contrary, that every branch of science and literature may be rendered subservient to the advancement of truth. “It is true that the Apostles were unlearned; but they were guided by the Spirit; *we* can only arrive at the right understanding of the sacred volume by study, and the usual modes of instruction.” Having dwelt at some length on the connexion between acting well and speaking well (in a moral sense), he says⁴ of himself, “It is my determination to live according to reason, and to understand what is signified (in Scripture); and without aiming at fluency of speech, to be satisfied with merely giving as it were a hint of what I understand; nor do I care by what name that which I wish to communicate is called. For I know well that to be saved, and to co-operate with those who wish

¹ cccxxxix. 11, 35.

² cccxli. 30. cccxlii. 8, 35. cccxliii. 12.

³ Compare cccxli. 16, 38, where various opinions respecting the origin of philosophy are stated. Some thought that it, obscurely and as it were by accident, shadowed out the truth; others, that it was the suggestion of Satan; others, that it was the inspiration of certain powers descending from above. Still, though it may not comprehend the greatness of the truth, and is too weak to secure the performance of the Divine commands, it prepares the way to the royal doctrine, correcting and fashioning the morals, and strengthening him who believes in a providence, for the reception of the truth. See Note 3, p. 67.

⁴ cccxliv. 12.

to be saved, is the main object: not to collect flowers of speech, like ornaments."

"When St. Paul ¹ condemns the wisdom of this world, he must be understood, not as indiscriminately condemning all philosophy, but the Epicurean, which annihilated Providence and deified pleasure, and paid honour to the elements, to the exclusion of their Creator. He condemns also the Stoic, who represented God as a body pervading the vilest matter.—Far from forbidding inquiry, the Word invites men to investigate; but ² means them to cease from investigating when they have discovered the truth, and not to go continually in search of novelties. ³ The Christian doctrine makes God the Creator of the universe; affirms that Providence extends to every part of creation, and that the elements were created and are liable to change; teaches us so to live that we may be assimilated to God; and proposes the Gospel dispensation as the principle of all instruction."

Clement ⁴ proceeds to say that he was for a while deterred from writing, by the consideration that pearls ought not to be cast before swine. "Our Saviour, indeed, says, that 'what we hear in the ear, we are to declare on the house-tops;' but not indiscriminately to all; for to ignorant and swine-like men nothing appears more ridiculous than the sacred traditions of the true knowledge (*γνώσεως*). ⁵ Each sect of philosophy, whether Barbarian or Greek, boasts that it possesses the whole truth, whereas it possesses only a fragment; our business, therefore, is to collect all those fragments into one body, in order that we may behold the truth. Thus it is that the true Gnostic is formed."

Having thus justified his frequent reference to the Greek philosophy, Clement now ⁶ gives an account of its rise, for the purpose of showing that it was of much later date than the

¹ cccxvi. 7.

² Compare Tertullian de Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum, c. 9, where the same text, Matt. vii. 7, is quoted.

³ cccxlvii. 2.

⁴ cccxlvi. 15. Compare cccxxviii. 1. See Note 4, p. 66.

⁵ cccxlvi. 38. cccxlix. 27.

⁶ cccl. 17. This account well deserves the attention of the scholar.

Hebrew, from which it was in truth borrowed. He ¹ extends the same remark to other arts and sciences, of which the Barbarians, as the Greeks termed them, were the inventors.

“Some ² appear to have quoted, with reference to the Greek philosophy, the saying of our Lord, ‘All before me were thieves and robbers.’ The prophets indeed, inasmuch as they were sent and inspired by the Lord, were not thieves, but ministers. But philosophy was not sent; it was given, they say, by a thief, not without the knowledge of the Lord, Who did not, however, prevent the theft; for the theft was useful to mankind, though that was not the intent of the thief; but it was directed by Providence to a good end.” Clement ³ hence takes occasion to discuss the question, Whether he who has the power of preventing, yet does not prevent evil, is not to be deemed the cause of it? “The cause,” Clement says, “is to be discovered by action; but that which does not prevent is, in this respect, inactive, and ⁴ is, therefore, not a cause. That which prevents is rather a cause. ⁵ The Lord did not, indeed, prevent the sending of philosophy, but He turned it to a good purpose. To do good is as much the nature of God, as it is of fire to warm, or of light to illuminate. But the greatest exercise at once of the Divine goodness, and wisdom, and power, is to bring good out of evil. In philosophy, as in the fire stolen by Prometheus, there is a spark fit for light, a vestige of wisdom, an impulse from God. In this respect the Greek philosophers may be termed ⁶ thieves and robbers; before the coming of the Lord they stole portions of truth from the Hebrew prophets,

¹ ccclxi. 14.

² ccclxvi. 28. In cccc. 17, Clement applies the text to the soothsayers among the heathen who pretended to the gift of prophecy. See L. 5. DCL. 10.

³ ccclxvii. 9. Clement, however, denies that the gift of philosophy was injurious, so as to call for the interference of providence. *ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἰπιβλαβῆς ἢ δόσις ἦν, ἵνα ἢ κώλυσις παρίληθ.* ccclxviii. 3.

⁴ Clement asks, “Would you say that Achilles would have been the cause of the destruction of the Grecian fleet, because he would not interfere to prevent Hector from burning it? He might be called *συναίτιος*, a con-cause, or co-operating cause.” See L. 4. DCII. 9. L. 8. DCDXXXI. 3. DCDXXXII. 44. DCDXXXIV. where Clement distinguishes between *συναίτιον*, *συνεκτικόν*, *συνεργόν*. See also CCCLXXVI. 37.

⁵ ccclxix. 20.

⁶ Compare ccclxxvii. 33. L. 5. DCL. 10.

without ¹ clearly knowing them, and appropriated them to themselves; some they adulterated; some they sophisticated with ignorant diligence; some they discovered; for even they had perhaps the spirit of wisdom ² (πνεῦμα αἰσθήσεως). Still the ³ Greek philosophers occasionally put forth true doctrines; whether by accident, though even that accident must be referred to the Divine providence; or the produce of natural notions common to all men (φυσικαὶ ἔννοιαι), in which case they must be referred to the Author of nature. ⁴ Philosophy contributes to the comprehension of the truth; not being itself the cause of our comprehending it, but co-operating with other causes, it may be called a concurrent cause ⁵ (τὸ συναίτιον αἴτιον). Truth is one; and many things conspire to the investigation of it; but the discovery is through the Son alone. We give to prudence, to temperance, to courage, to justice, the name of virtue; the power of virtue being always one and the same. In like manner, truth being one, there is a geometrical, a musical, a philosophical truth; but truth, properly so called, is that in which we are instructed by the Son of God.—The Christian philosophy differs from the Greek, though it has the same name, in greatness of knowledge, in force of demonstration, in Divine power, and in other like respects; for Christians are taught of God, instructed in truly sacred literature by the Son of God.—Still too much stress must not be laid on the assistance which philosophy can confer; since many, without the least tincture of science or Greek philosophy, or letters, moved by the Divine and barbarous philosophy alone, have received the Truth concerning God in power, through faith, instructed by a self-working wisdom. We call that a con-

¹ οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν. See CCLXXII. 20, 27. L. 6. DCCLIX. 23. DCCLX. 2. It is opposed to κατὰ περίφρασιν.

² Perhaps from Exodus xxviii. 3.

³ cclxxiii. 24. Clement compares the view which the Greek philosophers had of the Deity to that which we have of objects seen by refraction or reflexion, ccclxxiv. 15.

⁴ ccclxxv. 25. Clement illustrates his position by observing that if many men are engaged in towing a vessel, they are not deemed many causes, but one cause composed of many; since each is not singly the cause of the vessel's motion, but in conjunction with the rest. See L. 8. DCBXXXII. 42.

⁵ See Note 4, p. 71. Clement had before spoken of the efficient cause, τὸ ποιητικὸν αἴτιον, with reference to the Deity, ccclxxiv. 9. See CCCLXXVII. 1. L. 2. CCCXLIII. 5. L. 3. DLI. 21. L. 4. DXCVII. 27. L. 6. DCCLXXXI. 19. συναίτιος προσημνόμασι.

current cause, which of itself can effect nothing, but acts in conjunction with something else. Such is philosophy, which¹ formerly justified the Greeks, not with that perfect justification, towards which we have said that it contributes, but as the first and second steps of the ascent to the upper chamber.—The senses contribute towards the discovery of the truth; but it is the mind which thoroughly knows it. The² Greek stands to the Christian philosophy in the same relation in which the senses stand to the mind, with reference to the discovery of truth.—Truth, according to the faith, *i.e.* Christian truth, is bread, necessary to life: Greek philosophy, merely dainties and sweetmeats.”

Clement now³ enters into a long chronological detail, in order to show that Moses and the Prophets lived long before the rise of Grecian philosophy. He⁴ then gives an account of the Septuagint version; which he states to have been made during the reign either of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, or of Ptolemy Philadelphus, under the direction of Demetrius Phalereus. He asserts that the translators were inspired, as⁵ Ezra was inspired, when he restored the Scriptures which had been corrupted or destroyed during the captivity at Babylon. He quotes, however, a passage from Aristobulus, from which it appears that the account of the departure of the children of Israel from Egypt, and of their conquest of the land of Canaan, and of the giving of the law, had been translated into Greek before the time of Alexander the Great.

Clement⁶ then gives a history of Moses, in which he principally follows Philo; though some of his statements appear to have been⁷ derived from other sources. He⁸ shows

¹ See Note 5, p. 67.

² Clement also compares philosophy to the fence of a vineyard, which keeps off the crafty attacks of those, the heretics for instance, who would break through and steal. CCLXXVII. 21.

³ cclxxviii. 5. It has been observed (Note 1, p. 3) that Clement brings all his calculations down to the death of Commodus. CCCII. 27. CCCIII. 15, 29, 35. CCCVI. 8, 28, 30. CCCVII. 15. CCCIX. 16.

⁴ cccix. 26. Clement here follows Irenæus. L. 3. c. 25.

⁵ See cccxii. 33.

⁶ cccxi. 18.

⁷ For instance, that respecting the name given to Moses after his reception into heaven. CCCXII. 24.

⁸ cccxvi. 10.

that Moses was a prophet, a lawgiver, a general, a statesman, a philosopher. The functions of the general, the lawgiver, and the judge, pertain to the regal office, which may be considered under four points of view: a king may be a dispenser of good, in imitation of the Deity; a violent despotic ruler, like Hercules or Alexander; a thirster after conquest, like the Persian kings who invaded Greece; or a mere voluptuary, like Sardanapalus.—A king, according to Clement, is he who rules according to the laws, and knows how to rule over willing subjects. Clement¹ says that “the Greeks derived from Moses their strategical skill; thus² Miltiades, in his night-march against the Persians, imitated the tactics of Moses in conducting the Israelites out of Egypt.” Clement goes so far as to compare the pillar of fire, which guided the Israelites by night, to a light which conducted Thrasybulus when he was bringing back the exiles from Phyle to the Munychia.

In like manner³ Plato borrowed his notions of legislation from Moses. The proofs which Clement produces of this assertion are far-fetched and inconclusive. “Law,” he says, “is not that which is enacted; as sight is not that which is seen; nor is it every opinion, since some opinions are bad; but good, that is, true opinion, which discovers that which is ($\tau\omicron\delta\ \delta\nu$), and attains to it. ‘He who is ($\delta\ \delta\nu$) has sent me,’ are the words of Moses. On which account some, consistently with good opinion, have called the law right reason, commanding what is to be done, and forbidding what is not to be done. The law was rightly said to be given through Moses, being a rule to distinguish between right and wrong, and conducting man to God.—A lawgiver is he who distributes to each part of the soul that which is suitable to it and its operations. Moses, in a word, was a living law, governed by right reason.”—The Greeks,⁵ in order to add to the authority of their laws, said that Minos received his laws from Jupiter, Lycurgus from Apollo, Zaleucus from Minerva; yet they would not admit that the laws of Moses, from which all their own laws were borrowed, were derived from heaven.

¹ ccccxvii. 29.² ccccxviii. 10.³ ccccxix. 13. Clement, having spoken of Moses as a general, now speaks of him as a lawgiver.⁴ ccccx. 17.⁵ ccccxii. 8.

Clement¹ proceeds to defend the law against the charge of not being good, because it inflicts punishments. "A surgeon is not deemed cruel, who causes pain to a patient in order to restore him to health; nor ought the law to be deemed cruel, which removes the diseases of the soul by severe remedies. The² Providence which governs the world must be at once supreme and good, and by both these attributes it effects the salvation of man; chastening him by punishment, as supreme; and benefiting him, as good. Thus he has it in his power to cease to be a child of disobedience, and to pass from darkness to life; and lending his ear to wisdom, to become first a legal (*νόμιμον*) slave of God, then a faithful servant, fearing the Lord God; and if he proceeds further, to be enrolled in the number of sons. For when 'charity has covered the multitude of sins,' then through the consummation of a blessed hope, being increased in charity, he is numbered in the elect adoption, which is called beloved of God, and utters in song this prayer, 'May the Lord be my God.'—The³ terror to which the law gave birth was in truth merciful by leading man to salvation.

"The⁴ philosophy of Moses may be divided into four parts: the historical, the legislative properly so called (these two relate to morals), the sacrificial, which belongs to physical contemplation, and the theological, or inspection of mysteries (*ἡ ἐποπτεία*). In order to the understanding of this, the true logic is necessary; which, inspecting all things, and examining their faculties and powers, ascends to the most excellent essence, and thence ventures onward to the God of the universe; not professing skill in human matters, but the knowledge of that which is divine and heavenly; to this is united the proper use of things human, both in word and deed.—This logic is the science of distinguishing between things comprehended by the

¹ ccccxvii. 23. Clement is now speaking of Moses as a judge. See ccccxvi. 13. What he here says with respect to the law, he had before said with reference to the Pædagogus. L. i. c. 8. See p. 34. We find the same illustration. cxxxvii. 1. Compare also cclxxx. 19, with ccccxviii. 13. See L. 2. ccccxvii. 22. L. 4. dlxvii. et seq.

² ccccxviii. 28.

³ ccccxiv. 13. Compare L. 2. cccclxii. 25. cccclxiii. 26.

⁴ ccccxiv. 27. Philosopher is the last in the list of titles given to Moses by Clement. ccccxvi. 10.

understanding, displaying the substance of everything purely and without mixture; or it is the power which distinguishes between the genera (*γένη*) of things, and thence descends to individuals, and causes each to appear simply as it is. Wherefore it alone leads to true wisdom; which is a Divine power, knowing things as they really are, attaining to perfection, and exempt from all affections (*πάθους*), not, however, without the assistance of the Saviour, Who, by the Divine Word, removes from the eye of the soul the film of ignorance spread over it by evil conversation, and restores it to a healthy state, that we may distinguish between God and man. He it is who shows us how to know ourselves, and reveals the Father of the universe to whom He will, as far as human nature is able to comprehend Him."—Clement¹ afterwards says, "that the law may be considered under three points of view, either as manifesting a sign (a miraculous communication), or as laying down precepts for a good life, or as predicting future events."

Having in the first book described the nature and design of the *Stromata*, and while he justified his frequent references to the Greek, established the superior antiquity of the Hebrew philosophy, Clement begins the second with stating the subjects which he shall discuss, and repeating the charge against the Greeks of having stolen from the barbarous philosophy many miraculous narratives, and many doctrines of the highest importance concerning faith, wisdom, knowledge, hope, charity, repentance, temperance, and the fear of God. The Greek philosophers particularly imitated the hidden, or symbolical and enigmatical part of the barbarous philosophy, as the most useful, or rather most necessary to the knowledge of the truth. One of his objects, Clement says, "will be to reply to the accusations of the Greeks, by appealing to Scripture; in the hope that the Jews may be led on, from what they now believe, to faith in Him in Whom they do not believe; and the Greeks may become ashamed of their calumnious attacks, by learning what the Christian doctrines really are."—Clement disclaims all attempts to win the assent of his readers by a

¹ ccccxxvi. 4.

studied style. "The barbarous philosophy,"¹ he continues, "which we follow, is perfect and true. It embraces the contemplation both of sensible objects, and of those which are comprehended by the understanding. Studied in conjunction with a good life, it conducts us, through that wisdom which is the artificer of all things, to the Governor of the universe, Who is difficult to be seized or apprehended, receding continually and going to a greater distance from him who follows after. The same (God), an ineffable wonder, is at once afar off and nearest to us. 'I am a God at hand,' says the Lord. Afar off, with respect to His essence or nature; for how can that which is created be near to that which is uncreated? But near in power, which comprehends all things in its bosom. The power of God is always present to us, either superintending, or benefiting, or instructing us." After some further remarks on the Divine nature, Clement² says, that they alone who are inspired by the Holy Spirit can attain to the understanding of Divine truth, through the medium of faith, which he defines "a voluntary anticipation, the assent of piety, 'the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.'" He³ then shows that the notions of faith entertained by Basilides and the Valentinians, led to the doctrine of an inevitable necessity, and subverted the distinctions between right and wrong. He⁴ says that "truth has reference to sensation, understanding, knowledge, and opinion; that in the natural order understanding has the precedence; but with respect to ourselves, sensation: and the essence of knowledge is composed of sensation and understanding; but evidence (*τὸ ἐναργὲς*) is common both to sensation and understanding. Sensation is the basis of knowledge; faith, making its way through sensible objects, leaves opinion behind; hastening on to that which is free from falsehood, it rests in the truth. Should any one⁵ say that knowledge is

¹ ccccxix. 37.

² ccccxixii. 18, 36.

³ ccccxixiii. 31. Compare L. 5. dcxliv. 38.

⁴ ccccxixv. 9. *τισσάρων δὲ ὄντων, ἐν οἷς τὸ ἀληθές· αἰσθήσεως, νοῦ, ἰπιστήμης, ὑπολήψεως.*

⁵ This was the definition of the philosophers. See ccccxixiii. 16. ccccliv. 9. cccclviii. 27. L. 4. dcxxix. 11. But the reader must bear in mind that the knowledge here spoken of is not that of the Gnostic, *γνώσις*, but *ἰπιστήμη* as opposed to *δόξα*. Clement distinguishes between *ἰπιστήμη* and *γνώσις*. cccclviii. 41. See also L. 3. dxxxi. 24. L. 4. dlxxxi.

demonstration by reason, let him be told that first principles admit not of demonstration; they can be known neither by art nor prudence (*φρονήσει*). ¹Unbelievers refer all things to sense, thinking that nothing exists but that which may be touched and handled, and making no distinction between body and essence."

Clement² proceeds to state the opinions of Aristotle and Epicurus respecting faith; and then³ resumes his old topic, that the Greeks stole their doctrines from Moses. He⁴ next shows that in Christ were united all the qualities which the Stoics ascribed to their wise man—that He possessed true beauty, was a king, was rich, a priest, a lawgiver, of noble birth. Returning to the subject of faith, he⁵ says that "it would be absurd in the admirers of Pythagoras, who deemed it sufficient to allege in confirmation of what they advanced, that *he* had said it—that it would be absurd in them to distrust the only Teacher Who was worthy of credit, God the only Saviour, and to require from Him proofs of what He taught."

St. Paul, in Rom. x. 14, 15, ⁶traces faith through hearing and the preaching of the Apostles to the word of the Lord, and to the Son of God. "What stronger demonstration can we have than the word of the Lord? But in order that the word may have its due operation, there must be on the part of the hearer an aptitude to receive it; the best instruction is of no avail, unless it is received by the learner. ⁷Some have both the inclination and the power; some only the inclination: to will is an act of the soul; but we cannot act without the body. Nor are we to estimate actions by the event alone; we must judge by the choice of the individual, whether he has chosen readily, whether he has repented of his sins, whether he understands and recognises his error, and has changed his

26. L. 6. DCCLXIX. 8. between *πιστήμη* and *σοφία*. L. 4. DLXVII. 2. DCXXXVIII. 28. P. L. 2. c. 2. CLXXXI. 26. We find *πιστήμης γνωστικῆς*. L. 6. DCXXXVI. 12. DCCCXXV. 6. DCCCXXIII. 34, and definitions of *σοφία* in P. L. 2. c. 2. CLXXI. 27. S. L. I. CCCXXXIII. 6. L. 4. DCXXXVIII. 28. L. 6. DCCLXVIII. 1. DCCCVII. 43.

¹ cccxxxvi. 2.

² cccxxxvi. 21.

³ cccxxxix. 1.

⁴ cccxxxiii. 15.

⁵ cccxli. 25.

⁶ cccxlii. 18.

⁷ cccxlii. 13.

sentiments; for repentance is tardy knowledge; innocence from the first is knowledge. Repentance, then, is an amendment through faith; for unless a man believes that to be sin in which he was before implicated, he will not change; and unless he believes that punishment hangs over the transgressor, and that salvation is the portion of him who lives agreeably to the commandments, he will not change. Hope also results from faith." Having again noticed the definition of faith given by Basilides, Clement¹ proceeds to define opinion, unbelief, incredulity, faith, expectation, confidence, ²good-will (*εὐνοία*). He then says that "the promise made to Abraham pertains to Christians, who are Israelites, believing not through signs and wonders, but through hearing.—³The covenants, which are two in name and time, adapted to the different ages and progress of the people of God, are one in power; both the old and the new being given by one God through His Son." This assertion Clement confirms by a reference to Rom. i. 17. ⁴"Faith is not to be disparaged as a common and vulgar quality. Whether founded on love, or, as they who disparage it say, on fear, it is a Divine gift.—It is a Divine change when unbelief becomes belief, and men believe in hope and fear. Faith appears to be the first inclination (*νεύσις*) towards salvation: then follow fear and hope and repentance, which growing up together with temperance and patience, lead us on to love and knowledge. Faith is the first element of knowledge, preceding all its other elements, being as necessary to the Gnostic as respiration is to life. As we cannot live without the four elements, neither can we attain knowledge without faith: faith then is the basis of truth."

"Some ⁵heretics disparaged the law, because it addressed itself to the fears of man. For fear, they said, is an irrational affection of the mind. But how," Clement asks, "can fear be irrational, when the commandment is given by the Word or reason? That fear must be rational, which is an avoiding of that which is hurtful, whence springs repentance for past

¹ ccccliv. 1.

² ccccliv. 14. Compare P. L. I. c. II. CLVI. 7.

³ Compare CCCCLXXVI. 18. L. 3. DVII. 11. DXIII. 30.

⁴ cccclv. 4.

⁵ cccclvi. 1.

transgressions. 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.' The heretics who denied that the law is good, urged the passage of St. Paul, 'By the law is the knowledge of sin.' But the law," Clement ¹ replies, "did not cause, it only declared sin; by commanding what is to be done, it improved that which is not to be done. It is the part of a good man to point out that which is salutary, and that which is injurious. The law must be good which was given as a schoolmaster to lead us to Christ, in order that being chastened by fear we might turn to perfection through Christ."

Clement ² proceeds to refute the interpretations put upon the text, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," by Basilides and Valentinus. "The fear of the Lord," ³ he says, "leads to repentance and to hope." He then defines hope, charity, hospitality, philanthropy, friendly affection (*φιλοστοργία*), brotherly love. "The Jews," he ⁴ says, "mistook the meaning of the law by attending only to the letter; they did not believe in it as predicting the coming of Christ, and obeyed it through fear, not through affection and faith; they did not perceive that Christ was the end of the law. But the goodness of God was manifested even in their rejection; for their rejection was accompanied by the calling of the Gentiles." Clement ⁵ thus describes the progress of the Christian to knowledge: "Faith becomes hope through repentance, as does fear through faith; perseverance and exercise in these, united with instruction, are perfected into charity; and charity is perfected into knowledge. Wisdom is the power of God, which teaches the truth; and thence is derived the perfection of knowledge."

"Three ⁶ qualifications are necessary to the perfection of the Gnostic: contemplation; the fulfilment of the commandments; the ability to form good men. The ⁷ frequent repetition in Scripture of the words, 'I am the Lord your God,' admonishes us quietly to seek God, and to endeavour as much as possible to know Him; this is the highest contemplation,

¹ cccclvii. 17.

² cccclviii. 3.

³ ccccl. 22.

⁴ ccccli. 26.

⁵ cccclii. 25.

⁶ ccccliii. 16. Compare L. 7. dcccxxx. 30.

⁷ ccccliv. 6.

the¹ true knowledge, which is immutably founded on reason. This is the only knowledge of wisdom, from which good works are inseparable." Clement then² distinguishes faith into two kinds: that of knowledge (*ἐπιστημονικῆ*), and that of opinion (*δοξαστικῆ*). He makes a similar distinction with respect to demonstration. "Christians possess the only true demonstration, which is supplied by the Divine Scriptures and the heaven-taught wisdom. The demonstration of opinion is human, and founded on rhetorical arguments and logical syllogisms. That from above is knowledge." Clement then runs into a fanciful interpretation of Exodus xvi. 36. "Now an omer is the tenth part of an ephah," or according to the Septuagint, "of three measures;" which three measures Clement³ states to be "sensation, the measure of objects of sense; speech or reason, of⁴ names and words; the understanding or mind, of things which are perceived by it. This is the true and just measure, by which is measured the decad,⁵ of which man consists—the body and soul, the five senses, the power of speech; the seminal power, and the cogitative or spiritual power." The last power bears the same relation to the other nine that the Creator does to the creation, which Clement, or rather Philo, divides into nine parts, the four elements (constituting one), the seven planets, and the fixed sphere. Then follows a comparison between the true and the Pseudo-Gnostic.

"Faith⁶ applies to the past and future, and is thus connected with memory and hope; we believe that past events have been, and that future events will be. Fear⁷ becomes faith first, and afterwards love; not, however, such a fear as men have of a wild beast, which they fear and hate; but as they have of a parent, whom they fear and love; faith is not predicated of the present, but persuasion or assurance." Clement, in pursuing this argument, ⁸says, that our assent is entirely in our own power.

¹ See Note 5, p. 77.

² ccccliv. 18.

³ This fanciful interpretation is borrowed from Philo de Congr. quærend. erudit. gratiâ.

⁴ ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων, nouns and verbs.

⁵ Clement describes this Decad somewhat differently. L. 6. dcccvi. 5.

⁶ cccclvii. 12.

⁷ See p. 80.

⁸ cccclviii. 9.

Clement next ¹ proceeds to the subject of repentance, and points out the dangerous condition of those who are continually repenting and relapsing into sin. ² "The Gentile, who embraces the Gospel, once receives the remission of his sins; but he who afterwards sins and then repents, even if he obtains pardon, ought to feel shame, because he is not again washed for the remission of sins. He who is regenerated in the Spirit ought to quit his former mode of life; that is, he ought not again to be involved in the same transgression, and again to repent. For repeatedly to ask forgiveness on account of repeated offences is not repentance, but a show of repentance." Clement ³ defines appetite a movement of the mind towards some object, or from it; passion an excessive appetite, overstepping the bounds set by reason. All the passions are irrational affections. Having stated that obedience and disobedience are voluntary, he ⁴ says, that which is involuntary cannot be made the subject of judgment. He then points out the various modes in which men may act involuntarily. God looks not merely at the action, but at the intent of the agent. That ⁵ which is voluntary is either by appetite, by choice, or by deliberate intention. Clement then states in what *ἀμαρτήματα*, *ἀτύχημα*, and *ἀδίκημα* differ from each other.

The ⁶ Valentinians seem to have objected against ascribing joy and grief, which are human affections, to God. Clement replies, "that the Divine nature cannot be described as it really is. The prophets have spoken to us, fettered as we are by the flesh, according to our ability to receive their saying, the Lord accommodating Himself to human weakness for our salvation. It is the will of God that he who obeys the commandments, and repents of his sins, should be saved; we then rejoice on account of our salvation; and the Lord, speaking through the prophets, has appropriated to Himself our joy.—God ⁷ has no natural (*φυσικὴν*) relation to us, as the founders of the heresies assert, whether He formed us out of nothing (*ἐκ μὴ ὄντων*), or out of matter; since the former has no existence, and the latter is in every respect different from God; unless some one should venture to assert that we are part of God, and of the same essence (*ὁμοουσίους*) with Him; and I understand

¹ cccclix. 26.² cccclx. 1.³ cccclx. 31.⁴ cccclxi. 3.⁵ cccclxii. 1.⁶ cccclxvi. 28.⁷ cccclxvii. 37.

not how he who knows God can bear to hear such an assertion, when he contemplates our life, and the evils in which we are involved. Were this the case, God would in part sin (*μερικῶς*), if the parts of the whole go to complete the whole; but if they do not go towards its completion, they are not parts. But God, being by His nature rich in pity, in His goodness watches over us, who are neither parts of Him, nor His children by nature.—The riches of God's mercy are manifested in this—that He calls to the adoption of sons, those who belong not to Him in essence or nature, but simply in being the work of His will."

Having defined knowledge (*ἐπιστήμη*), Clement¹ proceeds to say, that "whatever we do not, we do not either through want of inclination, or ability, or both. We wish to be as the Lord, but have not the ability to be: 'the disciple cannot be above his Master;' it is sufficient that we be as our Master; not in essence, since it is impossible for that which is by adoption to be equal in essence to that which is by nature; but in becoming immortal, in attaining to the contemplation of things as they really are, in being called sons, and in seeing the Father² in Himself. The inclination precedes; for the reasoning or rational faculties are the ministers of the inclination; in the Gnostic the inclination, the judgment, the exercise, are one and the same."

The Greeks derived their notions of moral virtue from Moses. This Clement³ proves by references to passages in the Old Testament, inculcating justice, liberality, brotherly love, forgiveness of injuries, kind treatment of animals, and other virtues. He⁴ says, incidentally, "that he who possesses one virtue as a Gnostic (*γνωστικῶς*), possesses all by mutual relation.⁵ This is he who is 'in the image and after the likeness,' the Gnostic, who imitates God as far as it is possible, omitting nothing which can contribute to the likeness, being continent,

¹ cccclxix. 2. See Note 5, p. 77.

² So I translate *καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἀπὸ τῶν οὐκίων καθορᾶν μόνον*.

³ cccclxix. 23.

⁴ cccclxx. 32. The whole passage, in which Clement describes the mutual dependence of the virtues on each other, is worthy of attention.

⁵ cccclxxx. 11. Compare C. xciv. 26. P. L. i. c. 12. clvi. 25. L. 3. c. 12. cccxi. 6. S. L. 2. cccxcix. 22.

forbearing, just; king (*βασιλείων*) of his passions, communicating what he has, doing good by word and deed, to the utmost of his power. ¹ The likeness to God (*τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν*) refers not to the body, for that which is mortal cannot be likened to that which is immortal; but to the understanding and reason, by which the Lord appropriately seals the likeness in doing good and in governing."

² "Patience and endurance of suffering are also qualities through which the Gnostic will acquire exemption from passion (*ἀπάθειαν*), and will approach to the resemblance of God.—When tempted he will bless, like the noble Job; like Jonas, he will pray when swallowed by the whale, and his faith will restore him to prophesy to the Ninevites: if he is shut up with lions, he will tame their savageness; if he is cast into the fire, he will be refreshed with dew, but will not be burned; he will bear testimony (*μαρτυρήσει*), by night, by day, in word, in life, in conversation; conversing and dwelling with the Lord in the spirit, he will remain pure in flesh, pure in heart, holy in speech. 'The world,' he says, 'is crucified to him, and he to the world.' He bearing about the cross of the Saviour, follows the steps of the Lord, like unto God ³ becoming a Saint of Saints." Clement next enlarges in praise of temperance, and inveighs against pleasure. He ⁴ then explains the manner in which the demons act upon the souls of men, and seduce them into error. He ⁵ defends the law against the charge of severity which some brought against it, because it addresses itself to the fears of man; it does this in order to secure to them exemption from anxiety by deterring them from unlawful pleasures. "To those," he ⁶ says, "who are inclined to sin, truth appears harshness; and he who will not join them in their sinful practices appears destitute of sympathy."

¹ cccclxxxiii. 33.

² cccclxxxiv. 3.

³ See cccxciv. 28. with reference to Ps. lxxxii. 1. "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty, he judgeth among the gods," or as it stands in the Septuagint, *ἐν μίσην δὲ θεῶν διακρίνει*. Clement asks, "What gods? Those who are superior to pleasure and passion; those who know what they do; the Gnostics, who have overcome the world." He makes similar applications of Ps. lxxxii. 6, 7; Rom. viii. 9.

⁴ cccclxxxvii. 7.

⁵ cccxcii. 11. See p. 79.

⁶ cccxciv. 2.

Having ¹ enumerated the opinions of the philosophers respecting happiness (τὸ τέλος), Clement ² says that "the purpose of the Christian Gnostic is to attain to an end which is without end, obeying the commandments (that is, obeying God), and living conformably to them, unrebukeable (ἀνεπιλήπτως, 1 Tim. vi. 14), and endued with knowledge (ἐπιστημόνως, Jas. iii. 13), through the knowledge of the Divine Will. That end is to assimilate ourselves, as far as lies in our power, to right reason, and to be restored to perfect adoption through the Son, and continually to glorify the Father through the great High Priest, Who has condescended to call us brethren and fellow-heirs. The Apostle in his ³ Epistle to the Romans, concisely describes the end, when he says, 'Now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, you have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life.' ⁴ The doctrine of Plato, that the object of faith is a resemblance to God, as far as man can unite justice and holiness with prudence; and that the end is a restoration of the promise through faith, is not different from the doctrine of St. Paul, and was indeed derived from the Scriptures of the Old Testament."

Clement ⁵ next treats of marriage, which he defines the union of a man and woman according to the law, in order to have legitimate children. To the question, whether a man ought to marry, he answers that every man ought not to marry, but regard must be had to time, and person, and age. Having recapitulated the opinions of the philosophers for and against marriage, he brings forward the ⁶ usual arguments in favour of it, drawn from the distinction of sexes; from the blessing pronounced by God on our first parents, "Increase and multiply;" from the necessity of marriage to the continuation of the human race. The ⁷ liability to disease con-

¹ cccxcv. 22.

² d. 33.

³ vi. 22.

⁴ Compare d. 7, with dii. 8.

⁵ dii. 14.

⁶ Some seem to have deemed marriage necessary to the perfection of the Gnostic. Clement puts the following argument into the mouth of one who held this opinion: "He who is childless does not reach his natural perfection, inasmuch as he does not substitute a successor in his own place; for *he* is perfect who causes to exist one like to himself; or rather, who sees *that one* do the same: that is, when he who is begotten arrives at the same natural condition as he who begat." DIII. 31.

⁷ div. 9.

stitutes another argument in favour of marriage; for the care and persevering attention of a wife surpasses the assiduity of other relations and friends, and she is described in Scripture as a help meet for man. In old age also the married man has a wife to take care of, and children to support him. Another argument¹ urged by Clement is, that if the loss of any object is an evil, the possession of it must be good; but the loss of children is the greatest of evils; consequently the possession of them is a great good. Throughout this discussion Clement says nothing in disparagement of marriage, but² affirms expressly that Scripture counsels men to marry.

Having described the manner in which the Gnostic character is gradually formed, and the qualifications necessary to its perfection, and having shown that the state of marriage is not incompatible with it, Clement proceeds in the third book to examine the opinions of the Pseudo-Gnostics, Basilides and Valentinus, respecting marriage. He then³ expresses his own opinion. "We esteem," he says, "chastity blessed, as well as those on whom this gift is conferred by God; we admire a single marriage, and the decorous gravity attached to it; saying, however, that we ought to sympathize with each other, and 'bear each other's burdens, lest he who thinks that he stands should himself fall.' With respect to a second marriage, the Apostle says, 'If thou burnest, marry.'"

Clement proceeds to detail the sentiments of Carpocrates, Marcion, and others of the Gnostics respecting marriage, and to condemn the licentiousness of many of their tenets. He⁴ says that "the heretics might be divided into two classes; those who taught the indifference of human actions, and those who inculcated continence, but impiously and through enmity to the Creator."—Against the former he argues that, "if all

¹ dv. 12.

² ὅτι δι' ἡμιῶν ἡ Γραφή συμβουλεύει, οὐδὲ ἀφίστασθαι ποτε τῆς συζυγίας ἰσχυρίζεται, ἀντικρὺς νομοθετεῖ. Clement then proceeds to quote Matt. v. 32.

DVI. 31.

³ dxi. 13.

⁴ dxxix. 15.

modes of life are different, we are manifestly at liberty to choose a life of continence.—A lover of pleasure gratifies his body; but a temperate man delivers his soul, which is the mistress of the body, from passions. If¹ all things are lawful, and there is no fear of being disappointed of our hope through wicked actions, we might have a pretence for living wickedly. But since a happy life is pointed out to us through precepts, at which (life) we ought all to aim—following whithersoever the Word may lead us, neither perverting anything that has been said, nor neglecting even the smallest part of that which is befitting—if we shall fail to attain to that life, we must necessarily fall into eternal evil. They, therefore, who follow the sacred Scriptures, by which all direct their way who trust that they shall, as far as possible, be assimilated to God—they must not live indifferently, but purify themselves from pleasures and desires, and watch over the soul, inasmuch as by it they perseveringly proceed to that which is alone divine. For the understanding, being pure and free from all wickedness, is in some measure capable of receiving the power of God, the Divine image being again raised up in it.” Clement² says, “that knowledge (*γνώσις*) is not mere speech, but a certain Divine science (*ἐπιστήμη*), and that light which springs up in the soul from obedience to the commandments, which makes all things manifest in their very origin, and prepares man to know himself, and teaches him to reach unto God; for knowledge is in the understanding, what the eye is in the body.”

Clement next replies to those heretics who inculcated continence, and forbade marriage, impiously and through hostility to the Creator. They appear to have appealed to various passages of Scripture, which he examines separately. “The end of the law,” he³ says, “is to lead men from unrighteousness to righteousness, by means of chaste marriages, and procreation of children, and holy life. The Lord came, not to destroy, but to fulfil the law; not to fulfil it as if it were defective, but to accomplish the prophecies in the law by His appearance; since the right course of life was proclaimed to those who lived righteously before the law through the Word. The majority of mankind, not knowing what continence is, live to the body, not to the spirit; but we ought

¹ dxxx. 18.

² dxxx. 23.

³ dxxxii. 15.

to be sanctified not only in the Spirit, but in the life and conversation also, and in the body.—¹They who abstain from marriage, on the ground that they have received the resurrection, ought also to abstain from eating and drinking; for God will destroy both the belly and meats in the resurrection.—As humility is a gentleness of mind, not a maceration (*κακοχία*) of the body, so continence is a virtue of the soul, not manifest, but in secret.” Some of the ² heretics appear to have defended their opinion by appealing to the example of Christ, Who was not married, and possessed nothing in this world. Clement answers, “that Christ had His own bride, the Church; then He was not a common man, and consequently wanted no helpmate in the flesh; nor was it necessary for Him to beget children, as He remains for ever, and is the only Son of God.” Clement ³ further shows “that the practice of just men under the Old Testament, and of Christ and His Apostles under the New, was in this respect the same. All thankfully partook of the bounty of the Author of nature.—In ⁴ like manner we are not forbidden to acquire wealth, but to acquire it unjustly and insatiably. The ⁵ continence of the Greek philosophers professed to struggle against concupiscence, and not to minister to it in act; but Christian continence professes not even to desire; so that we do not merely refrain from gratifying our desires, but do not even desire; but this continence can only be obtained through the grace of God.—As to be well is better than to be ill, and to talk about health; so to be light, is better than to talk about light; and the continence according to the truth better than that taught by the philosophers.—Our rule with regard to marriage, food, and everything else, should be, not to be the slaves of concupiscence, but to desire only what is necessary.”

Returning to the heretics, who taught the indifference of human actions, Clement ⁶ shows “that the end of the Gospel is the sanctification of man, to render him chaste instead of unchaste, temperate instead of intemperate, just instead of unjust.” Reasoning on a passage which he had before quoted

¹ dxxxiii. 10.

² dxxxiii. 22. These heretics called marriage *προφία*.

³ dxxxv. 1.

⁴ dxxxvii. 10.

⁵ dxxxvii. 29.

⁶ dxxxix. 33.

from an ¹apocryphal gospel, Clement says, "that destruction in death is necessarily consequent upon generation, and that these must continue until the perfect separation and restoration of the election, by which the essences now mixed up in the world shall be restored to their proper and kindred place." He adds, "that Scripture speaks of man in two senses, the visible man, and the soul; and again, the man who is saved, and the man who is not; for sin is called the death of the soul. The separation of the soul and body follows their union by a physical necessity, arising out of the Divine economy.—We are at liberty either to marry or to abstain from marriage; a life of celibacy is not of itself better than a married life. They ²who, in order to avoid the distraction of a married life, have remained single, have frequently become misanthropic, and have failed in charity; while others, who have married, have given themselves up to pleasure, and have become like unto beasts."

Clement ³ draws an argument in favour of marriage from Matt. xviii. 20. "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." The three are the man, the woman, and their child; for the woman is united to the man through God." He proceeds to quote other passages from Scripture, in opposition to the heretics, who rejected marriage through hostility to the Creator; ⁴ observing, as he goes on, "that St. Paul uniformly speaks of the God Who gave the Gospel as the same Who gave the law. ⁵ Marriage and celibacy have each its peculiar duties and offices.—Let every one, therefore, perfectly perform his service in the state in which he is called, that he may become free in Christ, receiving the appropriate reward of his service." Alluding to

¹ The Gospel according to the Egyptians. DXXXIX. 45. Clement had before quoted it, DXXXII. 8. Salome asked our Saviour, "How long will death prevail?" He answered, "As long as ye women bear children." This the heretics construed into a condemnation of marriage. This passage is quoted also in the Excerpta ex Theodoti Scriptis, LXVII.

² dxli. 35.

³ dxli. 41. Clement gives other interpretations of the verse; the three represented the Platonic division of the soul into anger, appetite, reason; or the flesh, soul, and spirit (see DLIII. 20); or the vocation (*κλήσις*), election (*ἐκλογή*), and the race destined to the highest honour (the Gnostic); or the Jew, the Gentile, and the Church composed of both.

⁴ dxliv. 41.

⁵ dxlvi. 26. Compare DLI. 31. DLV. 22.

Tatian, who interpreted the old man to mean the law, and the new man the gospel, thence contending that the law was given by another God, Clement¹ says, "the same Man and Lord, who makes old things new, no longer allows polygamy; (formerly God required it, when it was necessary to increase and multiply,) but introduces monogamy for the procreation of children, and the care of a family, for which the woman was given as a helpmate. To some the Apostle concedes a second marriage, lest they should burn; since such persons do not sin according to the Covenant; for a second marriage was not forbidden by the law; but they do not reach the full perfection of the Gospel. He acquires heavenly glory who has power over himself, and preserves unpolluted the union which was dissolved by death, and willingly obeys the dispensation, by which he is enabled, without distraction, to attend to the service of the Lord.—If² the Giver of the law and of the gospel is one and the same, He cannot contradict Himself. For the law lives, being spiritual, when understood according to knowledge; but 'we have died to the law through the body of Christ, that we may live to another, to Him Who has been raised from the dead,' Who was foretold by the law, 'that we may bring forth fruit unto God. Wherefore the law is holy, and the commandment holy, just, and good.' We have died, therefore, to the law, that is, to sin, which was made manifest by the law: for the law³ does not generate, but declares sin, by commanding that which is to be done, and forbidding that which is not to be done, thus convicting the sin which lies beneath, so that it may appear to be sin.—⁴All the Epistles of the Apostle, while they inculcate chastity and continence, and contain various precepts respecting marriage, the procreation of children, the management of households, nowhere condemn a chaste marriage; but preserving the consistency between the law and the gospel, approve both him who lives in the married state chastely and with thankfulness to God, and him who lives a life of celibacy as the Lord wills; each choosing to remain as he is called, without offence or imperfection."

Clement⁵ proceeds to notice the opinions of Julius Cassianus, the founder of the Docetæ, respecting marriage, and to examine

¹ dxlviii. 21. Compare DLIV. 15.

³ See p. 79.

⁴ dl. 18.

² dxlix. 14.

⁵ dl. 38.

various passages of Scripture, which he alleged in their support. "If,"¹ continues Clement, "generation is evil, let them at once say that the Lord Who partook of it, and the virgin who bare Him, were involved in evil."² But generation is holy, through which the world, the essences, the natures, and angels, and powers, and souls, and commandments, and the law, and the gospel, and the knowledge of God, exist.—³ Christ healed the infirmities of the body, as well as of the soul; this He would not have done if the flesh is at enmity with the soul. They⁴ who inculcate continence out of enmity to the Creator, act impiously, when they might choose celibacy agreeably to the sound rule of piety; giving thanks for the grace imparted to them, but not abhorring the creature, or despising those who marry; for the world is the work of a Creator, as well as celibacy itself: but let both (the married and single) give thanks in the state in which they are placed, if they know for what purpose they are placed in it." Clement charges those who held the opinion which he is combating with leading licentious lives.

Having in the third book shown, in opposition to the Pseudo-Gnostics, that the married state is not incompatible with Gnostic perfection, Clement begins the fourth book with stating the subjects which he means to discuss, and the order in which he means to discuss them. He should speak of martyrdom first, then describe the perfect Gnostic; then show that it was alike incumbent on freemen and slaves, on men and women, to philosophize; then treat of faith and inquiry⁵ (*περὶ τοῦ ζητεῖν*), and of the symbolic system; and having thus completed the subject of morals, point out summarily the assistance which the Greeks had derived from the barbarian philosophy. He would then briefly produce passages of Scripture in opposition to the Greeks and Jews; and afterwards discuss the opinions of the Greeks and barbarians concerning natural principles (*τὰ περὶ ἀρχῶν φυσιολογηθέντα*). The next step would be to treat of the prophetic writings, and to show that the Scriptures were sanctioned by the authority of

¹ dlvi. 13.

² dlx. 15.

³ dlx. 41.

⁴ dlx. 6.

⁵ Compare L. 5. dclvi. 5.

the Almighty, and that one God and Almighty Lord was proclaimed by the law and prophets, and by the gospel. All these discussions would be only preliminary to the consideration of the Gnostic physiology, which depends on the history of the creation of the universe (*κοσμογονία*). Thence he would ascend to the consideration of Divine things (*ἐπὶ τὸ θεολογικὸν εἶδος*).

Having assigned his reason for giving his work the title of the *Stromata*, and stated his expectation that few would understand it, he ¹ says, "that man, like the Thessalian Centaur, consists of a rational and irrational part, a soul and body: the body cultivates the earth, and hastens to it; the soul reaches after God, and being instructed in the true philosophy, hastens to its ² kindred above, turning aside from the desires of the body, and from toil and fear.—³ Death is the union of the soul, being sinful, with the body; life, the separation from sin.—The separation, therefore, of the soul from the body, which the philosopher practises throughout his life, produces the alacrity of the Gnostic to bear the natural death, which is a dissolution of the chains binding the soul to the body." "The world," he says, "is crucified to me, and I to the world; though in the flesh, I live as one who has his conversation in heaven."⁴

"Hence the genuine Gnostic is ready to give up his body to him who asks it, having first put off the affections of the flesh. He is the true martyr or witness (*μαρτυρεῖ*). He ⁴ feels gratitude to him who has afforded him a plea for departing hence by laying a snare for him, and has given him an opportunity which he did not himself procure, of manifesting what he is, to his persecutor by patience; to the Lord by love. ⁵ Martyrdom is called perfection because it displays the perfect work of love."—Clement ⁶ then combats the opinion of certain

¹ dlxvii. 20.

² ὁ δὲ τῶν ὄντων θησαυρὸς ἡμῶν, ἕνθα ἡ συγγένεια τοῦ νοῦ, dlxxviii. 20.

³ dlxxviii. 28.

⁴ dlxix. 33.

⁵ dlxx. 7.

⁶ dlxxi. 10. Yet he himself says, that if confession to God is martyrdom, every soul which unites purity of conversation to knowledge of God, and obeys the commandments, is a martyr in life and in word, whatever be the mode in which it is released from the body; pouring forth faith as blood, through its whole life and at its departure. DLXX. 22. Compare DLXXXII. 12. DLXXXIII. II. DXCVI. 17.

heretics, who affirmed that the true martyrdom was the knowledge of the true God; and that he who encountered death in the confession of Christ was a suicide. He also condemns other heretics, who, through hostility to the Creator, voluntarily gave themselves up to the magistrates.

Having noticed the opinion of the Stoics, that the soul is not affected by the body, and that health and sickness are indifferent, Clement ¹ observes that "the martyr chooses pleasure in expectation, though obtained by immediate pain. But as there is pain in thirst, and pleasure in drinking, the antecedent pain is the cause of pleasure; but that which is evil cannot be productive of good; consequently neither pain nor pleasure is evil." Pursuing the subject of martyrdom, he ² says, "that the judge who compels us to deny *the beloved*, proves who is and who is not the friend of God. ³ We ought to draw near to the word of salvation, not through the promise of gifts, or through dread of punishment, but for the good itself. We shall then stand on the right hand of the sanctuary. But they, who think to obtain that which is incorruptible by the gift of that which is corruptible, are called hired servants in the parable of the two brothers. Here, too, we see the distinction between ⁴ the likeness and the image: the former live according to the likeness of the Saviour; those on the left hand after their image."—Clement, while discoursing of the beatitudes, and of the blessedness of the pure in heart, ⁵ says, "Some good things are good in themselves; some partake of good things, as virtuous actions. But neither good nor bad actions can be without the intervention of those things which hold the place of matter; as life, health, and other things either necessary or contingent. They, therefore, who come to the knowledge of God, should be pure as to bodily desires and holy thoughts, that nothing spurious may deaden the power of the ruling faculty of the soul (*τὸ ἡγεμονικόν*). When, therefore, the Gnostic, partaking of this holy quality, and conversing in

¹ dlxxiii. 27.

² dlxxvi. 4.

³ dlxxvi. 28.

⁴ With reference to Gen. i. 26.

⁵ dlxxxi. 13. Clement's object in this discussion on the beatitudes is to show that our Saviour's precepts were directed, not merely to the regulation of the external conduct, but to the formation of the internal disposition.

DLXXIX. 12, 24.

purity with the Divine nature, gives himself up to contemplation, he approximates to a habit of impassible identity (*ταυτότητος ἀπαθοῦς*), so that he no longer possesses ¹ science and acquires knowledge, but is science and knowledge.² The last beatitude relates to those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, and is, as it were, the sum of the rest, instructing the Gnostic to despise death through love towards God. — We should, however, understand that every kind of temptation affords an opportunity for martyrdom, *i.e.* for bearing testimony to the Gospel.”

Clement³ proceeds to show that the martyr encounters death in order to obtain life, and dies for his own salvation. ⁴ “Miserable men think that the testimony to the Lord by blood is the most violent death, not knowing that such a gate of death is the commencement of the true life; and being unwilling to understand either the honours which after death await those who live holily, or the punishments which await those who live unjustly and lasciviously.” Clement enumerates the various motives to martyrdom proposed in Scripture, faith, love, gratitude, hope. “The Gnostic⁵ places not in life the end at which he aims, but in being eternally happy and blessed, and in being the royal friend (*βασιλικῷ φίλῳ*) of God; and if any one subjects him to dishonour, to banishment, confiscation of property, or lastly, to death, he will never be torn away from liberty and prevailing love (*κυριωτάτης*) towards God, which hides all things and endures all things; for love is persuaded that the Divine Providence orders all things well. The first⁶ step is instruction through fear, by which we abstain from injustice; the second is hope, by which we aim at that which is best; love perfects us, instructing us through knowledge (*γνωστικῶς*). — Rational knowledge is set before those who press onwards to perfection; of which knowledge the ⁷ foundation is the holy triad, faith, hope, charity.”

Having quoted instances of heathen philosophers who had

¹ Scientia opposed to Opinio; *πιστήμη* το *δόξα*. See L. 5. DCLVXXI. 28.

² dlxxxī. 43. ³ dlxxxii. 27. ⁴ dlxxxiii. 19. ⁵ dlxxxvii. 15.

⁶ In the Greek *ὁ μὲν οὖν πρῶτος βαθμὸς τοῦ σώματος*, where the word *σώματος* is evidently faulty.

⁷ Compare L. 5. dclii. 25. dclxxxiii. 3.

patiently endured severe tortures, Clement next ¹ shows that the female is equally capable of virtuous actions with the male, and therefore equally bound to encounter martyrdom. It appears from what he ² says on this point, that wives and children and servants frequently underwent great hardships, in consequence of the profession of Christianity, from unbelieving husbands, parents, and masters.

Clement proceeds to quote passages of Scripture inculcating the obligation to encounter martyrdom rather than deny Christ; among the rest Luke xii. 8, on which ³ he gives the comment of Heracleo, a follower of Valentinus. "Heracleo said that there were two modes of confessing Christ, one by faith and a holy conversation, the other by the lips, giving the preference to the former." Clement ⁴ replies that "he who confesses Christ before men at the hazard of his life must be supposed to have faith.—Some do not merely confess, but plead in defence of Christianity, by which the members of the Church are ⁵ confirmed; those among the Gentiles who busily seek after salvation are moved with admiration, and are led to the faith; while the rest are astonished. We ought on every account to confess, for that is in our own power; but to plead in defence of Christianity is not in our power.—The Lord alone, in order to cleanse men who laid snares for Him and were unbelievers, drank the cup. The Apostles, as true Gnostics and perfect, imitating him, suffered for the churches which they founded. In like manner the Gnostics, who walk in the footsteps of the Apostles, ought to be free from sin, and through love to the Lord to love their neighbour; so that, if an occasion should call them forward, undergoing afflictions without stumbling (*ἀσκανδάλιστοι*) they may drink the cup for the Church. As many as bear testimony by act in their life, by word before the tribunal, whether through hope or fear, are superior to those who confess only with the mouth unto salvation. But he who going beyond this arrives at love, he is the really blessed and genuine martyr (*μάρτυς*), making a perfect confession both to the commandments and to God through the Lord; Whom he loves and thus recognises as a brother,

¹ dxc. 10. Compare DCXIX. 8. DCXXII. 28. P. L. I. c. 4.

² dxciii. 37.

³ dxcv. 24.

⁴ dxcvi. 18.

⁵ dxcvi. 33. Compare DCI. 26.

surrendering himself up entirely through God, gratefully and lovingly rendering back, as a deposit, the man who is demanded from him."

From the text, "When they persecute you in one city, flee to another," Clement¹ takes occasion to condemn those who voluntarily exposed themselves to martyrdom; they were in fact accessory to the crimes of the persecutors. He then supposes the question to be asked,² "If God takes care of you, if you are under His Providence, why are you persecuted and murdered?" Clement answers, "First, God does not wish the Christians to be persecuted; but their persecution is necessary to the accomplishment of the prophecies, which, by announcing that they should be persecuted, taught them to prepare themselves and to acquire the needful firmness and constancy. Secondly, persecution affords opportunity for the display of their constancy and of the prejudice of their judges, who³ persecuted them solely because they were Christians, construing the mere profession of the Gospel into a crime. Thirdly, the Christian, instead of being injured, is indebted to his persecutor for transferring him so quickly from this life to a better."

⁴ Basilides, whose object appears to have been to maintain the perfect goodness of the Deity, contended that they who suffered martyrdom did not suffer unjustly; they either suffered for actual sins, or on account of the sinfulness of their nature, or on account of sins committed in a former state of existence. Clement⁵ shows that this hypothesis does not answer the purpose for which it is intended, that of defending the goodness of God; and points out various absurdities which flow from it. His⁶ solution of the difficulty is that God does not cause, but permits, the persecution of the innocent, and turns the crimes of the adversaries of Christianity to its advantage. He next⁷ refutes the notion of the Valentinians respecting the annihilation of death by division among the elect seed; and⁸ sums up the character of the Gnostic martyr in the words of St. Paul, Rom. viii. 38.

¹ dxcvii. 23.

² dxcviii. 13.

³ Compare the Apology of Tertullian, c. 2.

⁴ dxcix. 18.

⁵ dc. 37.

⁶ dcii. 8. Compare L. I. CCCLXVII. 9.

⁷ dciii. 8.

⁸ dcvi. 15.

Having ¹ distinguished between the knowledge and faith of the common and of the perfect Christian, Clement quotes various passages of Scripture to show that they who suffer in the cause of religion will be rewarded hereafter. He then ² quotes a passage from the Epistle of Clemens Romanus, containing a description of the true Gnostic. ³ "The distinction between the Gnostic and the ordinary Christian with respect to martyrdom is, that the former suffers through love, the latter through fear or the hope of reward. ⁴ There is a difference in actions, whether they are performed through fear or perfected in love; whether they are the result of faith or knowledge; in consequence there is a difference in the reward of the Gnostic and of the simple believer. Women ⁵ are as capable as men of attaining to perfection." This Clement proves by example both from sacred and profane history. ⁶ "A chaste wife should in the first place endeavour to associate her husband to herself in all things pertaining to happiness; but if she cannot do this, she must by herself press onwards to virtue, obeying her husband in all things, and doing nothing against his will but that which is of moment to virtue and salvation. He who throws obstacles in the way either of a wife or female servant, sincerely actuated by such a principle, must wish to turn her aside from righteousness and chastity, and to render his own household unrighteous and licentious." Having further described the conduct of a good wife towards her husband, in order to show that the Gnostic perfection might be attained by the woman as well as the man, Clement ⁷ proceeds to say, "that Christ alone was perfect in all respects; which man cannot be while he is man. The law merely proposes abstinence from evil, and is as it were a road to the Gospel and to the doing of good. ⁸ Legal perfection according to knowledge is an anticipation of the Gospel. The Gnostic advances in the Gospel, not using the law merely as a step, but understanding it as the Lord, Who gave the covenants, delivered it to the Apostles. If then ⁹ he lives virtuously, and becomes a martyr making a right confession through love, and

¹ devii. 32.

² dcix. 41.

³ dcxiv. 4.

⁴ dcxv. 3.

⁵ dcxvii. 8. Compare dxc. 10, quoted in p. 95.

⁶ dcxx. 11.

⁷ dcxxiii. 1.

⁸ ἀλλὰ νομικοῦ μὲν τελείωσις γνωστικῆ Εὐαγγελίου πρόληψις (l. πρόληψις).

⁹ Compare dxcvii. 13.

thus receives greater honour among men, even then he will not attain to the title of perfection while in the flesh. That is reserved to the end of life, when the Gnostic breathes out his spirit in the shedding of his blood. Our¹ business then is to strive after perfection as much as possible while we are in the flesh, practising by perfect concord here a concurrence with the Will of God, unto the restitution of the really perfect nobility and consanguinity in the fulness of Christ, which is perfected by our perfection. ² Each Christian has his peculiar grace from God; but the Apostles were filled with all." Clement then insists that the connexion between the law and the Gospel may be proved from St. Paul's writings: "For faith in Christ and the knowledge of the Gospel is the interpretation and the fulfilment of the law."

"The ³ Gnostic is he who understands the law: he does not merely abstain from evil, or do good through fear or through the hope of reward; he does good through love, and because he chooses it for itself. He ⁴ strives not to attain to the knowledge of God for any consequences which will flow from the attainment; the knowledge alone is the motive of his contemplation.—Were the choice proposed to him either to know God or to obtain eternal salvation (on the supposition that the two could be separated), he would choose the former. He does good, not occasionally, but habitually; not for fame; not for reward. He is perfected in the image and after the likeness of God. The flesh is dead in him; he alone lives, having dedicated the sepulchre his body, as a holy temple to the Lord, and converted his former sinful soul to God. He is not continent, but habitually exempt from passion, waiting until he can put on the Divine form. All virtue is habitual in him, so that he cannot lose it even for a moment. He never varies; a variety of affections arises from an attraction to material things." Noticing the ⁵ washings of the Heathens and Jews, Clement says "that perfect purity is purity of the mind, and actions, and thoughts, and sincerity of speech, and lastly, freedom from sin, even in dreams. Exact and stedfast repentance is a sufficient purification for man; if condemning

¹ dcxxiv. 25.² dcxxv. 12.³ dcxxv. 27. See DCXXIX. 17. DCXXXI. 8.⁴ dcxxvi. 5.⁵ dcxxviii. 23.

ourselves for our past actions we go forwards, understanding what is to come, and raising the mind above the delights of sense and former transgressions.—The Gnostic, if he could obtain permission from God to do what is forbidden and be exempt from punishment ; or if he could receive the happiness of the blessed as a reward for doing it ; or if it was even possible for him to be persuaded that he could escape the eye of God, would do nothing contrary to right reason, having once chosen that which is fair and eligible, and desirable for itself.”

“The ¹ Gnostic understands that whatever has been created for our use is good ; but that to be like the Deity in exemption from passion and in virtue, is better. ² His language is, ‘I will deliver myself, O Lord, from concupiscence, by union with Thee. The dispensation of the creation is good, and all things are well disposed by Providence ; nothing exists without a cause ; I ought to be among Thine, O Almighty God ; and though I am here, I am with Thee ; I wish to be exempt from fear, that I may draw nigh to Thee, to be satisfied with little, and to practise Your just selection of good things from those that are like them.’ ³ Such an one becomes in a certain manner a god, and is formed according to the form of the kindred spirit.”

Clement ⁴ asserts that to believe or not to believe is in our own power, and that we are in consequence justly punished for our sins. “Those committed before men embrace Christianity are remitted by the Lord. What is done cannot be undone, but may be as if it had not been done. Nor does this remission apply, as Basilides affirmed, only to sins committed unwillingly and in ignorance. We must not so limit the grace of God. God in inflicting punishment has three things in view : to amend the transgressor ; to admonish those who can be saved by example ; and to prevent the injured party from becoming an object of contempt, and being thereby exposed to further injustice. There are also two modes of amending men ; by instruction, and by punishment or discipline. They who fall into sin after baptism are disciplined ; for the sins

¹ dcxxx. 37.

³ dcxxxii. 10, 17.

² dcxxxi. 21.

⁴ dcxxxiii. 24.

committed before are pardoned; those committed after are cleansed."

Clement, ¹ after approving the sentiment of Plato—that he who contemplates the unseen God, is a god living among men—applies ² it to the Gnostic, who, being already as it were an angel, "will be with Christ, employed in contemplation, and always looking to the will of God. ³ Purity, righteousness, and peace are the objects of his pursuit. ⁴ The heretics who speak evil of the body do not consider that its structure is erect, and fitted for the contemplation of heaven, and that the organs of sensation contribute to the acquisition of knowledge, and that the members are formed for that which is good, not for pleasure. Hence it becomes the habitation of the soul, which is most precious to God; and is thought worthy of the Holy Spirit by the sanctification of the soul and body, being perfected by the perfection of the Saviour. The Gnostic is conversant with the Deity ⁵ morally, physically, and rationally; possessing wisdom, which is the knowledge of things human and divine; righteousness, which is the concord of the parts of the soul: holiness, which is the worship of God.—⁶ We admit that the soul is the better part of man; the body the worse; but neither is the soul good, nor the body bad by nature; nor is that which is not good necessarily bad; there are things between the two, and of these some preferred, some rejected (*καὶ προηγμένα καὶ ἀποπροηγμένα*. See Cicero de Finibus iii. 4, 15). As man was to be placed among sensible objects, he was necessarily composed of different, but not opposite parts, a soul and a body.—The soul of the wise man and of the Gnostic, sojourning like a foreigner in the body, treats it with gravity and severity, not allowing itself to be affected by its passions; as ready to quit the tabernacle of the flesh, whenever the time of departure calls. Basilides speaks of the *election* as strangers to the world, being naturally above the world (*ὑπερκόσμιον*). But this is not so. For all things are of

¹ dcxxxiv. 31. ² dcxxxv. 3. ³ dcxxxvii. 6. ⁴ dcxxxviii. 16.

⁵ Clement had just before said that God Himself, without beginning, is, as an essence (*οὐσία*), the beginning of the creative; as He is the good, (*τὸ ἀγαθόν*) of the moral; as he is understanding, (*νοῦς*) of the rational and judging topic (*τέρας*). DCXXXVIII. 10.

⁶ dcxxxix. 12.

one God; and no one can by nature be a stranger to the world: there being one essence and one God; but the elect live as strangers, knowing that all things are to be possessed, and then laid aside. They use the ¹three good things of which the Peripatetics speak; but they use the body as men who are taking a long journey use the inns on the road; minding the things of the world as of the place in which they sojourn; but leaving their habitations and possessions, and the use of them, without regret, readily following him who withdraws them from life; never looking behind; giving thanks for the time of their sojourning, but blessing their departure, and longing for their mansion in heaven.—²The heretical notion, that the soul is sent down from heaven into these lower regions, is erroneous. God ameliorates all things; and the soul, choosing the best course of life from God and righteousness, receives heaven in exchange for earth.—The Gnostic, assimilated to God as far as possible, is already spiritual, and on that account elect.”

Agreeably to the order which he had proposed to himself in the commencement of the fourth book, Clement begins the fifth with treating of faith, “which some referred exclusively to the Son; while they referred knowledge to the Spirit. But faith and knowledge cannot be separated. We must believe with respect to the Son, that He is the Son, that He came, and how He came, and why, and that He suffered; but we must also know Who is the Son of God. In like manner we cannot believe in the Son without knowing the Father. That knowledge of the Son and Father, which is according to the Gnostic rule, is the comprehension of truth through the truth. We are believers in that which is disbelieved; Gnostics in that which is unknown—Gnostics, who do not express acts by speech, but by contemplation. Faith is the ears of the soul.—The ³Apostle speaks of a twofold faith; or rather of one, which admits of increase

¹ The goods of the soul, of the body, and those which are without, *καὶ ἐξ ἑσῶς*. Compare L. 2. CCCXCVI. 21. L. 4. DLXXIV. 1.

² dcl. 26.

³ dcliv. 23. The allusion is to Rom. i. 17.

and perfection; for ¹ common faith lies as the foundation.—But that excellent faith which is raised upon it is perfected in the believer, and united with that which proceeds from instruction, and the rational fulfilment of the commandments. Such was the faith of the Apostles, which could move mountains.”

² Having refuted the opinions of Basilides, Valentinus, and Marcion respecting faith, Clement ³ proceeds to proclaim the excellence of that spirit of inquiry which accompanies faith, and builds up the magnificent knowledge of truth on the foundation of faith. He then briefly notices the different cases in which men think inquiry useless, and adds, “that faith is established, when all causes for further inquiry are removed. This is the case when we are told that it is God Who speaks, and that He has determined in the Scriptures the points on which we are inquiring.” Clement remarks incidentally, “that the Divine Providence is manifested in the skilful and wise construction of all that we see, and in the order observable in the universe. He Who gave us being, gave us also reason, because He wished us to live rationally and virtuously.—We cannot attain to the perfect good without free choice; yet all does not depend upon our will; for instance, the result or event. For we are saved by grace, yet not without good works. Our natural aptitude to that which is good must be accompanied by diligence and zeal. We must possess a sound mind, which wavers not in the search of good. For this we chiefly need Divine grace, right instruction, chaste affections, and require that the Father should draw us towards Himself. Since, being bound down in an earthly body, we apprehend sensible things by means of the body, but we attain to things comprehended by the understanding (*τὰ νοητὰ*) through the rational power. But if any one hopes to comprehend all things through the senses, he is far beside the truth.—In ⁴ consequence of the inability of the soul to comprehend things as they really exist, we needed a Divine teacher; and the Saviour is sent down, at once to instruct us how to acquire

¹ Compare DCLIX. 37, where Clement opposes common faith to perfection of the Gnostic. Compare also DCLXIX. 27.

² dcxliv. 38. Compare L. 2. CCCCXXXIII. 31.

³ dcxlv. 5.

⁴ dcxlvii. 33.

what is good, and to supply it, the ineffable holy revelation of the great Providence."—"Our faith," Clement ¹ says, "must not be inoperative or solitary, but united with inquiry: 'Seek and you shall find.' We must employ the perspective (*διορατικὸν*) faculty of the soul for the discovery of truth, and remove all obstacles out of the way, contention, envy, strife.—² Inquiry concerning God, if it tends not to strife, but to discovery, leads to salvation. They who truly seek, praising God, shall be filled with the gift from God, that is, knowledge, and their souls shall live; for the Father is made known through the Son." Clement adds, "that the Greeks had ³ some right notions respecting faith, hope, and charity."

From Plato he ⁴ shows that they had also some hope of another life. "⁵ There is this resemblance between faith and hope: both see intelligible (*τὰ νοητὰ*) and future things with the understanding. We speak of justice, honesty, and truth, as really existing; yet we cannot see them with the eyes, but only with the understanding. The Word of God says, 'I am the truth.' The Word, therefore, must be contemplated with the understanding. But, the Word having come forth to be the cause of creation, then begat Himself when He became flesh, in order that He might be an object of sight.—The ⁶ first instruction communicated to him who walks according to the Word is the consideration of his ignorance. Being ignorant, he seeks; seeking, he finds the teacher; having found, he believes; having believed, he hopes; and having in consequence loved, he becomes like to Him Who is beloved; striving to be that which he had already loved." Clement quotes passages from the Greek writers in confirmation of his statements; and ⁷ justifies himself for so doing, on the ground that the Gentiles will be most easily brought to embrace the truth, if it is presented to them under a form with which they are familiar. "We," he says, "consider their knowledge as our own, because all things are God's; and because whatever is good was derived to the Greeks through us."

Clement then ⁸ goes on to show that not only among the

¹ dcl. 25. Compare L. I. CCCXXXVI. 26, quoted in p. 68.

² dcli. 14.

³ dclii. 25.

⁴ dclii. 34.

⁵ dcliii. 26.

⁶ dcliv. 23.

⁷ dclvi. 12.

⁸ dclvi. 35.

Hebrews, but among the Egyptians and Greeks, it was the practice to conceal the truths of religion under mysteries, to the knowledge of which none but the initiated were admitted. Prophecies and oracles were delivered under enigmas. The Egyptian ¹hieroglyphics, the apophthegms of the wise men of

¹ dclvii. 14. The recent inquiries into the nature and meaning of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, have drawn the attention of learned men to this passage. I will, therefore, give it entire. *αὐτίκα οἱ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις παιδεύομενοι πρῶτον μὲν πάντων τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν γραμμάτων* (it is said of Moses S. L. I. CCCCXIII. 9. *προσιμάνθηναι δὲ τὰ Αἰγυπτίων γράμματα, ἵτις ἔχοντες ἴδωλα τίσσασα γράμματα, ἵτις ἐν τοῖς ἱερογλυφικοῖς γράμμασιν ἐπιδείκνυνται.* The meaning of the words *ἱερογλυφικοῖς γράμμασιν*, when used with reference to the symbolic philosophy, may be collected from the following passage, DCLXXI. II. *ἤδη δὲ κἀν ταῖς καλουμέναις παρ' αὐτοῖς κομασῖαις τῶν θῶν χρυσᾶ ἀγάλματα, δύο μὲν κύνας, ἕνα δὲ ἱερακα, καὶ ἴβιν μίαν περιφέρουσι, καὶ καλοῦσι τὰ τίσσασα τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἴδωλα τίσσασα γράμματα.) μίθοδον ἰκμανθάνουσι, τὴν ἐπιστολογραφικὴν καλουμένην· διυτίραν δὲ τὴν ἱερατικὴν, ἣ χρῶνται οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς· (Clement speaks of ten sacerdotal books, ἱερατικά καλούμενα ἰ βιβλία, of Hermes:) ὑστάτην δὲ καὶ τελευταίαν, τὴν ἱερογλυφικὴν· ἧς ἡ μὲν ἴστι διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων κυριολογική· ἡ δὲ συμβολική. τῆς δὲ συμβολικῆς, ἡ μὲν κυριολογίται κατὰ μίμῃσιν· ἡ δ' ὡσπερ τροπικῶς γράφεται· ἡ δὲ ἀντικρυς ἀλληγορίται κατὰ τινὰς αἰνιγμούς. ἥλιον γοῦν γράψαι βουλόμενοι, κύκλον ποιῶσι· σιλήνην δὲ, σχῆμα μηνιοῖδὸς κατὰ τὸ κυριολογούμενον εἶδος. τροπικῶς δὲ, κατ' οἰκισίτητα μιτάγοντες καὶ μιτατιθέντες, τὰ δ' ἐξαλλάττοντες, τὰ δὲ πολλαχῶς μιτασχηματίζοντες, χαράττουσιν. τοὺς γοῦν τῶν βασιλείων ἱεταίους, θεολογούμενους μύθοις παραδίδοντες, ἀναγράφουσι διὰ τῶν ἀναγλύφων. τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αἰνιγμούς τρίτου εἶδους δῆγμα ἴστω τῶδε· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀστρῶν, διὰ τὴν πορίαν τὴν λοξῆν, ὅφωιν σώμασιν ἀπείκαζον. τὸν δὲ ἥλιον, τῶ τοῦ κανθάρου· ἐπιτιδὴ κυκλοτερές ἐκ τῆς βοείας ὄνου σχῆμα πλασάμενος, ἀντιπρῶσσωπος κυλίνδου. φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἐξάμνον μὲν ὑπὸ γῆς, βάτερον δὲ τοῦ ἔτους τμήμα τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο ὑπὲρ γῆς διατᾶσθαι· σπερμαίνειν τε εἰς τὴν σφαῖραν καὶ γιννᾶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν κανθάρου μὴ γίνεσθαι. Clement gives other specimens of enigmatical hieroglyphics, DCLXX. 21.*

It is evident that in this passage Clement mentions three kinds of writing: the epistolographic, which the Egyptians used in their ordinary correspondence; the hieratic, which the priests used in their sacred books; the hieroglyphic, which was used on the sacred monuments. The hieroglyphic Clement divides into two kinds; the cyriologic (*ἧς ἡ μὲν ἴστι διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων, κυριολογική*) and the symbolic. The latter he again divides into three kinds: the first, *κυριολογίται κατὰ μίμῃσιν*, of which he gives examples; the second, *ὡσπερ τροπικῶς γράφεται*, of which he gives no examples; the third, *ἀντικρυς ἀλληγορίται κατὰ τινὰς αἰνιγμούς*, of which he gives examples. The chief, or rather the only difficulty in the passage, relates to the interpretation of the words *διὰ τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων* in the description of the first or cyriologic kind of hieroglyphic writing.

Warburton (Tom. iv. p. 142, Hurd's Ed.) understood by them alphabetical letters; and his interpretation derives support from the following

Greece, are instances of the practice of throwing a kind of veil around important truths, in order that the curiosity of men may be roused, and their diligence stimulated. ¹ All who treated of Divine things, whether Greeks or barbarians, concealed the principles. ² Pythagoras employed the symbolical or enigmatical mode of instruction, of which Clement gives instances. ³ He then enumerates the various mysteries concealed under the divisions and furniture of the temple, the vestments of the priests, etc., taking Philo for the most part as his guide. From the Hebrew Scriptures he ⁴ turns to the Egyptian symbols, ⁵ the Ephesian letters, the

passages, τὴν ἐκ τῶν τισσάρων καὶ ἑκοσι στοιχείων ψυχῆς γαλακτώδη πρῶτην γραφήν. DCLXXV. 9. οἱ τούτων αἰσθητοὶ τύποι, τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν φωνήεντα στοιχεῖα. L. 6. DCCCXII. 29. τὰ μὲν οὖν ὀνόματα ἢ γραμματικῆ εἰς τὰ καθολικὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ ἀνάγι. L. 8. DCDXXVIII. 5.

Mr. Bailey (Hieroglyphicorum Origo et Natura), though he admits that alphabetical letters are sometimes called πρῶτα στοιχεῖα, yet thinks that in the passage of Clement the words κυριολογικῆ δια τῶν πρῶτων στοιχείων are to be understood of figures, each of which expressed a single meaning (quod sic prorsus concinnatæ sint constitutæque, ut singulis notionibus singulæ respondeant figure, p. 47), and supposes the figures of the infant and of the old man in the Saitic inscription to be of this kind. But Clement expressly refers that inscription to the enigmatical class; and says that the infant is the symbol of generation (γενίσεως), the old man of destruction (φθορᾶς). DCLXX. 26.

M. Letronne understands by πρῶτα στοιχεῖα, the alphabetical letters borrowed from the Phœnicians by Cadmus.

A writer in the Edinburgh Review for December 1826 understands by πρῶτα στοιχεῖα, "the first or initial elements of words; that is, by reference to the initial sounds of the words which denote those objects in the spoken language of the country;" or rather "the pictures of objects, of which the names, in the spoken language," began with the sounds which were successively to be expressed. But as it is certain that by φωνήεντα στοιχεῖα, Clement understood vowels, the natural inference seems to be that by πρῶτα στοιχεῖα he meant alphabetical letters, not pictures of any kind. ¹ dclviii. 5.

² dclx. 20. Thus Pythagoras told his disciples *not to sail upon dry land*; by which, according to Clement, he meant to dissuade them from engaging in the tumultuous and unstable concerns of public life.

³ dclxiv. 31.

⁴ dclxx. 14.

⁵ dclxxii. 16. Clement ascribes the invention of the Ephesian letters to the Idaeï Dactyli. L. 1. CCCLX. 21. See also cccci. 19. These letters were, according to him, Ἄσκιον, Κατάσκιον, Λίξ, Τετράς, Δαμναμινίς, Δίσιον, and signified darkness, light, the earth, the year, the sun, the true voice. According to the author of the Phoronis quoted by the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, i. 1129, Δαμναμινίς was the name of one of the Idaeï Dactyli. S. L. I. CCCLXII. 9.

¹ words which were formed in order to impress the letters of the alphabet on the memories of children—the enigmas of Orpheus and the Pythagoreans. “This symbolical mode of instruction contributes,” he² says, “to sound theology, to piety, to the manifestation of intelligence and wisdom, and to the cultivation of brevity. ³ Whatever has a veil of mystery thrown around causes the truth to appear more grand and awful. Symbols also, being susceptible of various interpretations, exercise the ingenuity and distinguish the ignorant man from the Gnostic.”

Clement⁴ proceeds to point out the sources from which the Gnostic derives his knowledge, and explains its nature. “St. Paul speaks of the mystery which was made known to him by revelation; which had been concealed from preceding generations of men, but was now made manifest to the saints, to whom God was willing to make known the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles. We must therefore distinguish between the mysteries which had been concealed till the age of the Apostles, and were by them delivered as they had received them from the Lord—concealed in the old covenant, but now revealed to the saints—and the riches of the glory of the mystery among the Gentiles, that is, faith and hope in Christ. The ⁵ Hebrews had received some things by unwritten tradition, but had not understood them. The Gnostic is he ‘who has ⁶ his senses exercised by reason of use to discern between good and evil.’ ⁷ He who has not the knowledge of good is evil, because there is one good, the Father: and not to know the Father is death, as to know Him is eternal life through a participation in the power of Him

¹ dclxxiii. 21. Clement gives three specimens of these words:

Βίβου, Ζάψ, Χθών, Πλήκτρον, Σφίγγξ.
Κναξξβί, Χθύπτης, Φλεγμός, Δράψ.
Μάρσπης, Σφίγγξ, Κλάνψ, Ζυγχθηδών.

They seem, however, to be incorrect; for in the first the letter M is wanting; in the second Σ appears twice; Bentley reads Φλεγμά, Δράψ. Diss. on Phalaris. Age of Tragedy. In the third N and Σ appear twice, and B is wanting. See Potter's Note on DCLXXIV. 33.

² dclxxiii. 15.

³ dclxxix. 39.

⁴ dclxxxii. 16. Clement refers to Eph. iii. 3, 4, 5; Col. i. 9, 10, 11, 25, 26, 27, 28; 1 Cor. viii. 7, and to the Epistle of Barnabas.

⁵ dclxxxiii. 22.

⁶ Heb. v. 14.

⁷ dclxxxiv. 11.

Who is incorruptible; and to be exempt from corruption is to partake of the divinity; but separation from the knowledge of God produces corruption. ¹This perfect knowledge must not be revealed to all, for all are not capable of receiving it; ²babes must be fed with milk; the perfect man with solid food; milk is catechetical instruction, the first nourishment of the soul; solid food, contemplation penetrating into all mysteries (*ἡ ἐποπτικὴ θεωρία*), the blood and flesh of the Word, the comprehension of the Divine power and essence."

³"A separation without regret," Clement proceeds, "from the body and its passions, is a sacrifice acceptable to God; it is His true worship. On this account Socrates correctly termed philosophy the practice (*μελέτη*) of dying. For he ⁴pursues the true philosophy who in his meditations neither employs his sight, nor any of his senses, but a pure understanding alone.—The soul of the Gnostic must be stripped of the material skin, must be freed from corporeal trifling, and all the passions which vain and false opinions bring around it; must put off fleshly lusts, and be consecrated to the light. ⁵He begins the purifying process by confession; the contemplative by analysis. Proceeding to the first conception analytically, he commences from subject-matter; he takes away the physical qualities of body, the dimensions of depth, breadth, and length, leaving a point, the unit, which has position or place: but when position is also abstracted, there remains the notion of the unit (*νοεῖται μονάς*). If, then, rejecting whatever belongs to bodies and to things called incorporeal, we cast ourselves into the greatness of Christ, and go forward with holiness into immensity, we shall approach to the notion of the Almighty, knowing not what He is, but what He is not. We must not connect with it figure, or motion, or a stationary position, or a seat, or place, or right hand or left, although these are predicated of God in Scripture; nor must we suppose the First Cause to exist in a place, but above place, and

¹ dclxxxv. 30.

² Compare P. L. I. c. 6. cxviii. 40. S. L. I. ccccxxvi. 2. In dclxxxviii. 11, Clement calls *γνώσις, λογικὸν βρῶμα*.

³ dclxxxvi. 10.

⁴ Compare dcxc. 32.

⁵ dclxxxix. 6. By confession is meant the confession of faith made previously to baptism.

time, and name, and comprehension.—We ¹ cannot of ourselves attain to this knowledge; it is the gift of God through His Son.”

²“Moses was admitted to this knowledge when he went up into the Mount, and St. Paul when he was carried up into the third heaven.” Clement ³ then dilates on the impossibility of describing God, or of giving Him a proper name; “for whatever has a name must have been generated or begotten. We ⁴ must, however, believe what is delivered in Scripture respecting the Divine nature on the authority of the Son of God Who delivered it. ⁵The Greek philosophy is not sufficient to salvation, which must be obtained through faith in Christ; for that which was hidden from former generations is now revealed to the sons of men. There was always a natural revelation of one Almighty God to men of sound mind; and they who had not entirely cast off shame laid hold of the eternal benefit agreeably to the design of Divine Providence. Xenocrates and ⁶Democritus believed that irrational animals were not entirely without the notion of a God: man, therefore, could not be without it, inasmuch as he is recorded in the book of Genesis to have partaken of the Divine breath, receiving a purer essence than the other animals. But Christians further say that the believer is inspired by the Holy Spirit. We must not, however, suppose that the spirit in man is a part of God, though it is a Divine effluence.”

Clement ⁷ returns to his favourite topic, the plagiarisms of the Greek philosophers from the Scriptures. “Thence they had stolen (though they frequently disfigured what they stole) all that they delivered respecting the Divine nature, ⁸ respecting the existence of matter as a first principle; ⁹ respecting providence, ¹⁰ punishment after death by fire, the ¹¹immortality of the soul, the ¹²creation of the world, the ¹³evil spirit, the ¹⁴in-

¹ dclxxxix. 30. λίσσιται δὴ θεία χάριτι καὶ μόνῳ τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγῳ τὸ ἄγνωστον νοῦν. DCXCVI. 4. See also DCXCVI. 18, 30.

² dxcii. 25.

³ dxcv. 8. dxcvi. 11. Compare Justin. Apol. 11, p. 44. D.

⁴ dxcvii. 19.

⁵ dxcviii. 16.

⁶ This is rather Clement's inference from the principles of Democritus.

⁷ dxcix. 9.

⁸ dxcix. 25.

⁹ dcc. 11.

¹⁰ dcc. 15.

¹¹ dcc. 1.

¹² dcc. 18.

¹³ dcc. 30.

¹⁴ dcc. 16.

telligible and the sensible world, the ¹ observance of the seventh day ; and ² going forth, as it were, from the barbarian philosophy, they ascribed the direction of the universe to Him Who is unseen, alone, the most powerful and skilful artificer, and the principal cause of all that is most fair ; but unless they are instructed by us, they are ignorant of the necessary consequence from these premises, and know not God as He ought to be understood, but only, as we before said, by a sort of circumlocution. With reference to power, God is the Lord and God of all, and really Almighty ; with reference to knowledge, He is not the God of all ; for the Greeks know neither what He is, nor how He is Lord and Father and Creator, nor the rest of the economy of truth, not having been instructed by the truth itself." Clement's conclusion is, that the Greek literature is to be studied ; but in order to be studied profitably, it must be considered in connexion with the Hebrew Scriptures, the source from which it flowed.

Clement begins the sixth book with stating that in it and in the ³ seventh having described the life and conversation of the Gnostic, he shall proceed to show that, far from being liable to the charge of impiety, the Gnostic is the only pious worshipper of the Deity. In the Pædagogus he had set forth the early training and education of the Christian ; the manner of life which grows together with faith by instruction, and prepares the virtuous soul, in those who have arrived at manhood, for the reception of real knowledge. The Greeks will learn from what he is about to deliver how impiously they themselves act in persecuting the true worshipper of God ; they will also find the solution of the difficulties which they and the barbarians raise respecting the Advent of the Lord.—⁴ There are two kinds of knowledge : one common, scarcely deserving the name, conversant with the objects of sense ; the other conversant with the objects of the understanding, through the simple operation of the soul. Before, ⁵ however, he enters

¹ dccxiii. 11.

² See L. 7. DCCCCI. 31.

³ dccxxxvii. 19.

² dccxxx. 3.

⁴ dccxxxvii. 1.

⁵ dccxxxvii. 19. This account of the plagiarisms of the Greeks from each other deserves the attention of the scholar.

upon these subjects, he says that, "having shown in the preceding book that the symbolical mode of instruction was used by the Greeks as well as by the Hebrew prophets, he shall proceed to show that the Greeks, not content with stealing from the Hebrew Scriptures, stole from each other. They¹ borrowed also the wonderful tales connected with their mythology from the Scriptures; and the doctrine of the transmigration of souls from the Egyptians."

Clement² proceeds to show that the Greek philosophers worshipped the same God as the Christians, though erroneously and not according to knowledge.—"The Greeks knew God, after a heathen manner (*ἔθνικῶς*); the Jews knew Him Judaically; the Christians, in a new manner, spiritually. The Greeks and Jews were the old; the³ Christians, the new or third race.⁴ The law and the prophets were given to the Jews, and philosophy to the Greeks, to prepare them for the preaching of the Gospel.—To those who were just according to the law, faith was wanting; to those who were just according to philosophy, not only faith, but also the renunciation of idolatry. Christ,⁵ therefore, descended into Hades to preach to those who, whether Jews or Gentiles, had lived, not indeed perfectly, but agreeably to the rule of life proposed to them, and to bring them to salvation." Clement⁶ seems to think that this descent of Christ into Hades, for the purpose of saving the virtuous men who had died before His appearance in the flesh, was necessary to the vindication of the Divine justice and goodness.

"They," he⁷ proceeds, "are called philosophers with us who love the wisdom of the Teacher and Creator of all things,

¹ Clement gives some curious specimens of the miraculous stories current among the Greeks, DCCLII. 29, and an account of the ceremonies of the Egyptians, and of the Sacred Books of Hermes. DCCLVII.

² dcclix. 23. Compare DCCLXXII. 31. DCCCXVII. 26.

³ οἱ καινῶς αὐτὸν τρίτῳ γένει σεβόμενοι, Χριστιανοί. DCCLXI. 4. The heathen appear to have applied the expression *Tertium Genus* to the Christians as a term of reproach. See Tertullian ad Nationes. L. 1. cc. 7, 8, 19.

⁴ dcclxii. 14. Compare DCCXCIV. 16. DCCCXXV. 15.

⁵ dcclxiii. 15. Compare L. 2. CCCCLII. Clement seems to doubt whether Christ preached to both Jews and Gentiles; or whether He preached to the Jews, and the Apostles to the Gentiles. DCCLXIV. 12.

⁶ dcclxiv. 42.

⁷ dcclxviii. 17.

that is, the knowledge of the Son of God ; but with the Greeks, they who discuss questions about virtue. Philosophy then would be a collection of all the dogmas, not liable to objection, of each particular sect, accompanied by a corresponding life ; which, stolen from the grace bestowed from heaven on the barbarians, have been adorned by the Greeks with their eloquence. For some they have stolen ; others they have misunderstood ; some they have delivered, moved by a Divine impulse, but have not perfectly worked out ; some by human conjecture and reasoning, in which also they err. They think that they have attained to the perfect truth ; we that they have attained to it only in part, for they know nothing but of this world." Clement then ¹inquires from whom the Greeks received this partial knowledge of the truth ? "Not from man ; or from the angels, for they possessed no organs whereby to communicate with man ; moreover, as they are created beings, they must themselves have been taught. Who then was their teacher ? The First Begotten, the Counsellor of God, Who foreknew all things. He is the teacher of all created beings ; He in various ways, from the foundation of the world, has instructed man, and leads him to perfection. ²If they who, in any manner, have received the seeds of truth, have not cultivated them, the fault lies with them, not with the teacher. — ³Wisdom is the firm and sure knowledge and comprehension of things present, past, and future, delivered and revealed by the Son of God. If, then, contemplation (*ἡ θεωρία*) is the end of the wise man, the contemplation of him who is only a lover of wisdom ⁴(*φιλόσοφος* opposed to *σοφός*) desires Divine knowledge ; but does not attain to it, unless he receives by instruction the prophetic voice, by which he understands the present, past, and the future, as it is, and has been, and will be."

Clement ⁵ contends that St. Paul does not positively condemn philosophy, but merely says, "that he who aspires to the

¹ dclclxix. 8. Compare dclclxxi. 35.

² dclclxx. 7.

³ dclclxxi. 5. So dclclxviii. 1. *τὴν δὲ σοφίαν, ἔμπειρον γινῶσιν, θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων πραγμάτων κατάληψιν τινὰ βιβραίων οὖσαν καὶ ἀμιτάττων, συνιληφύϊαν τὰ τε ἰόντα, καὶ τὰ παρρηκίτα, καὶ τὰ μίλλοντα.* Compare also L. I. CCCXXXIII. 6.

⁴ So dclclciii. 18. *ἰν ἀνθρώποις φιλοσοφοῦσιν, οὐδέπω σοφοῖς.*

⁵ dclclxxi. 19. See dclclcxix. 25. Heb. v. 12. Col. ii. 8.

Gnostic sublimity must not turn back to the Greek philosophy, which is elementary and preparatory to the truth." He ¹ repeats what he had before said, "that philosophy was to the Greeks what the law was to the Jews, a way to righteousness or justification. The ²Gnostic ought to be versed in every kind of learning.—For though the principal end of man's creation is that he may know God, yet he cultivates the earth, and measures it, and studies philosophy, that he may live, and live well, and meditate on those subjects which admit of demonstration. Some ³ affirmed that the devil was the author of philosophy; but whatever is useful or profitable to man, as philosophy is, must be regarded as coming from God. Philosophy was the peculiar testament of the Greeks, a step to the Christian philosophy. ⁴ It is elementary and partial, the perfect knowledge being conversant with things beyond the world, the objects of the intellect, and even with things more spiritual, which 'eye had not seen, nor ear heard, nor had it entered into the heart of man to conceive,' until our Teacher revealed the truth concerning them to us.—For we affirm that the Gnostic knows and comprehends all things, even those which pass our knowledge; such were ⁵ James, Peter, John, Paul, and the other Apostles.—Knowledge is a peculiarity of the rational soul, exercised to the end that by means of knowledge it may be inscribed upon the roll of immortality. Knowledge and impulse (*ὄρμηξ*) are both powers of the soul. Impulse is a movement following a particular assent; for he who is impelled to any act first receives the knowledge of it, and then the impulse. Knowledge is a contemplation by the soul of one or more existing things; perfect knowledge, of all."

Clement ⁶ proceeds to say that "the Gnostic is subject only to those appetites which are essential to the preservation of the body,—hunger, thirst, and the like. But these appetites were not essential to the preservation of the body of the Saviour, which was held together by a holy power: He ate, not for the support of the body, but lest those who associated

¹ dcclxxii. 25.

² dcclxxii. 33. See DCCLXXXVI. 25.

³ See p. 67, Note 2.

⁴ dcclxxiv. 14. Compare DCCLXXI. 23. DCCLXXXI. 29. DCCXCIX. 11. DCCCXXIII. 28. L. 7. DCCCXXXIX. 30.

⁵ Compare L. I. CCCXXII. 19.

⁶ dcclxxv. 25.

with Him should think that He had not a real body. He was free from all passions (*ἀπαθής*); He felt neither pleasure nor pain. The Apostles were enabled by His teaching to overcome anger, and fear, and desire; and felt not even those emotions which have a semblance of good,—boldness, emulation, joy,—remaining after His resurrection fixed in one unalterable habit of discipline. It may be said that these emotions, when regulated by reason, are good; but they must not be felt by the perfect man. He ¹ requires not boldness, confidence, anger, emulation, desire. His friendship is not of the ordinary cast; he loves the Creator through the medium of the creature. Like his Master, he is exempt from passion.” But it may be objected, that the perfect man desires what is good, and that desire is a passion. Clement replies, “that this objection is founded on a mistaken notion of Divine love; which is not a desire on the part of him who loves, but a possession of the object loved. The Gnostic by love has already attained to that in which he is to be; he anticipates hope through knowledge; he desires nothing, because he already possesses, as far as it is possible, the object of desire.—² Exemption from passion, not moderation of passion, is the characteristic of the Gnostic.—³ To have passions which require to be controlled, is not a state of purity. It is not fitting that the friend of God, whom God predestined before the foundation of the world to the highest adoption, should be subject to pleasures or fears, and be occupied in restraining his passions. It may even be said, that as he is predestined through what he shall do and what he shall attain, so he, by predestination, possesses Him Whom he loves through Him Whom he knows. For he does not, like others, form uncertain conjectures respecting the future, but receives that which is obscure to others through Gnostic faith. The future is present to him through love; he has believed in God, Who lies not, both through prophecy and through His Advent; and he possesses that which he has believed, and enjoys the promise; for He Who has promised is truth. The ⁴ Gnostic needs not pray with the voice, but only in thought. ‘Think and I will give,’ are the words of God to him.”

¹ Clement assigns the reasons why the Gnostic requires not the several qualities here enumerated. DCLXXVI. 3.

² dclxxvii. 15.

³ dclxxviii. 5.

⁴ dclxxviii. 38. Compare DCCXC. 34.

¹ "Knowledge is the object of the pursuit of the Gnostic ; he attends, therefore, to all things which will assist him in the attainment of that object. He renders all sciences subsidiary to his purpose : music, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, ²logic. He ³feels no childish dread of being led astray by the Greek philosophy ; he can distinguish in it what is false from what is true. The ⁴heretics abuse it ; but he uses it as an assistant in delivering accurately the truth, and guarding against subtle doctrines, which tend to the subversion of the truth." After some further remarks on the use which may be made of the Greek philosophy in preparing the Gentiles for the reception of the Gospel, Clement ⁵proceeds to answer a question proposed by certain heretics. "*Whether Adam was created perfect or imperfect?* If imperfect, how happened it that the work of a perfect God was imperfect? if perfect, how happened it that he fell?" Clement's answer is, "that he was not created perfect, but fitted to receive virtue. God wishes us to be saved through ourselves.—We all are by nature fitted to attain to virtue : one attends more, another less to instruction and discipline ; thus some attain unto perfect virtue ; others make only a certain progress ; while some, through neglect, though well qualified by nature, go backwards.—Not only the actions and thoughts, but the words also of the Gnostic are pure.—His is not the repentance common to every believer, repentance for having sinned ; but the repentance which, understanding the nature of sin, persuades him to make it his ⁶first aim to abstain from sinning ; and consequently he does not sin. ⁷Some good things are eligible for themselves, others for the consequences to which they lead. Knowledge is eligible on both accounts, being the most perfect good. The ⁸Gnostic, united to God through love, prays incessantly to God in thought : first, that his sins may be pardoned ; next that he may sin no more ; then that he may be able to do good, and to understand the whole creation and dispensation as conducted by the Lord, to the end that, becoming pure in heart through that

¹ dcclxxix. 42.

² Clement enlarges on the utility of logic, DCCLXXXI. 7. See also DCCLXXXV. 8. DCCLXXXVI. 25.

³ dcclxxx. 18. Compare DCCLXXXIV. 33.

⁴ dcclxxxī. 19.

⁵ dcclxxxviii. 7.

⁶ κατὰ τὸν ἀποηγούμενον λόγον. DCCLXXXIX. 8.

⁷ dcclxxxix. 20.

⁸ dccxci. 8.

knowledge (*ἐπιγνώσεως*) which is through the Son of God, he may be initiated face to face into the blessed contemplation.—The righteousness of the Gnostic consists not in mere abstinence from evil actions; he adds the doing of good, and the knowledge of the reason for which he is to abstain from some actions and do others. ¹ As a certain glorious radiance sat upon the countenance of Moses in consequence of his righteous life and his frequent intercourse with God, so a certain Divine power of goodness, attaching itself to the righteous soul by inspection (*ἐπισκοπήν*), by prophecy, by providential operation, makes an impression, as of an intelligent effulgence, like to the solar heat, a conspicuous seal of righteousness, a light united to the soul through inseparable love, at once bearing God and borne by Him. Hence breaks forth in the Gnostic the likeness to the Saviour God, and he becomes perfect as far as it is possible for human nature, even as his Father which is in heaven.”

² “He who in the first instance moderates his passions, and thus gradually attains to an exemption from passion, advancing to the well-doing (*εὐποιΐαν*) of Gnostic perfection, is even here equal to an angel; shining like the sun by his beneficence, he hastens on in righteous knowledge through the love of God to the holy mansion, like the Apostles; who were not chosen to be Apostles for any special excellence of their nature,—for Judas was of the number,—but were seen by Him, Who foresees the end, to be fit to be chosen Apostles; as Matthias, who was not of the original number, proving himself worthy to become an Apostle, was substituted in the place of Judas. They, therefore, who exercise themselves in the commandments of the Lord, and live perfectly according to the Gospel, may even now be inscribed in the number of the Apostles.”

Clement proceeds to distinguish between the character and the reward of the Gnostic and of the common believer. “Knowledge,” ³ he says, “is superior to faith. Each has his appropriate place: the Gnostic attains the highest; the common believer only to an inferior station, and even that he does not reach until he has been purified by discipline from the sins

¹ dccxcii. 10.

² dccxcii. 31.

³ dccxciv. 21.

contracted after baptism. ¹ With respect to the heathen, God gave them philosophy; and the sun, moon, and stars as objects of worship, in order to preserve them from falling into perfect atheism, or from worshipping stocks and stones. They, therefore, are worthy of condemnation, because they fell into idolatry, and did not proceed upwards from the worship of the stars to the worship of the Creator. Every action of the Gnostic is ² perfect; of the common believer, is of a middle nature, not being performed according to reason and knowledge; of the heathen, is sinful—for an action must not only be right, but must be performed from a right motive, and directed to a right object. ³ The Gnostic has a good conscience, which, maintaining piety towards God and justice towards man, keeps the soul pure with grave thoughts, and chaste words, and righteous actions. Thus the soul, receiving power from the Lord, practises to become God, thinking nothing evil but ignorance and actions not agreeable to right reason: always giving God thanks for all things, by righteous hearing and Divine reading, by search after truth, holy oblations, blessed prayer. Such a soul praising, singing hymns, blessing, is never separated from God. ⁴ Each degree of holiness has its allotted reward; and the perfect inheritance is the lot of those who have attained unto the perfect man, according to the image (*κατ' εἰκόνα*) of the Lord; for ⁵ the likeness (*ὁμοίωσις*) is not to be referred to the human form—such a notion is atheistical; ⁶ nor is it a likeness in virtue to the First Cause—this is the impious exposition of those who think that the virtue of man and of the Omnipotent God is the same. 'It is sufficient for the disciple to be as his Master.' He, therefore, who is appointed to the adoption and friendship of

¹ dccxcv. 26. Clement alludes to Deut. iv. 19, following and misunderstanding the Septuagint translation.

² dccxcvi. 4. *κατόρθωμα*, perfectum officium, rectum, opinor, vocamus, quod Græci *κατόρθωμα*, hoc autem commune *καθήκον* vocant. Cicero de Officiis, L. I. c. 3. Illud enim rectum est quod *κατόρθωμα* dicitur, contingitque sapienti soli. De Finibus, L. 4. c. 6. Compare DCCCXVIII. 12. L. 7. DCCCLXII. 14.

³ dccxcvii. 8.

⁴ Clement discovers an allusion to different degrees of reward in the different produce of the good seed in the parable Matt. xiii. 8. DCCXCVII. 30.

⁵ Compare dcccix. 5.

⁶ Compare L. 2. DI. 23. L. 7. DCCCLXXXVI. 18.

God, after the likeness of God, becomes a co-heir with the Lords and Gods, if, as the Lord has taught him, he is perfected according to the Gospel."

Clement¹ goes on with his description of the Gnostic, and² says, incidentally, that "the evidences, that the Son of God is our Saviour, are the prophecies which preceded His appearance, the testimonies which accompanied His sensible generation (His birth on earth, which made Him cognizable by the senses), and the powers which were announced and openly displayed by Him after His resurrection. Our evidence that the truth is with us is, that it was taught by the Son of God Himself." Clement³ then assigns reasons why Christ delivered the truths of the Gospel in parables.—"He meant to stimulate curiosity, and excite men to be earnest in discovering the word of salvation; and to prevent those who were not fitted to receive knowledge from erroneously interpreting what had been delivered by the Holy Spirit.—Thus the whole economy of the Gospel—the birth, sufferings, death, and resurrection of Christ—served as a parable, being a stumbling-block to the Jews and foolishness to the Greeks, but the power and wisdom of God to those whose ears were opened to the truth." As a specimen of the knowledge of the Gnostic, Clement⁴ gives a mystical interpretation of the Decalogue. He then⁵ goes on to say that "the Greek philosophers, though they named the name of God, knew Him not: they attributed human affections to Him. The Gnostic alone possesses this knowledge."⁶ There is a true philosophy, in contradistinction from other philosophies; and a true beauty, as distinguished from a counterfeit.—There are two forms of truth; one relates to words, the other to things. The Greek philosophers employ themselves about the beauty of words; we, the barbarians, about things.⁷ Yet philosophy may be reasonably supposed to have

¹ Having occasion to quote Rom. xi. 17, Clement enters into a discussion respecting different modes of grafting, and compares them to the different modes of Christian instruction. DCCXCIX. 37.

² dccc. 17. He had previously divided evidence, *σημείον*, into *προφητικόν*, *συνυπάρχον*, *ἐπίδοκμον*.

³ dccciii. 27.

⁴ dcccvii. 25. As the text now stands, Clement interprets eight only out of the ten commandments. See L. 7. DCCCLXVIII. 1.

⁵ dcccxvii. 26.

⁶ dcccxviii. 22.

⁷ dcccix. 25.

been given by Divine Providence as a preparation for perfection through Christ, if it is not ashamed to advance to the truth through instruction in the knowledge of the barbarians. If the hairs of our head are numbered, and even our slightest movements noted, can we suppose that Providence takes no account of philosophy? We must conclude that the arts of life were not given without a Divine power.”¹ Clement describes the manner in which the philosopher may arrive at the truth. “They,”² he adds, “who deny that philosophy comes from God, go near to question His particular Providence.—At one glance He sees the whole and each part, though He produces many results through the instrumentality of man; Providence disposes, man co-operates. The³ thoughts of virtuous men arise from a Divine inspiration,—the soul being in a manner disposed, and the Divine will imparted to it, by the Divine ministers who are appointed to that particular office.—God especially imparts these impulses to those who are of a superior nature, and able to contribute to the benefit of the mass of mankind.—They who affirm that philosophy was given by the devil, make him more benevolent than Divine Providence to good men among the Greeks.—It is his province to do evil. If, therefore, philosophy makes men good, it cannot come from him, but from God, Whose property it is to do good. The law was given to the Jews, philosophy to the Greeks, until the Advent of Christ, Who was to collect all men, Greeks and barbarians, into one peculiar righteous people, through the teaching of faith.” Clement⁴ describes the manner in which the Gnostic is formed by Christ, and in which he forms others.—“Whatever is beneficial in life is accomplished by God through His Son, Who is consequently the Saviour of all men; but especially, as the Apostle says, of those who believe.”

“The⁵ Gnostic constantly employs himself on these subjects, which are of the first importance; if he touches the Greek philosophy, it is by way of relaxation.—It is desirable to know all things; but the mind, which is too feeble to attain to this universal knowledge, must select that which is best and most important.” Clement then⁶ addresses the Greek philo-

¹ dcccxx. 8.² dcccxxi. 19. dcccxxii. 26.³ dcccxxii. 6.⁴ dcccxxiv. 5.⁵ dcccxxiv. 33.⁶ dcccxxvi. 15.

sophers, and asks them, "from whom they have learned the truth which they boast of possessing? They will not answer, from God: from man then. But man is no trustworthy teacher of that which relates to God. He who is weak and mortal is not competent to speak of Him Who is self-existent and incorruptible; or the thing created of its Creator. He who is unable to say what is true respecting himself, is he more to be trusted when he speaks respecting God?—They who are taught by God Himself with difficulty attain to the notion of God, Divine grace assisting them to arrive at a qualified knowledge.—The Christian is the only heaven-taught wisdom; on it depend all the fountains of wisdom which even aim at the truth. From the very foundation of the world numerous precursors announced the coming of the Lord as the Teacher of men, foretelling where and how He should appear, and what would be the signs of His coming. The most eminent philosophers satisfied only their peculiar followers. But the Gospel was not confined to Judea, as philosophy was to Greece; it spread through the whole inhabited earth, converting Greeks and barbarians, and not few even of the philosophers, to the truth. If any magistrate sets himself in opposition to the Greek philosophy, it vanishes at once. But though from the very first preaching of the Gospel, kings, and magistrates, and the multitude have endeavoured to crush it, it flourishes the more; it perishes not like human doctrine, nor fades away like a feeble gift. It is the gift of God, and therefore strong; and cannot be crushed, for the prophets have foretold that it shall be persecuted unto the end." Clement concludes the sixth book by saying, "that having made as it were a statue of the Gnostic, to exhibit the beauty and greatness of his moral character, he shall describe him as a contemplator of physical objects, when he comes to treat of the creation of the world."¹

Clement ²says, "that in the seventh book he shall show that the Gnostic, far from being an atheist, as the Greeks

¹ See L. 7. DCCCLXVII. 23, where Clement says that he shall defer the consideration of doctrines to a more fitting time.

² Compare DCCCLV. 1. DCCCLIX. 32. DCCCLXIV. 18.

falsely called him, was the only true worshipper of God. This he shall show concisely, without producing testimonies from the prophetic writings. With the ¹Gnostic, the service of God is a continual employment of the soul about His Divine attributes, accompanied by constant love. There are two kinds of ²service paid to men: one emendatory, as the medical art of the body, philosophy of the soul; the other ministerial, as that paid by children to parents, and subjects to rulers. In like manner in the Church the presbyters perform the emendatory, the deacons the ministerial office. The angels minister in both these capacities to God in the dispensation connected with earthly things; and the Gnostic does the same, ministering to God, and exhibiting to men an emendatory contemplation, inasmuch as he is appointed to discipline them to their improvement; for he alone is a pious worshipper of God, who serves Him well and without reproach, in matters pertaining to men.—³There are three effects of the Gnostic power: in the first place, he knows things (what they are); in the second, he performs what the Word or reason suggests; in the third, he can deliver secret truths in a manner worthy of God. How then can he be an atheist, who is persuaded that there is an Almighty God, and has learned the Divine mysteries from the only-begotten Son? An atheist is one who does not think that there is a God; a superstitious man is one who fears demons, and deifies all things, wood and stone.”

“The ⁴first step in faith is to know God; and after acquiring confidence in the teaching of the Saviour, to think that to do nothing unjust is suitable to the knowledge of God. The best thing in earth is the most pious man; the best in heaven is the angel, who, standing in the nearer and purer place, partakes of an eternal and blessed life. But the nature of the Son, which is nearest to the only Almighty God, is the most perfect, most holy, most powerful (*κυριωτάτη*), most kingly, most beneficent.”—After describing the universality of the Providence of Christ, Clement ⁵proceeds—“All men are His:

¹ dcccxxix. 44.

² The Greek word is *θεραπεία*, which may mean the act of serving, worshipping, or healing.

³ Compare L. 2. CCCCLIII. 16.

⁴ dcccxxxi. 10.

⁵ dcccxxxi. 33.

some, through knowledge, to which others have not yet attained; some, as friends; others, as faithful servants; others, merely as servants: as Teacher, He disciplines the Gnostic by mysteries; the faithful, by good hopes; the hard of heart, by correction through sensible operation. His providence extends to all; ¹ He is the Saviour and Lord of all; the Saviour of those who believe, because they are willing to know Him; the Lord of the disobedient, until, being enabled to confess Him, they obtain, through Him, their peculiar and suitable benefit.—² Drawn on by the Holy Spirit, the virtuous are domiciled in the first mansion, and the rest in order, until they come to the last; but they who are bad through weakness, involved in a bad habit by unjust insatiableness, neither controlling nor controlled, are driven about by passions, and fall to the ground.—³ Christ, neglecting none, gave the commandments to the Jews, philosophy to the Greeks, shutting up unbelief till His coming; whence every one who does not believe is without excuse; for He leads them by a different process of improvement to the perfection which is through faith.—⁴ All things are appointed by the Lord of all for the salvation of all, both in general and in particular.—Whatever is virtuous changes to a better state, having the choice of knowledge as the cause of its peculiar change; which choice the soul has in its own power. But necessary discipline, by the goodness of the great over-seeing Judge, through the proximate angels, through various previous judgments, through the final judgment, compels even those who have entirely despaired to repent.”

Clement ⁵ proceeds to describe the gradual advancement of the Gnostic towards perfect happiness. “His perfection consists in holding intercourse with God through the Great High Priest, and in being as like unto the Lord as he can be, in the whole worship of God which tends to the salvation of men,

¹ dcccxxxiii. 1.

² dcccxxxiv. 5. See L. 5. dclxvii. 9. dclxix. 30. L. 6. dccxciv. 7. L. 7. dcccxxxv. 24. dcccliv. 26. Clement supposes that there is a gradation of beings from Christ down to man, and even among men; each class subject to those above and ruling over those below it, and each having its appropriate abode or mansion.

³ dcccxxxiv. 35.

⁴ dcccxxxv. 7.

⁵ dcccxxxv. 22. 37. Compare dccclviii. 30.

through the exercise of benevolence, through sacred ministrations, through teaching, through good works. The Gnostic¹ offers no sacrifice to God, Who gives all things to all, and needs nothing. His² object is to render first himself, then his neighbours, as good as possible. The³ soul of a righteous man most nearly approaches to the Divine image and to a likeness of God; in it, through its obedience to the commandments, the Ruler of mortals and immortals, the King and Parent of the good, takes up His abode, being truly a law, and decree, and eternal reason, and one and the same Saviour to each in particular and to all collectively." Clement then⁴ describes the knowledge of the Gnostic, and his moral character and conduct in life. ⁵ "The Greek philosophy purifies and prepares the soul for the reception of faith, on which truth raises the superstructure of knowledge. He is the true athlete who is crowned for the true victory, the victory over all his passions, in the great stadium, the beautiful world; for⁶ the Almighty God institutes the contest; the only-begotten Son of God distributes the rewards; the angels and gods are the spectators; and the contest (*τὸ παγκράτιον*) is not against flesh and blood, but against the spiritual powers of passions working through the flesh."

"The Greeks⁷ represented their gods under human forms, and subject to human passions. Inferring the character of their gods from their own, they could not fail to form unworthy notions of the Deity. The Gnostic, on the contrary, being at once pious and free from superstition, forms grand and honourable conceptions of God, and makes Him the Author of all good, but of nothing evil, being persuaded that He alone is God. The Greeks are the real atheists, because they assimilate the Deity to the basest of mortals." Clement⁸ insists on the absurdity of limiting to a spot Him Who cannot

¹ dcccxxxvi. 25.² dcccxxxvii. 14.³ dcccxxxvii. 29.⁴ dcccxxxviii. 8.⁵ dcccxxxix. 30.

⁶ Compare C. LXXVII. 27. Tertullian ad Martyres, c. 3. Bonum agonem subituri estis, in quo Agonothetes Deus vivus est: xystarches Spiritus Sanctus; corona æternitas; brabium Angelicæ substantiæ politia in cœlis, gloria in sæcula sæculorum. Itaque epistates vester Christus Jesus. In the Tract Quis Dives Salvetur? we find *γυμναστῆ μὲν σφῶ λόγῳ ἀγωνοθέτῃ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. DCDXXXVII. 24.

⁷ dccccli. 1.⁸ dcccxliv. 6.

be comprehended in space; and of confining in temples made by hands Him Who embraces all things. He¹ ridicules idolatry, as involving the foolish supposition that God is subject to the wants and passions of man.

“God² cannot need anything from man; He cannot require sacrifices, as man requires food, through hunger. The Gnostic³ honours God with prayer, considering it, when united with righteousness, the best and holiest sacrifice. The altar of Christians here on earth is the congregation of believers intent on prayer, having one voice and one mind. The sacrifice of the Church is prayer breathed forth from holy souls, the sacrifice and the whole soul being simultaneously laid open to God.—The really holy altar is the righteous soul. As the Gnostic always imitates God, he endeavours to reduce his wants within the narrowest possible limits; ⁴ he cannot live without food, but he takes the simplest, and abstains from flesh.”

Proceeding with the description of the Gnostic, Clement⁵ says, “that he does not pray only in certain places and at stated times, but makes his whole life a continued act of prayer. He knows that he is living always in the presence of God; and whatever the occupation in which he is engaged, whether he is tilling the ground, or sailing on the sea, he sings and gives thanks to God. He⁶ frequents not the theatre; he strives not to gratify his senses; he never makes pleasure the end of his actions; he seldom attends festive meetings. He is persuaded that God knows and hears all things, not merely the voice, but the very thoughts and desires. ⁷ His prayers and wishes correspond with his noble and elevated notions of the Deity; he knows what is really good, and what he should ask, and when, and how. ⁸ Prayer in him is intercourse with God; God hears him even though he opens not his lips. ⁹ He

¹ dcccxlv. 39.

² dcccxlvi. 28.

³ dcccxlviii. 15.

⁴ Compare dccclxxiv. 21. διὸ καὶ ἰσθλι, καὶ σίντι, καὶ γαμί, οὐ προσηγομίνους, ἀλλὰ ἀναγκαίως. dccclxxviii. 12.

⁵ dcccli. 21. Compare dcccliv. 18. dccclvi. 5.

⁶ dccclii. 12, 25. Compare dccclvi. 14, 22.

⁷ dcccliii. 24. dccclvi. 12.

⁸ dcccliv. 3. Compare dccclxxv. 48. dccclxxix. 23. In dccclxxix.

⁹ Clement says that prayer is with the Gnostic a continual thanksgiving.

⁹ dccclv. 5.

always obtains that for which he prays. God knows him to be worthy to obtain it, and he never prays amiss. After the example of Christ, he gives thanks for those in whom his ministry is accomplished, and prays that as many as possible may come to the knowledge of the truth. His confidence that he shall obtain that for which he asks, constitutes in itself a species of prayer. ¹ He seeks not even for the necessaries of life, being persuaded that God will bestow upon the good whatever is expedient for them, even though they pray not for it. He prays for perfect love; he prays that he may grow and abide in contemplation; he prays that he may never fall away from virtue, himself at the same time striving to be blameless. ² He rejoices in present good; and in promised good as if it were already present. At the same time that he prays, he himself labours after perfection. ³ For he who holds intercourse with God must have a pure and spotless soul; or, at least, must have made some progress towards knowledge, and must long for it, and must tear himself away from the works of wickedness. He will pray in company only with good men; for it is dangerous to be mixed up with the sins of others. He will pray in company with new believers on those points on which it will be necessary to act in union with them. His whole life is a holy festival (*πανήγυρις*), his sacrifices are prayers, and praises, and reading of the Scriptures before meals; psalms and hymns during meals and before he retires to rest; prayers again during the night. Thus he unites himself to the ⁴ heavenly choir by continual remembrance (of God), appointed to the post of continual contemplation. To these sacrifices he adds that of imparting both money and instruction to those in need. The Gnostic, ⁵ persuaded that God is everywhere, and consequently ashamed not to speak the truth, and knowing that to speak falsely is unworthy of him, is satisfied with the Divine consciousness and his own; he never speaks falsely, or does any act contrary to his engagements. He neither ⁶ takes an oath when required; nor denies

¹ dccclviii. 34.

² dccclix. 34.

³ dccclx. 37.

⁴ So *χαροῦ μυστικοῦ*. dccclviii. 13. *τὸν τῶν ἁγίων χαρόν*. dccclxxix. 26. dccclxxx. 34.

⁵ dccclxii. 25.

⁶ Clement had before said that the life of the Gnostic is an oath. *οὐχὶ δὲ ἱμπίδως καὶ καθαρισμένως ἔρπον εἶναι τοῦτο τὸν βίον*. dccclxi. 24.

(that he is a Christian) lest he should be guilty of a falsehood, even though he should die in torments."

¹ "One office of the Gnostic is, in imitation of his Master, to instruct men in the way of salvation. He ² may be truly called a living image of the Lord, not from any likeness of form, but from similarity of power and preaching. Whatever is in his mind, that he speaks; unless, perhaps, like the physician who deceives his patients in order to promote their restoration to health, he sometimes ³ accommodates himself to the opinions of his hearers for their good. But he has recourse to this insincere dealing only for the benefit of his neighbour; he scorns to avoid personal danger by any subterfuge; he freely gives himself for the Church and for his disciples, whom he has begotten in the faith; as an example to those who are capable of receiving the highest dispensation of their instructor, in order to prove the truth of that which he delivers, and practically to display his love to the Lord, the lover both of man and God (*φιλανθρώπων καὶ φιλοθέου*).—He alone bears perpetual testimony to the truth in word and deed."

Having thus shown that the charge of atheism cannot be justly urged against the Gnostic, Clement ⁴ proceeds to distinguish between faith, wisdom, and knowledge. ⁵ The progress is from faith to knowledge; from knowledge to love; from love to the inheritance: this progress is minutely described. ⁶ "In the end the Gnostic is enabled to contemplate God face to face. ⁷ The first saving change is from heathenism to faith; the second from faith to knowledge, which being perfected in love, renders that which knows the friend of that which is known: thus the Gnostic becomes like to the angels. He ⁸ attains to an exquisite taste of the will of God; not giving his ears, but his mind to the things signified by words, through which he arrives at the essence of the things themselves. Thus he understands the precepts of the Decalogue in a manner peculiar to himself. He never prefers that which

¹ dccclxii. 33. See pp. 80, 119.

² dccclxiii. 5.

³ Clement says that St. Paul practised such an accommodation when he circumcised Timothy. dccclxiii. 13. See L. 6. dcccl. 21.

⁴ dccclxiv. 25.

⁵ dccclxv. 5.

⁶ dccclxv. 34.

⁷ dccclxvii. 3.

⁸ dccclxvii. 37.

is agreeable to that which is beneficial. ¹ He is unmoved by disease, by accident, by death itself.—He bears no malice, and cherishes no unfriendly feeling. ² He alike despises earthly pleasure and earthly pain. ³ The soul of the Gnostic, adorned with perfect virtue, is an earthly image of Divine power; it becomes the temple of the Holy Spirit, when it acquires a disposition agreeing through the whole of life with the Gospel. The Gnostic is superior to every fear and every terror; not only to death, but to poverty, and disease, and disgrace, and the like; unconquered by pleasure, and lord of all irrational desires.—⁴ His courage is not of an irrational character: he duly appreciates the danger which he is called to encounter, and obeys the call through love towards God, having no other object than to please God.—⁵ He is fearless, trusting in the Lord, just, temperate. ⁶ Being a lover of the one true God, he becomes a perfect man, the friend of God, and is placed in the rank of son.—His soul being wholly spiritual, proceeding towards that which is akin to it in the spiritual Church, abides in the rest of God.” Clement ⁷ goes on to say, “that the Gnostic accurately fulfils all the duties which he owes to his fellow-creatures. The ⁸ principle of action in him is love; not fear, which is only the foundation, and as it were preparatory to perfection. He ⁹ is so fully convinced of the reality of things future and unseen, that he deems them more present to him than the visible things at his feet.”

“The Gnostic ¹⁰ readily forgives injuries. He does not pray that he may possess abundance in order that he may be enabled to give to his neighbours in want, but that the abundance may be given directly to them. He knows that poverty and disease are designed to discipline and improve the sufferer; he prays that these evils may be mitigated to others; and he does good, not through vainglory, but because he is a Gnostic, making himself the instrument of the goodness of God.—¹¹ Leaving every obstacle behind, and looking down

¹ dcccclxviii. 22.² dcccclxix. 20.³ dcccclxx. 3.⁴ dcccclxxi. 9, 31.⁵ dcccclxxii. 6.⁶ dcccclxxii. 38.⁷ dcccclxxiii. 8.⁸ dcccclxxxiv. 5. Compare DCCCCLXXXIX. 33, where Clement says that fear produces abstinence from evil; love, the practice of good.⁹ dcccclxxxvii. 5.¹⁰ dcccclxxxix. 15.¹¹ dcccclxxxii. 17.

on the matter which draws him aside, he cleaves the heavens through knowledge, and passing through spiritual essences, and every power and dominion, he reaches the highest thrones, tending to that only which he only knows. Blending the serpent with the dove, he lives perfectly and with a good conscience, mingling faith with hope in the expectation of the future."

Clement, having concluded his description of the Gnostic character,¹ proceeds to confirm what he has said by quotations from Scripture. He refers to 1 Cor. vi. 1, from which he concludes that the Gnostic is not allowed to seek redress, even by prayer, for injuries done him. ²The Jews and philosophers appear to have urged as an argument against Christianity, the diversity of opinions prevailing among Christians, and the variety of sects into which they were divided. Clement answers first, "that the argument was equally valid against Judaism and philosophy, since the Jews and philosophers were also divided into sects; secondly, that the existence of heresies was necessary to the accomplishment of our Saviour's prediction, Who foretold that tares would be sown among the wheat; thirdly, heresies prove the faith of Christians. Physicians embrace different theories of medicine; but would it not be absurd on that account to reject medical assistance in sickness? No less absurd is it in a heathen, who is labouring under a disease of the soul, to urge the sects existing among Christians as a reason for not seeking in Christianity the cure of his malady. ³The only effect produced upon us by the existence of heresies, should be that of putting us on our guard, and rendering us more earnest and diligent in the search of the truth. The labour may be severe; but it will be more than compensated by the pleasure of the discovery. We are like a traveller, to whom various roads present themselves; he will not abandon his journey, because some of those roads may lead him into danger; but he will take care to select the right road.—⁴It is our duty to examine the Scriptures, and to discover wherein the heretics have erred. For the true rule of faith and life is to be found only in the

¹ dcccclxxxiii. 17. Clement gives an interpretation of the chapter, which affords a fair specimen of his mode of interpreting Scripture.

² dcccclxxxvi. 28.

³ dcccclxxxvii. 46.

⁴ dcccclxxxviii. 36.

Scripture, which the heretics pervert¹ in order to make it agree with their preconceived notions. ²The voice of the Lord, speaking in Scripture, is the only true demonstration : they who have merely tasted the Scriptures are faithful ; but the Gnostic, who has advanced farther, is an accurate index of the truth.—The heretics, it is true, appeal to the prophetic writings ; but they mutilate and garble them, and in interpreting them, adhere servilely to the letter, neglecting the context. Whatever is ambiguous they studiously select, and wrest to their own purpose, ³setting their own authority above that of the Apostles.” Clement proceeds to instruct his readers how to escape the artifices of the heretics. “There are,” ⁴he says, “three states of the soul—ignorance, opinion⁵ (*οἴησις*), knowledge. Ignorance is the state of the Gentiles ; opinion that of the heretics ; knowledge that of the true Church. The Gentiles live in pleasure ; the heretics in contentment ; the Church in joy (*χαράν*) ; the Gnostic in gladness (*εὐφροσύνην*). There are two causes of transgression—⁶ignorance and weakness ; inability to discern what is right, and inability to perform it when discerned. To these two causes there are two corresponding corrections—knowledge and clear demonstration by testimonies of Scripture, and rational discipline through faith and fear. Both grow up together into perfect love ; for the end of the Gnostic here is twofold ; in some, contemplation with knowledge ; in some, practice. ⁷The life of the Gnostic may be defined, actions and words corresponding to the tradition of the Lord.”

Proceeding in his remarks on the heretics, Clement ⁸alleges in proof of the falsehood of their opinions their late appearance in the Church. He seems to assign the reign of Hadrian as the date of the rise of heresy ; but the passage,⁹ as it at present stands, is contradictory, not only to the generally received account, but to itself. He then ¹⁰applies the distinction of clean and unclean beasts in the Levitical law to

¹ dcccxc. 11.² dcccxc. 1.³ dcccxcii. 14.⁴ dcccxciv. 12.⁵ See dcccclxxxvii. 45. dcccclxxxix. 18. dcccxciii. 3.⁶ dcccxciv. 39. I read *ἀγνοία*, not *ἀνοία*.⁷ dcccxcvi. 27.⁸ dcccxcviii. 1.⁹ See Pearson Vind. Ignat. P. 2. c. 7.¹⁰ dcd. 18. Compare Irenæus. L. 5. c. 8.

the Jews and heretics. "Those which divide the hoof and ruminant represent the Gnostic Christian; those which ruminate but do not divide the hoof, the Jew; those which divide the hoof but do not ruminate, the heretic. Those which neither divide the hoof nor ruminate are altogether ¹unclean." Clement closes the seventh book with a short description of the style and object of the Stromata.

Photius ²remarked that the eighth book of the Stromata neither agreed in title nor in subject with the other seven. In some manuscripts he found in the place of the eighth book that which is now extant under the title, *τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος*; in other manuscripts he found a book, commencing as that now extant commences, with the words, *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οἱ παλαίτατοι τῶν φιλοσόφων*. He remarked also that the Stromata contained some unsound positions. Heinsius, understanding this remark, not of the Stromata in general, but of the eighth book, and finding no vestige of such opinions in that which we now have, concluded that the original book was lost, and that the present book formed part of the Hypotyposes. It is, in fact, a treatise on logic; but ³as the Gnostic was required to search, not merely the Scriptures, but also the common notions (*τὰς ἐννοίας τὰς κοινάς*) in order that he might attain to the knowledge which was his ultimate object; and as the gift of knowledge was promised to him from God, in case he conducted the search rightly and in a proper spirit, a treatise on logic appears to be no unsuitable part of a work designed for his instruction.⁴

Having described the spirit in which our inquiries after truth should be conducted, Clement ⁵says, "that we must in the

¹ Representing the Heathen. See L. 6. dccxcv. 40.

² Cod. cxi.

³ dcdxiv. 15, 30.

⁴ The concluding words of the seventh book seem to imply that Clement was about to take up a new subject; *καὶ δὴ μετὰ τὸν ἵβδομον τοῦτον ἡμῖν Στρωματία τῶν ἰσθῆς ἀπ' ἄλλης ἀρχῆς ποιησόμεθα τὸν λόγον.*

⁵ dcdxiv. 40. Omnis enim, quæ a ratione suscipitur de aliquâ re, institutio debet a definitione proficisci, ut intelligatur quid sit id, de quo disputetur. Cicero de Officiis, L. I. c. 2.

first place clearly define the word which is to form the subject of discussion." He ¹ then distinguished between proof (*ἐνδειξις*) and syllogism. "In the latter it is sufficient that the conclusion should be correctly drawn from the premises; in the former that the premises should also be true. ² Certain principles, themselves incapable of demonstration, but commanding immediate assent, are the fountain of all demonstrations. The essence of demonstration consists in obtaining assent to that to which assent has not yet been given, through that to which assent has been given." Clement ³ distinguishes also between demonstration and analysis; the process in the latter being that in the former inverted. "In order to demonstrate correctly, our first care must be that our premises are sound; our second, that our conclusion is correctly drawn from them."

⁴ "Every inquiry supposes certain previous knowledge. Sometimes we know the substance, but are ignorant of its operations and affections; sometimes we know the operations and affections, but know not the substance; sometimes we know both." The ⁵ first case he illustrates by the question, "Whether that which is conceived in the womb is an animal or not?" the ⁶ second by the question, "In what part of the body the presiding or ruling faculty of the soul is seated?"

Having made some observations on the *ἐποχή* of the Pyrrhonians, Clement ⁷ says, "that, as it is necessary to ascertain whether a thing is, what it is, and wherefore it is; ⁸ induction (*ἐπαγωγή*) shows that it is; division (*διαίρεσις*) what it is; demonstration (*ἀπόδειξις*) that it is, what it is, and wherefore it is. There are four causes—material, moving, formal, final. We first take the genus, and then divide it into species or forms, and thus obtain a definition, *e.g.* of man. We take the genus, animal, which we divide into the species, mortal and immortal; we divide mortal into terrestrial and aquatic; we divide terrestrial into pedestrian (*πεζόν*) and winged; we divide pedestrian into rational and irrational. Man, therefore, is

¹ dcdxvi. 22.² dcdxvii. 18.³ dcdxviii. 2.⁴ dcdxix. 1.⁵ dcdxix. 22. See the *Eclogæ ex Prophetarum Scripturis L.*, where the question respecting the fœtus is decided in the affirmative.⁶ dcdxxiii. 5.⁷ dcdxxiv. 22.⁸ dcdxxiv. 40.

defined a mortal, terrestrial, pedestrian, rational animal. Thus division and definition in logic answer to analysis and synthesis in geometry. We¹ cannot know anything unless we are able to define it."

"With respect to speech, we have the ²thing, the conception, and the name. Grammar is conversant with names, and reduces them to the twenty-four general elements or letters. Philosophy is conversant with conceptions and things, which it reduces under the ten categories. There are four causes—³primary, efficient, co-operative, sine quâ non. Thus with respect to the instruction of a child, the parent is the primary, the teacher the efficient, the genius of the child the co-operative, time the cause sine quâ non. Some affirmed that causes are to be reckoned among things corporeal, others among things incorporeal; e.g. the former said that the knife was the cause of the thing being cut; the latter that the ⁴operation of cutting was the cause." After some further remarks on causes the book terminates abruptly; it is evidently imperfect.

We proceed to the treatise entitled *τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος*; which Clement commences by saying that it is not his intention to flatter the rich, but to suggest to them such advice as will assist them in their progress to salvation. "Some," he ⁵says, "alarmed at our Saviour's declaration, that 'it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven,' have despaired of attaining to salvation, and abandoned themselves entirely to worldly pleasures, forgetting 'that what is impossible with man is possible with God.' ⁶Such persons must be encouraged by the assurance that, if they keep the commandments, and submit to the preparatory discipline, they will not be excluded from the kingdom of heaven."

¹ dcdxxvi. 28.

² dcdxxvii. 38. τὰ ὑποκείμενα, τὰ νοήματα, τὰ ἰνόματα. The name is the symbol of the conception in the first instance, then of the thing; the conception is the likeness or express image (ικτύπωμα) of the thing.

³ dcdxxxix. 23. προκαταρκτικά, συνικτικά, συνιργά, τὰ ἄν οὐκ ἄντι.

⁴ dcdxxx. 4. τὴν τομὴν, ἰνίργμαν οὖσαν.

⁵ dcdxxxvi. 26.

⁶ dcdxxxvi. 43.

Clement then proceeds to comment on the ¹ passage in St. Mark's Gospel, in which our Saviour's conversation with the rich man is recorded. The inquiry of the rich man was, What shall I do to inherit eternal life? Clement's comment is, that ² "the first step towards eternal life is to know God; the second, to know the greatness of the Saviour, and the newness of the grace given by Him. 'The law was given through Moses; but grace and truth were through Jesus Christ.' If the law could give eternal life, Christ came on earth and suffered in vain. The rich man in the Gospel had kept the law; but he wanted one thing—that disposition which alone could enable him to pay an unreserved obedience to the will of Christ. Not that ³ Christians are required to reduce themselves to poverty in order to obtain eternal life, but to subdue all anxiety respecting wealth, and to extricate themselves from the cares of life. ⁴ It is easier to part with wealth than to subdue our passions and desires; and an indigent man can scarcely fix his thoughts stedfastly on heavenly things, on account of the necessity under which he is placed of providing the means of daily subsistence. Moreover, if the Gospel required men to renounce their worldly possessions, it would be impossible for them to fulfil our Saviour's injunctions to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, etc.; and the precepts of the Gospel would be found at variance with each other. ⁵ The poverty which Christ pronounces blessed is poverty of spirit. Riches are an instrument either of good or evil, according to the use which is made of them. Our endeavour must therefore be to acquire that disposition of mind which will apply them to good purposes. We must learn so to employ wealth that we may attain to life eternal. ⁶ The rich man, who will be saved, must first love God with all his heart; and next his neighbour as himself. The Samaritan, who took compassion on the wounded traveller, was his neighbour; in like manner Christ, Who shed His blood for our sins, is our Neighbour, Whom we ought to love; and our love towards Him must be manifested by obeying His commands and by honouring those who believe in Him. ⁷ We must not be too nice in weighing the worthiness of those on whom we confer our benefits; it is

¹ x. 17, etc.⁴ dcdxlii. 8.⁷ dcdliv. 9.² dcdxxxix. 25.⁵ dcdxliv. 23.³ dcdxli. 20.⁶ dcdli. 8.

better that they should fall on some unworthy persons than that one worthy man should be unrelieved."

¹ "All believers are to be deemed our neighbours ; but among believers there are some more especially chosen, whom the Word calls the light of the world and salt of the earth. They are the seed, the image and likeness of God ; for their sake all things, visible and invisible, were created ; which will be preserved so long as they remain ; but will be dissolved when they are gathered to the Father." Clement then enforces the duty of loving our neighbour from the consideration of Christ's love towards us ; and ² concludes with a narrative respecting St. John and a young man of Ephesus, the object of which is to illustrate the efficacy of repentance.

This treatise bears the appearance of a homily. The style is very different from that of Clement's acknowledged works ; a circumstance which tends to throw some doubt upon its genuineness. But Eusebius expressly ascribes it to Clement ; and I find in it many ³ words applied in a peculiar manner, similar to that in which they are applied by him.

¹ dedlv. 27.

² dedlviii. 44. Eusebius has copied this narrative into his Ecclesiastical History. L. 3. c. 23.

³ Thus *μυσταγωγίῳν*. DCDXXXVII. 5. Compare S. L. 4. DCXXXVII. 28. L. 5. DCXCIII. 18.

ἰξομοίωσις used with reference to the resemblance of the true Christian to God. DCDXXXIX. 36.

ἀπάθεια used to express the exemption of the true Christian from passion. DCDXLVII. 16. Compare S. L. 6. DCCXCII. 32. *πάν ἡλικιῶν ἡλικιότατοι*. DCDLV. 30. Compare S. L. 6. DCCXCIII. 21. *ἰκῶν καὶ ὁμοίωσις* θεοῦ used with reference to the perfect Christian. DCDLV. 39.

Compare DCDLVIII. 13, with S. L. 4. DCV. 43, with reference to the interpretation of the word *ἀντίδικος*. Matt. v. 14. There seems to be a reference to Clement's work *περὶ ἀρχῶν*. DCDL. 41.

CHAPTER V.

THE object of Clement in composing the Stromata was to describe the Gnostic or perfect Christian, in order at once to furnish the believer with a model for his imitation, and to ¹prevent him from being led astray by the representations of the Valentinians and other Gnostic sects. Before, however, we proceed to consider his description of the Gnostic, it will be necessary briefly to review his opinions respecting the nature and condition of man. We find in his writings numerous references to Gen. i. 26, where it is said, "that God formed man *in his image and after his likeness* (κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν in the Septuagint version). ² Man receives the *image* at his birth; he acquires the ³*likeness* gradually, as

¹ S. L. 7. DCCCXCV. 33. L. 3. DLXII. 31.

² ἢ γὰρ εὐχ ὅπως τινὲς τῶν ἡμετέρων, τὸ μὲν κατ' εἰκόνα ἰδέως κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν εἰληφίναί τὸν ἄνθρωπον· τὸ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν δὲ, ὕστερον κατὰ τὴν τιλίωσιν μέλλειν ἀπολαμβάνειν ἐκδέχονται; S. L. 2. CCCCXCIX. 21. So again P. L. c. 12. CLVI. 25. Ποιήσωμιν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ἡμῶν. καὶ ὃ γέγονεν ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦτο πλῆρες, ὅτιρ εἰρηκιν ὁ Θεὸς· ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ἄνθρωπος κατὰ μόνην νοῦται τὴν εἰκόνα. He had before described Christ as ἕνα μόνον ἀληθινόν, ἀγαθόν, δίκαιον, κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ πατρὸς υἱόν Ἰησοῦν. C. II. CLV. 33. See S. L. 4. DLXXVI. 35. DXCH. 23. L. 6. DCCLXX. 36. In DCCLXXXVIII. 31, Clement quotes the Book of Wisdom, v. 23. ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἔκτισεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκτὶ ἀφθαρσία καὶ εἰκόνα τῆς ἰδίας ἰδιότητος (I. αἰδιότητος) ἰσποίησιν αὐτόν. In L. 5. DCLXII. 19, Clement quotes a saying of Eurysus or Eurytus, the Pythagorean, that the Demiurge had used himself as a pattern in the creation of man. Among the fragments is one MXXII. 9, in which a distinction appears to be made between the man ἐν ὁμοιωμάτι, who is invisible; and the man, who is his image and visible. I say *appears*; for the passage is corrupt. Compare S. L. 6. DCCLXXVI. 28.

³ καὶ ἡ μὲν τιλία κληρονομία τῶν εἰς ἄνδρα τίλιον ἀφικνουμένων κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ Κυρίου. ἡ δὲ ὁμοίωσις, εὐχ ὡς τινεσ, ἡ κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα τὸ ἀνθρώπιον—οὐδὲ μὴν ἡ κατ' ἀρετὴν, ἡ πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον αἰτίον—καθ' ὁμοίωσιν οὖν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ εἰς υἰοθεσίαν καὶ φιλίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ καταταγείς, κατὰ τὴν συγκληρονομίαν τῶν κυρίων καὶ θεῶν γίγνεται, ἵαν, καθὼς αὐτὸς ἰδέδαξεν ὁ Κύριος, κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγελίον τιλιωθῆ. S. L. 6. DCCXCVIII. 1. But DCCCIX. 4 we find μή τι οὖν εἰκότως κατ' εἰκόνα (not καθ' ὁμοίωσιν) Θεοῦ γιγνόμενος ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰρηται, οὐ κατὰ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὸ σχῆμα; and L. 3. DXLII. 30. κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Σωτῆρα ἰζομοίωσιν—ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα ἐκτελούμενος τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ τιχ· νίτου ἄνθρωπος τίλιος. See L. 4. DCXIV. 36. L. 2. CCCLXXXIII. 15, where a man who does good is said to be truly the image of God. P. L. 2. c. 10. CCXX. 21, where man is said to be the image of God, because he co-operates towards the generation of man.

he draws nearer to Christian perfection. Christ alone, the Man exempt from passions and affections, is at once *in the image and after the likeness.*" Clement, however, does not always accurately observe these distinctions. He,¹ on one occasion, says "that the image of God is His Word; that the image of the Word is the true man; the mind or understanding in man; who is said to be *in the image and after the likeness*, because he is assimilated to the Divine Word or reason in the sense of the heart, and is on that account rational; but the earthly image of the visible, earth-born man, the mere resemblance of man, is a frail impression far removed from the truth." On another occasion, Clement² says, "that the image of God is the Divine and royal Word, the man exempt from passion; the human mind or understanding is the image of the image;" and³ again, "The Only-begotten impresses, as with a seal, upon the Gnostic the perfect contemplation after His own image; so that there is now a third Divine image, assimilated as nearly as possible to the second cause."

But though the expression *κατ' εικόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν*, could in its full meaning be applied to Christ alone, yet Clement applies it⁴ occasionally to the perfect Christian or

¹ εἰκὼν μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ, καὶ υἱὸς τοῦ νοῦ γήσιος, ὁ θεῖος λόγος, φωτὸς ἀρχιτέτατον φῶς. εἰκὼν δὲ τοῦ λόγου ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀληθινὸς, ὁ νοῦς ἰν ἄνθρωπῳ, ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν διὰ τοῦτο γηγινῆσθαι λογόμενος, τῇ κατὰ καρδίαν φρονήσει τῷ θεῷ παρικοζόμενος λόγῳ, καὶ ταύτῃ λογικός ἄνθρωπος διὰ τοῦ ὁραμένου, τοῦ γηγινούσ, γήσιος εἰκὼν, τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἀνδρῶν εἰκὼν, πῶς τῆς ἀληθείας ἰστικαίρον ἰμαγιῶν καταφαίνεται. C. LXXVIII. 31, quoted in page 14. In XCIII. 29, Clement calls true Christians *θεοφιλεῖ καὶ θεοεικὼν τοῦ λόγου ἀγάλματα* as contradistinguished from the *ἀνδρῶν εἰκὼν ἀγάλματα*. See S. L. 4. DCXLII. 7. L. 6. DCCLXXXVI. 25.

² εἰκὼν μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος θεῖος καὶ βασιλικὸς, ἄνθρωπος ἀπαθής· εἰκὼν δ' εἰκὼν ἄνθρωπος νοῦς. S. L. 5. DCCHII. 11.

³ οὗτος ὁ τῷ ὄντι μονογενής—ἰαποσφραγιζόμενος τῷ γνωστικῷ τὴν τελείαν θεωρίαν κατ' εἰκόνα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς εἶναι τρίτην ἢ τὴν εἰκόνα, τὴν ἔση δύναμις ἰσομοιουμένη πρὸς τὸ δεύτερον αὐτίον. S. L. 7. DCCCXXXVII. 36.

⁴ Thus the Christian is to pray that he may be enabled to perfect the likeness of the image. τὸ ὁμοίωμα πληρῶσαι τῆς εἰκὼν. P. L. 3. c. 12. CCCXI. 6. See p. 83, Note 5. Compare S. L. 4. DCXXVI. 31. DCXLII. 8. Quis dives salvetur. DCCLV. 39. In L. 2. CCCCLXXXIII. 33, Clement says that the words *κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν* are to be understood with reference, not to the body, but to the mind and reason; as he had said respecting the expressions *κατ' εἰκόνα* and *καθ' ὁμοίωσιν* separately. See Note 3, p. 134.

Gnostic. "Man may be ¹ assimilated to God, by knowing God; by ² the indwelling of the Word; by ³ knowledge (*γνώσις*), by ⁴ piety, by ⁵ justice, by ⁶ purity, by ⁷ placability, by ⁸ exemption from passion, by ⁹ having as few wants as possible. ¹⁰ Man may even become God. As by virtue he becomes like to God, so ¹¹ by vice he becomes like to Satan."

Man, according to Clement, ¹² consists of a body and soul; or as he ¹³ elsewhere says, of the apparent man and the soul. Sometimes he ¹⁴ speaks of the flesh, the soul, and the Spirit. But generally when he speaks of the Spirit, he does not speak of it as a separate part in the constitution of human nature, but with reference to the ¹⁵ union of the Holy Spirit with the soul of man. "It cannot be," ¹⁶ he says, "that man should

¹ Θεὸν δὲ εἰδώς, ἰσομοιωθήσεται Θεῷ. P. L. 3. c. I. CCL. 6.

² ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἰκίνας, ἢ σύνικος ὁ λόγος—ἰσομοιοῦται τῷ Θεῷ—Θεὸς δὲ ἰκίνος ὁ ἄνθρωπος γίγνεται, ὅτι βούλεται ὁ Θεός. P. L. 3. c. I. CCLI. 15.

³ S. L. 2. CCCCLIII. 10.

⁴ εἰσεβίαια δὲ ἰσομοίωσα τῷ Θεῷ, κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, τὸν ἄνθρωπον. C. LXXI. 24. ὧρα οὖν ἡμῖν μόνον τὸν εἰσεβῆ Χριστιανὸν εἰπὶν πλοῦσίην τι, καὶ σώφρονα, καὶ ἐυγενῆ· καὶ ταύτη εἰκόνα τοῦ Θεοῦ μὲδ' ὁμοιώσεως καὶ λίγην καὶ πιστεύειν, δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον μετὰ φρονήσεως γινόμενον ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον ὅμοιον ἦδῃ καὶ Θεῷ. XCIV. 24.

⁵ καὶ οὐκ ἴσθιν αὐτῷ (Θεῷ) ὁμοίωσιον οὐδὲν, ἢ ὅστ' ἂν ἡμῶν γίνηται ὅτι δικαιοτάτος. C. LXXVIII. 8. See S. L. 2. CCCCXCIX. 20.

⁶ S. L. 2. CCCCLXXI. 7. L. 4. DCXXVII. 30. ⁷ S. L. 4. DCV. 40.

⁸ S. L. 3. DXXX. 10. DXLI. 30. τὴν πρὸς τὸ βίον ἰσομοίωσιν, ἀπαθῆ καὶ ἰνάρητον γινέσθαι. L. 4. DCXXXI. 1. DCXXXIII. 23. L. 6. DCCLXXVII. 10. L. 7. DCCCXXXVI. 3.

⁹ ἰσομοιωθήσεται Θεῷ—ὅτι μάλιστα ὀλιγιστῶν δίωκτος. P. L. 3. c. I. CCL. 8.

¹⁰ καὶ κατὰ τὸν βίον ὅτῃ βιωτικὸν ἰσομίωσιν, καὶ δὴ ἰσομοιουμένην ἦδῃ Θεῷ. S. L. 7. DCCCXXX. 27.

¹¹ ἐπὶ γαστήρας ἔρποντες, θηρία ἀνδρείκελα, κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν, τοῦ λίχου θηρίου. P. L. 2. c. I. CLXXVIII. 2.

¹² ὁ ἰώμενος ἡμῶν καὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, τὸν ἴδιον ἄνθρωπον. P. L. 3. c. 12. CCCIX. 39. See L. 2. c. 2. CLXXVIII. 3.

¹³ τὸν τι φαινόμενον καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν. S. L. 3. DXI. 19.

¹⁴ S. L. 3. DXLII. 15.

¹⁵ καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς μὲν τὸ πνεῦμα ὤκείωται τῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φερομένη ψυχῇ. P. L. 2. c. 2. CLXXVIII. 6. This union is effected by the Word, πνεῦμα καὶ ψυχὴν ἰνώσει κατὰ τὴν τοῦ λόγου ὑπακοήν. S. L. 3. DLIII. 28. ἀλλὰ τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ Κυρίου μένει, τὸ χρίσαι τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ἰνώσει τῷ πνεύματι. DLIX. 22.

¹⁶ S. L. 5. dcxcviii. 30. In speaking of the Divine breath, Clement alludes to Gen. ii. 7. When he says, L. 3. DXXXII. 25, γῆ δὲ καὶ σπόδος τὸ σῶμα ἄνι πνεύματος, he seems to use πνεῦμα as synonymous with ἐμφύσημα, though from the context we should rather infer the allusion to be to the influence of the Holy Spirit.

be without the notion or idea of God; since at the moment of his creation (*ἐν τῇ γενέσει*, which may also mean, in the book of Genesis) he is described as having partaken of the Divine breath (*ἐμφυσήματος*), and thus having obtained a purer nature than the other animals. Pythagoras, to whom Plato and Aristotle assent, affirms that mind or intelligence (*νοῦς*) comes to man by a Divine communication (*θεία μοίρα*), mind is a portion of the Divinity, communicated to man. But we say that the Holy Spirit is breathed in addition (*προσπεινεῖσθαι*) into the believer; not, however, as if a part (*μέρος*) of God was in each of us." Clement ¹ speaks of the flesh as the garment of the soul, and ² calls the body the image or statue of the Word.

Clement frequently ³ alludes to the Platonic division of the soul. The ⁴ rational faculty or power is peculiar to the soul of man. He speaks also frequently of ⁵ the principal or guiding faculty of the soul, which he ⁶ connects with the reason. The ⁷ rational soul was breathed by God from above into the face of man.

Clement speaks also of a principal as opposed to a ⁸ subject

¹ P. L. 2. c. 10. CCXXXVI. 2.

² P. L. 3. c. 11. CCXCII. 1.

³ *θυμός τι, καὶ ἰσθυμία, καὶ λογισμός.* S. L. 3. DXLII. 14. L. 5. DCXCIV. 24. L. 8. DCDXX. 4. *τὸ ἄλογον μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς.* P. L. 3. c. 1. CCL. 12. c. 11. CCLXXXV. 24. S. L. 7. DCCCLIX. 8.

⁴ *ἡ λογικὴ δὲ δύναμις, ἴδια οὖσα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς.* S. L. 2. CCCCLXXXVII. 27.

⁵ *τὸ ἡγμονικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς.* S. L. 2. CCCXCIX. 14. L. 4. DLXXXI. 12. DCXXVII. 24. L. 6. DCCLXII. 29. DCCLXXVIII. 43. DCCCVIII. 8, 30. L. 8. DCDXXXIII. 5. In L. 6. DCCCVIII. 17, this faculty is said not to be generated *κατὰ τὴν τοῦ στήματος καταβολήν.* But the contrary seems to be affirmed P. L. 2. c. 10. CCXX. 27. Clement speaks also of the *ἡγμονικὸν τοῦ σώματος* (the head). P. L. 2. c. 8. CCXV. 3. S. L. 4. DXCII. 21. L. 5. DCCIII. 8, of the *ἡγμονικὸν τῆς κτίσεως ἀπάσης* (man). S. L. 6. DCCCXIX. 19, of the *ἡγμονικὸν τῆς γνώσεως.* DCCCXXVI. 2, of the *ἡγμονικὸν τῆς τιμιότητος.* L. 7. DCCLII. 8.

⁶ *ὁ λογισμὸς καὶ τὸ ἡγμονικόν.* S. L. 2. CCCCLVI. 15. L. 6. DCCCVIII. 16, 22.

⁷ *ψυχὴν δὲ τὴν λογικὴν ἀνοθεὶν ἰμπνισθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς πρόσωπον.* S. L. 5. DCCIII. 6. L. 6. DCCLXXIV. 31. See Note II, p. 136. In S. L. 1. CCCXVII. 4, Clement seems to distinguish between *ψυχὴ* and *νοῦς* on the one hand, and *λογισμὸς* on the other.

⁸ *δισσωῶς, ὡς ἕκαστον, γράφονται δισσοῖς πνεύμασιν ἐπιτολαί, τῷ τι ἡγμονικῷ, τῷ*

spirit; the latter he calls the bodily soul, the carnal or irrational spirit; the spiritual part which was given in the creation of man, and ¹ which he distinguishes from the peculiar character impressed by the Holy Spirit, which comes through faith. ² "The vital power, in which is included the power which nourishes and causes both growth and motion, falls to the share of the carnal spirit, which is quick of motion, and pervades the senses and the rest of the body, and is first affected through the body; while the principal spirit possesses the power of choice, to which are to be referred investigation, and learning (*μάθησις*), and knowledge.—Man perceives, desires, is pleased, is angry, is nourished, grows through the corporeal spirit; through which also that which is conceived in the mind breaks forth into action; but when man controls his appetites, then the principal faculty reigns." Clement ³ says, that the souls, both of rational and irrational animals, are invisible; and that their bodies are not parts or members of their souls, but instruments (*ὄργανα*). In speaking of the sense of hearing, he ⁴ says, "that though it is operated upon through corporeal channels, it apprehends not by means of the corporeal power; but through a certain perception of the soul, and an intelligence which distinguishes between significant sounds."

τε ὑποκειμένη. S. L. 6. DCCCVIII. 2. He afterwards calls this subject spirit *τὸ κατὰ πλάσιν πνευματικόν*. DCCCVIII. 8. and *τὸ πλασθίν*. DCCCIX. 10. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς σωματικῆς ψυχῆς κατιζανίσταται, στόμιον ἰμβάλων ἀφηνιάζοντι τῷ ἀλόγῳ πνεύματι. L. 7. DCCCLXXX. 20. διὰ τοῦ σωματικοῦ ἄρα πνεύματος αἰσθάνεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος. L. 6. DCCCVIII. 34. σὺν τῷ σαρκικῷ πνεύματι. DCCCLXVII. 3. See DCCCVIII. 27, 40. We find *πνεύματι αἰσθητικῷ*. DCCCXX. 9. τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς αἰσθητικῆς. L. 8. DCDXX. 8. We find in S. L. 4. DCXXXIX. 21, the distinction between a better and dominant, and a worse and sinful spirit.

¹ τὸ διὰ τῆς πίστεως προσγιγνώμενον ἁγίου πνεύματος χαρακτηριστικὸν ἰδίωμα. S. L. 6. DCCCVIII. 7, 9. See DCCXXI. 10. DCCLXXIV. 31. DCCXCII. 2.

² See L. 6. DCCCVIII. 25.

³ S. L. 6. DCCXXXV. 25. Clement says that there is no distinction of sex in souls. DCCXC. 19. In the *Eclogæ ex Prophetarum Scripturis* XVII. the author denies by implication the pre-existence of the soul, and XXII. speaks of the soul as self-moved. Compare S. L. 6. DCCLXXXVIII. 17. The author of the Commentary on the Catholic Epistles says that the soul is not incorruptible by nature, MVI. 27, but the contrary seems to be asserted in a fragment of Clement preserved by Maximus, MXX. 35. On the perpetual activity of the soul, see the passage quoted in p. 49.

⁴ S. L. 7. DCCLII. 29.

We have seen that Clement speaks of a peculiar character impressed on man by the Holy Spirit. With respect to the natural character, he says, "that generally man is ¹ moulded according to the form of the congenial spirit; for he is not produced without form in the workshop of nature, where the generation of man is mystically perfected. The essence of all is the same, as is the art employed on all; but the character of the particular man is marked by the form impressed on his soul by the things which he chooses." Conformably to this opinion, Clement ² calls the mind, or intelligence, the form by which man is distinguished.

Speaking of human nature, Clement ³ says, "that man, though naturally liable to delusion, so as to assent to falsehood, nevertheless has within him that which impels him to believe the truth." In other places Clement ⁴ says, that man is by nature altogether alienated from God—and ⁵ that, in addition to the perversion arising out of a bad education, he is encompassed with much infirmity. Clement ⁶ speaks also of a natural liability to sin, through which man becomes a sinner in act. The ⁷ consequence of Adam's transgression was, that he exchanged immortality for mortality.

The foregoing brief notice of Clement's opinions respecting man, his soul, and his fallen state, appeared necessary as an

¹ ὁ μὲν οὖν ἄνθρωπος ἀπλῶς οὗτος κατ' ἰδίαν πλάσσεται τοῦ συμφυοῦς πνεύματος· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνίδιος, οὐδ' ἀσχημάτιστος ἐν τῇ τῆς φύσεως ἐργαστηρίῳ δημιουργεῖται, ἵνα μυστικῶς ἀνθρώπου ἐκτιλεῖται γένεσις, κοινῆς οὐσης καὶ τῆς τίχης καὶ τῆς οὐσίας. ὁ δὲ τις ἄνθρωπος, κατὰ τὴν τύπωσιν τὴν ἐγγινομένην τῇ ψυχῇ, ὧν ἂν αἰρήσῃται χαρακτηρίζεται. S. L. 4. DCXXXII. 17. Clement illustrates this by the case of Adam.

² τὸ γὰρ εἶδος ἐκάστου, ὁ νοῦς, ἢ χαρακτηρίζομεθα. Mens cujusque is est quisque. S. L. 6. DCLXXVI. 27.

³ καὶν τις τάλῃθις σκοπῇ, εὐρήσει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, φύσει διαβιβλημένον μὲν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ψεύδους συγκατάθεσιν, ἔχοντα δὲ ἀφορμὰς πρὸς πίστιν τάλῃθους. S. L. 2. CCCCLVIII. 16.

⁴ S. L. 2. CCCCLXVIII. 11, with reference to Col. i. 21.

⁵ S. L. 2. CCCCLXXXVII. 4.

⁶ αὐτίκα ὁ μὲν κακὸς, φύσει ἀμαρτητικὸς, διὰ κακίαν γενόμενος φαῦλος κηρίστηκιν, ἔχον ἢν ἐκὼν εἴλιτο· ἀμαρτητικὸς δὲ ἂν καὶ κατὰ πρᾶξις διαμαρτάνει. S. L. 6. DCLXXXIX. 15.

⁷ S. L. 2. CCCCLXXXI. 12. Adam's transgression consisted in anticipating the time assigned for his connexion with Eve. L. 3. DLIV. 9. DLIX. 5.

introduction to the description of the true Gnostic. By γνῶσις, Clement¹ understood the perfect knowledge of all that relates to God, His nature and dispensations. He² speaks of a twofold knowledge; "one, which is common to all men, being derived through the senses, and of which irrational as well as rational natures partake; the other, especially called knowledge, receives its character from mind and reason."³ It is not born with men, but is acquired; and the acquisition of it requires attention, and nourishment, and increase; then by incessant practice it becomes a⁴ habit; thus being perfected in a mystical habit (a habit suited to one initiated), it is so fixed through love that it cannot fail. For the Gnostic comprehends not only the First Cause and the Cause begotten by him, and is fixed in his notions concerning them, possessing firm and immoveable reasons; but also, having learned from the truth itself, he possesses the most accurate truth, from the foundation of the world to the end, concerning good and evil, and the whole creation, and in a word, concerning all which the Lord spake; nor does he prefer to the truth anything which may appear persuasive or conclusive according to the Greek reasoning. To him the sayings of the Lord, though obscure to others, are clear and manifest: he has obtained knowledge concerning all; for *our* oracles return answers concerning things present, as they are; concerning things future, as they will be; concern-

¹ S. L. 4. DLXX. 34. L. 7. dcccxxxviii. 8. Sometimes Clement includes a corresponding practice in the definition, ἔστιν γὰρ, ὡς ἴσως ἐπιπύ, ἡ γνῶσις τελειώσις τις ἀνθρώπου, ὡς ἀνθρώπου, διὰ τῆς τῶν θείων ἰσιστήμης συμπληρουμένη, κατὰ τι τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸν βίον καὶ τὸν λόγον σύμφωνος καὶ ὁμόλογος ἑαυτῇ τε καὶ τῶν θείων λόγων. S. L. 7. DCCCLXIV. 25. ἡ γνῶσις τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς καθαρσίς ἐστι, καὶ ἐνέργειά ἐστιν ἀγαθῆ. L. 4. DLXXXI. 12. Sometimes he uses γνῶσις to express the simple knowledge of the Gospel, στρατιτεύμενόν σε κατεῖληψεν ἡ γνῶσις; C. LXXX. 13. LXXXIII. 4. We find other definitions, as γνῶσις δὲ, ἰσιστήμη τοῦ ἄντος αὐτοῦ ἢ ἰσιστήμη σύμφωνος τοῖς γινόμενοις. S. L. 2. CCCCLXVIII. 41. καὶ αὕτη κυρίως εὐρεσίς ἐστιν ἡ γνῶσις, κατὰ λέξιν ζήτησις ὑπάρχουσα. L. 6. DCCCI. 13.

² S. L. 6. DCCXXXVII. 1. See p. 109.

³ S. L. 6. dclxxxix. 3. In the *Eclogæ ex Scripturis Prophetarum*, it is said that we now know only in part; but the knowledge which we possess is a pledge that we shall attain to a perfect knowledge. XII.

⁴ Yet Clement elsewhere seems to express a doubt whether knowledge is to be called a habit or a disposition. εἴτ' οὖν ἕξις ἢ γνῶσις, ἔστι διὰ θείας εἶναι λέγεται. S. L. 4. DCXXVII. 22.

ing things past, as they have been. He being alone possessed of knowledge (*ἐπιστήμων*) will excel in that which is the subject of knowledge, and will treat of the good (*περὶ τὰγαθῶν*); always fastening upon those things which are the objects of the understanding, copying his administration of human affairs from the Archetypes which are from above. ¹ Knowledge is discerned by fruits and the manner of life, not by words and flowers; for we say that knowledge is not a barren word, but a sort of Divine science (*ἐπιστήμην*); and that light, which comes into the soul from obedience according to the commandments, and makes all things manifest in their origin, and prepares man to know himself, and teaches him to aim at attaining unto God; for what the eye is in the body, that is knowledge in the understanding. ² As death is the separation of the soul from the body, so knowledge is as it were a rational death, separating the soul from passions, and leading it on to a life of well-doing."

With respect to the source from which this knowledge is derived, Clement³ says that "it was imparted by Christ to Peter, James, John, and Paul, and by them delivered down to their successors in the Church. ⁴ It was not designed for the multitude, but communicated to those only who were capable of receiving it; orally, not by writing." Alluding to Exodus xxi. 33, 34, he ⁵ says, that "we must be cautious in imparting this knowledge, lest we should meet with one who, being incapable of receiving the truth, should disobey and fall away

¹ S. L. 3. dxxxi. 22. See p. 87.

² S. L. 7. dcccxxiv. 42.

³ S. L. 1. cccxxii. 18. Compare L. 6. DCCLXXIV. 27. See p. 66.

⁴ S. L. 1. cccxxiii. 23. cccxlviii. 31. L. 4. devi. 22. The subject is pursued at great length in L. 5. DCLXXXII. 16. See also L. 6. DCCXXXVI. 1. DCCLXXI. 14. L. 7. DCCCLXIV. 46. DCCCLXXXVI. 8. DCDI. 35. Quis Dives Salvetur. DCDXXXVIII. 44. See p. 66, Note 4. We find frequent mention of the Gnostic tradition, *τῆς γνωστικῆς παραδόσεως*. L. 1. CCCXXV. 2, 7. L. 4. DLXIV. 36. L. 6. DCCLXXI. 2. See also L. 6. DCCCXVI. 13. L. 7. DCCCXII. 21. DCCCXVI. 16; the passage quoted by Eusebius from the Hypotyposes Hist. Eccl. L. 2. c. 1, and the Eclogue ex Prophetarum Scripturis. XXXV.

⁵ S. L. 5. dclxxviii. 26. I have translated the words *τὸν ἰργάτην*, *the operative*; and *θεωρίαν*, *speculation*; this being one of the modes in which Clement expresses the distinction between the ordinary Christian and the Gnostic. *ἰργατικὴ* is opposed to *θεωρητικὴ*, L. 6. DCCCIII. 21.

from it.—The Gnostic, who is the master of the fountain of truth, will incur a penalty if he gives occasion of offence by causing one, who is still conversant only with minor points, to be swallowed up as it were by the magnitude of what he delivers; and by transferring one who is only an operative to speculation.”

Various descriptions of the Gnostic are, as we have seen, scattered over the Stromata. In ¹one place he is described as one who is superior to ²anger and desire; who loves the creature through the God and Maker of all things; who has acquired ³a habit of self-command, unattended by effort, after the likeness of the Saviour; who unites knowledge, faith, love, and therefore is ⁴one in his judgment; truly spiritual, formed into a perfect man after the image of the Lord by the artificer himself, worthy to be called brother by the Lord; he is at once a friend and son (of God). In ⁵another place he is said to use all diligence to subdue whatever is opposed to the understanding—to employ himself in constant contemplation—to exercise himself in abstaining from things pleasant (τῶν ἡδέων), and in acting rightly. He ⁶keeps back nothing which the occasion requires to be said, either through favour or fear. He is conversant with those things which are comprehended by the understanding and the spirit. He is mild, gentle, easy of access, affable, forbearing, right-minded, of a pure conscience, severe, so as to be not only incorruptible, but even inaccessible to temptation; he renders his soul incapable of yielding, or being subject to pleasure and pain; as a judge, he inclines not to either side, or yields anything to affection, but steadily pursues the path of justice: he is persuaded that all things are well administered, and that there will be a progressive amelioration in the souls which choose virtue, until they arrive at the good (τὸ ἀγαθὸν) itself, being brought nigh to the great High Priest, at the porch, so to speak, of the Father. Clement proposes

¹ S. L. 3. dxlii. 26.

² θυμῷ καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις, the two irrational parts in Plato's threefold division of the soul. In L. 6. DCCCIX. 7, the Gnostic is said to perform virtuous actions by the rational faculty.

³ ἔξιν ἰσχυρατίας ἄπονον.

⁴ εἰς ἓν ἐνθέως τὴν κρίσιν.

⁵ S. L. 7. dcccclviii. 1.

⁶ The Gnostic rarely takes an oath. L. 7. dcccclxii. 9.

¹ John the Baptist and ² Job as examples of the Gnostic character.

Light is thrown on Clement's notion of the Gnostic by the distinction which he frequently draws between the qualifications of the Gnostic and the common believer. Thus ³ the Gnostic acts from the principle of love: the common believer from fear, or the hope of reward. "Some," Clement ⁴ says, "confess Christ through love of glory; some in order to avoid another and severer punishment; some on account of the pleasures which await them after death: these are *children* in the faith; blessed indeed, but not ⁵ *men* who have attained to maturity in the love of God, as the Gnostic has." He ⁶ supposes St. Paul to have intended to draw a comparison between common faith and Gnostic perfection, in the third chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. "Milk is the food of the common believer; strong meat of the Gnostic. Faith is the foundation on which the Gnostic edifice is raised." ⁷ "Knowledge is superior to faith; as to be deemed worthy of the highest honour after being saved is superior to being merely saved." ⁸ Knowledge is the perfection of man,

¹ S. L. 3. dxxxvi. 15.

² S. L. 7. dccclxxxi. 2. L. 4. dlxxii. 12. Other descriptions of the Gnostic character may be found, DCXXV. 27. DCXXVI. 23. L. 6. DCCLXXXVIII. 32. DCCCXXV. 38. L. 7. DCCCXXXVIII. 4. DCCCLII. 1. DCCCLXVI. 17, where Clement applies Psalm xxiv. to the Gnostic.

³ S. L. 4. dexiv. 4. dcxxv. 30. dcviii. 19. Compare the Comment on the First Epistle of St. John ii. 3, MX. 4, and the Eclogæ ex Prophetarum Scripturis. XIX.

⁴ S. L. 7. dccclxxi. 35. Compare L. 4. DCXXVI. 22. DCXXIX. 13.

⁵ So τῶν εἰς ἀνδρας ἐγγραφομένων. S. L. 1. cccxx. 41. We find the words *πιστὶ ἠνδρὸλογημένοι*, in Quis Dives Salvetur, DCXLVII. 4, in connexion with *ἀρτιμαθῆς*, as descriptive of persons not yet fully instructed. *ἀπειρωμένοι* occurs S. L. 7. DCCCLXXXVI. 8. The Lord is called *ἀπῆρ*, inasmuch as He is perfect in righteousness. P. L. I. c. 8. CVIII. 15.

⁶ S. L. 5. dclix. 37. dclx. 12. L. 6. dcccix. 10. With respect to the connexion between knowledge and faith, see L. 2. CCCCXXXVI. 34. CCCCXLV. 35. CCCCLV. 14. L. 6. DCCLXXIV. 2. *ἵναυτὰ γὰρ ἡ πίστις ἡ γνωστικὴ*. DCCLXXV. 18. DCCLXXVIII. 18. DCCCXIX. 10. DCCCXXVI. 11. DCCLXXIV. 24. L. 7. DCCCLVIII. 31.

⁷ L. 6. dcxciv. 20. See L. 2. CCCCXLV. 35. L. 3. CCCCLII. 24.

⁸ L. 7. dccclxiv. 25. See page 140, Note 1. Clement here draws a distinction between knowledge and that wisdom (*πιστήμη*) which is acquired by instruction. Yet we have seen, p. 140, that he considered

as man; being perfected through the science (*ἐπιστήμην*) of Divine things, and being in unison with itself and the Divine Word, in manners, life, and conversation. Through it faith is perfected, as the believer through it alone becomes perfect. Faith is an internal (*ἐνδιάθετον*) good; without seeking God, it confesses Him and glorifies Him as God. Wherefore proceeding from this faith, and growing up in it, we ought through the grace of God to receive the knowledge concerning Him as far as it is possible.—Not to doubt about God, but to believe in Him, is the foundation of knowledge.” Again,¹ “faith is a compendious knowledge of things which are of urgent necessity: knowledge a firm and valid demonstration of things received through faith, built upon faith through the instruction of the Lord, and conducting us on to an infallible apprehension. The first saving change is from heathenism to faith; the second, from faith to knowledge: which, being perfected in love, renders that which knows the friend of that which is known. ²The believer merely tastes the Scriptures; the Gnostic, proceeding further, is an accurate index (*γνώμων*) of the truth; as in matters of ordinary life the artificer is superior to the common man, and can express something better than the common notions (*τὰς κοινὰς ἐνοίας*).”

“The ³Gnostic honours God, and returns Him thanks for the knowledge how to regulate his life, not in any definite

knowledge (*γνώσις*) to be acquired. In L. 6. DCCCXXV. 6, he says that the science (*ἐπιστήμη*) which the Gnostic alone has, is a firm apprehension leading upwards to the knowledge of the cause through true and valid reasons. Compare L. 7. DCCCXXXVIII. 6. In L. 1. CCCL. 6, Clement says that he is properly a Gnostic who is skilled in every kind of wisdom, *πᾶν ὁδοῦ παῖς σοφίας*.

¹ S. L. 7. dccclxv. 38. See p. 125. See also DCCCLXXXIII. 13. In the Eclogæ ex Prophetarum Scripturis, the distinction drawn between the believer and the Gnostic is, that the former has received remission of sins from the Lord; the latter, inasmuch as he no longer sins, receives from himself remission of his remaining sins. xv. See Quis Dives Salvetur. DCDLVII. 36. We cannot believe without instruction (*κατηχήσις*), or apprehend without knowledge. xxviii.

² S. L. 7. DCCCXCI. 11. See p. 128. For other marks of distinction between the believer and the Gnostic, see S. L. 6. DCCLXX. 31. DCCXCVIII. 26. DCCCVI. 15. L. 7. DCCCLXXVIII. 10, where hope is also mentioned.

³ S. L. 7. DCCCLI. 21. See p. 123. Speaking of the manner of life of

place, or in any select temple, or on certain appointed festivals and days, but throughout his whole life, in every place, whether he is alone, or in company with those who believe as he does.—He is persuaded that God is present everywhere, and not confined within certain appointed places; he dares not, therefore, to be intemperate either by night or day, as if he thought that he could be removed from the view of God. Making his whole life a festival, and persuaded that God is present everywhere, whether he tills the ground or navigates the ocean, in every transaction of life he sings psalms of praise and thanksgiving. Being more intimately united to God, he is at once grave and cheerful in all things; grave, on account of his conversion to the Deity; cheerful, with reference to the worldly goods which God gives him. The ¹ prophet thus commends the excellence of knowledge: 'Teach me goodness, and discipline, and knowledge,' ascending upwards to that wherein perfection principally consists. This is the truly kingly man; this is the holy priest of God.—He never mixes with the promiscuous crowds in the theatre. He admits not, even in his dreams, that which is said, or done, or seen, for the sake of pleasure. He neither gratifies his smell with expensive perfumes, nor his taste with exquisite dishes and variety of wines; he renders not his soul effeminate by wreaths of fragrant flowers; he refers the virtuous enjoyment of all those gifts to God Who gives them, thanking Him for the gift and the use, and for the reason which is given him. He rarely attends convivial meetings, excepting in order to promote friendship and concord; being convinced that God knows and hears all things, not only the voice, but the thought." Distinguishing between the perfection of the common believer and of the Gnostic, Clement ² says, "that the perfection of the former consists in abstinence from evil, of the latter in doing good." ³ Again, "the Gnostic knows sin itself, not merely

the Gnostic, Clement says, that it fits him for the habit of eternal life. L. 4. DLXXVII. 29. Referring to Clement of Rome, he speaks of walking in Gnostic holiness, *iv ἁγιότητι γνωστικῆ*. L. 1. CCCXXXIX. 6.

¹ Psalm cxix. 66, according to the Septuagint version.

² S. L. 6. DCCLXX. 30. See DCCXCI. 37. DCCXCVIII. 26. L. 4. DCXXXIII. 4. L. 7. DCCCLXXV. 24. DCCLXXIX. 33. DCCCLXXX. 25. Clement says that good works accompany knowledge as the shadow does the body. L. 7. DCCCLXXXII. 29.

³ S. L. 6. DCCLXXXVIII. 40. See p. 114. According to the commentator

that particular sin of which he repents (for this is common to all believers), but whatever is sin; for he does not merely condemn this or that sin, but sin altogether; nor does he know what this or that man has done amiss, but insists that sin is not to be committed. Wherefore there is a twofold repentance: one common, on account of having sinned; the other understands the nature of sin, and persuades us in the first instance to abstain from sin; the consequence of which is that we do not sin."¹

"The prayer of the Gnostic differs from that of a common believer, both as to its manner and its objects. The ²Gnostic prays only in thought, and obtains that for which he prays. ³Common believers pray for that which they do not possess, and ask for that which is seemingly, not really, good. The Gnostic prays for the permanence of that which he possesses, and asks that he may be fitted for that to which he will hereafter be transferred, and that what he shall receive (I omit the negative particle) may be permanent. He prays for the permanent possession of that which is really good, the good of the soul." ⁴Again: "the Gnostic through the surpassing greatness of his piety, is better prepared to fail, when he asks, than to obtain, when he does not ask. His whole life is prayer and converse with God; and if he is pure from sin, he will obtain what he wishes. For God says to the righteous man: ⁵'Ask, and I will give you; think, and I will do it.' If a thing is expedient, he will immediately receive it; if inexpedient, he will not ask for it, and therefore will not receive it: thus what he wishes will always be. ⁶The Gnostic alone

on the First Epistle of St. John, the Gnostic (Intellector) necessarily fulfils the moral duties; but he who fulfils the moral duties is not necessarily a Gnostic. MIX. 52. The reference is to I John ii. 3, *καὶ ἐν τούτοις γινώσκωμεν ὅτι ἠγνώκαμεν αὐτὸν, ἰὰν τὰς ἐντολάς αὐτοῦ τηρῶμεν.*

¹ Clement seems to suppose a state of sinless perfection possible. *τὰ μὲν πάντα ἀποτιθεμένους, ἀναμαρτήτους δὲ γινομένους.* S. L. 7. DCCCXXXVI. 19. See also DCCCLXXXIII. 14.

² S. L. 6. DCCXC. 30. Compare L. 6. DCCLXXVIII. 38. L. 7. DCCLIII. 18. DCCCLIV. 3. DCCLVI. 22.

³ S. L. 7. DCCCLVII. 10.

⁴ S. L. 7. DCCCLXXV. 45. Prayer with the Gnostic is said to be thanksgiving. DCCCLXXIX. 39.

⁵ This sentence is quoted in other places. S. L. 6. DCCLXXVIII. 39. DCCXC. 35.

⁶ S. L. 7. DCCCXXIX. 25.

is truly pious, and worships the true God in a manner worthy of God. He gives to everything the honour justly due; among the objects of sense, to rulers, parents, elders; among things which are taught, to the most ancient philosophy and prophecy; among the objects of the understanding, to that which is eldest in origin; to the beginning or principle without time and without beginning, the First-fruits of things (*ἀπαρχὴν τῶν ὄντων*), the Son, from Whom we learn the supreme Cause, the Father of the universe, the oldest and most beneficent of all things, no longer delivered to us by the voice, but to be revered with awe and silence and holy wonder; revealed by the Lord, as far as it is possible for learners to understand, but understood by those who are elected to knowledge by Him—by those of whom the Apostle says that ¹‘their senses are exercised.’ To the Gnostic, then, the worship of God is a continual watchfulness over the soul, an employment about the Deity through unceasing love.”

The ²excellence of the Gnostic character consists, not in controlling the desires, and wishes, and passions, but in being exempt from them. In him the struggle between inclination and the sense of duty has ceased; because they coincide. ³He fasts; but he understands that the true fasting consists in abstinence from evil in act, in word, in thought. ⁴The sacrifice which he offers is a willing separation from the body and its affections. ⁵Though prepared to shed his blood in the cause of the Gospel, he considers the true confession of God to consist in a pure and holy life. One who so liveth is a martyr, whatever the mode of his departure from this life.

¹ Heb. v. 14.

² See with respect to continence or temperance (*ἐγκράτεια*), S. L. 3. DXXXVII. 29. L. 4. DCXXVI. 40. With respect to the Gnostic exemption from passion (*ἀπάθεια*), S. L. 2. CCCLXXXIV. 3. L. 4. DLXXXI. 25. L. 6. DCCLXXV. 25. DCCLXXVI. 23. DCCXCVII. 31. L. 7. DCCCLXXXIII. 17. DCCCLXXXVI. 14. Quis Dives Salvetur. DCDXLVII. 16.

³ S. L. 6. DCCXCI. 18. L. 7. DCCCLXXXVII. 20.

⁴ S. L. 5. DCLXXXVI. 10, quoted in p. 107. See L. 7. DCCCXXXVI. 27. DCCCL. 29.

⁵ *εἰ τοίνυν ἡ πρὸς Θεὸν ὁμολογία μαρτυρία ἰστί, πᾶσα ἡ καθαρῶς πολιτισσαμένη ψυχὴ μετ' ἰσιγνώσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἢ ταῖς ἰστολαῖς ἰπακηνουῖα, μάρτυς ἰστί καὶ βίω καὶ λόγῳ, ὅσως ποτὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀπαλλάσσεται.* S. L. 4. DLXX. 22, quoted in p. 92, Note 6. See DLXXXVII. 19. DXXVII. 6. DCVI. 18.

Clement uses various terms to express the superior excellence and dignity of the Gnostic. "He is the ¹ elect. The ² seed of Abraham, the servants of God, are the *called*; the sons of Jacob, they who by supplanting (*πτερνίσαντες*) overcome the works of wickedness, are the *elect*. He is the Spiritual ³ Levite; ⁴ the Divine philosopher; the true Israelite. He is the ⁵ Friend and Son, as contradistinguished from the servant, of God. ⁶ He is equal to the angels. He is a ⁷ King. He ⁸ imitates Christ, as far as it is possible for man, putting on in a certain degree the qualities of the Lord, in order that he may be assimilated to God. ⁹ He actually becomes God. ¹⁰ He

¹ *κἄν μισῶσι τὸν ἐκλεκτὸν τινις.* S. L. 4. DCXXVII. 14. So *ἐκ διαβίσεως ἐκλεκτῆς, δι' ἀγάπης γνωστικῆς.* DCXIV. 4. See L. 4. DCXL. 36. L. 7. DCCCLI. 19. DCCCLXVI. 37. In DCCXIII. 21, and in the tract *Quis Dives Salvetur*, DCDLV. 30, we find mention of some who are *τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν ἐκλεκτότεροι.* See L. 7. DCCCLXXXVII. 33. *πρὸς γι τῶν ἰξυλιγμίνων εἰς γνῶσιν.* DCCCXXIX. 41. *κατὰ τὴν κτίσιν τὴν ἰξυλιγμίνην.* DCCCLXXXVIII. 6. *τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἰξυλιγμίνην.* DCCCLXXXIX. 31.

² S. L. 6. DCCLXX. 37.

³ S. L. 5. DCLIX. 34. DCLXIX. 28.

⁴ S. L. 6. DCCXIII. 37. Compare the *Eclogæ ex Prophetarum Scripturis.* xxxiii.

⁵ *ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πιστοῦ δούλου μεταβαίνων δι' ἀγάπης εἰς φίλον.* S. L. 7. DCCCLXVIII. 46. *μιτατιθῆς ἐκ δουλείας εἰς υιοθεσίαν.* DCCCLXXXII. 26. See also DCCCLXXXIX. 32. *Quis Dives Salvetur.* DCDXXXIX. 43. The Gnostic is first *δούλος νόμιμος*, then *πιστὸς θεράπων*, then *υἴος*. L. 1. CCCCXXIII. 33. *φίλος* is opposed to *πιστός*. L. 7. DCCCXL. 17. See also L. 4. DLXVII. 13.

⁶ S. L. 6. DCCXIII. 33. L. 7. DCCCLXVI. 8. *ὡς ἂν ἦδη καὶ ἰσαγγίλος.* DCCCLXXIX. 24. *οἷον ἄγγελος ἦδη γενόμενος, σὺν Χριστῷ τε ἴσται, θεωρητικὸς ὢν.*

⁷ S. L. 6. DCCCI. 8. DCCCXVIII. 5. DCCCXIX. 15. DCCCXXV. 37. L. 7. DCCCLXI. 11. DCCCLII. 19. DCCCLXXVI. 16.

⁸ P. L. i. c. 12. CLVII. 24. L. 3. c. 1. CCL. 6. CCLI. 17. S. L. 1. CCCXLVII. 6. L. 2. CCCCLIII. 10. CCCCLXXI. 7. CCCXCIX. 19. L. 3. DXXX. 10. DXLII. 30. L. 4. DCV. 40. DCXXVII. 32. DCXXXI. 1, 21. DCXL. 36. S. L. 6. DCCCLXXVI. 25. DCCCLXXXVIII. 34. DCCCXVIII. 11, 14. L. 7. DCCCXXX. 28. DCCCXXXV. 35. DCCCXXXVI. 3. See Notes 8, 9, p. 136.

⁹ *πῶς ποτε ἄρα ἀνθρώπος γίνηται θεός.* C. VIII. 32, quoted in p. 23, Note 3. See LXXI. 26, 32. LXXXVIII. 33. P. L. i. c. 12. CLVI. 33. S. L. 2. CCCCLXXXIV. 24. CCCXCIV. 30. *τούτῃ δυνατόν τῷ τρόπῳ τὸν γνωστικὸν ἦδη γινέσθαι θεόν.* S. L. 4. DCXXXII. 9. DCXXXIII. 11, 23. DCXLII. 5. *οὕτως δύναμιν λαβούσα κυριακὴ ἢ ψυχὴ μελετᾷ εἶναι θεός.* L. 6. DCCXCVII. 11. DCCCH. 17. DCCCLXVI. 5. L. 7. DCCCLXV. 17. DCCCXC. 28. *Eclogæ ex Prophetarum Scripturis.* xxvii.

¹⁰ *θεὸς ἄρα ὁ γνωστικὸς, καὶ ἦδη ἄγιος, θεωρητῶν καὶ θεωροφύμιος.* S. L. 7. DCCCLXXXII. 7. Compare L. 6. DCCXIII. 19.

is Divine and Holy, bearing God, and borne or inspired by God. He is a ¹ God, walking in the flesh."

"The ² Gnostic must pass through a course of probation and discipline before he can attain to perfection. ³ This perfection is attained, when he as it were hangs upon (*κρεμασθῆ*) the Lord, through faith, and knowledge, and love; and ascends with Him thither where is the God and guardian of our faith and love. Knowledge is therefore given to them who are meet and selected for it; inasmuch as it requires much preparation and exercise both to hear what is said, and to regulate the life and conversation, and to advance to that righteousness which is beyond the righteousness of the law." Sometimes, in speaking of this preparation and perfection, Clement ⁴ borrows the expressions used with reference to initiation into the heathen mysteries. "The ⁵ final state of the Gnostic is perpetual contemplation of God. In this consists his blessedness. ⁶ The Gnostic soul, in the grandeur of con-

¹ *ἐν σαρκὶ περιπελῶν θεός.* S. L. 7. DCCCXCIV. 36.

² *ταῦτα γνωστικῆς ἀσκήσεως προγυμνάσματα.* S. L. 4. DCXXIV. 17. The progress is said to be from faith through love to knowledge. DCXXVI. 22. See also L. 7. DCCCXXXIV. 17.

³ S. L. 7. dcccclxv. 6.

⁴ *κατὰ τὴν ἰσοπτικὴν θεωρίαν γνώσεως.* S. L. 1. CCCXXIV. 46. CCCXLVI. 20. CCCXXIV. 33, quoted in p. 75. L. 2. CCCCLIV. 8. L. 5. DCLXXXV. 38. DCLXXXIX. 8. Compare L. 4. DLXIV. 31.

⁵ *προσμίει τῇ θεωρίᾳ τῆ ἀΐδιου ἀποκατάστασις.* L. 7. DCCCLXV. 24. Compare L. 2. CCCCLXIX. 11. L. 5. DCCXXXII. 30. Ἄντικρυς τελείαν δικαιοσύνην ὑπογράφει, ἔργῳ τε καὶ θεωρίᾳ συμπληρωμένην. L. 4. DCVII. 32. See also L. 6. DCCCIII. 24. L. 7. DCCCXXX. 11.

⁶ S. L. 7. DCCCXXXV. 22. Gnostic souls are compared to the wise virgins. L. 7. DCCCLXXV. 31. See DCCCLXXXII. 17. Clement applies to the perfect Gnostic the epithet *μοναδικός*, meaning thereby that he has raised himself to a resemblance to God by becoming superior to all affection or passion, and consequently always remains in one and the same unchangeable habit of mind. L. 4. DCXXXIII. 12. Thus he never wavers in faith, but is indissolubly united to the Word. DCXXXV. 22. Compare L. 7. DCCCLIX. 15. L. 3. DXLII. 31, quoted in p. 142, Note 4. ἡ δὲ τῶ ἐνὶ χαρακτηρίζεται. L. 7. DCCCLXXII. 31. In the Comment on the First Epistle of St. John, we find, *Monas namque Dei opus est: dyas autem et quicquid præter Monadem constat, ex vitæ perversitate contingit.* MIX. 6. So C. LXXII. 21. *εἰς μίαν ἀγάπην συναχθῆναι οἱ πολλοί, κατὰ τὴν τῆς μοναδικῆς οὐσίας ἕνωσιν, σπύσωμεν ἀγαθοεργούμενοι ἀναλόγως ἰεότητα διώκωμεν, τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐκζητοῦντες μονάδα.* It is said, S. L. 3. DXII. 1, that Epiphanes introduced the Monadic Gnosis.

templation, passes beyond the state of the several holy orders, with reference to which the blessed mansions of the gods are allotted; and reputed holy among the holy, transferred in a state of integrity from souls which are in a similar state (*ὅλας ἐξ ὁλῶν*), advancing continually from better to better places, embraces not the Divine contemplation¹ in a mirror or through a glass, but feasts eternally upon the vision in all its clearness—that vision with which the soul, smitten with boundless love, can never be satiated—and enjoys inexhaustible gladness for endless ages, honoured by a permanent continuance in all excellence. This is the contemplation attained to by the pure in heart; this is the operation (*ἡ ἐνέργεια*) of the perfect Gnostic, to hold intercourse with God through the great High Priest, resembling the Lord to the utmost of his power in every exercise of piety towards God.”

² “The Gnostic possesses the true logic, which alone leads to true wisdom; that wisdom is a Divine power, knowing things as they are, having in itself perfection, exempt from all passion; not to be obtained without the Saviour, Who, by the Divine Word, removes from the eye of the soul the film of ignorance spread over it by evil conversation, and gives us that which is best, the power of discerning between God and man.”

“The Gnostic³ possesses the true and spiritual meaning of the Scriptures; that Gnostic explanation, to which reference is made, when⁴ Isaiah is directed to take a new book and to write certain things in it; the Spirit thereby predicting that the sacred knowledge, which was then unwritten, because it was not yet known, should afterwards be published through the Scriptures. For from the beginning it had been spoken only to the intelligent. But as soon as the Saviour taught the Apostles,⁵ the tradition (before unwritten) of the written word was delivered unto us, inscribed on new hearts by the power of God, according to the renewal of the book.”

¹ See S. L. 4. dlxviii. 35.

² S. L. 1. cccxxv. 21. See p. 76. L. 6. ccxcix. 7. The Gnostic does not merely possess knowledge, but becomes knowledge. L. 4. dlxxxI. 26.

³ dcclxxviii. 18. ὁ νόμος, πνευματικὸς ὄν, καὶ γνωστικῶς νοούμενος. S. L. 3. dxlix. 16. Compare L. 6. dcclix. 31. dccxcviii. 33.

⁴ viii. 1. S. L. 6. dcccvi. 17.

⁵ ἡ τοῦ ἰγγράφου ἀρχαῖος ἦδη καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς διαδίδεται παράδοσις.

The Gnostic has also a ¹physiology peculiar to himself, which is derived from the history of the creation of the world.

Clement speaks of ²different degrees of reward proportioned to different degrees of advancement in righteousness; to the Gnostic he assigns the highest. ³"He who cleaves to the Lord in spirit becomes a spiritual body, by a more excellent union. He is wholly a Son, a holy man, exempt from passion, a Gnostic, perfect, formed by the teaching of the Lord; to the end that, being brought into immediate union with the Lord in act, and word, and in the very spirit, he may receive the mansion due to one who has thus advanced to mature manhood." Clement speaks of this as a mere sketch; the whole mystery is not to be displayed to common eyes. Referring to Psalm xv. 1, he ⁴says that "the Gnostic will ⁵rest in the holy mountain of the Lord, in the Church above; in which are collected the Divine philosophers, the true Israelites, the pure

¹ τὴν τῷ ὄντι γνωστικὴν φυσιολογίαν μέτουμεν. S. L. 4. DLXIV. 30, 37.

² ἀναλόγως ἄρα καὶ μοναὶ ποικίλαι κατ' ἄξιαν τῶν πιστυσάντων. S. L. 6. DCCXCVII. 22. Compare L. 4. DLXXIX. 29. Of these mansions (μοναί) he describes three, τὰ ὑποβιβηκότα ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἃς ἴσθιν ἡ πᾶσα ἐκκλησία—ὁ κληρὸς ἐν ναῷ Κυρίου θυμηρίστειρος—τὸ ὑπερβυτικόν, ἵνα ὁ Κύριός ἴσθιν. Compare DCCXCIII. 36. DCCXCIV. 7. L. 7. DCCXXXV. 24. DCCCLIV. 26.

³ ὁ δὲ κολλώμενος τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν πνεύματι, πνευματικὸν σῶμα, τὸ διάφορον τῆς συνόδου γίνεσθαι (there seems here to be an allusion to the διάφορον σπέρμα of the Valentinians, as afterwards in the word μορφοῦμενος to the Valentinian notion that the appearance of the Saviour gave form to the elect seed. See Excerpta ex Theodoti Scriptis. LXXIX.) υἱὸς οὗτος ἅπας, ἄνθρωπος ἅγιος, ἀπαθής, γνωστικός, τέλειος, μορφοῦμενος τῇ τοῦ Κυρίου διδασκαλίᾳ, ἵνα δὴ, καὶ ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ πνεύματι προσιχῆς γινόμενος τῷ Κυρίῳ, τὴν μονὴν ἐκίειν τὴν ὀφειλομένην τῷ οὕτως ἀπηνδρωμένῳ ἀπολάβῃ. S. L. 7. DCCCLXXXVI. 1.

⁴ S. L. 6. dccxciii. 36.

⁵ In L. 6. dcccx. 8, Clement speaks of exemption from passion; and in P. L. I. c. 5. cxvi. 1, of knowledge as the rest of the Gnostic. In L. 7. DCCCLXV. 31, he speaks of the Gnostic as passing through the several stages of initiation, until he arrives at the highest place of rest, where he contemplates God, with full knowledge and comprehension (ἰσιστημονικῶς καὶ καταληπτικῶς (see L. 6. DCCCLXXXIII. 29) ἰσοπτιῦ), face to face. For the perfection of the Gnostic soul is to rise above every purification and ministerial service, and to be, by proximate union, with God. So again DCCCLXXXIII. 1. ἢ κορυφαιοτάτην ἀποκοπὴν ἢ γνωστικὴ ψυχὴ λαμβάνει, καθαρὰ τέλειον γινόμενη, πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον ἔχει αἰδίως καταξιομένη τὸν παντοκράτορα Θεόν· πνευματικὴ γὰρ ὅλη γινόμενη, πρὸς τὸ συγγενὲς χωρήσασα, ἐν πνευματικῇ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μένει εἰς τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ. See P. L. c. 13. CLX. 2.

in heart, in whom is no guile; they who do not remain in the ¹ Hebdomas of rest, but by well-doing, after the Divine likeness, look up to the inheritance in the Ogdoas. ² Perpetually advancing in the work of amelioration, the Gnostic hastens, through the holy Hebdomas, to the paternal habitation, the mansion of the Lord, about to become, so to speak, an eternally permanent light, in every respect unchangeable." Clement ³ speaks also of the Gnostic as obtaining a place on the right hand of the sanctuary, with reference apparently to Matt. xxv. 33.

We have ⁴ seen that Clement, at the end of the sixth book of the Stromata, speaks of himself as having made a statue of the Gnostic. But far from having made a statue, he has not even completed a single part or member: the most that can be said is, that in his work may be found the materials out of which a statue may be made. To give to those materials something approaching to a definite form, has been my design in the present chapter. If the reader should think that it has been very imperfectly accomplished, I must plead in my excuse the rambling and desultory character of the Stromata. It is no easy task to arrange and reduce to order the notices scattered throughout a work, which the author professes himself to have composed with a purposed neglect of arrangement and order.

While these sheets have been passing through the press, the "Remains of the late Alexander Knox, Esq.," have fallen into my hands. In his letter to D. Parken, Esq., on the character of mysticism, having said that "all the earlier Fathers maintained the attainableness of a state (the ἀπάθεια of Clement) in

¹ By the Hebdomas, according to the Gnostic doctrine, was meant the rest from evil-doing, with reference to the Jewish Sabbath; by the Ogdoas, the creation of man anew to a life of active well-doing, with reference to the day of our Lord's resurrection, the first or eighth day. See S. L. 4. DCXII. 23. L. 6. DCCCX. 8. In L. 4. DCXXXVI. 11, with reference to the Ogdoas, Clement quotes Ezek. xlv. 27, and afterwards (21) says that the Ogdoas means the immovable sphere, which is next to the intelligible world. εἶτι καὶ ἡ ἀπλαγῆς χώρα, ἡ πλησιάζουσα τῷ νοητῷ κόσμῳ, ὀγδοὰς λέγεται. See Neander, p. 76. Compare L. 5. DCLXVII. 30. DCCXCIV. 2. DCCXIII. 2, 36. L. 6. DCLXVIII. 15. DCCCXI. 23. L. 7. DCCCLXXXIV. 17.

² S. L. 7. dcccixvi. 10.

³ S. L. 4. dlxx. 42. dlxxvi. 30.

⁴ Page 119.

which the conflict of the mind with itself—with its internal appetites, acted upon by external objects—is over, in consequence of the whole inner and outer man being brought into willing subjection to the law of God, and spirituality being not so much an effort as a nature," he ¹ adds, "the first that made this state the subject of direct description was Clemens Alexandrinus in the sixth and seventh books of the *Stromata*; his Gnostic being identically the mystic of a later period." He afterwards says that "Clement's portraiture of the perfect Christian is one of the noblest things of the kind that the world ever saw; yet the assertions cannot always be defended." I have stated my own opinion to be, that Clement's description is not so much a portraiture of the perfect Christian as a representation of different portions of the Gnostic character, thrown upon the canvas without order or connexion. I do not think that Clement had formed to himself a well-defined notion of the character which he meant to draw. His anxiety to place Christianity in such a light as might conciliate the favour of the learned heathen, caused him to assimilate the model of Christian, as much as possible to that of philosophical, perfection; and, as his view was continually passing from the one to the other, it necessarily became indistinct. To the same anxiety I trace his frequent use of the terms employed in the Greek philosophy.

No man could have been better fitted to do that which Clement designed to do—to draw the portrait of the true Gnostic—than Mr. Knox himself, who retired from public life at a time when its fairest prospects were opening upon him, in order to cultivate personal religion; or, to borrow his own language, to elevate himself to the *unclouded apprehension of the great and good God*. ² His remarks on the growth of mysticism show how clear and how just were his views of the subject; and how capable he was of pointing out and enforcing the connexion between contemplative and active religion, in the neglect of which lies the error of the mystic. It is in this

¹ Tom. i. p. 318. It is scarcely correct to say that Clement's Gnostic is *identically* the mystic of a later period; though his speculative or contemplative (*θεωρητικὴ*) religion naturally paved the way to the introduction of mysticism.

² Tom. i. p. 315. See also p. 292.

respect that Clement's description of the Gnostic character is most defective.¹

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CHAPTER VI.

I HAVE remarked that Clement's object in composing the *Stromata* was to describe the true Gnostic, and at the same time to guard his readers against the erroneous representations put forth by the Valentinians and other heretics. He ² speaks of the winds of heresies which puff up—of ³ men who are puffed up with knowledge—of ⁴ knowledge falsely so called—of ⁵ men who preach a new and strange knowledge. ⁶ Among the professors of this knowledge falsely so called he particularly mentions Valentinus, Basilides, Julius Cassianus, Marcion, Prodicus, and Heracleo. ⁷ One notion common to several of

¹ The perusal of Mr. Knox's Remains has made me acquainted with the following passage of the writings of John Wesley. "By salvation I mean a present deliverance from sin; a recovery of the Divine nature; the renewal of our souls, after the image of God, in righteousness and true holiness; in justice, mercy, and truth. Now without faith we cannot thus be saved, for we cannot rightly serve God unless we love Him; and we cannot love Him unless we know Him; neither can we know God but by faith. Therefore, salvation by faith is only, in other words, the love of God by the knowledge of God, or the true recovery of the image of God by a true spiritual acquaintance with him." I transcribe the passage on account of its resemblance to one which occurs in the *Stromata*. L. 7. DCCCLXV. 5, quoted in p. 125. I know not whether John Wesley had read Clement. I learn from Mr. Knox that he was acquainted with the spiritualists of the Romish Church.

² P. L. I. c. 5. cviii. 32.

³ P. L. I. c. 6. cxii. 35. cxxix. 1.

⁴ S. L. 2. cccclvii. 5, from 1 Tim. vi. 20. Clement adds that the heretics, on account of this passage, rejected the Epistles to Timothy. Beausobre, *Histoire du Manichéisme*, Tom. ii. p. 5, doubts whether the charge applied to Basilides; but according to Jerome (Preface to Com. on Ep. to Titus) Basilides rejected the Epistles to Timothy, to Titus, and to the Hebrews. Neander thinks that Jerome did not distinguish accurately between the Gnostic sects, and confounded Basilides with Marcion. On the Gnostic Systems, p. 67. See L. 3. DXXV. 4. DLXII. 16. L. 7. DCCCLIV. 33.

⁵ S. L. 3. DXVI. 6.

⁶ S. L. 7. DCCCXCVI. 17.

⁷ S. L. 3. DX. 24. L. 6. DCCLXI. 15. DCCXCII. 37. L. 7. DCCCXCI. 46. Excerpta ex Theodoti Scriptis. XXVI. Let me here state that I do

these heretics was, that the human race was divided into three kinds, differing by nature, and appointed from their birth to different destinations. One kind was destined to perfection. To this kind ¹ Basilides gave the title of the election (*ἐκλογή*), and said that it was a stranger to the world, being by nature above the world. ² It knew God by nature, and was by nature faithful and elect. ³ Faith was, therefore, a natural endowment, which discovered all truth without the aid of demonstration, by an intellectual apprehension. There was a peculiar faith and election in correspondence with each interval or order of the spiritual world. The *worldly* faith of every nature followed as by consequence the election *above the world*; and to the faith of each there was a corresponding hope. Clement, in combating this notion, observes that, "according to it, faith was no longer a perfect exercise (*κατόρθωμα*) of the will, or a ⁴ rational assent; and that neither did the believer deserve reward, nor the unbeliever punishment; nor was the appearance of the Saviour necessary to re-illuminate (*ἀναλάμψαι*) fallen nature."

Clement ⁵ quotes a passage from the twenty-third book of the Exegetics of Basilides, from which it appears that he not profess to give a systematic account of the opinions of the different Gnostic sects; but merely to collect the notices of them scattered over Clement's writings.

¹ S. L. 4. DCXXXIX. 29. *καὶ ἐντιῦθιν ζῆσιν τὴν ἐκλογὴν τοῦ κόσμου ὁ Βασιλιδῆς ἰληφίνας λίγαι, ὡς ἂν ὑπερκόσμιον φύσει εὔσαν.* See DCH. 15. See also P. L. i. c. 6. cxv. 15, where Clement maintains that *all* are alike capable of attaining to salvation, and CXVI. 40. Beausobre says that the election consisted in a Divine illumination, which constituted the spiritual, as distinguished from the animal and material man. Tom. ii. p. 36. Still the illumination was originally imparted to a particular class. The name *ἐκλογή* was probably taken from Rom. xi. 7. See S. L. 3. DXL. 14. DLV. 36. L. 4. DCXIV. 9. L. 5. DCLXXXIV. 10. DCXCVI. 32. Neander, p. 56.

² S. L. 5. DCXLIV. 38. DCXLV. 10.

³ L. 2. CCCXXXIII. 31. CCCXXXIV. 4. See Neander, p. 57.

⁴ S. L. 5. DCXLV. 6. See Neander, pp. 56, 59, 82. Basilides defined faith an assent of the soul to something which does not affect the senses, because it is not present; and hope, an expectation of possessing good. L. 2. CCCXLIII. 30.

⁵ S. L. 4. DXCIX. 18. DC. 37. Beausobre, Tom. ii. p. 3, supposes this work to have been a commentary on the Gospels, or rather on St. Matthew's Gospel. See also Tom. i. p. 39. In Jerome's account of Agrippa Castor, it is said that Basilides composed twenty-four books on the Gospel. See Eusebius, L. 4. c. 7.

believed in the pre-existence of the soul, and thought that it suffered punishment here on account of offences committed in another life; the elect soul suffering to its honour through martyrdom; other souls being purified by their appropriate punishment. He appears to have adopted this notion in order to clear the Providence of God from the imputation of evil. "He will," he says, "have recourse to any expedient rather than allow the truth of this imputation." For instance, in the case of ¹ martyrs, he supposes that, although they suffer in appearance because they are Christians, yet they have committed secret sins; or if they have not sinned in act, that they have sinned in inclination, or have, like an infant, a sinful nature, and have only been prevented from sinning in act by want of opportunity; or that they have sinned in a previous state of existence. In answer to this reasoning the Orthodox appealed to the example of Christ, Who was without sin, and yet suffered. Basilides rejoined that Christ was a Man, and that no man was free from stain. Clement ² here accuses Basilides of deifying the Devil, and making the Lord a man liable to sin.

³ Basilides was one of the heretics who introduced two gods—the good God and the Demiurge. Clement ⁴ mentions incidentally that Basilides placed Justice and her daughter Peace, as Hypostases, in his Ogdoas. From ⁵ the nature of the good God it followed that the fulfilment of His will consisted in loving

¹ See Neander, p. 53.

² L. 4. DCI. 17. See Beausobre, T. ii. pp. 25, 26. Neander, pp. 41, 49, 51, and the interpretation given by the followers of Basilides to Exod. xx. 5, in the Excerpta ex Theodoti Scriptis, xxviii., where we find the notion of the passage of the soul through different bodies in order to effect its purification.

³ S. L. 5. DCXC. 41. Compare L. 3. DXLII. 7. Beausobre says that Basilides acknowledged one Supreme God, Whom he called the Father, T. ii. p. 6. In one place Basilides is represented to have given the title of *Ἀρχὴ* and *ὁ μέγιστος Θεὸς* to the Demiurge. S. L. 2. CCCCXLVIII. 4. CCCCXLIX. 2. But the passage in the fourth book, DCIII. 30, to which Beausobre refers, T. ii. p. 15, expresses rather the opinions of Valentinus than of Basilides. See also T. ii. p. 19. Neander says that the Demiurge was not opposed, but in subordination, to God, carrying on the dispensation without knowing that he did, pp. 38, 47, 53, 63.

⁴ S. L. 4. DCXXXVII. 22. See Beausobre, T. ii. p. 6. Neander, p. 34.

⁵ S. L. 4. DCI. 44. Compare L. 7. DCCCLXXXI. 18. See Neander, p. 59.

all things, since all things have a relation to the universe (*πρὸς τὸ πᾶν*), in coveting nothing, and in hating nothing.

¹ The theory of Basilides respecting human nature was, that the passions or affections were certain spirits appended essentially (*κατ' οὐσίαν*) to the rational soul, in consequence ² of some original confusion of principles or elements—that to these were afterwards attached other spirits of spurious and heterogeneous natures, as of the wolf, the monkey, the lion, the goat—that the peculiarities of these spirits hovering about the soul assimilated its desires to those of the several animals, and caused it to imitate their actions. As the desires corresponded to the peculiarities of things animate, so the habits of the soul corresponded to the properties of things inanimate, which were appended to it. Thus hardness of heart corresponded to the property of adamant. On this theory Clement justly remarks, that “it represents man as a species of Trojan horse, enclosing a host of different spirits in one body.” He quotes also a passage from a tract of Isidorus, the son of Basilides, entitled, ³ “Concerning the Adventitious Soul,” from which it appears that Isidorus was alive to the objection which might be urged against this theory—that it afforded men a plea for justifying their bad actions by ⁴ the plea of necessity. Isidorus held the opinion of the Pythagoreans that man had two souls (*ἡ λογικὴ* and *ἡ ἀλόγη*).

Pursuing the notion of three different kinds of men, so con-

¹ S. L. 2. CCCCLXXXVIII. 1.

² *κατὰ τινὰ τάρμαχον καὶ σύγχυτον ἀρχικόν*. 4. See Neander, pp. 37, 54. Beausobre, Tom. ii. p. 21, who quotes passages from the *Eclogæ ex Prophetarum Scripturis*, in which it is said that impure spirits are twined about the soul, VII., that material energies are separated from the soul by the spirit in baptism, XXV., and in which the affections of the soul are called spirits influencing it by suggestion, XLVI. It may be inferred from these passages that the *Eclogæ* were not the work of Clement. In S. L. 3. DXXVI. 19, Clement mentions heretics who maintained that the human body was formed by different powers: the upper parts down to the navel were the work of higher or more Divine art; the lower parts of inferior art.

³ *ἐν τῷ περὶ Προσφυῶν ψυχῆς*. 21. Isidorus here applies the epithet *μοσχομιμῆς* to the soul; he must therefore have thought that the doctrine of appendages was not inconsistent with its simplicity. See Neander, p. 55.

⁴ Isidorus denied that this plea was well founded; man might resist the violence of the appended spirits.

stituted from their birth, Basilides ¹ said on the subject of marriage, that "some men had a natural aversion to the female sex; such men did well not to marry. Others abstained from marriage through worldly considerations, or physical defect. Others, because the cares incident to a married life would distract their attention from their spiritual interests. If, however, a man who abstained from marriage lived in a state of perpetual conflict with his passions, and of apprehension lest he should be overcome by them, and consequently could not keep his thoughts undividedly fixed upon his heavenly hopes, he ought to marry; to such the Apostolic exhortation was addressed, 'It is better to marry than burn.'" On the subject of the remission of sins, Basilides ² maintained that only involuntary sins, and sins done in ignorance, were remitted.

³ According to Clement, Basilides flourished in the reigns of Adrian and Antoninus Pius. His followers pretended that he had received his doctrine from Glaucias, the interpreter of Peter. They appealed also to the authority of Matthias the Apostle.

⁴ The followers of Basilides celebrated the anniversary of our Lord's baptism, having passed the preceding night in reading the Scriptures. They supposed Him to have been baptized

¹ S. L. 3. dviii. 4. Basilides is here explaining Matt. xix. 12. On this subject Clement quotes a passage from Isidorus, in which he appears to pronounce a man in a state of imperfection who is under the necessity of praying that he may not fall into incontinence; and recommends such a man to marry. He says that some acts which are natural to man are not necessary, and instances the use of marriage. The passage is taken from a Treatise on Morals. DIX. 21. See Neander, p. 60.

² S. L. 4. dcxxxiv. 1. See Neander, p. 52.

³ S. L. 7. dcccxcviii. 10. dcd. 8. dcccclxxxii. 1. In the account of Agrippa Castor given by Jerome in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, it is said that Basilides died at Alexandria in the reign of Adrian; but doubts are entertained respecting the correctness of the reading. See Beausobre, Tom. i. p. 39, Note 8. Neander inclines to the opinion of Epiphanius that Basilides was by birth a Syrian, p. 31. By the interpreter (*ἑρμηνεύς*) of Peter, he understands the Expositor of the Esoteric doctrine of Peter, p. 65.

⁴ S. L. 1. ccccviii. 1. See Beausobre, T. ii. p. 29. Neander, p. 49, who supposes that Basilides only followed the custom of the Syrian churches. See also p. 81.

in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, on the fifteenth day of the month Tubi, *i.e.* the ninth or tenth of January.

¹ In the *Excerpta ex Theodoti Scriptis*, it is stated that "the followers of Basilides believed the dove which descended on Jesus at His baptism to be not the Holy Spirit, but *the minister*." This statement appears to have suggested to Beausobre an explanation of a very obscure passage in the ² second book of the *Stromata*, where Clement says, "that the followers of Basilides, in commenting on the text of Scripture, 'The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom,' arrived at the following extraordinary conclusion—That the Ruler of the world, hearing the words of the ministering spirit, was astonished both at the sound and at the sight, the announcement of the Gospel being wholly unexpected by him—that his astonishment was called fear, being the beginning or principle of the wisdom which distinguishes *the different kinds*, and separates, and perfects, and restores; for He Who is over all sends Him forth, having separated not the world only, but also the election." Beausobre supposes Basilides to have maintained that the Prince or Demiurge, who was previously ignorant of the Gospel dispensation, hearing the words spoken of Jesus by the ministering spirit at His baptism, was astonished. That this astonishment was to him the beginning of a knowledge of the mystery of redemption—the beginning of that wisdom which enabled him to distinguish between the world which he had created and the heavenly world of the Supreme God; in other words,

¹ xvi. Neander, p. 46, compares P. L. 3. c. 1. CCLI. 25. καὶ τοῦ μὲν Θεοῦ διάκονος, ἡμῶν δὲ παιδαγωγός (Clement is speaking of the λόγος), and S. L. 5. DCLXVII. 2. ἐπιτίζοντάς τι καὶ βλέποντας διὰ τῆς τῶν πρωτοκτίστων διακονίας.

² cccclxviii. 3. ἰνταῦθα οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Βασιλεῖδην, τοῦτο ἐξηγοῦμενοι τὸ ῥητὸν, αὐτὸν φασὶν ἄρχοντα, ἰπακούσαντα τὴν φάσιν τοῦ διακονομένου Πνεύματος, ἐκπλαγῆναι τῷ τι ἀκούσματι καὶ τῷ διάματι, παρ' ἐπιτίδας ἐπηγγελισμένων καὶ τὴν ἑκπληξίν αὐτοῦ, φόβον κληθῆναι, ἀρχὴν γινόμενον σοφίας φυλοκρινητικῆς τι (see cccclxix. 16.) καὶ διακριτικῆς, καὶ τιλιωτικῆς, καὶ ἀποκαταστατικῆς· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἑκλογὴν διακρίνας, ὁ ἐπὶ πᾶσι προσίμπτει. See the *Histoire du Manichéisme*, Tom. ii. c. 3. Does it not appear from this passage that Basilides commented on the books of the Old Testament? See L. 6. DCLXVII. 13. *Excerpta ex Theodoti Scriptis*. xxviii. One consequence flowing from it is, that there could be no election, and so salvation, before the baptism of Christ. See L. 5. DCXLV. 21.

between the world and the election. ¹ Beausobre's supposition derives support from Clement's comment; who says that Basilides, when he broached this opinion, was not aware that he was making the greatest, and by him much-celebrated God, liable to passions, by ascribing to Him astonishment, which astonishment implied previous ignorance, inasmuch as ignorance precedes astonishment. If, then, astonishment is fear, and the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom, then ignorance goes nigh to be the antecedent cause of the wisdom (of God; τοῦ θεοῦ seems to be repeated from the preceding line), and of the whole formation of the universe, and of the restitution of the election itself. Are we, then, to consider ignorance as a good or an evil? If as a good, why should it be put an end to by astonishment? In that case, *the minister*, and *the announcement of the Gospel*, and *the baptism*, are superfluous. If as an evil, how happens it that evil is the cause of the greatest good? For unless ignorance had first existed, neither would *the minister* have descended; nor would astonishment have seized the Ruler of the world, as they say; nor would he have received from fear the beginning of wisdom to enable him to distinguish between the election and the things of the world.

² Some of the followers of Basilides appear to have perverted his doctrine, and to have affirmed, that as they were born to salvation, they must necessarily be saved, however vicious their lives. But Clement, far from charging Basilides himself with impurity of living, expressly acquits him of sanctioning any immoral practices.

Clement ³ quotes a passage from the first book of the Commentaries of Isidorus, on the Prophet Parchor, in which Isidorus charges the philosophers generally, and Aristotle in particular, with stealing from the Prophetic Writings; but

¹ See Neander, p. 47. Beausobre quotes a passage from Tatian in support of his explanation; but he appears to me to put interpretations on some of the expressions which the words will not bear.

² S. L. 3. dx. 21.

³ L. 6. dcclxvii. 14. See Jerome's account of Agrippa Castor, where mention is made of the prophets, Barcabas and Marcob. Βαρκαββὰς καὶ Μαρξῶφ. Euseb. L. 4. c. 7. See Neander, p. 64. See Beausobre, Tom. i. p. 327.

whether he refers to the prophets of the Old Testament is uncertain, as he names only the prophecy of Cham.

We will now proceed to Marcion, ¹ who, according to Clement, was contemporary with Valentinus and Basilides, but old when they were young. He was a native of Pontus.

Marcion held the doctrine of two gods, the Supreme God and the Demiurge. To the latter he gave the title of ² Just, and to the former that of ³ Good. In like manner he called the law ⁴ just, supposing it to have been given by the Demiurge, in contradistinction from the Gospel, which he called good. He supposed ⁵ also that the Demiurge or Creator conferred upon those who believed in Him a peculiar salvation; such as could be conferred before the Advent of the Lord. He affirmed ⁶ Matter, and consequently the procreation of children, to be evil. This latter opinion, according to Clement, he borrowed from Plato and the Pythagoreans; from whom,

¹ S. L. 8. dcccxcviii. 25. The reading of the text is *ὡς πρισβύτες νιατέρους συνεγένετο*. But Vossius conjectured the true reading to be, *ὡς πρισβύταις νιώτερος*. See Cave Hist. Lit. p. 34. Pearson Vindic. Ignat. P. 2. c. 7.

² ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος φύσιν κακὴν (f. φύσει κακὴν, i. e. τὴν γένεσιν) ἐκ τε ἕλης κακῆς, καὶ ἐκ δικαίου γενομένην Δημιουργῷ. S. L. 3. dxv. 17. Compare dxvi. 11. οἱ φιλόσοφοι δὲ ὧν ἱμνήσθημιν, παρ' ὧν τὴν γένεσιν κακὴν εἶναι ἀσιβῶς ἱκαθόντες οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος, καθάπερ ἰδίῳ δόγματι φημάσσονται, οὐ φύσει κακὴν βούλονται ταύτην εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ τῇ τὸ ἀληθὲς διαδύσσει. P. L. I. c. 8. cxxxv. 8.

³ σπειθόντες πρὸς τὸν κικληκότα ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν (f. ἄλλον) ὡς φασί, θεὸν ἐν ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ. dxv. 22. Beausobre, tom. ii. p. 92, translates θεὸν ἐν ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ, Dieu dans un autre sens et d'une autre manière, and infers from the words that Marcion did not assert the Demiurge to be God in the strict sense of the term. See Neander, p. 287, who also interprets the words as if used with reference to the Demiurge. S. L. 6. DCCCH. 17.

⁴ τί τοῖνον τὸν Νόμον βούλονται (οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος); κακὸν μὲν εὖν, οὐ φέουσι· δίκαιον δὲ, διαστίλλοντες τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοῦ δικαίου. S. L. 2. ccccxliv. 37.

⁵ ἴαν γὰρ τις τολμήσας λέγῃ, Μαρκίῳ ἰπόμενος, τὸν Δημιουργὸν εὐζῆν τὸν εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύσαντα, καὶ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου παρουσίας, ἐκλογῆς καὶ ἡ καὶ σωζομένης τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν. S. L. 5. dcxlv. 24. See Neander, p. 291.

⁶ S. L. 3. dxv. 18. dxvi. 11. dxix. 5, 22. dxx. 14. L. 4. dlxxxiv. 11. Tertullian states that Marcion denied the resurrection of the body. Clement mentions heretics who affirmed that they had already received the resurrection. S. L. 3. dxxxiii. 9. Compare Tertullian de Res. Carnis, c. 19.

however, he differed in this respect—that he affirmed the procreation of children to be evil in its nature; they said that it was evil with reference to the soul, which being divine was brought down into the world, as into a place of punishment; for according to them it was necessary to purify souls once introduced into the body.

Believing the works of the Demiurge to be evil, the Marcionites thought that they were bound to set themselves¹ in opposition to him, and to abstain from the use of worldly things. They abstained too from marriage, because they were unwilling to people a world of which the Demiurge was the maker. In support of their opinions they appear to have quoted our Saviour's words, "Leave the dead to bury their dead, but follow thou me:" understanding by the dead the things of this world. Clement seems to allude to the Marcionites,² when he condemns certain heretics, who courted martyrdom through hatred of the Demiurge. They also spoke evil of the body. Clement³ states, incidentally, that the belief in the evil nature of generation caused the Marcionites to introduce their notion of the *σῶμα ψυχικόν*, the body animated by the soul; but he enters into no explanation of the expression.

Valentinus was⁴ contemporary with Basilides, and was said to have been a hearer of Theudas, a disciple of St. Paul. Besides the incidental notices of his opinions contained in the

¹ ἀντιτασσόμενοι τῷ ποιητῇ τῶν σφῶν. S. L. 3. DXV. 21. DXX. 19. DXXII. 5. L. 4. DXCH. 33. εἰσὶν ὅ οἱ πορνείαν ἀντικρυς τὸν γάμον λήγουσι, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διαβόλου ταύτην παραδίδουσαι. L. 3. DXXXIII. 22. Compare DXLVIII. 4. In L. 3. DXXVI. 29, Clement mentions certain heretics, called Antitactæ, who said, "the God of the Universe is our Father by nature, and whatever He made is good; but some one of those who were made by Him sowed tares, thereby generating the nature of evil, in which he has involved us all, setting us in opposition to the Father. Wherefore we, vindicating the Father, are opposed to the will of this second power; and as he forbade us to commit adultery we, in order to make his commandment void, commit adultery." These Antitactæ were not Marcionites. See S. L. 4. DXXXIX. 42. DXLV. 4.

² S. L. 4. dlxxi. 20.

³ S. L. 3. dlviii. 19. See the *Histoire du Manichéisme*, tom. ii. p. 114, and my account of Tertullian.

⁴ S. L. 7. dccxcviii. 12. He dwelt principally at Alexandria, but travelled to Rome, where he was expelled from the communion of the Church. See Neander, pp. 92, 203.

works of Clement, we possess extracts from the writings of Theodotus, one of his followers. But as they do not contain a systematic account of the Valentinian doctrine, it is necessary to premise a few remarks on the number and generation of the Æons.

Valentinus² considered, as the fountain of all existence, a perfect, eternal Being, dwelling in height invisible and ineffable, to whom he gave the titles of *Βυθός*, *Ἀγήρατος*, *Προαρχή*, *Προπάτωρ*. With this Being dwelt His thought or idea, *ἔννοια*, to which were given also the titles³ *ἄρρητον*, *σιγή*, *χάρις*. At first He was altogether unknown, perfecting all things with His own thought in silence. Hence⁴ *σιγή* is called the mother of all things emitted by *Βυθός*; and it is said of her, that she was silent as to that which she could not declare respecting the ineffable (*τὸ ἄρρητον*), and pronounced that, which she could comprehend, incomprehensible. *Βυθός* and *ἔννοια*, or *Σιγή*, were the first pair of Æons. ⁵The Father, being unknown, wished to be known, and, in consequence,

¹ See Beausobre, tom. i. p. 570. Neander, p. 95. Clement thus explains the word *αἰών*. ὁ γ' οὖν αἰὼν τοῦ χρόνου τὸ μέλλον, καὶ τὸ ἰσότης, αὐτὰρ δὴ καὶ τὸ παρῆχρονος, ἀκαρίως συνίσταται. S. L. i. CCCXLIX. 7. We find *αἰῶνα ἀκίνητον*. L. 5. DCLXVII. 26. In L. 6. DCCCXIII. 18, Clement asks, πῶς δ' ἂν ἰν χρόνῳ γίνετο κτίσις, συγγινόμενου τοῖς οὐσι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου. See also DCCCXV. 21.

² Neander, p. 94. Beausobre, tom. i. pp. 550, 578.

³ We find the epithet *ἄρρητος* applied to God by Clement. S. L. 5. DCLXXXV. 17. *ἀσχημάτιστος* and *ἀνωμόματος*. DCXCV. 21; *ἄγνωστος*. DCXCVI. 4. In P. L. i. c. 7. CXXXII. 11, God the Lord is said to have been without name (*ἀνωμόματος*), because He was not yet made-man. We find also, S. L. 6. DCCLVI. 37. ἡ κυριακὴ φωνὴ, λόγος ἀσχημάτιστος. It was the opinion of the Orthodox, as well as of the heretics, that the Father never immediately revealed Himself to man. The Orthodox said that He revealed Himself through the Word. The heretics invented their Prolations (*προβολαί*) as the medium of Revelation.

⁴ Excerpta ex Theodoti Scriptis. xxix. In xxiii. it is said that the angels, instructed by the Son, contemplate as much of the Father as is comprehensible; the rest of the Father is unknown. See Neander, p. 98.

⁵ Excerpta ex Theodoti Scriptis. vii. See Neander, p. 98. Beausobre says, tom. ii. p. 157, that the Enthymesis of the Valentinians is the rational soul, which knows not truths of itself, but possesses the capacity of knowing them by reasoning; corresponding to the *λογικόν* of Plato. But he is there speaking of the imperfect Æon, produced by *Σοφία*, without the concurrence of Theletus or Philetus. See Neander, p. 107.

through the contemplation of Himself (*διὰ τῆς ἐνθυμήσεως τῆς ἑαυτοῦ*), emitted the Only-Begotten. He, proceeding from knowledge—that is, the contemplation of the Father—became knowledge, that is, the Son; for the Father is known through the Son. The spirit of love is mixed with the spirit of knowledge, as the Father with the Son, and the contemplation with the truth. The only-begotten Son, Who remained in the bosom of the Father, revealed the contemplation through knowledge to the ¹ Æons.

Μονογενῆς or *Νοῦς*, and *Ἀλήθεια*, were the second pair of Æons.

Λόγος and *Ζωή*, the third.

Ἄνθρωπος and *Ἐκκλησία*, the fourth. These eight constituted the *ὄγδοάς*. From *Λόγος* and *Ζωή* proceeded ten other Æons; from *Ἄνθρωπος* and *Ἐκκλησία* twelve, of which the last pair were *Φιλητὸς* or *Θελητὸς*, and *Σοφία*. The thirty Æons constituted the *pleroma*.²

We have seen that the *Μονογενῆς* was the same as *Νοῦς*. The Valentinians called Him also *Ἀρχή*, or principle, with reference to the first verse of St. John's Gospel. ³ The Word, Who was in the principle (*ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ*), the Word in the Only-Begotten, in the intelligence, and the truth (*ἐν τῷ νῷ καὶ τῇ*

¹ In giving names to their Æons, the Valentinians seem to have been guided by the appellations which Christ gave to Himself. Thus He called Himself the *Truth* and the *Life*, and they coupled *Νοῦς* and *Ἀλήθεια*, *Λόγος* and *Ζωή*, ὁ γίγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λόγῳ, ζωὴ ἦν ἡ σύζυγος. vi. The female Æons were, according to Beausobre, tom. i. pp. 551, 582, the attributes of the male. See Neander, p. 95. In S. L. 5. DCCXXIV. 35, Clement says, that the word *μητροπάτωρ*, which occurs in the Orphic Verses, suggested to the Valentinians their *Προβολαί*, and the notion of coupling an Æon with God. See *Quis Dives Salvetur*. DCCLVI. 1. Neander, p. 209, Note 8. Le Nourry translates *Νοῦς*, Spiritus. Beausobre, l'Entendement, ou l'Esprit pur, tom. i. p. 551. Neander, der Geist, p. 100.

² On the meanings of the word *πλήρωμα*, see Neander, p. 208, Note 7.

³ vi. *Histoire du Manichéisme*, tom. ii. p. 291. In John i. 18, the Valentinians read ὁ μονογενῆς Θεὸς ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς. So also Clement, S. L. 5. DCXLV. 2. See *Histoire du Manichéisme*, tom. i. p. 552. Compare Irenæus, L. i. c. i. s. 18. Clement, if he is indeed the Epitomist, gives the following as his own exposition. WE say, that the Word in identity (*τὸν ἐν ταυτότητι λόγον*) is God in God, Who is said to be in the bosom of the Father, inseparable, indivisible, one God. All things, whether spiritual, or intelligible, or sensible, were made through

ἀληθείᾳ, the second pair of Æons), means Christ, the Word and life (the third pair of Æons), whence St. John rightly calls Him God, inasmuch as He was in God the intelligence. That which was in the Word was life (the female Æon ἡ σύζυγος).

¹ In Βυθὸς all was one and undeveloped; ² He contained within Himself the whole world of Æons, the πλήρωμα, to which He bore the same relation that each single Æon did to his female. On this account, Clement ³ charges the Valentinians with teaching that God suffered, because the pleroma suffered with the suffering Æon. We see, too, from the passage just quoted, that the female Æon was sometimes included, when the male only was named. As the Father was made known only through His only-begotten, or the Son, the latter was said to reveal or give form to all life; and in this respect the name *Father* was given to the Monogenes. He stood in the relation of *Son* to God, in the pleroma; of *Father*, to all created existences. Clement himself appears to have entertained a similar notion; for he ⁴ says, that as the Son beholds the goodness of the Father, so God works, being called Saviour; the Beginning or Principle of the universe; the first image of the invisible God before the ages, which gave form to all that was created after it. He was

Him, by the proximate operation of the Word in identity. He is the Saviour who revealed the bosom of the Father.—The first-begotten of all creation was produced from the thought of the Divine mind (ἀπὸ τῆς ἰννοίας τῆς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ). The only-begotten in identity, through whose inseparable power the Saviour acts, is the light of the Church, which was before in darkness and ignorance. VIII. It is difficult, however, to distinguish the opinions of the Epitomist from those of Theodotus in this passage. Neander says that βυθὸς, νοῦς, λόγος, composed the Valentinian Trinity, p. 101.

¹ ἡ σιγῆ, φασίν, μήτηρ οὖσα πάντων τῶν προβληθέντων ὑπὸ βάθους. XXIX. Compare S. L. 5. DCXCV. 3. τὸ δ' ἀόρατον καὶ ἀήρτητον κέλευον ὀνομάσας Θεοῦ, βαθὺν αὐτὸν κηλήκασιν ἐντιϋθῆν τινος, ὡς ἂν περιμηφῶτα καὶ ἐγκελιτισάμινοι τὰ πάντα, ἀνίφικτόν τε καὶ ἀτίρατον.

² ἐν πληρώματι οὖν ἰνότητος οὐσης, ἕκαστος τῶν αἰώνων ἴδιον ἔχει πλήρωμα, τὴν συζυγίαν. XXXII. Neander, p. 97.

³ XXX. XXXI.

⁴ ὄνομα δὲ ἱρηται Θεοῦ· ἰσιῖ, ὡς βλίστι τοῦ Πατρὸς τὴν ἀγαθέτητα ὁ υἱός, ἰνεργεῖ ὁ Θεὸς Σωτὴρ κηλήμιμος, ἢ τῶν ἄλων ἀρχῆ, ἥτις ἀτυκόνισται μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, πρῶτη καὶ πρὸ αἰώνων· τιτύπωκιν δὲ τὰ μὲ' ἑαυτὴν ἅπαντα γινόμενα. S. L. 5. DCLXIX. II.

called ¹ light inaccessible ; the ² person or countenance of the Father ; the ³ principle or beginning of the contemplation of the Father ; the ⁴ heavenly bread, and spiritual nourishment, giving life through eating and knowledge ; ⁵ the light of men, that is, of the Church, with reference to the last pair of Æons in the Ogdoas, Ἀνθρωπος and Ἐκκλησία ; the ⁶ Invisible Name.

We have seen that in section viii., where the Epitomist appears to be speaking his own opinions, he calls the Word in identity, the Saviour ; but in section xix. we find the following comment on the words, "The Word was made flesh" :—"The Word was made flesh, not only when He appeared as man on earth, but when, in the beginning, the Word in identity became man (that is, the Son) in outline or figure (κατὰ περιγραφὴν, so καὶ ὁ καθ' ἑαυτόν περιώρισται καὶ περιγέγραπται, x., and εἰ μὴ σχήμασιν ἦν περιγεγραμμένα, xi.), not in essence ; and again He became flesh when He wrought through the ⁷ prophets. The Son of the Word in identity is called the Saviour ; for ⁴ in the

¹ καὶ, ὁ μὲν φῶς ἀπρόσιτος εἶρηται, ὡς μονογενῆς, καὶ πρωτότοκος. X. ἀπρόσιτος φῶς καὶ δύναμις Θεοῦ. XII.

² πρῶτον δι πατρὸς ὁ υἱὸς δι' οὗ γνωρίζεται ὁ πατήρ. X. See XII. XXIII. Compare P. L. I. c. 7. CXXXII. 15. S. L. 5. DCLXV. 30. ἰαὶ πρόσωπον μὲν τῆς δικνυμίνης ἀληθείας ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. S. L. 6. DCCCL. 28. L. 7. DCCCLXVI. 26. In 2 Cor. iv. 6, we find πρὸς φωτισμὸν τῆς γνώσεως τῆς δόξης τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν προσώπῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

³ ὁ δὲ υἱὸς ἀρχὴ τῆς πατριῆς ὑπάρχουσας. XII.

⁴ αὐτὸς ἴστιν ἄρτος ἰσχυράνιος. XIII., evidently with reference to John vi., but I doubt whether this applies to the Monogenes of the pleroma.

⁵ xiii. Neander, p. 103.

⁶ τὸ δὲ ἀόρατον ὄνομα, ὅπερ ἴστιν ὁ υἱὸς ὁ μονογενῆς. XXVI. Βυθός, or the Father, was ἀνώμαστος, the Son was the name, but invisible. Compare XXXI., where it is said that the void of knowledge (κίνημα γνώσεως) occasioned by the error of Σοφία, is the shadow of the name, that is, of the Son, the form of the Æons : ὅπερ ἴστιν σκιά τοῦ ὀνόματος, ὅπερ ἴστιν υἱός, μορφή τῶν αἰώνων. Of the Æons also it is said that they are a name which cannot be named (ὄνομα ἀνώμαστον) but Neander, p. 99, appears to have thought that ὄνομα τοῦ ἀνώμαστου was the right reading), a form, and knowledge. See Neander, p. 106.

⁷ The Valentinians held that the Spirit, which was imparted specially to each of the prophets to assist him in his ministry, was poured forth generally on all the members of the Church ; whence it came to pass that signs of the Spirit—healing of diseases and prophecy—were accomplished in the Church. They knew not, the Epitomist adds, that the Paraclete, Who now works immediately in the Church, is of the same essence and power as He Who worked under the Old Testament. XXIV. Neander, p. 131.

beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God: that which was born in Him is life; and the Lord is life. Again, when St. Paul tells us 'to put on the ¹ new man, created after God,' he means that we should believe on *Him*, Who was created by God after (κατὰ) God, the Word in God. The expression, *created after God*, refers to the perfection which man will finally attain. The Word of the Word in identity is the ² image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature, born without passion, the original author of all created essences; for in Him the Father made all things. He is said to have taken the form of a servant, not merely because He took flesh at His Advent, but because He took the essence of the subject or inferior (τοῦ ὑποκειμένου). This essence is a servant (δούλη), because it is passive (παθητή), and subject to the efficient and dominant Cause. Here we find mention of a Word in identity, Who was in the pleroma; of a Son (τέκνον) of this Word in identity, Who was called the Saviour; Who was the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature; Who took flesh and was the perfect ³ Man, in Whose image Adam was formed. Some of the early fathers supposed that Adam is said to have been made in the image of God, because he was made in that form which the Saviour afterwards assumed. ⁴ To the first-created Word of God, the Word of the Word in identity, was applied the third verse of Ps. cx. (in the Septuagint, cix. 3), πρὸ Ἐωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε."

The Epitomist gives no detailed account of the passion or suffering of Σοφία, the last Æon, in the pleroma. He ⁵ says incidentally that, "wishing to attain to that which was above knowledge, she fell into ignorance and loss of form (ἀμορφία), and occasioned a void or vacuity of knowledge. She would have been dissolved and lost out of the pleroma, had she not been preserved by Ὁρος, ⁶ who separates the created world from the pleroma."

¹ With reference to Eph. iv. 24, ἰδύσασθαι τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν κατὰ Θεὸν κτισθέντα.

² ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως. Col. i. 15.

³ See Neander, p. 102. With respect to the different persons to whom the name Saviour is applied, see p. 113.

⁴ xx.
⁵ xxxi. κίνημα γνώσεως, opposed to πλήρωμα. Thus ἰαυτὸν κινῶσας, τυτίστιν ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὅρου γινόμενος. xxxv. See Neander, p. 106.

⁶ xlii. See Neander, p. 110.

¹ Christ, having left *Σοφία*, who emitted Him, entered into the *pleroma*, to entreat assistance for the Wisdom left without. With the good pleasure of the *Æons* (*ἐξ εὐδοκίας τῶν αἰώνων*), Jesus was sent forth as the Paraclete to the lost *Æon*; hence Jesus was called the Paraclete: He had with Him the fulness of the *Æons*, as He proceeded from the whole (*ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅλου*). It was ² before said, that the Word in the principle or only-begotten was Christ, the word and life; and, according to *Irenæus*, Christ was emitted by *Νοῦς*, or the only-begotten. But the Christ of Whom *Theodotus* is now speaking was ³ emitted from the thought (*ἐξ ἐνοίας*) of *Σοφία*, and was called the image of the *pleroma*. When He left His mother and ascended into the *pleroma*, He was detained there by all its members, and, consequently, by the Paraclete. ⁴ He received the adoption of a Son, being added by election to the *pleroma*; and, becoming the first-born of all that is here below, He is, as it were, our head and root; the Church being the fruit of Christ, Who, fleeing from that which was uncongenial to Him, was gathered into the *pleroma*, having been emitted from the thought of His mother.

⁵ After the mother had been deserted by Christ, Whom she

¹ xxiii. *ὁ αἰτησάμενος τοὺς αἰῶνας Χριστός*. xli. *Theodotus* compares St. Paul to the Paraclete. As the Paraclete was sent forth after the passion of the lost *Æon*, St. Paul was sent forth to preach the resurrection after the passion of the Lord.

² vi. *Neander*, pp. 114, 117, 121, says that *Νοῦς* was the general representative of the highest agent in each scale of being. He refers to a passage in section vii., *ὁ δὲ ἐν ταῦθα ὀφθίς, οὐκ ἔτι μονογενής, ἀλλ' ὡς μονογενής, πρὸς τὸ Ἀποστόλου προσαγορεύεται, — δέξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς* (*John i. 14*) *ὅτι εἰς καὶ ὁ αὐτός ἄν, ἐν μὲν τῇ κτίσει πρωτότοκός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς, ἐν δὲ πληρώματι μονογενής* *ὁ δὲ αὐτός ἐστι, τοιούτος ἄν ἰκάστω τόπῳ, οἷος κειχωρῆσθαι δύναται, καὶ οὐδὲ ποτε τοῦ μείωντος ὁ καταβάς μερίζεται*. Compare iv. and xxxiii., quoted in Note 3. *Neander* admits, however, that there is a confusion of names and persons in the Valentinian systems.

³ xxxii.

⁴ xxxiii. As Christ was emitted by *Σοφία*, He was an image, not a member, of the *pleroma*. *ὅσα οὖν ἐκ συζυγίας προέρχεται πληρώματά ἐστιν ἕσα δι' ἀπὸ ἰσῶς, ἰσῶνις*, xxxii. Compare xxxvi. The same remark is quoted by *Clement*; S. L. 4. DCIII. 33. The Epitomist, if I interpret him rightly, calls this application of the title *first-born Saviour* to the Christ, emitted by *Σοφία*, a perversion of the true doctrine. *ἔστιν οὖν ὁ λόγος εὗτος παράκουσμα τοῦ ἡμετέρου, ἐκ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου πρωτότοκον λέγων τὸν σωτήρα*. Compare XIX. *ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐκ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου*.

⁵ xxxix.

emitted in perfect integrity (ὁλόκληρον), she emitted nothing perfect; but ¹ produced the Ruler of the dispensation in the image of Him Who had left her, and Who was Himself the type of the Father of all things; but, as she produced him because she longed for the perfect Christ, he was inferior; and when she saw his inferiority (τὴν ἀποτομίαν αὐτοῦ), she was seized with aversion for him.

² Jesus, Who descended, was the good pleasure (εὐδοκία) of the whole; for in Him was all the pleroma bodily; all the seeds, therefore, suffered in His suffering. The whole was disciplined, and sympathized in the passion of the twelfth Æon, Σοφία. ³ Jesus, our light, as the Apostle says, having emptied Himself,—that is, having come without the boundary (τοῦ ὄρου), as He was ⁴ an angel or messenger,—brought with Him from the pleroma the angels of the excellent seed. ⁵ Σοφία, when she saw Him and His likeness to the light which had left her, ran towards Him rejoicing, and worshipped Him; and when she saw the male angels who had come forth with Him, she was ashamed, and put on a veil. Hence the Apostle orders women to bear power on their heads, on account of the angels (1 Cor. xi. 10).

⁶ The Saviour then imparted form to all things, thereby condemning and healing the passions of Σοφία; revealing from the self-existing Father what was in the pleroma, and rendering her free from passion. Thus, through the appearance of the

¹ xxxiii. There seems here to be a play upon the word ἀποτομία, which may mean either the defective state of the ruler of the dispensation; or his severity, with reference to the character of the ruler of the dispensation. ἀποτομία means severity. S. L. 2. CCCXCIV. 5.

² xxxi. ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θείας ζωῆς σαματικῶς. Col. ii. 9. See also Col. i. 19. Neander, pp. 113, 116.

³ xxxv. πρὸς τὸ φῶς, ὃ πρῶτον προήγαγεν, τουτίστι τὸν Ἰησοῦν. XLI.

⁴ Theodotus applied to Jesus the title of the angel of counsel (Isa. ix. 6). συναίνεστος δὲ καὶ τοῦ πληρώματος, ἐκτίμπεται ὁ τῆς βουλῆς ἄγγελος, καὶ γίνεται κεφαλὴ τῶν ὄλων μετὰ τὸν πατέρα. XLIII. The Valentinian definition of an angel was a word having the announcement (ἀπαγγελίαν) of the Self-existent (τοῦ ὄντος). XXV. Histoire du Manichéisme, tom. i. p. 571.

⁵ xlv.

⁶ xlv. As the Only-Begotten gave form to all within the pleroma, so the Saviour gave form to all without it. Hence the expression μορφή τῶν αἰώνων, applied to the Son, in xxxi. See Neander, p. 120.

Saviour, *Σοφία* obtained existence (she was before in a state of dissolution), and the things without the boundary were created (John i. 3) by introducing the passions into the essence of what Theodotus calls the second disposition (*τῆς δευτέρας διαθέσεως*). ¹ The passions, being incorporeal, could not collectively form an essence; but they were transferred into matter, and then into bodies and concrete substances (² *συγκρίματα*). Each body also received its natural adaptation.

³ The universal Saviour thus became the first Demiurge. The second, *Σοφία*, built a house for herself, and supported it on ⁴ seven columns. She first emitted God, the image of the Father, through Whom she made the heaven and earth, that is, the things on the right and on the left. He, as the image of the Father, becomes a Father, and ⁵ emits first the animal Christ (*τὸν ψυχικὸν Χριστὸν*), the image of the Son; then the archangels, the images of the *Æons*; then the angels, the images of the angels, of an animal and lucid essence, of which the prophetic word speaks, when it says that "the Spirit of God was borne upon the face of the waters;" meaning, that

¹ xlvi. See *Histoire du Manichéisme*, tom. ii. p. 162.

² These concrete substances were formed out of earth, water, and air. XLVIII. Beausobre translates *συγκρίματα καὶ σώματα*, *les corps mixtes et vivans*.

³ xlvi. The Demiurge is called the image of the Only-Begotten. VII. Neander, pp. 120, 121, 217, where he quotes S. L. 4. DCIII. 24.

⁴ Prov. ix. 1. It is scarcely necessary to observe that the early Fathers applied the name *Σοφία* to the second person in the Trinity. Clement has *ἐπὶ τῆς σοφίας τῆς πρωτοκτίστου τῆς Θεῆς*. S. L. 5. DCXCIX. 23.

⁵ These various relations appear to correspond to the *Μονογενῆς Νοῦς*, the Christ (*Λόγος καὶ Ζωὴ*), the *πρωτοκτιστοὶ*, the archangels and angels in the *pleroma*. VI. X. *Histoire du Manichéisme*, tom. ii. p. 161. The *πρωτοκτιστοὶ* were seven in number (with reference to the seven *Æons*, who, together with the Father, composed the first *Ogdoas*, as *Σοφία*, with the seven columns, composed the second. See LXII. The number seven was perhaps derived from Tobit xii. 15. See S. L. 5. DCLXVII. 5, and L. 6. DCXIII. 23, *ἰπτά μιν σίσιν οἱ τὴν μεγίστην δύναμιν ἔχοντες πρωτόγονοι ἀγγέλων ἀρχόντες*), and, though numerically distinct, with reference to the circumscription of form, they were one and equal with reference to the similarity of their functions. As they received perfection at their first creation from God, through the Son, they were incapable of further advancement. X. Compare XI. In S. L. 5. DCLXVII. 3, we find *διὰ τῆς τῶν πρωτοκτίστων διακονίας*, which Potter interprets, *through the ministry of the Apostles*. Theodotus defines angels intellectual fire and intellectual spirits. Intellectual fire, when thoroughly purified, is intellectual light. The Son is light inaccessible. XII.

in the union of two essences the pure would be borne on the top, the heavy and material would sink to the bottom. ¹The epithet *invisible* implied the absence of body in the beginning.

²When the Demiurge had separated the pure from the heavy parts, through his insight into the nature of each, he formed light, that is, he made things manifest, ³by applying to them light and form. This was prior to the creation of the light of the sun and heaven. He employed, in the work of creation, the passions from which *Σοφία* had been delivered. From her grief he formed the ⁴spiritual things of wickedness, against which we have to contend; from her fear, the beasts; from her astonishment and perplexity, the elements of the world. Fire, according to Theodotus, is suspended and dispersed in the other three elements, and has not an appointed place like them. ⁵Love of activity was the characteristic of the Demiurge; he fancied that he worked by his own power, while he in fact unconsciously obeyed the impulse of *Σοφία*.

⁶Taking dust from the earth, a portion not of dry, but of various matter, he formed a material, irrational soul, of the same essence as that of beasts. This is the man ⁷after the

¹ The allusion here is to the Septuagint Version of Gen. ii. 1. ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἄρατος. Histoire du Manichéisme, p. 161.

² xlvi. See Histoire du Manichéisme, tom. ii. pp. 159, 163. Neander, pp. 122, 142.

³ So in xli. μνήμων περὶ τοῦ φωτός τοῦ φανίντος καὶ μωφώσαντος, with reference to John i. 9.

⁴ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας. Eph. vi. 12. Neander seems to consider this expression as equivalent to τὰ ψυχικά, p. 123.

⁵ xlix. Neander, p. 122. The benediction of the Sabbath, which was inconsistent with the activity of the Demiurge, proved that he was an involuntary agent. Rom. viii. 20 is quoted in confirmation of his compulsory agency, ἅτε γὰρ δημιουργός, ἀδήλως κινούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς Σοφίας, οὐκ αὐτεκίνητος εἶναι, ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι. LIII.

⁶ L. Histoire du Manichéisme, tom. ii. p. 159. The Demiurge is said to have produced Adam at the conclusion of the creation, having previously had him in his thought. XLI.

⁷ It is said afterwards that three natures sprang from Adam: the irrational (ὁ χοϊκός, κατ' εἰκόνα) represented by Cain; the rational and righteous (ὁ ψυχικός, κατ' ὁμοίωσιν) by Abel; the spiritual (ὁ πνευματικός, κατ' ἰδέαν) by Seth. LIV. Neander, p. 128. To this infusion of the spiritual seed through the ministry of angels, the Valentinians applied the difficult passage. Gal. iii. 19. LIII.

image (κατ' εικόνα). The man after the likeness (καθ' ὁμοίωσιν) is *he* whom he breathed into the former, and into whom he inserted something of the same essence as his own through the angels. Inasmuch as he is invisible and incorporeal, he called his essence ¹ *the breath of life*. This, when it had received a form, became a *living soul*. ² Thus there is a man in man, an animal in an earthly, not as a part in a part, but as a whole co-existing with a whole by the ineffable power of God. ³ Hence he was created in Paradise, the fourth heaven, whither the earthly flesh does not ascend. He was as a material flesh to the Divine soul. The words, ⁴ "This now is bone of my bone," alludes to the Divine soul concealed in the flesh; and the words, "Flesh of my flesh," to the material soul, which is the body of the Divine soul. ⁵ This material soul is called also τὸ σῶμα τὸ ψυχικόν.

⁶ The spiritual seed was secretly inserted into the soul of Adam, by Σοφία, having been supplied by the male angels.

⁷ In Adam then were combined three incorporeal parts, the ψυχὴ ἕλική, the ψυχὴ θεία, and the σπέρμα πνευματικόν. Over these were thrown the coats of skins, with reference to those which our first parents made for themselves after the fall. ⁸ With respect to the spiritual and animal parts, we are not

¹ οὗτ' εὖν ἀπὸ ἰμφυσήματος. LV.

² li

³ In S. L. 5. DCXCIII. 17, it is said that the Elect Souls are not initiated into the mysteries of the Divine Nature till they pass above the third Heaven.

⁴ Compare liii., where the bone is said to be the rational and heavenly soul, into which the spiritual seed was inserted, in order that it might not be empty, but full of marrow. Compare also LXII.

⁵ To this material soul the Valentinians applied the terms *adversary* (see S. L. 4. DCV. 41), the law warring against the law of the understanding; the tares which grow with the good seed; the seed of the Devil, of the same essence with him, with reference to Matt. v. 25; Luke xii. 58; Rom. vii. 23; Matt. xiii. 25. LI. LIII. Compare II. XIV. In S. L. 3. DLVIII. 19, Clement says that Valentinus introduced this notion of a σῶμα ψυχικόν, because he thought generation evil in its own nature. In LXXXI. we find mention of a σωματικόν πνῦμα.

⁶ liii. S. L. 4. DCIV. 3.

⁷ LV. See Histoire du Manichéisme, tom. ii. p. 35.

⁸ Were it otherwise, all would be equal and righteous, and instruction would be in all, whereas the material are many; the animal not many; the spiritual few. LVI.

the children of Adam ; they are both divine, and are emitted through him, not by him. He is our father only as to the material soul. ¹ The spiritual is saved by nature ; the animal, being endowed with free-will, has an aptitude for belief and incorruption, or for unbelief and corruption, according to its own choice ; the material is lost by nature.

² The Christ Who was emitted by *Σοφία* put on the seed from His mother, which is gradually formed through knowledge. When ³ He arrived at the place which *Σοφία* occupied after her ejection from the pleroma, he found and put on Jesus Christ, Who was announced by the Law and the Prophets, the image of the Saviour. ⁴ The animal Christ Whom He put on was invisible. But as He must be seen, be detained, and be conversant in the world, He must have a body the object of sense. ⁵ A body, therefore, was woven for Him of an invisible, animal essence. ⁶ He died in consequence of the departure of the Spirit which descended upon Him at the river Jordan. The body could not die so long as the life (the Saviour) remained in Him. Thus death was overcome by a stratagem ; for after he had possessed himself of the body, the Saviour,

¹ lvi. Compare S. L. 5. DCXLV. 9. Neander, pp. 128, 132. The spiritual seed is called Israel in Scripture, as in Rom. xi. 23. The spiritual seed is saved by receiving a form ; the animal by a transfer from bondage to freedom with reference to Gal. iv. 26. LVII.

² lix. *Σοφία* contained within herself the whole spiritual seed, the elect. This the Saviour commended to the Father when he said, "Into thy hands I commend my Spirit." I.

³ Compare xxvi. The place here spoken of is called *ὁ τόπος τῆς μετέπειτα*. See Neander, p. 120. A river of fire is said to flow from beneath the seat of *Σοφία* into the void space of creation, the place itself being fiery. It has on this account a veil, within which the archangel alone is allowed to pass, as the chief priest alone entered into the Holy of holies ; Jesus fixed Himself there that He might mitigate the fierceness of the fire, and open a passage for the seed through it into the pleroma. XXXVIII.

⁴ Compare xlvii.

⁵ Compare L. See Neander, p. 135.

⁶ lxi. In LVIII. it is said that Jesus Christ, the great combatant, after the reign of death, saved and carried up with Him the elect and called, that is, the spiritual and animal ; receiving the former from His mother, the latter from the dispensation ; and through them those who resemble them. Compare LXXX. Compare also the reason assigned in section v. for Christ's injunction to the Apostles that they should tell no man Who He was. The Spirit which descended upon Jesus at the river Jordan was the Spirit of the thought (*τῆς ἐνθυμήσεως*) of the Father. XVI. Neander, p. 138.

withdrawing the ray of His power which had gone forth from Him, destroyed death, and shaking off the passions, raised up the mortal body. Thus the animal parts are raised and saved; but the spiritual parts through faith obtain a higher salvation, receiving souls as marriage garments.

¹ The animal Christ sits on the right hand of the Demiurge until the consummation, in order that they may look on Him Whom they pierced. They pierced that which was visible (*τὸ φαινόμενον*), that is, the flesh of the animal Christ. ² The soul of Christ, when the body suffered, commended itself into the hands of the Father; but the spiritual seed in the bone He still retains.

³ The rest (*ἡ ἀνάπαυσις*) of the spiritual is in the Ogdoas, which is called of the Lord (*ἡ κυριακὴ ὀνομάζεται*, to distinguish it from the Ogdoas of the pleroma) remaining with the mother, and having souls as garments. The other faithful souls remain with the Demiurge; ⁴ but they at the consummation shall also ascend into the Ogdoas. Then will follow the marriage supper, which is common to all who are saved. Thus all are placed on an equality, and know each other. ⁵ The spiritual, then laying aside the souls, and receiving their bridegrooms, the angels, ⁶ enter into the bride-chamber, within the boundary, together with the mother, who receives the bridegroom. Then becoming intelligent Æons they come to

¹ lxii. We find in xxvi. ὁρᾶται τὸ ὄρατον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ Ἐκκλησία ἦν τῶν σπερμάτων τῶν διαφρόντων ἢν ἰστολίσατον διὰ τοῦ σαρκίου. Compare I. ὁ πρόβαλε σάρκιν τῷ λόγῳ ἡ σοφία, τὸ πνευματικὸν σπέρμα, τοῦτο στολισάμενος κατέβηεν ὁ Σωτήρ. The Lord appeared as a man, not as an angel, through humility. IV.

² This appears to be at variance with the quotation from section I, in Note 2, p. 173.

³ lxiii. Compare LXXX. and p. 152.

⁴ In the *τύπος μετέστητος*. When the mother, together with the son, is received into the pleroma, this place then attains to the power and rank now held by the mother. xxxiv. The excellent seed first goes with the Saviour as far as the boundary, then enters with Him through the door into the pleroma. Hence in Scripture Christ calls Himself the door. xxvi.

⁵ lxiv. Compare LXXXVI. Neander, p. 219.

⁶ In xxvii. we find a somewhat obscure description of the transfer of the purified soul, first into the spiritual region, then into the presence of God, where it is said to be no longer a bride, but to become a word (Æon),

the sight of the Spirit, to the intellectual and eternal marriage of the Syzygy. ¹ The president of the supper, the sponsor of the wedding, the friend of the bridegroom, standing before the bride-chamber, hearing his voice, rejoices. This is the fulness of his joy and rest.

We have seen that *Σοφία* contained within herself the ² spiritual seed, the elect, and that she inserted the seed secretly into the soul of Adam. This seed was an effluence of the male, and angelic. Thus the soul and the flesh, which had been emitted by *Σοφία* in a state of separation, were fermented together into one. The sleep of Adam was the oblivion of the soul, which prevented it from being ³ dissolved like the spiritual seed inserted into it by ⁴ the Saviour, Who, when He came, awakened the soul, and ignited the spark, by the power of the words of the Lord.

⁵ It appears to have been one of the tenets of the Valentinian school, that whatever sees, and is seen, must have a body and a form. The *Μονογενῆς Νοῦς* had a peculiar form and a body suitable to His pre-eminence over all spiritual existences. The *πρωτοκτιστοὶ* also had a body suited to their superiority over the essences below them; but not similar to the bodies in this world. They always behold the countenance of the Father, that is, the Son: they behold Him not with the eye of sense, but with the intellectual eye which the Father

and to abide near the bridegroom, with the first called and first created. All this was typified by the entrance of the High Priest within the veil (Ex. xxviii. 32; Lev. xvi. 3). The space within the veil is called *δ νοητὸς κόσμος*. Allusions are here made to circumstances of which there is no trace in the Sacred Writings.

¹ lxx.

² ii. To this seed the Valentinians applied the scriptural expressions, "The spark vivified by the Word," "The apple of the eye," "The grain of mustard seed," "The leaven." 1. In ii. it is said to be inserted into the elect soul, while asleep, by the Word, after the formation of the *σῶμα ψυχικόν*.

³ *Σοφία*, and consequently the spiritual seed, was in a state tending to dissolution. ⁴ iii.

⁵ x. Generally that which is created has an essence. *ἕλως γὰρ τὸ γινετὸν οὐκ ἀνοῦσιον μὲν*. In xi. it is asked, *πρῶτων δὲ τοῦ ἀσχηματιστοῦ, πῶς ἂν εἴη πῶς δ' ἂν καὶ ὀνόματα διάφορα αὐτῶν ἔλγιστο, εἰ μὴ σχήμασι ἢ περιγεγραμμένα, μορφή καὶ σώματι*. *Histoire du Manichéisme*, tom. i. p. 550.

has given them. ¹ Archangels and angels have also bodies, incorporeal and without form, when compared with the bodies in this world; defined, and objects of sense, when compared with that of the Son. The case of the Son is the same with reference to the Father. Each spiritual existence has its peculiar power and peculiar dispensation. ² Demons have bodies, for they have form, as well as a sense of torment. The soul is a body; for, unless it was a body, it could not suffer punishment; since the visible body is not purified by fire, but resolved into earth. ³ The dove also appeared in a bodily form at the baptism of Christ.

I have noticed the resemblance of the creation of the Demiurge to the pleroma. The ⁴ *πρωτοκτιστοὶ* were the seven Æons, who, together with *Βυθός*, constituted the first Ogdoas. The archangels were the other Æons. The next in order were the angels, who accompanied the Saviour, and announced His coming. ⁵ He was seen also in His descent by Abraham, and the just men who are in their rest on the right hand. Wherefore the Lord, after His resurrection, preached the Gospel to the just men at rest, and transferred them to live in His shadow: for the presence of the Saviour on earth is the shadow of His glory with the Father; the shadow of light is not darkness, but illumination.

¹ xi. When the Lord was seen by the Apostles in glory on the Mount, they saw not the light with the eye of flesh; for there is nothing in common between that light and the flesh. But the power and will of the Saviour endowed the flesh with power to see; moreover, what the soul saw, by its intimate union with the flesh, it enabled the flesh to see. v. Compare xi. See *Histoire du Manichéisme*, tom. i. p. 472. The Lord appeared on the Mount, not on His own account, but on account of the Church, to show the perfection to which He would attain after His departure out of the flesh; and to fulfil the declaration in Scripture (Matt. xvi. 27; Luke ix. 27), that some who were standing there should not taste of death until they had seen the Son of man in glory. iv.

² xiv. Reference is made to the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, to prove that the soul is a body; and to the declaration of St. Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 49, that, as we have borne the image of the earthly, we shall bear the image of the heavenly, *i.e.* of the spiritual, to prove that there are spiritual bodies. xv. Compare LXXXI. ³ xvi.

⁴ The Valentinians also called the Æons *λόγοι*. xxv. *Histoire du Manichéisme*, tom. i. p. 571.

⁵ xviii. Christ said that Abraham rejoiced to see His day; that is, His appearance in the flesh. John viii. 56.

¹ Jesus Himself stood in need of redemption. ² He had it, inasmuch as He came forth out of the pleroma; and He brought with Him the angels for the correction of the seed. They are anxious to enter into the pleroma, but cannot enter without us; they pray, therefore, ³ as for a part of themselves, and ask remission for us, in order that we may enter with them. Nor can the mother enter without us. ⁴ Jesus was redeemed by *Him* Who descended in the dove; and the angels were in the beginning baptized in the redemption of *His* name. They are baptized for us, inasmuch as we are parts of them; in order that we, having the name, may not be prevented from passing into the pleroma by the boundary and the cross (*ὄρος καὶ σταυρός*). Wherefore in the imposition of hands at the conclusion of the ceremony of baptism, the Valentinians used to say, *εἰς λύτρωσιν ἀγγελικὴν*, that he who receives redemption may be baptized in the name of Him, in which his angel had before been baptized.

We find frequent mention of the Church, of the elect and called, of male angels, of the right and left, of the excellent seed.

⁵ The Church is called the elect race, the body of the Son, the heavenly bread, the blessed assembly. The elect are said to be of the same essence with reference to that which is subject

¹ xxii. Compare LXXXV. respecting the temptation. Neander, p. 137.

² xxxv.

³ *ὡς ὑπὲρ μέρους*. See Neander, p. 218. In the following section, XXXVI., it is said that the angels were emitted in unity, *ἑνότητι*. We, on the contrary, are divided, *μεμερισμένοι*. On this account Jesus was baptized: that which is indivisible being divided, until He unites us to the angels in the pleroma; to the end that we, who are many, becoming one, may all be mixed with the one who was divided through us.

⁴ xxii. See Neander, p. 141. We find here the Valentinian exposition of the obscure passage in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, xv. 29, respecting the baptism for the dead. We are the dead, being as it were dead in our present condition; the living are the male angels, not subject to this condition. We shall be raised in a condition of equality with them: to a union with them, as members with members. In LXXXIII. it is said that impure spirits frequently descend into the water together with the person to be baptized, and, partaking of the seal, thenceforward become incurable. Hence, though baptism is an occasion of joy, that joy is mingled with fear, lest the candidate should not descend into the water alone.

⁵ iv. xiii.

(κατὰ τὸ ὑποκείμενον) as the Son; and to be destined to the same end. ¹All are called; but they who abound more in faith are chosen. The faith of the called differs from that of the elect. ²The Church is said to be of the same essence as the body of Jesus; and in ³another place Jesus, the Church, and *Σοφία*, are said to be a mixture powerfully pervading all bodies.

The Valentinian comment on Gen. i. 27, "In the image of God created He them (*αὐτοὺς*), male and female created He them," ⁴was, that allusion was then made to the best prolation of *Σοφία*, of which the male were the elect, the female the called. The male they called angelic; the female are themselves the excellent seed. Thus the male remained in Adam, the whole female seed passing from him became Eve: from her came the females; from him the males. ⁵The males were caught up with the Word; the female, becoming male, were united to the angels, and passed into the pleroma. Hence the woman is said to be transformed into the man; and the Church, here below, into angels.

⁶The excellent seed came forth neither as passion, with the dissolution of which the seed itself would have been dissolved; nor as a creature; but as children. The seed, which is to enter with the Saviour into the pleroma, was, as far as possible,

¹ ix. Where passages of Scripture are quoted to show the distinction between the called and chosen.

² xlii.

³ xvii. Bodies are said to mix with bodies. But the junction of spirit with spirit, or of the spirit with the soul, is by juxtaposition, not by mixture. The Divine power passes through the soul, and sanctifies it to its final perfection. But power penetrates not in respect of essence, but of power.

⁴ xxi. But it is said in xxxix. that *Σοφία* having emitted the angelic existences of the *place* and the called, detained them with herself; the chosen angelic existences having before been emitted by the male. (The reading in Potter's edition is *κλήρων*, but *κλήτων* seems to be the true reading.)

⁵ These are the faithful souls which remained in the place with the Demiurge. See LXIII. In LXXIX. the seed is said to be the offspring of the female until it receives a form; it is then transferred into the male, and becomes the son of the bridegroom. Nearly the same statement occurs in LXVIII.

⁶ xli. In S. L. 4. DCIII. 16, the excellent seed is said to have come down to man in order to destroy death by dividing it.

strained out (*συνδιωλίσθη*) in him; wherefore the Church is said to have been elected before the foundation of the world. ¹ The cross, which is the type of the boundary in the pleroma, separates the unbelievers from the believers, as the boundary the world from the pleroma. Wherefore Jesus introduces the seed into the pleroma, bearing them on His shoulders through the type. For Jesus is called the shoulders of the seed; Christ, the head.

² The right (*τὰ δεξιὰ*) were emitted by the mother before Christ asked for light; the seed of the Church afterwards, when the angelic seed were emitted by the male. ³ The powers on the left were emitted before those on the right; they received not a form from the presence of the light, but were left to receive it from the place. ⁴ The right are said to have known the names Jesus and Christ before the advent of Christ. We have seen that Abraham and the other just men were said to be in their rest on the right. ⁵ In another place it is said, that of the descendants of Adam, the just, in passing through the creation, were detained in the *place*; the rest, in the creation of darkness, on the left hand, where they felt the fire. ⁶ When God is said to visit the sins of the fathers unto the third and fourth generations, the Valentinians interpreted the three generations of the three places on the left, and the fourth of their seed: by the thousand generations on which he showed mercy, they understood the places on the right.

Clement ⁷ quotes from a Homily of Valentinus the follow-

¹ xlii. Clement, who appears purposely to have used, in many instances, the language of the Valentinians, in order to apply it in an orthodox sense, says, P. L. 3. c. 12. CCCIII. 16, ἄρον ἔχουμεν τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ Κυρίου.

² xl.

³ xxxiv.

⁴ xliii. Compare XXIII., where St. Paul is said to have preached a begotten and suffering Saviour, on account of those on the left (*διὰ τοὺς ἀριστιμῶν*, not *ἀρίστους*), in order that being able to know Him they might fear Him in the place; and also a spiritual Saviour from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin, as the angels on the right know Him. (See LX.) For each knows the Lord in a peculiar manner; and all the angels of these little ones, the elect, who will hereafter be in the same inheritance and perfection, do not alike behold the countenance of the Father. The passage appears corrupt; but the allusion seems to be to Rom. i. 3, 4.

⁶ xxviii.

⁵ xxxvii.

⁷ S. L. iv. dciii. 22. Neander's translation (p. 121) is, "What is the

ing passage:—"The image is as inferior to the living countenance as is the world to the living Æon. What, then, is the cause of the image? the majesty of the countenance, which afforded the painter a type that it might be honoured through his name; since form was not found to have any existence of itself, but the name filled up what was wanting in the thing created; and that which is invisible of the Deity co-operates to produce faith in that which is formed." Clement's comment on this passage is, that Valentinus calls the Demiurge, inasmuch as he is called God and Father, *the image and prophet of the true God*; he calls Σοφία the painter, whose creation is the image, to the glory of the invisible; ¹ since what proceeds from the Syzygy is a pleroma, what proceeds from unity is an image. But ² since that which appears is not from him, the soul comes out of the middle space, the excellent seed; and this is the inspiration (τὸ ἐμφύσημα) of the excellent spirit, which is breathed into the soul, the image of the Spirit. Generally the Valentinians ³ say that what is said of the Demiurge, who was made after the image, is prophetically spoken with reference to a sensible image, in that part of Genesis which treats of the generation of man; they transfer the likeness (τὴν ὁμοίωσιν) to themselves, saying that ⁴ the insertion of the excellent spirit was unknown to the Demiurge.

The generation of death, according to ⁵ Valentinus, was the work of the Demiurge; and the excellent race came down from

cause of the image? the greatness of the countenance, which gave the image to the painter to be glorified through his own appearance (ὄνομα in the Greek), since no image is found to be anything existing of itself; the appearance of the original must fill up the deficiency of the image; and the effect of the revelation of the invisible Divine existence is to procure belief for the apparent image." His interpretation is, "As the image is nothing existing in itself, and is only a defective representation of the original; so the whole apparent universe (the Demiurge, together with his creation considered as a whole) is only a defective representation of the glory of the Supreme God, and can only be rightly understood and interpreted by those to whom the revelation of this invisible God is already intimately present; the living Æon is Βουβίς; the painter, according to Clement's exposition, the Divine Σοφία; the image, the Demiurge and his creation, whom the Valentinians were accustomed in another respect to call the prophet of the true God."

¹ Quoted in xxxii.

² Compare I. liv. lv.

³ S. L. 4. dciii. 9, 16.

⁴ Compare lxii. τὸ φαινόμενον.

⁵ Compare liii.

According to Clement, as well as the Valen-

above to destroy it. This they were to effect, being themselves the children of eternal life, by dividing it among themselves; so that death would die in them and through them.

¹ The Valentinians said that the Saviour taught the Apostles the first truths typically and mystically; the second in parables and enigmas; the third openly and nakedly.

² According to the Valentinians, fate was a concourse of numerous and opposite powers, which, being themselves unseen, presided over the course of the stars, and governed the universe through them. Of themselves the stars effect nothing; they merely indicate the action of the presiding power; as the flight of birds causes no event, but indicates or foreshows it. Some of these powers are friendly to man, some unfriendly. The Saviour delivers him from their hostile conflicts. On this account the new and strange star, shining with a new and not a worldly light, arose to put an end to the former disposition of the stars; and the Lord descended to transfer those who believed on Christ from the dominion of fate to the governance of his Providence. ³ The Magi, when they saw the star of the Lord, knew that a King of the Jews was born.

The birth of the Saviour delivered us from the creation and fate; His baptism snatches us ⁴ from the fire. We are

tinians, *γένισις* and *φθορά* are correlative; the former implies the latter. *γένισις γὰρ πάντως ἴσται καὶ φθορά.* S. L. 3. DXXXII. 12. See also DLIII. 35. ¹ lxvi.

² lxix. lxx. lxxi. lxxii. lxxiii. lxxiv. Neander, pp. 139, 217. We find *τοὺς ἱεροσώτας τοῖς πλανήταις κατὰ τὴν εἰάν ἀρόναιον.* S. L. 5. DCLXVIII. 12. In LXXVIII. it is said that the astrologers were correct in asserting the existence of fate up to the time of Christ's baptism. The Valentinians thought that the Apostles were transferred into the twelve signs of the Zodiac. As the birth (*ἡ γένισις*) was administered by the latter, so was the new birth by the Apostles. xxv. In LHI. it is said that man fancies himself a voluntary agent, when in fact he is not. In LXXIII. the natural proneness of man to evil is noticed.

³ lxxv. Theodotus here says that the prediction of future events proves the existence of fate. The Magi not only knew that a king was born, but a king to rule over the worshippers of God, that is, over the Jews, who were then the only worshippers of the true God.

⁴ lxxvi. I have here translated *γένισις*, the creation. LXXVII. LXXVIII. See Neander, p. 139.

regenerated by baptism in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, being ¹ thereby rendered superior to all other powers. Baptism is called death, and the end of the old life: it is life in Christ. We are delivered, not by the mere washing, but by the knowledge communicated to us—who we were; what we have become; where we were, and on what place we were thrown; whither we hasten, and from what we were redeemed; what the birth, what the new birth.

² Baptism is twofold, corresponding to the twofold fire from which it delivers us, that which is the object of sense, and that which is the object of intellect. ³ The sensible baptism, by water, delivers us from the sensible fire; the intelligible, by the Spirit, from the intelligible fire.

We have seen that, according to the Excerpta, the faith of the elect differed from that of the called. Clement, in the Stromata, ⁴ says “that the Valentinians assigned faith to the simple (the mass of believers), but claimed for themselves, who are saved by nature, knowledge, which each individual possesses in proportion to his more abundant portion of the excellent seed, and which is as far removed from faith as the spiritual from the animal.”

Clement has ⁵ extracted from an epistle of Valentinus, a statement to which we find nothing similar in the Excerpta. “That the angels regarded that creature with fear because he

¹ Compare lxxx., where it is said that baptism in the three names delivers us from every Triad which exists in corruption.

² lxxxī. Theodotus here opposes the bodily spirit, τὸ σωματικὸν πνεῦμα, to the spirit given from above, which is incorporeal.

³ In lxxxii. and the following sections, we find some notices of the forms observed by the Valentinians in baptism, and of the reasons why they were observed. We find the same notion respecting a twofold fire in the Eclogæ ex Prophetarum Scripturis. viii. Clement, speaking of the fire which destroyed Sodom, says, ἄλιγον τι τοῦ φρονίμου πυρὸς κείνου, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκολασίαν ἐσχίσαν. P. L. 3. c. 8. cclxxx. 15. Compare C. xlvi. 34. xlvi. 8. Eclogæ ex Prophetarum Scripturis. xxv. In S. L. 7. dcccli. i, Clement distinguishes between πῦρ, τὸ φρόνιμον, and τὸ σαμφάγον καὶ βάναισον.

⁴ L. 2. ccccxxxiii. 34. See p. 178. In L. 3. dxlii. 6, Clement speaks of heretics who, interpreting Matt. xviii. 20, contended that the Demiurge ὁ γιγισαυργὸς θεός, was with the multitude; the Saviour, the Son of the good God, with the one, the elect.

⁵ S. L. 2. cccclviii. 12. See Neander, p. 124.

spake greater things than were suited to a creature, through *him* who had secretly given him the seed of the essence from above, and who spoke boldly in him; as in the generations of the men of this world, the works of men are a source of fear to those who make them, such as statues and images, and whatever their hands make in the name of God. For Adam, being formed in the name of man (the *Ἀνθρώπος* of the *pleroma*), caused terror to be felt of the pre-existent man, as if *he* dwelt in him; and they (the angels) were astonished and quickly obliterated their work." Clement gives ¹ another extract from an epistle of Valentinus, in which it is said that "One is good, by whose ² freedom of speech was the manifestation through the Son; and by him alone can the heart be purified, every evil spirit being expelled from it. For many spirits inhabit it, and will not allow it to be pure; each of them, frequently indulging in unbecoming desires, produces its own peculiar works; so that the heart resembles an inn, which is pierced through with holes, and undermined and filled with filth by men who act without any regard to decency, and care nothing for the place, as belonging to another. In like manner the heart, ³ until it is brought under the governance of Providence, is impure, and the abode of many demons; but when the only Good Father visits it, it is sanctified, and shines with light; thus he who has such a heart is blessed, because he shall see God." (Matt. v. 8.)

Clement ⁴ says, "that the Valentinians defended marriage, inasmuch as their own *Æons* were emitted in pairs." This is confirmed in the ⁵ *Excerpta*, in which it is said that, according to the Valentinians, the Saviour, when He told Salome that death would exist so long as women bore children, did not mean to speak evil of the procreation of children, which is necessary to the salvation of believers, and must continue until

¹ S. L. 2. cccclxxxviii. 34. Compare what is said on the subject of fate in LXIX. et seq. Neander, p. 140.

² Grabe for *ὁ ἀπὸ πάντων* wishes to read *ὁ ἀπὸ πάντων*. But in CCCXLVIII. 18, the passage just quoted, we find *καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων ζήσαντων*.

³ This was effected by the coming of the Lord. See LXXIV. With respect to the evil spirits, see LXXXIII.

⁴ S. L. 3. dviii. 1. In DXXIV. 42, Clement says that the Valentinians maintained a spiritual community of women.

⁵ LXVII. See L. 3. DXXXII. 8, quoted in p. 89, Note 1.

the predestined seed is accomplished; but alluded obscurely to the female Æon from above, out of whose passions the creation arose, and who emitted essences ¹ without form; through whom also the Lord descended, to deliver us from passion, and to introduce Himself.

Clement ² quotes a passage from a letter of Valentinus to Agathopus, in which we find the following strange notion: "Jesus bore all things, and had His appetites in subjection, and thus wrought out for Himself Divinity. He ate and drank in a manner peculiar to Himself; such was His control over His appetites, that the food became not corrupt in Him, since He was not subject to corruption."

Clement ³ quotes also a passage from a Homily of Valentinus, entitled *περὶ φίλων*, the object of which is to prove that God revealed to the Heathen many truths which are contained in the Scriptures. "Many things," he says, "which are found in the public books (that is, according to Clement, either in the Jewish Scriptures or the writings of the philosophers) are found also in the Church of God; for these are the common sentiments proceeding from the heart—the law written in the heart—this is the people of the beloved, loved by him, and loving him."

Let me here repeat what I have already said, that I do not profess to give a systematic account of the opinions of the Gnostic sects. For such an account I must refer the reader to Dr. Neander's work. In no part of it are the learning and ingenuity of the author more conspicuous than in that which relates to the Valentinians; yet I cannot refrain from expressing a suspicion that they are sometimes indebted

¹ Compare lxviii. lxxix. lxxx.

² S. L. 3. dxxxviii. 22. See Neander, p. 137.

³ S. L. 5. dclxvii. 4. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν τὴν κοινότητα πρὸςβιούτων ὁ κορυφαῖος Οὐαλντίνος ἐν τῇ περὶ φίλων ὁμιλίᾳ κατὰ λίξιν γράφει. . . Πολλὰ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν ταῖς δημοσίοις βίβλοις εὐρίσκονται γεγραμμένα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ· τὰ γὰρ κινὰ (i. κοινὰ) ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ ἀπὸ καρδίας ῥήματα, νόμος ὁ γραπτὸς ἐν καρδίᾳ· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ λαὸς (Grabe wishes to read λόγος) ὁ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου, ὁ φιλούμενος, καὶ φίλων αὐτόν. I understand him to mean that they upon whose hearts are written those truths, common to the Christian Scriptures and the public books, compose the people of the beloved. See Neander, p. 131.

to him for discovering in their opinions a connexion and consistency, which they would themselves have been perplexed to point out. Beausobre, though disposed at all times to place the doctrines of the heretics in the most favourable point of view, has pronounced what appears to me a correct judgment upon those of Valentinus.¹

² Clement mentions Heracleo as the most celebrated disciple of the school of Valentinus, and gives his comment on Luke xii. 8: "He who shall confess Me before men," etc. "There is a twofold confession, one in faith and conversation, the other with the voice; the confession with the voice is made before the powers (of this world), and the multitude incorrectly think this the only confession; for hypocrites can make it. Nor is this description universally applicable; for all who are saved have not confessed with the voice, and so departed out of this life, as Matthew, Philip, Thomas, Levi, and many others. Moreover, the confession with the voice is not universal, but partial. By a universal confession, I mean an agreement of the practice with the faith; this will be followed by the partial confession before the powers, if need requires and reason demands. For he who has previously confessed in his life and conversation, will confess with his voice. Well also has Christ added with respect to those who confess, *In Me* (Ἐν ἐμοί), but with respect to those who deny, *Me* (Ἐμέ). For they who do not confess Him in their practice, deny Him, though they confess Him with the voice. They alone confess in Him (ἐν αὐτῷ) who live in His confession and practice, in whom He also confesses, embracing them and embraced by them; wherefore He cannot deny Himself. But they deny Him who are not in Him; for He does not say, 'He who shall

¹ "La Théologie Valentinienne est trop obscure, pour entreprendre de la développer. C'est un entassement d'énigmes mystérieuses, qui n'ont été bien connues que des Maîtres de la Secte, supposé même qu'ils entendaient ce qu'ils disaient. Il est vrai, que les Extraits de la Doctrine de Theodote, dont nous sommes redevables à Clément d'Alexandrie, en éclaircissent une partie, mais il reste encore des ténèbres capables d'arrêter la curiosité la plus opiniâtre." Histoire du Manichéisme, tom. i. p. 550. See also p. 579.

² S. L. 4. dxcv. 22. In the Selections from the Writings of the Prophets, Heracleo is quoted as saying that some sects marked the ears of baptized persons with fire. xxv.

deny in Me, but Me.' For no one who is in Him denies Him. The words *before men* apply alike to those who are saved (Christians) and to the Heathen; before some, in life and conversation; before others, with the voice. Wherefore they cannot deny Him; but they who are not in Him deny Him." ¹

² Clement alludes to certain persons who professed to be followers of Nicolaus, but perverted his words. One of his precepts was, *that men should abuse* (*παρὰχρᾶσθαι*) *the flesh*, by which he meant that they should cut off pleasures and desires; and by this discipline extinguish the impulses and appetites of the flesh; but they, misinterpreting the precept, ran into every luxurious excess. In ³ another place Clement refers to the same precept, and says, "that Nicolaus, after the Ascension of the Saviour, having a wife in the flower of her age, was charged by the Apostles with jealousy; whereupon he brought her forth and gave any one permission to take her to wife." Clement defends the moral character of Nicolaus, and says, "that he cohabited with no other woman than his wife, and that both his daughters, as well as his son, remained single."

⁴ Clement mentions Carpocrates and Epiphanes, as maintaining the doctrine of a community of women. Carpocrates was an Alexandrian, and married a female of Cephallenia, by name Alexandria. Epiphanes was their son. He died at the age of seventeen, and was honoured by the inhabitants of Same, in Cephallenia, as a god. A temple was consecrated to him, and on every new moon the Cephallenians met together to celebrate his apotheosis. His father instructed him in the customary branches of learning (*τὴν ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν*), and in the philosophy of Plato. He was the founder of the ⁵ Monadic knowledge, and of the heresy of the Carpocratians. His works were extant in the time of Clement, who quotes a passage from a treatise concerning Justice, the object of which is to show that the institution of marriage is at variance with

¹ Neander, p. 156.

² S. L. 3. dxxii. 21.

³ S. L. 2. ccccx. 33.

⁴ S. L. 3. dxi. 20.

⁵ ἡ μοναδικὴ γνῶσις. Compare Irenæus, L. 1. c. 2. p. 51. Clement says of the true Gnostic, *μοναδικῶς γίνεσθαι*. S. L. 4. DCXXXIII. 12. DCXXXV. 23. See p. 146, Note 6. Clement thinks that Carpocrates was led to the notion of a community of women from misunderstanding Plato. DXIV. 25. See DXXII. 20. DXXIII. 18. Neander, p. 355, et seq.

the justice of God, Who meant all things to be possessed in common. The light of the sun is common to all; sight is common to all. Human laws introduced property, and consequently ¹ injustice, by interfering with the community intended by God.

Clement ² says, that the Carpocratians were guilty of the most horrible excesses at their meetings. These excesses appear to have brought the Christian Agapæ into disrepute, and to have occasioned their discontinuance.

Clement ³ mentions Prodicus as a leader of one of the Gnostic sects. His followers asserted that they were by nature the sons of the Supreme or First God, and consequently at liberty to live as they pleased, being in subjection to no one, lords of the Sabbath, born superior to every other race, royal children. They ⁴ denied also the necessity of prayer.

Clement ⁵ mentions Julius Cassianus as the founder of the sect of the Docetæ; and refers to one of his works, entitled "Concerning Continence," from which it appears that he adopted the notions of Tatian respecting the impurity of marriage. He quoted passages from ⁶ Apocryphal Scriptures, and perverted passages from the ⁷ genuine Scriptures, in order to support his opinions. Clement says that "he had recourse to the fiction—that Christ was only a man in appearance—through

¹ S. L. 3. dxiv. 3. The Carpocratians seem to have quoted Rom. vii. 7 in defence of this notion, "I had not known sin but by the law." They alleged also Matt. v. 42, τῶν αἰτουντι σε διδου (Clement has δεις), in defence of a community of women. dxxxvi. 18. In L. 2. ccccxc. 20, Clement mentions a licentious opinion, put forth by one who called himself a Gnostic, on the subject of pleasure.

² dxiv. 13. Compare L. 7. dcccxcii. 37.

³ S. L. 3. dxv. 4.

⁴ S. L. 7. dcccliv. 27. Clement says that they borrowed this doctrine from the Cyrenaic school.

⁵ S. L. 3. dlj. 38. ἐν γούν τῶν Περὶ Ἐγκρατίας ἢ Περὶ Ἐλευθέριας. The Docetæ are mentioned dlviii. 18. L. vi. dclxxv. 33. L. 7. dcd. 13. See Histoire du Manichéisme, tom. i. pp. 378, 424.

⁶ From the Gospel according to the Egyptians. dljii. 20.

⁷ 2 Cor. xi. 3; 1 Cor. vii. 1, 2; Jer. xx. 14. Cassianus interpreted the coats of skins in Gen. iii. 21, of the body. dliv. 22. Compare the Excerpta ex Theodoti Scriptis. lv.

unwillingness to believe that He had been born of the Virgin, or partaken in any way of generation." Clement accuses him of borrowing from ¹ Plato his notions respecting the evil nature of generation ; as well as ² the notion that the soul was originally divine, but being rendered effeminate by desire, came down from above to this world of generation and destruction.

Clement ³ mentions incidentally that the Phrygians (the Montanists) called those who did not believe in the new prophecy, animal (*ψυχικούς*).

It is stated in the ⁴ extracts from the writings of the prophets, that Hermogenes inferred from Ps. xix. 4 that our Saviour, when He laid aside His body (*σκήνωμα*, fleshly tabernacle), deposited it in the sun.

Clement ⁵ speaks of the Encratitæ, who abstained from wine and from marriage.

Clement ⁶ appears to have traced the origin of the Christian heresies chiefly to the opinions of the Greek philosophers. He ⁷ speaks, however, of barbarian sects as distinct from Greek philosophers. ⁸ He mentions incidentally, that the followers of Simon Magus aimed at a resemblance in morals to the permanent or immutable (*τῷ ἑστῶτι*) whom they worshipped.

Clement ⁹ says generally of the heretics, "that in their

¹ S. L. 4. dlxxi. 31. Clement says this generally of the Gnostics.

² S. L. 3. dliii. 33.

³ S. L. 4. dev. 1. There seems to be an allusion to them in L. 6. DCCCLXXIII. 34. ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προφητιῶν νῦν δὲ λεγομένων παρατηρησίαν. They are mentioned also L. 7. DCD. II.

⁴ Ivi. Ps. xviii. according to the Septuagint version, in which the reading is, ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ ἔθετο τὸ σκήνωμα αὐτοῦ. See Hist. du Manichéisme, tom. i. p. 564.

⁵ P. L. 1. clxxxvi. 26. S. L. 1. ccclix. 24. L. 7. dcd. 12.

⁶ S. L. 6. dcclxxiv. 5.

⁷ S. L. 2. ccccliv. 12. εἴτι αἰρίσις εἶν βάρβαροι, εἴτι οἱ παρ' Ἑλλήσι φιλόσοφοι.

⁸ S. L. 2. cccclvi. 21. See Neander, p. 344.

⁹ S. L. 7. decexci. 21. Compare DCCCXIII. 14. In L. 3. DXXIX. 2, Clement speaks of some who, when they read the Scriptures publicly, perverted the sense by laying improper emphasis, and making improper pauses.

appeals to the prophetic Scriptures they either did not appeal to all the books, or did not quote the entire books to which they appealed, or did not quote them according to the substance (*τὸ σῶμα*) and context of the prophecy; but, selecting ambiguous expressions, transferred them to their own opinions, picking out a few words here and there; not looking to the sense, but to the letter. ¹ When their opinions were proved to be opposed to the Scriptures, they set at nought either the consistency of their own doctrines, or the prophecy itself; at all times preferring that which was clearer in their own estimation to that which was said by the Lord through the prophets, and confirmed by the Gospel and the Apostles. Despising that which lay immediately before them, and anxious to exceed the common measure of faith, they overstepped the truth.⁷ Clement ² accuses them of vanity and ambition. ³ Having said that there are three states of mind—ignorance, opinion, knowledge: he adds that ignorance is the state of the heathen; knowledge, of the true Church; opinion, of the heretics.

Clement ⁴ mentions among the heretics of his day the Peratici, Hæmatitæ, Caianistæ, Ophiani, and ⁵ Eutychnitæ; the last he classes among the followers of Simon Magus. He mentions also heretics, who used bread and water in the celebration of the Eucharist.⁶

¹ S. L. 7. dcccxcii. 6.

² S. L. 7. dcccxcii. 25, 35. dcccxcvi. 10.

³ S. L. 7. dcccxciv. 12. Clement, however, admits that some traces of truth are to be found among the heretics. S. L. 1. CCCXLIX. 12.

⁴ S. L. 7. dcd. 10.

⁵ See Neander, p. 350.

⁶ S. L. 1. ccclxxv. 13.

CHAPTER VII.

WE will now proceed to consider Clement's opinions respecting the Supreme Being, and the distinction of Persons in the Godhead. ¹ He thought that human wisdom cannot attain to the knowledge of God, Who, raised above all speech, and all thought, and ineffable in power, can never be made known by a written description. ² Inasmuch as the cause or beginning of anything is always most difficult to be discovered, God, Who is the beginning and cause of existence to all things, can never be described by words. You cannot apply to Him the terms genus, difference, species, atom, number, accident, subject of accident, whole, part, figure; ³ nor can any name be properly or essentially given Him. When we call Him One, or the Good, or Mind, or the Existent (*τὸ ὄν*), or Father, or God (*Θεὸν*), or Creator, or Lord, we do not profess to give His name; but through inability to discover more appropriate terms, apply these honourable appellations, in order that the thought may have whereon to rest. These appellations do not singly express the Deity, but are collectively indicative of the power of the Almighty. Names are given with reference either to some quality of the thing named, or to its relation to some other thing; but neither of these circumstances is applicable to God. Nor can the Deity be comprehended by demonstrative

¹ ὅτιν ὁ Μωσῆς, οὐ ποτε ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία γνωσθήσεται τὸν Θεὸν πιστισμίνος. S. L. 2. CCCXXXI. 15. ὁ γὰρ τῶν ὅλων Θεὸς, ὁ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν φωνὴν καὶ πᾶν νόημα καὶ πᾶσαν ἰστοίαν, οὐκ ἂν ποτε γραφῇ παραδοεῖν, ἀόρητος ὡν δυνάμει τῆ αὐτοῦ. L. 5. DCLXXXV. 15. DCXCIII. 15. Compare L. 6. DCCCXXVI. 31. C. LIX. 26. LXII. 20.

² S. L. 5. DCXCV. 8. Compare L. 4. DCXXXVIII. 10. L. 5. DCLXXXIX. 8, quoted in p. 107. DCXC. 36, and the Eclogæ ex Prophetarum Scripturis, XXI. Yet, speaking of the study of astronomy, Clement says that it raises the mind of man from earth to heaven, causing him to be conversant with Divine things; thus Abraham was raised to the knowledge of the Creator. S. L. 6. DCLXXX. 9. See L. 2. CCCXXXI. 2.

³ Compare Justin Martyr, Apol. ii. p. 44. D. Clement applies the appellation τὸ ὄν to the Supreme Being, S. L. 2. CCCCLXXXI. 1. Referring to Gen. iv. 25. Ἰζανίστησι γὰρ μοι ὁ Θεὸς σπέρμα ἕτερον ἀντὶ Ἀβελ, Clement argues that the insertion of the article before Θεὸς proves that Moses intended to point out the Supreme God, in opposition to the Demiurge. S. L. 3. DXLVIII. 6. See the interpretation of the word Ἰαοῦ, ὁ μετερ-
ουσίεται ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἰσόμενος. L. 5. DCLXVI. 8.

science; for that proceeds upon preceding known truths; whereas nothing can precede that which is uncreated or self-existent. It remains, therefore, that we can comprehend the Unknown (*τὸ ἄγνωστον*) by Divine grace and His word alone. As Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, records Paul to have said, "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious: for as I passed by and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, 'To the Unknown God.' (*Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ*.) Whom, therefore, ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you."

Speaking of God, Clement ¹ says that "He is all things, and all things He;"—that ² inasmuch as He is an essence, He is the beginning of all reasonings that relate to the works of creation (all reasonings on created things must be traced up to Him as their source); inasmuch as He is the good, the beginning of all that relate to morals; inasmuch as He is mind, the beginning of all that relate to reason and judgment;—that ³ He alone exists in self-existent identity.

⁴ The Divine nature is exempt from wants and from passions. It is true, that in speaking of God we attribute to Him human affections, as we attribute to Him ⁵ sight and hearing. But ⁶ the virtue of man is not the same as that of God, as the Stoics affirmed; ⁷ although the good man resembles God as to the soul, and God on the other hand

¹ P. L. I. CL. 3. ὁ ὢν αὐτὸς τὰ πάντα, καὶ τὰ πάντα (ὁ) αὐτός. Waterland applies this to the Son, vol. iii. p. 92, Note 6, but surely without reason. πάντη γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἴστιν. S. L. 6. DCCLVI. 6.

² S. L. 4. DCXXXVIII. 10. ὁ Θεὸς δὲ ἀναρχος, ἀρχὴ τῶν ἄλλων παστέων, ἀρχὴς ποιητικός· ἢ μὴ οὖν ἴστιν οὐσία, ἀρχὴ τοῦ ποιητικοῦ τόπου καθύστε ἴστιν τὰ γὰρ τῶν, τοῦ ἠθικοῦ· ἢ δ' αὖ ἴστι τοῦ, τοῦ λογικοῦ καὶ κρητικοῦ τόπου. Compare a Fragment extant in Maximus, and supposed to be taken from the work of Clement on Providence. MXVI. 42.

³ S. L. 6. DCCXC. 2. ἐν ταύτῳ γὰρ ἀγνήτω ὁ ὢν αὐτὸς μῦθος. DCCCXIII. 17. ἐν τῷ βούλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν μῆ ταυτότητι.

⁴ ἀνιδεῖς μὴ γὰρ τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἀσάθης. S. L. 2. CCCCLXXI. 9. τοῦ ἀσάθους Θεοῦ. CCCCLXVII. 5. οὐ γὰρ θίμεις ἰμπαθῆ νοῦν τὸν Θεόν. L. 5. DCLIX. 5. Θεὸς δὲ ἀσάθης, ἀθυμὸς τε καὶ ἀντιπρόθετος. L. 4. DCXXXII. 40.

⁵ S. L. 6. DCCXXVII. 39. ἕλος ἀποθὴ καὶ ἕλος ἐφθαλμῶν, ἵνα τις ταύτους χρήσηται τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ὁ Θεός. L. 7. DCCCLIII. 10. DCCCLII. 28.

⁶ S. L. 2. DI. 24. L. 6. DCXCXVIII. 5. L. 7. DCCCLXXXVI. 18.

⁷ S. L. 6. DCCCLXXVI. 25. ἢ καὶ δεοῖδης καὶ δεοῖσιλος ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἀπὸ κατὰ ψυχὴν· ὁ τε αὖ Θεὸς ἀνθρωποειδης· τὸ γὰρ εἶδος ἰκάστω ὁ νοῦς, ᾧ χαρακτηρίζεται.

resembles man; since the image or form (εἶδος) by which the character of each man is determined is the mind. "God," says ¹Clement in another place, "gives us many things in which He has Himself no part: being Himself self-existent, He gives us a beginning of existence (γένεσιν); being Himself exempt from want, He gives us nourishment; Himself always the same, He gives us growth; Himself immortal and exempt from old age, He gives us a happy old age, and a happy death (I read with Sylburgius εὐθανασίαν). When we read in the Hebrew Scriptures of the hands, and feet, and mouth, and eyes, and coming in and going out, and anger, and threats of God, we must not suppose that He is subject to affections; but that some holy allegory is concealed under these names."

Some of the heretical sects distinguished, as we have seen, between the Supreme God, Whom they called Good, and an inferior God, the Creator, the God of the Old Testament, Whom they called Just. The ²design of the ninth chapter of the first book of the Pedagogue is to show that the attributes of goodness and justice are not incompatible in the Deity. "The justice of God," he ³says in another place, "is good, and His goodness just." ⁴When He chastises, He does it for the good of those on whom He inflicts chastisement. ⁵The beneficence of God is from eternity, as He always was what He is; there never was a time when He was not good, nor ever will be a time when He shall cease to be good. ⁶His good-

¹ S. L. 5. DCLXXXVII. 4. Compare DCLXXXIX. 20.

² In P. L. I. c. 8. CXL. 36 (quoted in p. 36), Clement appears to say that God, when contemplated as the Father, is Good: when as the Son, the Word who is in the Father, he is called Just. ὁ γὰρ ἰσθὺς, τοὺς μὲν, ἐκ διζῶν, τοὺς δὲ, ἐξ εὐνομένων, καθὸ μὲν Πατὴρ ἰοῦται, ἀγαθὸς ὢν, αὐτὸ μόνον ὅ ἴσθι κίληται ἀγαθός· καθὸ δὲ υἱὸς, ὢν ὁ Λόγος αὐτοῦ, ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ ἴσθι, δίκαιος προσηγορεύεται, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα σχίσσεως. Compare CL. 13.

³ S. L. 6. DCCXCV. 7. Compare the Eclogæ ex Prophetarum Scripturis, IX.

⁴ S. L. 7. DCCCXCV. 31. God does not avenge (οὐ τιμωρεῖται), for vengeance is the returning of evil for evil; or hate. S. L. 7. DCCCLXXXIII. 27. Compare P. L. I. c. 8. CXXV. 28.

⁵ S. L. 5. DCCXXXIII. 30. The goodness of God is said also to be universal.

⁶ S. L. 6. DCCXCII. 27. ὢν τι καὶ γινόμενος ἐν ἀδιαλείπτῳ ἰσθίαις, ἐν ταῦτότητι τῆς ἀγαθότητος ἀπαραβάτως μόνι.

ness is in constant activity. ¹ Were He to cease to do good, He would cease to be God.

As the knowledge of God cannot be attained by human wisdom, ² so neither can He be seen by man. ³ Some of the heretics asserted that God has a natural relation (*φυσικὴν σχέσιν*) to man. This Clement denies to be possible; whether we suppose God to have created man out of nothing (*ἐκ μὴ ὄντων*), or out of pre-existent matter; since, on the former supposition, there was no existence at all to which he could have relation; on the latter, ⁴ matter is, in every respect, different from God. Some indeed have ventured to affirm that we are a part of God, and co-essential (*ὁμοουσίους*) with Him; an assertion which involves the blasphemous consequence, that God suffers and sins in us, who are parts of Him.

Though human wisdom cannot attain to the knowledge of God, yet ⁵ the heathen possessed some obscure knowledge of Him. ⁶ For David says, "Sinners shall be turned back into hell, and all the nations which forget God." They could not forget, unless they had previously known Him. ⁷ The Greeks knew God as Creator; not in the character of Father, as He was revealed to believers by the Son.

¹ S. L. 6. DCCCXIII. 2. See also DCCCXIX. 18. DCCCXXII. 20.

² S. L. 5. DCXLVII. 29. *δῆλον γὰρ μηδὲνα ποτὶ δύνασθαι παρὰ τὸν τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον τὸν Θεὸν ἰναργῶς καταλαβίσθαι.* Compare L. 6. DCCCXXV. 20. *ἰπὶ μηδὲν ἀπεικόνισμα τοῦ Θεοῦ οἶόν τι ἐν γιννηταῖς εἶναι.* He is seen only through the Son, ὄνομα δὲ εἴρηται Θεοῦ ἰπὶ, ὡς βλέπει τοῦ Πατρὸς τὴν ἀγαθότητα ὁ υἱός, ἰναργῶς ὁ Θεὸς Σωτὴρ κεκλημένος, ἢ τῶν ἔλων ἀρχῆ, ἥτις ἀπεικόνισται μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου πρώτη καὶ πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων. L. 5. DCLXIX. 11, quoted in p. 165, Note 4.

³ S. L. 2. CCCCLXVII. 37, quoted in p. 82. See *Histoire du Manichéisme*, T. i. p. 232. In L. 5. DCCCXIX. 15, Clement describes the manner in which all created things are to be referred to a Sovereign Providence.

⁴ In S. L. 6. DCCCXVI. 5, Clement mentions some who applied the appellation of Father to God, as the creator of all things; of Mother to the essence or substance, out of which we are made.

⁵ S. L. 6. DCCLXXII. 26. As Clement supposed a portion of the λόγος to be imparted to the heathen, their obscure knowledge of the Deity was to be traced to this source. S. L. 1. CCCXLIX. 5, 28. L. 2. CCCXCIII. 17. CCCCLXXXII. 14.

⁶ Ps. ix. 17.

⁷ S. L. 5. DCCXXXI. 13. Compare L. 6. DCCLX. 1. P. L. i. c. 8. CXL. 36, quoted in p. 36.

With respect to the Divine Providence, Clement ¹ says, that "he who asks for a proof of its existence deserves punishment; and that it is impious to doubt whether prophecy and the dispensation of salvation are ordered according to Providence." These are points which we ought not to attempt to prove, since the Divine Providence is displayed in the skill and wisdom discernible in created things, and in the order in which they come into being, or make their appearance. He Who gave us being and life, gave us also reason, as He wished us to live rationally and well.—² Proceeding from the principal things (ἐκ τῶν προηγουμένων), as from the head, the Divine Providence extends to all, "like the ointment which fell upon the beard of Aaron, and went down to the skirts of his clothing."³ As the axe cannot work without a man to wield it, or a saw without a man to move it—and none of these things work of themselves, but possess certain physical qualities which conspire with the action of the workman to accomplish the work in hand—so an effectual operation is given, through the medium of the things proximately moved, to the general Providence of God, descending to each particular thing. ⁴ In the work of man's sanctification, the Providence of God does not destroy the freedom of the will.

When we proceed to examine what Clement has said respecting the distinction of Persons in the Godhead, we find him referring the well-known ⁵ passage in the Second Epistle

¹ S. L. 5. DCXLVI. 28. L. 6. DCCCL. 34. DCCCXVI. 27. To express the administration of the universe by the Divine Providence, Clement uses the words *διοικήσεις*, *διοικήν*. S. L. 2. DVI. 10. L. 3. DXIX. 19. DXI. 4. L. 4. DLXXXI. 37. DLXXXVII. 22. DCII. 37, 39. In L. 5. DCL. 18, we find the strange notion that the doctrine of Providence was revealed by the angels, who fell from their high estate (τὸν ἄνω κλῆρον) through the seductions of pleasure.

² S. L. 6. DCCCXX. 1. See DCCCXXI. 20. L. 7. DCCCXI. 37, with respect to a particular Providence. In L. 4. DCII. 42, we find the following sentence, which refers to the prince or "Ἄρχων of Basilides: ἡ πρῆμια δὲ, εἰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος, ὡς φάναι, κινήσθαι ἄρχεται, ἀλλ' ἰγκατισσάμην ταῖς οὐσίαις σὺν καὶ τῇ τῶν οὐσιῶν γινήσει πρὸς τοῦ πάντων ὄλων Θεοῦ.

³ S. L. 6. DCCXVII. 19. In the Eclogæ ex Prophetarum Scripturis, XVI., it is shown that God acts through the instrumentality of man.

⁴ S. L. 7. DCCCLV. 22.

⁵ *πρὸς τοὺς πάντων βασιλεία πάντα ἰστίν, κακίονου ἵκεν τὰ πάντα, κακίονο*

of Plato to the Holy Trinity. He distinguishes them expressly in a ¹ passage in the first book of the *Pædagogus*, where he says, "The Father of the universe is one; the Word of the universe is one; the Holy Spirit is one and the same everywhere." He ² says that the Gnostic comprehends both the first cause, and the cause generated by the first, which he calls in ³ another place the second cause. It may be, however, doubted whether he refers to the Trinity, when he in another place ⁴ speaks of the first, and second, and third, as suspended from one principle (*ἀρχῆς*), working according to its will. Then, he adds, "at the boundary and extremity of the visible world are placed the blessed angels; thus one order is ranged below another, until we arrive at man."

This distinction of persons was not, in Clement's opinion, in the least at variance with the unity of the Godhead; for he says of ⁵ God, that He is one, and beyond one, and above the Monad itself. Wherefore the pronoun *Thou* is emphatic, and points out the only really existing God, Who was, and is, and shall be; for the participle (*ὁ ὢν*) includes the three divisions

αἷτιον ἀπάντων καλῶν· δεύτερον δὲ πύρι, τὰ δεύτερα· καὶ τρίτον πύρι, τὰ τρίτα· οὐκ ἄλλως ἔγωγε ἱερακῶν ἢ τὴν ἁγίαν τριάδα μνησέσθαι· τρίτον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· τὸν υἱὸν δὲ δεύτερον, δι' οὗ πάντα ἐγένετο κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ πατρὸς. S. L. 5. DCCX. 17. It is to be observed that Clement does not confine the word *πύρις* to the three Persons in the Godhead. See S. L. 3. DXLII. 19. L. 4. DLXXXVIII. 9, where he calls faith, hope, and charity the Holy Trinity (*ἡ ἁγία τριάς*). L. 7. DCCCLIV. 26. τὴν μακαριαν τῶν ἁγίων τριάδα μονῶν. Compare DCCCXXXIV. 6. In the Excerpta ex Theodoti Scriptis LXXX. we find, with reference to the rite of baptism, *καὶ διὰ τριῶν ὀνομάτων πάσης τῆς ἐν φθορᾷ τριάδος ἀπαλλαγῆς.*

¹ c. 6. CXXIII. 9. The three Persons are mentioned, C. XCI. 27. P. L. 3. c. 12. CCCXI. 14. S. L. 4. DCXXXV. 9. Quis Dives Salvetur. DCDLIV. 42, where the offices of the Persons are marked. See also the *Eclogæ ex Prophetarum Scripturis*. XIII. XXIX.

² S. L. 6. DCLXXIX. 9. See L. 2. CCCCLXIX. 30. L. 7. DCCCXXIX. 36.

³ S. L. 7. DCCCXXXVIII. 2, 10.

⁴ S. L. 7. DCCCXXXIII. 42.

⁵ P. L. I. c. 8. CXL. 21. *Ἦν δὲ ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ ἐπίκεινα τοῦ ἱσθός, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν μονάδα· διὸ καὶ τὸ Σὺ μέρος (the reference is to John xvii. 21), δικτυομένη ἔχον ἴμφασιν, τὸν ἄνθρωπον μόνον ὄντα, ὅς ἦν, καὶ ἴσται, καὶ ἴσται, δεικνύσει Θεὸν κατ' ὧν τριῶν χρόνων ἰν ὄνομα κίτται, ὁ ὢν.* See p. 149, Note 6, and Beausobre's remarks on the Monad, *Histoire du Manichéisme*, T. ii. p. 283. P. L. 3. c. 7. CCLXXVI. 7. S. L. 5. DCLXXXIX. 14. L. 6. DCLXXXIII. 42. L. 7. DCCCXCIX. 10. DCD. 3.

of time,—past, present, and future. The title ¹ *God* is repeatedly given to the second Person in the Trinity. We ² find also several passages expressive of the intimate union which subsists between the Father and Son. In a ³ passage in the Hortatory Address are enumerated the titles given to the Son: the Harmony of the Father—Christ—the Word of God—the Arm of the Lord—the Power of the Universe—the Will of the Father: and in ⁴ another passage quoted in p. 17, is a description of His nature and offices.

¹ C. viii. 27. *ἐκίνωσιν δὲ ἑαυτοὺς ὁ φιλοκτίρμων Θεός*, with reference to Phil. ii. 7, LXXXIV. 2. *τῷ παθόντι καὶ προσκυνομένῳ Θεῷ ζῶντι*. P. L. I. c. 5. CXII. 25. *τὸν Θεὸν τὸν Λόγον, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον—ἀμὸν κίληκτι τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν νῆπιον τοῦ Πατρὸς*. c. 6. CXIII. II. *ἀλλὰ προμαθῆν μὲν αὐτὸν ἰσὺς οὐδὲ ἴν, Θεὸν ὄντα*. c. 7. CXXXI. 8. *ὁ δὲ ἡμίτερος παιδαγωγός, ἅγιος Θεὸς Ἰησοῦς, ὁ πάσης τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος καθηγητὴν Λόγος: αὐτὸς ὁ φιλανθρώπος Θεὸς ἰσὶ παιδαγωγός*. CXXXII. II. *ἴτι δὲ καὶ ἀνωμάστος ἦν ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Κύριος, μηδὲπω γεγενῆσθαις ἄνθρωπος*, quoted in p. 163, Note 3. When the force of the word ἀνωμάστος is considered, and the manner in which it is applied by Clement (see S. L. 5. DCXCV. 21.), there can be no doubt of his belief in the essential Divinity of Christ. c. II. CLVI. 3. *ὅτι Θεὸς καὶ δημιουργός*. L. 2. c. 3. CXC. 13. *ὁ ἄτυφος Θεὸς καὶ Κύριος τῶν ἄλων*. c. 8. CCXIV. 29. *διὰ τοῦτο τοὶ εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἐπίστισσαν ἄνθρωποι, τὸν φιλανθρώπον Θεὸν, ἐπιγινώσκονται Κύριον καὶ δίκαιον*. L. 3. c. I. CCLI. 33. *ὁ δὲ συμπάσης Θεός, αὐτὸς ἠλυθίρωσεν τὴν σάρκα*. c. 7. CCLXXXVII. 32. *ἀντιθέως γὰρ ὁ τὸν παντοκράτωρα Θεὸν Λόγον ἔχων*. Compare ὁ δημιουργός τῶν συμπάντων, ὁ παντοκράτωρ κύριος. S. L. 4. DCIV. 24. S. L. I. CCCLXXIV. II. *τὸν Σωτῆρα, οἶμαι, Θεὸν εἰρησθαι ἡμῖν τὰ νῦν*. Compare L. 2. CCCCXLII. 3. CCCCLIII. II. L. 5. DCLXIX. 13. L. 6. DCCXCH. 20. DCCCXII. 10. *Θεὸς ἐν σαρκίῳ*. Quis Dives Salvetur. DCDXXXIX. 16. *προσῆδὲ δὲ ὡς Θεὸς καὶ ἄ μίλλι διρωτήσισθαι καὶ ἄ μίλλι τις αὐτῷ ἀποκρίσισθαι*. C. VII. 14. *ἰσιφάνη δὲ ἑναγχος ὁ πρὸν Σωτῆρ ἰσιφάνη ὁ ἐν τῷ ὄντι ἄν, ὅτι ὁ Λόγος, ὅς ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, διδάσκαλος ἰσιφάνη, ἃ τὰ πάντα διδημιούρηται*.

² P. L. I. c. 5. cxii. 16. *ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ ὁ τοῦ τιλίου παιδίου υἱὸς ἐν πατρὶ, καὶ πατὴρ ἐν υἱῷ*. See c. 7. CXXIX. 21. c. 8. CXXXV. 28. *οὐδὲν ἄρα μαρτυρεῖ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λόγου: ἴν γὰρ ἄμφω, ὁ Θεός*. Clement then refers to John i. 1. CXLII. 8. *ὡς εἶναι ταῖς ἀληθείαις κατιφάνις τὸν τῶν συμπάντων Θεόν, ἵνα μόνον εἶναι, ἀγαθόν, δίκαιον, δημιουργόν, υἱὸν ἐν Πατρὶ*. S. L. 5. DCXLIII. 11. In S. L. 7. DCCCLXXXI. 21, Clement identifies the Son with the Father as to perfection, if the words *τουτίστιν ἑαυτὸν* are not a gloss.

³ xciii. 15. Compare III. 17.

⁴ Ixxxvi. 1. In this passage the Word is represented as the fellow-combatant of the creature; but in LXXVII. 27, quoted in p. 122, Note 6, the Word is made not a combatant, but the judge of the contest. *ἀποδυ-σάμειν δ' εὖν περιφαιῶς ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας σταδίῳ γηνοίως ἀγωνιζώμεθα, βραβείοντος μὲν τοῦ Λόγου τοῦ ἁγίου, ἀγωνοτιθεύοντος δὲ τοῦ διαπότου τῶν ἄλων*. To the passages quoted in that note add P. L. I. c. 8. CXXXVI. 15. *ὅς ἰσὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρώπις συναγωνιστῆς γηθείας*.

By the *Word* Clement certainly understood ¹ a person. Speaking of the idea of Plato, he ² says, "The idea is the thought of God, which the barbarians called the Word of God" (*Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ*). Then he proceeds, "The Word going forth, the cause of creation, generates Himself, when He becomes flesh, in order that He may be seen by the eye." Clement had before said that justice, honesty, truth, cannot be seen with the eyes, only with the understanding. Inasmuch, therefore, as the Word of God said, "I am the truth," the Word can only be contemplated by the understanding. Speaking of the source of knowledge, Clement ³ says, "that we must ascend above all created things to arrive at the teacher. Since there is one Unbegotten, the omnipotent God; and one First-Begotten, 'by Whom all things were made, and without Him was not any thing made.' For there is in truth one God, Who made the beginning of all things, that is, the first-begotten Son, as Peter writes (in the *Prædicatio*), who well understood the words, 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.' He is called Wisdom by all the prophets. He is the

¹ C. iii. 17. Λόγος οὐράνιος, ὁ γνήσιος ἀγωνιστὴς ἐπὶ τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ διάτρη στυφαναύμιμος. P. L. i. c. 6. CXIII. 14. τὸν Λόγον τίλιον ἐκ τιλίου φῦτον τοῦ Πατρὸς. c. 9. CXLVIII. 3. τοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ πατρικοῦ Λόγου. C. LXVII. 41. L. 3. c. 5. CCLXXXIII. 26. πανταχοῦ δι τὸν Λόγον, ὅς ἐστι πανταχοῦ. c. 8. CCLXXX. 7. ἰσιῖδιν αὐτοῖς ὁ παντισόστης Λόγος. S. L. i. CCCXXIX. 8. ἰπαναπαύεται τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν ὄντων, ὁ χρηστός καὶ ἡμεῖς Λόγος. I. 5. DCCVIII. II. DCCXII. 5.

² S. L. 5. DCLIV. 4. quoted in p. 103. ἡ δὲ ἰδία ἰνότημα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅτι εἰ βάρβαροι Λόγον εἰρήκασιν τοῦ Θεοῦ—προιλθὼν δὲ ὁ Λόγος, δημιουργίας αἴτιος, ἴστυτα καὶ ἑαυτὸν γινῆναι, ὅταν ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ γίνηται, ἵνα καὶ εἰσῆ. Clement uses the expression ὁ προφορικὸς Λόγος, to signify the spoken Word, not as opposed to the Λόγος ἰδιόθετος. S. L. 5. DCXLVI. 39. ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν ἄλων Λόγος, οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ προφορικὸς, σοφία δὲ καὶ χρηστότης φανιμοῦται τοῦ Θεοῦ, δύναμις τι αὐτῶν παγκρατὴς καὶ τῷ ὄντι θεία· οὐδὲ τοῖς μὴ ἠμολογοῦσιν ἀκατανόητος, εἶλημμα παντοκρατορικόν. Compare DCXLVIII. 21. ἢ μὴ μὲν γὰρ ὁ γιγνῶνς λόγος· πατὴρ δὲ τοῦτου, ὁ νοῦς. S. L. 7. DCCCLXIV. 6, 40, where ὁ προφορικὸς λόγος is opposed to faith, which is called ἰδιόθετος τι ἀγαθόν. 31.

³ S. L. 6. DCCLXIX. 29. See L. 5. DCXCIX. 20. In L. 7. DCCCXXIX. 34, Clement calls the Son the beginning and first-fruits of things existent, being without time and beginning, τῶν ἀχρονῶν καὶ ἀναρχῶν ἀρχὴν τι καὶ ἀπαρχὴν τῶν ὄντων τὸν υἱόν. In the *Eclogæ ex Prophetarum Scripturis*. IV. the application of the title Ἀρχὴ to the Son, is founded on Hosea i. 7, 10. In S. L. 5. DCLXIX. 12, God the Saviour is said to work, being the beginning of all things, which was formed an image from the invisible God first and before the ages, and then gave form to all things created after itself. See p. 151, Note 3.

Teacher of all created beings, the Counsellor of God, Who foreknew all things. He in various ways has instructed man from the first foundation of the world, and perfects him."

When, however, we say that Clement speaks of the Word as a person, we mean not to deny that there are passages in which Λόγος may be interpreted of an attribute or an operation. Thus, ¹ he speaks of the Heavenly Word, the all-harmonious, tuneful, holy instrument of God, the supramundane wisdom. He ² exhorts us to receive the Word with open ears, and to entertain God as a guest in our purified souls. He ³ calls the Word of the Lord the law of truth. He ⁴ says that the voice of the Lord, the Word without form, ⁵ the power of the Word, the shining Word of the Lord, the truth which descended from heaven upon the assembly of the Church, works through a shining and proximate ministry.

Clement ⁶ says repeatedly, that "the Λόγος is the source of all the true knowledge to which man attains." Hence it is sometimes not easy to distinguish whether we are to understand by the word Λόγος the person who communicates the knowledge, or the operation of the communication on the mind of man. Thus he ⁷ calls the sound Word the sun of the soul, by which alone, rising in the deepest recess of the under-

¹ C. vi. 5. Yet there immediately follows *τί δὲ οὖν τὸ ὄργανον, ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος, ὁ Κύριος—βούλειται.*

² C. lxx. 25. So lxxiii. 24. *ἰναγῆ τὸν ἅγιον ὑπολαμβάνοντι τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον.*

³ C. lxxvi. 37.

⁴ S. L. 6. DCCLVI. 37. Yet compare L. 7. DCCCXXXVII. 34, where the appellations law and eternal Word are applied to the Saviour. In L. 1. CCCXLIII. 7, Clement plays upon the twofold meaning of the word Λόγος—Reason, and the *Word*.

⁵ In S. L. 6. dclxiv. 40, Clement says that the Lord is the power of God, with reference to 1 Cor. i. 29. Compare Tatian, 145, A. In the *Excerpta ex Prophetarum Scripturis*. l.iii. the Lord is called the Word with reference to Ps. xix. 3. *ἡμέρα τῇ ἡμέρα ἐρεύγεται ῥῆμα.*

⁶ Thus C. lxiv. 8, with respect to the Gentiles, *εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἰναύματά τινα τοῦ λόγου τοῦ θεοῦ λαβόντες Ἕλληνας, ὀλίγα ἄλλα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐφθίζαντο.* Here ὁ λόγος ὁ θεῖος seems to mean a Divine attribute. But in LXX. 32, the words clearly mean a person. *αἰ οὖν τῆς φωνῆς ὑπακούωμεν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου—φῶς δὲ, ὁ Λόγος ἀνθρώποις, δι' οὗ καταυγαζόμεθα τὸν Θεόν.* Compare LXXVIII. 31. P. L. 2. c. I. CLXII. 13. *ὁ φωτίζων λόγος.* S. L. 2. CCCCLXIII. 27.

⁷ C. lix. 26.

standing, the eye of the understanding is enlightened. He¹ speaks of the Father in the fulness of His love towards man showering down the Word, and the Word then becoming spiritual food to the prudent. Yet this passage is immediately followed by one already quoted, in which the personality of the Word is clearly expressed.

We find the Word called the² wisdom of God, a title derived from Prov. viii. 22, or the³ paternal wisdom—the⁴ the good will of the Good Father, the genuine wisdom, the sanctification of knowledge—the⁵ the truth, the wisdom, the power of God—the⁶ the first-created wisdom, the⁷ person or countenance of God, by which He is brought to light or revealed, and made known—the⁸ person of the revealed truth. With respect to this last title, Clement is speaking of the proof that the Son of God is our Saviour; this, he says, “is proved by the prophecies which preceded His appearance; by the testimonies which co-existed with His sensible (cognizable by the senses) birth or existence; and by the (miraculous) powers which were announced and openly displayed after His Ascension. That we possess the truth is proved by the fact that the Son of God is Himself our Teacher. For if in every inquiry a person (to effect) and a thing (to be effected) are universally found, the truth is revealed amongst us alone. Since the person of the revealed truth is the Son of God; the thing is the power of faith, which prevails over every adversary, and the resistance of the whole world.” This title then is a logical rather than a theological distinction.

Perhaps, however, the clearest and most connected view of

¹ P. L. I. c. 6. cxxiii. 6. See p. 194, Note 5. S. L. I. CCCXXXVII. 36.

² C. lxviii. 5. ἡ σοφία, ἣ ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ.

³ P. L. I. c. II. clvi. I. ἔστι σοφία ἐστὶ πατρικὴ.

⁴ P. L. 3. c. 12. cccix. 36.

⁵ S. L. 2. cccclvii. 8. δύναμις οὖν πατρικὴ ὑπάρχων. L. I. CCCXXI. 99. L. 7. DCCXXXIII. 32.

⁶ S. L. 5. dexcix. 23. Clement refers to Wisdom vii. 24; but see Prov. viii. 22.

⁷ P. L. I. c. 7. cxxxii. 15. πρόσωπον δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ λόγος, ὃ φωτίζεται ὁ Θεὸς καὶ γνωρίζεται. Compare S. L. 5. DCLXV. 30. ἐντιϋθεὶ πρόσωπον ἵκνται τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ υἱὸς αἰσθήσεων σιντάδι σαρκοφόρος γενόμενος ὁ λόγος, ὁ τοῦ πατρῷου μνηστῆς ιδιώματος. See also the passages quoted in p. 166, Note 2.

⁸ L. 6. dccc. 28. ἐστὶ πρόσωπον μὲν τῆς δικνουμένης ἀληθείας ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ.