

**EARLY CHURCH WRITINGS**

**CLEMENT OF ROME**

**STUDENT OF THE  
APOSTLE PETER**

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## INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE FIRST EPISTLE OF CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS

[A.D. 30-100.] Clement was probably a Gentile and a Roman. He seems to have been at Philippi with St. Paul (A.D. 57) when that first-born of the Western churches was passing through great trials of faith. There, with holy women and others, he ministered to the apostle and to the saints. As this city was a Roman colony, we need not inquire how a Roman happened to be there. He was possibly in some public service, and it is not improbable that he had visited Corinth in those days. From the apostle, and his companion, St. Luke, he had no doubt learned the use of the Septuagint, in which his knowledge of the Greek tongue soon rendered him an adept. His copy of that version, however, does not always agree with the Received Text, as the reader will perceive.

A co-presbyter with Linus and Cletus, he succeeded them in the government of the Roman Church. I have reluctantly adopted the opinion that his Epistle was written near the close of his life, and not just after the persecution of Nero. It is not improbable that Linus and Cletus both perished in that fiery trial, and that Clement's immediate succession to their work and place occasions the chronological difficulties of the period. After the death of the apostles, for the Roman imprisonment and martyrdom of St. Peter seem historical, Clement was the natural representative of St. Paul, and even of his companion, the "apostle of the circumcision; "and naturally he wrote the Epistle in the name of the local church, when brethren looked to them for advice. St. John, no doubt, was still surviving at Patmos or in Ephesus; but the Philippians, whose intercourse with Rome is attested by the visit of Epaphroditus, looked naturally to the surviving friends of their great founder; nor was the aged apostle in the East equally accessible. All roads pointed towards the Imperial City, and started from its *Milliarium Aureum*. But, though Clement doubtless wrote the letter, he conceals his own name, and puts forth the brethren, who seem to have met in council, and sent a brotherly delegation (Chapter 59). The entire absence of the spirit of Diotrephes (3 John 9), and the close accordance of the Epistle, in humility and meekness, with that of St. Peter (1 Peter 5:1-5), are noteworthy features. The whole will be found animated with the loving and faithful spirit of St. Paul's dear Philippians, among whom the writer had learned the Gospel.

Clement fell asleep, probably soon after he despatched his letter. It is the legacy of one who reflects the apostolic age in all the beauty and evangelical truth which were the first-fruits of the Spirit's presence with the Church. He shares with others the aureole of glory attributed by St. Paul (Philippians 4:3), "His name is in the Book of Life."

The plan of this publication does not permit the restoration, in this volume, of the recently discovered portions of his work. It is the purpose of the editor to present this, however, with other recently discovered relics of primitive antiquity, in a supplementary volume, should the undertaking meet with sufficient encouragement. The so-called second Epistle of Clement is now known to be the work of another, and has been relegated to another place in this series. The following is the Introductory Notice of the original editors and translators, Dr. Roberts and Dr Donaldson:

The first Epistle, bearing the name of Clement, has been preserved to us in a single manuscript only. Though very frequently referred to by ancient Christian writers, it

remained unknown to the scholars of Western Europe until happily discovered in the Alexandrian manuscript. This ms. of the Sacred Scriptures (known and generally referred to as Codex A) was presented in 1628 by Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople, to Charles 1, and is now preserved in the British Museum. Subjoined to the books of the New Testament contained in it, there are two writings described as the Epistles of one Clement. Of these, that now before us is the first. It is tolerably perfect, but there are many slight *lacunae*, or gaps, in the ms., and one whole leaf is supposed to have been lost towards the close. These *lacunae*, however, so numerous in some chapters, do not generally extend beyond a word or syllable, and can for the most part be easily supplied.

Who the Clement was to whom these writings are ascribed, cannot with absolute certainty be determined. The general opinion is, that he is the same as the person of that name referred to by St. Paul (Philippians 4:3). The writings themselves contain no statement as to their author. The first, and by far the longer of them, simply purports to have been written in the name of the Church at Rome to the Church at Corinth. But in the catalogue of contents prefixed to the ms. they are both plainly attributed to one Clement; and the judgment of most scholars is, that, in regard to the first Epistle at least, this statement is correct, and that it is to be regarded as an authentic production of the friend and fellow-worker of St. Paul. This belief may be traced to an early period in the history of the Church. It is found in the writings of Eusebius (Hist. Eccl., 3:15), of Origen (Comm. in Joan., 1:29), and others. The internal evidence also tends to support this opinion. The doctrine, style, and manner of thought are all in accordance with it; so that, although, as has been said, positive certainty cannot be reached on the subject, we may with great probability conclude that we have in this Epistle a composition of that Clement who is known to us from Scripture as having been an associate of the great apostle.

The date of this Epistle has been the subject of considerable controversy. It is clear from the writing itself that it was composed soon after some persecution (chapter 1) which the Roman Church had endured; and the only question is, whether we are to fix upon the persecution under Nero or Domitian. If the former, the date will be about the year 68; if the latter, we must place it towards the close of the first century or the beginning of the second. We possess no external aid to the settlement of this question. The lists of early Roman bishops are in hopeless confusion, some making Clement the immediate successor of St. Peter, others placing Linus, and others still Linus and Anacletus, between him and the apostle. The internal evidence, again, leaves the matter doubtful, though it has been strongly pressed on both sides. The probability seems, on the whole, to be in favour of the Domitian period, so that the Epistle may be dated about A.D. 97.

This Epistle was held in very great esteem by the early Church. The account given of it by Eusebius (Hist. Eccl., 3:16) is as follows: "There is one acknowledged Epistle of this Clement (whom he has just identified with the friend of St. Paul), great and admirable, which he wrote in the name of the Church of Rome to the Church at Corinth, sedition having then arisen in the latter Church. We are aware that this Epistle has been publicly read in very many churches both in old times, and also in our own day." The Epistle before us thus appears to have been read in numerous churches, as being almost on a level with the canonical writings. And its place in the Alexandrian

ms., immediately after the inspired books, is in harmony with the position thus assigned it in the primitive Church. There does indeed appear a great difference between it and the inspired writings in many respects, such as the fanciful use sometimes made of Old-Testament statements, the fabulous stories which are accepted by its author, and the general diffuseness and feebleness of style by which it is distinguished. But the high tone of evangelical truth which pervades it, the simple and earnest appeals which it makes to the heart and conscience, and the anxiety which its writer so constantly shows to promote the best interests of the Church of Christ, still impart an undying charm to this precious relic of later apostolic times.

[N.B.-A sufficient guide to the recent literature of the Clementine mss. and discoveries may be found in *The Princeton Review*, 1877, page 325, also in Bishop Wordsworth's succinct but learned *Church History to the Council of Nicaea*, p. 84. The invaluable edition of the *Patres Apostolici*, by Jacobson (Oxford, 1840), with a critical text and rich prolegomena and annotations, cannot be dispensed with by any Patristic inquirer. A. C. C.]

# THE FIRST EPISTLE OF CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS <sup>1</sup>

## Chapter 1

*The Salutation. Praise of the Corinthians Before  
the Breaking Forth of Schism Among Them.*

The Church of God which sojourns at Rome, to the Church of God sojourning at Corinth, to them that are called and sanctified by the will of God, through our Lord Jesus Christ: Grace unto you, and peace, from Almighty God through Jesus Christ, be multiplied.

Owing, dear brethren, to the sudden and successive calamitous events which have happened to ourselves, we feel that we have been somewhat tardy in turning our attention to the points respecting which you consulted us; <sup>2</sup> and especially to that shameful and detestable sedition, utterly abhorrent to the elect of God, which a few rash and self-confident persons have kindled to such a pitch of frenzy, that your venerable and illustrious name, worthy to be universally loved, has suffered grievous injury. <sup>3</sup> For who ever dwelt even for a short time among you, and did not find your faith to be as fruitful of virtue as it was firmly established? <sup>4</sup> Who did not admire the sobriety and moderation of your godliness in Christ? Who did not proclaim the magnificence of your habitual hospitality? And who did not rejoice over your perfect and well-grounded knowledge? For ye did all things without respect of persons, and walked in the commandments of God, being obedient to those who had the rule over you, and giving all fitting honour to the presbyters among you. Ye enjoined young men to be of a sober and serious mind; ye instructed your wives to do all things with a blameless, becoming, and pure conscience, loving their husbands as in duty bound; and ye taught them that, living in the rule of obedience, they should manage their household affairs becomingly, and be in every respect marked by discretion.

## Chapter 2

*Praise of the Corinthians Continued.*

Moreover, ye were all distinguished by humility, and were in no respect puffed up with pride, but yielded obedience rather than extorted it, <sup>5</sup> and were more willing to give than to receive. <sup>6</sup> Content with the provision which God had made for you, and carefully attending to His words, ye were inwardly filled <sup>7</sup> with His doctrine, and His sufferings were before your eyes. Thus a profound and abundant peace was given to you all, and ye had an insatiable desire for doing good, while a full outpouring of the Holy Spirit was upon you all. Full of holy designs, ye did, with true earnestness of mind and a godly confidence, stretch forth your hands to God Almighty, beseeching Him to be merciful unto you, if ye had been guilty of any involuntary transgression. Day and night ye were anxious for the whole brotherhood, <sup>8</sup> that the number of God's elect might be saved with mercy and a good conscience. <sup>9</sup> Ye were sincere and uncorrupted, and forgetful of injuries between one another. Every kind of faction and schism was abominable in your sight. Ye mourned over the transgressions of your neighbours: their deficiencies you deemed your own. Ye never grudged any act of kindness, being "ready to every good work." <sup>10</sup> Adorned by a thoroughly virtuous and

religious life, ye did all things in the fear of God. The commandments and ordinances of the Lord were written upon the tablets of your hearts.<sup>11</sup>

### Chapter 3

#### *The Sad State of the Corinthian Church After Sedition Arose in It from Envy and Emulation.*

Every kind of honour and happiness<sup>12</sup> was bestowed upon you, and then was fulfilled that which is written, “My beloved did eat and drink, and was enlarged and became fat, and kicked.”<sup>13</sup> Hence flowed emulation and envy, strife and sedition, persecution and disorder, war and captivity. So the worthless rose up against the honoured, those of no reputation against such as were renowned, the foolish against the wise, the young against those advanced in years. For this reason righteousness and peace are now far departed from you, inasmuch as every one abandons the fear of God, and is become blind in His faith,<sup>14</sup> neither walks in the ordinances of His appointment, nor acts a part becoming a Christian,<sup>15</sup> but walks after his own wicked lusts, resuming the practice of an unrighteous and ungodly envy, by which death itself entered into the world.<sup>16</sup>

### Chapter 4

#### *Many Evils Have Already Flowed From This Source in Ancient Times.*

For thus it is written: “And it came to pass after certain days, that Cain brought of the fruits of the earth a sacrifice unto God; and Abel also brought of the firstlings of his sheep, and of the fat thereof. And God had respect to Abel and to his offerings, but Cain and his sacrifices He did not regard. And Cain was deeply grieved, and his countenance fell. And God said to Cain, Why art thou grieved, and why is thy countenance fallen? If thou offerest rightly, but dost not divide rightly, hast thou not sinned? Be at peace: thine offering returns to thyself, and thou shalt again possess it. And Cain said to Abel his brother, Let us go into the field. And it came to pass, while they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him.”<sup>17</sup> Ye see, brethren, how envy and jealousy led to the murder of a brother. Through envy, also, our father Jacob fled from the face of Esau his brother.<sup>18</sup> Envy made Joseph be persecuted unto death, and to come into bondage.<sup>19</sup> Envy compelled Moses to flee from the face of Pharaoh king of Egypt, when he heard these words from his fellow-countryman, “Who made thee a judge or a ruler over us? wilt thou kill me, as thou didst kill the Egyptian yesterday?”<sup>20</sup> On account of envy, Aaron and Miriam had to make their abode without the camp.<sup>21</sup> Envy brought down Dathan and Abiram alive to Hades, through the sedition which they excited against God’s servant Moses.<sup>22</sup> Through envy, David underwent the hatred not only of foreigners, but was also persecuted by Saul king of Israel.<sup>23</sup>

### Chapter 5

#### *No Less Evils Have Arisen from the Same Source in the Most Recent Times. The Martyrdom of Peter and Paul.*

But not to dwell upon ancient examples, let us come to the most recent spiritual heroes.<sup>24</sup> Let us take the noble examples furnished in our own generation. Through envy and jealousy, the greatest and most righteous pillars [of the Church] have been

persecuted and put to death.<sup>25</sup> Let us set before our eyes the illustrious<sup>26</sup> apostles. Peter, through unrighteous envy, endured not one or two, but numerous labours and when he had at length suffered martyrdom, departed to the place of glory due to him. Owing to envy, Paul also obtained the reward of patient endurance, after being seven times thrown into captivity,<sup>27</sup> compelled<sup>28</sup> to flee, and stoned. After preaching both in the east and west, he gained the illustrious reputation due to his faith, having taught righteousness to the whole world, and come to the extreme limit of the west,<sup>29</sup> and suffered martyrdom under the prefects.<sup>30</sup> Thus was he removed from the world, and went into the holy place, having proved himself a striking example of patience.

## **Chapter 6**

*Continuation. Several Other Martyrs.*

To these men who spent their lives in the practice of holiness, there is to be added a great multitude of the elect, who, having through envy endured many indignities and tortures, furnished us with a most excellent example. Through envy, those women, the Danaids<sup>31</sup> and Dircae, being persecuted, after they had suffered terrible and unspeakable torments, finished the course of their faith with steadfastness,<sup>32</sup> and though weak in body, received a noble reward. Envy has alienated wives from their husbands, and changed that saying of our father Adam, “This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh.”<sup>33</sup> Envy and strife have overthrown great cities and rooted up mighty nations.

## **Chapter 7**

*An Exhortation to Repentance.*

These things, beloved, we write unto you, not merely to admonish you of your duty, but also to remind ourselves. For we are struggling on the same arena, and the same conflict is assigned to both of us. Wherefore let us give up vain and fruitless cares, and approach to the glorious and venerable rule of our holy calling. Let us attend to what is good, pleasing, and acceptable in the sight of Him who formed us. Let us look steadfastly to the blood of Christ, and see how precious that blood is to God,<sup>34</sup> which, having been shed for our salvation, has set the grace of repentance before the whole world. Let us turn to every age that has passed, and learn that, from generation to generation, the Lord has granted a place of repentance to all such as would be converted unto Him. Noah preached repentance, and as many as listened to him were saved.<sup>35</sup> Jonah proclaimed destruction to the Ninevites;<sup>36</sup> but they, repenting of their sins, propitiated God by prayer, and obtained salvation, although they were aliens [to the covenant] of God.

## **Chapter 8**

*Continuation Respecting Repentance.*

The ministers of the grace of God have, by the Holy Spirit, spoken of repentance; and the Lord of all things has himself declared with an oath regarding it, “As I live, saith the Lord, I desire not the death of the sinner, but rather his repentance;”<sup>37</sup> adding, moreover, this gracious declaration Repent O house of Israel, of your iniquity.<sup>38</sup> Say to the children of My people, Though your sins reach from earth to heaven, I and

though they be redder<sup>39</sup> than scarlet, and blacker than sackcloth, yet if ye turn to Me with your whole heart, and say, Father! I will listen to you, as to a holy<sup>40</sup> people.” And in another place He speaks thus: “Wash you, and become clean; put away the wickedness of your souls from before mine eyes; cease from your evil ways, and learn to do well; seek out judgment, deliver the oppressed, judge the fatherless, and see that justice is done to the widow; and come, and let us reason together. He declares, Though your sins be like crimson, I will make them white as snow; though they be like scarlet, I will whiten them like wool. And if ye be willing and obey Me, ye shall eat the good of the land; but if ye refuse, and will not hearken unto Me, the sword shall devour you, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken these things.”<sup>41</sup> Desiring, therefore, that all His beloved should be partakers of repentance, He has, by His almighty will, established [these declarations].

## **Chapter 9**

### *Examples of the Saints.*

Wherefore, let us yield obedience to His excellent and glorious will; and imploring His mercy and loving-kindness, while we forsake all fruitless labours,<sup>42</sup> and strife, and envy, which leads to death, let us turn and have recourse to His compassions. Let us steadfastly contemplate those who have perfectly ministered to His excellent glory. Let us take (for instance) Enoch, who, being found righteous in obedience, was translated, and death was never known to happen to him.<sup>43</sup> Noah, being found faithful, preached regeneration to the world through his ministry; and the Lord saved by him the animals which, with one accord, entered into the ark.

## **Chapter 10**

### *Continuation of the Above.*

Abraham, styled “the friend,”<sup>44</sup> was found faithful, inasmuch as he rendered obedience to the words of God. He, in the exercise of obedience, went out from his own country, and from his kindred, and from his father’s house, in order that, by forsaking a small territory, and a weak family, and an insignificant house, he might inherit the promises of God. For God said to him, “Get thee out from thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father’s house, into the land which I shall show thee. And I will make thee a great nation, and will bless thee, and make thy name great, and thou shalt be blessed. And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse them that curse thee; and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed.”<sup>45</sup> And again, on his departing from Lot, God said to him. “Lift up thine eyes, and look from the place where thou now art, northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward; for all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever. And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth, [so that] if a man can number the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed also be numbered.”<sup>46</sup> And again [the Scripture] saith, “God brought forth Abram, and spake unto him, Look up now to heaven, and count the stars if thou be able to number them; so shall thy seed be. And Abram believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness.”<sup>47</sup> On account of his faith and hospitality, a son was given him in his old age; and in the exercise of obedience, he offered him as a sacrifice to God on one of the mountains which He showed him.<sup>48</sup>

## Chapter 11

### *Continuation. Lot.*

On account of his hospitality and godliness, Lot was saved out of Sodom when all the country round was punished by means of fire and brimstone, the Lord thus making it manifest that He does not forsake those that hope in Him, but gives up such as depart from Him to punishment and torture.<sup>49</sup> For Lot's wife, who went forth with him, being of a different mind from himself and not continuing in agreement with him [as to the command which had been given them], was made an example of, so as to be a pillar of salt unto this day.<sup>50</sup> This was done that all might know that those who are of a double mind, and who distrust the power of God, bring down judgment on themselves<sup>51</sup> and become a sign to all succeeding generations.

## Chapter 12

### *The Rewards of Faith and Hospitality. Rahab.*

On account of her faith and hospitality, Rahab the harlot was saved. For when spies were sent by Joshua, the son of Nun, to Jericho, the king of the country ascertained that they were come to spy out their land, and sent men to seize them, in order that, when taken, they might be put to death. But the hospitable Rahab receiving them, concealed them on the roof of her house under some stalks of flax. And when the men sent by the king arrived and said "There came men unto thee who are to spy out our land; bring them forth, for so the king commands," she answered them, "The two men whom ye seek came unto me, but quickly departed again and are gone," thus not discovering the spies to them. Then she said to the men, "I know assuredly that the Lord your God hath given you this city, for the fear and dread of you have fallen on its inhabitants. When therefore ye shall have taken it, keep ye me and the house of my father in safety." And they said to her, "It shall be as thou hast spoken to us. As soon, therefore, as thou knowest that we are at hand, thou shall gather all thy family under thy roof, and they shall be preserved, but all that are found outside of thy dwelling shall perish."<sup>52</sup> Moreover, they gave her a sign to this effect, that she should hang forth from her house a scarlet thread. And thus they made it manifest that redemption should flow through the blood of the Lord to all them that believe and hope in God.<sup>53</sup> Ye see, beloved, that there was not only faith, but prophecy, in this woman.

## Chapter 13

### *An Exhortation to Humility.*

Let us therefore, brethren, be of humble mind, laying aside all haughtiness, and pride, and foolishness, and angry feelings; and let us act according to that which is written (for the Holy Spirit saith, "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, neither let the rich man glory in his riches; but let him that glorieth glory in the Lord, in diligently seeking Him, and doing judgment and righteousness"<sup>54</sup>), being especially mindful of the words of the Lord Jesus which He spake, teaching us meekness and longsuffering. For thus He spoke: "Be ye merciful, that ye may obtain mercy; forgive, that it may be forgiven to you; as ye do, so shall it be done unto you; as ye judge, so shall ye be judged; as ye are kind, so shall kindness be shown to you; with what measure ye mete, with the same it shall be measured to

you.”<sup>55</sup> By this precept and by these rules let us establish ourselves, that we walk with all humility in obedience to His holy words. For the holy word saith, “On whom shall I look, but on him that is meek and peaceable, and that trembleth at My words?”<sup>56</sup>

### **Chapter 14**

*We Should Obey God Rather Than the Authors of Sedition.*

It is right and holy therefore, men and brethren, rather to obey God than to follow those who, through pride and sedition, have become the leaders of a detestable emulation. For we shall incur no slight injury, but rather great danger, if we rashly yield ourselves to the inclinations of men who aim at exciting strife and tumults, so as to draw us away from what is good. Let us be kind one to another after the pattern of the tender mercy and benignity of our Creator. For it is written, “The kind-hearted shall inhabit the land, and the guiltless shall be left upon it, but transgressors shall be destroyed from off the face of it.”<sup>57</sup> And again [the Scripture] saith, “I saw the ungodly highly exalted, and lifted up like the cedars of Lebanon: I passed by, and, behold, he was not; and I diligently sought his place, and could not find it. Preserve innocence, and look on equity: for there shall be a remnant to the peaceful man.”<sup>58</sup>

### **Chapter 15**

*We Must Adhere to Those Who Cultivate Peace,  
Not to Those Who Merely Pretend to Do So*

Let us cleave, therefore, to those who cultivate peace with godliness, and not to those who hypocritically profess to desire it. For [the Scripture] saith in a certain place, “This people honoureth Me with their lips, but their heart is far from Me.”<sup>59</sup> And again: “They bless with their mouth, but curse with their heart.”<sup>60</sup> And again it saith, “They loved Him with their mouth, and lied to Him with their tongue; but their heart was not right with Him, neither were they faithful in His covenant.”<sup>61</sup> “Let the deceitful lips become silent,”<sup>62</sup> [and “let the Lord destroy all the lying lips,”<sup>63</sup>] and the boastful tongue of those who have said, Let us magnify our tongue; our lips are our own; who is lord over us? For the oppression of the poor, and for the sighing of the needy, will I now arise, saith the Lord: I will place him in safety; I will deal confidently with him.<sup>64</sup>

### **Chapter 16**

*Christ as an Example of Humility.*

For Christ is of those who are humble-minded, and not of those who exalt themselves over His flock. Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Sceptre of the majesty of God, did not come in the pomp of pride or arrogance, although He might have done so, but in a lowly condition, as the Holy Spirit had declared regarding Him. For He says, “Lord, who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? We have declared [our message] in His presence: He is, as it were, a child, and like a root in thirsty ground; He has no form nor glory, yea, we saw Him, and He had no form nor comeliness; but His form was without eminence, yea, deficient in comparison with the [ordinary] form of men. He is a man exposed to stripes and suffering, anti acquainted with the endurance of grief: for His countenance was turned away; He was despised, and not esteemed. He bears our iniquities, and is in sorrow for our sakes; yet we

supposed that [on His own account] He was exposed to labour, and stripes, and affliction. But He was wounded for our transgressions, and bruised for our iniquities. The chastisement of our peace was upon Him, and by His stripes we were healed. All we, like sheep, have gone astray; [every] man has wandered in his own way; and the Lord has delivered Him up for our sins, while He in the midst of His sufferings openeth not His mouth. He was brought as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before her shearer is dumb, so He openeth not His mouth. In His humiliation His judgment was taken away; who shall declare His generation? for His life is taken from the earth. For the transgressions of my people was He brought down to death. And I will give the wicked for His sepulchre, and the rich for His death,<sup>65</sup> because He did no iniquity, neither was guile found in His mouth. And the Lord is pleased to purify Him by stripes.<sup>66</sup> If ye make<sup>67</sup> an offering for sin, your soul shall see a long-lived seed. And the Lord is pleased to relieve Him of the affliction of His soul, to show Him light, and to form Him with understanding,<sup>68</sup> to justify the Just One who ministereth well to many; and the Himself shall carry their sins. On this account He shall inherit many, and shall divide the spoil of the strong; because His soul was delivered to death, and He was reckoned among the transgressors, and He bare the sins of many, and for their sins was He delivered.”<sup>69</sup> And again He saith, “I am a worm, and no man; a reproach of men, and despised of the people. All that see Me have derided Me; they have spoken with their lips; they have wagged their head, [saying] He hoped in God, let Him deliver Him, let Him save Him, since He delighteth in Him.”<sup>70</sup> Ye see, beloved, what is the example which has been given us; for if the Lord thus humbled Himself, what shall we do who have through Him come under the yoke of His grace?

## Chapter 17

### *The Saints as Examples of Humility.*

Let us be imitators also of those who in goat-skins and sheep-skins<sup>71</sup> went about proclaiming the coming of Christ; I mean Elijah, Elisha, and Ezekiel among the prophets, with those others to whom a like testimony is borne [in Scripture]. Abraham was specially honoured, and was called the friend of God; yet he, earnestly regarding the glory of God, humbly declared, “I am but dust and ashes.”<sup>72</sup> Moreover, it is thus written of Job, “Job was a righteous man, and blameless, truthful, God-fearing, and one that kept himself from all evil.”<sup>73</sup> But bringing an accusation against himself, he said, “No man is free from defilement, even if his life be but of one day.”<sup>74</sup> Moses was called faithful in all God’s house;<sup>75</sup> and through his instrumentality, God punished Egypt<sup>76</sup> with plagues and tortures. Yet he, though thus greatly honoured, did not adopt lofty language, but said, when the divine oracle came to him out of the bush, “Who am I, that Thou sendest me? I am a man of a feeble voice and a slow tongue.”<sup>77</sup> And again he said, “I am but as the smoke of a pot.”<sup>78</sup>

## Chapter 18

### *David as an Example of Humility.*

But what shall we say concerning David, to whom such testimony was borne, and of whom<sup>79</sup> God said, “I have found a man after Mine own heart, David the son of Jesse; and in everlasting mercy have I anointed him?”<sup>80</sup> Yet this very man saith to God, “Have mercy on me, O Lord, according to Thy great mercy; and according to the multitude of Thy compassions, blot out my transgression. Wash me still more from

mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin. For I acknowledge my iniquity, and my sin is ever before me. Against Thee only have I sinned, and done that which was evil in Thy sight; that Thou mayest be justified in Thy sayings, and mayest overcome when Thou<sup>81</sup> art judged. For, behold, I was conceived in transgressions, and in my sins did my mother conceive me. For, behold, Thou hast loved truth; the secret and hidden things of wisdom hast Thou shown me. Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be cleansed; Thou shalt wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow. Thou shalt make me to hear joy and gladness; my bones, which have been humbled, shall exult. Turn away Thy face from my sins, and blot out all mine iniquities. Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me.<sup>82</sup> Cast me not away from Thy presence, and take not Thy Holy Spirit from me. Restore to me the joy of Thy salvation, and establish me by Thy governing Spirit. I will teach transgressors Thy ways, and the ungodly shall be converted unto Thee. Deliver me from blood-guiltiness,<sup>83</sup> O God, the God of my salvation: my tongue shall exult in Thy righteousness. O Lord, Thou shalt open my mouth, and my lips shall show forth Thy praise. For if Thou hadst desired sacrifice, I would have given it; Thou wilt not delight in burnt-offerings. The sacrifice [acceptable] to God is a bruised spirit; a broken and a contrite heart God will not despise.”<sup>84</sup>

## Chapter 19

*Imitating These Examples, Let Us Seek After Peace.*

Thus the humility and godly submission of so great and illustrious men have rendered not only us, but also all the generations before us, better; even as many as have received His oracles in fear and truth. Wherefore, having so many great and glorious examples set before us, let us turn again to the practice of that peace which from the beginning was the mark set before us;<sup>85</sup> and let us look steadfastly to the Father and Creator of the universe, and cleave to His mighty and surpassingly great gifts and benefactions, of peace. Let us contemplate Him with our understanding, and look with the eyes of our soul to His longsuffering will. Let us reflect how free from wrath He is towards all His creation.

## Chapter 20

*The Peace and Harmony of the Universe.*

The heavens, revolving under His government, are subject to Him in peace. Day and night run the course appointed by Him, in no wise hindering each other. The sun and moon, with the companies of the stars, roll on in harmony according to His command, within their prescribed limits, and without any deviation. The fruitful earth, according to His will, brings forth food in abundance, at the proper seasons, for man and beast and all the living beings upon it, never hesitating, nor changing any of the ordinances which He has fixed. The unsearchable places of abysses, and the indescribable arrangements of the lower world, are restrained by the same laws. The vast unmeasurable sea, gathered together by His working into various basins,<sup>86</sup> never passes beyond the bounds placed around it, but does as He has commanded. For He said, “Thus far shalt thou come, and thy waves shall be broken within thee.”<sup>87</sup> The ocean, impassible to man, and the worlds beyond it, are regulated by the same enactments of the Lord. The seasons of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, peacefully give place to one another. The winds in their several quarters<sup>88</sup> fulfil, at the proper time, their service without hindrance. The ever-flowing fountains, formed both

for enjoyment and health, furnish without fail their breasts for the life of men. The very smallest of living beings meet together in peace and concord. All these the great Creator and Lord of all has appointed to exist in peace and harmony; while He does good to all, but most abundantly to us who have fled for refuge to His compassions through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory and majesty for ever and ever. Amen.

## Chapter 21

*Let Us Obey God, and Not the Authors of Sedition.*

Take heed, beloved, lest His many kindnesses lead to the condemnation of us all. [For thus it must be] unless we walk worthy of Him, and with one mind do those things which are good and well-pleasing in His sight. For [the Scripture] saith in a certain place, “The Spirit of the Lord is a candle searching the secret parts of the belly.”<sup>89</sup> Let us reflect how near He is, and that none of the thoughts or reasonings in which we engage are hid from Him. It is right, therefore, that we should not leave the post which His will has assigned us. Let us rather offend those men who are foolish, and inconsiderate, and lifted up, and who glory in the pride of their speech, than [offend] God. Let us reverence the Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood was given for us; let us esteem those who have the rule over us;<sup>90</sup> let us honour the aged<sup>91</sup> among us; let us train up the young men in the fear of God; let us direct our wives to that which is good. Let them exhibit the lovely habit of purity [in all their conduct]; let them show forth the sincere disposition of meekness; let them make manifest the command which they have of their tongue, by their manner<sup>92</sup> of speaking; let them display their love, not by preferring<sup>93</sup> one to another, but by showing equal affection to all that piously fear God. Let your children be partakers of true Christian training; let them learn of how great avail humility is with God - how much the spirit of pure affection can prevail with Him - how excellent and great His fear is, and how it saves all those who walk in<sup>94</sup> it with a pure mind. For He is a Searcher of the thoughts and desires [of the heart]: His breath is in us; and when He pleases, He will take it away.

## Chapter 22

*These Exhortations are Confirmed by the Christian Faith, Which Proclaims the Misery of Sinful Conduct.*

Now the faith which is in Christ confirms all these [admonitions]. For He Himself by the Holy Ghost thus addresses us: “Come, ye children, hearken unto Me; I will teach you the fear of the Lord. What man is he that desireth life, and loveth to see good days? Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile. Depart from evil, and do good; seek peace, and pursue it. The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, and His ears are [open] unto their prayers. The face of the Lord is against them that do evil, to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth. The righteous cried, and the Lord heard him, and delivered him out of all his troubles.”<sup>95</sup> “Many are the stripes [appointed for] the wicked; but mercy shall compass those about who hope in the Lord.”<sup>96</sup>

## Chapter 23

*Be Humble, and Believe that Christ Will Come Again.*

The all-merciful and beneficent Father has bowels [of compassion] towards those that fear Him, and kindly and lovingly bestows His favours upon those who come to Him with a simple mind. Wherefore let us not be double-minded; neither let our soul be lifted<sup>97</sup> up on account of His exceedingly great and glorious gifts. Far from us be that which is written, “Wretched are they who are of a double mind, and of a doubting heart; who say, These things we have heard even in the times of our fathers; but, behold, we have grown old, and none of them has happened unto us.”<sup>98</sup> Ye foolish ones! compare yourselves to a tree: take [for instance] the vine. First of all, it sheds its leaves, then it buds, next it puts forth leaves, and then it flowers; after that comes the sour grape, and then follows the ripened fruit. Ye perceive how in a little time the fruit of a tree comes to maturity. Of a truth, soon and suddenly shall His will be accomplished, as the Scripture also bears witness, saying, “Speedily will He come, and will not tarry;”<sup>99</sup> and, “The Lord shall suddenly come to His temple, even the Holy One, for whom ye look.”<sup>100</sup>

## Chapter 24

*God Continually Shows Us in Nature That There Will Be a Resurrection.*

Let us consider, beloved, how the Lord continually proves to us that there shall be a future resurrection, of which He has rendered the Lord Jesus Christ the first-fruits<sup>101</sup> by raising Him from the dead. Let us contemplate, beloved, the resurrection which is at all times taking place. Day and night declare to us a resurrection. The night sinks to sleep, and the day arises; the day [again] departs, and the night comes on. Let us behold the fruits [of the earth], how the sowing of grain takes place. The sower<sup>102</sup> goes forth, and casts it into the ground; and the seed being thus scattered, though dry and naked when it fell upon the earth, is gradually dissolved. Then out of its dissolution the mighty power of the providence of the Lord raises it up again, and from one seed many arise and bring forth fruit.

## Chapter 25

*The Phoenix an Emblem of Our Resurrection.*

Let us consider that wonderful sign [of the resurrection] which takes place in Eastern lands, that is, in Arabia and the countries round about. There is a certain bird which is called a phoenix. This is the only one of its kind, and lives five hundred years. And when the time of its dissolution draws near that it must die, it builds itself a nest of frankincense, and myrrh, and other spices, into which, when the time is fulfilled, it enters and dies. But as the flesh decays a certain kind of worm is produced, which, being nourished by the juices of the dead bird, brings forth feathers. Then, when it has acquired strength, it takes up that nest in which are the bones of its parent, and bearing these it passes from the land of Arabia into Egypt, to the city called Heliopolis. And, in open day, flying in the sight of all men, it places them on the altar of the sun, and having done this, hastens back to its former abode. The priests then inspect the registers of the dates, and find that it has returned exactly as the five hundredth year was completed.<sup>103</sup>

## Chapter 26

*We Shall Rise Again, Then, as the Scripture Also Testifies.*

Do we then deem it any great and wonderful thing for the Maker of all things to raise up again those that have piously served Him in the assurance of a good faith, when even by a bird He shows us the mightiness of His power to fulfil His promise?<sup>104</sup> For [the Scripture] saith in a certain place, “Thou shalt raise me up, and I shall confess unto Thee;”<sup>105</sup> and again, “I laid me down, and slept; I awaked, because Thou art with me;”<sup>106</sup> and again, Job says, “Thou shalt raise up this flesh of mine, which has suffered all these things.”<sup>107</sup>

## Chapter 27

*In the Hope of the Resurrection, Let Us  
Cleave to the Omnipotent and Omniscient God.*

Having then this hope, let our souls be bound to Him who is faithful in His promises, and just in His judgments. He who has commanded us not to lie, shall much more Himself not lie; for nothing is impossible with God, except to lie.<sup>108</sup> Let His faith therefore be stirred up again within us, and let us consider that all things are nigh unto Him. By the word of His might<sup>109</sup> He established all things, and by His word He can overthrow them. “Who shall say unto Him, What hast thou done? or, Who shall resist the power of His strength?”<sup>110</sup> When and as He pleases He will do all things, and none of the things determined by Him shall pass away.<sup>111</sup> All things are open before Him, and nothing can be hidden from His counsel. “The heavens<sup>112</sup> declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth His handy-work. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge. And there are no words or speeches of which the voices are not heard.”<sup>113</sup>

## Chapter 28

*God Sees All Things: Therefore Let Us Avoid Transgression.*

Since then all things are seen and heard [by God], let us fear Him, and forsake those wicked works which proceed from evil desires;<sup>114</sup> so that, through His mercy, we may be protected from the judgments to come. For whither can any of us flee from His mighty hand? Or what world will receive any of those who run away from Him? For the Scripture saith in a certain place, “Whither shall I go, and where shall I be hid from Thy presence? If I ascend into heaven, Thou art there; if I go away even to the uttermost parts of the earth, there is Thy right hand; if I make my bed in the abyss, there is Thy Spirit.”<sup>115</sup> Whither, then, shall any one go, or where shall he escape from Him who comprehends all things?

## Chapter 29

*Let Us Also Draw Near to God in Purity of Heart.*

Let us then draw near to Him with holiness of spirit, lifting up pure and undefiled hands unto Him, loving our gracious and merciful Father, who has made us partakers in the blessings of His elect.<sup>116</sup> For thus it is written, “When the Most High divided the nations, when He scattered<sup>117</sup> the sons of Adam, He fixed the bounds of the nations

according to the number of the angels of God. His people Jacob became the portion of the Lord, and Israel the lot of His inheritance.”<sup>118</sup> And in another place [the Scripture] saith, “Behold, the Lord taketh unto Himself a nation out of the midst of the nations, as a man takes the first-fruits of his threshing-floor; and from that nation shall come forth the Most Holy.”<sup>119</sup>

### Chapter 30

*Let Us Do Those Things that Please God, and  
Flee from Those He Hates, that We May Be Blessed.*

Seeing, therefore, that we are the portion of the Holy One, let us do all those things which pertain to holiness, avoiding all evil-speaking, all abominable and impure embraces, together with all drunkenness, seeking after change,<sup>120</sup> all abominable lusts, detestable adultery, and execrable pride. “For God,” saith [the Scripture], “resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.”<sup>121</sup> Let us cleave, then, to those to whom grace has been given by God. Let us clothe ourselves with concord and humility, ever exercising self-control, standing far off from all whispering and evil-speaking, being justified by our works, and not our words. For [the Scripture] saith, “He that speaketh much, shall also hear much in answer. And does he that is ready in speech deem himself righteous? Blessed is he that is born of woman, who liveth but a short time: be not given to much speaking.”<sup>122</sup> Let our praise be in God, and not of ourselves; for God hateth those that commend themselves. Let testimony to our good deeds be borne by others, as it was in the case of our righteous forefathers. Boldness, and arrogance, and audacity belong to those that are accursed of God; but moderation, humility, and meekness to such as are blessed by Him.

### Chapter 31

*Let Us See by What Means We May Obtain the Divine Blessing.*

Let us cleave then to His blessing, and consider what are the means<sup>123</sup> of possessing it. Let us think<sup>124</sup> over the things which have taken place from the beginning. For what reason was our father Abraham blessed? was it not because he wrought righteousness and truth through faith?<sup>125</sup> Isaac, with perfect confidence, as if knowing what was to happen,<sup>126</sup> cheerfully yielded himself as a sacrifice<sup>127</sup> Jacob, through reason<sup>128</sup> of his brother, went forth with humility from his own land, and came to Laban and served him; and there was given to him the sceptre of the twelve tribes of Israel.

### Chapter 32

*We are Justified Not by Our Own Works, But by Faith.*

Whosoever will candidly consider each particular, will recognise the greatness of the gifts which were given by him.<sup>129</sup> For from him<sup>130</sup> have sprung the priests and all the Levites who minister at the altar of God. From him also [was descended] our Lord Jesus Christ according to the flesh.<sup>131</sup> From him [arose] kings, princes, and rulers of the race of Judah. Nor are his other tribes in small glory, inasmuch as God had promised, “Thy seed shall be as the stars of heaven.”<sup>132</sup> All these, therefore, were highly honoured, and made great, not for their own sake, or for their own works, or for the righteousness which they wrought, but through the operation of His will. And

we, too, being called by His will in Christ Jesus, are not justified by ourselves, nor by our own wisdom, or understanding, or godliness, or works which we have wrought in holiness of heart; but by that faith through which, from the beginning, Almighty God has justified all men; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

### Chapter 33

*But Let Us Not Owe Up the Practice of Good Works and Love. God Himself is an Example to Us of Good Works.*

What shall we do, then, brethren? Shall we become slothful in well-doing, and cease from the practice of love? God forbid that any such course should be followed by us! But rather let us hasten with all energy and readiness of mind to perform every good work. For the Creator and Lord of all Himself rejoices in His works. For by His infinitely great power He established the heavens, and by His incomprehensible wisdom He adorned them. He also divided the earth from the water which surrounds it, and fixed it upon the immovable foundation of His own will. The animals also which are upon it He commanded by His own word<sup>133</sup> into existence. So likewise, when He had formed the sea, and the living creatures which are in it, He enclosed them [within their proper bounds] by His own power. Above all,<sup>134</sup> with His holy and undefiled hands He formed man, the most excellent [of His creatures], and truly great through the understanding given him - the express likeness of His own image. For thus says God: "Let us make man in Our image, and after Our likeness. So God made man; male and female He created them."<sup>135</sup> Having thus finished all these things, He approved them, and blessed them, and said, "Increase and multiply."<sup>136</sup> We see,<sup>137</sup> then, how all righteous men have been adorned with good works, and how the Lord Himself, adorning Himself with His works, rejoiced. Having therefore such an example, let us without delay accede to His will, and let us work the work of righteousness with our whole strength.

### Chapter 34

*Great is the Reward of Good Works with God. Joined Together in Harmony, Let Us Implore that Reward from Him.*

The good servant<sup>138</sup> receives the bread of his labour with confidence; the lazy and slothful cannot look his employer in the face. It is requisite, therefore, that we be prompt in the practice of well-doing; for of Him are all things. And thus He forewarns us: "Behold, the Lord [cometh], and His reward is before His face, to render to every man according to his work."<sup>139</sup> He exhorts us, therefore, with our whole heart to attend to this,<sup>140</sup> that we be not lazy or slothful in any good work. Let our boasting and our confidence be in Him. Let us submit ourselves to His will. Let us consider the whole multitude of His angels, how they stand ever ready to minister to His will. For the Scripture saith, "Ten thousand times ten thousand stood around Him, and thousands of thousands ministered unto Him,<sup>141</sup> and cried, Holy, holy, holy, [is] the Lord of Sabaoth; the whole creation is full of His glory."<sup>142</sup> And let us therefore, conscientiously gathering together in harmony, cry to Him earnestly, as with one mouth, that we may be made partakers of His great and glorious promises. For [the Scripture] saith, "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which He hath prepared for them that wait for Him."<sup>143</sup>

## Chapter 35

### *Immense is This Reward. How Shall We Obtain It?*

How blessed and wonderful, beloved, are the gifts of God! Life in immortality, splendour in righteousness, truth in perfect confidence,<sup>144</sup> faith in assurance, self-control in holiness! And all these fall under the cognisance of our understandings [now]; what then shall those things be which are prepared for such as wait for Him? The Creator and Father of all worlds,<sup>145</sup> the Most Holy, alone knows their amount and their beauty. Let us therefore earnestly strive to be found in the number of those that wait for Him, in order that we may share in His promised gifts. But how, beloved, shall this be done? If our understanding be fixed by faith rewards God; if we earnestly seek the things which are pleasing and acceptable to Him; if we do the things which are in harmony with His blameless will; and if we follow the way of truth, casting away from us all unrighteousness and iniquity, along with all covetousness, strife, evil practices, deceit, whispering, and evil-speaking, all hatred of God, pride and haughtiness, vainglory and ambition.<sup>146</sup> For they that do such things are hateful to God; and not only they that do them, but also those that take pleasure in them that do them.<sup>147</sup> For the Scripture saith, “But to the sinner God said, Wherefore dost thou declare my statutes, and take my covenant into thy mouth, seeing thou hatest instruction, and castest my words behind thee? When thou sawest a thief, thou consentedst with<sup>148</sup> him, and didst make thy portion with adulterers. Thy mouth has abounded with wickedness, and thy tongue contrived<sup>149</sup> deceit. Thou sittest, and speakest against thy brother; thou slanderest<sup>150</sup> thine own mother’s son. These things thou hast done, and I kept silence; thou thoughtest, wicked one, that I should be like to thyself. But I will reprove thee, and set thyself before thee. Consider now these things, ye that forget God, lest He tear you in pieces, like a lion, and there be none to deliver. The sacrifice of praise will glorify Me, and a way is there by which I will show him the salvation of God.”<sup>151</sup>

## Chapter 36

### *All Blessings are Given to Us Through Christ.*

This is the way, beloved, in which we find our Saviour,<sup>152</sup> even Jesus Christ, the High Priest of all our offerings, the defender and helper of our infirmity. By Him we look up to the heights of heaven. By Him we behold, as in a glass, His immaculate and most excellent visage. By Him are the eyes of our hearts opened. By Him our foolish and darkened understanding blossoms<sup>153</sup> up anew towards His marvellous light. By Him the Lord has willed that we should taste of immortal knowledge,<sup>154</sup> “who, being the brightness of His majesty, is by so much greater than the angels, as He hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they.”<sup>155</sup> For it is thus written, “Who maketh His angels spirits, and His ministers a flame of fire.”<sup>156</sup> But concerning His Son<sup>157</sup> the Lord spoke thus: “Thou art my Son, today have I begotten Thee. Ask of Me, and I will give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession.”<sup>158</sup> And again He saith to Him, “Sit Thou at My right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool.”<sup>159</sup> But who are His enemies? All the wicked, and those who set themselves to oppose the will of God.<sup>160</sup>

## Chapter 37

*Christ is Our Leader, and We His Soldiers.*

Let us then, men and brethren, with all energy act the part of soldiers, in accordance with His holy commandments. Let us consider those who serve under our generals, with what order, obedience, and submissiveness they perform the things which are commanded them. All are not prefects, nor commanders of a thousand, nor of a hundred, nor of fifty, nor the like, but each one in his own rank performs the things commanded by the king and the generals. The great cannot subsist without the small, nor the small without the great. There is a kind of mixture in all things, and thence arises mutual advantage.<sup>161</sup> Let us take our body for an example.<sup>162</sup> The head is nothing without the feet, and the feet are nothing without the head; yea, the very smallest members of our body are necessary and useful to the whole body. But all work<sup>163</sup> harmoniously together, and are under one common rule<sup>164</sup> for the preservation of the whole body.

## Chapter 38

*Let the Members of the Church Submit Themselves,  
and No One Exalt Himself Above Another.*

Let our whole body, then, be preserved in, Christ Jesus; and let every one be subject to his neighbour, according to the special gift<sup>165</sup> bestowed upon him. Let the strong not despise the weak, and let the weak show respect unto the strong. Let the rich man provide for the wants of the poor; and let the poor man bless God, because He hath given him one by whom his need may be supplied. Let the wise man display his wisdom, not by [mere] words, but through good deeds. Let the humble not bear testimony to himself, but leave witness to be borne to him by another.<sup>166</sup> Let him that is pure in the flesh not grow proud<sup>167</sup> of it, and boast, knowing that it was another who bestowed on him the gift of continence. Let us consider, then, brethren, of what matter we were made - who and what manner of beings we came into the world, as it were out of a sepulchre, and from utter darkness.<sup>168</sup> He who made us and fashioned us, having prepared His bountiful gifts for us before we were born, introduced us into His world. Since, therefore, we receive all these things from Him, we ought for everything to give Him thanks; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

## Chapter 39

*There is No Reason for Self-Conceit.*

Foolish and inconsiderate men, who have neither wisdom<sup>169</sup> nor instruction, mock and deride us, being eager to exalt themselves in their own conceits. For what can a mortal man do? or what strength is there in one made out of the dust? For it is written, "There was no shape before mine eyes, only I heard a sound,<sup>170</sup> and a voice [saying], What then? Shall a man be pure before the Lord? or shall such an one be [counted] blameless in his deeds, seeing He does not confide in His servants, and has charged<sup>171</sup> even His angels with perversity? The heaven is not clean in His sight: how much less they that dwell in houses of clay, of which also we ourselves were made! He smote them as a moth; and from morning even until evening they endure not. Because they could furnish no assistance to themselves, they perished. He breathed upon them, and they

died, because they had no wisdom. But call now, if any one will answer thee, or if thou wilt look to any of the holy angels; for wrath destroys the foolish man, and envy killeth him that is in error. I have seen the foolish taking root, but their habitation was presently consumed. Let their sons be far from safety; let them be despised<sup>172</sup> before the gates of those less than themselves, and there shall be none to deliver. For what was prepared for them, the righteous shall eat; and they shall not be delivered from evil.”<sup>173</sup>

## **Chapter 40**

*Let Us Preserve in the Church the Order Appointed by God.*

These things therefore being manifest to us, and since we look into the depths of the divine knowledge, it behoves us to do all things in [their proper] order, which the Lord has commanded us to perform at stated times.<sup>174</sup> He has enjoined offerings [to be presented] and service to be performed [to Him], and that not thoughtlessly or irregularly, but at the appointed times and hours. Where and by whom He desires these things to be done, He Himself has fixed by His own supreme will, in order that all things being piously done according to His good pleasure, may be acceptable unto Him.<sup>175</sup> Those, therefore, who present their offerings at the appointed times, are accepted and blessed; for inasmuch as they follow the laws of the Lord, they sin not. For his own peculiar services are assigned to the high priest, and their own proper place is prescribed to the priests, and their own special ministrations devolve on the Levites. The layman is bound by the laws that pertain to laymen.

## **Chapter 41**

*Continuation of the Same Subject.*

Let every one of you, brethren, give thanks to God in his own order, living in all good conscience, with becoming gravity, and not going beyond the rule of the ministry prescribed to him. Not in every place, brethren, are the daily sacrifices offered, or the peace-offerings, or the sin-offerings and the trespass-offerings, but in Jerusalem only. And even there they are not offered in any place, but only at the altar before the temple, that which is offered being first carefully examined by the high priest and the ministers already mentioned. Those, therefore, who do anything beyond that which is agreeable to His will, are punished with death. Ye see,<sup>176</sup> brethren, that the greater the knowledge that has been vouchsafed to us, the greater also is the danger to which we are exposed.

## **Chapter 42**

*The Order of Ministers in the Church.*

The apostles have preached the Gospel to us from<sup>177</sup> the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ [has done so] from<sup>178</sup> God. Christ therefore was sent forth by God, and the apostles by Christ. Both these appointments,<sup>179</sup> then, were made in an orderly way, according to the will of God. Having therefore received their orders, and being fully assured by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and established<sup>180</sup> in the word of God, with full assurance of the Holy Ghost, they went forth proclaiming that the kingdom of God was at hand. And thus preaching through countries and cities, they

appointed the first-fruits [of their labours], having first proved them by the Spirit, <sup>181</sup> to be bishops and deacons of those who should afterwards believe. Nor was this any new thing, since indeed many ages before it was written concerning bishops and deacons. For thus saith the Scripture in a certain place, “I will appoint their bishops <sup>182</sup> in righteousness, and their deacons <sup>183</sup> in faith.”<sup>184</sup>

### Chapter 43

#### *Moses of Old Stilled the Contention Which Arose Concerning the Priestly Dignity.*

And what wonder is it if those in Christ who were entrusted with such a duty by God, appointed those [ministers] before mentioned, when the blessed Moses also, “a faithful servant in all his house,” <sup>185</sup> noted down in the sacred books all the injunctions which were given him, and when the other prophets also followed him, bearing witness with one consent to the ordinances which he had appointed? For, when rivalry arose concerning the priesthood, and the tribes were contending among themselves as to which of them should be adorned with that glorious title, he commanded the twelve princes of the tribes to bring him their rods, each one being inscribed with the name <sup>186</sup> of the tribe. And he took them and bound them [together], and sealed them with the rings of the princes of the tribes, and laid them up in the tabernacle of witness on the table of God. And having shut the doors of the tabernacle, he sealed the keys, as he had done the rods, and said to them, Men and brethren, the tribe whose rod shall blossom has God chosen to fulfil the office of the priesthood, and to minister unto Him. And when the morning was come, he assembled all Israel, six hundred thousand men, and showed the seals to the princes of the tribes, and opened the tabernacle of witness, and brought forth the rods. And the rod of Aaron was found not only to have blossomed, but to bear fruit upon it. <sup>187</sup> What think ye, beloved? Did not Moses know beforehand that this would happen? Undoubtedly he knew; but he acted thus, that there might be no sedition in Israel, and that the name of the true and only God might be glorified; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

### Chapter 44

#### *The Ordinances of the Apostles, That There Might Be No Contention Respecting the Priestly Office.*

Our apostles also knew, through our Lord Jesus Christ, and there would be strife on account of the office <sup>188</sup> of the episcopate. For this reason, therefore, inasmuch as they had obtained a perfect fore-knowledge of this, they appointed those [ministers] already mentioned, and afterwards gave instructions, <sup>189</sup> that when these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed them in their ministry. We are of opinion, therefore, that those appointed by them, <sup>190</sup> or afterwards by other eminent men, with the consent of the whole Church, and who have blamelessly served the flock of Christ in a humble, peaceable, and disinterested spirit, and have for a long time possessed the good opinion of all, cannot be justly dismissed from the ministry. For our sin will not be small, if we eject from the episcopate <sup>191</sup> those who have blamelessly and holily fulfilled its duties. <sup>192</sup> Blessed are those presbyters who, having finished their course before now, have obtained a fruitful and perfect departure [from this world]; for they have no fear lest any one deprive them of the place now appointed them. But we see

that ye have removed some men of excellent behaviour from the ministry, which they fulfilled blamelessly and with honour.

## Chapter 45

*It is the Part of the Wicked to Vex the Righteous.*

Ye are fond of contention, brethren, and full of zeal about things which do not pertain to salvation. Look carefully into the Scriptures, which are the true utterances of the Holy Spirit. Observe<sup>193</sup> that nothing of an unjust or counterfeit character is written in them. There<sup>194</sup> you will not find that the righteous were cast off by men who themselves were holy. The righteous were indeed persecuted, but only by the wicked. They were cast into prison, but only by the unholy; they were stoned, but only by transgressors; they were slain, but only by the accursed, and such as had conceived an unrighteous envy against them. Exposed to such sufferings, they endured them gloriously. For what shall we say, brethren? Was Daniel<sup>195</sup> cast into the den of lions by such as feared God? Were Ananias, and Azarias, and Mishael shut up in a furnace<sup>196</sup> of fire by those who observed<sup>197</sup> the great and glorious worship of the Most High? Far from us be such a thought! Who, then, were they that did such things? The hateful, and those full of all wickedness, were roused to such a pitch of fury, that they inflicted torture on those who served God with a holy and blameless purpose [of heart], not knowing that the Most High is the Defender and Protector of all such as with a pure conscience venerate<sup>198</sup> His all-excellent name; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen. But they who with confidence endured [these things] are now heirs of glory and honour, and have been exalted and made illustrious<sup>199</sup> by God in their memorial for ever and ever. Amen.

## Chapter 46

*Let Us Cleave to the Righteous: Your Strife is Pernicious.*

Such examples, therefore, brethren, it is right that we should follow;<sup>200</sup> since it is written, "Cleave to the holy, for those that cleave to them shall [themselves] be made holy."<sup>201</sup> And again, in another place, [the Scripture] saith, "With a harmless man thou shalt prove<sup>202</sup> thyself harmless, and with an elect man thou shalt be elect, and with a perverse man thou shalt show<sup>203</sup> thyself perverse."<sup>204</sup> Let us cleave, therefore, to the innocent and righteous, since these are the elect of God. Why are there strifes, and tumults, and divisions, and schisms, and wars<sup>205</sup> among you? Have we not [all] one God and one Christ? Is there not one Spirit of grace poured out upon us? And have we not one calling in Christ?<sup>206</sup> Why do we divide and tear to pieces the members of Christ, and raise up strife against our own body, and have reached such a height of madness as to forget that "we are members one of another?"<sup>207</sup> Remember the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, how<sup>208</sup> He said, "Woe to that man [by whom<sup>209</sup> offences come]! It were better for him that he had never been born, than that he should cast a stumbling-block before one of my elect. Yea, it were better for him that a millstone should be hung about [his neck], and he should be sunk in the depths of the sea, than that he should cast a stumbling-block before one of my little ones."<sup>210</sup> Your schism has subverted [the faith of] many, has discouraged many, has given rise to doubt in many, and has caused grief to us all. And still your sedition continueth.

## Chapter 47

### *Your Recent Discord is Worse Than the Former Which Took Place in the Times of Paul.*

Take up the epistle of the blessed Apostle Paul. What did he write to you at the time when the Gospel first began to be preached?<sup>211</sup> Truly, under the inspiration<sup>212</sup> of the Spirit, he wrote to you concerning himself, and Cephas, and Apollos,<sup>213</sup> because even then parties<sup>214</sup> had been formed among you. But that inclination for one above another entailed less guilt upon you, inasmuch as your partialities were then shown towards apostles, already of high reputation, and towards a man whom they had approved. But now reflect who those are that have perverted you, and lessened the renown of your far-famed brotherly love. It is disgraceful, beloved, yea, highly disgraceful, and unworthy of your Christian profession,<sup>215</sup> that such a thing should be heard of as that the most steadfast and ancient Church of the Corinthians should, on account of one or two persons, engage in sedition against its presbyters. And this rumour has reached not only us, but those also who are unconnected<sup>216</sup> with us; so that, through your infatuation, the name of the Lord is blasphemed, while danger is also brought upon yourselves.

## Chapter 48

### *Let Us Return to the Practice of Brotherly Love.*

Let us therefore, with all haste, put an end<sup>217</sup> to this [state of things]; and let us fall down before the Lord, and beseech Him with tears, that He would mercifully<sup>218</sup> be reconciled to us, and restore us to our former seemly and holy practice of brotherly love. For [such conduct] is the gate of righteousness, which is set open for the attainment of life, as it is written, "Open to me the gates of righteousness; I will go in by them, and will praise the Lord: this is the gate of the Lord: the righteous shall enter in by it."<sup>219</sup> Although, therefore, many gates have been set open, yet this gate of righteousness is that gate in Christ by which blessed are all they that have entered in and have directed their way in holiness and righteousness, doing all things without disorder. Let a man be faithful: let him be powerful in the utterance of knowledge; let him be wise in judging of words; let him be pure in all his deeds; yet the more he seems to be superior to others [in these respects], the more humble-minded ought he to be, and to seek the common good of all, and not merely his own advantage.

## Chapter 49

### *The Praise of Love.*

Let him who has love in Christ keep the commandments of Christ. Who can describe the [blessed] bond of the love of God? What man is able to tell the excellence of its beauty, as it ought to be told? The height to which love exalts is unspeakable. Love unites us to God. Love covers a multitude of sins.<sup>220</sup> Love beareth all things, is longsuffering in all things.<sup>221</sup> There is nothing base, nothing arrogant in love. Love admits of no schisms: love gives rise to no seditions: love does all things in harmony. By love have all the elect of God been made perfect; without love nothing is well-pleasing to God. In love has the Lord taken us to Himself. On account of the Love he

bore us, Jesus Christ our Lord gave His blood for us by the will of God; His flesh for our flesh, and His soul for our souls.<sup>222</sup>

## **Chapter 50**

*Let Us Pray to Be Thought Worthy of Love.*

Ye see, beloved, how great and wonderful a thing is love, and that there is no declaring its perfection. Who is fit to be found in it, except such as God has vouchsafed to render so? Let us pray, therefore, and implore of His mercy, that we may live blameless in love, free from all human partialities for one above another. All the generations from Adam even unto this day have passed away; but those who, through the grace of God, have been made perfect in love, now possess a place among the godly, and shall be made manifest at the revelation<sup>223</sup> of the kingdom of Christ. For it is written, “Enter into thy secret chambers for a little time, until my wrath and fury pass away; and I will remember a propitious<sup>224</sup> day, and will raise you up out of your graves.”<sup>225</sup> Blessed are we, beloved, if we keep the commandments of God in the harmony of love; that so through love our sins may be forgiven us. For it is written, “Blessed are they whose transgressions are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man whose sin the Lord will not impute to him, and in whose mouth there is no guile.”<sup>226</sup> This blessedness cometh upon those who have been chosen by God through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

## **Chapter 51**

*Let the Partakers in Strife Acknowledge Their Sins.*

Let us therefore implore forgiveness for all those transgressions which through any [suggestion] of the adversary we have committed. And those who have been the leaders of sedition and disagreement ought to have respect<sup>227</sup> to the common hope. For such as live in fear and love would rather that they themselves than their neighbours should be involved in suffering. And they prefer to bear blame themselves, rather than that the concord which has been well and piously<sup>228</sup> handed down to us should suffer. For it is better that a man should acknowledge his transgressions than that he should harden his heart, as the hearts of those were hardened who stirred up sedition against Moses the servant of God, and whose condemnation was made manifest [unto all]. For they went down alive into Hades, and death swallowed them up.<sup>229</sup> Pharaoh with his army and all the princes of Egypt, and the chariots with their riders, were sunk in the depths of the Red Sea, and perished,<sup>230</sup> for no other reason than that their foolish hearts were hardened, after so many signs and wonders had been wrought in the land of Egypt by Moses the servant of God.

## **Chapter 52**

*Such a Confession is Pleasing to God.*

The Lord, brethren, stands in need of nothing; and He desires nothing of any one, except that confession be made to Him. For, says the elect David, “I will confess unto the Lord ; and that will please Him more than a young bullock that hath horns and hoofs. Let the poor see it, and be glad.”<sup>231</sup> And again he saith, “Offer<sup>232</sup> unto God the sacrifice of praise, and pay thy vows unto the Most High. And call upon Me in the day

of thy trouble: I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify Me.”<sup>233</sup> For “the sacrifice of God is a broken spirit.”<sup>234</sup>

### **Chapter 53**

#### *The Love of Moses Towards His People.*

Ye understand, beloved, ye understand well the Sacred Scriptures, and ye have looked very earnestly into the oracles of God. Call then these things to your remembrance. When Moses went up into the mount, and abode there, with fasting and humiliation, forty days and forty nights, the Lord said unto him, “Moses, Moses, get thee down quickly from hence; for thy people whom thou didst bring out of the land of Egypt have committed iniquity. They have speedily departed from the way in which I commanded them to walk, and have made to themselves molten images.”<sup>235</sup> And the Lord said unto him, “I have spoken to thee once and again, saying, I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiff-necked people: let Me destroy them, and blot out their name from under heaven; and I will make thee a great and wonderful nation, and one much more numerous than this.”<sup>236</sup> But Moses said, “Far be it from Thee, Lord: pardon the sin of this people; else blot me also out of the book of the living.”<sup>237</sup> O marvellous<sup>238</sup> love! O insuperable perfection! The servant speaks freely to his Lord, and asks forgiveness for the people, or begs that he himself might perish<sup>239</sup> along with them.

### **Chapter 54**

#### *He Who is Full of Love Will Incur Every Loss, That Peace May Be Restored to the Church.*

Who then among you is noble-minded? who compassionate? who full of love? Let him declare, “If on my account sedition and disagreement and schisms have arisen, I will depart, I will go away whithersoever ye desire, and I will do whatever the majority<sup>240</sup> commands; only let the flock of Christ live on terms of peace with the presbyters set over it.” He that acts thus shall procure to himself great glory in the Lord; and every place will welcome<sup>241</sup> him. For “the earth is the Lord’s, and the fullness thereof.”<sup>242</sup> These things they who live a godly life, that is never to be repented of, both have done and always will do.

### **Chapter 55**

#### *Examples of Such Love.*

To bring forward some examples from among the heathen: Many kings and princes, in times of pestilence, when they had been instructed by an oracle, have given themselves up to death, in order that by their own blood they might deliver their fellow-citizens [from destruction]. Many have gone forth from their own cities, that so sedition might be brought to an end within them. We know many among ourselves who have given themselves up to bonds, in order that they might ransom others. Many, too, have surrendered themselves to slavery, that with the price<sup>243</sup> which they received for themselves, they might provide food for others. Many women also, being strengthened by the grace of God, have performed numerous manly exploits. The blessed Judith, when her city was besieged, asked of the elders permission to go forth into the camp of

the strangers; and, exposing herself to danger, she went out for the love which she bare to her country and people then besieged; and the Lord delivered Holofernes into the hands of a woman.<sup>244</sup> Esther also, being perfect in faith, exposed herself to no less danger, in order to deliver the twelve tribes of Israel from impending destruction. For with fasting and humiliation she entreated the everlasting God, who seeth all things; and He, perceiving the humility of her spirit, delivered the people for whose sake she had encountered peril.<sup>245</sup> .

## Chapter 56

*Let Us Admonish and Correct One Another.*

Let us then also pray for those who have fallen into any sin, that meekness and humility may be given to them, so that they may submit, not unto us, but to the will of God. For in this way they shall secure a fruitful and perfect remembrance from us, with sympathy for them, both in our prayers to God, and our mention of them to the saints.<sup>246</sup> Let us receive correction, beloved, on account of which no one should feel displeased. Those exhortations by which we admonish one another are both good [in themselves] and highly profitable, for they tend to unite<sup>247</sup> us to the will of God. For thus saith the holy Word: “The Lord hath severely chastened me, yet hath not given me over to death.”<sup>248</sup> “For whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth.”<sup>249</sup> “The righteous,” saith it, “shall chasten me in mercy, and reprove me; but let not the oil of sinners make fat my head.”<sup>250</sup> And again he saith, “Blessed is the man whom the Lord reproveth, and reject not thou the warning of the Almighty. For He causes sorrow, and again restores [to gladness]; He woundeth, and His hands make whole. He shall deliver thee in six troubles, yea, in the seventh no evil shall touch thee. In famine He shall rescue thee from death, and in war He shall free thee from the power<sup>251</sup> of the sword. From the scourge of the tongue will He hide thee, and thou shalt not fear when evil cometh. Thou shalt laugh at the unrighteous and the wicked, and shalt not be afraid of the beasts of the field. For the wild beasts shall be at peace with thee: then shalt thou know that thy house shall be in peace, and the habitation of thy tabernacle shall not fail.<sup>252</sup> Thou shall know also that thy seed shall be great, and thy children like the grass of the field. And thou shall come to the grave like ripened corn which is reaped in its season, or like a heap of the threshing-floor which is gathered together at the proper time.”<sup>253</sup> Ye see, beloved, that protection is afforded to those that are chastened of the Lord; for since God is good, He corrects us, that we may be admonished by His holy chastisement.

## Chapter 57

*Let the Authors of Sedition Submit Themselves.*

Ye therefore, who laid the foundation of this sedition, submit yourselves to the presbyters, and receive correction so as to repent, bending the knees of your hearts. Learn to be subject, laying aside the proud and arrogant self-confidence of your tongue. For it is better for you that ye should occupy<sup>254</sup> a humble but honourable place in the flock of Christ, than that, being highly exalted, ye should be cast out from the hope of His people.<sup>255</sup> For thus speaketh all-virtuous Wisdom:<sup>256</sup> “Behold, I will bring forth to you the words of My Spirit, and I will teach you My speech. Since I called, and ye did not hear; I held forth My words, and ye regarded not, but set at naught My counsels, and yielded not at My reproofs; therefore I too will laugh at your destruction;

yea, I will rejoice when ruin cometh upon you, and when sudden confusion overtakes you, when overturning presents itself like a tempest, or when tribulation and oppression fall upon you. For it shall come to pass, that when ye call upon Me, I will not hear you; the wicked shall seek Me, and they shall not find Me. For they hated wisdom, and did not choose the fear of the Lord; nor would they listen to My counsels, but despised My reproofs. Wherefore they shall eat the fruits of their own way, and they shall be filled with their own ungodliness.<sup>257</sup>

## **Chapter 58**

*Blessings Sought for All that Call Upon God.*

May God, who seeth all things, and who is the Ruler of all spirits and the Lord of all flesh - who chose our Lord Jesus Christ and us through Him to be a peculiar<sup>258</sup> people - grant to every soul that calleth upon His glorious and holy Name, faith, fear, peace, patience, longsuffering, self-control, purity, and sobriety, to the well-pleasing of His Name, through our High Priest and Protector, Jesus Christ, by whom be to Him glory, and majesty, and power, and honour, both now and for evermore. Amen.

## **Chapter 59**

*The Corinthians are Exhorted Speedily to Send Back  
Word that Peace Has Been Restored. The Benediction.*

Send back speedily to us in peace and with joy these our messengers to you: Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Bito, with Fortunatus: that they may the sooner announce to us the peace and harmony we so earnestly desire and long for [among you], and that we may the more quickly rejoice over the good order re-established among you. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you, and with all everywhere that are the called of God through Him, by whom be to Him glory, honour, power, majesty, and eternal dominion,<sup>259</sup> from everlasting to everlasting.<sup>260</sup> Amen.<sup>261</sup>

## FOOTNOTES

1. In the only known ms. of this Epistle, the title is thus given at the close.
2. [Note the fact that the Corinthians *asked* this of their brethren, the personal friends of their apostle St. Paul. Clement's own name does not appear in this Epistle.]
3. Literally, "is greatly blasphemed."
4. Literally, "did not prove your all-virtuous and firm faith."
5. Ephesians 5:21; 1 Peter 5:5.
6. Acts 20:35.
7. Literally, "ye embraced it in your bowels." [Concerning the complaints of Photius (ninth century) against Clement, see Bull's *Defensio Fidei Nicaenae*, Works, vol. 5. page 132.]
8. 1 Peter 2:17.
9. So, in the ms., but many have suspected that the text is here corrupt. Perhaps the best emendation is that which substitutes συναισθησεω̄, "compassion," for συνειδησεω̄, "conscience."
10. Titus 3:1.
11. Proverbs 7:3.
12. Literally, "enlargement"
13. Deuteronomy 32:15.
14. It seems necessary to refer αυτου to *God*, in opposition to the translation given by Abp. Wake and others.
15. Literally, "Christ;" compare 2 Corinthians 1:21, Ephesians 4:20.
16. Wisdom 2:24.
17. Genesis 4:3-8. The writer here, as always, follows the reading of the Septuagint, which in this passage both alters and adds to the Hebrew text. We have given the rendering approved by the best critics; but some prefer to translate, as in our English version, "unto thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him." See, for an ancient explanation of the passage, Irenaeus, Adv. Haer., 4. 18, 3.
18. Genesis 27:41, etc.
19. Genesis 37.
20. Exodus 2:14.
21. Numbers 12:14-15. [In our copies of the Septuagint this is not affirmed of Aaron.]
22. Numbers 16:33.
23. 1 Kings 18:8, etc.
24. Literally, "those who have been athletes."
25. Some fill up the *lacunnae* here found in the ms. so as to read, "have come to a grievous death."
26. Literally, "good." [The martyrdom of St. Peter is all that is thus connected with his arrival in Rome. His numerous labours were restricted to the Circumcision.]
27. *Seven* imprisonments of St. Paul are not referred to in Scripture.
28. Archbishop Wake here reads "scourged." We have followed the most recent critics in filling up the numerous *lacunnae* in this chapter.
29. Some think *Rome*, others *Spain*, and others even *Britain*, to be here referred to. [See note at end.]
30. That is, under Tigellinus and Sabinus, in the last year of the Emperor Nero; but some think Helius and Polycletus referred to; and others, both here and in the preceding sentence, regard the words as denoting simply the *witness* borne by Peter and Paul to the truth of the gospel before the rulers of the earth.

31. Some suppose these to have been the names of two eminent female martyrs under Nero; others regard the clause as an interpolation. [Many ingenious conjectures might be cited; but see Jacobson's valuable note, *Patres Apostol.*, volume 1, page 30]
32. Literally, "have reached to the steadfast course of faith."
33. Genesis 2:23.
34. Some insert "Father."
35. Genesis 7; 1 Peter 3:20; 2 Peter 2:5.
36. Jonah 3.
37. Ezekiel 33:11.
38. Ezekiel 18:11.
39. Compare Isaiah 1:18.
40. These words are not found in Scripture, though they are quoted again by Clem. Alex. (*Paedag.*, 1:10) as from Ezekiel.
41. Isaiah 1:16-20.
42. Some read mataiologian, "vain talk."
43. Genesis 5:24; Hebrews 11:5. Literally, "and his death was not found."
44. Isaiah 41:8; 2 Chronicles 20:7; Judith 8:19; James 2:23.
45. Genesis 12:1-3.
46. Genesis 13:14-16.
47. Genesis 15:5-6; Romans 4:3.
48. Genesis 21:22; Hebrews 11:17.
49. Genesis 19; compare 2 Peter 2:6-9.
50. So Joseph, *Antiq.*, 1:11, 4; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, 4:31.
51. Literally, "become a judgment and sign."
52. Joshua 2; Hebrews 11:31.
53. Others of the Fathers adopt the same allegorical interpretation, e.g., Justin Mar., *Dial. c. Tryph.*, n. 111; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, 4:20. [The whole matter of symbolism under the law must be more thoroughly studied if we would account for such strong language as is here applied to a poetical or rhetorical figure.]
54. Jeremiah 9:23-24; 1 Corinthians 1:31; 2 Corinthians 10:17.
55. Compare Matthew 6:12-15, 7:2; Luke 6:36-38.
56. Isaiah 66:2.
57. Proverbs 2:21-22.
58. Psalm 37:35-37. "Remnant" probably refers either to the *memory* or *posterity* of the righteous.
59. Isaiah 29:13; Matthew 15:8; Mark 7:6.
60. Psalm 62:4.
61. Psalm 78:36-37.
62. Psalm 31:18.
63. These words within brackets are not found in the ms., but have been inserted from the Septuagint by most editors.
64. Psalm 12:3-5.
65. The Latin of Cotelierius, adopted by Hefele and Dressel, translates this clause as follows: "I will set free the wicked on account of His sepulchre, and the rich on account of His death."
66. The reading of the ms. is τῆ πληγῆ, "purify, or free, Him from stripes." We have adopted the emendation of Junius.
67. Wotton reads, "If He make."

68. Or, “fill Him with understanding,” if πλησαι should be read instead of πλασαι, as Grabe suggests.
69. Isaiah 53. The reader will observe how often the text of the Septuagint, here quoted, differs from the Hebrew as represented by our authorised English version.
70. Psalm 22:6-8.
71. Hebrews 11:37.
72. Genesis 18:27.
73. Job 1:1.
74. Job 14:4-5. [Septuagint]
75. Numbers 12:7; Hebrews 3:2.
76. Some fill up the *lacunna* which here occurs in the ms. by “Israel.”
77. Exodus 3:11, 4:10.
78. This is not found in Scripture. [They were probably in Clement’s version. Comp. Psalm 119:83.]
79. Or, as some render, “to whom.”
80. Psalm 89:21.
81. Or, “when Thou judgest.”
82. Literally, “in my inwards.”
83. Literally, “bloods.”
84. Psalm 51:1-17.
85. Literally, “Becoming partakers of many great and glorious deeds, let us return to the aim of peace delivered to us from the beginning.” Compare Hebrews 12:1.
86. Or, “collections.”
87. Job 38:11.
88. Or, “stations.”
89. Proverbs 20:27.
90. Compare Hebrews 13:17; 1 Thessalonians. 5:12-13.
91. Or, “the presbyters.”
92. Some read, “by their silence.”
93. Compare 1 Timothy 5:21.
94. Some translate, “who turn to Him.”
95. Psalm 34:11-17.
96. Psalm 32:10.
97. Or, as some render, “neither let us have any doubt of.”
98. Some regard these words as taken from an apocryphal book, others as derived from a fusion of James 1:8 and 2 Peter 3:3-4.
99. Habakkuk 2:3; Hebrews 10:37.
100. Malachi 3:1.
101. Compare 1 Corinthians 15:20; Colossians 1:18.
102. Compare Luke 8:5.
103. This fable respecting the phoenix is mentioned by Herodotus (2:73) and by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, 10:2.) and is used as above by Tertullian (*De Resurr.*, §13) and by others of the Fathers.
104. Literally, “the mightiness of His promise.”
105. Psalm 28:7, or some apocryphal book.
106. Compare Psalm 3:6.
107. Job 19:25-26.
108. Compare Titus 1:2; Hebrews 6:18.
109. Or, “majesty.”

110. Wisdom 12:12, 11:22.
111. Compare Matthew 24:35.
112. Literally, "If the heavens," etc
113. Psalm 19:1-3.
114. Literally, "abominable lusts of evil deeds."
115. Psalm 139:7-10.
116. Literally "has made us to Himself a part of election."
117. Literally, "sowed abroad."
118. Deuteronomy 32:8-9.
119. Formed apparently from Numbers 18:27 and 2 Chronicles 31:14. Literally, the closing words are, "the holy of holies."
120. Some translate, "youthful lusts."
121. Proverbs 3:34; James 4:6; 1 Peter 5:5.
122. Job 11:2-3. The translation is doubtful. [But see Septuagint.]
123. Literally, "what are the ways of His blessing."
124. Literally, "unroll."
125. Compare James 2:21.
126. Some translate, "knowing what was to come."
127. Genesis 22.
128. So Jacobson: Wotton reads, "fleeing from his brother."
129. The meaning is here very doubtful. Some translate "the gifts which were given to Jacob by Him," i.e., God.
130. ms. αὐτῶν αὐτον, referring to the gifts: we have followed the emendation αὐτον, adopted by most editors. Some refer the word to *God*, and not *Jacob*.
131. Compare Romans 9:5.
132. Genesis 22:17, 28:4.
133. Or, "commandment."
134. Or, "in addition to all."
135. Genesis 1:26-27.
136. Genesis 1:28.
137. Or, "let us consider."
138. Or, "labourer."
139. Isaiah 40:10, 62:11; Revelation 22:12.
140. The text here seems to be corrupt. Some translate, "He warns us with all His heart to this end, that," etc.
141. Daniel 7:10.
142. Isaiah 6:3.
143. Corinthians 2:9.
144. Some translate, "in liberty."
145. Or, "of the ages."
146. The reading is doubtful: some have ἀφιλοξενίαν, "want of a hospitable spirit." [So Jacobson.]
147. Romans 1:32.
148. Literally, "didst run with."
149. Literally, "didst weave."
150. Or, "layest a snare for."
151. Psalm 50:16-23. The reader will observe how the Septuagint followed by Clement differs from the Hebrew.
152. Literally, "that which saves us."

153. Or, "rejoices to behold."
154. Or, "knowledge of immortality."
155. Hebrews 1:3-4.
156. Psalm 104:4; Hebrews 1:7.
157. Some render, "to the Son."
158. Psalm 2:7-8; Hebrews 1:5.
159. Psalm 110:1; Hebrews 1:13.
160. Some read, "who oppose their own will to that of God."
161. Literally, "in these there is use."
162. 1 Corinthians 12:12, etc.
163. Literally, "all breathe together."
164. Literally, "use one subjection."
165. Literally, "according as he has been placed in his charism."
166. Compare Proverbs 27:2.
167. The ms. is here slightly torn, and we are left to conjecture.
168. Compare Psalm 139:15.
169. Literally, "and silly and uninstructed."
170. Literally, "a breath."
171. Or, "has perceived."
172. Some render, "they perished at the gates."
173. Job 4:16-18, 15:15, 4:19-21, 5:1-5.
174. Some join *κατα καιρου* "τεταγμενου", "at stated times." to the next sentence. [1 Corinthians 16:1-2]
175. Literally, "to His will." [Compare Romans 15:15-16, Greek.]
176. Or, "consider." [This chapter has been cited to prove the earlier date for this Epistle. But the reference to Jerusalem may be an ideal present.]
177. Or, "by the command of."
178. Or, "by the command of."
179. Literally, "both things were done."
180. Or, "confirmed by."
181. Or, "having tested them in spirit."
182. Or, "overseers."
183. Or, "servants."
184. Isaiah 60:17, Sept.; but the text is here altered by Clement. The LXX. have "I will give thy rulers in peace, and thy overseers in righteousness."
185. Numbers 12:10; Hebrews 3:5.
186. Literally, "every tribe being written according to its name."
187. See Numbers 17.
188. Literally, "on account of the title of the oversight." Some understand this to mean, "in regard to the dignity of the episcopate;" and others simply, "on account of the oversight."
189. The meaning of this passage is much controverted. Some render, "left a list of other approved persons;" while others translate the unusual word *epinomh*, which causes the difficulty, by "testamentary direction," and many others deem the text corrupt. We have given what seems the simplest version of the text as it stands. [Comp. the versions of Wake, Chevallier, and others.]
190. The apostles.
191. Or, "oversight."
192. Literally, "presented the offerings."

193. Or, "Ye perceive."
194. Or, "For."
195. Daniel 6:16.
196. Daniel 3:20.
197. Literally, "worshipped."
198. Literally, "serve."
199. Or, "lifted up."
200. Literally, "To such examples it is right that we should cleave."
201. Not found in Scripture.
202. Literally, "be."
203. Or, "thou wilt overthrow."
204. Psalm 18:25-26.
205. Or, "war." Compare James 4:1.
206. Compare Ephesians 4:4-6.
207. Romans 17:5.
208. This clause is wanting in the text.
209. This clause is wanting in the text.
210. Compare Matthew 18:6, 26:24; Mark 9:42; Luke 17:2.
211. Literally, "in the beginning of the Gospel." [Compare Philippians 4:15]
212. Or, "spiritually."
213. 1 Corinthians 3:13, etc.
214. Or, "inclinations for one above another."
215. Literally, "of conduct in Christ."
216. Or, "aliens from us," i.e., the Gentiles.
217. Literally "remove."
218. Literally, "becoming merciful."
219. Psalm 118:19-20.
220. James 5:20; 1 Peter 4:8.
221. Compare 1 Corinthians 13:4, etc.
222. Compare Irenaeus, 5:1; also Mathetes Epistle to Diognetus, chapter 9.
223. Literally, "visitation."
224. Or, "good."
225. Isaiah 26:20.
226. Psalm 32:1-2.
227. Or, "look to."
228. Or, "righteously."
229. Numbers 16.
230. Exodus 14.
231. Psalm 69:31-32.
232. Or, "sacrifice."
233. Psalm 50:14-15.
234. Psalm 51:17
235. Exodus 32:7, etc.; Deuteronomy 9:12, etc.
236. Exodus 32:9, etc.
237. Exodus 32:32.
238. Or, "mighty."
239. Literally, "be wiped out."

240. Literally, “the multitude.” [Clement here puts words into the mouth of the Corinthian presbyters. It has been strangely quoted to strengthen a conjecture that he had humbly preferred Linus and Cletus when first called to preside.]
241. Or, “receive.”
242. Psalm 24:1; 1 Corinthians 10:26, 28.
243. Literally, “and having received their prices, fed others.” [Compare Romans 16:3-4, and Philippians 2:30.]
244. Judith 8:30.
245. Esther 7; 8.
246. Literally, “there shall be to them a fruitful and perfect remembrance, with compassions both towards God and the saints.”
247. Or, “they unite.”
248. Psalm 118:18.
249. Proverbs 3:12; Hebrews 12:6.
250. Psalm 141:5.
251. Literally, “hand.”
252. Literally, “err” or “sin.”
253. Job 5:17-26.
254. Literally, “to be found small and esteemed.”
255. Literally, “His hope.” [It has been conjectured that ἐλπιδο̅ should be επαυλιδο̅, and the reading, “out of the fold of his people.” See Chevallier.]
256. Proverbs 1:23-31. [Often cited by this name in primitive writers.]
257. Junius (Pat. Young), who examined the ms. before it was bound into its present form, stated that a whole leaf was here lost. The next letters that occur are ιπον, which have been supposed to indicate ειπον or ελιπον. Doubtless some passages quoted by the ancients from the Epistle of Clement, and not now found in it, occurred in the portion which has thus been lost.
258. Compare Titus 2:14.
259. Literally, “an eternal throne.”
260. Literally, “From the ages to the ages of ages.”
261. Note St. Clement’s frequent doxologies. [N.B. - The language of Clement concerning the Western progress of St. Paul (chapter 5) is our earliest postscript to his Scripture biography. It is sufficient to refer the reader to the great works of Conybeare and Howson, and of Mr. Lewin, on the *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*. See more especially the valuable note of Lewin (volume 2, page 294) which takes notice of the opinion of some learned men, that the great Apostle of the Gentiles preached the Gospel in Britain. The whole subject of St. Paul’s relations with British Christians is treated by Williams, in his *Antiquities of the Cymry*, with learning and in an attractive manner. But the reader will find more ready to his hand, perhaps, the interesting note of Mr. Lewin, on Claudia and Pudens (2 Timothy 4:21), in his *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, volume 2, page 392. See also Paley’s *Horae Paulinae*, page 40. London, 1820.]

## **INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE SECOND EPISTLE OF CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS**

The first certain reference which is made by any early writer to this so-called Epistle of Clement is found in these words of Eusebius (Hist. Eccl., 3:38): "We must know that there is also a second Epistle of Clement. But we do not regard it as being equally notable with the former, since we know of none of the ancients that have made use of it." Several critics in modern times have endeavoured to vindicate the authenticity of this epistle. But it is now generally regarded, as one of the many writings which have been falsely ascribed to Clement. Besides the want of external evidence, indicated even by Eusebius in the above extract, the diversity of style clearly points to a different writer from that of the first epistle. A commonly accepted opinion among critics at the present day is, that this is not an epistle at all, but a fragment of one of the many homilies falsely ascribed to Clement. There can be no doubt, however, that in the catalogue of writings contained in the Alexandrian ms. it is both styled an epistle, and, as well as the other which accompanies it, is attributed to Clement. As the ms. is certainly not later than the fifth century, the opinion referred to must by that time have taken firm root in the Church; but in the face of internal evidence, and in want of all earlier testimony, such a fact goes but a small way to establish its authenticity.

The second epistle differs from the first in several respects. The range of Scriptural quotation is wider, the quotations of the first epistle being taken mainly from the Septuagint version of the Old Testament. The attitude of the writer is in accordance with this fact; it is distinctively Gentile. For example, Chapter 12. contains a report of words purporting to have been spoken by the Lord; these, Clemens Alexandrinus states, are taken from the Apocryphal Gospel according to the Egyptians, not now extant. The reference in Chapter 14. to the spiritual church, recalling Ephesians 1:3-5, is parallel to the Pastor of Hermas, Vision 2, 4. These passages help to determine the date; for the quotation from the Apocryphal Gospel would not have been made after the four gospels of the New Testament obtained exclusive authority - toward the close of the second century; while similarity of idea and exposition would seem to make the second epistle and the Pastor of Hermas somewhat contemporaneous. The conclusion of the second epistle, as in the recently discovered ms., goes to establish the speculation made before this ms. was discovered, that it is a homily to be read in churches.

# THE SECOND EPISTLE OF CLEMENT TO THE CORINTHIANS <sup>1</sup>

## Chapter 1

*We Ought to Think Highly of Christ.*

Brethren, it is fitting that you should think of Jesus Christ as of God - as the Judge of the living and the dead. And it does not become us to think lightly of our salvation; for if we think little of Him, we shall also hope but to obtain little [from Him]. And those of us who hear carelessly of these things, as if they were of small importance, commit sin, not knowing whence we have been called, and by whom, and to what place, and how much Jesus Christ submitted to suffer for our sakes. What return, then, shall we make to Him, or what fruit that shall be worthy of that which He has given to us? For, indeed, how great are the benefits <sup>2</sup> which we owe to Him! He has graciously given us light; as a Father, He has called us sons; He has saved us when we were ready to perish. What praise, then, shall we give to Him, or what return shall we make for the things which we have received? <sup>3</sup> We were deficient <sup>4</sup> in understanding, worshipping stones and wood, and gold, and silver, and brass, the works of men's hands; <sup>5</sup> and our whole life was nothing else than death. Involved in blindness, and with such darkness <sup>6</sup> before our eyes, we have received sight, and through His will have laid aside that cloud by which we were enveloped. For He had compassion on us, and mercifully saved us, observing the many errors in which we were entangled, as well as the destruction to which we were exposed, <sup>7</sup> and that we had no hope of salvation except it came to us from Him. For He called us when we were not, <sup>8</sup> and willed that out of nothing we should attain a real existence. <sup>9</sup>

## Chapter 2

*The Church, Formerly Barren, is Now Fruitful.*

“Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that travailest not; for she that is desolate hath many more children than she that hath an husband.” <sup>10</sup> In that He said, “Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not,” He referred to us, for our church was barren before that children were given to her. But when He said, “Cry out, thou that travailest not,” He means this, that we should sincerely offer up our prayers to God, and should not, like women in travail, show signs of weakness. <sup>11</sup> And in that He said, “For she that is desolate hath many more children than she that hath an husband,” [He means] that our people seemed to be outcast from God, but now, through believing, have become more numerous than those who are reckoned to possess God. <sup>12</sup> And another Scripture saith, “I came not to call the righteous, but sinners.” <sup>13</sup> This means that those who are perishing must be saved. For it is indeed a great and admirable thing to establish not the things which are standing, but those that are falling. Thus also did Christ <sup>14</sup> desire to save the things which were perishing, <sup>15</sup> and has saved many by coming and calling us when hastening to destruction. <sup>16</sup>

### Chapter 3

#### *The Duty of Confessing Christ.*

Since, then, He has displayed so great mercy towards us, and especially in this respect, that we who are living should not offer sacrifices to gods that are dead, or pay them worship,<sup>17</sup> but should attain through Him to the knowledge of the true Father,<sup>18</sup> whereby shall we show that we do indeed know Him,<sup>19</sup> but by not denying Him through whom this knowledge has been attained? For He himself declares, “Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father.”<sup>20</sup> This, then, is our reward if we shall confess Him by whom we have been saved. But in what way shall we confess Him? By doing what He says, and not transgressing His commandments, and by honouring Him not with our lips only, but with all our heart and all our mind.<sup>21</sup> For He says in Isaiah, “This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.”<sup>22</sup>

### Chapter 4

#### *True Confession of Christ.*

Let us, then, not only call Him Lord, for that will not save us. For He saith, “Not every one that saith to me, Lord, Lord, shall be saved, but he that worketh righteousness.”<sup>23</sup> Wherefore, brethren, let us confess Him by our works, by loving one another, by not committing adultery, or speaking evil of one another, or cherishing envy; but by being continent, compassionate, and good. We ought also to sympathise with one another, and not be avaricious. By such works let us confess Him,<sup>24</sup> and not by those that are of an opposite kind. And it is not fitting that we should fear men, but rather God. For this reason, if we should do such [wicked] things, the Lord hath said, “Even though ye were gathered together to<sup>25</sup> me in my very bosom, yet if ye were not to keep my commandments, I would cast you off, and say unto you, Depart from me; I know you not whence ye are, ye workers of iniquity.”<sup>26</sup>

### Chapter 5

#### *This World Should Be Despised.*

Wherefore, brethren, leaving [willingly] our sojourn in this present world, let us do the will of Him that called us, and not fear to depart out of this world. For the Lord saith, “Ye shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves.”<sup>27</sup> And Peter answered and said unto Him,<sup>28</sup> “What, then, if the wolves shall tear in pieces the lambs?” “Jesus said unto Peter, “The lambs have no cause after they are dead to fear<sup>29</sup> the wolves; and in like manner, fear not ye them that kill you, and can do nothing more unto you; but fear Him who, after you are dead, has power over both soul and body to cast them into hell-fire.”<sup>30</sup> And consider,<sup>31</sup> brethren, that the sojourning in the flesh in this world is but brief and transient, but the promise of Christ is great and wonderful, even the rest of the kingdom to come, and of life everlasting.<sup>32</sup> By what course of conduct, then, shall we attain these things, but by leading a holy and righteous life, and by deeming these worldly things as not belonging to us, and not fixing our desires upon them? For if we desire to possess them, we fall away from the path of righteousness.

## Chapter 6

### *The Present and Future Worlds are Enemies to Each Other.*

Now the Lord declares, “No servant can serve two masters.”<sup>33</sup> If we desire, then, to serve both God and mammon, it will be unprofitable for us. “For what will it profit if a man gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?”<sup>34</sup> This world and the next are two enemies. The one urges<sup>35</sup> to adultery and corruption, avarice and deceit; the other bids farewell to these things. We cannot, therefore, be the friends of both; and it behoves us, by renouncing the one, to make sure<sup>36</sup> of the other. Let us reckon<sup>37</sup> that it is better to hate the things present, since they are trifling, and transient, and corruptible; and to love those [which are to come,] as being good and incorruptible. For if we do the will of Christ, we shall find rest; otherwise, nothing shall deliver us from eternal punishment, if we disobey His commandments. For thus also saith the Scripture in Ezekiel, “If Noah, Job, and Daniel should rise up, they should not deliver their children in captivity.”<sup>38</sup> Now, if men so eminently righteous are not able by their righteousness to deliver their children, how<sup>39</sup> can we hope to enter into the royal residence<sup>40</sup> of God unless we keep our baptism holy and undefiled? Or who shall be our advocate, unless we be found possessed of works of holiness and righteousness?

## Chapter 7

### *We Must Strive in Order to Be Crowned.*

Wherefore, then, my brethren, let us struggle with all earnestness, knowing that the contest is [in our case] close at hand, and that many undertake long voyages to strive for a corruptible reward;<sup>41</sup> yet all are not crowned, but those only that have laboured hard and striven gloriously. Let us therefore so strive, that we may all be crowned. Let us run the straight<sup>42</sup> course, even the race that is incorruptible; and let us in great numbers set out<sup>43</sup> for it, and strive that we may be crowned. And should we not all be able to obtain the crown, let us at least come near to it. We must remember<sup>44</sup> that he who strives in the corruptible contest, if he be found acting unfairly,<sup>45</sup> is taken away and scourged, and cast forth from the lists. What then think ye? If one does anything unseemly in the incorruptible contest, what shall he have to bear? For of those who do not preserve the seal<sup>46</sup> [unbroken], [the Scripture] saith, “Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be a spectacle to all flesh.”<sup>47</sup>

## Chapter 8

### *The Necessity of Repentance While We Are on Earth.*

As long, therefore, as we are upon earth, let us practise repentance, for we are as clay in the hand of the artificer. For as the potter, if he make a vessel, and it be distorted or broken in his hands, fashions it over again; but if he have before this cast it into the furnace of fire, can no longer find any help for it: so let us also, while we are in this world, repent with our whole heart of the evil deeds we have done in the flesh, that we may be saved by the Lord, while we have yet an opportunity of repentance. For after we have gone out of the world, no further power of confessing or repenting will there belong to us. Wherefore, brethren, by doing the will of the Father, and keeping the flesh holy, and observing the commandments of the Lord, we shall obtain eternal life. For the Lord saith in the Gospel, “If ye have not kept that which was small, who will

commit to you the great? For I say unto you, that he that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much.”<sup>48</sup> This, then, is what He means: “Keep the flesh holy and the seal undefiled, that<sup>49</sup> ye may receive eternal life.”<sup>50</sup>

## **Chapter 9**

### *We Shall Be Judged in the Flesh.*

And let no one of you say that this very flesh shall not be judged, nor rise again. Consider ye in what [state] ye were saved, in what ye received sight,<sup>51</sup> if not while ye were in this flesh. We must therefore preserve the flesh as the temple of God. For as ye were called in the flesh, ye shall also come [to be judged] in the flesh. As Christ<sup>52</sup> the Lord who saved us, though He was first a Spirit<sup>53</sup> became flesh, and thus called us, so shall we also receive the reward in this flesh. Let us therefore love one another, that we may all attain to the kingdom of God. While we have an opportunity of being healed, let us yield ourselves to God that healeth us, and give to Him a recompense. Of what sort? Repentance out of a sincere heart; for He knows all things beforehand, and is acquainted with what is in our hearts. Let us therefore give Him praise, not with the mouth only, but also with the heart, that He may accept us as sons. For the Lord has said, “Those are my brethren who do the will of my Father.”<sup>54</sup>

## **Chapter 10**

### *Vice is to Be Forsaken, and Virtue Followed.*

Wherefore, my brethren, let us do the will of the Father who called us, that we may live; and let us earnestly<sup>55</sup> follow after virtue, but forsake every wicked tendency<sup>56</sup> which would lead us into transgression; and flee from ungodliness, lest evils overtake us. For if we are diligent in doing good, peace will follow us. On this account, such men cannot find it [i.e. peace] as are<sup>57</sup> influenced by human terrors, and prefer rather present enjoyment<sup>58</sup> to the promise which shall afterwards be fulfilled. For they know not what torment present enjoyment recurs, or what felicity is involved in the future promise. And if, indeed, they themselves only aid such things, it would be [the more] tolerable; but now they persist in imbuing innocent souls with their pernicious doctrines, not knowing that they shall receive a double condemnation, both they and those that hear them.

## **Chapter 11**

### *We Ought to Serve God, Trusting in His Promises.*

Let us therefore serve God with a pure heart, and we shall be righteous; but if we do not serve Him, because we believe not the promise of God, we shall be miserable. For the prophetic word also declares, “Wretched are those of a double mind, and who doubt in their heart, who say, All these things<sup>59</sup> have we heard even in the times of our fathers; but though we have waited day by day, we have seen none of them [accomplished]. Ye fools! compare yourselves to a tree; take, for instance, the vine. First of all it sheds its leaves, then the bud appears; after that the sour grape, and then the fully-ripened fruit. So, likewise, my people have borne disturbances and afflictions, but afterwards shall they receive their good things.”<sup>60</sup> Wherefore, my brethren, let us not be of a double mind, but let us hope and endure, that we also may obtain the

reward. For He is faithful who has promised that He will bestow on every one a reward according to his works. If, therefore, we shall do righteousness in the sight of God, we shall enter into His kingdom, and shall receive the promises, which “ear hath not heard, nor eye seen, neither have entered into the heart of man.”<sup>61</sup>

## **Chapter 12**

*We are Constantly to Look for the Kingdom of God.*

Let us expect, therefore, hour by hour, the kingdom of God in love and righteousness, since we know not the day of the appearing of God. For the Lord Himself, being asked by one when His kingdom would come, replied, “When two shall be one, that which is without as that which is within, and the male with the female, neither male nor female.”<sup>62</sup> Now, two are one when we speak the truth one to another, and there is unfeignedly one soul in two bodies. And “that which is without as” that which is within meaneth this: He calls the soul “that which is within,” and the body “that which is without.” As, then, thy body is visible to sight, so also let thy soul be manifest by good works. And “the male, with the female, neither male nor female, this”<sup>63</sup> He saith, that brother seeing sister may have no thought concerning her as female, and that she may have no thought concerning him as male. “If ye do these things, saith He, “the kingdom of my Father shall come.”<sup>64</sup>

## **Chapter 13**

*God’s Name Not to Be Blasphemed.*

Brethren, then, let us now at length repent, let us soberly turn to that which is good; for we are full of abundant folly and wickedness. Let us wipe out from us our former sins, and repenting from the heart be saved; and let us not be men-pleasers, nor be willing to please one another only, but also the men without, for righteousness sake, that the name may not be, because of us, blasphemed. For the Lord saith, “Continually my name is blasphemed among all nations,” and “Wherefore my name is blasphemed; blasphemed in what? In your not doing the things which I wish.”<sup>65</sup> For the nations, hearing from our mouth the oracles of God, marvel at their excellence and worth; thereafter learning that our deeds are not worthy of the words which we speak - receiving this occasion they turn to blasphemy, saying that they are a fable and a delusion. For, whenever they hear from us that God saith, “No thank have ye, if ye love them which love you, but ye have thank, if ye love your enemies and them which hate you”<sup>66</sup> - whenever they hear these words, they marvel at the surpassing measure of their goodness; but when they see, that not only do we not love those who hate, but that we love not even those who love, they laugh us to scorn, and the name is blasphemed.

## **Chapter 14**

*The Church Spiritual.*

So, then, brethren, if we do the will of our Father God, we shall be members of the first church, the spiritual - that which was created before sun and moon; but if we shall not do the will of the Lord, we shall come under the Scripture which saith, “My house became a den of robbers.”<sup>67</sup> So, then, let us elect to belong to the church of life,<sup>68</sup> that

we may be saved. I think not that ye are ignorant that the living church is the body of Christ (for the Scripture, saith, “God created man male and female;”<sup>69</sup> the male is Christ, the female the church) and that the Books<sup>70</sup> and the Apostles teach that the church is not of the present, but from the beginning. For it was spiritual, as was also our Jesus, and was made manifest at the end of the days in order to save us.<sup>71</sup> The church being spiritual, was made manifest in the flesh of Christ, signifying to us that if any one of us shall preserve it in the flesh and corrupt it not, he shall receive it in the Holy Spirit. For this flesh is the type of the spirit; no one, therefore, having corrupted the type, will receive afterwards the antitype. Therefore is it, then, that He saith, brethren, “Preserve ye the flesh, that ye may become partakers of the spirit.” If we say that the flesh is the church and the spirit Christ, then it follows that he who shall offer outrage to the flesh is guilty of outrage on the church. Such an one, therefore, will not partake of the spirit, which is Christ. Such is the life and immortality, which this flesh may afterwards receive, the Holy Spirit cleaving to it; and no one can either express or utter what things the Lord hath prepared for His elect.<sup>72</sup>

## Chapter 15

### *He Who Saves and He Who is Saved.*

I think not that I counted trivial counsel concerning continence; following it, a man will not repent thereof, but will save both himself and me who counselled.<sup>73</sup> For it is no small reward to turn back a wandering and perishing soul for its salvation.<sup>74</sup> For this recompense we are able to render to the God who created us, if he who speaks and hears both speak and hear with faith and love. Let us, therefore, continue in that course in which we, righteous and holy, believed, that with confidence we may ask God who saith, “Whilst thou art still speaking, I will say, Here I am.”<sup>75</sup> For these words are a token of a great promise, for the Lord saith that He is more ready to give than he who asks. So great, then, being the goodness of which we are partakers, let us not grudge one another the attainment of so great blessings. For in proportion to the pleasure with which these words are fraught to those who shall follow them, in that proportion is the condemnation with which they are fraught to those who shall refuse to hear.

## Chapter 16

### *Preparation for the Day of Judgment.*

So, then, brethren, having received no small occasion to repent, while we have opportunity, let us turn to God who called us, while yet we have One to receive us. For if we renounce these indulgences and conquer the soul by not fulfilling its wicked desires, we shall be partakers of the mercy of Jesus. Know ye that the day<sup>76</sup> of judgment draweth nigh like a burning oven, and certain of the heavens and all the earth will melt, like lead melting in fire; and then will appear the hidden and manifest deeds of men. Good, then, is alms as repentance from sin; better is fasting than prayer, and alms than both; “charity covereth a multitude of sins,”<sup>77</sup> and prayer out of a good conscience delivereth from death. Blessed is every one that shall be found complete in these; for alms lightens the burden of sin.

## Chapter 17

### *Same Subject Continued.*

Let us, then, repent with our whole heart, that no one of us may perish amiss. For if we have commands and engage in withdrawing from idols and instructing others, how much more ought a soul already knowing God not to perish. Rendering, therefore, mutual help, let us raise the weak also in that which is good, that all of us may be saved and convert one another and admonish. And not only now let us seem to believe and give heed, when we are admonished by the elders;<sup>78</sup> but also when we take our departure home, let us remember the commandments of the Lord, and not be allured back by worldly lusts, but let us often and often draw near and try to make progress in the Lord's commands, that we all having the same mind may be gathered together for life. For the Lord said, "I come to gather all nations [kindreds] and tongues."<sup>79</sup> This means the day of His appearing, when He will come and redeem us - each one according to his works. And the unbelievers will see His glory and might, and, when they see the empire of the world in Jesus, they will be surprised, saying, "Woe to us, because Thou wast, and we knew not and believed not and obeyed not the elders<sup>80</sup> who show us plainly of our salvation." And "their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be a spectacle unto all flesh."<sup>81</sup> It is of the great day of judgment He speaks, when they shall see those among us who were guilty of ungodliness and erred in their estimate of the commands of Jesus Christ. The righteous, having succeeded both in enduring the trials and hating the indulgences of the soul, whenever they witness how those who have swerved and denied Jesus by words or deeds are punished with grievous torments in fire unquenchable, will give glory to their God and say, "There will be hope for him who has served God with his whole heart."

## Chapter 18

### *The Author Sinful, Yet Pursuing.*

And let us, then, be of the number of those who give thanks, who have served God, and not of the ungodly who are judged. For I myself, though a sinner every whirr and not yet fleeing temptation but continuing in the midst of the tools of the devil, study to follow after righteousness, that I may make, be it only some, approach to it, fearing the judgment to come.

## Chapter 19

### *Reward of the Righteous, Although They May Suffer.*

So then, brothers and sisters,<sup>82</sup> after the God of truth<sup>83</sup> I address to you an appeal that ye may give heed to the words written,<sup>84</sup> that ye may save both yourselves and him who reads an address in your midst. For as a reward I ask of you repentance with the whole heart, while ye bestow upon yourselves salvation and life. For by so doing we shall set a mark for all the young who wish to be diligent in godliness and the goodness of God. And let not us, in our folly, feel displeasure and indignation, whenever any one admonishes us and turns us from unrighteousness to righteousness. For there are some wicked deeds which we commit, and know it not, because of the double-mindedness and unbelief present in our breasts, and our understanding is darkened by vain desires.

Let us, therefore, work righteousness, that we may be saved to the end. Blessed are they who obey these commandments, even if for a brief space they suffer in this world, and they will gather the imperishable fruit of the resurrection. Let not the godly man, therefore, grieve; if for the present he suffer affliction, blessed is the time that awaits him there; rising up to life again with the fathers he will rejoice for ever without a grief.

## **Chapter 20**

### *Godliness, Not Gain, the True Riches.*

But let it not even trouble your mind, that we see the unrighteous possessed of riches and the servants of God straitened. Let us, therefore, brothers and sisters, believe; in a trial of the living God we strive and are exercised in the present life, that we may obtain the crown in that which is to come. No one of the righteous received fruit speedily, but waiteth for it. For if God tendered the reward of the righteous in a trice, straightway were it commerce that we practised, and not godliness. For it were as if we were righteous by following after not godliness but gain; and for this reason the divine judgment baffled<sup>85</sup> the spirit that is unrighteous and heavily weighed the fetter.

To the only God, invisible, Father of truth, who sent forth to us the Saviour and Author of immortality, through whom He also manifested to us the truth and the heavenly life, to Him be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

## FOOTNOTES

1. No title, not even a letter, is preserved in A. I. inserts “Clement’s (Epistle) to the Corinthians 2.”
2. Literally, “holy things.”
3. Compare Psalm 116:12.
4. Literally, “lame.” Ἰ. ὠόθοι (wicked).
5. Literally, “of men.”
6. Literally, “being full of such darkness in our sight.”
7. Literally, “having beheld in us much error and destruction.”
8. Compare Hoses 2:23; Romans 4:17, 9:25.
9. Literally, “willed us from not being to be.”
10. Isaiah 54:1; Galatians 4:27.
11. Some render, “should not cry out, like women in travail.” The text is doubtful. Ἰ. ἔρασυπχ (faint).
12. It has been remarked that the writer here implies he was a Gentile.
13. Matthew 9:13; Luke 5:32.
14. Ἰ. ἄριστος (Lord).
15. Compare Matthew 18:11.
16. Literally, “already perishing.”
17. Omits.
18. τῆ ἀληθείᾳ (of truth).
19. Literally, “what is the knowledge which is towards Him.”
20. Matthew 10:32
21. Compare Matthew 22:37.
22. Isaiah 29:13.
23. Matthew 7:21, loosely quoted.
24. Some read, “God.”
25. Or, “with me.”
26. The first part of this sentence is not found in Scripture; for the second compare, Matthew 7:23; Luke 13:27.
27. Matthew 10:16.
28. No such conversation is recorded in Scripture.
29. Or, “Let not the lambs fear.”
30. Matthew 10:28; Luke 12:4-5.
31. Or, “know.”
32. The text and translation are here doubtful.
33. Matthew 6:24; Luke 16:13.
34. Matthew 16:26. Ἰ. omits ολου (whole).
35. Literally, “speaks of.”
36. Or, “enjoy.”
37. The MS. has, “we reckon.”
38. Ezekiel 14:14, 20.
39. Literally, “with what confidence shall we.”
40. Wake translates “kingdom,” as if the reading had been βασιλειᾶς; but the MS. has βασιλειῶν, “palace.”
41. Literally, “that many set sail for corruptible contests,” referring probably to the concourse at the Isthmian games.
42. Or, “Let as place before us.”

43. Or, "set sail"
44. Literally, "know."
45. Literally, "if be found corrupting."
46. Baptism is probably meant.
47. Isaiah 66:24.
48. Compare Luke 16:10-12.
49. MS. has "we," which is corrected by all editors as above. I. απολαβητε.
50. Some have thought this a quotation from an unknown apocryphal book, but it seems rather an explanation of the preceding words.
51. Literally, "looked up."
52. The MS. has εἰ, "one," which Wake follows, but it seems clearly a mistake for ὁ.
53. καψος (word).
54. Matthew 12:50.
55. Literally, "rather."
56. Literally, "malice, as it were. the precursor of our sins." Some deem the text corrupt.
57. Literally, according to the MS., "it is not possible that a man should find it who are" - the passage being evidently corrupt.
58. αναπαυοιω (rest),
59. παλαι (long ago).
60. The same words occur in Clement's first epistle, chapter 23.
61. 1 Corinthians 2:9.
62. These words are quoted (Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, 3, 9, 1.) from the Gospel according to the Egyptians, no longer extant.
63. Here the piece formerly broke off. From this point to the end the text of Gebhardt, Harnack, Zahn has been followed.
64. Compare 1 Corinthians 7:29.
65. Isaiah 52:5.
66. Luke 6:32 sqq.
67. Jeremiah 7:11.
68. Compare 1 Peter 2:4 sqq.
69. Genesis 1:27; compare Ephesians 5:22-23.
70. i.e. The Old Testament
71. 1 Peter 1:20.
72. 1 Corinthians 2:9.
73. 1 Timothy 4:16.
74. James 5:19-25.
75. Isaiah 58:9.
76. 1 Peter 2:9; 3:5-10.
77. 1 Peter 4:8.
78. i.e. Presbyters.
79. This passage proves this so-called Epistle to be a homily.
80. Isaiah 66:18.
81. Isaiah 66:24.
82. Indicative of the approaching close.
83. Bryennius interprets this to refer to the Scripture-lesson.
84. Either the Scripture-lesson or the homily.
85. Some take the aorist here used to be the iterative aorist of proverbs and, therefore, translated by the present tense.

## **INTRODUCTORY NOTICE TO TWO EPISTLES CONCERNING VIRGINITY**

Among the "Pseudo-Clementina" the Two Epistles concerning Virginité must properly be placed. The evidence against the genuineness seems conclusive; yet, with the exception of the homily usually styled the Second Epistle of Clement, no spurious writings attributed to the great Roman Father can be assigned an earlier date than these two letters. Uhlhorn, in view of the reference to the sub-introductae thinks they were written shortly before the time of Cyprian; and this seems very probable. Jerome was acquainted with the writings (*Ad Jovinum*, 1:12), and possibly Epiphanius (*Haer.*, 30:15). Hence we may safely allow an early date Yet these evidences of age tell against the genuineness.

I. Early works of this character would not have disappeared from notice to such an extent, had they been authenticated as writings of Clement. Supporting, as they do, the ascetic tendency prevalent in the Western Church at and after the date when they are first noticed by Christian writers, they would have been carefully preserved and frequently cited, had they been genuine. The name of the great Roman Father would have been so weighty, that the advocates of celibacy would have kept the documents in greater prominence. The silence of Eusebius respecting the letters is an important fact in this discussion.

2. A second argument against the genuineness is derived from the ascetic tone itself. Such pronounced statements are not, we must firmly hold, to be found in the Christian literature of the sub-apostolic age. This historical argument is further sustained by other indications in the epistles. They point to a stage of ecclesiastical development which belongs to a much later period than that of Clement.

3. The use of Scripture in these letters seems to be conclusive against the Clementine authorship. A comparison with the citations in the genuine Epistle of Clement shows that these writings make much greater use of the Pauline (particularly the Pastoral) Epistles; that the Old Testament is less frequently cited, and that the mode of handling proof-texts is that of a later age.

4. The judgment of the most candid patristic scholars is against the genuineness. Of Protestants, Wetstein stands alone in supporting the Clementine authorship; and his position is readily explained by the fact that he discovered the Syriac version which restored the writings to modern scholars (see below). The genuineness is defended by Villecourt and Beelen (see below), also by Möhler, Champagny, and Brück. But such experts as Mansi, Hefele, Alzog, and Funk, among Roman Catholics, unite with Protestant scholars in assigning a later date, and consequently in denying the Clementine authorship.

### **FOOTNOTES**

1. See vol. 7:pp. 509-523.

2. Against this class Cyprian stoutly contended, Compare Cyprian, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 5:pp. 357, 358, 587-592.

## TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTORY NOTICE

While the great mass of early Christian literature bearing the name of Clement of Rome is undoubtedly spurious, the case is somewhat different with regard to the two following epistles. Not only have Roman Catholic writers maintained their genuineness with great ingenuity and learning, but Wetstein, who first edited them, argued powerfully for their being received as the authentic productions of Clement; and even Neander has admitted that they may possibly have been written by that friend and fellow-labourer of the apostles.

Their literary history in modern times is somewhat curious. Wetstein unexpectedly discovered them appended to a copy of the Syriac Peschito version of the New Testament furnished to him by Sir James Porter, then British ambassador at Constantinople. He soon afterwards (1752) published them in Syriac, accompanied by a Latin version of his own, with Prolegomena, in which he upheld their genuineness. This speedily called forth two works, one by Lardner (1753), and a second by Venema (1754), in both of which their authenticity was disputed. To these writings Wetstein himself, and, after his death, Gallandius, published rejoinders; but the question remained as far from positive settlement as ever, and continues *sub-judice* even at the present day

It is generally admitted (and, of course, *asserted* by those that maintain their truly Clementine origin) that Greek was the original language of these epistles. Many have argued that they contain plain references to the *sub-introductae* spoken of in the literature of the third century, and that therefore they were probably composed in the Oriental Church about that period.

These epistles have been very carefully edited in recent times by the Roman Catholic scholars Villecourt (1853) and Beelen (1856). Both have argued strenuously for the genuineness of the letters, but it may be doubted if they have succeeded in repelling all the objections of Lardner and Venema. Beelen's work is a highly scholarly production, and his Prolegomena are marked by great fullness and perspicuity.

A German translation of these epistles was published by Zingerle (1821). They are now for the first time translated into the English language.

The translation is made from the text of Beelen.

The division into chapters is due to Wetstein.

# THE FIRST EPISTLE OF THE BLESSED CLEMENT

## Chapter 1

### *The Salutation.*

To all those who love and cherish their life which is in Christ through God the Father, and obey the truth of God in hope of eternal life; to those who bear affection towards their brethren and towards their neighbours in the love of God; to the blessed brother virgins,<sup>1</sup> who devote themselves to preserve virginity “for the sake of the kingdom of heaven;”<sup>2</sup> and to the holy sister virgins: the peace which is in God.<sup>3</sup>

## Chapter 2

### *For True Virginity Perfect Virtue is Necessary.*

Of all virgins of either sex who have truly resolved to preserve virginity for the sake of the kingdom of heaven - of each and every one of them it is required that he be worthy of the kingdom of heaven in every thing. For not by eloquence<sup>4</sup> or renown,<sup>5</sup> by station<sup>6</sup> and descent, or by beauty or strength, or by length of life,<sup>7</sup> is the kingdom of heaven obtained; but it is obtained by the power of faith, when a man exhibits the works of faith. For whosoever is truly righteous, his works testify concerning his faith, that he is truly a believer, with a faith which is great, a faith which is perfect, a faith which is in God, a faith which shines in good works, that the Father of all may be glorified through Christ. Now, those who are truly virgins for the sake of God give heed to Him who hath said, “Let not righteousness and faith fail thee; bind them on thy neck, and thou shall find favour for thyself; and devise thou good things before God and before men.”<sup>8</sup> “The paths,” therefore, “of the righteous shine as the light, and the light of them advances until the day is perfect.”<sup>9</sup> For the beams of their light illumine the whole creation even now by good works, as those who are truly “the light of the world,”<sup>10</sup> giving light to “those who sit in darkness,”<sup>11</sup> that they may arise and go forth from the darkness by the light of the good works of the fear of God, “that they may see our good works and glorify our Father who is in heaven.”<sup>12</sup> For it is required of the man of God, that in all his words and works he be perfect, and that in his life he be adorned with all exemplary and well-ordered behaviour,<sup>13</sup> and do all his deeds in righteousness, as a man of God.

## Chapter 3

### *True Virgins Prove Themselves Such by Self-Denial, as Does the True Believer by Good Works.*

For virgins are a beautiful pattern to believers, and to those who shall believe. The name alone, indeed, without works, does not introduce into the kingdom of heaven; but, if a man be truly a believer, such an one can be saved. For, if a person be only called a believer in name, whilst he is not such in works, he cannot possibly be a believer. “Let no one,” therefore, “lead you astray with the empty words of error.”<sup>14</sup> For, merely because a person is called a virgin, if he be destitute of works excellent and comely, and suitable to virginity, he cannot possibly be saved. For our Lord called such virginity as that “foolish,” as He said in the Gospel;<sup>15</sup> and because it had neither oil nor light, it was left outside of the kingdom of heaven, and was shut out from the joy of the

bridegroom, and was reckoned with His enemies. For such persons as these “have the appearance only of the fear of God, but the power of it they deny.”<sup>16</sup> For they “think with themselves that they are something, whilst they are nothing, and are deceived. But let every one constantly try<sup>17</sup> his works,”<sup>18</sup> and know himself; for empty worship does he offer, whosoever he be that makes profession of virginity and sanctity, “and denies its power.” For virginity of such a kind is impure, and disowned by all good works. For “every tree whatsoever is known from its fruits.”<sup>19</sup> “See that thou understand<sup>20</sup> what I say: God will give thee understanding.”<sup>21</sup> For whosoever engages before God to preserve sanctity must be girded with all the holy power of God. And, if with true fear<sup>22</sup> he crucify his body, he for the sake of the fear of God excuses himself from that word in which the Scripture<sup>23</sup> has said: “Be fruitful, and multiply,”<sup>24</sup> and shuns all the display, and care, and sensuality,<sup>25</sup> and fascination of this world, and its revelries and its drunkenness, and all its luxury and ease, and withdraws from the entire life of<sup>26</sup> this world, and from its snares, and nets, and hindrances; and, whilst thou walkest<sup>27</sup> upon the earth, be zealous that thy work and thy business be in heaven.

#### Chapter 4

*Continuation of the Remarks on Self-Denial; Object and Reward of True Virgins.*

For he who covets for himself these things so great and excellent, withdraws and severs himself on this account from all the world, that he may go and live a life divine and heavenly, like the holy angels, in work pure and holy, and “in the holiness<sup>28</sup> of the Spirit of God,”<sup>29</sup> and that he may serve God Almighty through Jesus Christ for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. On this account he severs himself from all the appetites of the body. And not only does he excuse himself from this command, “Be fruitful, and multiply,” but he longs for the “hope promised” and prepared “and laid up in heaven”<sup>30</sup> by God, who has declared with His mouth, and He does not lie, that it is “better than sons and daughters,”<sup>31</sup> and that He will give to virgins a notable place in the house of God, which is something “better than sons and daughters,” and better than the place of those who have passed a wedded life in sanctity, and whose “bed has not been defiled.”<sup>32</sup> For God will give to virgins the kingdom of heaven, as to the holy angels, by reason of this great and noble profession.

#### Chapter 5

*The Irksomeness and the Enemies of Virginity.*

Thou desirest, then, to be a virgin? Knowest thou what hardship and irksomeness there is in true virginity - that which stands constantly at all seasons before God, and does not withdraw from His service, and “is anxious how it may please its Lord with a holy body, and with its spirit?”<sup>33</sup> Knowest thou what great glory pertains to virginity, and is it for this that thou dost set thyself to practise it? Dost thou really know and understand what it is thou art eager to do? Art thou acquainted with the noble task of holy virginity? Dost thou know how, like a man, to enter “lawfully” upon<sup>34</sup> this contest and “strive,”<sup>35</sup> that, in the might of the Holy Spirit,<sup>36</sup> thou chooseth this for thyself, that thou mayest be crowned with a crown of light, and that they may lead thee about in triumph through “the Jerusalem above”?<sup>37</sup> If so be, then, that thou longest for all these things, conquer the body; conquer the appetites of the flesh; conquer the world in the Spirit of God; conquer these vain things of time, which pass away and grow old,

and decay, and come to an end; conquer the dragon;<sup>38</sup> conquer the lion;<sup>39</sup> conquer the serpent;<sup>40</sup> conquer Satan; through Jesus Christ, who doth strengthen thee by the hearing of His words and the divine Eucharist.<sup>41</sup> “Take up thy cross and follow”<sup>42</sup> Him who makes thee clean, Jesus Christ thy Lord. Strive to run straight forward and boldly, not with fear, but with courage, relying on the promise of thy Lord, that thou shalt obtain the victor-crown<sup>43</sup> of thy “calling on high”<sup>44</sup> through Jesus Christ. For whosoever walks perfect in faith, and not fearing, doth in very deed receive the crown of virginity, which is great in its toil and great in its reward. Dost thou understand and know how honourable a thing is sanctity?<sup>45</sup> Dost thou understand how great and exalted and excellent is the glory of virginity?<sup>46</sup>

## Chapter 6

### *Divinity of Virginity.*

The womb of a holy virgin<sup>47</sup> carried our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God; and the body which our Lord wore, and in which He carried on the conflict in this world, He put on from a holy virgin. From this, therefore, understand the greatness and dignity of virginity. Dost thou wish to be a Christian? Imitate Christ in everything. John, the ambassador, he who came before our Lord, he “than whom there was not a greater among those born of women,”<sup>48</sup> the holy messenger of our Lord, was a virgin. Imitate, therefore, the ambassador of our Lord, and be his follower<sup>49</sup> in every thing. That John, again, who “reclined on the bosom of our Lord, and whom He greatly loved”<sup>50</sup> - he, too, was a holy person.<sup>51</sup> For it was not without reason that our Lord loved him. Paul, also, and Barnabas, and Timothy, with all the others, “whose names are written in the book of life”<sup>52</sup> - these, I say, all cherished and loved sanctity,<sup>53</sup> and ran in the contest, and finished their course without blemish, as imitators of Christ, and as sons of the living God. Moreover, also, Elijah and Elisha, and many other holy men, we find to have lived a holy<sup>54</sup> and spotless life. If, therefore, thou desirest to be like these, imitate them with all thy power. For the Scripture has said, “The elders who are among you, honour; and, seeing their manner of life and conduct, imitate their faith.”<sup>55</sup> And again it saith, “Imitate me, my brethren, as I imitate Christ.”<sup>56</sup>

## Chapter 7

### *The True Virgin.*

Those, therefore, who imitate Christ, imitate Him earnestly. For those who have “put on Christ”<sup>57</sup> in truth, express His likeness in their thoughts, and in their whole life, and in all their behaviour: in word, and in deeds, and in patience, and in fortitude, and in knowledge, and in chastity, and in longsuffering, and in a pure heart, and in faith, and in hope, and in full and perfect love towards God. No virgin, therefore, unless they be in everything as Christ, and as those “who are Christs,”<sup>58</sup> can be saved. For every virgin who is in God is holy in her body and in her spirit, and is constant in the service of her Lord, not turning away from it any whither, but waiting upon Him always in purity and holiness in the Spirit of God, being “solicitous how she may please her Lord,”<sup>59</sup> by living purely and without stain, and solicitous to be pleasing before Him in every thing. She who is such does not withdraw from our Lord, but in spirit is ever with her Lord: as it is written, “Be ye holy, as I am holy, saith the Lord.”<sup>60</sup>

## Chapter 8

*Virgins, by the Laying Aside of All Carnal Affection, are Imitators of God.*

For, if a man be only in name called holy, he is not holy; but he must be holy in everything: in his body and in his spirit. And those who are virgins rejoice at all times in becoming like God and His Christ, and are imitators of them. For in those that are such there is not “the mind<sup>61</sup> of the flesh.” In those who are truly believers, and “in whom the Spirit of Christ dwells”<sup>62</sup> - in them “the mind of the flesh” cannot be: which is fornication, uncleanness, wantonness; idolatry,<sup>63</sup> sorcery; enmity, jealousy, rivalry, wrath, disputes, dissensions, ill-will; drunkenness, revelry; buffoonery, foolish talking, boisterous laughter; backbiting, insinuations; bitterness, rage; clamour, abuse, insolence of speech; malice, inventing of evil, falsehood; talkativeness,<sup>64</sup> babbling;<sup>65</sup> threatenings, gnashing of teeth, readiness to accuse,<sup>66</sup> jarring,<sup>67</sup> disdainings, blows; perversions of the right,<sup>68</sup> laxness in judgment; haughtiness, arrogance, ostentation, pompousness, boasting of family, of beauty, of position, of wealth, of an arm of flesh;<sup>69</sup> quarrelsomeness, injustice,<sup>70</sup> eagerness for victory; hatred, anger, envy, perfidy, retaliation;<sup>71</sup> debauchery, gluttony, “overreaching (which is idolatry),”<sup>72</sup> “the love of money (which is the root of all evils);”<sup>73</sup> love of display, vainglory, love of rule, assumption, pride (which is called death, and which “God fights against”).<sup>74</sup> Every man with whom are these and such like things - every such man is of the flesh. For, “he that is born of the flesh is flesh; and he that is of the earth speaketh of the earth,”<sup>75</sup> and his thoughts are of the earth. And “the mind of the flesh is enmity towards God. For it does not submit itself to the law of God; for it cannot do so,”<sup>76</sup> because it is in the flesh, “in which dwells no good,”<sup>77</sup> because the Spirit of God is not in it. For this cause justly does the Scripture say regarding such a generation as this: “My Spirit shall not dwell in men for ever, because they are flesh.”<sup>78</sup> “Whosoever, therefore, has not the Spirit of God in him, is none of His:”<sup>79</sup> as it is written, “The Spirit of God departed from Saul, and an evil spirit troubled him, which was sent upon him from God.”<sup>80</sup>

## Chapter 9

*Continuation of the Subject of Mortification;  
Dignity of Persons Consecrated to God.*

He in whomsoever the Spirit of God is, is in accord with the will of the Spirit of God; and, because he is in accord with the Spirit of God, therefore does he mortify, the deeds of the body and live unto God, “treading down and subjugating the body and keeping it under; so that, while preaching to others,” he may be a beautiful example and pattern to believers, and may spend his life in works which are worthy of the Holy Spirit, so that he may “not be cast away,”<sup>81</sup> but may be approved before God and before men. For in “the man who is of God,”<sup>82</sup> with him I say there is nothing of the mind of the flesh; and especially in virgins of either sex; but the fruits of all of them are “the fruits of the Spirit”<sup>83</sup> and of life, and they are truly the city of God, and the houses and temples in which God abides and dwells, and among which He walks, as in the holy city of heaven. For in this “do ye appear to the world as lights, in that ye give heed to the Word of life,”<sup>84</sup> and thus ye are in truth the praise, and the boast, and the crown of rejoicing, and the delight of good servants in our Lord Jesus Christ. For all who see you will “acknowledge that ye are the seed which the Lord hath blessed;”<sup>85</sup> in very deed a seed honourable and holy, and “a priestly kingdom, a holy people, the

people of the inheritance,”<sup>86</sup> the heirs of the promises of God; of things which do not decay, nor wither; of “that which eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and which hath not come up into the heart of man; of that which God hath prepared for those who love Him and keep His commandments.”<sup>87</sup>

## Chapter 10

### *Denunciation of Dangerous and Scandalous Association with Maidens.*

Now, we are persuaded of you, my brethren, that your thoughts are occupied about those things which are requisite for your salvation.<sup>88</sup> But we speak thus<sup>89</sup> in consequence of the evil rumours and reports concerning shameless men, who, under pretext of the fear of God, have their dwelling with maidens, and so, expose themselves to danger, and walk with them along the road and in solitary places<sup>90</sup> alone - a course which is full of dangers, and full of stumbling-blocks and snares and pitfalls; nor is it in any respect right for Christians and those who fear God so to conduct themselves. Others, too, eat and drink with them at entertainments allowing themselves in loose behaviour and much uncleanness - such as ought not to be among believers, and especially among those who have chosen for themselves a life of holiness.<sup>91</sup> Others, again, meet together for vain and trifling conversation and merriment, and that they may speak evil of one another; and they hunt up tales against one another, and are idle: persons with whom we do not allow you even to eat bread. Then, others gad about among the houses of virgin brethren or sisters, on pretence of visiting them, or reading the Scriptures to them, or exorcising them. Forasmuch as they are idle and do no work, they pry into those things which ought not to be inquired into, and by means of plausible words make merchandise of the name of Christ. These are men from whom the divine apostle kept aloof, because of the multitude of their evil deeds; as it is written: “Thorns sprout in the hands of the idle;”<sup>92</sup> and, “The ways of the idle are full of thorns.”<sup>93</sup>

## Chapter 11

### *Perniciousness of Idleness; Warning Against the Empty Longing to Be Teachers; Advice About Teaching and the Use of Divine Gifts.*

Such are the ways of all those who do not work, but go hunting for tales, and think to themselves that this is profitable and right.<sup>94</sup> For such persons are like those idle and prating widows “who go wandering about<sup>95</sup> among houses”<sup>96</sup> with their prating, and hunt for idle tales, and carry them from house to house with much exaggeration, without fear of God. And besides all this, barefaced men as they are,<sup>97</sup> under pretence of teaching, they set forth a variety of doctrines. And would that they taught the doctrines of truth! But it is this which is so disquieting, that they understand not what they mean, and assert that which is not true : because they wish to be teachers, and to display themselves as skilful in speaking; because they traffic in iniquity in the name of Christ - which it is not right for the servants of God to do. And they hearken not to that which the Scripture has said: “Let not many be teachers among you, my brethren, and be not all of you prophets.”<sup>98</sup> For “he who does not transgress in word is a perfect man, able to keep down and subjugate his whole body.”<sup>99</sup> And, “If a man speak, let him speak in the words<sup>100</sup> of God.”<sup>101</sup> And, “If there is in thee understanding, give an answer to thy brother but if not, put thy hand on thy mouth.”<sup>102</sup> For, “at one time it is proper to keep silence, and at another thee to speak.”<sup>103</sup> And again it says “When a

man speaks in season, it is honourable <sup>104</sup> to him.” <sup>105</sup> And again it says: “Let your speech be seasoned with grace. For it is required of a man to know how to give an answer to every one in season.” <sup>106</sup> For “he that utters whatsoever comes to his mouth, that man produces strife; and he that utters a superfluity of words increases vexation; and he that is hasty with his lips falls into evil. For because of the unruliness of the tongue cometh anger; but the perfect man keeps watch over his tongue, and loves his soul’s life.” <sup>107</sup> For these are they “who by good words and fair speeches lead astray the hearts of the simple, and, while offering them blessings, lead them astray.” <sup>108</sup> Let us, therefore, fear the judgment which awaits teachers. For a severe judgment will those teachers receive “who teach, but do not,” <sup>109</sup> and those who take upon them the name of Christ falsely, and say: We teach the truth, and yet go wandering about idly, and exalt themselves, and make their boast” in the mind of the flesh.” <sup>110</sup> These, moreover, are like “the blind man who leads the blind man, and they both fall into the ditch.” <sup>111</sup> And they will receive judgment, because in their talkativeness and their frivolous teaching they teach natural <sup>112</sup> wisdom and the “frivolous error of the plausible words of the wisdom of men,” <sup>113</sup> “according to the will of the prince of the dominion of the air, and of the spirit which works in those men who will not obey, according to the training of this world, and not according to the doctrine of Christ.” <sup>114</sup> But if thou hast received “the word of knowledge, or the word of instruction, or of prophecy,” <sup>115</sup> blessed be God, “who helps every man without grudging - that God who gives to every man and does not upbraid him.” <sup>116</sup> With the gift, therefore, which thou hast received from our Lord, serve thy spiritual brethren, the prophets who know that the words which thou speakest are those of our Lord; and declare the gift which thou hast received in the Church for the edification of the brethren in Christ (for good and excellent are those things which help the men of God), if so be that they are truly with thee. <sup>117</sup>

## Chapter 12

### *Rules for Visits, Exorcisms, and How People are to Assist the Sick, and to Walk in All Things Without Offence.*

Moreover, also, this is comely and useful, that a man “visit orphans and widows,” <sup>118</sup> and especially those poor persons who have many children. These things are, without controversy, required of the servants of God, and comely and suitable for them. This also, again, is suitable and right and comely for those who are brethren in Christ, that they should visit those who are harassed by evil spirits, and pray and pronounce adjurations <sup>119</sup> over them, intelligently, offering such prayer as is acceptable before God; not with a multitude of fine words, <sup>120</sup> well prepared and arranged, so that they may appear to men eloquent and of a good memory. Such men are “like a sounding pipe, or a tinkling cymbal;” <sup>121</sup> and they bring no help to those over whom they make their adjurations; but they speak with terrible words, and affright people, but do not act with true faith, according to the teaching of our Lord, who hath said: “This kind goeth not out but by fasting and prayer,” <sup>122</sup> offered unceasingly and with earnest mind. And let them holily ask and beg of God, with cheerfulness and all circumspection and purity, without hatred and without malice. In this way let us approach a brother or a sister who is sick, and visit them in a way that is right, without guile, and without covetousness, and without noise, and without talkativeness, and without such behaviour as is alien from the fear of God, and without haughtiness, but with the meek and lowly spirit of Christ. Let them, therefore, with fasting and with prayer make their

adjurations, and not with the elegant and well-arranged and fitly-ordered words of learning, but as men who have received the gift of healing from God, confidently, to the glory of God. By <sup>123</sup> your fastings and prayers and perpetual watching, together with your other good works, mortify the works of the flesh by the power of the Holy Spirit. He who acts thus “is a temple of the Holy Spirit of God.” <sup>124</sup> Let this man cast out demons, and God will help him. For it is good that a man help those that are sick. Our Lord hath said: “Cast out demons,” at the same thee commanding many other acts of healing; and, “Freely ye have received, freely give.” <sup>125</sup> For such persons as these a goodly recompense is laid up by God, because they serve their brethren with the gifts which have been given them by the Lord. This is also comely and helpful to the servants of God, because they act according to the injunctions of our Lord, who hath said: “I was sick, and ye visited Me, and so on.” <sup>126</sup> And this is comely and right and just, that we visit our neighbours for the sake of God with all seemliness of manner and purity of behaviour; as the Apostle hath said: “Who is sick, and I am not sick? who is offended, and I am not offended?” <sup>127</sup> But all these things are spoken in reference to the love with which a man should love his neighbour. And in these things let us occupy ourselves, <sup>128</sup> without giving offence, and let us not do anything with partiality or for the shaming of others, but let us love the poor as the servants of God, and especially let us visit them. For this is comely before God and before men, that we should remember the poor, and be lovers of the brethren and of strangers, for the sake of God and for the sake of those who believe in God, as we have learnt from the law and from the prophets, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, concerning the love of the brotherhood and the love of strangers: for ye know the words which have been spoken concerning the love of the brotherhood and the love of strangers; <sup>129</sup> powerfully are the words spoken to all those who do them.

## Chapter 13

### *What Priests Should Be and Should Not Be.*

Beloved brethren! that a man should build up and establish the brethren on the faith in one God, this also is manifest and well-known. This too, again, is comely, that a man should not be envious of his neighbour. And moreover, again, it is suitable and comely that all those who work the works of the Lord should work the works of the Lord in the fear of God. Thus is it required of them to conduct themselves. That “the harvest is great, but the workmen are few,” this also is well-known and manifest. Let us, therefore, “ask of the Lord of the harvest” that He would send forth workmen into the harvest; <sup>130</sup> such workmen as “shall skilfully dispense the word of truth; “workmen “who shall not be ashamed;” <sup>131</sup> faithful workmen; workmen who shall be “the light of the world;” <sup>132</sup> workmen who “work not for the food that perisheth, but for that food which abideth unto life eternal;” <sup>133</sup> workmen who shall be such as the apostles; workmen who imitate the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit; who are concerned for the salvation of men; not “hireling” <sup>134</sup> workmen; not workmen to whom the fear of God and righteousness appear to be gain; not workmen who “serve their belly; “not workmen who “with fair speeches and pleasant words mislead the hearts of the innocent;” <sup>135</sup> not workmen who imitate the children of light, while they are not light but darkness - “men whose end is destruction;” <sup>136</sup> not workmen who practise iniquity and wickedness and fraud; not “crafty workmen;” <sup>137</sup> not workmen “drunken” and “faithless;” <sup>138</sup> nor workmen who traffic in Christ; <sup>139</sup> not misleaders; not “lovers of money; not malevolent.”<sup>140</sup>

Let us, therefore, contemplate and imitate the faithful who have conducted themselves well in the Lord, as is becoming and suitable to our calling and profession. Thus let us do service before God in justice and righteousness, and without blemish, “occupying ourselves with things good and comely before God and also before men.”<sup>141</sup> For this is comely, that God be glorified in us in all things. Here endeth the first Epistle of Clement.

## FOOTNOTES

1. In later Greek παρθενὸ was used of both sexes (compare Revelation 14:4). The Syriac original employs both a masculine and a feminine form. This will not always be indicated in the following translation.
2. Matthew 19:12.
3. Or “to the holy virgins who are in God: peace.” So Zingerle, and probably Wetstein.
4. Zing., not so well, takes this to mean, “by the confession of the mouth” (δυσχη δασ μῦνδλιχηε Βεκενντισσ), comparing Matthew 7:21.
5. *Literally* “by word or by name.”
6. The Greek word σχη-μα, here adopted in the Syriac, c, is some. times thus used. - Beelen.
7. *Literally* “much time.”
8. Proverbs 3:3-4 (LXX)
9. *Literally* “fixed.” Proverbs 4:18.
10. Matthew 5:14.
11. Isaiah 9:2; Matthew 4:16.
12. Matthew 5:16; 1 Peter 2:12
13. Probably referring to 1 Corinthians 14:40. - Beelen
14. Ephesians 5:6.
15. Matthew 25:2.
16. 1 Timothy 3:5.
17. *Literally* “let every one be trying.”
18. Galatians 6:3- 4
19. Matthew 12:33. [More probably Luke 6:44. - R]
20. Or “consider”. There is no play on words in the passage quoted (2 Timothy 2:7), nor perhaps was this intended in the Syriac.
21. 2 Timothy 2:7.
22. *Literally* “true in fear of God.” The reading is probably faulty. -Beelen
23. The ellipsis is usually to be thus filled up in these epistles. [In similar cases which follow, italics will not be used. - R]
24. Genesis 1:28.
25. Or “the sensual pleasures.”
26. Or “from all intercourse with.”
27. Either something is here omitted by the transcriber, or Clement has varied the form of expression. - Beelen.
28. “Sanctification.” - Beelen. [So A. V. The R. V. correctly renders αγιασμὸ, “sanctification,” in every instance. - R]
29. 1 Thessalonians 2:13.
30. Colossians 1:5.
31. Isaiah 56:4-5.
32. Hebrews 13:4.
33. 1 Corinthians 7:34.
34. *Literally* “descend to”.
35. 1 Timothy 2:5.
36. The words, “in the might of the Holy Spirit,” appear to obscure the sense. - Beelen.
37. Galatians 4:26.

38. Revelation 12:7.
39. 1 Peter 5:8.
40. Corinthians 11:3.
41. *Literally* “the Eucharist of the Godhead.” This is an evidence of later date than the sub-apostolic age. - R].]
42. Matthew 16:24
43. *Literally* “crown of victory.”
44. Philippians 3:14
45. continence. [The use of the terms “sanctity,” “holy,” etc., in the limited sense of “continence,” “chaste,” etc., is strong evidence of the later origin. - R]
46. The last two sentences properly belong to chapter 6:
47. Or “the Holy Virgin.”
48. Matthew 11:11.
49. *Literally* “lover,” or “friend.”
50. John 21:20.
51. A virgin.
52. Philippians 4:3.
53. Virginitv.
54. Celibate. or chaste.
55. Hebrews 13:7.
56. 1 Corinthians 11:1.
57. Romans 13:14.
58. Galatians 5:24.
59. 1 Corinthians 7:32.
60. 1 Peter 1:15 (*cf.* Leviticus 11:44).
61. Romans 8:6 (φρονημα).
62. Romans 8:9.
63. *Literally* “the worship of idols.” The single word sometimes used to express “idolatry” (as in *Ephesians Syr.*, opp. tom. 1, page 116), is not found in these epistles
64. *Literally* “much talking.”
65. *Literally* “empty words.”
66. The word thus rendered is not in the lexicons, but is well illustrated by Isaiah 29:21 (“that *make* a man an offender”), where the Ηπηιλ οφ)†ξ
67. The word is used in the Πεσχητο of 1 Timothy 6:5, to express διαπαρατριβαι (“incessant quarrellings,” *Alf.*); [R. V., “wranglings” - R.].
68. Exodus Χονεχτ. Beelen. The word is not in the lexicons.
69. Or “power.”
70. *Literally* “folly,” but so used in 2 Corinthians 12:13.
71. Or “returning of evils.”
72. Colossians 3:5.
73. 1 Timothy 6:10.
74. Peter 5:5; James 4:6.
75. John 3:6, 31.
76. Romans 8:7.
77. Romans 7:18.
78. Genesis 6:3. [This is an example of the vicious method of interpretation, not yet extirpated, which carries Paul’s distinctive use of the term “flesh” hack to the Pentateuch, where no ethical sense is necessarily implied. - R]

79. Romans 7:9. [The Apostle speaks of “the Spirit of *Christ*.” - R.]
80. 1 Samuel 16:14.
81. Corinthians 9:27.
82. 1 Timothy 6:11.
83. Galatians 5:22.
84. Philippians 2:15-16.
85. Isaiah 61:9.
86. 1 Peter 2:9
87. 1 Corinthians 2:9
88. Or “life.”
89. The words which follow, “concerning those things which we speak,” appear not to be genuine. - Beelen.
90. Beelen supposes a εἶναι διὰ δουλιῶν: “along the lonely road.”
91. Virginity
92. Proverbs 26:9
93. Proverbs 15:19 (LXX.).
94. *Literally* “profit and righteousness.”
95. *Literally* “go about and wander.”
96. 1 Timothy 5:13.
97. *Literally* “in their barefacedness.”
98. 1 Corinthians 12:29. [But compare James 3:1: “Be not many teach” (R.V.) which precedes the next citation. - R.]
99. James 3:2.
100. *Literally* “speech.”
101. 1 Peter 4:11.
102. Ecclesiastes 5:14
103. Ecclesiastes 3:7.
104. *Literally* “beautiful.”
105. Proverbs 25:11.
106. *Literally* “in his place.” Colossians 4:6.
107. *Literally* “his soul for life.” Proverbs 18:6, 13:3, 21:23.
108. Romans 16:17-19.
109. Matthew 23:3.
110. Colossians 2:18.
111. Matthew 15:14.
112. As 1 Corinthians 15:44 (ψυχικὸν). - See James 3:15 [also 1 Corinthians 2:13-14. - R.]
113. See Colossians 2:8.
114. Ephesians 2:2; Colossians 2:8.
115. 1 Corinthians 12:8-10.
116. James 1:5.
117. An obscure clause, which Beelen supposes to be due to the misapprehension of the Syrian translator. Perhaps the difficulty will be met if we read “gifts,” as do Wets. and Zing., by a change in the pointing.
118. James 1:27.
119. Or “exorcisms”
120. *Literally* “elegant and numerous words.”
121. 1 Corinthians 13:1

122. Matthew 17:21. [Or Mark 9:29; the verse in Matthew is of doubtful genuineness. - R]
123. Or “in.”
124. 1 Corinthians 6:19.
125. Matthew 10:8.
126. *Literally* “and things similar to these,” Matthew 25:36.
127. 1 Corinthians 11:29.
128. *Literally* “let us be.”
129. Beelen here omits, as spurious, the words, “because this same thing is pleasant and agreeable to you: because ye are all taught of God.”
130. Matthew 9:37-38.
131. *Literally* “without shame,” 2 Timothy 2:15.
132. Matthew 5:14.
133. John 6:27.
134. John 10:12-13.
135. Romans 16:18.
136. Philippians 3:9.
137. 1 Corinthians 11:13.
138. See Matthew 24:45-51.
139. [Compare the term χριστημπορό “Christ-monger,” “Christ-trafficker,” in *Teaching*, chapter 12:5, volume 7, page 381. - R.]
140. 1 Timothy 3:3; Titus 1:7.
141. Romans 12:17.

## THE SECOND EPISTLE OF THE SAME CLEMENT

### Chapter 1

*He Describes the Circumspectness of His Intercourse With the Other Sex, and Tells How in His Journeys He Acts at Places Where There are Brethren Only.*

I would, moreover, have you know, my brethren, of what sort is our conduct in Christ, as well as that of all our brethren, in the various places in which we are. And if so be that you approve it, do ye also conduct yourselves in like manner in the Lord. Now we, if God help us, conduct ourselves thus: with maidens we do not dwell, nor have we anything in common with them; with maidens we do not eat, nor drink; and, where a maiden sleeps, we do not sleep; neither do women wash our feet, nor anoint us; and on no account do we sleep where a maiden sleeps who is unmarried or has taken the vow: <sup>1</sup> even though she be in some other place if she be alone, we do not pass the night there. <sup>2</sup> Moreover, if it chance that the time for rest overtake us in a place, whether in the country, or in a village, or in a town, or in a hamlet, <sup>3</sup> or wheresoever we happen to be, and there are found brethren in that place, we turn in to one who is a brother, and call together there all the brethren, and speak to them words of encouragement and exhortation. <sup>4</sup> And those among us who are gifted in speaking will speak such words as are earnest, and serious, and chaste, in the fear of God, and exhort them to please God in everything, and abound and go forward in good works, and “be free from <sup>5</sup> anxious care in everything,”<sup>6</sup> as is fit and right for the people of God.

### Chapter 2

*His Behaviour in Places Where There Were Christians of Both Sexes.*

And if, moreover, it chance that we are distant from our homes and from our neighbours, and the day decline and the eventide overtake us, and the brethren press us, through love of the brotherhood and by reason of their affection for strangers, to stay with them, so that we may watch with them, and they may hear the holy word of God and do it, and be fed with the words of the Lord, so that they may be mindful of them, and they set before us bread and water and that which God provides, and we be willing and consent to stay through the night with them; if there be there a holy man, <sup>7</sup> with him we turn in and lodge, and that same brother will provide and prepare whatever is necessary for us; and he himself waits upon us, and he himself washes our feet for us and anoints us with ointment, and he himself gets ready a bed for us, that we may sleep in reliance on God. All these things will that consecrated brother, who is in the place in which we tarry, do in his own person. He will himself serve the brethren, and each one of the brethren who are in the same place will join with him in rendering all those services <sup>8</sup> which are requisite for the brethren. But with us may no female, whether young maiden or married woman, be there at that thee; <sup>9</sup> nor she that is aged. <sup>10</sup> nor she that has taken the vow; not even a maid-servant, whether Christian or heathen; but there shall only be men with men. And, if we see it to be requisite to stand and pray for the sake of the women, and to speak words of exhortation and edification, we call together the brethren and all the holy sisters and maidens, and likewise all the other women who are there, inviting them with all modesty and becoming behaviour to come and feast on the truth. <sup>11</sup> And those among us who are skilled in speaking speak to them, and exhort them in those words which God has given us. And then we pray,

and salute<sup>12</sup> one another, the men the men. But the women and the maidens will wrap their hands in their garments; and we also, with circumspection and with all purity, our eyes looking upwards, shall wrap our right hand in our garments; and then they will come and give us the salutation on our right hand wrapped in our garments. Then we go where God permits us.

### Chapter 3

#### *Rules for the Conduct of Celibate Brethren in Places Where There are Only Married Christians.*

And if again we chance to come into a place where there is no consecrated brother, but all are married, all those who are there will receive the brother who comes to them, and minister to him, and care for his wants<sup>13</sup> in everything, assiduously, with goodwill. And the brother shall be ministered to by them in the way that is suitable. And the brother will say to the married persons who are in that place: We holy men do not eat or drink with women, nor are we waited on by women or by maidens, nor do women wash our feet for us, nor do women anoint us, nor do women prepare our bed for us, nor do we sleep where women sleep, so that we may be without reproach in everything, lest any one should be offended or stumble at us. And, whilst we observe all these things, “we are without offence to every man.”<sup>14</sup> As persons, therefore, “who know the fear of the Lord, we persuade men, and to God we are made manifest.”<sup>15</sup>

### Chapter 4

#### *Conduct of the Holy Man Where There are Women Only.*

But if we chance to come into a place where there are no Christian men, but all the believers are women and maidens,<sup>16</sup> and they press us to pass the night there in that place, we call them all together to some suitable place,<sup>17</sup> and ask them how they do; and according to that which we learn from them, and what we see to be their state of mind, we address them in a suitable manner, as men fearing God. And when they have all assembled and come together, and we see that they are in peace,<sup>18</sup> we address to them words of exhortation in the fear of God, and read the Scripture to them, with purity and in the concise<sup>19</sup> and weighty words of the fear of God. We do everything as for their edification. And as to those who are married, we speak to them in the Lord in a manner suited to them. And if, moreover, the day decline and the eventide draw on, we select, in order to pass the night there, a woman who is aged and the most exemplary<sup>20</sup> of them all; and we speak to her to give us a place all to ourselves, where no woman enters, nor maiden. And this old woman herself will bring us a lamp, and whatever is requisite for us she will herself bring us. From love to the brethren, she will bring whatever is requisite for the service of stranger brethren. And she herself, when the time for sleep is come, will depart and go to her house in peace.

### Chapter 5

#### *Where There is Only One Woman, the Father Does Not Make a Stay; How Carefully Stumbling-Blocks Must Be Avoided.*

But if, moreover, we chance upon a place, and find there one believing woman only, and no other person be there but she only, we do not stop there, nor pray there, nor

read the Scriptures there, but we flee as from before the face of a serpent, and as from before the face of sin. Not that we disdain the believing woman - far be it from us to be so minded towards our brethren in Christ! - but, because she is alone, we are afraid lest any one should make insinuations against us in words of falsehood. For the hearts of men are firmly set<sup>21</sup> on evil. And, that we may not give a pretext to those who desire to get a pretext against us and to speak evil of us, and that we may not be a stumbling-block to any one, on this account we cut off the pretext of those who desire to get a pretext against us; on this account we must be "on our guard that we be to no one a stumbling-block, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor yet to the Church of God; and we must not seek that which is profitable to ourselves only, but that which is for the profit of many, so that they may be saved."<sup>22</sup> For this does not profit us, that another stumble because of us. Let us, therefore, be studiously on our guard at all times, that we do not smite our brethren and give them to drink of a disquieting conscience through our being to them a stumbling-block. For "if for the sake of meat our brother be made sad, or shocked, or made weak, or caused to stumble, we are not walking in the love of God. For the sake of meat thou causest him to perish for whose sake Christ died."<sup>23</sup> For, in "thus sinning against your brethren and wounding their sickly consciences, ye sin against Christ Himself. For, if for the sake of meat my brother is made to stumble," let us who are believers say, "Never will we eat flesh, that we may not make our brother to stumble."<sup>24</sup> These things, moreover, does ever one who truly loves God, who truly takes up his cross, and puts on Christ, and loves his neighbour; the man who watches over himself that he be not a stumbling-block to any one, that no one be caused to stumble because of him and die because he is constantly with maidens and lives in the same house with them - a thing which is not right - to the overthrow of those who see and hear. Evil conduct like this is fraught with stumbling and peril, and is akin<sup>25</sup> to death. But blessed is that man who is circumspect and fearful in everything for the sake of purity!

## Chapter 6

### *How Christians Should Behave Themselves Among Heathens.*

If, moreover, it chance that we go to a place in which there are no Christians, and it be important for us to stay there a few days, let us be "wise as serpents, and harmless as doves;"<sup>26</sup> and let us "not be as the foolish, but as the wise,"<sup>27</sup> in all the self-restraint of the fear of God, that God may be glorified in everything through our Lord Jesus Christ, through our chaste and holy behaviour. For, "whether we eat, or drink, or do anything else, let us do it as for the glory of God."<sup>28</sup> Let "all those who see us acknowledge that we are a blessed seed,"<sup>29</sup> "sons of the living God,"<sup>30</sup> in everything - in all our words in shame-fastness, in purity, in humility, forasmuch as we do not copy the heathen in anything, nor are as believers like other men, but in everything are estranged from the wicked. And we "do not cast that which is holy before dogs, nor pearls before swine;"<sup>31</sup> but with all possible self-restraint, and with all discretion, and with all fear of God, and with earnestness of mind we praise God. For we do not minister where heathens are drinking and blaspheming in their feasts with words of impurity, because of their wickedness.<sup>32</sup> Therefore do we not sing psalms to the heathens, nor do we read to them the Scriptures, that we may not be like common singers, either those who play on the lyre,<sup>33</sup> or those who sing with the voice, or like soothsayers, as many are, who follow these practices and do these things, that they may sate themselves with a paltry mouthful of bread, and who, for the sake of a sorry

cup of wine, go about “singing the songs of the Lord in the strange land”<sup>34</sup> of the heathen, and doing what is not right. Do not so, my brethren; we beseech you, my brethren, let not these deeds be done among you; but put away those who choose thus to behave themselves with infamy and disgrace. It is not proper, my brethren, that these things should be so. But we beseech you, brethren in righteousness, that these things be so done with you as with us, as for a pattern of believers, and of those who shall believe. Let us be of the flock of Christ, in all righteousness, and in all holy and unblemished conduct, behaving ourselves with uprightness and sanctity, as is right for believers, and observing those things which are praiseworthy, and pure, and holy, and honourable, and noble; and do ye promote<sup>35</sup> all those things which are profitable. For ye are “our joy, and our crown,” and our hope, and our life, “if so be that ye stand in the Lord.”<sup>36</sup> So be it!<sup>37</sup>

## Chapter 7

*Uses of Considering Admonitory Examples, as Well as Instructive Patterns.*

Let us consider, therefore, my brethren, and see how all the righteous fathers conducted themselves during the whole time of their sojourn in this life, and let us search and examine from the law down to the New Testament. For this is both becoming and profitable, that we should know how many men there have been, and who they were, that have perished through women; and who and how many have been the women that have perished through men, by reason of the constancy with which they have associated with one another. And further, also, for the same reason, I will show how many have been the men, and who they were, that lived all their lifetime, and continued even to the close, with one another in the performance of chaste works without blemish. And it is manifest and well-known that this is so.<sup>38</sup>

## Chapter 8

*Joseph and Potiphar’s Wife; Of What Kind Love to Females Ought to Be.*

There is Joseph, faithful, and intelligent, and wise, and who feared God in everything. Did not a woman conceive an excessive passion for the beauty of this chaste and upright man? And, when he would not yield and consent to gratify her passionate desire,<sup>39</sup> she cast the righteous man into every kind of distress and torment, to within a little of death,<sup>40</sup> by bearing false witness. But God delivered him from all the evils that came upon him through this wretched woman. Ye see, my brethren, what distresses the constant sight of the person of the Egyptian woman brought upon the righteous man. Therefore, let us not be constantly with women, nor with maidens. For this is not profitable for those who truly wish to “gird up their loins.”<sup>41</sup> For it is required that we love the sisters in all purity and chasteness, and with all curbing of thought, in the fear of God, not associating constantly with them, nor finding access to them at every hour.

## Chapter 9

*Samson’s Admonitory Fall.*

Hast thou not heard concerning Samson the Nazarite, “with whom was the Spirit of God,”<sup>42</sup> the man of great strength? This man, who was a Nazarite, and consecrated to God, and who was gifted with strength and might, a woman brought to ruin with her

wretched body, and with her vile passion. Art thou, perchance, such a man as he? Know thyself, and know the measure of thy strength.<sup>43</sup> “The married woman catcheth precious souls.”<sup>44</sup> Therefore, we do not allow any man whatsoever to sit with a married woman; much less to live in the same house with a maiden who has taken the vow, or to sleep where she sleeps, or to be constantly with her. For this is to be hated and abominated by those who fear God.

## Chapter 10

### *David’s Sin, So Admonitory to Us Weak Men.*

Does not the case of David instruct thee, whom God “found a man after His heart,”<sup>45</sup> one faithful, faultless, pious, true? This same man saw the beauty of a woman - I mean of Bathsheba - when he saw her as she was cleansing herself and washing unclothed. This woman the holy man saw, and was thoroughly<sup>46</sup> captivated with desire by the sight of her.<sup>47</sup> See, then, what evils he committed because of a woman, and how this righteous man sinned, and gave command that the husband of this woman should be killed in battle. Ye have seen what wicked schemes he laid and executed, and how, because of his passion for a woman, he perpetrated a murder - he, David, who was called “the anointed of the Lord.”<sup>48</sup> Be admonished, O man: for, if such men as these have been brought to ruin through women, what is thy righteousness, or what art thou among the holy, that thou consortest with women and with maidens day and night, with much silliness, without fear of God? Not thus, my brethren, not thus let us conduct ourselves; but let us be mindful of that word which is spoken concerning a woman: “Her hands lay snares, and her heart spreadeth nets; but the just shall escape from her, whilst the wicked falleth into her hands.”<sup>49</sup> Therefore let us, who are consecrated,<sup>50</sup> be careful not to live in the same house with females who have taken the vow. For such conduct as this is not becoming nor right for the servants of God.

## Chapter 11

### *Admonitory History of the Incestuous Children of David.*

Hast thou not read concerning Amnon and Tamar, the children of David? This Amnon conceived a passion for his sister, and humbled her, and did not spare her, because he longed for her with a shameful passion; and he proved wicked and profligate because of his constant intercourse with her, without the fear of God, and he “wrought uncleanness in Israel.”<sup>51</sup> Therefore, it is not proper for us, nor right for us, to associate with sisters, indulging in laughter and looseness; but we ought to behave towards them with all chasteness and purity, and in the fear of the Lord.

## Chapter 12

### *Solomon’s Infatuation Through Women.*

Hast thou not read the history of Solomon, the son of David, the man to whom God gave wisdom, and knowledge, and largeness of mind,<sup>52</sup> and riches, and much glory, beyond all men? Yet this same man, through women, came to ruin,<sup>53</sup> and departed from the Lord.

## Chapter 13

### *The History of Susanna Teaches Circumspection with the Eyes and in Society.*

Hast thou not read, and dost thou not know, concerning those elders who were in the days of Susanna, who, because they were constantly with women, and looking upon the beauty which was another's,<sup>54</sup> fell into the depths of wantonness, and were not able to keep themselves in a chaste mind,<sup>55</sup> but were overcome by a depraved disposition, and came suddenly<sup>56</sup> upon the blessed Susanna to corrupt her. But she did not consent to their foul passion, but cried unto God, and God saved her out of the hands of the bad old men. Does it not, therefore, behove us to tremble and be afraid, forasmuch as these old men, judges and elders of the people of God, fell from their dignity because of a woman? For they did not keep in mind that which is said: "Look thou not on the beauty which is another's; "and, "The beauty of woman has destroyed many;"<sup>57</sup> and "With a married woman do not sit;"<sup>58</sup> and that, again, in which it says: "Is there any one that puts fire in his bosom, and does not burn his clothes;"<sup>59</sup> or, "Does a man walk on fire, and his feet are not scorched? So whosoever goeth in to another man's wife is not pure from evil, and whosoever comes near to her shall not escape."<sup>60</sup> And again it says: "Thou shall not long after the beauty a woman, lest she take thee captive with her eyelids;"<sup>61</sup> and, "Thou shalt not look upon a maiden, lest thou perish through desire of her;"<sup>62</sup> and, "With a woman that sings beautifully thou shall not constantly be;"<sup>63</sup> and, "Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall."<sup>64</sup>

## Chapter 14

### *Examples of Circumspect Behaviour from the Old Testament.*

But see what it says also concerning those holy men, the prophets, and concerning the apostles of our Lord. Let us see whether any one of these holy men was constantly with maidens, or with young married women, or with such widows as the divine apostle declines to receive. Let us consider, in the fear of God, the manner of life of these holy men. Lo! we find it written concerning Moses and Aaron, that they acted and lived in the company of<sup>65</sup> men, who themselves also followed a course of conduct like theirs. And thus did Joshua also, the son of Nun. Woman was there none with them; but they by themselves used holily to minister before God, men with men. And not only so; but they taught the people, that, whensoever the host moved, every tribe should move on apart, and the women with the women apart, and that they should go into the rear behind the host, and the men also apart by their tribes. And, according to the command of the Lord, so did they set out, like a wise people, that there might be no disorder on account of the women when the host moved. With beautiful and well-ordered arrangements did they march without stumbling. For lo! the Scriptures bear testimony to my words: "When the children of Israel had crossed over the Sea of Suth, Moses and the children of Israel sang the praises of the Lord, and said: We will praise the Lord, because He is exceedingly to be praised."<sup>66</sup> And, after that Moses had finished<sup>67</sup> singing praises, then Miriam, the sister of Moses and Aaron, took a timbrel in her hands, and all the women went out after her, and sang praises with her, women with women apart, and men with men apart. Then again, we find that Elisha and Gehazi and the sons of the prophets lived together in the fear of God, and that they had

no females living with them. Micah too, and all the prophets likewise, we find to have lived in this manner in the fear of the Lord.

## Chapter 15

*The Example of Jesus; How We May  
Allow Ourselves to Be Served by Women.*

And, not to extend our discourse to too great length, what shall we say concerning our Lord Jesus Christ? Our Lord Himself was constantly with His twelve disciples when He had come forth to the world. And not only so; but also, when He was sending them out, He sent them out two and two together, men with men; but women were not sent with them, and neither in the highway nor in the house did they associate with women or with maidens: and thus they pleased God in everything. Also, when our Lord Jesus Christ Himself was talking with the woman of Samaria by the well alone, “His disciples came” and found Him talking with her, “and wondered that Jesus was standing and talking with a woman.”<sup>68</sup> Is He not a rule, such as may not be set aside, an example, and a pattern to all the tribes of men? And not only so; but also, when our Lord was risen from the place of the dead, and Mary came to the place of sepulture, she ran and fell at the feet of our Lord and worshipped Him, and would have taken hold of Him. But He said to her: “Touch Me not; for I am not yet ascended to My Father.”<sup>69</sup> Is it not, then, matter for astonishment, that, while our Lord did not allow Mary, the blessed woman, to touch His feet, yet thou livest with them, and art waited on by women and maidens, and sleepest where they sleep, and women wash thy feet for thee, and anoint thee! Alas for this culpable state of mind! Alas for this state of mind which is destitute of fear! Alas for this affrontery and folly, which is without fear of God! Dost thou not judge thine own self? Dost thou not examine thine own self? Dost thou not know thine own self and the measure of thy strength? These things, moreover, are trustworthy, and these things are true and right; and these are rules immutable for those who behave themselves uprightly in our Lord. Many holy women, again, ministered to holy men of their substance, as the Shunammite woman ministered to Elisha; but she did not live with him, but the prophet lived in a house apart. And, when her son died, she wanted to throw herself at the feet of the prophet; but his attendant would not allow her, but restrained her. But Elisha said to his servant: “Let her alone, because her soul is distressed.”<sup>70</sup> From these things, then, we ought to understand their manner of life. To Jesus Christ our Lord women ministered of their substance: but they did not live with him; but chastely, and holily, and unblamably they behaved before the Lord, and finished their course, and received the crown in<sup>71</sup> our Lord God Almighty.

## Chapter 16

*Exhortation to Union and to Obedience; Conclusion.*

Therefore, we beseech you, our brethren in our Lord, that these things be observed with you, as with us, and that we may be of the same mind, that we may be one in you and ye may be one in us, and that in everything we may be of one soul and one heart in our Lord. Whosoever knoweth the Lord heareth us; and every one who is not of God heareth not us. He who desires truly to keep sanctity heareth us; and the virgin who truly desires to keep virginity heareth us; but she who does not truly desire to keep virginity doth not hear us. Finally, farewell in our Lord, and rejoice in the Lord, all ye

saints Peace and joy be with you from God the Father through Jesus Christ our Lord.  
So be it.

Here endeth the Second Epistle of Clement, the disciple of Peter. His prayer be with  
us! So be it.

## FOOTNOTES

1. *Literally* “or is a daughter of the covenant.”
2. Beelen’s rendering, “we do not even pass the night,” seems not to be favoured either by the arrangement or the context.
3. *Literally* “dwelling-place.”
4. Or “consolation.” So παρακλησι in the New Testament has both senses.
5. *Literally* “without.”
6. Philippians 4:6.
7. ie., one who has taken the vow of celibacy.
8. *Literally* “will with him minister all those things.”
9. The minuteness of all these precepts is of itself suspicious. The “simplicity” of the earlier age had evidently passed when these prohibitions were penned. - R.
10. Beelen’s conjecture for, “rich.” Zingerle proposes, “about *to be married*.”
11. *Literally* “come to the delight of the truth.”
12. *Literally* “ask of the peace of.”
13. *Literally* “for that which in his;” or “for what *belongs* to him.”
14. 1 Corinthians 6:3.
15. 2 Corinthians 5:11.
16. *Literally* “all of them are believing women and maidens.”
17. *Literally* “some place on the right side.” The Syrian translator has probably mistaken the meaning of ειθ ε!να τοπον δεξιον, where δεξιον may be compared with *dexter* in Hor., *Sat.*, 2, 1, 18. - Beelen.
18. Probably meaning, “when we have inquired of their welfare.”
19. *Literally* “compressed.”
20. *Literally* “chaste,” or “modest.”
21. Or “are set and fixed.”
22. 1 Corinthians 10:32-33.
23. Romans 14:15 [The Apostle’s noble and consistent counsel to the “strong” brethren at Rome is in sharp contrast with the use here made of it. Only one of the “weak” brethren could have written this epistle. - R.]
24. 1 Corinthians 8:12-13.
25. *Literally* “near.”
26. Matthew 10:16.
27. Ephesians 5:15.
28. 1 Corinthians 10:31.
29. Isaiah 61:9.
30. Philippians 2:15.
31. Matthew 7:6.
32. Beelen joins “because of their wickedness” with the words that follow.
33. Or “cithara.”
34. Psalm 137:4.
35. Or “set on foot.”
36. Philippians 4:1.
37. Or “Amen.”
38. Wetstein and Zingerle join on this sentence to the next, by a change of the construction.
39. *Literally* “her passion and her desire.”
40. *Literally* “even to death.”

41. Luke 12:35.
42. Judges 13:25.
43. *Literally* “know thy measure.”
44. Proverbs 6:26
45. 1 Samuel 16:13; Psalm 89:20, seq.; Acts 13:22.
46. *Literally* “verily.”
47. “By the pleasure *derived* from the sight of her.” - Beelen
48. Psalm 18:50; 2 Samuel 19:21.
49. Ecclesiastes 7:26.
50. *Literally* “holy”.
51. Genesis 34:7.
52. *Literally* “heart.”
53. Or “perished.”
54. Susanna having a husband, Joachim.
55. *Literally* “a mind of chasteness.”
56. *Literally* “rose.”
57. Ecclesiastes 9:8-9.
58. Ecclesiastes 9:12.
59. Proverbs 6:27.
60. Proverbs 6:28-29.
61. Proverbs 6:25.
62. Ecclesiastes 9:5.
63. Ecclesiastes 9:4.
64. 1 Corinthians 10:12.
65. *Literally* “their conduct and living was with.”
66. Exodus 15:1.
67. *Literally* “ceased from.”
68. John 4:27.
69. John 20:17.
70. 1 Kings 4:27.
71. Beelen suggests the reading “from,” or to render the present text “by.”

## INTRODUCTION TO THE PASSION OF THE SCILLITAN MARTYRS

The Scillitan Martyrs were condemned and executed at Carthage on the 17th July, A.D. 180. The martyrs belonged to Scili, a place in that part of Numidia which belonged to proconsular Africa. The proconsul at the time, who is said by Tertullian to have been the first to draw the sword against the Christians there, was P. Vigellius Saturninus. The consuls for the year were Praesens 2. and Condianus. Marcus Aurelius had died only a few months before.

The exact date of the martyrdom was long under dispute, and the question has recently arisen whether the Acts were originally written in Latin or Greek. Baronius placed the date as late as 202. The text had become corrupt in passing through various Latin and Greek versions and transcriptions, and it was long impossible to recognise the names of the consuls for the year in the first line of the piece. But M. Leon Renier conjectured that the word *bis* pointed to a consul's name underlying the word preceding it, and suggested the year 180, when Praesens and Condianus were consuls. This conjecture was confirmed by Usener's publication in 1881 of a Greek version from a ninth century ms. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, though even here the names, though recognisable, were in a corrupt form, Usener believed this version to be a translation from a Latin original, and his theory has been confirmed by Mr. Armitage Robinson's discovery of a Latin ms. of the ninth century in the British Museum, containing the Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs in a form briefer than any of the other versions and believed to be the original. Mr. A. Robinson's translation which follows, is from the Latin which he discovered, and which is printed in *Texts and Studies*, Volume 1, Number 2.

## THE PASSION OF THE SCILLITAN MARTYRS

When Praesens, for the second time, and Claudianus were the consuls, on the seventeenth day of July, at Carthage, there were set in the judgment-hall Speratus, Nartzalus, Cittinus, Donata, Secunda and Vestia.

Saturninus the proconsul said: Ye can win the indulgence of our lord the Emperor, if ye return to a sound mind.

Speratus said: We have never done ill, we have not lent ourselves to wrong, we have never spoken ill, but when ill-treated we have given thanks; because we pay heed to Our Emperor.

Saturninus the proconsul said: We too are religious, and our religion is simple, and we swear by the genius of our lord the Emperor, and pray for his welfare, as ye also ought to do.

Speratus said: If thou wilt peaceably lend me thine ears, I can tell thee the mystery of simplicity.

Saturninus said: I will not lend mine ears to thee, when thou beginnest to speak evil things of our sacred rites; but rather swear thou by the genius of our lord the Emperor.

Speratus said: The empire of this world I know not; but rather I serve that God, *whom no man hath seen, nor with these eyes can see*. I have committed no theft; but if I have bought anything I pay the tax; because I know my Lord, the King of kings and Emperor of all nations.

Saturninus the proconsul said to the rest: Cease to be of this persuasion.

Speratus said: It is an ill persuasion to do murder, to speak false witness.

Saturninus the proconsul said: Be not partakers of this folly.

Cittinus said: We have none other to fear, save only our Lord God, who is in heaven.

Donata said: Honour to Caesar as Caesar: but fear to God.

Vestia said: I am a Christian.

Secunda said: What I am, that I wish to be.

Saturninus the proconsul said to Speratus: Dost thou persist in being a Christian?

Speratus said: I am a Christian. And with him they all agreed.

Saturninus the proconsul said: Will ye have a space to consider?

Speratus said: In a matter so straightforward there is no considering.

Saturninus the proconsul said: What are the things in your chest?

Speratus said: Books and epistles of Paul, a just man.

Saturninus the proconsul said: Have a delay of thirty days and bethink yourselves.

Speratus said a second time: I am a Christian. And with him they all agreed.

Saturninus the proconsul read out the decree from the tablet: Speratus, Nartzalus, Cittinus, Donata, Vestia, Secunda and the rest having confessed that they live according to the Christian rite, since after opportunity offered them of returning to the custom of the Romans they have obstinately persisted, it is determined that they be put to the sword.

Speratus said: We give thanks to God.

Nartzalus said: Today we are martyrs in heaven; thanks be to God.

Saturninus the proconsul ordered it to be declared by the herald: Speratus, Nartzalus, Cittinus, Veturius, Felix, Aquilinus, Laetantius, Januarina, Generosa, Vestia, Donata and Secunda, I have ordered to be executed.

They all said: Thanks be to God.

And so they all together were crowned with martyrdom; and they reign with the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.