

Clement of Rome

The First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians(1)

Chapter I.-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;(2) 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.(3) 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?(4) 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 II.-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,(5) and were more willing to give than to receive.(6) Content with the provision which God had made for you, and carefully attending to His words, ye were inwardly filled(7) 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,(8) that the number of God's elect might be saved with mercy and a good conscience.(9) 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."(10) 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.(11)

Chapter III.-The Sad State of the Corinthian Church After Sedition Arose in It from Envy and Emulation.

Every kind of honour and happiness(12) 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."(13) 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,(14) neither walks in the ordinances of His appointment, nor acts a part becoming a Christian,(15) but walks after his own wicked lusts, resuming the practice of an unrighteous and ungodly envy, by which death itself entered into the world.(16)

Chapter IV.-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."(17) 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.(18) Envy made Joseph be persecuted unto death, and to come into bondage.(19) 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?"(20) On account of envy, Aaron and Miriam had to make their abode without the camp.(21) Envy brought down Dathan and Abiram alive to Hades, through the sedition which they excited against God's servant Moses.(22) Through envy, David underwent the hatred not only of foreigners, but was also persecuted by Saul king of Israel.(23)

Chapter V.-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.(24) 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.(25) Let us set before our eyes the illustrious(26) 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,(27) compelled(28) 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,(29) and suffered martyrdom under the prefects.(30) Thus was he removed from the world, and went into the holy place, having proved himself a striking example of patience.

Chapter VI.-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(31) and Dircae, being persecuted, after they had suffered terrible and unspeakable torments, finished the course of their faith with steadfastness,(32) 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."(33) Envy and strife have overthrown great cities and rooted up mighty nations.

Chapter VII.-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,(34) 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.(35) Jonah proclaimed destruction to the Ninevites;(36) but they, repenting of their sins, propitiated God by prayer, and obtained salvation, although they were aliens [to the covenant] of God.

Chapter VIII.-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 ; "(37) adding, moreover, this gracious declaration Repent O house of Israel, of your iniquity.(38) Say to the children of My people, Though your sins reach from earth to heaven, I and though they be redder(39) 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(40) 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."⁽⁴¹⁾ Desiring, therefore, that all His beloved should be partakers of repentance, He has, by His almighty will, established [these declarations].

Chapter IX.-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,⁽⁴²⁾ 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.⁽⁴³⁾ 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 X.-Continuation of the Above.

Abraham, styled "the friend,"⁽⁴⁴⁾ 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 shall 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."⁽⁴⁵⁾ 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."⁽⁴⁶⁾ 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."⁽⁴⁷⁾ 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.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Chapter XI.-Continuation. Lot.

On account of his hospitality and godliness, Lot was saved out of Sodome 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.(49) 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.(50) 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(51) and become a sign to all succeeding generations.

Chapter XII.-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."(52) 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.(53) Ye see, beloved, that there was not only faith, but prophecy, in this woman.

Chapter XIII.-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"(54)), being especially mindful of the words of the Lord Jesus which He spake, teaching us meekness and long-suffering. 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."(55) 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?"(56)

Chapter XIV.-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."[\(57\)](#) 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."[\(58\)](#)

Chapter XV.-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."[\(59\)](#) And again: "They bless with their mouth, but curse with their heart."[\(60\)](#) 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."[\(61\)](#) "Let the deceitful lips become silent,"[\(62\)](#) [and "let the Lord destroy all the lying lips,[\(63\)](#)] 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."[\(64\)](#)

[Next Section](#)

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. Eph. v. 21; 1 Pet. v. 5.
6. Acts xx. 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. v. p. 132.]
8. 1 Pet. ii. 17.

9. So, in the ms., but many have suspected that the text is here corrupt. Perhaps the best emendation is that which substitutes *sunaisqhsewj*, "compassion," for *suneidhsewj*, "conscience."
10. Tit. iii. 1.
11. Prov. vii. 3.
12. Literally, "enlargement"
13. Deut. xxxii. 15.
14. It seems necessary to refer *autou* to *God*, in opposition to the translation given by Abp. Wake and others.
15. Literally, "Christ;" comp. 2 Cor. i. 21, Eph. iv. 20.
16. Wisd. ii. 24.
17. Gen. iv. 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., iv. 18, 3.
18. Gen. xxvii. 41, etc.
19. Gen. xxxvii.
20. Ex. ii. 14.
21. Num. xii. 14, 15. [In our copies of the Septuagint this is not affirmed of Aaron.]
22. Num. xvi. 33.
23. 1 Kings xviii. 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.*, vol. i. p. 30.]
32. Literally, "have reached to the stedfast course of faith."
33. Gen. ii. 23.
34. Some insert "Father."
35. Gen. vii.; 1 Pet. iii. 20; 2 Pet. ii. 5.
36. Jonah iii.
37. Ezek. xxxiii. 11.

38. Ezek. xviii. 11.
39. Comp. Isa. i. 18.
40. These words are not found in Scripture, though they are quoted again by Clem. Alex. (*Paedag.*, i. 10) as from Ezekiel.
41. Isa. i. 16-20.
42. Some read mataiologian, "vain talk."
43. Gen. v. 24; Heb. xi. 5. Literally, "and his death was not found."
44. Isa. xli. 8; 2 Chron. xx. 7; Judith viii. 19; James ii. 23.
45. Gen. xii. 1-3.
46. Gen. xiii. 14-16.
47. Gen. xv. 5, 6; Rom. iv. 3.
48. Gen. xxi. 22; Heb. xi. 17.
49. Gen. xix.; comp. 2 Pet. ii. 6-9.
50. So Joseph, *Antiq.*, i. 11, 4; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, iv. 31.
51. Literally, "become a judgment and sign."
52. Josh. ii.; Heb. xi. 31.
53. Others of the Fathers adopt the same allegorical interpretation, e.g., Justin Mar., *Dial. c. Tryph.*, n. 111; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, iv. 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. Jer. ix. 23, 24; 1 Cor. i. 31; 2 Cor. x. 17.
55. Comp. Matt. vi. 12-15, vii. 2; Luke vi. 36-38.
56. Isa. lxvi. 2.
57. Prov. ii. 21, 22.
58. Ps. xxxvii. 35-37. "Remnant" probably refers either to the *memory* or *posterity* of the righteous.
59. Isa. xxix. 13; Matt. xv. 8; Mark vii. 6.
60. Ps. lxii. 4.
61. Ps. lxxviii. 36, 37.
62. Ps. xxxi. 18.
63. These words within brackets are not found in the ms., but have been inserted from the Septuagint by most editors.
64. Ps. xii. 3-5.

Clement of Rome

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 (Chap. lix.). The entire absence of the spirit of Diotrophes (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, Drs. Roberts and 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 I., 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., iii. 15), of Origen (Comm. in Joan., i. 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 (chap. i.) 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., iii. 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 Clementinemss. and discoveries may be found in *The Princeton Review*, 1877, p. 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.]

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Clement of Rome

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE TO TWO EPISTLES CONCERNING VIRGINITY

By Professor M. B. Riddle, D.D.

Among the "Pseudo-Clementina" the Two Epistles concerning Virginitv 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, (1) 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; (2) and this seems very probable. Jerome was acquainted with the writings (*Ad Jovinum*, i. 12), and possibly Epiphanius (*Haer.*, xxx. 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. vii. pp. 509-523.
2. Against this class Cyprian stoutly contended, Comp. Cyprian, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. v. pp. 357, 358, 587-592.

Clement of Rome

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Clement of Rome

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 fulness 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.

Clement of Rome

The First Epistle of the Blessed Clement

The Disciple of Peter the Apostle.

Chapter I.-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,(1) who devote themselves to preserve virginity "for the sake of the kingdom of heaven; "(2) and to the holy *sister* virgins: the peace which is in God.(3)

Chapter II.-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(4) or renown,(5) by station(6) and descent, or by beauty or strength, or by length of life,(7) 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."(8) "The paths," therefore, "of the righteous shine as the light, and the light of them advances until the day is perfect."(9) 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,"(10) giving light to "those who sit in darkness,"(11) 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."(12) 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,(13) and do all his deeds in righteousness, as a man of God.

Chapter III.-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."⁽¹⁴⁾ 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;⁽¹⁵⁾ 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."⁽¹⁶⁾ For they "think with themselves that they are something, whilst they are nothing, and are deceived. But let every one constantly try⁽¹⁷⁾ his works,"⁽¹⁸⁾ 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."⁽¹⁹⁾ "See that thou understand⁽²⁰⁾ what I say: God will give thee understanding."⁽²¹⁾ For whosoever engages before God to preserve sanctity must be girded with all the holy power of God. And, if with true fear⁽²²⁾ he crucify his body, he for the sake of the fear of God excuses himself from that word *in* which *the Scripture*⁽²³⁾ has said: "Be fruitful, and multiply,"⁽²⁴⁾ and *shuns* all the display, and care, and sensuality,⁽²⁵⁾ and fascination of this world, and its revelries and its drunkenness, and all its luxury and ease, and withdraws from the entire life of⁽²⁶⁾ this world, and from its snares, and nets, and hindrances; and, whilst thou walkest⁽²⁷⁾ upon the earth, be zealous that thy work and thy business be in heaven.

Chapter IV.-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⁽²⁸⁾ of the Spirit of God,"⁽²⁹⁾ 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"⁽³⁰⁾ by God, who has declared with His mouth, and He does not lie, that it is "better than sons and daughters,"⁽³¹⁾ 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."⁽³²⁾ For God will give to virgins the kingdom of heaven, as to the holy angels, by reason of this great and noble profession.

Chapter V.-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*?"(33) 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(34) this contest and "strive,"(35) that, in the might of the Holy Spirit,(36) 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"?(37) 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;(38) conquer the lion;(39) conquer the serpent;(40) conquer Satan;-through Jesus Christ, who doth strengthen thee by the hearing of His words and the divine Eucharist.(41) "Take up thy cross and follow"(42) 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(43) of thy "calling on high"(44) 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?(45) Dost thou understand how great and exalted and excellent is the glory of virginity?(46)

Chapter VI.-Divinity of Virginity.

The womb of a holy virgin(47) 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,"(48) the holy messenger of our Lord, was a virgin. Imitate, therefore, the ambassador of our Lord, and be his follower(49) in every thing. *That* John, again, who "reclined on the bosom of our Lord, and whom He greatly loved,"(50) - he, too, was a holy person.(51) 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,"(52) -these, I say, all cherished and loved sanctity,(53) 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(54) 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."(55) And again it saith, "Imitate me, my brethren, as I *imitate* Christ."(56)

Chapter VII.-The True Virgin.

Those, therefore, who imitate Christ, imitate Him earnestly. For those who have "put on Christ"(57) 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 long-suffering, 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,"(58) 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,"(59) *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."(60)

Chapter VIII.-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(61) of the flesh." In those who are truly believers, and "in whom the Spirit of Christ dwells"(62) -in them "the mind of the flesh" cannot be: which is fornication, uncleanness, wantonness; idolatry,(63) 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,(64) babbling;(65) threatenings, gnashing of teeth, readiness to accuse,(66) jarring,(67) disdainings, blows; perversions *of the right*,(68) *laxness in judgment*; haughtiness, arrogance, ostentation, pompousness, *boasting* of family, of beauty, of position, of wealth, of an arm of flesh;(69) quarrelsomeness, injustice,(70) eagerness for victory; hatred, anger, envy, perfidy, retaliation;(71) debauchery, gluttony, "overreaching (which is idolatry),"(72) "the love of money (which is the root of all evils); "(73) love of display, vainglory, love of rule, assumption, pride (which is called death, and which "God fights against").(74) 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,"(75) 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*,"(76) because it is in the flesh, "in which dwells no good,"(77) 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."(78) "Whosoever, therefore, has not the Spirit of God in him, is none of His: "(79) as it is written, "The Spirit of God departed from Saul, and an evil spirit troubled him, which was sent upon him from God."(80)

Chapter IX.-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,"(81) but may be approved before God and before men. For in "the man who is of God,"(82) 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"(83) 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,"(84) 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; "(85) in very deed a seed honourable and holy, and "a priestly kingdom, a holy people, the people of the inheritance,"(86) 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."(87)

Chapter X.-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.(88) But we speak thus(89) 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(90) 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*.(91) 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 exhorting 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; "(92) and, "The ways of the idle are full of thorns."(93)

Chapter XI.-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.(94) For such persons are like those idle and prating widows "who go wandering about(95) among houses"(96) 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,(97) 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."(98) For "he who does not transgress in word is a perfect man, able to keep down and subjugate his whole body."(99) And, "If a man speak, let him speak in the words(100) of God."(101) And, "If there is in thee understanding, give an answer to thy brother but if not, put thy hand on thy mouth."(102) For, "at one time *it is proper* to keep silence, and at another thee to speak."(103) And again it says "When a man speaks in season, it is honourable(104) to him."(105) 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."(106) 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."(107) 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."(108) Let us, therefore, fear the judgment which awaits teachers. For a severe judgment will those teachers receive "who teach, but do not,"(109) 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."(110) These, moreover, are like "the blind man who leads the blind man, and they both fall into the ditch."(111) And they will receive judgment, because in their talkativeness and their frivolous teaching they teach natural(112) wisdom and the "frivolous error of the plausible words of the wisdom of men,"(113) "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."(114) But if thou hast received "the word of knowledge, or the word of instruction, or of prophecy,"(115) blessed be God, "who helps every man without grudging-that God who gives to every man and does not upbraid *him*."(116) 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.(117)

[Next Section](#)

FootNotes:

1. In later Greek *parqe/noj* was used of both sexes (*comp.* Rev. xiv. 4). The Syriac original employs both a masculine and a feminine form. This will not always be indicated in the following translation.
2. Matt. xix. 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" (durch das mündliche Bekenntniss), comparing Matt. vii. 21
5. *Lit.* "by word or by name."
6. The Greek word *sch=ma*, here adopted in the Syriac, *c*, is some. times thus used.-
Beelen.
7. *Lit.* "much time."
8. Prov. iii. 3, 4 (LXX)
9. *Lit.* "fixed." Prov. iv. 18.
10. Matt. v. 14.
11. Isa. ix. 2: Matt. iv. 16.
12. Matt. v. 16; 1 Pet. ii. 12
13. Probably referring to 1 Cor. xiv. 40.-Beelen
14. Eph. v. 6.
15. Matt. xxv. 2.
16. 2 Tim. iii 5
17. *Lit.* "let every one be trying."
18. Gal. vi. 3, 4
19. Matt. xii. 33. [More probably Luke vi. 44.-R.]

20. Or "consider". There is no play on words in the passage quoted (2 Tim ii. 7), nor perhaps was this intended in the Syriac.

21. 2 Tim. ii. 7.

22. *Lit.* "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. Gen. i. 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 a9giasmoj, "sanctification," in every instance.-R.]

29. 2 Thess. ii. 13.

30. Col. i. 5.

31. Isa. lvi. 4, 5.

32. Heb. xiii. 4.

33. 1 Cor. vii. 34.

34. *Lit.* "descend to".

35. 2 Tim. ii 5

36. The words, "in the might of the Holy Spirit," appear to obscure the sense.-Beelen.

37. Gal. iv. 26.

38. Rev. xii. 7.

39. 1 Pet. v. 8.

40. 2 Cor. xi. 3.

41. *Lit.* "the Eucharist of the Godhead." This is an evidence of later date than the sub-apostolic age.-R].]
42. Matt. xvi. 24
43. *Lit.* "crown of victory."
44. Phil. iii. 14
45. i.e. continency. [The use of the terms "sanctity," "holy," etc., in the limited sense of "continency," "chaste," etc., is strong evidence of the later origin.-R]
46. The last two sentences properly belong to chap. vi.
47. Or "the Holy Virgin."
48. Matt. xi. 11.
49. *Lit.* "lover," or "friend."
50. John xxi. 20.
51. i.e., a virgin.
52. Phil. iv. 3.
53. i.e., virginity.
54. i.e., celibate. or chaste.
55. Heb. xiii. 7.
56. 1 Cor. xi. 1.
57. Rom. xiii 14.
58. Gal. v. 24.
59. 1 Cor vii. 32.
60. 1 Pet i. 15 (*cf.* Lev. xi. 44).
61. Rom viii. 6 (*fro/nhma*).
62. Rom. viii. 9.

63. *Lit.* "the worship of idols." The single word sometimes used to express "idolatry" (as in *Eph. Syr.*, opp. tom. i.p. 116), is not found in these epistles
64. *Lit.* "much talking."
65. *Lit.* "empty words."
66. The word thus rendered is not in the lexicons, but is well illustrated by Isa. xxix. 21 ("that *make* a man an offender"), where the Hiphil of)+/x/
67. The word is used in the Peschito of 1 Tim. vi. 5, to express *diaparatribai* ("incessant quarrellings," *Alf.*); [R. V., "wranglings"-R.].
68. Ex. Conject. Beelen. The word is not in the lexicons.
69. Or "power."
70. *Lit.* "folly," but so used in 2 Cor. xii. 13.
71. Or "returning of evils."
72. Col iii. 5.
73. 1 Tim. vi. 10.
74. 1 Pet. v. 5; Jas. iv. 6.
75. John iii. 6, 31.
76. Rom viii. 7.
77. Rom vii. 18.
78. Gen. vi. 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. Rom. vii. 9. [The Apostle speaks of "the Spirit of *Christ*."-R.]
80. 1 Sam. xvi. 14.
81. 1 Cor. ix. 27.
82. 1 Tim. vi. 11.
83. Gal. v. 22.

84. Phil. ii. 15, 16.

85. Isa. lxi 9

86. 1 Pet. ii. 9

87. 1 Cor ii. 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 *e#n dia\ duoi=n*: "along the lonely road."

91. i.e., virginity

92. Prov. xxvi. 9

93. Prov. xv. 19 (LXX.).

94. *Lit.* "profit and righteousness."

95. *Lit.* "go about and wander."

96. 1 Tim. v. 13.

97. *Lit.* "in their barefacedness."

98. 1 Cor. xii. 29. [But compare Jas. iii. 1: "Be not many many teach" (R.V.) which precedes the next citation.-R.]

99. Jas. iii. 2.

100. *Lit.* "speech."

101. 1 Pet. iv. 11.

102. Ecclus. v. 14

103. Eccl. iii. 7.

104. *Lit.* "beautiful."

105. Prov. xxv. 11.

106. *Lit.* "in his place." Col. iv. 6.

107. *Lit.* "his soul for life." Prov. xviii. 6, xiii. 3, xxi. 23.

108. Rom. xvi. 17-19.

109. Matt. xxiii. 3.

110. Col. ii. 18.

111. Matt. xv. 14.

112. As 1 Cor. xv. 44 (yuciko/j).-See Jas. iii. 15 [also 1 Cor. ii. 13, 14.-R.]

113. See Col. ii. 8.

114. Eph. ii. 2; Col. ii. 8.

115. 1 Cor. xii. 8-10.

116. Jas. i. 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.

Clement of Rome

The Second Epistle of the Same Clement.

Chapter I.-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:(1) even though she be in some other place *if she be* alone, we do not pass the night there.(2) 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,(3) 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.(4) 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(5) anxious care in everything,"(6) as is fit and right for the people of God.

Chapter II.-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,(7) 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(8) which are requisite for the brethren. But with us may no female, whether young maiden or married woman, be there at that time;(9) nor she that is aged.(10) 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.(11) 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(12) 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 III.-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(13) in everything, assiduously, with good-will. 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."(14) As persons, therefore, "who know the fear of the Lord, we persuade men, and to God we are made manifest."(15)

Chapter IV.-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,(16) and they press us to pass the night there in that place, we call them all together to some suitable place,(17) 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,(18) we address to them words of exhortation in the fear of God, and read the Scripture to them, with purity and in the concise(19) 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(20) 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 V.-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(21) 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."(22) 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."(23) 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."(24) 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(25) to death. But blessed is that man who is circumspect and fearful in everything for the sake of purity!

Chapter VI.-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;"(26) and let us "not be as the foolish, but as the wise,"(27) 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."(28) Let "all those who see us acknowledge that we are a blessed seed,"(29) "sons of the living God,"(30) in everything-in all *our* words in shamefastness, 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;"(31) 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.(32) 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,(33) 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"(34) 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(35) 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."(36) So be it!(37)

Chapter VII.-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.(38)

Chapter VIII.-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,(39) she cast the righteous man into every kind of distress and torment, to within a little of death,(40) 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."(41) 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 IX.-Samson's Admonitory Fall.

Hast thou not heard concerning Samson the Nazarite, "with whom was the Spirit of God,"(42) 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.(43) "The married woman catcheth precious souls."(44) 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 X.-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,"(45) 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(46) captivated with desire by the sight of her.(47) 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."(48) 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."(49) Therefore let us, who are consecrated,(50) 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 XI.-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."(51) 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 XII.-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,(52) and riches, and much glory, beyond all men? Yet this same man, through women, came to ruin,(53) and departed from the Lord.

Chapter XIII.-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,(54) fell into the depths of wantonness, and were not able to keep themselves in a chaste mind,(55) but were overcome by a depraved disposition, and came suddenly(56) 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; "(57) and "With a married woman do not sit; "(58) and that, again, *in* which it says: "Is there any one that puts fire in his bosom, and does not burn his clothes; "(59) 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."(60) And again it says: "Thou shall not long after the beauty a woman, lest she take thee captive with her eyelids; "(61) and, "Thou shalt not look upon a maiden, lest thou perish through desire of her; "(62) and, "With a woman that sings beautifully thou shall not constantly be; "(63) and, "Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall."(64)

Next Section

FootNotes:

1. *Lit.* "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. *Lit* "dwelling-place."
4. Or "consolation." So *para/klhsij* in the N T. has both senses.
5. *Lit.* "without."
6. Phil. iv. 6.
7. *ie.*, one who has taken the vow of celibacy.
8. *Lit.* "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. *Lit.* "come to the delight of the truth."
12. *Lit.* "ask of the peace of."
13. *Lit.* "for that which in his;" or "for what *belongs* to him."

14. 2 Cor. vi. 3.

15. 2Cor. v. 11

16. *Lit.* "all of them are believing women and maidens."

17. *Lit.* "some place on the right side." The Syrian translator has probably mistaken the meaning of *ei0j e!na to/pon dexio/n*, where *dexio/n* may be compared with *dexter* in Hor., *Sat.*, ii, 1, 18.-Beelen.

18. Probably meaning, "when we have inquired of their welfare."

19. *Lit.* "compressed."

20. *Lit.* "chaste," or "modest."

21. Or "are set and fixed."

22. 1 Cor. x. 32, 33.

23. Rom. xiv. 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 Cor. viii. 12, 13.

25. *Lit.* "near."

26. Matt. x. 16.

27. Eph. v. 15.

28. 1 Cor. x. 31.

29. Isa. lxi. 9.

30. Phil. ii. 15.

31. Matt. vii. 6.

32. Beelen joins "because of their wickedness" with the words that follow.

33. Or "cithara."

34. Ps. cxxxvii. 4.

35. Or "set on foot."

36. Phil. iv. 1.

37. Or "Amen."

38. Wetstein and Zingerle join on this sentence to the next, by a change of the construction.

39. *Lit.* "her passion and her desire."

40. *Lit.* "even to death."

41. Luke xii. 35.

42. Judges xiii. 25.

43. *Lit.* "know thy measure."

44. Prov. vi. 26

45. 1 Sam. xvi. 13; Ps. lxxxix. 20, seqq.; Acts xiii. 22.

46. *Lit.* "verily."

47. "By the pleasure *derived* from the sight of her."-Beelen

48. Ps. xviii. 50; 2 Sam. xix. 21.

49. Eccl. vii. 26.

50. *Lit.* "holy".

51. Gen. xxxiv. 7.

52. *Lit.* "heart."

53. Or "perished."

54. Susanna having a husband, Joachim.

55. *Lit.* "a mind of chasteness."

56. *Lit.* "rose."

57. Ecclus. ix. 8, 9.

58. Ecclus. ix. 12.

59. Prov. vi. 27.

60. Prov. vi. 28, 29.

61. Prov. vi. 25.

62. Ecclus. ix. 5.

63. Ecclus. ix. 4.

64. 1 Cor x. 12.