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Fenton John Anthony Hort and Joseph Bickersteth Mayor

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### Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* Book VII

Fenton John Anthony Hort (1828–1892) was a scholar of the Bible, Patristics and theology whose contributions to scholarship included an influential critical edition of the Greek New Testament and portions of *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*. This posthumous publication (1902) on the important *Miscellanies* of Clement, includes the complete Greek text of Book Seven with English translation and detailed notes. This is preceded by an extensive introduction based on Hort's lectures, discussing Christianity and philosophy in Clement's foundational work, which relates to a Victorian debate concerning the supposed pollution of 'pure' Christianity by 'alien' Greek thought. Hort argued that not only had Hellenism been present from the earliest days of Christianity, but also that the interaction between the two had resulted in a 'de-secularization of philosophy'. He also emphasised Clement's view that the archetypal Christian ought to live 'as much by prayer and love as by knowledge and thought'.

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Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,  
São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781108007542](http://www.cambridge.org/9781108007542)

© in this compilation Cambridge University Press 2009

This edition first published 1902

This digitally printed version 2009

ISBN 978-1-108-00754-2 Paperback

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# CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA MISCELLANIES BOOK VII

## THE GREEK TEXT

WITH INTRODUCTION, TRANSLATION, NOTES,  
DISSERTATIONS AND INDICES

BY THE LATE

FENTON JOHN ANTHONY HORT, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D.

SOMETIME HULSEAN PROFESSOR  
AND LADY MARGARET'S READER IN DIVINITY  
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

AND

JOSEPH B. MAYOR, M.A.

EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON  
HONORARY FELLOW OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE  
HON. LITT.D., DUBLIN.

London

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED  
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1902

Cambridge University Press

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## PREFACE.

NOT Cambridge only but the Church at large is under deep obligations to the wise and public-spirited action of the Master, the Rev. Dr Phear, and the Fellows of Emmanuel College, when, in the year 1872, they persuaded the former Fellow of Trinity to leave the loved and fruitful seclusion of St Ippolyt's and become a resident member of their own society. During the six years which intervened before Dr Hort was elected to a Divinity Professorship, he lectured in College on Origen *contra Celsum*, the Epistle to the Ephesians, Irenaeus Book III, the First Epistle of St Peter, the First Epistle to the Corinthians, the Epistle of St James, the Seventh Book of the *Stromateis* and chapters 1—3 of the Apocalypse.

I felt it to be a high privilege and honour, when I was intrusted with the task of editing the notes on Clement, which had been left behind by my old friend and schoolfellow. The notes, which are written partly in pencil and partly in ink on an interleaved copy of Dindorf's text, were not continued beyond § 69. At the end of § 66 occurs the date March 15, 1875, denoting probably the conclusion of a course of lectures.



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As is natural, I found the notes to vary much in value and importance, some appearing to have been hastily jotted down for future consideration, while others contained the results of long research and deep meditation. I was equally unwilling to print anything which Dr Hort would himself have been likely to reject if he had been preparing a commentary for publication, and to omit anything which he would have retained. In this difficulty I was fortunate in being able to appeal to his eldest son and biographer, Sir Arthur Hort of Harrow, and to his old college friend Dr Henry Jackson, who went most carefully through the notes, and without whose sanction no omission has been made. Many of the notes have been incorporated in the Translation, which I have added as a necessary help in dealing with so difficult and puzzling an author.

As Dr Hort's marginalia on the first 69 sections make no pretension to completeness, I have supplemented his work on these sections by considerable additions of my own; while for the notes which follow § 69, as well as for the Introduction, Appendices and Indices, I am alone responsible.

To prevent any confusion Dr Hort's notes are all marked with H. Notes marked with the initials H. J. and B. are by Dr Jackson and the Rev. P. Mordaunt Barnard, who have most kindly read and criticized my proofs. The names of both are well known to students of Clement, the former by notes and articles in the *Journal of Philology*, the latter by his excellent edition of the *Quis Dives Salvetur*. My thanks are also due to

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PREFACE.

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Dr E. A. Abbott and Dr Gifford for useful suggestions, and to Dr Otto Stählin, who is now occupied with a complete edition of the works of Clement, for allowing me to use his collation of the Clementine Anthologies, as well as of the Laurentian MS for this book, the accuracy of which I have been able to test by my own examination of the MS.

Other obligations are acknowledged in particular sections of the work, but I feel bound to express my thanks here for the great help I have received from the reader of the Cambridge press, especially in revising the Index of Greek words.

Perhaps it may be well to add that, in the years which have passed since I undertook this work, my views have sometimes undergone modification. The readings in the text are not always those which have commended themselves to me, when I was engaged on the notes. Such differences are noted in the Addenda. Again, as to the Translation, I have sometimes given the meaning of an emendation, suggested in the critical notes, though I might not feel so sure of its correctness as to alter the text.

J. B. M.

*July 1902.*

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## INTRODUCTION.

## CHAPTER I.

ON THE TITLE *STROMATEIS*.

It is unnecessary to repeat here what may be found in Bp Westcott's excellent article on Clement in the *Dict. of Chr. Biog.* published in 1877. I shall confine my remarks to the fuller treatment of some of the points on which he has only slightly touched. And, first, what did Clement mean by giving to his third treatise the title *Στρωματεῖς*, or, more fully, as at the end of Books I., III., V., οἱ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀληθῆ φιλοσοφίαν γνωστικῶν ὑπομνημάτων *Στρωματεῖς*? As to the literal sense of the word, Moeris in his *Lex. Att.* tells us *στρωματόδεσμος*, Ἀττικῶς *στρωματεὺς*, Ἑλληνικῶς. Pollux speaks to the same effect (vii. 19, x. 31) and Phrynichus p. 401<sup>1</sup>. Accordingly we read (Theophr. *H. Pl.* iv. 2) of the use of the cocoanut to make rings for the striped bags in which the bed-clothes were tied up (ἐξ οὗ τοὺς κρίκους τορνεύουσι τοὺς εἰς τοὺς στρωματεῖς τοὺς διαποικίλους), and in the *Ἀντενεργετῶν* of Apollodorus Carystius we find the phrase τοὺς στρωματεῖς ἔλουν. Hence the name was applied to a striped fish found in the Red Sea, see Artem. ii. 14, and Athen. vii. p. 322, ὁ καλούμενος στρωματεὺς ῥάβδους ἔχων δι' ὅλου τοῦ σώματος τεταμέναις χρυσιζούσας. Casaubon in his n. on Ath. i. 5 says that both the coverlets (*στρώματα*) and the *στρωματόδεσμος* or *στρωματεὺς*,

<sup>1</sup> The passages quoted under *στρωματεὺς* in L. and S., as examples of the meaning 'coverlet,' seem to me to be more naturally explained in the sense of *στρωματόδεσμος*.

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which contained them, were of variegated colour; but the *στρώματα* seem to have been usually purple and the *στρωματεῖς* striped. He understands *στρωματόδεσμος*, in the phrase *παρεῖναι δείπνῳ, ὥσπερ συμβολὰς κομίζοντας τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν στρωματοδέσμων γράμματα*, in a metaphorical sense, like *στρωματεῖς*, of collections of good sayings. Is the simple word *στῶμα* ever used in the same way? It would appear so from the lexicons; but the only instances seem to be found in Jerome, *De Viris Ill.* 38, where, after mentioning ‘*στρωματεῖς libri octo*’ in his catalogue of Clement’s works, he afterwards says ‘*meminit autem in stromatibus suis Tatiani*’ (translated *ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις στρώμασι* by Sophronius). So in his transl. of the Chronicle of Euseb. Ol. 47 and Ol. 64, ‘Clem. in primo stromate,’ also *Comm. in Gal. Prol.* where he refers to ‘*decimum librum stromatum*’ of Origen. He probably used this form to avoid the awkwardness of the oblique cases of ‘stromateus.’ The word *στρωματεὺς* was also used as an epithet of Cl. himself by later writers.

Let us now see what Cl. himself has to say of the word. In *Str.* IV. § 4 he tells us that his *ὑπομνήματα* are intentionally scattered in various ways (reading *ποικίλως*), as the name (*στρωματεὺς*) implies, passing rapidly from one point to another, and signifying one thing to the careless reader, according to the straightforward connexion of the words, while suggesting something different to the more thoughtful; so that what is said requires sifting. *Str.* I. § 18 ‘The Stromateis will contain the truth, mixed up with, or hidden in the teaching of the philosophers, as the kernel is in the husk.’ Clement is aware that there are many who are suspicious of philosophy, holding that faith is all-sufficient, and that all besides is superfluous. § 55 He fears to cast his pearls before swine. § 56 *ἔστι τῷ ὄντι ἡ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ὑποτύπωσις ὅσα δὴ σποράδην καὶ διερριμμένως ἐγκατεσπαρμένην ἔχουσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν.* *Str.* VI. § 2 ‘In meadows and parks the various kinds of flowers and trees are not separated from one another. And so such titles, as Meadow or Helicon or Honeycomb or Robe (of Athena), have been used for their learned collections by the writers of anthologies; and the form of my own Miscellanies has the variegated appearance of a meadow, from the haphazard way in which things came

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## CH. I.

## THE TITLE STROMATEIS.

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into my mind, not clarified either by arrangement or style, but mingled together in a studied disorder' (ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ λειμῶνι τὰ ἄνθη ποικίλως ἀνθοῦντα, καὶ τῷ παραδείσῳ ἢ τῶν ἀκροδρύων φυτεία, οὐ κατὰ εἶδος ἕκαστον κεχώριται τῶν ἀλλογενῶν· ἢ (MS. εἰ) καὶ λειμῶνάς τινες καὶ Ἑλικῶνας καὶ κηρία καὶ πέπλους, συναγωγὰς φιλομαθεῖς ποικίλως ἐξανθιστάμενοι, συνεγράψαντο· τοῖς δ' ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐπὶ μνημὴν ἐλθοῦσι, καὶ μήτε τῇ τάξει μήτε τῇ φράσει διακεκαθαρμένοις, διεσπαρμένοις δὲ ἐπίτηδες ἀναμίξῃ, ἢ τῶν στρωματέων ἡμῶν ὑποτύπωσις λειμῶνος δίκην πεποίκιλται). Compare to the same effect *Str.* VII. 110. In *Str.* I. 11 he tells us that he intends to record, for his own use and that of others, the teaching of the elders, received by them through tradition from Peter and James and John and Paul. § 14 'This will not be understood by all, but only by those who are prepared for it. I am not able to give their teaching perfectly. Part has slipped my memory: part I omit intentionally; not from jealousy, God forbid, but for fear that it might be misunderstood and do mischief.' § 15 ἔστι δ' ἂν αἰνίξεταί μοι <ἡ> γραφή...πειράσεται δὲ καὶ λαυθάνουσα εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐπικρυπτομένη ἐκφῆναι: 'it will contain all that is necessary as an introduction to the knowledge based on mystic contemplation, which will guide us as we advance onwards from the creation of the world in accordance with the venerable rule of tradition; furnishing<sup>1</sup> the necessary equipment for the study of natural philosophy, and removing the obstacles which might interfere with the methodical treatment of the subject...for the preliminaries of the mysteries are themselves mysteries' (ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐποπτικὴν θεωρίαν γνώσις, ἢ προβήσεται κατὰ τὸν σεμνὸν τῆς παραδόσεως κανόνα ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως προοῖουσιν, <τὰ> ἀναγκαίως ἔχοντα προδιαληφθῆναι τῆς φυσικῆς θεωρίας προπαρατιθεμένη, καὶ τὰ ἐμποδῶν ιστάμενα τῇ ἀκολουθίᾳ προαπολυμένη...ἀγὼν γὰρ καὶ ὁ προαγὼν καὶ μυστήρια τὰ πρὸ μυστηρίων).

From the above passages we gather that Clement chose this form of composition mainly with the view of discriminating between his readers, giving sufficient light to enable the more earnest and intelligent to penetrate to his inner meaning, without arousing unnecessary prejudice in the minds of the

<sup>1</sup> I take the preceding *γραφή* to be the subject of *προπαρατιθεμένη*.

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INTRODUCTION.

CH. I.

less enlightened. The result is that readers of the present day are often puzzled to know what he is driving at. It is his nature to fly off at a tangent, and in the *Stromateis* he indulges his natural bent without restraint, though he is quite aware that it is incompatible with a clear logical statement of the points at issue. In the chase to which he invites us we often lose the scent, and only come upon it again, as it were, accidentally. He drops *aperçus* and leaves it to his readers to follow them out at their own discretion. Clement also warns us that the mysteries of which a foretaste is given in the *Stromateis* are merely preliminary to the greater mysteries which he reserves for another treatise.

Eusebius tells us that the same title was used by Plutarch, (*Pr. Ev.* I. c. 7 *fin.*) τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι φιλοσόφων...τὰς περὶ ἀρχῶν δόξας...ἀπὸ τῶν Πλουτάρχου στρωματέων ἐκθήσομαι: as to which Diels says (*Doxographi* p. 156) 'nobilissimi scriptoris nomen sine dubio ementitur.' He adds on p. 157 that the title was used by Caesellius Vindex under Trajan (cf. Priscian *Inst.* VI. 18 'Caesellius in Stromateo,' Teuffel *Rom. Lit.* § 338); but that it was unknown to Pliny the Elder, who in his preface speaks of the ingenuity shown by the Greeks in their choice of names. 'Κηρίον inscripsere, quod volebant intellegi favum; alii Κέρας Ἀμαλθείας...ἰωνιά, Μούσαι, πανδέκται, ἐγχειρίδιον, λειμών, πινακίδιον, inscriptiones propter quas vadimonium deserui possit. At cum intraveris, di deaeque! quam nihil in medio invenies.' On the other hand it is mentioned by Gellius, an elder contemporary of Clemens, whose preface may be compared with the words we have quoted from Cl. above: 'perinde ut librum quemque in manus ceperam...vel quid memoratu dignum audieram, ita, quae libitum erat, cuius generis cumque erant, indistincte atque promisce annotabam; eaque mihi ad subsidium memoriae, quasi quoddam litterarum penus, recondebam...inscripsimus *Noctium Atticarum*, nihil imitati festivitates inscriptionum, quas plerique alii utriusque linguae scriptores in id genus libris fecerunt. Nam quia variam et miscellam et quasi confusaneam doctrinam conquisiverant, eo titulos quoque ad eam sententiam exquisitissimos indiderunt...Namque alii *Musarum* inscripserunt, alii *Silvarum*, ille Πέπλον, hic Ἀμαλθείας Κέρας, alius Κηρία, partim Λειμῶνας,...atque alius



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## CH. I.

## THE TITLE STROMATEIS.

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'*Ἀνθρῶν*, et item alius *Εὐρημάτων*. Sunt etiam qui *Λίχνους* inscripserunt; sunt item qui *Στρωματεῖς* etc.' He mentions as his aim to select from his reading 'ea sola quae aut ingenia prompta expeditaque ad honestae eruditionis cupidinem utiliumque artium contemplationem celeri facilique compendio ducerent, aut &c.'; but warns off the frivolous and the idle. It was the fashion of the time to publish such miscellanies; compare the works of Aelian, some of Plutarch, and the *Deῖρνο-sophistae* of Athenaeus. Origen published ten books of *Στρωματεῖς* in which he is said to have aimed, like Clement, at showing the agreement between Greek philosophy and the Christian religion. (Jerome *Ep.* 70. 4 'Origenes decem scripsit *stromateas*'; just before he had said 'Clemens octo scripsit *stromatum* libros.')

What do we learn from Clem. as to the relation of the *Stromateis* to the earlier writings? The *Protrepticus* was written as an independent work; but the *Paedagogus* looks back to it and forward to the *Stromateis*, or rather to the *Διδάσκαλος*, which is the name he commonly assigns to the final teaching of the Logos: cf. *Paed.* I. 1 *τριῶν γέ τοι τούτων περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὄντων, ἡθῶν, πράξεων, παθῶν, ὁ προτρεπτικός εἴληχεν τὰ ἥθη αὐτοῦ...ὁ τροπιδίου δίκην ὑποκείμενος λόγος εἰς οἰκοδομὴν πίστεως...ὁ γοῦν οὐράνιος ἡγεμὼν ὁ λόγος, ὁπνίκα μὲν ἐπὶ σωτηρίαν παρεκάλει, προτρεπτικός ὄνομα αὐτῷ ἦν...νυνὶ δὲ θεραπευτικός τε ὢν καὶ ὑποθετικός παραινεῖ τὸ προγεγραμμένον κεφάλαιον, τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν παθῶν ὑπισχνούμενος τὴν ἴασιν. κεκλήσθω δὲ ἡμῖν...παιδαγωγός, πρακτικός οὐ μεθοδικός ὢν, ἡ καὶ τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ βελτιῶσαι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐστίν, οὐ διδάξαι. § 2 καίτοι καὶ διδασκαλικὸς ὁ αὐτός ἐστι λόγος, ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς δογματικοῖς δηλωτικός καὶ ἀποκαλυπτικός, ὁ διδασκαλικός, πρακτικός δὲ ὢν ὁ παιδαγωγὸς πρότερον μὲν εἰς διάθεσιν ἡθοιοῦίας προτρέψατο, ἤδη δὲ εἰς τὴν τῶν δεόντων ἐνέργειαν παρακαλεῖ. § 3 καθάπερ οὖν τοῖς νοσοῦσι τὸ σῶμα ἰατροῦ χρῆζει, ταύτῃ καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενούσι τὴν ψυχὴν παιδαγωγοῦ δεῖ, ἵν' ἡμῶν ἰάσῃται τὰ πάθη, εἴτα δὲ καὶ διδασκάλου ὃς καθηγῆσεται πρὸς καθαρὰν γνώσεως ἐπιτηδεύματα.* He sums up by saying that ὁ πάντα φιλάνθρωπος λόγος seeks our perfection, *προτρέπων ἄνωθεν, ἔπειτα παιδαγωγῶν, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐκδιδάσκων.* Towards the end of the third book (§ 97) he

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distinguishes between the teaching of the Paedagogus and that of the Teacher 'whose aid we need *εἰς τὴν ἐξήγησιν τῶν ἀγίων λόγων...καὶ δὴ ὥρα γε ἐμοὶ μὲν πεπαύσθαι τῆς παιδαγωγίας, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἀκροᾶσθαι διδασκάλου. παραλαβὼν δὲ οὗτος ὑμᾶς, ὑπὸ καλῇ τεθραμμένους ἀγωγῇ, ἐκδιδάξεται τὰ λόγια.*' The same distinction is found in § 87 *ὅσα μὲν οἴκοι παραφυλακτέον, καὶ ὡς τὸν βίον ἐπανορθώτεον ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῖν ἄδην διείλεκται, ...ἄχρις ἂν ἀγάγῃ πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον*, and in *Paed.* II. 76, where after giving a mystical interpretation of the appearance in the Burning Bush, he breaks off *ἀλλ' ἐξέβην γὰρ τοῦ παιδαγωγικοῦ τόπου τὸ διδασκαλικὸν εἶδος παρεισάγων*. Again towards the end of the *Paedagogus* (III. 97) *ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐμόν, φησὶν ὁ παιδαγωγός, διδάσκειν ἔτι ταῦτα* (the instructions to be found in the Bible for bishops, priests and deacons &c.), *διδασκάλου δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐξήγησιν τῶν ἀγίων ἐκείνων λόγων χρήζομεν, πρὸς ὃν ἡμῖν βαδιστέον.*

De Faye argues with force, as it seems to me, that when Cl. wrote these words, he intended to give the name *Διδάσκαλος* to the third part of his great work, which was to treat of the Christian mysteries. Other writers on Clement have assumed that the *Στρωματεῖς* are merely the *Διδάσκαλος* under a different name. But is this so? De Faye calls attention to the fact that there is no appearance of finality in the *Miscellanies*. They, like the *Paedagogus*, are paving the way for a more advanced treatise. Thus in *Str.* IV. § 1, after laying out the subjects which remain to be discussed in the later books, he continues § 2 *ἐπὶ τούτοις ὕστερον, πληρωθείσης ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα τῆς κατὰ τὰ προκείμενα ἡμῖν ὑποτυπώσεως, τὰ περὶ ἀρχῶν φυσιολογηθέντα τοῖς τε Ἑλλήσι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις βαρβάροις, ὅσων (MS. ὅσον) ἤκον εἰς ἡμᾶς αἱ δόξαι, ἐξιστορητέον, καὶ πρὸς τὰ κυριώτατα τῶν τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἐπινευομένων ἐγχειρητέον<sup>1</sup>, οἷς ἐπόμενον ἂν εἴη μετὰ τὴν ἐπιδρομὴν τῆς θεολογίας τὰ περὶ τῆς προφητείας παραδεδομένα διαλαβεῖν*, and to confute the heresies from the Scripture. § 3 *τελειωθείσης τοίνυν τῆς προθέσεως ἡμῖν ἀπάσης...τότε δὴ τὴν τῷ ὄντι γνωστικὴν φυσιολογίαν μέτιμεν, τὰ μικρὰ πρὸ τῶν μεγάλων μνηθέντες μυστηρίων ...ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸ μὲν γεγράφεται, ἦν θεὸς γε ἐθέλη καὶ ὅπως ἂν ἐμπνέη, νυνὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον μετιτέον καὶ τὸν ἠθικὸν ἀπο-*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Str.* II. 134, where the discussion of theories of happiness is deferred.

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*πληρωτέον λόγον*. References to this more advanced treatise are also to be found in *Str.* VII., where he promises to give a view of gnostic teaching (*τὴν τῶν δογμάτων θεωρίαν*) on some future occasion (§ 59); *Str.* v. 68 ‘the allegorical meaning of the anthropomorphic descriptions of God will be explained further on.’ In IV. 162 having strayed into the region of the higher philosophy he recalls himself to his proper province (*μετιτέον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν φυσικωτέρων ἐπὶ τὰ προφανέστερα ἡθικά*), cf. VI. 4 ‘I postpone the elucidation of the Greek mysteries, until we have examined their philosophy of first principles, on which it will be shown that their mysteries depend.’ Similarly in *Str.* II. 37 the treatment of the First Cause is postponed. *Str.* VI. 168 *fin.* ‘I have shown the *character* of the gnostic; what he is *κατὰ τὴν θεωρίαν* will be shown hereafter *ἐν τοῖς φυσικοῖς, ἐπὶ τὴν περὶ γενέσεως κόσμου διαλαμβάνειν ἀρξώμεθα*.’ The same is said with regard to the interpretation of prophecy in VII. 1; and the refutation of the heretical depreciation of prayer in VII. 41. The questions of metempsychosis and of the nature of the devil are reserved for a future occasion in IV. 85; so for providential discipline in IV. 89 *init.*; for the Basilidean view of the creation in IV. 91 *init.*; for the Divine attributes in *Str.* v. 71 *κατὰ τὸν οἰκείον ἐπιδειχθήσεται τόπον*, and for the Monad in reference to the Church VII. 108 *init.*

Besides these somewhat vague references to the future developments of his work, Cl. names particular topics, on which he means to write—what most interpreters have understood to be—distinct treatises. Such are (1) the *περὶ προφητείας* referred to in *Str.* I. 158 *ὅπως μὲν οὖν ὁ Μωυσῆς ἦν προφητικὸς μετὰ ταῦτα λεχθήσεται, ὁπῆνικα ἂν περὶ προφητείας διαλαμβάνωμεν*: cf. *Str.* IV. 2 already cited, and § 93 *πρὸς οὓς (τοὺς Φρύγας) ἐν τοῖς περὶ προφητείας διαλεξόμεθα*, *Str.* v. 88 *ὅπως δὲ ἡ διανομὴ αὕτη (τοῦ πνεύματος) καὶ ὃ τί ποτέ ἐστι τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμα ἐν τοῖς περὶ προφητείας καὶ τοῖς περὶ ψυχῆς ἐπιδειχθήσεται ἡμῖν*. (2) The *περὶ ψυχῆς* mentioned here is also referred to in *Str.* III. 13, where the question of metempsychosis (see IV. 85 referred to above) is reserved for another opportunity, *ὁπῆνικα ἂν περὶ ψυχῆς διαλαμβάνωμεν*. Also *Str.* II. 113 *πρὸς τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο* (the Basilidean doctrine of the passions) *διαλεξόμεθα ὕστερον, ὁπῆνικα περὶ ψυχῆς διαλαμβάνομεν*.

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(3) A *περὶ γενέσεως* is promised in *Str.* III. 95, where he says that Cassianus' interpretation of the 'coats of skin' (Gen. iii. 21) will be considered *ὑστερον...ὅταν περὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου γενέσεως τὴν ἐξήγησιν...μεταχειριζώμεθα*, cf. *Str.* VI. 168 quoted above. (4) *περὶ ἀγγέλων* in *Str.* VI. 32, where, speaking of the supposed action of demons, he says *περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀγγέλων λόγῳ προϊούσης τῆς γραφῆς κατὰ καιρὸν διαλεξόμεθα*, which seems to imply that the discussion would form a part of the work on which he was already engaged. (5) *περὶ εὐχῆς*, *Strom.* IV. 171 *ἡμεῖς δὲ περὶ τῆς εὐχῆς κατὰ καιρὸν προέοντος τοῦ λόγου διαληψόμεθα*, on which the same remark may be made. (6) A discussion *περὶ ἀρχῶν*<sup>1</sup> is promised in *Str.* V. 140, where it is said that Greek philosophy will necessarily come up for examination *ὁπῇνυκα ἂν τὰς περὶ ἀρχῶν δόξας τὰς παρ' Ἑλλήσι φερομένας ἀναλεγώμεθα*, cf. *Str.* IV. 2 and VI. 4 already quoted on pp. xvi, xvii. (7) A discussion *περὶ ἀναστάσεως* is mentioned in *Paed.* I. 47, and II. 104.

De Faye thinks that the *Stromateis* was never completed, and that some of the subjects named were intended to have been included in it. Others he assigns to the final treatise; of which he considers that the so-called eighth book of the *Stromateis*, the *Excerpta Theodoti* and the *Eclogae Propheticae*, were intended to form a part. The termination of the seventh Book certainly implies a distinct break from what is to follow (*τῶν ἐξῆς ἀπ' ἄλλης ἀρχῆς ποιησόμεθα τὸν λόγον*); and Photius tells us that the eighth book was different in different copies, being sometimes the treatise entitled *Quis Dives Salvetur*, sometimes the logical treatise which stands in that place in our editions. I cannot agree with De Faye in supposing that

<sup>1</sup> In the *Q.D.S.* § 26 Clement speaks of the camel passing through the needle's eye, as a *μυστήριον τοῦ σωτήρος*, the meaning of which may be learnt ἐν τῇ περὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ θεολογίας ἐξηγήσει. This has been generally understood to prove that the treatise *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, promised in the *Stromateis*, had been published before the appearance of the *Q.D.S.* De Faye, holding that the former was the last of all the works of Clement, argues that the phrase *ἡ περὶ ἀρχῶν ἐξήγησις* may be explained more generally, 'appartient au domaine des principes.' The word *ἐξήγησις* does not seem to me to lend itself to such an explanation. If we regard the *Q.D.S.* as a mere sermon, it might surprise one to find in it a reference to a formal treatise of the preacher; but the former is really a treatise, just as much, say, as Hare's *Mission of the Comforter*, only that, in modern writings, text and notes are divided.

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the *Hypotyposes* and the *Q. D. S.* preceded the *Miscellanies*. The former, and possibly the latter, may be referred to in the promised discussion *περὶ προφητείας*. Granting that it was at one time Clement's intention to bring out a complete treatise on Christian Gnosis under the name *Διδάσκαλος*, I do not see why the same reasons which led him to prepare the way for this by the *Stromateis* should not also have suggested to him to bring out his great work in portions.

We have still to answer the question, what were the reasons which induced Clement to follow up the *Paedagogus* by a work, of which the real character was disguised by its apparent disorder? Perhaps the following quotation from De Faye's preface may help to clear the ground.

‘Ce qui rend le siècle de Clément d’Alexandrie si intéressant, c’est qu’il est, comme le nôtre, une époque de transition où fermentent les germes féconds de l’avenir. C’est une heure indécise et trouble, où se préparent les croyances et les institutions des siècles suivants. Clément lui-même et son œuvre ne sauraient nous laisser indifférents. Il a été essentiellement un homme de transition. Avant lui, le Christianisme a encore quelque chose de primitif; à bien des égards la foi nouvelle n’avait pas dépassé l’état embryonnaire. Après lui, c’est une religion constituée. Il se fait, vers la fin du II<sup>e</sup> siècle, une prodigieuse transformation au sein de l’Eglise. Clément en fut l’un des plus puissants ouvriers. Il est le véritable créateur de la théologie ecclésiastique. Quel chemin parcouru par la pensée chrétienne depuis les Pères apostoliques jusqu’à Origène! C’est Clément qui est l’auteur responsable de cette étonnante évolution. C’est pour cela qu’il occupe dans l’histoire des idées chrétiennes une place de premier ordre.’

The early Christians for the most part looked upon the Greco-Roman literature as a part of the hostile world against which they were warned. It was necessity which compelled the Apologists, such as Quadratus and Aristides, to enter this new domain in the reign of Hadrian. Though they professed a distaste for the rules of composition and rhetoric, which were current in the world, they were forced to adopt them to a certain extent in order to gain a hearing, and thus

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prepared the way for a Christian literature. The conflict with heresy carried further the process begun by the conflict with the heathen and the Jew. But while it widened the range of thought and developed the reasoning powers of the few, it had a tendency to drive back the mass of Christians upon an unreasoning dependence on tradition and authority. And this tendency found a voice in Tertullian's vehement denunciation of philosophy as the source of all heresy, and in his fierce denial of the right of inquiry and private judgment<sup>1</sup>.

In contrast to the Roman lawyer we have the Greek professor. In the catechetical school of Alexandria Clement was accustomed to lecture both to believers and to unbelievers, opening the eyes of both alike to the divine revelation around and within them, a revelation to be found in its purest form in the Christian Scriptures, but which was also reflected in Greek poetry and philosophy, especially in 'the inspired writings of Plato.' Philosophy was for the Greeks what the law was for the Jews. Nor had its use ceased even for Christians. It is the appointed means of education: it serves to protect the believer from the sophistries of a pseudo-gnosticism: it throws light on the meaning of Scripture: it helps to the attainment of divine truth. Hence Clement begins his *Stromateis* with the defence of philosophy. He is aware that the general opinion is opposed to him, *ὡς εἰκεν, οἱ πλείστοι τῶν τὸ ὄνομα ἐπιγραφόμενων, καθάπερ οἱ τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύος ἐταῖροι, ἀγροίκως μετίλασι τὸν λόγον, ...ἀμαθίᾳ βύσαντες τὰ ὅσα, ἐπεὶπερ ἴσασιν οὐ δυνησόμενοι, ἅπαξ ὑποσχόντες τὰς ἀκοὰς Ἑλληνικοῖς μαθήμασι, μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ νόστου τυχεῖν*. 'He who remembers that the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, will not shun philosophy.' Similarly in VII. 1 Clement assumes that his language will be suspected by many as unfamiliar, though it is really founded on Scripture and breathes the spirit of the Gospel. These 'Orthodoxastae,' as he calls them in *Str.* I. 45, even go so far as to condemn writing altogether. Clement has seriously to argue that, if it

<sup>1</sup> He even forbids discussion on the meaning of Scripture as dangerous or superfluous for the orthodox, (*Praescr.* 19) 'Ergo non ad Scripturas provocandum est: nec in his constituendum certamen, in quibus aut nulla aut incerta victoria est, aut par incertae...Ubi enim apparuerit esse veritatem et disciplinae et fidei Christianae, illic erit veritas Scripturarum et expositionum et omnium traditionum christianarum'; on which Pamelius naturally observes 'Locus insignis pro Catholicis.'

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be right to teach by hearing, it cannot be wrong to teach by sight (*Str.* i. 1 foll.). Hence it was impossible, as De Faye says (p. 133), for Clement to lay before the public 'sans explication et sans préambule la partie de son grand ouvrage qui, dans sa pensée, devait exposer tout un système de dogmes conçus et formulés selon les méthodes de la philosophie. Il aurait soulevé une réprobation générale; il aurait perdu toute autorité sur ses coreligionnaires; il aurait été traité de gnostique, tout en combattant le gnosticisme. Voilà pourquoi il lui fallait écrire un traité qui préparerait l'ouvrage doctrinal et lui aplanirait les voies. Il y a plus...Clément a eu l'heureuse idée de choisir pour son livre un genre littéraire qui lui laissait une liberté particulièrement favorable à son dessein. Dans ses *Stromates*, il lui était parfaitement loisible de présenter ses vues au moment et de la manière qui lui convenaient.'

We may find examples of the vari-coloured texture of the *Stromateis* in the admixture of topics which would be more agreeable to the ordinary taste than the systematic exposition of his views on theology. The praise of philosophy is mixed with polemic against the heretics and with the attempt to prove that all that is best in philosophy is ultimately derived from Scripture. Faith is the subject of high panegyric, and the use of the motive of fear is urged against the gnostic teachers. The third book has a long dissertation on marriage, which scarcely belongs to the context. Then we have interesting discussions on martyrdom and on symbolism; the absurdity of pagan superstition is shown in a number of amusing examples; in fine the whole work teems with quotations and anecdotes; and it is partly under cover of these things that Clement suggests the doctrines on which he lays the greatest stress.

Another art which Clement employs to avoid giving offence is his profession to be merely a reporter of the sayings of the elders, and of a secret tradition handed down from the Apostles. It is quite possible that he is indebted to Pantaenus for the germ of some of his opinions, and his allegorical interpretations of Scripture often agree with what we find in Philo or Barnabas or Irenaeus, cf. vii. 109 foll.; but it can hardly be doubted that many of his ideas are original or, in any case, largely developed by himself.



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## CHAPTER II.

INFLUENCE OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY ON THE  
THEOLOGY AND ETHICS OF CLEMENT.

IF I am not mistaken, there has been of late years a tendency to exaggerate the difference between the teaching of the Bible and that of Clement in regard both to ethics and theology. A reader of Harnack and of Hatch would, I think, gather that genuine apostolic Christianity was an unreasoning, enthusiastic revivalism, fed on visions and miracles, and looking forward to the immediate coming of the Lord and the reign of the Saints for a thousand years on earth; that the second and third centuries witnessed an illegitimate development of the teaching of Christ and His Apostles in the hellenizing and secularizing of Christian doctrine, by which the new wine of the Day of Pentecost, the ardours of the first faith and love, were changed into correctness of creed and of conduct<sup>1</sup>; and that in this transformation Clement was the leading agent.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the most startling assertion made on this subject is that which traces the commencement of secularism to the existence of the N.T. Thus Deissmann (*Bible Studies* p. 59) says 'The beginnings of Christian literature are really the beginnings of the secularization of Christianity: the Church becomes a book-religion.' 'The Church required literature, and hence it made literature, and made books out of letters: hence also, at length, the N.T. came into existence.' If the existence of sacred books naturally leads to the secularization of religion, then all who held that the Law and Prophets of the O.T. were inspired, whether under the old or the new dispensation, including the Apostles themselves, must have been subject to this baneful influence. To much the same effect Hatch says (*Influence of Greek Ideas on the Christian Church* pp. 106, 107) 'prophesying died when the Catholic Church was formed,' 'the prophet preached because he could not help it, because there was a divine breath breathing within him, which must needs find utterance,' 'they did not practise beforehand how or what they should say, for the "Holy Ghost taught them in that very hour what they should say".' [This quotation is wrongly applied; it is a promise to Christians generally, to keep them from over-anxiety if they should be called before magistrates to answer for their religion: it gives no



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If by 'hellenism' and 'secularism' it is simply meant that

encouragement to preaching without preparation.] As evidence how far the Church had fallen away from this ideal by the end of the 2nd century, Dr Hatch states (p. 109) that Origen's addresses, 'like those of the best professors, were carefully prepared: he was sixty years of age, we are told, before he preached an extempore sermon.' It may be well to put side by side of this depreciation of the work of reason and reflexion, as contrasted with the outpourings of emotion, the judgment of contemporaries who were familiar with prophets and prophesying. The Epistles to the Romans and to the Hebrews are the outcome of long-continued thought, and make the utmost demand on the thoughtful intelligence of the reader. St Paul in one place seems to speak of prophecy as especially useful for the unbeliever or unlearned, probably because it rouses the sluggish or indifferent by the impressive utterance of simple truths: but he has to find fault with the prophets for their disorderly behaviour; even in his day *διακρίσεις πνευμάτων* were needed, and he speaks ironically of some who think themselves prophets. While he places the gift of prophecy above that of tongues, he does not seem to make any broad distinction between the work of the prophet, and that of the evangelist, the pastor and the teacher. The word of wisdom and the word of knowledge are gifts of the Spirit, just as much as prophecy. Again, St John speaks of many false prophets, and his warning is repeated in the *Didache* xi. 8 f. where the marks of a false prophet are given. It is really astonishing to find the superstitious belief of the vulgar in the virtue of extemporaneousness entertained by learned writers. Doubtless it would have been interesting to have acted as St Paul's amanuensis and watched his kindling eye, as he poured forth his inspired hymn on Christian charity, but the sacred flame has been caught from the glowing page by hundreds of thousands in later times, who never heard his voice or saw his face.

Harnack, while avoiding the extravagances of Deissmann and of Hatch, still specifies as the main factors in the development of Christianity in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, (1) 'the Fixing and gradual Secularizing (*Verweltlichung*) of Christianity as a Church, (2) 'the Fixing and gradual Hellenizing (*Hellenisirung*) of Christianity as a system of doctrine' (*Hist. of Dogma* vol. II. pp. 18—168, 169—230); and states that it was 'between the years 190 and 220 (just the period of Clement and Origen) that the secularization of the Church made the greatest strides' (*ib.* p. 100). What he means by this secularization is explained in p. 125: 'What made the Christian a Christian, was no longer the possession of charisms, but obedience to ecclesiastical authority, share in the gifts of the Church, and the performance of penance and good works....The dispensations of grace, that is, Absolution and the Lord's Supper, abolished the charismatic gifts. The Holy Scriptures, the apostolic episcopate, the priests, the sacraments, average morality...were mutually conditioned....And yet, alongside of a code of morals, to which anyone in case of need could adapt himself, the Church began to legitimize a morality of self-chosen, refined sanctity, which really required no Redeemer.' I must say I entertain the gravest doubts as to the correctness of this diagnosis of the Church of Clement and of Origen. If St Paul's eye had travelled over the whole course of subsequent Christianity I believe it would have rested upon none with more sympathy and complacency than on these two. See further my note on p. xxxiii below.

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when the Church overstept the limits of the Hebrew race and language, and became more fully conscious of its mission to preach the Gospel to every creature, it became also to the Greeks as Greek, to the Romans as Roman, and claimed as its own those seeds or fragments of divine teaching which it found embodied in the thoughts or institutions of other races;—if so, then, though one might object to the use of the ambiguous term ‘secularism,’ I think none who had paid attention to the subject, would question the truth of the assertion. But such secularization as this is no illegitimate development of Christianity: it is only carrying out the principle which pervades the whole history of revelation, and which is taught and exemplified by the Apostles and Evangelists themselves in such words as *ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον*, and *τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φανερόν ἐστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὃ γὰρ θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἐφάνερωσε*, and *οὐκ ἀμάρτυρον ἑαυτὸν ἀφήκεν*, and *ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν· ὡς καὶ τινες τῶν καθ’ ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν εἰρήκασιν· Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν*, above all perhaps *τὸ πνεῦμα ὅπου θέλει πνεῖ*, and *ἔτι πολλὰ ἔχω λέγειν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ’ οὐ δύνασθε βαστάζειν ἄρτι* and (a text often quoted by Clement) *τοῦ γὰρ κυρίου ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς*.

From the beginning of the Bible to the end of it, we have evidence of the working of the Divine Spirit, even in the form of direct inspiration, outside of the race or the class which may have been chosen as its appointed organ. Modern research has shown that the story of the Creation and the Fall is older than Moses; Abraham is blessed by one, and rebuked by another, who did not belong to the chosen seed: Moses, we are told, was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians: the words which God spoke through Balaam, enemy and seducer of Israel as he was, are quoted by the prophet Micah as showing ‘the righteousness of the Lord.’ The priests and the judges vainly resist the calling of the prophets and kings. Amos, the herdsman, is bidden to prophesy, though he was no prophet nor prophet’s son. Dramas, stories, love-poems, and prudential maxims are admitted into the ‘Divine Library.’ Heathen kings and heathen nations come under the discipline, and receive the forgiveness

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and blessing of God. Even the beliefs of the chosen people are modified by what they were taught in Babylon and Persia: and the apocryphal writings, especially the book of Wisdom and the Fourth book of Maccabees, exhibit the influence of Greek philosophy, which is also perceptible throughout the Septuagint translation. The New Testament is addressed to Greek readers: many of the terms employed bear the stamp of the Academy or the Porch. St John's use of the word *Logos*, while it reminds us of the phrase used by the prophets 'the Word of the Lord came to me,' yet betrays a consciousness of the later philosophic application of the term; and St Paul's language continually bears witness to his studies in the university of Tarsus. See Lightfoot's notes on *πολίτευμα* Phil. iii. 20, *αὐτάρκης* Phil. iv. 11, *ἀπέχω* Phil. iv. 18, *μορφή* *ib.* p. 127, on *συνέστηκεν* Col. i. 17, *μυστήριον* *ib.* i. 26, and the essay on St Paul and Seneca in *Gal.* pp. 270—328, esp. 307, see also Harnack, *Dogmeng.* 1.<sup>3</sup> pp. 41, 56, 208. In my introduction to the Epistle of St James, I have endeavoured to show that there is evidence of a similar acquaintance with Greek philosophy in what I hold to be the earliest of the N.T. documents. One of St Paul's most trusted followers, who is described as an *ἀνὴρ λόγιος* of Alexandria, has been supposed by some to be the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which certainly shows an acquaintance with the teaching of Philo. The reference in St John's Gospel to the Greeks who desired to see Jesus, and the remark which their request elicited from Him, *ἐὰν μὴ ὁ κόκκος τοῦ σίτου πεσὼν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀποθάνῃ, αὐτὸς μόνος μένει· ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ, πολὺν καρπὸν φέρει*, suggest that the Lord Himself looked to Greece as the soil in which the seed of the Gospel was to take root and flourish.

There is then something of Hellenism in primitive Christianity, as there is a great deal of it in the contemporary Judaism of the Diaspora. On the other side there is a remarkable approach to Christianity in Greek philosophy from the time of the Christian era. If it can be said with any truth that there was a secularization of Christianity going on in the 2nd century, it is at least as true to say, there was a de-secularization of philosophy. I need not go into detail on this point, for it is

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admitted by all. It may suffice to repeat words in which I have elsewhere summed up the work of Greek Philosophy as preparing the way for Christianity. 'Just as deeper thoughts about the nature of knowledge forced on men the conviction of their own ignorance, so deeper thoughts about virtue made men conscious of their own deficiency in virtue, and produced in them the new conviction of sin. The one conviction taught them their need of a revelation, the other conviction taught them their need of a purifying and sanctifying power<sup>1</sup>.' Even in that school, which is usually regarded as the very embodiment of 'proud philosophy,' we find examples of the enthusiasm and unction, which Dr Hatch seems to regard as the exclusive possession of the Christian prophets. Never has the human spirit uttered its longings and its aspirations with a more pathetic earnestness than in the Lectures of Epictetus and the Diary of M. Aurelius. If a Christian preacher of the 2nd century might be tempted (as Hatch suggests, pp. 105 foll.) to adorn his sermon with the rhetorical charms of a Dio Chrysostom, he might be shamed out of it by the stern simplicity of these typical Stoics.

To consider first the ethical side of the question. Is it true that Hellenism is responsible for degrading the aspiration after holiness, the fruits of the Spirit, and the self-sacrifice of love, into a dull morality, changing the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount into the ethics of Roman Law? So Dr Hatch seems to think (pp. 164—170); but, if I am not mistaken, there is the same exaggeration here as in the rest of his book, interesting and valuable as it is. Perhaps exaggeration is unavoidable in pioneer work, such as he claims his to be (p. 353), but at any rate it is the duty of those who come after him to be on their guard against over-statements on one side or the other.

No one can complain that Dr Hatch is unfair in his description of the ethical teaching of Epictetus. 'Moral conduct,' he says, is made by him a 'sublime religion.' The difficulty is to understand the steps by which he passes from this appreciation to his conclusion, that the morality of Christians was lowered owing to the influence of Hellenism. He begins by taking the *Didache* as exhibiting the primitive form of Christian

<sup>1</sup> See also Harnack, *Dogmeng.* i. <sup>3</sup> 111—123.

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morality, and notes that in it 'the moral law is regarded as a positive enactment of God' (p. 159), while in Stoicism morality appears as a 'law revealed in the nature of the universe and of man.' He points out that, in the Way of Life embodied in the Didache, doctrine has no place (p. 160). I quite agree: but if this is a true account of the Didache, is it possible to conceive a more entire departure from the teaching of St Paul, when, in the Romans, he speaks of the Gentiles showing 'the work of the law written in their hearts,' and when he reminds the Galatians that 'by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified,' but that 'God sent forth his Son to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons'? What we have in the Didache is the very moralism decried by Harnack in the words, 'Die Kräftigkeit und Unmittelbarkeit des religiösen Gefühls stumpfte sich zu einem Moralismus ab.' We find in it, says Dr Bigg (p. 84) 'a law which differs from the Mosaic mainly in being more searching and elaborate'; and that too combined with a pettiness and a superstition, which testify alike to the simplicity and the defective intelligence of those for whom it was intended. Thus we read 'If you are able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, you will be perfect: if you are not able, do what you can. As to meat, bear what you are able, and abstain altogether from what is offered to idols. Before baptism let both minister and catechumen fast. Do not fast like the hypocrites on the 2nd and 5th day, but on the 4th and 6th. If a prophet remains in one place more than two days, it shows he is a false prophet,' and so on. And it is for a community of this kind that Dr Hatch deprecates the admission of the free air of Greece.

The next point noted is Church discipline. 'To be a member of the community was to be in reality a child of God and heir of everlasting salvation: to be excluded from the community was to pass again into the outer darkness.' A close community of this sort has undoubtedly both its good and its bad sides. Our Lord in His parables of the Tares and the Fishes pronounces His judgment against it. I do not see that Hellenism was necessarily opposed to it, any more than to the withdrawal from the world into schools of philosophy, or to the initiation into the mysteries. Dr Hatch thinks that the change from

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the ideal Church to the *corpus permixtum* was due to the fact that 'the attention of the majority of Christians was turned to the intellectual as distinguished from the moral element in Christian life' (p. 164). This however belongs to Greek speculation, not to Greek ethics. He then draws attention to the secession of the Puritan party, and the doubling of the Christian ideal, which divided off the clergy and the ascetics from the general body of the Church, to the great detriment of the latter. Here, at last, we come to a *vera causa*, which does really touch both Clement and the philosophers. I shall return to it shortly. But that which constitutes 'the victory of Greek ethics' (p. 169) is that Cicero's *De Officiis* should have been selected by Ambrose as the basis of his text-book of morality, and should have remained the chief authority during the Middle Ages. 'The Pauline ethics vanished from the Christian world.' 'Instead of the code of morals, which was "briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," there was the old enumeration of duties.' But so it was, we have seen, in that compendium of duty for which Dr Hatch has such a paradoxical admiration. If we are asked which discipline was better adapted for the training of the rude nations of the north, that robust and manly teaching which was handed down from Plato and Aristotle and Zeno and Panaetius and Cicero, or the fanatical asceticism which prevailed among the Montanists and other early Puritans, surely there can be no doubt as to our answer. Aristotle is not even yet superseded as an ethical teacher. He has his defects no doubt, but to him and to the other ancient moralists we are indebted for an indispensable supplement to the Bible, in so far as they make explicit what in it is still implicit.

I proceed now to consider in what way the development of Christian doctrine was affected by Greek logic and rhetoric. Dr Hatch says (pp. 116—137) that the logical habit of mind was injurious to theology in two ways. (1) Clearness of thought and logical consistency were regarded as guaranteeing the objective truth of the conclusions arrived at in reference to ethics and metaphysics, as much as in regard to geometrical abstractions. (2) The theological conclusions thus arrived at were held to be as necessary to salvation as trust in God and