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reassuring words of the apostle : " The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God : for they are foolishness unto him ; and he cannot know them, because they are spiritually judged."

NEWPORT J. D. WHITE.

*A NEW DOCUMENT ON CLEMENT OF ROME,
HIS RELATIONS AND HIS INTERVIEW WITH
SIMON PETER.*

I.

FOREWORD.

THE original manuscript containing the life of Clement the Doctor, or Clement of Rome, printed in this article, is preserved at Mardin, in the monastery of Deiruz-Za'faran, the ordinary residence of the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch. This Syriac manuscript is in parchment, with Estrangelo letters ; and since it is unfortunately truncated at the end it has no date ; its general title is *Book of Lives of Saints*. By some of its palæographical characteristics, we are able to ascribe it to the tenth or at latest the eleventh century. It is in a generally bad condition of preservation, and the Syriac scholar is reduced to a guess about some words that are utterly blotted out to-day.

We think that this document can claim a certain importance by its more or less accentuated affiliation with the Clementine *Recognitions* and *Homilies* ; on the other hand, the divergence of narration which distinguishes it from the Pseudo-Clementine writings is very often so important that it deserves the serious study of critics.

In reading all these pieces of Christian antiquity, and in comparing them with one another, we are puzzled to settle categorically the question as to which of them has got in its narration the more trustworthy historical thread, and

which of them follows more faithfully the traditional current of thought, in the second century of the Christian era.

Here are some discrepancies of narration which make our document differ from the Pseudo-Clementine compositions :

1. The name of Clement's mother is Mattidia ; in our document her name is Mitrodora.

2. The woman who educated the two brothers of Clement, Faustinus and Faustinianus (in our document as in the *Recognitions*, Faustinus and Faustus) is, in the Clementine writings, Justa the Syro-Phœnician ; our document calls her only a widow and does not give any name.

3. When the two brothers grew up, they became, according to the Clementine writings, fellow-disciples of Simon Magus ; this information is unknown to our document, which mentions nowhere this sorcerer.

4. In the Clementine writings, Faustus, the father of Clement, is said to have left at home Clement, his youngest son, when he set sail in search of his wife and his two children. Our document informs us that he took Clement with him.

5. The manner in which Clement and his relations became acquainted with Simon Peter, and met with one another after they had been separated from each other, is told in a very different form, as is easily noticed by every critic when he compares this document with those already known.

Critics, too, will doubtless remark that this document is cast in a mould far more Jewish than the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* and *Homilies* can claim. This characteristic is sometimes not a despicable criterion in ascribing historical lucubrations to a determined epoch. In this respect the reader will surely notice that Peter is always called Simon or Simon Cephas, and never Peter or Simon Peter. Syriac scholars who are not accustomed to find very

often in Syriac literature this old name applied to the head of the Apostles in such an exclusive manner will no doubt bear a certain testimony to the archaism of the narration. The illustrations are generally drawn from the Old Testament, and sometimes in such a constant way that we are tempted to attribute the paternity of our document to a man living not very far from a Judæo-Christian atmosphere.

Our document has also some points of contact with the spurious acts of Placidus (after his baptism, Saint Eustachius) and his wife Theopistis, with his two sons Agapius and Theopistus, who lived under the reign of Hadrian.

All these coincidences will perhaps establish that the tale of a man losing his wife and two children, and recovering them afterwards through the good fortune of having adopted some Christian beliefs, was the outcome of a folklore which seems to have formed the staple of the evening conversation of many a Christian in the first centuries of our era.

The Syriac style of this document is pure, and foreign to that exuberance of incorrectness and stiffness which characterise some Syriac translations of Greek originals; and the critic who would maintain that this document has originally been written in Syriac will not hurt philological science very deeply.

To make known this document in an English translation, and to indicate the main sources for criticism, form our chief purpose in this study; to enter into more comparative details, and to attempt to show, in a more emphatic manner, the mutual dependence of these pieces, is a field open to every investigator of old Christian traditions.

The principal sources for the criticism of these pieces are: J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers* (vols. i. and ii.); Hans Waitz, "Die Pseudo-Klementinen," *Text. u. Untersuchungen zur Gesch. der altchr. Litteratur*; A. Harnack,

Chronologie der altchr. Litteratur (II.); Hort, *Clementine Recognitions*; Margaret D. Gibson, *Studia Sinaitica* (No. V.), etc.

TRANSLATION.

Again a story about Clement, the disciple of Simon Cephas, and about his parents and his brothers, how they have been evangelised.

There was in the city of Rome a rich man called Faustinianus, and the name of his wife was Mitrodora. They openly worshipped idols, and though they did not know God, they served Him truly and justly; and they gave alms to the poor from their riches, like Job. They received strangers and the poor like Abraham, and the word of Scripture which says: He who serves God behaves justly, has been fulfilled in them, with this other: Abraham believed in God, when still pagan, and He gave him the price of his justice. And as Abraham and Sara have been tested by Isaac, so they also were without an heir, in order that justice might be performed in them, and righteousness might increase through them.

If the hired man does not work, he cannot claim his salary. It is written that just people did not receive any reward till they served, and wicked people did not receive, too, any chastisement till they sinned. If Adam had not transgressed, he would not have been driven out of Paradise, and if Cain had not committed murder, trepidation would not have dwelt in his limbs. The robber did not enter into Paradise till he confessed. So was it with these upright people, Faustinianus and his wife: their reward was like their toil; and since I have narrated their kind of work, I shall tell now their exploits. He who has clean ears for the words of love, let him approach and hear a pleasant story, and delight in it.

These righteous people were without children, and for a long time they were distressed. After a certain time, God wished to comfort them and to show that He had not kept back their reward from them. Mitrodora, then, had in her womb two babes, as Rebecca had Esau and Jacob. She gave them names, to the elder Faustinus, and to the younger Faustus. Afterwards she brought forth another child and she called him Clement.

Then the Evil One, the enemy of justice, wished to make them stumble by his craftiness, and to insinuate himself to these good people. The Lord promised to Eve and Adam the Paradise of Eden, and the Evil One degraded them from their ranks, and God sent His Only Begotten, saved them and made them go up to a place higher than the first. The Devil suggested to the brothers of Joseph to sell him, and God made him a redeemer in the day of desolation. (The Devil) wished, too, to dishonour Mitrodora by a detestable adultery, and this motive distracted her, and she returned to God.

Faustinianus had a brother, and the Evil One counselled him, and he conceived a passion for the wife of his brother ; and though he earnestly solicited her, the faithful woman never wronged her husband, and she thought of a means to vanquish the Evil One. She made a false pretence, as if she had dreamt it, to take her boys and to go away from her husband, in order that by her absence the fire surrounding her, through the rash man, would be extinguished.

Now, one day Faustinianus came home, according to his custom, and noticing that his wife was sad, he asked her what was the cause of her sadness. She answered him : " I am sorry, my lord, for I shall be separated from thee and far from thy conversation." Then Faustinianus became angry, and began to threaten and to say : " Who is it that has designed to sever thee from thy spouse ? I swear

by the mighty gods of all Rome to give up to terrible judgment him who designed this against me and also to plunder his substance in order that he may not speak against a man stronger than he." Mitrodora said to him : " Let your wrath not be kindled, because he who will separate us one from another is stronger than thou. Listen to me, my lord, and I shall tell thee the dream that I dreamt. I saw a man of fire seizing in his hand a sword of fire, and his lips sprinkling dew. He showed himself to me like a furnace, and said to me and earnestly ordered me : ' To-morrow take thy two boys, Faustinus and Faustus, and go away from Rome ; leave thy youngest son and thy husband in Rome, and do not come back to thy spouse till I warn thee. The man that I saw told me all these things, and (he added), " If thou dost not listen to everything I have told thee, I shall destroy thee with thy sons and thy husband." I am very sorry, because he whom I saw did not explain how long I shall be separated from thee. Lo, the dream is unveiled, explain it thyself, since thou art wise."

When Faustinianus heard that, he was amazed, wondered, feared and said : " This is hard to be explained by wise men ; and even the mighty gods of Rome do not understand what this vision means. I heard that there was one God in the earth . . . (*illegible word*) . . . perhaps this dream . . . (*illegible word*) . . . is by the dreams . . . (*illegible word*) . . . showed himself in this year. Because those who know science say that the true God who created the heaven and the earth wrought a wonderful miracle everywhere, and that this is one of his disciples. Take then thy two boys, as he told thee, and go away from Rome, so that he may not be angry ; because if he be angry, the earth will shake ; and the sea will be empty, if he rebukes it, since he is its lord. Lo, our fellow-kinsmen who are in Athens, the great . . .

(illegible word) . . . to them as the man of dreams told thee. Take provisions for one year or two, and slaves and maids will come afterwards and serve thee. Take care of thy children and of thyself. Become like a mild dove which diligently takes care of its nestlings and feeds them by the pecking of its mouth. Become like a sparrow which hides its nest from the spectators, and keeps its nestlings from the hunters by its shrewdness." By such words Faustinianus warned his wife, and both, in the grief of their separation one from another, spoke to each other. Faustinianus was very pained and Mitrodora did not wish to disclose a hidden mystery; and God incited them to this fact, in order that their righteousness should be unveiled to everybody.

And when Faustinianus agreed to send his wife, he endowed her with provisions, gold, slaves and maids, and gave her her two children. When she parted from her husband she said to him: "Good bye, O man of my childhood, and keeper of my youth. Who can know if we see again one another; like a father . . . *(illegible word)* . . . to the youngest son."

She put to sea with her two boys, and when the ship moved two days in the sea, in the morning of the third day the sea grew rough and began to roar as a lion towards a boy, and the waves began to be vehemently wild . . . *(illegible word)* . . . and from everywhere billows and surges fell down destroying. Then Mitrodora cried and said: "It is told that thou art God, son of Mary; if thou art God, come to our help and rescue; if height, depth, sea and land listen to thee, the slave obeys his master and does not revolt against him." And she said with a great grief: "Woe is me, I wished to be drawn from a corrupted pond of sins, and lo, I am sinking in a sea of water, where there is no rescuer. Woe is me, I proved an evil stumblingblock to my two children." And when waves tossed her about

on every side, she cried in the name of Jesus, the Nazarene, and stretched her hands and embraced her sons. She began to talk of her beloved ones : “ Neither the hour in which I have separated my boys from their father (was good), nor this death which has hemmed me from every side. If thou (O Jesus !) rescue me with my children, Heaven forbid that I worship or sacrifice except to thy name.”

When, in a prostration, she was praying before God with sobbing, the waves struck the ship from every side and it broke up, and those who were inside floated upon water like bits of grass, and the mother and her children were hidden one from another, the mother from her children and the children from their mother. And God made a sign to the sea not to destroy them, as He had ordered it for Jonas, and it listened to Him. He therefore bade the sea to keep them, and not inflict any harm on them without His order ; because God can keep anybody in the sea as if he were in a firm ground, since sea and land obey Him.

When, then, they were tossed in the sea during all the night, salvation dawned on them in the morning. The right hand that has been stretched to Simon, and he was drawn up, has been stretched to the woman and her sons ; and according to the mercy of the will of God, they reached the harbour of Tripoli.

Seamen went out in the morning and saw them weeping at the seashore. A widow took them, honoured them and brought them up with a great care. She gave them names, and she called the one Anicetus and the other Aquilas.

Now, their mother, according to the will of God, reached the town of Aradus (Arad). She began to weep for her boys, saying : “ Where shall I go to seek your corpses, O my beloved sons who are drowned in the sea ? Behold, I am deprived of my beloved and of my acquaintances. Woe is me, I was like a ship bearing riches, and the storms

of the sea squandered my riches and took away my treasures, and, lo, I am like a vine whose beauty hail has destroyed. Would that I had swift wings like those of the young eagles, to go and see thee, O Faustinianus! when wandering after us and sending slaves bearing goods! but those going back to thee and bearing bad news, when thou art sending despatches to the inhabitants of Athens about us, and these are sending to thee bitter letters, when thou art caught by the day of mourning and grief, and encircled by all pains and hardships!"

While Mitrodora was distressed by these (things) and by some others of this kind, the inhabitants of the town of Aradus heard, and gathered round her and asked her, saying: "What is the matter, woman? and which is thy country? Behold, thy voice spreads to all our town." And she told them truly all her story, and they began to console her, but she afflicted herself with cries and lamentations.

Then a widow accosted her and started to comfort her, saying: "I am a widow like thee, and I am deprived of husband and of children; come to me and let us live together in bereavement and spend our life in bitterness." Mitrodora went to her, and was, out of necessity, begging her bread. When she noticed that her strength was failing, she went and sat at the gate of the town, so that she might take alms from the people. But where she suffered the more, there deliverance dawned on her by means of Simon, the head of the disciples.

After Mitrodora had spent two years in this great hardship, Faustinianus got together goods and sent them through his slaves. When the messengers reached Athens, they asked the kinsmen of Faustinianus about Mitrodora; they answered them; "We have not seen here this woman and we have heard nothing about her." The messengers went back weeping and bearing letters full of pains and

of news of anguish. When they called on Faustinianus and he read these letters, he was pained, he wailed and wept bitterly. He wrote letters to all parts, to all countries, and all villages. Messengers scoured all countries, ran through all quarters and came back with weeping. Faustinianus began then to weep bitterly for himself, took his youngest son and went about wandering and asking everybody: "Have you seen a woman and her children drowned, or roving along the roads?" When he was walking and asking thus, his youngest boy, too, was lost, and from his painful hardship he did not notice that.

When, then, the boy Clement strayed, a seaman took him and got him into a ship, and in that very night they sailed for the country of Syria. And when Simon was teaching at the seashore, in towns, the seaman took the boy and gave him to Simon, and he became his disciple. He was the first disciple of Simon Cephas. And Simon took the boy Clement and went to Tripoli in order that he might evangelise there.

When he was teaching, the woman who brought up his brothers came and gave them up to become the disciples of Simon Cephas. The grace of God gathered together the three brothers. The head of the Apostles and they three ate and drank together and did not know each other.

And Simon went away to go to Aradus and to preach there the true faith; for the grace of God called him to comfort the distressed mother by means of her three children.

When Simon and Clement were in their way, Simon said to Clement: "My brother, behold, thou hast been twenty years with me, and I did not ask thee what was thy country, or where thou comest from, or if thou knowest that thou hast parents and kinsmen." When Clement heard that he began to weep bitterly and said to him:

“ Listen, my lord, and I shall speak before thee : I am from a great family of the city of Rome, from the royal family, the son of Faustinianus the great ; the name of my mother is Mitrodora ; and besides, thy servant had two brothers, the name of the elder was Faustinus and of the other Faustus. My mother dreamt a dream, and it became the cause of her death ; she saw a man of fire riding on horses of fire and he said to her : ‘ Arise, take thy children and go away from Rome.’ My father had kinsmen in Athens ; he gave her provisions with the brothers elder than I, and he sent her to Athens ; and since she has left us we have not heard any news about her ; my father sent messages to all countries, and no one could tell that he had seen them ; then my father took me and went away wandering and asking everybody about them. When walking, I and my father, on the seashore, I have been out of his sight, and through the pain of his heart he did not notice me in that moment ; but when a seaman noticed me, he took me, placed me in a ship and brought me to thee ; such a pain and such trials befell me ! now God alone knows if my parents survive or not.”

And Simon was amazed, and glorified God, and began the child to tell in grief and sorrow : “ I have hope in God that thou shalt soon meet thy parents, if they are alive.”

When Simon and Clement reached the gate of Aradus, they saw Mitrodora sitting, and Simon said to her : “ Woman, thou art young in thy age, and thou chocest this act of ignominy for thee ; why likest thou not to live ? ” She answered Simon : “ My lord, if thou knewest the hardships that I have borne, and the pangs that my eyes have seen, even if thou hadst a deadly poison, thou wouldst have given it to me, so that I should drink it and be delivered from this pain.”

The divine Apostle said to her : “ O woman, reveal thy

story to me, and I have a remedy of life that I shall give thee ; drink of it and be rescued from thy pain."

And the woman began to tell successively all her history. When the divine Apostle heard that, his mind became glad and he glorified God for having soon answered his prayers. When the woman was telling all this, Clement was in the town with his friends. Simon Cephas said to her : " Woman, thy pains are bitter and thy ailment is great, but I hope that God will comfort thee in thy pains."

When Simon was yet speaking to her, the young Clement returned back to him. Simon then said to him : " Tell me, my son, all that thou toldest me in the way."

And the young man began to tell all that he had borne. And Simon said to Mitrodora : " Listen to what this young man is telling. When she listened, her heart glowed towards this young man, her son, and she recognised him. The son, too, recognised his mother.

And the mother began to say to her son : " Come in peace, thou who takest away my pains and wipest the tears from my eyes ; come in peace, O dead man who hast lived again and comforted thy parents by the resurrection ; I worship the God who made me worthy of thy sight ; I believe in Him, since those who strongly believe in Him will not be confounded ; I am Mitrodora, thy mother. I hope that He who counted us worthy to meet each other will count us also worthy to see thy brothers."

And Simon took Clement and his mother and went to the young men, his brothers. Before they reached them, they looked at Clement and his mother with him, and they began to grumble, saying : " Who is this woman who speaks to Clement and walks with him ? Behold, twenty years ago, we are disciples together, and we did not see him either speaking to a woman or looking at a woman ; can she be his mother ? "

When Clement reached them, his brothers asked him without knowing that he was their brother: "Tell us, our brother, who is this woman who is with thee?" "What great mystery, my brothers! How great is the Providence of God—to whom be glory! Who will not wonder! Who will not glorify God for His mercy and for the great compassion that He has for his clay! Three beautiful bunches were cut off from their vine, and April came according to its custom and made them blossom in their branches. How beautiful are three mild doves which flew from their nest, and when they escaped the sparrow-hawk, they gathered at the voice of their mother! How beautiful are three young eagles which have been bred far from their parents, and when their wings have been sufficiently strong, they came and caused their parents to rejoice! a poor woman who during twenty years has been deprived of her children; the grace of God gathered them in one hour and they came to her." Thus Clement answered his brothers, not knowing that they were his brothers. "My brothers, this is my mother!"

His brothers began then to ask him: "Tell us, our brother, behold, we have lived together for twenty years, and we did not ask thee from what country thou wast, and what thy family was in the world. Tell us this now, and we will tell thee from whence we are." And Clement began to tell to his brothers, not knowing that all were brothers the one to the other.

Their mother was standing apart and hearing the words of their mouths. "As to me, O my brothers, I am from the city of Rome; my father was called Faustinianus, and my mother Mitrodora; I had two brothers, and their names, for one, was Faustinus, and for the other, Faustus; and through a dream that my mother dreamt we have been scattered among the nations. And now, by the will of God, I have found my mother and have recognised her."

His brothers went on with tears in their eyes: "Our brother, from thy words, if they are true, thou art our brother, and we are thy brothers; I am Faustinus, and this thy brother Faustus. When we went out (of Rome) and sailed during two days in the sea, our ship broke up . . . (*illegible word*) . . . and we were scattered among the nations."

Their mother heard these (words), and her arms were restored, for they had been for a long time withered. She embraced them weeping and said to them: "Be sure that I am your mother Mitrodora that was sent to Athens with you, by your father." And they glorified God, for He had gathered them into His sheepfold.

The three brothers asked Simon, their master, that he would baptize their mother. And when they found a place fit for baptism they showed it to their holy master, who baptized Mitrodora. And he sent the three brothers with their mother to Laodicea. He stood up to pray and designed to go after them when his prayer was finished.

When he prayed, he said: "O God, in the hands of whom all the ends of the earth are; O God, the most merciful, answer me my prayer from Thy treasure, so that as Thou gatheredst these by Thy mercy, make the husband of Mitrodora, if he is alive, come and see his wife and his children. If he is still kept in life, may a sign from Thee make him present in order that he may receive Thy yoke and work with Thee in Thy vineyard." And God quickly heard the voice of the Apostle, and a divine sign caught away Faustinianus from Rome and brought him to Simon.

And when Simon was walking in the road, behold an aged man dressed in old patches and in a worn-out garment with much dust on him, like the poor, stood before him. Simon asked him: "Who art thou, man, that thou wanderest in the hills? Art thou a robber, a thief or a shedder of men's blood?"

The old man answered Simon in great sadness and said to him : " I am neither a thief nor a robber, but thy servant is from the city of Rome. I had a wife with three children, and when she was asleep she dreamt a bad dream, and for that we have been scattered among the nations. This happened twenty years ago, and behold, I went after them and I cannot find them ; and to-day when I was in the country of Rome, something like a right hand caught me and flung me into this country. Behold, I am under some phantasms and agitated, since I do not know where I am."

Simon said to him : " If somebody comes now and shows thee thy wife and thy children, what wilt thou give him ? " The old man answered : " God is witness, that I have no other thing than that I shall become a slave before him for ever."

Then Simon took him and arrived at his lodging, and raised his voice saying : " Come, Mitrodora, and see Faustinianus thy husband ; pick up thy beloved ones and come to meet him, since like an eagle he crossed sea and land for thy sake."

All at once she flew like a dove and took her nestlings with her ; and when she saw Faustinianus dressed in old patches and surrounded by poverty, she asked him in grief : " Tell me, O man, what is thy country ? for I think that thy limbs have borne many pains. I craved long since to see my spouse, but the figure that I notice in thee is not his."

Then the old man said to her : " If thou art Mitrodora, I am Faustinianus."

Mitrodora said to him : " Where are the glory and the beauty that thou didst put on ? Where are the gorgeous clothes in which thou wast dressed ? "

The old man answered her in grief : " Since the day when thou and thy children were separated from me, I

have been pained and weeping for you ; I crossed the seas and I scoured the lands ; height I trod, and depth my soul sounded ; thirst overpowered me, hunger weakened me, nakedness made me suffer, heat burned me, cold dried me, so that I might find you ; I did not find quietness up to now."

Mitrodora said to him : " Come, O tree, and see the branches which have been separated from thee ; they have become a staff, and behold, they sustain us."

The old man approached and tenderly kissed his sons, and began to weep upon them as if they were departed people rising from the dead, and said : " Come in peace, O slain ones, who have returned back ! O dead people who have been resuscitated ! Blessed are my eyes, for I have seen you to-day. I glorify God since He gave you to me to sustain my age, to take away my pains, to console my affliction."

And Simon Cephas baptized the old man, their father ; and all, the mother, her children, and their father became pure sanctuaries and dwellings to the Holy Spirit, and they reached a high rank and have been widely renowned in sanctity.

We all, let us glorify God, who comforts distressed people, and takes away the pains of those who trust in His name. Glory be to Him for ever and ever. Amen.

ALPHONSE MINGANA.

STUDIES IN CHRISTIAN ESCHATOLOGY.

VIII. CONDITIONALISM.

THE theory of Conditional Immortality has from early times been recommended to the Church as a *via media* between Universalism and the ecclesiastical doctrine of Eternal Punishment. Briefly, the theory is this. By nature man