

Concordia Seminary - Saint Louis

Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary

Master of Divinity Thesis

Concordia Seminary Scholarship

5-1-1980

Two Early Church Homilies Compared

Russell Sommerfeld

Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, rsommerfeld@neb.rr.com

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholar.csl.edu/mdiv>



Part of the [Practical Theology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Sommerfeld, Russell, "Two Early Church Homilies Compared" (1980). *Master of Divinity Thesis*. 129.
<https://scholar.csl.edu/mdiv/129>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Concordia Seminary Scholarship at Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master of Divinity Thesis by an authorized administrator of Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. For more information, please contact seitzw@csl.edu.

TWO EARLY CHURCH HOMILIES COMPARED

A Research Paper Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for elective
H-200

by

Russell Sommerfeld

May 1980

Quentin F. Wesseltschmidt
Adviser

6-6-80
Gift

131503

CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
PART I.	
1. Jesus and the synagogue message.....	4
2. Hebrew prophecy and Christian preaching.....	6
3. The preaching of the Apostles.....	7
4. Post-Apostolic preaching of the second century.....	9
PART II.	
1. Textual history of II Clement.....	12
2. Textual history of <u>Περί Πάσχα</u> by Melito of Sardis.....	13
3. Historical context of II Clement.....	15
4. Historical context of <u>Περί Πάσχα</u> by Melito of Sardis.....	17
PART III.	
1. Comparing the contents of II Clement and <u>Περί Πάσχα</u>	19
2. Comparing the style of II Clement and <u>Περί Πάσχα</u>	23
3. The use of Scriptures in II Clement and <u>Περί Πάσχα</u>	28
4. II Clement and <u>Περί Πάσχα</u> and their listeners.....	31
Conclusion.....	34
Endnotes.....	36
Bibliography.....	40

TWO EARLY CHURCH HOMILIES COMPARED

Introduction:

Preaching of the Christian Gospel message today is one of the most promising, even fascinating, actions which a man can undertake during his life. But, it is at the same time, one of the more risky and difficult tasks he may attempt to do. Preparing to proclaim the Gospel, and, then, doing so, can, at times, be most troublesome, burdening and humiliating.

When a man preaches the Gospel of Jesus Christ, he is not just speaking any combination of words, but he is speaking a Word formula which contains the message of redemption and healing. Being in possession of such a Word is reassuring and exciting. But with it also comes the task of proclaiming it in a manner that speaks to the people to whom it is addressed. Thus, a preacher of the Gospel message can see himself as both an instrument of proclamation and an interpreter of that proclamation to people. The task of preaching takes on the dimensions of both excitement in the bringing of a meaningful and empowering message and the responsibility of being sensitive to the specific needs of people to whom this message is addressed.

In these later years of the twentieth century, the men one hears preaching the Gospel of Christ publicly are many and varied in their affection for specific forms and styles. Some claim to be participants in a prophetic tradition and propose vigorously that they speak only as the Holy Spirit moves them, with words implanted into their psyche and vocal chords by the same Spirit.

Others twine together a series of Scriptural passages in the form of an electrified chain-link fence, which serves to jolt people with a linked mass of Scriptural exhortations to actions of Christian benevolence.

Still others react to issues and events of this present time by devising topics or themes which are then embellished with antidotes, Scripture and subjective testimonials. The chosen theme is presented with ornamentation, which seeks to make it attractive to its hearer. This topical style of preaching, at times, diffuses into a potpourri of small dramatic episodes laden with effect which seek to illumine a singular theme.

Translation of Scriptural pericopes is yet another mode of preaching today. Those who utilize this method of proclamation desire to translate the Gospel into modern thinking. Great pains and tedious labours are put into these sermons, so that they effectively take a Scriptural text of yesterday and address it to people of today. This type of preaching is hard work in that it attempts to interpret older Christian formulations into a modern context and vernacular. It also means that its proponent must continually ask time and again whether he is really expressing what the old creeds met with his new translation. In spite of this risk and load of work, the purpose of the "translator preacher" is to present the Gospel afresh in stimulating and meaningful attire. He hopes the text, from which he is preaching, will bring the new life and healing of Jesus' saving actions today.

"Historical bridge building" is a way of describing another kind of modern preacher. He is the man who works diligently to context a Scriptural pericope historically and to come to meaningful conclusions as to what this particular Scriptural text meant to those involved in it or to those who heard it

for the first time. Once he has ascertained, in a historical manner and to the best of his skills, the situation of the text and its effects, he seeks to parallel it to situations experienced by people today and, then, to address this text to them in the same manner in which it was addressed to its original situation and audience. He builds a kind of bridge between yesterday and today, from which he can proclaim the same Scriptural pericope.

And, finally, there are men today who desire to unveil with certainty the true revelation which God intended through His Word. When this type of modern preacher approaches a Scriptural pericope, he does so with the following question, "What is God saying here to all mankind?" The sermons which result out of such a question seek to get behind the text to God's intentions and make a striking revelation about the Scripture passage being preached.

Christian preaching comes clothed in various colored and tailored attire these days. To be sure, many more forms or styles of preaching could be described. Those which seek the presence of Christ or the Holy Spirit in each text are especially interesting.

But, the purpose of observing these trends in today's Christian preaching is not to examine them critically, but to observe them as having a historical base. Christian sermonizing possesses a rich heritage; a heritage which can be informative for today's Gospel preacher.

Thus, it becomes the purpose of this paper to examine the two earliest extant homilies of the Early Church in order to glean from them an import of assistance in doing the homiletical task today. The two early sermons to be examined, compared and used as homiletical tools are the, so-called, second

Epistle of Clement and Passion Homily of Melito, Bishop of Sardis.

But, before looking to these early Christian sermons with a critical eye for their use of Scripture and sensitivity to their historical context and, then, making conclusions from them for our preaching today, it is necessary to speak briefly of the development of preaching into the second century A.D.

PART I. ~~THE JEWISH SYNAGOGUE~~

Men who preach the Gospel publicly in the midst of a congregation of Christians today are participants in a long-standing tradition. But, it is a communication of tradition which has undergone various changes at the hands of Christians in various eras. One can trace the roots of Christian sermons to ancient Jewish prophecy and to the Jewish synagogue of post-exilic times. Jesus, Himself, created the bridge between the Jewish synagogue and the Christian sermon. St. Luke writes of Jesus in the synagogue at Nazareth:

"And he went to the synagogue, as was his custom, on the sabbath day. And he stood up to read; and there was given to him the book of the prophet Isaiah. He opened the book and found the place where it was written, 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.' And he closed the book and gave it back to the attendant, and sat down; and the eyes of all in the synagogue were fixed on him. And he began to say to them, 'Today this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing.'" (St. Luke 4: 16-20)

This pericope contains three observable aspects, which link Christian preaching with the Jewish cultic sermon of the synagogue. These observable elements can also be seen within Christian sermons as they develop into the second century A.D. First, one can see Jesus delivering His message within the context of the service that was taking place in the Jewish synagogue.

It appears that this was an accepted traditional and prescribed part of the service. Both Jews and Christians incorporated a message of Scripture within their worship. Secondly, one notes that Jesus spoke from a text. The synagogue message, as well as the Christian sermon, has its basis in Scripture. Here, Scripture is being related to its hearers. And, thirdly, the content of Jesus' preaching was summed up in His prophecy, "Today this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing." Jesus gives a prophetic character to His message and is more than a commentator on the Scriptural text.¹

These three elements, visible in this pericope, not only show a historical bridge between the Jewish synagogue message and the Christian sermon, but they also establish the basic elements of the Christian sermon as it initially develops in the Early Christian Church. In approaching II Clement and Melito's Passion Homily of the second century, these three elements will become quickly observable.

But in further preparing to look at those two homilies, the action of preaching needs to be better contexted as to its origin. In looking more closely at its origin, Jesus' action in the synagogue and, subsequently, second century homiletics will be better illumined for this study.

Most scholars, who have undertaken the task of the compiling and the writing of a history of preaching, agree that Christian preaching has its roots in Hebrew prophecy. Like cultic speech, prophecy emerged out of a sacral form, out of speaking in oracles.² In its most proper sense, prophecy asserted itself as a holy address--a compelling Word of God put into the mouths of his servants and messengers. The Christian church took a

legacy from the prophets and carried forward in its preaching the same high claims as those which appeared in the proclamation of the prophets.

John Kerr observes within his Lectures on the History of Preaching:

"It is true that in many cases the Hebrew prophet had some special function. He had a message direct from God which frequently came with supernatural knowledge in the power of prediction. But it was not always so. The mission of the prophet was often to declare present truth alone, and the great majority of those who bore the name were merely instructors of the people, not foretellers of the future. Taking God's message as it had been already given, they unfolded and enforced it. The Greek word προφητης, though it strictly means "one who speaks or interprets for another," came to mean a foreteller, and has thus narrowed the meaning of the Hebrew אִיִּךְ which might as accurately be rendered "the speaker," the man of the word, corresponding to the Greek κῆρυξ. It has sometimes the passive shade of meaning (as though from the Niphal אָפַךְ), denoting a man under Divine influence, and so impelled and guided to speak; but sometimes the active shade (as though from the Hiphil אָפַךְ) suggesting one who uses the human faculty. And is not a preacher of Christ, when he uses his human power still entitled and urged to look for divine help? Thus, with deduction of the supernatural gift, the prophet of the Old Testament is the ancestor and prototype of the Christian preacher."

The influence of prophecy is also felt in post-exilic times when synagogues were founded, in which there were regular expositions of the "law and the prophets" on the Sabbath; and in the time of the introduction of Christianity, according to Philo, the services of the large and splendidly adorned Jewish synagogues consisted chiefly of oral instruction and free, extended speaking.⁴

Therefore, when Jesus arises to address the synagogue at Nazareth, the synagogal sermon, or message, is his medium with which to work. Judaism, historically through its synagogue teachings, formed the prelude to the model of both Christian worship and Christian preaching.

At this point, much could be synthesized and written concerning the

delivering of messages by Jesus, Himself. His great simplicity, yet never-ending depth, His variety of examples with a constant aim, and His sympathy, empathy and faithfulness are but a few areas worth exploring in His preaching. But, the purpose of this paper is to look at the preaching of those who proclaimed Jesus Christ, crucified and resurrected, with specific attention to the earliest homilies of the second century after the Apostles.

Yet, before looking to the representatives of the second century, the preaching of the Apostles needs to be briefly considered in order to give the second century homileticians further contexting.

The Apostles employed two kinds of preaching. The one was "mission-oriented", for the bringing of men to a knowledge of Christ. The other was "ministerial", for the building up of the believers in faith and in the practice of it. We see the "missionary" preaching represented in the book of Acts and the "ministerial" in the Epistles of the New Testament.

C. H. Dodd refines these distinctions by reflecting that the New Testament Apostles draw a clear distinction between preaching and teaching. Preaching is the public proclamation of Christianity to the non-Christian world. For the verb, Keryssien, properly means "to proclaim". Teaching (διδασκαλίαν) is, in the large majority of cases, ethical teaching addressed to those already established in the faith.⁵

Dodd further clarifies Apostolic proclamation when he says:

"Much of our preaching in Church at the present day would not have been recognized by the early Christians as Kerygma (preaching). It is teaching, or exhortation (paraklesis), or it is what they called homilia, that is, the more or less informed discussion of various aspects of Christian life and thought, addressed to a congregation already established in the faith."⁶

In surveying Apostolic preaching in the Book of Acts and the Epistles, one will see a great amount of variety in the interpretation given to the kerygma, but, in spite of this, the basic elements of the kerygma, Jesus.. crucified, risen and ascended, are ever present. The Apostles may vary in their expressions, but they are unified in what they express--the Gospel. There is, to be sure, a clarity to the proclamations of the Apostles as they present the Gospel. The Apostles' sermons, which are reported with any kind of fullness, are Peter's sermon on the day of Pentecost, his address in the house of Cornelius at Caesarea, and the counsels of James to his brethren of Jerusalem regarding what ordinances should be imposed on the Gentile Christians. Of special interest is the Apostle Paul's sermon on Mars Hill, found in Acts 17, because, for the first time, within this sermon is Christian preaching using a non-biblical literary tradition.⁷ Even Paul's Epistles are evidently rhetorical in their form and style. In form and in spirit, they are strongly rhetorical.⁸

While St. Peter's sermons on Pentecost and with Cornelius, and St. Paul's messages at the city gate of Lystra, on the Acropolis at Athens, and in the court-room of Governor Festus are representative of preaching during the Apostolic age, their recording seems to be in an outline form. The Epistles of Paul do help to complete the picture of Apostolic preaching.

But, as one nears the close of the Apostolic age, a transition is beginning to take shape. This transition has its roots in an antithesis which existed in the Apostolic Age. This antithesis existed between a Gentile Christianity, on the one hand, in which a type of worship had to a degree been influential by the religious syncretism of the Roman Empire, in which

charismatic speech was dominant, and in which there were no fixed forms, and, on the other hand, a Jewish Christianity, which was dependent on the tradition of the synagogue, and in which, from the very beginning, the proclamation was usually based on the interpretation of an Old Testament text.⁹ An evangelical form of prophecy existed during the Apostolic age, which was basically an oral message concerning the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy in the Gospel of grace and truth which came through Jesus Christ.

But, with the continued influences of the Graeco-Roman world, Christian preaching began to lose some of its Jewish trappings as it came to be manifested during early post-Apostolic days. As the second century progresses, the "Apostolic prophesying", or spirit inspired spontaneous messages of the Apostles, were replaced by what one might call in the earlier words of C. H. Dodd, homilia. The homily of the early post-Apostolic era is a piece of rhetoric that combines teaching, or the exposition of the Scriptures and doctrines, and exhortation of the faithful to a higher level of moral and spiritual life.

At the risk of presenting an overly simplified conclusion, one could say that the preaching of the second century begins to combine the kerygma and didaskein of Apostolic proclamation. Various reasons for this development have been advanced. Some believe that with the office of the bishop developing and changing came the combination of kerygma and didaskein in the task of the bishop, himself. The late Edwin Hatch theorized:

"It was the fusion of teaching and exhortation that constituted the essence of the homily: its form came from the sophists. For it was natural that when addresses, whether expository or hortatory, came to prevail in the Christian communities, they should be effected by the similar addresses which filled a large place in contemporary Greek life."¹⁰

This fusion within the homilies only begins in the second century and

does not reach its full development until the fourth century. Origen is probably its first consistent proponent.¹¹ However, as one reads and studies II Clement and Melito's Passion Homily, this fusion already begins to appear in the second century.

The second century of Christian preaching is often looked upon as a scanty and unimportant period of regression for the early church. The introduction to The Ante-Nicene Fathers, the Eardman Series, reads:

"Disappointment may be the first emotion of the student who comes down the mountain where he has dwelt in the tabernacles of evangelists and apostles; for these disciples are confessedly inferior to the masters, they speak with voices of infirm and fallible men and not like the New Testament writers with firey tongues of the Holy Spirit."¹²

Leaving the Apostolic age, with its creative spiritual dynamic, and entering the period of the Fathers is often viewed as experiencing something akin to a chill. There is a sudden let-down. The passionate enthusiasm of Peter and Paul and their New Testament companions fades out, and one comes upon the rather commonplace leadership of men who were good but not great.¹³

While it is true that, for about a hundred years after the death of Peter and Paul (from A.D. 70-170), the traces of preaching are extremely scanty and do not exhibit a great deal of power, one should also note that during this time the Greek homily and its counterparts within the Semitic churches came into being. The word, homilia, is used for the first time by Igratius in his letter to Polycarp, as a description of the word spoken in the congregation; most exactly, it refers to an address of admonition.¹⁴

The task of preaching also begins to become an important factor in the development of the office of the ministry. The Didache, which was thought to have been written in the second century, speaks of travelling "apostles" and

"teachers" as well as settled "teachers", who must be supported; and also notices that the "teachers", at least, were elected by the churches.¹⁵

As the early church developed, the task of preaching was becoming the bishop's prerogative, as the possessor of the office of teaching. This task was not necessarily united with the office of presbyter even though the presbyter could also be given the responsibility of preaching.¹⁶

Also, during the second century, teaching and exhortation appear as part of the established order of worship in the churches. In the order of services, as was natural, the preaching usually followed the reading of the Scriptures and was commonly a sort of exposition or hortatory application.

In regard to the details of posture and delivery, the preacher usually sat and spoke freely as the expositor of the Scripture that had been read.¹⁷ As he sat and expounded upon Scripture, he conversed with the people and fielded their questions of concern. This action coincides with the true definition of homilia; that is, the more or less informal discussion of various aspects of Christian life and thought, addressed to a congregation already established in the faith.¹⁸

The preaching of the time was, in general, quite informal. The preacher generally did not make λόγους, discourses, but only ὁμιλίας, homilies, that is, conversations, talks.¹⁹ But, one must carefully note that this style of homiletics was not consistent throughout the second century. This will become quickly apparent as this paper progresses into the study and comparison of II Clement and the Passion Homily of Melito of Sardis; both homilies of the second century.

In the course of the second century, the original spontaneity of utterance

died almost entirely away. It may almost be said to have died a violent death. The dominant parties in the Church set their forces against it. The survivals of it in Asia Minor were formally condemned. The Montanists, who tried to fan the lingering sparks of it into a flame, are ranked among heretics.²⁰

As the second century progresses, the preaching of the church begins to take on a Greek character, as Edwin Hatch pointed out in an earlier quotation. This early post-Apostolic century in the Christian Church appears to be a time of transition from a synagogal informal style of prophesying and exhortation to a time of refined prepared homilies, delivered by a standing orator in true Greek style. Thus, in coming to the sermons of II Clement and Melito of Sardis, we see that preaching has evolved in an overlapping fashion from prophecy, to proclamation, to teaching, to exhortation, and it is moving into a time of a prepared oratorical address. Since

Since we have looked in a cursory manner at the development of preaching into the second century, it is now possible to examine two extant sermons from the second century.

PART II.

The selection for study of the, so-called, second Epistle of Clement and the Passion Homily of Melito was made on the basis of their earliness in the post-Apostolic era and their usefulness in representing two distinct kinds of preaching in the second century.

For many years, the homily called II Clement was thought to be the earliest extant Christian sermon. The Greek text of II Clement was first known only in a defective form. The fifth century New Testament Codex Alexandrinus includes it after Clement's genuine letter, but the manuscript

breaks off at chapter 12:5a. The sermon had no heading, but, in the table of contents prefixed by the scribe, it is called "Clement's Second Letter". Patrick Young (Junius) edited the first edition from this Codex in 1663.²¹

While seventeenth century scholars had already guessed the, so-called, second Epistle of Clement to be a sermon, it was not until 1875 that this was made plain beyond dispute. In that same year, Philotheos Byrennios published the eleventh century Jerusalem Codex. This contained the whole text of the sermon whose concluding chapters (18-19) makes its nature abundantly clear. A few months later the Syriac version came to light in a twelfth century manuscript of the New Testament. These are the only authorities for the text.²²

The Greek text for II Clement can be found in the standard editions of the Apostolic Fathers. The Greek edition, used for this particular study, was edited by J. B. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers, PART I, "St. Clement of Rome", Vol. II, pp. 45-53, revised edition, London, 1912.

Almost all collections of the writings of the early Fathers of the Church and historical surveys of preaching contain the text of II Clement or comments upon the text, its history, and its content. This is not the case with the Περί Παύλου of Melito, Bishop of Sardis.

Although the existence of Melito's second century sermon was acknowledged for many years, it was not until the nineteenth century that it was translated and studied. The earliest mention of it appears to have been in the seventh century by Anastasius of Sinai when he speaks of two works by Melito: On the Incarnation of Christ and On the Passion. He even quotes from Melito's sermon.²³

But, it was not until

But, it was not until the nineteenth century that further developments came. During the years 1843 to 1850, a Syriac collection from Nitra, dating from the sixth century, was deposited in the British Museum by Archdeacon Tattam and M. Pacho. William Cureton set to work on a fragment of Melito's work in that collection. But, he was not the first to publish the fragments of Melito, as they were published in the Journal of Sacred Literature, 1855, with the affixed signature of "E. H. C."²⁴

Various scholars continued to work with the Melito fragments, but it was not until 1940 that the fragments were clarified as certainly Melito's work. In that year, Campbell Bonner published a re-construction of the complete Melito homily. He made the significant discovery that a number of leaves in the Chester Beatty papyrus collection were complemented by a number from the University of Michigan collection, and, together, they comprised a nearly complete Greek text of the Melito homily dating from the fourth century.²⁵

The work of bringing Melito's sermon to light continued when Michel Testuz published another copy of it in 1960, utilizing the Bodmer papyrus collection, which dates from the third century and is in excellent condition.²⁶ This copy helped to confirm Bonner's reconstruction and added a considerable amount of detail that Bonner had been unable to restore. The Bodmer papyrus also contained a title page reading Melitonos Peri Pascha, Melito on the Passover.

The other scholarly work done with the texts of Melito's Homily was done in 1958 by Bernhard Lohse.²⁷ Lohse re-edited the work in German on the basis of the Beatty-Bonner text. He also set up the Greek text to

differentiate running prosaic and poetic construction, showing clearly the elaborate rhetoric used by Melito. Lohse's Greek text has been used for this particular study.

Although we possess both of these early homilies, the information we have about their authors and their settings is scanty. The initial problems encountered with II Clement are, why is this homily called an Epistle and why is it attached to Clement of Rome's first Epistle? It is theorized that this homily became attached to Clement's first letter by the middle of the second century, because, by A.D. 180, the New Testament canon was sufficiently settled so as not to have admitted such an intruder.²⁸ Eusebius notes the following concerning II Clement:

"It must be known that there is also a second letter ascribed to Clement, but we have not the same assurance of its acceptance as we have of I Clement, for we do not even know if the primitive writers used it."²⁹

Jerome also comments on II Clement: "There is a second letter circulating under Clement's name but it has not been acknowledged as such by the men of antiquity."³⁰

The suggestion has also been made that, since Clement of Rome's first genuine letter was possessed by the church in Corinth and was read there from time to time during worship, this anonymous, but treasured, homily of that church became bound up with the genuine Clementine letter and became known as II Clement.³¹

This brings one to another problem with II Clement. Who composed it? When J. B. Lightfoot looks at this perplexing question, he notes:

"The writer (of II Clement) delights in identifying himself

and his hearers with Gentile Christianity. He speaks of a time when he and they worshipped stocks, stones, gold and silver and bronze. The genuine Clement never uses such language. He looks upon himself as a genuine descendant of the patriarchs, as an heir of the glories of the Israelite race."³²

Suggestions for the authorship of this homily called II Clement have ranged from Clement of Rome, to Clement of Alexandria, to some unknown Clement who lived between the above mentioned Clements. Rendel Harris has even suggested that the author was the Encratite heretic Julius Cassionus³³, but there seems to be nothing peculiarly Encratite about the homily. But, the most imaginative suggestion for II Clement's authorship comes from Robert Grant and Holt H. Graham when they stated:

"If we may venture a wild hypothesis or guess, we should suggest that the author was Hyginus, bishop of Rome about A.D. 138 to 142, in whose time the Gnostic teacher, Cerdo was active and two other Gnostics, Valentinus and Marcion, came to the city without being rejected by the church. In the homily there is a firm grasp upon the essentials of the traditional faith, as well as a certain vagueness about a few details, which seems to reflect the time, if not the person of Hyginus."³⁴

But, alas, all hypotheses for II Clement's author fail to be conclusive. Lightfoot believed that the veil over its authorship will ever be drawn.³⁵ But, in spite of the uncertainty about its authorship, II Clement still stands as the earliest homily extant from the second century and provides us with an example of the kind of preaching which nourished early second century Christians.

As to exactly what part of the second century II Clement belongs, the dating theories have varied with scholars. Initially, some desired to date it before the second century in A.D. 90. Some scholars have based the dating of the homily on the type of Gnosticism it speaks of which existed c.a.

A.D. 140.³⁶

Another question which comes to the fore with this homily called II Clement is where was it preached? Suggestions have ranged from Corinth to Rome to Alexandria. But Lightfoot's following suggestion sounds most plausible:

"As regards the audience addressed by the preacher (of II Clement) Corinth has the highest claims. If the homily was delivered in that city, we have an explanation of two facts which are not so easily explained by any other hypothesis: first in chapter 7 the preacher compares the Christian life to the Greek games and states, *εἰς τοὺς φθαρτοὺς ἀγῶνας καταλειθύνειν*, meaning the athletes sailed to shore for the Corinthian Isthmus games. Secondly the Corinth audience explains how the homily was attached to the First Epistle of Clement, as they were used together in the church at Corinth."³⁷

Upon reading II Clement, it is my impression that it is a homily preached by some presbyter after a Scripture lesson has been read within a worship service during the middle part of the second century. He seems to be addressing Gentile converts (1:6; 3:1). The exact information for II Clement's author, date and setting, is not clearly stated within the homily.

The homily of Melito, bishop of Sardis in the Roman province of Asia, is surrounded by a bit more contextual information than II Clement, but, generally speaking, the data we have concerning it is also meager. We know Melito to be the author of *Περὶ Πάσχα*, but we do not know that much about him. His birth date is unknown, but we do know that his bishopric was contemporaneous with the time of Marcus Aurelius. He wrote his Apology to the emperor about A.D. 169. His abilities in the area of apologetics are regarded as being superlative. Adolf Harnack writes of Melito's

apologetic role in the expansion of Christianity in this manner:

"(Melito's) political insight is marvellous. But still more marvellous is the fact that at a time like this, when Christians were still a feeble folk, he actually recognized in Christianity the one magnitude parallel to the State, and that simply on the ground of religion--i.e., as being a spiritual force which was entrusted with the function of supporting the state."³⁸

It is also known that Melito was a quartodeciman, celebrating Easter on the Jewish Passover, the fourteenth day of the moon following the vernal equinox.³⁹ This knowledge is of value in light of the fact that Melito delivered his homily on the first day of Easter and within it compares the Exodus Passover with Christ's death.

Polycrates of Ephesus wrote to Pope Victor (189-199) that Melito of Sardis is among the "great luminaries" of Asia now gone to their rest and calls him "Melito the eunuch, who lived entirely in the Holy Spirit", who lies in Sardis, waiting for the visitation from heaven, when he will rise from the dead.⁴⁰

From this it can be concluded that Melito died before the beginning of the third century and functioned as a bishop during the latter part of the second century.

Apparently, from what Eusebius says, this Melito was a prolific writer. He says that Melito wrote eighteen different works, of which we have only titles of all but three. Melito seemingly was an important figure in Christianity during the latter part of the second century, and it is unfortunate so few of his writings have survived. One reason advanced for the absence of extant works of Melito is that he may have been responsible for a small sect (Melitonians) who followed him in the belief that the body of man, not the

soul, is made in the image of God.⁴¹ This possible heterodoxy may have caused the church to withhold honor of Melito and may also have caused his works to be suppressed.

With respect to his homily, Περί Πάσχα, we know it was preached on the first day of Easter, but we can only guess that it was preached at Sardis. From the sophisticated Greek, which Melito used to compose this homily, we can assume that he was a well-educated man, and his audience was familiar with such language and Greek rhetorical style.

Neither II Clement nor Melito's Περί Πάσχα are sermons which give us a great deal of detail about their origin, author or setting, but they are two second century sermons which allow one to distinguish two kinds of preaching in the second century, and, therefore, are useful as a comparative study of preaching as it was developing in early Christianity.

PART III.

The comparison of these two homilies will be accomplished through the examination of the homilies on the basis of the following areas. First, the general content of the homilies will be compared. Secondly, style will be observed within each homily. Thirdly, the manner in which each homily uses Scripture will be observed and compared. And, finally, a series of speculations will be made regarding how well each homily addressed those to whom it was being preached. This last area of comparison is, indeed, only speculation, because the audience of each homily is uncertain.

CONTENTS:

When looking at these two second century homilies, some have been harsh in their comparative content values. R. C. White, a homiletics professor at

Yale Divinity, treats II Clement and Περί Πόλεως in the following manner:

"It may be possible to distinguish two kinds of preaching in the second century: the disorganized, unlearned, moralizing homily which II Clement represents, and the kind of address later defined as 'An oration delivered from the pulpit with full development and rhetorical effect'. Melito represents the later, and may thus be known as the earliest preacher of a 'sermon'. His theology is the gospel of grace, whereas II Clement promotes legalistic obedience."⁴²

II Clement

The content of II Clement is simple, direct and pointed. Its substance concerns Christ's actions of love and how the Christian ought to be compelled by Jesus' actions to respond with a confession of word and action. The preacher utilizes verse one (1) of the reading of Isaiah 54 to begin his sermon and then continues to exhort his congregation of believers to live morally and hold fast to their Christian living in spite of persecution, with the expectation in mind of the reward which awaits the believers. There is a continued double stress for repentance and obedience to the commandments throughout the homily. The theme of the homily is the duty of living the right sort of Christian life as a recompense to Christ for the gift of salvation.

The development of such a simple hortatory content within II Clement was possibly the result of two factors. First, at this early date in Christianity, Christians were concerned with how to live in a world that did not totally accept Christianity as a viable religion. Also at this time, there existed a type of Gnosticism, which held that the material world was the creation of an evil or impotent god, who was contrasted with the good God revealed in Christ. These Gnostics rejected the real-

ity of the incarnation and indulged in a moral antinomianism on the grounds that bodily life was inherently evil.⁴³ Against such views, it seems II Clement is directed. The simple direct content could very well be the result of a preaching presbyter answering questions and concerns of the congregation to whom he was preaching with exhortations to repentance and a moral life-style. It seems that II Clement's content may very well have been motivated out of the historical situation that it was attempting to address in a Christian manner.

Περί Πάσχα By Melito of Sardis

The sermon of Melito of about A.D. 170, some thirty years later than II Clement, stands in sharp contrast to II Clement. The opening words of Melito's homily suggest a sermon at Mass following an Old Testament reading, and the subject matter of this homily fits Holy Week so well that Campbell Bonner calls it a 'Good Friday sermon'. Since Melito held to the quartodeciman view, to him this day was the Paschal Festival. In his homily, the story of the Passover is paraphrased and then expounded as a type of the redemptive work of Christ. Both are called μυστήρια in the sense of actions having a supernatural effect beyond their historical setting. Exodus and Passover became the model for what followed when Jesus died and rose.⁴⁴

The sermon includes an extensive account of the story of the Passover and the eradication of Egypt's first-born, which leads to a section detailing Israel's saving through the blood of the Lamb, which Melito compares with the sacrificial blood of Christ. Melito also uses other examples of typology, i.e., an artist and his work, who begins with a pattern or model and then perfects it in the finished work of art. Melito says the Passover

of the Exodus is a model for the perfection of Christ's sacrifice. Melito, in a like manner, replaces Israel with Church and Old Jerusalem with eternal Jerusalem. Melito finally turns to man's total need for Christ's sacrifice and shows how the great men of Israel's history have foreshadowed Christ's actions. Melito also condemns the Jews for their treatment of Christ. He concludes with Christ, Himself, telling of his saving actions, which flows into a doxology.

Indeed, the contents of the two second century homilies are quite different. Here is provided brief outlines of each by which to compare them:

II Clement (author unknown)	<i>Περὶ Πάσχα</i> (Melito, Sardis)
I. God's gracious, creative action in Christ for us (1:1-2:7)	I. From Passover to Christ Law to Logos (1-10)
II. The response of acknowledging Christ's action by our deeds (3:1-4:5)	II. The death of first-born of Egypt in detail (11-31)
III. Christians are at warfare in this world (5:1-7:6)	III. From model to perfect art (32-38)
IV. We repent in expectation of the world to come (8:1-12:6)	IV. Law (model) to Gospel (Truth) (39-46a)
V. We repent and are obedient in gratitude to Christ and hope of life to come (13:1-15:5)	V. Man's unhappiness in sin (46b-56a)
VI. While we have time, then, let us repent, using present opportunities to prepare for the judgment to come (16:1-20:5)	VI. Christ the Paschal mystery (56b-65)
	VII. The manner of Christ's coming (66-71)
	VIII. Israel's crime against Christ (72-93)
	IX. Christ's death, his resurrection, Israel's death (94-102)
	X. The Resurrection of Christ (103-104)

STYLE:

From observing the contents of these two homilies, it is already obvious that the style of each homily is different. While II Clement is natural, simple, direct and is not marked by any oratorical excellence or clear organization, Melito's homily is written in an eloquent style, employing some facets of Greek rhetoric, including typology, analogy and parallelism. Each sermon represents a distinctively different style of preaching during the second century.

II Clement

The style of II Clement is that of teaching and paranses. The preaching presbyter is seemingly in a simple manner of utilizing Biblical passages in a hortatory way of trying to compel his listeners to repent and live moral Christian lives. There is no clear-cut division to his subject matter, but the two main thoughts can be continually detected throughout; confession of Christ and repentance as necessary to the Christian life. The preacher frequently uses the imperative in his listeners what they ought or ought not to do.

4:36 "καὶ συμπασχεῖν ἀλλήλους ὀφείλομεν καὶ μὴ φιλοκρυβεῖν".⁴⁵

No special literary devices are found within the, so-called, second Epistle of Clement. When the preacher does make use of a metaphor, he uses one which is found in Scripture.

8:1-2a " Ὡς οὖν ἐσμέν ἐπὶ γῆς, μετανοήσωμεν·
παῖς γὰρ ἐσμέν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ τεχνίτου. ὃν
τρόπον γὰρ ὁ κεραμεύς, ἐὰν πολὴν σκεῦος καὶ

ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ διαστραθῆ ἢ συντριβῆ
πάλιν αὐτὸ ἀναπλάσει· ἐὰν δὲ προφθάσῃ
εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτὸ βαλεῖν,
οὐκέτι βοηθήσει αὐτῷ. "46

This description of Christians, as clay in the hand of a craftsman, is based upon Jeremiah 18:4-6 and Romans 9:19-21.

II Clement's style is also that of a simple quick movement from subject to subject of the Christian life to which confession of Christ, repentance, and conviction of a moral life-style are related. This style seems to be indicative of the preacher making a serious effort to address problems being faced by his listeners. Therefore, his transitions are often abrupt, and he is also repetitive in his exhortations. Chapters 8 and 16 both speak of repenting while there are opportunities to do so on the earth. This style of preaching is characteristic of the early second century, as the need was always present to emphasize a moral life and obedience to the commandments⁴⁷ in order not to provoke persecution or confusion with Gnostic tendencies beginning to emerge. While the style of II Clement with its simple, disorganized teaching does not usually impress modern readers, it does give one a small understanding of the early Christian mood of alienation from the world and of the anticipating of the world to come in heaven.

Περὶ Πίσχα ---Melito of Sardis

The style of Melito's second century homily is far different from that of II Clement. Melito uses refined rhetorical techniques within his homily, which have aroused the interest of scholars in both the fields of patristics and philology. Campbell Bonner and Michel Testuz both saw the need for a

stylistic analysis of Melito's homily as they worked with its text. When Bernhard Lohse used colometry to present the text of the homily, even more interest for examining Melito's style was generated.

In 1948, A. Wifstrand examined Melito's style and remarked:

"...Melito has written in quite another style, which resembles more the eloquence of Hippolytus in the third century with its numerous rhetorical devices. Especially there is in Melito an abundant use of isocolon with anaphora and homoeoteleuton often of an antithetic nature;"⁴⁸

In 1970, Thomas Halton also did an extensive study of Melito's stylistic devices of rhetoric. Halton notes Melito's use of ringed composition, heavy use of antithesis and metaphor. He is fascinated with Melito's fusion of rhetoric and theology. The manner in which Melito introduces the concept of the Old Law and its pasch in Christ is truly artistic. Halton notes the scheme of Melito's prologue in the following schema:

line 21	<u>παλαιός ... νόμος</u>	line 45	<u>νόμος λογός</u>
line 22	<u>καλνός ... λόκος</u>	line 46	<u>παλαιός κελνός</u>
line 23	<u>προσκαίρος ... τύπος</u>	line 47	_____
line 24	<u>αίσιος ... χάρις</u>	line 48	<u>έντολή χάρις</u>
line 25	<u>φθάρτον ... πρόβατον</u>	line 49	<u>τύπος αλήθεια</u>
line 26	<u>άβθατος ... κυρίος</u>	line 50	<u>ζηνός υξός</u>
line 27	<u>σφαχέις ... άμνός</u>	line 51	<u>πρόβατον ένθρωπος</u>
line 28	<u>ένκοτάς ... θεός</u>	line 52	<u>ένθρωπος θεός</u>
line 60	<u>νόμος</u>	line 64	<u>υξός</u>
line 61	<u>λόκος</u>	line 65	<u>πρόβατον</u>
line 62	<u>χάρις</u>	line 66	<u>ένθρωπος</u>
line 63	<u>πατήρ</u>	line 67	<u>θεός</u> ⁴⁹

The style of Melito's homily is such that it can remind one of a theatrical drama. Melito speaks of Death in a personified manner as he describes Egypt losing its first born. By the time one reaches the middle of the homily, Christ is putting on human nature, but, with His divine nature, he kills Death, which had been portrayed to this point as the killer of men. This killing of Death by Christ is the turning point in Melito's homiletic drama.

The structure of the homily is indeed remarkable. When Wifstrand studied the homily, he noted the parallel sentences were structured in length according to the number of syllables.⁵⁰ With this principle in mind, J. Smit Sibinga approached the homily for study in 1970, noting that Melito balanced his sections of the homily syllabically. Sibinga concluded:

"Melito, then, shaped the parts of his homily so as to fill out a certain number of syllables: a round number, or a symbolic number, a square or 'triangular' number, or a number that for some reason could interest an arithmetician."⁵¹

Melito, the second century preacher, was a sophisticated orator who utilized a thoroughly studied technique of rhetoric. He was no less than an artist with words, phrases and rhetorical devices. Melito was, indeed, a "conscious orator"; one who was well-trained and prepared to speak. This type of orator was thought by many not to have existed until the third century. But, it appears that Melito's style may be representative of an early period of refined Christian oratory. One is led to wonder if there were not other orators of Melito's type during the second century.

There has been some speculation and disagreement about the origin of Melito's style, which could diminish or enhance its appearance in the second century. Stuart G. Hall of Nottingham University has written an intriguing article which views Melito's homiletic style in the light of the

Jewish Passover Haggadah.⁵² He designs a well researched thesis with the help of two previous studies by F. L. Cross and Eric Werner, which states that the Passion homily of Melito is dependent upon the Jewish Paschal tradition. Hall seeks to establish a literary affinity between Περί Πάσχα and the Pesahim, and a relationship between the Exodus 12:1-20 reading in Περί Πάσχα and the Jewish Passover on fourteenth of Nisan. Hall concludes: "More research is needed into the question of the source of Melito's traditions, whether it is Palestinian or Asiatic, Greek or Hebrew."⁵³

When A. Wifstrand studied Melito's style, he admitted a Hebrew influence upon the religious style of the homily, but he believes that the major stress must be laid upon the Greek rhetorical style being used.⁵⁴ Wifstrand seeks to establish parallels between Melito's style and that of second century Greek orators. He compares Melito consistently with Maximus of Tyre and sometimes with Lucian, the declamations of Polemo and the romances of Longus and Achilles Tatius. Wifstrand views Melito as a Christian bishop who is embracing Greek oratory and its rhetorical devices.

Taking both Hall and Wifstrand's observations into consideration could lead one to conclude that Melito is a representative of a transition in second century Christian preaching. He seems to be utilizing Jewish Passover tradition, but combining it further with Greek rhetorical devices. This would seem to be the case when one notices that most of Melito's devices are used in an extreme and overloaded way. This could be the result of an attempt to utilize a tradition of the Haggadah in combination with Greek rhetorical techniques.

Be that as it may, the styles of II Clement and Melito's Περί
Πάσχα are in great variance and give us a picture of the develop-
ing changes taking place in the second century preaching, which eventually
led to the forced Greek styles employed by the fourth centuries.

SCRIPTURE:

After seeing the differences in content and style between II Clement
and Melito's Περί Πάσχα, one would expect a difference in their
usage of Scriptures. And there is, indeed, a difference, but their indiv-
idual uses of Scripture are intertwined with their different contents and
style. Both homilies utilize Scriptures, especially the Old Testament, to
support their themes. But, since their themes are different, Scripture
seems to be used differently. II Clement is using Scriptural passages to
lead its listeners to repentance and moral living, while Melito is using
Scriptural passages to show how Christ has fulfilled prophecy and brought
God's true passover to mankind.

II Clement

II Clement is overflowing with Scriptural quotations which repeatedly
attest to the need for repentance and moral living. This homily, of approx-
imately five thousand words and taking about one hour to preach, contains
one hundred fifty-seven (157) references to the Old Testament and Apocrypha
and one hundred fifty-eight (158) references to writings now contained in the
New Testament. The use of this Scripture is reverent. There is no unusual
allegorizing or forcing of Scripture. But, then, this was not necessary to
the preacher of II Clement's themes. He is interested in exhorting his lis-
teners to action and not to some knowledge or new understanding of Scripture

via rhetorical devices.

II Clement should also be remembered for its distinguishing between two classes of writings in the Church, the "Bibles" and the "Apostles". When the term "books" is used in II Clement, it refers to the Old Testament. When the term "Apostles" is used, it refers to apostolic writings. The preacher of II Clement holds these writings to be of equal value and uses them in a like manner. Robert Grant, in his study of II Clement, noted:

"The Biblical quotations in 2 Clement present an interesting picture. There are two introductory formulas which clearly refer to books; 'the Scripture says', and 'the prophetic words say'. Other formulas refer to speakers: 'God says', 'the Lord said' or 'the Lord says'. The formulas are virtually synonymous, for the author can say 'the Lord says in the gospel' or 'he says in Isaiah' or 'the Scripture says in Ezekiel' without any apparent differences in meaning. In the author's view, 'we must think of Jesus as of God'. And there is therefore practically no difference between the books and the apostles."⁵⁵

The preacher of II Clement places New Testament on the same level with Old Testament. For this preacher, Scripture becomes a means by which he may bring answers to his listeners' problems and subsequently exhort them into a way of life that will be helpful to them. The characteristic emphasis of the second century is present in this homily, where, after the passing of the first enthusiasm of faith and in view of Gnostic antinomianism, the need was always present to stress the moral life and obedience to the commandments. Hence, such Pauline phrases occur as: "Fasting is better than prayer" (16:4), or "By giving up the soul's wicked passions we shall share in the mercy of Jesus" (16:2).⁵⁶ The tone of the homily and its use of Scripture is heavily accented on repentance and good works rather than faith and justification.

Περὶ Πάσχα ---Melito of Sardis

Even though Melito's homily initially appears to be concerned with the Old Testament Scriptural account of the Exodus and to interpret it in a Christ-centered way; he does utilize other Scriptural passages in his homily. Like II Clement, Melito uses Scripture to illustrate his points of communication to his people. But, his points, which are in need of Scriptural support, are those in which he wishes to illustrate the Old Law, prophecy, passover, and, then, he continues by speaking of how Christ has fulfilled each. He quotes the Old Testament readily in his desire to set forth Christ as the fulfillment of ancient prophecies; Genesis 2:16-17, Jeremiah 5:8, Deuteronomy 28:66, Psalm 2:1, Jeremiah 11:19, Isaiah 53:7, Genesis 44:4, Psalm 38:21 and Genesis 35:10.

But the distinction between "Books" and "writings of the Apostles" found in II Clement is not present in Melito's homily. In fact, although Melito gives numerous quotations of the Old Testament, he does not give a single direct quotation of the New Testament, although there are a number of references to the New Testament incidents and phrases. One of these is the reference to John's account of the raising of Lazarus. In this account, Melito sees the proof to Israel that this resurrection of Lazarus was a sign of the power of God in Christ. But Melito never directly quotes the Johannine passages. He only makes references to them.

The use of Scripture in both II Clement and Melito's Περὶ Πάσχα is directly linked to the themes and styles of the individual homilies. Examples are in order:

II Clement 3:2-4

"He himself says, 'He who acknowledges me before men, I also will acknowledge before my father' (Matthew 10:32). This then is our reward if only we acknowledge him through whom we were saved. But in what way do we acknowledge him? By doing what he says and not disobeying his commandments, and by honoring him not only with our lips but 'with all our heart and all our mind' (Deuteronomy 6:5)."

Περί Πάσης 61-62

"By the voice of the prophets the mystery of the Lord has also been proclaimed. For Moses says to the people: 'And you shall see your life hanging before your eyes night and day and you shall have no assurance of your life' (Deuteronomy 28:66).

And David says, 'Why do the nations conspire and the people plot in vain? The kings of the earth and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord and against his anointed' (Psalm 2:1).

II Clement uses Scripture to undergird his exhortations to repentance and obedience, while Melito is using it to relate Christ's actions to the fulfillment of the Jewish prefigurations in the Old Testament. In both homilies, Scripture serves to verify and present important thematic material. In both homilies, Scripture is used in an authoritative and proclamatory manner for second century Christians.

Even though this question is near impossible to answer, it does enter one's mind as he reads II Clement and Περί Πάσης. How well did the individual homilies address the needs of their listeners? One can only speculate upon the answer to this question, since we do not know with any certainty the audiences or congregations to whom these homilies were addressed.

The homily which came to be known as II Clement does give us the indication that those to whom the preacher proclaimed his message were in need

of encouragement in the face of persecution. The preacher exhorts his listeners not to be afraid but to pray openly, to confess Christ and to repent (2:2). He also exhorts them to a life of moral purity and steadfastness, so that they give no one any reason to persecute them (17:3). And, he also strengthens them against the Gnostic tendencies of the day with an emphasis on the divinity of Christ and the resurrection of the flesh (1:1;9). The preacher of II Clement appears to be quite concerned about the lives of his listeners and attempts to address them in a helpful manner. From looking at the array of exhortations within the homily, it seems possible that the preacher may have been originally answering questions of the congregation in the early Christian style of didaskhein, and the questions have been edited out of the written homily. There is no direct means of supporting such a theory. But, given the early date and number of exhortations within the homily, the conversational style of teaching may have been II Clement's original form. This would make it a well-addressed homily to its listeners.

Again, with Melito's Περί Πάσχα, one is only left to speculate as to how well the homily addressed the needs of its original audience. But, two points of interest in this respect arise when one thinks of Περί Πάσχα and its listeners. First, we know that Melito was involved in the Easter controversy as a quartodeciman, and the homily he preached is directly tied to the quartodeciman view, with its reference to Christ's death and resurrection being the fulfillment of the Passover. Melito may have been laying out an argument for the quartodeciman view with his homily, which his congregation in Sardis was anxious to hear in order to support their Easter

perspective. Again, there is no means by which to substantiate such a theory, but it is plausible considering Melito's quartodeciman identity and the contents of his homily.

The second point worthy of consideration in regard to the ability of Melito's homily to address his listeners' needs is related to his seemingly Greek rhetorical style. When Edwin Hatch studied the influence of Greek ideas upon Christian rhetoric, he concluded that Christian homilies acquired a Greek rhetorical style, because they had been affected by Greek addresses that filled such a large place in contemporary living.⁵⁷ Melito may have utilized the Greek rhetorical style in his homily in order to better communicate with his congregated listeners. But, alas, this is another theory without any material support. Even though there is no way of specifically pointing to needs which the preacher of II Clement and Melito in his homily answered, the fact that the two homilies have been preserved seems to be indicative of their value and their ability to speak to people in a meaningful fashion.

These two homilies, which represent for us Christian preaching during the second century, are indicative of two types of preaching during that early century. As has been suggested, they may even represent a transitional period within the early history of homiletics. A transition from a simple, direct preaching/teaching of Scripture for living as a Christian to an ornate artistically styled sermon relaying the Gospel message via the Old Testament. It is, indeed, unfortunate that data concerning homilies of the second century is so sparse, since it would be revealing to see this development more clearly and the reaction to it by Christians of that era.

Yet, in spite of the scanty information about the second century, these two homilies illuminate a tension in Christian preaching which exists to this very day in the homiletical task. The tension of which I speak is that which exists between the simple direct homily and the ornate well-styled sermon.

II Clement, being as ancient as it is, has an instructive message for modern Christian preachers. This early homily, which has been criticized for being unlearned and disorganized, seeks to address the Christian in his daily living. Admittedly, II Clement, at points, seems legalistic, but, as a whole, the preacher of it was trying diligently to speak to the lives of his listeners. The mode of early Christian preaching also suggests that a preacher seeks to answer questions of those to whom he preaches. After reading the text in early Christian worship, the man, who was preaching, sat among his people and entertained questions about the text. It would be useful to the modern preacher to speak with his people about his text before he preaches upon it. In this manner, he could come to grips with their concerns about it and prepare to proclaim it in a meaningful manner to them. II Clement is a practical sermon and worthy of reading and pondering by the modern Christian preacher.

Melito's homily, with its elaborate style and balanced character, is also worthy of study by the modern preacher. His sermonic method utilizes the Old Testament in a typological fashion, which is helpful to the modern preacher when he seeks to interpret the Old Testament for his listeners.

But, more than this, Melito's artistic rhetorical style presents a challenge for the twentieth century homiletician. Melito points to the value of a well balanced, well structured sermon, which flows in such a

manner, that it is memorable and revelatory of the meaning of Scripture in the light of the Gospel. This type of sermon becomes for its listeners much like a portrait of the Gospel that is being painted by a very skilled artist, who must complete each stroke of the brush before the Gospel is seen clearly and in its splendor as God's plan and action of salvation for mankind. This word painted sermon holds the attention of people through to the final stroke of the artist's brush or rhetorical tools.

But, in looking at both homilies, a tension builds which is felt by preachers today. That is, how ornate, how artistic can one become without losing the simple direct address of the Christian Gospel to people in their daily living. It seems as if one must establish a balance in this tension and address Scripture to people in their living as did II Clement. But, they must also risk proclaiming Scripture in the glorious light of the Gospel as did Melito.

One can only wonder if our modern preachers would not be greatly improved if there was the same acquaintance with ancient sermons as with the best of 1980.

FOOTNOTES

1. Yngve Brilioth, A Brief History of Preaching (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), pp. 8-10.
2. Johannes Lindblom, Prophecy in Ancient Israel (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1962), p. 311.
3. John Kerr, Lectures on the History of Preaching, Edited by A. R. Maccewen, (New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1889), pp. 16-17.
4. James M. Hoppin, Homiletics (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1883), p. 23.
5. C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and its Development (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1962), p. 7.
6. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
7. Yngve Brilioth, A Brief History of Preaching, p. 17.
8. T. Harwood Pattison, The History of Christian Preaching (Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1903), p. 39.
9. Brilioth, A Brief History of Preaching, p. 18.
10. Edwin Hatch, The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages Upon the Christian Church, Edited by A. M. Fairbairn, (London: Williams and Norgate, 1890), p. 108.
11. Ibid.
12. The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Edited by Rev. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1896), Volume I, p. vii.
13. Hugh Thomson Kerr, Preaching in the Early Church (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1942), p. 51.
14. Brilioth, A Brief History of Preaching, p. 18.
15. "The Didache", Early Christian Fathers, Edited and translated by Cyril C. Richardson, (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1970), Chapters 11, 12, 13, 15, pp. 176-178.
16. Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry, Edited by H. B. Swete, (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1921), pp. 229, 236.

17. Edwin Charles Dargan, A History of Preaching (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1968), p. 37.
18. Dodd, Apostolic Preaching, p. 8.
19. John A. Broadus, Lectures on the History of Preaching (New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1896), p. 46.
20. Hatch, Influence of Greek Ideas Upon the Christian Church, p. 107.
21. Richardson, Early Christian Fathers, p. 190.
22. Ibid.
23. R. C. White, "Melito of Sardis: Earliest Christian Orator?", Lexington Theological Quarterly (Oct., 1971), p. 85.
24. The Journal of Sacred Literature, New Series, Vol. XIV, pp. 298-310.
25. Campbell Bonner, The Homily on the Passion by Melito (London, 1940), Vol. XII (Studies and Documents).
26. Michel Testuz, Papyrus Bodmer XIII, Meliton De Sardes, Homilie sur la Paque, Geneva, 1960.
27. Bernhard Lohse, Die Passa--Homilie des Bischofs Meliton Von Sardes, (Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1958).
28. Richardson, Early Christian Fathers, p. 184.
29. Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, Translated by A. C. McGiffert in Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series I, Vol. I (New York, 1890), 3:38-4.
30. Jerome, "Lives of Illustrious Men", Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Trans. and Ed. by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1953), Vol. III, p. 366.
31. Richardson, Early Christian Fathers, p. 185.
32. J. B. Lightfoot, Apostolic Fathers (London: McMillan and Company, 1890), p. 205.
33. Robert Grant and Holt H. Graham, The Apostolic Fathers (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1964), p. 46.
34. Ibid.
35. Lightfoot, Apostolic Fathers, p. 208.

36. Ibid., p. 202.
37. Ibid., p. 197.
38. Adolf Harnack, The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries, Trans. and Ed. by James Moffatt, (New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1904), Vol. I, p. 330.
39. White, Melito of Sardis: Earliest Christian Orator, p. 83.
40. Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, 5, 24-25.
41. White, Melito of Sardis: Earliest Christian Orator, p. 84.
42. Ibid., p. 90.
43. Richardson, Early Christian Fathers, pp. 183-184.
44. Johannes Quasten, Patrology (Utrecht-Antwerp: Spectrum, 1975), Vol. I, p. 243.
45. J. B. Lightfoot, "St. Clement of Rome", The Apostolic Fathers, Vol. II, p. 44.
46. Ibid., p. 46.
47. Leonhard Goppelt, Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times, Trans. Robert A. Guelich (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1970), p. 86.
48. A. Wifstrand, "The Homily of Melito on the Passion", Vigilae Christianae 2 (1948), p. 201.
49. Thomas Halton, "Stylistic Device in Melito, Περὶ Πάσχα ", Kyriakon Festschrift Johannes Quasten, Ed. Patrick Granfield and Josef A. Jungman, (Munster, Westf.: Verlag Aschendor, 1970), Vol. I, p. 251.
50. Wifstrand, "The Homily of Melito", p. 203.
51. J. Smit Sibinga, "Melito of Sardis, The Artist and His Text", Vigilae Christianae, Vol. 24 (1970), p. 85.
52. Stuart G. Hall, "Melito in Light of the Passover Haggadah", Journal of Theological Studies, Vol. XXII, Part 1 (April, 1971), p. 29-46.
53. Ibid., p. 46.
54. Wifstrand, "The Homily of Melito", p. 201.
55. Robert Grant, The Apostolic Fathers (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1964), p. 45.

56. Richardson, Early Christian Fathers, p. 188.
57. Hatch, Influence of Greek on Christian Church, p. 108.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bonner, Campbell. "The Homily on the Passion by Melito." Studies and Documents, Vol. XII (London, 1940).
- Brilioth, Yngve. A Brief History of Preaching. Translated by Karl E. Mattson. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965.
- Broadus, John A. History of Preaching. New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1896.
- Dodd, C. H. The Apostolic Preaching and Its Development. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1962.
- Donfried, K. P. "The Setting of II Clement in Early Christianity." L'Anne Philologique, 46:92 ff.
- Early Christian Fathers. Edited by Cyril C. Richardson. New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1970.
- Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry. Edited by H. B. Swete. New York: MacMillan Company, 1921.
- Eusebius. Ecclesiastical History. Translated by A. C. McGiffert. Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series I, Vol. I, 1890.
- Farrar, Fredric W. Lives of the Fathers. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1889.
- Foster, J. After the Apostles: Missionary Preaching of the First Three Centuries. London: S. C. M. Press, Ltd., 1951.
- Goppelt, Leonhard. Apostolic and Post Apostolic Times. Translated by Robert A. Guelich. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1970.
- Grant, Robert M., Graham, Holt H. The Apostolic Fathers. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1965.
- Hall, Stuart G. "Melito in the Light of the Passover Haggadah." Journal of Theological Studies, 28 (1971) 29-46.
- _____. "Melito Περὶ Πάσχα I and II." Kyriakon Festschrift Johannes Quasten. Edited by Patrick Granfield and Josef A. Jungmann. Munster Westf.: Verlag Aschendor, I (1970) 236-248.

- Halton, Thomas. "Stylistic Device in Melito Περὶ Πάσχα." Kyriakon Festschrift Johannes Quasten. Edited by Patrick Granfield and Josef A. Jungmann. Munster Westf.: Verlag Aschendor, I (1970) 249-255.
- Harvey, A. E. "Melito and Jerusalem." Journal of Theological Studies, 17 (1966) 401-404.
- Harnack, Adolf. The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904.
- Hatch, Edwin. The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages Upon the Christian Church. London: Williams and Norgate, 1904.
- Hoppin, James M. Homiletics. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1883.
- Jerome. "Lives of Illustrious Men." Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Translated and Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1953.
- Kerr, Hugh Thomas. Preaching in the Early Church. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1942.
- Kerr, John. Lectures on the History of Preaching. Edited by A. R. Macewen. New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1889.
- Lightfoot, J. B. The Apostolic Fathers. London: S. C. M. Press, 1890.
- Lindblom, Johannes. Prophecy in Ancient Israel. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1962.
- Lohse, Bernhard. Die Passa-Homilie Des Bischofs Meliton Von Sardis. Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1958.
- "Melito of Sardis: Fragments." The Journal of Sacred Literature XIV (New Series) 298-310.
- McDonald, J. I. H. "Some Comments on the Form of Melito's Paschal Homily." Studia Patristica 12 (1970): 104-112.
- Moule, H. D. Christian Oratory During the First Five Centuries. London: Hodder and Stroughton, Ltd., 1936.
- Pattison, T. Harwood. The History of Christian Preaching. New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1896.
- Sibinga, J. Smit. "Melito of Sardis, The Artist and His Text." Vigiliae Christianae 24 (1970) 81-104.
- Testuz, Michel. Papyrus Bodmer XIII, Meliton de Sardis, Homilie sur la Paque. Geneva, 1960.

The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Edited by Rev. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1896.

White, R. C. "Melito of Sardis: Earliest Christian Orator?" Lexington Theological Quarterly (Oct., 1971) 82-91.

_____. "The Sermon of Melito of Sardis." Revue d'Historie Ecclesiastique 72 (1977) 204 ff.

Wifstrand, A. "The Homily of Melito on the Passion." Vigiliae Christianae 2 (1948) 201-223.