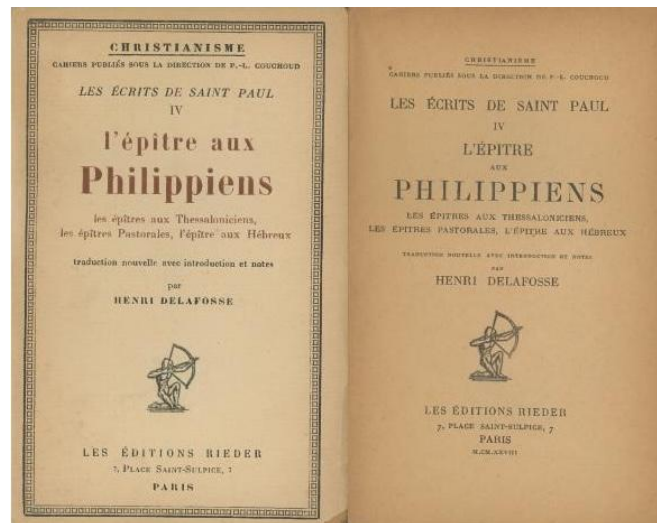


This file was created October 2021 as a translation for my personal use and without any thought of sharing publicly at the time. I only ask that you keep that in mind when using it. I have made a copy of the French text available at

<https://archive.org/details/turmel-les-ecrits-de-saint-paul-iv-l-epitre-aux-philippiens>

Neil Godfrey - November 2023



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EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

1. *Various opinions on its origin.*

The Epistle to the Hebrews was once thought to have been addressed to the Judeo-Christian community of Jerusalem. It was also believed to have been originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic and later translated into Greek. But we ended up noticing word plays and alliterations in the Greek text of which a translator is incapable. Moreover, the biblical quotations are always made according to the Greek version. Notably in X, 4, 7: “You opened my ears”). It follows from this that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written in Greek. And, as the Judeo-Christians of Jerusalem did not know Greek, we are obliged to abandon the opinion of the ancients regarding the destination of the Epistle to the Hebrews. This piece was not written for the Jewish Christians of Jerusalem, and the title “to the Hebrews” under which it is designated has no value.

At the time when the epistle to the Hebrews was based on a primitive Hebrew version, its composition was attributed to Paul, and it was added that his work had been translated into Greek by one of his disciples, either Luke, or Silas, or Clement Romain. Others spoke of Apollos. Today that the so-called Hebrew writing is no longer accepted by anyone, we no longer believe that Paul had anything to do with the composition of the epistle to the Hebrews. But, as we unanimously admit that our epistle was, from the year 96, used by Clement Romain in his letter to the Corinthians (47 times, says Holtzmann, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*³, p. 293), we declare without hesitation that It was written either before the ruin of Jerusalem (around 66), or, at the latest, in the years which closely followed this catastrophe (around 72 or 75).

In 1873, Renan, *The Antichrist*, p. XVII, drew attention to the following text from *De pudicitia*, 5: *Exstat enim et Barnabae titulus ad Hebraeos*. "These words," he said, "prove that the manuscript used by Tertullian had the name of Barnabas at the head of the epistle. It is wrong to present Tertullian's assertion as a personal conjecture. And he concludes: "The attribution to Barnabé is the most likely. It has on its side the authority of Tertullian who presents the fact as recognized by all. This observation by Renan seemed plausible, and today it is very commonly accepted that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by Barnabas. Apollos, however, still retains some more or less convinced supporters. In 1900 Harnack, who had declared himself a few years earlier for Barnabas, put forward the names of Aquila and Prisca (*Zeitschrift für neutest. Théologie*, I, 16) and he brought various considerations which seemed to him to militate in favor of this attribution. In any case, whether it was written by Barnabas, or by Apollos, or by Aquila, or by Prisca, the epistle to the Hebrews was said to be addressed to the Christian community of Rome (to a small group of the Roman community, according to Harnack). This is what we deduce from XIII, 24: "Those of Italy salute you".

2. Analysis of the epistle.

Armed with this summary information, let us now contact the epistle itself.

If we ignore the last verses, it appears in the form of a dogmatic dissertation accompanied by moral exhortations. Two objects constitute the basis of dogmatic teaching: Christ and the work accomplished by Christ.

Christ is considered successively in himself and during his stay on earth. In himself Christ is the Son. It is through him that God made the worlds. It is the reflection of the glory of God, the imprint of his substance. He supports all things with a word of his power (he has only one order to give). Seated at the right hand of the Majesty in the highest of the heavens, he is far superior to the angels, to the point of having the right to the title of god {Ps., XLIV, 7-8, quoted in reverse). But he who, considered in himself, is so great, he came to the earth to bring help, epilambanelai, to the posterity of Abraham (II, 16). To fulfill this mission he had to make himself similar to men in all things (II, 17, kata panta omoïôthénaï). He therefore participated in some way (II, 14) in flesh and blood, since men participate in it. He was not ashamed to call men his brothers. But, at the same time, he was lowered below the angels for a little time (II, 9). " For a short time "; because, following what he did for men, the Son who was already very great, received from God a complement of greatness (II, 10, telelosaî and Y, 9). And now he is crowned with glory and honor (II, 9).

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So what did Christ do on earth? He is dead; and the death he suffered was for us the principle of salvation.

He is dead. For what? His death was demanded first by his priesthood; then by the new alliance that he came to found.

Firstly through his priesthood. Christ was a priest. He did not arrogate this dignity to himself. He received it from God who said to him: "You are a priest forever, according to the order of Melchizedek" (V, 5-6). The priesthood that this word conferred on him far outweighs the Levitical priesthood, since Abraham, ancestor of Levi, paid tithes to Melchizedek; but the law of sacrifice which governs the Levitical priesthood nevertheless extends to him. The holders of the Levitical priesthood had the mission of presenting to God offerings and sacrifices for sins (V, 1; VIII, 3). Christ therefore also had to offer a sacrifice, not for his sins since he had none, but for the sins of the people (VII, 27; IX, 26). And, as the immolation of animals which constituted the Mosaic sacrifices only provided carnal purification (IX, 13), Christ had to immolate his body, according to what was prophesied in the psalms (X, 5-10). .

Claimed by his priesthood, the death of Christ was further demanded by the new alliance that he came to found. This new alliance announced by God himself in Jeremiah (VIII, 8-12) abrogated the old one (VIII, 13). But she had to adapt to its terms. Now it was with blood that the first alliance was inaugurated (IX, 18); almost all things,

according to the law, are cleansed with blood, and without the shedding of blood there is no forgiveness (IX) 22). Hence for Christ the necessity of inaugurating the new covenant by a sacrifice, but by a more excellent sacrifice (IX, 23) which, in accordance with the oracle of the psalm already cited (X, 5-10), consisted in the immolation of his body.

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To these two essential reasons for the death of Christ are added the following accessory reasons. Christ, having adopted in some way the condition of the men to whom he came to help, had to submit to the law of suffering which governs men (II, 10). Furthermore, the spectacle of Christ's sufferings is an encouragement to men, who, in the school of their master, learn to endure adversity (XII, 3). Finally Christ, who now (II, 9) is rewarded because of his death, knew in advance that God would reward him if he consented to die, and he accepted death to obtain the promised reward (XII, 2) ¹.

1. I adopt here the meaning of the Vulgate which is also that of the Greek text in II, 9.

Let us now see how Christ's death brought salvation to us. First of all, by the very fact that he died for us, Christ suffered the penalty that was due to our sins. In this sense he took our sins upon himself (IX, 28), carried them and carried them away. At the same time he expiated them (II, 17, it is always the death penalty imposed for sin which is targeted). Having expiated them he suppressed them (IX, 26); he produced the purification of sins (I, 3). Now the devil, who had the power to put men to death, owed this power to sin (the death penalty inflicted on sin consisted of God losing interest in the sinner and abandoning him to the devil who put him to death). Sins having disappeared, Christians ceased to be under the slavery of the devil who lost the empire of death and was struck by decay (II, 15, the author even says that the devil was annihilated) .

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Freed from the yoke of the devil, Christians participate in the heavenly vocation (III, 1). Christ, when his sacrifice was accomplished, entered the tabernacle of which the Mosaic tabernacle was only the image, he went into heaven (IX, 11, 24; VIII, 1, 2). Now the path to the heavenly sanctuary is open (X, 20). It is up to Christians to follow their precursor (VI, 20), the author and guide of their salvation (II, 10). Where Christ has penetrated they will also penetrate, if only they have the fullness of faith, if they are equipped with baptism and if they have renounced sin (X, 22, 23).

The true homeland of Christians is not here below; she is in heaven (XIII, 14), in this celestial Jerusalem where the living God resides, where the angelic multitudes reside, where the souls of the righteous who have completed their pilgrimage and in particular the souls of the Christians of the first generation have already returned (XII, 22-23). Christians who are on earth do not yet possess heaven. They move towards him (XII, 22), they hope for him (XI, 1), they wait for him.

From now on their wait will not be long, because the day is approaching (X, 25). We are at the end of time (IX, 26), and he who is to come will come in a short time, he will not delay (X, 37). But let Christians keep the faith, because without faith they will not be able to save their souls (X, 35, 39). Let them not let themselves be discouraged by the trials of the present time; for Christ who suffered taught them to suffer; moreover, it is for our good that God punishes us (XII, 1-11).

Above all, let them remember that the renegade Christian has no forgiveness to hope for (VI, 4-8; X, 26-31). Let them therefore fear apostasy, which would cause them to fall into the hands of the living God and would be the cause of a terrible fate for them. That they are not content to just keep the faith. Let them also apply themselves to doing good, to avoiding evil (X, 24; XII, 12-17; XIII, 1-6). Let them offer to God a sacrifice of praise, that is to say the fruit of lips which confess his name (XIII, 15), without forgetting that beneficence is also a sacrifice acceptable to God (XIII, 16).

3. It couldn't have been written into Paul's entourage.

Such, apart from incidental details, is the epistle to the Hebrews. Let us now compare this dissertation to Pauline literature freed from the parasitic vegetation which covers it today.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews Christ is the son of God who came to earth to open to men the way to heaven which was closed to them by sin. He accomplished this task by blotting out the sins of men; and he blotted out sins by sacrificing his life in accordance with the requirements of the Mosaic law. The Christian participates by faith and baptism in the benefit of Christ's death. His sins are erased, and he walks towards heaven following the path blazed by the author of his salvation.

Paul had another conception of Christ and Christians. For him, Christ was a man charged by God to fulfill the promise made long ago to Abraham, and to give the posterity of this patriarch the possession of Palestine (and even of the whole world). Put to death by the wickedness of men, during his stay on earth he was unable to accomplish his mission. But he was going to return escorted by the celestial powers and, this time, he was going to break down all the obstacles. The Christians were the sons of Abraham. By virtue of this title, for which they were indebted not to the flesh but to faith, they were called to benefit from the promise made to this patriarch. They would soon, under the orders of Christ, inherit Palestine (and also the world).

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Here we have two Christologies or, to put it better, two mentalities separated by an abyss. There is a historical explanation for this contrast. What is it? Before any research it is quite obvious that we put ourselves out of a position to find it unless we begin by abandoning the received opinion which attributes the epistle to the Hebrews to a companion of Paul. When we have acquired proof that this apostle dreamed of an earthly kingdom and that his propaganda was of a political nature, the mind refuses to admit that one of his friends, whether Barnabas, or Apollos, or Aquila, had founded current Christology. From now on we are authorized to conclude that the epistle to the Hebrews was written in a totally different environment from the environment of Paul.

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Let us try to establish the circumstances in which it was written.

It is addressed to readers whose faith is in danger. This is what results from the following texts, H, 1: "Therefore we must cling all the more to the things we have heard, so that we are not carried away from them." --- III, 12: "See to it, brothers, that no one among you has such an evil heart as to turn away from the living God." — IV, 14: "Let us remain firm in the faith that we profess." — X, 23: "Let us hold unwaveringly to the profession of our hope." — XII, 25: "Be careful not to refuse to hear the speaker...". These warnings are obviously intended to ward off danger.

Which? Judging from III, 12 which implores readers to remain faithful to the living God, one could believe that the author wants to protect Christians against the seductions of paganism. But it is easy to see that his dissertations have no connection with false gods and, consequently, do not tend to refute them. The danger does not come from paganism. Let's look in another direction.

We read in II, 16-17 the following observation: "Surely it is not angels that he helps, it is the posterity of Abraham. Therefore he had to be like his brothers in every way, so as to be a merciful and faithful high priest in the service of God to atone for the sins of the people." Strange observation! We wonder with surprise how the idea could have come to the author to explain that Christ came to bring help, not to the angels, but to the posterity of Abraham. And we can only answer this question by appealing to polemical concerns. The author found himself faced with adversaries who claimed to put Christ outside the human condition. And he replied to them: "You attribute to Christ an angelic condition. Your theory would be entirely acceptable if Christ had come to help the angels. But it was to the posterity of Abraham, that is to say, to men that he came to the aid. He appeared, in fact, on earth with the mission to atone for the sins of men. To carry out this program Christ did not have to come in the angelic condition. He had to be like his brothers in every way and submit to the human condition." This is the meaning of II, 16-17. Now it was Marcion who, around 140, claimed to put Christ outside of humanity. It is therefore to the doctrine of Marcion that the epistle to the Hebrews responds here. And the danger against which it strives to protect the faithful is, above all, the Marcionite danger.

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The epistle to the Hebrews proposes above all to combat the doctrine of Marcion. This objective explains the place occupied by the Mosaic world in the author's argument. The Mosaic cult was headed by a high priest responsible for offering blood sacrifices to God. At the head of the new cult there is also a high priest, Christ who, like the high priest of Mosaic times, offered a bloody sacrifice to God. However, this sacrifice, of which the ancient sacrifices were only a shadow, consisted in the immolation that the high priest made of his own body: the first reason for the death of Christ.

The Mosaic covenant was inaugurated by blood, and in the Mosaic ritual almost all cleansing was done by blood. It is also by the blood that the new covenant was inaugurated, and the cleansing of sins, which was accomplished in this covenant, was by the blood. However, this blood could only be the blood of the founder of the alliance himself: second reason for the death of Christ.

In Mosaic times those who, after hearing the word of God, hardened their hearts and refused to believe, perished in the desert and did not enter into the rest promised to them (III, 7-19). It will be the same for Christians. To them too the word which was announced to them will be of no use if it does not find faith among them. On the contrary, the Hebrews who had faith were praised by God and will receive the heavenly

reward for which they worked (XI). Christians will also receive the reward if they persevere (X, 35-39). The faith of Christians is the continuation of the faith of Mosaic times and it will also have the same reward. The sacrifice of Christ, the priesthood of Christ continues the sacrifice and priesthood of Mosaic worship. The Mosaic law is therefore not a bad institution. Likewise the God who sent Christ does not differ from the God who created us, for (II, 11): "He who sanctifies and those who are sanctified are all from one". And this "only" is the "living God" from whom the Christian must not turn away (III, 12).

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5. But not without giving him important concessions.

The epistle to the Hebrews, at the same time as it teaches the incarnation of Christ, also teaches us that the God who established the Mosaic law is the same God who sent Christ. She fights Marcion.

Now that this fact is acquired, let us note the text II, 14-15 which, after proclaiming the incarnation of Christ, adds: "So that by death he may destroy him who has the power of death, it is that is, the devil, and that he would deliver those who, through fear of death, were, during their life, held in slavery." Here we learn that the death of Christ was intended to ruin the empire of the devil (or even to annihilate the devil) who has the power of death. Now, in chapters V and IX, we read that Christ died out of respect for the Mosaic law which prescribed to the high priest to offer sacrifices, who carried out purifications by sacrifices and which, moreover, was inaugurated by the shedding of blood. Chapters V and IX give two explanations of the death of Christ which harmonize with each other, which even complement each other. Text II, 14-15 presents us with a third which is not reconciled with those that V and IX tell us about.

Now, in Marcion, it was said that Christ died to ruin the empire of the Creator, to remove from his power the men he was determined to put to death. The text II, 14-15 which, compared to the dissertations of chapters V and IX, has the effect of an erratic block, came from Marcion's workshop. And we see that the enemy has entered the fortress at least once and was not supposed to stop it.

Let's continue our investigation. We have seen the considerable place that Mosaic institutions occupy in the Epistle to the Hebrews. We have seen that, under the author's pen, it is these institutions which account for the priesthood of Christ and his bloody death transformed into a sacrifice. Now we read in VI, 20; VII, 11, 12, 18 that Christ is

high priest, not according to the order of Aaron, but according to the order of Melchizedek, that the priesthood has been changed in the person of Christ, that this change of priesthood necessarily supposes a change of law, and that there is thus abolition of the previous ordinance because of its "impotence and its uselessness". Elsewhere still, VIII, 7, 13, we learn that the first covenant was replaced by a second, that it is the old covenant, that is to say that it has ceased to exist. But, if the Christ came to abolish the Mosaic institutions, why did he insist, even at the cost of his blood, to put himself in good standing with them? Why did he want to be high priest and exercise at his own expense the functions of the Mosaic high priest? Why did he shed his blood because the Mosaic covenant was inaugurated by blood? We do not have so much respect for institutions that we consider useless and that we want to abolish. Between this repeal and this concern for continuity in services, there is an antinomy which must be the work of foreign influence. Now precisely in Marcion, it was taught that Jesus had come to abolish the Mosaic law. Voilà 1 foreign influence which introduced contradiction into our texts. And we find for the second time that 1 Epistle to the Hebrews gave hospitality to the enemy.

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There is no need to resort to a duality of editorial staff to report on our texts. It's a question of mentality. When Marcion began to propagate his theories, they were initially rejected wholesale in Catholic circles. It is with this state of mind that the text V, 17 of Matthew was written: "Do not think that I have come to abolish the law and the prophets; I have not come to abolish them, but to fulfill them." Little by little, however, intransigence gave way to a more or less bold eclecticism. While rejecting the principles of the heresiarch, we accepted certain of his postulates and we accommodated them as best we could within traditional frameworks, even if it meant distorting these and those.

It is to this school that the epistle to the Hebrews belongs. The author was influenced by Marcion and assimilated some of his theories. He believes that the Christ abolished the Mosaic law, that the death of Christ was intended to destroy the empire of the devil over men. But he would be horrified to say that the Mosaic law, the evil work of the evil God, was abolished by the good God of whom Christ is the manifestation, and that the devil is the evil God of whom the good God, in the person of Christ, ruined the empire. The devil, as he conceives him, is an angelic creature revolted against God; he ceased to be the creator God. As for the Mosaic law, it was abolished, not as bad, but as useless; and its abrogation was decreed by the very God who had instituted it. In short, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews engages in eclecticism and adaptation, that is to say, distortion.

How far does he take eclecticism? This is what remains for us to see. In XII, 23 it is a question of “the spirits of the righteous having reached perfection”. The author therefore believes that the souls of dead Christians are, from now on, in heaven in the company of God, because the word *tétélêiômenôn* cannot have another meaning (if the “firstborn” are, as is probable, the Christians of the first generation, they too are now in heaven).

Even if he admitted the resurrection of the body, he would still be far from the school of Justin and Irenaeus who forbid, under the most serious threats, the introduction of the souls of Christians into heaven immediately after death (Justin, *Dial.*, LXXX, 4, refuses the title of Christian to those who say that righteous souls go to heaven immediately after death. Irenaeus, V, 31, 1, uses similar language). But he does not admit the resurrection.

Without doubt, theologians have long associated the dogma of resurrection with the dogma of the entry of righteous souls into heaven immediately after death; They say that righteous souls enjoy the sight of God from now on, and that they will nevertheless return one day to earth to seek their bodies and take them to the heavenly homeland. But, initially, there was irreducible opposition between the two doctrines, because the immediate entry of righteous souls into heaven was precisely proclaimed in hatred of the resurrection of the body. And the artificial transaction imagined to associate them is later. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews is of the school to which Clement of Alexandria and Origen belonged. The Catholic has borrowed from Marcion the contempt for the belief in the resurrection of the body ¹.

1. In XI, 35, where there is mention of men who wanted “a better resurrection”, Estius recognises that, in the author’s writing, the word “resurrection” is a metonymy used to designate life.

Does his eclecticism go even further? Examination II, 14 and IX, 11. In II, 14 we read that Christ participated in the *paraplesiôs* blood and flesh. What does this word mean? According to commentators, he introduces the idea of a participation in blood and flesh exactly similar to ours. However, in reality, *paraplesiôs* only expresses an approximate similarity. We are therefore authorized to say that the meaning of the text is this: “Since children participate in blood and flesh, he himself participated in it in some way.” And this interpretation is not opposed by II, 17 which says that the Ghrist “must have

resembled his brothers in everything”, because this resemblance “in everything” can at the same time be a resemblance “in some way”.

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In IX, 11 we read: “Christ, coming as high priest of future good things, has passed through the better and more perfect tent, which is not made with hands, that is to say who is not of this creation, and he entered once and for all into the holy places...” The author, who has just described the rites performed by the high priest of the ancient law, says that the Christ, following the example of the Mosaic high priest, also passed through a tent and then entered the holy places. The “holy places” in question are clearly the sky which is also designated in full in IX, 24: “Christ did not enter into holy places made with hands, images of the true ones, but into the sky. »

Nor can there be any serious doubt about “the tent” through which Christ passed to make his entry into heaven. This tent - in which medieval commentators insisted on seeing either heaven or the Church - is necessarily the body of Christ.

Now we are told that this tent was not built by human hands, “that is to say, it is not of this creation”. Will it be objected that there is here an allusion to the virginal conception of Christ? But who is the theologian who would dare to maintain that the body miraculously conceived by Mary is foreign to creation? It cannot be, since Jesus is presented to us as a descendant of Adam, Abraham and David.

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The formula “not of this creation” only applies to an organism which owes nothing to the flesh of Mary. The Christ of the Epistle to the Hebrews is not the spiritual Christ of Marcion, since he saved us by his blood. He must have had a childhood and passed through the womb of Mary, since we are told (VII, 14) that he came out of Judah. But his body did not belong to (t this creation), his blood was not an ordinary blood, a vulgar blood (X, 29, threats uttered against those who say that the blood of the covenant, by which they been sanctified, is “vulgar”, because to think thus is to trample underfoot the Son of God). This body and this blood came from heaven, and Mary's womb was only the channel through which they passed to come to this earth. The author of our epistle was influenced by the disciple of Marcion, Apelles, whose Christ had entered the womb of Mary with a body brought from heaven. This fact should not surprise us too much. It often happened to apologists to imbibe the doctrines they were fighting. And, since we are in Christology, let us remember that the Christ of Clement of Alexandria and Hilary of Poitiers was half spiritual.

The Christ of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who is the reflection of the glory of God, the imprint of his substance, through whom God made the worlds and who, in a word, sustains all things, is far superior to the angels. Moreover, he is the son of God and, in the psalms, he received the title of God (misinterpretation of the LXX). On the other hand, during the days of his mortal life, he begged God with tears to save him from death (V,7). It was by God that he was brought back from the dead (XIII, 20); after his resurrection he received a “complement” of glory (11,10), and he took his place at the right hand of the divine majesty (I, 3; VIII, 1; X, 12; XII, 2). Despite the titles with which he is charged, the Christ of the epistle to the Hebrews is the subordinate of God, who gives him orders and rewards him when his orders are carried out. Let us not forget that, in Clement Romain 33, 4, man is “the imprint of the image” of God. In short, the Christ of the Epistle to the Hebrews is similar to the Christ of Clement Romain who, too, is subordinate to God; similar to the Christ of Clement of Alexandria who is also partly spiritual.

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6. The Epistle to the Hebrews and Clement of Rome.

Written near the house of Apelles, the epistle to the Hebrews cannot be earlier than around 145. But here we are blocked in the name of Clement Romain who, we are told, wrote his letter to the Corinthians around 96 , and who borrowed from the epistle to the Hebrews. Let's see if this dam is solid.

The problem of the reports of Clement Romain and the epistle to the Hebrews includes a question of fact and a question of date.

Question of fact: Did Clement Romain borrow from the Epistle to the Hebrews?

Question of date: Did Clément Romain write his letter around 96? Let's start with this second question first.

The date of Clément's letter is coordinated with the date of the letter written by Polycarpe, who uses it extensively. As long as the latter was placed around the year 112, we were obliged to place that of Clement around 96. But it is demonstrated today that Polycarp was not able to write his letter before 150, that he was able to write it in 166, since he suffered martyrdom on that date, as the old chronology wanted¹. In the present state of affairs we no longer have any reason to keep the date of 96, while considerations, on which I do not have to dwell here, invite us to go down towards the middle of the second century.

I now come to the question of fact. But I start by noting that it no longer has any significance. We will obviously not be entitled to conclude that the epistle to the Hebrews is from the first century, or that it is in any case prior to the year 130, even if we note that it was used by Clement whose letter is probably not earlier than 150. However, let's see if it was used.

Between Clement and Hebrews there are numerous coincidences which cannot be fortuitous; which, therefore, are the effect and the indicator of an addiction. They can be classified into two groups. In one place are those that we observe, without it being possible to see on which side the dependence lies. The other includes coincidences which make it possible to discern, with more or less probability, the model of the copy. The second group alone must attract our attention ¹

1. I limit myself to mentioning here the coincidences of the first group: History of Abel and Cain (Heb. XI, 4; Cl. IV, 1-6); Enoch [Il. XI, 5; Cl. IX, 3]; Noah [H. XI, 7; Cl. IX, 41; Abraham [H. XI, 7-8; Cl. Rahab [H. XI, 31; Cl. XII, 1); Jesus high priest [Il. III, 1; Cl. XXXVI, 1; LXI, 3; LXIV).

<p>Clement, XVII, 1: Let us also imitate those who, in goatskins and sheepskins, in <i>dermasin aïghëioïs kai mè-lotaïs</i>, went around announcing the coming of Christ, <i>we mean the prophets Elijah, Elisha and Ezéchiël</i>, and with them those who received a testimony.</p>	<p>Hebrews, XI, 37 : They went here and there, in sheep's skins and goats' skins, <i>èn mélotaïs, èn aïghëioïs dermasin</i>. deprived of everything, persecuted, mistreated.</p>
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Both authors speak of men dressed in goatskins and sheepskins. But Clement alone says that these men were the prophets Elijah, Elisha and Ezekiel. It is easy to understand that Hebrews, transcribing his text, removed proper names to abbreviate; but it is difficult to see how Clement, transcribing the text of Hebrews, would have inserted three proper names. Taking into account only the likelihoods, we will say that Hebrews used Clement.

<p>Clement, XXXVI, 2: The Master wanted us to taste immortal knowledge through</p>	<p>Hebrews, 1.5: He who, being the reflection of his glory, <i>os òn apogasma</i></p>
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him [Jesus] who, being the reflection of his greatness, <i>osônâpôgasma tes megalosunès autou</i> , is all the greater than the angels, that he inherited 'a more excellent name.	<i>tes doxès</i> , and the imprint of his substance, and carrying all beings by a word of his power... become all the more superior to angels that he has inherited a name more excellent than theirs.
3, For thus it is written: The winds he makes his angels, and the flame of the fire he makes his servant.	5. For to whom of the angels did he say, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?
4. But to the Son the Master said thus: You are my Son, today I have begotten you...	7. To the angels he said: The winds he makes his angels and the flame of the fire he makes his handmaid...
XXXIII, 4: (God formed man to be) the imprint, <i>karactèra</i> , of his image.	
XXVII, 4: (God) established the universe with a word of his greatness, in <i>logôtes megalosunès</i> around.	

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Here again, here especially the dependence is manifest. Will we say that she is on Clément's side? Let's reread Heb. 7. We learn there that the oracle of the psalm GUI, relating to the winds from which God makes his angels, is a word addressed to the angels themselves by God: "To the angels he said". Now, in the psalm, there is no question of a word addressed to the angels. The assertion of Heb. therefore contains an inaccuracy that commentators - at least those among them who have not avoided the problem - have tried in vain to remove (see Estius's unfortunate attempt). However, the inaccuracy was avoided by Clément. And the explanation of this contrast is probably this: Clement, who is the first author of the quotation, saw clearly that, in the psalm, God does not speak to the angels; 1 author of Heb., who limited himself to transcribing the extract from Clement, did not pay attention to this detail.

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Let's summarize. The Epistle to the Hebrews could have been used by Clement without this forcing us to date it before 145. In fact, far from having been utilized by Clement, it appears to have utilized Clement.

7. *The final verses.*

In XIII, 23-24 we read:

You know that our brother Timothy has been released. S'd is coming soon, I will go see you with him. Salute (all rulers and) all saints. Those of Italy salute you.

These lines are probably an authentic note from Paul which has been appended here to give the work of the disciple of Apelles the appearance of a Pauline letter. The annexation was made before Clement of Alexandria who cites our epistle as the work of Paul (Stro., IV, 16, etc.) and who was deceived by the said note. To achieve his ends more surely, the interpolator himself fabricated verse XIII, 19 where Paul is supposed to ask the faithful to pray for it to be returned to them as soon as possible. It was probably also he who inserted the "leaders" in XIII, 23 where Paul only mentioned the "saints", that is to say the Christians.