

Church history timeline

The Annunciation

Saints Peter, Andrew, Paul, and Luke the Evangelist

110 - Saint Ignatius of Antioch

110 - Saint Clement of Rome

2nd Century

166 - Saint Justin Martyr

Saint Nereus and Achilleus

3rd Century

220's - Saint Cecilia

250's - Saint Agatha

215 - Clement of Alexandria

4th Century

Capitol of Roman Empire moved to Byzantium by Constantine 1

Saints Constantine and Helen

325 - First Ecumenical Council

343 - Saint Nicholas

348 - Saint Spyridon

368 - Saint Hilary of Poitiers

373 - St. Athanasius

379 - St. Basil the Great

381 - Second Ecumenical Council

390 - Saint Gregory the Theologian

395 - Saint Gregory of Nyssa

397 - Saint Ambrose of Milan

5th Century

407 - Saint John Chrysostom

430 - Saint Augustine

431 - Third Ecumenical Council

435 - Saint John Cassian

444 - Saint Cyril of Alexandria

451 - Fourth Ecumenical Council

6th Century

553 - Fifth Ecumenical Council

7th Century

638 - Saint Sophronios of Jerusalem

662 - Saint Maximos the Confessor

680 - Sixth Ecumenical Council

8th Century

720 - Saint Andrew of Crete

760 - Saint John of Damascus

787 - Seventh Ecumenical Council

9th Century

10th Century

1022 - Saint Symeon the New Theologian

13th Century

14th Century

1359 - Saint Gregory Palamas

15th Century

1453 - Fall of Constantinople

1821 - Greek Independence from Ottoman Empire

Emphasizes class material



Iconography: Konstantinos Fanelis, Athens

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ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

PREFACE,

SHOWING THAT TO TEACH RULES FOR THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE IS NOT A SUPERFLUOUS TASK.

1. THERE are certain rules for the interpretation of Scripture which I think might with great advantage be taught to earnest students of the word, that they may profit not only from reading the works of others who have laid open the secrets of the sacred writings, but also from themselves opening such secrets to others. These rules I propose to teach to those who are able and willing to learn, if God our Lord do not withhold from me, while I write, the thoughts He is wont to vouchsafe to me in my meditations on this subject. But before I enter upon this undertaking, I think it well to meet the objections of those who are likely to take exception to the work, or who would do so, did I not conciliate them beforehand. And if, after all, men should still be found to make objections, yet at least they will not prevail with others (over whom they might have influence, did they not find them forearmed against their assaults), to turn them back from a useful study to the dull sloth of ignorance.

2. There are some, then, likely to object to this work of mine, because they have failed to understand the rules here laid down. Others, again, will think that I have spent my labor to no purpose, because, though they understand the rules, yet in their attempts to apply them and to interpret Scripture by them, they have failed to clear up the point they wish cleared up; and these, because they have received no assistance from this work themselves, will give it as their opinion that it can be of no use to anybody. There is a third class of objectors who either really do understand Scripture well, or think they do, and who, because they know (or imagine) that they have attained a certain power of interpreting the sacred books without reading any directions of the kind that I propose to lay

down here, will cry out that such rules are not necessary for any one, but that everything rightly done towards clearing up the obscurities of Scripture could be better done by the unassisted grace of God.

3. To reply briefly to all these. To those who do not understand what is here set down, my answer is, that I am not to be blamed for their want of understanding. It is just as if they were anxious to see the new or the old moon, or some very obscure star, and I should point it out with my finger: if they had not sight enough to see even my finger, they would surely have no right to fly into a passion with me on that account. As for those who, even though they know and understand my directions, fail to penetrate the meaning of obscure passages in Scripture, they may stand for those who, in the case I have imagined, are just able to see my finger, but cannot see the stars at which it is pointed. And so both these classes had better give up blaming me, and pray instead that God would grant them the sight of their eyes. For though I can move my finger to point out an object, it is out of my power to open men's eyes that they may see either the fact that I am pointing, or the object at which I point.

4. But now as to those who talk vauntingly of Divine Grace, and boast that they understand and can explain Scripture without the aid of such directions as those I now propose to lay down, and who think, therefore, that what I have undertaken to write is entirely superfluous. I would such persons could calm themselves so far as to remember that, however justly they may rejoice in God's great gift, yet it was from human teachers they themselves learnt to read. Now, they would hardly think it right that they should for that reason be held in contempt by the Egyptian monk Antony, a just and holy man, who, not being able to read himself, is said to have committed the Scriptures to memory through hearing them read by others, and by dint of wise meditation to have arrived at a

thorough understanding of them; or by that barbarian slave Christianus, of whom I have lately heard from very respectable and trustworthy witnesses, who, without any teaching from man, attained a full knowledge of the art of reading simply through prayer that it might be revealed to him; after three days' supplication obtaining his request that he might read through a book presented to him on the spot by the astonished bystanders.

5. But if any one thinks that these stories are false, I do not strongly insist on them. For, as I am dealing with Christians who profess to understand the Scriptures without any directions from man (and if the fact be so, they boast of a real advantage, and one of no ordinary kind), they must surely grant that every one of us learnt his own language by hearing it constantly from childhood, and that any other language we have learnt,—Greek, or Hebrew, or any of the rest,—we have learnt either in the same way, by hearing it spoken, or from a human teacher. Now, then, suppose we advise all our brethren not to teach their children any of these things, because on the outpouring of the Holy Spirit the apostles immediately began to speak the language of every race; and warn every one who has not had a like experience that he need not consider himself a Christian, or may at least doubt whether he has yet received the Holy Spirit? No, no; rather let us put away false pride and learn whatever can be learnt from man; and let him who teaches another communicate what he has himself received without arrogance and without jealousy. And do not let us tempt Him in whom we have believed, lest, being ensnared by such wiles of the enemy and by our own perversity, we may even refuse to go to the churches to hear the gospel itself, or to read a book, or to listen to another reading or preaching, in the hope that we shall be carried up to the third heaven, "whether in the body or out of the body," as the apostle says,¹ and there hear unspeakable words, such as it is not lawful for man to utter, or see the Lord Jesus Christ and hear the gospel from His own lips rather than from those of men.

6. Let us beware of such dangerous temptations of pride, and let us rather consider the fact that the Apostle Paul himself, although stricken down and admonished by the voice of God from heaven, was yet sent to a man to receive the sacraments and be admitted into the Church;² and that Cornelius the centurion, although an angel announced to him that his prayers were heard and his

alms had in remembrance, was yet handed over to Peter for instruction, and not only received the sacraments from the apostle's hands, but was also instructed by him as to the proper objects of faith, hope, and love.³ And without doubt it was *possible* to have done everything through the instrumentality of angels, but the condition of our race would have been much more degraded if God had not chosen to make use of men as the ministers of His word to their fellow-men. For how could that be true which is written, "The temple of God is holy, which temple ye are,"⁴ if God gave forth no oracles from His human temple, but communicated everything that He wished to be taught to men by voices from heaven, or through the ministration of angels? Moreover, love itself, which binds men together in the bond of unity, would have no means of pouring soul into soul, and, as it were, mingling them one with another, if men never learnt anything from their fellow-men.

7. And we know that the eunuch who was reading Isaiah the prophet, and did not understand what he read, was not sent by the apostle to an angel, nor was it an angel who explained to him what he did not understand, nor was he inwardly illuminated by the grace of God without the interposition of man; on the contrary, at the suggestion of God, Philip, who *did* understand the prophet, came to him, and sat with him, and in human words, and with a human tongue, opened to him the Scriptures.⁵ Did not God talk with Moses, and yet he, with great wisdom and entire absence of jealous pride, accepted the plan of his father-in-law, a man of an alien race, for ruling and administering the affairs of the great nation entrusted to him?⁶ For Moses knew that a wise plan, in whatever mind it might originate, was to be ascribed not to the man who devised it, but to Him who is the Truth, the unchangeable God.

8. In the last place, every one who boasts that he, through divine illumination, understands the obscurities of Scripture, though not instructed in any rules of interpretation, at the same time believes, and rightly believes, that this power is not his own, in the sense of originating with himself, but is the gift of God. For so he seeks God's glory, not his own. But reading and understanding, as he does, without the aid of any human interpreter, why does he himself undertake to interpret for others? Why does he not rather send them direct to God, that they too may learn by the inward teaching of the Spirit without the help of man? The truth is, he fears to incur the re-

¹ 2 Cor. xii. 2-4.

² Acts ix. 3.

³ Acts x.
⁵ Acts viii. 26.

⁴ 1 Cor. iii. 17.
⁶ Ex. xviii. 13.

proach: "Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou oughtest to have put my money to the exchangers."¹ Seeing, then, that these men teach others, either through speech or writing, what they understand, surely they cannot blame me if I likewise teach not only what they understand, but also the rules of interpretation they follow. For no one ought to consider anything as his own, except perhaps what is false. All truth is of Him who says, "I am the truth."² For what have we that we did not receive? and if we have received it, why do we glory, as if we had not received it?³

9. He who reads to an audience pronounces aloud the words he sees before him: he who teaches reading, does it that others may be able to read for themselves. Each, however, communicates to others what he has learnt himself. Just so, the man who explains to an audience the passages of Scripture he understands is like one who reads aloud the

words before him. On the other hand, the man who lays down rules for interpretation is like one who teaches reading, that is, shows others how to read for themselves. So that, just as he who knows how to read is not dependent on some one else, when he finds a book, to tell him what is written in it, so the man who is in possession of the rules which I here attempt to lay down, if he meet with an obscure passage in the books which he reads, will not need an interpreter to lay open the secret to him, but, holding fast by certain rules, and following up certain indications, will arrive at the hidden sense without any error, or at least without falling into any gross absurdity. And so although it will sufficiently appear in the course of the work itself that no one can justly object to this undertaking of mine, which has no other object than to be of service, yet as it seemed convenient to reply at the outset to any who might make preliminary objections, such is the start I have thought good to make on the road I am about to traverse in this book.

¹ Matt. xxv. 26, 27.
³ 1 Cor. iv. 7.

² John xiv. 6.

has been left out who was not present and did not see me,
 and if somewhere someone was found looking suspiciously at
 me
 then I bear it with malice, and revile, and tear them to pieces,
 so that after they hear and cannot bear my censures,
 100 they will come, greet me, and show themselves under my
 obligation,
 and as if in need of my prayer and love,
 and I say to all the others: "such a one comes
 and seeks my prayers, and to listen to my words,
 and to my teaching." Woe is me, such simplicity!
 105 So how do I not see the nakedness of my suffering,
 nor sense the blows, nor be distressed, nor cry,
 nor seek healing lying in a hospital,
 how do I not call doctors, showing to them my bruises,
 stripping bare even my secret passions⁵ for them,
 110 so that they may apply dressings, bandages, and cautery,
 and I may steadfastly endure through my healing?
 But how is it instead that every day I add to my wounds?
 But, O my God, have pity on me as I am led astray,
 and implant fear of you in my heart,
 115 so that I may flee the world according to your commands,
 and I shall have hatred toward it, and prudently lower the
 world (in my esteem),
 and may you not allow me, Christ, to be led astray in the midst
 of the world,
 because it is you alone I love, though I have not yet loved you,
 and I intend to keep only your commandments,
 120 though I am entirely in the passions, and I have not yet
 understood you.
 For who among those who know you needs the glory of the
 world?
 Or who among those loving you seeks more of the world,

⁵Πάθη here could also be rendered "sufferings."

either to call everyone to themselves, or to flatter some,
 or who shall make haste to be a friend of humans?
 125 No one among your legitimate servants has done these things,
 and on account of this I am afflicted, and I suffer, my God,
 because in these things I see myself enslaved,
 and I cannot obey nor be humbled,
 nor do I wish to see your glory and yours alone,
 130 by which I am shown to be faithful and your servant,
 and by which I can be raised higher than everyone,
 especially in thrift, and poverty, and works,
 not only exceeding powerful men, but even kings.
 Incline toward my humbled soul and have mercy on it.
 135 God, the Creator of all, who has given what is good to me,
 give to me also true knowledge, so that to all your eternal
 goods
 I may wisely attach myself and to them alone!
 And I shall love and seek your glory from my soul,
 and have no care at all for human or worldly glory,
 140 so I shall become one with you now and after death,
 and I shall be deemed worthy, Christ, to reign with you,
 (2 Tim 2.12)
 you who submitted to a dishonorable
 death for me, and fulfilled the whole divine plan.
 And then I shall be honored above all mortals.
 145 Amen, so be it, Lord, now and unto the ages!

Hymn 13

Exhortation to repentance, and how the will of the flesh united to the will of the Spirit renders a person divine in form.

I lament and I am stung with contrition when the light shines
 on me,
 and I see my poverty, and I know where I am,

and the sort of mortal world I dwell in, and I am mortal.
 And I am delighted, and I rejoice when I will understand
 5 the glory and status given to me from God,
 and I suppose that I am an angel of the Lord,
 having been wholly dressed in an immaterial garment.
 And so the joy lights up my desire for the giver,
 and for the God who transforms me, and desire
 10 brings up rivers of tears, and makes me more brilliant.
 Listen, you who, like me, sin against God,
 hasten and run vigorously by your actions¹
 to catch and to seize the material of the immaterial fire
 —by saying material, I indicate to you the divine essence—
 15 and to rekindle the rational lamp of your soul,
 so that you may become suns shining in the world,²
 though totally unseen by those in the world,
 so that you may become as gods possessing
 within you the whole glory of God in two essences,
 20 by all means in double natures, double energies,
 and double wills, as Paul cries out.³
 For the will of the mercurial flesh is one thing, (Jn 1.13)
 and that of the Spirit another, and that of my soul yet another.
 Except I am not triple, but double like a human being,
 25 my soul is inexpressibly united to my flesh,
 but each does not seek its own things respectively,
 such as to eat, and to drink, such as to sleep,
 which I call the earthly will of the flesh.
 But when separated from the soul, the flesh seeks no such
 thing,
 30 but dead, senseless, it is as clay.
 It seems to me that the one will of a human being is wholly that
 of the soul.

¹Cf. Heb 12.1; 1 Cor 7.29, 9.24.

²Mt 13.43; Phil 2.15.

³Eph 2.3; cf. Rom 7–8.

And so one who has united their own spirit to the divine Spirit
 becomes divine in form, having received Christ in the breast,
 a Christian from Christ, having Christ formed
 35 entirely within, who alone is inapprehensible (Gal 4.19)
 and truly unapproachable for all creatures.
 But, O Immaculate Nature, hidden essence,
 benevolence unknown to most human beings,
 mercy not seen by those who live foolishly,
 40 essence immutable, indivisible, thrice holy,
 simple and formless light, completely without composition,
 incorporeal, inseparable, incomprehensible to every nature,
 how have you been seen like me, you have been known to
 those in darkness,
 and you have been held in the hands of your holy mother,
 45 and how were you put in chains like a murderer, you suffered
 bodily like an evil-doer,
 O King, desiring by all means to save me,
 and to bring me back again to a paradise of glory?
 This is your divine plan, your advent,
 your compassion, and your benevolence
 50 which has come into being for all us human beings, O Logos,
 for the faithful, the unfaithful, the heathens, the sinners, and
 for the saints.
 For your manifestation has become common to all,
 salvation and redemption of the living and the dead.
 That which has secretly occurred in me, the profligate,
 55 is also accomplished in known ignorance
 —entirely known by me, but unknown to others—
 what sort of tongue would speak, what kind of mind might
 explain,
 what sort of word would recount, so that my hand may also
 write?
 For it is truly fearful, Master, fearful and beyond telling,

- 60 that the light seen by me, the light which the world does not
have,
and he who is not within this world loves me,
and I love him who is in no way among things seen.
I am sitting on my couch, I am outside the world,
and in the middle of my cell I see him Who is outside
65 being manifested, and I converse with him
—and to speak boldness—I also love and he loves me,
I eat, I am nourished well by contemplation alone,
and being united with him I surpass the heavens,
and I know this to be true and certain,
70 where my body is, I do not know, (2 Cor 12.2)
I know that he comes down, he who is immovable,
I know that he appears to me, he who is invisible,
I know that he who is separated from every creature
receives me within himself and I am hidden in his arms,
75 and then I am found outside the whole world.
Again, small and mortal in the world
I look upon the whole Creator of the world within me,
and I know since I shall not die while in life,
and I have the whole of life gushing forth within me,
80 he is in my heart, and he is in heaven,
just the same, I see him flashing forth.
How do these things come about, or how shall I fully know,
how shall I be able to express what I know and see?
For they are truly unspeakable and utterly unutterable,
85 things which eye has not seen and ear has not heard,
(1 Cor 2.9)
and has never come upon a heart of flesh.
I thank you, Master, because you had mercy on me,
and you gave these things for me to see and thus to write,
to proclaim your benevolence to those with me.
90 So that even now peoples, tribes, and tongues may be initiated
into the mystery, (Rev 14.6)

- so that you may have mercy on everyone who fervently
repents,
just as to your apostles and to all the saints,
you show them kindness, and honor them, and glorify them,
my God,
seeing that they seek you with much desire and fear,
95 and looking to you alone, the maker of the world,
to whom is fitting glory, and honor, power, majesty
as to a king, and God, and master of all,
now and always, through all ages forever. Amen.

Hymn 14

A thanksgiving to God for the gifts of which God deigned Symeon worthy; and that the dignity of the priesthood and abbacy is awesome even to the angels.

- I am not able to speak, Master, even though I wish to.
For what would I utter, I who am unclean in
thoughts, and deeds, and all my intentions?
Moreover, I wound my soul, and I burn within,
5 desiring to speak to you, just a bit, my God.
I see, for you also know my concerns, O my God,
you know that ever since my birth I have defiled
all the members of my body and my soul, being utter
sinfulness. (Jn 9.1, 34)
I consider your mercy and benevolence,
10 and your many blessings that you have accomplished for me,
and I become speechless, almost despairing,
and afflicted, distressed endlessly, the wretched one,
because I am unworthy of all your goods.
Whenever I go into myself and I want
15 to recount in my mind the multitude of my evils, Christ,
and that I have not done one good thing in life

ως, θεοποίησις. The degeneration is described in no abstract terms. It is caused by Adam and, therefore, has a beginning in the past, but it is also caused by every single man and, therefore, has a cause in the present.¹¹ These two aspects are derived from Athanasius' anthropology. They may be respectively described as 'the generic' and 'the personal' aspects, and we may see in them the overcoming of the creationist-traducianist dilemma. The result of this duality is that the 'generic aspect' is protected from all forms of positivism (naturalistic or even 'Marxist!'), and the 'personal aspect' does not degenerate into abstract individualism (and here I would add, modern philosophical existentialism).

4 THE FALL AND THE DISLOCATION OF HUMAN WILL FROM NATURE. Athanasius is able to see the solidarity of Adam and his posterity (i.e. the human race and the human persons) freely and organically interrelated, without subjecting the one to the other, from his soteriological perspective.¹² The fundamental dislocation in human

¹¹ «Εξ ανθρώπων εἰς ἀνθρώπους ὁ θάνατος ἐκράτησεν...» (INC, 10), «οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἀπέθανον καὶ ἔμειναν νεκροί...», «...οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πάντες ἄνθρωποι μόνον ἐξ Ἀδὰμ ὄντες ἀπέθανον καὶ τὸν θάνατον εἶχον βασιλεύοντα κατ' αὐτῶν...» (CAR1, 44) «ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος Ἀδὰμ ἐτράπη καὶ διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον», «...τοῦ Ἀδὰμ παραβάντος εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἔφθασεν ἡ ἁμαρτία» (*ibid.*, 51), «πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπολλυμένων κατὰ τὴν παράβασιν τοῦ Ἀδὰμ» (CAR2, 61) «...ἡ πρώτη ἢ διὰ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ὁδὸς ἀπώλετο... καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ παραδείσου ἐξεκλίναμεν εἰς τὸν θάνατον» (*ibid.*, 65). The following text is particularly suggestive: «ὁ μέντοι ἄνθρωπος τοιοῦτος ἐγίνετο, οἷος ἦν καὶ ὁ Ἀδὰμ πρὸ τῆς παραβάσεως, ἔξωθεν λαβὼν τὴν χάριν, καὶ μὴ συνηρμοσμένην ἔχων αὐτὴν τῷ σώματι· τοιοῦτος γὰρ ἦν καὶ τότε τέθειτο ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ· τάχα δὲ καὶ χείρων ἐγίνετο, ὅτι καὶ παραβαίνειν μεμάθηκεν. Ὡν τοίνυν τοιοῦτος, εἰ καὶ παραπέπεστο ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄφεως, ἐγίνετο πάλιν χρεια προστάξει τὸν Θεὸν καὶ λῦσαι τὴν κατάραν καὶ οὕτως εἰς ἀπειρον ἐγίνετο ἡ χρεια, καὶ οὐδὲν ἥττον οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἔμενον ὑπεύθυνοι, δουλεύοντες τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ· αἰὶ ἁμαρτάνοντες, αἰὶ ἐδέοντο τοῦ συγχωροῦντος, καὶ οὐδέποτε ἠλευθεροῦντο, σάρκες ὄντες καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ αἰὶ ἡττώμενοι τῷ νόμῳ διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκός» (CAR2, 68).

¹² «εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἐκ γῆς μόνος ἐπλάσθη, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι τῆς διαδοχῆς παντὸς τοῦ γένους» (*ibid.*, 48).

reality, between the fallen and the unfallen condition, is the division between free will and nature, a theme which most clearly emerges from Athanasius' discussions of the unity of the Church. This is a topic requiring extensive exposition, but for our purposes here, it is, perhaps, sufficient to say that Adam's will is as responsible for the Fall as our own, and that neither Adam's nor our own responsibilities can be isolated any more than Adam's and our own existence!¹³

In Athanasius' mind, Adam and all his posterity sinned willingly and not by natural compulsion or any other kind of determinism. The crucial doctrine here is that of the will, which is the human pole or focus in the ellipse of human existence, which can only freely and properly rule man's nature, insofar as it is coordinated with the divine focus. But if the will rules nature as if it were the only principle and center of its movement, i.e. without the 'grace of the Logos,' then man falls into another form of life (an animal or ἄλογον one) which is other than ἔνθεος life in coordination with the Creator Logos.

The will of man is not, however, abstract or absolute. It exists only in relation to the ultimate creative will of the Logos, which is absolute and free, and as far as the generation of Adam and all men is concerned, it remains unchanged. This means that men may neglect or betray the ellipse of the truly human existence, but God does not. The faithlessness of man does not undermine the faithfulness of God. The Son-Logos still remains positively and gratuitously a true focus for all men, organically and individually, and this is the primordial premise of Athanasian soteriology.¹⁴ As long as the Son-Logos remains Head of humanity in general

¹³ «ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀλλήλων ὄντες ὁμογενεῖς (ἐκ γὰρ ἑνὸς οἱ πάντες γεγόναμεν, καὶ μία πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἡ φύσις), ἐν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῇ διαθέσει γινόμεθα, ἔχοντες ὑπογραμμὸν τὴν τοῦ Υἱοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα φυσικὴν ἐνότητα» (CAR3, 20). But see the whole argument as it is developed in chs. 18ff.

¹⁴ «Πῶς οὖν ἐξελέξατο, πρὶν γενέσθαι ἡμᾶς ἢ μή, ὡς αὐτὸς εἶρηκεν, ἐν αὐτῷ ἡμεν προτετυπωμένοι; Πῶς δὲ ὅλως πρὶν ἀνθρώπους κτισθῆναι, ἡμᾶς προώρισεν εἰς υἰοθεσίαν, εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς ὁ Υἱὸς πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος τεθεμελίωτο, ἀναδεξάμενος τὴν ὑπὲρ

and human beings in particular by virtue of His Headship in Creation, the return to the nihil is averted and the hope of salvation is at hand.

The Headship of the God-Logos in human existence is expressed in the *De Incarnatione* by the formula ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ ὁ ὑπὲρ πάντας.¹⁵ As such, the God-Logos stands as the only ultimate focus of the human life and generation and, therefore, as the ultimate possibility for our salvation along the deceitful road of degeneration. Yet, though the ultimate and ecumenical Head of all men, the Logos, is God who does not compel or impose. He freely coordinates Himself with the wills of men. According to the order of Creation, they too should be freely coordinated with Him and enjoy union in His communion. But where the Fall has been at work, men have preferred the anti-logos of imagination to the God-Logos. They have, therefore, trapped themselves in disjunction and come to terms with it. The unity of their life given to them in creation by and in the Logos has not only become obscured but is considered as secondary, and even impossible.

5 THE INHOMINATION OF GOD THE LOGOS AND MAN'S SALVATION.
At this point, where God wills and is able, and where man should also will and act, but is unable to do so, because of the fall and self-deception, Athanasius introduces the great Mystery of salvation which is based on nothing more astounding than the inhomination of the divine ecumenical Head of all men into the human genus as a single man for all men.¹⁶

ἡμῶν οἰκονομίαν; ... εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ Κυρίῳ τῷ πρὸ αἰῶνος εἰς τοῦτο θεμελιωθέντι, ἵνα ἡμεῖς ὡς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐποικοδομούμενοι, μεταλάβωμεν, ὡς λίθοι εὐάρμοστοι, τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ ζωῆς τε καὶ χάριτος. ... Ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἐτεθεμελίωτο καὶ ἡτοιμάσατο ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (CAR2, 76).

¹⁵ See INC, 7, 9, etc.

¹⁶ «ἔπρεπε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἄλλον ὄντα τῶν ἔργων, καὶ μᾶλλον δημιουργὸν αὐτῶν ὄντα αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν τούτων ἀνανέωσιν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀναδέξασθαι, ἵνα, αὐτοῦ κτιζομένου εἰς ἡμᾶς τὰ πάντα εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνακτίσῃται. Καὶ γὰρ λέγων, ἔκτισεν, εὐθὺς καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπήγαγε, λέγων, τὰ ἔργα, ἵνα τὸ εἰς τὰ ἔργα κτίζεσθαι, τὸ γίνεσθαι ἄνθρωπον δῆλωση

As Athanasius puts it, this is the true becoming man of the One who is truly God without ceasing to be God! This Miracle or Mystery involves the fulfillment of our generation in the humanity of the inhominated Logos. He, indeed, became man that we may participate and grow in the life of God.¹⁷ The nature of His becoming is essential here. It involves a double subjectivity or a double (composite) will.

Athanasius does not use the term composite *hypostasis*, but his mind is certainly in line with it. In the humanity of Christ, we have both foci of the ellipse of human existence. We have the Logos, and we also have the Logos as man (ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν). We do not have a mere man, but the Logos as man. This in no way minimizes the truth of his manhood. Nor does it bias the manhood in one way or another. On the contrary, this manhood is a new creative act of the Logos which enables Him to move into the fatal nexus of our disjunction and operate our redemption and regeneration from within. What this manhood achieves is that the Logos is not only the objective Head of all men but also their subjective Head. He is the Head of all men both as God and as man. As such, he can now act on our behalf, or on the behalf of all, in love, faith and obedience and, therefore, lead our humanity to its proper goal, being with and sharing in God's eternal life, power and existence.

Athanasius emphasizes both the arrival of the inhominated Logos to the goal and fulfillment of our generation and also the way in which he worked out as man this fulfillment. He reached this goal after he had shared in the consequences of our sin, not because he deserved them, but because he was truly man existing not simply as an abstract individual, but corporately interrelated with us and all men. As inhominated

εἰς τὴν τούτων ἀνανέωσιν» (CAR2, 54), «ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἠθελήσαμεν ἡμεῖς οἱ ἄνθρωποι διὰ τοῦ Λόγου αὐτοῦ ἐπιγινῶναι τὸν Θεὸν καὶ δουλεῦσαι τῷ φύσει δεσπότῃ ἡμῶν, τῷ Λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἠὺδόκησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ δεῖξαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κυριότητα, καὶ πάντα ἐλκῦσαι πρὸς ἑαυτόν» (*ibid.*, 16).

¹⁷ «ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο ἵνα τὸν ἄνθρωπον δεκτικὸν θεότητος ποιήσῃ» (*ibid.*, 59).

Logos, he had to share in these consequences, to suffer and to die, even though he was throughout his earthly life consistently and unfailingly pressing toward the goal of his and our deification, because he was intrinsically and organically related to us and to our degenerate history. But this suffering is saving and his cross divine (πάθος σωτήριο, σταυρὸς θεῖος). It is not due to sinning, but to his concrete and historical solidarity with our sinful and unregenerate being. He is Adam, because he is man like us, but he is not the first Adam, because he does not suffer for his own sin. He is, in fact, as St. Paul puts it, the second Adam, because he suffers vicariously for our sins and dies vicariously for us, and he ultimately does this to God and not to sin.¹⁸

6 THE VICARIOUS HUMANITY AND WORK OF CHRIST FOR HUMAN SALVATION. The vicarious suffering and death of the inhominated Logos-Son of God is the most sacred theme of Athanasius' theology. This is the point at which the Arians stumble so decisively that they totally fail to understand the inhominated God or Lordly man. To them, the suffering and death of God is a scandal and an impossibility, because it implies sin, limitation, fallenness. But to Athanasius, this is the fundamental chapter of Christianity.

The suffering and death of the inhominated God-Son is the ground of our salvation. It is related to his ecumenical humanity, which is designated by the vivid and realistic terms of 'flesh' and 'body.' Far from being irrational or scandalous, the suffering and death of Christ has its own salvific logic, which to Athanasius is the only basis for true theology. This vicarious work of Jesus Christ, God's Son become also a man, transforms the marks of our sin and death into marks of righteousness

¹⁸ «τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ θανάτου μὴ δι' ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν πάντων ἀθανασίας καὶ σωτηρίας ὑπομένει» (*ibid.*, 55). Also *ibid.*, 69, 111, 31ff, 58, etc. Also, «οὐ γὰρ, ἑαυτὸν ἤλθε σῶσαι ὁ ἀθάνατος Θεός, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θανατωθέντας, καὶ οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ἔπαθεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν» (INC-CAR, 5).

and life. His tears atone. His bruise heals, his blood justifies. His death is the door to resurrection and eternal Life. This is the wondrous exchange, which is effected by the ecumenical God who became ecumenical man and who acted as God and as man in His own theanthropic Person according to the order of Creation and particularly human generation. Athanasius does not fail to relate the lowly estate, passion and death of Christ to the movement of regeneration, transfiguration and resurrection which emerges in the incarnate life of Christ. The deeper the sharing of the God-man in the consequences of our sin and fall, the greater the intensity and intimacy of the Atonement of the imperfection of our creaturehood with the perfection of God.¹⁹

This reality of Christ is so worthy that it demands, according to Athanasius, a revision of our conception of God, but also a revision of our conception of sin and its consequences. Athanasius says that God is no longer the great unknown. The metaphysics of the Greeks and the ethical division of the Jews no longer apply. Hence, the Arian claims must be rejected as heretical, because they militate against the very Mystery of salvation. Sin too must no longer be dreaded. Suffering and death should no longer impress or oppress us to the extent that we are led to sinful conformity. The Christians are primarily the people who can suffer, suffer in the God-man, the Word, vicariously and, therefore, in order to redeem, because their life is not assessed nor determined by the degenerating history of the fallen humanity, but is hidden with Christ in God. It proceeds through suffering, crucifixion and dying to sanctification, transfiguration and resurrection, to the pleroma of Him who as God-man is the ultimate and unfailing focus of the entire universe.

¹⁹ «τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ, ἡμῶν ἀπάθεια ἐστὶ· καὶ ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ ἡμῶν ἀθανασία ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ δάκρυον αὐτοῦ, χαρὰ ἡμετέρα· καὶ ἡ ταφή αὐτοῦ, ἡμῶν ἀνάστασις· καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα αὐτοῦ, ἡμῶν ἁγιασμός «ὕπερ αὐτῶν γάρ», φησὶν, «ἀγιάζω ἐμαντόν, ἵνα ὥσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡγιασμένοι ἐν ἀληθείᾳ» (John 17:19). Καὶ ὁ μῶλψ αὐτοῦ, ἡμῶν ἴασις ... καὶ ἡ παιδεία αὐτοῦ ἡμῶν εἰρήνη ... καὶ ἡ ἀδοξία αὐτοῦ, ἡμῶν δόξα» ... (ibid.).

and no one knoweth the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him; and again, 'All that the Father hath given unto Me, shall come to Me³.' On this they observe, 'If He was, as ye say, Son by nature, He had no need to receive, but He had by nature as a Son.' "Or how can He be the natural and true Power of the Father, who near upon the season of the passion says, 'Now is My soul troubled, and what shall I say? Father, save Me from this hour; but for this came I unto this hour. Father, glorify Thy Name. Then came there a voice from heaven, saying, I have both glorified it, and will glorify it again⁴.' And He said the same another time; 'Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me; and 'When Jesus had thus said, He was troubled in spirit and testified and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray Me⁵.'" Then these perverse men argue; 'If He were Power, He had not feared, but rather He had supplied power to others.' Further they say; 'If He were by nature the true and own Wisdom of the Father, how is it written, 'And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man⁶?' In like manner, when He had come into the parts of Cæsarea Philippi, He asked the disciples whom men said that He was; and when He was at Bethany He asked where Lazarus lay; and He said besides to His disciples, 'How many loaves have ye⁷? How then,' say they, 'is He Wisdom, who increased in wisdom, and was ignorant of what He asked of others?' This too they urge; "How can He be the own Word of the Father, without whom the Father never was, through whom He makes all things, as ye think, who said upon the Cross, 'My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?' and before that had prayed, 'Glorify Thy Name,' and, 'O Father, glorify Thou Me with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was.' And He used to pray in the deserts and charge His disciples to pray lest they should enter into temptation; and, 'The spirit indeed is willing,' He said, 'but the flesh is weak.' And, 'Of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, nor the Angels, neither the Son⁸.'" Upon this again say the miserable men, "If the Son were, according to your interpretation⁹, eternally existent with God, He had not been ignorant of the Day, but had known as Word; nor had been forsaken as

being co-existent; nor had asked to receive glory, as having it in the Father; nor would have prayed at all; for, being the Word, He had needed nothing; but since He is a creature and one of things originate, therefore He thus spoke, and needed what He had not; for it is proper to creatures to require and to need what they have not."

27. This then is what the irreligious men allege in their discourses; and if they thus argue, they might consistently speak yet more daringly; 'Why did the Word become flesh at all?' and they might add; 'For how could He, being God, become man?' or, 'How could the Immaterial bear a body?' or they might speak with Caiaphas still more Judaically, 'Wherefore at all did Christ, being a man, make Himself God?' for this and the like the Jews then muttered when they saw, and now the Ario-maniacs disbelieve when they read, and have fallen away into blasphemies. If then a man should carefully parallel the words of these and those, he will of a certainty find them both arriving at the same unbelief, and the daring of their irreligion equal, and their dispute with us a common one. For the Jews said; 'How, being a man, can He be God?' And the Arians, 'If He were very God from God, how could He become man?' And the Jews were offended then and mocked, saying, 'Had He been Son of God, He had not endured the Cross;' and the Arians standing over against them, urge upon us, 'How dare ye say that He is the Word proper to the Father's Essence, who had a body, so as to endure all this?' Next, while the Jews sought to kill the Lord, because He said that God was. His own Father and made Himself equal to Him, as working what the Father works, the Arians also, not only have learned to deny, both that He is equal to God and that God is the own and natural Father of the Word, but those who hold this they seek to kill. Again, whereas the Jews said, 'Is not this the Son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? how then is it that He saith, Before Abraham was, I am, and I came down from heaven?' the Arians on the other hand make response³ and say conformably, 'How can He be Word or God who slept as man, and wept, and inquired?' Thus both parties deny the Eternity and God-head of the Word in consequence of those human attributes which the Saviour took on Him by reason of that flesh which He bore.

28. Such error then being Judaic, and Judaic after the mind of Judas the traitor,

³ Matt. xxviii. 18; John v. 22; iii. 35, 36; Matt. xi. 27; John vi. 37; *infr.* §§ 35-41.

⁴ John xii. 27, 28.

⁵ Matt. xxvi. 39; John xiii. 21; *infr.* §§ 53-58.

⁶ Luke ii. 52; *infr.* §§ 50-53.

⁷ Matt. xvi. 13; John xi. 34; Mark vi. 38; *infr.* § 27.

⁸ Matt. xxvii. 46; John xii. 28; xvii. 5; Matt. xxvi. 42; Mark xiii. 32; *infr.* §§ 42-50.

⁹ *διδόντων*, ii. 44, a. 53, c.; iv. 17, d. &c.

¹ *De Decr.* i; *Or.* i. 4.

² John vi. 42; viii. 58.

³ *ἐπακούουσιν*. Montfaucon (*Onomasticon* in t. 2 fin.) so interprets this word. *vid. Apol. contr. Ar.* 88. note 7.

let them openly confess themselves scholars of Caiaphas and Herod, instead of cloaking Judaism with the name of Christianity, and let them deny outright, as we have said before, the Saviour's appearance in the flesh, for this doctrine is akin to their heresy; or if they fear openly to Judaize and be circumcised⁴, from servility towards Constantius and for their sake whom they have beguiled, then let them not say what the Jews say; for if they disown the name, let them in fairness renounce the doctrine. For we are Christians, O Arians, Christians we; our privilege is it well to know the Gospels concerning the Saviour, and neither with Jews to stone Him, if we hear of His Godhead and Eternity, nor with you to stumble at such lowly sayings as He may speak for our sakes as man. If then you would become Christians⁵, put off Arius's madness, and cleanse⁶ with the words of religion those ears of yours which blaspheming has defiled; knowing that, by ceasing to be Arians, you will cease also from the malevolence of the present Jews. Then at once will truth shine on you out of darkness, and ye will no longer reproach us with holding two Eternals⁷, but ye will yourselves acknowledge that the Lord is God's true Son by nature, and not as merely eternal⁸, but revealed as co-existing in the Father's eternity. For there are things called eternal of which He is Framer; for in the twenty-third Psalm it is written, 'Lift up your gates, O ye rulers, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting gates⁹;' and it is plain that through Him these things were made; but if even of

things everlasting He is the Framer, who of us shall be able henceforth to dispute that He is anterior to those things eternal, and in consequence is proved to be Lord not so much from His eternity, as in that He is God's Son; for being the Son, He is inseparable from the Father, and never was there when He was not, but He was always; and being the Father's Image and Radiance, He has the Father's eternity. Now what has been briefly said above may suffice to shew their misunderstanding of the passages they then alleged; and that of what they now allege from the Gospels they certainly give an unsound interpretation¹⁰, we may easily see, if we now consider the scope¹¹ of that faith which we Christians hold, and using it as a rule, apply ourselves, as the Apostle teaches, to the reading of inspired Scripture. For Christ's enemies, being ignorant of this scope, have wandered from the way of truth, and have stumbled¹² on a stone of stumbling, thinking otherwise than they should think.

29. Now the scope and character of Holy Scripture, as we have often said, is this,—it contains a double account of the Saviour; that He was ever God, and is the Son, being the Father's Word and Radiance and Wisdom¹; and that afterwards for us He took flesh of a Virgin, Mary Bearer of God², and was made man. And this scope is to be found throughout inspired Scripture, as the Lord Himself has said, 'Search the Scriptures, for they are they which testify of Me³.' But lest I should exceed in writing, by bringing together all the passages on the subject, let it suffice to mention as a specimen, first John saying, 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was made not one thing⁴;' next, 'And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory, the glory as of one Only-begotten from the Father⁵;' and next Paul writing, 'Who being in the form of God, thought it not a prize to be equal with God, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion like a man, He humbled Himself, becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross⁶.' Any one, beginning with these passages and going through the

⁴ Or. i. 38. ⁵ *Apol. Fug.* 27, n. 20. ⁶ *De Decr.* 2, n. 9, c. *Sab. Greg.* 6 fin.

⁷ Cf. *de Decr.* 25, n. 4. The peculiarity of the Catholic doctrine, as contrasted with the heresies on the subject of the Trinity, is that it professes a mystery. It involves, not merely a contradiction in the terms used, which would be little, for we might solve it by assigning different senses to the same word, or by adding some limitation (e.g. if it were said that Satan was an Angel and not an Angel, or man was mortal and immortal), but an incongruity in the ideas which it introduces. To say that the Father is wholly and absolutely the one infinitely-simple God, and then that the Son is also, and yet that the Father is eternally distinct from the Son, is to propose ideas which we cannot harmonize together; and our reason is reconciled to this state of the case only by the consideration (though fully by means of it) that no idea of ours can embrace the simple truth, so that we are obliged to separate it into portions, and view it in aspects, and adumbrate it under many ideas, if we are to make any approximation towards it at all; as in mathematics we approximate to a circle by means of a polygon, great as is the dissimilarity between the two figures. [Cf. *Prolegg.* ch. ii. § 3 (2) b.]

⁸ οὐχ ἀπλῶς αἰδιος, i.e. αἰδιος is not one of our Lord's highest titles, for things have it which the Son Himself has created, and whom of course He precedes. Instead of two αἰδια then, as the Arians say, there are many αἰδια; and our Lord's high title is not this, but that He is 'the Son,' and thereby 'eternal in the Father's eternity,' or there was not ever when He was not, and 'Image' and 'Radiance.' The same line of thought is implied throughout his proof of our Lord's eternity in *Orat.* i. ch. 4. 6. This is worth remarking, as constituting a special distinction between ancient and modern Scripture proofs of the doctrine, and as coinciding with what was said *supr.* Or. ii. 1, n. 13, 44, n. 1. His mode of proof is still more brought out by what he proceeds to say about the σκοπός, or general bearing or drift of the Christian faith, and its availability as a κανὼν or rule of interpretation.

⁹ Ps. xxiv. 7.

¹⁰ Cf. 26, n. 9. ¹¹ σκοπός, vid. 58. fin. ¹² Rom. ix. 32.

¹ Or. i. 28, n. 5.

² θεωρόκον. vid. *supr.* 14, n. 3. Vid. S. Cyril's quotations in his *de Recta Fide*, p. 49, &c.; and Cyril himself, *Adv. Nest.* i. p. 18. Procl. *Hom.* i. p. 60. Theodor. *ap. Conc. Eph.* (p. 1529. Labbe.) Cassian. *Incarn.* iv. 2. Hil. *Trin.* ii. 25. Ambros. *Virgin.* i. n. 47. Chrysost. *ap. Cassian. Incarn.* vii. 30. Jerom. in Ezek. 44 init. Capreolus of Carthage, *ap. Sirm. Opp.* t. i. p. 216. August. *Serm.* 297, 6. Hippolytus, *ap. Theod. Eran.* i. p. 55, &c. Ignatius, *Eph. ad Eph.* 7.

³ John v. 39.

⁴ Ib. i. 1-3.

⁵ v. 14.

⁶ Phil. ii. 6-8.

whole of the Scripture upon the interpretation⁷ which they suggest, will perceive how in the beginning the Father said to Him, 'Let there be light,' and 'Let there be a firmament,' and 'Let us make man⁸;' but in fulness of the ages, He sent Him into the world, not that He might judge the world, but that the world by Him might be saved, and how it is written, 'Behold, the Virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a Son, and they shall call his Name Emmanuel, which, being interpreted, is God with us⁹.'

30. The reader then of divine Scripture may acquaint himself with these passages from the ancient books; and from the Gospels on the other hand he will perceive that the Lord became man; for 'the Word,' he says, 'became flesh, and dwelt among us¹.' And He became man, and did not come into man; for this it is necessary to know, lest perchance these irreligious men fall into this notion also, and beguile any into thinking, that, as in former times the Word was used to come into each of the Saints, so now He sojourned in a man, hallowing him also, and manifesting¹⁰ Himself as in the others. For if it were so, and He only appeared in a man, it were nothing strange, nor had those who saw Him been startled, saying, Whence is He? and wherefore dost Thou, being a man, make Thyself God? for they were familiar with the idea, from the words, 'And the Word of the Lord came' to this or that of the Prophets². But now, since the Word of God, by whom all things came to be, endured to become also Son of man, and humbled Himself, taking a servant's form, therefore to the Jews the Cross of Christ is a scandal, but to us Christ is 'God's power' and 'God's wisdom³;' for 'the Word,' as John says, 'became flesh' (it being the custom⁴ of Scripture to call man by the name of 'flesh,' as it says by Joel the Prophet, 'I will pour out My Spirit upon all flesh;' and as Daniel said to Astyages, 'I do not worship idols made with hands, but the Living God, who hath created the heaven and the earth, and hath sovereignty over all flesh⁵;' for both he and Joel call mankind flesh).

31. Of old time He was wont to come to the Saints individually, and to hallow those who rightly⁶ received Him; but neither, when they were begotten was it said that He had become man, nor, when they suffered, was it said that He Himself suffered. But when He came among us from Mary once at the end of the

ages for the abolition of sin (for so it was pleasing to the Father, to send His own Son 'made of a woman, made under the Law'), then it is said, that He took flesh and became man, and in that flesh He suffered for us (as Peter says, 'Christ therefore having suffered for us in the flesh⁷'), that it might be shewn, and that all might believe, that whereas He was ever God, and hallowed those to whom He came, and ordered all things according to the Father's will⁸, afterwards for our sakes He became man, and 'bodily⁹,' as the Apostle says, the Godhead dwelt in the flesh; as much as to say, 'Being God, He had His own body, and using this as an instrument¹⁰, He became man for our sakes.' And on account of this, the properties of the flesh are said to be His, since He was in it, such as to hunger, to thirst, to suffer, to weary, and the like, of which the flesh is capable; while on the other hand the works proper to the Word Himself, such as to raise the dead, to restore sight to the blind, and to cure the woman with an issue of blood, He did through His own body¹¹. And the Word bore the infirmities of the flesh, as His own, for His was the flesh; and the flesh ministered to the works of the Godhead, because the Godhead was in it, for the body was God's¹². And well has

⁷ Gal. iv. 4; 1 Pet. iv. 1.

⁸ κατὰ τὸ βούλημα. vid. *Orat.* i. 63. *infr.* § 63, notes. Cf. *supr.* ii. 31, n. 7, for passages in which Ps. xxxiii. 9. is taken to shew the unity of Father and Son from the instantaneousness of the accomplishment upon the willing, as well as the Son's existence before creation. Hence the Son not only works κατὰ τὸ βούλημα, but is the βούλη of the Father. *ibid.* note 8. For the contrary Arian view, even when it is highest, vid. Euseb. *Eccles. Theol.* iii. 3. quoted ii. 64, n. 5. In that passage the Father's νύματα are spoken of, a word common with the Arians. Euseb. *ibid.* p. 75, a. *de Laud. Const.* p. 528, Eunom. *Apol.* 20 fin. The word is used of the Son's command given to the creation, in Athan. *contr. Gent.* e.g. 42, 44, 46. S. Cyril. Hier. frequently as the Arians, uses it of the Father. *Catech.* x. 5, xi. *passim*, xv. 25, &c. The difference between the orthodox and Arian views on this point is clearly drawn out by S. Basil *contr. Eunom.* i. 21.

⁹ Col. ii. 9.

¹⁰ τοῦτω χρώμενος ὀργάνῳ *infr.* 42. and ὀργανον πρὸς τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ τὴν ἐκλαμψιν τῆς θεότητος. 53. This was a word much used afterwards by the Apollinarians, who looked on our Lord's manhood as merely a manifestation of God. vid. *Or.* ii. 8, n. 3. vid. σχῆμα ὀργανικὸν in *Apoll.* i. 2, 15, vid. a parallel in Euseb. *Laud. Const.* p. 536. However, it is used freely by Athan. e.g. *infr.* 35, 53. *Incarn.* 8, 9, 41, 43, 44. This use of ὀργανον must not be confused with its heretical application to our Lord's Divine Nature, vid. Basil *de Sp.* S. n. 19 fin. of which *de Syn.* 27 (3). It may be added that φανέρωσις is a Nestorian as well as Eutychian idea; Facund. *Tr. Cap.* ix. 2, 3. and the Syrian use of *parospha* Asseman. *B. O. t.* 4, p. 219. Thus both parties really denied the Atonement. vid. *supr.* *Or.* i. 60, n. 5; ii. 8, n. 4.

¹¹ *Orat.* iv. 6. and *fragm. ex Euthym.* p. 1275. ed. Ben. This interchange [of language] is called theologically the ἀντιθέσις or communicatio idiomatum. Nyssen. in *Apoll.* t. 2. pp. 697, 8. Leon. *Ep.* 28, 51. Ambros. *de fid.* ii. 58. Nyssen. *de Beat.* p. 767. Cassian. *Incarn.* vi. 22. Aug. *contr. Sermon.* Ar. c. 8 init. Plain and easy as such statements seem, they are of the utmost importance in the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies.

¹² θεοῦ ἦν σῶμα, also *ad Adelph.* 3. *ad Max.* 2. and so τὴν πτωχεύσαντα φύσιν θεοῦ ὄλην γενομένην. c. *Apoll.* ii. 11. τὸ πάθος τοῦ λόγου. *ibid.* 16, c. σὰρξ τοῦ λόγου. *infr.* 34. σῶμα σοφίας *infr.* 53. also *Or.* ii. 10, n. 7. πάθος Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ μου. Ignat. *Rom.* 6. ὁ θεὸς πένοντες. Melit. *ap. Anast. Hodeg.* 12. Dei passiones. Tertull. *de Carn. Christ.* 5. Dei interemptores. *ibid.* caro Deitatis. Leon. *Serm.* 65 fin. Deus mortuus et sepultus. Vigil. c. *Eut.* ii. p. 502. vid. *supr.* *Or.* i. 45, n. 3. Yet Athan. objects to the phrase, 'God suffered in the flesh,' i.e. as used by the Apollinarians. vid.

⁷ Cf. 26, n. 9.

⁸ Matt. i. 23.

⁹ 1 Cor. i. 24.

and Dr. 5.

⁸ Gen. i. 3, 6, 26; *de Syn.* 28 (14).

¹ John i. 14.

² *Ad Epict.* 11, *ad Max.* 2.

⁴ *Infr.* iv. 33 init.

⁶ *Or.* i. 39, n. 4.

⁵ Joel ii. 28; Bel

the Prophet said 'carried¹³;' and has not said, 'He remedied our infirmities,' lest, as being external to the body, and only healing it, as He has always done, He should leave men subject still to death; but He carries our infirmities, and He Himself bears our sins, that it might be shewn that He has become man for us, and that the body which in Him bore them, was His own body; and, while He received no hurt¹⁴ Himself by 'bearing our sins in His body on the tree,' as Peter speaks, we men were redeemed from our own affections¹⁵, and were filled with the righteousness¹⁶ of the Word.

32. Whence it was that, when the flesh suffered, the Word was not external to it; and therefore is the passion said to be His: and when He did divinely His Father's works, the flesh was not external to Him, but in the body itself did the Lord do them. Hence, when made man, He said¹, 'If I do not the works of the Father, believe Me not; but if I do, though ye believe not Me, believe the works, that ye may know that the Father is in Me and I in Him.' And thus when there was need to raise Peter's wife's mother, who was sick of a fever, He stretched forth His hand humanly, but He stopped the illness divinely. And in the case of the man blind from the birth, human was the spittle which He gave forth from the flesh, but divinely did He open the eyes through the clay. And in the case of Lazarus, He gave forth a human voice, as man; but divinely, as God, did He raise Lazarus from the dead². These things were so done, were so manifested, because He had a body, not in appearance, but in truth³; and it became the Lord, in putting on human flesh, to put it on whole with the affections proper to it; that, as we say that the body was His own, so also we may say that the affections of the body were proper to

Him alone, though they did not touch Him according to His Godhead. If then the body had been another's, to him too had been the affections attributed; but if the flesh is the Word's (for 'the Word became flesh'), of necessity then the affections also of the flesh are ascribed to Him, whose the flesh is. And to whom the affections are ascribed, such namely as to be condemned, to be scourged, to thirst, and the cross, and death, and the other infirmities of the body, of Him too is the triumph and the grace. For this cause then, consistently and fittingly such affections are ascribed not to another⁴, but to the Lord; that the grace also may be from Him⁵, and that we may become, not worshippers of any other, but truly devout towards God, because we invoke no originate thing, no ordinary⁶ man, but the natural and true Son from God, who has become man, yet is not the less Lord and God and Saviour.

33. Who will not admire this? or who will not agree that such a thing is truly divine? for if the works of the Word's Godhead had not taken place through the body, man had not been deified; and again, had not the properties of the flesh been ascribed to the Word, man had not been thoroughly delivered from them¹; but though they had ceased for a little while, as I said before, still sin had remained in him and corruption, as was the case with mankind before Him; and for this reason:—Many for instance have been made holy and clean from all sin; nay, Jeremiah was hallowed² even from the womb, and John, while yet in the womb, leapt for joy at the voice of Mary Bearer of God³; nevertheless 'death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over those that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression⁴;' and thus man remained mortal and corruptible as before, liable to the affections proper to their nature. But now the Word having become man and having appropriated⁵ what

contr. Apoll. ii. 13 fin. [Cf. Harnack, *Dogmg.* ed. 1. vol. i. pp. 131, 628. notes.] ¹³ Is. liii. 4.

¹⁴ οὐδὲν ἐβλάπτειτο. (1 Pet. ii. 24.) Cf. *de Incarn.* 17. 54. 34; Euseb. *de Land. Const.* p. 536. and 538. also Dem. *Evang.* vii. p. 348. Vigil. *contr. Eutyck.* ii. p. 503. (B. P. ed. 1624.) Anast. *Hodeg.* c. 12. p. 220 (ed. 1606.) also p. 222. Vid. also the beautiful passage in Pseudo-Basil: *Hom. in Sanct. Christ. Gen.* (t. 2. p. 596. ed. Ben.) also Rufin. *in Symb.* 12. Cyril. *Quod unus est Christus.* p. 776. Damasc. *F. O.* iii. 6 fin. August. *Serm.* 7. p. 26 init. ed. 1842. Suppl. 1.

¹⁵ Orat. i. 51. ¹⁶ John x. 37, 38. vid. *Incarn.* 18. Cf. Leo, *Serm.* 54. 2. 'Suscepit nos in suam proprietatem illa natura, quæ nec nostris sua, nec suis nostra consumeret, &c.' *Serm.* 72. p. 286. vid. also *Ep.* 165. 6. *Serm.* 30. 5. Cyril *Cat.* iv. g. Amphiloch. ap. Theod. *Erasm.* i. p. 66. also pp. 30, 87, 8. ed. 1614.

² Cf. Leo's Tome (*Ep.* 28.) 4. 'When He touched the leper, it was that that was seen; but something beyond man, when He cleansed him, &c.' Ambros. *Epist.* i. 46. n. 7. Hil. *Trin.* x. 23 fin. vid. *infr.* 56 note, and S. Leo's extracts in his *Ep.* 165. Chrysost. *Serm.* 34. and 35. Paul. *ap. Conc. Eph.* (p. 1620. Labbe.) These are instances of what is theologically called the *θεανδρική ἐνέργεια* [a condemned formula], i.e. the union of the energies of both Natures in one act.

³ μη φαντασία ἀλλ' ἀληθώς. vid. *Incarn.* 18. d. *ad Epict.* 7. c. The passage is quoted by S. Cyril. *Apol. adv. Orient.* p. 194.

⁴ οὐκ ἄλλον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ κυρίου· and so οὐκ ἑτέρου τινός, *Incarn.* 18; also *Orat.* i. 45. *supr.* p. 244. and *Orat.* iv. 35. Cyril *Thes.* p. 197. and Anathem. 11. who defends the phrase against the Orientals.

⁵ Cf. Procl. *ad Armen.* p. 615, ed. 1630. ⁶ κοινόν opposed to ἴδιον. vid. *infr.* § 51, Cyril *Ep.* p. 23, c. communem, Ambros. *de Fid.* i. 94.

¹ Or. i. 5, n. 5, il. 56, n. 5, 68, n. 1, *infr.* note 6. ² Vid. Jer. i. 5. And so S. Jerome, S. Leo, &c., as mentioned in Corn. a Lap. *in loc.* S. Jerome implies a similar gift in the case of Asella, *ad Marcell.* (*Ep.* xxiv. 2.) And so S. John Baptist, Maldon. *in Luc.* i. 16. It is remarkable that no ancient writer (unless indeed we except S. Austin), [Patrol. Lat. xlvii. 1144?] refers to the instance of S. Mary;—perhaps from the circumstance of its not being mentioned in Scripture.

³ Θεοτόκου. For instances of this word vid. Alexandr. *Ep. ad Alex.* ap. Theodor. *H. E.* i. 4. p. 745. (al. 20). Athan. (*supra*); Cyril *Cat.* x. 19. Julian Imper. ap. Cyril c. *Jul.* viii. p. 262. Amphiloch. *Orat.* 4. p. 41. (if Amphil.) ed. 1644. Nyssen. *Ep. ad Eustath.* p. 1093. Chrysost. apud. Suicer *Symb.* p. 240. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 29. 4. *Ep.* 181. p. 85. ed. Ben. Antiochus and Ammon. ap. Cyril. *de Recta Fid.* pp. 49, 50. Pseudo-Dion. *contr. Sams.* 5. Pseudo-Basil. *Hom.* t. 2. p. 600 ed. Ben. ⁴ Rom. v. 14. ⁵ ἰδιοποιουμένου. vid. also [*Incar.* 8.] *infr.* § 38, *ad Epict.* 6, c. fragm. ex Euthym. (t. i. p. 1275. ed. Ben.) Cyril. in *Joann.* p. 151, 2.

Father. "For as the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom He will."¹ So the Son raises up as does the Father: so too the Son preserves as does the Father. He Who is not unequal in grace, how is He unequal in power? So also the Son does not destroy, as neither does the Father. Therefore lest any one should believe there were two Gods, or should imagine a diversity of power, He said that He was one with His Father. How can a creature say that? Therefore the Son of God is not a creature.

144. It is not the same thing to rule as to serve; but Christ is both a King and the Son of a King. The Son of God therefore is not a servant. Every creature, however, gives service. But the Son of God, Who makes servants become the sons of God, does not give service. Therefore the Son of God is not a servant.

CHAPTER XII.

He confirms what has been already said, by the parable of the rich man who went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom; and shows that when the Son delivers up the kingdom to the Father, we must not regard the fact that the Father is said to put all things in subjection under Him, in a disparaging way. Here we are the kingdom of Christ, and in Christ's kingdom. Hereafter we shall be in the kingdom of God, where the Trinity will reign together.

145. In divine fashion has He represented that parable of the rich man, who went to a far-off country to receive a kingdom, and to return,² thus describing Himself in the substance of the Godhead, and of His Manhood. For He being rich in the fulness of His Godhead, Who was made poor for us though He was rich and an eternal King; He, I say, went to a foreign country in taking on Him a body, for He entered upon the ways of men as though upon a strange journey, and came into this world to prepare for Himself a kingdom from amongst us.

146. Jesus therefore came to this earth to receive for Himself a kingdom from us, to whom He says: "The kingdom of God is within you."³ This is the kingdom which Christ has received, this the kingdom which He has delivered to the Father. For how did He receive for Himself a kingdom, Who was a King eternal? "The Son of Man therefore came to receive a kingdom and to

return." The Jews were unwilling to acknowledge Him, of whom He says: "They which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither and slay them."¹

147. Let us follow the course of the Scriptures. He Who came will deliver up the kingdom to God the Father; and when He has delivered up the kingdom, then also shall He be subject to Him, Who has put all things in subjection under Him, that God may be all in all.² If the Son of God has received the kingdom as Son of Man, surely as Son of Man also He will deliver up what He has received. If He delivers it up as Son of Man, as Son of Man He confesses His subjection indeed under the conditions of the flesh, and not in the majesty of His Godhead.

148. And dost thou make objections and condemn Him, because God has put all things in subjection under Him, when thou hearest that the Son of Man delivers up the kingdom to God, and hast read, as we said in our earlier books: "No man can come to Me, except the Father draw him; and I will raise him up at the last day"?³ If we follow it literally, see rather and notice the unity of honour each gives to other: The Father has put all things in subjection under the Son, and the Son delivers the kingdom to the Father. Say now which is the greater, to deliver up, or to raise up to life? Do we not after human fashion speak of the service of delivering up, and the power of raising to life? But both the Son delivers up to the Father, and also the Father to the Son. The Son raises to life, and the Father also raises to life. Let them create the fiction of a blasphemous division where there is a unity of power.

149. Let the Son then deliver up His kingdom to the Father. The kingdom which He delivers up is not lost to Christ, but grows. We are the kingdom, for it was said to us: "The kingdom of God is within you."⁴ And we are the kingdom, first of Christ, then of the Father; as it is written: "No man cometh to the Father, but by Me."⁵ When I am on the way, I am Christ's; when I have passed through, I am the Father's; but everywhere through Christ, and everywhere under Him.

150. It is a good thing to be in the kingdom of Christ, so that Christ may be with us; as He Himself says: "Lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."⁶ But it is better to be with Christ:

¹ S. John v. 21.

² S. Luke xix. 12.

³ S. John xvii. 21.

⁴ S. Luke xix. 27.

⁵ S. Luke xvii. 21.

⁶ 1 Cor. xv. 24-28.

⁷ S. John xiv. 6.

⁸ S. John vi. 44.

⁹ S. Matt. xxviii. 20.

"For to depart and be with Christ is far better."¹ Though we are under sin in this world, Christ is with us, that "by the obedience of one man many may be made just."² And if I escape the sin of this world, I shall begin to be with Christ. And so He says: "I will come again, and receive you unto Myself;"³ and further on: "I will that where I am, there ye may be also with Me."⁴

151. Therefore we are now under Christ's rule, whilst we are in the body, and are not yet stripped of the form of a servant, which He put upon Him, when He "emptied Himself." But when we shall see His glory, which He had before the world was, we shall be in the kingdom of God, in which are the patriarchs and prophets, of whom it is written: "When ye shall see Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets in the kingdom of God;"⁵ and shall thus acquire a deeper knowledge of God.

152. But in the kingdom of the Son the Father also reigns; and in the kingdom of the Father the Son also reigns: for the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father; and in whomsoever the Son dwells, in him also the Father dwells; and in whomsoever the Father dwells, in him also the Son dwells, as it is written: "Both I and My Father will come to Him, and make Our abode with Him."⁶ Thus as there is one dwelling, so also there is one kingdom. Yea, and so far is the kingdom of the Father and of the Son but one, that the Father receives what the Son delivers, and the Son does not lose what the Father receives. Thus in the one kingdom there is a unity of power. Let no one therefore sever the Godhead between the Father and the Son.

CHAPTER XIII.

With the desire to learn what subjection to Christ means, after putting forward and rejecting various ideas of subjection, he runs through the Apostle's words; and so puts an end to the blasphemous opinions of the heretics on this matter. The subjection, which is shown to be future, cannot concern the Godhead, since there has always been the greatest harmony of wills between the Father and the Son. Also to that same Son in His Godhead all things have indeed been made subject; but they are said to be not yet subject to Him in this sense, because all men do not obey His commands. But after that they have been made subject, then shall Christ also be made subject in them, and the Father's work be perfected.

153. But if the one name and right of God

belong to both the Father and the Son, since the Son of God is also true God, and a King eternal, the Son of God is not made subject in His Godhead. Let us then, Emperor Augustus, think how we ought to regard His subjection.

154. How is the Son of God made subject? As the creature to vanity? But it is blasphemous to have any such idea of the Substance of the Godhead.

155. Or as every creature is to the Son of God, for it is rightly written: "Thou hast put all things in subjection under His feet"?¹ But Christ is not made subject to Himself.

156. Or as a woman to a man, as we read: "Let the wives be subject to their husbands;"² and again: "Let the woman learn in silence in all subjection"?³ But it is impious to compare a man to the Father, or a woman to the Son of God.

157. Or as Peter said: "Submit yourselves to every human creature"?⁴ But Christ was certainly not so subject.

158. Or as Paul wrote: "Submitting yourselves mutually to God and the Father in the fear of Christ"?⁵ But Christ was not subject either in His own fear, nor in the fear of another Christ. For Christ is but one. But note the force of these words, that we are subject to the Father, whilst we also fear Christ.

159. How, then, do we understand His subjection? Shall we review the whole chapter which the Apostle wrote, so as to give no appearance of having falsely withheld anything, or of having weakened its force with intention to deceive? "If in this life only," he says, "we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable. But if Christ is risen from the dead, He is the first-fruits of them that sleep."⁶ Ye see how he discusses the question of Christ's Resurrection.

160. "'For since by one man,'" he says, "came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. But each one in his own order: Christ the firstfruits; afterward they that are Christ's, who have believed in His coming. Then cometh the end, when He shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father, when He shall have put down all rule and authority and power. For He must reign until He hath put all enemies under His feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death; for He hath put all things under His

¹ Phil. i. 23.

⁴ S. John xiv. 3.

² Rom. v. 19.

⁵ S. Luke xiii. 28.

³ S. John xiv. 3.

⁶ S. John xiv. 23.

¹ Ps. viii. 6.

⁴ 1 Pet. ii. 13.

² Eph. v. 22.

⁵ Eph. v. 21.

³ 1 Tim. ii. 11.

⁶ 1 Cor. xv. 19, 20.

feet. But when He saith, all things are put under Him, it is manifest that He is excepted Which did put all things under Him. But when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him, that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all."¹ Thus also the same Apostle said to the Hebrews: "But now we see not yet all things put under Him."² We have heard the whole of the Apostle's discourse.

161. How, then, do we speak of His subjection? The Sabellians and Marcionites say that this subjection of Christ to God the Father will be in such wise that the Son will be re-absorbed into the Father. If, then, the subjection of the Word means that God the Word is to be absorbed into the Father; then whatsoever is made subject to the Father and the Son will be absorbed into the Father and the Son, that God may be all and in all His creatures. But it is foolish to say so. There is therefore no subjection through re-absorption. For there are other things which are made subject, those, that is to say, which are created, and there is Another, to Whom that subjection is made. Let the expounders of a cruel re-absorption keep silence.

162. Would that they too were silent, who, as they cannot prove that the Word of God and Wisdom of God can be re-absorbed, attribute the weakness of subjection to His Godhead, saying that it is written: "But when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him."³

163. We see, then, that the Scripture states that He is not yet made subject, but that this is to come: Therefore now the Son is not made subject to God the Father. In what, then, do ye say that the Son will be made subject? If in His Godhead, He is not disobedient, for He is not at variance with the Father; nor is He made subject, for He is not a servant, but the only Son of His own proper Father. Lastly, when He created heaven, and formed the earth, He exercised both power and love. There is therefore no subjection as that of a servant in the Godhead of Christ. But if there is no subjection then the will is free.

164. But if they think of this as the subjection of the Son, namely, that the Father makes all things in union with His will, let them learn that this is really a proof of inseparable power. For the unity of Their will is one that began not in time, but ever existed.

But where there is a constant unity of will, there can be no weakness of temporal subjection. For if He were made subject through His nature, He would always remain in subjection; but since He is said to be made subject in time, that subjection must be part of an assumed office and not of an everlasting weakness: especially as the eternal Power of God cannot change His state for a time, neither can the right of ruling fall to the Father in time. For if the Son ever will be changed in such wise as to be made subject in His Godhead, then also must God the Father, if ever He shall gain more power, and have the Son in subjection to Himself in His Godhead, be considered now in the meantime inferior according to your explanation.

165. But what fault has the Son been guilty of, that we should believe that He could hereafter be made subject in His Godhead? Has he as man seized for Himself the right to sit at His Father's side, or has He claimed for Himself the prerogative of His Father's throne, against His Father's will? But He Himself says: "For I do always those things that please Him."⁴ Therefore if the Son pleases the Father in all things, why should He be made subject, Who was not made subject before?

166. Let us see then that there be not a subjection of the Godhead, but rather of us in the fear of Christ, a truth so full of grace, and so full of mystery. Wherefore, again, let us weigh the Apostle's words: "But when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him: that God may be all in all." What then dost thou say? Are not all things now subject unto Him? Are not the choirs of the saints made subject? Are not the angels, who ministered to Him when on the earth."⁵ Are not the archangels who were sent to Mary to foretell the coming of the Lord? Are not all the heavenly hosts? Are not the cherubim and seraphim, are not thrones and dominions and powers which worship and praise Him?

167. How, then, will they be brought into subjection? In the way that the Lord Himself has said. "Take My yoke upon you."⁶ It is not the fierce that bear the yoke, but the humble and the gentle. This clearly is no base subjection for men, but a glorious one: "that in the Name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things beneath; and that every tongue

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 21-28.² Heb. ii. 8.³ 1 Cor. xv. 28.⁴ S. John viii. 29.⁵ S. Matt. iv. 11.⁶ S. Matt. xi. 29.

should confess that Jesus is Lord in the glory of God the Father."¹ But for this reason all things were not made subject before, for they had not yet received the wisdom of God, not yet did they wear the easy yoke of the Word on the neck as it were of their mind. "But as many as received Him," as it is written, "to them gave He power to become the sons of God."²

168. Will any one say that Christ is now made subject, because many have believed? Certainly not. For Christ's subjection lies not in a few but in all. For just as I do not seem to be brought into subjection, if the flesh in me as yet lusts against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh,³ although I am in part subdued; so because the whole Church is the one body of Christ, we divide Christ as long as the human race disagrees. Therefore Christ is not yet made subject, for His members are not yet brought into subjection. But when we have become, not many members, but one spirit, then He also will become subject, in order that through His subjection "God may be all and in all."

169. But as Christ is not yet made subject, so is the work of God not yet perfected; for the Son of God said: "My meat is to do the will of My Father that sent Me, and to finish His work."⁴ What manner of doubt is there that the subjection of the Son in me is still in the future, in whom the work of the Father is unfinished, because I myself am not yet perfect? I, who make the work of God to be unfinished, do I make the Son of God to be in subjection? But that is not a matter of wrong, it is a matter of grace. For in so far as we are made subject, it is to our profit, not to that of the Godhead, that we are made subject to the law, that we are made subject to grace. For formerly, as the Apostle himself has said, the wisdom of the flesh was at enmity with God, for "it was not made subject to the law,"⁵ but now it is made subject through the Passion of Christ.

CHAPTER XIV.

He continues the discussion of the difficulty he has entered upon, and teaches that Christ is not subject but only according to the flesh. Christ, however, whilst in subjection in the Flesh, still gave proofs of His Godhead. He combats the idea that Christ is made subject in This. The humanity indeed, which He adopted, has been so far made subject in us, as ours has been raised in that very humanity of His.

Lastly, we are taught, when that same subjection of Christ will take place.

170. HOWEVER, lest anyone should cavil, see what care Scripture takes under divine inspiration. For it shows to us in what Christ is made subject to God, whilst it also teaches us in what He made the universe subject to Himself. And so it says: "Now we see not yet all things put under Him."¹ For we see Jesus made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death.² It shows therefore that He was made lower in taking on Him our flesh. What then hinders Him from openly showing His subjection in taking on Him our flesh, through which He subjects all things to Himself, whilst He Himself is made subject in it to God the Father?

171. Let us then think of His subjection. "Father," He says, "if Thou be willing, remove this cup from Me; nevertheless not My will but Thine be done."³ Therefore that subjection will be according to the assumption of human nature; as we read: "Being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, being made obedient unto death."⁴ The subjection therefore is that of obedience; the obedience is that of death; the death is that of the assumed humanity; & that subjection therefore will be the subjection of the assumed humanity. Thus in no wise is there a weakness in the Godhead, but there is such a discharge of pious duty as this.

172. See how I do not fear their intentions. They allege that He must be subject to God the Father, I say He was subject to Mary His Mother. For it is written of Joseph and Mary: "He was subject unto them."⁵ But if they think so, let them say how the Deity was made subject to men.

173. Let not the fact that He is said to have been made subject work against Him, Who receives no hurt from the fact that He is called a servant, or is stated to have been crucified, or is spoken of as dead. For when He died He lived; when He was made subject He was reigning; when He was buried He revived again. He offered Himself in subjection to human power, yet at another time He declared He was the Lord of eternal glory. He was before the judge, yet claimed for Himself a throne at the right hand of God, as Judge forever. For thus it is written: "Hereafter ye shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of the power of God, and coming in the

¹ Phil. ii. 10.

² Gal. v. 17.

³ Rom. viii. 7.

² S. John i. 12.

⁴ S. John iv. 34.

¹ Heb. ii. 8.

⁴ Phil. ii. 8.

² Heb. ii. 9.

⁵ S. Luke ii. 51.

³ S. Luke xxii. 42.

clouds of heaven."¹ He was scourged by the Jews, and commanded the angels; He was born of Mary under the law;² He was before Abraham above the law. On the cross He was revered by nature; the sun fled; the earth trembled; the angels became silent. Could the elements see the Generation of Him Whose Passion they feared to see? And will they uphold the subjection of an adorable Nature in Him, in Whom they could not endure the subjection of the body?

174. But since the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are of one Nature, the Father certainly will not be in subjection to Himself. And therefore the Son will not be in subjection in that in which He is one with the Father; lest it should seem that through the unity of the Godhead the Father also is in subjection to the Son. Therefore, as upon that cross it was not the fulness of the Godhead, but our weakness that was brought into subjection, so also will the Son hereafter become subject to the Father in the participation of our nature, in order that when the lusts of the flesh are brought into subjection the heart may have no care for riches, or ambition, or pleasures; but that God may be all to us, if we live after His image and likeness, as far as we can attain to it, through all.

175. The benefit has passed, then, from the individual to the community; for in His flesh He has tamed the nature of all human flesh. Thus, according to the Apostle: "As we have borne the image of the earthly, so also shall we bear the image of the heavenly."³ This thing certainly cannot come to pass except in the inner man. Therefore, "laying aside all these," that is those things which we read of: "anger, malice, blasphemy, filthy communication;"⁴ as he also says below: "Let us, having put off the old man with his deeds, put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created Him."⁵

176. And that thou mightest know that when he says: "That God may be all in all," he does not separate Christ from God the Father, he also says to the Colossians: "Where there is neither male nor female, Jew nor Greek, Barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all and in all."⁶ So also saying to the Corinthians: "That God may be all and in all," he comprehended in that the unity and equality of Christ with God the Father, for the Son is

not separated from the Father. And in like manner as the Father worketh all and in all, so also Christ worketh all in all. If, then, Christ also worketh all in all, He is not made subject in the glory of the Godhead, but in us. But how is He made subject in us, except in the way in which He was made lower than the angels, I mean in the sacrament of His body? For all things which served their Creator from their first beginning seemed not as yet to be made subject to Him in that.

177. But if thou shouldst ask how He was made subject in us, He Himself shows us, saying: "I was in prison, and ye came unto Me; I was sick, and ye visited Me: Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these ye have done it unto Me."¹ Thou hearest of Him as sick and weak, and art not moved. Thou hearest of Him in subjection, and art moved, though He is sick and weak in Him in whom He is in subjection, in whom He was made sin and a curse for us.

178. As, then, He was made sin and a curse not on His own account but on ours, so He became subject in us not for His own sake but for ours, being not in subjection in His eternal Nature, nor accursed in His eternal Nature. "For cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree."² Cursed He was, for He bore our curses; in subjection, also, for He took upon Him our subjection, but in the assumption of the form of a servant, not in the glory of God; so that whilst he makes Himself a partaker of our weakness in the flesh, He makes us partakers of the divine Nature in His power. But neither in one nor the other have we any natural fellowship with the heavenly Generation of Christ, nor is there any subjection of the Godhead in Christ. But as the Apostle has said that on Him through that flesh which is the pledge of our salvation, we sit in heavenly places,³ though certainly not sitting ourselves, so also He is said to be subject in us through the assumption of our nature.

179. For who is so mad as to think, as we have said already,⁴ that a seat of honour is due to Him at the right hand of God the Father, when that is granted to Christ according to the flesh by the Father of His Generation, even a seat of a heavenly and equal power? The angels worship, and dost thou attempt to overthrow the throne of God with impious presumption?

180. It is written, thou sayest, that "when we were dead in sins, He hath quickened us

¹ S. Matt. xxvi. 64.
⁴ Col. iii. 8.

² Gal. iv. 4.
⁵ Col. iii. 9, 10.

³ 1 Cor. xv. 49.
⁶ Col. iii. 11.

¹ S. Matt. xxv. 36, 40.
Eph. ii. 6.

² Gal. iii. 13.

⁴ Cf. ch. v

in Christ, by Whose grace ye are saved, and hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus."¹ I acknowledge that it is so written; but it is not written that God suffers men to sit on His right hand, but only to sit there in the Person of Christ. For He is the foundation of all, and is the head of the Church,² in Whom our common nature according to the flesh has merited the right to the heavenly throne. For the flesh is honoured as having a share in Christ Who is God, and the nature of the whole human race is honoured as having a share in the flesh.

181. As we then sit in Him by fellowship in our fleshly nature, so also He, Who through the assumption of our flesh was made a curse for us (seeing that a curse could not fall upon the blessed Son of God), so, I say, He through the obedience of all will become subject in us; when the Gentile has believed, and the Jew has acknowledged Him Whom he crucified; when the Manichæan has worshipped Him, Whom he has not believed to have come in the flesh; when the Arian has confessed Him to be Almighty, Whom he has denied; when, lastly, the wisdom of God, His justice, peace, love, resurrection, is in all. Through His own works and through the manifold forms of virtues Christ will be in us in subjection to the Father. And when, with vice renounced and crime at an end, one spirit in the heart of all peoples has begun to cleave to God in all things, then will God be all and in all.³

CHAPTER XV.

He briefly takes up again the same points of dispute, and shrewdly concludes from the unity of the divine power in the Father and the Son, that whatever is said of the subjection of the Son is to be referred to His humanity alone. He further confirms this on proof of the love, which exists alike in either.

182. Let us then shortly sum up our conclusion on the whole matter. A unity of power puts aside all idea of a degrading subjection. His giving up of power, and His victory as conqueror won over death, have not lessened His power. Obedience works out subjection. Christ has taken obedience upon Himself, obedience even to taking on Him our flesh, the cross even to gaining our salvation. Thus where the work lies, there too is the Author of the work. When therefore, all things have become subject to Christ, through Christ's obedience, so that all bend their knees in

His name, then He Himself will be all in all. For now, since all do not believe, all do not seem to be in subjection. But when all have believed and done the will of God, then Christ will be all and in all. And when Christ is all and in all, then will God be all and in all; for the Father abides ever in the Son. How, then, is He shown to be weak, Who redeemed the weak?

183. And lest thou shouldst by chance attribute to the weakness of the Son, that it is written, that God hath put all things in subjection under Him; learn that He has Himself brought all things into subjection to Himself, for it is written: "Our conversation is in heaven, from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus, Who shall change our vile body that it may be fashioned like unto His glorious body according to the working, whereby He is able to subdue all things unto Himself." Thou has learnt, therefore, that He can subdue all things unto Himself according to the working of His Godhead.

184. Learn now how He receives all things in subjection according to the flesh, as it is written: "Who wrought in Christ, raising Him from the dead, and setting Him at His own right hand in the heavenly places, above principality and power and might and dominion and every name that is named not only in this world, but also in that which is to come; and hath put all things under His feet."² According to the flesh then all things are given to Him in subjection; according to which also He was raised from the dead, both in His human soul and His rational subjection.

185. Many nobly interpret that which is written: "Truly my soul will be in subjection to God;"³ He said soul not Godhead, soul not glory. And that we might know that the Lord has spoken through the prophet of the adoption of our human nature, He added: "How long will ye cast yourselves upon a man?"⁴ As also He says in the Gospel: "Why do ye seek to kill Me, a man?"⁵ And He added again: "Nevertheless they desired to refuse My price, they ran in thirst, they blessed with their mouth, and cursed with their heart."⁶ For the Jews, when Judas brought back the price,⁷ would not receive it, running on in the thirst of madness, for they refused the grace of a spiritual draught.

186. This is the reverent interpretation of subjection, for since this is the office of the

¹ Eph. ii. 5, 6.² Eph. v. 23.³ 1 Cor. xv. 28.⁴ Phil. iii. 20, 21.⁵ Ps. lxii. 3.⁶ S. Matt. xxvii. 4.⁷ Eph. i. 20, 21.⁸ S. John viii. 40.⁹ Ps. lxii. 1.¹⁰ Ps. lxii. 4.

- 595 inseparable with the creator?
 "Absolutely never," you will say to me,
 "shall this be possible
 for anyone of those born
 or yet to be begotten."
 600 But do not ask me about the things hereafter!
 For if you have been united to the light,
 the light itself shall teach you all things, (Jn 14.26)
 and shall reveal all,
 and shall give a glimpse,
 605 as much as is fitting for you to learn.
 Besides, it is impossible
 for you to learn these things by words.
 Glory to the Lord forever. Amen.

Hymn 31

Concerning theology, and that the divine nature is unfathomable and by all means incomprehensible to human beings.

- Lord, our God, Father, Son, and Spirit,
 you are without visible shape in your form, and all-beautiful in
 appearance,
 your impossible beauty obscuring all vision,
 for you are beautiful beyond the sight of all things.
 5 You are seen as measureless in size by those whom you wish,
 in essence beyond essence, unknown even to angels.
 That you are, they know from your energies,
 thence you called yourself God, the one truly being. (Ex 3.14)
 We say that this is your essence, we call this hypostasis.¹

¹"your οὐσία, we call this ὑπόστασις." Prior to the Arian controversy ὑπόστασις was synonymous with οὐσία, but was then given a technical meaning akin to πρόσωπον—that is "person" or "personal reality." Because of its technical sense, and to distinguish ὑπόστασις from πρόσωπον, I have chosen to transliterate ὑπόστασις

- 10 For that which has neither essence nor hypostasis does not
 really exist,
 because of this we boldly say that you have essence,
 we say that you have hypostasis,² which no one has ever seen,
 (Jn 1.18)
 God in three hypostases, one origin without beginning.
 But otherwise how dare we to call you essence
 15 or to glorify three distinct hypostases in you?
 But who will understand fully what sort of union (you have)
 if the Father is in you and you are in your Father, (Jn 17.21)
 and from him your Holy Spirit proceeds, (Jn 15.26)
 and you yourself, the Lord, are your Spirit,
 20 and my Lord and my God, you are called Spirit,³
 and your Father both is and is called Spirit? (Jn 4.24)
 And none of the angels or human beings has ever seen you,
 (1 Tim 6.16)
 no one has contemplated these things, or knows the way,
 how would one say, and how would one express, how would
 one dare to proclaim
 25 division, or union, or confusion, or mixing, or even combining,
 how say the one is three, or the three is one?
 So on account of this, Master, from what you said, one believes,
 from what you taught, every believer praises your power,
 since everything concerning you is in every way ungraspable,
 30 unknowable, and not to be revealed to all who were created by
 you.
 For even your existence is incomprehensible,
 because by nature you are uncreated, but likewise you have
 begotten.
 And how shall a creature know the manner of your existence,

rather than translate it. In lines 9 and 10 Symeon seems to use οὐσία and ὑπόστασις as synonyms, then in line 15 he begins to use ὑπόστασις in the sense of "person."

²ἐνυπόστατον λέγομεν. That is: "we say [that you are] self-existent." The point being that we say God has existence even though it is unlike any existence we know.

³2 Cor 3.17; Jn 20.28.

or the begetting of your Son, God and Logos,
 35 or the procession of your divine Spirit,
 in order to know also your union, and to look upon your
 separation,
 and to clearly understand the form of your essence?
 No one has ever seen any of these mysteries of which I speak,
 for it is not possible for another to become God by nature
 40 in order to be able to examine also your nature,
 essence, shape and form, likewise your hypostasis.
 But you yourself are in yourself, you alone are Trinity God,
 you alone know yourself, your Son and Spirit, (Mt 11.27)
 and you are known by them alone since they share your
 nature.
 45 But other beings, just as they see clearly the rays
 of the perceptible sun and they perceive them brightly
 when sitting in their house, they see the rays beaming in,
 but they do not see the sun itself,
 so also the light of your glory, so also your illuminations,
 50 and those who seek you from their soul are deemed worthy to
 see
 them in an enigma and with a purified mind. (1 Cor 13.12)
 And you, what sort, what kind you are in essence,
 or how you have once begotten and you continually beget,
 yet you are not separated from the one who is begotten from
 you, but he is
 55 whole in you, he who fills all things with his divinity,
 (Eph 4.10)
 and you, Father, remain entirely in the Son himself,
 and you have the divine Spirit processing from you,
 'the Spirit' who knows and fills all things, being God in
 essence,
 and not separated from you, for he also gushes forth from you.
 60 You are the fountain of good things, and your Son is all good,
 he distributes the goods to all through the Spirit worthily,

compassionately, benevolently to both angels and human
 beings.
 None of the angels and no human being has ever seen
 (1 Tim 6.16)
 or known the nature of your existence, for you are not created.
 65 But you have created all things by your commandment alone.
 65a And so how can the things you created know you?
 How you beget your Son, how you perpetually flow forth,
 how your divine Spirit proceeds from you,
 yet you do not ever beget 'the Spirit', having begotten 'the Son'
 once and for all,
 and though you flow forth, how do you not suffer emptying or
 diminishment?
 70 For you remain beyond all fullness,
 unceasing beyond all, whole in the whole world,
 the visible, the rational,⁴ yet again outside everything,
 not receiving any addition, nor any defect at all.
 You are entirely unmoved, remaining always thus.
 75 Therefore by your energies you are in perpetual motion,
 for you also possess, Father, incessant work. (Jn 5.17)
 And your Son accomplishes the salvation of all,
 and he provides, and perfects, and sustains, and nourishes,
 he vivifies, and he preserves in the Holy Spirit.
 80 For whatever the Son sees the Father doing, (Jn 5.19)
 these things also the Son in like manner brings about, as he has
 said.
 And thus being unmoved, yet perpetually moving,
 how is it that you are neither moved, nor standing, nor again
 sitting,
 but always sitting, always fully standing?
 85 And while standing you are always being moved,
 never changing place, for where would you go?
 As was said, you fill all, you are beyond all,

⁴νοητῶ.

to what other sort of place or location would you move to?
 But you do not stand, for you are bodiless.
 90 You were simple, filling all things, in every way formless,
 immaterial, uncircumscribed, completely inapprehensible.
 And how would we say that you sit, or again that you stand,
 and how shall we say that you sit, or on what kind of throne,
 (Is 66.1)
 you who hold heaven and earth in your hand,
 95 and you who rule all things under the earth by your power?
 What sort of throne or what manner of house would contain
 you,
 or how or where is it built, or on what kind of foundations,
 and what sort of pillars is it raised, who shall fully understand?
 Away with the human beings and all created nature
 100 that would dare to enquire after such mysteries of God
 before they are enlightened, before they are illuminated, before
 they see divine things
 and become seers of the mysteries of Christ,
 mysteries that when Paul saw them he was not able to express
 them at all, (2 Cor 12.2-4)
 nor Elijah before him, nor the great Moses,⁵
 105 but even Moses himself was deigned worthy to learn and
 to express to others only the commandments and wishes of
 God.
 But concerning God himself, he was deigned worthy to hear,
 to learn, or to be taught nothing more at all,
 except that God is he who is Creator of all things, (Ex 3.14)
 110 maker and upholder of all that has been created.
 And we, the all-wretched ones, who are confined by darkness,
 and who are entirely darkness by our enjoyment of pleasures,
 and we who are ignorant of ourselves, where and how we are
 overpowered,
 we who are buried by passions, who are blind and dead,

⁵1 Kgs 19.9ff.; Ex 19.1ff.

115 we who search out the one who is truly without beginning,
 uncreated God,
 who alone is immortal, invisible to all,
 we speak of God as though we saw him clearly,
 we who are separated from God.
 For if indeed they were united to him, they would never dare
 120 to speak about him, seeing that everything of him
 is unspeakable and incomprehensible.
 But not only things about him, but even most
 of his works are unknown to everyone.
 For who would explain how from the beginning he moulded
 me,
 125 or with what sort of hands did he, who is utterly bodiless, take
 up dust, (Gen 2.7)
 and, not having a mouth like us, how did he blow into me,
 and how did his breath become for me an immortal soul?
 (1 Cor 15.45)
 And from clay, tell me, how bones, and how nerves,
 how muscles, and how my veins, how skin, how hair,
 130 how eyes, and how ears, how lips, how a tongue,
 how organs of speech, and hardness of teeth
 all clearly render an articulate word by the Spirit?⁶
 From matter both dry and moist, both hot and cold,⁷
 by a mixture of opposites he rendered me a living being.
 135 And so how is the mind fettered to flesh, and how does the
 flesh adhere
 to the immaterial mind without mixing, without confusion?
 And without mingling, how do mind and soul bring forth the
 reason,⁸
 I refer to the immanent reason, and likewise
 they remain undivided, unchanged, utterly unmixed?

⁶"Spirit" (πνεύματι) in this context could be rendered "by the breath [of God]."

⁷These are the four elements of ancient physics.

⁸λόγον.

- 140 And so knowing these, brothers, to be unexplained
and incomprehensible to all, these things that pertain to us,
how do we not tremble before the one who made us this way
out of non-being,
nor fear to consider, or to examine, or to speak of
things that are beyond our reason, beyond our mind?
- 145 But since we are creatures, from now on may we fear the
Creator,
and search out his commandments alone,
and hasten to observe them with all our strength, (Jn 14.21)
if you would wish also to become heirs of life! (Titus 3.7)
But if you despise his ordinances,
150 and you disregard his wishes, as he has said,
and you disobey him in even one word, (Mt 5.19)
then neither glory, nor dignity, nor wealth of the world,
nor stupid knowledge of exterior learning,
nor organization, nor composition of eloquent language,
155 nor any other affairs and goods on earth
will then provide any help whatsoever,
when my God will judge everything and everyone.
But the word of the Master that was neglected by us
will then stand against the face of each one
160 and condemn everyone who has not kept it. (Jn 12.48)
For the word is not idle, but is the living word (Heb 4.12)
of the living God who remains forever and ever. (Is 40.8)
Hereafter the judgment shall be just as I said,
at once, alas, when the commandment comes
165 proving that one is unfaithful or by all means faithful,
that one is obedient⁹ or disobedient to the Master's words,
that one has been attentive or negligent,
and thus the unjust will be separated from the just, (Mt 13.49)
the disobedient from those who truly submitted to Christ,

⁹πειθήνιον usually has an active sense, i.e. "persuasive." But it is taken here in the passive sense to contrast ἀπειθή, "disobedient."

- 170 those who now love the world, from the friends of God,
and the heartless from the compassionate,
and at the same time the merciless from the merciful, and they
shall all stand
stripped of wealth, and honor, and power which they enjoyed
in the world, (Heb 4.13)
and, alas, they shall condemn themselves.
- 175 Having become self-condemned by their own works,
(Titus 3.11)
they shall hear: "Depart, both small and great,
you who have not obeyed me the benevolent master!"
Master, may we be rescued from this just condemnation
and may we possess the portion of your sheep, O Logos,
(Mt 25.33)
- 180 as a gift, since we have no hope of salvation
by works, we who are even now condemned forever!

Hymn 32

That the esteemed of the earth and the haughty in riches are led astray regarding the shadow of visible things. But those who have despised present things are in right participation of the divine Spirit.

- Seeing me, Master, reviled by the faithful,
as one who both deceives and is led astray
because I say that I have received the Holy Spirit
by your benevolence and by the prayers of my father,¹
5 have mercy and freely give reason, knowledge, and wisdom,
so that all who are set against me may know
that your divine Spirit speaks within me!
Grant that I may speak, as you have said, give also to me, as
you promised

¹I.e., Symeon Eulabes.