

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

Church of the Holy Cross 2023-2024 Education

Zoom Only:

Mondays: 7 p.m. Bible Study

Contos Library, Hybrid:

Tuesdays: 10:30 a.m. Bible Study

Wednesdays: 7 p.m. Studies in the Faith

Thursdays: 7 p.m. Enhanced Study

Links

M:

<https://us02web.zoom.us/j/86255302411>

T:

<https://us02web.zoom.us/j/992525207>

W:

<https://us02web.zoom.us/j/438824988>

Th:

<https://us02web.zoom.us/j/82461509031>

Email: konstantines@goholycross.org







ΜΑΡΚΟΣ

ΛΟΥΚΑΣ

ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΣΑΒΑΩΘ.

ΠΛΗΡΗΣ Ο ΟΥΡΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΗ ΤΗΣ ΔΟΞΗΣ ΣΟΥ

ΠΕΤΡΟΣ



CHAPTER IX.

He corroborates this statement by the authority of the old prophets.

But since up to this point we have made use more particularly of the witness, comparatively new, of evangelists and apostles, now let us bring forward the testimony of the old prophets, intermingling at times new things with old, that everybody may see that the holy Scriptures proclaim as it were with one mouth that Christ was to come in the flesh, with a body of His own complete. And so that famed and renowned prophet as richly endowed with God's gifts as with his testimony, to whom alone it was given to be sanctified before His birth,¹ Jeremiah, says, "This is our Lord, and there shall no other be accounted of in comparison with Him. He found out all the way of knowledge and gave it to Jacob His servant and Israel His beloved. Afterwards He was seen upon earth and conversed with men."² "This is," then, he says, "our God." You see how the prophet points to God as it were with his hand, and indicates Him as it were with his finger. "This is," he says, "our God." Tell me then, who was it that the prophet showed by these signs and tokens to be God? Surely it was not the Father? For what need was there that He should be pointed out, whom all believed that they knew? For even then the Jews were not ignorant of God, for they were living under God's law. But he was clearly aiming at this, that they might come to know the Son of God as God. And so excellently did the Prophet say that He who had found out all knowledge, i.e., had given the law, was to be seen upon earth, i.e., was to come in the flesh, in order that, as the Jews did not doubt that He who had given the law was God, they might recognize that He who was to come in the flesh was God, especially since they heard that He, in whom they believed as God the giver of the law, was to be seen among men by taking upon Him manhood, as He Himself promises His own advent by the prophet: "For I myself that spoke, behold I am here."³ "There shall then," says the Scriptures, "be no other accounted of

in comparison of Him." Beautifully does the prophet here foresee false teaching, and so exclude the interpretations of heretical perverseness. "There shall no other be accounted of in comparison of Him." For He is alone begotten to be God of God: at whose bidding the completion of the universe followed: whose will is the beginning of things: whose empire is the fabric of the world: who spake all things, and they came to pass: commanded all things, and they were created. He then alone it is who spake to the patriarchs, dwelt in the prophets, was conceived by the Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, appeared in the world, lived among men, fastened to the wood of the cross the handwriting of our offences, triumphed in Himself, slew by His death the powers that were at enmity and hostile to us; and gave to all men belief in the resurrection, and by the glory of His body put an end to the corruption of man's flesh. You see then that all these belong to the Lord Jesus Christ alone: and therefore no other shall be accounted of in comparison with Him, for He alone is God begotten of God in this glory and unique blessedness. This then is what the prophet's teaching was aiming at; viz., that He might be known by all men to be the only begotten Son of God the Father, and that when they heard that no other was accounted of as God in comparison with the Son, they might confess that there was but one God in the Persons of the Father and the Son. "After this," he said, "He was seen upon earth and conversed with men." You see how plainly this points to the advent and nativity of the Lord. For surely the Father—of whom we read that He can only be seen in the Son—was not seen upon earth, nor born in the flesh, nor conversed with men? Most certainly not. You see then that all this is spoken of the Son of God. For since the prophet said that God should be seen upon earth, and no other but the Son was seen upon earth, it is clear that the prophet said this only of Him, of whom facts afterwards proved that it was spoken. For when He said that God should be seen, He could not say this truly, except of Him who was indeed afterwards seen. But enough of this. Now let us turn to another point. "The labour of Egypt," says the prophet Isaiah, "and the merchandise of Ethiopia and of the Sabæans, men of stature, shall come over to thee and shall be thy servants. They shall walk after thee, bound with manacles, and they shall worship thee, and they shall make supplication to thee: for in thee is God, and there is no God beside thee. For thou

¹ Cf. Jer. i. 5.

² The passage comes not from Jeremiah, but from Baruch (lii. 36-38). It is also quoted as from Jeremiah by Augustine (c. Faust. xii. c. 43): and in the LXX. version the book of Baruch is placed among the works of Jeremiah, e.g., in both the Vatican and Alexandrine MSS. they stand in the following order: (1) Jeremiah, (2) Baruch, (3) Lamentations, (4) the Epistle of Jeremy (Baruch c. vi. in A.V.). The passage which Cassian here quotes is constantly appealed to by both Greek and Latin Fathers, as a prophecy of the Incarnation. See e.g. S. Augustine (l.c.) S. Chrysost. "Ecloga" Hom. xxxiv. Rufinus in. Symb. § 5.

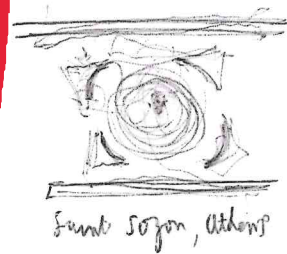
³ Isa. lii. 6.

⁴ Cf. Col. ii. 14, 15.

• explore potential to the full
• must speak out

begotten

Christians



Sancti Sojan, Athens

how I'm told me
what lives in other
people's minds

apply to Family

apply to
Fr.

undefined
nature of family
relationship

CHAPTER IX.

He corroborates this statement by the authority of the old prophets.

BUT since up to this point we have made use more particularly of the witness, comparatively new, of evangelists and apostles, now let us bring forward the testimony of the old prophets, intermingling at times new things with old, that everybody may see that the holy Scriptures proclaim as it were with one mouth that Christ was to come in the flesh, with a body of His own complete. And so that famed and renowned prophet as richly endowed with God's gifts as with his testimony, to whom alone it was given to be sanctified before His birth,¹ Jeremiah, says, "This is our Lord, and there shall no other be accounted of in comparison with Him. He found out all the way of knowledge and gave it to Jacob His servant and Israel His beloved. Afterwards He was seen upon earth and conversed with men."² "This is," then, he says, "our God." You see how the prophet points to God as it were with his hand, and indicates Him as it were with his finger. "This is," he says, "our God." Tell me then, who was it that the prophet showed by these signs and tokens to be God? Surely it was not the Father? For what need was there that He should be pointed out, whom all believed that they knew? For even then the Jews were not ignorant of God, for they were living under God's law. But he was clearly aiming at this, that they might come to know the Son of God as God. And so excellently did the Prophet say that He who had found out all knowledge, i.e., had given the law, was to be seen upon earth, i.e., was to come in the flesh, in order that, as the Jews did not doubt that He who had given the law was God, they might recognize that He who was to come in the flesh was God, especially since they heard that He, in whom they believed as God the giver of the law, was to be seen among men by taking upon Him manhood, as He Himself promises His own advent by the prophet: "For I myself that spoke, behold I am here."³ "There shall then," says the Scriptures, "be no other accounted of

in comparison of Him." Beautifully does the prophet here foresee false teaching, and so exclude the interpretations of heretical perverseness. "There shall no other be accounted of in comparison of Him." For He is alone begotten to be God of God: at whose bidding the completion of the universe followed: whose will is the beginning of things: whose empire is the fabric of the world: who spake all things, and they came to pass: commanded all things, and they were created. He then alone it is who spake to the patriarchs, dwelt in the prophets, was conceived by the Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, appeared in the world, lived among men, fastened to the wood of the cross the handwriting of our offences, triumphed in Himself,⁴ slew by His death the powers that were at enmity and hostile to us; and gave to all men belief in the resurrection, and by the glory of His body put an end to the corruption of man's flesh. You see then that all these belong to the Lord Jesus Christ alone: and therefore no other shall be accounted of in comparison with Him, for He alone is God begotten of God in this glory and unique blessedness. This then is what the prophet's teaching was aiming at; viz., that He might be known by all men to be the only begotten Son of God the Father, and that when they heard that no other was accounted of as God in comparison with the Son, they might confess that there was but one God in the Persons of the Father and the Son. "After this," he said, "He was seen upon earth and conversed with men." You see how plainly this points to the advent and nativity of the Lord. For surely the Father—of whom we read that He can only be seen in the Son—was not seen upon earth, nor born in the flesh, nor conversed with men? Most certainly not. You see then that all this is spoken of the Son of God. For since the prophet said that God should be seen upon earth, and no other but the Son was seen upon earth, it is clear that the prophet said this only of Him, of whom facts afterwards proved that it was spoken. For when He said that God should be seen, He could not say this truly, except of Him who was indeed afterwards seen. But enough of this. Now let us turn to another point. "The labour of Egypt," says the prophet Isaiah, "and the merchandise of Ethiopia and of the Sabæans, men of stature, shall come over to thee and shall be thy servants. They shall walk after thee, bound with manacles, and they shall worship thee, and they shall make supplication to thee: for in thee is God, and there is no God beside thee. For thou

¹ Cf. Jer. i. 5.

² The passage comes not from Jeremiah, but from Baruch (iii. 36-38). It is also quoted as from Jeremiah by Augustine (c. Faustin. xii. c. 43): and in the LXX. version the book of Baruch is placed among the works of Jeremiah, e.g., in both the Vatican and Alexandrine MSS. they stand in the following order: (1) Jeremiah, (2) Baruch, (3) Lamentations, (4) the Epistle of Jeremy (Baruch c. vi. in A.V.). The passage which Cassian here quotes is constantly appealed to by both Greek and Latin Fathers, as a prophecy of the Incarnation. See e.g. S. Augustine (l.c.) S. Chrysost. "Ecloga" Hom. xxxiv. Rufinus in. Symb. § 5.

³ Isa. lii. 6.

⁴ Cf. Col. ii. 14, 15.

art our God and we knew thee not, O God of Israel the Saviour."¹ How wonderfully consistent the Holy Scriptures always are! For the first mentioned prophet said, "This is our God," and this one says, "Thou art our God." In the one there is the teaching of Divinity, in the other the confession of men. The one exhibits the character of the Master teaching, the other that of the people confessing. For consider now the prophet Jeremiah daily teaching, as he does, in the church, and saying of the Lord Jesus Christ, "This is our God," what else could the whole Church reply, as it does, than what the other prophet said to the Lord Jesus, "Thou art our God." So that full well could the mention of their past ignorance be joined to their present acknowledgment, in the words of the people: "Thou art our God, and we knew thee not." For well can these who, in times past being taken up with the superstitions of devils did not know God, yet when now converted to the faith say, "Thou art our God, and we knew thee not."

CHAPTER X.

He proves Christ's Divinity from the blasphemy of Judaizing Jews as well as from the confession of converts to the faith of Christ.

BUT if you would like to have this proved to you rather from representatives of the Jews, consider the Jewish people when after their unhappy ignorance and wicked persecution they were converted, and acknowledged God here and there, and see whether they could not rightly say, "Thou art our God, and we knew Thee not." But I will add something else, to prove it to you not only from those Jews who confess Him, but also from those who deny Him. For ask those Jews who still continue in their state of unbelief whether they know or believe in God. They will certainly confess that they both know and believe in Him. But on the other hand ask them whether they believe in the Son of God. They will at once deny and begin to blaspheme against Him. You see then that the Prophet said this of Him of whom the Jews have always been ignorant, and whom now they know not; and not of Him whom they imagine that they believe in and confess. And so full well can those, who after having been in ignorance come out of Judaism to the faith, say, "Thou art our God, and we knew Thee not." For rightly do those, who after having been ignorant come to believe, say that they knew not Him in whom up to this time they have not believed, and whom they strive not to

know. For it is clear that those who after their previous ignorance come to confess Him, say that formerly they knew Him not, whom up to this time they have ignorantly denied.

CHAPTER XI.

He returns to the prophecy of Isaiah.

"THE labour," says he, "of Egypt, and the merchandize of Ethiopia, and the Sabæans, men of stature shall come over to thee." No one can doubt that in these names of different nations is signified the coming of the nations who were to believe. But you cannot deny that the nations have come over to Christ, for since the name of Christianity has arisen, they have come over to the Lord Jesus Christ not only in faith but actually in name. For since they are called what they really are, that which was the work of faith becomes the token by which they are named. "They shall," he says, "come over to thee and shall be thine: they shall walk after thee bound with manacles." As there are chains of coercion, so too there are chains of love, as the Lord says: "I drew them with chains of love."² For indeed great are these chains, and chains of ineffable love, for those who are bound with them rejoice in their fetters. Do you want to know whether this is true? Hear how the Apostle Paul exults and rejoices in his chains, when he says: "I therefore a prisoner in the Lord beseech you."³ And again: "I beseech thee, whereas thou art such an one as Paul the aged, and now a prisoner also of Jesus Christ."⁴ You see how he rejoiced in the dignity of his chains, by the example of which he actually stirred up others. But there can be no doubt that where there is single-minded love of the Lord, there is also single-minded delight in chains worn for the Lord's sake: as it is written: "But the multitude of the believers was of one heart and one soul."⁵ "And they shall worship thee," he says, "and shall make supplication to thee: for in thee is God, and there is no God beside thee." The Apostle clearly explains the prophet's words, when he says that "God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself."⁶ "In Thee then," he says, "is God and there is no God beside thee." When the prophet says "In Thee is God," most admirably does he point not merely to Him who was visible, but to Him who was in what was visible, distinguishing the indweller from Him in whom He dwelt, by pointing out the two natures, not by denying the unity (of Person).

¹ Isa. xiv. 14, 15.
² Eph. iv. 1.

³ Philémon, ver. 9.
⁴ Acts iv. 32.

⁵ 2 Cor. v. 19.

assume all the subsistences): but the nature viewed in the individual, which is identical with that viewed in species. For He took on Himself the elements of our compound nature, and these not as having an independent existence or as being originally an individual, and in this way assumed by Him, but as existing in His own subsistence. For the subsistence of God the Word in itself became the subsistence of the flesh, and accordingly "the Word became flesh"⁵ clearly without any change, and likewise the flesh became Word without alteration, and God became man. For the Word is God, and man is God, through having one and the same subsistence. And so it is possible to speak of the same thing as being the nature of the Word and the nature in the individual. For it signifies strictly and exclusively neither the individual, that is, the subsistence, nor the common nature of the subsistences, but the common nature as viewed and presented in one of the subsistences.

Union, then, is one thing, and incarnation is something quite different. For union signifies only the conjunction, but not at all that with which union is effected. But incarnation (which is just the same as if one said "the putting on of man's nature") signifies that the conjunction is with flesh, that is to say, with man, just as the heating of iron⁶ implies its union with fire. Indeed, the blessed Cyril himself, when he is interpreting the phrase, "one nature of God the Word Incarnate," says in the second epistle to Succensus, "For if we simply said 'the one nature of the Word' and then were silent, and did not add the word 'incarnate' but, so to speak, quite excluded the dispensation⁷, there would be some plausibility in the question they feign to ask, 'If one nature is the whole, what becomes of the perfection in humanity, or how has the essence⁸ like us come to exist?' But inasmuch as the perfection in humanity and the disclosure of the essence like us are conveyed in the word 'incarnate,' they must cease from relying on a mere straw." Here, then, he placed the nature of the Word over nature itself. For if He had received nature instead of subsistence, it would not have been absurd to have omitted the "incarnate." For when we say simply one subsistence of God the Word, we do not err⁹. In like manner, also, Leontius the Byzantine¹ considered this phrase to refer to nature, and not to subsistence. But in the Defence which he wrote

in reply to the attacks that Theodoret made on the second anathema, the blessed Cyril² says this: "The nature of the Word, that is, the subsistence, which is the Word itself." So that "the nature of the Word" means neither the subsistence alone, nor "the common nature of the subsistence," but "the common nature viewed as a whole in the subsistence of the Word."

It has been said, then, that the nature of the Word became flesh, that is, was united to flesh: but that the nature of the Word suffered in the flesh we have never heard up till now, though we have been taught that Christ suffered in the flesh. So that "the nature of the Word" does not mean "the subsistence." It remains, therefore, to say that to become flesh is to be united with the flesh, while the Word having become flesh means that the very subsistence of the Word became without change the subsistence of the flesh. It has also been said that God became man, and man God. For the Word which is God became without alteration man. But that the Godhead became man, or became flesh, or put on the nature of man, this we have never heard. This, indeed, we have learned, that the Godhead was united to humanity in one of its subsistences, and it has been stated that God took on a different form or essence³, to wit our own. For the name God is applicable to each of the subsistences, but we cannot use the term Godhead in reference to subsistence. For we are never told that the Godhead is the Father alone, or the Son alone, or the Holy Spirit alone. For "Godhead" implies "nature," while "Father" implies subsistence, just as "Humanity" implies nature, and "Peter" subsistence. But "God" indicates the common element of the nature, and is applicable derivatively to each of the subsistences, just as "man" is. For He Who has divine nature is God, and he who has human nature is man.

Besides all this, notice⁴ that the Father and the Holy Spirit take no part at all in the incarnation of the Word except in connection with the miracles, and in respect of good will and purpose.

CHAPTER XII.

That the holy Virgin is the Mother of God: an argument directed against the Nestorians.

Moreover we proclaim the holy Virgin to be

⁵ St. John i. 14.

⁶ τοῦ σιδήρου is absent in some codices and also in the old translation.

⁷ τὴν οἰκονομίαν, the incarnation.

⁸ ἡ κατ' ἡμᾶς οὐσία.

⁹ Supr. ch. 6 and 7.

¹ Leont., *De sect. Act.* 8.

² Cyril, *Defens. II.*, *Anath. cont. Theod.*

³ ὁ Θεὸς μεταβάλλεται, ἥτοι οὐσιουται τὸ ἀλλότριον. Gregory of Nazianzum in his *Carmen* used the term οὐσιουθῆναι of the Word after the assumption of our nature. See also *Dionys., De div. nom.*, ch. 2; *Ep. ad Carmen*, 4; &c.

⁴ Dion., *De div. nom.*, ch. 8.

in strict truth the Mother of God⁶. For inasmuch as He who was born of her was true God, she who bare the true God incarnate is the true mother of God. For we hold that God was born of her, not implying that the divinity of the Word received from her the beginning of its being, but meaning that God the Word Himself, Who was begotten of the Father timelessly before the ages, and was with the Father and the Spirit without beginning and through eternity, took up His abode in these last days for the sake of our salvation in the Virgin's womb, and was without change made flesh and born of her. For the holy Virgin did not bare mere man but true God: and not mere God but God incarnate, Who did not bring down His body from Heaven, nor simply passed through the Virgin as channel, but received from her flesh of like essence to our own and subsisting in Himself⁷. For if the body had come down from heaven and had not partaken of our nature, what would have been the use of His becoming man? For the purpose of God the Word becoming man⁸ was that the very same nature, which had sinned and fallen and become corrupted, should triumph over the deceiving tyrant and so be freed from corruption, just as the divine apostle puts it, *For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead*⁹. If the first is true the second must also be true.

Although¹, however, he says, *The first Adam is of the earth earthy; the second Adam is the Lord from Heaven*², he does not say that His body is from heaven, but emphasises the fact that He is not mere man. For, mark, he called Him both Adam and Lord, thus indicating His double nature. For Adam is, being interpreted, earth-born: and it is clear that man's nature is earth-born since he is formed from earth, but the title Lord signifies His divine essence.

And again the Apostle says: *God sent forth His only-begotten Son, made of a woman*³. He did not say "made by a woman." Wherefore the divine apostle meant that the only-begotten Son of God and God is the same as He who was made man of the Virgin, and that He who was born of the Virgin is the same as the Son of God and God.

But He was born after the bodily fashion inasmuch as He became man, and did not take up His abode in a man formed beforehand, as in a prophet, but became Himself

in essence and truth man, that is He caused flesh animated with the intelligent and reasonable to subsist in His own subsistence, and Himself became subsistence for it. For this is the meaning of "made of a woman." For how could the very Word of God itself have been made under the law, if He did not become man of like essence with ourselves?

Hence it is with justice and truth that we call the holy Mary the Mother of God. For this name embraces the whole mystery of the dispensation. For if she who bore Him is the Mother of God, assuredly He Who was born of her is God and likewise also man. For how could God, Who was before the ages, have been born of a woman unless He had become man? For the son of man must clearly be man himself. But if He Who was born of a woman is Himself God, manifestly He Who was born of God the Father in accordance with the laws of an essence that is divine and knows no beginning, and He Who was in the last days born of the Virgin in accordance with the laws of an essence that has beginning and is subject to time, that is, an essence which is human, must be one and the same. The name in truth signifies the one subsistence and the two natures and the two generations of our Lord Jesus Christ.

But we never say that the holy Virgin is the Mother of Christ⁴ because it was in order to do away with the title Mother of God, and to bring dishonour on the Mother of God, who alone is in truth worthy of honour above all creation, that the impure and abominable Judaizing Nestorius⁵, that vessel of dishonour, invented this name for an insult⁶. For David the king, and Aaron, the high priest, are also called *Christ*⁷, for it is customary to make kings and priests by anointing: and besides every God-inspired man may be called *Christ*, but yet he is not by nature God: yea, the accursed Nestorius insulted Him Who was born of the Virgin by calling Him God-bearer⁸. May it be far from us to speak of or think of Him as God-bearer only⁹, Who is in truth God incarnate. For the Word Himself became flesh, having been in truth conceived of the Virgin, but coming forth as God with the assumed nature which, as soon as He was brought forth into being, was deified by Him, so that these three things took place simultaneously, the assumption of our nature, the coming into being, and the

⁴ χριστοτόκος, as opposed to θεοτόκος.

⁵ Cyril, ad Monachos, Epist. i.

⁶ ως ἐννεαζώνη is absent in Vegelinus.

⁷ i.e. Anointed One.

⁸ θεοφόρος, Deigerus. See Greg. Naz., Ep. 2, ad Cied. Basil, De Spir. Sanc., ch. 5, &c.

⁹ Cyril, cont. Nest., bk. i.

¹ See especially Greg. Naz., Ep. 1 ad Cled.; Theod., Har. fab., v. 18.

² Greg. Naz., Epist. I, ad Cledon.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Infr. ch. 18.

⁵ 1 Cor. xv. 21.

⁶ Greg. Naz., ibid.

⁷ 1 Cor. xv. 47.

⁸ Gal. iv. 4.

deification of the assumed nature by the Word. And thus it is that the holy Virgin is thought of and spoken of as the Mother of God, not only because of the nature of the Word, but also because of the deification of man's nature, the miracles of conception and of existence being wrought together, to wit, the conception the Word, and the existence of the flesh in the Word Himself. For the very Mother of God in some marvellous manner was the means of fashioning the Framer of all things and of bestowing manhood on the God and Creator of all, Who deified the nature that He assumed, while the union preserved those things that were united just as they were united, that is to say, not only the divine nature of Christ but also His human nature, not only that which is above us but that which is of us. For He was not first made like us and only later became higher than us, but ever¹ from His first coming into being He existed with the double nature, because He existed in the Word Himself from the beginning of the conception. Wherefore He is human in His own nature, but also, in some marvellous manner, of God and divine. Moreover He has the properties of the living flesh: for by reason of the dispensation² the Word received these which are, according to the order of natural motion, truly natural³.

CHAPTER XIII.

Concerning the properties of the two Natures.

Confessing, then, the same Jesus Christ, our Lord, to be perfect God and perfect man, we hold that the same has all the attributes of the Father save that of being ingenerate, and all the attributes of the first Adam, save only his sin, these attributes being body and the intelligent and rational soul; and further that He has, corresponding to the two natures, the two sets of natural qualities belonging to the two natures: two natural volitions, one divine and one human, two natural energies, one divine and one human, two natural free-wills, one divine and one human, and two kinds of wisdom and knowledge, one divine and one human. For being of like essence with God and the Father, He wills and energises freely as God, and being also of like essence with us He likewise wills and energises freely as man. For His are the miracles and His also are the passive states.

CHAPTER XIV.

Concerning the volitions and free-wills of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Since, then, Christ has two natures, we hold that He has also two natural wills and two natural energies. But since His two natures have one subsistence, we hold that it is one and the same person who wills and energises naturally in both natures, of which, and in which, and also which is Christ our Lord: and moreover that He wills and energises without separation but as a united whole. For He wills and energises in either form in close communion with the other⁴. For things that have the same essence have also the same will and energy, while things that are different in essence are different in will and energy⁵; and *vice versa*, things that have the same will and energy have the same essence, while things that are different in will and energy are different in essence.

Wherefore⁶ in the case of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit we recognise, from their sameness in will and energy, their sameness in nature. But in the case of the divine dispensation⁷ we recognise from their difference in will and energy the difference of the two natures, and as we perceive the difference of the two natures we confess that the wills and energies also are different. For just as the number of the natures of one and the same Christ, when considered and spoken of with piety, do not cause a division of the one Christ but merely bring out the fact that the difference between the natures is maintained even in the union, so it is with the number of wills and energies that belong essentially to His natures. (For He was endowed with the powers of willing and energising in both natures, for the sake of our salvation) It does not introduce division: God forbid! but merely brings out the fact that the differences between them are safe-guarded and preserved even in the union. For we hold that wills and energies are faculties belonging to nature, not to subsistence; I mean those faculties of will and energy by which He Who wills and energises does so. For if we allow that they belong to subsistence, we will be forced to say that the three subsistences of the Holy Trinity have different wills and different energies.

For it is to be noted⁸ that willing and the manner of willing are not the same thing. For to will is a faculty of nature, just as

¹ *ἀεί* is absent in Vegelinus.

² *οἰκονομίας λόγῳ*, by reason of the incarnation.

Reading *γινόμενα*, for which *Cod. R.* 2930 gives *ὑπάρχον*.

⁴ *Leo, Epist. 10, ad Flavian.*

⁵ *Max., Disp. cum Pyrrho.*

⁶ *Supr.*, bk. ii. ch. 22.

⁷ *οἰκονομίας*, incarnation.

⁸ *Max., Dial. cum Pyrrho; Anast. in 'Οδηγός*, ch. 6, p. 40.

not therefore require milk, but rather, food of a more solid nature, such as Christ bestows upon us, by setting before us the pathway of that righteousness which surpasses the power of the law. For He said Himself to the holy apostles, "Verily I say unto you, except your righteousness be over and above, more than of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven." This then it is necessary to discuss, what, namely, is meant by the "over and above" in the righteousness in accordance with the saving message of the Gospel.

The law spoken by Moses to them of old time enacted like for like: and while it forbade the doing a wrong, it by no means commanded those who had already been injured to bear patiently, as the Gospel law requires. For it says, "Thou shalt not kill: thou shalt not steal: thou shalt not forswear thyself." But to this is added, "Eye for eye, hand for hand, foot for foot, wound for wound, bruise for bruise." Such an enactment required a man not to injure others; and supposing him to have sustained an injury, that his anger at the wrong doer must not go beyond an equal retribution. But the general bearing of the legal mode of life was by no means pleasing to God; it was even given to those of old time as a schoolmaster, accustoming them by little and little to a fitting righteousness, and leading them on gently to the possession of the perfect good. For it is written, "To do what is just is the beginning of the good way:" but finally, all perfection is in Christ, and His precepts. "For to him that striketh thee, He saith, on the cheek, offer also the other." In this there is pointed out to us the pathway to the highest degree of patience. But He wills besides, that we pay no regard to riches; so that even if a man have but one outer garment, he must not count it a thing unendurable to put off with it also his undergarment, if it so befall. But this is a virtue possible only for a mind entirely turned away from covetousness: for "do not, He says, ask back whatever any one taketh away that is thine: but even give to every one that asketh of thee:" a proof indeed of love and willingness to be poor; and the compassionate man must necessarily also be ready to forgive, so as to shew friendly acts even to his enemies.

As ye wish that men should do unto you, even so do ye Ver. 31.
unto them.

It was probable however that the holy apostles would perchance think these things difficult to put into practice: He therefore Who knoweth all things takes the natural law of self-love as the arbiter of what any one would wish to obtain from another. Shew thyself, He says, to others such as thou wishest them to be towards thee. If thou wouldest have them harsh and unfeeling, fierce and wrathful, revengeful and ill-disposed, shew thyself also such: but if on the contrary thou wouldest have them kind and forgiving, do not think it a thing intolerable to be thyself so. And in the case of those so disposed, the law is perchance unnecessary, because God writes upon our hearts the knowledge of His will: "for in Jer. xxxi. 33 those days, saith the Lord, I will surely give My laws into 33 their mind, and will write them on their heart."

Be ye therefore merciful. Ver. 36.

Great is the glory of compassion, and so verily it is written, that "man is a great thing, and the merciful man an honour- Prov. xx. 6. (Sept.)
"able thing." For virtue restores us to the form of God, and imprints on our souls certain characters as it were of the supreme nature.

Virtue and the Likeness

Judge not, and ye shall not be judged. Ver. 37.

He cuts away from our minds a very unmanageable passion, the commencement and begetter of pride. For while it is men's duty to examine themselves, and to order their conduct according to God's will, they leave this alone to busy themselves with the affairs of others: and if they see any infirm, forgetting as it seems their own frailties, they make it an excuse for faultfinding, and a handle for calumny. For they condemn them, not knowing that being equally afflicted with the same infirmities as those whom they censure, they condemn themselves. For so also the most wise Paul writes, "for wherein thou judgest the other, thou condemnest Rom. ii. 1.
"thyself: for thou that judgest doest the same things." And yet it were rather our duty to have compassion on the infirm, as those who have been overcome by the assaults of the passions,

and entangled without hope of escape in the meshes of sin, and to pray in their behalf, and exhort them, and rouse them up unto soberness, and endeavour ourselves not to fall into similar faults. "For he that judgeth the brother, as the James iv. 11. "disciple of Christ saith, speaketh against the law, and judgeth "the law." For the lawgiver and judge is One: for the judge of the sinning soul must be higher than that soul: but since thou art not so, the sinner will object to thee as judge, "why judgest thou thy neighbour?" But if thou venture to condemn him, having no authority thereto, it is thyself rather that will be condemned, inasmuch as the law permits thee not to judge others.

Whoever therefore is guided by good sense, does not look at the sins of others, nor busies himself about the faults of his neighbour, but closely scans his own misdoings. Such was the blessed Psalmist, falling down before God, and saying on Ps. cxxx. 3. account of his own offences, "If Thou, O Lord, O Lord, closely "regardest iniquities, who can endure?" And once again, putting forward the infirmity of human nature as an excuse, he Ps. ciii. 14. supplicates for a not unreasonable pardon, saying, "Remember "that we are earth."

Ver. 39. *And he spake a parable unto them.*

This parable He added as a most necessary appendage to what had been said. The blessed disciples were about to be the initiators and teachers of the world: it was necessary for them therefore to prove themselves possessed of every thing requisite for piety: they must know the pathway of the evangelic mode of life, and be workmen ready for every good work, and able to bestow upon well-instructed hearers such correct and saving teaching as exactly represents the truth. This they must do, as having already first received their sight, and a mind illuminated with the divine light, lest they should be blind leaders of the blind. For it is not possible for men enveloped in the darkness of ignorance, to guide those who are afflicted in the same way into the knowledge of the truth: for should they attempt it, they will both roll into the ditch of licentiousness.

Next, overthrowing the vaunting passion of boastfulness, to which most men give way, that they may not emulously strive

to surpass their teachers in honour, He added ; “ The disciple “ is not above his teacher ; ” and even if some make such progress, as to attain to a virtue that rivals that of their teachers, they will range themselves no higher than their level, and be their imitators. And Paul shall again be our warrant, saying, “ Be ye imitators of me, as I also am of 1 Cor. xi. 1. “ Christ.” Since therefore the Teacher as yet judgeth not, why judgeth thou ? For He came not to judge the world, but to shew pity. And according to the foregoing explanation, if I, He says, judge not, neither must you the disciple. But if thou art guilty of worse crimes than those for which thou judgest another, how canst thou keep thyself from shame when thou art convicted of it ? And this the Lord made plain by another parable.

SERMON XXXIII.^g

From the
Syriac.
MS. 14.551.

* * * * *

Ver. 41. "And why, saith He, beholdest thou the mote that is in thy
"brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine
"own eye?" Having previously shewn us that the judging
others is utterly wicked and dangerous, and the cause of final
condemnation:—for "Judge not, He said, and ye shall not be
"judged: and condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned."
He now by conclusive arguments persuades us to avoid the
very wish of judging others: and rather to examine our own
hearts, and try to free them from the passions that dwell
within them, and their frailties, by asking it of God: for He it
is Who healeth the broken in heart, and freeth us from the
maladies of the soul. For if thou, He says, art thyself sick
with maladies more dangerous and severe than those of others,
why, neglecting thy own, dost thou find fault with them, and
whilst thou hast a beam in thine own eye, commencest a hot
accusation against those who have a mote? Tell me by what

^g The Commentary, like similar works of S. Chrysostom and others, was delivered in a course of Homilies; these however the Syriac translator terms Targums, literally Interpretations or Expositions; and this title I had made use of until I met with the following heading to a sermon contained in MS. 12, 165, in the British Museum, which shews that the verb signified also to "preach."

ܠܠܝܠܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ
ܠܠܝܠܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ
ܠܠܝܠܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ
ܠܠܝܠܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ

'Sermon upon the death of Meletius the Great, bishop of Antioch. S.
'Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, preached it before one hundred and fifty
'bishops at Constantinople.' This sermon is also extant in Greek.
Upon the authority therefore of this heading I have called them
Sermons.

boldness doest thou this? Deliver thyself first from thy great crimes, and thy rebellious passions, and then thou mayest set him right who is guilty of but trifling faults.

Wouldst thou see the matter clearly and plainly, and that it is a very hateful thing for men to give way to this feeling? Our Lord was once walking on the sabbath day among the cornfields, and the blessed disciples plucked some ears, and rubbing them in their hands, ate the grains. But some Pharisees drew near, and say, "Behold, Thy disciples do that which is not lawful to do on sabbath days!" And yet they themselves in manifold ways were guilty of disregarding the law altogether. For even the prophet Isaiah cried out against them, saying, "How has the faithful city Zion become a har- Is. i. 21.
 "lot! It was full of judgment; righteousness lodged in it:—
 "but now murderers. Your silver is reprobate; thy merchants
 "mix the wine with water; thy princes are contentions, the
 "partners of thieves, loving bribes, pursuing after recompense;
 "they judge not the orphans, and to the widow's suit they
 "have no regard." Yet these very men, themselves liable to
 these most severe reproaches, accused the disciples of breaking
 the sabbath!

But they met with just rebuke from Christ, Who said unto them; "Woe unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites! who Mat. xxiii.
 "tithe mint and cummin, and have neglected the weighty ²³
 "matters of the law, judgment, and mercy, and faith."
 And again, "Ye are they who strain out a gnat, but gulp Mat. xxiii.
 "down a camel." For while their teaching was of mere ²⁴
 trifles, and they condemned the people under them for the
 most contemptible matters, they had the hardihood, as I said,
 to treat as of no consequence those weighty crimes. For this
 reason the Saviour called them "whitened sepulchres, which Mat. xxiii.
 "outside appear indeed to men to be beautiful, but inside ²⁷
 "are full of the bones of the dead, and of all uncleanness."—
 And such is every hypocrite: and whenever they would cast
 an imputation upon others, who have yielded to infirmity in
 any particular, deservedly will they have it said to them, "First
 "cast out the beam from thine own eye, and then thou wilt
 "see to cast out the mote from thy brother's eye."

The commandment, therefore, is indispensable for every one

who would live piously: but, above all, for those who have been intrusted with the instruction of others. For if they are good and sober-minded, and enamoured of the elect life, and not merely acquainted with, but also practisers of virtuous arts, and setting in their own conduct the pattern of a holy life, they can with open countenance rebuke those who will not do the same, for not having imitated their example, nor imprinted their virtuous manners on themselves: but if they are careless, and quickly snared by pleasures to do evil, how can they blame others when similarly affected? Wisely, therefore, did the

James iii. 1. blessed disciples write, saying; "Let there not be many teach-

ers among^c you, my brethren: for ye know that we shall "receive greater condemnation." For as Christ, Who is the

Distributor of the crowns, and the Punisher of those who do

Mat. v. 19. wrong, Himself says; "He who shall do and teach, shall be

"called great in the kingdom of heaven: but he who hath not

"done, but hath taught, shall be called least in the kingdom

"of heaven."

But I can imagine some one saying, How are we to distinguish the man who has a beam in his eye, but finds fault with those who have a mote, and are infirm only in part? But there is nothing difficult in this, He says; for any one who will, may see it easily: "for it is not a good tree that brings forth "evil fruit: nor a good tree that brings forth good fruit: for "every tree is known by its fruit." Each man's actual life, therefore, is that which decides what are his morals: for it is not by mere outside adornments, and fictitious virtues that the beauty of the truly honourable life is delineated, but by the deeds a man does: for they are the fruits of a mind that for the love of piety chooses a blameless life. It is by deeds, therefore, and not by outside shew, that we must see who is the man truly approved, and who is not so. Again, Christ

Mat. vii. 15. somewhere says, "Beware of those who come to you in the

"likeness^d of sheep, but within are ravenous wolves." See

^c The reading "among you," is an error probably of the translator, as there is no such varia lectio, nor is it in the Greek of Mai.

^d The reading ܠܝܚܝܬܐ, "in the likeness of," is not confirmed by

the Greek of Mai, which has ἐν ἐνδύμασι, as have all the MSS. of the N. T., and so the Syriac just below has "by their clothing"

ܠܝܚܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ.

again, Christ commands that those who come unto us must be distinguished not by their clothing, but by what they really are. "For by its fruit, He says, the tree is known:" and just as it is ignorance and folly for us to expect to find the choicer kinds of fruits on thorns, grapes for instance, and figs; so it is ridiculous for us to imagine that we can find in hypocrites and the profane ought that is admirable, the nobleness, I mean, of virtue.

Wouldst thou see the truth of this again? Wouldst thou see who the wolves are that clothe themselves in the sheep's skin? Examine the writings of the holy Apostles: hear what they say of certain men: "For they who are such are false Apostles: deceitful workers, transforming themselves into angels of righteousness: and no wonder, for Satan even transforms himself into an angel of light. It is no great thing, therefore, if his ministers also transform themselves into angels of righteousness." These one may well call thorns and briars: in such there is no particle of sweetness, but every thing that is bitter and of an evil nature: for the fig grows not on thorns; nor will one find any thing pleasant in them, for grapes are not produced on briars. We must decide, then, the character of the teacher, not by appearances, but by the acts of each one's life.^c

This is also made clear by another declaration of our Lord: "for the good man, He says, as out of a good treasure, poureth forth from the heart^d good things:" but he who is differently disposed, and whose mind is the prey of fraud and wickedness, necessarily brings forth what is concealed deep within. For the things that are in the mind and heart boil over, and are vomited forth by the outflowing stream of speech. The virtuous man, therefore, speaks such things as become his

^c A few lines follow in Mai not recognized by the Syriac, but probably taken from the Commentary on Matth. vii. 18, as they give an explanation of the different bearing of the interpretation of the two passages.

^d Lest I should be thought to

have separated this word wilfully from its usual dependance upon "treasure," I may here observe, once for all, that the punctuation of the Syriac is exact to the last degree of minuteness: and in this and all similar places I have scrupulously adhered to it.

character, while he who is worthless and wicked vomits forth his secret impurity.

Every thing, therefore, that is to our benefit, Christ teaches us, and requires His disciples to be on their guard against deceit, and vigilant and careful. For this reason He shews them the straight way, and discloses the snares that lead down to wickedness, that thus escaping from offences, and being steadfast in mind beyond risk of sin, they may quickly reach the mansions that are above by Christ's blessing: by Whom and with Whom to God the Father^s be praise and dominion with the Holy Ghost for ever and ever, Amen.

^s Syriac, God and Father.

SERMON XXXIV.

But why call ye Me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which C.vi.46-49.

I say? Every one that cometh unto Me, and heareth My δ λέγω B.
words, and doeth them, I will shew you to whom he is like. δ λέγω
 GTSS.

He is like a man building a house, who dug and made it deep, and laid a foundation upon the rock: and when there was a flood, the river beat against that house, and could not shake it, because it was well built. But he that

hath heard and not done, is like a man who built a house διὰ τὸ κα-
upon the earth without foundation, against which the river λῶς οἰκοδο-
 μέισθαι αὐ-
beat, and that moment it fell, and the fall of that house τὴν B.S.T.
 τεθεμελίωτο
 γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν
 πέτραν Gs.
was great.

THERE is "one Lord, one faith, one baptism," for so the Eph. iv. 5.
 wise Paul writeth. For both the name of lordship, and also
 the reality, are appropriate solely to that nature Which tran-
 scends all, and is supreme; even That Which is divine, and to
 be worshipped, as possessing and governing all things. For so
 Paul again somewhere says of Him; "For even, if there be 1 Cor. viii. 5.
 "Gods many and Lords many, in heaven or in earth; yet for
 "us there is one God, the Father, from Whom is all, and we
 "by Him: and one Lord, Jesus Christ, by Whom is all, and
 "we by Him." As therefore we acknowledge God the Word
 alone, Who reigneth with God the Father, as by nature
 and verily Lord, we accordingly give this name to Him.
 "But why, He asks, call ye Me indeed Lord, but do not the
 "things which I say?" For if He possess no real authority, nor
 glory of lordship, but, on the contrary, it is conferred upon
 Him from without, and bestowed by favour, do not offer Him
 thy obedience: refuse His service: consent not to be subject
 unto Him. But if He be verily, and in its precise meaning
 Lord, and the whole nature of things created bow beneath His
 sceptre, and as a thing set under the feet of its Lord, then pay
 what is due: accept the yoke: and as being due, offer Him
 thy obedience; that thou mayest not hear Him blaming thee in
 words spoken by one of the holy prophets to them of old time;

2.2.1. Πιστεύω τοίνυν, μακάριοι, καθάπερ ἀρχήθεν πεπίστευκα, εἰς ἓνα θεόν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ἀναρχον παντελῶς καὶ αἰδίων, πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν. καὶ εἰς ἓνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν αἰδίως καὶ ἀπαθῶς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννηθέντα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός καὶ οὐκ ἄλλην ἀρχὴν ἢ τὸν πατέρα γινώσκοντα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄλλοθεν ποθεν ἢ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχοντα, φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς ὁμοούσιον, θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ συναἰδιον. καὶ εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον τὸ αἰδίως ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ φῶς καὶ θεὸν καὶ αὐτὸ γνωριζόμενον καὶ ὃν ἀληθῶς πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συναἰδιον, ὁμοούσιόν τε καὶ ὁμόφυλον καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας τε καὶ φύσεως, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ θεότητος.

2.2.2. Τριάδα ὁμοούσιον καὶ ὁμότιμον καὶ ὁμόθρονον, συμφῶα καὶ συγγενῆ καὶ ὁμόφυλον, εἰς μίαν συγκεφαλαιουμένην θεότητα καὶ εἰς μίαν συναγομένην κοινὴν κυριότητα ἀνευ προσωπικῆς ἀναχύσεως καὶ ὑποστατικῆς ἐκτὸς συναιρέσεως. τριάδα γὰρ ἐν μονάδι πιστεύομεν καὶ μονάδα ἐν τριάδι δοξάζομεν, τριάδα μὲν ταῖς τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσι, μονάδα δὲ τῷ μοναδικῷ τῆς θεότητος· ἢ τε γὰρ ἁγία τριάς ἀριθμητῇ ταῖς προσωπικαῖς ἐστὶν ὑποστάσεσιν, ἢ τε παναγία μονὰς πάσης ἐκτὸς ἐστὶν ἀριθμήσεως, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀδιαίρετον ἔχει διαίρεσιν καὶ ἀσύγχυτον φέρει συνάφειαν. διαιρουμένη γὰρ ταῖς ἀριθμηταῖς ὑποστάσεσι καὶ ἀριθμουμένη ταῖς προσωπικαῖς [420] ἐτερότησι τῷ ταυτῷ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τῆς φύσεως ἦνεται καὶ τὸν παντελῆ μερισμὸν οὐ προσίεται. ἢ τε μονὰς ἐνιαῖα τέ ἐστιν καὶ ἀσύζυγος καὶ πᾶσαν φεύγει τὴν κατ' οὐσίαν ἀρίθμωσιν. εἰς γὰρ θεὸς ἡμῖν ἀραρότως πιστεύεται, ὅτι καὶ θεότης μία διαπρυσίως

2.2. TRINITARIAN PROFESSION OF FAITH¹¹

1. I believe then, O blessed One, as I have believed from the beginning: in one God, Father almighty, entirely without beginning¹² and eternal, maker of all things both seen and unseen; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten eternally and impassibly from the same God and Father, and acknowledging no other beginning than the Father, nor having his hypostasis¹³ from any other source than from the Father; consubstantial light from light, co-eternal true God from true God; and in one Holy Spirit, who issues eternally from the God and Father,¹⁴ the light that is itself recognized as being likewise God and is truly co-eternal with Father and Son, and both consubstantial and of the same stock, and of the same substance and nature and likewise also of Godhead.¹⁵

2. [I believe] in a Trinity that is consubstantial, and of the same honour and of the same throne, sharing nature, sharing kinship, and of the same stock, in one consummate Godhead and in one united common lordship without confusion of persons, and with no contraction of hypostasis. For we believe in a Trinity in unity, and we glorify unity in trinity, a Trinity in the three hypostases and a unity in the singleness of the Godhead; for the holy Trinity has number in the hypostases of persons, whereas the all-holy unity is wholly without number, and has an indivisible division and sustains an unconfused conjunction.¹⁶ For while it is divided in its numerable hypostases and numbered in the differences of its persons, it is united in the identity of its essence and its nature, and does not admit of complete partition. The unity is both unitary and unaggregate and shuns all numeration according to substance. For we believe in one God unshakeably, because both one

¹¹ For another trinitarian profession of faith in Sophronius see *Hymn on the Annunciation*, PG 87, 3217B–3224B. Cf. von Schönborn, *Sophronie*, 119–56.

¹² The Greek ἀναρχον indicates that the Father is identified as the one who has no principle, no source, no cause, himself being the principle, the source, and the cause of the Son and the Spirit.

¹³ A philosophical term, hypostasis was used particularly in Chalcedonian christological discourse in the sense of concrete reality, as opposed to nature (φύσις). By anti-Chalcedonians it was seen as the equivalent of nature and of person (prosopon). See further PGL 5.2, 1459, B 2.

¹⁴ Cf. Symbol of Constantinople, ACO II, 1, 2, 128, 2–11; trans. Tanner, i. *24.

¹⁵ The foregoing is inspired largely by the creed of Nicaea. Cf. Tanner, i. *5.

¹⁶ Cf. Justinian, *On the Right Faith*, 72, 16–19; trans. Wesche, 164.

κηρύττεται, κὰν τριάδι προσώπων γινώσκεται καὶ εἰς κύριος ἡμῖν ἀναγγέλλεται, ὅτι καὶ κυριότης μία βεβαίως διέγνωσται, κὰν τρισὶν ὑποστάσει δεικνύται.

2.2.3. Οὐτε καθὼ εἰς θεὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ μία θεότης, ἐστὶ διαιρούμενος καὶ εἰς τρεῖς θεοὺς μεριζόμενος ἢ εἰς τρεῖς θεότητας ἐκφερόμενος· οὐτε καθὼ εἰς κύριος, ὁ εἰς κύριος διιστάμενος καὶ εἰς κυρίους τρεῖς ἐυρυνόμενος ἢ κυριότητος τρεῖς πλατυνόμενος. Ἀρειανῶν τὸ δυσσέβημα εἰς ἀνίσους θεοὺς τὸν ἓνα κατατέμνον θεὸν καὶ εἰς ἀνομοίους θεότητας τὴν μίαν μερίζον θεότητα καὶ εἰς ἑτερογενεῖς τρεῖς κυριότητος τὴν μίαν διιστῶν κυριότητα· οὐτε καθὼ τριάς ὁ εἰς θεὸς ἐστὶ καὶ γνωρίζεται καὶ ὑποστάσεις τρεῖς καταγγέλλεται καὶ τρία πρεσβεύεται πρόσωπα, καὶ πατὴρ καὶ υἱὸς καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, λέγεται συστελλόμενος ἢ συντιθέμενος ἢ συγχέομενος, καὶ εἰς μίαν ἑαυτὸν συναλείφει ὑπόστασιν καὶ εἰς ἓν συγκρίνων οὐκ ἀριθμούμενον πρόσωπον. Σαβελλιανῶν τὸ ἀνόμημα εἰς μίαν τὰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις συγχέον ὑπόστασιν καὶ εἰς ἓν τὰ τρία συμφῦρον πρόσωπα πρόσωπον. ποῦ γὰρ τριάς, ὃ δυσσεβέστατοι, εἰ πρὸς ἓν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡ τριάς συναχθήσεται πρόσωπον καὶ πρὸς μίαν δράμοι συγκεχυμένην ὑπόστασιν; ἢ ποῦ μονάς, ὃ μανικῶτατοι, εἰ πρὸς οὐσίας τρεῖς ἢ μονὰς ἐξαχθήσεται καὶ πρὸς φύσεις τρεῖς πλατυνθήσεται καὶ πρὸς θεότητας τρεῖς πληθυνθήσεται; ἀσεβὲς γὰρ παρ' ὀρθοδόξοις ἐκάτερον καὶ πάντῃ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐξώκειλε τό τε μοναδικὸν καθ' ὑπόστασιν τό τε τριαδικὸν ἐν ταῖς φύσεσι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς Ἰουδαϊσμὸν εὐθὺς ἀποφέρεται καὶ ἑαυτῷ συναποφέρει τὸν λέγοντα, τὸ δὲ πρὸς Ἑλληνισ[422]μὸν ἐκκυλίνεται καὶ ἑαυτῷ συνεκκυλίνει τὸν φάσκοντα· καὶ ἡ πάντως ἐλληνίζει ὁ τοῦτο μανικῶς

Godhead is manifestly proclaimed, although it is acknowledged in a trinity of persons, and one Lord is announced to us, because one lordship too is firmly discerned, although it is shown forth in three hypostases.

3. Neither is God as one God and one Godhead divided and partitioned into three gods or drawn out into three godheads; nor is the Lord as one Lord separated and extended into three lords or widened into three lordships.¹¹ (The Arians' impiety divides the one God into unequal gods and partitions the one Godhead into dissimilar godheads, and separates the one lordship into three heterogeneous lordships.¹²) Nor as the one God is a 'Trinity' and is recognized and proclaimed as three hypostases and worshipped as three persons, Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, is he said to be contracted or compounded or confused, that is, by coalescing himself into one hypostasis and combining [himself] into one person that cannot be numbered. (The unlawful view of the Sabellians confuses the three hypostases into one hypostasis and mixes up the three persons into one person.¹³) For where is the Trinity, you most impious people, if, according to you, the 'Trinity' is assembled in one person and comes together into one confused hypostasis? Or where is the unity, you maddest of men,¹⁴ if the unity is drawn out into three essences and widened into three natures and multiplied into three godheads? For with the orthodox each of these is impious and drifts wholly astray from pious belief, whether unitarian in respect of hypostasis or triadic in the natures. The former is carried off directly into Judaism and carries off the speaker with it,¹⁵ the latter rolls aside towards paganism and rolls the exponent away with it.¹⁶ And either the one who

¹¹ A similar argument is found in Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 39. 11 (cf. *CPG* 3010); *SC* 358, 170. 2.

¹² This charge is based on an Arian position that Christ was a kind of demigod, not fully divine but created, and therefore not consubstantial with the Father.

¹³ Sabellius, an obscure theologian probably of the early third century, gave his name to a doctrine whereby the unity of the Godhead was so stressed that it was viewed in terms of 'modes' rather than persons distinguishable in it. See *EEC* 2, 74^B 9.

¹⁴ The Arians are meant here.

¹⁵ By exaggeration the Sabellians are said to approach Judaic monotheism because of their emphasis on unity within the Trinity.

¹⁶ Also by exaggeration the Arians are described as approaching pagan polytheism because they assimilate the sophistications of late pagan philosophy by reckoning the Trinity in terms of neo-Platonic emanationism.

σὺν Ἀρείῳ φθεγγόμενος ἢ ἰουδαίζει ὁ ἐκείνο δυσσεβῶς σὺν Σαβελλίῳ δεχόμενος.

2.2.4. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καλῶς τοῖς θεολόγοις τεθέσπισται μονάδα μὲν ἡμᾶς φρονεῖν μιᾷ καὶ ἐνιαίᾳ θεότητι καὶ τῷ ταυτῷ τῆς οὐσιώδους τε καὶ φυσικῆς κυριότητος, τριάδα δὲ ταῖς ἀσυγχύτοις τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσι καὶ τῷ διαφόρῳ τῆς τρισαρίθμου προσωπικῆς ἐτερότητας, ἵνα μήτε τὸ ἐν μείνῳ Σαβέλλιον πάντῃ ἐν θεωρούμενον καὶ πᾶσαν ὑποστατικὴν πληθὺν ἐκτρεπόμενον, μήτε τὰ τρία σεμνύνῃ τὸν Ἀρειὸν τρία διαμπὰξ προσνοούμενα καὶ πᾶσαν μοναδικὴν φωνὴν διωθούμενα θεότητος καὶ οὐσίας καὶ φύσεως. ὥσπερ οὖν ἓνα θεὸν φρονεῖν ἐδιδάχθημεν, οὕτω καὶ μίαν θεότητα καθομολογεῖν παρειλήφαμεν, καὶ ὥσπερ ὑποστάσεις τρεῖς πρεσβεύειν ἐμάθομεν, οὕτω καὶ πρόσωπα τρία δοξολογεῖν ἐπαιδευθήμεν, οὐκ ἄλλον τὸν ἓνα θεὸν παρὰ τὰ τρία γινώσκοντες πρόσωπα, οὔτε τὰ τρία τῆς τριάδος ὁμοούσια πρόσωπα, ἅπερ ἐστὶν ὁ πατήρ, ὁ υἱός, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἕτερα παρὰ τὸν ἓνα θεὸν ἐπιστάμενοι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τὰ τρία τὰ ἐν οἷς ἡ θεότης κηρύττομεν καὶ τὰ τρία ἐν ᾧ ἡ θεότης ἐστὶν ἐξαγγέλλομεν—ἡ τό γε ἀκριβέστερον εἰπεῖν καὶ σαφέστερον, ἃ ἡ θεότης ἐστὶ καὶ γινώσκεται. τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν ἐστὶ καὶ τρία πιστεύεται καὶ τρία δοξάζεται καὶ ἐν ἀληθῶς ἀναγγέλλεται, καὶ οὔτε τὸ ἐν, ἢ ἐν ἐστὶ, τρία λαμβάνεται, οὔτε τὰ τρία, καθὸ τρία τυγχάνει, ἐν ἐξακούεται, ὃ καὶ παράδοξον καὶ πάσης ὄντως γέμον ἐκπλήξεως. τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ καὶ ἀριθμητὸν ἐστὶ καὶ διαφεύγει τὴν ἐξαρίθμησιν· ἀριθμητὸν μὲν ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ τρισαῖς ὑποστάσεσι, διαφεύγον δὲ τὴν ἀρίθμησιν τῷ ἐνικῷ τῆς [424] θεότητος, τὸ γὰρ ἐνικὸν αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ φύσεως ἀριθμεῖσθαι παντελῶς οὐκ ἀνέχεται, ἵνα μὴ καὶ διαφορὰν εἰσοίσοι θεότητος καὶ λοιπὸν οὐσίας καὶ φύσεως καὶ πολυθεΐαν τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐργάσοιτο. πᾶς γὰρ ἀριθμὸς τὴν διαφορὰν κέκτῃται σύνοικον καὶ πᾶσα διαφορὰ καὶ διάκρισις τὸν ἀριθμὸν συνεπάγεται σύμφυτον.

asserts the latter madly with Arius is a thoroughgoing pagan, or the one who impiously accepts the former with Sabellius is a Judaizer.

4. On this account it has been well decreed by the theologians that we should think of the unity in one, single Godhead and in the identity of essential and natural lordship, but of the Trinity in three unconfused hypostases and in the difference of the threefold distinction of persons, so that neither should the one await Sabellius by being perceived as wholly one and shunning all plurality of hypostasis, nor should the three make Arius vain by being conceived through and through as three while repudiating every unitarian expression of Godhead and essence and nature. As, therefore, we have been taught to think of one God, so too have we received the tradition of confessing one Godhead; and just as we have learned to worship three hypostases, so too have we been instructed to glorify three persons, not acknowledging the one God apart from the three persons, nor understanding the three consubstantial persons in the Trinity—that is, Father, Son, Holy Spirit—as being distinct from the one God. This is why we proclaim as one the three in whom the Godhead is, and we announce as one the three of whom is the Godhead; or, to speak more accurately and more clearly, the three whom the Godhead is and as whom it is recognized. For the same thing is both one and is believed in as three and is glorified as three and is announced in truth as one.²⁰ And neither is the one, by virtue of being one, taken to be three, nor are the three, inasmuch as they are three, understood as one, which is both paradoxical and truly replete with utter amazement. For the same thing is both numerable and shuns numeration: it is numerable in its triple hypostases, but shuns numeration in the singularity of the Godhead, in that the singularity of its essence and nature is utterly intolerant of being numbered, in order that one may neither introduce a difference of Godhead and, further, of essence and nature, or render the monarchy as a polytheism.²¹ For all number possesses difference as a corollary, and all difference and distinction brings with it an associated number.²²

²⁰ Cf. Justinian, *On the Right Faith*, 72, 16–17; trans. Wesche, 164.

²¹ This is an allusion to the Arian and tritheist positions, which are made explicit in what follows.

²² The same citation, which is transmitted anonymously, is found in *Doctrina Patrum*, 252, 2–4.

2.2.5. Ἀριθμεῖται γοῦν ἡ μακαρία τριάς οὐκ οὐσίαις καὶ φύσεσι καὶ διαφόροις θεότησιν ἢ τρισσαῖς κυριότησιν, ἅπαγε, ὡς Ἄρειοι μαίνονται καὶ οἱ τῆς νέας τριθείας λυττώσιν ἡγούμενοι, οὐσίας τρεῖς καὶ φύσεις τρεῖς καὶ τρεῖς κυριότητας καὶ τρεῖς ὁμοίως κενολογοῦντες θεότητας, ἀλλ' ὑποστάσει καὶ ιδιότησι νοεραῖς τελείαις καθ' ἑαυτὰς ὑφιστάμεναι, ἀριθμῷ διαιρεταῖς καὶ οὐ διαιρεταῖς τῇ θεότητι. διαιρεῖται γὰρ ἀδιαίρετως ἡ παναγία τριάς καὶ διηρημένως πάλιν συνάπτεται· τοῖς γὰρ προσώποις τὴν διαίρεσιν ἔχουσα ἀδιαίρετος μένει καὶ ἄτμητος οὐσία καὶ φύσις, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ θεότητι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε τρεῖς θεοὺς λέγομεν οὔτε τρεῖς φύσεις ἐπὶ τῆς τριάδος δοξάζομεν οὔτε τρεῖς οὐσίας ἐπ' αὐτῆς κηρύττομεν οὔτε τρεῖς ὁμολογοῦμεν θεότητας, οὐχ ὁμοουσίους, οὐχ ἑτεροουσίους, οὐχ ὁμοφύλους, οὐχ ἑτεροφύλους, οὐδ' ὅσα μοναδικῶς ἐπ' αὐτῆς προσκηρύττεται εἰς πλῆθος ἐκφέρειν ἀφίεμεν ἢ τινα τὴν αὐτῆς διαιρεῖν συγχωροῦμεν ἐνότητα. οὔτε δὲ τρεῖς τινας θεοὺς ἐπιστάμεθα ἢ τρεῖς τινας φύσεις ἢ τρεῖς τινας οὐσίας ἢ τρεῖς τινας θεότητας οἶδαμεν, οὐχ ὁμογενεῖς οὐχ ἑτερογενεῖς, οὐχ ὁμοειδεῖς, οὐχ ἑτεροειδεῖς, ἀλλ' οὔτε ὅλως θεοὺς ἢ φύσεις ἢ οὐσίας ἢ θεότητας ἔγνωμεν ἢ γινώσκοντας οἶδαμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα ἢ φρονούντα ἢ γινώσκοντα τοῖς ἀναθέμασι βάλλομεν. ἡμεῖς γὰρ μίαν ἀρχὴν τῆς μιᾶς ἰσμεν θεότη[424]τος, μίαν βασιλείαν, μίαν ἐξουσίαν, μίαν δύναμιν, μίαν ἐνέργειαν, μίαν βούλησιν, μίαν θέλησιν, μίαν δεσποτείαν, μίαν κίνησιν· εἴτε τῶν μετ' αὐτὴν ὄντων ἀπάντων δημιουργικὴν, εἴτε προνοητικὴν εἴτε συστατικὴν καὶ συντηρητικὴν· μίαν κυριότητα, μίαν αἰδιότητα καὶ ὅσα ἅττα μοναδικὰ καὶ ἀσύζυγα τῆς μιᾶς οὐσίας καὶ φύσεως ἐν τρισὶν ἐστὶ προσωπικαῖς ὑποστάσεσιν, οὔτε τὰς ὑποστάσεις συγχέοντες καὶ εἰς μίαν αὐτὰς ὑπόστασιν ἄγοντες, οὔτε τὴν οὐσίαν τὴν μίαν μερίζοντες καὶ εἰς οὐσίας τρεῖς αὐτὴν κατατέμνοντες καὶ τὴν μίαν διὰ τοῦτο διαιροῦντες θεότητα. ἀλλ' ἐστὶν εἰς θεός, μία θεότης ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσει λάμπουσα καὶ τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις καὶ πρόσωπα ἐν θεότητι μιᾷ γνωριζόμενα. διὰ

5. Hence the blessed Trinity is not numbered in essences and natures and different godheads or triple lordships (heaven forbid!), as the Arians assert in their madness,²¹ and the leaders of the new tritheism maintain in their fury,²² when they babble about three essences and three natures and three lordships and likewise three godheads, but [it is numbered] in hypostases and perfect intellectual properties, subsisting by themselves, divisible in number and indivisible in Godhead. This is because the all-holy Trinity is divided indivisibly and is joined together again dividedly.²³ Although it possesses divisibility in its persons, it remains indivisible and unsevered in essence and in nature and likewise also in Godhead. Because of this we neither speak of three gods, nor do we glorify three natures in the Trinity, nor do we proclaim three essences in it, nor do we confess three godheads, whether consubstantial or of another substance, whether of the same kind or of another kind, nor do we permit what is proclaimed in regard to it as a unity to be drawn out into a multiplicity, or allow anyone to divide its unity. Nor do we understand any kind of three gods or know any three natures or any three essences or any three godheads, whether homogeneous or heterogeneous, whether of the same stock or of another stock; but neither have we at all recognized gods or natures or essences or godheads or know those who recognize them,²⁴ but rather strike with anathemas the one who accepts or thinks or recognizes such. For we know one principle of one Godhead, one kingship, one authority, one power, one activity, one intent, one will, one dominion, one movement whether creating all that exists after it, be it providing or sustaining or preserving— one lordship, one eternity, and whatever else of the one essence and nature in three personal hypostases is unitary and unaggregate. Neither do we confuse the hypostases and reduce them to one hypostasis, nor do we portion the one essence and separate it into three essences and so divide the one Godhead. But there is one God, one Godhead shining forth in

²¹ There are numerous examples in the *Synodical Letter* of the commonplace that heretics are mad or frenzied. Cf. N. Brox, 'Häresie', *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, 13 (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1986), 283, on polemical rhetoric against heretics, and see further the heresiologies at 2.6 below.

²² By this are meant Peter of Callinicum and his followers. See further sec. 1.1, above.

²³ Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 39. 11; SC 35B, 172, 18–19.

²⁴ Peter of Callinicum and his followers are again meant here.

τοῦτο τέλειος θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, τέλειος θεὸς ὁ υἱός, τέλειος θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐπειδὴ τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ μίαν ἑκάστον πρόσωπον ἀμερίστον καὶ ἀνελλιπὴ καὶ τελείαν ἔχει θεότητα· καὶ ὡς μὲν θεὸς τὸ αὐτὸ καθέστηκεν ἑκάστον καθ' ἑαυτὸ θεωρούμενον τοῦ νοῦ χωρίζοντος τὰ ἀχώριστα· ὡς δὲ πατήρ καὶ υἱὸς καὶ πνεῦμα πανάγιον ἕτερον καὶ ἕτερον καὶ ἕτερον λέγεται, κἀντεῦθεν ταῦτα τοῖς θεολήπτοις κηρύττεται θεὸς καὶ θεὸς καὶ θεός, ἀλλ' εἰς τὰ τρία θεός· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλος θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, οὐδὲ ἄλλος θεὸς ὁ υἱός, οὐδὲ ἄλλος πάλιν θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐπεὶ μὴδ' ἄλλη φύσις ὁ πατήρ, μὴδ' ἄλλη φύσις ὁ υἱός, μὴδ' ἄλλη πάλιν φύσις τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ διαφόρους θεοὺς ἐκτεχνάζεται καὶ τὰς πολλὰς καὶ διαφόρους ἐκτίκει θεότητας· ἀλλὰ θεὸς μὲν ὁ πατήρ, θεὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ υἱός, ὁμοίως δὲ θεὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὡς μιᾷ ἀμερίστως καὶ ἀνελλιπῶς τὰ τρία πρόσωπα πληρούσης θεότητος καὶ ἐν ἐκάστω οὔσης ὀλοτελῶς καὶ ὀλικῶς· θεότης γὰρ μερισμὸν οὐχ ὑφίσταται καὶ ἐν τοῖς τρισὶ προσώποις πληρωτικῶς καὶ ἐντελῶς, οὐ μεριστῶς ἡγουν ἐκ μέρους πληροῦσα τὰ πρόσωπα, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκάστω πληρεστάτως ὑπάρχουσα καὶ μία γε μένουσα, καὶ εἰ ἐν προσώποις τρισὶ διαφαίνοιτο, καὶ πρὸς θεοτήτων πληθυσμὸν οὐκ ἐκτρέχουσα, καὶ εἰ ἐν τρισὶν ἔστιν ὑποστά[428]σεις, ἵνα μὴ σωματικὴν τινα πάθει διαίρεσιν ἢ ὄντως ἀπαθῆς καὶ ἀσώματος καὶ πάσχειν οὐκ εἰδυῖα τὰ κτίσεως ἴδια.

2.2.6. Ἔστιν οὖν μετὰ τὸ εἶναι θεὸς πατήρ ὁ πατήρ καὶ οὔτε υἱὸς οὔτε πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ὁ υἱὸς κατ' οὐσίαν ἔστι καὶ ὁ κατὰ φύσιν τὸ πνεῦμα τυγχάνει τὸ ἅγιον· καὶ ἔστι μετὰ τὸ εἶναι θεὸς υἱὸς ὁ υἱὸς καὶ οὔτε πατήρ οὔτε πνεῦμα πανάγιον, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ὁ πατήρ κατὰ φύσιν κηρύττεται καὶ ὁ κατ' οὐσίαν τὸ πνεῦμα καθορᾶται τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ ἔστι μετὰ τὸ εἶναι θεὸς πνεῦμα ἅγιον τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ οὔτε πατήρ θεωρούμενον οὔτε υἱὸς λαμβανόμενον, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ὁ πατήρ κατ' οὐσίαν πιστεύεται καὶ ὅπερ ὁ υἱὸς κατὰ φύσιν

three hypostases, and three hypostases and persons revealed in one Godhead. Because of this the Father is perfect God, the Son is perfect God, the Holy Spirit is perfect God, since each person has one and the same unportioned and unfailing and perfect Godhead. And as God each exists itself, contemplated individually when the mind separates the inseparable, but as Father and Son and all-holy Spirit each is given a different name, and hence these components are proclaimed by divines as being individually God, and yet the three are proclaimed to be a single God, for the Father is not one God, nor the Son another God, nor the Holy Spirit yet another God, since neither is the Father one nature, nor the Son another nature, nor the Holy Spirit yet another nature. For this²⁷ [doctrine] both invents many different gods and spawns many different godheads, but the Father is God, the Son too is God, and likewise the Holy Spirit too is God, since one Godhead fills the three persons without division or deficiency and is in each wholly perfectly and completely. For the Godhead does not admit partition, and is fully and perfectly in the three persons, that is, not partially or by filling persons in part, but subsists in each person most fully while remaining one, even if it is manifested in three persons although not indeed proceeding into a multiplicity of godheads, and even if it is in three hypostases, so that what is truly free of passion and without corporeality and unacquainted with suffering, which are qualities of the created world, should not suffer any corporeal division.

6. Besides being God,²⁸ therefore, the Father is Father and not Son or Holy Spirit, but that which the Son is according to essence and what the Holy Spirit is according to nature. And besides being God, the Son is Son and not Father or all-holy Spirit, but that which the Father is proclaimed to be according to nature, and the Holy Spirit discerned to be according to essence. And besides being God, the Holy Spirit is Holy Spirit and is neither contemplated as Father nor apprehended as Son, but that which the Father is believed to be according to essence and the Son

²⁷ Sophronius is referring here to the Arian and tritheist positions.

²⁸ This passage is conceptually very difficult. Although the phrase μετὰ τὸ εἶναι would normally be translated 'after being God', this would suggest a temporal sequence in the godhead that has Arian overtones. Consequently, I have translated 'besides being God'.

ἀγγέλλεται, τὸ μὲν διὰ τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν τῆς οὐσίας ταυτότητα καὶ τὸ συγγενές τῆς ὑπάρξεως, τὸ δὲ διὰ τὰς ἑτεροίας τῶν τριῶν ιδιότητος καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀσυγχύτως ἕκαστον πρόσωπον χαρακτηριζόντων ιδιωμάτων ἀνόμοιον. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ <εἶναι> θεὸς ἕκαστον ἀμετάπτωτον κέκτται, οὕτω καὶ τὴν τοῦ προσώπου χαρακτηριστικὴν ιδιότητα ἀμετάβλητον καὶ ἀκίνητον λέλαχε τὴν αὐτῷ καὶ μόνῳ προσοῦσαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προσώπων αὐτὸ διακρίνουσαν καὶ τὴν ὁμοφυᾶ καὶ ὁμότιμον, ὁμοούσιόν τε καὶ ὁμόθρονον τριάδα τηροῦσαν ἀσύγχυτον. τριάς οὖν ἡ τριάς, οὐ τελεία μόνον τῇ τῆς μίας θεότητος τελειότητι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερτελής καὶ ὑπέρθεος ὁδὸς καὶ αἰδιότητι καὶ βασιλείᾳ, μὴ μεριζομένη μηδὲ ἀπαλλοτριουμένη. οὕτε οὖν κτιστόν τι ἢ δοῦλον ἐν τῇ τριάδι οὕτε ἐπέισακτον, ὡς πρότερον μὲν οὐχ ὑπάρχον, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπεισελθόν, οὕτε οὖν ἐνέλειψε πατρὶ υἱὸς οὕτε υἱὼ πνεῦμα, ἀλλ' ἄτρεπτος καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος ἡ αὐτὴ τριάς ἀεί'.

2.2.7. [430] Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου, αἰδίου τε καὶ ἀρχικῆς καὶ πάντων δημιουργοῦ καὶ βασιλίδος τριάδος τὸ ὅπως φρονῶ καὶ δοξάζω καὶ σέβομαι ὡς ἐν βραχέσιν εἰπεῖν δῆλον ὑμῖν καὶ σαφές διατέθεικα οὐ γάρ τι πλέον συνεχώρει τούτων φάναι τῶν συνοδικῶν συλλαβῶν τὸ ἐπίτομον. ὅπως τε καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἐνὸς τῆς αὐτῆς πανσέπτου τριάδος θεοῦ λόγου καὶ υἱοῦ φιλανθρωποῦ τε καὶ παραδόξου σαρκώσεως, ταυτὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν ὑπερτάτης κενώσεως καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιγείους ἡμᾶς θεϊκῆς καὶ θεοποιοῦ καταβάσεως ἔχω καὶ φρονῶ καὶ κρατεῖν ἐκ πατέρων ἁγίων καὶ τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς θεοπνεύστων παρέλαβον, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτῆς τῆς ἐφορώσης τὰ σύμπαντα γράμμα τουτὶ τὸ συνοδικὸν γράφων ἐκτίθημι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑμῶν ἐκπέμπω τῶν πανσόφων ἀκρόασιν.

2.3.1. Πιστεύω καὶ περὶ ταύτης, θειότατοι, ὡς ὁ θεὸς λόγος, ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς μονογενὴς υἱός, ὁ πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων καὶ χρόνων ἀπαθῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεννηθεὶς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς οἶκτον λαβὼν καὶ

announced to be according to nature. The one is the case because of the nature and the identity of essence and the kinship of existence, the other because of the differing properties of the three and the dissimilarity of the particularities which characterize each person without confusion. For just as each one possesses being God unchangeably, so too he has obtained immutably and unmoveably the property characteristic of the person which belongs to it and to it alone and distinguishes it from the other persons, and preserves unconfused the Trinity which is both of the same nature and of the same honour, both of the same substance and of the same throne. Therefore the Trinity is a trinity not only perfect in the perfection of the one Godhead, but also supremely perfect and supremely divine 'in glory and eternity and kingship, neither partitioned nor alienated. Neither, therefore, is there anything created or servile in the Trinity, nor introduced, as if previously it did not exist, but subsequently accruing. Neither is the Son inferior to the Father nor the Spirit to the Son, but it is the same Trinity always, unchangeable and unalterable'.²¹

7. I have expounded to you clearly and plainly, speaking in a few words, how I think of, glorify, and revere the 'Trinity, holy, of the same substance, both eternal and primary and creator of all and royal. The concise form of the synodical letter has not permitted me to say more than this.'²² And, as if in the presence of that truth itself which oversees all, I expound by writing this synodical letter; and I dispatch to your all-wise ears what I hold and what I think and have received as prevailing from the holy Fathers those who according to you are inspired by God the benevolent and astounding incarnation of one of the same, all-revered Trinity, God the Word and Son; that is to say the immeasurable emptying and the divine and deifying descent to us on earth.

2.3. CHRISTOLOGICAL PROFESSION OF FAITH²³

1. I believe also concerning this, most holy One, that God the Word, the only-begotten Son of the Father, the one who before all ages and times was begotten impassibly from the same God and

²¹ Cf. Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Confession of Faith* (CPG 1764; AGO III, 3, 10-13).

²² This is the first of several references by Sophronius to the dimensions of the synodical letter, which he certainly exceeds.

²³ On Sophronius' christology see further Cosma, *De 'oconomia' incarnationis*, 81-151; von Schönborn, *Sophronius*, 157-224.

φιλόανθρωπον ἔλεον τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου ἡμῶν ὀλισθήματος, ἐκουσίῳ θελήματι καὶ θεοῦ βουλήσει τοῦ φύσαντος καὶ συνευδοκίᾳ θείᾳ τοῦ πνεύματος κόλπῳ οὐ χωρισθεὶς τοῦ γεννήσαντος πρὸς τοὺς ταπεινοὺς ἡμᾶς καταβέβηκεν. ἔστι γάρ, ἔστιν ὥσπερ τῆς αὐτῆς βουλῆς τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι, οὕτω καὶ οὐσίας ἀπείρου· καὶ φύσεως περιγραφῆς οὐδαμῶς ἀνεχόμενος ἢ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς τοπικῆς μεταβάσεως, κατὰ φύσιν δρᾶν εἰδὼς θεϊκὴν τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ μήτρان εἰσδύς ἀπειρόγαμον παρθενίας ἀγλαΐζομένην ἀγνόητι Μαρίας τῆς ἁγίας καὶ παιδρᾶς καὶ θεόφρονος καὶ παντὸς ἐλευθέρας μολύσματος τοῦ τε κατὰ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ διάνοιαν σαρκούται ὁ ἄσαρκος, καὶ μορφοῦται τὸ ἡμῶν ὁ κατ' οὐσίαν τὴν θείαν ὅσον εἰς σχῆμα καὶ εἶδος ὁμόρφωτος, καὶ [432] σωματοῦται καθ' ἡμᾶς ὁ ἄσώματος, καὶ ἄνθρωπος κατὰ ἀλήθειαν γίνεται ὁ αἰεὶ θεὸς γνωριζόμενος, καὶ μητρικῆς κοιλίας ἐγγάστριος ὁ τοῦ αἰδίου πατρὸς ἐγκόλπιος δέικνυται, καὶ ὁ ἄχρονος ἀρχὴν χρονικὴν κατὰδέχεται, οὐ φαντασίᾳ ταῦτα γινόμενος ἅπαντα, καθὰ Μανιχαίοις καὶ Οὐαλεντινίοις δοκεῖ τοῖς παράφροσιν, ἀλλ' ἀληθείᾳ καὶ πράγματι ὅλον ἑαυτὸν κενώσας πατρικῶ καὶ οἰκίῳ θελήματι καὶ ὅλον προσλαβὼν τὸ ἡμέτερον φύραμα, σάρκα φημί τὴν ἡμῶν ὁμοούσιον καὶ ψυχὴν λογικὴν, τὴν ψυχαῖς ταῖς ἡμετέραις ὁμόφυλον, καὶ νοῦν τῷ νῷ τῷ ἡμῶν παραπλήσιον. ταῦτα γὰρ ἄνθρωπός ἐστι καὶ γινώσκεται, καὶ ἄνθρωπος κατὰ ἀλήθειαν γέγονεν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἁκρας τῆς ἐν παρθένῳ τῇ παναγίᾳ συλλήψεως. ἄνθρωπος γὰρ χρηματίζειν ἐβούλετο, ἵνα τῷ ὁμοίῳ ἀνακαθάροι τὸ ὅμοιον καὶ τῷ συγγενεῖ τὸ συγγενὲς ἀνασώσῃται καὶ τῷ συμφυεῖ τὸ συμφυὲς ἐκλαμπρύνει.

Father, having compassion and benevolent pity for our human fall, with free will and by the intent of the Father who begat him and with the joint and divine consent of the Spirit, although not separated from the bosom of the one who begat him, descended to us wretched ones. Indeed, just as he is of the same intent as the Father and the Spirit, so too is he of infinite essence. Admitting in no way of a circumscribed nature or, as we do, of a change of place, knowing how to effect divine activity¹² in accordance with his nature, he enters a womb innocent of marriage, radiant with the purity of virginity, that is, of Mary, holy and bright and of godly mind and free of every taint, whether in body or soul or thought. The fleshless one becomes flesh; the one who in conformity with the divine essence is without shape as far as form and frame are concerned takes on our shape; and the bodiless one is embodied as we are; and the one revealed as always God in truth becomes a human being; and the one who is in the bosom of the eternal Father is disclosed in the womb of his mother's belly; and the timeless one receives a beginning in time. He became all of these things not in illusion, as it seems to the frenzied Manichaeans and Valentinians;¹³ but in truth and in fact, having emptied himself completely, by a will that was both his Father's and his own, he assumed our human substance¹⁴ completely, I mean flesh consubstantial with ours and an intellectual soul of the same stock as our souls, and a mind comparable to our mind.¹⁵ In these things he is and is recognized as a human being, and he became in truth a human being from the very point of his conception in the all-holy Virgin. He wished to be reckoned as a human being, so that he might cleanse like with like and rescue kin by kin, and illuminate the cognate by cognate. This is why the holy

¹² Here we have Sophronius' first use in the *Synodical Letter* of the word 'activity' (*energeia*) in a christological framework.

¹³ Both the Valentinians, a Gnostic group, and the Manichaeans were believed to have taught that Christ was neither truly human nor truly divine, although Sophronius is suggesting that they were docetists, i.e. that they believed that Christ's humanity was apparent, not real. This was more commonly alleged of Apollinaris, Eutyches, and Dioscorus, as in the *Synodical Letter* itself, below, secs. 2.3.5 and 2.5.1.

¹⁴ The Greek word *φύραμα* means literally 'mixture', 'dough', or 'paste'.

¹⁵ The emphasis here on the true humanity of Christ and on his rational soul is a tacit rebuttal of the doctrine of Apollinaris of Laodicea, who taught that the Logos took the place of the human mind in Christ.

διὰ τοῦτο παρθένης ἁγία λαμβάνεται καὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν ἁγιάζεται καὶ οὕτως ὑπουργεῖ τῇ σαρκώσει τοῦ κτίσαντος ὡς καθαρά καὶ ἀγνή καὶ ἀμόλυντος.

2.3.2. Σαρκοῦται γοῦν ὁ λόγος καὶ θεὸς τὸ ἡμέτερον, οὐ προπλασθείση σαρκὶ συναπτόμενος ἢ προμορφωθέντι καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ προϋποστάντι ποτὲ προσπλεκόμενος σώματι ἢ προϋποστάσει ψυχῇ συντιθέμενος, ἀλλὰ τότε τοῦτοις παραγενομένοις πρὸς ὑπαρξιν, ὅτε αὐτοῖς ὁ λόγος αὐτὸς καὶ θεὸς φυσικῶς συνετίθετο σύγχρονον ἔχοντα τῇ ὑπάρξει τὴν ἔνωσιν καὶ οὐ πρὸ τῆς πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἀληθεστάτης συμβάσεως καθ' ἑαυτὰ γενόμενα πώποτε ἢ τινος ἀνθρώπου τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἑτέρου τὸ παράπαν ὑπάρξαντα, ἀλλὰ σύνδρομον ἔχοντα τῇ φυσικῇ τοῦ λόγου συμβάσει τὴν ὑπαρξιν καὶ οὐκ ἐκείνης οὐδὲ ὡς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῦ ῥιπῇ ταυτηνὶ προτερεύουσιν ἔχοντα, ὡς Παῦλος ὁ Σαμοσατεὺς βομβεῖ καὶ Νεστόριος. 'ἅμα' γὰρ 'σὰρξ, ἅμα θεοῦ λόγου σὰρξ, ἅμα σὰρξ ἔμφυχος λογικῇ, ἅμα θεοῦ λόγου σὰρξ ἔμφυχος λογικῇ.' ἐν αὐτῷ [434] γὰρ καὶ οὐ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἔσχε τὴν ὑπαρξιν. ἅμα γὰρ τῇ συλλήψει τοῦ λόγου ταῦτα παρήχθη πρὸς σύστασιν καὶ ἠνώθη αὐτῷ καθ' ὑπόστασιν, ἅμα τῷ πρὸς σύστασιν ἄγεσθαι τὴν ὄντως ἀληθὴ καὶ ἀμέριστον, τὴν μήτε διαίρεισιν πάσχουσιν μήτε τροπὴν εἰσδεχομένην καὶ σύγχυσιν, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παραγόμενα καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ συνιστάμενα καὶ αὐτῷ συντιθέμενα καὶ χρόνον οὐδένα τὸ σύνολον τῆς οἰκείας συστάσεως προτερεύοντα, φέροντα τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀσυνγχύτου τε καὶ ἀτμήτου συνθέσεως.

Virgin was taken and sanctified in both body and soul, and thus assisted in the incarnation of the Creator because she was pure and undefiled and without taint.

2. Hence the Word and God became flesh with our flesh, not being conjoined to flesh that had been moulded or formed previously, or knitted with a body which at some time subsisted previously by itself, or joined to a soul which subsisted previously, but these elements came into existence at the time when the Word himself and God was joined to them by nature, possessing⁴⁶ the union simultaneously with the existence. These things never came into existence in themselves before their most true coming together with the Word, or have any existence as part of some human being different from our species, but they had their existence concurrently with the natural coming together of the Word, and did not have it even, as it were, in a *twinkling of an eye* (1 Cor. 15: 52) sooner than that coming together, as Paul of Samosata and Nestorius babble: 'at the one time there is flesh, at the one time there is flesh of God the Word; at the one time there is flesh endowed with an intellectual soul, at the one time there is flesh of the God-Word endowed with a rational soul.'⁴⁷ For in him and not on its own account did the flesh have its existence. For at the same time as the conception of the Word these elements were brought into consistence and united to him in hypostasis; at the same time there was brought into existence that which is genuinely true and without partition, neither suffering division nor admitting change and confusion.⁴⁸ They were brought in by him and were formed in him and were joined to him, and for no time at all did they exist in their own entirety prior to their composition in him, which is both unconfused and unsevered.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ This is an anacoluthon in Greek.

⁴⁷ Cf. Ps. Athanasius, *Letter to Emperor Julian* (CPG 2253); PG 28, 532A; also cited by Cyrus of Alexandria, *Announcement*, ch. 7 (CPG 7613); ACO ser. sec. II, 2, 600, 3-4; document 3 in the monoenergist dossier, Part 3. This text is much used in christological debate: see Anastasius of Sinai, *Hodegos* II.5; ed. Uthemann, 13-14; apparatus fontium, 51. Paul of Samosata and Nestorius were accused of maintaining that in the incarnation the Word was united with an already existing body.

⁴⁸ Cf. Definition of Chalcedon, ACO II, 1, 2, 129, 30-1; trans. Tanner, i. *86.

⁴⁹ 'Unconfused' is a rejection of the supposed position of Eutyches, 'unsevered', of that of Nestorius. Here I have amended Riedinger's punctuation.

2.3.3. Ἐκ τῶν οὖν ἀχράντων καὶ παρθενικῶν αἱμάτων τῆς παν-
αγίας καὶ ἀχράντου παρθένου Μαρίας ὁ λόγος σαρκωθείς κατὰ
ἀλήθειαν γέγονε καὶ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἄνθρωπος κἂν τῇ παρθενικῇ
γαστρὶ κυοφορούμενος καὶ τὸν χρόνον πεπληρωκῶς τῆς ἐννόμου
κυσσεως· ὡς ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς φυσικοῖς καὶ ἁμαρτίαν οὐ φέρουσι τοῖς
ἀνθρώποις ἡμῖν ὁμοιούμενος καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν οὐκ ἀπαξιῶν
ἐμπαθεστάτην εὐτέλειαν τίκεται θεὸς ἀνθρωπείῳ τῷ σώματι,
ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τῷ σχήματι ψυχὴν λογικὴν καὶ ἀσώματον ἔχοντι,
ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ οὐχ ἕτερος λογικῶ ἐνεψύχωσε πνεύματι
καὶ παρθένον τηρεῖ τὴν γεννήσασαν καὶ θεοτόκον αὐτὴν κυρίως καὶ
ἀληθῶς ἀναδείκνυσι, κἂν Νεστόριος ὁ παράφορος ῥήσεται καὶ
τούτου τὸ θεομάχον στρατόπεδον δακρύει καὶ θρηνεῖ καὶ ὀδύρεται
καὶ σὺν ἐκείνῳ πάλιν σπαράττηται.

2.3.4. Θεὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ ἐκ παρθένου τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου Μαρίας
τικτόμενος καὶ δευτέραν δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ χρονικὴν προσδεχόμενος
γέννησιν μετὰ τὴν πρώτην αὐτοῦ καὶ αἰδίδιον τὴν ἐκ πατρὸς φυσικὴν
καὶ ἀνέκφραστον γέννησιν, κἂν σεσαρκωμένος ἐτίκετο διὰ τὴν
πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς σαρκικοὺς ὁμοιότητα, ὅλος θεὸς ἀνυμνούμενος,
ὅλος ὁ αὐτὸς προσφαινόμενος ἄνθρωπος, τέλειος θεὸς ὁ αὐτὸς γιν-
ωσκόμενος καὶ τέλειος ἄνθρωπος ὁ αὐτὸς γνωριζόμενος. ἐκ δύο γὰρ
φύσεων ἔσχε τὴν ἔνωσιν θεότητος καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος καὶ ἐν δυσὶ
τελείαις ἐγνωρίζετο φύσει, θεότητι τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότητι. οὔτε γὰρ
τῇ ἐνώσει τροπὴ τις ἢ φυρμὸς ἐμεσίτευσεν, οὔτε τῇ διαφορᾷ καὶ
δυσὶ τῶν μορφῶν ἦτοι τῶν οὐσιῶν μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν διαίρεσις τις ἢ
τομὴ εἰσεκρίνετο, κἂν τοῦτο μὲν λυπῇ τὸν μεμνηνότα Νεστόριον,
ἐκεῖνο δὲ [436] τήκη Εὐτυχὴ τὸν κακόφρονα· τὰ γὰρ καθ' ὑπόστα-

3. And so from the undefiled and virgin blood of the all-holy and
undefiled Virgin Mary the Word became truly flesh and truly a
human being, even being carried in the virginal womb and fulfil-
ling the nine months' period of gestation. Just as in all natural
respects which do not involve sin, he was like us human beings,
and not despising our mean estate, so subject to passion,¹⁰ God
was born in a human body, so too he was in a frame that possessed
an intellectual and incorporeal soul,¹¹ a frame which he himself, in
himself and no other, animated with an intellectual spirit. And he
preserved his mother as a virgin and showed that she was properly
and in truth Theotokos,¹² even if the frenzied Nestorius is
shattered [by this] and his army which fights God is in tears, and
laments and mourns and is torn to pieces again with him.

4. I say this because it was God who was born of a virgin, the holy
Theotokos Mary, and accepted on our account a second birth in
time after his first eternal birth,¹³ which was a natural and
ineffable birth from the Father, even though he was born in the
flesh, on account of his likeness to us fleshly beings. Whole is the
God who is hymned, whole is the same who appeared as a human
being: perfect is the same God who is acknowledged and perfect
is the same human being who is revealed. For from two natures
he possessed the union of Godhead and humanity, and was rec-
ognized in two perfect natures, Godhead and humanity. Neither
did any change or mingling intervene in the union, nor was any
division or severing admitted into the difference and duality of
the forms or essences after the union, even if this latter troubles
the mad Nestorius, and the former causes the perverse Eutyches
to waste away. For¹⁴ the elements that are united hypostatically to

¹⁰ By 'passion' (πάθος) or 'passions' (πάθη) are meant normal human feelings and emotions. See further below, sec. 2.3.13.

¹¹ Cf. n. 35, above.

¹² Cf. Justinian, *On the Right Faith*, 76, 8; trans. Wesche, 167. The expression is anti-Nestorian in intention and derives from Ephesus I. Cf. Anastasius of Sinai, *Hodegos* V; ed. Uthemann, 43-5 and p. 90.

¹³ Cf. Justinian, *On the Right Faith*, 76, 18; trans. Wesche, 167. Cf. Definition of Chalcedon, *ACO* II, 1, 2, 129, 27-30; trans. Tamer, i. *86.

¹⁴ The passage from here down to 'pit of division' a few lines further on is found as a citation in Nicephorus I of Constantinople, *Against Eusebius*, in J. B. Pitra (ed.), *Spicilegium Solesmense complectens Sanctorum Patrum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum anecdota hactenus opera* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1852), 486.

σιν ἀλλήλοις ἐνούμενα οὔτε τροπὴν συνεισδέχεται οὔτε γνωρίζει διαίρεσιν, οὔτε συγχύσεως οἶδε τὰ ἴδια οὔτε τομῆς μανθάνει τὰ σύμβολα. ὅπερ ὡς ἔοικεν Εὐτυχῆς ἀγνοῶν καὶ Νεστόριος καὶ τῆς καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἐνώσεως μὴ μαθόντες τὴν δύναμιν, καθ' ἣν ὁ λόγος ἀτρέπτως σεσάρκωται καὶ ἡ σὰρξ ἡ ἑμψυχος καὶ ἔνινους ἀμεταβλήτως θεέωται. ὁ μὲν εἰς τὸ τῆς ἀναχύσεως ἀκοντίζεται πέλαγος, ὁ δὲ εἰς τὸ τῆς διαιρέσεως καταφέρεται βάραθρον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ μὲν φεύγει καθομολογεῖν τὴν δυάδα τῶν φύσεων, ὁ δὲ μίαν κηρύττειν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου φύσιν σεσαρκωμένην συστέλλεται ἢ καὶ μίαν αὐτοῦ σύνθετον λέγειν ὑπόστασιν δέδοικε, φόβον οἱ δραπέται φοβούμενοι, οὐ φόβος οὐδεὶς πολιτεύεται.

2.3.5. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ῥωμαλέῳ φρονήματι τὴν ἐκατέρου τούτων δούλην παρελάσαντες ἄνοιαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐστῶτες ἀδείμαντοι καὶ τὴν καθ' ὑπόστασιν τοῦ λόγου πρὸς σάρκα τὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν τὴν ἔνινον καὶ ἑμψυχον κηρύττομεν σύμβασιν, καὶ ἕνα Χριστὸν καὶ υἱὸν τὸν σαρκωθέντα λόγον πρεσβεύομεν, καὶ μίαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπόστασιν λέγομεν σύνθετον, καὶ ἐν δυσὶν αὐτὸν ἀγορεύομεν φύσει, καὶ δύο τοῦ αὐτοῦ θεοῦ λόγου γεννήσεις πιστεύομεν· μίαν μὲν τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ πατρός, ἣν καὶ ἄχρονον καὶ αἰδίων οἶδαμεν, καὶ δευτέραν τὴν ἐκ τῆς θεοτόκου μητρός, ἣν καὶ πρόσφατον καὶ χρονικὴν ἐπιστάμεθα καὶ 'μίαν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου φύσιν' ἐπ' αὐτοῦ 'σεσαρκωμένην' δοξάζομεν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς Ἀπολλινάριος καὶ Εὐτυχῆς καὶ Διόσκορος λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ σοφὸς ἡμῶν παραδέδωκε Κύριλλος, καὶ τὰ τῶν φύσεων σφύζεσθαι φάσκομεν ἴδια καὶ τὴν τῶν ἡνωμένων διαφορὰν ἀπαγγέλλομεν τὴν ὡς ἐν φυσικῇ μὲν λεγομένην καὶ οὖσαν ποιότητι, ἐν οὐσιώδει δὲ νοουμένην καὶ οὖσαν

each other do not admit change or recognize division, or know the properties of confusion, or learn the marks of severance. This, it seems, Eutyches was ignorant of, and Nestorius too, and they did not know the power of the hypostatic union, in accordance with which the Word became flesh without change, and the flesh, endowed with soul and mind, was divinized without undergoing change.¹⁵ The former is hurled into the sea of confusion, while the latter is borne down into the pit of division. This is why the former avoids confessing the duality of the natures, while the latter holds back from proclaiming the incarnate nature of God the Word as one, or shrinks from speaking of his composite hypostasis as one. The runaway slaves are *fearful with a fear where no fear is indicated* (Ps. 13: 5).

5. Having passed by with robust mind the servile folly of each of these men, and standing dauntless on the rock (cf. Matt. 16: 18) of pious belief, we both proclaim the coming together of the Word hypostatically with the flesh from us which has both mind and soul; and we worship one Christ and Son, the incarnate Word; and we speak of his one, composite hypostasis, and declare him in two natures, and we believe in two births of the same God the Word¹⁶ the one from God the Father, which we know is both timeless and eternal, and the second from his mother, the Theotokos, which we know is both recent and temporal and we glorify 'one nature of God the Word' in him, 'made flesh'.¹⁷ But we do not talk like Apollinaris and Eutyches and Dioscorus,¹⁸ but as the wise Cyril has imparted to us, and we maintain that the properties of the natures are preserved, and we declare the difference of the united elements which is spoken of and is, in relation to the natural quality,¹⁹ but which is conceived of and is in

¹⁵ Both Eutyches and Nestorius are portrayed here as having underestimated the hypostatic union in different ways.

¹⁶ Cf. sec. 2.3.4, above.

¹⁷ This is the famous expression of Cyril of Alexandria, on which see McGuckin, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria*, 207-12.

¹⁸ i.e. as the three classic representatives of the docetic school, who are portrayed as maintaining that the union of the two natures in Christ resulted in a merger, a third substance.

¹⁹ 'Natural quality' (ποιότης φυσική) was a Cyrillian term, used also by anti-Chalcedonians like Severus of Antioch. See Lebon, 'La Christologie du monophysisme sévérien', 53B 9.



THE PAPPAS PATRISTIC INSTITUTE
Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology

Theodore the Studite

A Dogmatic Epistle on the Holy Icons



Letter 380, To Naukratios

Translated by Fr Maximos Constas and Dr Tikhon Pino

Introduction

Theodore the Studite, b. 759 – d. 11 November 826, was a theologian, monastic reformer, and the abbot of the Stoudios Monastery in Constantinople. Born to a wealthy and socially connected family, his father was an official of the imperial treasury, his mother was from a senatorial family, and one of her cousins became the second wife of Constantine VI (sed. 780-797). Following his example, most of his family members became monks and nuns. Under his direction, the Stoudios monastery became a major center of social and cultural change. As a monastic reformer, Theodore's aim was to free monastic life from government influence and control. A zealous opponent of Iconoclasm, he spent more than fifteen years in exile for his defense of the holy icons, and was given the title of Confessor of the Faith. He was also a prolific writer. Among his works are three *Refutations of the Iconoclasts*; a *Small* and *Great Catechesis*; more than a dozen homilies on various feasts and saints; a funeral oration for his mother; and a celebrated Paschal Homily incorporating the Paschal Homily of St John Chrysostom. He also wrote numerous rules and regulations concerning monastic life, and a large



number of poems, hymns and canons, including the first canon in the *Theotokarion*, as well as more than 500 letters, many of which are important theological treatises. His last words were: “Keep your faith unshaken and your life pure.”

The letter translated below, *Letter 380: To Naukratios*, is dated to 818, when Theodore was an exile in Anatolia.¹ The monk Naukratios was Theodore’s disciple and future successor; at the time he was the steward (οικονόμος) of the Studios Monastery. Along with letter 57 (to his uncle Plato), letter 380 is in many ways an epitome of Theodore’s icon theology and was recognized as such by at least one Byzantine editor, who in one of the manuscripts identified it as an ἐπιστολή δογματική περὶ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων (“a dogmatic letter on the holy icons”). It has been translated below to offer readers and students of theology an idiomatic English version of the text.²

To my Son Naukratios (Ep. 380)

I rejoice in you, Naukratios my brother, for you are truly the son of my joy, which means that you have suffered for Christ, for what could be more joyous or glorious than this? In imitation of Christ, you were scourged; you were dragged from one prison cell to another; and you were delivered into the hands of the impious John,³ with whom I also had to contend. And though he attacked you vehemently, you did not weaken or equivocate in your beliefs, but to the contrary you resisted that foolish-minded man and responded to him with a severe rebuke, which made me rejoice greatly and filled me with gladness. May the Lord continue to help you in whatever may befall you in the days ahead! You informed me that, during your interrogation, and in his efforts to

¹ On Theodore’s exile, see letter 48.

² For the text of the letter, see George Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, vol. 1 (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, Series Berolinensis 31) (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991), 511-19.

³ John the Grammarian was the last Iconoclast patriarch of Constantinople (*sed.* 21 January 837 to 4 March 843); his theological learning and political power made him a formidable and dangerous opponent. Though this letter is addressed to Naukratios, it is primarily a response to the iconoclast arguments of the patriarch (and thus Theodore concedes that his “letter” goes beyond the form proper to epistolography).



undermine the holy icons, he brought forward arguments from Asterios,⁴ Epiphanius,⁵ and Theodotos.⁶ I therefore consider it necessary to refute these arguments, even if it will extend the length of my letter.

According to Asterios, “One must not depict an image of Christ, since the one humiliation of his embodiment, which he accepted to undergo willingly for our sake, was sufficient; instead, you should bear the bodiless Word spiritually in your soul.”⁷ One wonders, however, why he is opposed to making an image of Christ, saying that the “first humiliation of his embodiment was sufficient,” as if it were an inglorious, one-time thing that happened in the past, and Christ wanted to avoid a second portrayal (i.e., in an icon) of his humiliation. But how could the Word’s embodiment be inglorious if it was voluntary, seeing that whatever is voluntary is glorious and has nothing of the lack of glory found in what is involuntary? If this is not the case, and the icon of Christ is, as he says, a “second” humiliation, how could it be “second” if the image shows us the very likeness of the first humiliation?

And how would he avoid repudiating the recollection of Christ’s Passion, which the written account offers to our hearing, if he denigrates the recollection by sight for being a replication of the event? For seeing and hearing are equal capacities, each one working in conjunction with the other, as the divine mouth, Basil the Great, has declared. Consider, for example, that a second image of the one cross is *another* cross, which is also

⁴ I.e., Asterios of Amasea (ca. 350-410), an Arian bishop from Cappadocia and the author of sixteen surviving homilies (Photios knew of additional works by him). Here, one of the manuscripts adds the following comment in the margin: “It should be noted that this is the same Asterios who was anathematized by St Sophronios of Jerusalem in his synodical letters, as well as by another Father, who found him to be of the same mind as Apollinarios and Eutyches.”

⁵ I.e., Epiphanius of Salamis (ca. 310-403). The Iconoclasts invoked the authority of Epiphanius, though the passages they cited were either interpolations or of dubious authenticity; see Kenneth Parry, *Depicting the Word: Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 148-51.

⁶ I.e., Ps.-Theodotos of Ancyra, on whom, see below.

⁷ Asterios of Amasea, *Homily on the Rich Man and Lazarus* 4 (ed. C. Datema, *Asterius of Amasea, Homilies I-XIV* [Leiden: Brill, 1970], 10-13); cited at the Sixth Session of the Seventh Council; trans. Richard Price, *The Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787)* (Translated Texts for Historians 68) (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2018), 505.



true of the Gospel. And since both are reproduced and copied continuously, there are countless crosses and countless Gospels, and not simply one! At the same time, there is only one cross, and not another, even if it is reproduced thousands of times. And there is only one Gospel, and not another, even if innumerable copies of it exist. And there is one Christ, not two or more, even if, in the same way, his form is reproduced in countless images. When Christ is depicted in an icon, it is as if he is being described in Scripture, and our hearing is never sated with the sound of him; neither can our eyes ever be filled with seeing him, because we are hearing and seeing God who became man; the eternal one who appeared on earth as a child; the one who sustains the universe drinking milk from his mother; the one who cannot be contained being contained in her arms; the one who is beyond divinity and yet became man; the Depth of Wisdom immersed in the water of baptism, doing the things that are proper both to God and to man, though he is beyond all essence and being; the Lord of glory nailed to the cross; the life of the world buried and resurrected; he whom the universe cannot contain assumed into heaven as man.

Let the confused Asterios, then, cease to forbid and argue against the salvific portrayal of Christ in these two forms (i.e., images and words), that is, let him cease thinking that the glory of the Lord is dishonorable,⁸ and that his voluntary humiliation was involuntary. And let him cease, furthermore, from placing himself in opposition to Basil the Great, whose voice — which is the voice of God — commands the following: “Let Christ, who presides over our struggles, be depicted in an icon.”⁹ And let what Asterios *affirms* also be excluded from the company of the saints together with what he seeks to *deny*, since they are equally illogical and absurd: “You should bear the bodiless Word spiritually in your soul.” What madness is this? What mouth of any saint ever said that the Word was incorporeal *after* he became flesh? While the Apostle Paul did not continue to call Christ “flesh,” he did not say that the Word is now bodiless. According to Gregory the Theologian, the words: “Though we once regarded Christ after the flesh, we do so no longer” (2 Cor 5:16), mean that we no longer regard Christ as subject to fleshly passions such as ours, even if without sin. And elsewhere Gregory says, “no

⁸ In the Gospel of John, the “glory” of Christ is associated directly with his crucifixion.

⁹ Basil of Caesarea, *Homily on the Martyr Barlaam* 3 (PG 31:489B).



longer according to the ‘flesh,’ but neither ‘incorporeal’.”¹⁰ Thus, anyone who says that after the Incarnation the Word is “without a body” contradicts not only these two Fathers but all the holy and God-bearing Fathers and teachers of the Church.

Thus it has been demonstrated that one illogical statement naturally follows from another. Having overthrown their lies, then, let us proceed to present the truth. How might you be able to do this? By depicting Christ in an image wherever it is necessary, and to do so while having him dwelling in your heart, so that when reading him in a book or seeing him in an image, he will be known through these two senses and illumine your mind in a twofold manner. In this way, the same one whom you learned about and came to know through your sense of hearing, you will likewise come to see and know with your eyes. For when in this manner he is heard and seen, God cannot but be glorified, and the pious man cannot but be moved to compunction — and what could be more salvific than this, and what can draw one nearer to God? Thus we who are nothing and of no account understand the truth in this way, even though some of our holy Fathers before us attempted to explain the matter at hand in another manner.

Having dealt with the views of Asterios, what are the views of Epiphanius?¹¹ “Your reverence will understand,” he says, “whether it is proper for us to depict God in colors.”¹² But look at this purveyor of lies! He did not say “Christ” — to whom we refer when we speak of the possibility of circumscription (in an image), and whom we affirm at the same time to be beyond circumscription, since here it is a question of indicating each of his two natures — but he says that we make “depictions of *God*,” stripping the

¹⁰ Gregory the Theologian, *Oration* 30.14: “For even now, as man, he intercedes for my salvation, because he continues to exist with the body he assumed, even if he is no longer known according to the flesh, by which I mean the fleshly passions” (SC 250:256); and id., *Oration* 40.45: “He will come again to judge the living and the dead, no longer according to the flesh, but neither without the body, for reasons known to him, but in a more divine body, so that he may be seen by those who pierced him (John 19:37; Zech 12:10)” (SC 358:306).

¹¹ Here, some of the manuscripts contain the following scholion in the margin: “Note that the teachings of Valentinos and Isidore are found under the name of Epiphanius in chapter 42 of his *Against Heresies* [PG 41:544ff.], and that these two, together with Carpocrates, were anathematized by St Sophronios.”

¹² Epiphanius, fragment 21 (ed. K. Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte*, II [Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (P. Siebeck), 1928; repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964]), 360.



Lord of his human nature (after the manner of the Manichaeans) and putting forward a naked God – and he says this in order to compel the hearer by the absurdity of the proposition. And indeed, it is truly foolish and irrational to speak of a “visible God,” since Scripture says that “no one has ever seen God”. And to the extent that he is both God and visible, the Only-Begotten Son “has made him known” (John 1:18). But it is obvious that a God naked of humanity has never been seen by anyone, but inasmuch as the Only-Begotten is not naked of humanity after he became flesh, then it follows that he is visible and can be seen. And thus, the Holy Apostle proclaimed: “God appeared in the flesh, was vindicated by the Spirit, was seen by angels, was proclaimed among the nations, was believed in throughout the world, and was assumed in glory” (1 Tim 3:16). The words “in the flesh” must be applied to each declaration in common, because the first formula is a kind of foundation not only for what follows but of all the human properties assumed in the Incarnation. Thus, just as God “appeared” in the flesh, so it was with all the other things that were just mentioned (for without being “in the flesh,” he could not appear or be assumed), so too in the flesh he was nourished with milk, grew in age, walked on two feet, sweated in agony, and spoke with his tongue, along with every other activity of this kind.

If, then, these things are so, and if one of the properties of the body is circumscription, it is obvious that God is circumscribed in the flesh, either through the use of colors or through some other means. This is because, by necessity, both of these two things must be true. If he “appeared in the flesh,” then he must necessarily also be circumscribed, because each is a concomitant and corresponding feature of the other. If, then, the second is not true, then neither is the first. But if the first is true, then so also is the second. Thus, consistent with both sacred Scripture and logical thinking, it would be senseless not to admit that God can be depicted in the flesh, for the simple reason that he was seen in the flesh. Elsewhere this impetuous wretch says: “I have heard that some people instruct others to depict even the ungraspable Son of God in images, a thing which is terrifying even to hear.”¹³ But what person, possessing even a small share of intelligence, would not laugh at such a ridiculous statement? Has he never read where it says, “They arrested Jesus and bound him and led him first to Annas,” the high priest? (John 18:12) Or where it says: “They took the body of Jesus and wrapped it with strips

¹³ Epiphanius, frag. 22 (Holl 361).



of linens and with spices”? (John 19:40). Does he not profess that Jesus is God? If he is God, how then was the ungraspable one arrested and bound, unless he was in the flesh, just as the wise Paul has taught us? Let, then, this deluded man stop his mouth from raging in madness against Christ.

To be sure, if it should come to his attention that we have a God who is eaten (i.e., in the Eucharist), I imagine he would not only quake with terror, but would rend his garments, being unable to endure what he has heard. But what does Christ say? “Whoever eats me will live because of me” (John 6:57). Naturally, there is no other way he can be eaten than in the flesh. This is because Christ, who is at the same time perfect God and perfect man, can be named and identified by either of the two natures of which he is composed, and he can be called both God and man — literally and in the strict sense of each word — without the particularity of either one of them being diminished or confused within his singular and unique hypostasis. And the witness of my words is God the Word himself, who in one place says: “Why do you seek to kill me, a *man* who has told you the truth?” (John 8:40) (even though the one who said this was the immortal God), and in another: “Why do you accuse me of blasphemy because I said, ‘I am the Son of God’?” (John 10:36) (though the one who said this was also the son of man). Thus it follows that when we apply the names that are proper to just one of the natures, we take nothing at all away from Christ.

Since we may now set aside the words of this fellow, too, let us see what is the argument of Theodotos?¹⁴ Here are his own words:

Concerning the outward forms of the saints, we have not received the tradition of depicting them in icons made of material colors, but rather we have been taught to receive their virtues like living images through whatever we have been told about them in books, and to be inspired thereby with a zeal like theirs. But let those who set up such images tell us what benefit they derive from them, or to what kind of spiritual contemplation the recollection of such forms raises

¹⁴ Some of the manuscripts contain the following scholion in the margin: “It should be noted that this is one of the four men named Theodotos anathematized by St Sophronios, though only three were mentioned by name, the other implicitly, and who was also condemned by another Father, who, as I have read, named him as Theodotos of Ancyra.



them. But it is quite obvious that these contrivances are futile and an invention of diabolical deception.¹⁵

To be sure, the point of departure for reflection (i.e., in the writings and lives of the saints) is not by itself worthy of condemnation, even if it is meant to prepare us for the absurd and foolish things that follow, since many of the sacred teachers consider verbal descriptions to be of greater necessity than visual depictions, without of course condemning the latter. Yet some teach the opposite. So the two actually have the same value, as Basil the Great says: “For the things that the written word describes through hearing, the same things are expressed silently by the image through imitation.”¹⁶ And not all are artists, just as not all are writers; but to each one God has given a measure of grace.

Having heard what St. Basil says, then, let the fool say again: “Let those who set up such images tell us what benefit they derive from them, or to what kind of spiritual contemplation the recollection of such images raises them.” Now this rash and insolent man can be made to answer for himself: What spiritual benefit and what sacred vision can we *not* attain through the holy icons? Because, if it is the nature of every image to be an imitation of the archetype – as Gregory the Theologian says¹⁷ – and if, moreover, the archetype is manifested in its image – according to the wise Dionysios¹⁸ – it is

¹⁵ Ps.-Theodotos of Ancyra, a passage cited at the Sixth Session of the Seventh Council (Price 509), and not known from any other source. Nikephoros likewise discusses the authenticity of this fragment in his *Refutatio* (93), which was written ca. 820-30.

¹⁶ Basil of Caesarea, *Homily on the Forty Martyrs* 2 (PG 31:509A).

¹⁷ Gregory the Theologian, *Oration* 30.20: Αὕτη γὰρ εἰκόνας φύσις, μίμημα εἶναι τοῦ ἀρχετύπου (SC 268:23-25).

¹⁸ Dionysios the Areopagite, *On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* IV.3: “As in the case of sensible images, if the artist looks without distraction upon the archetypal form ... he will, if one may be permitted to say so, duplicate (εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν, διπλασιάσει) the very person (αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον) being depicted, [and will show the reality in the likeness, and the archetype in the image,] and each one being present in each, except for the difference in substance (ἐκάτερον ἐν ἐκατέρῳ παρὰ τὸ τῆς οὐσίας διάφορον). Thus, to copyists who love the beautiful in mind, the contemplation of hidden beauty will confer the unerring and most Godlike appearance (θειοειδέστατον ἰνδαλμα)” (ed. Günter Heil and Adolf Martin Ritter, *Corpus Dionysiacum* II [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1992], 96, 5-11). The passage in brackets seems to be a later interpolation, though extant in many of the earliest manuscripts of the *corpus Dionysiacum*. On the phrase,



perfectly obvious that, from the imitation, by which I mean the icon, there comes forth great spiritual benefit, and through the imitation we are raised up even more to spiritual contemplation of the prototype. Testifying to the truth of my words is the divine Basil himself, who says: “The honor paid to the image ascends¹⁹ to the archetype.”²⁰ If it “ascends,” then it hardly needs to be said that it also descends to the image from the archetype, and thus not even a person of limited intelligence could say that honoring the icon is without any benefit, or that the imitation does not bear the stamp or form of that which it imitates, so that each is present in the other, according to the divine Dionysios.²¹ What could possibly be more beneficial or more effective in raising us up through anagogy than that? This is because the icon is the impression of a vision that one has seen with his own eyes, not unlike the like light of the moon – if I may use a familiar example from our own experience – in relation to the light of the sun. Because if this is not what the icon is, then what benefit to the people of old was the Tent of Witness, which was an imitation of heavenly realities?²² For among other things contained therein was the glorious cherubim, which overshadowed the altar of propitiation, that is, images made with anthropomorphic features. All these things had an anagogical function and were allegories of worship in the spirit (cf. John 4:23). But according to this man’s empty theory, even the form of the cross is of absolutely no benefit to us; of no benefit to us is the form of the lance, or the form of the sponge, because they are all imitations (though they are not anthropomorphic); and neither is there any benefit in the other sense-perceptible images, which – to speak in the manner of Dionysios – have been handed down to us and which anagogically raise us up, to the extent that this is possible for us, to the contemplation of intelligible realities.

ἐκάτερον ἐν ἐκατέρῳ, see Aristotle, *Top.* 150a28; Damascius, *Parm.* 211, 21; and Theodore, letters 57, 20; 476, 24; 524, 38, 48; 528, 48-50; 532, 110.

¹⁹ Theodore has ἀναβαίνειν whereas Basil has διαβαίνειν, though the difference is negligible.

²⁰ Basil of Caesarea, *On the Holy Spirit* 18.45 (PG 32:149C); cited at the Fourth and Sixth Session of the Seventh Council (Price 312-13; and 518).

²¹ Dionysios, *EH* 4.3 (as above).

²² See Exodus 25:20.



After this comes imagination (*phantasia*), which is one of the five powers of the soul.²³ Imagination itself can be considered a kind of image, for both are likenesses.²⁴ It follows, then, that the image is not without benefit, since it is like the power of imagination. And if the former is without benefit, then the latter must be of even far less benefit, and there would be no point in having it as part of our nature. And if it is without benefit, then everything that corresponds to it would likewise be without benefit, by which I mean the power of sensation, opinion, logical thinking, and intellect. Thus, a rational investigation of nature shows, by induction, that the person who denigrates the image, that is to say, the imagination, is himself devoid of an intellect. But I admire the power of imagination for a different reason. Some people say that a certain woman, who, during the moment of conception imagined an Ethiopian, subsequently gave birth to an Ethiopian.²⁵ This is what happened with the patriarch Jacob, when he peeled strips of bark off the rods, so that the sheep that were born from the flock took their white spots and stripes from the visual impression that this produced (Gen 30:38), and — oh, the wonder of it! — what was imaged in the mind produced actual, visible results.²⁶

But let us return to the point, namely, his statement: “Let those who put forward such forms tell us what benefit they derive from them, or to what spiritual contemplation they are raised by their recollection.” And who, we might ask this tedious and tiring

²³ Theodore’s defense of *phantasia*, which is often cited as a standard element in iconophile theology, is in fact a minority opinion (even in the context of Theodore’s own theology); Nikephoros, for example, has virtually nothing positive to say about the imagination, which was long disparaged by the Greek philosophers. Theodore likely invoked the category because he saw it being alluded to implicitly in the quotation from Ps.-Theodotos (which also speaks of *epinoia*). Note that Theodore’s discussion pertains primarily to the arousal of the passions through the imagination. On Scripture’s use of impassioned language to describe the activity of God and various individuals, see Maximos the Confessor, *Responses to Thalassios*, Qu. 1.4 (Constas 2018, 96).

²⁴ ἰνδάλματα, which also means form or appearance, and is often used to describe mental images.

²⁵ The emphasis here is on the transmission of color and not nationality. Heliodoros of Emesa, *Aethiopica* IX.14, 7 (a novel written in the 3rd or perhaps 4th century AD), recounts the story of a woman whose child bore the likeness of a painting she was staring at during intercourse; the story is central to the narrative since it reveals the heroine’s true origins.

²⁶ See Aglae Pizzone, “Theodore and the Black Man: Imagining (through) the Icon in Byzantium,” in *Knotenpunkt Byzanz*, ed. A. Speer and P. Steinkruger (Miscellanea Mediaevalia 36) (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 47-70.



man, having attended closely and clearly to the depictions of various forms, is able to depart from them without his intellect being filled on all sides with their likeness and imprint? If the images are admirable, then the impressions will be excellent, but if they are disgraceful, so too will be the reflections, and thus it often happens that, even when we do not leave the house, we are moved to compunction by the one or suffer a fall because of the other. And is it not the case that images seen at night in dreams can leave us feeling either happy or sad? And if this is the case in dreams, how much more so is this true in the case of images — either good or bad — seen when we are awake? And has this excellent little fellow never read that by means of ‘copies’ and ‘shadows’ the people of the Old Testament worshipped heavenly realities? And what were those things if not images? And was it not through these images that they were led up to the contemplation of heavenly realities? And, to speak in the manner of David, does not “every man move forward in an image” (Ps 38:7)? And are not you yourself, O Iconoclast, an image of God? Were you not born according to the paternal likeness? Can you not be depicted on a wooden board? Or are you alone not susceptible of depiction, as if you were not a human being but some sort of freak, which is why you think the same of the saints?

But so that my discourse might have further confirmation, and not simply dogmatize on the basis of our own arguments, let me now bring forward those shining beacons of the *oikoumene*, who will themselves respond to your questions.

Gregory of Nyssa: “Many times have I seen a painted icon of the Passion and did not depart from the vision of it without shedding tears, because art clearly brought the historical event to my sight.”²⁷

John Chrysostom: “I love even the image made from wax, because it is filled with piety. For I saw an angel in an icon routing ranks of barbarians. I saw hordes of barbarians being trampled down, and I saw David declaring truthfully: ‘Lord, you will obliterate their image from the city’ (Ps 72:20).”²⁸

²⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit* (PG 46:572C); cited at the Fourth and Sixth Session of the Seventh Council (Price 265-66; and 518).

²⁸ John Chrysostom (= Severian of Gabala), *Homily on the Legislator* 6 (PG 56:407); cited at the Sixth Session of the Seventh Council (Price 502).



Cyril of Alexandria: “In a painting on a wall, I saw a young maiden being martyred, and it moved me to tears.”²⁹

Gregory the Theologian: “When a courtesan saw Polemon³⁰ peering out from an image, she departed immediately, being overwhelmed by the sight (for it was a venerable image) and she was put to shame by the portrait as if it were alive.”³¹

Basil the Great: “Arise, o you eminent painters of feats of combat, and glorify by your skill the image of the general to which I have not done justice. Illuminate the crowned one with the colors of your wisdom, for I have depicted him too faintly with my words. May I depart vanquished by your depiction of the martyr’s achievements. May I rejoice at being defeated today by this victory of your superior talent. May I see the wrestling of his hand with the fire depicted more accurately by you; may I see the wrestler depicted on your image more brightly. May the demons once again wail that they are struck down by the martyr’s prowess which you have made visible. May the hand, burnt but victorious, be displayed to them again.”³²

Do you see how the one adds the painted image to the written text, and how the visual experience of the former is so great that it causes the demons to wail? Do you see how the other calls an icon “venerable,” so that it had the ability to move a courtesan to

²⁹ This quotation is not found among the extant works of St Cyril, but it is cited by other iconophile authors, e.g., Nikephoros of Constantinople, *Adversus Epiphanidem* 17 (ed. J. B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, vol. 4 [Paris: Didot, 1858], 351).

³⁰ Not to be confused with the Desert Father of the same name, Polemon was the head of the Platonic Academy in the 4th-century BC. He was known for his debauchery but repented and embraced a life of chastity.

³¹ Gregory the Theologian, *Carmina* 1.2.10 (PG 37:489A); cited by John of Damascus, *Images* III.109 (ed. Boniface Kotter, *Die Schriften Johannes von Damaskos* III [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975], 189-90); the Fourth Session of the Seventh Council (Price 268-69); and Nikephoros, *Antirrheticus* III.17 (PG 100:401AB). The text is available in a critical edition by Carmelo Crimi, *Gregorio Nazianzeno, Sulla Virtù: Carme giambico* [I,2,10] (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 1995), 170-72.

³² Basil of Caesarea, *Homily on the Martyr Barlaam* 3 (PG 31:489AB). St Basil’s sermon continues, “May there also be depicted on the panel the judge of the contest, namely, Christ, to whom is glory for ever and ever.”



chastity? Or how the other did not walk away without tears in his eyes after seeing a painted image of a martyr undergoing martyrdom? Or again how another says that a wax image is beloved, for in it he beheld the archetype? Or the one who follows them, how even he could not refrain from weeping at the sight of the image, as if he had seen the actual event? You see all the advantages, consider for a moment all the benefits. And since you ask what the benefit is, listen not to what is said by this or that individual who was of small or no significance, but to those who spoke in the spirit of God, and whose voice thundered forth across the earth, and come to the proper conclusion, you brilliant dogmatist! You, that is, who said: "It is quite obvious that these contrivances are futile, and that it is an invention of diabolical deception." To these words, it is time to cry out mightily: "O heaven, be astounded" (Jer 2:12) that the sacred doctrines of the God-bearing Fathers have been slandered as "futile contrivances" and "deceitful inventions of the devil." But it is not so, you greatest of deceivers, but to the contrary all your flashy eloquence has been turned against you.

As we have now reached the end of our argument, there is one thing, brother, that I wish you to know: Whatever passages or proof-texts the Iconoclasts bring forward are clearly taken from the writings of heretics (for the truth does not grow together with falsehoods, as tares do with wheat). And should they cite passages from the Holy Fathers, they invariably twist and misinterpret them according to their darkened way of thinking; while those passages that identify the icon of Christ with the idols of the pagans are totally bizarre and alien to the faith. You must never accept anything they say uncritically, and neither should you enter into dialogue with heretics, which is something contrary to apostolic counsel. As for what remains ahead of us, may you find salvation, my dear child, and pray that I too may be saved.

αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς παρρησίας, ἀνηρτήσατο τὸν ὄχλον καὶ μετὰ τοσούτου παραστήματος καὶ φρονήματος, ὥστε καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς δοκεῖν εἶναι καὶ πέμποντας ἐρωτᾶν, ἵνα καὶ πάλιν ἄμφω μαρτυρηθῇ ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἔστι καὶ ὅτι μετ' αὐτὸν εὐθύς ὁ Χριστός. Διὸ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκείνου μὲν ἀνέσχε τὰ θαύματα, ἑαυτῷ δὲ κατέλιπεν, ἵνα τούτῳ γοῦν ἑαυτῷ μὲν ἐπιστρέψῃ τὸν ὄχλον, ἐκείνου δὲ ἀποσπάσῃ. Ἀλλὰ πῶς ὅτι καὶ ὀπίσω μου ἔρχεται καὶ μέσος ὑμῶν ἢ ὅτι καὶ ὀπίσω μὲν ἔρχεται τῷ κηρύγματι καὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει τοῦ ἀξιώματος, εἰ καὶ ἔμπροσθεν πάλιν τῷ ἀξιώματι; Μετὰ γὰρ τὸν δορυφόρον ὁ βασιλεὺς. Μέσος δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔστηκε τῷ σώματι καὶ ὅτι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως πρόσεισι τῷ βαπτίσματι. Καὶ οὐ τοῖς ῥήμασι μαρτυρεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ δεικτικῷ τοῦ δακτύλου σχήματι· βλέπων γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐρχόμενον ὡς καθαρθησόμενον, "Ἴδε," φησὶν, "ὁ Ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου." Οὐ γὰρ ὅσον, φησὶν, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔστι καθαρσίων δεόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου καθάρσιον. Ὁ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἡμᾶς καθαίρει καὶ ἡμῖν καθαίρεται καὶ εὐθέως ἀνέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος, ὥσπερ καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τοῦ μνήματος, ἐκεῖνο μὲν ὡς ἁμαρτίας ἐλεύθερος, τοῦτο δὲ ὡς καὶ διαφθορᾶς ἀνεπίδεκτος, ἥδη δὲ καὶ ὡς αὐτῆς τῆς φθορᾶς ἀλλότριος, αὐτῇ τῇ φθορᾷ φθορὰ διὰ τῆς φθορᾶς γερόμενος· ἢ καὶ ἐκεῖνο μὲν ὡς ἑαυτῷ τοῦ κάτω βίου τὸν κόσμον συναναφέρων, τοῦτο δὲ ὡς καὶ τοῦ θανάτου συναφθαρτίζων ἑαυτῷ καὶ συννιοθετούμενος. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀνέρχεται, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα κατέρχεται· ἐχρῆν γὰρ κἀντούτῳ τυπωθῆναι τὴν θείαν καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην ἔνωσιν, καὶ ἡμῶν μὲν τὴν

and boldness of speech, the crowds clung to him, and such was his standing and loftiness of mind that they thought he was the Christ; and they sent others to ask him if he was, so that in response he might also testify that he himself was not the Christ, but that the Christ was coming immediately after him. This is why, while Christ consented to his miracles, he also reserved miracles for himself, so that the crowds would leave John and turn to him. But how can John say that Christ is *coming after me* and is *already among you*? Or that he is *coming after* in terms of my preaching and in the recognition of his honor if he is again *before* me in honor? Because the imperial escort comes after the emperor. And he now stands *among you* in body and because he likewise comes forward for baptism with others. And John bore witness to him not only with his words but also gestured to him with his finger, for when he saw him in the crowd coming with the others as though seeking purification, he said, "*Behold the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world.*" It is not, he said, the case that he is in need of purification but rather that he is the purification of the whole world. Thus he both purifies us and is purified by us, and he immediately arose from the water just as he would soon rise from the tomb. From the former he came forth as one free of sin, and from the latter as one precluding destruction; and even then he was a stranger to corruption itself, becoming the very corruption of corruption by means of corruption. Or by means of his baptism he raises up, together with himself, the world from its lower life, just as by means of his death he makes us incorruptible and adopted sons together with himself. And as he ascends from the water, the Spirit descends, for even here it was necessary to express the union of the divine and

ἀνάβασιν, ἐκείνου δὲ τὴν κατάβασιν, ἀλλ' ἡμῶν μὲν τὴν ὀλίγην, ἐκείνου δὲ τὴν πολλήν τε καὶ ἄπειρον συγκατάβασιν.

66 Οὐ κατερχόμενον δὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μένον ἐπ' αὐτόν, οὐχ ὡς νῦν μένον, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ὡς νῦν κατερχόμενον, πῶς γάρ, ἐφ' ὃν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα κατώκησε τῆς θεότητος; Ἀλλ' ἔν', ὅπερ ἦν, τοῦτο φανῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅλος Θεοῦ καὶ Θεός. Οἶμαι δὲ ὅτι καὶ καθάπερ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἄλλων, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τύπον εἶναι τῆς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μετὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν ἐπιδημίας τοῦ Πνεύματος. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν τὸ Πνεῦμα συντρέχει, συνέλκει δὲ καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἅμα ἑαυτὸ τε πιστούμενον ὅτι Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ. Καὶ τίνος ἔνεκεν ἡ φωνή; Καὶ ὅτι καὶ οὗτος Υἱὸς Θεοῦ, ᾧ καὶ ὅτι Πατὴρ ἐκεῖνος συναναφαίνεται, καὶ οὕτως ἡ Τριάς ἐνουμένη τὲ ἅμα καὶ διαιρουμένη γνωρίζεται, τὸ μὲν τῷ ἰδίως ἕκαστον ὀνομάζεσθαι, τὸ δὲ τῷ καὶ ἅμα συντρέχειν τὲ καὶ συναναφαίνεσθαι. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ μίαν εἶναι τὴν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὲ καὶ Θεοῦ, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀνθρώπον τὸν Θεόν, ὅσον καὶ Θεὸν τὸν ἀνθρώπον, εἰ γε τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ συναμφοτέρον ὁ Πατὴρ Υἱὸν καλεῖ καὶ ἀγαπητόν. Ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν τοῦ Πνεύματος θεωρίας Ἰωάννης ἤξι- οῦτο μόνος, τῆς δὲ τοῦ Πατρὸς φωνῆς τὲ καὶ μαρτυρίας καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαός, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἡνίκα τῷ Μωϋσῇ Θεὸς ἐχρημάτιζε. Μωϋσῆς μὲν ἑώρα μόνος, ἤκουον δὲ καὶ πάντες, οὐχ οἱ περιεστηκότες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πόρρωθεν ἐστηκότες, κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς στάσεως ἢ τῆς τάξεως, πλὴν εἰ τις ἀνάξιος καὶ τῆς ἀκοῆς, ὡς ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνήκοος καὶ μηδὲν τῷ θεῷ νόμῳ

the human, and whereas the ascent is ours, the descent is his, but while our accommodation to him is small, his to us is rich and boundless.

And not only did the Spirit descend upon him but it also 66 remained upon him, though it did not remain upon him only in that moment or descend upon him only then, for how could such a thing be possible when in him, from the beginning, dwelled *the entire fullness of the deity*? But this happened so that he, who is wholly from God and is himself God, might be revealed to others. And I also think that, just as with the majority of other things, this too was a figure of the coming of the Spirit upon us after our purification. This is why the Spirit appeared with him, drawing down the divine voice, which at the same time confirmed that this was the Spirit of God. And why was this voice heard? To declare that he is the Son of God, and that the Father is manifested together with him, and thus the Trinity is made known as simultaneously united and distinguished, the latter insofar as each of the three persons may be individually named, and the former inasmuch as they act and appear as one. And not only this, but by virtue of the single hypostasis of Christ as man and God, and because he is as much man as he is God, and as much God as he is man, God called both together his *beloved Son*. But, while John alone was deemed worthy of the vision of the Spirit, the people were deemed worthy of the voice and testimony of the Father, just as long ago when God spoke to Moses on the mountain. Moses alone saw the vision, but the voice was heard by all, and not only by those who were present, but also by those standing far off, in proportion to their position or rank, except those who were unworthy of hearing, as they were disobedient in other things

πειθόμενος. Ἀμφότερα γοῦν συμφερόντως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ὠκονόμητο· εἴ τε γὰρ ἄμφω, καὶ ὁ λαὸς καὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης, ἀμφοῖν ἡξιώθησαν, οὐδὲν ἂν τῷ Βαπτιστῇ καὶ διδασκάλῳ περιεγέμετο, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν ἂν καὶ τὸ φρικτὸν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐλογίζετο· εἴ τε δὲ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς ἀπεκλείετο, ἀμάρτυρα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὸν Χριστόν, ὑποπτα δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰωάννην ὡς μαρτυροῦντα πρὸς χάριν· νυνὶ δὲ τὸ κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν πιστὸν ἐποίει καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ὄψιν.

67 Ἐπεὶ δὲ βαπτίζεται, τὸν Βαπτιστὴν διαδέχεται καὶ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου τὴν ἔρημον ἀνταλλάττεται, ἅμα τὲ καὶ τῷ πολιτικῷ καὶ τὸν ἐρημικὸν βίον συμπλέκων, καὶ τῷ τόπῳ πρὸς τὴν πάλιν τὸν Ἀντίπαλον ἐκκαλούμενος, καὶ ἡμῖν μετὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν τοῦ βαπτίσματος καὶ τὴν δι' ἐγκρατείας νομοθετῶν κάθαρσιν καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας. Τοιγαροῦν νηστεύει, πειράζεται διὰ πάντων, νικᾷ διὰ πάντων, διακονεῖται μετὰ τὴν νίκην καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις, τύπος καὶ ἡμῖν διὰ πάντων γίνεται, μετὰ τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν τάξιν παραδιδούς καὶ τῶν ἁθλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπάθλων. Πάλιν κατέρχεται πρὸς τὸν Βαπτιστὴν, πάλιν μαρτυρεῖται τοῖς αὐτοῖς ῥήμασι, τῷ αὐτῷ τοῦ δακτύλου σχήματι, πάλιν ἀναχωρεῖ, πάλιν ἐπιφαίνεται, μαρτυρεῖται πάλιν τῇ αὐτῇ φωνῇ, τῇ αὐτῇ χειρὶ. Διπλοῦς γὰρ ἦν—καὶ Λόγος νοούμενος καὶ λεγόμενος καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὁρώμενος καὶ δεικνύμενος—ὁσάκις κρείττων ὡς Θεὸς τοῦ ἀντιθέου γίνεται, τοσαυτάκις καὶ περὶ Ἰωάννου τὴν μαρτυρίαν δέχεται. Προσδέχεται καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ μαθητάς, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν μαθητείαν ὅλην τοῦ κόσμου· Ἀνδρέας οὗτος καὶ Ἰωάννης ἦν, τὰ

and disregarded the divine law. It was thus fitting that both of these things took place at the baptism of Christ, for if the people and John had been deemed worthy of both, then nothing greater would have remained for the Baptist and teacher, since the awe-inspiring manifestation of the Spirit would have been considered as common to all. But if, on the other hand, the voice was not heard, then the things concerning Christ would have remained without testimony, and John's testimony would have been suspect, as if it were given in order to please. But as it happened, the voice also confirmed what was seen.

67 Having been baptized, he became the Baptist's successor, and exchanged the Jordan for the desert, weaving together public life with life in the wilderness, and calling his Opponent to battle in that place. And he established a law for us that after our purification in baptism there is also purification through self-control and preparation for ascetic struggles. Thus, he fasted, was tested in all things, and triumphed in all things, and after his victory he was ministered to by angels, in all things becoming an example for us, and teaching us, after faith and order, about spiritual contests and their prizes. After this he returned once again to the Baptist, and once again he was testified to with the same words and with the same gesture of the finger, and again he departed, and once again he appeared, and again was testified to by the same voice and by the same hand. For he was double—both understood to be and being called the Word of God, and equally a human being who could be seen and to whom one could gesture—and as many times as God is superior to what is not God, the same number of times he received the testimony of John. And he received John's disciples, and thereafter the discipleship of the whole world.

EXHORTATION TO THE HEATHEN.

CHAP. I. — EXHORTATION TO ABANDON THE IM-
PIOUS MYSTERIES OF IDOLATRY FOR THE ADO-
RATION OF THE DIVINE WORD AND GOD THE
FATHER.

AMPHION of Thebes and Arion of Methymna were both minstrels, and both were renowned in story. They are celebrated in song to this day in the chorus of the Greeks; the one for having allured the fishes, and the other for having surrounded Thebes with walls by the power of music. Another, a Thracian, a cunning master of his art (he also is the subject of a Hellenic legend), tamed the wild beasts by the mere might of song; and transplanted trees — oaks — by music. I might tell you also the story of another, a brother to these — the subject of a myth, and a minstrel — Eunomos the Locrian and the Pythic grasshopper. A solemn Hellenic assembly had met at Pytho, to celebrate the death of the Pythic serpent, when Eunomos sang the reptile's epitaph. Whether his ode was a hymn in praise of the serpent, or a dirge, I am not able to say. But there was a contest, and Eunomos was playing the lyre in the summer time: it was when the grasshoppers, warmed by the sun, were chirping beneath the leaves along the hills; but they were singing not to that dead dragon, but to God All-wise, — a lay unfettered by rule, better than the numbers of Eunomos. The Locrian breaks a string. The grasshopper sprang on the neck of the instrument, and sang on it as on a branch; and the minstrel, adapting his strain to the grasshopper's song, made up for the want of the missing string. The grasshopper then was attracted by the song of Eunomos, as the fable represents, according to which also a brazen statue of Eunomos with his lyre, and the Locrian's ally in the contest, was erected at Pytho. But of its own accord it flew to the lyre, and of its own accord sang, and was regarded by the Greeks as a musical performer.

How, let me ask, have you believed vain fables, and supposed animals to be charmed by music; while Truth's shining face alone, as would seem, appears to you disguised, and is looked on with

incredulous eyes? And so Cithæron, and Helicon, and the mountains of the Odrysi, and the initiatory rites of the Thracians, mysteries of deceit, are hallowed and celebrated in hymns. For me, I am pained at such calamities as form the subjects of tragedy, though but myths; but by you the records of miseries are turned into dramatic compositions.

But the dramas and the raving poets, now quite intoxicated, let us crown with ivy; and distracted outright as they are, in Bacchic fashion, with the satyrs, and the frenzied rabble, and the rest of the demon crew, let us confine to Cithæron and Helicon, now antiquated.

But let us bring from above out of heaven, Truth, with Wisdom in all its brightness, and the sacred prophetic choir, down to the holy mount of God; and let Truth, darting her light to the most distant points, cast her rays all around on those that are involved in darkness, and deliver men from delusion, stretching out her very strong¹ right hand, which is wisdom, for their salvation. And raising their eyes, and looking above, let them abandon Helicon and Cithæron, and take up their abode in Sion. "For out of Sion shall go forth the law, and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem,"² — the celestial Word, the true athlete crowned in the theatre of the whole universe. What my Eunomos sings is not the measure of Terpander, nor that of Capito, nor the Phrygian, nor Lydian, nor Dorian, but the immortal measure of the new harmony which bears God's name — the new, the Levitical song.³

"Soothe of pain, calmer of wrath, producing forgetfulness of all ills."⁴

Sweet and true is the charm of persuasion which blends with this strain.

To me, therefore, that Thracian Orpheus, that Theban, and that Methymnæan, — men,

¹ The Greek is *ὕψιστος*, lit. highest. Potter appeals to the use of *ὕψιστος* in Sophocles, *Electr.* 455, in the sense of *stronger*, as giving a clue to the meaning here. The scholiast in Klotz takes the words to mean that the hand is held over them.

² Isa. ii. 3.

³ Ps. xcvi. 1, xcvi. 1.

⁴ *Odyssey*, iv. 220.

and yet unworthy of the name, — seem to have been deceivers, who, under the pretence of poetry corrupting human life, possessed by a spirit of artful sorcery for purposes of destruction, celebrating crimes in their orgies, and making human woes the materials of religious worship, were the first to entice men to idols; nay, to build up the stupidity of the nations with blocks of wood and stone, — that is, statues and images, — subjecting to the yoke of extremest bondage the truly noble freedom of those who lived as free citizens under heaven, by their songs and incantations. But not such is my song, which has come to loose, and that speedily, the bitter bondage of tyrannizing demons; and leading us back to the mild and loving yoke of piety, recalls to heaven those that had been cast prostrate to the earth. It alone has tamed men, the most intractable of animals; the frivolous among them answering to the fowls of the air, deceivers to reptiles, the irascible to lions, the voluptuous to swine, the rapacious to wolves. The silly are stocks and stones, and still more senseless than stones is a man who is steeped in ignorance. As our witness, let us adduce the voice of prophecy accordant with truth, and bewailing those who are crushed in ignorance and folly: "For God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham;"¹ and He, commiserating their great ignorance and hardness of heart who are petrified against the truth, has raised up a seed of piety, sensitive to virtue, of those stones — of the nations, that is, who trusted in stones. Again, therefore, some venomous and false hypocrites, who plotted against righteousness, He once called "a brood of vipers."² But if one of those serpents even is willing to repent, and follows the Word, he becomes a man of God.

Others he figuratively calls wolves, clothed in sheep-skins, meaning thereby monsters of rapacity in human form. And so all such most savage beasts, and all such blocks of stone, the celestial song has transformed into tractable men. "For even we ourselves were sometime foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful, hating one another." Thus speaks the apostolic Scripture: "But after that the kindness and love of God our Saviour to man appeared, not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to His mercy, He saved us."³ Behold the might of the new song! It has made men out of stones, men out of beasts. Those, moreover, that were as dead, not being partakers of the true life, have come to life again, simply by becoming listeners to

this song. It also composed the universe into melodious order, and tuned the discord of the elements to harmonious arrangement, so that the whole world might become harmony. It let loose the fluid ocean, and yet has prevented it from encroaching on the land. The earth, again, which had been in a state of commotion, it has established, and fixed the sea as its boundary. The violence of fire it has softened by the atmosphere, as the Dorian is blended with the Lydian strain; and the harsh cold of the air it has moderated by the embrace of fire, harmoniously arranging these the extreme tones of the universe. And this deathless strain, — the support of the whole and the harmony of all, — reaching from the centre to the circumference, and from the extremities to the central part, has harmonized this universal frame of things, not according to the Thracian music, which is like that invented by Jubal, but according to the paternal counsel of God, which fired the zeal of David. And He who is of David, and yet before him, the Word of God, despising the lyre and harp, which are but lifeless instruments, and having tuned by the Holy Spirit the universe, and especially man, — who, composed of body and soul, is a universe in miniature, — makes melody to God on this instrument of many tones; and to this instrument — I mean man — he sings accordant: "For thou art my harp, and pipe, and temple."⁴ — a harp for harmony — a pipe by reason of the Spirit — a temple by reason of the word; so that the first may sound, the second breathe, the third contain the Lord. And David the king, the harper whom we mentioned a little above, who exhorted to the truth and dissuaded from idols, was so far from celebrating demons in song, that in reality they were driven away by his music. Thus, when Saul was plagued with a demon, he cured him by merely playing. A beautiful breathing instrument of music the Lord made man, after His own image. And He Himself also, surely, who is the supramundane Wisdom, the celestial Word, is the all-harmonious, melodious, holy instrument of God. What, then, does this instrument — the Word of God, the Lord, the New Song — desire? To open the eyes of the blind, and unstop the ears of the deaf, and to lead the lame or the erring to righteousness, to exhibit God to the foolish, to put a stop to corruption, to conquer death, to reconcile disobedient children to their father. The instrument of God loves mankind. The Lord pities, instructs, exhorts, admonishes, saves, shields, and of His bounty promises us the kingdom of heaven as a reward for learning; and the only advantage He reaps is, that we are

¹ Matt. iii. 9; Luke iii. 8.

² Matt. iii. 7; Luke iii. 7.

³ Tit. iii. 3-5.

⁴ Probably a quotation from a hymn.

saved. For wickedness feeds on men's destruction; but truth, like the bee, harming nothing, delights only in the salvation of men.

You have, then, God's promise; you have His love: become partaker of His grace. And do not suppose the song of salvation to be new, as a vessel or a house is new. For "before the morning star it was;"¹ and "in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."² Error seems old, but truth seems a new thing.

Whether, then, the Phrygians are shown to be the most ancient people by the goats of the fable; or, on the other hand, the Arcadians by the poets, who describe them as older than the moon; or, finally, the Egyptians by those who dream that this land first gave birth to gods and men: yet none of these at least existed before the world. But before the foundation of the world were we, who, because destined to be in Him, pre-existed in the eye of God before, — we the rational creatures of the Word of God, on whose account we date from the beginning; for "in the beginning was the Word." Well, inasmuch as the Word was from the first, He was and is the divine source of all things; but inasmuch as He has now assumed the name Christ, consecrated of old, and worthy of power, he has been called by me the New Song. This Word, then, the Christ, the cause of both our being at first (for He was in God) and of our well-being, this very Word has now appeared as man, He alone being both, both God and man — the Author of all blessings to us; by whom we, being taught to live well, are sent on our way to life eternal. For, according to that inspired apostle of the Lord, "the grace of God which bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us, that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world; looking for the blessed hope, and appearing of the glory of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ."³

This is the New Song,⁴ the manifestation of the Word that was in the beginning, and before the beginning. The Saviour, who existed before, has in recent days appeared. He, who is in Him that truly is, has appeared; for the Word, who "was with God," and by whom all things were created, has appeared as our Teacher. The Word, who in the beginning bestowed on us life as Creator when He formed us, taught us to live well when He appeared as our Teacher; that as God He might afterwards conduct us to the life which never ends. He did not now for the first

time pity us for our error; but He pitied us from the first, from the beginning. But now, at His appearance, lost as we already were, He accomplished our salvation. For that wicked reptile monster, by his enchantments, enslaves and plagues men even till now; inflicting, as seems to me, such barbarous vengeance on them as those who are said to bind the captives to corpses till they rot together. This wicked tyrant and serpent, accordingly, binding fast with the miserable chain of superstition whomsoever he can draw to his side from their birth, to stones, and stocks, and images, and such like idols, may with truth be said to have taken and buried living men with those dead idols, till both suffer corruption together.

Therefore (for the seducer is one and the same) he that at the beginning brought Eve down to death, now brings thither the rest of mankind. Our ally and helper, too, is one and the same — the Lord, who from the beginning gave revelations by prophecy, but now plainly calls to salvation. In obedience to the apostolic injunction, therefore, let us flee from "the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience,"⁵ and let us run to the Lord the Saviour, who now exhorts to salvation, as He has ever done, as He did by signs and wonders in Egypt and the desert, both by the bush and the cloud, which, through the favour of divine love, attended the Hebrews like a handmaid. By the fear which these inspired He addressed the hard-hearted; while by Moses, learned in all wisdom, and Isaiah, lover of truth, and the whole prophetic choir, in a way appealing more to reason, He turns to the Word those who have ears to hear. Sometimes He upbraids, and sometimes He threatens. Some men He mourns over, others He addresses with the voice of song, just as a good physician treats some of his patients with cataplasms, some with rubbing, some with fomentations; in one case cuts open with the lancet, in another cauterizes, in another amputates, in order if possible to cure the patient's diseased part or member. The Saviour has many tones of voice, and many methods for the salvation of men; by threatening He admonishes, by upbraiding He converts, by bewailing He pities, by the voice of song He cheers. He spake by the burning bush, for the men of that day needed signs and wonders.

He awed men by the fire when He made flame to burst from the pillar of cloud — a token at once of grace and fear: if you obey, there is the light; if you disobey, there is the fire; but, vince humanity is nobler than the pillar or the bush, after them the prophets uttered their voice, — the Lord Himself speaking in Isaiah,

¹ Ps. cx. 3. Septuagint has, "before the morning star."

² John i. 1.

³ Tit. ii. 11-13.

⁴ [Isa. xlii. 10. Note that in all the Psalms where this expression is used, there is a foretaste of the New Covenant and of the manifestation of the Word.]

⁵ Eph. ii. 2.

in Elias, — speaking Himself by the mouth of the prophets. But if thou dost not believe the prophets, but supposest both the men and the fire a myth, the Lord Himself shall speak to thee, "who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but humbled Himself;" — He, the merciful God, exerting Himself to save man. And now the Word Himself clearly speaks to thee, shaming thy unbelief; yea, I say, the Word of God became man, that thou mayest learn from man how man may become God. Is it not then monstrous, my friends, that while God is ceaselessly exhorting us to virtue, we should spurn His kindness and reject salvation?

Does not John also invite to salvation, and is he not entirely a voice of exhortation? Let us then ask him, "Who of men art thou, and whence?" He will not say Elias. He will deny that he is Christ, but will profess himself to be "a voice crying in the wilderness." Who, then, is John? In a word, we may say, "The beseeching voice of the Word crying in the wilderness." What criest thou, O voice? Tell us also. "Make straight the paths of the LORD."¹ John is the forerunner, and that voice the precursor of the Word; an inviting voice, preparing for salvation, — a voice urging men on to the inheritance of the heavens, and through which the barren and the desolate is childless no more. This fecundity the angel's voice foretold; and this voice was also the precursor of the Lord preaching glad tidings to the barren woman, as John did to the wilderness. By reason of this voice of the Word, therefore, the barren woman bears children, and the desert becomes fruitful. The two voices which heralded the Lord's — that of the angel and that of John — intimate, as I think, the salvation in store for us to be, that on the appearance of this Word we should reap, as the fruit of this productiveness, eternal life. The Scripture makes this all clear, by referring both the voices to the same thing: "Let her hear who has not brought forth, and let her who has not had the pangs of childbirth utter her voice: for more are the children of the desolate, than of her who hath an husband."⁴

The angel announced to us the glad tidings of a husband. John entreated us to recognise the husbandman, to seek the husband. For this husband of the barren woman, and this husbandman of the desert — who filled with divine power the barren woman and the desert — is one and the same. For because many were the children of the mother of noble race, yet the Hebrew woman, once blessed with many children, was

made childless because of unbelief: the barren woman receives the husband, and the desert the husbandman; then both become mothers through the word, the one of fruits, the other of believers. But to the unbelieving the barren and the desert are still reserved. For this reason John, the herald of the Word, besought men to make themselves ready against the coming of the Christ of God.⁵ And it was this which was signified by the dumbness of Zacharias, which waited for fruit in the person of the harbinger of Christ, that the Word, the light of truth, by becoming the Gospel, might break the mystic silence of the prophetic enigmas. But if thou desirest truly to see God, take to thyself means of purification worthy of Him, not leaves of laurel fillets interwoven with wool and purple; but wreathing thy brows with righteousness, and encircling them with the leaves of temperance, set thyself earnestly to find Christ. "For I am," He says, "the door,"⁶ which we who desire to understand God must discover, that He may throw heaven's gates wide open to us. For the gates of the Word being intellectual, are opened by the key of faith. No one knows God but the Son, and he to whom the Son shall reveal Him.⁷ And I know well that He who has opened the door hitherto shut, will afterwards reveal what is within; and will show what we could not have known before, had we not entered in by Christ, through whom alone God is beheld.

CHAP. II. — THE ABSURDITY AND IMPIETY OF THE HEATHEN MYSTERIES AND FABLES ABOUT THE BIRTH AND DEATH OF THEIR GODS.

Explore not then too curiously the shrines of impiety, or the mouths of caverns full of monstrosity, or the Thesprotian caldron, or the Cirrhæan tripod, or the Dodonian copper. The Gerandryon,⁸ once regarded sacred in the midst of desert sands, and the oracle there gone to decay with the oak itself, consigned to the region of antiquated fables. The fountain of Castalia is silent, and the other fountain of Colophon; and, in like manner, all the rest of the springs of divination are dead, and stripped of their vain-glory, although at a late date, are shown with their fabulous legends to have run dry. Recount to us also the useless⁹ oracles of that other kind of divination, or rather madness, the Clarian, the Pythian, the Didymæan, that of Amphiaræus, of Apollo, of Amphilochus; and if you will, couple¹⁰

⁵ This may be translated, "of God the Christ."

⁶ John x. 9.

⁷ Matt. xi. 27.

⁸ What this is, is not known; but it is likely that the word is a corruption of *ιεράν δρύν*, the sacred oak.

⁹ ἀχρηστα χρηστήρια.

¹⁰ The text has *ἀνέπεω*, the imperative of *ἀνέπω*, which in classical Greek means "to hallow;" but the verb here must be derived from the adjective *ἀνίερος*, and be taken in the sense "deprive of their holiness," "no longer count holy." Eusebius reads *ἀνιέρις*: "unholy interpreters."

¹ Phil. ii. 6, 7.

² John i. 23.

³ Isa. xl. 3.

⁴ Isa. liv. 1.

Book 2.
c. i. 32, 33.

himself?). But if the things mentioned lie altogether in natural diversity one to another, and the necessity of reasoning separates them, let them who give the Spirit by participation to the Only-Begotten, see to what a depth of impiety they sink unawares. For if the Son is partaker of the Spirit, and the Spirit is by Nature holy, He Himself will not be by Nature holy, but is shewn to be hardly so through combination with another, transelemented by grace to the better, than that wherein He was at first. But let the fighter against God again see, into how great impiety the question casts him down. For first some change and turning, as we said before, will be found to exist respecting the Son. And being according to you changed, and having advanced unto the better, He will be shewn to be not only not inferior to the Father, but even somehow to have become superior: and how this is, we will say, taking it from the Di-

Phil. ii.
5-8.

vine Scripture. The divine Paul says somewhere of Him: *Be each among you so^a minded, according to what was also in Christ Jesus, Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied Himself, and took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion as a Man, He humbled Himself.* Since then even before the Incarnation, He was in the form and equality of the Father, but at the time of the Incarnation receiving the Spirit from Heaven was sanctified, according to them, and became by reason of this better alike and greater than Himself, He surpasses at length it is plain even the measure of His Father. And if on receiving the Spirit He mounted up unto dignity above that of the Father, then is the Spirit superior even to the Father Himself, seeing that He bestows on the Son the superiority over Him. Who then will not shudder at the mere hearing of this? For hard is it in truth even to go through such arguments, but no otherwise can the harm of their stubbornness be driven off. Therefore we will say again to them: If when the Word of God became Man, He is then also sanctified by receiving

^a S. Cyril reads *Τούτο φρονεῖτε* (or *φρονεῖτω*) *ἕκαστος ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς*, a little below and Book 2. c. 5; 3. c. 4; 9.: ad Herm. 404 E, 718 B; de recta fide 141 B.

the Spirit : but before the Incarnation was in the Form and Equality of the Father, not yet according to them sanctified, time is it they should boldly say, that God the Father is not holy, if the Word Who is in all things altogether Con-formal and Equal to Him, was not holy in the beginning, but barely in the last times became so. And again, if He is truly the Word of God, Who receiveth the Spirit, and is sanctified in His Own Nature, let our opponents say, whether in doing this, He became greater or less than Himself, or remained the Same. For if He hath nothing more from the Spirit, but remaineth the same as He was, be not offended at learning that It *descended on Him*. But if He was injured by receiving It, and became less, you will introduce to us the Word as passible, and will accuse the Essence of the Father as wronging rather than sanctifying. But if He became better by receiving the Spirit, but was in the Form and Equality of the Father, even before, according to you, He became bettered, the Father hath not attained unto the height of glory, but will be in that measure of it, in which the Son Who hath advanced to the better was Con-formal and Equal to Him. Convenient is it then, I deem, to say to the ill-instructed heretics, *Behold o foolish people and without understanding, which have eyes, and see not ; which have ears and hear not ; for the god of this world hath indeed blinded the eyes of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ should shine unto them : worthy of pity are they rather than of anger. For they understand not, what they read.*

CHAP. I.
C. i. 32, 33.

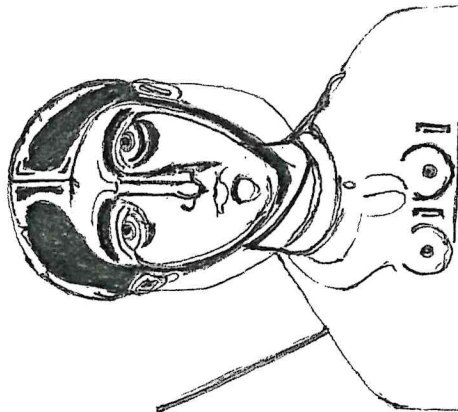
Jer. v. 21.

2 Cor. iv.
4.

Phil. ii.
5-8.

But that the reasoning is true, will be clear from hence, even if we have not, by our previous attempts, made the demonstration perfectly clear. Again shall this that is spoken by the mouth of Paul be brought forward : *Be each among you, saith he, so minded, according to what was also in Christ Jesus, Who being in the Form of God thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied Himself, and took upon Him the Form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion as a Man, He humbled Himself. Lo, he much marvels at the Son, as being Equal and Con-formal*

- Book 2. with God the Father, not, by reason of His Love to us, seizing
c.i.32, 33. this, but descending to lowliness, through the Form of a servant, emptied by reason of His Manhood. But if, sirs, He on receiving the Spirit were sanctified rather, when He became Man, and were, through the sanctification, rendered superior to Himself, into what kind of lowliness shall we see Him to have descended? How is That made low that was exalted, how did That descend that was sanctified, or how did it not rather ascend, and was exalted for the better? What emptiness hath filling through the Spirit? or how will He at all be thought to have been Incarnate for our sakes, Who underwent so great profit in respect of Himself?
- 2 Cor. viii. 9. How did the *Rich* become *poor* for our sakes, who was enriched because of us? How was He rich even before His Advent, Who according to them received in it what He had not, to wit the Spirit? Or how will He not rather justly offer to us thank-offering for what by means of us He gained? *Be astonished*, as it is written, *O ye heavens, at this: and be horribly afraid, saith the Lord: for the people of the heretics*
- 1 Tim. i. 7. *have in truth committed two evils, understanding neither what they say, nor whereof they affirm*, and think it not grievous thus to incur such danger in the weightiest matters. For else would they, shedding bitter tears from their eyes, and lifting up a mighty voice on high, have approached, saying, *Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth, keep the door of my lips. Incline not my heart to words of wickedness.* For words of wickedness in truth are their words, travailing with extremest mischief to the hearers. But we, having expelled their babbling from our heart, will walk in the right way of the
- Ps. cxli. 3, 4. *faith, bearing in mind that which is written: Casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ.* Come then, and bringing into captivity our mind as to the subjects before us, let us subject it to the glory of the Only-Begotten, bringing all things wisely to His obedience, that is, to the mode of the Incarnation. For, being *Rich*, for our sakes He became poor, that we through His poverty might be rich.
- 1b. viii. 9.



Receive then, if you please, our proof through that also which CHAP. 1.
c. i. 32, 33.

is now before us, opening a forbearing ear to our words. The Divine Scripture testifies that man was made in the Image and Likeness of God Who is over all. And indeed, he who Exod. xxxiii. 17.
LXX. compiled the first book for us (Moses, who *above all men* Gen. i. 27. was known to God) says, *And God created man, in the Image of God created He him.* But that through the Spirit he was sealed unto the Divine Image, himself again taught us, saying, *And breathed into his nostrils the breath of life.* For Ib. ii. 7. the Spirit at once began both to put life into His formation and in a Divine manner to impress His own Image thereon. Thus the most excellent Artificer God, having formed the reasonable living creature upon the earth, gave him the saving commandment. And he was in Paradise, as it is written, Ib. 8. still keeping the Gift, and eminent in the Divine Image of Him That made him, through the Holy Ghost That indwelt him. But when perverted by the wiles of the devil, he began to despise his Creator, and by trampling on the law assigned him, to grieve his Benefactor, He recalled the grace given to him, and he that was made unto life then first heard *Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.* And now Ib. iii. 19. the Likeness to God was through the inroad of sin defaced, and no longer was the Impress bright, but fainter and darkened because of the transgression. But when the race of man had reached to an innumerable multitude, and sin had dominion over them all, manifoldly despoiling each man's soul, his nature was stripped of the ancient grace; the Spirit departed altogether, and the reasonable creature fell into extremest folly, ignorant even of its Creator. But the Artificer of all, having endured a long season, at length pitied the corrupted world, and being Good hastened to gather together to those above His runaway flock upon earth; and decreed to trans-element human nature anew to the pristine Image through the Spirit. For no otherwise was it possible that the Divine Impress should again shine forth in him, as it did aforetime.

What then He contrives to this end, how He implanted in us the inviolate grace, or how the Spirit again took root in man,

Book 2. in what manner nature was re-formed to its old condition, it is
c.i.32,33. meet to say. The first man, being earthy, and of the earth,

and having, placed in his own power, the choice between good and evil, being master of the inclination to each, was caught of bitter guile, and having inclined to disobedience, falls to the earth, the mother from whence he sprang, and over-mastered now at length by corruption and death, transmits the penalty to his whole race. The evil growing and multiplying in us, and our understanding ever descending to the worse, sin reigned, and thus at length the nature of man was shewn bared of the Holy Ghost Which indwelt him. *For the Holy Spirit of*

Wisd.i.5. *wisdom will flee deceit, as it is written, nor dwell in the body that is subject unto sin.* Since then the first Adam preserved

not the grace given him of God, God the Father was minded to send us from Heaven the second Adam. For He sendeth in our likeness His own Son Who is by Nature without variableness or change, and wholly unknowing of sin, that as by the disobedience of the first, we became subject to

Rom.v.
19.

Divine wrath, so through the obedience of the Second, we might both escape the curse, and its evils might come to nought. But when the Word of God became Man, He received the Spirit from the Father as one of us, (not receiving ought for Himself individually, for He was the Giver of the Spirit); but that He Who knew no sin, might, by receiving It as Man, preserve It to our nature, and might again in-root in us the grace which had left us. For this reason, I deem, it was that the holy Baptist profitably added, *I saw the Spirit descending from Heaven, and It abode upon Him.*

For It had fled from us by reason of sin, but He Who knew no sin, became as one of us, that the Spirit might be accustomed to abide in us, having no occasion of departure or withdrawal in Him.

Therefore through Himself He receives the Spirit for us, and renews to our nature, the ancient good. For thus is He

2 Cor.viii. also said *for our sakes to become poor.* For being rich, as
9.

1 Cor. iv. things, to whom it is somewhere said and that very well, *What*
7. *hast thou that thou didst not receive?* As then, being by

Nature Life, He died in the Flesh for our sakes, that He might overcome death for us, and raise up our whole nature together with Himself (for all we were in Him, in that He was made Man) : so does He also receive the Spirit for our sakes, that He may sanctify our whole nature. For He came not to profit Himself, but to be to all us the Door and Beginning and Way of the Heavenly Goods. For if He had not pleased to receive, as Man, or to suffer too, as one of us, how could any one have shewn that He *humbled Himself*? or how would the *Form of a servant* have been fittingly kept, if nothing befitting a servant were written of Him? Let not then the all-wise account of the dispensation be pulled to pieces⁷, whereof the divine Paul himself rightly cries in admiration: *To the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the Church the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which He purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord.* For wisdom indeed and God-befitting, is the great mystery of the Incarnation seen to be.

CHAP. I.
c. i. 32, 33.

⁷ διασπρέ-
σθω
Eph. iii.
10, 11.

Such an apprehension of our Saviour do I suppose that we who choose to be pious, and rejoice in orthodox doctrines, ought to have. For we too will not descend to such lack of reason⁸ as to suppose that in the Son by Nature was the Spirit by participation and not rather essentially inherent even as in the Father Himself. For as of the Father, so also of the Son, is the Holy Ghost. So did we also read in the Divine Scriptures. For it says: *After they were come to Mysia, they assayed to go into Bithynia, and the Spirit of Jesus^b suffered them not.*

⁸ ἀλογίαν

Acts xvi.
7.

But if it seem good to any one, with over contentious zeal, to object to our words hereon, and to assert again, that the Spirit is in the Son by participation, or that, not being in Him before, He then came to be in Him, when He was baptized, in the period of His Incarnation, let him see, into what and how great absurdities he will fall. For first, the Saviour saith: *Among them that are born of women there*

S. Matt.
xi. 11.

^b "The Spirit of Jesus." So reads early Syriac version, containing the S. Cyril with oldest MSS. and the first translation of most of the N. T.

22:11), and yet that he not practise his justice before men (Mt 6:1).

It seems to us that Protestant theology today is developing more and more in the direction of this germ contained in the very teaching of Luther, and therefore, that it is moving towards an encounter with Orthodox teaching. Orthodox theology on the other hand is stressing the fact that the new life in man is not produced by man's own powers, but by the powers he receives in dialogue with God. This emphasis is clear in the following lines taken from Professor Wolf's paper: "Thanks to Christ's act of reconciliation, this peace is already a hidden reality; it becomes effective in the Christian community, and through it for the world." ' Once we perceive that justification is conceived by Lutheran teaching as something organically united to peace, then we can say that the righteousness which Christ gives as a gift to every man is just such a hidden reality. In order to be effective among the members of the ecclesial community and through that community to be effective in the world, this peace and the righteousness which it implies must have the nature of a power which, although it comes from God, is nevertheless manifested through man and is assimilated like a divine reflex by the human subject in his dialogue with God. This reflex can and must be activated by us believers; indeed ours is the responsibility for seeing that it is active.

The Orthodox Doctrine Of Salvation In Christ

What follows will be a brief description of the new life and power which the incarnate Son of God, crucified, resurrected and exalted, gives us, through the Holy Spirit, as the content of "salvation" according to the Orthodox understanding of that word. The Son of God communicates this life and power in their eschatological fullness to the humanity which he assumed, but he communicates them to us by degrees through his own humanity, and we receive them as a principle of growth, as a gift and a promise implying eschatological development and therefore hope. For as long as

The Orthodox Doctrine of Salvation

Jesus Christ is "full of grace and truth" and as long as he is the "perfect man", then we have only the first fruits of his fullness (2 Cor 1:22; Eph 1:14), and we must grow in him into the perfect man according to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ (Eph 4:13). The life and power communicated by Christ to his humanity are manifested in three directions: towards God, towards human nature as such, and towards his fellow human beings. This new life and power which the Son of God, through the humanity he assumed, communicates to those who believe in him, are also manifested in the same three directions. And just as the Son of God communicated them to his assumed humanity through his incarnation, crucifixion, resurrection and ascension, he communicates them in the same way to those who believe in him, that is, through the acts which he accomplished and the states which he reached as man.

We should make mention of the fact that in the last three or four centuries Orthodox theology also suffered from a certain scholastic influence on its soteriological teaching, and came to present salvation therefore as something achieved almost exclusively by means of the cross of Christ and to understand salvation in general as a vicarious satisfaction offered to God by Christ. Beginning however with the Russian theology of the last century, Orthodox theology has returned almost completely to the broader understanding of salvation proper to the Greek Fathers, and, under the influence of the ministry or "*diakonia*" to the world which the Church has assumed, Orthodox theology in recent years has been developing in a contemporary form those pan-human and cosmic dimensions of salvation which also form part of the patristic heritage.

We will now consider the new life and power which Christ has brought us, and the ways in which it is manifested through his incarnation, crucifixion, resurrection and ascension.

A. Even through his incarnation the Son of God brings man a new life and power in his dealings with God, with himself and with his neighbour. Christ unites humanity with God through the incarnation in a manner which is most intimate

and at the same time indissoluble, inseparable and definitive. The Son of God made man becomes, even in his quality as man, the Son of God. His eternal and perfect filial love for the Father fills his humanity also, and therefore as St. John Damascene says, "the incarnation is a modality of the second personal subsistence (τρόπος δευτέρως ὑπάρξεως) accommodated solely to the Only Begotten Son in such a manner that its personal individual attribute might remain unchanged."⁸ Only the Son was able to fill the humanity he assumed with filial love for the Father, and through his humanity to fill every man who unites himself to Christ through faith with that same filial love. The human will becomes the will of the Son of God who directs it toward the Father with his filial love. According to St. Maximus the Confessor, Christ possessed a natural human will, but because the subject or hypostasis which bore the natures was the Logos himself, he could not have had a gnostic will. Those who attribute a gnostic will to Christ think that, like us, he had a will which was "ignorant, hesitant, and at conflict with himself. . . . In the humanity of the Lord which had no simple human hypostasis but a divine hypostasis . . . there cannot be said to be a gnostic will",⁹ which is to say, a will moving independently of the divine hypostasis and able to make decisions contrary to his divine will. This implies a perfect obedience to the Father on the part of the incarnate Christ. His human will is moved by its divine hypostasis in conformity with his own divine will, and hence in accordance with the will of the Father. In this way Christ gives the Father perfect glory on earth as man too. In all the movements of his human will, in all his acts—and therefore in all his thoughts too—Christ is devoted completely to the Father.

This implies the complete sanctification of the humanity he assumed. All the holiness of his divinity becomes proper to his humanity and takes on human form. He is holy in his thoughts, in the movements of his will, in his feelings and therefore also in his flesh. Christ thus became a second Adam but surpassing the first Adam in purity even in the state in which Adam existed before the Fall. Although Christ carries in his assumed nature the effects and the burdensome ne-

cessities of the condition Adam entered into after the Fall, nevertheless he falls no more. Rather, he exercises the mastery of the spirit upon these weaknesses; he frees nature from the burden they impose and gives us also the power to do the same.

He is the second root of the human race according to St. Cyril of Alexandria, a new root keeping itself permanently new and whence any son of the first Adam can continually be renewed, being born of the Spirit of the second Adam and remaining ever united to him, or returning to union with him after every lapse as to a fountain of renewal. "Although man has turned away from God and grieved him on account of his disobedience and numberless sins, Christ has once again placed him before the face of the Father in himself as in the first (man)."¹⁰ In Christ man has been brought back into the Father's sight. "In Adam the root of the human race, like a mother, has died; but those who came forth from it—that is, we ourselves—have blossomed anew in Christ and we exist and are saved if we have him as our life and our second root."¹¹ He is, as St. Gregory Palamas says, "the new Adam who grows old no longer but is the source from which the world is continually renewed."¹²

Because of Christ's filial love for the Father and because of his perfect holiness, the Father looks upon the human face of Christ with the same love with which he regards his Only Begotten Son.¹³ In this way, by having his Son become man, God has renewed the human race; he has reconciled it truly and radically with himself and has justified it in the most real way. Borne by the divine hypostasis of the Son, human nature has indeed become holy and righteous in its very root. Its peace with God lies in the filial love which Christ as man has for the Father, and this means that human nature has been re-established with the consent of its own will. Righteousness and peace have not been imposed upon it unwillingly nor do they remain external to it; rather they are inwardly assimilated just as dry soil assimilates the moisture of the rain even though the rain must necessarily always come down from above. Christ "re-established human nature in conformity with itself", writes St. Maximus the Confessor,¹⁴ and by becoming

man Christ has preserved free will delivering it from the passions and setting it at peace with nature. It is precisely through this harmonizing of the will with nature that the reconciliation of man with God is achieved. "As the inclination of the will unites itself in this way with the *logos* of nature, there is brought about the reconciliation of God with nature."¹⁵ But this could only have been achieved in men after it had been realized in Christ in whom the human will was the will of the divine hypostasis. It is only because the divine hypostasis has taken on human nature that it has harmonized the human will with human nature and brought the will at the same time into harmony with God who desires only what is in conformity with human nature, and who is alone in truly desiring this.¹⁶ Through the incarnation the Son of God restores in men "the greatness of the divine image", because he possesses a reason which is not enslaved to those lower affections and impulses which are opposed to God.¹⁷ "The Word of God", says St. Athanasius, "came in his own Person, because it was he alone, the Image of the Father, who could recreate man made after the Image."¹⁸

The real peace and righteousness which Christ through his incarnation as man shares with God also becomes for those who believe in him a real peace and righteousness through their union with Christ. For the relationship between the Father and the man Jesus includes within itself, potentially at first but increasingly also in act, all those who believe in Christ. The holiness of Christ as man is available to all, and is directed actively towards all. If it is true in general that the saint is the man *for* men, the man who is a stranger to every kind of selfishness, so much more is this true of Christ, inasmuch as his humanity, which is not borne by a human but a divine hypostasis, cannot be enclosed within itself in a kind of individualism, but thanks to the divine hypostasis which is the God of all, communicates itself to all together with his holiness and his perfect generosity. "And for their sake I consecrate myself, that they also may be consecrated in truth." (Jn 17:19) In a relationship of union with Christ whose human will is the pure will of the divine hypostasis the rest of men too can become saints. The human will has cut the bond of

unity between men by its own arbitrary and selfish choice. In Christ the human will has abandoned this choice and become conformed not only to the will of God but also to human nature, to that which truly promotes the life of all men. For this reason those who are united with Christ no longer work for the dismembering of humanity but for brotherhood among all men.¹⁹

Through his human and divine wills, both guided by love, Christ himself exercised and still exercises even more at the present time a unifying influence upon mankind. "The Word was not hedged in by his body", says St. Athanasius. "Present in every part of it (the universe) yet outside the whole, he is revealed both through the works of his body, and through his activity in the world."²⁰

That the East sees the incarnation of the Lord as so important for the unification of mankind is due on the one hand to the divine hypostasis in which Christ's human nature has been assumed, and on the other hand to the doctrine of the uncreated energies. The divine hypostasis is actively opened out by the humanity because the latter is not enclosed within a human hypostasis and so subjected to the limitations of created nature. The humanity of the Word, enhypostatized in him and penetrated by his energy, is the leaven working secretly within the whole body of mankind, the foundation of the doctrine of man's deification, a teaching so dear to the Greek Fathers.²¹ "It is within the framework of this Cyrillian thought that one understands what Leontius of Jerusalem meant when he spoke of the common hypostasis of Christ: a hypostasis that, instead of being another isolated and individualized hypostasis among all the hypostases that constitute the human nature, is the hypostatic archetype of the whole of mankind; in whom 'recapitulated' mankind, and not merely an individual, recovers union with God. This is possible only if Christ's manhood is not the human nature of a mere man (*ἀνθρώπου ψιλοῦ* or *γυμνοῦ*) but that of a hypostasis independent of the limitations of created nature."²² It could be said that Christ is the central hypostasis which connects all human hypostases to one another because he first connects them to himself.

The incarnation is an astonishing *kenosis* of the Son of God whereby he becomes the hypostasis both of those affections which enslave human nature and also of the limitations which confine it, in order to free human nature from the former and to throw open the latter. But the incarnation is also a *kenosis* of the humanity in Christ which has its existence, not autonomously in its own hypostasis, but in the divine hypostasis, a *kenosis* which is wholly dedicated to God. The emptying out of self is so much the sign of love that without it love cannot be manifested. For in love a person forgets himself and gives himself to the other in a total self-surrender; yet it is precisely through this love that he reveals himself in his own fullness. "And as man does not exist except to the extent to which he abandons himself, the incarnation of God thus appears as the supreme and unique example of the essential fulfillment of the human reality."²³ From this supreme focus of divine love which has also raised up human love to the highest degree and laid itself open to all men by taking its place among them, love shines forth among us and takes us up into its own inner movement.

The importance of the incarnation for understanding our salvation in Christ is clear from what has been written above, but there are also other dimensions of the incarnation. If we had seen only the cross of Christ and not his earthly life as God in the flesh as well, we should be without the teaching of Christ and the example of his life. Not only do these reveal to us the meaning of the cross, they also teach us and give us the strength to live a life of obedience to God, a life of purity and of active love in the service of our fellow men. St. Athanasius insisted on this fact: "Men had turned from the contemplation of God above, and were looking for him in the opposite direction, down among created things and things of sense. The Saviour of us all, the Word of God, in his great love took to himself a body. . . ." ²⁴ God seeing men wander in error did not wish to lose those who had once participated in his image but desired that his image be renewed in them that through it men might come to know him again. "Therefore the Word of God came in his own Person because it was

he alone, the Image of the Father, who could recreate men made after that Image."²⁵

Through his life on earth in the body the Son of God made clear in a general way the value of our earthly life for the achievement of salvation. He showed us how we must strive while still on earth to gain a profound reconciliation with God and with our neighbour, a reconciliation full of love. The fact that God is thus open, personally and hypostatically, to created earthly existence and agrees to live it on our behalf, proves that this existence is a reality which has value even for him.²⁶ St. Athanasius says that in the beginning man was created by a decree of God's will. "But once man was in existence, and things that were, not things that were not, demanded to be healed, it followed as a matter of course that the healer and Saviour should align himself with those things that existed already, in order to heal the existing evil. For that reason therefore he was made man, and used the body as his human instrument . . . and by that means unfolded himself to all."²⁷ It was not his wish to take us up into eternal life without any consideration for our earthly life. This life had to be sanctified too as a condition for life eternal. Taking St. Paul's prompting as his starting point, namely that we are to grow in love in order to "comprehend what is the breadth and length and height and depth and to know the love of Christ which surpasses all knowledge" (Eph 3:17-19), St. Athanasius says: "The self-revealing of the Word is in every dimension — above, in creation; below, in the incarnation; in the depth, in Hades; in the breadth, throughout the world. All things have been filled with the knowledge of God. For this reason he did not offer the sacrifice on behalf of all immediately he came, for if he had surrendered his body to death and then raised it again at once he would have ceased to be an object of our senses. Instead of that, he stayed in his body and let himself be seen in it, doing acts and giving signs which showed him to be not only man, but also God the Word." ". . . the Word submitted to appear in a body, in order that he, as man, might centre their senses on himself, and convince them through his human acts that he himself is not man only but also God. . . ." ²⁸ The Son of God does not scorn

man's earthly life as worthless and meaningless; instead he adopts it as his own so that in the course of this very life the healing and sanctification of man may have its beginning.

B. But of the three ways in which the new life and power of Christ are manifested it is much more by his death on the cross that Christ has effected the restoration of human nature. The cross of Christ represents a new step in the work of our salvation. Without the cross of Christ salvation would not have been achieved. In his death Christ gives himself to the Father not merely by an exemplary life but also by the very renunciation of life itself. As man he gives the Father everything and holds nothing back for himself. In his death the loving *kenosis* reaches its climax. St. Cyril of Alexandria has developed St. Paul's idea that man can only come before the Father in the condition of a spotless victim, but that we ourselves are not in a position to bring the Father such an offering. Therefore Christ as man offered the spotless sacrifice to the Father, not intending to bring the Father some juridical equivalent but to endow us through our union with him with the power of becoming ourselves a spotless sacrifice, so that we too might be able to enter with him into the Father's presence. Thus we have access to the Father through the Cross of Christ, through his body crucified on the cross. "For through him we have access in one spirit to the Father." (Eph 2:18, 3:12) Only if Christ is in us as a spotless sacrifice, or if we are in him who alone is in the condition of a pure victim, do we also have access to the Father. And together with this access, according to St. Paul, we also have reconciliation or peace among ourselves and between ourselves and God. For through the cross of Christ, the supreme surrender of himself as man, that hostility which resides within us is truly brought to an end (Eph 2:16). But at the same time, in his body sacrificed on the cross and thus in a condition of supreme self-surrender or loving *kenosis* before God on our behalf, we, his most beloved creatures, are reconciled among ourselves and with God as well. It is remarkable how St. Paul links reconciliation and mankind's peace with God together with access to the Father, and how for him this reconciliation also implies that those who were once estranged and at enmity

with one another are to be built up into a new man. The power to accomplish this is found in the cross of Christ, in his totally pure sacrifice, his complete giving of self. This clean sacrifice, like a holocaust offered to the Father with the fragrance of a sweet odour, is nothing other than his total surrender to the Father. St. Cyril says that wherever sin exists, there no pure sacrifice may be found. Sacrifice is the rejection of all selfishness as the very form of sin. It is total surrender to the Father, and Christ alone was able to offer such a sacrifice. This he did in order to create in himself as man the condition of complete surrender to the Father and thus, like a magnet, to attract us also into the same condition as his own, to form his image in us, the image of himself in this state of sacrifice (Gal 4:19). "It is certain that the sin which exists in us is a sad thing and evil smelling . . . But in Christ this life of sadness and foul odour is transformed into joy. Faith imparts to it a sweet fragrance. Through Christ we offer ourselves to God. For it is he who purifies sinners and effects a spiritual cleansing of those who are unclean . . . Through Christ we offer ourselves, through him we who are impure dare to draw near. But we draw near through faith and we offer ourselves to the Father with a sweet fragrance only when we cease to exist for ourselves alone, when we have in ourselves only Christ as the sweet savour of the Spirit."²⁹ But this sweet savour is the death of Christ.³⁰

In this sense we too die in baptism in the likeness of the death of Christ, or better, we are rooted in the likeness of his death, and have been buried into his death (Rom 6:3-5). Thus we become righteous in Christ before the Father. This is not a righteousness of vainglory but of our surrender to God. For true union in love or in the dialogue of love comes about only in total surrender. It is only in this surrender in Christ that we are reconciled with God, only in this sacrificial condition that we receive holiness from God, a holiness which is one with the transcending of all egotism as the root of sin. It is in this holiness that our righteousness before the Father consists, the righteousness which we have won through Christ. We gain this holiness or righteousness from the Father, for when we enter through Christ into the Father's presence in

a state of pure sacrifice, we are raised to a condition in which full communication with God is possible. Because it is only in this state of total surrender in Christ that we are reconciled with God, we can say that reconciliation demands sacrifice, the sacrifice of our own existence, that very existence which we want to hold on to and keep as a good for ourselves alone when we are in a condition of sin and selfishness. Now the foundation of our own sacrifice and the source of its power, the source of our love for the Father in which is our true life, is the sacrifice of Christ, his spotless self-surrender to the Father accomplished out of love for the Father and for us, and out of the love for the Father which he has on our behalf as a man. Communicating in the death of Christ, "we communicate in a death which brings life."³¹

It is clear that this conception of sacrifice implies the ascetic vision of St. Paul and the Fathers according to which after the Fall of Adam the flesh has become the seat of sin through the appetites at work in it. This flesh must die so that sin may die together with it. It is also clear however that the flesh of Christ was not the seat of these kinds of appetites, and therefore neither was it the seat of sin. He put to death even the sinless affections that he had assumed together with the body.³² Nevertheless he crucified the flesh on the cross so that his crucified body might be a source of mortification for our own bodies. As Nicholas Cabasilas says: "That death, inasmuch as it was a death, did away with the life of evil. Inasmuch as it is a punishment, it removes the guilt for sin which each of us bears on account of his evil deeds."³³ This is the state of justice which Christ won for us on the cross, the reconciliation of the two parts of man — spirit and flesh — through reconciliation with the Father, and the ending of all hostility (Eph 2:16-18). This view of the crucifixion means that the body of Christ must contain potentially all bodies, and that all men must be drawn into Christ's sacrificial state. "And he died for all, so that those who live might live no more for themselves but for him who for their sake died and was raised. . . . Therefore if any one is in Christ he is a new creation." (2 Cor 5:15, 17)

In this sense although Christ dies no more as he did once

on earth, he nevertheless permanently retains his sacrificial disposition of total surrender to the Father in order to draw all men into this same disposition. "Christ thought to preserve in his body the witness of his sacrifice and to bear in his own person the scars of the wounds he received in his crucifixion. In this way he wished to show that when he comes again in dazzling light he will remain for his servants the same Lord, crucified and pierced, and these wounds will serve as his kingly adornments."³⁴

Since death entered into the world through sin and Christ committed no sin, it was on account of our sins that he suffered death. And through his death sin and selfishness are destroyed in their very roots together with the fruit which they produce, death. All men can escape these if they in turn are rooted in the death and sacrifice of Christ. Offering his humanity in sacrifice to the Father, the Son has raised it up to a state of supreme perfection so that from this state of perfect fulfillment all men can derive their own perfection together with freedom from the power of sin and eternal death. We see therefore that this understanding of sacrifice as the spotless gift of self to the Father presupposes the incarnation of the Son of God, for it was only in the divine hypostasis that mankind was able to present itself as a perfect offering to the Father.

C. If St. Cyril of Alexandria emphasizes the God-ward direction of Christ's sacrifice and death — as will both Anselm and Luther after him — St. Athanasius, St. Maximus the Confessor and other Fathers emphasize its man-ward direction, its power to heal and strengthen human nature, to overcome death and sin. We have in these authors a kind of anthropocentrism of grace (*gnadenhafter Anthropozentrismus*). God in his great love for us is not concerned with himself in even the slightest degree, but only with us.

In between these two explanations of the death of the Lord, the one theocentric and the other anthropocentric, we might situate the explanation of St. Gregory Nazianzen which serves as a kind of bridge between the two. Rejecting the theory of a ransom whether from the devil or from God, he says: "Is it not plain that the Father receives the sacrifice

not because he has need of it, but because in his plan it was necessary for man to be sanctified through the humanity of Christ, and for God to call us to himself through his Son the Mediator who fulfilled everything for the sake of the Father's glory?"³⁵

According to St. Athanasius, St. Maximus and other Fathers, the immortal subject accepts death in his body in order to overcome death. The death of Christ was the occasion of the victorious struggle of human nature, strengthened by the divine hypostasis, in its battle with its most powerful foe. It was the occasion for the supreme strengthening of human nature and of the spirit within it. "Thus it happened that two opposite marvels took place at once: the death of all was consummated in the Lord's body; yet, because the Word was in it, death and corruption were in the same act utterly abolished."³⁶ The cross of Christ was the occasion of the revelation of God's power and his love for man who had been made subject to death because of sin, as it was also the occasion of the destruction of death.

The majority of the Greek Fathers have stressed this understanding of the death of Christ in order to link his death closely to his resurrection, and to his incarnation as well. In fact they never speak of the death of Christ without bringing it into connexion with the resurrection and without presenting this victory as an act of the incarnate Word. Christ accepts death in order to destroy it in the resurrection, but this happens only because he is the Word of God. The Fathers do not make the death of Christ into a saving event independent of the resurrection and incarnation. Thus if the incarnation is the fruit of God's love for mankind with whom he unites himself definitively and indissolubly, and if in the passion this love goes further still, then its purpose and result are seen in the resurrection which brings to perfection God's union with us for all eternity. Christ does not become incarnate and die simply for the sake of an external reconciliation with us and in order to make us righteous before him. The purpose of the incarnation was our deliverance from eternal death, our complete and eternal union with him in that condition of peace which is constituted precisely by the

most complete loving union between himself and us, a condition in which we live his entire righteousness and holiness in union with him. If the Father loves the face of all men when he gazes on the face of his incarnate Son, then on the face of the crucified and risen Christ the face of mankind appears to the Father as even more worthy of love because through the cross humanity has become one with God in an act of supreme love for him. We ourselves consent to this supreme surrender, and in the resurrected state the penetration of humanity by the Spirit of God is perfected and assured for all eternity. The whole economy that God has devised for us through his Son has as its purpose this eschatological perfection of the union of God with the whole of mankind.

In his resurrection Christ raises up his entire humanity — soul and body — to a state of righteousness, of union with God, of perfect and eternal holiness. This is the state of complete surrender to the Father. In the ascension the righteousness of God, the very glory of the Father, is communicated to man. This glory is revealed perfectly through the incarnate Christ in the very moment when, as man, he offers perfect praise to the Father.

All who believe in him will have part in this peace, righteousness, holiness and glory, and through the Spirit of Christ they participate in the first fruits of these gifts even in the course of this earthly life. For from the risen and exalted Christ the Holy Spirit shines forth immediately and superabundantly, exactly as heat radiates from an incandescent body. The risen and exalted state of Christ is his humanity perfectly filled and penetrated by the Holy Spirit, the unobstructed irradiation of the Spirit from within him. His body no longer represents in any way an obstacle separating him from those who believe in him. On the contrary it has received the power to impart most perfectly the Godhead with which it is united.

On the cross Christ has taken us all into his embrace, for his love has gone out to us all, drawing us all into his condition of self-surrender to God and to man, the condition in which he empties himself for the sake of both God and man.

And in his love he gives us too the power to overcome ourselves with all our selfish impulses.

Through the resurrection Christ combines within himself the condition of victim and the state of resurrection, the full revelation of the divine life in his humanity. And to those who believe in him he imparts this same combined nature. St. Paul says, "We always carry in the body the death of Jesus that the life of Jesus may also be manifested in our bodies. For while we live we are always being given up to death for Jesus' sake, so that the life of Jesus may be manifested in our mortal flesh." (2 Cor 4:10-11) And St. Athanasius says in turn: "Christ, to whom these all bear witness, himself gives the victory to each, making death completely powerless for those who hold his faith and bear the sign of the cross."³⁷ Through Christ we have the power to die to selfish passions and appetites and to die to ourselves; but we also have the power to live a new life, a life triumphant in us, born in our spirit but revealed in our body as well. It is a power which we know does not come from ourselves but has its objective source beyond ourselves. From the risen Christ his Spirit shines forth most powerfully, giving us a foretaste of the likeness of his death and resurrection and leading us at the same time towards perfect likeness to him.

Through his incarnation, death and resurrection the incarnate Word of God ascends by degrees to a state in which the Holy Spirit increasingly shines forth from him. It is through this same Holy Spirit that the Word unites to himself, after they were separated from him and scattered abroad, all creatures that will ever come to be (Eph 1:10; Col 1:16). Salvation in its final stage, according to St. Paul, is the reunion of all things in Christ. As sin consists in the selfishness which separates men from God and from one another, so salvation consists in going beyond selfishness, in mutual love of all men, and in union with God. Between the resurrection of Christ and our own resurrection stretches the interval in which Christ works to unite us all completely in himself, and in which we strive towards the same end, stimulated and sustained by his activity. This activity of Christ is directed towards all men and is at work in all men in ways which are tangible and

visible to a greater or lesser degree. It struggles against the selfishness found in all men but does not deliver them from it without their own consent, and indeed its striving is to win man's consent and collaboration towards this goal of union with Christ.

Christ has laid in himself the foundation and supplied the power for this reunion of all mankind in himself by means of his incarnation, passion, resurrection and ascension, and by sending out his Holy Spirit who is at work secretly in the world and visibly in the Church. Henceforth the Spirit of Christ is imparted to us continually as the unifying power of Christ. On his part the Word, through whom and in whom all things in the beginning were created, gives a new orientation and integration to the whole of creation by the act of assuming it into himself, the same creation which had formerly abandoned the original direction God had intended for it. Christ overcomes the enmities which first appeared among creatures when those elements which had been intended to constitute a single and unified creation first disintegrated and drew apart from one another. Thus it happens that the power which flows out from the unity achieved in Christ exercises its unifying influence over the whole of creation. Through his virgin birth Christ has overcome the opposition of the sexes. In Christ "there is neither male nor female." (Gal 3:28) Through his death and resurrection he has done away with the separation between Paradise and the universe which appeared after the Fall. He has opened for mankind the forbidden entrance into Paradise, and he even came himself to earth after his resurrection to show that in him Paradise and the universe are made one. Through his ascension he unites heaven and earth, raising up the human body which he had assumed, a body of the same nature and substance as our own. Exalted body and soul above the hosts of angels, he restored the unity of the sensible and intelligible worlds and secured the harmony of the entire creation.³⁸

It is therefore through his incarnation, passion, resurrection and ascension and through the mission and activity of his Holy Spirit that he unites all things. Through his incarnation the mode of union is, so to speak, ontological. Through

his death he purifies the whole cosmos, and in a special way he purifies all men as the conscious agents of the cosmos making it possible for them too to exercise a unifying activity. Through the resurrection he fills all things with the ultimate meaning of all this striving after unity by filling them with light.

But the most essential union which Christ pursues and which is his decisive contribution in effecting the unity of all mankind, is the union of ourselves and God and the union of ourselves with one another. This is the goal for which we were created in the beginning. In order to effect the union of all men Christ first unites all created things at the deepest levels of their existence, and it is through this union that he brings about the union of all men. St. Athanasius says: "But the Lord came to overthrow the devil and to purify the air and to make 'a way' for us up to heaven, as the Apostle says, 'through the veil, that is to say, his flesh' (Heb 10:20) . . . and thus he re-opened the road to heaven, saying again, 'Lift up your gates, O ye princes, and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors.' (Ps 23:7 LXX) For it was not the Word himself who needed an opening of the gates, he being Lord of all, nor was any of his works closed to their maker. No, it was we who needed it, we whom he himself upbore in his own body — that body which he first offered to death on behalf of all, and then made through it a path to heaven." ³⁹ We see here once again how closely St. Athanasius connects the death of Christ with his resurrection. His body had to die in order to rise again and in order that through his risen and transfigured body all of us with our own bodies might reach heaven and the transfiguration. St. Athanasius says therefore: "Moreover, as it was the death of all mankind that the Saviour came to accomplish, not his own, he did not lay aside his body by an individual act of dying, for to him, as life, this simply did not belong; but he accepted death at the hands of men, thereby completely to destroy it in his own body." ⁴⁰

Once drawn into union with God by the sacrificed and risen body of the Lord we, the works of his hands, are also drawn into union among ourselves. Our own *logoi* and the *logoi* of our existences are attracted to union with the divine

Logos, the Word in whom we find our eternal archetypes and for whom our natures yearn as for the fathomless depths of life and the secret source of that knowledge we crave of the essence of all things. When our wills have returned to their conformity with their own being and their own inner rational purposes and structures (*logoi*), and have rejected the arbitrary dispositions of their irrational and unnatural selfishness, then they are called to be united to the human will of Christ and through it to his divine will which is one with his human will.

The force of attraction in Christ is his love. This love is revealed in the act of the incarnation and in the manner of his earthly life. It is revealed with greater effect in the manner of his sacrifice, and most efficaciously of all in his risen and exalted state from which love shines forth as the Holy Spirit. All these modes of being, concentrated in the risen state of Christ, attract us towards resurrection as to the climactic union with him and with one another, making use at the same time both of our natural longings and of our sacrifice which is nourished by his. Although Christ has ascended he nevertheless also remains in contact with us and with the deepest levels of the world through the force of attraction exercised by his love. "Behold I am with you always to the close of the age." (Mt 28:20) These words were spoken by the Lord to those who were sent to call the world to him, showing that he himself would draw all men to himself through them.

It is a general truth that love attracts and binds together. It is a unifying force arising from the divine reason and the divine will in which all other reasons and wills have their origin, and in and through which all things are able to find a common harmony. The divine reason is the basis of the harmony of our reasons and wills which are united so intimately together, and this union is realized through love just as the union of God with all men and of men with one another is extended through love.

The final union of all in God, the goal towards which Christ wishes to lead men according to St. Paul (Eph 1:10, Col 1:16-20), is equivalent to the Kingdom of God, the King-

dom of Love. This is the purpose of the entire saving work of Christ, a work which is inconceivable apart from this eschatological goal and our straining towards it.

Christian Obligations To The World Today In The Light Of Orthodox Soteriology

Christ did not bring us salvation so that we might continue to live in isolation, but that we might strive towards a greater and ever more profound unity which has as its culmination the eternal Kingdom of God.

We see this reflected in the fact that we cannot gain salvation if we remain in isolation, caring only for ourselves. There is no doubt that each man must personally accept salvation and make it his own, but he cannot do so nor can he persevere and progress in the way of salvation unless he is helped by others and helps them himself in return, that is, unless the manner of our salvation is communal. To be saved means to be pulled out of our isolation and to be united with Christ and the rest of men. "Let us commend ourselves and each other and our whole life to Christ our God", sing the faithful at the Orthodox liturgy. Salvation is communion in Christ (κοινωνία) and therefore the obligation of Christians to strive to maintain and develop their ecclesial unity through love is plain: "For the love of Christ gathers us together." (2 Cor 5:14)

Inasmuch however as Christ has accomplished the work of salvation and continuously offers its fruits in order to bring all men together into the Kingdom of God, Christians, as servants of Christ obliged to strive for the union of all men in that Kingdom of perfect love, also have certain obligations towards those who are not Christians. In what follows a brief attempt will be made to set forth these obligations, or, more precisely, the motives which lie behind them.

1. Christ offered his sacrifice and rose from the dead outside Jerusalem, and it was mainly outside Jerusalem that he appeared after his resurrection. This was to sanctify those peoples who had no kind of connexion with the God of the

Law. We read in the Epistle to the Hebrews: "Let us go forth to him outside the camp, bearing abuse for him. For here we have no lasting city, but we seek the city which is to come." (Heb 13:13-14) The reference is clearly to the constant necessity of leaving the world behind, of rising above the world in order that the world might be led in turn to transcend itself. To be confined, however, within any condition which is made static by the limitations of existence means to be confined within the world, and Christians must not be confined even within their own churches as if these were lasting cities, for then their mobile character is forgotten and they lose their very *raison d'être* as ways toward heaven. Christians and Christian Churches must always work among those men who remain outside them in the world in order to transcend the world as a static order, to raise it to a condition higher than its own. Christ became man in the world; he taught and ministered in the world. It was in the world that he offered himself in sacrifice and was buried. He rose again from the dead in the world; he sent his disciples into the world teaching them foreign languages through the Holy Spirit, and it is in the world that he still works, even if his work there is principally carried out now through his disciples, that is, through the Church. According to our teaching Christ is in the world but he is also in heaven, sending his disciples out into the world with the promise he made at his ascension that he would be with them. Again he said at the close of his earthly ministry, "I do not pray that you should take them out of the world." (Jn 17-15)

Christ is in the world but he is also in heaven. We ascend to the heavenly Christ through the earthly Christ within a world which, even more than the Church, is always seeking to progress beyond whatever happens to be its present condition, always yearning for something better, always convinced that the *status quo* need not be definitive. Today perhaps more than ever before, Christ draws the world towards himself in a state of continuous change. He reveals himself to the world at every new step of the way in some new perspective even though for the world he may remain someone *incognito*. We Christians must move forward along this road together with